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Congressional Record

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of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

SENATE

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. Metcalf).

Rev. Robert Lynn Irwin, minister, Mount Vale and Savannah Methodist Churches, Galax, Va., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, Heavenly Father, who only art wise and mighty, be merciful unto us who have both neglected our possibilities and usurped Thy stature. Help us to confess our defects, to acknowledge our limitations, and to be content with our human dignity. Yet inspire us to rise to our potentialities that Thou may realize through us some measure of Thy great plan. Make us truly grateful for Thy unprecedented generosity bestowed upon this land and captivate us by a new purpose equal to this wealth.

Hold ever over us the lofty dreams of equality and freedom while driving us always to higher approximations of their realization. Deliver us this day lest our decisions do violence to these principles. Give these our ordained leaders the wisdom to rule, the strength to check the abuses of each other, the humility to profit by failure, the courage to choose sanely within the actual alternatives, and a sense of responsibility to all mankind. In Christ's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Mansfield, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, April 18, 1966, was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILLS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries, and he announced that the President had approved and signed the following acts:

On April 13, 1966:

S. 1404. An act to promote the observance of a uniform system of time throughout the United States.

On April 14, 1966:

S. 1488. An act to authorize the disposal, without regard to the 6-month waiting period, of approximately 126,300 long calcined tons of refractory grade bauxite from the national stockpile;

S. 2573. An act to validate the action of the Acting Superintendent, Yosemite National Park, in extending the 1955 leave year for certain Federal employees, and for other purposes;

S. 2642. An act to authorize the release of platinum from the national stockpile, and for other purposes; and

S. 2719. An act to provide for the striking of medals in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the purchase of Alaska by the United States from Russia.

On April 16, 1966:

S. 1049. An act to provide relief for the heirs and devisees of Fly and Her Growth, deceased Lower Brule Indian allottees;

S. 2831. An act to furnish to the Scranton, Association, Inc., medals in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the founding of the city of Scranton, Pa.; and

S. 2835. An act to provide for the striking of medals in commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the American Numismatic Association.

REPORT OF NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 424)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences:

To the Congress of the United States:

This report to the Congress describes 6 months of great achievement by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

It was during this period—January 1, 1965, to June 30, 1965—that America made immense strides in the field of manned space travel.

This was the time, too, of Ranger's spectacular success in transmitting live TV images of the moon's surface. It was the time of Edward White's 22-minute jet-propelled walk in space.

The best characteristics of our people—their courage, their imagination, their technical and managerial competence—have been vividly demonstrated in the national space program.

This is indeed an era of progress—with space technology providing a vital stimulus as we move to unravel the mysteries of space, and to solve the complex economic, political, and social problems of life here on earth.

Lyndon B. Johnson.

The White House, *April 18, 1966.*

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, and withdrawing sundry nominations in the Foreign Service, transmitted to the Senate on January 14, 1966, which nominating messages were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, and withdrawn, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 1746) to define the term "child" for lump-sum payment purposes under the Civil Service Retirement Act.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills:

S. 1938. An act to amend the Indian Long-Term Leasing Act; and

S. 2729. An act to amend section 4(c) of the Small Business Act, and for other purposes.

WITHDRAWAL AND REAPPOINTMENT OF CERTAIN FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS—COMMUNICATION FROM THE PRESIDENT

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore, as in executive session, laid before the Senate the following communication from the President of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

The White House,
Washington, April 19, 1966.

Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey,
President of the Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President: On January 14 of this year I forwarded for the Senate's advice and consent, a list of 723 officers of the U.S. Information Agency to be appointed as Foreign Service officers of the United States under sections 516, 517, and 520(a) of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended.

In order to reflect normal changes which have taken place with the passage of time, I am today withdrawing 147 of these nominations and renominating 121 of these same officers for appointment at classes one step higher than those for which they were originally nominated. These changes are set forth and explained in further detail in the attachment to this letter.

All but a few of the revisions result from the fact that, although their appointments have still to be confirmed, all USIA officers nominated to be Foreign Service officers were judged together with Foreign Service officers by the boards which carried out the regular annual process of evaluation of Foreign Service officers this year. More than 100 of the nominees won promotions in direct competition with Foreign Service officers of their classes.

I also draw to your attention the fact that, with my approval, the Department of State put into effect after January 18 of this year an understanding reached with the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations concerning consular titles. In accordance with that understanding, when the Senate has taken favorable action on the nominations, it is my intention to grant to the persons appointed commissions as "consular officer" rather than "consul general," "consul" or "vice consul."

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING THE TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, statements during the transaction of routine morning business were ordered limited to 3 minutes.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the Subcommittee on Foreign Service of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and the Committee on the District of Columbia were authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

THE PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO MEXICO

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on April 14, 15, and 16, it was my privilege, along with the distinguished minority leader, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the distinguished senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS], the distinguished senior Senator from Vermont and the ranking Republican in the Senate [Mr. AIKEN], and the distinguished Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], to accompany President and Mrs. Johnson on their visit to Mexico. There were also five outstanding Members of the House in the persons of Congressmen ELIGIO DE LA GARZA and HENRY B. GONZALEZ, of Texas, GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB and EDWARD R. ROYBAL, of California, and FRANK CHELF, of Kentucky. The cochairmen of the delegation were Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and the head of the delegation was, of course, the President of the United States.

The reception accorded the President by the people and the Government of Mexico was extraordinary, tumultuous, and extremely friendly. The turnout by the Mexican people was well in excess of 2 million and the spirit was one of graciousness, cordiality, and understanding. The activities were well defined and the delegation was extremely busy visiting various museums, the agricultural facilities at Chapingo, and meeting numerous old friends among our fellow parliamentarians, and making many new ones.

President Johnson showed deep understanding and fine appreciation of our hosts, President and Mrs. Gustavo Diaz Ordaz and Mrs. Johnson showed a great and friendly interest in all her contacts with the officials of the Government, the people with whom she met, and the facilities which she visited.

I must say a special word about Lady Bird because she was untiring in her efforts, understanding and appreciative in her contacts and displayed, in her person, along with her husband, the friendliness of our people toward our neighbors below the Rio Grande.

For me it was, as always, inspirational to visit a country such as Mexico and to once again meet with my fellow parliamentarians and the people of that great nation.

President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz and Mrs. Diaz Ordaz were superb hosts and their dignity, understanding, and courtesy added much to the success of this most successful visit. It is my hope that it will not be too long before the President of Mexico and his First Lady will be invited to this country so that they can benefit from being with us as we have benefited from being with them.

I wish to say a special word about the meeting of the Members of the U.S. Congress with their counterparts in the Mexican Congress. They were able to discuss, in part, some of the problems concerning our two countries and to once again renew old friendships. The hospitality extended by our host, the President of the Permanent Commission, Deputy Alfonso Martinez Dominguez, was most gracious and deeply appreciated. There were many problems to discuss but as progress was made in solving some of the difficulties in years past, progress will be made in the future in solving those which confront us now. We were glad to note that progress was being made of the transfer of El Chamizal to Mexico and also in the question of the Colorado River salinity problem, as well as other matters of mutual interest and concern. We were pleased that Presidents Johnson and Diaz Ordaz consulted each other about the question of cotton and with President Johnson's assurance that this matter will receive his closest attention.

Mr. President, two of the members of our delegation who made speeches of great interest and mutual understanding were the two Senators from Illinois, the distinguished minority leader [Mr. DIRKSEN], who spoke at the farewell banquet given by the president of the Permanent Commission, Deputy Alfonso Martinez Dominguez, and the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS], who spoke at a dinner given by Mr. Martinez Dominguez for the American congressional delegation.

The speeches were both outstanding. I wish I had their remarks to insert in the RECORD, but unfortunately I do not have them. However, I wish to state that these two Senators from Illinois, the State of Lincoln, did all of us honor with their cogent, sound, and heartfelt remarks.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a number of outstanding speeches given by the President of Mexico, the President of the United States, Lady Bird Johnson, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Antonio Carillo Flores, Deputy Alfonso Martinez Dominguez, President of the Permanent Commission of Congress, a joint policy statement of President Johnson and President Diaz Ordaz, President Diaz Ordaz' welcoming speech, and an editorial from the Christian Science Monitor be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speeches, the joint statement, and the editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO MEXICO CITY

(Remarks upon arrival at International Airport, April 14, 1966)

Mr. President, Mrs. Diaz Ordaz, members of of the First Family, my friends of Mexico; this is almost a homecoming for the Johnson family. Thirty-one years ago we came to Mexico on our honeymoon. Since then, on every occasion possible, we have used the border into your country, visited in your cities and your countryside, and we have enjoyed, on many occasions, visits from your leaders and your Presidents.

I first met President Adolfo López Mateos in the late 1950's when he came to the United States. Later, as President, I visited with him in the United States at the Chamizal at El Paso, and in 1964 your own distinguished President honored us with a visit that he and his wife made in our home in Texas.

So when I come to Mexico, I feel that I come to the home of my friends. We are here today to present to your country a statue of one of our most beloved and most respected Presidents, Abraham Lincoln. We present that statue to the people that we consider our most treasured friends.

Mr. President, we are grateful to you for this beautiful reception, for your gracious remarks. We will look forward to exchanging views with you in the hours that we are permitted together.

I said to your distinguished and able Ambassador, Ambassador Margáin, on the way down on the plane today, that while we faced many trying problems in the world today, I did not believe there had ever been a period in the history of the United States and Mexico when we faced fewer problems, when we had better understanding, and when there was a stronger friendship that exists between the people than exists today.

That is because, Mr. President, you and your distinguished predecessors have understood our people and have provided a farsighted leadership for your people that has brought us together in understanding and friendship.

Although in other parts of the world neighbors fight neighbors, neighbors are in dispute with neighbors, there are no armies that patrol our borders, there are no guns that protect the frontiers of Mexico and the United States. Our people cross the boundary freely and work and play together.

If I could have my one wish granted today, it would be that we could live in a world where we had the same peaceful relations with our neighbors as we have with the people of Mexico. But if we are to have peace in the world, we must try to solve the problems that cause the wars, the problems of illiteracy, the problems of ignorance, the problems of disease, the problems of poverty, the problems of misunderstanding.

Mr. President, we salute you for the leadership that you are providing your own great nation and the contribution you are making to other nations in the world in a program that will bring peace to all humankind. While war clouds hover over certain parts of the world as we meet here this afternoon, we truly and genuinely and sincerely hope that the day may soon come when all the world can live together in peace as do the people of the United States and Mexico.

Mr. President, our distinguished Secretary of State, the majority leader of the U.S. Senate, the minority leader of the U.S. Senate, leaders of our House of Representatives, join me on this occasion in thanking you for this very cordial welcome and in saying to you: Muchas gracias, Señor President; muchas gracias, todo Mexico.

REMARKS BY MRS. LYNDON B. JOHNSON, DEDICATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN STATUE, MEXICO CITY, MEXICO

My friends, citizens of our sister Republic, the United Mexican States, my husband and I can never forget our personal thoughts of happiness we have found in your country. We came to Mexico to spend our honeymoon and, like so many other young couples in those days, floated on the historic waters of Xochimilco.

These memories of your delightful country were refreshed 3 years ago when, with my brother and sister-in-law, I traveled leisurely through your attractive countryside and your interesting cities from Guadalajara to Uruapan to Lake Patzcuaro to Mexico City to Taxco.

It was my special pleasure to find among your different States the great strength of Mexico—its people—deeply human, nobly gifted, with a special poetic insight and dignity that no traveler forgets.

Your wise and ancient eyes look behind the official to the man. So we are doubly honored that you would want in this lovely park, the bronze figure of one of our great Presidents—and great human beings—Abraham Lincoln.

Abraham Lincoln and your countryman, Benito Juarez, were men of similar mold and humility. They both struggled for their country's preservation and they were brothers in spirit in their idea that a respect for others' rights is necessary for peace.

We may see behind the sculptured face there the anguish and love, the lonely search for truth in the soul that led Lincoln, as it did Juarez, to do for other men those acts of devotion that we so gratefully remember in their monuments.

THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO MEXICO CITY

(Remarks at the dedication of the Abraham Lincoln Statue, April 15, 1966)

Mr. President, my friends: it is impossible for me to tell you how proud I am to be here with you today, in company with the leadership of the U.S. Senate, prominent Members of the House of Representatives, and the Senators and Congressmen from the States of Illinois and Kentucky, that gave us Abraham Lincoln.

The President of the United States could ask for no greater honor than to be invited to stand on the soil of our good friend, Mexico, beside a leader as beloved and respected as your great President, Diaz Ordaz.

For me this occasion has a very special meaning. All my life I have known, and lived with, and worked alongside the sons and the daughters of Mexico. I have been here on many different occasions; my wife and I spent the first days of our marriage here in this beautiful city, Mexico City.

To come back now to the people and the scenes of so many pleasant memories, to come as the leader of your sister Republic to the north, where your country is held in such high esteem, is for me a moment never to be forgotten.

The tribute that your great Foreign Secretary Carrillo Flores has just paid to Abraham Lincoln will touch the hearts of all of my countrymen.

All nations rightly praise their own famous men.

But only a truly great people pause to pay tribute to the great of other lands.

And that is what Mexico is doing today.

What Abraham Lincoln stood for is what binds our two nations—and, indeed, this entire hemisphere—together.

More than geography and common economic interests and a regional system of mutual assistance, we are held together by common values and by shared beliefs.

That is why we share equally Bolívar and Washington, San Martín and Jefferson, Juárez and Martí and Lincoln. They were sons of a common heritage.

In his time and place, Abraham Lincoln brought the best in our common civilization to bear on the cruelest problems that ever confronted a leader: civil war and the enslavement of a minority of his people.

In these trials he clung to the belief that every human being was unique and precious—equal in the eyes of God and before the law.

He believed that the pillars of a great society were equality of opportunity, individual freedom to excel, and justice—political and social justice—for every citizen.

And so he walked among us—bearing on his shoulders the burdens of a nation's greatest test—proving that true greatness lies in loyalty to those universal principles which span every age.

Now in this age we in this hemisphere are today engaged in another great test—we are engaged in a vast social revolution touching the lives of millions of peoples on two continents.

Like Lincoln's, this is a test of whether freedom can work.

It is a test of whether men through liberty can overcome the weight of the past and lift from their brothers the blight of hunger, the blindness of ignorance, and the burden of disease.

We are in the midst of that test.

We must demonstrate to our peoples that their destiny is not class struggle but common struggle to achieve that proud and that modern Latin America which is at once the dream of a generation and the interest of the world community.

This is a battle which only the people of Latin America can win.

But it is the desire of my people, our commitment, and our privilege to work side by side in this great human adventure.

History will judge us not only by the nobility of our sentiments or the poetry of our words, but history will judge us by the action that we take to bring these sentiments to life.

For my country's part, we are guided by certain basic convictions upon which our faith in the future rests. Let me be specific about some of those convictions:

First, every member of the American community of nations has a natural right to its independence and sovereignty. No country may abridge those rights. For as your own Benito Juárez said, "Respect for the rights of others is peace."

Second, the United States maintains its commitment to government by consent of the governed—a consent to be granted in free and honest elections. It does not seek to impose on others any form of government. But let us stand determined on this principle—despots are not welcome in this hemisphere.

Third, my administration believes that both stable democracy and effective economic development depend ultimately on social justice. There has never been stable democracy where economic power and privilege were concentrated in the hands of the few. Where the many work let the many earn.

Fourth, we believe the struggle for social justice and more efficient and equitable use of natural resources must be led by each country in its own behalf. My administration will not be deterred by those who tenaciously or selfishly cling to special privileges from the past. We will not be deterred by those who say that to risk change is to risk communism.

Fifth, we do not wish to see communism spread in this hemisphere, but we believe that the threat to the liberty and independence of the Latin American peoples from communism cannot be met merely by force. We will continue to concentrate our assistance mainly in economic and social fields and to encourage our Latin American neighbors, where possible, to limit their outlays for military purposes. We are encouraged that democracy flourishes in countries such as Mexico where expenditures for education and development are high.

Sixth, we are convinced that the future of Latin American industrialization—as well as the basic welfare of the peoples themselves—urgently requires the parallel modernization of rural life. This must combine more equitable forms of landholding and all the measures that are needed to raise production and productivity. And your two Presidents this morning discussed at length steps that we are going to take to do both.

Seventh, we shall continue to work with your own able President Diaz Ordaz and work with our Latin American friends throughout the hemisphere to augment and to stabilize earnings from traditional exports, while assisting efforts to expand those new exports on which Latin American trade will increasingly depend in the future.

Eighth, we believe that the drawing together of the economies of Latin America is critical to this hemisphere's future. Only in this way can the hemisphere develop truly efficient industry; expanded foreign exchange earnings; and a sound foundation for a full Latin American partnership in building a peaceful world community.

One of the challenges of hemispheric integration is the linking of North and South America through the Pan American Highway.

It is one ambition of my Presidency to work with the other nations of this hemisphere toward closing the several hundred miles of the gap that now exists. We must await the studies that are now nearing completion, but together we should look to the day when the old precolonial links across the isthmus are fully restored, the good lands of Panama are opened for agriculture, and families and commerce can move anywhere between Laredo and the southernmost tip of Argentina.

Señor Presidente Diaz Ordaz, my country takes great heart in what you, in Mexico, are doing. We see today a people who are forging ahead. We see today a nation that is proud and a people that are confident.

You are confident of the future because you are confident that you can secure for your people a constant increase in material well-being and social justice.

You are confident that you can deal with all other neighbors in independence, friendship, and dignity.

You are confident that you can help your less-advanced neighbors also to move ahead with you.

And you are confident that you can maintain in the modern world your own personality—loyal to your own traditions and aspirations.

Mexico's progress is witness that the goals of the Alliance are realistic and its methods are valid.

I have served with four American Presidents who showed their concern and their friendship for Mexico and Latin America. Franklin Roosevelt lifted our eyes to the promise and the problems of Latin America with the good-neighbor policy. Harry Truman's boldness brought forth point 4 and its compassion to the Western Hemisphere and to the entire world. Dwight Eisenhower plowed new and fertile and productive fields with the Act of Bogotá. And John F. Kennedy, building on and expanding and refining that act, gave fresh impulse to all our ideals in the Alliance.

Twenty-nine months ago, the first week of my Presidency, my first act as President of the United States was to pledge my country again to the faith and the direction of these four Presidents and their relations with the nations in this hemisphere.

I am proud today to report to the Mexican people and to all of our Latin American friends that our common effort is proving itself with specific results. Our dreams are becoming realities.

As I speak to you here today, I have been involved in the executive branch of my Government for 6 years. The first 3 years, the average growth rate in Latin America was 1 percent. In the last 3 years of my Presidency, that growth rate is now 2½ percent. This achievement, in which Mexico, the United States, and all the other countries of Latin America can take great pride, will continue strong, I predict, in the year 1966. We believe that the growth rate in that year will exceed the 2½ percent of this year.

Ahead, of course, lie many problems that are yet to be overcome. Hard work and perseverance, not hope alone, will bend them to solution.

At the recent meeting of the Economic Ministers in Buenos Aires, we were right to take stock of what we have learned since 1961 and to plan and to chart the course ahead.

Now we must give necessary impulse to, as I said to your President this morning, new and additional initiatives, we must open new paths, we must breathe new energy into our efforts.

And to that end, I will in the months ahead join with Latin American leaders in exploring the proposal of the President of Argentina for a new meeting at the very highest level to examine our common problems and to give the Alliance for Progress increased momentum.

Such a conference should be prepared with the utmost care. We should examine every idea which might advance our common interest, be it old or new. Careful preparation need not be the enemy, however, of imaginative action and new adventures.

It will take time and faith and stubborn effort to achieve together the goals that we set ourselves in the Charter of Punta del Este 5 years ago.

But this we must do. This we will do. There is no other way, in our time and in this hemisphere, to show what free men and what free nations can do working together.

And so let all of us, let all the world know that we know our challenge. I saw it, riding through the streets of your beautiful city with your great President last evening; I saw it in the hopeful face of young Mexico, in the hundreds of thousands of little children who are the future of this great land; I saw young people, with minds to be educated, with bodies to be protected from disease; I say young boys and girls who one day will be able to find a job and who will raise their families in peace, and some will lead this great nation tomororw.

And this is the challenge that faces the people of America and faces the people of Latin America, and this is a challenge that we will—shoulder to shoulder—accept.

Once again, I want to say how very proud and very happy I am to be here with you today, Señor Presidente, you, my good and warm friend, and to be among your gracious people of Mexico.

Very shortly I will return to the other side of the river, but I will leave, to enjoy the hospitality of your great people, Mrs. Johnson and my Secretary of State, and the distinguished Delegation from the Congress. And before I leave, I should like to say this: May we all always seek justice and peace together. Come what may, may we always be good neighbors—and may we always be good amigos.

(NOTE: The President spoke at 12:02 p.m., c.s.t. The text of the remarks was released at Mexico City. As printed above, it follows the text transmitted by teletype prior to receipt of the White House release.)

THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO MEXICO CITY

(Remarks to the staff at the American Embassy, April 15, 1966)

Secretary and Mrs. Rusk, Ambassador and Mrs. Freeman, my friends, ladies and gentlemen, I drove down the street with great pride as my eyes looked upon this beautiful building put here by the talented hands of architects from my State. As I walked into this building, I looked back over my memories in government and thought that never in my 35 years in public service in Washington had our country been more fortunate in its selection of a Secertary of State than it is now with Dean Rusk.

He is guiding our relations with other nations with a skill and an understanding and a compassion that is unequaled, in my judgment, in my lifetime. He has built around him 100 or more of the ablest ambassadors that any administration has ever assembled to serve the interests of our Nation. It gives me great pride to pay just tribute to the work being done by Ambassador and Mrs. Freeman here in Mexico.

But what really gives me the greatest pride and the greatest pleasure is to come here and look into the smiling faces that stand around me in this beautiful building and see the folks that take care of the daily chores and that reflect such great credit to the country they serve. No nation ever had more competent or more loyal or more dedicated public employees than the United States of America and no department ever had more of those kinds of employees than the Department of State.

I want to say to each of you at your desk and the tasks that engage you that your President is proud of the work you do, is grateful to you for the loyalty that you give and the sacrifices that you make, and the credit that you reflect upon your country.

I observed the other day a statement my father made to me, when I was a little boy and he was talking about public service. He said, "To understand people, you must know them and to properly speak for them and represent them, you must love them." For that reason he always leaned over backward to be democratic. There was no little farmer from the humblest village in the land that he didn't want to know, because he got more from the farmer than he gave.

I think that each of you who carry on with your work, serving our national interest each day, could profit by remembering that statement: "To know the people of Mexico, you must understand them and to represent them and carry out our program and our purpose with them, you must love them."

I have been coming across this border all my life. I have been working with the people of Mexico ever since I was a child. My first playmate was a little Mexican boy. We raced our horses together, when we were both just learning to ride. I remember he told me he didn't want to run a race with me, because his horse wasn't as fat as mine and therefore couldn't run as fast.

I said, "I will solve that problem. We will make him as fat." So we got a bucket and got in the oat bin and fed him all afternoon. Then we filled him full of water and then we took him out and ran the race. Then the horse died.

All my life the Mexican people have been my friends and my playmates, my closest associates and my most trusted allies, and my most loyal supporters. They have been intimidated, criticized, browbeaten, sometimes they have been hauled into court for voting for me, but they have always been there.

I brought my bride to Mexico City on our honeymoon. I have come back here at every opportunity. So, we are very thankful we were given the chance to come here again and show the people of this nation the great respect and friendship we have for them, and to say to those of you who serve my administration and your country so well that I am mighty grateful and proud of you.

(NOTE.—The President spoke at 1:05 p.m., central standard time. The text of his remarks was released at Mexico City. As printed above, it follows the text transmitted by teletype prior to receipt of the White House release.)

HOMAGE TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN ADDRESSED BY SECRETARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS ANTONIO CARRILLO FLORES, AT THE CEREMONY OF THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF THE EMANCIPATOR, DONATED TO THE PEOPLE OF MEXICO BY THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

It is with profound satisfaction, Mr. President, that I fulfill the honored task with which you have entrusted me, to express to the President and Mrs. Johnson, to the Honorable Secretary of State, and to each and every one of the members of their delegation, the gratitude of the Government of Mexico to the people of the United States and their officials for having given us the statue of the Emancipator Abraham Lincoln, which we are unveiling today.

We consider it a particular compliment to Mexico that the Chief Executive of the United States has consituted his delegation to this ceremony with such distinguished personalities, and we appreciate very sincerely the words of President Johnson, Lady Bird, and of Mr. Rusk, corroborating once again their long affection for and interest in Mexico.

Mr. Governor of the Federal District, Secretaries of State, ladies and gentlemen, we come to render homage to a man who is the glory of his country, of America, and of the world.

He arrives in the garden, which beginning today will bear his name, only a few months after, also in bronze, Benito Juarez returned to New Orleans. It is therefore appropriate that I should open my address with the simple words pronounced by Luis G. Urbina before the monument to Juarez:

"He is here because he was great and because he was just."

He was as we see him in this splendid work of art—tall, very tall, over 6 feet in height, with vigorous arms and hands, which had hewn trees with an ax. He had grey eyes, very black tousled hair, and he was never without a certain melancholy that even his greatest biographers have not been able fully to explain.

He combined greatness with humility. He was natural and spontaneous like the rills and woods of New Salem, the small town in Illinois that witnessed the dreams of his youth. And, along with the toasts of those who have determined the course of history, he always retained the characteristics of a man born and raised in the prairies. One of the three women whom he is known to have loved, an exquisite girl, the daughter of a Kentucky landholder, even found him lacking in "those little links which a woman needs to forge the chain of her happiness." And the chronicles have recorded the discomfiture of elegant New York society, which went to hear him the snowy night of the 27th of February 1860, when he pronounced at Cooper Union the speech which opened his presidential candidacy. His carelessness of dress, the uncertainty of his step, and the initial tremor of his voice. But those very limitations bring his image closer to the majority of men and contribute to his charismatic charm.

He died at dawn precisely 101 years ago today, after the city of Washington had passed a fearful night. A few days before, he had related a strange occurence to his wife: "Last night," he said, "I retired very late and soon began to dream. I was in the East Room of the White House in front of a catafalque with a guard of soldiers and surrounded by a multitude looking at the coffin. Some people covered their face, others were crying. 'Who has died in the White House?' I asked the soldiers. 'The President,' they answered, 'they have assassinated him.'"

On the morning of the 14th he met with his Cabinet for the last time to discuss the policy that should be followed toward the States that had tried to separate themselves from the Union. The terrible Civil War that during 4 years had desolated the United States, had ended 5 days before. "There are men in Congress," he said, "possessed with sentiments of hate and vengeance which I do not share and with whom I cannot sympathize." His assassin, an obscure actor, did not realize that he would take away the champion of the spirit of justice and tolerance for the vanquished, and that he would give rise to an epoch of great bitterness for those persons in whose favor he thought he was acting.

In the afternoon the President took a short walk with his wife. "Mary," he said, "we have lived through difficult times since we came to Washington, but the war has ended and we can look forward to 4 years of peace and happiness. Then we shall return to Illinois, and there we will live out the rest of our days in tranquillity." But Lincoln did not return in life to his beloved Springfield. That night he went to the Ford theater and to his martyrdom.

A supreme articulator of the written and spoken word, he never pretended to be intellectual or erudite. His readings, while of great quality, were limited: the Bible, Shakespeare, Blackstone's commentaries on Anglo-Saxon common law. And yet in the messages of his later years he achieved nobility, a profound deepness of thought, and a perfection in form such as no statesman of the Western World had achieved since Pericles' oration to the dead, 25 centuries earlier. The brief paragraphs of the Gettysburg address, perpetuated in marble on the banks of the Potomac, contain the greatest definition and exaltation of democracy that has ever been made: "Government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth," because it is based on "the proposition that all men are created equal." No other words can say more to the hearts of all races, of all creeds, or of none.

Lincoln was a complex and multiple personality, and the titles of his greatness are manifold. For his country he was, and is, what he wished to be above all other things: the savior of his country's unity and of its democratic institutions in the greatest crisis of its history.

He assumed office in March of 1861, after many political failures, when the problem of slavery began to divide the country in two. The difficult and unstable equilibrium, which had existed in the young and strengthening industrial economy of the Northern States and the feudal system of the South, had been broken in 1854, when it appeared that slavery would be extended to new territories.

In this situation Lincoln, who received the support of a plurality of electors representing only a regional opinion, understood that his most important task was to maintain the unity of the Nation. With admirable valor and without fear of his impatient critics, he wrote: "My primary purpose in this fight is to save the Union. It is not to save or destroy slavery."

Because Lincoln was a superior statesman, as well as an extraordinary politician with a clear idea of the reality in which he was called to action. He knew that impatience is not always the best way to serve good causes, and he fearlessly made statements in apparent contradiction with his ideals, if in that way he could weaken the enemies of those ideals.

Many times he even appeared weak. But his tolerance, his intentional weakness, were only steps in a process which was at the same time moral and politic. He wanted no one to be able to accuse him of having let loose the violence which in the end could not be avoided. The Civil War began a few days after Lincoln assumed office, but he did not fire the first shot. It was the other side—those who wished to hold back the course of history.

For a year the course of conflict was adverse to the Union, so much so—and here our history and that of the United States are linked—that it is the opinion of some historians that if Zaragoza had lost the battle of the 5th of May, and if the forces of Napoleon III had occupied the city of Mexico, perhaps Napoleon and the leaders of other powers would have recognized the Confederacy formed by the Southern States. In those days Secretary of War Stanton telegraphed to the Governors of the States which were loyal to the endangered capital: "The enemy, with great strength, is advancing on Washington."

The wise politician, who in order to avoid war had been prepared to compromise with slavery, understood then that he needed to strengthen the cause of the Union by transforming it into a crusade for human liberty—a cause against which Europe could not dare to fight—and he proclaimed, on the 22nd of September 1862, the emancipation of the slaves. He did it as a war measure, as Supreme Commander of the Army, and with the knowledge that he was proceeding in direct opposition to what was stated in the Constitution, according to the Supreme Court's interpretation of 1857. He thus gave liberty to 4 million people who until that time were not considered persons but property which could not be taken away from their owners without due process of law and just and adequate compensation. (Lincoln acted in the slavery problem, and here I must change the simile, the way Venustiano Carranza acted in the land problem in January 1915.)

Of course the struggle was not to end, either in his country or outside of it, with the proclamation of 1862. A few years ago our Secretariat of Foreign Relations published a study based on reports from Matias Romero. It told of a proposition which, upon the death of Lincoln, was made by some adventurers supported by Maximilian, proposing that landowners from the Confederacy come to Mexico with their slaves—an absurd effort, which naturally failed.

In the United States the wisdom of conservative purists invented the thesis that the concept of equality was not violated if men were kept separate by color as long as all were treated equally. It was not until 1954, almost a century after the death of Lincoln, that this sophism would be destroyed. It is just to say that President Johnson from the time he was a Senator has done much to secure the rights of racial minorities, and to him has gone the honor of promoting, promulgating, and defending the most liberal U.S. legislation on civil rights written in this century. Of course, the task is not finished.

On a broader horizon, we know that in spite of the generous pronouncements in the Charter of the United Nations and in the 1951 Declaration on Human Rights there are still regions of the world in which the principle of equal rights among all men continues to meet with incomprehensible and anacronistic resistance.

The world is passing through a revolution in which the old igolitarian ideal is no longer satisfied with purely moral and political results, nor with purely economic benefits. In recent decades it has with increasing strength demanded dignity and well-being for all men.

For that reason Lincoln is a living symbol and an active participant in the struggles of our time.

When he said in his message to Congress in 1862 that "the dogmas of the tranquil past are inadequate for the anguished present" he was enunciating a norm of conduct which was valid for the tremendous difficulties of his time and for those of the world today.

We should be ready, as Lincoln wished, to think again, and every time it may be necessary, also to work again in the way that he foresaw in his second inaugural address, which was almost his testament, "with malice toward none, with charity for all." For only in this way will it be possible to "achieve and maintain with devotion a just and lasting peace at home and with all nations." This is, in different words, the legacy bequeathed to us by Benito Juarez and which we Mexicans will never cease to repeat: "Among men, as among nations, respect for the rights of others is peace."

And this brings me to recall that Lincoln, in addition to the titles already cited, has a special one because of the place he occupies in our affection: that he was more than a friend, a brother, in what Justo Sierra called "our terrible year." This morning is one of homage to the Liberator and to his people and of cordial and frank friendship for its leaders. In this spirit I repeat the words which, as Mexican Ambassador, I pronounced in Washington on the centenary of the departure of Lincoln from the city of Springfield toward the struggle, the triumph, and martyrdom: "Thank you Mr. President, in the name of all Mexicans, of those who have already died, of the living, and of those who are not yet born, for your speeches in our defense, as a Member of the House of Representatives, when our countries were at war. Your fellow citizens were irritated then, they refused to reelect you, and for 6 years you had to return to your modest provincial law practice. But now they venerate you and they rejoice that the world recognizes you as the most universal of all the heroes of the country that you saved with your intelligence, with your valor, and with your blood."

Years later Lincoln had another occasion to show his affection for Mexico. On the eve of the Napoleonic aggression, Juarez instructed his representative to visit the then President-elect. The meeting took place in Springfield the 19th day of January 1861. Matias Romero wrote in his diary: "Mr. Lincoln told me that during his administration he would try to do everything within his power in favor of the interests of Mexico; that he would in all instances do her justice; and that he would consider her as a friendly sister nation. He added that he did not think that anything could make him change from this determination * * *. He asked me about the condition of the Mexican peasants, for he had heard that they were living in a condition of slavery. He expressed himself strongly against slavery."

I would not be able to comment on Lincoln's ideas about our peasants without departing from my thesis. I only wish to note that even from afar the Liberator already understood Mexico's central problem—that of the land, which would become, a half century later, the fundamental cause and the standard of the revolution that is, even today, a challenge and an unsolved problem in vast areas of the developing world.

Once the Civil War had started in the United States assistance to Mexico could be no more than moral support—only a benevolent neutrality. Lincoln, always a realist, knew that he could not at the same time fight against the southern armies commanded by one of the greatest soldiers the United States has produced, Robert E. Lee, and confront Napoleon III. Juarez, also a realistic politician, understood this and said so in a letter to Minister Romero the 22d of December 1864, after almost 3 years of fighting in the unequal struggle against the foreign invaders, which more than once seemed lost. "It is necessary," he wrote, "to convince ourselves that the leaders of that Republic must give every priority to reestablishing and consolidating their domestic peace and that they will not wish to distract their resources nor their attention to help other people, no matter how good their intentions may be toward us. That is the reality that we should keep in mind in order not to fall into error. For that reason I think we should undertake in that Republic only those things which, without compromising our dignity, may be attainable. But we should not entrust the hope of our triumph exclusively to it. We shall try to succeed through our own scarce resources. Thus the triumph of our cause will be more glorious, and if we fall, which I think improbable, we will have saved the honor of freemen, and that we will bequeath to our sons."

Mr. President Diaz Ordaz, President Johnson, Mrs. Johnson; Mr. Secretary Rusk, ladies and gentlemen, often we Mexicans have searched for the parallel between Benito Juarez and Abraham Lincoln. It is natural then that I should conclude with a few thoughts on this fascinating theme. They are not, nor do they pretend to be, new.

As men, they could not have been more different. In the soul of Lincoln there always remained something of the child, of the child who did not cease to laugh and cry. "On occasions," said his most eminent biographer, Carl Sandburg, in his eulogy of 1959 before the U.S. Congress, "he was seen to cry in a way that gave crying a majesty, a dignity." Juarez was characteristically impassive, with the stoic silence of the old Indians. In Lincoln was "steel wrapped in steel." Two or three hours before dying, he left his bed dressed in fine clothes and walked to his office to consider matters of state with his Minister of War, his face revealing none of the great pain carried within.

Lincoln was action, but also word, word in constant ascent. In Juarez, except for the apothegm of 1867 and a few other pronouncements, it is deeds and the ideas that feed them, rather than words, that have "firmness and light, like rock crystal."

In their destinies on the other hand, there were notable similarities. They belonged exactly to the same time: Juarez was born in 1806, Lincoln in 1809. Lincoln died in 1865, the Mexican in 1872. Both came from the most humble origin. Both came to be Chief of State at the age of 52 years, when their political careers had previously seemed at an end. Juarez, upon concluding his term as Governor of Oaxaca, and Lincoln, upon leaving Congress after a single period of 2 years, in 1848. Both also reached office by accidents of history; Juarez through Commonfort's coup d'etat, and Lincoln by the division of the opposing party, which named two candidates. Both had to devote more energy to the struggle for the very existence of Mexico and the United States, then the governing. And not only did they have to struggle with the declared enemy but also with their own generals, with their ministers, and with their Congresses. An additional and very moving common note was that in their most trying hours as Presidents, both suffered a great intimate sorrow; Juarez with the death of three of his sons, especially Pepe, of whom he said in an agonizing letter: "he was my joy, my pride and my hope," and Lincoln with the death of Willy, perhaps the deepest love of his life, and whose little coffin traveled with his own from Washington to Springfield.

Men of the law, both were accused of unconstitutional use of power: Juarez, of openly usurping it; and they had to be intransigent, implacable, when in their souls both would have wished to avoid extremes. Finally, when they died, both in the Presidency, with their work incomplete, their countries were politically, socially, and economically transformed. Lincoln, the more fortunate, died an unjust death, at the precise moment of his triumph. Juarez, after his victory, had to face up to 5 long years of tempestuous politics and criticisms, many of them very acute. But in Mexico and the United States, modern history begins with Benito Juarez and with Abraham Lincoln.

For their glory, these two men who had the harsh task of heading the struggle of one part of the people against the other, have now been transformed into symbols of national unity, in addition to having always been symbols of the cause of dignity and human liberty. Mexico, in cultivating the spirit of Juarez, the United States in maintaining the spirit of Lincoln, have charted the pathway for a friendship that can be an example for America and the world.

REMARKS BY DEPUTY ALFONSO MARTINEZ DOMINGUES, CHAIRMAN OF THE PERMANENT COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES AT THE BANQUET OFFERED TO THE PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, APRIL 16, MEXICO CITY

Senators, Congressmen, ladies and gentleman, it is for the Permanent Committee of the Congress of the Union a source of great honor and deep satisfaction to have as its guests this afternoon the distinguished Senators and Representatives from the United States of America and their wives.

This event, of itself important, by far goes beyond the courtesy of protocol that governs the relations between colleagues of different nations. This is because of the fact that those who are gathered around this table, in addition to their high parliamentary rank, have the deep and added condition of being our personal friends.

We are linked by bonds of affection based on immutable facts; frankness in our dialog, a cordial and increasing effort of mutual understanding, and unrestricted respect for our opinions concerning matters of common interest. A friendship thus conceived governs our relationships.

We have always believed that friendship, when it is true, be it between persons or between nations, is one of the supreme moral values created by man. This sentiment ennobles and distinguishes our species and explains fruitful and brilliant moments of history.

How good it is, then, that you have accompanied President Johnson in his memorable visit to our land. You have thus been able to witness the marvelous cordiality which our country offers to those to whom it offers its friendship, based on respect for its independence and its dignity.

To bring us, perpetuated in bronze, the noble figure of Abraham Lincoln, is a gift of the people of the United States, and it has a very special meaning. Lincoln and Juarez, brothers in time and in their devotion to their people, united under the sign of sacrifice and of faithfulness to justice and to their convictions, died a century ago, serving the highest causes of freedom, of sovereignty, and of national integrity, but they still live, to maintain alive in present and future generations the unforgettable lessons that constitute their legacy to mankind.

The Permanent Committee of the Congress of the Union, of which I have the honor of being chairman, pays tribute to the people of Mexico, generous and sensitive, cordial and sincere, enthusiastic and spontaneous, who together with President Diaz Ordaz, are able, as our Chief Executive said yesterday, to win the battle of friendship.

Senators, Representatives of the United States of America; you have been able to see, feel, deal with, and know the people of Mexico, who work, with passion, to forge for themselves a better destiny; the people of Mexico, who believe in freedom because they live it fully, who believe in friendship and offer it openly.

As members of the Mexican Congress, we pay special tribute to the legislator from Illinois, who, in the highest forum of his country, voiced his convictions, defending Mexico during trying moments of its history.

As representatives of the Mexican nation, we symbolically place a wreath of gratitude on the forehead of he who honored his position as a representative of the people by placing the dictates of his conscience before any other consideration.

How significant, in addition, is the friendship that Lincoln offered, during troubled times for Mexican sovereignty, to his distinguished colleague and our fellow countryman, Benito Juarez, a great figure among the great men of this continent.

We Mexicans feel that President Johnson's visit is an open expression of friendship for our people and our Government. The visit has taken place under the sign of Abraham Lincoln, who has earned, in the principles he maintained, which are as alive now as they were then, not only the fervor of our two peoples but also the admiration of all men.

How encouraging it is to see that in our day, great figures who are representative of the American people, have come forth clearly as singular friends of Mexico. In their national Congress, a representative expression of popular will, there are those who, with unquestioned vision, face the problems that necessarily come up between peoples, not only with sensitivity, but with an awareness of the fact that the rights of men are not in conflict with the rights of any national community, because nowadays there is a vital interdependence between nations, and above all between nations, such as ours, that are brothers because of geography.

Mexico can count as its great friends, among many other distinguished ones, but to mention only those present here, Senators MIKE MANSFIELD, PAUL DOUGLAS, EVERETT DIRKSEN, GEORGE D. AIKEN, and JOSEPH MONTOYA, and Representatives FRANK CHELF, GLENARD LIPSCOMB, HENRY B. GONZALEZ, EDWARD ROYBAL, and ELIGIO DE LA GARZA. We would also wish to remember with affection the absent legislators who offer constant witness of their friendship for and understanding of Mexico.

You return today to assume your tasks in the great Nation you represent, and we are sure that you will be mesengers of our warm esteem.

I raise my glass with the hope that the words of Juarez, "between individuals, as between nations, respect for the rights of others is peace," and the words of Lincoln, "a Government by the people, of the people, and for the people" may find fulfillment in the world, and I toast to the personal wellbeing of all of you, of your families and for the happiness of the great people of the United States of America.

FAREWELL STATEMENT OF MRS. JOHNSON UPON LEAVING MEXICO

(Visita a Mexico Del Sr. Presidente de Los E. U. A., Lyndon B. Johnson México, Abril 1966)

I leave with a heart full of happy memories of the visit and great admiration for the plans being made here for the future of this country.

I can never forget the great drama of the welcome by President and Mrs. Diaz Ordaz at the airport. On that drive through the city, I felt that I saw all of Mexico in the faces of the many schoolchildren, the workers, and the able leaders.

Then, before leaving today, I had a glimpse into the planning for the future of this country at Chapingo.

What it already means to Mexico was evident. For instance, before 1955 Mexico had to import a great deal of its wheat and today exports it. I am proud my country had a role in building Chapingo. One thing close to my heart is good and beautiful city planning. I found that Mexico City is a city of flowers, a city of parks. They are beautifully kept, obviously loved, and much used. Someone has wisely provided great open spaces for people to enjoy.

I was delighted with the humorous play equipment in the parks, done with great perception of what children enjoy.

I hope all of the people of Mexico will know how much happiness they have given my husband and my family with their invitation to visit. We will remember it always.

JOINT STATEMENT OF PRESIDENT GUSTAVO DIAZ ORDAZ AND PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz and President Lyndon B. Johnson were greatly pleased that the occasion of the unveiling of a statue of Abraham Lincoln provided an opportunity to renew their cordial personal relationship and to resume their informal conversations begun during their meeting in November 1964.

The two Chiefs of State, conscious of the significance of the principles for which Benito Juarez and Abraham Lincoln both fought, have reiterated in their respective nations their adherence to freedom, human dignity, and a mutual respect among peoples. These principles are the basis of democratic life. The Presidents expressed their conviction that these also constitute the foundation of the firm friendship between Mexico and the United States. The two Presidents recognized with pleasure the high level of understanding reached in the relations between their two countries in recent years.

President Diaz Ordaz reaffirmed to President Johnson the principles of the foreign policy of Mexico, in relation with the other American Republics, which, in addition to the fundamental principles of self-determination, nonintervention, and peaceful solution of controversies, include the need for maintaining constantly the open doors to dialog. President Johnson reviewed with President Diaz Ordaz a number of problems of worldwide importance, and reaffirmed the commitment of the United States to the same fundamental principles, as well as its commitment to a continuing search for peace throughout the world.

The two heads of state reiterated the general opinion expressed in previous meetings of the Presidents of Mexico and the United States that it is in the interest of both countries to seek to maintain the access which each has to the markets of the other and to broaden these wherever possible. The Joint Trade Committee established in 1965 was discussed by both Presidents as a major step forward in expanding the already large area of mutual interests which exist between the two countries in matters of commercial interchange.

Specific problems involving border trade between the two countries were mentioned by President Diaz Ordaz. The two Presidents agreed that their two Governments should study these problems with the aim of determining what measure could be taken to expand legitimate border trade in goods produced in both countries to the benefit of the border region.

The two Presidents discussed their deep concern regarding the international market for cotton, which is the leading Mexican export product and is also of great interest to the United States and to other Western Hemisphere countries. The Presidents agreed that their two Governments should consult with each other and with other interested governments on the problems of production and marketing of cotton. Regarding the International Cotton Institute, created for the purpose of promoting the increase in cotton consumption, both heads of state expressed their determination to continue the support of their Governments for the greater success of its mission.

President Diaz Ordaz reaffirmed his intention to continue the policy of promoting the economic development of Mexico at a rate substantally greater than the population increase, within a framework of monetary stability, which is so important in protecting the real income of the majority of the people. The two Presidents noted with satisfaction the increasing rate of economic and social progress in the hemisphere as a whole during the past 2 years and expressed their determination to continue their mutual cooperation to achieve the objectives of the Act of Bogotá of 1960, the Charter of Punta del Este of 1961, and the Economic and Social Act of Rio de Janeiro of 1965.

The two Presidents were in agreement that the supervised agricultural credit program under the Alliance for Progress has proved an excellent example of the cooperation between the public and private banking institutions of both countries in carrying out the objectives of the Act of Bogotá and the Charter of Punta del Este, as already mentioned, contributing effectively to the expansion of agricultural productivity and the modernization of rural life.

The two Presidents expressed their determination to improve the relations between the frontier cities of both countries, and to elevate the life of those who live in the border region. They agreed to create a commission which would study the manner in which these objectives could be realized by cooperative action to raise the standard of living of the respective communities, from a social and cultural as well as a material point of view.

The two Presidents expressed their determination to create an Abraham Lincoln Fund in Mexico and a Benito Juarez Fund in the United States in order to grant scholarships to the youth of the hemisphere who might be selected by a joint commission in order to continue their studies in institutions of higher learning of both countries.

The two Presidents agreed on the need to support the efforts for Latin American economic integration. President Diaz Ordaz expressed his satisfaction with the recent initiative of President Johnson in suggesting the creation of a special fund for the financing of preinvestment studies of multinational projects in support of regional integration. Both Presidents expressed their satisfaction that this work is moving forward under the leadership of the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress (CLAP) with the active participation of the Inter-American Development Bank. They also noted with satisfaction the progress being made toward integration through the work of the Latin American Free Trade Association and the Central American Common Market.

The two Presidents were pleased to note the progress achieved in the acquisition of lands, the transfer of residents and the construction of installations provided for in the convention for the solution of the Chamizal problem. They agreed to instruct the members of the International Boundary and Water Commission tc intensify their efforts to bring about the change in the boundary as soon as possible.

The two Presidents expressed their satisfaction at the manner in which the agreement reached on March 22, 1965, regarding the problem of the salinity of the waters of the Colorado River, is operating. They were in agreement regarding the need for mutual consultation before proceeding to carrying out works which in the future might create problems of a nature similar to that mentioned previously.

The two Presidents agreed on the importance for their countries of the study which, under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency, is being carried out to determine the technical and economic possibilities of installing, at some point in Mexico near the U.S. border, a plant to desalinate sea water through the use of nuclear energy.

Finally, the two Presidents requested their respective Foreign Secretaries to continue their discussion of matters of common interest. President Diaz Ordaz expressed to President Johnson the deep gratitude of the Mexican people to the American people for the gift of the statue of Abraham Lincoln and reaffirmed that he considered it a most friendly act that the Chief of State of the United States should have desired to come in person to associate himself with the homage rendered to the Great Emancipator. President Johnson expressed his appreciation for the extraordinarily generous and friendly reception by the Mexican Government and people.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S VISIT TO MEXICO—PRESIDENT DIAZ ORDAZ' WELCOMING SPEECH, MEXICO CITY AIRPORT, APRIL 14, 1966

Your Excellency Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson, Miss Johnson, distinguished visitors, this visit is initiated under the best of signs: that of the generous soul of Abraham Lincoln.

We Mexicans have a special admiration for him and we pay our respects to the liberator of the slaves, as one of the greatest, the purest and most universal symbols of man's unending struggle for liberty. But in addition we have a deep and unbounded affection for this figure who sometimes appears almost our own because he, as the great men of our history, had a humble origin and the most humble were the object of his greatest labor.

Because of this Don Miguel Hidalgo, the father of our independence, in one of his first acts abolished slavery on December 6, 1810, in the already beautiful city of Guadalajara.

Because of this the great Morelos, with his genius, with his words, and with his actions, confirmed the liberty of the men of America and smashed the barrier that had been erected between men because of the color of their skin.

Because of this Benito Juarez, along with Abraham Lincoln, faced the gravest problems in order to preserve the integrity, the unity, and the independence of their respective countries, and chose law as the supreme shield to defend man.

Because of this Madero and Carranza chose liberty and the constitution as the modern symbols of our people, who today receive such illustrious guests. But moreover because of this the Mexican people will never forget, even in the midst of their most emotional gratitude, who it was who once extended his hand with unselfishness and affection. We cherish his memory and we render perennial homage to Abraham Lincoln who in Washington raised his voice in favor of Mexico and against intervention.

How many points in common can easily be found, and we can find hundreds if we look for them, among the noble ideals of the railsplitter from Kentucky and the pages of history of the Mexican nation.

For this reason it has been so easy and spontaneous this afternoon, in which we commemorate the 101st anniversary of the ominous sacrifice of the liberator of the slaves, that we bring together in this place, the capital of our country, the sentiments of a homage to Lincoln of two peoples, of our two peoples, of these two peoples joined geographically, and who over a period of time became friends.

With the passage of time we have had problems, large and small, intranscendent and grave. We know them well. But we also know that we cannot turn back the pages of history nor should we pass through life lamenting with rancor the events of the past.

We can, we should, and we want to bring about those honorable efforts which are required to leave to our children and the children of our children a future clear of distrust and suspicions founded on a real and loyal friendship, and because of that, perpetual. But this friendship will not flourish unless it is between freemen who know how to respect one another.

Your Excellency, the President of the United States, Her Excellency Mrs. Johnson, Her Excellency Senorita Johnson, and those in their party, on extending to you in the name of the people and the Government of Mexico the most cordial of welcomes and in expressing to you our desire that your stay, in spite of its brevity, will be enjoyable, I would like to invoke the figures of Lincoln and of Juarez, of honest Abraham and the immaculate Indian of Guelatao that they might continue to inspire and serve as examples to our peoples, that they might realize this friendship, loyal, true, and durable and reach these goals that appear so simple, that are so easy to enunciate, but we know are so difficult to achieve: material well-being for all, justice without distinction, liberty for all men, independence and sovereignty for all nations, peace for all mankind.

Your Excellency Señor President: In the name of the people and the Government, and in a very special form in the name of Mrs. Diaz Ordaz, and of our children, we cordially open our arms of Mexican hospitality to you and your distinguished family.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Apr. 15, 1966]

THE EXAMPLE OF MEXICO

Sensitivities in relations between the United States and the other lands of the American hemisphere are almost inevitable. Living close to a giant carries with it special problems—for giant and neighbor alike. Cannot we therefore be grateful that, despite such problems, the United States' best neighbors in the hemisphere are in fact those right on its doorstep, Canada to the north and Mexico to the south?

The secret, of course, is that each of these neighbors is sufficiently sure of itself not to have to spend sleepless nights worrying about being gobbled up by the giant next door. And the giant next door is wise enough not to throw his weight about in a way likely to outrage or affront the neighbors on the other side of his fence.

The ease and the casualness with which President Johnson has been able to decide, more or less at the last minute, to visit Mexico City for the unveiling of a statue of Abraham Lincoln are perhaps the best proof of how far Americans and Mexicans have come in living easily alongside each other. And as we indicated above, it is Mexican self-assurance as much as anything that makes this possible.

To what can this self-assurance be attributed? First, Mexicans have gone further than any other Spanish-speaking people south of the Rio Grande to blend their Latin lineage with their indigenous American inheritance to give themselves a natural and distinctive national identity. They are themselves—and they are not trying to be somebody else. Second, the revolution—still a needed prerequisite for the health and vigor of most Latin-American countries—got under way in Mexico nearly half a century ago and made enough headway to avoid subsequent perversion by doctrines sponsored from Moscow, Peking, or other alien covens. (This, of course, is why the Mexicans have felt there was no harm in maintaining diplomatic relations with Castro's Cuba.)

There is still poverty in Mexico. The movement of immigrant workers northward into the United States attests to that. But there is now a Mexican middle class with a conscience that bridges the gap between the wealthy few (who monopolize power and privilege elsewhere in Latin America) and the still needy many—such outsiders saw in Buñuel's remarkable "Los Olvidados."

President Johnson will take with him to Mexico City the good wishes of all Mexico's northern neighbors. The more alert of them know that the well-being of the entire continent will be furthered by the continued progress of the Mexican revolution along its well-chartered course.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I wonder if the majority leader will indulge me a postscript to his remarks.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes, indeed. I am delighted to do so.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, what I esteemed to be one of the most impressive things about the visit of the delegation to Mexico in company with the President and his lady was the impressive reception accorded to the majority leader of the U.S. Senate, the Honorable MIKE MANSFIELD, the Senator from Montana.

He has friends everywhere in Mexico, and it warmed the cockles of my heart and was thoroughly delightful to see the officialdom in the Chamber of Deputies, in what corresponds to our Senate, and in the executive branch, the President of Mexico himself, and the people in all walks of life, including many businessmen, who came up and so cordially embraced, as is the Latin custom, the distinguished majority leader of this body.

I cannot think of anything that gave me more real delight than to know the love and affection which they bear for our majority leader.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Senator is more than kind, and I deeply appreciate his remarks.

Mr. AIKEN. I merely wish to add to what has been said about the President's trip to Mexico City last Thursday, Friday, and Saturday on behalf of those who went with us.

The reception which was given to President Johnson on Thursday night was one of the most remarkable demonstrations of affection of the people of one nation for the people of another nation that has ever occurred anywhere. The hospitality which was shown the President's party there was unbounded. It gives us a sort of inferiority complex, because we cannot show our hospitality to the extent which our neighbors below the Rio Grande did.

I participated in the various functions which took place; and, for my part, they included a visit to the agricultural college, some 30 miles out of Mexico City, and visits to other points. I could not help thinking that if we could develop relations with other parts of the world, other countries, to the extent we have with Mexico and with our Canadian friends, who will be here next month, what a change it would make in our international relations.

I want to add my thank you to the officials of the Mexican Government and the Mexican people and to the director of the experiment station, as well as the personnel of the colleges, who did everything within their power to make us feel wanted. I do not know that I can add any more. I know I cannot add any more to what has been said by others who were on this trip.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I should like to echo the words of the distinguished Senator from Illinois with respect to the high esteem in which our majority leader is held in Mexico. I have traveled to Mexico with him on many occasions when he has spoken to the Mexican people, and his name is a name of great renown in that country.

I wish to say also that I was on the parade route behind the President, and was able to witness the reaction of the Mexican citizenry, and it moved me very much indeed to see many of the citizens along the route as we passed take their hats off to the President of the United States. It was evidence of the sincere cordiality, of the reception which they wished to extend to the head of our country. The warmth of their reception was tremendous. Lady Bird took Mexico by storm. She was received well everywhere. The people of Mexico will long continue to talk about this historic visit, which had an impact not only upon the citizens of Mexico, but upon all the citizens of Latin America.

Mr. President, the President's visit will be productive for many years to come. It renewed the fervor which the Latin American people feel for the good-neighbor policy which was started under Franklin Delano Roosevelt. I believe that we are launching a new era of public relations because of what President Johnson did in visiting this great country, this friend of ours—the Republic of Mexico.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

REPORT OF PROCUREMENT RECEIPTS FOR MEDICAL STOCKPILE OF CIVIL DEFENSE EMERGENCY SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT PURPOSES

A letter from the Acting Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, reporting, pursuant to law, on the actual procurement receipts for medical stockpile of civil defense emergency supplies and equipment purposes, for the quarter ended March 31, 1966; to the Committee on Armed Services.

LATE CLOSING HOURS FOR THE CAPITOL BUILDING

A letter from the President, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, relating to late closing hours for the Capitol Building, and a request that 10 Metropolitan Police be detailed to the Capitol in connection with this program; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Report on Economic Development of Territory of Guam, Part 3

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on economic development of the territory of Guam, part 3, dated February 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Disposition of Funds Appropriated in Favor of Chickasaw Nation of Indians

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay a judgment in favor of the Chickasaw Nation of Indians, and for other purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Disposition of Funds Appropriated in Favor of Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay a judgment in favor of the Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma in docket No. 303 of the Indian Claims Commission, and for other purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Reports on Petitions According Third Preference and Sixth Preference Classification to Certain Aliens

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, reports concerning visa petitions according the beneficiaries of such petitions third preference and sixth preference classification (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Report of Librarian of Congress

A letter from the Librarian of Congress, transmitting, pursuant to law, his report, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1965 (with accompanying documents); to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Amendment of Appropriations for Atomic Energy Commission

A letter from the Acting Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D.C., transmitting a proposed amendment of the authorization for fiscal year 1967 appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission (with accompanying paper); to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore:

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Idaho; to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

"Senate Joint Memorial 2 of the Legislature of the State of Idaho

"Joint memorial to the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled

"We, your memorialists, the Senate and House of Representatives of the sovereign State of Idaho, hereby respectfully affirm that:

"Whereas our forefathers, with great wisdom and foresight, drew a world renowned document entitled the Constitution of the United States of America; and

"Whereas this document has withstood the onslaught of centuries; and

"Whereas it is therein provided that the President of these United States shall conduct the foreign affairs of this great Nation; and

"Whereas the Presidency of the United States embodies and holds the respect of the legitimate authority of the people of the United States: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the 3d extraordinary session of the 38th session of the Legislature of the State of Idaho now in session (the senate and house of representatives concurring), That we most respectfully urge the Congress of the United States to recognize the confidence we hold in the constitutional authority vested in the Presidency of the United States to conduct the foreign affairs of this great Nation, and we do hereby support and endorse the policies of the Presidency in the Vietnam conflict; be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of state of the State of Idaho be, and he is hereby authorized and directed to forward certified copies of this memorial to the President and the Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress, and the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Alaska; to the Committee on Finance:

"H.J. Res. 80

"Joint resolution relating to social security payments to the senior citizens of Alaska

"Be it resolved by the Legislature of the State of Alaska:

"Whereas Federal civil service employees in Alaska are allowed a 25 percent differential in pay to compensate for the high living costs in Alaska; and

"Whereas senior Alaskan citizens receiving social security payments are not allowed a differential in their payments; and

"Whereas the average overall cost of living in Alaska is more than 25 percent higher than the cost of living in the contiguous 48 States; and

"Whereas the high cost of living in Alaska compels many senior Alaskan citizens to leave Alaska and move to other States where the living costs are less expensive and more in conformity with their social security income: Be it

"Resolved, That the Congress of the United States is requested to enact legislation which would permit the 25-percent differential currently used in the Federal civil service pay scale to be incorporated into the benefit payment scale of social security for Alaskan citizens.

"Copies of this resolution shall be sent to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States; the Honorable Carl Hayden, President pro tempore of the Senate; the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House; the Honorable John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; the Honorable Robert M. Ball, Commissioner of Social Security Administration; and to the Honorable E. L. Bartlett and the Honorable Ernest Gruening, U.S. Senators, and the Honorable Ralph J. Rivers, U.S. Representative, members of the Alaska delegation in Congress."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Public Works:

"S.J. Res. 3

"Resolution relating to the Garcia River Delta

"Whereas the January 1966 storms did extensive damage to the valuable farmlands of the Garcia River Delta due to situation and erosion; and

"Whereas said damage is beyond the resources of the landowners to correct and restore: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California (jointly), That the Congress of the United States and the United States Army Corps of Engineers are respectfully urged to take such steps as may be necessary to assist the property owners of the Garcia River Delta in correcting the conditions causing this damage and in restoring the affected land to productive use; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate is directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States and to the Chief of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers."

A resolution of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

"Resolution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Memorializing the Congress of the United States To Repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act

"Whereas in order to end the competitive disadvantages of Massachusetts industry with right-to-work States: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts hereby urges the Congress of the United States to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act; and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of the Congress, and to each member thereof from the Commonwealth.

"House of representatives, adopted, April 5, 1966.

"William C. Maiers,
"Clerk.

"Senate, adopted in concurrence, April 11, 1966.

"Thomas A. Chadwick,
"Clerk.

"Attest:

"Kevin H. White,
"Secretary of the Commonwealth."

A bill (No. 251) enacted by the Legislature of the State of Arizona; to the Committee on the Judiciary:

"Chapter 77, Senate Bill 251 of the State of Arizona

"An act relating to the common boundary between the States of Arizona and California, and ratifying an interstate compact between Arizona and California

"Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Arizona:

"Section 1. Ratification.—The interstate compact executed between the States of Arizona and California, as set forth in section 2 of this act, fixing the location of the boundary line between the two States from the southern boundary of the State of Nevada to the point on the international boundary which is common to the boundaries of Arizona and California, and the United Mexican States, is hereby ratified and approved.

"Sec. 2. Text of Compact.—The provisions of the interstate compact between the States of Arizona and California referred to in section 1 are as follows:

" 'Interstate compact defining the boundary between the states of Arizona and California

" 'Article 1. Purpose

" 'The boundary between the States of Arizona and California on the Colorado River has become indefinite and uncertain because of meanderings in the main channel of the Colorado River with the result that a state of confusion exists as to the true and correct location of the boundary and the enforcement and administration of the laws of the two States and of the United States have been rendered difficult.

" 'The purpose of this compact is to fix by reference to stations of longitude and latitude the location of the boundary line between Arizona and California on the Colorado River from the southern boundary of the State of Nevada to the point on the international boundary which is common to the boundaries of Arizona and California and the United Mexican States.

" '*Article 2. Description*

" 'The boundary between the States of Arizona and California on the Colorado River from the point where the oblique boundary between California and Nevada intersects the 35th degree of north latitude, said point being common to the boundaries of the States of Arizona, California, and Nevada, to the point on the international boundary which is common to the boundaries of Arizona, California, and the United Mexican States, shall be in accordance with the following description in general terms of 34 points on the boundary:

" 'General Description of Boundary Between Arizona and California

" 'Point No. 1: The intersection of the boundary line common to California and Nevada and the centerline of the channel of the Colorado River as constructed by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, said point being common to the boundaries of Arizona, California, and Nevada, where the 35th degree of north latitude intersects the centerline of said channel; thence downstream along and with the centerline of said channel to the southerly end of said construction to

" 'Point No. 2, which is located in the center of the channel of the Colorado River approximately one-half mile northerly from the A.T. & S.F. Railway Bridge at Topock; thence downstream on a straight line to

" 'Point No. 3, which lies in the Colorado River vertically below the centerline of the A.T. & S.F. Railway tracks at a point midway face-to-face of abutments of the A.T. & S.F. Railway bridge at Topock, Ariz.; thence on a straight line downstream to

" 'Point No. 4, which lies in the Colorado River vertically below the centerline of U.S. Highway 66 at a point where said centerline intersects the center of the center pier of the highway bridge; thence on a straight line to

" 'Point No. 5, which lies in the Colorado River vertically below the center of the span of the gas line bridge owned by the El Paso Natural Gas Co. and the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., crossing the Colorado River at Topock, Ariz.; then downstream in a southerly direction through Havasu Lake along a line midway between the right and left shore lines of said lake as they exist at mean operating level (elevation 448.00 above mean sea level), as controlled at Parker Dam to

" 'Point No. 6, which is the center of the overflow section of Parker Dam across the Colorado River; thence downstream midway between the shore lines on the right and left banks of the Colorado River to

" 'Point No. 7, which lies in the center of the Colorado River approximately 2,050 feet upstream from the earth fill of Headgate Rock Dam; thence on a straight line to

" 'Point No. 8, which is the center of the earth fill of Headgate Rock Dam; thence on a straight line to

" 'Point No. 9, which lies on the centerline of the river approximately 3,625 feet westerly from Point No. 8; thence on a straight line to

" 'Point No. 10, which lies in the center of the Colorado River at a point where the parallel of 34° 10' north latitude intersects said centerline; then on a straight line to

" 'Point No. 11, which lies in the Colorado River vertically below the centerline of Arizona Highway No. 72 midway between the abutments of the highway bridge; thence down the Colorado River midway between the right and left shore lines across islands which may exist between those water lines to

" 'Point No. 12, which is at the center of the earth fill section of the Palo Verde Diversion Dam; thence down the Colorado River midway between the shore lines on the right and left banks to

" 'Point No. 13, which is vertically below the center of the centerspan of the highway bridge across the Colorado River at Ehrenberg, Ariz. (U.S. Highway 60–70); thence down the Colorado River midway between the shore lines on the right and left banks to

" 'Point No. 14, which is the center of the Cibola Bridge midway between abutments; thence down the Colorado River midway between the shore lines on the right and left banks, ignoring future channelization by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation to

" 'Point No. 15, which lies on the centerline of the Colorado River approximately 8,400 feet northward of the center of the overflow section of Imperial Dam; thence on a straight line to

" 'Point No. 16, which is the center of the overflow section of Imperial Dam; thence on a straight line normal to the longitudinal axis of Imperial Dam to

" 'Point No. 17, which lies at the intersection of the last described line with a line extending northeasterly from the center of the overflow section of Laguna Dam and normal to the longitudinal axis of the said Laguna Dam; thence southeasterly on a straight line to

" 'Point No. 18, which is at the center of the overflow section of Laguna Dam; thence on a straight line to

" 'Point No. 19, which lies on the centerline of the Colorado River approximately 5,800 feet southwesterly of point 18; thence down the Colorado River midway between the shore lines on the right and left banks, around a curve to the eastward to

" 'Point No. 20, which lies on the centerline of the Colorado River where said centerline intersects the section line between Sections 4 and 9, Township 8 South, Range 22 West, Gila and Salt River meridian; thence departing from the river on a westerly course along the extension of the above-mentioned section line about 0.65 mile to

" 'Point No. 21, which will be the northwest corner of the northeast quarter of Section 8, Township 8 South, Range 22 West, Gila and Salt River Meridian, which shall be resurveyed in establishing this boundary; thence southerly along the centerline of said Section 8 about one-half mile to

" 'Point No. 22, which is the northeast corner of the southwest quarter of Section 8, Township 8 South, Range 22 West, Gila and Salt River Meridian; thence westerly about one and one-half miles to

" 'Point No. 23, which is the west quarter corner of Section 7, Township 8 South, Range 22 West, Gila and Salt River Meridian; thence southerly about one-half mile to

" 'Point No. 24, which is the southwest corner of Section 7, Township 8 South, Range 22 West, Gila and Salt River Meridian; thence westerly about one mile to

" 'Point No. 25, which is the southwest corner of Section 12, Township 8 South, Range 23 West, Gila and Salt River Meridian; thence southerly about one-half mile to

" 'Point No. 26, which is the west quarter corner of Section 13, Township 8 South, Range 23 West, Gila and Salt River Meridian; thence westerly about 1.93 miles to

" 'Point No. 27, which lies on the east shoulder of the north-south road through the Indian School approximately 370 feet due east of the northwest corner of the southwest quarter of the southwest quarter of Section 25, Township 16 South, Range 22 East, San Bernardino Meridian; thence southerly along and with the easterly shoulder line of the said north-south road approximately 700 feet to

" 'Point No. 28, which lies on the easterly shoulder line of said north-south road due east of the northeast corner of the stone retaining wall around the Indian School Hospital; thence due west to

" 'Point No. 29, which is the base of the northeast corner of said retaining wall; thence southerly along and with the westerly shoulder of said north-south road to

" 'Point No. 30, which lies on the westerly shoulder line of said north-south road 330 feet south of and approximately 110 feet east of the northeast corner of Section 35, Township 16 South, Range 22 East, San Bernardino Meridian; thence due west approximately 110 feet to

" 'Point No. 31, which lies on the east line of Section 35, Township 16 South, Range 22 East, San Bernardino Meridian, exactly 330 feet south of the northeast corner of said Section 35; thence southerly along the east line of said Section 35 to

" 'Point No. 32, which lies at the center of the Colorado River, i.e., midway between the north and south shore lines just downstream from the centerline of the old U.S. Highway 80 bridge across the Colorado River; midway between the shore lines on the right and left banks to

" 'Point No. 33, which is a point in the Colorado River vertically below the center of the new U.S. Highway 80 bridge; thence down the centerline of the Colorado River midway between the shore lines on the right and left banks to

" 'Point No. 34, which is the intersection of the centerline of the Colorado River and the International Boundary Line between California and the United Mexican States, which point is common to the boundaries of Arizona, the United Mexican States, and California.

" 'These points will be marked on existing bridges and dams and where appropriate will be monumented. Between each of these points will be a number of subpoints not monumented. The total number of points and subpoints will be approximate 234. The U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey will locate the above-mentioned 34 points on the boundary by precise geodetic surveys. The Coast and Geodetic Survey will locate the remaining approximately 200 unmonumented subpoints by precise photogrammetric methods and will provide a list of the geographic positions and State coordinate positions (transverse Mercator system for Arizona and Lambert system for California) of each of the 234 points on the boundary. The approximately 200 unmonumented subpoints will be identified on copies of the aerial photographs by the States of Arizona and California to define the boundary; the Coast and Geodetic Survey will then locate the points so identified by analytic aerotriangulation (photogrammetric methods).

" 'When the survey and boundary description has been completed by the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and the Boundary Commissions of Arizona and California have each certified that it is in conformity with the general description of boundary between Arizona and California set forth herein, it shall be attached hereto and marked "Exhibit A" and made a part hereof as though fully incorporated herein as the permanent description of the boundary between the States of Arizona and California.

" '*Article 3. Ratification and effective date*

" 'This compact shall become operative when it has been ratified and approved by the Legislatures of the States of Arizona and California, and approved by the Congress of the United States.

"'Executed in duplicate this 12th day of March, A.D. 1963, at Sacramento, Calif.

"'For the State of Arizona:

"'WAYNE M. AKIN,
"'*Chairman of the Arizona Interstate Stream Commission, Chairman.*
"'ROBERT W. PICKRELL,
"'*Attorney General, Member.*
"'OBED M. LASSEN,
"'*State Land Commissioner, Member.*

"'Attested:

"'HOWARD F. THOMPSON,
"'*Executive Secretary, Colorado River Boundary Commission of Arizona.*

"'For the State of California:

"'F. J. HORTIG,
"'*Executive Officer, State Lands Commission, Chairman.*
"'STANLEY MOSK,
"'*Attorney General, Member.*
"'WILLIAM E. WARNE,
"'*Director, Department of Water Resources, Member.*

"'Attested:

"'BERRIEN E. MOORE,
"'*Executive Secretary, Colorado River Boundary, Commission of California.*'

"SEC. 3. PROCLAMATION BY GOVERNOR.—The secretary of state of the State of Arizona shall transmit a duly certified copy of this act to the Governor of the State of California. The Governor of this State, whenever officially advised that the State of California has ratified and approved the compact set forth in section 2 and whenever the Congress of the United States has approved the compact, shall make proclamation of that fact. A copy of such proclamation shall be published one time in one newspaper of general circulation in the county seat of Mohave and Yuma Counties.

"SEC. 4. PETITION TO CONGRESS.—The Congress of the United States, as soon as the State of California has ratified and approved the compact set forth in section 2 and when exhibit A has been attached thereto as provided for in the compact, is petitioned, pursuant to article I, section 10, clause 3 of the U.S. Constitution, to give its consent to the compact between the States of Arizona and California, as set forth in section 2. The secretary of state of the State of Arizona, in concurrence with the secretary of state of the State of California, shall transmit duly certified copies of this act to the presiding officers of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States and to the several Senators and Representatives from the States of Arizona and California to the Congress of the United States, who are petitioned to take such action as they deem proper to procure the consent of the Congress of the United States to this compact between the States of Arizona and California.

"SEC. 5. PRESERVATION OF RIGHTS.—Nothing contained in the provisions of this act, or any operation thereof, shall prejudice the titles, rights, or claims of any person, public or private, natural or artificial, to any of the lands herein involved, whether such titles, rights or claims arise or exist upon the basis that the lands affected by the designation of boundary as set forth in the compact and in this act were previously a part of the State of Arizona and have now become a part of the State of California, or were previously a part of the State of California and have now become a part of the State of Arizona, or otherwise; and no person shall be prejudiced in the water rights which he now has by reason of anything contained in this act.

"SEC. 6. RECORDATION OF DOCUMENTS.—Upon approval by the Congress of the United States of the compact set forth in section 2 of this act, the secretary of state shall cause to be recorded in each of the offices of the county recorders of Mohave and Yuma Counties a certified copy of this act. As to lands theretofore considered a part of the State of California, which, under the terms of the compact, are within the boundaries of the State of Arizona, from and after the date of such recording, certified copies of patents, deeds, and other instruments affecting the title to the lands which shall have been recorded in the office of the county recorder of the county of California in which the lands were so considered to be located shall be accepted and recorded by the county recorder of the county in Arizona in which the lands are located under the terms of the compact, without charge therefor. Recordings made under the provisions of this section shall have retroactive effect as constructive notice to the date of their original recording in the State of California.

"A true and complete copy of the compact with exhibit A attached thereto shall be filed for a permanent public record in the office of the secretary of state by the Colorado River Boundary Commission of Arizona and thereupon the secretary of state shall cause to be recorded in each of the offices of the county recorders of Mohave and Yuma Counties true copies thereof certified by him. Upon recordation thereof, such certified copy shall be notice to all persons of the particulars of the compact and survey and boundary description.

"SEC. 7. EMERGENCY.—To preserve the public peace, health, and safety it is necessary that this act become immediately operative. It is therefore declared to be an emergency measure, to take effect as provided by law.

"Approved by the Governor, April 2, 1963.

"Filed in the office of the secretary of state, April 2, 1963."

A letter from the Attorney General of the State of California, transmitting a copy of the California-Arizona boundary compact; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Resolutions adopted by the Robert L. Graham Barracks, No. 1158, Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A., Inc., relating to the war in Vietnam, and so forth; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. RUSSELL of South Carolina:

S. 3235. A bill for the relief of Dr. Edward J. H. Nathaniel, his wife, Dr. Doris R. W. Nathaniel, and their children, Ranjit E. J. Nathaniel and Virgil E. C. Nathaniel; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CLARK:

S. 3236. A bill for the relief of Antonio Faenza; and

S. 3237. A bill for the relief of Felipe Chiesai; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DODD (for himself and Mr. RIBICOFF):

S. 3238. A bill for the relief of Miss Matsue Sato; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LAUSCHE:

S. 3239. A bill to amend section 1106 of the Social Security Act so as to provide for the disclosure of information, under certain circumstances and under prescribed conditions, regarding the whereabouts of the parent of a child who is (or, except for public welfare assistance, would be) in destitute or necessitous circumstances; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. LAUSCHE when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. TYDINGS (for himself and Mr. BREWSTER):

S. 3240. A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act so as to provide for a study and investigation of estuaries and estuarine zones of the United States; to the Committee on Public Works.

(See the remarks of Mr. TYDINGS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. SMATHERS:

S. 3241. A bill for the relief of Dr. Pablo A. Suarez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 3242. A bill to amend section 312 of title 38, United States Code, to provide that poliomyelitis developing a 10-percent degree of disability within 1 year from the date of discharge of any veteran shall be held and considered to be service connected; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. EASTLAND:

S. 3243. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, to make provision for necessary travel controls; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CARLSON:

S. 3244. A bill for the relief of Dr. Mohamed Taher Ahmed Fouad; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BASS:

S. 3245. A bill for the relief of Wing Wong; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

RESOLUTIONS

CREATION OF A SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO STUDY DECORATION OF SENATE SUBWAY WITH MURALS

Mr. MOSS (for himself, Mr. ALLOTT, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. BAYH, Mr. CARLSON, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. FANNIN, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. LAUSCHE, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. METCALF, Mr. MONTOYA, Mr. MUNDT, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. PEARSON, Mr. PROUTY, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. SMATHERS, Mr. TOWER, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota, and Mr. MILLER) submitted a resolution (S. Res. 249) to create a special committee to study advisability of decorating Senate subway with murals depicting historical events and figures of various States, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. Moss, which appears under a separate heading.)

REQUESTING CERTAIN INFORMATION FROM THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

Mr. CHURCH (for himself, Mr. BIBLE, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MCGEE, Mr. MONDALE, Mr. MUSKIE, Mr. GRUENING, and Mr. METCALF) submitted a resolution (S. Res. 250) requesting certain information from the National Science Foundation, which was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the above resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. CHURCH, which appears under a separate heading.)

AMENDMENT OF SECTION 1106 OF SOCIAL SECURITY ACT RELATING TO DISCLOSURE IN CERTAIN DESERTION CASES

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, last year, during the course of the Senate debate on H.R. 6675, the Social Security Amendments of 1965, I submitted a floor amendment which provided for the mandatory disclosure by the Department of

Health, Education, and Welfare of the last known address of a deserting father to a State welfare agency or a court of competent jurisdiction. The disclosure was to be limited to support cases involving a deserted wife or child under the age of 16.

My amendment was designed to put into the law what had been left to the administrative discretion of the Secretary, as well as to expedite the obtaining of the desired information and make it more readily available to the requesting agency.

The Senate accepted my amendment but when H.R. 6675 was considered in conference, the conferees modified it considerably. Under the conference substitute, which is now the law, not only is information limited to a State welfare agency, but the request must be accompanied by a certified copy of a court order for support and maintenance.

This requirement results in a situation contrary to the intent of my original amendment. I introduced my measure to speed up information and make it more available. The conference substitute has made the conditions for disclosure more restrictive, and information previously obtainable by State welfare agencies is no longer available to them unless they have a certified copy of a court order.

This situation has caused particular difficulty to State officials responsible for attempting to contact and to elicit support payments from deserting parents.

The number of children and families involved supports the necessity for these welfare agencies to receive information concerning the whereabouts of a father who has deserted his children. For example, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare estimates that during December 1965, 700,000 children had been deserted by fathers obviously irresponsible and insensible to their duties. This represents about 225,000 families, but does not include families who are able to take care of themselves without Federal aid. The total monthly cost to the Federal, State, and local governments for care of these unfortunate children approached $25 million.

While I am fully aware of the need to keep information furnished social security strictly confidential and agree that any unauthorized disclosure of this information should be dealt with accordingly, I feel that equally important is the need of providing our Nation's children with proper care and support, particularly those children whose derelict parents have abandoned them. We should strive to see that this irresponsible element of our society is made to share in the financial support and care of their own children. One of the ways to accomplish this is for welfare agencies to ascertain the whereabouts of such individuals.

I am, therefore, introducing a bill which will rectify an unnecessary restriction added by the conference substitute. My proposal, while maintaining the essential features of present law, eliminates in particular the provision which requires that the deserting parent be under a court order for support and that a certified copy of the order be furnished by the welfare agency. This new measure will go a long way in accomplishing the objective originally contained in my first amendment which the Senate accepted.

I send the bill to the desk and ask that it be appropriately referred.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONDALE in the chair). The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3239) to amend section 1106 of the Social Security Act so as to provide for the disclosure of information, under certain circumstances and under prescribed conditions, regarding the whereabouts of the parent of a child who is (or, except for public welfare assistance, would be) in destitute or necessitous circumstances, introduced by Mr. LAUSCHE, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

STUDY OF POLLUTION OF TIDAL ESTUARIES AND ESTUARINE ZONES OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I send to the desk, for appropriate reference, a bill which I believe will have a substantial and long-range effect on the lives of all Americans. The bill would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to initiate a 3-year, $3 million comprehensive study of pollution in the tidal estuaries and their immediately adjacent land areas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3240) to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act so as to provide for a study and investigation of estuaries and estuarine zones of the United States, introduced by Mr. TYDINGS, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Works.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, perhaps the best way to think of an estuary is to think of it as an "edge"—a border between land and sea, the boundaries of which can be neither accurately set nor defined. The word itself come from the Latin "aestuarium" which means "tidal." The American coastline, without counting all of the bays, sounds, and inland waterways, is more than 88 thousand miles long. Almost all of it can be considered adjacent to estuarine waters. There is hardly a mile of coast which is not broken by the mouth of a fresh water stream, from mighty rivers to tiny brooks.

These meeting places of land and sea, mysterious and everchanging as they are, are thought by many scientists to be the cradle of life. They are a vital part of a complex life zone that includes the vast area of the continental shelf. This edge of the sea and its estuarine waters is the place upon which most marine life depends. Here is where one finds mussels and clams, shrimp and lobsters, crabs and sea ducks. Here is where one catches most of the fish found within the waters of our country. The Bureau of Commercial Fisheries reports that at least 7 out of the 10 most valuable species of commercial fish spend important parts of their life cycle in estuarine waters. Moreover, three-fourths of the most frequently caught sport fish along the Atlantic coast are dependent upon estuarine waters. These sport fish include such well-known angling prizes as flounder, bluefish, and striped bass. I should add, Mr. President, that estuarine waters comprise the last great hope for feeding a hungry world with its exploding population. Most of the fish to be used in the newly developed fish protein concentrate process will come from the estuarine zones of our Nation.

Estuaries really have but two common characteristics. The first is change. The other is the great void of knowledge concerning their behavior. Estuaries are always in motion—battered by storms, shifted by tides and floods, and invaded by constant successions of plants and animals. The gradations from fresh to salt water, characteristic of all estuarine zones, may be almost imperceptible and the line of demarcation varies from season to season, week to week, and sometimes even hour to hour. We know little of the tidal hydraulics of estuaries—what causes the saline level to vary and what effects this variance has upon the many forms of life within the waters.

Estuarine zones are important because of the large numbers of people who reside within their boundaries. Twenty-five percent of the American population lives within 50 miles of the coast and predictions now are that within 30 years the population along the coast will double. The greatest megapolis in the world today, extending from Boston southward to Washington, is situated, of course, in an estuarine zone. The waters of these zones, besides containing most of the fish and sea life of our country, hold beneath their surfaces some of the Nation's greatest natural resources. Oil, for example, is already drilled for in the estuarine waters of the five Gulf States. Offshore drilling will assume a position of greater importance as the oil reservoirs beneath the surface of the land become gradually more depleted. The Maryland Conservationist remarks that in the not so far future, man will be mining some of the earth's most vital resources from the waters of the estuarine zones.

As Americans become more and more prosperous, they will have more and more time for recreation. As this Nation enters into what might be termed an age of affluence and leisure, our estuarine zones will become even more valuable than they are today. Sailing and swimming, hunting and fishing, hiking and camping, are all recreational activities that will take place in the estuarine zones and provide the participant with excitement and relaxation.

Thus, estuarine zones are of paramount importance to the American people. But, Mr. President, I am sad to say that we have not taken care of this precious resource of ours. In typical but not inevitable fashion, man has deposited a part of nature which has served him well and which is vital to his existence. Our estuarine zones are slowly and irrevocably being ruined. With bulldozer and dredge, pump and power shovel, man has destroyed many estuarine areas and replaced them with oil refineries, clusters of summer cottages, shopping centers, boat marinas, deepwater harbors, jet runways, and all the other hallmarks of a sophisticated, affluent society.

National totals of lost acreages in estuarine waters have never been compiled, but there is little doubt that these areas comprise some of conservation's most rapidly disappearing horizons. Ditches for mosquito control and for production of salt marsh hay along the Atlantic coast from Maine to Virginia have affected 90 percent of this region's total original acreage of tidewater marshlands. In 1959, a survey of Long Island wet lands by the New York State Conservation Department and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service revealed that 12.5 percent of high and moderate value wetland habitat areas had been destroyed since 1954. The survey also showed that 30 percent of the remaining wet lands were in danger of destruction within 5 years and an additional 39 percent of the remainder were likely to be lost within the foreseeable future.

In Maryland, Mr. President, we have a great estuary—one of the greatest and richest estuaries in the entire United States; namely, the Chesapeake Bay. Today, only one-tenth of the number of oysters are being taken from the Chesapeake Bay as were taken in 1870. This is illustrative of how man has despoiled this most precious of natural resources.

Elsewhere, of the 4,500 acres of saltmarshes still left along the Rhode Island shore, only 400 acres are now earmarked for preservation by private or public agencies. The remaining 4,100 acres are threatened by progress. These estuarine areas can be damaged beyond recall within a decade unless conscious efforts are made to preserve them as "nurseries of the sea."

And so the heavy hand of man has been applied to estuarine areas. It is usually more convenient and less expensive to pump industrial and domestic waste directly into an adjacent body of water than to dispose of it in some other way. Factories erected on or near our shores, cities built at the mouths of our great rivers, and countless thousands of resort hotels, motels, summer homes—priced for "a view of the bay"—all these find coastal marshes and tidewater flats as convenient places to get rid of garbage, industrial wastes, litter, and the rest of civilization's debris.

In other places, estuaries are either being drained or filled in so that additional factories, homes, marinas, resorts, and highways can be constructed. The resulting fills, causeways, and bridges disrupt the normal circulatory regime and create stagnant pools which are no longer true estuaries.

Finally, there is an unseen destruction. This is the silent killing of estuaries and their associated fish, plants, and animals by pollution. Marine life lives precariously close to the doorstep of doom. A slight change in the environment often spells doom. Most Americans are not aware of the great tragedy now taking place in the Chesapeake Bay where the great decline in oyster production is primarily due in part to water pollution. Most susceptible of all, however, are the young fishes, crustaceans, arthropods, and microscopic forms of life which teem in estuarine waters. In short, Mr. President, we have polluted the waters and destroyed much of the traditional areas of our estuarine zones. Such spoilage simply must stop.

But before we act to stop it, Mr. President, we must know something about these zones. Action based on insufficient knowledge is usually action later regretted and estuarine zones are far too important for the well-being of the country to have any future regrets. If we continue to affect the characteristics of our estuarine zones before we know much about these zones and the consequences of our action—as we are now already doing—we are more than likely to act unwisely.

It is, therefore, imperative that our knowledge of estuarine zones be increased. What little we do now possess is fragmented, having followed no consistent approach. A broad and thoughtful study of the entire system of estuarine zones in the country is needed. We must seek this knowledge so that the estuarine environment we leave our children is a healthy, ordered, and attractive one.

The bill I am now introducing would provide for the necessary comprehensive study. It would provide the Department of the Interior with funds totaling $3 million, to initiate and conduct a 3-year study of the estuarine zones of the United States. Obviously, we are not going to learn everything there is to know about them in only 3 years. But this time deadline represents a compromise between the far longer period needed for complete, in depth, research of the zones and the necessity of having useful and reliable information within 3 years so as to guide intelligently the actions affecting estuarine zones now taking place and about to take place in the near future.

The study, as a first step, will seek out data on the extent and nature of the estuarine zones of the United States. I am reliably informed that no such basic data now exists. How many estuarine zones do we have and how big are they are questions which must be answered. How are we polluting the estuarine zones? What effect does this pollution have on the life within and purposes of these zones? How badly are we destroying the salt marshes which act as necessary watersheds and precious havens for wildlife? Questions like these the study will answer.

The study also will explore the different areas of governmental responsibility in the zones. What roles are the State and municipal governments playing and what role ought they be playing? What is and should be the role of the Federal Government? And, what is the function of the ordinary citizen in this area of overlapping and often complex and conflicting responsibilities?

The study, moreover, Mr. President, will incorporate rather than duplicate any studies relating to estuaries now underway. The Interior Department will avail itself of the relevant expertise both inside and outside the Government to insure that the best minds in the Nation are brought into this study. For example, there is now a study being done to investigate fish and wildlife in the estuarine waters of the Gulf of Mexico. The knowledge gained there would be of real value to the more general effort this study entails.

Finally, the Interior Department will issue a comprehensive report, once the project is completed. This report will be the first, comprehensive accumulation of estuarine knowledge to ever exist. As such, it will be of enormous value to laymen and scientist alike, of this country and of others, who are concerned about this most vital of areas.

CREATION OF A SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO STUDY DECORATION OF SENATE SUBWAY WITH MURALS

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, for myself and Mr. ALLOTT, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. BAYH, Mr. CARLSON, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. FANNIN, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. LAUSCHE, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. METCALF, Mr. MONTOYA, Mr. MUNDT, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. PEARSON, Mr. PROUTY, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. SMATHERS, Mr. TOWER, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota, and Mr. MILLER, I submit a resolution to establish a nine-member special Senate committee to study the advisability of providing for the decoration of the wall space of the subway between the Capitol and the Senate Office Buildings, including terminals and the adjoining rotunda room, and the walls of the cafeterias in the New Senate Office Building, with murals depicting historical events and figures, scenic features, achievements of its citizens, and other distinctive characteristics of each State, and of entering into an agreement with the Pageant of the United States of America, a nonprofit corporation, for the preparation by such corporation, after consultation with interested persons in each State, of detailed plans for such decoration and, upon the approval of such plans by the Senate or such committee thereof as it may direct, for the preparation, at no expense to the Federal Government, of such murals as may be so approved.

The resolution provides that the committee shall report to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than March 31, 1967, and also authorizes $25,000 to pay for staff and committee expenses.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The resolution (S. Res. 249) was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

S. RES. 249

Resolved, That there is hereby established a special committee consisting of nine members of the Senate to be appointed by the

President of the Senate, one of whom shall at the time of appointment be designated as chairman of the committee. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the committee shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the committee to make a full and complete study for the purpose of determining the advisability (1) of providing for the decoration of the wall space of the subway between the Capitol and the Senate Office Buildings, including terminals and the adjoining rotunda room, and the walls of the cafeterias in the New Senate Office Building, with murals depicting historical events and figures, scenic features, achievements of its citizens, and other distinctive characteristics of each State, and (2) of entering into an agreement with the Pageant of the United States of America, a nonprofit corporation, for the preparation by such corporation after consultation with interested persons in each State of detailed plans for such decoration and, upon the approval of such plans by the Senate or such committee thereof as it may direct, for the preparation at no expense to the Federal Government, of such murals as may be so approved.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than March 31, 1967, the results of its study, together with its recommendations. Upon the filing of its report the committee shall cease to exist.

SEC. 4. The committee is authorized to employ such assistants and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable. The expenses of the committee, which shall not exceed $25,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

AIDING DEVELOPING INSTITUTIONS

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965, now Public Law 89-329, marked a tremendous stride forward for American universities and colleges, and it was with great satisfaction and pride that I supported the bill in the Senate.

Every section of the act represents the kind of progressive thinking that will enrich our future national manpower pool of skilled professional people.

Representing a State such as Idaho, geographically large but having a relatively small population, I was particularly pleased with title III of the Higher Education Act. It appeared to me to be the first sound thinking on a national scale to afford small but dedicated colleges and universities, hampered by geography and overstrained State budgets, the opportunity of moving steadily up into the mainstream of education and research. By defining the developing institution and marking it for special attention, I felt that, at long last, the young people from Idaho and other States in similar condition, would receive the same educational benefits as those from California, Michigan, or New York, and would be prepared to compete with their contemporaries in all fields of endeavor upon graduation.

Title III of the act does make an effort in this direction. But in one major area, it falls far short of actual need in that it does not focus the attention of many Federal agencies disbursing millions of dollars annually in scientific grants, on the needs of the smaller schools.

I have only to cite the 18th report by the Committee on Government Operations, in which it is stated that 100 colleges in this country today, accounted for 95 percent of all the funds granted by the National Science Foundation. Not only are these funds concentrated by number of institutions but in terms of type of institution as well. That same report states:

> All of the 54 top recipients of Federal science funds are Ph. D.-granting institutions or advanced institutes of technology. Few could be described as representing smaller universities, and none are 4-year colleges awarding just the baccalaureate degree.

I must confess that I can find no fault with the pattern of grants to the larger research universities, insofar as the National Science Foundation is concerned. The Foundation has a limited amount of money to dispense and it must use it where it feels it will accomplish the most educational and research benefit. The larger institutions are best equipped and best staffed to assure these aims. Inversely, the larger schools cannot be faulted for their efforts to seek the funds, thus improving their academic status and attracting the most qualified persons to their faculties.

But I submit, Mr. President, that such a course has grave dangers. Under such a program, the big schools get ever bigger, and the smaller schools find it increasingly difficult, if not well-nigh impossible, to improve.

What the alternatives? Do we penalize the large institutions by withdrawing this support, thereby destroying their great role in research? Of course not.

Do we increase by massive amounts, the funds to the National Science Foundation so that it may disburse funds not only to institutions of recognized capability, but also pour great sums of research money into the smaller schools? That would be pouring money down a rathole, for the smaller schools are not prepared to accept this responsibility, and they full well recognize this.

The president of our own fine university stated quite bluntly that National Science Foundation grants go to the schools that submit the best proposals for the use of those grants. Those proposals are prepared by the best men in the field at the respective schools, and they take into consideration the capability of the faculty as well as the physical equipment of the institution.

Tremendous strides have been made within the last few years by both the University of Idaho and Idaho State University. Yet both schools today would still fall within the general category of developing institutions, due to their geographical locations and their changing and improving curriculums.

It is a fact of educational life, whether we like to recognize it or not, that the best qualified researchers—the men who prepare these proposals—are not at the smaller schools for two reasons. The first is most obvious, the smaller schools cannot afford them. The second is equally valid. The exciting things in research, the chance for continued expansion of their knowledge and horizons, yes, even the opportunity for personal recognition, is encompassed in the larger institutions. In short, Mr. President, in the vernacular of our younger generation, they want to be where the action is.

Thus, under present terms, our small schools are stymied. No amount of Federal money will overnight turn the University of Idaho into a scientific research center such as the University of California. A child first creeps before it walks, walks before it runs.

What is needed is a program whereby qualified and trained men can assist the faculties of our smaller schools in preparing useful but modest research goals which can be supported by National Science Foundation grants. Once these are established, the schools have reached the next plateau and can expand upon this base, aided by continuing advice and guidance when needed and requested.

Accordingly, Mr. President, I now submit a resolution which will set a new course for the National Science Foundation and all other related agencies involved in research grant programs to educational institutions. It is similar in language to one previously introduced, but which goes beyond any simple geographical definitions, in seeking to end the inequities that now exist.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The resolution (S. Res. 250) was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, as follows:

S. RES. 250

Resolved, That the National Science Foundation is requested to formulate and transmit to the Congress at the earliest practicable date its recommendations for such changes in—

(1) the laws under which research and development funds are granted, loaned, or otherwise made available by departments or agencies of the Government to institutions of higher learning for scientific or educational purposes; or

(2) the administration of such laws;

as may be necessary and desirable to provide for a more equitable distribution of such funds to all qualifying institutions of higher learning, with special emphasis upon the developing institution of higher learning as defined in title III Public Law 89-329 (79 Stat. 1229), to avoid the concentration of such activities in any geographical area or institutional category, so as to insure a continuing reservoir of scientific and teaching skills and capacities throughout the several States wherein developing institutions do now exist.

CHANGE OF REFERENCES

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Commerce be discharged from the further consideration of the bill (S. 2599) to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to provide for additional technological research, and the bill (S. 3061) to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to authorize financial assistance for planning, engineering, designing, and other technical studies, and that both bills be referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

In that connection, Mr. President, I am informed that this matter has been taken up with the chairman of the Committee on Commerce, and he is agreeable to it.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROMOTION OF HEALTH AND SAFETY IN METAL AND NONMETALLIC MINERAL INDUSTRIES—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENTS NOS. 538 THROUGH 544

Mr. **JAVITS** submitted seven amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H.R. 8989) to promote health and safety in metal and nonmetallic mineral industries, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENT NO. 545

Mr. **JAVITS** (for himself and Mr. PROUTY) submitted an amendment (No. 545), intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to House bill 8989, supra, which was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and ordered to be printed.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1966—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 546

Mr. **MURPHY**. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment to S. 3046, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1966 amendments, which would delete those provisions of section 214 and section 229, eliminating the eligibility of federally connected children in the 13th and 14th grades. On April 5 I appeared before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee on Education and urged deletion of this administration's proposal that would eliminate junior colleges from the federally impacted aid assistance programs of Public Law 874 and Public Law 815. This is a real "sleeper" in the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1966, and I sincerely hope my colleagues on the committee will not go along with these recommendations which will seriously harm the junior college program in my State. California has been the leader in the junior college movement and there are now 75 such colleges in my State. It is expected that there will be 100 junior colleges by the early 1970's. I am advised that the acceptance of the administration's proposal threatens at least 30 junior colleges in my State, who along with the other fine universities and colleges, in California, face the challenge of coping with the enrollment figures that will double by the early 1970's.

The National Commission of Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress on February 2, 1966, issued a report following its year-long study into the effect of technological change on American life. Included within the recommendations of the 14-member Commission, which was appointed by the President, was the recommendation that there should be an opportunity for 14 years of free public education.

California, as the Commission recommended, is already providing free educational opportunity through 14 grades. California's experience in so providing will undoubtedly influence other States in their consideration of expanding their junior college opportunities. That is why I am concerned when I receive many letters from junior colleges advising me that the elimination of their eligibility under Public Law 874 and Public Law 815 would threaten some of the junior colleges in my State. Apparently without consulting with the junior colleges and apparently unaware of the hardship that will be caused by the elimination of junior college eligibility in some areas, the administration made this proposal and I sincerely hope that the committee will not accept this recommendation.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred.

The amendment (No. 546) was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Mr. **THURMOND** subsequently said: Mr. President, earlier today, the distinguished Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] submitted an amendment to S. 3046, and I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be permitted to lie on the table for 5 days for additional cosponsors.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT TO FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1966—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 547

Mr. **JAVITS**. Mr. President, I send to the desk, for printing under the rule, an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966, the intent of which would be to make available, under specified conditions, $100 million to the International Development Association—the IDA—as a line of credit.

The purpose of the amendment would be to channel a specified portion of U.S. foreign economic aid through multilateral institutions, while leaving the greatest share of economic aid under U.S. control.

There has been considerable discussion about this particular matter in the Committee on Foreign Relations between the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] and the Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, who seem to have disagreed on the proper relationship between our foreign aid program and U.S. involvement with 83 developing nations which are recipients of our foreign aid.

I do not agree that bilateral U.S. aid tends to create political interests where none existed before and that the economics of foreign aid engender political and security dispositions where none existed before. But, I feel that there are other good reasons to channel some U.S. aid through international financing agencies. These reasons are to make such aid even more effective, to engender more aid from other nations, and to make more agreeable the auspices under which aid is given.

The amendment I submit today would carry out this intent. It would make available funds in the form of a $100 million line of credit—an amount equivalent to 15 percent of the administration's request for development loans for fiscal 1967—to the International Development Association—IDA—in line with its purposes and policies and terms.

It will be remembered that this is the agency which is engaged in helping the nations which need foreign aid the most in the so-called soft loan category.

These funds would be in addition to the funds that would be made available to AID under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966, presently under consideration.

These funds would be available under the following conditions:

First. That similar lines of credit, in a total amount of $150 million, be extended by other countries which are members of IDA.

Second. That such lines of credit be used by IDA to finance programs or projects in accordance with the articles of agreement of the Association.

The type of loans extended by IDA are the loans most needed by developing nations today.

Third. That the line of credit made available by any country would be used to finance procurement of goods and services solely in that country. This provision deals with the question in which we are deeply interested; namely, that our dollars shall be used only for purchases here.

Fourth. That the determination of which country's line of credit shall be drawn upon for the purpose of financing any commodity or service shall be made competitively among the countries extending such lines of credit.

So that the customer—to wit, the benefited nation—will get the lowest price and the best terms. Procurement and other arrangements would then be made in whichever of the donor countries could most economically and efficiently provide the facilities, the commodities or the technical assistance. At that point, the line of credit of the donor country in which such procurement was made would be charged the appropriate amount.

This amendment would carry out the intent of those who believe that greater multilateralization of economic aid would serve U.S. interests, yet it would leave, for the time being, the greater share of U.S. foreign economic aid under U.S. control.

My amendment would also test out both the willingness of other countries to make their own foreign economic aid contributions increasingly on a multilateral basis and the ability of IDA to handle this kind of effort. Should both show positive results, more funds could be made available to developing countries on this basis.

In conclusion, I invite the attention of the Senate to the fact that last year's Foreign Assistance Appropriations Act prohibited the use of aid funds to carry out the provisions of section 205 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1965, which authorized the President to channel up to 15 percent of the development loan funds through IDA, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development or the International Finance Corporation. Hence, action of the Appropriations Committee last year effectively scrapped the purposes which we ourselves wrote into the authorization law.

Mr. President, if my amendment is adopted, we will be creating an earmarked sum for the purposes which I have described, which will represent the intent of Congress. If the Appropriations Committee should then recommend to us that this item be scrapped, I wish to note now that I would do my best to oppose any appropriations bill which would, by inclusion of legislative action, seek to nullify the purpose of the amendment which I have proposed today.

I send the amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred.

The amendment (No. 547) was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS, CONCURRENT RESOLUTION, AND AMENDMENT

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the names of the Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss] and the Senator from Montana [Mr. Metcalf] be added as cosponsors of S. 2914, at the next printing of the bill. This is the legislation extending the provisions of Public Law 815 for an additional 2 years.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 2778) to amend the act providing financial assistance to local educational agencies for the education of children of low-income families in order to provide financial assistance for the education of orphans and other children lacking parental support.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing of the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 80) to express the sense of Congress as to continuing the Small Business Administration as an independent agency, the names of the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska] and the junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin] may be added as cosponsors.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the next printing of S. 3207 to prohibit desecration of the flag, the name of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche] be added as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Case] may be added as a cosponsor of amendment No. 535 to the bill (S. 3046) to strengthen and improve programs of assistance for our elementary and secondary schools.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS SUPPORT INCREASE IN APPROPRIATIONS FOR SCHOOL MILK PROGRAM

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, on March 30, Mrs. Edward F. Ryan, representing the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, testified in support of increased appropriations for the special milk program for schoolchildren before the Agriculture Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee. In her statement, Mrs. Ryan indicated the organization's opposition to the administration's proposal to slash the program by 80 percent.

She applauded the administration's efforts to reach the needy child but indicated that "if these measures are taken at the expense of other children, by simple redirection of the program as is now proposed, we shall lose a very great deal that we have gained."

Her statement went on to indicate the deep concern felt by PTA members and school people alike by the proposed identification of needy children. As Senators know, the administration's plan would require children to meet either a means test or attend school without a lunch program if they were to continue to receive the benefits of the special milk program.

Finally, Mrs. Ryan points out:

> The school milk program will no longer exist as we have known it if the proposed cuts are accepted. Aid would no longer be available to child care centers, nursery schools, summer camps, and Headstart projects. Further, as our Ohio chairman has written, the allocation which in Ohio would be designated largely for those 8 or 10 cities that do not have elementary lunch programs means that needy children elsewhere would not receive milk.

Mr. President, in the course of the hearings, I asked Mrs. Ryan, who is a top official—and has been one for some time—of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, whether, from her experience, she could say without equivocation that the national congress would be strongly opposed to the administration, and was strongly in favor of a renewed school milk program.

She stated that without any reservation she was positive this is the position of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, which represents some 12 million members, and, of course, many millions of schoolchildren.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have Mrs. Ryan's testimony printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF INCREASED APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE SCHOOL LUNCH AND SPECIAL MILK PROGRAMS

(By Mrs. Edward F. Ryan, acting chairman, committee on legislation, presented before the Subcommittee on Agriculture, Senate Appropriations Committee, March 30, 1966)

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is a privilege to follow my predecessors of the National PTA in appearing before this committee in behalf of the national school lunch program. I am Mrs. Edward F. Ryan, of Manchester, Mass., vice president of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers and acting chairman for legislation. We appreciate this opportunity to express the longstanding concern of our nearly 12 million members for this program of hot lunches for all children. As you gentlemen know, long before the passage of the National School Lunch Act local PTA members prepared and served hot soup, hot cocoa, and other foods in thousands of schools.

We were delighted when the National School Lunch Act was passed by Congress in 1946 "to safeguard the health and well-being of the Nation's children." At that time it was still fresh in the minds of Congressmen and the general public that nearly 50 percent of our youth had been found unfit for military service; so Congress stated one of the purposes to be "as a measure of national security."

We have therefore seen firsthand not only the widespread need for better nutrition but the almost unbelievably good results of the program in improvement of health, of nutrition habits, and of capacity for education. We are deeply concerned with the proposed changes in the essential character of the school lunch program as we have seen it develop over these 20 years; we do not wish to see it change from a broad educational and nutritional program for all children toward something approaching a welfare program.

It has been said that the proposed reductions in the program are small and the changes in guidelines will only serve to bring more children into the program. On the basis of the information furnished us by our State PTA's, it seems to us that the actual reduction in assistance is much larger than the figures suggest, and further, that the changes in the guidelines would reduce participation among children who need the program.

Although the net reduction in the proposed appropriation for the school lunch program is about 10 percent of last year's appropriation, the increase of aid earmarked for needy schools reduces the funds available to all other schools who also have needy children; we are advised that the cut in the general program would thus be more than 15 percent.

At the same time, we are advised that commodities are no longer to be available in the kinds and quantities furnished in recent years, particularly meats and cheese which have been so valuable in balancing the protein content of the children's lunches. And further, there is expected to be an increase in the price of milk, since there was no seasonal drop in price this spring.

The reduced cash allotments together with the reduction in commodities and definitely increasing labor and food costs can only mean increases in program costs. As our Louisiana chairman wrote to us, for most communities to absorb these costs will impair school budgets already strained in the effort to extend educational opportunities.

The only alternative is to raise the price to the children. In the experience of our State programs, this inevitably reduces participation. In Massachusetts last year six towns raised their prices in hope of increasing the amount of money available to support the lunch program. Fewer children took lunches in all six towns, and two towns ended the year with a smaller total support than before the price increases.

Such a drop in participation comes about because very many families have not benefited from the expanding economy to the point of being able to absorb a few cents' increase per day per child for three or four children, which means several dollars per month added to the family budget. Even for small families, such an increase is often enough to cause a change to a sandwich lunch from home and consequent inadequate nutrition. In one disadvantaged area in Boston, a pilot program offering a 25-cent lunch for 20 cents has developed only 40-percent participation. The average participation in the State is 65 percent for a 25-cent lunch; 75 to 100 percent in the rural areas is offset by low participation in the cities. In the overseas dependent schools, where American children receive none of these school lunch supports, about 25 to 50 percent of the children buy a lunch at about 45 cents, where there is a program.

Obviously there is a need for special measures to reach more of our needy children, and not only because it is hard to teach a hungry child. But if these measures are taken at the expense of other children, by simple redirection of the program as is now proposed, we shall lose a very great deal that we have gained.

Secondly, PTA members and school people alike are distressed with the proposed identification of needy children. The present free meals are given quietly, without open identification. This practice needs to be strengthened, not changed. If needy children are to be identified in order to receive subsidized meals, large numbers will inevitably be withdrawn from the program; it must be noted that this in itself serves as identification.

The sum proposed to finance lunches for needy children in needy schools is itself insufficient. In Massachusetts the sum could easily be used in Boston alone, while rising costs in other cities would impair their program without leaving sufficient funds to meet costs of free or subsidized lunches to needy children.

In the third place, all our informants agree that the special milk program will no longer exist as we have known it if the proposed cuts are accepted. Aid would no longer be available to child care centers, nursery schools, summer camps, and Headstart projects. Further, as our Ohio chairman has written, the allocation which in Ohio would be designated largely for those 8 or 10 cities that do not have elementary lunch programs means that many needy children elsewhere would not receive milk.

We recognize that until very recently the school lunch program benefited not only the children but an important part of our economy. We urge that while food production may no longer need support, our children still need the benefits of the school lunch program. We urge that this well proven and successful program not be jeopardized, but that additional funds be appropriated to give additional assistance to those schools with larger numbers of needy children. We request further that the commodity assistance program be extended to American dependent schools serving the children of our servicemen abroad, remembering that this is a program for all American children.

Thank you very much for this opportunity.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I think it is particularly significant that parent-teachers associations all over the country are firmly behind the opinions Mrs. Ryan expressed. In response to my query on nationwide support by PTA's for the program Mrs. Ryan said "without the slightest question there is very strong, widespread, unanimous feeling on this program. This is probably one of the most strongly supported programs we have."

STRIKE BY ELECTRICIANS AT CAPE KENNEDY

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, the Associated Press news ticker, outside the Senate Chamber, has just carried the following item, to which I invite the attention of the Senate:

STRIKE

CAPE KENNEDY.—Striking electricians continued to picket all five gates to this space center today, despite Government pleas that they restrict picketing to one entrance.

The Air Force and NASA had hoped the 52 members of the International Union of Electrical Workers (AFL–CIO) would limit their activity to a single gate so that construction workers could return to their jobs.

But officials said it appeared the union was ignoring the request, which could lead to court action.

A total of 437 of 1,161 construction men honored the lines today.

Mr. President, the continued strikes by small groups of men and the continued picketing in an apparent effort to hold up construction of great importance to our Nation at Cape Kennedy are exactly the kind of things which have so irritated the majority of people in the State of Florida.

I invite attention to the fact, however, that more than 700 of the construction men had the good sense not to honor the picket lines today. I hope there will be more of them in the future. It is just such tactics as these by the picketing electrical workers that make it impossible for some of us even to talk about supporting the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. It is just such tactics as these that are going to make it impossible for us to support the situs picketing bill, which will soon come before the Senate.

The unions themselves are destroying the good will and confidence of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of the people of America. I hope that some day there will be such sound leadership among them as to avoid such a spectacle as it appears is occurring at Cape Kennedy today.

FEDERAL CONTROLS ON FOREIGN TRAVEL BY U.S. RESIDENTS

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, enactment of a bill to authorize Federal controls on foreign travel by U.S. residents has been made necessary by recent court decisions.

The door now stands wide open for travel by U.S. residents to Red China, or Cuba, or North Vietnam, or anywhere else.

The decision of Federal Judge Joseph Zavatt in Brooklyn, N.Y., last Friday, makes this clear. Judge Zavatt's decision overturned the conviction of three defendants who defied the State Department's travel ban by going to Cuba in 1963. All the bars are down now.

The only way we can be sure the interests of the United States are protected against travel by residents of this country which might adversely affect the national security, or interfere with the effective and successful conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States, is through enactment of a law to cover the situation.

World conditions are constantly and subtly shifting, so it would not be feasible for Congress to enact detailed travel controls. In an effort to provide flexibility in such controls, I am today introducing a bill which would authorize the Secretary of State, with the approval of the President, to describe by regulation areas of the world where travel by U.S. residents is to be limited. The Secretary would also be given power, under this bill, to designate reasonable classes of U.S. residents to which particular travel controls would apply.

This legislation is not being introduced without much thought.

Five questions arise from consideration of the recent decisions of the courts in travel control cases. The first of these questions is this: "Is there a constitutional right to travel?"

The cases seem to answer these questions with a clear affirmative, in the sense that the right to travel is included in the concept of "liberty" as that word is used in the 5th and 14th amendments of the Constitution.

The second question we must consider is whether the right to travel is an absolute right. Here we find that the cases answer the question with a solid "No."

In *Aptheker* v. *Secretary of State* (378 U.S. 500), decided in 1964, the Supreme Court recognized that the right to travel is not absolute and can be restricted. The Court went further and pointed out well-established principles by which to test whether particular restrictions are consistent with fifth amendment guarantees.

The right to "liberty," which includes the right to travel, is not made absolute by either the 5th amendment or the 14th amendment. These amendments protect against deprivation of liberty without due process of law; but it is clear that with due process of law, both the Federal Government and the States can deprive individuals of at least certain liberties, such as the right to travel, when the interest of the Nation or the proper discharge of a governmental function requires it.

We come then to the question: "May the right to travel be restricted by statute in such a way as to meet the due process test?"

Here the answer clearly is "Yes," though we shall have to look at the language of the particular statute to see if it does meet the due process test. The restriction must be reasonable, it must be required for the purposes or the security of the Government, it must be based on authoritative findings with respect to such needs, and if a restriction is imposed upon a class of individuals, the designation of the class must be reasonable.

Before we proceed with legislation, we must answer a fourth question: "May the right to travel be restricted effectively by administrative action, not based upon legislation?"

The most recent Court decisions seem to make it quite clear that this is not feasible. The courts have said in effect, that, if there are to be restrictions upon travel, Congress must act either to impose such restrictions directly or to authorize them.

The Supreme Court denied certiorari in the case of *Worthy* v. *Herter* (270 F. 2d 905; cert. denied 361 U.S. 918) which had the effect of affirming the decision of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. The cited opinion of that court included the statement that—

> We think * * * the President has ample power under the Constitution itself to put into effect restrictions on travel, and that his delegation to the Secretary is complete.

But the most recent case, involving Lee Levi Laub, Stefan Martinot, and Anatol Schlosser, all of Brooklyn, N.Y., took the opposite view. Those cases were decided by a Brooklyn Federal judge on April 15, 1966. The court acquitted these three individuals who had violated the band on travel to Cuba; and in doing so, the court said the Secretary of State did not have authority to invoke the ban.

So it seems to be up to the Congress to make the next move.

The fifth question which we must consider is: "Upon what basis, if any, other than the national security, may the right to travel be restricted?"

Speaking broadly, the answer is that the right to travel can be infringed, by appropriate legislation, upon any basis which does not violate due process of law. Already the right to travel is infringed under existing law, under the War Powers Act, under laws respecting the attendance of witnesses at criminal proceedings, under laws prohibiting flight to avoid prosecution, under various statutes regulating interstate commerce, and under many criminal statutes in provisions respecting arrest and imprisonment.

We may safely conclude that a law providing for restriction or regulations of travel on the basis of the national interest for the protection of the national security or the fully effective and successful conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States, is well within the area in which Congress has the power to act.

By prearrangement a companion bill is being introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative Michael Feighan, of Ohio, chairman of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

I expect to hold public hearings on my bill within a matter of weeks, and confidently expect to be able to report it to the Senate in plenty of time for action at this session.

AN OFFICER DOES HIS DUTY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, unsubstantiated and baseless charges of "police brutality" are daily being made throughout the country in an obviously calculated effort to undermine the morale and efficiency of the police departments. Many of such charges have been made and found to be utterly without foundation here in the Nation's Capital. Yesterday's Washington Evening Star carried an interesting letter to the editor entitled "An Officer Does His Duty." I ask unanimous consent that the letter, written by Lillian Howard, be inserted in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

An Officer Does His Duty

Sir: Having heard reports of the so-called police brutality in the District I finally witnessed one of the most brutal incidents.

As I stepped off the bus at Mount Pleasant and Lamont Streets NW., I observed an elderly and blind Negro man step off the opposite curb into the street, and although he was using his white cane skillfully he was having a difficult time but he made it across. Then to my horror I realized he meant to cross Mount Pleasant Street in heavy traffic but just as he hesitated, from out of nowhere sprang a police officer saying "Can I help you?" The old man grabbed the officer's arm and was safely guided across the street.

I watched to see the crossing completed because this was a No. 10 Precinct officer, and according to self-appointed committees, including some of the clergy, "those boys are brutal," and I was afraid he might steal the old man's white cane, or hit him over the head with it. But I was disappointed, for the officer did just what Metropolitan Police officers have always done—their duty—mixed with many kindnesses and attentions we never hear or read about.

Lillian Howard.

POLLUTION FROM BOATS

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, last week, I introduced a bill (S. 3225) to amend the Water Quality Act of 1965. The bill would require that the quality standards to be determined by the States or the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare including maritime pollution as well as industrial and municipal pollution.

Like all citizens of this country who are concerned with insuring the quality of our waters, I was gratified to see that the Washington Post in its Sunday, April 17, editorial, supports this bill.

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Befouling the Waterways

Senator Tyding's assault on boat pollution of our streams merits hearty support. Boating has become a delightful recreation for millions of people in this country, and much greater use of rivers, canals, and other waterways for pleasure may be anticipated. The mounting volume of the traffic makes it imperative that boatmen stop contaminating waters that serve them so well.

The Tydings bill would modify the Water Quality Control Act so as to pressure the States into applying antipollution standards to maritime wastes as well as to municipal and industrial waste. If the States should fail to provide adequate protection, the Federal Government would apply standards of its own. This is not a drastic approach. The astonishing thing is that Congress should have passed its clean-water bill only last year without provision for dealing with raw sewage and trash dumped into waterways from boats and marinas.

Washington has a special interest in this bill. A vast number of boats and marinas are worsening the pollution of the Potomac River. Fishermen and boaters have no more license to befoul the river than have cities and industries.

EXTENSION OF LIBRARY SERVICES AND CONSTRUCTION ACT

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, there is now pending before the Labor and Public Welfare Committee S. 3076, to extend the Library Services and Construction Act. I am pleased to be a cosponsor of this bill.

The present Library Services and Construction Act expires on June 30 of this year. Enactment of S. 3076 must be accomplished before that time if this vital program is to be continued without interruption.

I have recently received letters from the chairman of the Federal Relations Committee of the Maryland Library Association, Mr. William H. Rairigh, and from the director of the Baltimore County Public Library, Mr. Charles W. Robinson. These letters state eloquently, and with intimate knowledge of the facts, the need to continue the present law and, if possible, to expand its present scope.

I ask unanimous consent to have these letters and their attachments printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letters and attachments were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Baltimore County Public Library,
Towson, Md., March 25, 1966.

Hon. Joseph D. Tydings,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Tydings: I understand that several bills have been introduced in the Senate and in the House, notably S. 3076, extending and expanding the present Library Services and Construction Act. In order that you may be familiar with the effect that this act has had in Baltimore County, I thought that I would give you the following information:

During the fiscal year 1964–65, we received a total of $170,000 from title II, Public Library Construction, to be applied to the new Randallstown Area Library and the Lansdowne Community Library. In Randallstown especially, this grant has made possible a large, adequate library to serve the expanding Liberty Road population. Both of these facilities are now under construction.

During the fiscal year 1966, we will receive a grant of $70,000 for the construction of the Loch Raven Branch, now in the last stages of planning. The erection of this library would have been impossible without the Federal aid made possible by the act.

We are engaged in several projects utilizing funds from title I of the act, notably the provision of reciprocal borrowing privileges between seven metropolitan counties and Baltimore City. Residents on both sides of the city-county line now benefit from free use of either Enoch Pratt or Baltimore County Library branches. Baltimore County also operates an express delivery service of books from the Pratt Library to Hartford, Carroll, and Howard Counties.

Limitations of the act are chiefly due to inadequate funding, and unfortunately this may affect our participation in the case of the new Towson Area Library, to be erected in the near future. However, I can safely say that the badly needed library expansion program in Baltimore County would have gone much more slowly up to this point without the act, and its existence had been of definite value to Baltimore County citizens.

Extension and expansion of the Library Services and Construction Act will be of definite assistance to the provision of adequate library services to Baltimore County.

Very truly yours,
CHARLES W. ROBINSON,
Director.

THE KENT-CAROLINE PUBLIC
LIBRARIES ASSOCIATION,
Ridgely, Md., March 29, 1966.

Hon. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: On behalf of the Maryland Library Association's Committee on Federal Relations, may I urge your active support of S. 3076 to extend the Library Services and Construction Act.

I am taking the liberty to enclose a summary of what the Library Services and Construction Act has already meant to the libraries of Maryland, and what more can be accomplished by its extension. Personally, as administrator of two of the newest and smallest systems in the State, I can well say that without this aid we could not provide meaningful library service.

We in Maryland sincerely hope that you will give this vital piece of legislation your careful consideration.

Very truly yours,
WILLIAM N. RAIRIGH,
Chairman, Federal Relations Committee, Maryland Library Association.

THE LIBRARY SERVICES AND CONSTRUCTION ACT IN MARYLAND

The bills introduced in the U.S. Congress (S. 2944, H.R. 13115, and others) to extend and increase the provisions of the present Library Services and Construction Act would benefit greatly the growing but inadequate public library situation in Maryland. The limited funds available under the Library Services and Construction Act have proved effective in providing seed money for sound, new programs and for strengthening inadequate resources, but not sufficient to provide the amount of funds needed for all projects in all areas of the State.

State and local funds for public libraries are increasing annually; for 1967, funds for library operations are estimated as: local $9 million; State $2,250,000. The 1966 Federal Library Services and Construction Act title I allocation is $436,000. By all standards, most Maryland libraries have only one-half the book stock and less than one-half the professional personnel needed to provide adequate services.

LIBRARY SERVICES AND CONSTRUCTION ACT TITLE I: SERVICES

Current programs

Maryland's 22 county library systems and the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore City receive Library Services and Construction Act funds and participate in cooperative Library Services and Construction Act projects.

Urban as well as rural libraries are benefiting under the act. Funds are used primarily to improve book collections in libraries throughout the State and to provide for the extension of library services to all users through cooperative arrangements that help to overcome existing local inadequacies. Programs include:

Metropolitan Maryland Library Services, in which the public libraries of Baltimore City, Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Carroll, Harford, Howard, Montgomery, and Prince Georges Counties offer reciprocal borrowing privileges to all residents of the area. Books for children are now included in the arrangement.

Book collection improvement, in which the smaller library systems are eligible for grants of $4,000 for purchase of books in subject or service fields.

Eastern Shore Area Library, which provides centralized reference service, loans of collections, and consultant service to the seven county libraries of the Eastern Shore. Additional professional personnel need to be added in fiscal 1967.

Eastern Shore Book Processing Center, which orders, catalogs, and processes books for 17 county libraries across the State and the Delaware Library Commission.

Scholarship project, in which county library systems may pay $2,000 to a qualified person who agrees to take a graduate degree in library science and return to work in the system. Ten scholarships have been awarded in 1965–66 to Baltimore City, Baltimore, Calvert, Charles, Harford, Prince Georges, Montgomery, Howard, and Wicomico Counties.

In addition, Library Services and Construction Act funds are used to provide a teletype system linking Maryland's 22 county public library systems with the Enoch Pratt Free Library. This provides rapid interlibrary loan and reference service under a contract with the State department of education.

Funds are also used for intensive inservice education courses throughout the State, for the reproduction and distribution of booklists on timely topics, for studies, research, and consultant services on library problems.

Additional needs

Strengthen and expand existing cooperative programs: Particular need to provide additional funds to urban and metropolitan libraries for development of further cooperative projects to meet needs of rapid growth and change.

Assist libraries in developing services to support new community programs, especially those dealing with the undereducated and the economically deprived.

Provide supplementary funds to build strong library collections throughout the State.

Establish minimum standards relative to personnel and adequate salary scales.

Develop and implement plans for cooperative services in the western part of the State.

LIBRARY SERVICES AND CONSTRUCTION ACT TITLE II: CONSTRUCTION

Progress under the present act

Since 1964, 14 public library building projects have been approved:

A total of $1,031,526 of Federal funds has been encumbered for these projects. The total cost of buildings is estimated at $3,767,374. The Annapolis Area Library, completed in November 1965, was the first Maryland library and the second in the United States to receive Library Services and Construction Act funds. Other building projects approved are in Baltimore, Harford, Allegany, Charles, Garrett, Prince Georges, Queen Annes Counties, and in Baltimore city.

Needs

The Maryland plan allows 30 percent of the cost of the building project, or a maximum of $70,000 per project from Federal funds. This is an inadequate amount to provide significant help in construction costs. Both the percentage and the maximum allocation should be raised. Most building projects cost $350,000 to $450,000, and major area libraries well over $1 million. The estimated amount needed to meet current construction needs in the next 5 years is $23 million.

PROPOSED TITLE III: INTERLIBRARY COOPERATION

Maryland has long felt the need to develop interlibrary cooperation among the various types of libraries in order to provide access to needed materials wherever they are located and to improve services through interlibrary cooperative practices. Such practices as now exist are informal, unofficial, and limited. Centralized planning is needed to explore the possibility of developing such projects as:

Making available the unique resources of university and special libraries to library users with specialized needs;

Expanding the present public library teletype service network to connect college libraries to the Enoch Pratt Free Library and to each other in order to provide extended interlibrary loan and reference services;

Using automatic data processing equipment and services cooperatively in order to provide more efficient operation;

Experimenting with new patterns of cooperation between public and school libraries;

Developing area centralized technical processing services for schools, junior colleges, public libraries;

Developing plans in metropolitan area for coordination of liabrary resources.

These projects and others of a similar nature could strengthen greatly the resources available to meet the varied and changing needs of the citizens of Maryland.

PROPOSED TITLE IV: SPECIALIZED STATE SERVICES

A. State institutional library service

Library service in the State institutions is either poor or nonexistent. Limited funds are expended for books and other materials; most of the books are gifts of uncertain appeal or desirability. There are no professionally trained librarians in these institutions. The Division of Library Extension of the State Department of Education provides consultant services on request and has made studies and recommendations for the improvement of service. Funds are desperately needed to provide seed money and demonstration of the effectiveness of adequate library materials and staff in the rehabilitation program of correctional institutions and in the therapeutic and treatment program of hospitals. A 5-year plan for such a program has been developed for the adult correctional institutions and a beginning at implementation could be made through these funds. Joint planning could be initiated among the State departments concerned to provide an overall program for the development of library services in each institution.

LESLIE L. BIFFLE

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, it was with deep sadness and a sense of personal loss that I heard the news during my recent trip abroad of the death of a great American, the Honorable Leslie L. Biffle.

It was my privilege, during the Truman administration, to come to know Leslie Biffle well, those years when he served so well the Senate and the President. Ever since, along with thousands of others, I have valued highly his friendship.

An active Democrat, an officer of the Democratic National Committee and the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee, Les Biffle nevertheless always put service of country above his party. He served his Nation with distinction and honor, in many capacities.

Mrs. Symington joins me in deep sympathy to his gracious wife.

NO RIGHT TO INCITE TO VIOLENCE

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the Washington Star, of Monday, April 18, carried a column by David Lawrence entitled "No Right To Incite to Violence." Mr. Lawrence posed some incisive questions therein, together with some very pertinent observations. I ask unanimous consent that this column be included in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NO RIGHT TO INCITE TO VIOLENCE

(By David Lawrence)

Leaders of Negro organizations keep on issuing predictions of violence this summer. Various cities are named as "targets" for organized "demonstrations" of one kind or another. Some of these forecasts say that 40 or more cities will be involved. Inevitably tensions are produced as residents of certain neighborhoods begin to get uneasy and apprehensive, and counterresentments are built up.

This is not the first time such predictions have been publicized. But just what is the purpose of it all? Can such comments be regarded merely as free speech, or are they a means of threatening or inciting violence in order to intimidate or pressure Congress into legislative action of some kind?

The "law of the land," as expressed in opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States, has for years contained the principle that freedom of speech does not include the right to cry "fire" in a crowded theater. There are orderly ways to deal with racial problems, but to threaten violence as a means of attaining a legislative end or influencing public opinion is certainly not covered by freedom of speech as defined in the Supreme Court ruling long in effect.

Incitement to violence has been noticeable in connection with street "demonstrations," even though these have been organized presumably with the sole intent of debating a public issue. But it is a tragic fact that some of the "demonstrations" or "sit-ins" or "lie-ins" have resulted in violence.

Unquestionably there are grievances which have long been neglected, and it is natural to attribute bitter feeling to delays in providing remedies. But the question is whether the leaders of the affected groups or blocs are unwittingly inciting people to violence by continually emphasizing such a prospect.

Since the riot on Easter Monday in Washington, for instance, reports have been current that the disturbance was planned. This has been denied by Negro leaders, although the charge was made by police officers. If such riots are deliberately incited, is it not the function of the Department of Justice to investigate and bring criminal action against the offenders? If the Department is too much influenced by the administration's sensitiveness about losing Negro votes, then it would still seem possible for some committee of Congress to look into demonstrations which allegedly have been or are being planned with the clandestine purpose of inciting violence.

Likewise, an inquiry is long overdue on interferences with interstate commerce by organizations urging boycotts such as are threatened or are being carried on against Washington stores which refuse to take sides in the home rule controversy in the District of Columbia.

Washington has also been the victim of riots which certainly deserve a thorough investigation by a congressional committee, if not by the Department of Justice.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has rightly investigated the Ku Klux Klan because of its night riders and violence, but doesn't incitement to violence by Negro leaders also come under the heading of an "un-American activity?"

There is some reason to believe the Communists have infiltrated various civil rights organizations, but leaders of those groups insist that if such a thing is occurring, they have no knowledge of it.

Every statement in the last 2 years, however, in which violence has been publicly mentioned as probable unless Negro rights were upheld and discrimination removed needs to be reexamined to determine whether Federal or State statutes have been transgressed. Those who preach that civil disobedience and deliberate violations of law are justified may be contributing to the very outbursts of violence which often occur immediately thereafter in a given area. These episodes are becoming more frequent and now are threatened in lots of cities during "the long hot summer."

The American people believe in law and order. Whether it is whites or Negroes who become embittered about injustices, the same rule applies—there is no right to incite to violence.

STATE OF THE STATE MESSAGE BY GOV. JOHN A. BURNS, OF HAWAII

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, from time to time I like to take the opportunity to report on the progress made by the State of Hawaii since we were admitted to the Union in 1959.

Gov. John A. Burns, who, as many Senators will remember, served with distinction as a former delegate to Congress, recently reported on the state of the State in a message to the joint session of the third State legislature.

If there are no objections, I ask unanimous consent that Governor Burns' remarks be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY GOV. JOHN A. BURNS, JOINT SESSION, THIRD STATE LEGISLATURE, BUDGET SESSION OF 1966

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, honorable members of the third Hawaii State Legislature, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, once again we meet to consider together the needs of our people in the time-tested manner traditional to our representative form of government.

As you begin your budget session, it is my high privilege to report to you on affairs of State and on other matters of mutual interest and concern.

These past 3 years represent one of the most dynamic periods in the history of Hawaii's economic, social, and political development.

Our favorable position today, of course, has been influenced in part by the fact that the national economy has now recorded 5 years of unprecedented growth and expansion—stimulated by a national administration for which we in Hawaii have a deep admiration.

I am happy to report that Hawaii's economy has grown at a faster rate than that of the Nation as a whole.

Our population and labor force have been increasing faster. We have had a lower rate of unemployment. New businesses have formed at a faster rate. Personal income has grown faster.

Practically all indexes of Hawaii's economic well-being reached new highs in the year just ended.

Employment and personal income reached alltime highs. Some fields of business activity reached new highs by substantial margins.

Visitor arrivals, convention attendance, hotel rentals, and interisland travel set new records. Construction activity and sugar production were also at new highs.

Foreign trade increased, and we made substantial strides toward our goal of becoming a major center for research and development.

I am particularly gratified that these gains have been shared by all counties, although at present Oahu remains the center of business expansion.

For the first time in many years, Kauai and Hawaii both had population gains last year, instead of population losses as in the past. Maui County, which first reversed the population decline in 1962, had another 1-percent gain last year.

Wage and salary income on Maui showed an 8-percent increase over the previous year, while corresponding gains for Hawaii and Kauai were 5 percent and 4 percent, respectively. Recent developments on these neighbor islands leave no doubt that they have swung back into and have become part of the State's total business development pattern.

Thus, our economic growth has been dramatic and sustained. More important, however, in my view has been the growth in our thinking, in the expansion of our aspirational horizons.

This is related to and has contributed to the recent progress we have made. But the more important, from the long-range view, is the expansion of our concepts of what can be done and what should be done to develop opportunity for the highest and best use of the human resources with which our State is so richly endowed.

That has been the central and overriding objective in all that we have undertaken in the past 3 years. This must continue to be the goal toward which all of our efforts and interrelated programs are directed.

We have long been accustomed to measure our progress in terms of statistics, per capita income, production totals, numbers of employed, percentage of unemployed, tourist dollars, business profits, cost of living.

These are familiar, useful, and, indeed, essential indexes. If we are to exercise prudent management, we must maintain a reasonable balance between the costs of our programs and our financial capacity. To do otherwise would blight our prospects for continued achievement.

But where we have really made a more significant gain is in what I regard as our increasing capacity to lift our sights from the bottom line of a temporary balance sheet to envision what and where this State and our people can be 10, 20, 50 years from now.

Since my inauguration in December 1962, I have had the privilege of visiting a number of foreign countries in the Pacific basin and on the Pacific rim. In separate missions, I have visited Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, Okinawa, Vietnam, and New Zealand, as well as British Columbia and the mainland.

In all of these visits, I encountered great interest in our activities, particularly in those programs we have undertaken to revitalize Hawaii's once foremost position as the commercial clearinghouse and supply depot for the entire Pacific. All those people with whom I have had contact look to our State as the gateway to the West and as the meeting ground for exchange with other countries that traffic through Hawaii.

The broader horizon has been identified and the general direction of our destiny has been charted in the new Hawaii program, bold in concept, courageous in purpose.

Legislation enacted by your honorable body at the 1965 general session launched this program with a powerful thrust, which I am confident you will refuel and sustain during this current budget session.

As the sun breaks from behind clouds and gradually converts a landscape from shadow to light, so has there been a gradual awakening to and increasing understanding and acceptance of the new Hawaii concept throughout our State. There is new hope, new imagination, new enthusiasm.

This is evident in many areas. One is what we refer to—for lack of a better term—as our travel industry. The old stereotype was the lure of the hula girl poster. Today our concept of Hawaii's place on the travel map has broadened substantially.

I refer here not merely to the economic gains we have made, as represented by statistics showing more than 600,000 visitor arrivals in 1965 as compared with more than 500,000 in 1964, a gain of almost 20 percent. The total for 1966 is expected to reach 700,000, the numerical equivalent of our total resident population.

These visitors, of course, add welcome dollars to our economy—$260 million in 1965 as compared with $225 million in 1964.

Convention attendance showed a significant gain from 18,500 in 1964 to 22,200 in 1965, another 20 percent increase. In 1962, it was 4,500.

It is true that most of our visitors are pleasure seekers, attracted by the distinctive character of Hawaii's scenery and climate.

But increasing numbers are coming in search of new ideas and an opportunity to enrich their knowledge and broaden their understanding of the Pacific area and its potential.

In addition to the aloha shirts, muumuus and suntans they buy here, they go home with the new and enduring experience of having met our people, and having experienced the inter-cultural tolerance with which we live so successfully.

While they may not accept our way of life and may not find it applicable to their social patterns at home, I cannot help believing that they will retain some impressions and thoughts that ultimately will be expressed in some way for the general good.

Similarly, the increasing success with which we have attracted science conferences, and meetings of professional and trade groups, of intermixed nationalities and varied points of view, is evidence of increasing recognition that not only is our physical climate nearly always good, but our intellectual climate is getting better all the time.

Underlying the New Hawaii concept is a realization that the long-range success of Government programs, combined with and serving the private sector of our economy, is the necessity of maintaining effective, continuing coordination of services and facilities.

Each program, each capital requirement, each position, must be evaluated and made to serve the State's continuing progress as an essential component of the whole.

It is this emphasis on the importance of coordination and correlation which characterizes the budget proposals presented for your consideration.

You may have noted that for the first time the capital improvements proposals are supported by a rather detailed analysis of the national economy and Federal programs in relation to the State's financial picture. We have also included a 20-year projection of anticipated requirements in certain key areas of the economy if we are to maintain a healthy level of employment and career opportunity for our growing population.

Necessarily we have had to be selective and place priority emphasis on those programs and facilities which currently are required to sustain the momentum of our progress.

It will be noted in this connection that the proposals presented for your consideration stress the continuing importance of education.

Of the total proposed operating budget of $331 million, $143 million or about 40 percent is allocated to educational requirements.

The capital budget recommendations call for outlays of almost $126 million in fiscal 1967. At least $40 million of that amount is expected to be covered by Federal funds, and almost $86 million from State sources.

Capital improvements requests for the Department of Education and the university together amount to $41.3 million, representing a substantial portion of the total.

These proposals are calculated not only to serve expanding enrollment requirements, but also to strengthen further the quality of education in our State.

I can think of no other public expenditure which can return so much to all Hawaii in terms of economic benefit, intellectual fulfillment, and the innovating spirit so necessary for the continued progress of our community.

It is also important to note that as we increase State support for our university and strengthen its facilities and faculty, we enhance prospects of additional support from other sources.

This fiscal year the university will spend approximately $42 million. Five years ago the comparable figure was $14.6 million. Of this $42 million, less than half comes from Hawaiian tax dollars. Much of the outside support is from the Federal Government.

By the end of this fiscal year, the university will have received about $15 million in outside support, exclusive of the East-West Center. This compares with less than $10 million a year ago and less than $5 million 3 years ago.

Since fiscal 1963, the student population at the university has increased 42 percent while State support per student has increased 20.4 percent. General fund support for the university has increased by 71 percent for the period. These figures do not take into consideration the millions of dollars expended for university capital improvements nor do they include costs not associated with students.

Our community college program has taken shape rapidly, and we are requesting an additional $3.8 million to start the bricks-and-mortar stage of this effort to meeting the expanding educational needs of our people.

Contributions from private sources in the form of endowments, grants, and scholarships have been increasing at the university. In recent months, we have seen the endowment of chairs by Alexander and Baldwin-Matson Navigation Co., the Hawaiian Telephone Co., the Honolulu Advertiser, and one by your own honorable body, as well as research fellowship grants by Hawaiian Electric Co.

I am hopeful that as more leaders of corporate business enterprise in Hawaii recognize this investment opportunity—in the mutuality of interests between town and gown—substantially more support will be forthcoming.

The university's impact is extending rapidly beyond Hawaii into the entire Pacific Basin and Asia. The East-West Center, of course, has played a major role in this in fulfillment of its primary mission to promote better mutual understanding through cultural and technical interchange.

The resources of the university have been utilized in conjunction with the East-West Center or other Federal or international agencies to develop training programs in Thailand, Pakistan, the Ryukyus, Samoa, Micronesia, and othe Pacific area.

Here again we see implementation of the New Hawaii concept in terms of a growing capacity to serve our Nation and our Pacific neighbors.

While the dynamic growth in size, scope and quality of the university is one of the most encouraging developments contributing to the emergence of a New Hawaii, we have also strengthened our educational programs at the elementary and secondary levels.

Your enlightened recognition of the needs in this area during the 1965 general session has had a stimulating effect upon our public school system.

The proposals now before you would add further to the gains made last year.

Our growing population will require further additions to our school plant and staff capacity. Raising compulsory school age from 16 to 18 will also add to enrollments. Together these increases will total about 4,000 students.

An increasing population has caused school enrollment to rise 6.5 percent since 1963 while State support per student has increased by 32.8 percent. General fund support for schools has risen by 41.5 percent. The figures mentioned here are exclusive of capital improvement costs and peripheral activities of the school system.

Our public library system has also shared in the State's quest for intellectual growth. While the population of the State has increased 10.4 percent since fiscal 1963 general fund support for the system has risen by 57.2 percent. Per capita support has increased by 42.3 percent.

The staffing-by-program policy you approved in 1963 and reaffirmed in subsequent sessions has proved most effective in equalizing the educational opportunities afforded our children throughout the State. While the lead time required for implementation has not made the effects of this policy immediately and fully apparent, its continued application and refinement will be invaluable in our quest to develop the finest school system in the Nation.

With school construction a State responsibility—as provided for in our Constitution and to assure equality of facilities as well as educational services throughout Hawaii—there is opportunity for more effective coordination between instructional program development and building requirements.

I am convinced that, in time, substantial savings can be achieved. Heretofore, with the responsibility split between State and counties, there has been a tendency at the State level to concentrate on curriculum, staffing requirements and program development. We have made great progress in recent years by critical, searching examination of the basic content and quality of public education in Hawaii. The quality has been improved and will continue to improve.

Attention to building requirements has suffered from a disjointed system of split responsibility. The approach has been piecemeal, school by school, room by room. This is costly.

I am convinced that we can obtain better results at less cost, if we shift our thinking, planning, and budgeting in the direction of more generalized requirements.

Without any significant sacrifice of important esthetic considerations, we can achieve more standardization in classroom design and equipment, and in character and use of all new school construction.

This can and should be done without developing drab stereotyped school structures.

It is important to achieve an esthetic as well as a functional compatability between the school or library building and its community environment. But we cannot afford to give these projects the costly, specialized treatment in designing they have received in the past.

In the meantime, while recommending funds for incremental completion of projects already underway, I am also requesting $4.4 million to construct 283 portable classrooms.

This request is based on two considerations. First, and most urgently, the portables will be needed by the start of school next fall, and in September 1967, to house some classes for which permanent facilities now under construction will not be ready.

Second, a flexible reserve of portables will enable us to adjust more economically to fluctuations in school enrollment, and to maintain adequate services while permanent facilities are under design and construction.

This program is of the highest urgency, and I am, therefore, submitting a supplemental appropriation bill to permit us to proceed with its implementation as soon as it is enacted.

It might be pertinent to observe, at this stage, that the transfer of functions from the counties to the State under provisions of act 97 has worked well, despite some ill-contrived criticism from certain quarters.

There have been some delays and some problems in adjusting State-county channels of communication and procedures.

But our experience, in my judgment, has validated the soundness of the basic objective: to eliminate inconsistent division of prime responsibility for certain essential governmental functions and to assure equitable treatment of all residents irrespective of whether they dwell in populous urban centers or more remote communities.

For the present I am proposing that the existing contractual relationships between the counties and State to provide these services be continued.

As reported to you in my message accompanying the operating budget proposals, the budget for fiscal 1967 anticipates a $1.9 million deficit. However, with an estimated surplus of $6.3 million from the current fiscal year, the general fund is expected to realize a cash surplus of $4.4 million at the end of fiscal 1967.

You have concurred, heretofore, with the policy of earmarking cash surpluses to finance capital improvements. This tends to reduce the need for bond financing and enables us to keep our bonded indebtedness within prudent and manageable limits.

Recent developments causing higher interest rates in the money market give us additional cause to look to our cash surplus to finance capital improvements wherever possible.

Our financial outlook for the 6 years covered by the CIP is dominated by highway construction requirements, which represent about 40 percent of the capital budget for that period.

In connection with our highway building program, it may be of interest to note that I intend to submit legislation to regulate outdoor advertising and junkyards in areas adjacent to Federal-aid highways and to provide expressly for expenditure of highway funds for beautification purposes along our roads. You will agree, I am sure, that while asphalt strips are necessary for our mobility, there is no reason why esthetic considerations should be neglected in highway construction.

During the 6 years from 1966 to 1972, $191 million in Federal money may be available for the Interstate Highway System, plus other Federal assistance.

We expect to take advantage of the various other Federal aid programs which are continuing to expand.

Because State matching requirements, even on the 90–10 interstate formula, will place a heavy burden on our resources, a careful approach to Federal aid participation is indicated.

Along with other States which are feeling the impact of Great Society legislation, we must be prepared for the orderly accommodation and implementation of those programs which serve our needs. But we must also make certain we can establish some reasonable cost-benefit ratio, so that program implementation in terms of matching funds and adjustment or diversion of existing programs is consistent with our overall aims and within our means.

All major indicators, save one, appear to be in our favor. Our economy and that of the Nation as a whole appears destined for continued growth and stability.

The one uncertainty is Vietnam, and the unpredictable effect continuation and possible expansion of that conflict may have on Federal policies and programs.

We can be proud of the contribution which our State is making to our Nation's determined effort to stand by its commitment.

No event in recent years has so dramatically underscored Hawaii's role and potential as a bridge of understanding between East and West as the recent meeting here between President Johnson and Vietnam's leaders.

The now historic declaration of Honolulu coupled a grim pledge of unwavering military action with a promise to help South Vietnam establish a dependable economic base for a durable and just peace.

It is this latter part of the two-part declaration which has special meaning for us.

Through the programs of the East-West Center and the University of Hawaii, Hawaii has become a training ground for peace as well as a bastion of defense.

I am hopeful that the technical experiences and skills and constructive intercultural abilities which we have developed so successfully can find increasing opportunities for service in those countries seeking to establish new and dependable foundations for the support and protection of their freedom.

The challenges facing Hawaii today are challenges of opportunity for ennobling and enriching experiences never presented us before.

The demand is for excellence in all our endeavors and in all our aspirations.

This is the time.

This is the place.

We are the people who have been destined, by all the events of the past and all our preparations today, to lead the way to the grand design for peace and prosperity throughout our Pacific community.

Meantime, we are reminded daily that, as is the case with all wars, Vietnam has placed a disproportionate burden of sacrifice on a few.

Sons, brothers, and fathers are being taken away in an increasing number of families.

I think it most appropriate at this time to correct a long-standing inequity in our voting laws as they affect servicemen in our jurisdiction. I am, therefore, recommending legislation to ease registration of servicemen stationed in Hawaii and, if possible, to permit people who do not vote in any other jurisdiction to cast their votes in presidential elections in our ballot boxes.

While the conflict in Vietnam continues, we must, for our part, renew our determination to do what we can to assure that the sacrifices being made there and at home are not in vain. We must do what we can to assure the stability and equity of the peace which must come.

We pray for strength and divine guidance for our President and all those who are helping him carry the momentous burdens of these trying times.

Let us, meantime, continue to build the new Hawaii with unity of purpose and strengthened determination and capacity to serve our State, our Nation, our fellow man.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF THE NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATURE URGING FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MERCHANT MARINE ACT OF 1936

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, last month the New York State Legislature passed a concurrent resolution endorsing the policies of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 and calling upon the Congress to implement that act to the full. Many of my colleagues are already aware that, although the Merchant Marine Act was designed to insure a strong U.S. merchant marine, U.S. ships now carry less than 9 percent of the total U.S. waterborne foreign commerce. We have recently also been provided with the results of two conflicting studies—the Interagency Maritime Task Force Report issued October 4, 1965, and the Report of Maritime Advisory Committee issued December 1, 1965—both of which agree that our merchant marine needs strengthening, though they disagree as to the proper course to achieve that result.

Mr. President, New York being a major maritime State with an urgent concern for the strength and viability of our merchant marine, I ask unanimous consent that the concurrent resolution of the New York State Legislature be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF NEW YORK RESOLUTION 164,
MARCH 29, 1966

Whereas Public Act 835, the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, still the law of this land, implements a strong U.S. merchant marine and mandates its adequacy for national defense or emergency; its adequacy for all domestic waterborne commerce and for a substantial part of export and import (foreign) waterborne commerce; mandates vessels constructed in the United States of the most modern and efficient models, operated and manned by citizens under the U.S. flag; and

Whereas experience prior and subsequent to this act indicates that each component factor cited in the act is vitally necessary to the Nation and to its political subdivisions and the immediate and extended economy and safety; and

Whereas enforcement of these mandates has become so lax that today U.S. ships carry less than 9 percent of the total U.S. waterborne foreign commerce—because of failure by the Federal Government to support and protect the U.S. merchant marine, providing less support, less protection than is the practice common to all other maritime nations; and

Whereas the active U.S. merchant marine now consists of approximately 900 vessels—less than pre-World War II strength, and shipbuilding capacity has dangerously dwindled since that period, although the national responsibilities undertaken in the world and the magnitude of dangers confronted are gravely increasing. In contrast, the Soviet Union's maritime strength is equal to, or may now surpass, this Nation's—auguring favorable for their avowed purpose to dominate world maritime power by 1970—and meanwhile the United States allows its maritime force to diminish: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved (if the senate concur), That the legislature of the State of New York respectfully requests the Congress of the United States to urge that the provisions of Public Act 835, the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, be enforced, and immediately to pursue every channel of such enforcement rigorously; and be it further

Resolved (if the senate concur), That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each member of the New York delegation to the Congress of the United States.

By order of the assembly,

JOHN T. MCKENNAN,
Clerk.

In senate, March 31, 1966, concurred in, without amendment.

By order of the senate,

ALBERT J. ABRAMS,
Secretary.

NEW TYPE JET AIRPLANES FOR PAN AMERICAN WORLD AIRWAYS

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to a recent development of real significance to the commerce of the United States and the world. This is the decision by Pan American World Airways to invest $531 million in a new generation of jets to prepare for the coming growth in air travel and air freight in the 1970's.

This choice is the Boeing 747, a giant jet which will able to fly 490 passengers or 214,000 pounds of cargo over transcontinental and transoceanic routes at mach 0.90. The improvement of the 747 over current jets will mark a giant step forward in the aircraft technology of the United States. The advance to giant jets like the 747 is comparable to going from the piston-powered transports to modern jets.

This decision also shows the determination of U.S. airlines to remain world leaders in transportation. Other airlines in this country undoubtedly will follow Pan American's lead and buy jets which will carry close to 500 people. This volume transportation promises to result in lower passenger rates eventually and bring air cargo within the economic reach of many more firms.

Robert Hotz, editor of the leading aerospace journal, Aviation Week & Space Technology, said the 747 purchase started "the third wave of the jet revolution in air transport" and hastens the development of an airplane which promises "to offer the type of air logistics system that will attract the real potential from industrial shippers."

I ask unanimous consent to insert Mr. Hotz' editorial at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Aviation Week & Space Technology, Apr. 18, 1966]

THE THIRD WAVE

(By Robert Hotz)

The third wave of the jet revolution in air transport began to roll last week with Pan American World Airways' initial order for the giant 490-passenger Boeing 747 powered by Pratt & Whitney Aircraft's 41,000-pound thrust, high bypass ratio turbofans.

The Boeing 747 transport is not simply an evolutionary growth from the 707 series with which Boeing and Pan American began the jet revolution at the turn of the decade. The 747 concept promises to be as revolutionary in relation to the current generation of jets as the initial 707's were to the piston-powered transports they superseded.

Biggest technical advancement will come from the new generation of high bypass ratio, high temperature, large turbofans typified by the Pratt & Whitney Aircraft JT9D. This new gas turbine cycle promises as much improvement in load-carrying capacity and operating economy as the original turbofan gained over the straight turbojet. It is the real root of the economic and technical revolution embodied in the 747 concept.

BROAD APPLICATIONS

Pan American's decision means that the major international airlines will operate during the 1970's with a fleet of giant subsonic jets complemented by the supersonic transport. The supersonic transport will offer the airlines a relatively uniform application of its technology. But the jumbo subsonic jet, based on the technology developed by the Air Force C-5A military transport competition, still offers a bewildering choice of applications to suit individual airline requirements.

The configuration chosen by Pan American will probably be the characteristic choice of large international airlines with long-haul transatlantic or transpacific routes. But the same technology can be utilized in an astonishing variety of other applications down to the large-hulled twin-engine airbus configuration sought by American Airlines and other domestic carriers whose largest volumes travel shorter stage lengths than the international jet set.

It is certainly another sign of the growing size of the commercial market when the losers of a major military competition take their new technology and design a new aircraft aimed solely at the civil airline customer.

For the passenger, the 747 jumbo jet promises substantially reduced fares, moderate reduction in travel time and perhaps some reduction in comfort. However experience may dictate an end to the sardine-can philosophy of airline high-density seating. The large fuselage area offered by the 747 may lend itself to some more pleasant innovations in long-range air travel. The international passenger demands of a world population that not only is growing in size but also accelerating in mobility should be sufficient to fill the capacious maw of the 747 during the 1970's, particularly with an economic spur of lower fares.

But despite its excellent prospects as a passenger conveyor, we think the 747 will really come into its own as a freight carrier, both in mixed configurations and as an all-cargo transport. The growth of air cargo is now largely limited by the capacity of the airline fleet. Even with increasing numbers of the all-cargo Douglas DC-8's and Boeing 707's, demand will continue to outrun capacity by a wide margin. Not until a vehicle with the speed and capacity of the 747 appears on the airways will the airlines be able to offer the type of air logistics system that will attract the real potential from industrial shippers. If, as many thoughtful airline planners predict, the cargo business will eventually surpass passengers as the largest source of airline revenue, then the 747 offers an excellent vehicle with which to exploit that market. Pan American evidently has this possibility in mind in specifying that all of its initial 25 model 747's be equipped with cargo floors even though only two will be initially earmarked for all-cargo service.

The 747 is still a concept on the drawing board. Boeing and Pratt & Whitney face formidable technical tasks during the next 3 years to translate this concept into a flying machine fit for airline service in 1970. Even though much of the initial research and development was financed under an Air Force competition, both companies also face equally formidable problems in financing further development of the 747 as a purely commercial venture.

GLOBAL CHALLENGE

The Pan American decision also poses a significant challenge to its global competitors. They will have to make their decisions soon as to how to meet this tough new competition or face the consequences in the 1970's. There are some airline executives who still long for the comfortable prewar DC-3 days when airline passengers belonged to a relatively small and exclusive club and Federal mail subsidy solved most financial problems. But those days have gone forever. The galloping technology of aerospace has propelled the airlines into a scale of activity and profit that already exceeds their rosiest dreams. We will hear many prophets of doom pontificate on the problems posed by scaling up to transports of the 747 size. Most of them will be recognizable as the same familiar voices that once wailed over the advent of the jet and have spent the interim since its earning power erased their argument in deploring the prospect of a supersonic transport.

We could not close this epistle without doffing our hat to the courage and vision of Juan Terry Trippe. At an age when many would be content to bask in the reflection of the most fabulous career in air transport, he is still busy pioneering a new era not only for his own airline but for the industry of which it is such an important part.

THE GLEN ECHO RIOT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a series of letters to the editor which appeared in the April 15, 1966, edition of the Washington, D.C., Star. The writers of the letters addressed themselves to the recent Glen Echo riot.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GLEN ECHO RIOT

SIR: Being pastor of the Glen Echo Baptist Church, and having been in the area of the amusement park on the evening of April 11, I feel led to make the following statements:

I commend the fine Negro people that did not enter into the rioting and the many who suffered abuse themselves. I commend the white people of our community for the spirit of restraint and forbearance that they showed even though many of them suffered damage to their property and unimaginable insult and assault. I commend the men and officers of our police departments for their fine work in a situation that could have exploded into unspeakable horror. I will be more than glad to appear and speak in their behalf if any charges of "police brutality" arise. I commend the men of our local volunteer fire departments who responded to the call for aid even though it meant personal involvement with the situation.

I condemn the management of the amusement park for not taking steps to close the doors at 2 o'clock when acts of open, uncontrollable vandalism began to take place by a large group who had come for the specific purpose of "starting something." I condemn the management for continuing to allow new customers to enter the park when it was impossible for the staff or facilities to handle those who were already there. I condemn the Negro leaders, religious and political, in

Washington, D.C., and throughout our country who are doing their best to incite their people to riot and insurrection as they prey upon the ignorance and emotionalism of their followers. I condemn the White House, Congress, and our courts that continue to condone civil disobedience, riot, and crime in order to stay on the good side of certain groups and win their vote and support, be they white or colored. One young hoodlum boasted that, "They won't do nothing to you."

I feel that it is past time for the elected officers of our country to start giving the leadership to our United States in righteousness, truth, justice, and judgment that is so desperately needed. We need a war against sin, rebellion, and crime as well as against poverty.

Rev. David L. Cole,
Pastor, Glen Echo Baptist Church.

Sir: The riot of teenagers at Glen Echo reminds thoughtful Americans of the dangerous increase in defiance of authority and wanton destruction of property among our youth. Permissive discipline in the home and court leniency are responsible for a new generation of lawless citizens whose future is anybody's guess. Our American way of life is in serious jeopardy.

Mary G. Hundley.

Sir: Glen Echo will eventually close, and I, for one, will be sorry. It will be another recreation area lost to everyone.

We can no longer stroll through the city after dark as we once used to, recreation areas are no longer recreation areas, and more and more we stay behind our invisible stockades rather than expose ourselves and our families to this menace. We must have a larger police force and stiffer laws to cope with this frontiertown situation, or begin all over and give every citizen the right to carry a gun slung at his side, appoint sheriffs and form posses to augment the law. Then someday far in the future, when law returns to the east, we can hope to build a society where laws will be obeyed and women, children, and grown men can once again walk the streets in safety.

Martin Buxbaum.

Bethesda.

Sir: The "youth of today" who wrecked Glen Echo are those whom the proponents of home rule would make the "leaders of tomorrow." Wouldn't this be a fine fate for our Nation's Capital?

Virginia Phillips.

Sir: From all reports it seems rather clear that: Rides were closed down early because of unruliness; lots of people were left with tickets they had paid for and had no use for with rides closed; management refused to refund the money paid for such tickets. Clearly, therefore, the park's management at least bears a contributory responsibility.

Eric Reisfeld.

Sir: To describe the riot at Glen Echo as "youthful exuberance" is in line with the many other stupid statements being uttered by people defending the criminal elements with which our city is plagued. Furthermore, society is not to blame for the lawlessness that grips this and many other U.S. cities. It is the fault of the lenient men who wear dignified black robes and the vote-seeking politicians.

The hands of police are completely tied as was witnessed by the outrageous behavior of this mob. Had police touched one of these untouchables, certain organizations would have screamed "police brutality." Consequently these future criminals were allowed to go their lawless way destroying private property to the tune of thousands of dollars. These juveniles should have been loaded into big vans, detained overnight, and returned to the scene of their crime and forced to clean up the debris. To permit them to go scot free was a crime in itself.

A. R. Bell.

Brentwood.

Sir: I can think of no stronger reason against home rule for the District than that riot. The parents who taught those young vandals how to "behave" are the very ones who want to rule the District now. And those young hoodlums themselves want to be the next generation to rule the District.

Home rule? No, mob rule.

Gordon Stoddard.

Sir: With the damage to Glen Echo, cars, stores, and homes in the area, it is difficult to understand how 150 policemen failed to make a single charge against one rioter. If crime and violence are to be curbed, don't you think this is a perfect example of lack of law enforcement and punishment of lawbreakers?

M. M. Gibson.

Sir: The riot at Glen Echo is a good example of the result one can expect when the courts legislate against the owner of private property. The Supreme Court's decision in *Griffin* v. *Maryland*, 378 U.S. 130, held that the owner of Glen Echo could not have an employee, who was also a deputy sheriff and who acted under that authority, arrest Negroes for trespassing because that was a State action and as such violates the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment.

The Supreme Court, in its strained efforts to impose equality, found that the above action was undertaken by the State to enforce a private policy of racial segregation and consequently the State of Maryland was discriminating.

To my knowledge, Glen Echo never experienced mass destruction of its property when it enforced segregation. It was a nice place to take a family on a Sunday afternoon. It had the authority to eject any person who was drunk, unruly, or the like, without fear of reprisal by the other patrons. Contrast that to Easter Monday when a small element got out of hand, and the management closed down rides. The crowd then turned into an unruly mob bent on destruction and vandalism.

The Supreme Court's decision destroyed the equal protection due the amusement park as well as that protection due the property owners, businessmen, and motorists who were unfortunate enough to be in the path of this mob.

R. R.

THE ROLE OF THE FARMER IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, there is no one to whom we are more indebted than the American farmer.

Over the years he has played a tremendous role in the development of our Nation.

Against all odds, the farmer has proved again and again that progress comes from imagination, creativity, dedication, and plain hard work. In this way he has provided the greatest abundance of food and fiber the world has ever seen.

On April 11, 1966, radio station KLIK in Jefferson City, Mo., aired an outstanding editorial on the American farmer. This editorial makes it clear that it is not the American farmer who is to blame for the rising cost of living.

Mr. President, I commend this editorial to all my colleagues and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[A KLIK editorial, Apr. 13, 1966]

Not the Farmer's Fault

Every housewife is well aware of the rising cost of living, as reflected recently in the amount of money she spends to feed her family.

There is no questioning the fact that prices have been on the increase. But the reason for this boost does not go all the way back to the producer.

The farmers in central Missouri and across the Nation, accounting for only 7 percent of the population, have enabled the United States to be the best fed Nation in all history.

When food price controls were lifted at the end of World War II, the farmer got a healthy increase in the price paid for his products. Since then the Nation's economy has boomed. Wages have risen sharply. But the price paid to the farmer has not gone up at anywhere near the same rate.

The businessmen of agriculture have worked hard and efficiently to feed a growing nation. If they didn't, if they were like the farmers in India and China, then three out of every four workers in the United States would be laboring in the fields to grow food. But with the great strides made in American agriculture, 1 farmer provides food for himself and 22 other persons. And each farmer thus frees 22 people to work at other jobs, directly contributing to the high standard of living we now enjoy.

While making this progress, the farmer has been faced with skyrocketing prices on the equipment he needs to run his business. Farmers have twice as much money invested in machinery as does the entire steel industry, and five times as much as the automobile industry. But the price for his products has remained relatively stable in comparison to other segments of our economy.

In spite of the odds against him, the American farmer supplies us with an abundant amount of an ever greater variety of products. And though food prices have increased at other points en route to the consumer, the final price remains a bargain.

Just 15 years ago, the average factory worker had to put in 51 hours per month to earn enough to feed his family. Today he does the same thing with less than 40 hours of work. Food for Americans remains the best buy in the world, and we owe a tip of the hat to our friends—the farmers.

ROCKY MOUNTAIN TIMBER

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, the forests of my State, and of the entire Rocky Mountain region, came in for serious discussion last month at the Wyoming Forest Industry Conference, held at Casper, Wyo.

That conference was privileged to hear from Edward P. Cliff, Chief of the U.S. Forest Service, who outlined the major problems of the timber industry in our State and passed on some sound advice to the industry. I was most pleased that he recognized and pointed to the need for road development.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Cliff's speech be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAKING THE MOST OF ROCKY MOUNTAIN TIMBER

(By Edward P. Cliff, Chief, Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, at the Wyoming Forest Industry Conference, Casper, Wyo., March 17, 1966)

It is always good to return to the Mountain States. This is my home country—the land where I was born and raised. And it is good to be back in Casper. I have been here many times, mostly when I was assistant regional forester working out of Oregon, and later when I was regional forester of the Rocky Mountain region working out of Denver. My last visit here was in 1961 when I spoke at the 58th annual convention of the Wyoming Wool Growers Association in tribute to one of Wyoming's great men—J. Byron Wilson.

Whenever I am in this part of the country I am impressed again by the diversity of the natural resources that are so abundant here. Although we are speaking primarily of timber resources today, I am sure that we do this with a full awareness of the other resources which underlie the development and growth of this region.

Our Forest Service role, for example, goes far beyond responsibilities concerning timber and water or recreation and livestock. One of the things that interests us most is helping local people find ways and means to better utilize rural resources. For example, we are proud of our success in promptly making available 2,500 acres of land needed for industrial development near Atlantic City and South Pass. This was the land exchange with the Columbia-Geneva Steel Division of United States Steel that broke all records for speed—three weeks after we received the offer from the company, we had reviewed and approved the exchange. Perhaps this was a small thing but it resulted in development of a large new mining venture in Wyoming, and led to a major turning point in the development of Provo, Utah. It illustrates our willingness to "go all out" in promoting rural area development wherever possible.

First, I would like to talk about the forests of Wyoming as illustrative of the region; then I will review with you the timber situation and outlook in general and suggest some of the things that need to be done.

Only half of the total forest area in Wyoming—some 4.9 million acres—is classified as commercial. These are areas that can produce sawlogs and other timber products as well as provide protected watersheds, wildlife habitat, outdoor recreation and, of course, livestock forage. The other half is noncommercial. It includes 2.6 million acres of productive timberland reserved from cutting in national parks, wilderness and primitive areas, or otherwise.

As you know, a high proportion of Wyoming's commercial timber is overmature. Three out of every five timbered acres support a sawtimber stand. However, there is very little timber of large size—say 21 inches in diameter or larger. In fact, many timber stands become mature before they reach sawtimber size. The familiar dense lodgepole pine stands that come in after fires are typical of this condition. Intense competition and lack of growing space make it impossible for these forests to reflect the true productive capacity of the land. Wyoming's forests do not now exhibit anywhere near their full potential as a source of timber.

Our 1962 forest survey data indicate a total sawtimber volume of some 22.6 billion board feet—roughly one-third Engelmann spruce, one-fourth lodgepole pine, one-fourth Douglas-fir and ponderosa pine, and the rest in minor species. About 90 percent of this sawtimber inventory is in public ownership—principally in the national forests. The average net volume in sawtimber stands is about 7,300 board feet per acre—average for the Mountain States.

One of the most critical forestry problems in Wyoming is to provide adequate protection from insects and disease. Two-thirds of the annual mortality—some 33 million cubic feet—stems from these causes. This is equivalent in volume to more than half again as much as the annual timber harvest. We have no good measure of the growth impact—the loss of increment due to insects and disease—but it may exceed even these huge mortality losses. Dwarf mistletoe, beetles, budworms, moths, etc., are the destructive agents. Our attempts to control them would be a long story in itself, and the job is far from done.

There are other basic forestry needs. Many acres need to be thinned—these are the overstocked stands still young and vigorous enough to respond to an opening up operation. Many thousands of acres would benefit from a thinning—but until a pulpwood market is established there can be little or no opportunity to accomplish this on a widespread basis. An exception, of course, is the intensive forest management that has been practiced for some time in the ponderosa pine stands in the Black Hills area.

Reforestation is another major need. This includes conversion of unproductive areas such as poorly stocked aspen stands, or sparse areas of lodgepole pine that are heavily infested with dwarf mistletoe. Establishing trees on nonstocked areas not likely to regenerate naturally is another big part of the job.

Road development is probably the most urgent need of all. And it is one of the most effective means to stimulate development and use of this region's forest resources. This fundamental need, when met, will almost automatically speed insect and disease control, commercial thinning, intensified management and so forth.

I know very well that lack of an adequate transportation system on the national forests is quite literally a "roadblock" that is frustrating forest resource development throughout this region. I wish that I could bring to you an optimistic outlook regarding our prospects for accelerating road construction with appropriated funds. However, the budget situation we now face includes a strong push to put our program dollars—including roadbuilding funds—where they will be most productive. For example, the wisdom of making national forest timber sales where the costs of development and administration are greater than returns to Government in stumpage values is being seriously questioned. Generally speaking, the Rocky Mountain region has been regarded as a high-cost low-margin area for timber operation.

Because of the squeeze on program dollars, one of our most important jobs these days is to adequately express the noneconomic factors which are also so important in justifying sound resource management. Our timber sale program, roadbuilding plans, reforestation, cultural work, and similar activities are based on the multiple uses and benefits of the forest. We all need to make sure that others appreciate the fact that many of the values involved cannot be measured in dollars and cents.

Here, perhaps more than in any other part of the country, timber production must be coordinated skillfully with other forest uses. The Rockies contain much of the legendary hunting and fishing areas for which North America is famous. This is the rooftop of the Nation where some of America's greatest rivers are born. The water that flows from these watersheds is of vital importance to our Nation. High ranges supply the summer forage needed by livestock numbered in the hundreds of thousands. And, the fast-growing outdoor recreation and tourism business finds its roots in the magnificent scenery of these mountains.

All of these, together with coal and minerals and power development and all the rest, add up to a tremendous potential. Senator McGee has characterized Wyoming as "a sleeping giant just awakening." This is the case throughout much of the Rockies. It is within this framework of expanding uses of natural resources that you must weave the growth of the wood-using industries—a growth that is sure to come. With skill and hard work this can be done. But the first step is to recognize and capture every opportunity to coordinate the various uses of forest land—to apply the principle of multiple use as a routine method of operation.

This subject of multiple use is one that we could pursue for hours—and it would be time well spent. But let me give just one example. There is a real need now more than ever before to demonstrate that it is possible to manage and use the forests without destroying their beauty. Clearcutting to harvest overmature stands of lodgepole pine and Engelmann spruce timber, such as you do in this region, is being criticized on esthetic grounds. The nationwide emphasis on natural beauty stemming from the White House Conference last May is a fine thing—a more beautiful America is a goal that we can each take as our own. But our special job is to point out the beauty that flows from the orderly use and renewal of the forest. We need to plan and execute logging operations to minimize the impact of the temporary loss of esthetic values.

With tourism one of the most important industries in the Mountain States, and certainly one of the fastest growing, it would be shortsighted—perhaps even suicidal—for wood-using industries to ignore the increasing importance being placed on esthetic values. Some of the most spectacular wilderness and primitive areas in the Nation attract people to this region. Outstanding skiing, hunting, fishing and other recreation opportunities add to the attraction. Many visitors are especially interested in and appreciative of esthetic values—and they look critically upon any activity that may detract from natural beauty and enjoyment of scenery.

Multiple use forestry can enhance natural beauty as well as produce sawlogs and all of the other benefits. It is our job to demonstrate that fact again and again—and make sure that people get the message.

We will need to have public support for logging in this region because we are going to be cutting more and more timber in the Rocky Mountains according to our "Timber Trends" analysis.[1] It is just a matter of time before the abundance of wood fiber available here attracts a viable pulp and paper industry.

There is also a growing interest in plywood manufacturing in this part of the country. This industry is making strong advances in the Northern Rockies and is beginning to "crack the ice" in the southern end of the region. With national demand for softwood plywood and veneer projected to increase about 2½ times by the end of the century, it seems likely that this trend will continue. Before too many years pass I think that we will see much more spruce, lodgepole pine and other species being converted into veneer and plywood in this region.

Secondary manufacturing plants are also part of the key to making better use of

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[1] The Rocky Mountain region as recognized in the "Timber Trends" report includes: Idaho, Montana, South Dakota (West), Wyoming, and Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico.

Rocky Mountain timber. A few weeks ago I noticed the article inserted in the Congressional Record by Congressman Roncalio about the Lutz Cabinet Co. of Laramie. This is an inspiring example of what can be done. I am glad to note that the Wyoming Natural Resources Board is alert in publicizing this remarkable success story.

The 1962 forecast of increased sawtimber cut is already on the way toward reality. For example, in Colorado we note a 96-percent increase, from 1964 to 1965, milling capacity of plants cutting 5 million feet or more. The comparable figure for Wyoming is a 39-percent increase according to estimates by Dave Nordwall's regional office staff at Denver. Quite a bit of this stems from excellent new stud mills—such as those at South Fork, Colo., and Sheridan, Wyo.

The main point in all of this is that we seem to be on the threshold of greatly increased timber demands. As demands for wood and wood products rise, as transportation systems improve, as technological advances are made, as population growth brings new local markets, and as the old-growth forests to the west receive more and more pressures—as all of these things happen, there is bound to be a good chance for more adequate use of the timber in this region.

If this is the case, and I don't think there is much reason to doubt this forecast, we face some important challenges right now.

In the lumber and sawmill field we need to improve the mills and the products they produce. Efficient plants that will convert logs and bolts rapidly into high-quality products are essential. Better acceptance of local woods in local markets should be an especially important goal. It doesn't make much sense to ship large quantities of west coast lumber into the Mountain States when local timber can fill most needs just as well. For example, we estimate that roughly three-fourths of the lumber consumed in Wyoming is imported from other Western States. Is this really necessary?

Rocky Mountain timber is good timber if properly manufactured and merchandised. It has suffered too long from a reputation smirched by poor sawing, improper seasoning, inadequate grading, and poor merchandising. You have made good progress in correcting this situation, but a "black eye" takes time to overcome—especially among local concerns. In addition to the trend toward more efficient mills, greater merchandising efforts will be needed if you are to capture your rightful share of local and national markets.

In the pulp and paper field there are signs that an increasing share of the surging national demand for pulpwood will be met in this region. Well documented studies, such as the work on Wyoming resources by the Pacific Power & Light Co., our forest survey publications including the Timber Trends report, and our 1964 report, entitled "Green River Pulpmill Opportunities," have laid the groundwork. I don't know where new mills will spring up—at Green River or somewhere else—but they will come. They will come because the national demand for pulpwood is expected to almost triple by the year 2000.

Today, we are being asked to supply increasing harvests of pulpwood from the Black Hills National Forest for shipment to Wisconsin. Although I am glad to see this opportunity to make some much-needed thinnings and improve the forest, I see no real future in the long run in shipping pulpwood or chips out of this State or out of this region.

We already have a thriving pulp industry in the northern Rockies. If you were to go to Snowflake, Ariz., you would see a modern pulpmill in the desert without a timber tree in sight. The timber is there all right, back on the higher ground in the national forests. This is a dramatic demonstration that successful pulpmills can be operated in this region.

I can assure you that our Forest Service activities in this region will continue to be aimed at helping to make better use of the natural resources of the Rockies.

With two-thirds of the 66 million acres of commercial forest land in national forests, that part of our responsibility is obviously very large in the Rockies. Most of you also know quite a bit about our cooperative forestry programs. Working with Carl Johnson here in Wyoming, and the other State foresters, we are making headway in protecting the private forests from insects, disease, and wildfire. We can provide some of the technical assistance needed to stimulate improved processing and marketing of wood products. We are deeply interested in helping the people and communities of this region benefit from better use of their timber resources. We know that converting each million board feet of standing timber into dry finished lumber can yield up to 7 man-years of gainful employment. We know that commercial timber production is compatible with tourism and recreation and we can help to coordinate these and other uses.

Similarly, our research program is providing much of the information needed to make better use of Rocky Mountain forests. Data ranging from resource statistics needed to support a pulpmill feasibility study to the latest facts on regeneration, watershed protection, or wood products, flow from our studies.

In concluding my remarks here today I would like to make a few recommendations for you to consider as you work to make better use of Rocky Mountain timber:

1. Build public acceptance of even-age management in those forest types where clearcutting in strips or patches is the only feasible method of timber harvest.
2. Find more efficient ways to log, manufacture, and transport timber products. We must work to overcome the obstacles of rough topography, inadequate access, low volumes of timber per acre, and other factors that make timber-based operations a marginal enterprise in so many cases.
3. Coordinate timber production with other forest uses and values. In other words, perfect and apply the multiple use principle.
4. Diversify the wood-using industry. Push hard to get improved sawmills, pulpmills and plywood mills operating within the region—and promote secondary processing on local sites, such as the furniture plant at Laramie.
5. Spare no effort in speeding up construction of needed access roads.
6. Work toward uniformly high standards in lumber manufacture to build both a local and national reputation for quality products.
7. Help strengthen the resource itself by supporting fire and pest control, research, reforestation, thinning, stand improvement, and similar activities.

The list could go on and on—but if all of us, working together, would pursue these seven types of action vigorously in the months and years ahead, our efforts would pay off handsomely.

I hope that the years to come will record many successes as you respond to the challenges so apparent in the forests of the Mountain States. I know that you will be in the front ranks as the "sleeping giant" awakens.

DRAFT CARD BURNINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN REGARD TO VIETNAM

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the Council of Veterans Organizations of Greater Dallas in Texas, has drawn up a resolution in regard to the draft card burners and the so-called peace demonstrators. As this resolution is representative of the concern of many people not only in Texas but in the United States on this matter, I ask unanimous consent that this resolution be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Resolution on Draft Card Burnings and Demonstrations in Regard to Vietnam by the Council of Veterans Organizations of Greater Dallas Area, Dallas, Tex.

Whereas the United States is committed to aid Vietnam and to help retain its integrity as a free nation, and American military personnel are now engaged in combat with the Vietcong forces who have been encouraged and aided by their Communist allies; and

Whereas Americans are making great sacrifices on the battlefields of Vietnam in carrying out our commitment to that courageous nation to stem the tide of communism in southeast Asia; and

Whereas misinformed and confused students and others have been participating in rallies and burning their draft cards, thereby giving aid and comfort to an enemy of the United States, and which action is harmful to the morale of our American fighting men in Vietnam and elsewhere; and

Whereas many of the so-called peace demonstrations and protests are Communist, Nazi, or Fascist inspired; desecrate the flag of our country and the principles it represents; and with utter disregard to the properly constituted authorities of local, State, and Federal Government; and are planned to give comfort to the enemy of our country; and

Whereas we are aware of the constitutional guarantees of the freedom of speech and the right of dissent of our citizens in a democracy such as ours in this country: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Council of Veterans Organizations of Greater Dallas, composed of the American Legion, the United Spanish War Veterans, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Jewish War Veterans, Disabled American Veterans, Veterans of World War I, AMVETS, and the American GI Forum, meeting in Dallas, Tex., on this 6th day of April 1966, supports our fighting men in Vietnam and condemns those who burn their draft cards, desecrate the flag of the United States, and participate in demonstrations that "border on treason," in time of war; thereby giving comfort to the Vietcong and their Communist allies, while claiming the protection of the Constitution of the United Sates, and defying and violating the laws of our country, and be it further

Resolved, That the Council of Veterans Organizations of the Greater Dallas Area call upon the local, State, and Federal officials to use every means at their command to prosecute those who violate the laws of our country by burning their draft cards or participating in demonstrations that are injurious to the United States; and commit acts that are harmful to the morale of American fighting men in the Armed Forces of the United States, and the council further urges that the Legislature of the State of Texas and the Congress of the United States enact such laws as are necessary and authorized by the Constitution of the United States of America.

Council of Veterans Organizations of Greater Dallas: United Spanish War Veterans, Disabled American Veterans, the American GI Forum, the American Legion, Jewish War Veterans, American Veterans of World War II (AMVETS), Veterans of Foreign Wars, Veterans of World War I.

Approved and adopted by the Council of Veterans Organizations of Greater Dallas, on this 6th day of April 1966, at Dallas, Tex.

Hymie Greenspan,
Chairman.
M. S. Stevenson,
Secretary-Treasurer.

TRUTH IN PACKAGING

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the intensity of the battle which has been waged for 5 years on the truth-in-packaging front no doubt has led to overenthusiastic statements on both sides. At this point, I readily admit that the bill probably could not achieve all the good its sponsors hope for—no more than it could do all the horrible things its opponents fear.

At this time in the bill's history, there is much benefit possible from the viewpoint of a fresh observer—one not bearing battle scars of built-in prejudices.

Such a viewpoint has been furnished by the Nation with an in-depth article by Jennifer Cross. Miss Cross is a British freelance journalist, now living in Berkeley, Calif. Her assessment of the bill—and of the highlights of its struggle through Congress—should be enlightening to all my colleagues.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the printing at this point in the Record of "The Supermarket Caper," by Jennifer Cross from the February 21, 1966, issue of the Nation.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Truth in Packaging—The Supermarket Caper

(By Jennifer Cross)

Now that the truth-in-packaging bill has been taken out of senatorial deep freeze, the legislature will again find they have uncovered a thistle scarcely less prickly than the issue of how many guns for Vietnam or how much butter for the war against poverty. If the bill manages to pass, it will be a major landmark in consumer legislation. Like the National Commission on Food Marketing (NCFM), which was set up by act of Congress in July 1964, and is due to report in July of this year, it has provoked the concentrated hostility of the $80 billion food industry.

Rumbles of discontent were being heard in the supermarkets long before Senator Philip A. Hart, Democrat, of Michigan, started his packaging investigations 5 years ago. Consumers and consumer organizations the country over complained that the retail shopper, far from being the sovereign rational buyer that manufacturers like to make out, was bewildered and frustrated. Since 1961, the supporting evidence has become monumental, and most of it centers on packaging.

Aside from the problems of how to choose from among the 8,000 items in today's supermarkets (more than five times the number stocked before the war), confusing or dishonest containers make it impossible to buy rationally or to compare prices. To drive this point home, Mrs. Helen Nelson, California's consumer counsel, organized a shopping test in a typical Sacramento supermarket. She selected 5 college-educated housewives, gave them each $10, and asked them to buy 14 common household items, ranging from rice to toilet soap, choosing solely on the basis of the most quantity for the least money. The results, she later testified before the Hart subcommittee, were depressing. Her team took nearly twice as long as the average shopper, and half the time could not identify the cheapest items.

The ladies were not incompetent—merely at sea among the plethora of sizes and weights which go far beyond people's desire for variety. As Mrs. Sarah H. Newman, general secretary of the National Consumers League, told the NCFM last October, "customers really do not benefit from having 70 different sizes of potato-chip packages available to them." Nor do they benefit from the multiple fractions in which these weights and sizes come, and which would be quaint if they did not look suspiciously like cheating.

These odd measures can be legitimate marketing practice, as the packaging industry has been quick to point out. Some manufacturers prefer to sell by price, and alter quantity as the cost of the foodstuffs fluctuates. Different products, or even the same product from different sources, may vary in densities, and that will produce odd amounts when uniform packaging is essential (e.g., in vending machines) or desirable (e.g., spices). Harrison F. Dunning, president of the Scott Paper Co., told the Hart subcommittee: "The housewife wants a neat little rack of six kinds of spices, and she wants them to look good in her kitchen, so she wants them all the same size. They have different specific gravities, so to fill the bottle you have got to have 2¼ ounces of one, 3½ of another, 4⅛ of a third, and that is what the housewife wants."

Not so legitimate is the phenomenon of slow shrinkage, all too often the result of manufacturers' attempts to increase profits and acquire an edge over competitors. Familiar friends like Betty Crocker Instant Mashed Potatoes and Kraft Fudgies have gradually dwindled (from 7.2 to 6.5 ounces, and from 15 to 12 ounces). The once standard No. 2 can, containing about 20 ounces, has largely given way to the 16-ounce No. 303 can or the 15-ounce No. 300. Today, almost the only commodities sold in standard units are flour, sugar, ground coffee, tea, cheese foods and dry beans. (A notable exception is the line of goods sold by the Co-op under its own label. These come in regular sizes.) The erosion is continuous. "How long will it be before one of the current 15-ounce brands comes out "new" containing 14 or 14½ ounces?" inquired Mrs. Nelson "This kind of competitive battle, fought with constantly changing package sizes, compounds confusion for consumers." Of course, the package looks the same and costs at least as much as it did before.

A more acute and tangible grievance is deceptive packaging. In the course of only 2 years, Consumers Union alone has collected complaints involving 200 different product lines, some of them coming from the biggest manufacturers in the country. There is the package cunningly designed to look bigger than it is * * * the full-color picture that bears scant relationship to what's inside * * * puffy adjectives like "big" quart and "jumbo" gallon, and meaningless descriptions of size like "king," "giant," "large," and "super." Other packages suffer from marked schizophrenia, wherein the legend on the front, which is what the customer reads, is not borne out by the contents listed in small print on the back. Thus one is offered "pineapple-filled oatmeal cookies," which contain neither filling nor pineapple, and a frozen creamed spinach, "expertly blended with heavy cream, fresh farm butter, and the perfect touch of seasoning," which (besides the vegetable itself) contains mostly milk, flour and vegetable shortening.

Another problem is the "cents off" label, offering a small reduction on "the regular price," whatever that is. According to Mrs. Esther Peterson, special assistant to the President for consumer affairs and Assistant Secretary of Labor, this is misleading because "the manufacturer is in effect promising something that he cannot at all times deliver. * * * He has no control over the prices charged at the wholesale or retail level. The 'cents off' legend may mean cents off to the wholesaler or retailer—but it does not necessarily mean cents off to the consumer."

Aside from the packaging issue, other serious questions about food trade operations have been raised by the NCFM. These are the quality of certain foodstuffs, the less-than-good system of food distribution available to the poor, higher retailing costs that raise consumer food prices, and an increasing domination of agriculture by "oligopolies"—the big processing and retailing chains that can use their bargaining power to depress farm prices.

While the quality of American food is generally good, a number of witnesses brought enough evidence to the contrary to suggest the need for new or revised Federal standards for certain frozen and canned products. A Consumers Union report on frozen entrees (October 1965) found that "stingy portions and mediocre quality make them hardly worth while," while their tests on frozen fruit pies (September 1965) revealed declining weight and quality. David Angevine, public relations director of the Cooperative League of the United States, cited watered-down juice drinks, turkey dinners with only one-third meat, and fruit-juice substitutes which are little more than "sugar water, flavored, colored, with two or three vitamins added."

In some cases Federal standards are low enough to disappoint people who buy prepared foods in the expectation that they will resemble homemade recipes. Thus it is perfectly legal to sell frozen chop suey which contains only 2 percent deboned chicken meat, or frozen breaded shrimp which is only 50 percent shrimp. Manufacturers are legally required to list the ingredients in order of predominance, but not to state the percentages. The differences in terminology which result are too subtle for most buyers. How many realize that "chicken with noodles" contains at least 15 percent chicken, but "noodles with chicken" has only 9 percent?

These problems affect everybody, but the 34 million living at or under the official poverty line have troubles of their own. While not all consumer experts are yet ready to endorse David Caplovitz' view that "the poor pay more," evidence is piling up to show that he is right. Mrs. Dorothy Height (national president, National Council of Negro Women) said there were fewer big supermarkets in poor, particularly Negro, urban districts. Stores were smaller and more congested, with less choice of goods, poorer quality and few fixed prices. Mrs. Nelson's consumer survey of the Watts area showed many similar complaints—plus high prices, particularly in neighborhood stores which give credit. Rightly or wrongly, more than half the 250 people interviewed felt in some way cheated. The main targets of the August riots were retail stores; 70 food markets were burned and looted.

Not only Watts complains of high prices. From 1960 to 1964, everyone paid 1 percent a year more for food, and in 1965 we paid 3 percent more. One of the most important NCFM jobs is to find out why, with particular reference to retailing costs. Gross margins (the difference between the wholesale and retail price, expressed as a percentage of total sales) have gone up from 18.1 percent in 1955 to 22.2 percent in 1963, and last year accounted for 3.7 percent of the public's $69 billion food bill.

It would seem that either retailers are on to a good thing, or else operating costs have risen sharply. In fact, supermarket net profits, which run generally between 1 and 2 percent, are not exorbitant. However, between 1947 and 1963, labor costs went up by 36 percent, and the cost of plant and equipment by 51 percent. Possibly the consumer got better service, but he got nothing out of supermarket rent increases (up 400 percent during this period), interest payments (up 300 percent) or advertising and promotion (up 300 percent). And he did not get any of the financial advantages resulting from improved food technology.

The last person to benefit has been the farmer. Between 1947 and 1964, the public paid $26.2 billion more for their food, but 88.5 percent of it went to the processors. During the same period, agricultural prices dropped by 12 percent, and farmers were saved only by a 40-percent increase in production. Farm incomes have generally failed to keep pace with the rest of the population. The average annual wage of a farm operator ($3,750) is well below the national average and less than almost every type of worker in the food processing and handling industries.

Many NCFM witnesses feel that "the core of the problem * * * is the accelerating control of the 'toll gates' between primary producers and consumers which is coming to be exercised by an ever decreasing number of increasingly powerful corporate complexes." By moving into certain commodity markets, particularly livestock feeding and packing, these giant retail-wholesole-production chain complexes are gaining an unchallengeable grip on prices. So the commission has started a separate inquiry into concentration in the food industry, sending questionnaires to firms with more than $750 million a year turnover—A. & P., Safeway, Kroger, Acme, Food Fair, Winn-Dixie, National Tea, Jewel Tea, and Grand Union.

The food industry's replies to its critics are genially simplistic, ingenious or brutally frank, depending on whether you read the national press, the senatorial committee and NCFM hearings, or the trade press. Since 1964 (by which time the food industry and its satellites had pulled themselves and their resources together sufficiently to undertake a national publicity campaign), the housewife has been told repeatedly that food is a bargain, costing less of her take-home dollar than ever before. She is also reminded that the American food industry is the envy of the world, and that she is a splendid little shopper to whose lightest whim the industry is only too glad to cater.

Official testimony, backed up in the trade press, has stressed certain themes until they have become well worn. After polite preliminaries about what a good job the food industry does, spokesmen picture the consumer as a rational shopper, choosing freely and expressing approval or disapproval of different products by the way he spends his money. "Because of his dollar ballots," said Prof. Steuart Henderson Britt, editor of the Journal of Marketing, "the consumer will continue to be king. Every day he casts these ballots at the cash registers." As for the female of the species, according to an ad for the Scott Paper Co., "a woman in a store is a mechanism, a prowling computer. * * * Jungle trained, her bargain-hunter senses razor sharp for the sound of a dropping price."

A second point made frequently is that if there are lots of products and package sizes cluttering up the supermarket it's because the consumer likes it that way. According to Mrs. Helen Wolcott Horton, consumer service director of the Pillsbury Co., there is a growing demand for convenience foods because one-third of all women over the age of 14 have jobs away from home. Today's buyers (flattery is the industry's favorite weapon) "have more money, more education, more sophistication and more willingness to experiment. They are optimistic, highly mobile, recreation-minded and family-centered." Along with their sophisticated taste in food is a sophisticated taste in service, running to fancier stores, bigger car parks, Musak and kiddie korrals.

Packaging, said the manufacturers at a NCFM hearing, cannot be a serious issue because they get so few complaints about it. Most women shop by brand rather than by weight and are not interested in comparing prices. Mrs. Blanche M. Stover, food editor of Parents' Magazine, confirmed: "We all get the same general comments on industry—its products, its packaging, and labeling, its advertising, its service. We know that some women are concerned about unfilled packages, bulky packaging, hard-to-read fine print, weights in fractional ounces, etc. But * * * we have received little adverse criticism of packaging and labeling as it exists today. The reader is much more likely to complain that the local store does not yet stock a new food product she had read about in a magazine."

At the Hart subcommittee hearings on truth in packaging, manufacturers could not very well dismiss the issue as of no consequence, so they gave more detailed explanations for the multitude of package sizes, and reinforced these with warnings of what would happen if the industry were forced to standardize quantity. First, such uniformity would not eliminate fractions for the consumer who wants to know the price per pound. Second, it would stifle initiative in developing new products or improved packages. Third, it would lead to increase in costs, in the form of more packaging machines and a proliferation of container sizes, which would probably be passed on to the consumer. Manufacturers had different ideas of what this particular bill would be. The Kellogg Co., for example, estimated that its current volume of production, if packed in standardized sizes, would cost additionally "between $3 and $6 million," not counting the probable loss of business "due to inability to give the consumer the sizes she wants to fit the needs of her family." Collectively, the cost was estimated at tens of millions of dollars which, as Mrs. Newman was quick to point out, is probably what we are currently paying for unstandardized and generally uncalled-for package changes. Last, and just in case there might be grounds for reform, the industry insisted it would be wrong to effect changes by legislation. Properly strengthened and fattened, existing regulatory agencies (particularly the Federal Trade Commission and the Food and Drug Administration) would be quite adequate.

On the question of supermarket economies, at least as they affect consumers, the industry based its case on the harsh necessities of retailing competition, stressing low profit margins, and the large slice consumed by rising wages and fringe benefits. Furthermore, the housewife was surprisingly fickle—not, of course, because she was discontented but because she was exercising her sovereign choice. Robert R. Mueller and George E. Kline, editors of the Progressive Grocer, showed that 42 percent abandoned their favorite store each year, either because they moved, or because they were dissatisfied, mainly because of high prices.

Quite the most noticeable thing about the truth in packaging and NCFM hearings is the staggering contradictions in consumer and industry testimony. Is the consumer, for example, a rational, sovereign buyer, or a confused woman trying to read the small print on the label and doing sums on her fingers? How would the "prowling computer" have made out in Mrs. Nelson's shopping test? Do consumers really want the huge variety of foodstuffs offered them, along with jazzy packaging, fancy supermarkets, trading stamps and other promotions? Do women really care about truth in packaging anyway?

A little light on these and other discrepancies can be thrown by the grocery, advertising and packaging trade press where, as Dexter Masters puts it in his "Intelligent Buyer's Guide to Sellers," business people are more apt to speak their mind. The consumer and her needs are discussed with a good deal less reverence in private than in public. Admen and others have known for many years that the problem of our overstocked economy can be solved only by making people want what is produced rather than by producing what is wanted, and to this end anything goes—from trading stamps to research on the effect of the housewife's menstrual cycle on her purchasing habits.

The result is not necessarily pleasant shopping. A packaging magazine recently admitted that today's supermarket is "a confusing jungle filled with a blur of colors, shapes and noisy jostling people, all contributing to a tense and confusing atmosphere for the shopper. * * * There is no clerk to guide her, the atmosphere is a bit unfriendly, lighting conditions are often poor, she can't find things easily."

The housewife also encounters a good deal of sharp practice. A recent survey by the National Bureau of Standards in Arkansas showed that "more than 80 percent of prepackaged foods were found to be of short measure." Only last December, Jerry Cohen, staff director and chief counsel for the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Anti-Trust and Monopoly, revealed he had interviewed 100 package designers, and "many were discouraged because they were asked to design deceptively."

Industry has also been less than honest about its motives in opposing the packaging bill. Behind stated complaints lurks a mortal terror of Government interference. Consumer experts, on the other hand, are adamant that industry should not and could not put its house in order unaided, any more than it should claim to know what the consumer wants better than he knows himself. Mrs. Peterson stated: "If a competing firm institutes a questionable practice and succeeds, then others suffer if they fail to follow, a process which has been called "Gresham's Law of the market place." Existing Government machinery is certainly not adequate to cope with the problem. Thirty-three Federal agencies are currently engaged in 296 consumer-protection activities, most of which were originally set up by Congress to represent producer interests.

The truth-in-packaging bill can solve a lot of problems. In its present form it calls for the statement of the net-weight content on the front panel of a package, plus standards for the size and location of the type in which it is set. It prohibits adjectives like "giant," "big," and "jumbo" in the net-weight description; "cents-off" legends as an integral part of a label, and package sizes, shapes, dimensions or pictures that may deceive consumers. It will also establish reasonable standards of weight or size for packages, and for declarations of quantity other than net weight (i.e., the meaning of "a serving"), and will require adequate information about the ingredients and composition of the contents in a prominent place on the package.

The bill is not intended to obviate the need for more food standards or to halt the flood of products in today's supermarkets. Nor will it end all the difficulties of the 22 million people who lack an eighth-grade education and may have trouble reading a label, however specific. But it will clear up some of the present confusion. More important, it will save money. At least one supermarket operator estimated that 25 percent of the family food bill could be saved by more rational shopping. In California alone, consumers could save $25 million a year on food if costs were lowered by just one-half of 1 percent.

If the bill manages to pass, it will be despite the food industry, whose formidably coordinated national lobby has thrown dust in the public's eye, while keeping the bill corralled in Senate committees. The opposition consists of the Grocery Manufacturers Association, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the National Association of Manufacturers, linked by trade press and national, regional and State conferences. Most formidable is the GMA, which links more than 100 national food-processing trade associations, supported by allied industries that sell in supermarkets and, of course, the advertising industry. Supermarket News described their lobby thus: "Grocery manufacturers descended on Washington last week and in a VIP turnout before the Senate Commerce Committee blasted the truth in packaging bill in a concerted bid to kill the administration-backed legislation." They lobbied individual Senators. They lobbied in the trade press, sniping at Senator Hart, Mrs. Peterson, and later, the NCFM. They also managed to kill, or postpone, some State truth in packaging bills, e.g., in California.

The latest move is a report designed to help the NCFM get an accurate picture of the food industry. To finance it, the GMA dipped into its own kitty and also passed the hat around the advertising agencies and media, applying a little pressure to keep the contributions flowing. James Patton, president of the National Farmers Union, has condemned the whole episode as shocking and deplorable, and filed a complaint with the Department of Justice.

Two massive campaigns aimed at the public in 1964 and 1965, dinned home the message that "food is a bargain." The industry spends a billion dollars a year to advertise its product, and for this it also expects some editorial cooperation. The GMA president suggested to the publishers that the day was here when their editorial departments and business departments might better understand their interdependency relationships as they contributed to the operating results of their company, and as their operations may affect the advertisers—their bread and butter. First result of this wordy but unmistakable warning was a Look magazine article (January 26, 1965), that was almost blatant propaganda for the food industry. Follow-up comment by Senator Hart never saw the light of day; neither did several TV appearances for which he was scheduled, nor an article by William D. Zabel, supporting the bill, and due to be reprinted in Reader's Digest.

Against these efforts, the consumer lobby is puny. Lacking time, money and organization, it has made little or no attempt to coordinate the efforts of local consumer councils with national organizations like Consumers Union, National Consumers League, Cooperative League of the U.S.A., AFL–CIO, and the American Home Economics Association. If the bill manages to pass, it will not be mainly due to consumers' efforts. The encouraging thing is that the administration appears to be behind the bill—a point that was made by Mrs. Peterson last November to the Association of California Consumers, and confirmed by Vice President Hubert Humphrey at a consumer conference in New York last December.

Also pending in Congress is a truth-in-lending bill. Since this would if anything be even more unpopular with the business community, truth in packaging may pass after all.

THE VOTING PRIVILEGE OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN HAWAII

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I am happy to be able to report to you and my colleagues that the State of Hawaii has now accorded full voting rights to qualified military personnel stationed in Hawaii.

The legislation was sponsored by a Democratic State administration led by Gov. John A. Burns.

In signing the bill, Governor Burns encouraged military personnel in Hawaii to take advantage of their newly acquired privileges and to participate fully in all our community and civic affairs.

Military personnel and dependents who desire to vote must meet a 1-year residency requirement and must declare Hawaii as their legal residence.

CONSUMER ASSEMBLY, 1966

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, representatives of 32 national organizations with nearly 50 million members will gather at the Washington Hilton Hotel in Washington April 25 to 27 for Consumer Assembly 1966. This will be the first nationwide meeting of organizations working for the interest of the U.S. consumer.

The sponsors of Consumer Assembly have honored me with an invitation to discuss my truth-in-lending bill, S. 2275. I welcome this opportunity to discuss the cost of consumer borrowing and our greatly inflated consumer debt.

Short- and intermediate-term consumer debt is now over $85 billion and mortgage debt on nonfarm family housing is now at $213 billion, for a total of $298 billion. This is close to the size of the entire national debt of $323 billion.

Part of my concern over our consumer debt arises from the fact that the men and women who owe it pay, at minimum, a whopping $22 billion a year in debt service and finance charges. That is double the annual debt service on the entire national debt. With interests costs rising, it is likely to increase. On only the $85 billion of short- and intermediate-term consumer debt, consumers pay $11 billion in finance charges.

While some express great worry over the national debt if the fighting continues in Vietnam, we also should be concerned and do something about our consumer debt. We can help keep it within safe bounds by alerting the American people to the often exorbitant cost of consumer credit.

The truth-in-lending bill I have sponsored would require lenders and merchants extending credit through charge accounts to notify the borrowers in plain language, before a loan contract is signed or a sale is completed, of the finance charges they must pay and what this amounts to expressed as an annual rate on the outstanding unpaid balance.

This would seem a reasonable thing to expect but powerful opposition has prevented passage of truth-in-lending legislation since its inception.

The need for truth-in-lending legislation has been documented at congressional hearings over many years. These hearings show that borrowers and buyers are often ignorant of the true cost of credit.

For example, a family charges $700 worth of purchases at a store. The seller may tell the family there is a small service charge without specifying the charge. Without knowing it, the family may have to pay 18 to 36 percent a year in finance charges on this type of credit.

The hearings which the Production and Stabilization Subcommittee conducted at leading cities in 1963–64 showed the widespread misunderstanding of the cost of buying on time.

For instance, a Manhattan housewife bought a couch for $300 from a house-to-house salesman. She agreed to pay $12 every 2 weeks for 2 years. Believe it or not, her total finance charge was $324 or $24 more than the cost of the couch. The finance charge rate, amounting to 107 percent, was of course never mentioned when the couch was sold.

A Jersey City man testified he bought a TV set for $123.88. The seller gave him a coupon book calling for 24 payments at $17.50 a month. This amounted to an annual rate of 229 percent. The buyer testified he had to keep up his payments under threat of losing his job.

In another case, a busdriver told of borrowing $1,000 from a loan company. The interest rate would be 4½ percent, he was informed—the true interest rate was 29½ percent. Had he known what the true interest rate would be, this witness said he would have sought better terms from another lender.

Truth-in-lending legislation would leave no doubt about the annual rate being charged in any of these instances. It would give consumers the truth about the cost of borrowing and so would permit them to shop for the best credit buy. In a period of high interest rates, it would permit them to make a rational decision to, perhaps, defer a purchase.

A great deal is heard these days about inflation and how it will affect the national debt. I am concerned, and my friends who worry about the national debt ought to be concerned, too, about our inflated consumer debt.

President Johnson has endorsed the principles of truth in lending, and I am grateful for his support. It shows that the President is concerned, as I am, about both our national debt and our consumer debt.

Consumer Assembly 1966 should result in greater understanding of the dangers of deception and insufficient disclosure of information to consumers. I look forward to the conference and I congratulate its sponsors.

A CRISIS IN AMERICAN MERCHANT SHIPPING AND AMERICAN MERCHANT SHIPBUILDING

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the thoughts, hopes, and fears held by many responsible maritime leaders regarding our aging merchant marine were given voice in New York City recently by a shipbuilding executive who would like more progress in this field.

Daniel D. Strohmeier, vice president, Bethlehem Steel Corp., made several significant points while addressing the 196th anniversary dinner of the Marine Society of the City of New York.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Strohmeier's speech be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Speech by Daniel D. Strohmeier, Vice President, Bethlehem Steel Corp., in Charge of Shipbuilding Before the Marine Society of the City of New York at the 196th Anniversary Dinner, April 11, 1966, New York City

We are today facing a crisis in American merchant shipping and American merchant shipbuilding. This has been generated by a combination of national apathy and computer brinksmanship. It manifests itself in shameful statistics. Today our active merchant fleet consists of about 900 vessels, most of them obsolete, and they are carrying less than 9 percent of our foreign trade. Over the last 10 years our merchant shipyards have been building replacements at less than half the obsolescence rate of even that fleet. This year there will be ordered only enough ships to meet one-fourth of the obsolescence rate.

The age of the fleet clearly reflects this disgrace. The average age is 18 years. And the average is marching nearly in pace with the calendar. Seven ships out of ten are overage.

One might raise the question: Have we no merchant marine policy? The answer is that we do. But those responsible for carrying it out are quietly letting it slip into moth balls or possibly even chloroform.

In 1936, a national policy was formulated by a Congress and a President who understood the significance of sea power. That policy was embodied in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. It stated that it is necessary for our national defense and commerce that this country have a merchant marine capable of handling all of its waterborne domestic commerce and a substantial portion of its foreign commerce and that such a merchant marine should be composed of American-built ships manned by American citizens. It provided the machinery, via subsidy, to implement that policy with a Government agency charged with fostering the development of such a merchant marine.

That was the law in 1936, and it is the law in 1966.

If it is our national policy to carry a substantial portion of our foreign commerce in American ships, why are we now carrying less than 9 percent and why are we now laying down so few new ships that they will support less than half of that 9 percent?

I think these are vital questions for every one concerned directly with our foreign commerce and for every citizen who wishes to preserve his way of life.

I believe these are the principal reasons for this decline:

First, there is a disposition in Washington today to ignore past experience. It was Santayana who said "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." We got through World War II right side up only because we could bring the industrial might of America to bear against the enemy. Virtually all of it had to funnel through the stupendous merchant marine created through the expanding efforts of an already healthy shipbuilding industry together with the good luck of a time buffer furnished by England.

Unfortunately, there is today in Washington not a single key official who has any personal experience with what was required to achieve the World War II merchant marine. Nor is there any effort to appoint to the Maritime Administration, the agency presiding over our merchant marine, people with the background and ability in maritime affairs of a Jerry Land.

Second, as a nation we are losing a sense of values and a sense of proper national priorities. If a project has glamour, it gets the green light. If it produces votes for the party in power, it is supported. If it is necessary only for our survival but lacks glamour and votes, it is ignored.

Compare the paltry $400 million a year for the whole merchant marine with $5 billion for space. Of the $400 million for the merchant marine only $85 million are for new ships. Compare this $85 million with a figure I saw the other day of $820 million to develop vehicles to travel on the moon, after we get there. Now, I thrill to the spectacle of our space exploits and I shall probably be emotionaly intoxicated for a day or two after we do get to the moon. But really, doesn't $820 mililon for moon vehicles seem nonsensical when compared with only $85 million for merchant ships needed to traverse 71 percent of the earth's surface?

A third reason we are in such a sorry posture at sea is what might be called computer-brinkmanship. For instance, 4 years ago the Defense Department concluded that we had all the merchant ships we needed for any foreseeable military emergency and that, anyway, most of the men and material would be transported by air. The verities of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act are now held to be out of date. In 1936 it was obvious that just about all of our overseas transport had to be by ship. But surely we must have an entirely different situation today. After all, much has happened in the last 30 years. We now have things we did not have 30 years ago: television, radar, lasers, transoceanic airplanes, helicopters, nuclear power, nuclear warheads, ICBM's and earth satellites.

Well, just how different are the logistics of war now from what they were 30 years ago? We now have a war on our hands against which to check the output of the computers, whose input was provided by a vast bureaucracy of brilliant, earnest, but inexperienced intellectuals. What do we find? We find that for all of our vaunted progress since 1936, 98 percent of the Vietnam lift is by ship.

Washington's computers concluded we had enough ships. Well, we have already found it necessary to break out 108 Victory ships from the World War II laid-up fleet and we are scraping the bottom of the shipping barrel in an undeclared war that involves no enemy action at sea. I humbly suggest that this is brinkmanship of the most dangerous order.

I do not wish to leave the impression that I alone have the insight to recognize the decline of the merchant marine. Others are concerned and there have recently been signs that some in Washington are becoming aware. Most everyone has a pet panacea, including me, and here is where the yelling begins.

An Interagency Maritime Task Force, consisting mostly of anonymous members from at least six Government departments, has issued a totally defeatist report. The gist of it is that only about one-third of 1 percent of our national budget can ever be spared on the merchant marine. Therefore, the way to get a larger merchant fleet under the American-flag is to reapportion the pie by spending less on new ship construction and more on the operating subsidies. An essential ingredient of this plan would be to permit for the first time the building abroad of American ships subsidized as to operations. The present Maritime Administration espouses this course in spite of its being charged by law with the promotion of an all-American merchant marine.

Another group, representing a wide cross-section of ship operators, has recently advocated building abroad.

Both groups say they believe in a healthy shipbuilding industry but are content to leave it to the Defense Department.

Another recent group, the Presidentially appointed Maritime Advisory Committee, would retain American shipbuilding and would impose flag-preference on bulk imports.

And the shipbuilders themselves, understandably, take a dim view of opening the flood gates to cheaper foreign-built ships.

It is obvious that the maritime industry in this country is fragmented by divergent views and contradictory opinions. The views of each industry group are expressions of raw self-interest, bathed in an aura of disarming enlightenment.

The subsidized lines, which comprise about one-third of the active fleet, see the pie shrinking and, understandably, resist admittance of new members to the club. They would like to have nearly all of the money for themselves, even most of that which heretofore has been set aside for the building of ships in this country.

The American-flag tramp operators have severe problems of their own. Unsubsidized directly, they operate mostly old ships, enjoy preference cargoes and face a serious replacement problem.

The tanker segment wants a minimum of Government interference or restraint.

The American-owned flags-of-necessity fleet, numbering over 400 vessels, is an important adjunct to our potential sea lift. They are engaged almost exclusively in the offshore dry or liquid bulk trades and are under constant bombardment from U.S. labor. They most assuredly oppose suggestions of import quotas by flag-preference.

These divergent industry views are expressed by men of considerable stature, and they command respect.

However, not all views can prevail simultaneously and here is where we find the bankruptcy of our leadership. In a field so closely identified with the national interest, that leadership should be supplied by the Government.

When the head of our Maritime Administration suggests that we can have a merchant marine to meet national objectives without a corresponding shipbuilding industry, I shudder.

The issue as I see it is whether our adequacy at sea lies in a strong fleet in being without proper replacement capability or whether there should be a balance between fleet in being and capability to expand rapidly. I feel that there should be no question about the issue; but, apparently, there is.

If history is any guide our next major war will be started by somebody else who will determine the time, the place, and the weapons. My judgment is that it will not be a pushbutton war of few hours duration. It will be a war of wearing down and attrition. It will be either here or abroad. My guess is it will be abroad. Here is where the merchant marine comes in as an arm of defense.

No nation has ever won a long war with the hardware on hand at the start. This includes ships. In World War II, 4,786 allied merchant vessels were lost to enemy action. Early losses averaged nearly 100 per month and this in spite of the fact that Germany began the war with only 47 submarines. Russia today has approximately 500. The probabilities are strong that our merchant fleet would be decimated by the end of the first year.

Where would the replacements come from? Surely not from an emaciated domestic shipbuilding industry if the advocates of a build-abroad policy have their way. Then from our friends? Possibly, but with no assurance.

SEATO has fallen apart as an effective instrument of defense. NATO is being rocked. The British Empire ceases to exist as a major world force for peace, and Britannia no longer rules the waves.

Our friends, to our discomfort, trade regularly with Cuba and Red China.

We were born a trading nation, and we are the world's greatest trading nation today. However, it is too much to expect that many of our good commercial friends today can be relied upon to be our military friends tomorrow. Their national interests and ours are not necessarily compatible.

More and more we seem to be isolating ourselves politically.

It is sobering to consider the fact that of the five largest foreign countries two are openly hostile and three are so precariously neutral that we have had to impose arms embargos on them.

As one who has personal experience with our World War II shipbuilding effort I can say with a fair certainty that, if we break down our traditional protection of American shipping to permit shipbuilding and ship repairing of our merchant fleet abroad, the time will not be far off when we shall no longer have a viable shipyard industry capable of doing the kind of job that may have to be done.

What does all of this boil down to? It would seem to me that most groups that have stood up to be counted agree generally on one point regardless of their disagreement as to details. That is that our merchant marine is not as healthy as it should be in the national interest. Only the Pentagon would seem to think otherwise. For my part, I can see only disaster ahead if we try to solve our problem at the expense of our shipbuilding mobilization potential, as some advocate.

This leads to only one conclusion, as I see it. As a nation we had better face up to the necessity of spending what we have to spend to carry out the policy of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 whose principles ring as true today as they did then. When our ships carry less than 9 percent of our foreign commerce and where 7 out of 10 ships are over-age no American ship owner should be denied the facilities of the 1936 Act. The agency charged with fostering the Merchant Marine should not have to say to an American ship owner as it did recently, you cannot build the ships you need to maintain your commercial position because we are out of subsidy money and may not fulfill your fleet requirements by building abroad.

The cost of not being prepared is many times the cost of foresight. I suggest we wake up while there is yet time and postpone our trip to the moon if necessary to get on with the task of implementing the established national maritime policy.

One parting word. Russia is assembling the greatest peacetime merchant fleet the world has ever known. In 2 years they will equal our fleet. By 1970 their fleet will be 40 percent larger and newer than ours—that is, if we don't wake up. By their projections, set forth in the last Communist Party Congress, their fleet will exceed ours in 1980 by a factor of nearly 4 to 1. They will be able to make or break the market or nearly every sea lane in the world.

Maybe they are wrong and we are right. If so, no harm. But if they are right and we are wrong, only God's mercy can help us. Let us pray that our Nation has the wisdom to act before time runs out.

THE OMBUDSMAN: CITIZEN'S DEFENDER

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, the March 1966, issue of the American Bar Association Journal contains a review of a book entitled: "The Ombudsman: Citizen's Defender." This book, edited by Donald C. Rowat, a professor of political science at the Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada, contains a compilation of many articles on the subject of ombudsman. Professor Rowat includes in his book discussions on existing ombudsman systems, related institutions, and proposed schemes for new ombudsmen. It is a worthwhile book for any serious student of the institution and concept of ombudsman. I ask unanimous consent to insert, at this point in the RECORD, the review of Professor Rowat's books which appeared in the March 1966, issue of the ABA Journal. I also ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD a book review written by Prof. Walter Gellhorn on another subject of concern to the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure.

There being no objection, the book reviews were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the American Bar Association Journal, March 1966]

THE OMBUDSMAN: CITIZEN'S DEFENDER

(Edited by Donald C. Rowat, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965. $8.25, pages 341. Review by David E. Nelson of the California Bar, San Francisco)

Lewis Carroll once wrote that impressive hard-working words ought to be paid extra. If this is so, lawyers interested in administrative procedure are heavily indebted to the word "ombudsman" for exciting both legal and public interest in the problems of supervising administrative activities. Historically first a Swedish institution, variations of the ombudsman concept have been established since World War II in Denmark, Norway, West Germany and New Zealand, have been the subject of intense study and discussion in Great Britain (adopted as a yet unrealized part of the Labour Party program in the last general election) and have been the subject of both Federal and State legislative proposals in the United States.

The concept is simple enough—the ombudsman is an officer appointed by the legislature who investigates complaints from citizens (forwarded either directly or through legislators) that they have been unfairly dealt with by administrative agencies. If he finds a complaint is justified, the ombudsman seeks a remedy—sometimes directly benefiting the complainant, sometimes through publicity of administrative maladroitness, sometimes through calling into action the heavy hand of criminal prosecution, sometimes through a combination of these techniques.

Simplicity of concept, however, generally raises a lawyer's suspicions, and reflection raises many questions about the adaptability of the ombudsman system to local, State or Federal Governments in this country. One of the great values of this book is its exhaustive analysis of the manner in which the ombudsman at present works and of how the institution might be adapted for local consumption. To accomplish this the editor has compiled a series of articles by native experts on their own national ombudsman systems, by others comparing related institutions (such as the Inspector-General in the U.S. Army) and by both proponents and opponents of proposed adaptations of the idea. Statistical studies of the exact nature of the work done by existing ombudsman offices have also been included.

Professor Rowat has been fortunate in attracting a knowledgeable and readable group of contributors. In some instances he has been able to persuade men at present acting as ombudsmen to describe their activities. Since he has included offerings from some powerful dissenters from the concept of transplanting the institution, this discussion is somewhat more exciting to the general reader than the earlier expositions of the existing national systems. Any lawyer or other citizen who has felt frustrated by an inability to obtain a meaningful review of administrative action (and casual shop talk would indicate these are more than a handful) should find this book instructive and stimulating.

[From the American Bar Association, March 1966]

ADMINISTRATIVE LAW TREATISE 1965 POCKET PARTS

(By Kenneth Culp Davis, St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co.; pages 602. Reviewed by Walter Gellhorn, Betts professor of law at Columbia University School of Law)

Had Kenneth Culp Davis published a 602-page monograph entitled "Recent Developments in Administrative Law," the volume would have been quickly reviewed in legal periodicals and widely read by scholars and practitioners. Since, however, his observations have been published in the form of pocket parts to his well-established Administrative Law Treatise, potential readers may mistake their nature.

These pocket parts are not, as many others may have been, a dry-as-dust compilation of annotations. They are not mere summaries of cases and statutes. They are, in fact, a collection of short essays concerning important issues and problems in administrative law. They deserve to be noted and read, rather than merely inserted in the backs of reference volumes that may long remain inert on the shelves of one's office.

So, for example, Professor Davis debates the soundness of the Internal Revenue Service's policy concerning reliance on rulings: he reviews and attacks the Immigration and Naturalization Service's enforcement of "secret law," which harshly disadvantages thousands of aliens annually; he explores whether provision of counsel may not be a constitutional obligation in administrative as well as criminal proceedings, considering some of the implications of the antipoverty program: he analyzes the Hector-Minow proposals for separating the planning and adjudicating activities of Federal regulatory agencies, bringing into the picture the contrary views of the former Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, William L. Cary; he discusses the significance of ex parte communications and "influence" in adjudicatory proceedings, evaluating proposals by the Administrative Conference and steps taken by various administrative organs; he reappraises the law of standing to challenge administrative actions; he brings sovereign immunity and governmental tort liability up to date. These are but a small sampling of the pocket parts, scope and content.

In his well-known style, Professor Davis does not hesitate to aim his punches at other authorities—judges and scholars alike. Louis Jaffe, he says, makes a "glib statement" that the decided cases may not support and "seems clearly mistaken" in other assertions; Raoul Berger "seems plainly mistaken" and his reason for disagreeing with Davis "shows its unsoundness on its face." None of Professor Davis' blows happened to land on the present reviewer, so no personal pain underlies the remark that his views sometimes could be presented less bruisingly without losing force. Be that as it may Professor Davis' writing has the clear advantage of never leaving the reader in doubt about the author's opinion.

Because Professor Davis' treatise is the most comprehensive and most generally accessible work on administrative law it has often (and deservedly) been utilized by the courts. Those whose professional activity lies in this field will be well advised to keep in touch with the "most frequently cited authority." The pocket parts make this easy—and rewarding.

JOSEPH CARDINAL BERAN, ARCHBISHOP OF PRAGUE

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, 3 years ago the free world had news of Archbishop Beran of Prague for the first time in 12 years. Men of freedom everywhere were relieved to learn that the archbishop was alive, that he had survived the long years of Communist internment, and that he was relegated from complete isolation to retirement under restrictions in Mukarov, a small settlement near Prague. In January 1965, the Archbishop of Prague was elevated to cardinal and in February people of the free world saw him on television arriving by plane in Rome. As he boarded the plane in Prague, it is said, the cardinal was told by the Communists that he is never to return to his native land.

Thus the Communist regime solved the problem of what to do with its famous prisoner. At the time of the Communist seizure in 1948, the archbishop was one of their strongest adversaries. It was not difficult to crack down on the churches by force; the Communist problem was how to gain control of the church so that it would serve Communist ends, yet present to the outside world a semblance of religious freedom.

The stumbling block to the Communist ruse was Archbishop Beran, survivor of Nazi prisons, a frail little man of great spiritual strength.

Rather than remove the archbishop permanently, as they did so many other brave Czech patriots, the Communists elected to remove him to places unknown. Cut off from all contacts with the outside world, it was hoped that he would gradually be forgotten or would die a natural death.

But the archbishop survived, just as he said he would 18 years ago. Since his release, the cardinal has taken up again his stand on religious freedom; at the ecumenical council in Rome, he was one of the most active crusaders. In his pleas to the Council Fathers at the final session, he recommended a strong declaration. His seven points were intended to eleminate any suppression of religious liberty.

When Cardinal Beran speaks of the suppression of religious liberty, he speaks with knowledge gained from hard, personal experience.

The Czech priest was arrested by the Nazis on June 6, 1942, and sent to Terezin and 3 months later to the infamous camp of Dachau, where he contracted typhoid, the deadly plague ravaging the camp. In spite of his intense personal suffering, the priest was a source of strength and comfort to all who met him in prison.

On May 26, 1945, Dr. Beran returned to Prague and soon after was elevated to the position of archbishopric of Prague, an act that was welcomed by citizens of all faiths, for the man's reputation as a courageous war hero was widespread.

When the Communists took over Czechoslavakia in February 1948, the archbishop spoke out clearly:

> I have no intention of resigning myself to silence. My good people know me.

Although greater and greater pressures were brought to bear upon the Archbishop by the Communist regime, he continued to resist and to fight back by pastoral letters to the clergy. Relations between the archbishop and the Communists continued to deteriorate until on March 10, 1951, it was announced by Radio Prague that the archbishop had been removed from Prague "because of his negative attitude toward the laws concerning the church."

Archbishop Beran disappeared completely from view for the next 12 years. From time to time, rumors of his death were circulated. During this period, the Communist regime took over, their primary goal of course being the indoctrination of the young.

But the archbishop survived his second imprisonment just as he said he would, and the Communist have failed utterly to win the young.

Cardinal Beran is presently visiting the United States, primarily to speak to Americans of Czech and Slovak descent. He is being welcomed here, and justifiably so, not only by the representatives of the Catholic Church but by the people of many faiths who cherish freedom and who see in the Czech prelate a symbol of great courage and brotherly love, a champion of human rights.

MICRONESIA

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, there is an old joke in the U.S. trust territory. According to the story, a Congressman was flagged down by a newsman.

"What are you going to do about Micronesia?" inquired the reporter.

"Mike who?" said Mr. X.

Spain was master of Micronesia for over 300 years and then sold the islands to Germany. Japan picked them up in 1914 and America "bought" them with thousands of lives, taking complete possession in 1944.

The islands became a United Nations trusteeship in 1947 with the United States as the sole administering authority. The Department of the Interior was given jurisdiction on July 1, 1951.

Micronesia means small islands—a very descriptive name. There are 2,141 of them scattered over 3 million square miles, an area about the size of the land mass of the continental United States. Through the last two decades, the Trust Territory has been a problem to our country. It is the responsibility of the Department of the Interior and yet it is obviously about as "exterior" as you can get. These islands do not qualify for foreign aid because they are "inside." Our domestic agencies cannot touch them because they are "outside." The Federal Communications Commission is not concerned with them because they are "foreign." The Peace Corps cannot work the area because they are not "foreign." The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare regards the area as outside their province because they are not "domestic." The Voice of America is not concerned with them because they are "domestic." Heavy customs duties are charged against exports from the area because they are "foreign." The United Nations criticizes us because we sometimes act as if we own these islands and do not truly realize that they are "foreign." These islands are a forgotten castaway in a bureaucratic limbo and yet these people did not ask for us. We asked for them. We paid the highest conceivable price in American blood for their liberation. We must keep the islands not only because they are our social and political responsibility but because their strategic importance is beyond measure. However, if we are going to keep them, we must pay a decent rent and administer them with all the skill of which we are capable as one of the world's great governments.

For many years, it was the U.S. Government's policy to let the development of these islands be by and for the people of the territory.

Little change took place in the Eisenhower years. The Kennedy administration was upset by a 100-page United Nations touring commission report which declared that young Micronesians could not obtain capital to start new ventures, nor were they getting adequate technical and business training. There was, according to the report, "no coordinated plan for economic development." The economy had "been allowed to remain static too long."

President Kennedy advised a modification of the "Micronesia for the Micronesians" philosophy. If capital was needed, why not let American capital flow in? If technical training was needed, why not allow American technicians to enter and to start industries which would then employ and train Micronesians?

The present administration is moving to implement this philosophy. A few months ago, the White House through the Department of Interior mandated the Civil Aeronautics Board to send a team of high-level professional aviation specialists throughout the area to determine the feasibility of a U.S. air carrier serving the geography between Honolulu on the east and Okinawa on the west. Their report is a positive and definitive one and will soon be released. I am reliably informed that the sense of this study is that it will be possible to implement such air service by replacing existing annual contracts currently being financed by the Federal Government.

A highly imaginative man, Gov. John A. Burns, of Hawaii, foresaw this potential years ago and is convinced, as I am, that Hawaii could make a unique contribution as a State. Our people of Hawaii are the people of the Pacific. Our people, who trace their racial origins to Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia, the entire Orient and the mainland United States, understand the Pacific with a unique insight. As an island State, our population is uniquely equipped to understand the people of the islands of the Pacific and the people on the perimeter of this vast ocean.

It was recognition of this understanding that led then Senator Johnson to be such a moving and dynamic force in the creation of our now internationally famous East-West Center.

I am delighted to report to you today that Hawaiian Airlines, one of the Nation's oldest air carriers, which has served the islands of Hawaii for almost four decades, has applied to the Civil Aeronautics Board for a unique route pattern in the Pacific. It is their proposal that they be allowed to inaugurate scheduled service from Honolulu to Johnson Island, Kwajalein, Eniwetok, and Wake, throughout the trust territory, terminating beyond Guam at Okinawa and possibly certain other southeast Asian cities.

Their application reflects an unusual understanding of the transportation needs of the area and the desirability of opening those islands that are not for strategic purposes wholly devoted to U.S. military activity to tourism.

Inherent in their application is a conviction of a responsibility to provide technical training for indigenous personnel and a solemn pledge to replace the American nationals with local Micronesian people at the fastest possible pace.

Hawaiian Airlines, which was America's pioneer carrier in the Pacific, is highly sophisticated in its management and is well aware of the problems involved. As for their skill and ability to develop such a market, I can report with pride that they were among the first of the American-flag carriers to secure from Secretary of Commerce Hodges the President's "E" for excellence for the development of foreign tourism. This award, which was presented in early 1964, was in recognition of its highly imaginative development of the American tourist market in Japan. Hawaiian, a "grandfather" air carrier now in its 37th year, has transported over 10 million passengers without a single passenger or crew fatality and is hailed in the air transportation industry as "holder of the world's safety record." It was the first overseas airline to inaugurate air freight service and was issued air freight tariff No. 1 by the Civil Aeronautics Board.

I believe the foresight and imagination reflected by Hawaiian's management is worthy of mention before this distinguished Senate body. I share their conviction that the certification throughout this area offers a great potential to improve the economic and sociological position of the people of these islands. Such a route would give them a long-range stake in securing the investment capital necessary to build hotels and to develop the many splendid sightseeing attractions of our "Paradise in Trust."

When these islands were first discovered by Spain over 300 years ago, they were reported by the early explorers as "islands of little importance." I am sure that you agree with me that this is not true today. Palau, not far south and west of Guam, is the nearest of the Micronesian U.S. possessions to turbulent Indonesia and harassed Malaysia. It is nearest to war-torn Vietnam and threatened Laos, Cambodia and Thailand. It is nearest to China's southern border from the Gulf of Tonkin to Kashmir. The responsibility of our Government to these islands and their people is clear. I commend Hawaiian Airlines for their action, a ready response in a constructive fashion to a national need.

THE BEHAVIOR OF FRANCE TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, a resolution concerning the unfriendly behavior of France to the United States has been passed by the American Legion at Corpus Christi, Tex.

In an effort to share with my colleagues the opinions and thoughts of many regarding the situation with France, I ask unanimous consent that this resolution be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE GRAGG-SHERRILL POST No. 248, THE AMERICAN LEGION, CORPUS CHRISTI, TEX.

Inasmuch as the people of the United States have been strong and loyal friends with the people of France for almost 200 years;

And inasmuch as the military of the United States has twice in this century fought side by side with the French on French soil against aggressors bent on the destruction and subjugation of France;

And inasmuch as this action on our part has cost this Nation millions of young lives and hundreds of millions of dollars, it is difficult for the American people to understand the present attitude of distrust and renouncement of the present French Government for its true allies: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That action be taken by the American people to protest this unfriendly behavior, and further recommend that the people of our country hereafter desist in the usage, purchase or acquisition of any French products, and that the American tourist to Europe be discouraged from visits to France, or its territories, until such time as the present French Government will recognize and cooperate with its old friends and allies toward a peaceful and mutual settlement of our world problems; It is further

Resolved, That this resolution be forwarded through proper channels for recognition and publicity by the entire membership of the American Legion, State and National leaders, and the press.

This resolution adopted and passed by the Gragg-Sherrill Post No. 248, the American Legion, at Corpus Christi, Tex., in regular meeting the 8th day of March, 1966.

Attest:

VERNE BELA,
Commander.
CUBAN BURBANK,
NELS L. SODERHOLM,
Americanism Committee.
LESTER W. WOLFORD,
Adjutant.

ROCKVILLE, MD., TAKES METROPOLITAN GROWTH IN STRIDE

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, the March issue of Nation's Cities contains an article which is of particular interest to me. It describes the outstanding achievements of the city of Rockville, Md., a community which has twice been named as an All America City.

Rockville deserves such recognition because it stands as a shining example for other communities throughout the Nation. It has experienced phenomenal growth under a progressive and far-sighted city government.

This story is of particular interest because it demonstrates how efficient city planning can reduce or eliminate many of the difficulties which often accompany rapid growth.

Many of the most important decisions that must be made during the next few years will involve dealing with the problems of rapidly expanding urban areas. The experiences and successes of Rockville, Md., can be of great help to all who are concerned with these vital issues.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place this interesting article in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROCKVILLE TAKES METROPOLITAN GROWTH IN STRIDE—EFFECTIVE PLANNING COPES WITH 1,800-PERCENT POPULATION RISE

(By Peggy Zweigenhaft)

Last October Rockville, Md., twice named as an All America City, found herself in the national spotlight again, this time as recipient of the American Institute of Planners' 1965 honor award for comprehensive planning in a city of less than 50,000.

It was no surprise that Rockville was selected: The honor climaxed 12 years of long-range planning in every area—urban renewal, parkland acquisition, recreation, extension of municipal facilities, elimination of substandard housing, zoning, and capital improvements programing. It also showed how Federal programs can galvanize local initiative.

As with other suburban and farm-based centers on the fringe of large metropolitan areas, Rockville has experienced phenomenal growth since the end of World War II. Located 8 miles northwest of the Nation's capital—third fastest growing SMSA in the country—Rockville was a sleepy little town of fewer than 2,000 before the war. Its long-time identity was that of a county seat and a stopping-off place for the surrounding farmers.

By 1950 the population had swelled to 6,900, with many of the new residents young veterans just starting on their first jobs and moving into their first homes.

Population and area of the city continued to climb. In 1957 population had leaped to 19,000. Today it is 38,600. Meanwhile the city has expanded its area to encompass 10 square miles—quite a jump from the one square mile following the war—and is approaching the maximum limits, as set by community policy, of 14 square miles.

Rockville is unique in one respect: This tremendous growth has been guided and controlled, at least for the past dozen years.

Little, if anything, was done to cope with the problems of growth in the early post-war years. One result was a water crisis in the summer of 1963 which put a ban on all nonessential use. Many citizens had become increasingly dissatisfied with the "informal, cozy and personalized governmental arrangements" in Rockville. A new reform organization called Citizens for Good Government swept its candidates into office in 1954 over the water issue. CGG candidates have been elected ever since.

The reform council realized it had more than a water shortage on its collective hands. Problems lay in two broad areas: improving the blighted conditions in the residential and commercial areas of the existing city, and planning for its future expansion.

Immediately, steps were taken by the council—with the help of newly formed citizens' advisory committees—in housing and planning. Stress was put not only on relieving existing problems but on anticipating future difficulties. Thus a water and sewer system was constructed to serve an area and population extending to the maximum expansion limits.

In the existing center, water and sewer were provided in unserviced areas. Gravel streets were paved. The city council adopted the first housing code in the metropolitan area, adopted a health and sanitation code and began a strict program of code enforcement.

To relocate residents living in substandard housing—some dwellings, in fact, were piano crates—city officials created the first public housing authority in the Maryland suburbs of Washington and launched a program of public housing. Sixty-five units were completed in 1958. This initial project is being supplemented by a 75-unit project now in final planning.

From public housing, the city government moved to consider the need for urban renewal. Rockville, surrounded by burgeoning Montgomery County, had followed an alert annexation policy in adjacent areas, but its old business center was declining. After study, the council approved an ambitious Mid-city urban renewal project, which will transform the 46-acre core into a center for government, shopping, entertainment, and urban living. The project will improve an economic base which already accounts for more jobs within the city than the total resident labor force—a surprising fact for a community that constantly fights the image of being just a bedroom suburb.

The $11 million downtown renewal project has aroused some complaints from businessmen and others who charge that progress is too slow. But the project has been in the execution stage only since July 1964. Construction of high rise apartments and retail facilities will begin later this year.

"People gripe that we're not moving fast enough if they don't see any tangible progress," comments City Manager C. Richard Foote. "But in spite of the criticism, the progress of urban renewal in Rockville is probably much more rapid than the average."

CGG-backed officials have made great strides in the areas of recreation and parkland acquisition. With over half the current population under 18, both areas are considered essentials by the citizenry. Rockville's total park area in 1950 was 7.6 acres. There were 40 playground enrollees. Today the city has over 300 acres in parkland and the playground enrollment totals over 4,000. Neighborhood playgrounds have been established within one-third mile of nearly all homes in Rockville. And the Civic Center—a mansion on 30 acres of beautiful, rolling ground purchased in 1957—has had a large auditorium added and its area supplemented by an additional 35 acres.

All this has been accomplished in connection with a master plan adopted in 1960 after years of work by elected officials, city staff, and professional consultants. Planning funds were from the State's first "701" urban planning assistance program, granted to Rockville in 1958. The plan contains proposals for land use, traffic circulation, recreation, and community facilities within the maximum expansion limits.

From the earliest planning efforts in Rockville, planning has been accepted as an integral part of the political process. This may be one reason for Rockville's success in coping with its tremendous expansion. In addition to appointment of the Planning Advisory Committee by the reform council, Rockville hired the first full-time city planner in Maryland, with the exception of the city of Baltimore, adopted a zoning ordinance and began to clear the way legally for carrying out the fruits of the planning effort. In this respect, Rockville pushed for enabling legislation for urban renewal projects in Maryland.

City council now has one member on the Planning Commission acting as a liaison. The mayor and council appoint people to the planning commission whose basic philosophy on the role of planning for controlled growth agrees with that of the council.

Rockville's ability to cope with burgeoning expansion has been the result of a creative and responsive approach on the part of elected officials, as well as a desire to hire the best possible people to do the job. Through a monthly newsletter, a weekly public forum, and numerous citizens' committees, the mayor and council try hard to keep Rockville citizens involved and interested in municipal affairs.

To maintain the city's identity as a thriving dynamic community means "tapping the thinking of the community," declares Mayor Frank A. Ecker. "You know the talent's there—it's just a matter of identifying it among the citizens. It means an atmosphere of creative thinking must be present in the mayor and council, and as a result we get the same kind of staff. We've got quite an outstanding group of people here. Of course, we know we're going to lose them. Rockville is not big enough to have top-notch people on top of their professions but we're big enough to get them on the way up. If they're not good enough to get a better job, they're not good enough for Rockville."

Rockville has not been afraid to try new methods of attack or move into new areas of concern. In the field of social problems the city has not only public housing but its own Human Relations Commission to deal with another pressing concern. And just recently the city government moved into another new area by initiating a municipal trash collection system to the dismay of a vociferous minority.

While old-timers often bemoan the fact that the city government has moved into areas where they say it does not belong, Rockville officials have not been afraid of the role of government. This may be due to the fact that most elected officials are full-time Federal employees who run for local office as nonpartisan candidates. They have the know-how to cut through redtape and bureaucratic obstacles and get Federal funds to implement city programs. And to their way of thinking, Government's role in planning for the future is essential—things don't just happen.

"We're trying to make the community able to solve its problems and make its citizens somewhat happy, somewhat content," Ecker says. "We're willing to recognize the modern-day problems of urbanization and do something about them. We're very serious about the business of good government here. We have fun, too, but we feel good government is something you get only if you work hard at it."

PACIFIC COMMUNITY—ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR JOHN A. BURNS OF HAWAII

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, from time to time it gives me great pleasure to give my colleagues a report on the progress being made by the State of Hawaii.

In a recent address delivered before the 20th annual west coast meeting of the Association of National Advertisers at Pebble Beach, Calif., Gov. John A. Burns spoke on "The Pacific Community: A Growing Political and Economic Factor in America's Global Affairs."

Many of you will remember Governor Burns who once served with distinction as Hawaii's last delegate to the Congress. I commend his report to you and, ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PACIFIC COMMUNITY: A GROWING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTOR IN AMERICA'S GLOBAL AFFAIRS

(Address by Gov. John A. Burns for presentation at the 20th annual west coast meeting, Association of National Advertisers, Del Monte Lodge, Pebble Beach, Calif., March 24, 1966)

It is a genuine pleasure and honor for me to be with you at this conference to discuss developments that have placed the West in a new perspective in relation to our Nation's interest in world affairs.

For well over 100 years the economic and social development of Hawaii and the Western States have been bound firmly together by ties of mutual interest and joint effort.

From the voyages of Cook and Vancouver to the days of the gold rush and the whaling era, the development of transpacific trade, our hopes, our growth, our destiny have been and are linked with that of the West.

Today 60 percent of our visitors come from the Pacific seaboard States. Our lumber comes from the forests of the West, and our food from western farms, orchards, and ranches.

In turn, the 11 Western States provide the prime market for our sugar, and consume an important part of our pineapple pack.

And in many other areas our future and our fortunes are closely intertwined, and in some we are engaged in spirited competition. Our Hawaii Islanders are about to open their sixth season as members of the Pacific Coast League.

The thrust of scientific progress, forced by the urgency of human needs as well as man's basic need to learn more about himself and his universe, has hurled us into a new era of discovery. We are prospecting anew for the hidden riches and resources of the Pacific. We are participants in the probes into outer space.

At the same time we are mindful of the Vietnam war and the implications of that conflict as it represents our commitments and responsibilities to do what we can to achieve a durable peace so that our Pacific rim neighbors can establish political stability and peaceful opportunity to meet the many urgent needs of their people.

That, in broad outline, is the background against which I shall now discuss some of the more significant events and trends which indicate the direction of our continued growth and possibilities for further achievement.

Our demographers and economists predict population growth in the West will continue at double the national rate through 1970. Better than 25 percent of the Nation's population gain is concentrated in the Western States. Per capita and family income in the West are well ahead of the rest of the country as a whole.

The growing economic importance of the Western States and the political impact of their population growth are evident. There are signs in Washington that State congressional delegations from the West are becoming increasingly effective as a regional force in national affairs on a par with other regional blocs with common political objectives.

Let me then turn my remarks to the Western State with which I am most familiar—the westernmost State of all. I should add that while we are separated by half an ocean, distance is no longer a real factor weighing against Hawaii in this age of containerized cargo shipments, global communications satellites, $100 air fares and 4-hour jet flights—with supersonic jet travel nearly upon us. As a matter of fact, my flight from Honolulu to San Francisco took only little more than twice as long as it did to motor here from the airport. Moreover, our insularity gives us certain in-built advantages.

Let us consider for a few minutes what a vital national mission Hawaii, an island State of 750,000 people, has been given. Our State is America's bridge to Asia across the great breadth of the Pacific. We in Hawaii occupy a strategic, central position in the emerging era of the Pacific. We are a cultural, a social bridge, and we are rapidly becoming a commercial bridge as well.

This key role for Hawaii was recognized by President Johnson 7 years ago, when, as Senate majority leader, he strongly supported the successful effort to obtain statehood for our islands. And it was this recognition which led him to champion the creation of the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii as a national institution for the advancement of cultural and technical interchange among people of the Pacific basin.

Here students, scholars, government and business administrators, scientists and technicians from Asian and Pacific countries live and study together with American students and scholars not only from Hawaii but from the mainland as well.

Most recently, of course, President Johnson dramatized Hawaii's East-West role when he and the advisers in his administration met with the leaders of South Vietnam at the Honolulu conference where programs for the economic and educational development of that worn-torn southeast Asian nation were mapped out.

In Hawaii, Peace Corps volunteers are trained for the Far East and personnel of the Agency for International Development are recruited for Asian assignments. AID will soon establish a training center at the University of Hawaii for assignments in Vietnam and Laos.

Education can awaken, develop, and extend the innate abilities of the people of Asia by which they themselves will develop their own resources and realize their yearning for the good life afforded by Western technology.

This East-West interchange in Hawaii goes on everyday—and it is by no means confined to the institutional setting of the East-West Center. Hawaii's people with their cosmopolitan racial heritage are proud of their participation in the American experience. They are keenly aware of their rich heritage from the East. In a sense, they want the best of each for two separte worlds; the interchange they strive for is commercial as well as cultural and educational.

You gentleman of the advertising industry have contributed to the achievement of the living standards we in America enjoy. But I am sure you all are well aware of the threat to peace and world order posed by the enormous gap in living standards between East and West. In Hawaii we are uniquely equipped to interpret these two worlds to each other, to establish the climate for human understanding without which educational and training efforts are impossible. We are required to be a showcase for our country's political and economic success.

This is not an easy responsibility to fulfill, but because we are citizens of a new State we take this responsibility very seriously in our business, civic and social lives.

For example, plans are moving forward in Hawaii for a Pacific Trade Center to provide the facilities for world commerce in the Pacific hemisphere. We have established a foreign trade zone at Honolulu Harbor. Other private and public facilities are following, all catering to international commerce and all dedicated to the cause of economic progress and political amity among the peoples of the Pacific.

It is important, I think for you to bear in mind that a role in international commerce would not be a new one for Hawaii. In the 1850's, the Hawaiian Islands achieved prominence as a center of transpacific trade, later to lose the position to San Francisco as our attention and efforts shifted to agriculture.

But tonnage today crossing the Pacific is expanding greatly and Hawaii's own foreign trade, although small, is growing at a significant rate. New trade relationships and shipping practices are evolving. The foreign trade zone is one way that Hawaii can prepare itself to capitalize on these changes, to become a major processing, assembling, and distribution center despite the constraints of its own internal market and limited raw materials.

Our efforts in this field are important to you, and worthy of your consideration in the light of your own marketing problems and those of your clients. I recently saw figures in the San Francisco Federal Reserve Bank's monthly review where factory exports in the West to overseas customers now are running at an annual rate above the $2 billion mark, accounting for upwards of 12 percent of the Nation's total. Western exporters dominate the national export market for aircraft, lumber, and paper and account for a healthy portion of the food products and metals and machinery categories as well.

Our balance-of-payments problems in recent years have made us increasingly conscious of export effort and I believe that we have only seen the beginning of a vast increase in Pacific trade as Asian nations acquire greater political stability.

In our civic and political life in Hawaii, we are keenly aware of the need for excellence in education and the role public education has played in our own social and political development. We believe we are aware of its potential in the development of Asian nations. This showcase role manifests itself in the new Hawaii programs of our State's administrative and legislative leadership. In sum, the new Hawaii program calls for providing educational and cultural opportunities for all the people of our State while practicing effective, purposeful compassion for those less fortunate.

Of course, such a program cannot be sustained without a healthy business climate, without the continued development and expansion of our economic base.

Let me sketch briefly how Hawaii is doing economically. Certainly, the figures show unprecedented, recordbreaking advance. During the past 5 years, Hawaii achieved its greatest period of economic expansion and, indeed, enjoyed more rapid growth than did the national economy. And the last 5 years for the Nation have been the longest period of continuous economic expansion since World War II. Personal income, perhaps the best overall measure of economic growth, increased by 38 percent in the State, as compared with 32 percent for the Nation. The State's population and labor force have grown even faster. Our economy has had a higher rate of employment of its labor force and a higher rate of new business formations.

Thus, between 1960 and 1965, employment increased nationally by 8 percent and in Hawaii by 13 percent. Corporate profits in this period increased nationally by 50 percent and in Hawaii by 61 percent. Between 1960 and 1964, the latest year for which national data are available, the number of business firms increased nationally by 4 percent and in Hawaii by 20 percent.

Hawaii's economic activity has, moreover, grown at an accelerated rate during recent years, and almost all measures of economic well-being continued to improve through 1965.

Retail sales, visitor arrivals, inter-island travel, and construction activity, sugar production, and personal income—both in total and on a per capita basis—all reached record levels last year. Civilian employment increased by 2 percent in the Nation and nearly 5 percent in Hawaii. Individual income increased by 7 percent nationally and by 8 percent in Hawaii. While unemployment averaged 4.5 percent of the civilian labor force in the Nation, unemployment averaged 3.5 percent in Hawaii.

I might add that since 1962 total personal income in Hawaii has risen 23 percent to almost $2 billion for the last year for a population of 745,000. Employment has increased by 10 percent and the number of business firms by 7 percent during this period. Annual retailing in our State crossed the $1 billion mark last year, up 19 percent since 1962.

Tourist spending has soared from $154 million to $265 million since 1962. Even our so-called stable industries have grown: sugar in 1962 was valued at $154 million when production was 1,120,000 tons, while in 1965 it was valued at $175 million with production at a record 1,218,000 tons. In the same period, the value of pineapple products increased from $109 million to $125 million. Quite aside from our major sources of income we are experiencing growth in some promising new areas for our economic future, such as diversified manufacturing (up 19 percent since 1962), international trade (up by an estimate of nearly 50 percent since 1962), and research and development endeavor, whereby various measurements our growth has been striking.

Weighing these and other trends, economists tell us that the outlook to 1970 is one of expanding employment opportunities, growing population, and a continuing increase in the standard of living for the people of Hawaii.

In addition to our activities in promoting international trade through such facilities as our foreign trade zone, our State industrial development effort also has emphasized research and development industry. The decision of the National Science Foundation to undertake Project Mohole—drilling into the mantle of the earth—in Hawaiian waters was a significant accomplishment last year in these efforts.

Mohole is an expensive venture—current estimates run well over $100 million for the life of the project—but it is expected to generate important commercial and industrial applications, ranging from development of new undersea drilling techniques to creation of complex ocean engineering systems.

Drilling of the major probes in the waters of our State is expected to take up to 3 years, bringing high-quality scientific and technological employment, together with service and supply business and the focus of attention of scientists and industrialists around the world.

Also, as part of our stress on building educational excellence in Hawaii, the University of Hawaii has been strengthened in those scientific fields where the State has natural advantages. Internationally prominent scientists have been attracted to the University, bringing with them research grants and contracts.

The commercial spin off from these research activities at the university has been recognized by national research and development companies which have entered into partnership arrangements with the university.

State conferences were sponsored last year which attracted leading executives of science-oriented industry to the State in addition to internationally prominent scientists and key Federal officials in the research and development field. Such efforts have not gone unrewarded.

Ling-Temco-Vought, one of the Nation's leading aerospace firms and defense contractors, has established and staffed a Hawaiian research center, which is emphasizing oceanographic work. Bissett-Berman Corp. of California, an oceanographic concern; Ocean Science & Engineering Co. of Washington, D.C.; Alpine Geophysical Associates of New Jersey, an oceanic firm also; ITT-Federal Laboratories, Holmes & Narver, International Underwater Enterprises and Page Communications Engineers are among the research and development concerns recently attracted to Hawaii. General Electric's Center for Advanced Studies at Santa Barbara has opened a Hawaii office.

Because of our military and naval installations in Hawaii and our key role in tracking the Nation's man-in-space efforts, national aerospace contractors are stationing corporate and technical representatives in Hawaii. Corporate leaders, evaluating the profit potential now beginning to appear in oceanics, are focusing their attention on our locational advantages. These include clear, clean water, an ideal climate and easy access to great ocean depths. But even more important, they include our hydroscience consultants and leading university oceanographers.

Ashore, our advantages for astrophysical studies similarly are unmatched; the Federal Government and scientific agencies are capitalizing upon them with installations at Haleakala on Maui and Mauna Kea on the island of Hawaii.

Governmental efforts in Hawaii to stimulate research and development activity have been supported by the State's business leaders, who on their own initiative have underwritten a survey of our potentials in oceanics and have endowed various corporate chairs in science for the University of Hawaii. Research and development is an avenue for our economic advance which has the wholehearted support of our statewide community.

I have managed to talk about my State at some length here this morning without mentioning tourism, except in passing. Our growth in tourism has indeed been phenomenal.

Visitor arrivals have increased over 100 percent since 1960 and there seems to be no end in sight. This growth challenges us to cope with it—in terms of building new resort facilities and in taking steps to preserve and to enhance our world-famed natural beauty while providing for necessary expansion. We have substantially increased our capacity to handle large convention groups—and in that connection may I extend to you a cordial invitation to consider Hawaii as a site for one of your future conferences.

Advertising by the Hawaii Visitors Bureau, strongly supported and supplemented by individual carriers, hotel chains, and other members of the travel industry, has contributed substantially to this growth.

In a sense, our advertising image—the lovely hula girl on a white sand beach—has been so successfully sold, that we have had some difficulty convincing potential visitors with other interests that we do provide a climate for serious thought and other types of trade development. This was also true in our effort to develop our scientific capability. Our first efforts met with the statement—Hawaii is no place to hold a serious scientific symposium. We have successfully dispelled this canard.

Today through mass publications, travel magazines and metropolitan newspapers we are stressing Hawaii's cosmopolitan people, the variety of our cultural as well as our scenic attractions, our recreational activities as well as our tranquil settings.

In a half-dozen technical publications we are advertising Hawaii's advantages for doing business in oceanics and laying our claim as America's gateway to hydrospace. We have had to update our image to bring it in line with our actuality.

Looking back over these remarks of mine this morning, I'm afraid I have exposed my more provincial side by dwelling so long on Hawaii. It was my hope, however, to suggest to you that Hawaii is anything but a provincial State. We are small in size but not in our influence as a hopeful symbol of the future in Pacific affairs.

The point I would wish to leave with you this morning bears not only on our common regional interests in the full development of the growing Pacific Community but also in our national interest for peace and security.

There is a great stirring and awakening among the many millions of people to the west of these shores. More than 2 billion people—two-thirds of the world's population—are touched by affairs in the Pacific.

It is to our own interests for the preservation of our democratic institutions—if not for more enlightened reasons—that we must be concerned with this area.

To make my point meaningful in light of the current issue over our foreign policy—and without engaging in any ornithological debate over hawks and doves—I think it relevant to ask ourselves the fundamental question of whether we really care about Asia?

A recent editorial in a Honolulu newspaper put it most cogently in quoting an unidentified correspondent who covered the Honolulu Conference. This correspondent, one who has covered Asia and who supports the President's effort, said:

"Did it ever occur to you that these guys who are so critical of the fight in Vietnam—Lippmann, Reston, Fulbright, Gavin, Kennan and so forth—are basically oriented toward Europe? They really don't know Asia, and don't think it's worth getting excited about.

"They would fight like hell for the white people of Berlin on principle but would give up all of Vietnam and even the rest of brown and yellow-skinned Asia.

"What they don't understand is that the people of Asia want to be free just as much as the people of Europe. President Johnson thinks it's just as important to stand up and help people keep their freedom in Asia as he does in Europe.

"Beyond that, he wants to help them develop—look at his billion-dollar aid offer for Asia, including to Communist countries, and look at the Asia Development Bank."

The foregoing, in my judgment, is a most significant observation and deserves wider circulation in the argument over our involvement in Vietnam.

Milton's elegaic advice to "look homeward, angel" may have been good enough for 17th century English poets but it by no means fits the mold of our life today.

For us especially, from the Western States, we have an opportunity to broaden our horizons further westward and to become active partners in the development of a community which is certain to rival the traditional areas to which our country has been linked.

I have been privileged to have enjoyed the friendship of the President since my days as Hawaii's last delegate to Congress. His political prescience has never ceased to amaze me, and I like to think that it is his keen awareness of the ultimate destiny our Nation faces in the Pacific that has shaped his thoughts and policies on matters that affect this area.

It has been a privilege to be with you of the Association of National Advertisers at your annual meeting and to share with you some of the thoughts which lie behind the activities we in Hawaii are engaged in.

My very best wishes for a most successful meeting, and may I again invite you to consider Hawaii as the site for one of your future sessions.

Mahalo and aloha.

THE IRISHMAN MAX

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, there is a man in Hartford, Conn., who becomes an honorary Irishman every St. Patrick's Day. His name is Max Liberman. He is honored on that day by the members of the Hartford Courant staff because he is such an extraordinary person. The many misfortunes in his life have only made him more determined to help make the world a better place for the rest of us to live in. An article in the Courant by a brilliant and most perceptive writer, Thomas E. Murphy, tells the story of my old friend—a great and inspiring man—Max Liberman.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, Mar. 16, 1966]

The Irishman Max

(By Thomas E. Murphy)

Do not suddenly conclude that I have adopted a new, more handsome face. For the phiz shown at the right [not printed in Record] if all goes well in the composing room, will be that of the man who each year, for one single day, March 17, becomes an honorary Irishman. Members of the Courant staff will identify it immediately as being that of Max Liberman, who almost any day can be seen plying his rounds of errands of good will and mercy, meanwhile filling down two full-time jobs. But lest you not be a devotee of the bowling page, on which this face occasionally appears, let me say that Max considers March 17 as his particular day. For it was on St. Patrick's Day back in 1922 that Max, then a handsome young sprout, went to work for the Hartford Insurance Co., in the printing department. Ten years later he was transferred to underwriting.

Max leads a double life as well as a busy one. On the one hand he is a veteran insurance man, and with the other he is the Courant's bowling editor, attending all the exciting lawn-bowling matches as well as the indoor variety. When wrestling is in season, Max also manages to cover these strange events. He is probably the best-known figure in bowling, not only in Connecticut, but in the whole northeast.

And the bowling fraternity comes in handy for Max as a ready source of revenue for the myriad drives for good causes that Max is always sponsoring. One might suppose that some bowlers on whom the bite had been put so many times would cringe every time Max hoves into sight. Not so. They seem to love him just the same and the collection of plaques, certificates, and cups that have been awarded him by bowling groups must be tremendous. It seems that hardly a week goes by without some group's paying homage to this gentle and ubiquitous fellow.

Max was born in New York, but soon moved to New London where he went to school. The number of offices he has held is as long as your arm. He was twice president of the Two Hartford's Men's Club, and for 7 years served as chairman of the old-time Minstrels put on by that organization. For many years he served as chairman of the Mile of Dimes bowling unit.

Many of his campaigns have originated and been operated from a sickbed or a convalescent home. For many years ago Max was cruelly maimed by a hit-and-run driver, and he has never been completely well since then. One can only guess at the energy he must have had in his heyday. For even now holding down two jobs and performing acts of charity as a daily routine, Max covers the ground of two or three men. In the past 30 years he has submitted to at least 15 operations. Just after his 15th operation he learned from some Hartford Hospital nurses that there was need for funds to operate the Clara Barton Camp for Diabetic Children. The next week, still on crutches, he appeared at the local wrestling matches, and from the ring made an earnest appeal. He collected more than $200 in that one eloquent effort.

Most people, carrying the physical burdens that Max accepts cheerfully as part of his lot, would long ago have become taciturn, withdrawn, and self-pitying. But suffering has had exactly the opposite effect on him. He is gentle, humorous, generous, and self-sacrificing. All I ask now publicly, is that he refrain from presenting me with a couple of hand-painted ties because of what I am saying about him. For that is the way he is, as plenty of people hereabouts can testify.

As one gets older aches and pains come to be accepted as a necessary part of life. But few people accept them without talking their head off about them to anybody who will listen. In Max we have an object lesson in the fact the more you give of yourself, the less you think of yourself, the better life can be.

Max is a credit to the insurance industry. If I count correctly, he is now entering his 45th year in the services of the same company. To most of us at the Courant there never was a time when there wasn't a Max around. And there is hardly one of us who has not at one time or other been touched by his largesse.

And so, with the little spoof we have together, I wish Max a happy St. Patrick's Day. There are some, I am sure, who would consider it no great shakes to be an Honorary Irishman. But Max wears his honors graciously. Personally I think he has been not an Irishman, but a Spartan for at least three decades. As a final note, when I returned to Max's desk to return some material he said cheerily, "Just got back from the doctor. Now I'm blind in my left eye." Then he added in good humor, "I'm lucky I got 98 percent perfect vision in my right eye." That's Max for you.

POSSIBLE DEPLETION OF NORTH PACIFIC FISHERY STOCKS

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, our continuing concern over the possible depletion of North Pacific fishery stocks as the result of excessive Soviet and Japanese fishing is now being directed to other fishing areas adjacent to the United States.

Columnist John Chamberlain, in an article which appeared in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 31, 1966, called attention to similar concern expressed in Mexico City over Soviet Russian fleets now fishing in the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of California.

Mr. Chamberlain has concluded, just as we have in the North Pacific, that these huge fleets are catching substantial quantities of fish, though there is little doubt that the fleets are also accumulating considerable oceanographic data which could prove useful in time of sea conflict. As Mr. Chamberlain notes, there is a much closer relationship between the Soviet fishing fleets and the military than we find in U.S. ocean activity.

What is needed is some enforcible international convention that will limit and apportion the fishing take in ways that will result in keeping waters from being fished out—

Concludes Mr. Chamberlain.

I thoroughly agree with Mr. Chamberlain in this, and it should be of good encouragement to him that we are proceeding now with the direction provided by Senate resolution for the calling of a World Fisheries Conference. The State Department is now developing plans for U.S. hosting of such a meeting. The basic goal of this world conference will be the implementation of the Fishery Convention agreed to at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1958. The Netherlands recently became the 22d nation to ratify this Convention, thus placing its conservation directives in force.

I ask unanimous consent that the column by Mr. Chamberlain be printed in the Record:

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Mexicans Complaining of Russian Fishing

(By John Chamberlain)

Mexico City.—The more it changes, the more it's the same thing. Some 3 years ago the fishermen and lobstermen of New England were fulminating against Soviet Russian trawlers which were moving close to American shores and taking anything and everything that swam.

The complaint in Gloucester and New Bedford was that the Russians used illegal small mesh nets.

Coming to Mexico City, I discover that the same story is being written in almost the same words in the local papers. The only difference is that the Russians are now doing their fishing in the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of California.

Whether fishing is the main purpose of the Russian trawlers in the Gulf of Mexico is, of course, a contested point. Paul Bethel, the able journalist and former diplomat who heads the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba in Miami, Fla., has gleaned a good deal of material from anti-Castro refugees bearing on Soviet naval activities in the Caribbean region.

But it may be assumed that the Russians are glad to get fish along with undersea topographical maps that would be of use for mining and submarine warfare purposes in case of war. Soviet economic policy and military policy normally work together in anything the Russians do.

So the complaints in Mexico City that the Russians, along with the Japanese, are fishing out local waters may be taken as the expression of quite legitimate economic fears.

The Soviet trawlers are actually huge floating canning factories which carry on their decks their own smaller fishing boats. The smaller vessels range the waters, taking legitimate food fish and game fish that are not ordinarily eaten, and throwing them all into the canning pot together. What would be good enough in the United States only for dogs and cats is sold in the Muscovite market for human fodder. The sports fishermen who see their game fish preserves threatened with quick depletion have been leading the cry against the Russians in the Gulf of Mexico.

In one way, the Mexicans have only themselves to blame for losing fish to the Japanese and the Russians. The Mexican fishing fleets are small. Foreigners take three times more fish out of the Gulf of California than do the Mexicans themselves. But intensive international competition in fishing would not solve the problem of the world's fisheries.

What is needed is some enforcible international convention that will limit and apportion the fishing take in ways that will result in keeping waters from being fished out.

A problem for the U.N., if the U.N. were only able to solve problems.

U.S. SUPREME COURT DECISIONS—CASE OF ELFBRANDT AGAINST ARIZONA

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the U.S. Supreme Court continues to undermine the security of the United States by its decisions based on unfounded and specious interpretations of the Constitution.

The latest strike at the ability of the United States and the several States to provide for internal security came in the decision handed down yesterday in the case of the Elfbrandt against Arizona. In this case, the Supreme Court in a 5-to-4 decision declared unconstitutional a loyalty oath prescribed by law in the State of Arizona.

Since 1952, the Court has continued to hack away at the rights of the States to prescribe loyalty oaths, and to undermine previous decisions and well established constitutional principles and laws.

In 1952, it was the Oklahoma loyalty oath that was stricken down by the Supreme Court. Subsequently, loyalty oaths prescribed by law in Arkansas, Florida, and Washington met the same fate at the hands of the Court. In each instance, the Court decreed a tighter reign and narrower limits on State authority.

In its 5-to-4 decision yesterday, the Supreme Court struck down the loyalty oath of the State of Arizona. Significantly, the oath prescribed by Arizona met the tests laid down by the Court in the earlier decisions, but the Court carried the constitutional prohibitions one step further in order to make sure that it was impossible for any State to maintain a meaningful loyalty oath requirement. In the Elfbrandt case, even the action of "knowingly and willfully" joining the Communist Party, or any other group having a purpose of overthrowing the Government by force, cannot be the basis for the imposition of legal sanctions by States.

The rationale by which the Court contorts, rather than construes, the Constitution in the latest loyalty oath decision is completely fictional. It has apparently escaped the memory of the Court that the States are sovereign governments under the U.S. Constitution, and have the power to act in all fields not specifically prohibited to them by the U.S. Constitution, or which do not constitute an exercise of power specifically delegated to the U.S. Government.

There is nothing written in the U.S. Constitution which prohibits the States from imposing a reasonable loyalty oath.

This decision of the Court is not only in contravention of the Constitution and our Federal system, but is also dangerous to the security of the Nation. The Congress has a constitutional obligation to put an end to Supreme Court legislating, and the arbitrary, oligarchial rule which depends only on the general disposition of five men in black robes.

AUTOMOBILE SAFETY

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, this morning's newspapers carried the story that the Ford Motor Co. is recalling some 30,000 Ford and Mercury automobiles to eliminate a problem involving possible brake failure.

We are told that dealers have been instructed to call owners of the cars that may be affected, and to write them within 5 days if they fail to respond. While the news reports do not say whether owners are being told of the safety factor involved—nonetheless, the use of telephones in recalling these cars conveys a sense of urgency to the customer which has heretofore been almost totally lacking in situations of this type.

And I would like to take this opportunity to commend the manufacturer—in this case the Ford Motor Co.—for making this type of effort.

However, I cannot help but wonder whether the owners would be receiving these telephone calls were it not for the current concern over automobile safety and criticism of the way automobile manufacturers have handled such problems in the past. The Ford Motor Co. claims that it has used the telephone in previous instances and if so, I commend them for that also.

But the fact still remains that in too many instances the owner is not notified about such safety defects at all or else is sent a letter suggesting that he bring his car in for a modification without telling him that the modification involves a possible safety hazard.

This is precisely how the Ford Motor Co. handled its notification to the 30,000 Ford and Mercury owners in the initial stages of the callback: By sending letters to some, if not all, owners requesting that they take their car to a dealer for inspection of a possible problem, but failing to warn the owner that the problem involved a safety hazard. According to news reports the company insists that a safety hazard is not involved. Yet through the statements of its own spokesmen and by the fact that the problem was considered serious enough to warrant telephone calls to owners, the company all but admits that the callback does indeed involve a serious safety hazard. Why then was this fact concealed in the letters sent out over a week ago?

The "Ford Owner" letter is typical of others in which the automobile manufacturer deliberately avoids mentioning the safety implications of the problem. Instead, the letter leaves the impression that the problem is really not very serious and that there is no urgency about having the car inspected.

Let me quote the first paragraph of this letter:

> I want you to know of our appreciation for your confidence in our products as expressed in your recent purchase of a 1966 Ford. Unfortunately, we have found that some Ford cars and station wagons produced in late February and in March have a condition of minimum tolerance at the point where the exhaust pipe crosses the rear axle housing. We want to be completely satisfied that the clearance is sufficient to prevent the exhaust pipe from contacting other component parts and request your cooperation in returning your Ford to your Ford dealer for inspection.

There is not a hint of the possibility that the exhaust pipe could weaken or rupture the brake line causing a complete failure of the car's hydraulic braking system. These dangerous possibilities are hidden behind such innocuous phrases as "a condition of minimum tolerance" and "contacting other component parts."

The fair warning legislation I have introduced—2 weeks ago as a bill and yesterday as an amendment to the Traffic Safety Act—would require an explanation of such defect to the automobile owner. It would not only require that the owner be notified of a defect, but that he be warned that the defect involves a possible safety hazard and told how much of a risk is involved.

For example, in the current instance such a fair warning would have required that owners be told that the brake line was the component part the manufacturer refers to in his letter, and that there was some urgency about having this inspected because of the danger of brake failure involved.

My amendment places the burden of determining when a safety factor is involved in a defect on the manufacturer because he is in the best position to make such a determination.

However, the evidence accumulated to date indicates that in the past the manufacturer frequently has been influenced by considerations of the impact on sales which might result from such a determination and notification to owners.

And the fair warning amendment would assure that car owners received such information by reducing the incentive to decide that a defect does not involve a safety factor. Once a manufacturer knows that all of his competitors are required to furnish such information, and that failure to comply carries a heavier penalty than making such notification, then the American motorist will receive the kind of information he is entitled to have in order to protect himself and others who use our streets and highways.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent at this point to have printed in the RECORD a copy of the recent letter to a Ford owner, as well as the following article from the New York Times of April 19, 1966.

There being no objection, the letter and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORD MOTOR CO.,
Dearborn, Mich.

DEAR FORD OWNER: I want you to know of our appreciation for your confidence in our products as expressed in your recent purchase of a 1966 Ford. Unfortunately, we have found that some Ford cars and station wagons produced in late February and in March have a condition of minimum tolerance at the point where the exhaust pipe crosses the rear axle housing. We want to be completely satisfied that the clearance is sufficient to prevent the exhaust pipe from contacting other component parts and request your cooperation in returning your Ford to your Ford dealer for inspection.

The time required for this inspection and for moving the attaching clip, if required, will be less than half an hour and the service will be performed at no charge to you. Will you please make an appointment with your Ford dealer at your earliest convenience so that this inspection may be completed?

If you are not now living in the area serviced by the Ford dealer who delivered your Ford, or if for any valid reason you are unable to return to his shop for service, we request that you advise us by means of the enclosed postage paid card. We will then forward the necessary information to the Ford dealer you indicate on the card.

The enclosed customer notification and authorization card will verify to your Ford dealer that this service is to be performed at no charge and that your Ford is one of those requiring inspection. Upon completion of the inspection, he will return the card to us to assure that your Ford has been handled. Thank you again for your patronage and your cooperation.

Sincerely,

E. P. WILLIAMS.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 19, 1966]

FORD RECALLS 30,000 OF ITS 1966 MODELS FOR A BRAKE DEFECT

(By Walter Rugaber)

DETROIT, April 18.—The Ford Motor Co. said today it was recalling about 30,000 of its 1966 models because of a production defect that could cause brake failure.

The company said it was seeking the return to its dealers of about 25,800 standard-size Ford cars and about 5,000 Mercury models, all produced in late February and early March.

A hydraulic brake line running to the rear of the car could be damaged or broken by the downward movement of the exhaust pipe during a severe bounce, a Ford spokesman said.

Should that occur, the hydraulic fluid that transmits the braking action from the foot pedal to the wheels would run out of the system and the car would not stop, the spokesman said.

An unspecified number of cars suffered broken hydraulic lines during railroad shipment to dealers, the Ford spokesman said, but the company has received no report of postsale failures.

During shipment autos are fastened down with spring loading devices and the Ford spokesman said a shock severe enough to cause brake failure could be transmitted from the rail car.

The spokesman said it was possible that rupture of the hydraulic system could occur on an extremely rough road, but he added, for example, that he did not know it would occur even should a car involved strike a deep pothole.

The company said it learned of the defect early this month and its dealers began their efforts to recover the cars with the production defect on April 8. The number not yet reached for service is unavailable, the spokesman said.

Ford would not say officially that a safety hazard was involved in the defect, but its dealers were asked to take direct action in the recovery campaign.

The dealers were ordered to call their customers on the telephone and invite them to bring their cars in for a free inspection and repair. The company suggested a follow-up letter by registered mail to customers who did not respond within 5 days.

Congressional critics of the auto industry, charging that notification procedures by the company and their dealers are sometimes lax, have proposed legislation that would require a more public disclosure of any vehicle defect.

CLIP POSITION CHANGED

Ford said this was not the first time it had used the telephone to alert motorists. A spokesman said it had been done in the past whenever a problem of "any significance" arises.

The defect arose from a special production technique in several of the company's assembly plants, it was reported. The positioning of a clip used to hold a rear hydraulic line to the axle was changed slightly. This caused the line to ride somewhat higher than normal.

Ford said that the body of the cars involved, with the exhaust pipe attached, could move down far enough in a severe bump to reach the higher line. The line involved was on the right rear side in each case, the company replied.

The company reported there had been no rupture in the hydraulic system on any of the cars inspected so far. In addition to the inspection, the autos receive a new clip designed to properly position the line.

Ford's confirmation of the defect was another in a series of recent disclosures concerning problems on cars produced by all the major manufacturers. The disclosures have led to congressional demands for the records on defects in autos back to 1960.

JERSEY INSPECTION CITED

WASHINGTON, April 18.—Senator WALTER F. MONDALE said today vehicle inspection in the District of Columbia and the State of New Jersey indicates many new cars are sold to customers in unsafe condition.

In a Senate speech the Minnesota Democrat said inspectors in those two areas reported that over 20 percent of all new cars they examined were rejected for safety shortcomings of varying severity.

Senator MONDALE replied also to a speech by Henry Ford 2d last week, although he made no direct reference to the chairman of the Ford Motor Co. Mr. Ford said that if uninformed critics of auto safety would "get out of the way," the industry could go ahead with the job of making cars safer.

The Senator said he didn't pretend to be an expert on the automobile industry but declared, "I do think I know something about the rights of consumers. And one of the basic rights of consumers is the right to know of any hazards associated with a product he buys."

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONTOYA in the chair). Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

APPORTIONMENT OF STATE LEGISLATURES

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Chair lay before the Senate the unfinished business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which is Senate Joint Resolution 103.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resoultion (S.J. Res. 103) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to preserve to the people of each State power to determine the composition of its legislature and the apportionment of the membership thereof in accordance with law and the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 62 Leg.]

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Bartlett
Bass
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Brewster
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Case
Church
Cooper
Curtis
Dirksen
Dodd
Dominick
Douglas
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Fulbright
Gore
Harris
Hart
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Miller
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Moss
Murphy
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Robertson
Russell, S.C.
Russell, Ga.
Scott
Simpson
Smathers
Smith
Sparkman
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] and the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], and the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER] are necessarily absent.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. FONG], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], and the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] is absent because of illness.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONDALE in the chair). A quorum is present.

VANCOUVER COLUMBIAN OPPOSES DIRKSEN AMENDMENT

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I hold in my hand an editorial published in the Columbian of Vancouver, Wash., for April 8, 1966, entitled "Sorry, Senator DIRKSEN." It contains two salient paragraphs relating to the effort to get Congress to propose and the States to ratify a constitutional amendment to perpetuate the rotten borough system in one of the houses of a State legislature.

Mr. President, I read the two paragraphs:

> In the first place, if legislatures are to represent people, they should represent people, not acres or counties or cows. Even though we and our neighbors up the Columbia may come out on the short end of the vote sometimes, we can think of no fairer method of allocating seats, than on the basis of people.
>
> Second, Washington and probably a good majority of States recently have gone through much travail in reorganizing their legislatures along lines of one man, one vote. We don't want to have to go through that again soon. We prefer to forget past bitterness over reapportionment and get on with the business of State government. Most States have a long way to go to catch up with the demands being placed on them.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD this editorial, which indicates that the country is beginning to get sophisticated on this proposed amendment, is somewhat impatient about its advocacy, and is opposed to its adoption.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SORRY, SENATOR DIRKSEN

> We received a telegram Thursday from Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN asking for copies of editorials pertaining to his proposed constitutional amendment to permit States to allocate seats in one house of the legislature on a basis other than population. We assume the Senator from Illinois primarily is interested in editorials supporting his amendment, but the telegram referred to "any editorials reflecting position on proposal."
>
> We have a great deal of sympathy with the purposes of the amendment. After all, Clark County knows what it is like to be outshouted and ignored by more heavily populated areas of the State. But, somehow, we can't get too enthused about DIRKSEN's proposal.
>
> In the first place, if legislatures are to represent people, they should represent people, not acres or counties or cows. Even though we and our neighbors up the Columbia may come out on the short end of the vote sometimes, we can think of no fairer method of allocating seats than on the basis of people.
>
> Second, Washington and probably a good majority of States recently have gone through much travail in reorganizing their legislatures along lines of one man, one vote. We don't want to have to go through that again soon. We prefer to forget past bitterness over reapportionment and get on with the business of State government. Most States have a long way to go to catch up with the demands being placed on them.

ST. PETERSBURG TIMES OPPOSES AMENDMENT

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I should also like to comment on two editorials which were published in outstanding newspapers of the Nation, one the St. Petersburg, Fla., Times, and the other the St. Louis Post Dispatch. I shall read first from an editorial that was published in the St. Petersburg Times.

> Floridians have seen the evils of government by crony. They have seen their State school taxes divided unfairly. They have seen State road and race track taxes build facilities where there are more pine trees than people.
>
> No pressure group will convince Floridians, on the verge of gaining control of their legislature, that minority rule is preferable. They know better.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire editorial be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PORK CHOP FRIEND

> Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN doesn't give up easily. Even though enough State legislatures are now fairly apportioned so that there's little chance of amending away the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote ruling, DIRKSEN seems determined to push the issue in the current congressional session.

Now he has organized a pressure group to raise money to try to convince the people that they should give back their legislatures to minorities.

Even though Senator Spessard Holland is a cochairman of Dirksen's pressure group, the Illinois Senator should know that he needn't spend any money in Florida. It would be a waste.

Floridians have seen the evils of government by crony. They have seen their State school taxes divided unfairly. They have seen State road and race track taxes build facilities where there are more pine trees than people.

No pressure group will convince Floridians, on the verge of gaining control of their legislature, that minority rule is preferable. They know better.

DISCLOSES PROPAGANDA EFFORT

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, on the 10th of February a very excellent article was published in the St. Petersburg Times. The article was written by Mr. Robert Sherrill.

I ask unanimous consent that this article entitled, "Propaganda To Hit Florida" be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Propaganda To Hit Florida

(By Robert Sherrill)

Washington.—Within the next few weeks just about every adult resident of Florida will receive a small red, white, and blue brochure, about the size of a business envelope, entitled "Let the People Decide."

Every Florida newspaper editor will receive a 45-page indexed looseleaf notebook, "The Reapportionment Issues Book."

And every Florida legislator will be approached either by U.S. Senator Spessard Holland or U.S. Senator George Smathers or by a member of the Florida Committee for Government of the People, a so-far mysterious group whose membership will be made public this weekend.

All of this is just part of what can be expected to flow out of, or be directed by, the Washington office of the most successful political public relations firm in America, Whitaker & Baxter.

The goal: To create the kind of propaganda climate which will convince the Florida Legislature, along with three-fourths of the legislatures of the other States, to ratify (if they get the chance) the amendment now proposed before Congress by Senator Everett Dirksen, permitting the States to apportion one house on other than a population basis.

Not since Whitaker & Baxter spent $4.6 million between 1948 and 1951 for the American Medical Association to beat back President Truman's Federal medical insurance plan—and to defeat a number of Congressmen and Senators in 1950 who had supported the idea—have the high-powered propagandists embarked on such an ambitious program.

This campaign, too, will cost several million dollars.

"We are prepared to continue this fight for 7 years, if necessary," Clem Whitaker said yesterday.

Neither Dirksen nor Whitaker will estimate how many millions a campaign of that duration will take, nor will they say where they are getting their money.

But it is generally known that the American Farm Bureau Federation, the largest rural-oriented organization in the country, is contributing abundantly, and some support is also coming from the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the National Farmers Union, the National Grange, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the American Retail Federation.

Allied with the Whitaker & Baxter front—the "Committee for Government of the People"—is the National Commission on Constitutional Government.

Its part in the campaign is largely limited to whipping up the feeling of esprit de conservative among State legislators, but its ties with Florida are even closer, having been the brain child of Mallory Horne and William V. Chappell, both former powers in the Florida Legislature.

Originally its title was the Dual Sovereignty Committee, and as such it hired the services of George Prentice, a former Tallahassee newsman, as executive director. Prentice quit when the organization's funds ran low.

Representing the National Commission on Constitutional Government in Washington last year was Ernest Tupper, a former lobbyist for the American Can Co. When one calls Tupper's office he is told "Mr. Tupper can be reached at 628–9500"—which is the number at Whitaker's office.

Tupper explains that he, too, left the NCCG when the pump ran dry, "and Mr. Whitaker decided to make use of my background knowledge."

Headquarters for the multimillion-dollar putsch is a five-room suite of offices two blocks from the White House. Whitaker and his partners have been there 2 months, but there's not yet a name on the door.

There are only two small pictures—one of Lincoln and one of Dirksen—on all those walls, plus a New Yorker cartoon, taped into place, which shows one drunk saying to another, "What the hell does the Supreme Court know about it?"

The place is so barren it resembles the old-time high-pressure sales "bucket shops"—places where business was conducted with one eye on the backdoor.

In this case, Whitaker laughs, such appearances are deceiving. "This is one of my eastern offices. I intend to be here from now on."

This Clem Whitaker is not the Clem Whitaker who made the publicity firm nationally famous for teaching Earl Warren how to smile in public.

The other Clem was his dad. He died a couple years ago. The Baxter in the firm's title is Leone Baxter, the other Clem's wife. She has retired.

Now the firm is conducted by young Whitaker (43), and by his partners James Dorais, Robert Smalley, and Mike Abramson.

But young Whitaker has been a major part of the firm since 1948 and handled about 100 of the firm's political campaigns (winning all but five) when his parents were tied up with the AMA drive to knock off Truman's medicare.

He was brought up in the W. & B. tradition that "the average American doesn't want to be educated. He doesn't want to improve his mind. He doesn't want to work, consciously, at being a good citizen * * * but he likes a good hot battle, with no punches pulled * * *. He likes fireworks and parades."

W. & B. has never pulled its punches and it has always put on a good show, one of its best examples being the time it defeated Upton Sinclair's try for the governorship of California by pulling quotes from his novels out of context.

Young Whitaker's pitch is low-keyed, yet it faultlessly plays on such emotions as State patriotism. The little brochure that will soon be circulated in Florida reads at one point—"For the one-man, one-vote rationale of the big city machine bosses, as applied to Congress, would obliterate State lines, concentrating virtually all political power in five or six large metropolitan areas."

Chaos and widespread political strife, it suggests, could result—"In one State (California) bitter pressures have mounted to split the State into two. Only adoption of a constitutional amendment will restore political order,"

The pressures advocated by W. & B. are proper enough: letters to the editor, letters to congressmen and to State legislators, work through local organizations.

Whitaker says the only lobby his organization has is the grassroots lobby. He is fond of the Lincoln statement, "Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it, nothing can succeed."

Before the campaign is over, says Whitaker, Floridians can expect to receive about six more brochures similar to the one they are about to get.

Every newspaper editor and publisher in the State can expect to be personally visited by a top worker for the committee.

And roughly 10 million other pamphlets, 50,000 letters, and 4.5 million postcards will be sent out to Floridians. Whitaker used these figures from a previous campaign to estimate the strength of this propaganda flood.

"When those Florida senators who come in under the new apportionment realize that in a volatile state like that they might face a new reapportionment—meaning they might lose their seat—every 2 or 3 years unless they settle things down, they will begin to understand what we're talking about," he said.

Mr. DOUGLAS. This article shows the state of the propaganda machine which is in operation behind the Dirksen amendment and which would be in operation in the various States were the Dirksen amendment to get through Congress.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I commend the senior Senator from Illinois for bringing out the facts on the forces that are behind the Dirksen amendment.

I ask the Senator, in his judgment, if the Senate should pass the Dirksen amendment tomorrow and if the House should then pass it by a two-thirds vote, what would be the opportunity for the firm of Whitaker & Baxter to gain?

Mr. DOUGLAS. They could then carry on a propaganda campaign in each and every one of the 50 States. A tremendous amount of money is behind this propaganda campaign.

The firm would reap a propaganda harvest and would become wealthy beyond the dreams of avarice, if it is not already wealthy.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Is it not apparent that a great deal is at stake for Whitaker & Baxter on the vote of the U.S. Senate tomorrow?

Mr. DOUGLAS. The Senator is correct. It will be one of the most crucial votes in American history.

Mr. PROXMIRE. As this tremendously well financed and well organized drive reaches its climax on tomorrow, does the senior Senator from Illinois not expect that this firm will do everything within its power to persuade Senators either to vote in favor of the Dirksen amendment, or to take some action that would assist the measure to be enacted into law?

Mr. DOUGLAS. The Senator is correct. That could be expected. It is already going on.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Is it not necessary, therefore, that Senators should be very much aware of this endeavor that has been carried on now in an enormous way?

It is my understanding that this firm has not complied with the lobbying laws concerning the reporting of its expenditures and other requirements, and is spending huge amounts of money.

Mr. DOUGLAS. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE] and the Senator from Maryland Mr. [TYDINGS] have brought out in their early colloquies on this subject that there has been no filing of expenses by this firm which is obviously trying to get a constitutional amendment through Congress.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Here we are, 25 hours from a vote on this matter, and if the filing of expenditures is to serve any purpose at all in alerting the Senate and members of the public on the forces behind this historic, very vital and important measure, that information should be made available now; is that not correct?

Mr. DOUGLAS. This is the last day. It will be interesting to see if any statement is filed by 5 o'clock tonight.

Mr. PROXMIRE. It is my understanding, from colloquies that were held a couple of weeks ago, that we were assured that when this matter was before the Senate for a vote, and when we were actually debating it, we would be enlightened as to who was behind this campaign, who was putting up the money, how much money was being spent.

But, to the best of my knowledge, the only enlightenment we have had is through the editorials and other materials which the senior Senator from Illinois and the Senator from Maryland have been able to bring to the attention of the Senate; and while that information has been very useful, it would certainly serve a great public purpose if the firm that is lobbying so hard for this proposed legislation would comply with the law; is that not correct?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I thoroughly agree.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH SAYS A DEAD HORSE

Mr. President, let me read also and comment upon an editorial which appeared in that great American newspaper, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, of last Thursday, April 14. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in its entirety in the RECORD at this point, but I should like to call attention to the two final paragraphs.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIRKSEN'S DEAD HORSE

> There is every reason to believe that Senator DIRKSEN is riding the deadest of dead horses in his latest crusade for the submission of a constitutional amendment to repudiate the one-man one-vote principle of legislative representation. But you never know. Just in case the old nag turns out to have some life in it after all, the Senate would be well advised to do what it did to last year's Dirksen amendment—vote it down.
>
> Nearly four-fifths of the State legislatures are now believed to have been reapportioned on a population basis in both houses. Since it is most unlikely that a legislature thus broadly representative of the voters would vote for a constitutional amendment designed to reopen the road to unrepresentative legislatures, the Dirksen amendment appears to have little chance of ratification even if it should be submitted to the States by Congress. More than ever, the debate now under way on the proposition seems a waste of time.
>
> Congress cannot, however, abdicate its own responsibility for judging the merits of such a proposal, and a judgment on the merits calls for its defeat—in Congress.
>
> Senator DIRKSEN has tried to clean up his amendment to make it more palatable than it was last year. It provides that one house of a legislature could be apportioned on nonpopulation factors (including geography and political subdivisions) if the apportionment plan embodying this departure from the one-man one-vote principle were approved by a majority of the voters in a statewide referendum.
>
> "Let the people decide" is Senator DIRKSEN's beguiling slogan, thought up no doubt by the expensive west coast public relations firm that was called in to engineer his campaign. But the Senator does not by any means propose to let the people decide whether his amendment shall become a part of the Constitution. If Congress were so unwise as to pass it, the amendment would be submitted not to the voters but to the legislatures.
>
> No doubt enthusiasm for the proposition would be warmest among those legislatures not yet reapportioned on a population basis, which the Supreme Court holds to be required by the equal rights guarantees of the Constitution. In these States, as Senator RIBICOFF has put it, the rotten boroughs would get a chance to decide whether they should continue to be rotten. An interesting legal argument can be made to the effect that ratification by malapportioned legislatures would in itself be unconstitutional; Peter H. Wolf of the District of Columbia bar presents this case in the April issue of the American Bar Association Journal.
>
> However, that argument might be decided, there are plenty of other grounds for rejecting the new Dirksen amendment. In its new version as in the previous ones, the amendment would pose a serious threat to the very doctrine of judicial review; it would pronounce an undemocratic verdict against the democratic principle that one man's vote in electing a legislature should be equal to every other's; and it would, for the first time, write into the Constitution a diminution of the individual rights which the Constitution was written to guarantee.
>
> If there were ever going to be a groundswell of popular opinion against equal representation in the legislatures, it would have made itself evident by now. Senator DIRKSEN and other devotees of things as they used to be have been doing their best to pump up such sentiment from the grass roots, and they have clearly failed. Not surprisingly, the people in general are finding that they rather like the idea of legislatures accurately representing people; it is a refreshing change from legislatures representing groups or interests or geography or something else. Those who want to turn back the clock represent the predominantly conservative groups and interests and geographical areas that used to be the beneficiaries of malapportionment. They have lots of money and apparently unlimited patience in backing dead horse rides by Senator DIRKSEN; but Congress ought to make clear that it has had enough.
>
> Let the people decide? We'd say they already have decided—in favor of equality.

Mr. DOUGLAS. The editorial discusses the question as to whether ratification by malapportioned legislatures would in itself be unconstitutional. I understand that an amendment may be offered to deal with that issue on the principle of prior compliance, in order to dress the pending amendment up more fully. But the editorial goes on to say:

> However that argument might be decided, there are plenty of other grounds for rejecting the new Dirksen amendment. In its new version as in the previous ones, the amendment would pose a serious threat to the very doctrine of judicial review; it would pronounce an undemocratic verdict against the democratic principle that one man's vote in electing a legislature should be equal to every other's; and it would, for the first time, write into the Constitution a diminution of the individual rights which the Constitution was written to guarantee.
>
> If there were ever going to be a groundswell of popular opinion against equal representation in the legislatures, it would have made itself evident by now. Senator DIRKSEN and other devotees of things as they used to be have been doing their best to pump up such sentiment from the grass roots, and they have clearly failed. Not surprisingly, the people in general are finding that they rather like the idea of legislatures accurately representing people; it is a refreshing change from legislatures representing groups or interests or geography or something else. Those who want to turn back the clock represent the predominantly conservative groups and interests and geographical areas that used to be the beneficiaries of malapportionment. They have lots of money and apparently unlimited patience in backing dead-horse rides by Senator DIRKSEN; but Congress ought to make clear that it has had enough.
>
> Let the people decide? We'd say they already have decided—in favor of equality.

WANE-TV OF FORT WAYNE, IND., OPPOSES AMENDMENT

I also call attention to a series of editorial broadcasts over WANE-TV of Fort Wayne, Ind. On different days they first stated the issue, then gave the arguments for and the arguments against, and then concluded with the following language:

> The point of our recent editorial series was that the people should study both plans and then make their decision. We have, and our decision is to support the Court's one-man, one-vote concept.
>
> Here are our reasons: First, too many States have not lived up to their own constitutions (including Indiana until last year), and reapportioned periodically according to the census. To say this is a States rights issue is to argue this point too late. States have failed to demonstrate their dependability to follow their own law.
>
> Second the U.S. Congress or Federal plan establishes the Senate on the basis of two per State, the House on population alone. State legislatures cannot be compared to the Congress. While States are sovereign within the United States, counties are not sovereign within States.
>
> Third, our interpretation is that the Federal Constitution assures each individual that his home State will be governed on a population basis for both houses of the legislature rather than on a population and geographic basis. The cry "this is a States rights issue" is a stimulating comment, but it does not apply to this important problem.
>
> This is our opinion.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the series of editorial broadcasts over WANE-TV of Fort Wayne, Ind., to which I have referred, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[WANE–TV Editorial, Mar. 8, 1966]

REAPPORTIONMENT—I

Another round in the reapportionment battle will be fought this month. The issue has been batted back and forth between Federal courts and State legislatures, making headline news for the past 4 years. Some skirmishing continues in a few States, but in the words of the late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The law is what the court says it is." And the Supreme Court's last words were: "One man, one vote."

The upcoming round will take place in the congressional arena when lawmakers debate the Dirksen amendment. The bill provides for, in the case of a two-house legislature, only one house on a population basis. Geographical factors would be considered in determining districts of the second chamber. Voters of each State would have to approve substitution of this plan for the one-man, one-vote rule, and each house would have to be reapportioned every 10 years following the national census.

Reapportionment will shed statistics and other aspects that made it a dreary subject in the Federal courts. In the Halls of Congress it will take on high drama, for here will be waged a last ditch fight by the urban and rural elements of our Nation.

Both sides will have strong seconds in two of Indiana's major organizations. The State chamber of commerce has come out in support of the Dirksen amendment, and the League of Women Voters opposes it.

In subsequent editorials, we will present the arguments of each organization.

[WANE–TV Editorial, Mar. 9, 1966]

REAPPORTIONMENT—II

The Indiana State Chamber of Commerce has jumped into the reapportionment fray by supporting the Dirksen amendment, which would overturn the U.S. Supreme Court one-man, one-vote ruling.

Senator DIRKSEN would offer voters of each State the opportunity to choose between the strict population plan for both legislative houses, and a Federal plan. The latter bases one house solely on population and considers geographical factors in determining districts of the other.

The Indiana chamber bases its support primarily on one argument—States rights. Their literature stresses the fact that determining a State legislature's composition has always rested with the people of that State. Other chamber arguments cite the bad examples of following the one-man, one-vote principle; districts too large in area to be practical, disenfranchisement of minority groups, and in some cases gerrymandering of suburbs by the large cities.

Chamber officials say only adoption of a constitutional amendment will restore political order out of judicial chaos. This, they say, is needed to reestablish the right of the people to self-government.

For those who doubt the desire of most States to consider a constitutional amendment, chamber leaders say a majority of States is on record in support of such remedial action.

Tomorrow, the arguments of the League of Women Voters on the other side of reapportionment.

[WANE–TV Editorial, Mar. 10, 1966]

REAPPORTIONMENT—III

When the Dirksen amendment on reapportionment comes up for debate in Congress, possibly this month, it will have formidable support, the Indiana Chamber of Commerce as we discussed yesterday, and formidable opposition from the league of women voters.

Strongest opposition from the league stems from the amendment's little Federal plan. This would allow State legislatures to base their two chambers as the Congress is apportioned. League members have consistently fought such a plan brought up in almost every State at some time in the reapportionment wrangle. They say there is no comparison between the legal status of States and counties; sovereign States were given equality in the U.S. Senate to induce them to join a Federal Government. League officials point out that counties are mere administrative units created by the States.

In answer to the contention that Federal courts are interfering in State political matters, the League says the courts intervened only because States refused to provide fair representation.

The league sees no need to consider geographic factors. Members say groups rarely separate themselves by geography and that interest groups have more in common with their counterparts in other areas. League members are quick to point out that rural areas tend to have corrupt political machines just as much as cities.

But behind all these arguments is the fear of a hastily passed constitutional amendment to cancel out a temporarily unpopular court decision. Organization leaders maintain no amendment should be considered until experience indicates the practical effects of the Supreme Court one-man, one-vote decision.

In this series of editorials, we have outlined the importance of reapportionment, and the opposing stands taken by the chamber of commerce and the league of women voters. We suspect there are many families in our area where the dinner table conversation waxes very hot, with dad supporting his chamber's position, and mother upholding her league's viewpoint. What do you think?

[WANE–TV Editorial, Mar. 24, 1966]

ON THE DIRKSEN AMENDMENT

We recently presented a series of editorials on the subject of reapportionment * * *one of the most important problems facing the citizens of this country today. It is also one of the most difficult in which to inspire real interest, despite the fact that it vitally affects each citizen's vote.

The Dirksen amendment would give to each State the right to choose the Federal plan of apportioning its legislature. It calls for two houses, one based only on population, and one which could be based on other factors, such as geography. The arguments for the Dirksen amendment are strong, and should be studied by all voters. The alternative to this plan is the one-man, one-vote concept, recently handed down by the Supreme Court as the only true way to set up a two house State legislature in keeping with the Federal Constitution. This decision, too, should be studied by all voters.

The point of our recent editorial series was that the people should study both plans and then make their decision. We have, and our decision is to support the Court's one-man, one-vote concept.

Here are our reasons: First, too many States have not lived up to their own constitutions (including Indiana until last year), and reapportioned periodically according to the census. To say this is a States rights issue is to argue this point too late. States have failed to demonstrate their dependability to follow their own law.

Second, the U.S. Congress or Federal plan establishes the Senate on the basis of two per State, the house on population alone. State legislatures cannot be compared to the Congress. While States are sovereign within the United States, counties are not sovereign within States.

Third, our interpretation is that the Federal Constitution assures each individual that his home State will be governed on a population basis for both houses of the legislature rather than on a population and geographic basis. The cry "this is a States rights issue" is a stimulating comment, but it does not apply to ths important problem.

This is our opinion: study the issues and form your own.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Yes, I am happy to yield to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. PROXMIRE. A few minutes ago, the Senator was referring to the comment by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, which pointed out the importance of judicial review in these matters.

Mr. DOUGLAS. That is correct.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The Senator made the very proper point that if the Dirksen amendment were adopted, it would be very likely to prevent judicial review, which has been the great protection of the rights of our people.

Mr. DOUGLAS. That is right.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I should like to call the Senator's attention to page 3 of the Dirksen amendment, lines 5 to 12, which make this clear. I read from the proposed amendment:

> If submitted by a bicameral legislature the plan of apportionment shall have been approved prior to such election by both houses, one of which shall be apportioned on the basis of substantial equality of population; if otherwise submitted it shall have been found by the courts prior to such election to be consistent with the provisions of this Constitution, including this article.

This is a very cleverly contrived sentence, because the modifying clause "if otherwise submitted" makes it clear that judicial review will not apply under the ordinary circumstances, and thus is a very effective way of eliminating judicial review in this area, in which the rights involved are so important and in which the protection of the courts is so fundamental.

Mr. DOUGLAS. The Senator is correct.

FORTY-THREE ILLINOIS LEAGUES OF WOMEN VOTERS ACTIVELY OPPOSE DIRKSEN AMENDMENT

Mr. President, I have now received letters from 43 local leagues of women voters in Illinois expressing their opposition to the Dirksen rotten borough amendment. These letters are in addition to the official statement of the Illinois League of Women Voters and of the National League of Women Voters, which I previously inserted in the RECORD, calling for the defense of equality of citizenship in the apportionment of State legislatures.

Let me call the roll of the local Illinois leagues which have expressed their strong and informed opposition to the proposed constitutional amendment now pending before the Senate: Aurora, Carbondale, Champaign County, Chicago, Collinsville, Deerfield, De Kalb, Downers Grove, Edwardsville, Elgin, Elmhurst, Elmwood Park, Evanston, Evergreen Park, Flossmoor-Olympia Fields, Freeport.

Geneva, Glencoe, Glen Ellyn, Glenview, Hazel Crest, Highland Park, Hinsdale, La Grange and La Grange Park, Lake Bluff, Lincoln, Lombard, Melrose Park, Northbrook, Oak Park-River Forest, Palatine, Palos Orland, Park Forest, Quincy, Riverdale-Dolton, Rock Island, Skokie, Villa Park, Waukegan, Wheaton, Wilmette, Winnetka, and Woodstock-McHenry.

Mr. President, it bears repeating that these leagues are located in every corner of Illinois, big city and small town, suburbs and rural areas, north and south. And these are not casual expressions stirred up by a Madison Avenue public relations campaign or other propaganda. They are the result of 2 years of study. Many of the league members have written to me to say that they changed their minds during the course of this study. They all endorse the principle of one man, one vote in the election of State legislatures. They all protest any attempt to tamper with this basic right of Americans. They all ask that I work and vote against the Dirksen amendment.

I say again that the league of women voters, both nationally and in the local and State leagues, has performed a most important public service.

Mr. President, I had most of these 43 letters inserted in the RECORD on February 7 and March 7, but I now ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD additional letters from the Leagues of Champaign County, Collinsville, Flossmoor-Olympia Fields, Lombard, Melrose Park, Northbrook, Palos Orland, and Wilmette.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF CHAMPAIGN COUNTY,
March 11, 1966.

Hon. PAUL H. DOUGLAS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR DOUGLAS: The League of Women Voters of Champaign County wishes to add its voice to those leagues all over the country who are supporting you in your stand on apportionment of State legislatures.

Heartiest congratulations on your excellent fight.

Yours very truly,
MRS. FRANCIS KRUIDENIER,
President, League of Women Voters of Champaign County.

COLLINSVILLE LEAGUE OF
WOMEN VOTERS,
Collinsville, Ill., March 26, 1966.

Hon. PAUL DOUGLAS,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR DOUGLAS: Our league of women voters made a study of the reapportionment of State legislatures last fall. We came to the almost unanimous decision that we believe that both houses of State legislatures should be based substantially on population.

Our Illinois local league feels there should be no other considerations: not area, not education, not anything except giving each voter his fair, democratic vote. Cows shouldn't compete with people in weight of votes cast and many of us Illinoisans as well as citizens of other States have been receiving a short weight in our voting.

We therefore oppose any amendment to the U.S. Constitution which would change the decision of the Supreme Court and currently, Senate Joint Resolution 103, sponsored by Senator DIRKSEN.

We hope your opposition is successful.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. DONALD W. TURNHAM,
President.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF
FLOSSMOOR-OLYMPIA FIELDS,
Flossmoor, Ill., March 16, 1966.

Hon. PAUL H. DOUGLAS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR DOUGLAS: I am writing to urge you to oppose Senate Joint Resolution 103. It contains so many ambiguities that it is difficult to interpret. It would be practically impossible to apportion one house of a State legislature on a basis other than population in such a way as to assure equal rights for all minorities in that State. Some people advocate using counties as a basis for electing members of one house. But there is not a true analogy between State legislatures and Congress because counties are not autonomous governmental units, but merely districts of State government.

I am sure that you are aware that the League of Women Voters of the United States studied the matter of apportionment of State legislatures and arrived at a nationwide consensus that both houses of State legislatures should be apportioned substantially on a population basis. We feel this to be the fairest and most equitable way of assuring that each man's vote is of equal value. Minority rights are protected by the Constitution and will continue to be.

We feel that an amendment is so difficult to change that it should be adopted only after deep and careful study and not hastily because of an unpopular Court decision.

Yours very truly,
MRS. DAVID A. EDWARDS,
President.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF LOMBARD,
Lombard, Ill., April 13, 1966.

Hon. PAUL H. DOUGLAS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR DOUGLAS: This is to express my gratitude and that of the 86 members of the League of Women Voters of Lombard for your firm adherence to the principle of equal representation in both houses of State legislatures. Your opposition to amending the U.S. Constitution to allow for other factors in apportioning one house provided invaluable material for our study and action. We regret the persistent efforts of the proponents of the proposed amendment, as you will see from the enclosed copy of our letter to Senator DIRKSEN.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. R. A. HORTON.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF MELROSE PARK,
Melrose Park, Ill., March 15, 1966.

Hon. PAUL H. DOUGLAS,
Member of the U.S. Senate,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR DOUGLAS: The League of Women Voters of Melrose Park, Ill., in conjunction with all the leagues of the United States studied apportionment of State legislatures this past year.

It was our consensus that to amend the Constitution, to allow the States to apportion their legislatures for any reason other than by population, would be ill advised. It was the feelings of our league that, the citizens of the United States would be better represented on the basis of population than by any other means.

In reaching our consensus much thought was given to the minority groups throughout the United States, and to their representation under both forms of apportionment. We felt that one man, one vote was the best representation for all of them.

The Melrose Park League strongly urges you to continue your support of the one-man, one-vote decision of the Supreme Court.

Sincerely yours,
JEAN E. BUTA, *President.*

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF NORTHBROOK,
Northbrook, Ill., March 15, 1966.

Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR DOUGLAS: According to the information I recently received Senator DIRKSEN's amendment (S.J. Res. 103) is on the floor being debated at this moment.

In behalf of our league I would like to thank you for your public acknowledgment of our official league position. Our local league position, along with the national, stresses the conviction that population is the fairest and most equitable way of assuring that each man's vote is of equal value.

A very strong majority of Northbrook league members felt that for State government to be effective, it must be run by legislatures that truly represent the people. Especially we in the suburban area which is so rapidly increasing in population, feel strongly about getting fairer representation.

We thank you for your continued opposition to any amendment and would like to lend our support in your present efforts.

With best wishes for success, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,
MRS. DAVID KATZ, *President.*

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF WILMETTE,
Wilmette, Ill., March 21, 1966.

Hon. PAUL DOUGLAS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR DOUGLAS: The League of Women Voters of Wilmette wholeheartedly supports the position of the League of Women Voters of the United States on apportionment of State legislatures: that both houses of State legislatures should be apportioned substantially on population; and that the U.S. Constitution should not be amended to allow for other factors in apportioning either or both houses of State legislatures.

The Wilmette League studied this matter in depth, as did leagues throughout the country. The opinion of Wilmette members was unanimous in support of the population standard and in opposition to amendment of the Constitution.

We believe it is noteworthy that the league came to nationwide agreement on this position and that there was not significant variation of opinion from region to region, nor, within regions, between metropolitan area and downstate leagues. The uniformity of league opinion in Illinois should be of particular interest.

Yours very truly,
MRS. RUSSELL BONYNGE,
President.
MRS. VICTOR BOHLMAN,
Chairman, Apportionment of State Legislatures.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF PALOS ORLAND,
February 2, 1966.

Hon. PAUL DOUGLAS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR DOUGLAS: The League of Women Voters of Palos Orland has recently completed a study and evaluation of the criteria for representation in State legislatures. Included in this study were a review of the recent Supreme Court decisions regarding apportionment, the proposed amendment to the Constitution on apportionment and arguments from proponents on both sides of the question.

Leagues in the whole Nation have been doing apportionment very similar to this. The feeling of the leagues in regard to representation in the State legislature is that it be based substantially on population. In both urban and rural areas this was felt to be the fairest way of making each individual vote count. The Palos Orland League came to a position which agreed with the national consensus. However, in our local league there was a strong minority which favored the Dirksen amendment. Those in the majority felt that State government would be strengthened most by being more representative of the people wherever they may live.

Very truly yours,

Rachel Williams, *President*.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, before the Senator yields the floor, I wish to join him in expressing gratitude to the League of Women Voters. I believe that this is something which should really merit the attention of Members of the Senate. This is a group which has no ax to grind whatsoever. They have no financial gain to make. Their only interest is in good government. All of us are familiar with the nonpartisan attitude in which they do not endorse candidates, they do not endorse parties, but they make every effort to determine the issues strictly on the basis of their merits.

My understanding, in this case, is that they have studied the issue at great pains, and over a long period of time, before they came to a conclusion on it. It was discussed, debated, and considered, and they have now come out strongly in opposition to the Dirksen amendment, and favoring the one man, one vote.

Mr. DOUGLAS. That is correct. I believe that we can take their judgment with greater credence than that of the public relations firm hired at great cost to stir up sentiment for an amendment which would deny the principle of equality of citizenship.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I invite the attention of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Douglas] to the fact that he, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings], and I have all received a most interesting communication from a State university in Ohio, which I inserted in the Record yesterday. This communication was fascinating, because what was done here was to survey the political scientists in America who were most competent in this area and were selected carefully in a sample group of experts in the area of local and State governments. They also selected the people who had written substantially in the area or reapportionment and were recognized as being experts cn reapportionment. They conducted a survey on questions which seemed to me to be objective, and I inserted the questionnaire in the Record. The result was a four-to-one affirmation of the Supreme Court's decision, and a four-to-one disapproval of the proposal by the distinguished minority leader, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], to a constitutional amendment which would upset the Supreme Court's decision.

Mr. DOUGLAS. This is reassurance. The only question is whether the informed opinion of such people as these can prevail against the high-powered, highly expensive propaganda of Whittaker & Baxter.

That is the issue.

Of course, the issue becomes: Who is putting up the money for Whittaker & Baxter for his multimillion-dollar campaign? Why are they not willing to show the sources of their funds?

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, since the first of the year, I have received a number of letters from Missouri Leagues of Women Voters concerning State legislative apportionment. These letters have opposed amending the U.S. Constitution in this regard. These letters have come from leagues in smaller communities in Missouri as well as our larger metropolitan areas.

As the Senate knows, the league does not take stands on issues without careful and detailed study. It is significant, I believe, that the leagues, even those in smaller communities, have reached a consensus opposing a constitutional amendment such as that proposed by Senate Joint Resolution 103.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent these letters I have received be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the letters and telegrams were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

League of Women Voters,
Raytown, Mo., January 20, 1966.

Senator Edward V. Long,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Long: The Raytown League of Women Voters joins with leagues all over the Nation in supporting the position of the League of Women Voters of the United States regarding the apportionment of State legislatures. After careful study and much discussion our league reached a consensus in favor of maintaining the one man, one vote as established by the Supreme Court in its recent decisions on apportionment of State legislatures. We believe that population is the fairest basis for representation in order to assure that each man's vote is of equal value.

We believe that individual rights now protected by the Constitution would be weakened should it be amended hastily and that factors other than population would not give true representation.

In view of the fact that Missouri has passed an amendment to reapportion in compliance with the Supreme Court's ruling we feel sure that you will not wish to nullify your State's action by voting for an amendment to the Constitution to allow for consideration of factors other than population in apportioning either or both houses of our State legislature.

Sincerely,

Phyllis Spencer,
President.

League of Women Voters,
Warrensburg, Mo., January 25, 1966.

Senator Edward V. Long,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Long: You recently received a statement of position on apportionment of State legislatures from our national president, Mrs. Robert J. Stuart. Our league contributed to the consensus that resulted in this statement, and were in general agreement with it.

The recent referendum election on revisions of the Missouri constitution served to implement the Supreme Court decision in the matter of apportionment, and of course you realize what a confusing and regressive step it would be if the Federal Constitution were amended in contradiction of the population standard now accepted in Missouri.

The status of the apportionment issue in other States varies a great deal, but it will be of interest to you to know that this national league consensus showed no significant variation from rural versus urban areas, and no geographic split.

Sincerely,

Ester Lee Myers,
President.

Fulton, Mo.,
February 1, 1966.

Senator Edward V. Long,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Long: One of our program items in the League of Women Voters of Callaway County this year has been the apportionment of State legislatures. After studying this we reached the consensus that both houses of the State legislature should be apportioned substantially on population. We have recently received word from the League of Women Voters of the United States that this position is shared by other leagues on a nationwide scale.

I feel that Missouri has come up with a good plan, approved by the voters January 14, 1966, to bring apportionment of the Missouri State Legislature in line with recent Supreme Court decisions.

I am writing to urge you not to vote for any proposal which would change the Constitution and allow for factors other than population to be considered in apportioning one house of the State legislatures.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Hauer.

League of Women Voters,
Kansas City, Mo., February 7, 1966.

Senator Edward V. Long,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Long: On behalf of the League of Women Voters of Kansas City, Mo., may I urge your support for maintaining the standard recently established by decisions of the Supreme Court that both houses of State legislatures be apportioned substantially on population.

As the result of 3 years of study by the leagues in Missouri, it is their conviction that a population standard is the most equitable way of assuring that each man's vote is of equal value.

Further, the league feels that the Constitution should not be amended hastily because of an unpopular Court decision and that the individual rights now protected by the Constitution should not be weakened or abridged.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Charles Davidson,
President.

Columbia, Mo.,
March 15, 1966.

Senator Edward V. Long:

Columbia League of Women Voters strongly oppose Dirksen amendment. Urge you to aid its defeat.

Mrs. T. William Hall,
President.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, all we have had is a rehash of the old "red herrings" which have been trotted out across the floor of the Senate, from time to time, in connection with this proposal. They read from Drew Pearson. Well, I never knew that Drew Pearson was a lawyer. He got partially within the truth by saying that I was around here when the Antilobbying Act was enacted. I was not only around here, Mr. President, but I helped to write it. I was on that committee, which was a reorganization committee of Congress. It was set up in 1945. It served for 2 years. It had six Members from this body and six Members from the House. I served on it every moment, and I had something to do with it.

I know when we violate the law and when we do not violate the law. I know something about contributions, let me say to my distinguished colleague from Illinois, and the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin. I know all the answers, Mr. President.

We are on good ground and we aim to fight it out right here and now.

They dump a few editorials in the Record. Very well, let me just dump in 160. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record 160 editorials from every State in the Union.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Tri-Cities Daily, Sheffield, Ala.]

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

The one-man, one-vote theory is fine, although this Nation has managed pretty well without having both Houses of Congress named on a population basis in the past, and has done nothing about changing the Senate Chamber.

And still it would seem that there is sound basis of argument for letting the people decide within individual States whether or not one house of a State legislature can be established on factors other than population. This would seem especially true in States depending heavily upon agriculture.

The American Farm Bureau organization is supporting a constitutional amendment, which would guarantee to the States the right to apportion one house on the basis of factors other than population.

It would permit the people of each individual State to decide this issue on the basis which best fits the needs of their State situation. The Supreme Court ruling that both houses of a State legislature must be apportioned solely on the basis of population is seen by the Farm Bureau as a great threat to a representative form of government, since it would throw the power into the hands of big cities within individual States, allowing seven or eight major municipal areas tremendous power in the National Government.

Certainly, it would seem in the best interests of Alabama for consideration to be given the amendment by our elected delegation.

Legislatures of the past, which have refused to reapportion themselves, have asked for trouble along these lines, but the rural element could completely lose its voice, if both houses of legislatures must from here on out be established simply on a population basis without regard to other factors.

[From the Mobile Register, Apr. 12, 1966]

FIGHT ON APPORTIONING LEGISLATURES CONTINUES

Congress has before it a constitutional amendment bill aimed at overcoming what countless citizens across the Nation undoubtedly look upon as damage done to the rights of States and their people by the so-called one-man, one-vote decision of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The bill is officially identified as Senate Joint Resolution 103. It was introduced by Senator Everett M. Dirksen, of Illinois, and pronounced bipartisan support of it has seemed obvious from the start.

By a vote of 6 to 3, the Supreme Court on June 15, 1964, ruled that both houses of State legislatures must be apportioned on a basis of population. This has been commonly called the one-man, one-vote decision. Its effect, of course, was to rule out all considerations except population in determining the composition of the house and the senate of State legislatures.

The pending amendment bill on State legislative reapportionment would permit States to apportion one legislative branch on a geographical basis. This would not be mandatory, but it could be done if the citizens of a State chose that alternative, in which event the other legislative branch still would be apportioned by population alone.

As in the case of all proposed constitutional amendments, two-thirds majority approval by both the House and the Senate in Congress will be necessary to submit the State legislative reapportionment amendment to the States of the Union.

If submitted, as Senate Joint Resolution 103 would do, ratification by three-fourths of the States would be necessary for adoption and application of the amendment.

Justice John M. Harlan, one of the three dissenters to the Supreme Court decision requiring States to use population as a basis for apportioning both branches of their legislatures, said in his dissent:

"I believe that the vitality of our political system, on which in the last analyses all else depends, is weakened by reliance on the judiciary for political reform; in time a complacent body politic may result."

In a separate dissent in which Justice Thomas C. Clark joined, Justice Potter Stewart declared the "rule * * * is at odds with long-established principles of constitutional adjudication under the equal protection clause and it stifles values of local individuality and initiative vital to the character of the Federal Union which it was the genius of our Constitution to create."

The dissatisfaction caused by the ruling that both houses of State legislatures must be apportioned exclusively on a population basis is reflected in the fact that activity in Congress for a constitutional amendment to overcome the requirement began almost the moment the decision was handed down nearly 2 years ago.

The activity is continuing, as illustrated by the current effort in behalf of Senate Joint Resolution 103.

Interested citizens should contact their Senators and Representatives in Congress.

[From the Birmingham News]

THE REAPPORTIONMENT AMENDMENT

Senator Everett Dirksen is proud—and properly proud—of the fact that the head of the General Federation of Women's Clubs for the Nation has endorsed his amendment to allow people of all States to vote on whether they want one house of their State legislatures set up on a basis other than by population.

The amendment is getting a sizable, and it is a well-organized, push. Those in the Nation, who do not wish to see it passed—and among opponents mayors of the United States in great majority are most prominent, fearing cities will be hurt—ought to be alert to the skill of the pro-Dirksen amendment organization.

The issue itself properly can and perhaps even desirably should be submitted to the people. Before that can be done, of course, Congress must pass it. There are so-called insiders who yet say despite the hurrah it will not pass. But the issue in the hinterlands, at least, still seems considerably in doubt.

The basic question involved remains the same: Should States set up legislatures like "little Congresses"? Should the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote rule be overturned as it affects State legislative organization?

There are indeed two sides to the issue. The political reality seems to be—based on the positions of many nonurban dominated legislatures in past years—that if even one house of a legislature is in control of a close-knit majority of legislators, it will almost always be able to block legislation it feels especially painful.

The Dirksen amendment would preserve people-plus-area legislatures. But those who so vote in the Congress, in State legislatures as to ratification or the people themselves when reviewing any plan which, under Dirksen's bill, would have to be submitted for their approval, would most positively be weakening urban and suburban power in State legislatures.

That is the nub of the political issue. In law the amendment is, of course, a perfectly correct venture.

[From the Arizona Republic, Aug. 9, 1965]

MINORITY PROTECTION

The civil rights lobby, most powerful in the Nation, has succeeded in blocking the Dirksen amendment. Whether Congress will revive the amendment remains to be seen. But we think it is unfortunate that it was killed on the basis of civil rights and not on the question of whether this country can best be governed on a strict one-man, one-vote basis.

Senator Dirksen is trying to reverse the U.S. Supreme Court ukase that both houses of State legislatures must be elected solely on a basis of population. He and a good many other Americans favor the federal system of electing one house on the basis of population, and the other house on the basis of geography. Their reason, of course, is the realization that certain minority groups; i.e., farmers, cattlemen, ranchers, small town residents, etc., should not be subjected completely to the political control of the big cities.

But when Senator Dirksen tried to get Congress to approve a constitutional amendment that would permit States a certain latitude in establishing one house of their legislatures, the civil righters moved in and blocked the two-thirds vote that he needed. Although a majority of Senators voted for the amendment, the total of 57 to 39 tally was short of the required two-thirds.

It was the switch of Senators like Birch Bayh, of Indiana, and Jacob Javits, of New York, that prevented passage of the Dirksen amendment. And their switch was predicated largely on the testimony of Burke Marshall, former Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Mr. Marshall said the proposed constitutional amendment would "seriously undercut efforts" to insure "Negro citizens of some of the States that they would be given the right freely to register and vote."

There may be another chance to get the proposed Dirksen constitutional amendment before the people of this country. The Senator had promised to continue the fight. One possible way would be to call a constitutional convention, which can be done on the request of resolutions passed by 34 States. Arizona has passed such a resolution, and so have some 29 other States.

The so-called civil rights revolution deserves a high priority in the conduct of the Nation's business. But there are a good many minorities that deserve protection, and we think Congress is making a big mistake in allowing an understandable sympathy for one minority to destroy established protections of other minorities.

[From the Arizona Daily Star, Feb. 4, 1966]

A GOOD JUDICIAL DECISION

When the three-judge Federal court handed down its decision on reapportionment of Arizona's three congressional districts, and also of the entire Arizona Legislature, it performed well a necessary and difficult duty.

That the legislature had deadlocked for 3 years in its attempts to do this highly complicated job, confirms the wisdom of solution by the Federal judicial panel.

The three-judge panel was appointed with the expectation one judge might dissent from the other two. The fact that one judge did does not detract from the good job performed by the other two. The intemperate language of Judge William Mathes' dissent, along with his plan of having all candidates for the legislature run at large, makes the work of Judge James A. Walsh, of Tucson, and Judge Walter Pope, of San Francisco, shine out as an expression of judicial commonsense.

It also should be borne in mind that the three judges were charged with obeying the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court with its one-man, one-vote formula for State legislatures. The Supreme Court directed that subordinate courts could act if legislatures failed to act within a reasonable length of time. Those who are displeased with what has been done, should get busy and push the Dirksen constitutional amendment, which would grant the States the right to have one house of the legislature chosen by another formula.

The decision provides for the establishment of legislative districts in Maricopa and Pima Counties. That is a job that the county supervisors have done in the past for members of the house. The supervisors have had experience in districting the house. Now they can propose subdistricts, with each subdistrict to elect one senator and two representatives. If the supervisors do a conscientious job, the court probably will welcome it.

[From the Arizona Daily Star, Nov. 16, 1964]

The Legislature's Three Big Jobs

Now that the legislators for the next 2 years of our legislature have been elected, discussion of a few major pieces of legislation is in order.

The first item on the legislative calendar should be the reapportionment of the three congressional districts. The house made a good start last year by passage of a bill that was conspicuous for its fairness, in meeting new standards set by the Supreme Court of the United States. Unfortunately, the senate put it to sleep.

The job must be done this time. If it is not, it will be done for the State by the Federal courts. It is to be hoped that the house will introduce the bill it passed at the last session, and pass it again so the senate can settle this first legislative problem quickly.

The second item on the calendar should be the reapportionment of the Arizona Senate. The Supreme Court has spoken with continued emphasis, saying that this job must be done prior to the next primary elections. Senate representation must be based on population, and nothing else, which means that Maricopa County will have not less than half of the membership of the new body. Senatorial districts will have to be created, with each one representing one senate seat.

This task will be like putting a jigsaw puzzle together, and it has to be done sometime in 1965. If it is not done, it will be done by the Federal courts.

There is no use saying, "You can't do this to us." It is perfectly all right to urge support for the bill introduced in the House in Washington by Virginia Congressman Tuck, which would take away the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and return the whole matter to each State as has been done in the past. The chances are good that it will pass the House, but passage through the Senate is doubtful. The Senate voted down the Dirksen bill earlier this year, which was much milder than the Tuck bill.

This is a bitterly sour drink to have to take, but it is going to have to be swallowed. The chances are, the sooner it is done, the better it will be for our State.

The third important item is the matter of school legislation. The legislature now is empowered by a vote of the people to allot State funds to school districts by means other than the number of schoolchildren in each county. However, the more one studies this matter, the more important becomes the statewide evaluation of all property now being made. That job is not finished, and it may be another year before it is. It will present the latest evaluations in each school district, which are necessary to determine the needs in each district.

Consequently, it might be well to hold up any new legislation for another year, but authorize a jump of not less than $25 in the payments now being made for average daily attendance. Of course that does not cure some of the major defects in the present system, but it might simplify the 1965 legislative process. Once the evaluation is finished, then will be the time to change the method of State support of our schools.

The omission of any discussion on the possible, but not probable, apportionment of the house is deliberate. The house is already apportioned pretty well on the basis of population. Maricopa County, with a bit more than half of the population of the State, already has 40 members, or half of the total membership of the house. A casual rundown on the other counties reveals a reasonable representation on the basis of population.

If the legislature will concentrate on the senate apportionment, there is good reason to hope that there would be no effective complaint against the present house apportionment.

[From the Arizona Daily Star, Sept. 16, 1964]

The Stake in the Dirksen Amendment

When President Lyndon Johnson last week intervened in the filibuster that has been going on in the Senate over the Dirksen rider, relating to the Supreme Court's decision on reapportionment in the State legislatures, he in effect showed impressive sympathy for the Dirksen proposal, and to the contrary, disapproval of the decision of the Supreme Court.

Now the news comes that a compromise has been worked out. That is important, because the Dirksen rider provides that it was the sense of Congress that all Federal court proceedings on reapportionment be stayed until January 1, 1966. A rider is a proposal that is attached to another piece of legislation. In this case it was attached to the foreign aid bill, which the administration badly wanted passed. It is an old legislative trick which is perfectly proper for liberals to use, but wicked for conservatives.

Ironically, the liberals have staged a filibuster against it. Only a few months ago they were vigorously denouncing a filibuster against the civil rights bill. It was absolutely wrong for the Republican-Democratic conservative coalition to filibuster, but now it is perfectly right for the liberals to stage a filibuster.

If this rider passes the House and becomes a law, it can mark the first step in the passage of a constitutional amendment that would give States the exclusive right to choose their own ways of apportioning the membership of their own legislatures. However, it still would leave the requirement that States must stop their practices of gerrymandering in creating congressional districts.

All of this has an important connection with affairs in Arizona. The next legislature, for instance, must reapportion the State's three congressional districts on the basis of population. The way would be open, however, for the legislature to initiate an amendment to the U.S. Constitution granting States the right to reapportion the membership of their own legislatures, as long as they maintained the constitutional requirement that a republican form of government prevails.

Governor Fannin, both as Governor and now as a candidate for the U.S. Senate, has come out openly for such an amendment. As Governor he has appointed a study committee, which as yet has failed to report. In view of current developments in Washington, the committee should come out with a strong recommendation for the legislature to initiate the suggested amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Now that L.B.J. himself has intervened in behalf of a compromise on the Dirksen amendment, the subject becomes a nonpartisan one. The biggest issue at stake is not State's rights, but the protection of minorities, which is a sacred duty of all democracies, from the one-man, one-vote rule proclaimed by our Supreme Court in its reapportionment decision.

[From the San Francisco Chronicle]

Courts Take Up Unfair Burden

The California Legislature, with predictable disunity, has adjourned without meeting its responsibility for redistricting the State senate on the one-man, one-vote principle.

Consequently, a three-judge Federal court must take up this burden at a hearing in Los Angeles next month and do the work that the legislature failed to do. This is, of course, a most undesirable responsibility for a court to have to shoulder; it is properly a legislative, not a judicial, function to draw senatorial district lines.

When the Federal court comes to the end of its struggle to reapportion the senate of the largest State of the Union on a straight population basis, we believe it will finally become clear how regretable it is that the U.S. Supreme Court found it necessary to put the judicial machinery to this added strain. There is nothing more political than the process of drawing—or gerrymandering—these political lines, and the necessity to draw them will, we fear, unavoidably plunge the Federal courts into a political cauldron.

The only hope now of avoiding such consequences is to take reapportionment out of the courts. That would require a constitutional amendment like that of Senator Dirksen, which would let the people of a State apportion one house of a bicameral legislature upon the basis of factors other than population.

Senator Dirksen said yesterday he was hopeful of getting his amendment, Senate Joint Resolution No. 2, out on the floor of the Senate for debate. The subject needs debate. It certainly seems reasonable to say that the people of a State should be entitled to determine what kind of legislative upper house they want to create. That is all the Dirksen amendment guarantees. We think the Senate ought to hear it discussed on its merits.

[From the San Francisco Daily Commercial News, Feb. 25, 1966]

One Vote, but How Equal?

When the authors of the U.S. Constitution created a federal form of government, they recognized the fact that the voices of people living in the smaller States would be very faint, indeed, in the national legislature unless some protective measure of equality were guaranteed. The heavily populated areas would simply drown them out. This measure of equality was achieved by giving each State equal representation in the upper House, or Senate. The individual States, in turn, applied the principle to their own legislative bodies.

When the Supreme Court ruled that under the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment State legislatures must be apportioned on population only, it became obvious that the Constitution's real intent must be made unmistakably clear. This is what would be done by the Dirksen reapportionment amendment now before the Senate for the second time.

The danger of giving control of State legislation to the large cities, under population-only apportionment, has been clearly heralded by a man who knows large cities well. Robert Moses, famed for his longtime public service in New York City, joined the growing movement for passage of the Dirksen amendment with these words:

"Must the increasingly crowded, hectic urban centers, where pressures for conformity are almost irresistible, where racial and extraneous issues accumulate, rule from now on and the rest of the country be merely tributary acreage? Shall huddled, central concentration of population in cities reduce to impotence the vast acreage of hinterland which must more and more feed, clothe, and sustain us?"

The answer, of course, is "No." One man, one vote sounds fine. But when one man's vote is meaningless because he doesn't live with the crowded majority, wherein lies his "equal protection" under the Constitution?

[From the Crescent City (Calif.) American, Feb. 2, 1966]

HELP NEEDED TO WHIP REAPPORTIONMENT

While we Del Norters, standing among the big redwoods, are superconscious of the threat of a hoggish park landgrab that may well relegate us to the ranks of poverty stricken, reapportionment, under the U.S. Supreme Court's abominable one-man, one-vote decision, poses an even more disasterous threat to this area and to the bulk of the Nation.

We are glad to report this week that Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN's proposed constitutional amendment to restore a basic freedom, freedom of legislation within the States that was struck down by the decision, seems to stand an excellent (a far better than even) chance of adoption.

Growing resentment against the decision, that is becoming more and more apparent, comes as a pleasant surprise to us; usually when a freedom is lost it's gone.

We get a little tired of the boasting about what a wonderful job the California Legislature did reapportioning itself. They kowtowed and did exactly what was desired of them. They reapportioned so a handful of big metropolitan California counties (city bosses) will rule or ruin the entire State. Come January 1967, when this monstrosity takes over, we of Del Norte County will be beholden to and absolutely at the mercy of the city bosses.

A BLACK DAY

It was a black day. That day, when the Supreme Court at the instance and prodding of a group of "far outs," who never did and never will like our American system of government, yielded and handed down its reprehensible decision.

The Court's decree requires that both branches of every State legislature must be chosen strictly on a population basis.

It has been written and spoken, on many occasions, that taking away from the States the right to organize their State legislatures in response to the will of the people, affects every State except Nebraska which has unicameral legislature (one house apportioned on population only).

This contention is wrong; it affects Nebraska, too, because it robs the people of that State of freedom of choice. Before the advent of the decision the people of Nebraska had the right to one house (a senate) apportioned geographically, if they so desired. This right the Court usurped just as surely as it did in States where existing senatorial bodies were butchered.

From the very day following that abominable decision, this newspaper has contended that it is a matter of "life or death" to the Republic (to freedom as we have known it) that the devastating results of carrying out this Court-made edict be blocked.

In California, where three times during recent years the people have exercised their democratic right to vote against reapportioning their State senate, and, especially in Del Norte County where every man, woman, and child has everything to lose and nothing to gain through reapportionment, there has been no indication of the pitiful apathy that all too often deadens people's brains and causes them to lie down and surrender to any and all assaults against them.

NOT UNANIMOUS

It should be borne in mind that the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court junking the senates of 50 States was not unanimous. The Justices, all of whom are political appointees elected by nobody, voted six for and three against.

Excepts from two of the dissenting opinions were carried in a Reader's Digest article, as follows:

"It is difficult to imagine a more intolerable and inappropriate interference by the judiciary with the independent legislatures of the States," said Justice John M. Harlan. "People are not ciphers. Legislators can represent their electors only by speaking for their interests—economic, social, political—many of which do reflect where the electors live."

Justice Potter Stewart noted: "The Court's draconian pronouncement, which makes unconstitutional the legislatures of most of the 50 States, finds no support in the words of the Constitution, or in any prior decision of this Court, or in the 175-year political history of our Federal Union."

That the majority of the court had no respect for the will of the majority of the people, is indicated by the following excerpts from the Reader's Digest article:

"In an amazing statement, Chief Justice Warren said that, because the plan adopted was contrary to the Court's new ruling, Colorado's referendum vote was "without Federal constitutional significance."

There were stinging dissents. Said Justice Tom C. Clark: "Colorado, by an overwhelming vote has written the organization of its legislative body into its constitution. In striking down Colorado's plan of apportionment, the Court is invading the valid functioning of the procedures of the States, and thereby commits a grievous error which will do irreparable damage to our Federal-State relationship."

The spectacle of 190 million Americans being kicked around by six judicial baboons didn't end with the court's edict: Last year Senator DIRKSEN introduced a constitutional amendment to try to rescue something from the shambles, and, although DIRKSEN won a senatorial majority vote of 57 to 39, the amendment was defeated because he needed a two-thirds vote in this instance. Thirty-nine darlings of the big city bosses thwarted the desires of the people of America.

Last week, we editorialized that Senator DIRKSEN's amendment stands a better chance this year, because it has become apparent that the Court has created a Frankenstein's monster that is helping to destroy itself.

The country has a number of obnoxious characters who are opposed to anything that's good. They've wriggled into the scene, in the same manner that snakes everywhere wriggle anywhere they go, and have filed suits attacking apportionments from boards of supervisors in California to the judges of the Illinois Supreme Court.

In view of the gravity of the situation the Court's decision has brought about, we urge our readers to lend Senator DIRKSEN every possible aid. As to progress on the Dirksen proposal Clem Whitaker, Jr., writing in this week's issue of the California Feature Service, states, as follows:

HELP IS NEEDED

"Congress must hear from the people if our Government is still to be a government by consent of the governed. If there is no concern with consent, the governed will merely be governed."

With these words, Senate Republican leader EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois, last week launched a massive new bypartisan effort in behalf of his proposed constitutional amendment on legislative reapportionment. The Dirksen amendment would permit one house of a State legislature to be apportioned on a basis other than population if the plan is approved at statewide referendum.

Announcing the formation of a nationwide Committee for Government of the People at a Washington, D.C., press conference, DIRKSEN said that the citizens group would conduct an educational campaign throughout the Nation "to acquaint the people with the full import of the gravest constitutional question to confront this country."

Joining with DIRKSEN as cochairman of the committee were leaders in both political parties in the Congress: Senators FRANK CHURCH, Democrat, of Idaho; SPESSARD HOLLAND, Democrat, of Florida; ROMAN HRUSKA, Republican, of Nebraska; FRANK J. LAUSCHE, Democrat, of Ohio; HUGH SCOTT, Republican, of Pennsylvania, and Representatives RICHARD ICHORD, Democrat, of Missouri; CARLETON KING, Republican, of New York; WILLIAM MCCULLOCH, Republican, of Ohio; B. F. SISK, Democrat, of California, and WILLIAM M. TUCK, Democrat, of Virginia.

"There is no governmental issue more important to the people than the right of the people to decide the system of government which suits them best in their respective States," DIRKSEN declared. "There is no question that this cause is supported by a majority of the Members of both Houses of the Congress, a majority of the States and a vast majority of the United States—all of whom still hold to the premise that this is a government of the people, not a castle of omnipotent political leaders."

One goal is carrying the reapportionment issue to the people, DIRKSEN said, would be the formation of supporting public committees in each of the 50 States.

In California, he said the effort would be led by 10 of the State's outstanding business, agricultural and political leaders.

They are Paul J. Anderson, of Riverside, president of the County Supervisors Association of California; Carlos Bee, of Hayward, speaker pro tempore of the assembly; Hugh M. Burns, of Fresno, president pro tempore of the senate; Allan Grant, of Berkeley, president of the California Farm Bureau Federation; Carl Livingston, of San Francisco, president of the California Retailers Association.

Dr. Karl Lamb, of Santa Cruz, professor of political science, Cowell College, University of California; Joseph A. Moore, Jr., of San Francisco, president of the California State Chamber of Commerce; J. Blaine Quinn, of Sacramento, master of the California State Grange; Erwin Sklar, of Oceanside, president of the League of California Cities; and Burton E. Smith, of Los Angeles, president of the California Real Estate Association.

[From the Fullerton (Calif.) News-Tribune, Jan. 5, 1966]

MAKE EVERYONE'S VOTE COUNT

Legislatures are being reapportioned in most of the States, including California, and the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote edict has been implemented even on the county level, as witness the second redistricting of Orange County by the board of supervisors just 10 days ago.

At the top, however—in the procedure followed in electing a President—we still cling to an outmoded and unrepresentative practice.

Badly needed reforms in the electoral college system have been proposed in numberless sessions of Congress. They have gotten nowhere. Now, however, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has taken up the cause. It is conducting a poll of its membership throughout the Nation, hoping to focus public opinion on the issue and spur consideration of reforms by the lawmakers.

The Constitution's provisions governing presidential elections served their purpose in their day, but they have not stood the test of time and change.

Under the existing system each State picks presidential electors to represent each of the parties having candidates for President. In theory these electors are free agents, able to vote in the electoral college for whomever they please once they are named the electors of a State. In practice—and in virtually every instance in the past—they keep their pledges to support in the electoral college the presidential candidate of the party they represent.

When the people vote, they vote for electors, not candidates for President.

If the electors of party X receive a majority of the popular votes in a State then the whole electoral vote in that States goes to the man that party has nominated for President.

Thus, even among millions of votes, the slate of electors in a State that gets a majority of 10 popular votes, or even 1, is decreed the winner.

This deprives the minority in every State of a role in the final electing of a President. It has resulted in the election of Presidents who won only a minority of the popular vote. It has caused a presidential election to be thrown for final decision into the House of Representatives. And either of these things could happen again.

To forestall such possibilities, President Johnson has proposed one electoral college reform. He wants to make certain that electors are no longer free agents, but trustworthy representatives of the voters who select them.

The need, however, is broader than that. Voters who are in the minority must be assured a voice in the election of our national leaders. Each man's ballot must count. A constitutional amendment establishing this guarantee should be approved by both the House and Senate and submitted to the States for ratification.

If the U.S. Chamber of Commerce poll supplies the spark for such a forward move, the Nation, and every citizen eligible to cast a vote, will be in its debt.

[From the San Francisco Examiner, July 2, 1965]

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE CASE

On this page today our able Columnist Joseph Alsop attacks the Dirksen amendment, a measure the Examiner strongly supports. The amendment, if ratified, would permit California to retain its State senate as now constituted despite the U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote rule.

Mr. Alsop and others of his view make a basic mistake when they attribute weaknesses in State government to the fact that one house of most State legislatures is apportioned on a geographic rather than a population basis.

If this were the cause of poor government, then the Federal Government would surely be one of the world's worst. For the U.S. Senate is a geographic body in which Alaska (population 250,000) has the same two votes as California (population 18.5 million) and Nevada (300,000) the same voting power as New York (18 million).

Backward government in some States can certainly be attributed in part to the fact that their legislatures are badly apportioned and rural dominated. But California, with its enlightened and forward-looking State government, including its legislature, illustrates the error of generalizing on that point.

California's citizens are so satisfied with their geographically apportioned State senate that they have voted their approval of it on five separate occasions in the last 40 years.

They should have the right to maintain the kind of State legislature they want. And what they want happens to be the same kind that has proved so successful for so long in the National Government.

The Dirksen amendment would restore that right.

[From the Independent Journal, San Rafael, Calif., July 2, 1965]

MCATEER RIGHT; COMPUTER REAPPORTIONMENT "NUTTY"

San Francisco's State Senator McAteer has called computer reapportionment of the State senate "Nutty."

We agree.

The three San Francisco attorneys and the bio-mathematician who concocted the computer approach hail it as "utterly impersonal, completely mathematical and pure as driven snow."

Utterly impersonal and completely mathematical it is. And therein lies its flaw.

Senators should represent more than just numbers in the State senate. They should represent people with a community of interest.

The computer plan comes up with such bizarre arrangements as a senate district partly in San Francisco and partly in Contra Costa. Can there be a community of interest there? It is hard to see how.

"Pure as driven snow," they say.

We could agree only that it is pure hokum.

Senator Teale's committee worked out the only sensible plan for reapportionment—as nearly sensible, that is, as the supreme court is likely to permit.

It realigns California's 40 senatorial districts according to population and still retains a semblance of a community of interest within the districts.

This wasn't easy in a State so diverse as California where agriculture, lumbering, petroleum, manufacturing, sparsely populated mountain counties, and densely populated urban areas are all involved.

But Senator Teale and his committee did just about as good a job as could possibly be done.

The pity is that politics—and the fear of some legislators that they might redistrict themselves out of office—caused the legislature to split and approve no reapportionment plan at all.

The best the court could do now is to take something like Senator Teale's plan and order its implementation.

But the courts lately haven't been doing what seemed best.

We just could wind up with some foolishness like the "nutty" computer plan.

Once more, the situation cries for the adoption of Senator DIRKSEN's proposed constitutional amendment which would permit the people of each State to vote apportionment of one house of their legislature on a basis other than population alone.

[From the Los Angeles Times, June 29, 1965]

DIRKSEN AMENDMENT DESERVES APPROVAL

Because he had already made substantial concessions, Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, fought off any further changes in his constitutional amendment to bypass the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote reapportionment edict.

It appears now, however, that the measure approved 6 to 2 by a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee may encounter trouble before the full committee. Opponents have seized on DIRKSEN's refusal of changes they deem necessary to prevent his amendment from being used to perpetuate white supremacy to rally liberals concerned with the civil rights movement.

As originally introduced, the Dirksen amendment came under fire because of language critics insisted would prevent Federal courts from reviewing reapportionment plans adopted by the States.

The Republican minority leader agreed to delete that language. His measure now provides that one house of a State legislature may be on other than a population basis if the plan is approved by statewide referendum. As a further precaution against continued malapportionment if conditions change it also requires that the reapportionment plan be submitted for voter review after each decennial census.

That wasn't enough for those who wanted specific assurance that the amendment would not be used to discriminate against Negroes.

They proposed, and the subcommittee promptly shouted down, a ban on the use of race or color as a factor in reapportionment. The subcommittee also rejected several other suggested changes.

We do not know what language might be drafted to allay the fears of the civil libertarians. but DIRKSEN should at least make a try for an accord lest his measure remain bottled up in committee.

The amendment is too important to meet such a fate.

It may well be that it will not win out on the floor of the Senate. It's certain to encounter difficulty in the House if it reaches that body, but the issue deserves to be resolved by the entire membership and not just by a committee of 16 Senators.

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 15, 1965]

CALIFORNIA APPEALS FOR RIGHT TO CHOOSE

California went before Congress last week with an appeal for relief from the one-man, one-vote rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court through a constitutional amendment that would allow a State to apportion one house of its legislature pretty much as it pleases.

Senator KUCHEL and, by proxy, Governor Brown, asked Congress to submit such an amendment to the States for ratification. In effect, they sought for the people of every State what Californians have long enjoyed; namely, the right through initiative or referendum to pronounce their approval or disapproval of the organization of their legislature.

"A State," said KUCHEL, "should have the opportunity, if its people so desire, to serve as a laboratory and to experiment with the relationship between the elected and the electorate which might best fit its needs.

"Congress has a duty to render a decision on basic policy by submitting a constitutional amendment dealing with apportionment to permit the people in each State to decide on a continuing basis what form of legislative representation they desire. The people may, if they desire, choose the criterion of one man, one vote."

On the other hand, KUCHEL noted, "it is possible that because of overriding historic geographic, economic, and other factors in their State, they would wish to select a system of apportionment which adequately takes such factors into account. But let the choice be the people's."

We support this principle. Three times since World War II the people of California have expressed their approval of the way their State senate is now organized, yet that approval has been set at naught by the Supreme Court decisions in the apportionment cases. To get the power of choice back in the people's hands seems democratically sound and worth while. It will require an amendment like the one which Senator KUCHEL has coauthored in Senate Joint Resolution 2. We urge the consideration of this measure by Congress.

Yet we do not exaggerate its chances. The well-informed Congressionally Quarterly says that despite the calling of a 6-day series of hearings before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, the political climate in Congress has not appeared favorable to a constitutional amendment which would restrict the one-man, one-vote decisions.

"The widespread victories of liberal Democrats in the 1964 elections—mostly candidates with their power bases in the cities or suburbs—has seriously reduced the chance that two-thirds of the Members of both houses would be willing to approve an amendment restricting the Supreme Court's edicts," the Congressional Quarterly realistically concludes.

[From the Daily News]

ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF BIG GOVERNMENT

(By Virgil Pinkley)

U.S. Senator ROMAN L. HRUSKA, Republican, of Nebraska, fears that the Supreme Court's 1964 reapportionment decision may affect many forms of local and State government.

In a recent speech, he said that the decision requiring both houses of State legislatures to be apportioned on a population basis only has created an atmosphere of confusion and political uncertainty which threatens to undermine confidence in all local governments.

HRUSKA declares: "In every part of this country today, our structure of representative government is undergoing radical change.

"We are not just drawing new lines for State legislative districts. County boards of supervisors and city councils are being challenged in the courts. School districts, water districts, and mosquito abatement districts are being challenged. Even the supreme court in the State of Illinois has been challenged on the grounds that it does not reflect the one-man, one-vote theory."

The Nebraska Senator, like many of his colleagues in the U.S. Senate, is urging passage of the reapportionment amendment which would enable the people of the States to vote on the makeup of their respective legislatures.

This would assure the people of each State the right to choose for themselves; whether they want to apportion both houses of their legislature by population only, or whether they desire their State government to reflect the structure of the Federal Government: One house representing population, the other geographic or political areas.

Certainly those who favor the right for the people to decide themselves have read correctly American history, and the intent of the Founding Fathers of the Constitution.

Any denial of the people to decide this issue tends to destroy equality and the right of the franchise.

It is another example of big Government and the Supreme Court making decisions which expressed the personal desires and objectives of the Justices rather than the law involved.

Bit by bit, people are losing their local, county, and State prerogatives.

More than ever, we are building a monolithic structure based in Washington which threatens to take over more and more of our lives and a free choice.

It probably is going to be more difficult to enact the reapportionment than it was to retain 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act dealing with the right to work. Nonetheless, the amendment should be submitted to the public, and those who champion local government and individual responsibility should join in a crusade for the adoption of the reapportionment amendment as proposed by Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois.

[From the Pueblo Star-Journal and the Pueblo Chieftain, Mar. 4, 1966]

PERMISSIVE APPORTIONMENT

Seldom does it happen that the U.S. Supreme Court renders a decision on technicalities in the Constitution in opposition to legislative acts by a majority of the State legislatures, a majority of the Members of both the Senate and House of Representatives, a majority of those voting on the principle, and business, farm, trade, and civic groups across the Nation.

But it did happen in the case of reapportionment when the Supreme Court rendered its one-vote rule concerning the method of electing representatives and senators to State legislatures.

As a consequence, Senate Joint Resolution 103, which would submit a constitutional amendment to be approved by two-thirds of both Houses of Congress and by three-fourths of the States, would give the voters in each State the right to vote on whether one house of a State legislature may be apportioned on a strict population basis and the other on a basis which includes other considerations.

The basic issue and concern raised by the resolution is not whether reapportionment as now taking place in most States is good or bad. It is whether the various States of our Nation will have any future right in making additional changes. The Supreme Court says "No," even though the desire has been expressed through a majority vote in those States where it has been a question.

The proposed constitutional amendment is permissive in intent and purpose. It rests its faith in majority voter expression. If the voters of any State so wish, they could utilize the amendment to regain what the courts now deny—the right to decide how their State legislature shall be apportioned. If the majority of voters of any State are content to proceed without changing recent court-ordered apportionment, they can do so.

It is certainly not realistic to apply the one-man, one-vote principle to all States since the circumstances throughout the country vary widely and require various approaches to problems of representation in order to be fair.

Colorado voters chose the Federal method which was later ruled unconstitutional. It apportioned the house on a population basis, but the senate on a district or Federal basis. On the same ballot was a strictly one-man, one-vote proposed amendment which was soundly defeated.

The proposed amendment is sound and realistic. It should receive two-thirds approval by Congress in order to let members of the State legislatures determine the question.

[From the Meriden (Conn.) Morning Record, Mar. 14, 1966]

LONGSHOT AMENDMENT

Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN is a very persistent man. His attempts during the last session to get a constitutional amendment on State reapportionment through the Senate were defeated by a handful of votes. Undismayed, he is promising to put on another try this year.

He has a good deal of logic on his side. The Supreme Court rulings on the one-man, one-vote principle as it applies to State legislatures have thrown State systems of government into chaos. And the mandatory reapportionment of both houses of all State legislatures solely along the lines of population makes something of a mockery of the Federal system which still relies on unit representation in the State.

State legislatures were hopelessly corrupt and unrepresentational—reform through some channel was inevitable. But Senator DIRKSEN believes that representation on a basis other than that of strict population is an established American principle—witness the U.S. Senate itself. And he claims that the people of any State should have the right to choose to apportion one of their two legislative houses on other than a population basis if they so desire.

"This is an issue the people themselves must decide," Senator DIRKSEN claims. "Instead of locking State legislatures into a permanent, inflexible apportionment, we say let the people of each State choose once every 10 years between alternative plans, whether they want to apportion both houses of their legislature on a population basis, or whether they want to apportion one of those two houses on a geographic basis in the traditional way."

Practically, few States will take advantage of the choice if it is offered. We can't imagine the people of Connecticut, for instance, going back by their own free choice to the lopsided town-based system of representation.

But we agree with Senator DIRKSEN that they should have that choice. And there may well be other States in other circumstances that would choose to exercise it. It's a fairly slim chance and an unlikely choice, but in fairness and out of respect to the Federal model it deserves to be imbedded in the Constitution.

[From the Bristol (Conn.) Press, Mar. 19, 1966]

NEVER SAY DIE

U.S. Senator ROMAN L. HRUSKA, Republican of Nebraska, warns that the American people face "one of the most severe threats to our Government of, by, and for the people in our Nation's history" as a result of the Supreme Court's 1964 reapportionment decision.

Speaking in Illinois, the Nebraska Republican charged that the decision requiring both houses of State legislatures to be apportioned on a population only basis has created an atmosphere of confusion and political uncertainty which threatens to undermine confidence in all local governments.

"In every part of this country today our structure of representative government is undergoing radical change," HRUSKA said. "We are not just drawing new lines for State legislative districts. County boards of supervisors and city councils are being challenged in the courts. School districts and water districts and mosquito abatement districts are being challenged. Even the supreme court in the State of Illinois has been challenged on the grounds that it does not reflect the slogan one man, one vote."

Senator HRUSKA urged passage of the reapportionment amendment proposed by Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois, as the way to permit the people of the States to vote on the makeup of their respective legislatures.

"It will assure the people of each State the right to choose for themselves whether they want to apportion both houses of their legislatures by population only, or whether they want their State government to reflect the structure of the Federal Government: one house representing population, the other geographic or political areas," the Nebraska Senator declared.

Senator HRUSKA called opponents of the reapportionment amendment "arbitrary political leaders who are completely unresponsive to the will of the people."

"I say that by denying the right of the people to decide this issue, they destroy equality and the right of the franchise," Senator HRUSKA said. "They have misread our American history—and they would mislead the American people."

[From the Washington Daily News, Aug. 20, 1965]

FAIR, BUT ALSO EFFECTIVE

Senator DIRKSEN again is going to bat for his constitutional amendment on the apportionment of representation in State legislatures. He should. His cause is logical and equitable.

Recently, the Senator was narrowly defeated in his proposal to offer the people the right to make their own decision, in each State, on how their legislatures should be divided. This amendment simply would have given the voters the right to choose whether one house of their legislature should be allotted along lines other than a strict population basis.

The amendment lost because it was seven votes short of the two-thirds majority required for a constitutional proposal.

But in the 1966 session of Congress, or in the next Congress—eventually—an amendment such as Mr. DIRKSEN advocates will be submitted to the States. Sooner or later the people, understanding the problem, will demand the return of their own right—the right to decide for themselves

The liberals who oppose the Dirksen amendment are wrong on two counts. They are wrong because they, of all people, are denying the voters the right to choose for themselves the form of their own State legislatures. And they are wrong because they persist in mixing the issues.

The only issue in the Dirksen amendment is the right of the people to decide.

But the liberals insist on reading it as a back-handed attempt to perpetuate malapportioned legislatures.

There are malapportioned legislatures. That's why the voters of Tennessee, for example, went to the Supreme Court and got a ruling that if the Tennessee Legislature, as the State constitution required, did not apportion itself fairly the courts would undertake the job.

The Dirksen amendment does not shut the door on the reform of legislative apportionment. It is an insurance against misapportionment. Because it provides that any allocation of legislative districts must be approved by the voters. Moreover, in his new version of the Dirksen amendment the Senator proposes that any legislative plan submitted to the voters first must have been offered by a legislature in which at least one house was properly apportioned on a population basis.

The Dirksen amendment proposes to make legislatures both fairly representative and effectively representative.

So we hope Senator DIRKSEN keeps up his fight along this line. And that those who have been misrepresenting the purpose of the amendment will get their sights in focus, so they will see that this is a way toward the goals they claim to favor—fair and effective representation in State legislative halls.

[From the Washington Daily News, Aug. 4, 1965]

THE PEOPLE ARE THE LAST WORD

In our system of government, as spelled out by the Constitution and every other principle we go by, the people are the final word.

But a substantial number of Members in the U.S. Senate, although generally classifying themselves as "liberals," are opposed to this system.

They demonstrate this opposition by the bitter manner in which they seek to defeat the so-called Dirksen amendment to the Constitution.

Last year, the Supreme Court, in an amazing ruling, held that both houses of a State legislature had to be apportioned on a strict population basis—the so-called one-man, one-vote proposition. This despite the State-by-State apportionment of the U.S. Senate, despite the constitutions of most States, despite recent and specific approval by the voters in some States of a different system.

Nobody wants to rip out the Supreme Court because of this airy decision, although the decision had the effect of ripping out most State legislatures.

The way to correct the Court's action is to write into the Federal Constitution an amendment. This amendment has been offered by Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois. All the amendment says is that any State may set up one house of its legislature on other than a population basis if—emphasis on the if—the people of the State want it that way.

But the Senators opposing the Dirksen amendment don't want the people to decide for themselves. The plain implication is that the Senators know better than the people of the States what is a proper system for the States. Since many of these Senators have been among the most zealous champions of civil rights, their inconsistency on the Dirksen issue is beyond comprehension.

If the people in the States are not capable of deciding such basic questions as the manner in which they wish their legislatures to be organized, then it is valid to question the capacity of the people to decide other questions—who, for instance, should represent them in the U.S. Senate.

Maybe, if these anti-Dirksen Senators are right, we should go back to the old system of having U.S. Senators chosen by State legislatures. (We wouldn't favor that for a minute, but it is just as logical as the opposition to the Dirksen amendment.)

There are many arguments favoring the Dirksen amendment. But, regardless of all other arguments, the issue now before the Senate is fundamental—the right of the people of the States to decide for themselves. Despite all the windy debate, this is the only issue.

[From the Washington Daily News, July 23, 1965]

LET THE SENATE VOTE

By any logic, the Senate should be permitted to vote on Senator DIRKSEN's proposed constitutional amendment to modify the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote edict on State legislatures.

A small group of liberal Senators has vowed to block a vote by any means—legislative maneuver if possible, Senate filibuster if necessary.

They apparently fear that the necessary two-thirds favor the amendment. That is why they are determined to keep Congress from expressing its will.

Yet the entire thrust of the Supreme Court's ruling last year was in favor of letting majority opinion be expressed in legislative affairs. As Chief Justice Warren pointed out, domination of a legislature by a minority violates the constitutional rights of citizens. That surely applies as much to Congress as to a State assembly.

Justice Warren also declared that the makeup of the Senate—which is on the basis of geography rather than population—is "ingrained in our Constitution, as part of the law of the land."

In other words, the Senate is a valid constitutional body. Those who support the Supreme Court's viewpoint should be the last to try to prevent a free vote by minority action.

[From the Washington Daily News, Sept. 11, 1964]

THE DIRKSEN ISSUE

In the U.S. Senate the fuzzled-up dispute over how State legislatures may be apportioned is right back where it was a month ago.

In June the Supreme Court said any legislature was unconstitutional unless members of both houses were elected on the same population basis. Nearly all State constitutions provided for election of the houses by population, but many apportion senate membership on geographical or other bases—just as the U.S. Senate is elected.

Since then, lower Federal courts have created chaos in some States, ruling out systems set up by State voters, threatening to make the apportionments themselves, even changing the terms for which legislators are to be elected. The result has been the utmost confusion.

To bring some order out of the chaos, Senators DIRKSEN and MANSFIELD, the two party leaders in the U.S. Senate, wisely proposed an amendment to stay such court orders until the State legislatures had a reasonable opportunity to reapportion their States. Or, until the voters could set up constitutional requirements for allocating legislative seats.

This proposal has been subjected to a cream puff filibuster by Senators who want the Supreme Court decision to stand, unmodified. In the process, the main points of the issue have been liberally muddled.

The Senate now has refused to shut off the debate. And at the same time it refused to table the Dirksen-Mansfield amendment. So the debate, much of it irrelevant, goes on.

The immediate question is whether to give legislatures time to do their own reapportioning, rather than turn it over to Federal judges. If the legislatures don't do it, under the Dirksen-Mansfield plan, the courts can.

In the offing, of course, is another proposal of much merit for an amendment to the Federal Constitution saying clearly that any State, if the voters approve, may set up its senate on other than a population basis—providing the house is elected on a population basis.

It boils down to two points as we see it:

The voters should have the right to appeal to the courts if their own legislatures renege on their plain obligation to apportion legislative districts fairly under their constitutions, a right which was given them under the Tennessee decision 2 years ago.

But the Supreme Court overstepped when it said even the voters of a State couldn't adopt their own system of choosing legislators; and that senates, as well as houses, must be elected on a one-man, one-vote basis.

[From the Washington Daily News, Sept. 1, 1964]

THE REAPPORTIONMENT ISSUE

An argument that rings the bell with us in the heated debate over the Supreme Court's equal-population-basis decision for apportionment of State legislatures is:

Why should it be unconstitutional for a State legislature to be set up along lines regarded as strictly constitutional for the Federal Legislature? To wit, one house on a population basis and the other on a basis including geography.

The Supreme Court gave short shrift to this line or argument in its controversial 6-to-3 decision on June 15, holding that under the 14th amendment it is unconstitutional for either house of a State legislature to be apportioned on other than a population basis. The Court majority said the Federal-State situations were not analogous.

This decision now, of course, is the law of the land.

But there is great disagreement as shown by the strength of the Dirksen-Mansfield breather amendment in the Senate and by the 218-to-175 House vote last week for the Tuck bill to deprive the Supreme Court of jurisdiction over apportionment of State legislatures.

And just how important is the Court's decision was stated best by Justice Potter Stewart in his vigorous dissent:

"The Court's draconian pronouncement, which makes unconstitutional the legislatures of most of the 50 States, finds no support in the words of the Constitution, in any prior decision of this Court, or in the 175-year political history of our Federal Union."

With the situation as chaotic as it is in many States and with the issue of such overriding importance, it seems mandatory for Congress upon its return after the Democratic Convention to pass something such as the Dirksen-Manfield amendment. This would give Congress time at its next session to decide whether to submit to the States the proposed constitutional amendment to allow a State, if its voters approve, to set up a legislature along Federal lines—one house on a strict population basis and the other taking geography and other factors into account.

Such a constitutional amendment seems highly desirable. The States should be given some latitude on how they want to set up their legislatures.

Under the highly regarded federal system, for example, New York with 16.5 million people has 2 U.S. Senators and Nevada with only 285,000 citizens also has 2 U.S. Senators. That's constitutional and—so far—hasn't ruined the country.

Why shouldn't it be made constitutional for the voters of California, for instance, if they so choose, to set up one house of its legislature on an other-than-population basis to keep Los Angeles County from dominating its legislature?

[From the Washington Daily News, June 29, 1964]

Good Amendment Proposed

Representative William McCulloch, of Ohio, is proposing what looks like the proper prescription for dealing with the Supreme Court's recent precedent-shattering decision that each house of State legislatures must be apportioned on a population basis.

This decision, if left untouched, will drastically alter the setup under which most State legislatures have operated throughout the history of our country, with one house usually being apportioned on a basis of geographic as well as population factors.

The influential Ohio Republican, who played a leading role in House approval of the civil rights bill, would overturn at least a part of the Court's ruling by constitutional amendment.

His plan would put into the Constitution a simple and clear sentence stating that nothing shall prohibit a State with a bicameral legislature from apportioning the membership of one house of its legislature on factors other than population, if the citizens of the State have the opportunity to vote upon the apportionment.

This makes sense and seems eminently fair.

It would permit a State, if it so wished, to follow the Supreme Court's edict of apportioning both houses on solely a population basis.

Or it would permit a State, as Colorado, for example, has just done, to apportion the House on strictly a population basis and the Senate on a basis taking geography into account. The Colorado apportionment plan, which now is declared unconstitutional by the high court's ruling, was overwhelmingly approved by the voters in every county of Colorado and its legality was upheld by a 2-to-1 vote of a three-panel Federal district court.

A State and its citizens, it seems to us, should have considerable say about how it wants to set up its State legislature. The McCulloch amendment would insure that such would be possible.

Whenever the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, conflicts with the preferences of large majorities, recourse is provided in article V of the Constitution itself. Congress, by vote of two-thirds in each House, may submit an amendment, which then requires ratification of three-fourths of the States.

Congress, in our opinion, should offer the States a chance to vote on this amendment.

[From the Stuart (Fla.) News, Mar. 31, 1966]

The Dirksen Amendment

Since the beginning of the Republic—for 175 years, until June 1964—the people of each State have had, as a matter of right, the power to determine the method of composition of their State legislatures.

The most popular method—the system best meeting the needs of most States—always has been the "Federal plan"—under which members of one legislative house are elected from districts based strictly on population, and members of a second legislative house are elected from districts formed along county and combinations of county lines.

Most States have reapportioned their legislatures periodically—within the framework of the particular system deemed most suitable by the people of each State—to keep abreast of changing times and population shifts. Unfortunately, some States did not—and the U.S. Supreme Court was called upon, in 1962 and 1964, to deal with these shortcomings. Florida has just bowed to the yoke.

Despite the warning of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter against entering into this political thicket, the Court corrected these few inequities by rulings so broad in application that only population-based, big-city controlled legislatures—either unicameral or with each house a carbon copy of the other—are possible, regardless of the wishes of the majority of the people of any State.

In effect, the Court threw out the baby with the bath water, and State after State is now enmeshed in the predicted political thicket.

We recommend that you write your Senators and Congressmen to support the Dirksen amendment which would give this right back to the people.

[From the Tallahassee (Fla.) Democrat, Feb. 27, 1966]

Reckless Supreme Court Works Political Chaos

(By Malcolm B. Johnson)

Well, where do we go from here?

On the eve of the deadline for candidates to sign up, the U.S. Supreme Court has decreed that the whole Florida system of apportioning legislative seats among districts of people must be revised in some unspecified way before we elect any more Senators or Representatives.

So we have a couple of hundred candidates running for 58 Senate and 109 House seats that may or may not exist or match their residence by election day—65 days from now.

The Supreme Court didn't say who now should try to read its nine minds and bring forth an apportionment that will pass the test that ultimately will be devised by at least five of them someday.

May or must it be the work of a hastily-called special session of a legislature which itself has been declared unconstitutionally apportioned, but at least was elected by somebody?

Or shall it be the task of three south Florida Federal judges, elected by nobody, who dallied with the problem for 6 months last year (on the motion of a citizen, elected by nobody but claiming to speak for about 6 million of us; and finally decided to let the legislature try for the 12th time to reapportion itself to suit a few judges?

Every politician, lawyer and judge in Florida today is guessing at alternatives, seeking answers and only raising more questions.

NUMBERS GAME

How many senators and representatives should there be? The constitution of Florida says 38 and 95, and those are the last figures approved by a statewide vote of the people—but the Supreme Court says the system of apportionment among 38 and 95 is unconstitutional. The apportionment just thrown out was written by a legislature of 43 senators and 112 representatives, a size sanctioned by nobody but members of a 45–112 legislature sanctioned by nobody, etc.

So the very number of legislators needed to make law for the people of Florida is a political puzzle itself before you get to the larger one of where to put them and how many people to assign them for representation.

The Supreme Court of the United States has only said it must be on a basis of one man, one vote, every legislator should represent the same number of * * * what—residents? citizens? voters? single men? five-member families?

By any yardstick of equality, it can't be done. Equality simply doesn't exist among men, nor in nature except under carefully controlled laboratory conditions for a mere moment of time. In a shifting, growing population like Florida's, seeking representation precisely or approximately proportional to population is groping for a mirage, a rainbow that would have no pot of gold at the end if we found it.

INEVITABLE RESULT

So from all political and some forthright judicial lips today, it is said that the Supreme Court fiat, without even a hearing, has brought our State government to chaos.

It is a chaos that was foreseen by many of us as the inevitable result of a judiciary stepping out of its assigned field of judging disputes within the law, into the unauthorized work of making law—and, now, beyond to the forbidden realm of making new governments after "dissolving our representative assemblies," to use the language in the Declaration of Independence grievances against the British crown.

But where do we go from here?

Nearly 4 years ago, a legislative committee with a Federal court pistol at its head called on this editor and others from inside and outside Florida to advise it on a course of action that might work where seven attempts to apportion to meet judicial and political objections had failed.

My best advice at that point was to do nothing in the legislative forum; that the mere question of legislative representation had been lost in a larger, more vital issue of judicial autocracy.

Let the Federal courts make an apportionment, the legislators were advised—then test that apportionment by long-recognized judicial procedures.

THE WAY TO TEST

Let a member of the legislature apportioned under the State constitution go into State courts to defend his seat against an outsider with no more claim to it than one bestowed by a Federal court.

Hope for a judicial impasse, with the Florida Supreme Court holding to the Florida constitution and the Federal courts placed in the position of having to rule judicially on their own ministerial act of creating legislative districts—traditionally a ground for ousting a judge from consideration of his own actions.

Hope to set up, perhaps, a situation with two men claiming actual election to the same seat, and falling back to the provision in both the State and Federal Constitutions that each house of a legislative assembly is the sole judge of the qualifications of its own members.

Hope this issue might embroil the congressional House of Representatives, which is just a step behind the State legislatures in this process of Court-made turmoil.

Hope that this procedure eventually would bring the Congress around to the sensible solution of taking the judiciary out of the act, or at least defining its role by a constitutional amendment, such as Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois, has lately been pushing.

NOT TOO LATE

Now, four reapportionment attempts later, it appears the legislature in its 1962 special session might as well have followed that rash course. The greatest risk was that it would get an apportionment dictated and enforced by the Federal courts—and that's about what it is going to get, anyway.

It was conceded, that day, that there would be conflict and turmoil in the procedure which was suggested. "But there is worse chaos down the road by following this new line of court rulings," the legislators were warned.

"When a court declares inoperative a law which sets up a vital primary function of government, it risks leaving a void which amounts to anarchy—or it must try to fill the gap itself, which amounts to tyranny."

That still goes, and it isn't too late to restrain a reckless court. Not yet.

[From the Tallahassee (Fla.) Democrat, Aug. 15, 1965]

CONSERVATIVES MIGHT GAIN BY ADAPTATION

(By Malcolm B. Johnson)

Some concerned conservatives with important contacts around the country are said to be holding searching bull sessions on the state and fate of the Nation and what can be done to change it.

They may be a generation too late, or a generation too early, to cure the faults they find—in which case they must decide whether to provide constructive guidance to young America. Or merely gather and commiserate.

The flaws they see are all, in the broad sense, political. They did not appear suddenly, nor can they be corrected quickly. They have accumulated over the past 35 years or more with the consent of the popular majority, if not its active insistence. Short of revolution, which has no place in the conservative vocabulary, they can only be erased the same way.

A long-range program of constitutional adaptation, designed to win converts, even from among the progressives, may be the only way.

Aside from nuclear annihilation, which is another subject, the greatest dangers facing the American way of life are authoritarian tyranny (home grown) and economic collapse. The seeds of both are sprouting, and history indicates the plant will bear fruit some day.

Wise Ben Franklin, moving in convention for adoption of the U.S. Constitution which was not wholly to his liking, observed that the new Government "is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other."

NO MORE RESTRAINT

But there was enough mistrust of Government written into that Constitution, and enough free spirit behind it, to guarantee gradualism in erosion of our system under normal conditions.

Desperation could force the flowering of tyranny, much more than despotic ambition. Economic collapse from foolish spending—private and public—could bring the desperation. So could war, either a popular offense or a frantic defense. Then we would get the strong man, or the all-wise clique, ruling with the power of decree.

The only deterrents would be popular uprising, or constitutional restraint.

Effective rebellion would not be likely. It would come too late. As the Declaration of Independence says, "all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed."

Constitutional restraint is a glorious myth nowadays in this country under the judicial philosophy that any five of the nine Supreme Court Justices can sit in secret conference and promulgate enforcible edicts based on political theory in the absence of constitutional language—then reverse it the next day. (A high school teacher reported he was stumped by a student's query of how this really differs from the manner in which the Soviet Presidium, also with a constitution to guide it, meets in the cloisters of the Kremlin, discusses theory and expedience, then pronounces the law.)

WHAT CHECKS?

We talk of our prudent system of checks and balances which the founders adopted to ward off authoritarian government. That, too, has become more honored legend than practical fact.

Federal judges are selected for political favor, or on the recommendation of Government lawyers whose careers are advanced by success in appearing before them in litigation against common citizens. They are raised to the bench by the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, confirmed without audible question by a servile Senate and left there for life by a Congress and a public which has come to regard impeachment movements as somehow un-American (though it is the only method allowed under the U.S. Constitution for getting rid of Federal judges). It is the same with major administrative officials, some of them with as much assumed or delegated judicial power as our courts.

It is not enough to say that our men in charge are good men—giving us what we want and leading us where we're willing to go. Nearly all tyranny starts that way.

THE ONLY SECURITY

Some shift of popular will could give us a Congress full of men with the backbone to exercise its check-and-balance power, but it still would be frustrated as long as we expected them to compromise with a complex bureaucracy and monopolized their time running an errand service for our boondoggles.

There is no security for us except in a Constitution unmistakably worded and strictly observed.

Some say we must go back to that Constitution as it was written; and some of us agree it would work, while arguing that it is politically impossible to go back. The fact is that some things which the Constitution was stretched to accommodate are so popular that the people wouldn't ratify a Constitution which didn't allow them.

Even though it would be making government backward, it would be far better now to adapt the Constitution to give those popular measures undisputed authority, and reasonable limitations based on experience, than to have them continue under assumed and transient Court-made authority.

The great puzzle of our politics is that the so-called liberals and progressives who put these measures into effect by changing the minds and members of the courts can't see the benefit of locking them up by constitutional rule against the risk that a reactionary Court might someday use the same procedural precedents to throw them out.

A MEETING GROUND

Here may be the common ground on which reasonable progressives and reasonable conservatives could meet—make the Constitution conform to what we have that the people want.

Shuffle the stated power originally allocated to State and Federal Governments, forcing responsibilities on the States and leaving the Federal Government and Congress the time it needs to deal with complex problems that are truly national and international.

If a Court interpretation has been popular, write it into the Constitution. If it has raised the public hackles or caused confusion, correct it to make it agreeable and specific.

Provide that the Supreme Court may have only one interpretation of a point of law, and give that interpretation the unquestioned force of law until it is superseded by constitutional amendment.

Set up a less political method of selecting Federal judges, and a more dependable way to remove them when they go sour.

Only by tightening up our Constitution to plug gaps revealed by 176 years of experience, to close holes through which tyrants might emerge and malfactors escape can we be sure of our freedom.

Perhaps we should declare a moratorium on nearly all other public matters for a year and let the wisest men in our State and Federal Governments and our general population work on constitutional adaptation.

The result might be progressive enough and conservative enough to suit a majority.

[From the Tallahassee (Fla.) Democrat, Aug. 8, 1965]

OUR FEDERAL REPUBLIC DOOMED, WHAT'S NEXT?

(By Malcolm B. Johnson)

Our Federal Republic, with its neat system of powers balanced between and within State and National Governments, is on its last legs.

We had better proceed now to candid and systematic discussion of what kind of government we want to replace it, lest we awake to find someone has handed us by edict a form we don't like.

Historians will record that we Americans unbalanced our Federal Republic back in the days just before World War I when we gave the National Government power to tax incomes of our citizens, then provided direct popular election of U.S. Senators and invited them to play demagog with and for all that money.

Now surely, they must point to a day in early August 1965, as the culmination of that demagogy when Members of the U.S. Senate, constitutional representatives of the States in Congress, were so hungry for bloc votes and the boondoggles of Washington bureaucracy that they refused even to let their people vote State-by-State on apportionment of representation in State legislatures. (Florida's two Senators, to their credit, voted like statesmen.)

There should be little surprise in failure of the Senate to adopt the Dirksen amendment to restore States' rights, abrogated by Supreme Court edict, to consider factors other than population in apportioning representation in one branch of a State legislature. The allure of boss-controlled votes and metropolitan newspaper support for reelection overwhelmed the logic of permitting the scattered islands of Hawaii and the remote regions of Alaska to have some direct representatives in those States' legislatures if the people of controlling big cities like Honolulu and Juneau voted to let them elect their own.

IT STARTED IN 1912

Transfiguration of the U.S. Senator from statesman to vote-grubbing politician, and the consequent reduction of Senate power in the three-ring chain of Federal Government, has been continuous since our daddies ratified the 16th amendment to the Constitution in 1912 and the 17th in 1913. For nearly 35 years, now, the pace has been faster and duly accompanied by cries of alarm by constitutional conservatives and a response of pooh-pooh by those who called themselves liberals. (It would have been more honest if they had said—as such pure Socialists as Norman Thomas did—"so what?" At least, our people would have been able to keep an accurate running score.)

The high school texts still teach that in our constitutional system, the States created the National Government, allocated it certain powers, and retained the rest for themselves and for the people to exercise through State channels. The book still says in this system the Federal Government's powers are divided between legislative, executive and judicial branches—each with its independent check on the others.

The legislative branch, Congress, is made up of a House of Representatives, with Members who can gain office only by popular election, district by district, from the States. They who must remain so responsive to popular will that they must stand for reelection every 2 years. If the people want to reelect a known thief (as they have in some cases) they may. Thus, the Constitution gives deliberate recognition to the risk of demagogy in the roles of these peoples' representatives.

SENATE OF STATESMEN

No so with the Senators. They were to represent the States—two to each State, regardless of size. To avoid demagogy, the U.S. Constitution provided that they were to be selected in any manner prescribed by their State constitution. They were given 6-year terms, staggered to assure a continuity that couldn't be upset by a whimsical shift of popular opinion. They were to be statesmen, it was hoped, not merely popular politicians.

This was the theory. The fact was that by 1912, Florida and 28 other States were naming their U.S. Senators by statewide primary elections and the results were more or less binding on the legislatures which retained the actual power to elect. Some scandalous senatorial seat-buying in a few western States, plus the natural impatience of a majority to force its ways on the minority, produced the 17th amendment requiring direct popular election of all U.S. Senators. For preservation of the Federal republic, that was a bad mistake—perhaps the worst we've made. It would have been better to let the States keep control, even with some abuses, instead of centralizing the scene of abuse.

In theory, U.S. Senators still represented the people indirectly through the States while depending on them directly for their votes—an unrealistic expectation.

But the mounting receipts from that little old income tax authorized along with the 16th amendment soon made our Senators competitors of the constitutional demagogs in the House for the vote harvest from political pork-grabbing. You know the rest: Control of the treasury ladle by the executive branch has reduced our Senators to the role of errand runners and beggars—even to shabby default of their sworn duty to challenge presidential appointments to judicial and obligation to review foreign treaties.

SOME ALTERNATIVES

So, our system of checks and balances has come unglued. An unchecked judiciary reads the Constitution as it wants to read it. An uncontrollable executive branch reads into acts of the Congress whatever authority it wants to have, and the sympathetic judiciary which it installed winks and approves. Both branches of Congress play along, half from mortal fear of reduced handouts and half with greed for more.

Brinkley, the TV man, tells new college graduates State government is doomed.

Senator Clark, of Pennsylvania, has a broad plan for abolishing the States and setting up regional provinces under a strong Central Government.

The Communist Party of the United States has had a similar plan for years (including the South as a Negro-run province). Norman Thomas blames this unique system of divided powers, checks, and balances for failure of his Socialist Party to take over our Government the way it has some others—by forming minority of coalitions in Parliament to elect a Socialist premier (but he acknowledges much installation of socialism under assumed names and by devious means).

Now David Lawrence, patriarch of constitutional conservatism in the American press, says we're working with an outmoded system of National Government—and he, too, suggests a system of regional governments to supplant the States.

However, Lawrence would install that system the way we got our present system—through a new constitutional convention that could write in new checks and balances to replace the eroded ones. Most of the others would just as soon do it by the short cuts we've been taking—judicial fiat, executive usurpation and congressional default. That would be making up Government as you go.

Maybe, we'd better get behind the Lawrence method. It at least offers us a choice of destinations and routes.

[From the Tallahassee (Fla.) Democrat, June 1, 1965]

Under the Dome

(By Malcolm B. Johnson)

The Florida house yesterday asked Congress to call a convention of States to write into the Federal Constitution a provision that one branch of a State legislature may have membership representing factors other than population if the people of that State desire.

It was called a memorial to Congress, but it had nothing to do with Memorial Day; and there is nothing of the perfunctory dead letter in the action. It's as constitutional as the Constitution itself, and provides a lively lesson in basic civics.

If you read the word "memorial" as "reminder," you come closer to the essence of it.

This action by the States (Florida will be the 25th to adopt it) is a growing reminder to Congress that the States still have some punch and that if Congress doesn't do something about the mess the U.S. Supreme Court has made of our legislative processes, the States may take matters in their own hands.

Actually, no sponsors of this proposal (which has the backing of such astute organizations as the Council of State Governments and the American Bar Association) haven't the faintest idea there will be a constitutional convention—the first since the Constitution was written—to handle this appeal.

THE STRATEGY

The whole strategy is to force Congress to start the procedure for overriding the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision by the ordinary methods for amending the U.S. Constitution.

There is a coordinated movement to do this in Congress through the Dirksen resolution to submit the same constitutional amendment to the States for ratification.

In other words, we have two very live movements to amend the Constitution and put legislative apportionment back to what the people thought it was until the Supreme Court 3 years ago wrote in language that wasn't there.

TWO WAYS TO AMEND

You see, there are two ways we can amend the U.S. Constitution (if we discount the method which the Supreme Court has authorized itself to use). The only way we've ever done it was by having the Congress propose an amendment for ratification by three-fourths of the States.

We've never used the alternative method, which allows two-thirds of the States to make a mandatory call on Congress for a convention to change the Constitution by the method in which it was written in the first place.

This method hasn't been used for several reasons: It is vague, leaving to Congress the makeup of the convention itself. It is cumbersome, requiring more steps than the other method. It is dangerous, because nobody knows how far a constitutional convention—once in session—would go, even though this resolution attempts to assure that it would be for the sole purpose of handling this amendment.

Furthermore, it requires precise coordination among the States. Every one of the "memorials" adopted by the various States must be exactly like those of the others. Change one word, and that State's action can't be counted in making up the 34 necessary to move Congress.

(This is the reason, not obstinate pride of authorship, that sponsors of the memorial in our legislature won't accept a single change. They might as well not do it at all. Both sponsors and opponents know that).

Every additional State which adopts this memorial nudges the Dirksen amendment a little closer to adoption in Congress. They're getting close.

Florida will be No. 25. Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, and North Carolina are Southern States that might be expected to fall in line. That would make 29. Five more would be needed; and note this:

NOT FROM DIXIE

We have here a movement that is far from Dixie oriented. Actually, it was spearheaded by an Illinois State senator a couple of years ago. California has passed it, and several other Western States. It is half way through the Legislatures of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, New York, and Illinois.

It shouldn't take much more to make Congress act. The last thing anyone, especially Congress, wants right now is a constitutional convention.

But the immediate reapportionment problem we have won't be solved by congressional action, because whatever amendment it proposes must go back to the State legislatures for ratification by 36 of them. That could be done in a few months (they got rid of prohibition in 9 months when they decided to move), but the proposal allows 7 years and it may take at least half that time.

In the meantime, Florida and a lot of other States have Federal courts holding guns on them to reapportion now by a plan that would be made obsolete if the amendment should be adopted. If they followed the letter of the Supreme Court's decision, the legislature which would have to ratify the amendment proposed by Congress wouldn't be too inclined to upset its own seating plan by voting for the once traditional scheme of one house by population alone, another by population plus geography and other factors.

IT'S A RACE

It's a race. State legislatures versus Congress, both versus the Federal courts. People versus people. Region versus region. Constitutional concept versus concept. And too few on either side letting genuine principles of government rise above selfish grasping for political power.

OVERLOOKED AID FOR BIG COUNTIES

Nearly all the talk about this proposed amendment has centered on the provision which says nothing in the U.S. Constitution "shall prohibit any State which has a bicameral legislature from apportioning the members of one house of such legislature on factors other than population, provided that the plan of such apportionment shall have been submitted to and approved by a vote of the electorate of that State."

But Representative Dick Mitchell, of Leon, a principal sponsor in Florida and in the national movement, points to another clause which should interest some of the big county folks who almost drool at the prospect of their power from one-man, one-vote representation.

It is section 2, which says nothing in the U.S. Constitution "shall restrict or limit a State in its determination of how members of governing bodies of its subordinate units shall be apportioned."

That means Miami's metro government may continue to have its board members elected by districts which are not equal in population, that the same is true for representation in the city and county governments of Tampa, Jacksonville, and St. Petersburg and in the school affairs of every county.

The courts already are beginning to insist that makeup of such boards can't be based on anything except a head-count of people—thus tending to leave the tourist wealth of Miami Beach and the agricultural wealth of the South Dade everglades to the mercy of the people who live in Miami proper on matters of taxation and public service.

Is that what they want?

[From the Fort Myers (Fla.) News-Press, Jan. 7, 1966]

ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE TROUBLES

The lid may barely have been cracked so far on the Pandora's box of troubles that the U.S. Supreme Court unlocked when it asserted jurisdiction for the Federal courts over the apportionment of State legislatures. In the field of legislative apportionment alone, the troubles springing from the court's one-man, one-vote ruling are numerous. But now they may extend to other fields as well.

The Court decreed that both branches of State legislatures must be apportioned strictly according to population on the ground that the Constitution requires that the vote of one citizen be given the same weight as the vote of another, whether he lives in a big county or a small one. This is the one-man, one-vote rule.

In Ohio a suit has been filed challenging the allocation of the State's common pleas judges on the ground that it violates the one-man, one-vote rule. The State has a fixed number of these judges but its constitution provides that each county regardless of size shall have at least one judge. The result is that populous Cuyahoga County which includes Cleveland has only one judge for each 75,000 residents while 18 smaller counties have one judge for each 25,000. Cleveland lawyers, citing a 4-year backlog of cases in their courts because of the malapportionment of judges have filed the suit in Federal court to invoke the one-man, one-vote rule and gain a fairer apportionment of the state judges, and there is merit in their plea.

But a similar argument could be made in the case of other elected officials besides legislators and judges, and the complications could be enormous. In Florida and other states every county regardless of size has one tax assessor, one sheriff, one school superintendent and one of every other county official. This means that the voter in a small county has a bigger voice in electing these important officials than the voter in a big county. Glades County, for example, has a population of some 3,000 while Dade County has 1 million so the vote of a Glades County resident weighs 333 times as much as the vote of a Dade County resident when it comes to electing the man who enforces the law or assesses property for taxes or runs the schools. And surely these officials can be considered fully as important as state legislators if not more so.

If the Constitution requires a one-man, one-vote rule in the election of legislators, as the Supreme Court says it does, it also must require it in the election of other officials. So then the Federal courts are going to have to order either that Glades County share a sheriff, assessor and school superintendent with several other counties or that Dade County have 333 sheriffs, assessors and school superintendents.

This one-man, one-vote rule that the Supreme Court claims to have discovered somewhere in the Constitution where nobody ever noticed it before is not only nonsensical but mischievous. It deserves a deep burial—as Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN's proposed amendment would give it.

[From the Fort Myers (Fla.) News-Press, Apr. 28, 1965]

REAPPORTIONMENT AMENDMENT GAINS

Headway is being made by the constitutional amendment pending in Congress to overturn the Supreme Court ruling on legislative reapportionment and allow the States to apportion one house of their legislature on a basis other than population if their people vote to do so. A recent survey by United Press International indicates that 60 Senators have endorsed or are leaning toward the proposal while only 27 have voiced opposition. It will take 67 Senators to approve the amendment by the required two-thirds vote. Sentiment for it is believed even stronger in the House.

Significant is the fact that two influential newspapers that had been assailing the amendment ever since it was first proposed, the New York Times and the Washington Post, are now pulling in their horns. Apparently seeing the handwriting on the wall, they now are editorializing about amendments they think should be made to the proposal and they indicate they then would approve it.

The changes would not destroy the usefulness or void the purpose of the constitutional amendment and indeed might improve it. The Times finds "the most serious defect" of the amendment to be that "it permits apportionment on a nonpopulation basis in perpetuity" if the voters of a State once approve in a referendum. It proposes that the amendment require the States to reapportion every 10 years and hold a referendum each time to make certain that a majority still favors apportionment on a basis other than population, which is fair enough. Another point raised is that if a unicameral (one house) legislature were apportioned on a nonpopulation basis it would endanger the principle of majority control. But this would affect only Nebraska, and if the amendment were to exempt unicameral legislatures, that too would be fair enough.

Both papers take exception to declaration in the amendment that "the right and power to determine the composition of the legislature of a State and the reapportionment of the membership thereof shall remain in the people of that State." They fear it would close the courts to suits demanding fair apportionment of even the popular branch of a legislature. But that can easily be fixed. The Washington paper suggests:

"Congress can reassert the right of the States to control their own governmental structures, within reasonable limits, without opening the door to unrestrained rigging in favor of rural areas. The basic fault of the Court's decision was that it tried to force all State legislatures into the same mold without regard for their historic right to shape their own governments within a republican framework. The right for some variation in accord with tradition, economic and geographical conditions and wishes of the people can be restored without doing violence to the concept of fair representation."

Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, the Republican leader who is the author of the amendment, is a shrewd wheeler and dealer. He may well have anticipated these very objections and put forward his proposal in such a form that he could later make concessions to the opposition and still gain a compromise that would serve the purpose. A Senate subcommittee plans to hold further hearings on the amendment and it may emerge in a form that will win support from many who originally opposed it—enough to carry it.

[From the Columbus (Ga.) Ledger-Enquirer, Nov. 4, 1965]

ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE ISSUE

Time appears to be running out for Senator DIRKSEN and his proposal to remove the Supreme Court's control over State legislature reapportionment.

The simple fact is that States are moving rather rapidly to reapportion their legislatures in compliance with the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote ruling.

A study by the Library of Congress Legislative Reference Service shows that 19 States have reapportioned their legislatures to bring both houses in compliance with the Court's ruling, 12 approved plans await court review, 14 have taken preliminary steps toward reapportionment and Court challenges are pending in the remaining 4—Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

It is also true that 18 States have either rejected or refused to pass the proposal to call a constitutional convention to override the decision.

Last summer the Dirksen proposal managed to win the votes of 57 U.S. Senators, which, considering the atmosphere which prevailed in Congress, was not without significance. A clear majority had supported the measure.

Under the proposal, the issue of State apportionment would be given to the people of the States—not to the State legislatures, because they have shown in the past that they cannot be trusted on the matter.

What DIRKSEN sought and still seeks was rule by popular mandate, with the voters dictating their wishes on the makeup of one house, while population remained the basis of the other house.

Senator DIRKSEN is asking for one more chance to put his amendment across, hopefully as soon as Congress goes back into session in January.

But his chances look slim, even if he should get favorable action in the Senate. For States that have been reapportioned with urban areas now heavily represented are not likely to want to return to the old method which favored rural counties at least in one house of the legislatures.

As we said, time appears to be running out.

[From the Columbus (Ga.) Ledger-Enquirer, Nov. 4, 1965]

CONGRESSIONAL "SLEEPER"

The real "sleeper" in Congress this year very well could be Senator DIRKSEN's proposed constitutional amendment which could have the effect of reversing the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote rule for some State legislatures.

Senator DIRKSEN, who has been working quietly in lining up support of his resolution, appears about ready to launch a drive to get the resolution out of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The amendment would permit the voters in each State to determine whether one house of their legislature should be elected on other than a population basis. The constitutional change would in part compensate for the blow to unequal apportionment in State legislatures struck by decisions of the Supreme Court in a group of appealed cases last year.

The Court's central holding was that the 14th amendment's equal protection clause "requires that the seats in both houses of a bicameral State legislature must be apportioned on a population basis." A Dirksen attempt at a remedy by statute rather than by amending the Constitution brought on a month-long filibuster by Senate liberals last year and went down to defeat.

The Supreme Court held also that mathematical exactness of precision in carving out legislative districts might be impossible, but that apportionment must be based substantially on population. The so-called Federal analogy was ruled "inapplicable as a sustaining precedent for the States." Even a referendum upholding apportionment other than by population was ruled out because a "citizen's constitutional rights can hardly be infringed upon because a majority of the people choose to do so."

If the Dirksen amendment fails, the Democrats would certainly stand to gain in those large Northern States where they already are well entrenched. Republicans probably would have an edge in border and Southwestern States.

The Dirksen amendment, although it has some mighty congressional foes, is a fair and realistic way to get at the problem of reapportionment. Voters in each State would have the right to decide whether one house of their legislature should be elected on other than a population basis.

[From the Columbus (Ga.) Ledger-Enquirer, Aug. 7, 1965]

SLIGHT TASTE OF VICTORY

A proposal which, in effect, would have removed the Supreme Court's control over State legislative reapportionment managed to win the votes of 57 U.S. Senators in the showdown test, and all things considered, that was a remarkable achievement.

Sponsored by Republican Minority Leader EVERETT DIRKSEN, the measure would have allowed the voters of each State to decide whether they wanted both houses of the legislature based solely on population.

Thus, the issue of State apportionment would have been given to the people of the States—not to the State legislatures, let it be noted, because they have shown in the past that they cannot be trusted on the matter.

What DIRKSEN sought was rule by popular mandate, with the voters dictating their wishes on the makeup of one house, while population remained the basis of the other house.

The measure required two-thirds margin of the Senators voting in order to win passage, and the 57 votes which it won fell 7 short of the necessary total.

But nonetheless, in the atmosphere which prevails in this session of Congress, the fact that a clear majority supported the measure is not without significance.

It demonstrated that a concern for State prerogatives still exists in a majority of the Senate; and that the Supreme Court's word is not accepted as the final authority on every subject.

II

Unfortunately, the Dirksen proposal was subjected to the usual attacks on any idea that appears to be critical of the Supreme Court, or implies that States know more about how to handle their business than the Federal Government does.

Senators sensitive to the labor, Negro and big-city vote were understandably dubious of the Dirksen bill. They could see little profit in voting for it, and quite a bit of danger.

President Johnson publicly remained uncommitted, but he was probably against the bill privately, and had passed the word.

DIRKSEN's sponsorship identified the measure as a Republican product, and the current division in the Senate is 66 to 34 for the Democrats, meaning that DIRKSEN had to hold every Republican vote and win half of the Democrats in order to achieve the two-thirds majority.

Considering these obstacles, the bill's showing was quite remarkable.

III

Senator DIRKSEN concluded his arguments by quoting an old Congressman who once told him: "Son, you'll live to see the day when the only people interested in State boundaries will be Rand and McNally."

The other Senator from Illinois, PAUL DOUGLAS, a Democrat, led the opposition forces. He rather enigmatically described the Dirksen measure "as the last attack by privileged wealth."

Now, that sounds good, and undoubtedly was a compelling argument to some of the 39 Senators who held the fort. But exactly what "privileged wealth" had to do with the issue at hand is a real puzzle.

"Privileged wealth" will be in much better position to dominate a legislature in which both houses are largely composed of members from a single metropolitan area of the State, such as will be the case in Illinois.

The real significance of the Dirksen proposal lay in its clear conflict of Federal versus State authority, and popular vote versus court edicts.

Although the proposal was sidetracked, that vote of 57 to 39 in favor, still provides a warm glow, and a slight taste of victory.

[From the Columbus (Ga.) Ledger-Enquirer, July 27, 1965]

THE DIRKSEN AMENDMENT

If the U.S. Senate were apportioned on the basis of population, Georgia would fare well, because its population of 4 million would be almost exactly the correct total to qualify for 2 Senators.

With 100 Senators to represent a nation of approximately 200 million population, there would be a Senator for each 2 million.

Difficulty would arise, however, for the sparsely populated Western States. The combined populations of Montana, Nevada, Utah and Wyoming come to only 2 million, enough to rate 1 Senator, and those 4 States—or even 2 of them—would be quite a territory for a Senator to represent.

Fortunately, the Senate's geographical basis is specifically stipulated in the Constitution and even the Supreme Court can't rewrite specific language.

But the principle enunciated by the Court for State legislatures would clearly require a reapportioned U.S. Senate if the constitutional barrier were absent.

Senators smile at such a ridiculous thought but State legislators were also smiling a few years ago. Now, they are struggling to reapportion both houses of their legislatures according to population, and on a lesser scale, many of them face the kind of geography problem the U.S. Senate would have.

There are county equivalents of States such as Montana, Wyoming, Nevada, and Utah, which cover great expanses of land, but are sparsely populated. While one Senator would have trouble representing several States, one State senator or representative has an equally hard task in trying to serve several large but unpopulous counties. And the State legislator can't devote his full time, nor does he have a staff.

II

Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, the Republican minority leader of the U.S. Senate, is doggedly trying to get a constitutional amendment to the floor which would take the question of legislative apportionment out of the hands of Federal courts and give it to the people of the States. His projected plan is democratic in the strictest tradition. He would let a majority vote of all the citizens of a State decide whether one house of the legislature should be based on geography.

Opponents of the bill have threatened to filibuster it rather than let a vote be called in the Senate. In other words, in the name of majority rule, they will refuse to allow the Senate majority to express its will.

As an early and late foe of Georgia's iniquitous county unit system, the Enquirer concedes to no one in supporting equitable voting and equitable representation. But DIRKSEN's plan is a fair one. There are States in which a majority of the people would probably vote to keep one legislative house on a geographic basis.

In DIRKSEN's home State of Illinois, for instance, Chicago and its environs now can elect a majority of both houses, or more precisely, the prevailing vote majority of Chicago determines them.

III

The President's home State of Texas is another that would present problems. Its vast western stretches would rate few legislators when placed against the several metropolitan areas of the middle and eastern sections.

Senate Democratic Leader MIKE MANSFIELD has indicated he leans toward approval of the Dirksen proposal, and a majority appears likely in the Senate and the House—if a vote can be called.

But the minority which opposes the bill is afraid of a vote. They prefer that the nine, nonelected, lifetime-tenured Judges of the Supreme Court retain the power to decide what the majority of U.S. citizens want.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, May 25, 1965]

WHITTLING THE COURT DOWN

No matter where you may stand on the controversial State legislative reapportionment decisions by the Federal judiciary, there is a distinct possibility that a constitutional amendment could change the picture.

That being the case, it is interesting to take a look at the likely shape of such an amendment, should it be passed by the Congress and ratified by two-thirds of the States. There are several such amendments proposed, designed to modify the Court's one-man, one-vote stand which has outlawed representation on any basis other than that proportional to actual population.

Of all these proposals, which are being considered by the Senate Judiciary subcommittee, that submitted by Senate Minority Leader EVERETT M. DIRKSEN is drawing the greatest attention. It would flatly permit any State to approve a plan setting up one house of their legislature on a basis other than population.

A clue to the final form of an amendment which might be reported out comes from the subcommittee's chairman, Indiana Senator BIRCH BAYH. BAYH, although blaming legislatures for not acting to update representation in line with rural-urban shifts, is said to have been impressed with testimony before the subcommittee to the effect that groupings of economic interests produce population patterns which do not necessarily fit into the one-man, one-vote scheme.

At any rate BAYH, speaking in Fort Wayne, Ind., mentioned three conditions for what he thinks would be a good amendment:

1. Before a legislature can seek apportionment for one house on a basis other than population, it must first reapportion itself entirely on a population formula. This would prevent a malapportioned legislature from perpetuating the situation which made possible the malapportionment.
2. A plan for apportionment on other than a population basis would have to be ratified by the voters in a referendum, and this referendum would have to be repeated about every 10 years.
3. Approved reapportionment plans should be subject to judicial review to prevent violation of other constitutional guarantees, such as an effective voice for minority groups.

BAYH is a former speaker of the Indiana House. He is a moderately liberal Democrat with prestige accumulated from Senate action on the presidential disability matter, and his approach must be viewed as the kind which the Senate may ultimately accept. It is not as liberal an outlook as DIRKSEN's—in the true meaning of liberal which implies individual and State freedoms which are opposed by the so-called liberals. It is, nevertheless, an approach which would somewhat clip the wings of the free-flying Supreme Court.

It would be hoped that, under an amendment returning some degree of apportionment authority to the States, legislatures would be wise enough not to return to flagrant misrepresentation as between rural and urban constituencies. Nevertheless, the States should have the right to shape their own governments, and if they make what might be mistakes, that, too, is their responsibility and not the concern of an all-powerful central government.

[From the August Chronicle, Mar. 7, 1965]

CONVENTION IS UNLIKELY

The outlook as of this week for a national convention to write a constitutional amendment on State legislative apportionment is not bright.

This move for a constitutional convention, to which the general assemblies of both Georgia and South Carolina have given their support, seeks to put into effect a provision of the U.S. Constitution never yet used. If two-thirds of the States petition for a constitutional convention, and if a majority in each House of the Congress then vote favorably, then such a convention would be called and it could write such amendments to the Constitution as it chose on any subject.

The drive for constitutional amendment resulted, of course, from U.S. Supreme Court rulings. In 1962 the High Court held in a case involving Tennessee that courts have the power to decide whether State legislatures are correctly apportioned. Then in 1964, the Supreme Court held that both houses in each State legislature must be apportioned on population alone, banning the "little Federal" system by which rural interests seek to protect the interests of their constituencies—which in most States are becoming a minority group.

The evil in these rulings, as we see it, is not so much the theory of one-man, one-vote in itself, as it is the encroachment of the Federal judiciary into a field which should be left to action of the people in the individual States.

Discouraging to the backers of the move for a constitutional convention is the fact that only 16 States have voted for a resolution advanced in 1962, for a convention to bar Federal courts from any jurisdiction in apportionment matters; and that only 17 States have voted for a 1964 proposal for a convention which would write an amendment permitting one house of each legislature to be apportioned on a geographical or other nonpopulation basis if voters of the State concerned desired.

The best showing which can be made is by combining the States which voted for both proposals. Since the lists are not entirely overlapping, a total of 21 State legislatures may be counted as favoring one proposed amendment or the other. It is uncertain whether the wording of article V, on amendments, permits counting all 21 when the resolutions are not identical. Even if all 21 are counted, however, the total still falls 13 States short of the necessary two-thirds. In addition, the senates of seven more States have asked for a constitutional convention, but the lower house in each instance has not done so; and one house of representatives has made such a request without senate concurrence.

The outlook, in the somewhat unlikely event that the move for a convention seems to be nearing the necessary 34-State total, is that the "liberals" who were swept into the Congress on the winds of the Johnson victory last fall might compromise. Rather than risk a freewheeling convention which might write amendments to solidify conservative principles of government, the "liberals" could approve in the Congress itself a constitutional amendment permitting one house in each legislature to be elected on a nonpopulation basis.

They would be banking, in that event, on the scant chance which an amendment of this kind would have of getting ratification from three-fourths (38) of the States. That chance has been minimized in the legislatures by the recent and continuing reapportionment based on population, to comply with court orders.

Many reapportioned legislatures, seeing a return to any other system as a threat to the continuance in office of their members, would be unlikely to approve an amendment guaranteeing still another shakeup.

Everything considered, and despite the merits of arguments seeking to preserve State freedom from the encroachment of monolithic Federal power, the chances of seeing a precedent-breaking convention for U.S. Constitution revision would seem, at this point, to be remote.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, Aug. 17, 1964]

DIRKSEN BACKS DEMOCRACY

In urging that all court proceedings in State reapportionments be delayed until State legislatures have had time to act, Republican Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois—arguing that the present Congress hasn't enough time to act on his proposed constitutional amendment on the issue—also took the Federal courts severely to task for their rulings on congressional redistricting.

The courts, he pointed out, are acting under decisions in June by the U.S. Supreme Court that would require each house of a legislature to be selected on a strictly population basis.

This, he declared, had "created chaos typical of the kind that results when the court assumes the role and function of the legislative branch of the Government."

At about the same time, Alabama's fiery Gov. George Wallace, addressing a special session of his State's general assembly to consider redistricting, scathingly accused the Federal courts of "Alice in Wonderland" logic; declared "the people of this Nation are fed up with a Federal oligarchy," and predicted reapportionment would be an issue in the presidential campaign.

Also effective should be the States rights sentiments of GOP presidential nominee, Barry Goldwater; and it may be that the criticisms of the Supreme Court's questionable rulings, by conservative spokesmen, have not been voiced in vain.

Still, on the whole, the Congress chose to ignore the warnings until it sensed the possibility that the Supreme Court might soon get around to telling it to reapportion itself.

It is to be hoped that the intrusions of the U.S. courts into the legislative field will become a campaign issue. For, if our constitutional form of government is to survive, the people must be alerted to the fact that it already is imperiled.

[From the Augusta, (Ga.) Herald, Sept. 14, 1965]

FRUIT OF PERSISTENCE

Having pried his once-beaten and then revised proposal on legislative reapportionment out of the Senate Judiciary Committee and breathed into it at least the semblance of new life, Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN has revived some hope, however faint, that the States will be given back the right to determine the makeup of one legislative chamber according to the States' own formula.

The Senator has at least gotten his proposed amendment to overturn a recent Supreme Court one-man, one-vote decision on its way to the Senate calendar, even though he does not entertain any real idea that floor action will be taken during the present session. A lot remains to be done, and Congress is becoming more anxious for adjournment. It may be next year before the proposed amendment comes up. But it is this much farther along toward a vote, due largely to the dogged determination of the man who wouldn't take an eight votes short of victory decision as final.

The broad acceptance of the proposal is accented by the fact that it failed passage in its first test not so much because the weight of the voting went against it (it didn't—the vote was 57 for and only 39 against) as because the weight of a few votes on the wrong side prevented it from gaining the required two-thirds majority.

Essentially, what the amendment would do, when and if passed and ratified by the required three-fourths of the States, would be to permit those States having a two-house legislative system to apportion one on the basis of factors other than simple population.

In spite of the Supreme Court's side remark, made in handing down its one-man, one-vote ruling, that the Federal analogy did not apply in the case of the States, many people, from public figures and political theorists down to the ordinary lay voter believe it is the wise and desirable way in which to achieve a just and reasonable balance in the legislative systems of the various States. These feel that geographical and political entities, and population should and must have their due representation in such a way as to prevent either the one or the other from becoming completely dominant in the legislatures.

The objection has been raised that time is working against the Dirksen proposal, that with so many State legislatures already reapportioned according to the Supreme Court's guidelines, the amendment will have difficulty in gaining the required number of ratifications. The reasoning is that the legislatures of such States would be reluctant to approve an amendment which might require them to go through the business of reapportioning one of their houses again and which—worst of all—would cost some legislators their seats.

This argument is faulty on at least one point: the Dirksen proposal would require nothing, it would simply give to the several States a right that has been taken away from them arbitrarily. Any legislature which already reapportioned to conform with the Court's demands could retain that format if it so chose. It would simply have the right to choose otherwise if such were the will of the people.

[From the August (Ga.) Herald, Aug. 10, 1965]

THE TABLES MAY TURN

As is now well known, some days before his proposed constitutional amendment on legislative reapportionment went to a vote—and narrow defeat—in the Senate, Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, complained to the President about administration interference with the measure. He was assured by the President that the White House hadn't interfered and would not.

In the light of the Senator's post-defeat remarks about continuing the fight even if he had to submit the proposal in place of still-pending administration legislation, the thought occurs that DIRKSEN may not have been entirely sold on the reassurance. He rather suspected Vice President HUMPHREY of being the hatchet man in the wood-pile, and there is no evidence to show that DIRKSEN has since disabused himself of that suspicion.

Consequently, the further thought occurs that if the tangle-haired Senator is a vengeful man, he is going to have an excellent chance to play hob with some of the "Great Society" builders' cherished plans in the weeks to come. President Johnson has indicated there is still plenty to be done on his legislative program—enough, in fact, to make any congressional talk about adjourning by Labor Day rather meaningless.

Senator DIRKSEN, the apostle of eloquence and the glass of courtly charm, is not known to be a mean or vicious man. But politics has strange ways even with such men as DIRKSEN, and yesterday's warm support can, with one such rude jolt such as he experienced last week, quickly turn into tomorrow's bitter opposition.

The possibility of this happening to the Republican minority, which has given the President his most consistent and solid support in the Vietnam situation, takes on added significance in view of the President's feud with House Minority Leader GERALD FORD of Michigan.

If FORD's unhappiness communicates itself to DIRKSEN and adds still further to the Senator's own unhappiness, the President could lose one of the stanchest friends he has in Congress. It might serve Mr. Johnson well to give the Senator from Illinois a clincher on his sincerity by taking him and the Vice President aside and admonishing with the latter as DIRKSEN suggested, even if it is done ex post facto.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Herald, Aug. 6, 1965]

THE BATTLE ISN'T OVER

The proposed Dirksen amendment, which would have restored to the various States their right to apportion at least one house in a bicameral legislature on a basis other than population, apparently is dead for the present session of Congress, having fallen just seven votes short of the two-thirds majority required for passage.

But the need for the amendment remains, and its major sponsor, organ-voiced Minority Leader EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois, vows doggedly that he will continue the fight to get it through.

The measure, which would have overridden Supreme Court decisions that both houses of a bicameral legislature must be apportioned on the basis of population alone, has enjoyed strong support throughout the country. Its backers have included such strong business and economic interests as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the American Retail Federation; the Nation's foremost farm organization, including the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Farmers Union and the National Grange; and numerous grass-roots groups including, inevitably, those who are deeply concerned about the continuing erosion of States' rights.

Most of the support is based on one or both of two grounds: That the Court has overstepped its constitutional authority by interjecting itself into a matter which is purely the business of the individual States; and that rural people stand in peril of being submerged in the wide swing from rural domination of State assemblies to domination by the urban areas.

The Herald can recognize the validity of both arguments. In guaranteeing to each of the several States a republican form of government, the Constitution left to the States themselves the authority to say how and on what basis their legislatures would be formed. The Court now has usurped that right, reserved to the States under the 10th amendment.

The fear of rural dwellers is understandable. In placing apportionment of both houses on a purely population basis, the Court has merely swung the pendulum of inequity from one end of the arc to the other. Where rural influence once overwhelmed the urban areas, the weight of power has now been thrust into the hands of the cities. The scales are still unbalanced; and some form of balance is what the Dirksen amendment seeks.

Neither this newspaper nor the proposed amendment argues against reapportionment as such, and neither is oblivious of the fact that abuses have existed where malapportioned legislatures have held power. But both recognize the need for some system whereby both houses can exercise some degree of restraint upon each other and prevent the rural minority's voice from being drowned out by the roar of the majority. And both recognize the need for some restraint upon the Court, to keep it from wandering farther and farther afield in the legislative province where it has no right to stray.

[From the Idaho Statesman, Boise, Mar. 23, 1966]

AMENDMENT STILL WORTHY

Professionals of both political parties in Idaho and the 1963 and 1965 legislatures have favored the reapportionment amendment to the U.S. Constitution, sponsored by Minority Leader EVERETT M. DIRKSEN and supported by Senators FRANK CHURCH and LEN B. JORDAN.

This amendment, if passed by a two-thirds majority of both houses of Congress and approved by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States (38), would provide that 1 house of a State legislature could be apportioned on basis of factors other than population. It also would require ratification by the people at a referendum of any legislative apportionment scheme.

Idaho's affection for the Dirksen amendment need not be jilted should Idaho's 35-senator, 70-representative reapportionment scheme win approval of the judiciary, and thereby establish the equal population principle in both houses of the State legislature.

Many political observers believe that chances of the Dirksen amendment being proposed by Congress and, if so, of being ratified by the necessary 38 States, are lessened each time a State legislature is reapportioned under the one-man, one-vote edict of the U.S. Supreme Court.

There are two principles involved in the Dirksen amendment. First, that in the apportioning the membership of one house of a legislature, assumedly the Senate, need not be based strictly on population, but that other factors such as geography, economic interest or other common interests can be used.

Second, that the people of a State have the right to ratify the apportionment of their legislatures. The Dirksen amendment provides that every time a State legislature apportions itself, the apportionment shall be subject to ratification at a referendum.

Every State in the Nation finds it most difficult to apportion its legislature on an equal population basis. It is the denial of geographical barriers and common interests that has caused every State legislature the pain and frustration in realining its membership.

In the recent imbroglio that was the second and third special sessions of the Idaho Legislature, had geographical and economic interests been allowed as factors in designing legislative districts in the State's "wide open spaces," much of the "pain" would have been eliminated.

There is no reason why a legislature cannot assign at least 20 percent of a reapportionment formula in building the membership of one house, to factors other than population.

Idaho, like other Intermountain States, will always have "wide open spaces" and sparsely populated areas.

The Dirksen amendment could benefit Idaho immeasurably in future reapportionments of the legislature.

The proposed amendment is not mandatory on the States. Those States which prefer to have both houses of their legislature apportioned strictly on an equal population basis could keep them that way.

But if a State can benefit its people and representation of certain areas under the amendment, then it ought to be proposed by Congress and ratified.

[From the Waukegan (Ill.) News-Sun, Apr. 14, 1966]

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

When the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its revolutionary one-man, one-vote ruling on State legislative reapportionment, it did more than uproot rural domination of legislatures.

The Court, in effect, pressed every State legislature into a common, immutable mold, requiring both houses of legislature to be apportioned strictly on the basis of population. States could not organize their legislatures any other way even if a new form were approved by a majority of the voters in a statewide referendum.

No reasonable man can deny that the Supreme Court's decision was aimed at a wicked set of circumstances. For years, many rural-controlled legislatures had left urban areas shivering in the cold. However, did gross malapportionment really require such an inflexible remedy? While it makes sense for one house of a legislature to be based on population, does it not also make some sense to base the other largely on geography? At the very least, shouldn't residents of a State be free to decide—in a fair-and-square referendum—whether they want to modify the one-man, one-vote doctrine?

In the belief that people should have some elbow room in deciding the makeup of their legislatures, Illinois Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN has proposed a constitutional amendment that would permit one house to be apportioned on factors other than population, subject to approval of voters in a State referendum. This is permissive lawmaking. Voters could choose to apportion both houses on population, and perhaps this would occur in most States. But at least voters would have the option to do otherwise, the degree of latitude that makes self-government meaningful.

The Dirksen amendment is having rough going on Capitol Hill. Even if it clears Congress, it could easily fail to win ratification of three-fourths of the States now that so many legislatures have been reapportioned to put urban-suburban areas in the driver's seat.

Still, in principle, the amendment is sound. Those who condemn it as an undemocratic device to undermine fair representation are free to dislike the idea. However, as Florida Senator GEORGE SMATHERS has said, opponents are put in a peculiar position:

"On the one hand they advocate representation wholly and solely on the basis of numbers. For them nothing else will do. Yet, despite their professed concern for the people—as people—they simply cannot tolerate the idea of allowing the people to settle the issue."

We think the people, within the reasonable framework of the Dirksen amendment, should have the chance to decide.

[From the Danville (Ill.) Comercial News, Apr. 11, 1966]

DIRKSEN EFFORT MERITS SUPPORT

Groups and factions which seem to favor instant Gallup poll democracy as a form of government are working hard to defeat Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN's bill which would permit each State with a two-house legislature to apportion one of them on a basis other than population.

Why should the Dirksen plan ruffle anyone? It makes it possible, through referendum, for the several States to choose the kind of representation they want. Until the Supreme Court decided otherwise, this right of the States was never doubted. Now, a constitutional amendment will be needed to reestablish the checks and balances system and protect the rights of minorities.

Historically, most of the upper houses in State legislatures have been apportioned on factors other than population. Most States modeled their governments after the Federal system. In the U.S. Senate, each State, large or small, has the same number of Senators.

Since the High Court ruled, however, that what is good for the United States is not good for the States, there has been much sanctimonious prating about "one man, one vote." If such a doctrinal slogan is carried to its ultimate conclusion, what will be the result?

The answer is: Big city domination. And big city domination of State legislatures means domination by special interests and political factions who have, to put it mildly, a narrow and selfish interest.

If you don't believe it, think how big cities would control the apportionment of congressional districts, selection of delegates to national political conventions, control of election laws, regulation of all State legislation including taxes, welfare, labor laws, banks, interest rates, housing, education, transportation, waterways, utilities, water, construction, utilities—and you.

With big city leaders controlling State as well as their metropolitan strongholds, there will be no chance to prevent or correct any abuse of power they might employ.

Indeed, as Senator DIRKSEN has warned: "The seeds of destruction have been planted which, if allowed to flourish, will destroy our traditional concept of allowing the small and the weak and the minority a forum in which to be heard."

We agree, and we hope the Dirksen-sponsored amendment receives the support of Congress and the people.

Otherwise, with all the slavish devotion currently lavished on the gospel of "one man, one vote," citizens unfortunate to reside in downstate Illinois can expect the Chicago boys to crack the whip. And we're not quite prepared to begin each day by facing north and bowing three times.

[From the Kankakee Daily Journal, Aug. 19, 1965]

REMAP AMENDMENT STILL ALIVE

The Senate refused to endorse a proposed constitutional amendment on legislative reapportionment, but that body hasn't heard the last of the proposal. It lacked only seven votes of passage. The vote was 57 in favor and 39 against, but a two-thirds margin is necessary for an amendment to the Constitution.

Besides Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN's announced intention to try again, a more pointed warning came from Senator HUGH SCOTT. In substance, it was, "Look out, or the States will get after you." He was referring to the constitutional power of States to go over the heads of Congress to set in motion the machinery to change the Constitution at a national convention.

Some 20 States already have petitioned Congress for such a convention and if two-thirds of the State legislators ask for it, Article 5 provides that it be done. This power actually never has been used, although it has been threatened on several occasions. The mere threat in the past has caused Congress to shudder, because a constitutional convention could change a great many things that Congress might never put its stamp of approval on.

If such a convention should come into being, any proposals it adopts would still have to be approved by three-fourths of the States before they would become the law of the land.

Before a constitutional convention would be called, it is much more likely that Senator DIRKSEN could persuade seven Senators to change their votes. In the final analysis, what would be wrong with putting the matter up to the people? Under DIRKSEN's proposal, each State would determine for itself by referendum how it would apportion its representatives in one house of its legislature. The other house, of course, would be based strictly on population.

[From the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star-Register-Republic, Feb. 10, 1966]

PUBLIC CAN HELP RESTORE BALANCE

Senate Republican Leader EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois, is following a wise course in taking the case for his proposed constitutional amendment on legislative apportionment to the people. The force of public opinion can be effective in inducing Congress to approve this means of overcoming the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decree of 1964.

DIRKSEN the other day announced formation of an organization called the Committee for Government of the People. The committee will conduct a nationwide educational campaign to acquaint the people with the importance of the Dirksen amendment, which last year failed to muster the required two-thirds vote of approval in the Senate. DIRKSEN plans to introduce the measure in the Senate again this month.

In the Senate vote last year, 57 Members voted for the amendment and 39 Members opposed it. The vote reflected the fact that the amendment is strongly supported throughout the Nation.

The Supreme Court decision, requiring that both houses of State legislatures be apportioned on a population basis, took from the people of many States the right of self-determination in the matter of legislative reapportionment. The Dirksen amendment would restore to the people of a State the right to apportion one house of a bicameral legislature on other than a population basis.

Any such reapportionment plan approved by a State legislature would be subject to approval of the people of the State in a referendum. The Dirksen amendment specifies that a legislative reapportionment plan would have to be submitted to the people of the State every 10 years.

The Supreme Court ruling invalidated a reapportionment amendment written into the Illinois constitution in 1954. The Illinois constitution provided for apportionment of the lower house of the legislature on a population basis and the senate on an area basis. The arrangement gave Cook County control of the house of representatives and downstate control of the senate, thus providing a fair system of checks and balances which prevented a single county, Cook, from dominating the entire State. The system also prevented downstate from dominating Cook County.

The court ruling aids big city political machines in populous States.

Every citizen who believes in the principle of self-government should give active support to the Dirksen amendment.

[From the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star-Register-Republic, Jan. 4, 1966]

NEW REMAP EFFORT

Illinois' two Senators, Republican EVERETT M. DIRKSEN and Democrat PAUL H. DOUGLAS, will be on opposite sides again as the Senate resumes debate in 1966 on the controversial issue of State legislative apportionment. Observers on Capitol Hill predict that the Senate fight on this matter will be a battle to the finish.

DIRKSEN, Republican leader, will need all his ingenuity and persuasive powers to win Senate approval of a constitutional amendment giving States authority to apportion one legislative house on the basis of geography and political subdivisions as well as population. He will be opposed chiefly by liberal and labor interests, and Senator DOUGLAS is one of the principal spokesmen for this group.

In 1965, DIRKSEN's proposed amendment was defeated by seven votes. Opponents of the proposal are confident that they can defeat it again, but Senators have been home between sessions and have been listening to grassroots opinion carefully. With 20 Democratic and 14 Republican Senators up for reelection in 1966, the upper house will pay more than usual attention to opinion back home.

On the other hand, DIRKSEN's proposed amendment faces an uncertain future in the House if it passes the Senate. Representative EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, which probably would consider the measure, is an avowed foe of the remap amendment.

Moreover, many States have acted to conform to the 1962 U.S. Supreme Court decision which required both houses of bicameral State legislatures to be apportioned strictly on the basis of population. Should the Dirksen amendment be approved by both houses of Congress, it might fall far short of winning ratification by the necessary three-fourths the the States.

[From the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star-Register-Republic, July 25, 1965]

WE'RE WITH YOU, EV

We applaud the courage and determination of Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, who has promised to do everything in his power to gain U.S. Senate approval of a constitutional amendment which would permit States to constitute one of their two legislative houses on the basis of factors other than population.

Senator DIRKSEN has thrown the alarmed opposition into a tizzy by promising that he'll try to tack the remap amendment on every piece of legislation that comes before the U.S. Senate.

"This is one of the most fundamental issues of our times and I'm going to meet it with every weapon in the arsenal," said Dirksen, angered by the action of the Senate Judiciary Committee which last week pigeonholed the apportionment amendment.

Senator Dirksen is a past master in parliamentary skill and he's fighting for an amendment that we believe the majority of the American people also approve.

To become effective, Dirksen's amendment must win a two-thirds majority in each House, plus approval of the legislatures of three-fourths of the States.

We believe the individual States should have the right to apportion one house of their legislatures on some basis other than the population standard which the U.S. Supreme Court has said must be used. We wish the Senator the best of good fortune in his endeavors.

[From the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star-Register-Republic, Aug. 6, 1965]

Amendment Loss Blow to States

Although a substantial majority of the U.S. Senate voted for the Dirksen amendment, designed to overcome the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decree of a year ago, the measure was narrowly defeated because of the two-thirds rule on constitutional amendments. The vote of 57 to 39 reflected the fact that the Dirksen amendment is strongly supported throughout the Nation.

Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democrat, of Illinois, did the people of his home State a disservice in leading the opposition to the amendment offered by his fellow Senator from Illinois, Republican Senate Leader Everett M. Dirksen. Douglas' declaration that the amendment would perpetuate rotten-borough legislatures had a hollow ring. In opposing the amendment, Douglas fought to put the Cook County Democratic machine, which has nurtured rotten boroughs, in control of the Illinois Legislature. That is likely to be a major effect of the Supreme Court's sweeping decision on legislative reapportionment if the Dirksen amendment is not revived and cemented into the U.S. Constitution.

Douglas' vigorous opposition to the amendment should put him in a vulnerable position as far as his 1966 campaign for reelection is concerned. He shouldn't expect downstate support.

The behind-the-scene aid given Douglas by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey was a disservice to the peoples of the many States whose right to self-determination in the matter of legislative reapportionment would have been restored by the Dirksen amendment. The amendment would restore to the people of a State the right to apportion one house of a bicameral legislature on other than a population basis. Any such reapportionment plan passed by a State legislature would be subject to approval of the people of the State in a referendum. The Dirksen amendment specified that a legislative reapportionment plan would have to be submitted to the people of the State every 10 years.

The amendment, if approved by Congress and ratified by the States, would overrule the Supreme Court decision that both houses of State legislatures must be apportioned on the basis of population. The decision invalidated a reapportionment amendment written into the Illinois constitution in 1954. The Illinois constitution provided for apportionment of the lower house of the legislature on a population basis and the senate on an area basis. The arrangement gave Cook County control of the house and downstate control of the senate, providing a fair system of checks and balances which prevent a single county, Cook, from dominating the entire State. The system also prevented downstate from dominating Cook County.

Dirksen has vowed to continue the fight for adoption of the amendment. He can count on the support of the majority of peoples of many States who have seen the balance knocked out of the State governments by the Supreme Court's decree.

[From the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star-Register-Republic, June 2, 1965]

Court Clears Way for Orderly Remap

In a refreshing change from recent assaults on State election laws, the U.S. Supreme Court Tuesday vacated orders of a three-judge Federal District court panel which sought to assume jurisdiction over legislative reapportionment in Illinois if the general assembly failed to act. The U.S. district court had refused to give up jurisdiction to the Illinois Supreme Court in a State senate reapportionment case.

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the lower Federal tribunal should not have interfered in the reapportionment matter and that the Illinois Supreme Court should supervise proceedings in the case.

The High Court's decision was a body blow to Illinois Democrats who have sought to force enactment of a legislative reapportionment plan which violates the 1954 reapportionment amendment to the State constitution. The Illinois Constitution specifically provides that legislative districts be divided among Chicago, the rest of Cook County, and downstate. The Democrats sought to ignore this tripartite provision of the Constitution and to create overlapping districts in Cook County.

The Democrats argued that the constitutional provision was nullified by the U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision of last June. Republicans disagreed with this contention, pointing out that the Illinois Supreme Court also disagreed.

State Treasurer William J. Scott and a group of Republicans asked the U.S. Supreme Court to resolve the controversy. They contended that jurisdiction over Senate reapportionment, if the legislature failed to act, properly rested in the Illinois Supreme Court, not in the U.S. district court. After the three-judge Federal district court had issued its orders, the Illinois Supreme Court laid down some reapportionment guidelines and declared it had the responsibility of acting if the legislature did not.

Illinois Attorney General William G. Clark, a Democrat, asked the U.S. Supreme Court to uphold the Federal panel of judges. He argued there was no reason for a Federal court to relinquish jurisdiction because a State court wanted to take over the matter.

The Supreme Court disagreed with Clark's contention and upheld that of Scott, represented by Attorney Don H. Reuben of Chicago. The High Court declared that the three-judge Federal tribunal "should have stayed its hand."

"The power of the judiciary of a State to require a valid reapportionment or to formulate a valid redistricting plan has not only been recognized by this court," the U.S. Supreme Court said, "but appropriate action by States in such cases has been specifically encouraged."

The High Court directed the district court to fix a reasonable time in which "appropriate agencies within the State of Illinois, including its Supreme Court, may validly redistrict the Illinois State Senate, providing the same be accomplished within ample time to permit such plan to be utilized in the 1966 election of Senators, in accordance with Illinois election laws."

The High Court decision should speed legislative agreement on a fair and equitable reapportionment plan.

[From the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star-Register-Republic, March 4, 1965]

Illinois Should Seek Remap Amendment

Thirteen State legislatures have asked Congress for a constitutional amendment to repair the wreckage caused by the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court last June on legislative reapportionment. Illinois is not one of the 13. It should be. All States with two-house legislatures which have used a geographical basis as well as the population factor in districting should join in the plea.

Congress has a clear duty to act as early as possible in this session to provide for restoration of State control over legislative districting. It will do so if demands for such action come from the legislatures of a large number of States, particularly the more populous States.

Now before Congress is a proposed constitutional amendment introduced by Senator Everett Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, Senate minority leader, which would permit one house of a State legislature to be apportioned on any basis, including geography. The Supreme Court decreed that both houses must be districted on the basis of population.

The logical solution to the great problem created by the Supreme Court's ruling would be adoption of the Dirksen amendment. It is probable that the State legislatures would quickly ratify this amendment.

The high court's decision has denied to the States their right to provide the checks and balances inherent in legislative systems under which one house is apportioned on the basis of population and the other on an area basis.

[From the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star-Register-Republic, June 28, 1965]

Dirksen Amendment Clears First Hurdle

Voters of any State would be permitted to decide if one house of their legislature should be apportioned on a basis other than population under provisions of a constitutional amendment approved by a Senate Judiciary subcommittee. Although the measure has a long way to go before it could be submitted to the States, the initial approval is encouraging.

Purpose of the amendment is to overturn the U.S. Supreme Court decision which requires both houses of State legislatures to be apportioned on a population basis. That decision upset the tradition followed in most States of electing one house on the basis of geography or other factors.

Senator Everett M. Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, is the principal sponsor of the proposal to permit States to elect their legislatures as they see fit. If the amendment is approved by Congress, it would stand an excellent chance of ratification, because some 40 States were affected by the court's ruling.

[From the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star-Register-Republic, June 23, 1964]

Federal Amendment Best Remedy

As a result of the series of decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court striking down legislative apportionment systems in most of the States, the 1965 Illinois General Assembly faces the task of revising the State constitution to conform to the High Court's ruling.

This means that early in the new year the legislature will have to begin drafting a replacement for the 1954 apportionment amendment, under which boundaries of house districts are determined on a population basis and senate districts on an area basis. The Supreme Court has ruled that States cannot use the Federal system but must apportion both house and senate districts on a population basis.

The High Tribunal struck down the 1954 Illinois apportionment amendment by setting aside the decision of a three-judge Federal court in Chicago which last year dismissed a suit brought by the United Steelworkers Union to invalidate the amendment.

While legislatures of Illinois and other States wrestle with this problem, however, it would be well for all States to join in a movement for a Federal constitutional amendment reiterating that the States of the Union have a right to apportion legislative districts under their own constitutions.

Citizens of every State should be concerned over the brusque manner in which the Supreme Court has swept away a system in which one legislative chamber serves as a check upon the other. The Supreme Court's decision tends to give big-city political machines control of legislatures in many States. This means that the political bosses will be feeding on the taxpayers more than ever.

Amendment of the U.S. Constitution to regain for the States their rights to fix their own legislative districts would take time. But the process could be expedited if the people of all the States whose carefully drafted constitutional provisions are being swept aside by the rulings supported the movement. The turmoil most States face in trying to rebuild a shattered legislative system to conform to the Supreme Court's mold should spur Congress into drafting an amendment restoring the right of the States to opportion their own legislatures in accordance with their State constitutions.

The movement to amend the Federal Constitution could be going ahead while the various State legislatures take steps to comply with usurpation of power by the U.S. Supreme Court. A new amendment to the Illinois constitution would not go to the people until November 1966. By that time, a Federal constitutional remedy for an impossible situation could be well along the road to ratification.

[From the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star-Register-Republic, July 28, 1964]

APPORTIONMENT IS ISSUE FOR STATES TO DECIDE

Bipartisan support is growing in Congress for a constitutional amendment which would declare State legislative apportionment off limits to the U.S. Supreme Court. Illinois Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, supported by more than a dozen of his colleagues, has introduced a constitutional amendment which would permit one house of a State legislature to be apportioned on any basis, including geography.

In the House, Democratic Floor Leader CARL ALBERT, of Oklahoma, said there is no precedent for the Supreme Court's legislative apportionment decisions. "The Court," ALBERT said, "has plunged headfirst into something Americans have always regarded as political."

A majority of the Supreme Court in June ruled that both houses of all 50 State legislatures must be elected on a population basis. The Justices, in effect, held that historical and traditional methods of recognizing social, economic, and geographical differences in apportioning legislatures had to be abandoned. Practically every State was thrown into a turmoil by this bombshell from the "legislating" Warren court.

The degree of control of about 15 large U.S. cities over national presidential elections is well established. If the Court's one-man, one-vote decision stands, the metropolises will also control both Federal and State legislative branches. The checks and balances provided in the U.S. Constitution—within the legislative branch as well as between legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government—will become a thing of the past.

A constitutional amendment in the form proposed by Senator DIRKSEN appears to be the only recourse. Illinois, which 10 years ago came up with an equitable legislative apportionment act which recognized the Chicago-Cook County-downstate political facts of life, has a reasonable and generally satisfactory law on the books.

Illinois citizens will give strong support to a constitutional amendment which would restore a fundamental right of a sovereign State.

[From the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star-Register-Republic, Sept. 17, 1964]

DIRKSEN REMAP RIDER SHOULD WIN APPROVAL

Two compromises—one far too weak and the other apparently too strong—were rejected by the Senate this week in an effort to break the stalemate over the State legislature reapportionment issue which has nagged Congress since mid-August.

Both compromises were offered as substitutes for a still-pending rider on the foreign aid bill which would delay for at least 1 year reapportionment of both houses of State legislatures on a population basis as ordered by the U.S. Supreme Court earlier this year. That proposal, sponsored by GOP Leader EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois, would give Congress time to submit and the States to ratify a constitutional amendment permitting at least one house of a State legislature to be organized on other than a population basis.

The closest vote on the compromises was a 42–40 rejection of a "sense of Congress" substitute. This merely would have declared that it is the sense of Congress that reasonable time should be allowed States to comply with the Supreme Court directive, or that in the event Congress should submit a constitutional amendment on apportionment for ratification by the States, the courts should take that fact into consideraion in their rulings. It lacked any force of law.

The other. proposed by Senator STROM THURMOND, Democrat, of South Carolina, would have stripped Federal courts of jurisdiction over legislative reapportionment. This was identical with a separate House-passed bill, but had little chance of passage in the Senate.

Liberal Democratic Senators indicate they intend to continue a "baby filibuster" until they are able to sidetrack DIRKSEN's proposal.

They are only delaying the adjournment of Congress. The Dirksen rider is the most sensible approach to a highly unpopular Supreme Court ruling.

[From the Muncie (Ind.) Evening Press, Apr. 8, 1966]

GIVE THE PEOPLE A FREE CHOICE

The Dirksen amendment, which permits States to apportion one State legislative house by means other than population, makes so much commonsense that it's difficult to understand why it has not been speedily passed by the Congress.

It gives to the States the very same legislative representation as Congress gives to the Nation, with the House of Representatives based on population and the Senate on a geographical basis.

In Indiana, an Indiana Committee for Government of the People has been organized to awaken public interest in the amendment sponsored by the Senator from Illinois. This committee in no way is political. It includes leaders in both the Democratic and Republican Parties. Only recently, two former Indiana Governors, Henry F. Schricker, a Democrat, and Ralph Gates, a Republican, have added their names to those supporting the measure.

It is something the people should determine, as Senator DIRKSEN repeatedly has said. It is something for the people to decide the best system of government in the respective States.

Senator DIRKSEN's thinking follows the thinking of the Founding Fathers and which was adopted by many States until the Supreme Court came along with its ruling that State legislatures must be elected on a population basis only.

The Dirksen amendment gives almost complete freedom to the States. It provides, for instance, that the people of a State be permitted to decide every 10 years whether they want to apportion the two houses of the State's legislature on a population basis or whether they prefer to follow the Constitution.

It clearly gives the people the right to decide which is a fundamental right in a republican form of government. As it is, the people's right has been abolished by the nine men of the U.S. Supreme Court who have seen fit to override a traditional way of governmental life. Nine men have spoken for all the people.

[From the Muncie (Ind.) Star, Apr. 4, 1966]

THAT THE PEOPLE MAY CHOOSE

The growth of support for the proposed Dirksen reapportionment amendment is very encouraging. It indicates a widespread reawakening to the importance of the States in the American governmental system.

The Dirksen proposal would undo some of the mischief of the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote reapportionment decision. This ruling said that both houses of a State legislature must be apportioned strictly according to population. It took control away from the States and put it in Federal courts. It has caused great upheaval in State legislatures all over the country, which for a long time have followed the practice of giving heavy weight to geography in apportionment of the upper house. The practice gives a State legislature something like the makeup of Congress, in which the House is apportioned by population but each State has an equal voice in the Senate.

Unfortunately in many States—Indiana is one—this was only a practice which had developed over the years and had not been embedded in the State constitution. In such cases the practice is defenseless against the Supreme Court mandate. Even more unfortunately, the practice was also enveloped in most States—again Indiana is one—in a habitual laggardness about periodic reapportionment. This was what attracted the attention of the Federal courts in the first place.

Early efforts toward some action to stave off destruction of a meaningful two-house system in State legislatures met with deep lethargy, both in the Senate and among the general public. It almost seemed that most people did not attach much importance to the independence of State legislatures. For that is really the central issue—whether the people of a State have a right to decide for themselves how to make up their legislatures or whether this is to be decided by edict of the Federal courts.

But now response to the Dirksen proposal is beginning to grow, in Indiana and everywhere in the country. The Committee for Government of the People has been formed by Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois, and 10 congressional colleagues. A few days ago it released an impressive list of Indiana civic, business, and political leaders who have agreed to join the committee as supporting members. The same sort of thing has happened in every other State.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs has gone on record in favor of the Dirksen proposal.

Both the Senate sponsorship of the proposal and the citizen backing are nonpartisan. National committee membership includes notable leaders in both Democrat and Republican Parties. It includes a wide variety of business connections.

Apparently people do care what happens to their State governments, and do appreciate the importance of their right to control them. As put by Senator DIRKSEN in a Judiciary Committee report, "Simply stated, the issue is whether or not the people of a State are to be allowed to determine for themselves the manner in which they will be governed.

"State laws are enacted or repealed by the State legislature," the report went on. "A State legislature fashioned by the people and responsible to the diverse interests of a State can no longer be changed by the people to reflect any interest other than population. A system of government developed with the consent of the people can no longer be changed to reflect their will unless this proposed article of amendment is adopted."

The Dirksen reapportionment amendment would authorize a State, with referendum approval of its people, to apportion one house of a two-house legislature on factors other than population. Thus choice about the matter would be put in the hands of the people, where it belongs, instead of in the Federal courts, which have now usurped it.

We are heartened by the nationwide backing for the proposal. We urge all Hoosiers to write their views to Senators VANCE HARTKE and BIRCH BAYH. The popular support of the people is what will finally decide the outcome.

[From the Lafayette (Ind.) Journal and Courier, Mar. 15, 1966]

ABOVE PARTISANSHIP

The fact that State party leaders, former Gov. Henry F. Schricker, a Democrat, and former Gov. Ralph F. Gates, a Republican, have agreed in support of the Dirksen amendment to permit geographical apportionment of State senates should not be surprising.

The matter is above partisanship and is simply a State reaction to a U.S. Supreme Court ruling requiring both houses of State legislatures to be apportioned on one-man, one-vote principles, even though the Federal Senate is exempt from this rule.

The Dirksen amendment does not propose to impose a plan for one house to be apportioned strictly according to population and the other on a geographical distribution. Both may be on the one-man, one-vote plan if desired. But it offers States the option which does not exist under the Supreme Court ruling.

A broad base of support is arising in both parties in the Senate and in most of the States to offer the States the prerogatives enjoyed by the Federal Government in apportioning its legislative houses.

So much, in fact, that the Dirksen amendment is very close to passage by the Senate, requiring only a few more votes to succeed.

Therefore it behooves the citizens of the various States where there is concern for both the fair representation of the populace and the serving of needs of various regions which might be neglected in a metropolitan concentration in the legislature, to urge their Senators to support the Dirksen amendment.

There is every reason why every Senator, including both of Indiana's should support the Dirksen amendment.

If they subscribe to the theory that put them where they are, they should confer that same right upon the States.

If they cannot support the Dirksen amendment, they have the moral obligation to move for reapportionment of the U.S. Senate on a one-man, one-vote basis, too, and hand over to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and such places, the majority of the seats and control of their august hall.

And that doesn't seem wise, or likely.

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) Star, Mar. 27, 1966]

THAT THE PEOPLE MAY CHOOSE

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The Dirksen proposal would undo some of the mischief of the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote reapportionment decision. This ruling said that both houses of a State legislature must be apportioned strictly according to population. It took control away from the States and put it in Federal courts. It has caused great upheaval in State legislatures all over the country, which for a long time have followed the practice of giving heavy weight to geography in apportionment of the upper house. The practice gives a State legislature something like the makeup of Congress, in which the House is apportioned by population but each State has an equal voice in the Senate.

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Early efforts toward some action to stave off destruction of a meaningful two-house system in State legislatures met with deep lethargy, both in the Senate and among the general public. It almost seemed that most people did not attach much importance to the independence of State legislatures. For that is really the central issue—whether the people of a State have a right to decide for themselves how to make up their legislatures or whether this is to be decided by edict of the Federal courts.

But now response to the Dirksen proposal is beginning to grow, in Indiana and everywhere in the country. The Committee for Government of the People has been formed by Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois, and 10 congressional colleagues. A few days ago it released an impressive list of Indiana civic, business, and political leaders who have agreed to join the committee as supporting members. The same sort of thing has happened in every other State.

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"State laws are enacted or repealed by the State legislature," the report went on. A State legislature fashioned by the people and responsible to the diverse interests of a State can no longer be changed by the people to reflect any interest other than population. A system of government developed with the consent of the people can no longer be changed to reflect their will unless this proposed article of amendment is adopted."

The Dirksen reapportionment amendment would authorize a State, with referendum approval of its people, to apportion one house of a two-house legislature on factors other than population. Thus choice about the matter would be put in the hands of the people, where it belongs instead of in the Federal courts, which has now usurped it.

We are heartened by the nationwide backing for the proposal. We urge all Hoosiers to write their views to Senators VANCE HARTKE and BIRCH BAYH. The popular support of the people is what will finally decide the outcome.

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) Star, Feb. 13, 1966]

FOR BETTER LEGISLATURES

The next few weeks will be crucial for the Dirksen reapportionment amendment proposal.

This amendment would restore to the States some degree of control over the makeup of their legislatures, subject to a referendum of the voters.

It would require that each State reapportion its legislature every 10 years, immediately after the Federal census is taken. One house in a bicameral legislature would have to be apportioned strictly according to population, as now required under the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decisions.

The other house, however, could be apportioned partly on the basis of geography or political subdivisions, something which cannot now be done under the Supreme Court rulings. The amendment would not require any State to do this, but would permit it.

Each new reapportionment plan would have to be submitted to the people of the State in a referendum. In any case in which a plan for one house based partly on geography or subdivision lines was presented, an alternative plan for that house based solely on population would also have to be offered, to allow the voters to choose between the two.

The proposed amendment would provide a simple and easily understood arrangement for letting each State choose the apportionment basis for one house of its legislature. It would go only a little way, really, in readjusting the sweeping change made by the Supreme Court rulings. Actually the amendment would also provide basic reinforcement for the Supreme Court rulings, by spelling out the requirement for a reapportionment every 10 years.

The reactions of the people will determine whether the proposal is approved by the Senate. A test last year showed the supporters to be about 10 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed for passage. No known changes of position have occurred since that time. The proposition cannot get through unless some Senate votes can be changed.

There is room for change of two votes in the Indiana delegation, since both Indiana Senators, VANCE HARTKE and BIRCH BAYH, voted against the proposal last year. If they hear from enough Indiana voters who favor the amendment, perhaps they might change their minds.

The proposed amendment probably will come to a vote in the Senate within 3 or 4 weeks. So the time is short for letting Senators HARTKE and BAYH know how you feel. Do it now.

States which want to safeguard their legislatures against complete domination by large population centers should have the authority to do so. The Dirksen amendment would provide such authority.

It should be adopted.

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) News, Feb. 15, 1966]

FOR THE PEOPLE

Announcement of a distinguished Hoosier committee backing a constitutional amendment to restore control over apportionment matters to the States and to the people is encouraging news.

The committee, which will work to secure public support for Senate Joint Resolution 103, allowing States to adopt apportionment plans on a Federal rather than strict population basis, contains numerous prominent citizens from all walks of life in our State.

Members of the Indiana Committee for Government of the People include C. Harvey Bradley, of Indianapolis, board chairman of the P. R. Mallory Co.; Dr. Philip M. Crane, Hillsboro, professor at Bradley University; C. Jerome Davis, Ramsey, head of the Indiana Grange; George Doup, Indianapolis, president of the Indiana Farm Bureau; John Hillenbrand, Batesville, president of Hillenbrand Industries; D. Mead Johnson, Evansville, president of Mead Johnson & Co.; John L. Ryan, Indianapolis, business executive, and Walter W. Walb, president of the Indiana Chamber of Commerce.

As will be immediately noted, this is an outstanding and representative group of Hoosiers; and the concern which motivates them, we believe, also motivates many of their fellow citizens: To restore some measure of control over government to the people of this and other American States.

Purpose of the legislation the committee is backing, commonly known as the Dirksen amendment after its chief sponsor, Senator Everett Dirksen, Republican, Illinois, is to allow every State to set up a Federal apportionment plan if it so chooses, with one house of its legislature elected on a strict population basis, the other on a basis including consideration of geographical and other factors.

The plan is purely permissive, and would not mandate such a plan in any State that did not want it. Moreover, the plan would not go into effect in any State until it had been ratified by a majority vote of the people in a statewide referendum. It is in all respects a perfectly fair and equitable measure, and deserves widespread public support.

This issue is now being deliberated by Members of the U.S. Senate and could shortly come to a crucial vote there. We hope many Hoosiers will emulate the example of the eight distinguished citizens noted above, and declare their support for this important constitutional amendment publicly and in correspondence to Indiana's two Senators.

If the Dirksen amendment can secure necessary support in the Senate, and be sent on its way for ratification by the States, America will have taken an important step toward restoring balanced government to the Nation. And, because of the procedures the amendment establishes, it will have taken an equally important step toward putting control over such matters where it belongs—in the hands of the voters themselves.

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) News, Jan. 21, 1966]

Hoosiers Join Amendment Battle

(By Stan Evans)

A major drive to secure passage of a constitutional amendment restoring the powers of the States over their own legislative practices was launched this week, both nationally and here in Indiana.

Purpose of the drive, which has wide backing from trade associations, farmers organizations and other citizen-action bodies, is to generate public support for Senate Joint Resolution 103—the Dirksen amendment—which would permit the States to adopt a federal plan for their legislatures if their citizens so decide by referendum.

This proposal, first submitted to Congress by Senate GOP leader Everett Dirksen, of Illinois, has drawn wide support from Republicans and Democrats alike. Among those who have given it their backing are Democratic Senators Alan Bible, of Nevada, Frank Church, of Idaho, and Frank Lausche, of Ohio. GOP supporters include Senators George Aiken, of Vermont, Roman Hruska, of Nebraska, and Thruston Morton, of Kentucky.

The drive to mount public backing for the amendment is conducted by a group called the "Committee for Government of the People," headquartered at 733 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C. The committee, still in process of formation throughout the 50 States, is distributing leaflets arguing the case for Dirksen's proposal and a "Reapportionment Issues Book," quoting statements of legislators from both parties in favor of balanced representation and a restoration of State prerogatives.

Members of the Indiana group, now being formed will be announced next week by Senator Dirksen in Washington and at a press conference here in Indianapolis. The local committee has established headquarters at 111 Monument Circle, room 1123.

Focus of the committee's concern is the U.S. Supreme Court decree that, in obedience to the dogma of "one man, one vote" State legislatures must be chosen purely on grounds of population. Court rulings to this effect, the committee says, put State politics in thrall to big-city machines, violate the concept of balanced and limited government envisioned by the Nation's founders, and overturn the existing constitutional practices of most American States.

As a result, support for the Dirksen amendment or something like it has spread rapidly. No less than 28 States are already on record in favor of such a measure, and the object of the Government-of-the-People group is to elicit public support for similar action in still other States.

"The status of every elected body in the Nation is in doubt," the committee observes, "the composition of school boards, city councils, county governing boards—even the U.S. Senate itself—for the one-man, one-vote rationale of the big-city machine bosses, as applied to Congress, would obliterate State lines, concentrating virtually all political power in five or six large metropolitan areas."

Most interesting feature of the Dirksen amendment—and most instructive in judging the purposes of its opponents—is the provision for popular referendum. Under the terms of Senate Joint Resolution 103, no State would have a federal system forced on it; in each case, the people would be given the opportunity to decide. If critics of the Dirksen amendment are in favor of popular rule, as they claim to be, what could be their possible objection to this procedure?

It is true, of course, that when the people have had such opportunities in the past (as in Michigan and Colorado), they have been known to choose the federal basis of government over the "one man, one vote" basis—disappointing the big-city bosses. Could be this is the reason some ardent backers of the people are oddly hesitant to let the people decide the matter for themselves.

[From the Hammond (Ind.) Times Mar. 21, 1966]

Let Each State Decide

The U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision in effect requires all States to allot the seats in both houses of their legislative bodies on the basis of population, regardless of the values of those in individual States.

Indiana and Illinois have previously allotted their legislative seats in both houses on the basis of population. Probably both wish to continue the arrangement.

But the U.S. Constitution provides for a Federal legislative branch with one House elected on the basis of population, the other on the basis of geography. Each State, regardless of size, has two Senators. This was written into the Constitution at the insistence of smaller States which feared their interests would be overwhelmed if all lawmaking seats were filled on the basis of population.

Some States today feel the same way. They are convinced that giving sparsely settled areas equal representation in one house is the only way to prevent rural needs from being overlooked.

An amendment has been proposed to the U.S. Constitution. It would give each State the right to resolve the question through referendum.

The amendment, sponsored by Senator Everett M. Dirksen, Republican, of Illinois, should be passed by Congress as an act of faith in the people's ability to decide the pattern of their legislatures for themselves.

As it is, the issue is being dictated to them by a Supreme Court often accused of living far removed from reality—past, present, and future.

[From the Richmond (Ind.) Palladium-Item, Mar. 21, 1966]

Welcome Support

Two former Indiana Governors, Republican Ralph Gates and Democrat Henry F. Schricker, have endorsed the Dirksen amendment which would permit States to apportion one legislative house by means other than population.

They join a growing list of members of both parties on the State and National levels and public figures who support Senator Everett Dirksen's amendment constitutionally to negate a Supreme Court ruling that State legislatures must be elected on a population basis only.

Dirksen, who is Republican minority leader, serves as chairman of the National Committee for Government of the People. State committees are also being organized to awaken public interest in the amendment.

Hoosiers have already set up the Indiana Committee for Government of the People which coordinates with the national organization.

Dirksen's committee includes 10 other Republican and Democratic Members of Congress. They are such diverse political thinkers as Senator Frank Lausche, Democrat, of Ohio, Senator Frank Church, Democrat, of Idaho, and Representative William McCulloch, Republican, of Ohio.

"We are taking this issue to the people," said Senator Dirksen. "There is no government issue more important to the people than the right of the people to decide the system of government which suits them best in their respective States."

Dirksen said his amendment would not lock "State legislatures into a permanent, inflexible apportionment."

Instead it would allow the people of each State to decide every 10 years "whether they want to apportion both houses of their legislature on a population basis or whether they want to apportion one of those two houses on a geographical basis in the traditional way."

In speaking of the traditional way, Senator Dirksen was referring to the method of selecting one body of the legislature that was written into the Constitution by the Founding Fathers and was copied by the various States.

The U.S. Senate is composed of two Senators from each State, from the largest, Alaska, to the smallest, Rhode Island. The Founding Fathers purposely balanced the geographically chosen Senate against the House which is popularly elected because they understood the threat of temporary majorities.

They wanted the majority represented but they also wished to protect the minority's rights. This balance in the legislature has provided the Union with a stability that 18th century skeptics thought only a monarchy or oligarchy could have. It has served the people well and now it is threatened because of the Supreme Court's obsession with one-man, one-vote.

The Dirksen amendment will "allow the people to decide," not nine men on the Supreme Court, what type of legislatures their States should have. It will return to them their right to govern themselves as they best see fit.

[From the Vincennes (Ind.) Sun-Commercial, Mar. 27, 1966]

For a Free Choice

Local support for the Dirksen amendment to the U.S. Constitution seems to be consonant with the relationship this area holds to State government generally.

The change in the Constitution which has been proposed by the Illinois Republican would permit each State to choose its own form of State government. The States are not free to do so at this time, despite the constitutional provision which says, "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." The U.S. Supreme Court has held that State legislatures must be apportioned solely on the basis of population, which is at direct variance with the concept of government under which the Federal Republic was created and through which it functions today.

The southwestern part of Indiana is not one of the more populous areas of the State. The interests of the people here are not similar to those in such metropolitan sections as those centered around Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, Gary, South Bend, or Evansville. It is neither desirable nor reasonable to expect representatives elected from those distant cities to represent properly people whose concern is oriented toward agriculture at least as much as toward industry.

This exact question precipitated the great debate in the original Constitutional Convention, and led to the compromise which created the U.S. Senate. The people of the newly formed Nation were given an opportunity to choose or reject that form of government. By such an open expression, the U.S. Constitution was ratified and put into effect as acceptable to most of the people.

The Dirksen amendment would provide no more than the same opportunity to the people of the various States in the 20th century. This constitutional change would not mandate the States to set up any particular form of government, as the Court has done, but would leave all the people free to make an open choice.

It is worth speculating on two points. The Federal Government as we know it would not have come into being if another Court in the 18th century had denied the Americans an opportunity to choose. How long will it be before some future Court rules that the U.S. Senate is unconstitutional, and must alter its basic form? The people should have the right to make a free choice on a matter as important as this. The Dirksen amendment can be supported by public-spirited citizens without regard to partisan connection or belief.

[From the Fort Wayne (Ind.) News-Sentinel, Mar. 18, 1966]

Grassroots for Dirksen Plan

The campaign for the support of the Dirksen reapportionment amendment at the Nation's grassroots is striking a responsive chord on both sides of the political fence.

That's the chief reaction drawn from the setting up of a Fort Wayne and area committee of local businessmen, attorneys, and religious leaders this week by George H. Buschmann, Washington, D.C., a member of the national committee pushing for the reapportionment amendment.

To refresh, the Dirksen amendment was proposed after the Supreme Court ruled last year that all States must reapportion their legislative houses strictly on the basis of population—a decision which has been dubbed the one-man, one-vote doctrine.

The amendment would require that, in all States having bicameral legislatures, one house would be elected from districts formed on the strict one-man, one-vote population basis. But it would permit geographical and other factors to be taken into consideration in determining the manner in which members of the other house would be elected.

Buschmann, during his stay here, stressed one vital thing about the proposed amendment which frequently gets lost in the shuffle of the arguments it has triggered.

And that is that the proposal is permissive, not mandatory. In other words, the amendment, as written, would not make it mandatory for the States to reapportion their districts on both geographical and population bases, but would make possible such a move if such action was desired by the majority of the citizens in any of the sovereign States.

This matter of a free choice, points out Senator Everett Dirksen, author of the amendment, is the heart of the proposed legislation. Writing in the current issue of NAM reports, Senator Dirksen comments that the concept of free choice lies at the very heart of American economic success—"free choice for the consumer in making his purchases, free choice for the producer in developing his technology, free choice for the workingman in exercising his particular skills." And then Dirksen makes this important point:

"As it is with our economic institutions, so it is also with our political institutions. Free choice is at the core of our political system—the right of the people to construct the instrumentalities of Government to suit their needs. Today there are those selfish political interests who have lost sight of this basic right. In a significant sense, these interests are telling the people of the United States that they will no longer have control over the shape and composition of their political institutions. This we cannot—we must not—allow to happen."

There is the issue in a nutshell. In an age when the sovereign States, increasingly, are becoming mere provinces of the Federal Government, it is time for both Democrats and Republicans to join forces in backing an amendment which will preserve a basic right to free political choice.

[From the Greensburg (Ind.) Daily News, Mar. 15, 1966]

Senate Joint Resolution 103 Should Be Adopted

Senate Joint Resolution 103 is scheduled to be accorded consideration by the U.S. Senate in the near future.

To secure passage, a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress is required.

The resolution, as introduced by Senator Everett M. Dirksen, of Illinois, would provide for the right for voters to determine how their State legislatures are to be apportioned.

Under Senate Joint Resolution 103, the method of apportionment of one house of State legislatures would be offered the people of each State at a statewide election. They could choose it or they could reject it.

As Senator Dirksen states: "The people created our form of government; only they should have the right and power to change it. To deny the people of a State the right to decide how their legislature shall be established is to strike down the basic tenets of democratic government. If government as we know it is to survive, that right and power must remain in the people.

"I want to insure for all time that this power stays in their hands, and nobody else's. Hence I have introduced a constitutional amendment in the Senate; Senate Joint Resolution 103. It has been cosponsored by members of both political parties, and has bipartisan support. It is not a Republican measure.

"The amendment would permit the people in your State to continue—if they wished—to apportion one house of their State legislature on factors other than population alone—by giving weight to geography and political subdivisions. If they preferred the Court's system of reapportionment, they could choose that. They could select either system they liked. The point is, they would make the selection. In a country such as ours is there something wrong with that?"

On June 15, 1964, the U.S. Supreme Court by a 6-to-3 decision held that each house in the State legislatures must be made up of districts equal in population.

Essentially, this decision has discarded truly representative government in the individual States. Indiana, as reapportioned, can be controlled by some eight populous counties.

This is not what the Founding Fathers of the Nation intended.

Passage of Senate Joint Resolution 103 is important to the future welfare of the American people. The American people must be accorded the right to choose.

[From the State-Times Baton Rouge, La., Feb. 24, 1966]

Home's the Place To Begin

Charity is supposed to begin at home.

That's a good place to begin some other things, too.

If President Lyndon Johnson wants to take this as a suggestion, if Congress chooses to take it as a hint, they're both right.

In his state of the Union message, the President made this comment, in paraphrase: "The * * * most important principle of our foreign policy is support of national independence * * * the right of each people to govern themselves and shape their own institutions."

Now, Mr. President, and Members of the Congress, the American form of government is somewhat singular. We have a sovereign union of sovereign States, which federated themselves together for specific and fully defined purposes. We sometimes are pleased to call ourselves a democracy within a republic. We had no intention, at the outset, of allowing the central authority to become an all-powerful monolith and we have no such intention now, as witness the accepted validity of the Constitution; its 10th amendment continues intact.

Among the institutions that the American people shape are the formats of their agencies for State lawmaking. Nebraska, as was its right, choose to have a unicameral—a one-house—legislature. The others chose to follow the pattern that prevails in Congress, a senate and a house of representatives. Just as the national Senate consists of two delegates from each of the States, so have the upper chambers of State legislatures had their membership selected on a geographical rather than a population basis.

If the people of a State want to change this, they have that right under their own constitutions and the Constitution of the United States—but only they, the people, have this right.

The proposed Dirksen amendment to the U.S. Constitution would add to that revered document a specific preservation to the States of their right to shape their own institutions. This superfluity to the basic law of the land appears necessary to nullify a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States which, in essence, has denied to the States one of their rights under the 10th amendment.

Now, Mr. President and Members of the Congress, if foreign policy is geared to the proposition that a people has the right to shape its own institutions, it's arrant nonsense to gear domestic policy to a different proposition. And it's wrong to do so.

Will we give the South Vietnamese something we deny to the people of South Dakota?

The American people, in their several States, have the right to shape their own institutions in their own States.

The Dirksen amendment would nail the banner of that right to the staff.

It ought not to be necessary but it seems to be.

The Dirksen amendment gives the people of a State the right to choose the format of their State government.

They really thought they had it, from the beginning.

[From the New Orleans (La.) Times Picayune, Aug. 6, 1965]

DIRKSEN DRIVE

Senator DIRKSEN's decision not to give up on proposed submission of an amendment to the Constitution, which would reserve a State's option as to method of apportionment of one legislative branch, was well taken, for time is fleeting.

Perhaps it would make the far-reaching nature of this struggle more apparent if he added to the proposal a clause reenacting article V of the Federal Constitution, with perhaps the addendum: "The 14th amendment notwithstanding." This article ends with the supposed assurance: "No State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." But of course the whole article predates considerably the enactment of the "all-purpose 14th"; and predates court decisions (based on the latter) which have made one-man, one-vote apportionment a law of the land of totalitarian sweep, in regard to the State legislatures. The same chain of reasoning would take in the National Senate, in which the small and medium States have a voting equality or bonus irrespective of population.

How many "no" votes were cast against the Dirksen proposal by Senators from small and medium States was not immediately ascertainable. However it is time their constituents, if not the Senators themselves, from such States, awoke to the situation. This handwriting on the wall shows up clearly enough under study.

[From the New Orleans (La.) Times-Picayune, June 15, 1965]

ACCOMMODATION ON REAPPORTIONMENT

The Senate Judiciary Committee soon will begin work on a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution relative to reapportionment of State legislatures. It is a subject of heated controversy; but out of the seemingly clashing proposals offered there may come a compromise that is beneficial.

The issue of apportionment of State legistures and congressional districts has been, and still is, one of the central dilemmas of the American political system. It is a function that many States have ignored or badly handled, only to have the Federal courts intervene in an equally distorted manner.

What Senate minority leader EVERETT DIRKSEN can achieve in the constitutional amendment he has proposed is to encourage State legislatures to fulfill their responsibilities to reapportion, relieved of the sweeping one-man, one-vote criterion set by the Supreme Court. His proposal provides that legislatures may apportion one branch of a bicameral legislature on the basis of factors other than population, subject to approval by the voters.

Some opponents of the Dirksen "little Federal system" resolution suggest further refinements, such as provision for periodic popular review of apportionment and continuing Court jurisdiction—ideas which have both merit and drawbacks.

It may be hoped that there will emerge one broadly adequate amendment that will preserve the States' prerogative to apportion one branch of their legislatures as they see fit, while assuring that their overall, vital responsibility will not in future fall victim to old evils.

[From the New Orleans (La.) Times Picayune, Feb. 22, 1965]

WANTED: A DECISION BY STATES

The movement to evoke a national decision, by the States, on allowing one of the two houses of legislatures to be apportioned in accord with factors other than population (one man, one vote), picked up Missouri during the week as the 12th petitioner to Congress.

It could be that hearings set for March 3–11 by the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments will give a clue to whether the Senate will itself "take the hint" and help submit the question on Congress' own initiative. At least a couple of proposed amendments, to the same general effect as the States budding proposal, are in the works in that body. The house of delegates of the American Bar Association at its local meeting ratified the compromise principle, by a rather close vote.

As Senator BAYH, chairman of the subcommittee, has indicated, the proposal will gain little if it is accompanied by attacks on the U.S. Supreme Court. Neither is it necessary to apologize to the Court for seeking a national expression through constitutional amendment on the subject.

The U.S. Senate as a body is perhaps in as hazardous a position as those branches of State legislatures which now are apportioned, not by chicanery or intransigence of rural delegates, but by long-established principle (the so-called "little federal" principle), according to geographical or area weight. These compromises have been worked out in a number of different forms. They have all been subject to State constitutional revision at any time.

But it's obvious that a U.S. Senator from little Delaware, for example, is casting more of a vote, proportionately, than a Senator from New York, on national legislation, etc. If the High Court should extend its rulings to declare this situation unconstitutional (superseded by the 14th amendment), then the larger States would have to be given more U.S. Senators. That would destroy the main purpose of having a U.S. Senate just as the Court decision on legislative apportionment has removed the prime purpose of having State senates. The States and the people might deem it wise to install a one-body (unicameral) congress. For the Court edict (one man, one vote) has resulted in the discussion of one-body legislatures in some States. The U.S. Senators will hardly miss the point.

[From the New Orleans, (La.) Times-Picayune, Sept. 16, 1964]

REAPPORTIONMENT: CONGRESS IN STEW

What the Senate apparently wants in the way of reapportionment legislation is the Dirksen-Mansfield amendment staying any court action to carry out Supreme Court decisions on repportionment during current elections, and affording some time for States to act on a constitutional amendment which Congress might submit.

But because of the filibustering of the liberal group which opposes any possible affront to the high court, and the refusal of the Senate to vote cloture on the debate, the Senate isn't in sight of getting what it wants.

The Senate will not table the Dirksen amendment, of course; it has turned down the Javits-McCarthy-Humphrey compromise amendment, weakening the Dirksen proposal by saying it is "the sense of Congress" that the States should be given time to act; and it has refused to adopt a duplicate of the House-passed bill to remove State reapportionment from the Federal Court jurisdiction.

So the congressional scrap over the States reapportionment issue could go on indefinitely.

But that is not what is upsetting the Johnson administration. The Dirsken proposal is a "rider" to the $3.3 billion foreign aid bill, and the Senate won't bar it. Thus the foreign aid appropriation is held up while the administration seeks the funds to carry out this year's program.

The administration might solve the problem by inducing the House to initiate a resolution authorizing funds to continue foreign aid at last year's levels (such appropriation moves must start in the House), but it is not certain that enough Members of the House are in a good humor over the Senate opposition to its strong reapportionment bill to act, or that a quorum might be had for consideration until after the November election. The House has already had to adjourn for a day or so due to lack of attendance.

Neither the House nor the Senate seems quite ready to overlook the confusion and disorder caused by the latest Warren apportionment opinion. It has resulted, for instance, in Illinois voters having to prepare to vote at large on 117 names for the lower house, a 3-foot list of candidates about whom voters in most districts know nothing at all.

And as for Congress, the number of House Members around Washington is likely to grow skimpier as the session lingers on.

[From the Shreveport Times, Mar. 15, 1966]

DIRKSEN TRIES AGAIN

In the last session of Congress Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN's effort to stay until 1966 any implementation of the Supreme Court edict requiring apportionment of both houses of State legislatures on a population basis was beaten down by, of all things, a liberal filibuster.

But Senator DIRKSEN has not given up. He's back this session with another proposition aimed at blocking the one-man, one-vote ruling. This time Mr. DIRKSEN's proposal has attracted 37 senatorial cosigners, including quite a few Democrats.

Senator DIRKSEN's proposal comes in the form of a constitutional amendment that would allow the apportionment of one house of a State legislature on the basis of "factors other than population," subject to approval by a majority popular vote.

The Illinois Senator now contends that he isn't arguing about the merits of the High Court decision. He says that the people deserve the right to decide for themselves how they shall be governed and that his proposal will give them that opportunity.

Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, who led the fight against Mr. DIRKSEN's last effort to block the High Court's redistricting ruling, will most likely fight this new measure. This time, though, Mr. DIRKSEN may have the upper hand. Even if the amendment did clear the Senate, though, it would still have to get through the House and pass a final test of ratification by three-fourths of the States.

It is good, in any event, to know that the opponets of the Supreme Court's apportionment ruling still are alive and kicking. For aside from meddling with Congress' prerogatives, the one-man, one-vote edict has only the questionably constitutional doctrine of head counting to support its definition of congressional representation. It also is a ruling that ignores the economic, political, and geographical realities which determine districting within States.

[From the Shreveport Times, Sept. 5, 1965]

DIRKSEN AND THE RULE BOOK

Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, who keeps the House and Senate rule books under his arm and does not, by his own assertion, scruple to use any permissible parliamentary maneuver against a 2-to-1 Democratic majority, has advanced a new bid to knock out the High Court's one-man, one-vote ruling.

The Senator has exercised his privilege of deferring for 1 week any action in the Judiciary Committee to vote the administration's new immigration bill out onto the Senate floor. The measure is one of Mr. Johnson's pets. After the week is up, says Senator DIRKSEN, he will then offer an endless stream of amendments—which is his privilege—to hold action up on the measure indefinitely.

His price: a favorable committee vote on his proposed constitutional amendment to allow States to apportion one house of their legislatures on a basis other than strict head counting. The Supreme Court has ruled that geographical districting—the usual method in electing State senates—no longer can be used. Mr. DIRKSEN wants that ruling overcome by amendment, and has already narrowly missed achieving his wish in a U.S. Senate vote a few weeks ago.

The proposal never has got out of committee. Senator DIRKSEN got it to the Senate floor by a short cut for consideration and was so heartened by the near victory that he has been working ever since to spring it loose from Judiciary for reconsideration.

The President has been neutral about the Dirksen amendment but highly partisan indeed on the immigration bill, which would end the national quota system. Now, the Illinois Senator has told Mr. Johnson that it's got to be a horse-trading operation or nothing. It isn't that he's against the immigration bill: it's only that he wants his own measure so badly.

The matter rests there with the next move, Senator DIRKSEN says, up to the President and his lieutenants. But the matter can't rest too long with all of Congress anxious to get out and go home. The Illinois tactician is counting on that impatience to force a compromise. And if they beat him on the immigration maneuver, he's prepared to attach his Court slapping amendment onto another darling of the administration's heart—repeal of the right-to-work provision of Taft-Hartley.

Liberals are furious but the Senator simply holds up the rule book.

[From the Shreveport Times, Aug. 7, 1965]

A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION?

The Senate vote which defeated Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN's proposal to amend the Constitution to help give self-government back to the States would probably have been larger than it was if word hadn't gotten around that the States are close to being able to call a constitutional convention to settle the matter for themselves.

Senator DIRKSEN missed by a handful of votes getting the Senate to submit to the States an amendment which would have let each of them decide whether its own senate should be elected on a one-man, one-vote basis or by geographical divisions. (He polled a substantial majority but was short of the needed two-thirds.) The Supreme Court has ruled that upper chambers in the States must be filled in the the same fashion as the lower—by head count. Except in States dominated by huge urban centers, the decision hasn't been popular, has caused consternation and confusion and sometimes resulted in districting schemes laid down by Federal district courts—to the manifest disadvantage of all but urbanite interests.

All this is sullen socialistic leveling, according to people who think the High Court in its ruling was making constitutional law of its own and ignoring the Constitution which guarantees to all States "a republican form of government"—that is, government representative by interest instead of mathematically expressed on a population base. The conservative argument is that the sum of diverse interests in a State is more important for individual freedom than that of the voting majority, which often has a unanimity of interests based on urban life and needs and a desire to secure them at the expense of others.

Mr. DIRKSEN, surprisingly, wasn't called an extremist, most probably because it was brought out in debate that only some half dozen more legislatures need to issue calls for a constitutional convention before Congress will be obliged to convene one.

Even Senator JACOB JAVITS, a nominal Republican and foe of all but the most liberal of opinions, cautioned the Senate against ignoring the general unrest among States over High Court intrusion into political affairs reserved to them by the Constitution. Senator JAVITS wanted, in effect, to allow State voting on the matter of senate makeup but would have applied the yardstick of "reasonable relationship to the needs of the State." The High Court would make hash of any testing of that rule brought before it by urban champions of absolute majority rule.

The reason for the manifest prudence in the Javits approach was the simple fact that a constitutional convention is a meeting called for the purpose of re-contemplating fundamental law—the very form and substance of the U.S. Constitution itself. That thought strikes panic into the breasts of people who like the near-collusive unanimity with which liberals in all three branches of Government—the liberal establishment—are hastening to consolidate the ordering, enforcement, and interpretation of national affairs along certain economic and social lines.

The thought also frightens conservatives who fear that a constitutional convention would be overwhelmingly liberal and that the fusing of the three separate branches would be accomplished in jig time if those presently wedded to the piecemeal reordering of the Nation were given formal leave to adjust it in one operation to their hearts' desire.

A constitutional convention could start with the preamble and end with the colophon, if it chose, and leave not a word of the charter intact. As one liberal said despairingly, it could even abolish the Supreme Court. Such is the raw power that the Constitution gives to the people; and while even the liberals might shrink from extensive violence to some of its provisions, both they and the conservatives would like—by far different approaches—to get their view of things down in black capitals forever.

A year ago, 6 months ago, the possibility of such a convention was pooh-poohed by liberals and hardly hoped for by conservatives. Now the country must face up to a near-likelihood that one is coming. One report says that the States are 4 short of the 34 resolutions needed to assemble it. That is near indeed.

If a convention should be called, a full three-fourths of the States would have to ratify its labors. But even more stirring for the public would be the elections for delegates. The pounding candidates usually get in normal campaigns would be nothing compared with the gauntlet aspirants would have to run in seeking election as rewriters of the Constitution. Far more so than in the case of the Goldwater-Johnson election, the political faiths of candidates would be crucially relevant, and a man voting the wrong way at the convention would be staking his physical safety on his ability to convince the homefolks on his return that he only did it to serve their best interests.

But, on the other hand, States would surely rise to the necessity of sending only their most profound students of Government to such a convention—both to preserve the good and reject the bad. Hopefully, such a convention would bring forth statesmen to equal those that produced the noble document we call the Constitution.

[From the Shreveport Times, Jan. 13, 1965]

REAPPORTIONMENT SENTIMENT

The talk nowadays is mostly about how Congress will react to the President's three dozen or so proposals leading to the Great Society (fulfillment around A.D. 2000), but those who forget that Congress and not the President is the nominal originator of legislation ought perhaps to be wondering what Congress has on its own mind.

It isn't Mr. Johnson's idea that reapportionment ought to be taken away from the Supreme Court, but some Congressmen still have that in mind, though the supporters have been reduced by election losses. Last year, the topic was a warm one.

There are always a number of constitutional amendments introduced, mainly in perfunctory manner, at the start of each session, and while this route can and probably will again be taken on reapportionment, it isn't a necessary one if Congress really wants to get the High Court out of State legislatures.

All that is necessary is legislation limiting the appellate power of the High Court over reapportionment. Congress has complete power, only once before exercised, of deciding what the High Court can or cannot adjudicate on appeal. The Court's original jurisdiction cannot be limited, but its appeals jurisdiction can be. The Constitution says so.

There was a lot of seeming excitement during the last session, mainly generated by Republican Minority Leader EVERETT DIRKSEN, over moves to take reapportionment jurisdiction away from the Court. Mr. DIRKSEN's home State of Illinois, because of the Legislature's failure to reapportion, faced at-large election of its representatives. That was Mr. DIRKSEN's main concern, so the noise in Congress came to nothing. There probably won't be the steam behind the anti-Court movement this time because no elections are scheduled for 2 years and because much of the landslide riff-raff in Congress will be going with the Johnson tide, with plenty to do—including opposition to moves against the High Court.

Nevertheless, the one-man, one-vote decision of the Supreme Court continues to be debated because of its political implications for the country as a whole. The Court has ordered that both houses of State legislatures be reapportioned on a strictly population basis, throwing out the traditional view that the upper house or Senate should represent regional interests as well as mere numbers.

The Court has gone so far in articulating the purely democratic or head-counting approach to politics that it seems actually to leave itself open to a suit demanding that High Court members themselves stand for election. It can be argued that the same principle that undergirds the belief that one branch of the legislature should be "deliberative," a step removed from popular touch—a center of calm in a democratic storm—applies equally to the High Court which is put beyond popular passions on the principle that all wisdom is not found in numbers. In any case, it seems hardly becoming for the Court to insist on popular rule while handing down opinions from which there is no recourse.

However that may be, the one-man, one-vote controversy is more than just a philosophical controversy; for as Senator GEORGE D. AIKEN of Vermont says, it is a struggle between the political machines of the great cities an the people of the United States. With Mr. Johnson's promise that cities are to be treated apart from States in the Great Society, with a special department set up for their interests, the lesser populated areas face the probability that the cities will be profiting in two ways—from control of legislatures and from receipt of Federal money which will not pass through State hands first.

Senator AIKEN sees political control of the Nation passing to the cities, with fully half the States ruled by an urban majority concerned with serving its own constituents at the expense of the countryside.

Nobody denies the principle that those who contribute the greater share of taxes should receive the greater share of the legislative expenditures. In the past, country majorities have indeed ruled at the expense of city populations. What Senator AIKEN and other rural-minded legislators fear is that the cities will now impose discriminatory legislation—deny State funds to small school districts, impose sales taxes on farm sales, raise taxes on unimproved real estate, and so on, with a view of getting their own back.

Against this, proponents of the district system of electing State senators are prepared to see the lower houses of State legislatures apportioned by population alone, but they want the upper house to represent areas and area interests so that the cities, instead of taking only their share, won't hog the whole revenue.

Whether or not Congress has given up the struggle for such Republican safeguards will depend to a great extent on how many of the new Members feel and who their constituents are. Unfortunately, the drift is against traditional Republican safeguards.

[From the Shreveport Times, Dec. 31, 1964]

THE STATES AND REAPPORTIONMENT

The U.S. Supreme Court, already in much disfavor, can expect to take an additional beating in the next few months on its legislative reapportionment decision. Legislatures in 47 States meet in regular or special session in 1965. New York State's lawmakers have gone through a form of reapportionment in a current special session.

In its famous *Baker* v. *Carr* reapportionment decision of March 22, 1962, the High Court intoned rather grandly:

"The mere fact that the suit seeks protection of a political right does not mean it presents a political question."

This attitude was reaffirmed in the one-man, one-vote rule of last June 15 and nine similar decisions of June 22. Now, politicians all over the country—and notably Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York—are proving the Supreme Court in a lie. Reapportionment is the essence, the smell and woof and substance of politics.

Governor Rockefeller called his legislature into session on December 15 to reapportion the State senate and assembly. The timing was important. The Democrats gained control of both houses of the State legislature for the first time in 30 years in the November election but won't take over until the regular session in January.

Democrats were not mollified by Governor Rockefeller's observation that "several other States; namely Connecticut, Ohio, and Virginia, have been acting on legislative apportionment at special sessions this year." Democratic spokesmen labeled the special session call a "desperate" attempt to "salvage any Republican advantage that can be gained in the face of the clear mandate of the people." The Republicans now controlling the legislature—"lame ducks"—naturally wanted new district lines to favor their own party.

Across the Hudson River in New Jersey the State supreme court has heard argument on the validity of a new weighted voting system. The scheme gives each legislator a vote weighted in proportion to the population of the county he represents. Thus one Senator would be accorded 1 vote; another 16; and still another 19.1.

The secret reapportionment plan worked out in cramped quarters on a mezzanine between the fourth and fifth floors of the New York capitol in Albany bases its changes on fractional voting. Thus legislators from sparsely populated rural districts would have, say, three-quarters or one-half of a vote. The New York Times comments wryly:

"While the plan is not quite so bad as the weighted voting proposal that has been advanced in New Jersey and elsewhere, since it would at least provide adequate manpower for legislative committee work, it is still open to serious objection. We see nothing sacred about county boundaries as the determining factor in legislative representation; there is no logical reason why one assemblyman could not represent two or more adjacent counties of small population."

In Florida, where the "Pork Chop Gang" which controls the legislature represents less than 15 percent of the State's total population, the Miami Herald is pushing for a temporary weighted vote system to make sure that the acts passed by the legislature which meets in April would have a chance of being legal. But in Florida, as indeed in almost any State, reapportionment involves careers—and politicians resent being asked or ordered to vote themselves out of office.

[From the Shreveport Times, Oct. 1, 1964]

OBSTACLES TO ADJOURNMENT

Nominally, Congress still has a lot of work on the books, either in unfinished legislation or in new attempts to get measures, which were defeated in one House or the other, up for another test. But the lawmakers are tripping over one another in their haste to finish by Saturday, and no issue is big enough to keep them in Washington much longer.

The reapportionment question isn't settled, and since it isn't it might imperil foreign aid, simply because Senator DIRKSEN attached his court-rebuking rider to that bill. The milk-and-water Senate substitute asking the Court to give the States 6 months in which to reapportion their senates according to population accompanied the aid bill back to the House. It isn't popular in the House. The foreign aid conferees may fall out over that issue which could put off composing the $200 million difference that separates the two Houses on the aid bill.

Not a few Representatives would still like to propose a constitutional amendment legalizing State senate apportionment on lines other than head-counts, but the time is probably too short for it to clear both Houses, especially since the Senate has already acted against any meaningful curb on the Court.

President Johnson's big Senate failure—medicare for the aged through social security taxation—is in the hands of conferees mostly hostile to it, but favorable to an increase in social security cash benefits. Meanwhile, its backers in the Senate are trying the rider technique there in an effort to revive it. Also aid to Appalachia, the third important measure left for consideration, has been in House hands for some time but legislative leaders have been afraid so far to put the billion-dollar measure to a vote. If reapportionment or medicare strikes partisan fire, the lawmakers may just hurdle Appalachia and leave it for next year. That might mean two big defeats for Mr. Johnson this session since the medical provision is almost certain to die in conference in its present form and time is against tacking a substitute measure onto tariff legislation moving from the Senate to the House.

The $3 billion-plus foreign aid bill is the chief hurdle, if only because of the apportionment rider. Senator DIRKSEN narrowly missed getting a mandatory year's delay in reconstituting State senates. If foes of the Supreme Court decision really dig in, something worthwhile in the way of an anti-Court measure might get through, possibly at the expense of a deal on medicare. Principle has a way of making room for politics when election day is as near as it is now.

[From the Bangor Daily News, Feb. 19–20, 1966]

THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE SUPREME COURT

We are glad to see that a group of prominent Maine citizens is joining in the nationwide, bipartisan campaign to straighten out the reapportionment mess brought about by the one-man, one-vote decision of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Maine and many other States are involved in controversy over reapportionment of their legislatures in accordance with the rulings. The campaign supports a constitutional amendment proposed by Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN which would permit apportionment of one branch of a legislature by factors other than population—if the people of a State so desired.

It is pertinent to note that the move to void the Supreme Court decisions has its beginning in the U.S. Senate, which is not based on the one-man, one-vote principle. Each State, however small its population, has two Senators, thus protecting the small ones from being ruled in Congress by a few large States. This was a deliberate check-and-balance provision set up by the wise Founding Fathers of the Nation to protect minority interests.

The State of Maine has equal voting power with the biggest of States in the Senate. In the House, apportioned by population, it has only two Representatives as compared with 41 for New York State and 31 for California.

Isn't it inconsistent for the Federal Government to insist that State legislatures be set up on a one-man, one-vote basis when the Federal legislative body is not?

The fundamental matter of States rights is also involved. The Federal Government, through the Supreme Court rulings, is dictating to the people of the 50 States how they should set up their legislatures.

It is another long step toward creation of an all-powerful central government in Washington that will tell each and every American how affairs are to be run in his State and his community and, eventually, in his home.

Supporters of the Dirksen amendment have a tough battle on their hands. It can be won, however, if the people will realize what is happening and get behind the bipartisan drive to upset the arbitrary one-man, one-vote rule.

[From the Standard-Times (New Bedford, Mass.) August 1965]

STATES LOSE OUT

Senator DIRKSEN of Illinois fought the good fight to give each State the opportunity to determine whether it wanted both houses of a legislature determined solely on the basis of population, or whether other factors, such as geography, were to be considered.

A majority of the Senate agreed with the Republican minority leader's thesis, but the 57-to-39 plurality given to his position was 7 votes short of the two-thirds needed to carry a proposed amendment to the Constitution. Had the proposal passed the Senate, it would have required further endorsement by two-thirds of the House and three-quarters of the State legislatures.

There is a possibility the Illinois Senator may attach his bill as a rider to some other legislation. This gambit has only an outside chance of winning, since the minority of 39 Senators appears strong enough to hold **Dirksen** in check.

In June of 1964 the Supreme Court gave the opinion that election districts had to be "substantially equal" in population. Several States promptly followed the dictum of the High Court and eliminated provisions which gave equal representation to towns of all sizes, or otherwise restricted the concentrated strength of urban areas.

Senators in States with large urban communities, thus, generally voted against the Dirksen amendment, while lawmakers with large rural populations supported it.

There is no quarrel with the thesis that voting equality must be the rule in those States which seek it. States, however, should have the opportunity voluntarily to adopt another system of electing legislators if they so desire.

This freedom of choice has now been denied to the States by a minority of the U.S. Senate.

[From the Standard-Times, New Bedford, Mass., Apr. 13, 1965]

State Reapportionment

More than a few U.S. Senators, it appears, have taken a second look at the implications of the Supreme Court ruling that both houses of a State legislature must be apportioned on a basis of population.

A United Press International poll says at least 60 Senators probably would vote for a constitutional amendment to allow voters in a State the right to determine whether one house of the legislature might be apportioned on other than a population basis. Thirteen other Senators, from whom would have to come the votes for a two-thirds majority, are undecided.

The growing disenchantment with the court majority decision (delivered by Chief Justice Warren) does not seem surprising. Some of the court's assertions suggested that civil rights were somehow an issue, although of the six States whose apportionment had been challenged, five extend voting opportunity to all.

It is, for example, difficult to accept as a permanent truth Justice Warren's statement, "The weight of a citizen's vote cannot be made to depend on where he lives." The Federal election process refutes this: Residents of any small State like Nevada have, as individuals, greater "weight" in a national election because the U.S. Constitution gives two senatorial electoral votes to every State regardless of population.

Again, leaving out civil rights as a factor in a ruling that affects all 50 States, there is a strange flavor to the Warren observation, "A citizen's constitutional rights can hardly be infringed simply because a majority of the people choose to do so." The 14th amendment, certainly, guarantees "equal protection of the laws" to every citizen in a State; but if the majority of voters of Maryland, for example, wish to give that State's comparatively remote Eastern Shore, with its geographical and fishing-vacationland identify, an extra vote in the State senate, it is questionable that anyone's constitutional rights have been infringed.

In Massachusetts, the legislature's senate is apportioned on the basis of voters; the court's "population" criterion might require further changes so that more than half of the senate be elected from "Metropolitan Boston."

When the U.S. Senate takes up the proposed constitutional amendment, we hope the necessary two-thirds majority supports it. Twenty-one States have petitioned Congress for some relief. It seems fair that they and the other States be given the opportunity to decide whether more than population be reflected in the legislative membership.

The Constitution permits one chamber of Congress—the Senate—to show geographical and historical interests. Why should the States be deprived of this right?

[From the Lawrence (Mass.) Eagle-Tribune, July 28, 1965]

An Unavoidable Calamity

Federal courts have developed a single-minded devotion to the one-man, one-vote principle for determining the boundaries of State legislative districts that seems to us contemptuous of both State law and the theory to which they are dedicated.

The courts are requiring New York to hold an election to put in the State's legislature more members than the State constitution authorizes. In this case the Federal court ignores the State constitution because the unconstitutional apportionment plan complies with the one-man, one-vote principle.

The courts are threatening some Vermonters with loss of representation in the State legislature unless they comply with a reapportionment order. The courts gave the State until August 1 to present a plan for subdividing the 14 largest districts that would have 70 of the State's 150 members of the House of Representatives. If they drag their feet in efforts to meet this deadline, the court has indicated it will put pressure on them to conform.

The court, the head of the three-judge panel indicated, might penalize balky towns by withdrawing their representation in the legislature. Such penalty, it seems to us, would do grievous violence to the one-man, one-vote principle. Indeed it would replace it with a sort of "no vote" policy.

But such performances probably are unavoidable when the highest court attacks a custom established for centuries and in effect rewrites the Constitution to deprive the States of a right they have possessed since the founding of the Nation.

[From the Lawrence (Mass.) Eagle-Tribune July 20, 1965]

Conflict of Constitutions

A conflict of constitutions between the State of New York and the Federal Government will be resolved in favor of Washington.

The conflict is unavoidable because of different constitutional provisions.

The New York State constitution limits the number of members of the legislature to 150. The Federal Constitution requires that State legislative districts be laid out so nearly equal in population that as nearly as is humanly possible voting power is equally distributed among the people. This Federal constitutional requirement is not written into our charter of government; it was read into it by the Supreme Court in its one-man, one-vote decision.

Under this decision, the New York legislative districts were not legally laid out. The legislature therefore had to do a redistricting job which it did last year. The redistricting was opposed by Democrats because it was made by a Republican legislature. The opposition, as far as the State court was concerned, was irresistible. The redistricting plan provide for a legislature with 165 members. Therefore it violated the State constitution.

But the appeal lost in the Federal Court because the Court found that the redistricting plan met the requirements of the one-man, one-vote decision. So the Federal Court ordered an election next fall of legislators under the new plan. The State court decided to the contrary, canceling the order for an election. Then the Federal Court reaffirmed the order for an election.

Since the Federal statutory and constitutional provisions override State law and constitutions, an election will be held in violation of the State constitution unless the Supreme Court intervenes.

Intervention is unlikely. The High Court voted 8 to 1 to uphold the low court. Only Justice Harlan dissented. Harlan thought the issue important enough for hearing in time to realine the districts on the chance that conformity to the State constitution migh be found worth attainment.

Eight members of the Supreme Court, however, brushed off the State constitution as a charter of no consequence. There is therefore not the slightest chance of a change now of the judicial mind.

This contemptuous dismissal of a State constitution can hardly be other than interpreted as an illustration of the low esteem in which the States are held by Washington. It defined an attitude as troubling to people who see upholding of State rights as synonymous with defense of personal rights as the performance of the New York Legislature is puzzling.

Why a legislature set up a redistricting plan deliberately offensive to its State's constitution is a puzzle for which we have seen no solution. Perhaps the performance affected the Supreme Court which may instinctively have thought: Since the State legislature had no regard for the State constitution why should we hold it in high esteem?

[From the Monroe (Mich.) Evening News, Mar. 23, 1966]

Again the Apportionment Hassle

Michigan Supreme Court Justice Otis M. Smith recently favored us, and we assume other newspaper offices, with copies of his opinions on State legislative reapportionment. His opinions are detailed and they afford a useful narrative of the backing and filling, in and out of Michigan's court, which has been the unhappy result of the U.S. Supreme Court's repudiation of American tradition in legislative apportionment. The sequel in Michigan as elsewhere has been a foundering by court fiat on untried seas of new formulas—formulas so circumscribed as to be clearly destined, to the degree they shall prevail, to turn over the legislative control of States to the Nation's population centers with their highly specialized and powerfully organized self-interests.

Justice Smith's opinions, as we say, constitute a recorded narrative of what has gone on to date in Michigan in that connection. However, we doubt if his circulation of the record of events plus his defense of the Lansing court's decisions, will have the effect he seeks.

As to the legalistic theories involved, it is well to leave such to the lawyers, but in our layman's perusal of the justice's commentaries, the tragedy of court seizure of the reapportionment function is merely emphasized.

Justice Smith analyzes the deadlocks between the four Democratic members and the four Republican members of the commission on legislative apportionment as due to their appointment by party. He thinks a tie-breaker provision giving the secretary of state a vote in case of deadlock might have been logical. This would, of course, have given commission control to the secretary and through him to the party who had elected him—an obviously frail device for statesmanlike results.

What the layman is entitled to wonder is why the court, in taking over by reason of the deadlock, acted as it did—why the court in a majority ruling by justices of Democratic Party background simply validated one of the formulas for apportionment offered by Democratic apportionment commissioners. It was a formula which provided for flagrant gerrymandering fo the legislative districts for Democratic advantage. Justices, unlike the members of the legislative apportionment commission, are elected by a vote of the people and on ballots bearing a nonpartisan label.

Justice Smith frankly concedes the plan upheld by him and his associates embodies political gerrymandering; namely, the fixing of election district boundaries to gain partisan objectives. These objectives were realized by the party in the 1964 State election as the result of the court action and have accounted largely for the political imbalance of the present legislature. Nevertheless, the court majority again in its March 8 decision of this election year denied appeal and continued the gerrymandering formula in effect.

Justice Smith's refuge for the Michigan court's acceptance of such obvious political evil is a citation of the U.S. Supreme Court refusal to accept gerrymandering as an issue in a case brought under the 14th amendment of the Federal Constitution.

Skeptical contemplation of the procedures in Michigan turn one's hope inevitably back to Washington where the only wholesome remedy of existing turmoil in State courts and legislatures is possible. Congress should act to take lawmaking in the vital matter of legislative apportionment out of the hands of judges by submitting a constitutional amendment to put the function back in the hands of the people.

[From the Monroe (Mich.) Evening News, Feb. 3, 1966]

Redistricting Not Coming

It's difficult not admire the candor of State Supreme Court Justice Eugene B. Black, who came right out and said this week what was becoming increasingly obvious. He said the Supreme Court has no intention of upsetting State legislative districts this year, and that the November election will be held with the districts exactly as they are now.

Theoretically, the issue still is in doubt, still is before the high court for decision. But as Justice Black pointed out, "all protestations, denials, and sidewinded delaying actions to the contrary notwithstanding, the court for want of a majority vote will not enforce its order of November 2."

The order the justice referred to was one telling the State apportionment commission to "proceed anew" to design a plan for house and senate districting. At that time the court pointed out the so-called Austin-Kleiner districting plan never was considered a final answer to the problem, and was approved only for the 1964 election.

The apportionment commission met throughout November and December in an attempt to meet the court-imposed January 1 deadline. But the eight-member commisson deadlocked 4 to 4 and was unable to come up with an acceptable compromise. It then turned the problem back to the Supreme Court for whatever action it deems necessary. As Justice Black noted, the Court will not be doing anything to upset the present districts, at least not in time for the 1966 election.

The November order was in response to a citizen's petition filed in August 1964, challenging the validity of the Austin-Kleiner plan and charging it was gerrymandered to Democratic advantage.

So the net effect of the November order was exactly zero, assuming Justice Black is correct in his appraisal of the court's attitude. A new redistricting effort was made, but to no avail. So the present prospect is that the same illogically drawn districts in use in 1964 will govern this year despite the multitude of natural boundarylines which are breached under the present districting setup.

Again it becomes plain that the only dependable remedy for the districting confusion in this State and others will be an amendment to the U.S. Constitution overriding the U.S. Supreme Court's one man, one vote ruling.

[From the Monroe (Mich.) Evening News, Jan. 4, 1966]

Reapportionment Deadlock Continues

As we predicted at the outset in this column, the court-ordered review of the State's recently adopted reapportionment plan for the State legislature was to no avail. The eight-member State legislative apportionment commission evenly divided between Democrats and Republicans, spent November and December going over alternate legislative reapportionment proposals. When their January 1 deadline arrived, the commissioners still were as far apart as ever.

So in effect the reapportionment board tossed the problem back into the lap of the State supreme court, which had ordered the review last November 2. It's now going to be up to the Court to decide what, if anything, should be done to bring legislative apportionment back into the realm of the realistic.

On the surface at least, reapportionment commissioners made a real effort to come up with some other solution. They took more than 20 votes on alternate proposals, but never could break the 4–4 deadlock established along party lines. The same situation prevailed in the original reapportionment dispute, when no plan could get the votes of five commissioners. The High Court finally accepted the Democrats' Austin-Kleiner proposal and put it into effect for the 1964 primary and general election.

In ordering the new effort at redistricting, the High Court was conscious of the multiplicity of county, township, and even city lines that were crossed in the Austin-Kleiner plan. This resulted in a confused and patchwork pattern of legislative districts, defensible only because they allegedly conformed to the U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote ruling. But they are completely illogical districts from geographic and traditional standpoints and certainly are in need of redrawing.

But the reapportion commission deadlock proves once again it's politics, rather than any noble thought of making one man's vote exactly equal to another's, that lies behind the redistricting squabble. Understandably, if legislative districts are to be redrawn, each party wants it done to its own advantage. If one thing is clear after the original reapporticnment dispute and the latest deadlock, it's that a commisison evenly divided between the parties will not be able to agree on any redistricting scheme.

As we suggested when the High Court ordered the latest review last November, logical remedy is found only in amendment of the U.S. Constitution overriding the U.S. Supreme Court's unworkable one-man, one-vote ruling. Such an effort will be made again in the new Congress. It deserves wholehearted support.

[From the Monroe (Mich.) Evening News, Nov. 5, 1965]

Refreshing but Unpromising Review

One of the most unexpected rulings to come out of the Michigan Supreme Court in some time was issued Tuesday. It orders a resurvey of the apportionment of the State senate and house of representatives with a view to possible revision of districts to bring them more fully in line with normal and sensible boundaries. What the ruling will accomplish is doubtful but it is refreshing that Democratic judges joined with Republicans in authorizing a review.

The State legislative apportionment commission was given 60 days to devise a new reapportionment plan or improve on the present one. The court expressed the hope that the eight-member commission, evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats, will be able to agree on some new plan. The chance of that happening does not appear very bright. If not, an impasse on the order of the one which stymied sensible reapportionment in the summer of 1964 might be in prospect again.

Reapportionment was ordered in the State after the U.S. Supreme Court decreed representation in both houses of State legislatures should be on a so-called one-man, one-vote basis, regardless of geographical or traditional considerations. When the reapportionment commission was unable to agree on a single plan, the High Court accepted the Democrats' "Austin-Kleiner" proposal which resulted in districts flagrantly ignoring county and municipal boundaries.

The plan was properly assailed by Governor Romney and other Republicans as a vicious gerrymander drawn up to assure Democratic domination of the State legislature. Helped by the Johnson landslide in Michigan last fall, it had just that effect. For the first time since depression days, Democrats took over control of both houses of the legislature.

The effect of the redistricting is graphically illustrated in Monroe County. Formerly, the county was entitled to one representative in the house representing the entire county, a legal entity closely tied together by common interests and problems. In the State senate, Monroe was linked with Lenawee County, again compromising a district with similar interests.

After redistricting the county was sliced into two house of representatives districts. One included the cities of Monroe and Luna Pier plus the townships of Frenchtown, Monroe, La Salle, Whiteford, Beford, and Erie. The other district included the other nine county townships plus Huron, Romulus, Sumpter, and Van Buren and the city of Belleville in Wayne County.

Monroe County was linked even more closely with Wayne, with which it has a few common interests, in the senate district. A senator now represents all of Monroe County plus that part of Wayne composed of the townships of Sumpter, Brownstown, and Grosse Ile; the cities of Wyandotte, Gibraltar, and Trenton; that part of the city of Riverview lying east of Fort Street, and that part of Taylor township lying south of Northline Road.

The situation is similar in other parts of the State. In view of what happened 2 years ago and with another election in prospect, it seems rather unlikely that the Democrats will yield the strategic hammerlock they have secured on the legislature by their gerrymander. Real remedy must come, if it is to come at all, from amendment of the U.S. Constitution overriding the U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote ukase. Such an amendment is before Congress, but it has a long route to travel.

[From the Monroe (Mich.) Evening News, July 6, 1965]

Reapportioning Debate Beginning

After an abortive attempt last year to do something about the Supreme Court's high-handed "one man, one vote" decisions, the U.S. Senate is now about to begin a serious effort to countermand the court's rulings. Debate is to start soon on a constitutional amendment that would allow States to apportion one house on a basis other than population—such as geography or land area—if voters so approve in a referendum.

Here is perhaps the most vital legislative issue in this Nation today. The outcome of the upcoming debate is certain to affect the future history of every State and many U.S. citizens as well.

The reaction in Congress against the reapportionment rulings reached its zenith after the Supreme Court in 1964 further refined earlier one-man, one-vote decisions. It said both houses of State legislatures must be apportioned strictly on a population basis regardless of what the people of a particular State might believe.

This ruling had the effect of outlawing Michigan's newly implemented 1963 State constitution in which the voters had approved a "little Federal plan." This followed the U.S. Congress' pattern of having the lower house apportioned by population and the upper house in part by geographic area. This was in recognition of the widely held belief that areas and interests have vital stakes in lawmaking, quite apart from headcounts.

What the rulings mean has been vividly spelled out by Representative WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH of Ohio. "The effect of these decisions should be obvious to even the most elementary student of history," he said. "The whole structure of our form of Government shall be transformed and the unique system of checks and balances undermined. There shall be substituted the dominance of mass rule."

The Senate debate on reapportionment is certain to be bitter as liberals try to retain big-city domination of legislatures which the court's rulings make inevitable.

Even if the proposed constitutional amendment gets through Congress, it is sure to have rough going from many States such as Michigan, where the politically minded Democratic legislature enjoys enormous advantage by reason of a gerrymandered population basis and would be unlikely to approve an amendment. A Congressional Quarterly survey showed that just in the interval between the 1964 Supreme Court decisions and the end of last year, new apportionment lawsuits were filed or actual reapportionment bills were passed in 33 States.

Yet if the ordinary American is listened to, some action will be taken to overturn the revolutionary reapportionment decisions. As a minority of the Supreme Court pointed out, the 1964 pronouncement "finds no support in the words of the Constitution, in any prior decision of this court or in the 175-year history of the United States." We don't believe the American people will support or countenance these Supreme Court rulings.

[From the Port Huron (Mich.) Times Herald, Apr. 8, 1966]

INFORMED PEOPLE DO DEMAND RIGHTS

Pundits on the Washington scene, professional and otherwise, who are assuming that Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, is beating a dead horse in his reapportionment campaign, may have to eat a few words when the votes are counted.

They may well be underestimating the simplicity of the issue, and the obvious sincerity of the Senator in trying to get his point across. Together these could mean a degree of public response that would spark the extra Senate votes the Dirksen amendment needs.

The amendment is reasonable, fair, and understandable. People have been aroused by these factors in the past.

The proposal, Senate Joint Resolution 103, is a refined version of an amendment that was lost by a few votes last year.

It would amend the U.S. Constitution to allow the people of a given State to decide for themselves how they want their own State legislature set up.

Under the Dirksen amendment, a State could have both houses of its legislature elected on the one-man, one-vote principle, if that is the way the people of that State want it. Or, if the people so choose, the State could have one house of its legislature elected by a system including factors more than population alone.

The point is that the choice would be their own. As the Constitution now stands, there is no choice. A State must set up its legislature on the basis of population only.

Even if the voters in a given State overwhelmingly demanded a change in the apportionment system, no change could be made. It is the law of the land, so the U.S. Supreme Court decrees.

The fact that the traditional system—with house representation based on population and senate representation based on political geography—worked through all the history of the Nation, means nothing as the ruling now stands.

There was extended debate on the amendment proposal last year, with a nonpartisan majority in favor of it. But a majority is not enough. A two-thirds vote is needed to move a constitutional amendment through the congressional mill.

Those extra votes might be forthcoming if Senator DIRKSEN's massive effort to get grass roots support pays off.

For when they take the time to think about it, the American people really do stand up for their rights.

And that is what the Dirksen amendment would do, protect the citizens' right to decide how they want to be governed.

[From the Fairmont (Minn.) Daily Sentinel, Aug. 10, 1965]

BADLY REPRESENTED

(By Walter K. Mickelson)

It probably is well that Senators MONDALE and McCARTHY of Minnesota and Minnesota's prize offering, Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY did not serve in the original Constitutional Convention. If they had been at the framing of our Constitution, they would have voted against one of its most fundamental provisions. At least they spoke and voted against the Dirksen amendment giving the people the right to decide whether we can have reapportionment on the basis of both area and population.

This is the American system set up by the constitutional fathers. New York State, which has 66 times as much population as Nevada, has the same number of Senators—2. In the House of Representatives, each State gets Congressmen according to population. The Founding Fathers decided this was wise because it would represent both popular will and the caution of wisdom. They had seen in history where pure democracy had destroyed itself in a fit of passion or emotion. Then the Supreme Court, acting as a legislative rather than a judicial body, ruled that the State legislatures had to reapportion on a one-man, one-vote basis by a 5-to-4 decision.

Fifty-seven Senators, including twenty-eight Democrats, voted for the bill and twenty-nine Republicans voted for the amendment. Three maverick Republicans who seldom vote with their party opposed it with Democrats. The amendment got a majority but it takes two-thirds of the Senators' vote to submit an amendment to the people.

During political campaigns the DFL trio of HUMPHREY, McCARTHY, and MONDALE speak loud and long about their faith in the rule of the people. When they are given a chance to prove it they won't even give the people a chance to express their will on a constitutional amendment. It appears that they are afraid to trust the people of this country.

[From the Duluth (Minn.) News-Tribune, Apr. 15, 1966]

DIRKSEN'S STRONG FIGHT FOR OLD U.S. PRINCIPLE

Duluth will welcome Senator EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN Sunday. His talk will be a worthy addition to the LeMasurier Memorial Series at UMD. The Illinois Republican, Senate minority leader and long-time friend of the President, is the favorite speaker of a large part of the American public. He stands very high on any list of the Washington personalities informed visitors hope to see.

He comes to us at a spectacular stage of his long legislative career. This week he resumed debate on the amendment which bears his name. The Senate will soon vote on its revised form.

The central thought of DIRKSEN's amendment is a wider choice for the people of each State in legislative apportionment. It provides for a referendum in each State, after the census taken every 10 years. The voters would be allowed to choose to have one house of their legislature apportioned on a basis comparable to that used for the U.S. Senate. That would be not population alone, but also geography and political subdivisions, "in order to insure effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate."

One house of each legislature ratifying the amendment, or submitting reapportionment to referendum, must be apportioned according to population. When a nonpopulation reapportionment plan for one house is submitted to the people, under the amendment, there must be an alternate plan based solely on population.

The purpose is similar to that followed by the founders of the U.S. Constitution. Less populous areas, if the nonpopulation plan is adopted, would have some bargaining power in the legislature. Without this protection an entire State might be at the mercy of the legislators from as few as three or four counties, containing the big cities and their suburbs.

To name just two subjects, schools and highways, outlying sections of a State need good schools and good roads, many miles of them, for the good of the State as a whole. They might not get these if State policies were shaped to meet only the immediate demands of the few counties of great population.

DIRKSEN wants to let the States protect themselves from too much geographical concentration of power. All he is asking is the right of the people of each State to decide whether they want this protection. This is very much in harmony with the 10th amendment. That article of the Bill of Rights reserves to the States, or to the people, all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States.

[From the Winona (Minn.) Daily News, Feb. 4, 1966]

PEOPLE MUST DECIDE REAPPORTIONMENT METHOD

There's a reapportionment battle going on in Minnesota and sometimes we wonder just how aware the average citizen is of its importance and the one-man, one-vote concept as ordered by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1962 and again in 1964.

Since the beginning of the Republic, the people of each State have had, as a matter of right the power to determine the method of composition of their State legislatures. But now this right is in jeopardy and unless something is done about it, our legislature and all the others will be controlled by big city political and labor leaders.

Until the Supreme Court's incredible decision, most States followed the Federal plan under which members of one legislative house are elected from districts based strictly on population, and members of the second house are elected from geographical areas. (Rhode Island, the smallest State has two U.S. Senators just as does New York or California, the biggest States.)

To contest the one-man, one-vote theory, a bipartisan Committee for Government of the People has been organized with Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois, as chairman. Its function is to emphasize the necessity of letting the people of each State decide the manner of apportionment of their legislatures in the way that best meets the diverse needs of their States.

The committee says that by judicial decree the Federal system now in effect has been struck down and the traditional balance of one house based upon population apportionment and one house based upon area representation has been invalidated.

Senator **Dirksen** makes an even stronger statement and one with which we strongly agree:

"If we apportion our States solely on the basis of population, the control of our States surely will be vested in the hands of the selfish few who can control the greatest blocks of votes within the few greatest cities, be they party functionaries, labor leaders or other self-servers who are in no way responsible to the will of the people.

"And if these political and big city labor leaders control the cities and the legislatures—with no option left to the people to correct abuses—then they will control the apportionment of congressional districts, the selection of delegates to our national political conventions, the exercise of election laws themselves, appointments by Governors respectful of concentrated power, the functions of regulatory agencies, and the whole spectrum of State legislation, including taxation, welfare, banking, interest rates, labor law, housing, education, transportation and highways, marketing, utilities, water, air pollution, construction, public ownership, and a host of other subjects influencing every business, every farm, every jobholder and wage earner in this country.

"When the day arrives—as it surely will if the people are left no recourse in the composition of their legislatures—our long and largely successful struggle to rid our political system of political bossism will indeed be lost. And on that day, the Republic we love will be critically sick.

"These would-be bosses today champion the 'population only' cause. Why? Because behind its ring of fairness they see control of State legislatures falling into their hands. Yet these same 'champions' already say the people can't be trusted whenever many of us in the Congress says, let the people decide."

A bill is now pending in Congress which would prevent the situation which has so upset Senator **Dirksen**.

Senate Joint Resolution 103 would require that in all States with two-house legislatures, members of one house must be elected from districts formed on a strict population, one-man, one-vote basis and it permits geographical factors to be taken into consideration in determining the districts from which members of the other house will be elected—provided the voters of each State approve such an apportionment as an alternative to the strict population plan for both houses.

This newspaper vigorously supports such legislation not only for the State of Minnesota but for the Federal Government as well, for the Supreme Court decision could change the makeup of the U.S. Congress as well as the various State legislatures.

[From the Mankato (Minn.) Free Press, Apr. 11, 1966]

DIRKSEN AMENDMENT

Comments by editorial writers and columnists on the so-called Dirksen amendment, which would permit the election of one body of a State legislature on a basis other than population, have indicated general press opposition to the idea. Most of the columnists are those who live in the populous east and dislike recognizing there is anything worthwhile west of Pennsylvania.

They have said that having area as a consideration in election of one of the houses encourages graft in government. They picture the people who favor the Dirksen amendment as being greedy for power that doesn't belong to them.

This is far from the case, as these observers would know if they were even casually acquainted with the country as a whole. The facts are that the importance of the American farm, in spite of declining population in the rural areas, is just as great as ever. The fact that the population centers are getting bigger doesn't mean they are growing more important. Indeed, trees and acres, forests and the wide open spaces are of real importance to the Nation as a whole in spite of the sparseness of their population.

If all legislation is going to be aimed at solving the problems of the cities, then we are in for trouble. There are many matters which belong exclusively to the rural sections that are of vital interest to the millions who live in the large cities and their suburbs.

Passage of the Dirksen amendment is of great importance to all of the American people. It is recognition that land's importance doesn't necessarily increase because it provides the homesites for an increasing number of citizens.

[From the Jackson, Miss., Clarion-Ledger, Mar. 11, 1966]

STATES SHOULD HAVE A RIGHT TO DECIDE OWN LEGISLATIVE MAKEUP

Another of the grave constitutional crises of this 20th century is brewing in Washington as the Senate moves to consider the so-called Dirksen amendment which would restore to the States some degree of control over the make up of their legislatures.

The amendment would set aside the harmful effects of U.S. Supreme Court decisions requiring that both houses of State legislatures be apportioned strictly on a population basis. It would permit geographical factors to be considered.

The Dirksen amendment would require every State to reapportion its legislature every 10 years, immediately after the Federal census is taken. One house of a bicameral legislature would have to be apportioned strictly on basis of population, as now required under the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decisions.

The other house, however, could be apportioned on the basis of geography or political subdivisions, which cannot now be done under Court rulings. The amendment would not require any State to do this, but would simply permit it.

Each new apportionment plan would have to be submitted to the people of the State in a referendum. In any case in which a plan for one house based partly on geography or subdivision lines was presented, an alternative plan for that house based solely on population would also have to be offered, to give voters a choice between the two plans.

Supporters and opponents of the Dirksen amendment agree that it poses the gravest constitutional crisis in many years. Big city political machines in some States are seizing control of legislatures under arbitrary Supreme Court reapportionment decrees. Effective representation for minorities of all kinds has been threatened by the one-man, one-vote principle.

In test balloting last August 4, the Senate voted 57 to 39 for the Dirksen amendment, but this was about 7 votes short of the necessary two-third majority needed for passage and submission to the States for ratification.

The amendment provides a simple and entirely fair arrangement for letting States decide their own legislative apportionment formula. States desiring to safeguard their lawmaking bodies from complete domination by large population centers should have authority to do so.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Globe-Democrat, Apr. 6, 1966]

DIRKSEN'S REMAP AMENDMENT: LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

When the U.S. Supreme Court issued its one-man, one-vote ruling in 1964, the decree had a plausible ring of democracy. The phrase is a democratic phony, as hollow as the sound of a kettle drum.

The decision presumed to give democracy to the grassroots. Instead it tore up democracy by the grassroots.

Neither in its origin nor in its inevitable results can this "law of the land" be remotely considered in democratic tradition.

It was legislated, not by Congress, but by six unelected Justices of the Supreme Court, contrary to the Constitution and to past rulings of the High Court for the past 187 years.

It gags the voice of minorities in the States, which now must reapportion legislatures wholly on a population basis. Instead of giving every voter an equal ballot, it will give domination of State assemblies to big city bosses and labor barons.

The majority of the Warren Court scrapped the Constitution, because they consider it outdated. They denied people of every State the right to decide how they would be represented in their own law-making bodies.

They arbitrarily amended the Constitution by a six-man vote in a historically evil decree that should be rescinded as quickly as possible.

To do precisely this, Senator **Everett Dirksen**, supported by many other Members of Congress, has a resolution before the Senate to countermand the Supreme Court order and restore to States the right to determine how their legislatures shall be apportioned—a right they have had since the first State was born.

The Dirksen amendment would let the people decide how each State's assembly districts should be mapped. It would not compel a legislature to be chosen solely on a population basis. Nor would it compel a State to map districts according to geographical and other considerations.

The proposal is entirely permissive.

It would allow voters of each State, as they have always done, to elect assemblymen to one hourse on a population basis; and members of the other house, in a bicameral body, to be chosen along geographical lines. Or if the State wished, the second house also could be elected on a population basis.

Senator **Dirksen** has cogently warned the checks and balances we cherish as our American heritage are imperiled by the Supreme Court edict as "'never before in the history of this Republic."

Why shouldn't voters be trusted to ballot on the composition of their own legislatures which govern them?

The Supreme Court and those who support its ruling for political reasons evidence a cynical distrust of the people, for all the claptrap about one man one vote. Why?

Perhaps they know most folk, if left alone, won't kowtow to big city political machines.

If the one-man one-vote criterion in apportionment is allowed to stand, inevitably power-hungry urban bosses will control cities, the legislatures, congressional districts, Governors, national elections; they will dominate regulatory agencies, possibly even a national administration. And they will be working hand-in-glove with big labor and other vested, self-serving interests.

This is democracy?

The Dirksen amendment is supported by a majority in both Houses of Congress and a majority of State governments. It was defeated by a margin of only six ballots last year in the Senate—59 for and 39 against. A two-thirds vote is necessary for passage.

It will come up again this session with a good chance of adoption.

Communicate with your Congressman, urging an affirmative vote to help pass this amendment. A popular demand is rising, which is eminently natural. The Dirksen amendment is in the people's interest.

[From the St. Louis, (Mo.) Globe-Democrat, Feb. 25, 1966]

Dirksen Amendment Gaining

Senator Everett M. Dirksen is drawing enormous grassroots support in his new drive to overturn the unconstitutional one-man, one-vote ruling of the Supreme Court that would deny States the right to take factors other than population into consideration in apportioning legislatures.

The American people are becoming increasingly aroused to the danger of this 1964 decision of the High Court.

Support for the Dirksen amendment, which probably will come to the Senate floor for debate next week, is coming in from all 50 States through a newly formed Committee for Government of the People.

At issue is whether six unelected Justices of the Warren Court can order sovereign States to consider population only in apportionment and thus consign 187 years of Federal tradition to the ash heap.

The Illinoisan's amendment would permit a State, if its people so voted, to consider geography and political subdivisions in apportioning one house of its legislature.

Contrary to the claims of opponents, Dirksen's amendment would not perpetuate malapportioned legislatures. It also proposes that at least one house of a State's legislature be apportioned along population lines.

In essence, the Dirksen amendment—while knocking out the High Court ruling—would only reaffirm and redefine the constitutional right of apportionment that has belonged to States since the Constitution was written.

How can any rational American oppose affirming the rights of States that already are theirs?

Nevertheless, the unrestrained egalitarians and libertarians in Congress, who can see no further than the next election, will be out to defeat the Dirksen amendment. They are led by Senator Paul Douglas, of Illinois.

It is ironic that when Senator Douglas arises to challenge the amendment he will be doing so in a forum patterned along geographic lines such as he seeks to destroy in the States.

He will be saying, in effect, that he has been serving all these years under a system of representation which is not representative.

The plain truth is that the constitutional provision which has empowered the States to apportion themselves in the manner which would best serve the interests of all their people—including the minority—has worked exceedingly well for the most part.

Its failing was not in formula prescribed by the Constitution but rather the failure of many States properly to apply it.

The fatal flaw in the one-man, one-vote principle is that it works only on paper. In practice it put State legislatures under control of city hall machines.

In some cases one man who runs a strong city hall machine will be able to dominate an entire State legislature, and thus become more powerful than an elected Governor.

[From the Joplin (Mo.) Globe, Apr. 5, 1966]

Back an Amendment

More and more people, both inside and outside the area of partisan politics, are coming to understand the far-reaching meaning of the U.S. Supreme Court decision assuming jurisdiction over apportionment of State legislatures. They don't like it, and are rallying to support the Dirksen amendment that would restore a measure of control to the States.

They are on the right track, for only a tide of public opinion now can negate the Court's degree by bringing about congressional approval and State ratification of a Federal constitutional amendment that will reserve to the States the right to apportion one house of the legislatures on a basis other than population. It is one way to protect rights of minorities against the tyranny of majorities, as the Founders clearly indicated in setting up two Houses of Congress.

The latest organization to come up strongly in support of the Dirksen amendment is the General Federation of Women's Clubs, called the country's largest women's organization. It follows adoption of a similar stand by a large group of college professors, who sense the danger to representative government in the High Court's ruling.

Speaking for the women's clubs, their national president, Mrs. William H. Hasebrock, put it this way:

"Members of the Federation believe it is an inherent right of the people, by free and majority vote, to decide how they wish to be represented. Just as the 19th amendment gave American women the right to vote, the proposed reapportionment amendment, now before the U.S. Senate, would provide the citizens of each State the right to decide on whether they want both houses, or simply one house, of their legislatures to be composed on a population-only basis. Could anything be more fair than to let the people vote on this issue?"

If enough individuals and organizations thus assert themselves, they are certain to make their voices heard.

[From the Joplin (Mo.) Globe, Mar. 14, 1966]

Let People Decide

One of the most lucid arguments we have read in support of approval by Congress of the Dirksen amendment on State legislative reapportionment was given the other day by Senator Thruston Morton, of Kentucky. Said the Senator:

"We who favor the Dirksen amendment talk in terms of leaving political power with the people. Let the people decide, now or at any time in the future. The day may come when the people of any State—when your children or mine—will want to reapportion on a different basis than population only. But without the Dirksen amendment in the Constitution they will be unable to do so. * * * It does not undo what has been done in reapportionment under Court order in the last 2 years. It will not force any legislator out of office. But it will reaffirm our constitutional faith in the people."

Opponents of the Dirksen amendment contend its adoption would at once nullify a U.S. Supreme Court ruling that both houses of State legislatures must be apportioned strictly on the basis of population.

But Senator Morton avers that this is not necessarily true. What it would do, he argues with reason, is to make it possible for the people rather than the Court to do the deciding. Those who want the High Court's order to stand as the law of the land, he contends, are talking in terms of political expediency; in squeezing political power out of reapportionment.

To so argue, the Kentucky Senator concludes, is to ignore our basic constitutional concept of reposing ultimate power and faith in the people themselves to determine the method of electing those who are to govern them. This is a highly pertinent and persuasive argument going to the heart of the issue.

[From the Columbia (Mo.) Daily Tribune, Apr. 4, 1966]

Speaks for Dirksen Amendment

Missouri's Representative Richard H. Ichord, a pioneer in the campaign for congressional legislation to nullify the Supreme Court's dictatorial one-man, one-vote rule in the apportionment of legislative representation throughout the United States, spoke sharply in Washington the other day when he declared that the High Court's ruling had produced one of the most serious challenges to the rights of the people in the history of the United States. The effort to campaign against the Dirksen amendment to the Federal Constitution, which would restore to the people the right to determine how the apportionment of their legislative representation should be distributed, is an effort to deny the people the right to think and act for themselves, he said. He put it this way:

"Those opposing the Dirksen amendment are telling you that you cannot be trusted to decide for yourselves. What they really mean is that they are afraid that you will think for yourselves. So they are not about to give you a chance."

Ichord, who was outraged with the Court's action in depriving his constituents of their right to decide for themselves how their legislature should be apportioned, was one of the first Members of Congress to offer legislation correcting the Court decision. He later dropped his bill to support Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen's measure, which had the same intent, as did other Members of the House and Senate who had offered separate measures. The Dirksen bill in which they joined is shortly to be called up for action in the Senate. It has nationwide support, both for its enactment by both Houses of Congress and for its ratification by the States, in a campaign directed by the Committee for Government of the People, a group with wide governmental and industrial membership, of which Ichord is a member.

The Supreme Court's decision that both houses of each State legislature must be apportioned solely on the basis of population has upset the traditional balance in which one house represents population and the other takes into account factors other than population. "The traditional Federal system of representation has successfully preserved the balance between the will of the majority and the rights of the majority," Ichord said in his comments the other day. "This has been the keystone in establishing, both on the Federal level and in the States, government which is democratic and yet stable—adaptable yet which is based on enduring principle.

"Now all of this is in danger. Those of us who are concerned about the abandonment of the time-tested constitutional safeguard believe that the Dirksen reapportionment amendment is the only democratic solution."

[From the Columbia (Mo.) Daily Tribune, Mar. 22, 1966]

The Reapportionment Scramble

The proposal of the bipartisan commission redistricting the Missouri House of Representatives to move the voting of two Boone County townships, Bourbon and Perche, from Boone into Randolph Counties to bring them into compliance with the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision will, if it is carried out, be confusing, but the Court's decision made confusion inevitable. Perhaps it is the best solution that could be worked out at the moment. Time undoubtedly will work out its rough edges as it elapses because, if the county continues to grow in the next few years its growth will call for a third representative for the county, with the people from Bourbon and Perche coming back home to be counted where they belong again.

Even now the Boone County percentages could come within acceptable limits, but the allocations set up for this county are a part of a statewide plan, and under the proposal Boone is being used to bring Randolph up to an acceptable population level for the reapportionment.

The transfer of the two townships to Randolph County affects only the voting for State representative. County and State elections in the county will go forward as usual, although the transfer of the two heavily Democratic townships from Boone to Randolph will cut the potential Democratic majority for representatives in Boone County, where the Republican vote will be proportionately heavy without the Democrats voting in that race in Boone County. But the Republicans and Democrats will vote as usual in the county and State races.

Perhaps the Boone County situation is one of the fine arguments which can be put forth for the Dirksen amendment proposed for the Federal Constitution to make it possible to apportion representation to the State legislature on the basis of geography as well as on the basis of population. Should that amendment, now pending in the House of Representatives, be passed there and be accepted as a part of the Constitution, the current maneuvers on reapportionment may become unnecessary. It would make it unnecessary to take population from two Boone County townships to bring Randolph County population up to par.

[From the Hannibal (Mo.) Courier-Post, Feb. 23, 1966]

Fight for State Survival

A real grassroots movement is developing in the United States with the avowed aim of supporting the reapportionment constitutional amendment which would allow States to make their own decision about representation in one house of their legislature.

Senator **Everett Dirksen**, of Illinois, started the ball rolling recently by announcing the formation of a Committee for Government of the People. He is serving as chairman of the group.

In announcing formation of the committee, the Illinois Senator said: "The manner in which people in every State in the Union are responding to the call to arms in this undertaking goes beyond all expectations. Proof is everywhere that the issue is striking deep into public awareness of the democratic fundamentals involved, for without doubt this is the most widely representative citizens committee in the Nation's history."

Senator **Dirksen** and others who are backing the constitutional amendment are asking for nothing radical at all, merely a continuation of American governmental practices in vogue ever since the founding of the Republic.

The constitutional amendment would allow a State to set up one house of its legislature on some basis other than population. And "allow" is the key word. Citizens of each State would have to decide the matter at the polls even if the amendment is finally ratified.

Senator **Dirksen** and others like him are still trying—in the face of ultimatums from the Supreme Court—to save some vestige of self-determination for the States.

They may be fighting the last great fight for survival of the States themselves. If they fail in this fight then we all will find ourselves more tightly in the grasp of big government from Washington.

[From the Jefferson City (Mo.) News-Tribune, Apr. 10, 1966]

Remap Amendment Deserves Support

One of the most important legislative battles in the history of the Nation will unfold again in Congress shortly.

It revolves around the U.S. Supreme Court one-man, one-vote decree of 1964. The decision had a faint ring of democracy and thus was swallowed by many.

Upon inspection, it is easy to see that the phrase is a phony one in any dictionary of democracy, which has been nurtured and protected from illegal onslaughts since the founding of our Republic.

The decree was not legislated by Congress. Rather, it is a product of six Justices of the Supreme Court, who, though not elected, took it upon themselves to, in effect, amend the Constitution of the United States. It is contrary to past decisions of the Court as well as the traditions of this Nation for the past 187 years.

The decision already has had a chaotic effect on the States and their citizens. It has muzzled the voice of minorities. It denies to the voters of every State any voice on how they should be represented.

Senator **Everett Dirksen**, of Illinois, with strong bipartisan support in both Houses of Congress and citizens across the Nation is now seeking to repair the damage caused by the Court's decision.

A resolution, presently before the U.S. Senate, would restore to the States and their peoples the right to determine how their legislatures should be apportioned. If they choose to do so, one of the houses in their State's general assembly, could be chosen on geographical and other considerations in addition to population. It would be done by popular vote. The resolution is strictly permissive.

In short, Missouri, as well as other States, would be able to return (if its citizens so deem) to the little federal system which it enjoyed since its founding in 1821. Under this plan, only the Missouri Senate would be selected solely on the basis of population.

The reapportionment constitutional amendment, as we have noted before, is not a partisan issue. It has the backing of many Democratic and Republican Senators and Representatives, including Representative **Richard Ichord** who initially introduced a similar resolution in the House.

In a test vote a year ago, the Dirksen amendment got 59 votes in the Senate, only 6 shy of the two-thirds majority needed for passage.

The Dirksen amendment deserves the support of all thinking Americans.

If the court decree of 1964 is not overturned, the political and labor bosses of the metropolitan areas eventually could hold sway in virtually every facet of State activity, including the critical regulatory and election bodies.

The results could be ruinous to the American way of life as we presently know and enjoy it.

We strongly recommend mid-Missourians write Senators **Stuart Symington** and **Edward V. Long** and Congressman **William Hungate** urging them to vote for the Dirksen amendment. Their addresses are listed elsewhere on this page.

The need is urgent.

[From the Southeast Missourian, Apr. 11, 1966]

The Dirksen Amendment Must Pass

In just a short time the Congress will vote on the Dirksen amendment to the U.S. Constitution to let the people of this country have a free choice in how their State legislatures should be composed.

It is a decision of the utmost importance, because if the Senate and the House do not vote to let the people have the freedom of choice, then traditional government of the people has been lost in this Nation.

The Dirksen amendment would have to be ratified by two-thirds of the legislatures of the States before it could become effective. And even then it would require a vote of the people in a State to determine how their legislature should be composed.

It does not seem unreasonable to us for the Congress to let the States act on this amendment. Their failure to pass it out to the States will indicate a fundamental distrust of the people.

It is inconceivable to us that through all of our years as a Nation we have been able to govern ourselves with legislatures determined by geography as well as by population and now find that this isn't the way it should be at all.

The Supreme Court, which in the past dozen years has upset opinions of learned minds in predecessor courts to the point where turmoil and confusion reigns in the country, has held that this traditional method is no longer valid.

Yet that is the identical system on which our Federal Government rests. How can it be valid for the Federal Government and invalid for the States?

This, however, is now far beyond the point of argument. The only way it can be overcome is for the people to be given an opportunity through the constitutional process to determine how their legislatures should be formed.

As it now stands, Missouri is redistricted. We will have a lower House dominated lock, stock and barrel by St. Louis and Kansas City politicians and others of miscellaneous and unsavory background. And don't think the latter won't be involved. The politics of the two cities are too well known to outstate Missourians for any but the most naive to believe that this won't be so.

Those of us in rural Missouri—the term the St. Louis newspapers give anyone living beyond the city's limit line—will have no real voice in the new legislature. Henceforth Missouri laws will not speak the will of the people. They will speak the will of politicians and the special interest groups which for so long have sought to control the State. Henceforth two tiny geographical enclaves will control the laws affecting the vast outstate reaches of Missouri.

And what will happen in Missouri will occur all across the breadth of this great land. It is a future that is not pleasant to contemplate.

The last best chance for the people is for the Dirksen amendment to pass. If it does not, a dark curtain will fall across the State legislative processes of the 50 American States.

[From the Southeast Missourian, Mar. 1, 1966]

Pass the Dirksen Amendment

Slowly but irresistibly the people are beginning to arouse themselves to the great danger imposed on them by the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote principle.

Sometime this session the Congress will vote on the so-called Dirksen amendment which gives the people of each State the right to determine how their State legislatures should be constituted.

Working hard for the passage of this measure are men and women of great prominence throughout the Nation who see the grave consequences of reapportionment as now required by the Court's decision.

They have formed the Committee for Government of the People which Senator **Dirksen**, chairman, has termed "the most widely representative citizens committee in the Nation's history."

Its leadership is composed of Members of both Houses of Congress, both political parties, government and civic leaders in each of the 50 States.

The Senate Judiciary Committee has approved the constitutional amendment. Congress must now pass it. When this is done, the amendment goes to the State legislatures, three-fourths of which must pass it for it to become effective. The majority already are on record supporting the action.

It requires that in States with two-house legislatures, members of one house must be elected from districts formed on a strict population, one-man, one-vote basis.

Then, it permits geographical factors—as they historically have been—to be taken into consideration in determining the districts from which members of the other house will be elected. But before this can happen the voters of the State must approve this plan as an alternative to a strict population plan for both houses.

Thus, it boils down to letting the people themselves decide how they should be represented, the traditional way of settling issues in America.

Yet there are forces at work in the country which would deny the people this right.

The Committee for Government of the People simply says, "Let the people decide." We agree.

A great many citizens whose very lives have been entwined with the cities of America see the danger to the Nation if the Supreme Court edict is allowed to stand.

One of these is Robert Moses, of New York, chairman of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority and Fair director.

"A quiet revolution is taking place in regard to reapportionment," Mr. Moses said. "If we remain half asleep on this issue, or too lazy to figure out what is happening to us, we will find that this revolution has insidiously undermined our whole social, political, and economic system.

"The National Congress, in a stroke of genius on the part of the Founding Fathers, was created on the very basis which opponents of the Dirksen reapportionment amendment would now deny the States—one house based on area, one house on geography," Moses said.

"Must the increasingly crowded, hectic urban centers, where pressures for conformity are almost irresistible, where racial, religious, and extraneous issues accumulate, rule from now on and the rest of the country be merely tributary acreage? How can such an objective produce unity, harmony, and a sound objective? Shall huddled, central concentration of population in cities reduce to impotence the vast acreage of hinterlands which must more and more feed, clothe, and sustain us?

"When States' rights go by the board, we forsake the command that God helps those who help themselves," he declared. "The people of the States must have the right to decide this issue of apportionment for themselves, each according to his own will and his own needs. The reapportionment amendment will assure them that right forever more. Without it, the prerogatives of our people to govern themselves will be lost in the mists of centralized autocracy, mathematical formulas, redtape, and official gobbledygook hanging over the Capital."

The people's recourse is their Senators and Representatives. Ours are Senators Stuart Symington and Edward V. Long, and Representative Paul C. Jones. Letters to them in Washington should urge adoption of the Dirksen amendment.

[From the Lincoln (Nebr.) Journal, Feb. 11, 1966]

The Right To Choose

A "fighting chance" is what Nebraska Senator Roman Hruska gives a proposed constitutional amendment to allow the States some say in the method of apportioning their legislatures.

But as long as there is any chance at all, it's worth fighting for. This is what Hruska told a group of Illinois businessmen in Washington. In this, the Lincoln Journal heartily concurs.

Hruska, along with Nebraska's other U.S. Senator, Carl Curtis, have been mainstays in the fight led by Senate Republican leader Everett Dirksen to keep the States from being forced, against their will, into a one-man, one-vote system of apportionment.

Actually, this struggle is not a matter of overthrowing the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court that State legislatures must be apportioned strictly according to population. Rather it is aimed at leaving with the citizens of each State the matter of how they wish to be represented in their own State legislature.

The effect of the Dirksen amendment would be to permit the people of each State to decide, through majority vote, whether one house of their State legislature should be apportioned on some basis other than population.

It would not prevent the one-man, one-vote concept in both houses of a legislature if the people wanted it that way. It could not prevent the one-man, one-vote rule in the lower house of any State legislature.

Eternal debate is possible on the question of whether the public interest is better served by allocating representation strictly according to population or by a combination of population and geography.

The Federal Legislature has followed the combination formula—the House apportioned by population and the Senate by equal representation from each State—since the Nation began. A good case can be made that this is the most successful legislative system ever to be devised.

If a majority of the people of a State in this land of the free believe the Federal system does have much to commend it and wish to emulate it, it is impossible to see why they should be denied this right.

If, on the other hand, most of the people of a State feel a strict population apportionment is preferable, it could be installed under the Dirksen amendment.

This concept, as Senator Hruska declares, is worth fighting for. We hope the fight will be intensified as the matter comes before the Congress.

[From the Lincoln (Nebr.) Journal, Feb. 24, 1966]

Twenty-two Appointed by Dirksen—Nebraskans, Iowans Seek Amendment

Nebraska and Iowa representatives were named Wednesday to the Committee for Government of the People by Senator Everett Dirksen, national chairman.

A constitutional amendment on legislative apportionment is proposed, aimed at reversing the U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision. The amendment would let the people of each State decide whether some factor other than population should be considered in legislative districting.

Among those serving as national cochairmen is Nebraska Senator Roman Hruska.

Nebraska members of the committee: Dr. Milo Ball and Elton L. Berck, Omaha; Kenneth Bowen, Red Cloud; Eva Bowring, Merriman; Frederick Deutsch, Norfolk; Albert J. Ebers, Seward; George H. Fleming, Sidney; Derrell D. Ludi, Wahoo; Charles Marshall, Lincoln; Hamilton Mitten, Fremont; Mrs. Haven Smith, Chappell; and Don Thompson, McCook.

Iowans: J. Merrill Anderson, Des Moines; Maurice Baringer, Oelwein; LeMar Foster, Sr., West Branch; Mrs. Frances G. Hakes, Laurens; Loren Murphy, Newton; Robert R. Rigler, New Hampton; Jack Schroeder, Bettendorf; Bass Van Gilst, Oskaloosa; James W. Wilson, Carroll; and Walter W. Wilson, Des Moines.

[From the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald, Aug. 6, 1965]

Without Delay

As a newspaper committed to the one-man, one-vote principle in apportioning State legislatures, we have said, and say again, that it should make a great difference whether that principle is applied through free choice of the individual citizen in the voting booth or whether it should be jammed down his throat by the Federal courts.

The Senate of the United States has decided otherwise.

The failure of the Dirksen amendment, which was a reasonable proposal for letting the people decide on the makeup of a unicameral legislature, or on one house of a bicameral legislature, leaves this important matter to the Federal courts. And the courts have already ruled that one man, one vote is to apply no matter what the people or their legislatures may think about it.

The only hope for the Dirksen plan, and its most determined supporters would have to concede that it is not at present a bright hope, would be for 35 States to call a constitutional convention to adopt the amendment. Even if this could be done, a delay of several years would be inevitable.

Therefore, the States under orders of the Federal courts to reapportion can no longer use the Dirksen amendment as a means of buying time. The proposed amendment is dead; time has run out.

For the ladies and gentlemen assembled in the legislative chamber at Lincoln the defeat of the Dirksen amendment should have a stimulating effect.

It should jar them into the realization that there is no escape from passing a reapportionment measure which, in their best judgment, will stand the scrutiny of the Federal judges.

The members of the legislature are not in a position to throw up their hands and to pretend that a court-proof apportionment law cannot be written or is beyond their capabilities.

The legislature is in session precisely to write that kind of law. It is there by sufferance of the Federal court. There is, in fact, some dispute as to whether its position as a de facto body permits it to pass any measures aside from those strictly necessary for the operation of the State government.

That being the case, further procrastination has no shadow of an excuse.

The buck-passing and confusion in recent days do the Senators no credit. They should pass the best reapportionment bill their collective wisdom can devise and do it now.

[From the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald, Jan. 7, 1966]

Dirksen's Amendment

Senator Dirksen's proposal for a Constitutional amendment provides that a State may apportion membership in one house of its legislature on the basis of factors other than population, but that any nonpopulation basis must be approved by voters. Reportedly, the proposal will have the backing of virtually all Republicans in Congress.

The important thing about this amendment is that it would return to the States some of the authority which Supreme Courts since the Nation's beginning had recognized—until the Warren Court came along.

We think the makeup of any State legislature should be the concern, exclusively, of the people of that State.

[From the Norfolk (Nebr.) Daily News, Feb. 25, 1966]

Amendment Support Is Broad

Senator Everett Dirksen is expressing optimism about the chances for favorable action on the reapportionment constitutional amendment which he has made a personal cause. The amendment would provide that voters in each of the States could choose to elect legislators in one of the two houses on something other than the strict population basis called for by recent Supreme Court rulings. Senator DIRKSEN has stressed the principle that the voters in each State should be allowed to decide the matter.

While there has been sympathy for this view, Senator DIRKSEN's changes for ultimately obtaining acceptance of the amendment were, last year, not regarded as great. But he is, with his colleagues who believe as he does, "reversing the Washington traffic and going to the people with the reapportionment issue," as he puts it. He has built an organization to back the amendment.

An unusually broad portion of the political spectrum is involved. Leading the "Commitee for Government of the People," as the Dirksen group is called, are Senator FRANK CHURCH, Democrat, of Idaho, Senator HUGH SCOTT, Republican, of Pennsylvania, Senator FRANK LAUSCHE, Democrat, of Ohio, as well as Nebraska's Senator ROMAN HRUSKA, among others, and similar representation is provided by Members of the House.

This broad representation also holds true on the State scene. Nebraska's committee, for instance, includes Mrs. Arthur Bowring, the ranch operator who has long been a prominent Republican; Dr. Milo Bail, former president of the University of Omaha, and Fred Deutsch, Norfolk attorney who has been active in Democratic Party affairs for many years.

Senator DIRKSEN says the entire organization formed to back the amendment is "the most widely representative citizens committee in the Nation's history." Their cause is a logical enough one—that is, letting the people themselves determine the character of their State representation.

Unless, however, the administration is to endorse this approach, which it has so far opposed, the struggle will be a long one with the outcome in doubt.

[From the Scotts Bluff (Nebr.) Star-Herald, Feb. 23, 1966]

DIRKSEN MUSTERS STRONG SUPPORT

The Committee for Government of the People, a new organization formed to support the proposed Dirksen amendment on reapportionment, is a most effective job of marshaling sentiment and action behind its program.

The list of the persons enlisted in the battle to overturn the U.S. Supreme Court edict on representation in State legislatures, read like a who's who, and suggests that the bipartisan effort could become one of the few successful attempts in these days to reestablish old-time principles erased by judicial fiat.

The press is being showered with a flood of news releases featuring statements by new recruits in the battle, all of them prominent in one way or another, and with carefully prepared material intended to clarify the issues and to alert American citizens concerning another impending loss of a traditional right.

Among the most recent statements disseminated by the committee were those by Robert Moses, a widely known New Yorker with interests almost as broad as civilization itself; Senator LAUSCHE, of Ohio, a Democrat and an independent in thought and action, and Representative CARLETON KING, New York Republican.

State organizations now being formed in anticipation of passage of the Dirksen resolution authorizing the vote on a constitutional amendment show that backing is developing from a comprehensive cross-section of the people, and apparently nonpolitical in nature.

In Nebraska, these names are to be found in the listing of members: Elton Berck, Nebraska Farmers Union head; Charles Marshall, president of Farm Bureau Federation; Albert J. Ebers, master of Nebraska State Grange; Milo Bail, president emeritus, Omaha University; State Senator Kenneth L. Bowen, Red Cloud; Mrs. Eva Bowring, Merriman; State Senator George Fleming, Sidney; Derrel Ludi, Wahoo newspaperman; Frederick M. Deutsch, Norfolk attorney; Hamilton Mitten, Fremont businessman; Mrs. Haven Smith, Chappell, head of Farm Bureau women, and Don Thompson of McCook, former speaker of the State legislature.

At issue is the question of whether the various States should possess the authority to have one of the houses of its State legislature based on area or geography. The one-man, one-vote principle enunciated by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1964 says this is wrong, despite the fact that the practice existed from the dawn of the Republic. The proposed Dirksen amendment would reactivate the practice.

Perhaps we will have a chance to vote on the question. Judging from the quality of the organization formed to support the proposal, the Committee for Government of the People, we will get that chance.

[From the Scottsbluff (Nebr.) Star Herald, Feb. 5, 1966]

THE DIRKSEN AMENDMENT

Some time during this 2d session of the 89th Congress, the Congress will probably be called upon to consider the proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution sponsored by Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN.

Senator DIRKSEN is chairman of a group known as the Committee for Government of the People composed of Republicans and Democrats from both Houses of Congress. Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE, Ohio Democrat, is cochairman of that committee as an illustration of the bipartisan aspect of this group.

The proposed amendment would permit State voters to apportion one house of a State legislature on other than a one-man, one-vote basis.

The Supreme Court ruled in June 1964, that States must apportion both houses of their legislature on the basis of equal population. Chief Justice Earl Warren in writing for the Court's majority, rejected the analogy of the U.S. Senate as inappropriate to State governments (two U.S. Senators from each State regardless of size or population), which never had been composed of independent sovereign units.

DIRKSEN's proposed amendment would supersede the Court's decision.

Constitutional amendments may be proposed in either of two ways. One way is for the legislatures of two-thirds of the States to propose a constitutional convention. The other way is for the proposed amendment to be approved by two-thirds of each of the Houses of Congress. In either event, the proposed amendment then would have to be approved by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, or by conventions in three-fourths of the States.

Senator LAUSCHE declares in support of the amendment:

"This issue is as urgent as any other confronting us now. For what is involved here is a fundamental question of basic importance to our way of life—shall we give the people the right to decide the composition of their own State governments. Shall we let them choose, if they so will, whether they want one basis of representation in preference to another which would be arbitrarily imposed on them, not in accordance with their own wishes to meet their own needs but simply to meet a universal standard.

"This fundamental question cannot be postponed. If we sweep the issue aside now, if the proposed Dirksen amendment is not approved by the Congress in 1966, we may never have another chance to preserve this fundamental right of the people, of the voters to determine their own destiny.

"Those who oppose the reapportionment amendment—those who say the voters should not have the right to choose the kind of legislature they want—wittingly or unwittingly would destroy the basic fabric of American Government, based upon trust in the people. Knowingly or not, the opponents of this amendment are paving the way for political bosses to seize unmitigated power in the legislatures of our States, power which rightfully belongs only to the people.

"In recent decades America has largely purged itself of the boss rule that blighted so many of our great cities in the past. But if we fail to approve the Dirksen reapportionment amendment now before us, this harmful growth could well begin again. The way will be open for new political machines to control block voting, to use and abuse minorities, to dictate the nominating and electing process, to elect and tax and spend at their own will—not at the will of the people."

[From the New York Daily News, Feb. 17, 1966]

DIRKSEN TO THE RESCUE

Albany's reapportionment snafu persists.

Republicans and Democrats in the legislature have been unable to agree on how to rejigger election districts to conform to the Earl Warren Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decree. So the Court of Appeals on Tuesday extended by 8 days its original February 15 deadline for drawing up its own reapport scheme.

The confusion isn't confined to State legislatures, either. It is spreading to innumerable elected groups of officials—and the U.S. Constitution contains not a word to justify the original Warren Court order.

All of which is another and powerful argument for the U.S. constitutional amendment proposed by Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN Republican of Illinois, to reverse the Warren Court ruling—and incidentally to warn judges in general to confine themselves to interpreting, not making, laws.

[From the Reporter Dispatch, White Plains, N.Y., Apr. 2, 1966]

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

New York State finally has been reapportioned to meet the population representation test decreed by the U.S. Supreme Court.

But this need not be the end of the fight for a return to the traditional balance of representative government which has served this State—and other States—so well in the past.

The High Court destroyed the use of the Federal plan in which one house of a legislature represented head-count districts and the other the county subdivisions.

Population thus has been served but all other legitimate values arising from balance of geographic and economic interest have been wiped out.

The mischief will be discovered as the power of government is transferred into the hands of the population centers which naturally will be primarily concerned with their own interests, even at the expense of the rest of the State.

With such an organization of the legislature, little purpose is served by having two chambers, since each springs from the same base of representation.

The alternative to meekly following the dictates of the court on this issue is to support an amendment to the U.S. Constitution which would permit restoration of representation corresponding to state needs.

Such an amendment already has been proposed by Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican minority leader, and has been approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee as Senate Joint Resolution 103.

If and when it is passed by Congress, it will require ratification of the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, upon which it will become effective.

The bill specifies that, in a State with a two-house legislature, the membership of one house would have to be elected from districts drawn strictly on an equal population basis. But, it would permit a State to use geographic factors in determining the districts for the other house, if such a plan were approved by the voters of the State.

The theory behind such a procedure is simple and democratic.

It demands: "Let the people decide how they want to be represented."

It is a call that should be answered.

[From the Reporter Dispatch, White Plains, N.Y., Mar. 24, 1966]

Finally, Reapportionment

The lines have been drawn and the State's legislative districts have been reapportioned, finally.

It took action by the court of appeals to bring it about but the long struggle is over and the district lines have been fixed.

That it is probably as equitable a carving up of the State's senate and assembly districts as possible within the structures of the Supreme Court's "one-man, one-vote" edict, and the requirements of State constitution, is attested to by the reaction of political chiefs to the result.

Both political parties seemed to think it possible to live with the setup as they quickly measured its merits and demerits in terms of potential votes for their representatives.

With the exception of the new 90th assembly district, in which two of the present Republican assemblymen reside and must compete for the nomination if both aspire to return to Albany, Westchester's situation has not been unduly distorted to benefit one political party over the other.

Even though, on the face of it, the judicial plan seems to benefit the Democrats by indicating their continued control of the assembly and placing the senate majority in a toss-up situation, it promises more equitable government for the people than if either major party had been free ruthlessly to gerrymander the other for its own partisan power purposes.

The plan will do, in other words, until the people of enough States generate enough intelligent and righteous wrath to upset the pious hypocrisy which produced the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote dictum.

[From the Reporter Dispatch, White Plains, N.Y., Feb. 26, 1966]

The Root of the Problem

In the welter of controversy over how to reapportion membership in State legislatures and similar bodies at county and local levels, let's not forget what brought it all about—the Supreme Court's inequities decision to disrupt the system of basically representative government established in and by State constitutions and, for that matter, in the U.S. Constitution.

Nor let us forget, nor fail to call into action, the means at hand for correcting the chaotic and dangerously destructive situation into which the States, counties, and municipalities have been plunged by the High Court's action.

That one-man, one-vote dictum, ignoring the fact that one House of the Federal Congress is wisely and fairly constituted on a State or geographical basis while the other is proportioned to population, requires that every State legislative body he geared only to the numbers of people represented.

The immediate and ultimate effects of that dictum never have been more succinctly or convincingly stated than they were recently by New York State's distinguished civic philosopher, Robert Moses, as he accepted membership on a national committee to support a rectifying amendment of the Federal Constitution.

"A quiet revolution is taking place in regard to reapportionment," declared Mr. Moses. "If we remain half asleep on this issue, or too lazy to figure out what is happening to us we will find that this revolution has insidiously undermined our whole social, political, and economic system.

"The national Congress, in a stroke of genius on the part of the Founding Fathers, was created on the very basis which opponents of the Dirksen reapportionment amendment would now deny the states—one house based on area, one house on geography."

Quoting from a recent reapportionment article which he wrote for Newsday, Long Island newspaper, Mr. Moses added:

"Must the increasingly crowded, hectic urban centers, where pressures for conformity are almost irresistible, where racial, religious and extraneous issues accumulate, rule from now on and the rest of the country be merely tributary acreage? How can such an objective produce unity, harmony, and a sound objective? Shall huddled, central concentration of population in cities reduce to impotence the vast acreage of hinterland which must more and more feed, clothe, and sustain us?"

"When States rights go by the board, we foresake the command that God helps those who help themselves," he declared. "The people of the States must have the right to decide this issue of apportionment for themselves, those of each State according to their own will and their own needs. The reapportionment amendment will assure them that right forever more. Without it, the prerogative of our people to govern themselves will be lost in the mists of centralized autocracy, mathematical formulas, redtape, and official gobbledegook hanging over the capital."

The essential question, as we see it, is whether government shall equitably and objectively serve all citizens or shall be controlled unequitably and subjectively by urban political machines.

[From the Reporter Dispatch, White Plains, N.Y., Jan. 6, 1966]

Reapportionment—The Right Way

The late U.S. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter once warned his colleagues that they were entering a thorny "political thicket" by tampering with State legislative reapportionment.

Now the thicket has become a trackless jungle as State after State tries to comply with the High Court's one-man, one-vote rulings. The New York Legislature will make another stab at devising a legally acceptable reapportionment plan next month.

The sensible way out of this mess is for Congress and the States to adopt the reapportionment amendment to the U.S. Constitution proposed by Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, Republican, of Illinois.

The amendment came within seven votes of the necessary two-third majority in the Senate last year. It deserves passage in 1966.

The Dirksen amendment would permit a State to apportion one house of a two-house legislature on the basis of factors other than population alone. That could not be done, however, unless representation in the other house was on a strictly one-man, one-vote basis and unless the people approved any apportionment plan in a referendum.

To support the Dirksen amendment, it is not necessary to reject flatly the one-man, one-vote principle. Nor is it necessary to think that some voters are inherently wiser and more virtuous than others; that America would be better off under some benign bucolic despotism, or that city folk are unfit to govern themselves and need a rural checkrein on their urban madness.

It also should be understood that even the Supreme Court is not dead set on absolute voting equality. Recent decisions indicate that a 15-percent deviation in the populations of voting districts would be accepted by the Court.

Nor is there anything subversive about Congress and the people overruling the U.S. Supreme Court. The process of constitutional amendment is, after all the final bastion for democracy against undue arbitrariness, or even injustice, by nine very human men in black robes in Washington.

Many supporters of the Dirksen amendment first part company with the Supreme Court's decision on legislative reapportionment in the Court's rejection of the Federal analogy.

In Congress, the House of Representatives is apportioned according to population while the Senate made up of two Senators from each State. Which means that voters in little Rhode Island—or in large but sparsely settled Alaska—have the same representation in the Senate as does New York, New Jersey, Illinois, California, Ohio, or Pennsylvania.

Perhaps the Supreme Court Justices now would like to declare this embarrassing (to them) section of the Constitution unconstitutional; but they are not likely to try, or to get very far even if they do try.

Advocates of one-man, one-vote, usually call the congressional system a necessary compromise or an out-dated political accident. Yet there is abundant evidence that it represented sound thinking on governmental structure by the Founding Fathers that is as applicable today as it was when drafted nearly two centuries ago.

To be sure, the Supreme Court simply has dismissed as irrelevant any comparison between the congressional system and a similar system of representation in State legislatures. In one key decision, Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote off counties or cities as rating any special degree of representation. He called them mere "subordinate governmental instrumentalities created by the State to assist in the carrying out of State government functions."

On closer inspection, this statement reveals either a gross ignorance of the importance of these subdivisions in modern government—which is doubtful among the astute Justices—or a belief in centralism which seems unrealistic and even downright dangerous to many Americans.

Try to tell County Executive Edwin G. Michaelian that Westchester is nothing more than a "subordinate governmental instrumentality created by the State to assist in the carrying out of State government functions." Try to tell almost any municipal executive that the government he manages is simply a convenient subdivision of State government a legislature is free to wipe out overnight to obtain a more convenient arrangement of subdivisions.

The instinct for home rule runs very deep among the American people. The time when a State could exercise its theoretical power and wipe out its governmental subdivisions of cities and counties has long since passed. A State legislature that tried it would find itself overturned in the very next election by angry voters who would not think that their identity as residents of a particular city or a county should be so blithely disregarded.

Indeed, consider one Earl Warren, speaking from the less Olympian heights of the State capitol in Sacramento when he was Governor:

"Many California counties are far more important in the life of the State than their population bears to the entire population of the State. It is for this reason that I have never been in favor of restricting the representation in the (State) senate to a strictly population basis."

Something funny happened to Governor Warren's opinion on his way to the Supreme Court.

[From the Westchester Rockland Newspapers, New York, Feb. 4, 1966]

Reapportionment Nears

Resolution of the reapportionment problem of New York State seems speedily possible now that the legislative leaders of the two political parties have decided to sit down and talk the matter out.

With Lt. Gov. Malcolm Wilson playing the host by providing his office as a neutral meeting ground, Republican Senate Majority Leader Earl W. Brydges and Democratic Assembly Speaker Anthony J. Travia have gotten together on the matter, with strong hope that an equitable compromise can be worked out.

Looming is the February 15 deadline for action under the threat of a court-dictated redistricting to meet the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote edict.

Neither party wants a court-mandated settlement, obviously preferring to apply political standards to the new senate and assembly lines, even if they cannot be carved to the full advantage that one or the other party could seize if it had full legislative control.

Give and take is inescapable as the legislators try to maintain some politically compromised recognition of the important geographical and other representation factors at which the Supreme Court has scoffed.

It is in this area of deals that the public's interest is the most critical and in which the sharpest scrutiny is necessary.

No perfect program can be expected—just as no flawless scheme has yet been proposed by Republicans or Democrats, including the so-called professors plan drawn by a committee of political scientists under the auspices of the Democrats.

The happenstance that this critical problem must be solved at the time when New York has a split legislature carries good omens as well as bad.

It is assured that the eventual redistricting, political as it may be, will be closed to the perfect program than would have been possible if either body were in full control and determined to assure continuance of that control.

[From Westchester Rockland Newspapers, New York, Jan. 28, 1966]

The State of the Economy

President Johnson could do with a new dictionary—one including at least a few words which aren't superlatives.

For example, after observing that wage and price decisions by labor and business must be sound and responsible "just as I am determined that public decisions will be fully responsible," the President, in an 8,000-word message to Congress, said, "If they are, the American economic miracle will remain in 1966 the single most important force in the economic progress of mankind."

The standard dictionary definition of "miracle" is "An event or effect in the physical world deviating from the known laws of nature, or transcending our knowledge of these laws; an extraordinary, anomalous or abnormal event brought about by superhuman agency; a wonder or wonderful thing, a marvel."

The fact is, as must be apparent to any student of high-school-level economics, that there is nothing miraculous or superhuman about our economic status. The value of a vast chunk of our national product is being drained off in Government spending, much of it ultimately not economically productive because it is being used, as it must be, for war and defense purposes. The Government is operating on a deficit basis, with resultant increases in an already mountainous public debt.

To be sure, if we can forget the mounting costs of our responsibilities in Vietnam and if we can ignore the possibility of a general war in Asia, everything looks fine.

If we can ignore the fact we have so much poverty here at home that the President has felt obliged to declare "war" against it, all of us are prosperous and headed for inclusion in a Great Society in which all our own and the world's economic and social ills will have been cured.

But this is euphoria.

It is, worse, a dangerously deceptive state of economic and social euphoria.

What we should be doing is thinking and planning for the future with sensible, rational confidence—not kidding ourselves, via fatuous political rhetoric, that all our problems are about to be solved and all our troubles are soon to be eliminated by some sort of miracle or series of miracles to be induced simply by price and wage restraints in the public sector of our economy.

It is right and proper and necessary that we strive always toward a better life for ourselves and for all other men.

We should, indeed, ever be willing to accept individual and national sacrifice to achieve socially decent goals. But we must also recognize that oratorical speculation doesn't assure achievement—that the assets we use to better our own and world conditions must be earned by unrelenting toil, much sweat, and at least occasional tears.

In that formula for sound spiritual development and economic progress there is no room for rhapsodical talk about miracles.

There just isn't any such thing as a superhuman politician.

[From Westchester Rockland Newspapers, New York, Jan. 21, 1966]

Watch for the Strawmen

A lot of strawmen will be set up to be knocked over by supervisors fighting to preserve their power and dignity as members of the county's board of supervisors in the next few months.

Under court edict to reapportion the board to give equal representation to all population blocs of the county, many supervisors will be trying by all possible means to retain the present structure of the 42-man body, in which each town is represented by its supervisor-administrator and each city by a number of representatives only roughly related to population size.

Although the county charter makes provision for a 12-man board to be selected from districts as an alternative to the board as now composed, the section has not been made operative. And apparently it never will be if left to the supervisors to preside over their own disbanding.

An indication of the sentiment which can be expected to prevail is the opposition expressed this week by Supervisor Anthony J. Posillipo of the town of Rye to his town board.

He argued for a "weighted voting" system in preference to a 12-man board. Such a system would give each supervisor voting strength proportionate to the population he represents, an awkward and imprecise device whose only value would be to maintain the status quo.

Mr. Posillipo, a veteran Democratic member of the board of supervisors, expressed fear that district representatives might be caught in conflict between two or more municipalities and either would have to take sides or fail properly to represent their districts.

But the present board of supervisors is not unmarked by the scars of municipal conflicts, taking sides, or political power plays.

In the last resort any governing board is as good as the character and competence of its members. To disparage its membership in advance may be a good political tactic but it is neither a rational nor a logical argument against the creation of a county legislative body whose members would not be directly and immediately tied, in either the legal or the political sense, to single municipalities.

[From Westchester Rockland Newspapers, New York, Jan. 8, 1966]

What Dirksen Plan Proposes

The Dirksen amendment to the U.S. Constitution, favored by those who would modify the U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote rulings, is complex in its wording. But what it proposes is simply this:

If a State legislature is dissatisfied with its apportionment under one man, one vote, it may devise a new apportionment plan.

If there is a bicameral legislature (49 of the 50 States have them) the new plan must not dilute the one-man, one-vote principle in apportionment of one of the two houses. But it may apply to the other house a plan which takes into account factors other than population.

That could stipulate, say, that each county or each major city is entitled to a certain minimum number of seats. Or it could take into account regional, geographic or economic conditions peculiar to a State.

The Dirksen amendment also would prohibit racial discrimination in the apportionment of seats in either house.

That isn't the end of it, however. The legislature still must submit its plan to a vote of all the people in the State, in a form that will give them a clear choice between a modified "one-man, one-vote" system and an apportionment based entirely on population.

And just to make sure that an inequitable plan is not frozen indefinitely into a State legislature, the Dirksen amendment provides that a new apportionment choice must be submitted to the people every 10 years. If a State were to refuse to do anything the Supreme Court's ruling would apply to apportionment. But if a State should desire to experiment a bit to protect either rural areas or suburban areas or cities, depending on the situation in a given State, it would have the freedom to choose the system that its people felt suited it best.

So under the Dirksen amendment, the majority still would rule, because the majority—in cities if the cities had a majority—could overrule any funny business by a legislature which might want to give a big majority of its seats to a small minority of the people.

To become the law of the land, the Dirksen amendment, even if it passes the Congress, still must run a gantlet of three-quarters of the State legislatures.

Since far more than one-quarter of the State legislatures now have been reapportioned according to one man, one vote, those States would have to recognize that they really needed the flexibility the Dirksen amendment would afford before it could be ratified.

Surprisingly, the Supreme Court has ruled that even a referendum on a State-apportioned plan deviating from one man, one vote is unconstitutional, since the majority cannot deprive a minority of its constitutional right to equal representation and, thus, equal protection of the laws.

The trouble is that this principle, carried to its logical extreme, means that the Constitution itself might never be amended. For many an amendment adopted in the past has deprived some persons of what they had considered their constitutional property rights or their freedom from Government regulation.

The majority of the voters in the infant United States approved what, according to the Supreme Court, is an inequitable system of representation in our Congress. But, the Republic has thrived under it ever since.

What, then, is wrong with a majority in a State approving what would certainly be no less inequitable a system than Congress has, and which would at least recognize the value of diversity? It would be an affirmation that a computerized system of representation does not necessarily produce the best form of government.

There is much to be said honorably for what Senator DIRKSEN and his supporters are trying to do. They are, in the long run, sincerely attempting to preserve the strength of our local institutions, to safeguard the political identity of counties and cities.

De Tocqueville, defender of democracy, once said: "Municipal institutions constitute the strength of free nations. A nation may establish a system of free government, but without municipal institutions, it cannot have the spirit of liberty."

In this light, the Dirksen amendment is nothing less than a defense of the spirit of liberty.

[From Westchester Rockland Newspapers, New York, Jan. 7, 1966]

REAPPORTIONMENT IN PERSPECTIVE

One big reason why the Dirksen amendment to the U.S. Constitution is needed is that counties as well as cities are entitled to some sort of special recognition in the distribution of seats in a State legislature.

One of the highly questionable features of one-man, one-vote reapportionments is that they force legislatures to obliterate natural political boundaries in setting districts of equal population.

Only the very biggest cities now have exclusively city legislators. Even accounting for gerrymandering, it is a fact that city and county boundaries often will have to be ignored to conform with the Court's mathematical requirements.

This is neither a good thing for a State government nor a development desired by a great many of the people affected. The Dirksen amendment would permit States to give counties as well as cities strong, individual voices speaking for their interests in the State legislatures.

Chief Justice Earl Warren, speaking for the majority in one of the U.S. Supreme Court's reapportionment cases, dismissed the argument that legislatures should take some account of geographic or economic or social factors in apportioning seats.

"People, not land or trees or pastures, vote," wrote the Chief Justice in a famous phrase.

But Justice Potter Stewart came a lot closer to the realities of modern life in a dissent.

Justice Stewart warned that the Court's new mandate "forever freezes one theory of political thought into our Constitution, and forever denies to every State any opportunity for enlightened and progressive innovation * * * so as to accommodate * * * the interests and aspirations of diverse groups of people without subjecting any group or class to absolute domination by a geographically concentrated or highly organized majority.

"Throughout our history," continued Justice Stewart, "the apportionments of State legislatures have reflected the strongly felt American tradition that the public interest is composed of many diverse interests, and that in the long run it can better be expressed by a medley of component voices than by the majority's monolithic command.

"What constitutes a rational plan will vary from State to State, since each State is unique, in terms of topography, geography, history, heterogeneity, concentration of population, variety of social and economic interests, and political language."

What that means in simpler language is that a Westchester city isn't New York City, and the villages of Westchester County aren't suburban subdivisions of the county's six cities but are political entities with rights and problems of their own.

The problems of various sections of the very diverse Empire State and similar States are quite different.

These diverse sections need strong, distinctive voices at the State capitol that are potent enough to be heard, and which cannot be drowned out by court or legislative fiat.

In a time when special problems of crime and traffic control and expressway building and urban renewal obviously impose tremendous financial burdens on cities just as they are suffering from shrinking tax bases, cities obviously feel they must look beyond their own resources for assistance. They don't especially care where they may get that assistance.

It is not just rural folk who would deny it to them. The cities must also contend with the suburbs, filled with people who fled cities because of the very conditions that the cities had failed, or were unwilling, for expedient political reasons, to even try to correct.

These people do not want themselves, and their pocketbooks, pursued into their new and better surroundings by the grasping hands of the large-city political machines. They do not want their law-making powers inundated by a tidal wave of urban political demands.

But what is happening to the population of cities in this time when the one-man, one-vote principle is widely regarded as a potential boon to them?

It is shrinking steadily while the suburbs are booming. In New York State's major metropolitan areas, for example, the total population of the central cities dropped from 9.6 million in 1950 to 9.5 million in 1960. But the total population of the suburbs outside the cities in those same metropolitan areas more than doubled, from 1.7 million to 3.5 million. In 1950, the major cities had 65 percent of the State's population. In 1960, they had only 57 percent. And the trend continues.

So from the standpoint of cities confronted with one-man, one-vote apportionment, the situation may well grow worse, until urban interests could be swept away in a suburban tide. Hence the need for protection of the diverse interests in a State against the one-man, one-vote system seems likely to become steadily clearer, and only the Dirksen amendment offers a practical solution.

[From the Democrat and Chronicle, Rochester, N.Y., Apr. 5, 1966]

THE DIRKSEN BILL

The Democrat and Chronicle and the League of Women Voters part company—at least on one issue.

Elsewhere on this page is a league spokesman's attack on the Dirksen amendment. The Dirksen bill would permit each State with a two-house legislature to apportion one of them on a basis other than population. At least 25 States have memorialized Congress to call a constitutional convention to consider such an amendment.

The league's criticism of the measure is an assault upon the concept of checks and balances. Historically most of the upper legislative houses of the States have been apportioned on factors other than head-counts. This practice has given protection to minority geographic interests as in the U.S. Senate, where the smallest State has the same voting power as the largest. Would the league, which has done so much to clarify the issues, reapportion the U.S. Senate?

Strike down this weighted balance—which assumes that momentary majorities are not necessarily always right—and what remains? A Gallup poll democracy.

If the one-man, one-vote doctrine prevails, what happens in States (such as California, Illinois, and New York) where a single metropolitan area may soon constitute more than half the population? The answer? One-city domination. Indeed how soon will New York City crack the whip over the rest of the State?

The league seems to oppose the States' use of the federal system of representation without telling why it's bad. It just says it is not a parallel situation. In reality it works well and would work more equitably than a slavish conformance to the extreme one-man, one-vote gospel.

Why should the Dirksen plan ruffle anyone? It makes optional through a referendum, whether a State with a two-house legislature shall apportion one chamber on a basis other than nose counting. Who would say this is a minority rule?

[From the Times-Union, Apr. 4, 1966]

REAPPORTIONMENT CREATES DISTRICT MONSTROSITIES

New York's reapportioners long ago lost the average voter in a cloud of mathematical dust.

But now the new district lines for the State senate and assembly have been approved by the New York Court of Appeals, which took over after the politicians gave up trying to reach agreement.

Unless the State constitutional convention changes them again next year, the new districts will be permanent, and voters can figure out who's representing whom and where.

Many won't like what they find. For in the process of reapportionment by computer to meet the U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote dictum, many of New York's traditional concepts of representation have been junked.

Wayne County Democratic Chairman Milton Elzufon, for example, complained that his new assembly district is "another submarine district stretching over half the State."

And Republican State Senator Kenneth R. Willard found himself, with another senator, in a district extending from rural Livingston County to a part of Buffalo.

So disregarded are traditional political boundaries that only the biggest cities and counties now can claim legislators as entirely their own. Even under nonpartisan one-man, one-vote reapportionment, only one of the five assembly districts which include Monroe County lies wholly within the city—yet the city has nearly half of the county's population.

It won't be long, either, before voters realize that there now is little reason under the new system to have two houses in the legislature. The only difference in representation is that senators will speak for more people than will assemblymen. So why not have a one-house (unicameral) legislature and save money?

The trouble with the Supreme Court formula is that while counties and cities are vitally important governmental units for their residents, they count for nothing in one-man, one-vote legislative apportionment. It's about as if congressional districts crossed State lines.

The only solution is passage of the Dirksen amendment to the U.S. Constitution. It would give a State permission to reapportion one house of a two-house legislature on a basis other than population if the legislature and the voters approve.

Representative BARBER B. CONABLE, JR., reported recently that residents of his 37th District (west of the Genesee River) who answered questionnaires on current congressional issues favored the Dirksen amendment principle by nearly 4 to 1.

Debate on the amendment will resume this month in the Senate. Experience with computerized reapportionment will show why it should be approved.

[From the Times-Union, Dec. 29, 1965]

THE DIRKSEN AMENDMENT—FREE CHOICE FOR STATES

(By Calvin Mayne)

The Dirksen amendment to the U.S. Constitution, favored by those who would modify the U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote rulings, is complex in its wording. But what it proposes is simply this:

If a State legislature is dissatisfied with its apportionment under one man, one vote, it devises a new apportionment plan.

If there is a bicameral legislature (49 of the 50 States have one), the new plan must not dilute the one-man, one-vote principle in apportionment of one of the two houses. But it may apply to the other house a plan which takes into account factors other than population.

That could stipulate, say, that each city or each country is entitled to a certain minimum number of seats. Or it could take geographic or economic conditions peculiar to a State into account.

The Dirksen amendment also would prohibit racial discrimination in the apportionment of seats in either house.

That isn't the end of it, however. The legislature still must submit its plan to a vote of all the people in the State in a form that gives them a clear choice between the modified one-man, one-vote system and an apportionment based entirely on population.

And just to make sure that an inequitable plan is not frozen indefinitely into a State legislature, the Dirksen amendment provides that a new apportionment choice must be submitted to the people every 10 years. If a State wants to do nothing, the Supreme Court's ruling would apply to apportionment. But if a State wants to experiment a bit to protect either rural areas or suburban areas or cities, depending on the situation in a given State, it would have the freedom to choose the system that suited it best.

But under the Dirksen amendment, the majority still would rule, because the majority—in cities if the cities have a majority—can overrule any funny business by a legislature which might want to give a big majority of its seats to a small minority of the people.

To become the law of the land, the Dirksen amendment, even if it passes the Congress, still must run a gauntlet of three-quarters of the State legislatures.

Since far more than one-quarter of the State leigslatures now have been reapportioned according to one man, one vote, they will have to recognize that they really need the flexibility the Dirksen amendment affords before it can be ratified.

Surprisingly, the Supreme Court has ruled that even a referendum on a State apportionment plan deviating from one man, one vote is unconstitutional, since the majority cannot deprive a minority of its constitutional right to equal representation and thus equal protection of the laws.

The trouble is that this principle, carried to its logical extreme, means that the Constitution itself might never be amended. For many an amendment adopted in the past has deprived some persons of what they had considered their constitutional right of property, or liberty from Government regulation.

The majority of voters in the infant United States approved what, according to the Supreme Court, is an inequitable system of representation in our Congress. The Republic has thrived since.

What then is wrong with a majority in a State approving what would certainly be no less inequitable a system than Congress has, and which would at least recognize the value of diversity? It would be an affirmation that a computerized system of representation does not necessarily produce the best form of government.

There is much to be said honorably for what Senator DIRKSEN and his supporters are trying to do. They are, in the long run, sincerely attempting to preserve the strength of our local institutions, to safeguard the political identity of our cities and counties.

De Tocqueville, defender of democracy, once said: "Municipal institutions constitute the strength of free nations. A nation may establish a system of free government, but without municipal institutions it cannot have the spirit of liberty."

In this light the Dirksen amendment is nothing less than a defense of the "spirit of liberty."

[From the Times-Union, Dec. 28, 1965]

THE DIRKSEN AMENDMENT—ONE MAN, ONE VOTE—PERILS CITIES

(By Calvin Mayne)

One big reason why the Dirksen amendment to the U.S. Constitution is needed is that cities and counties are entitled to some sort of special recognition in the distribution of seats in a State legislature.

One of the highly questionable features of one-man, one-vote reapportionments is that they force legislatures to obliterate natural political boundaries in setting districts of equal population.

Only the very biggest cities now have exclusively city legislators. Even accounting for gerrymandering, it is a fact that city and county boundaries often must be ignored to conform with the courts' mathematical requirements.

This is neither a good thing for a State government nor a development desired by a great many of the people affected. The Dirksen amendment would permit States to give cities and counties strong, individual voices speaking for their interests in the State legislature.

Chief Justice Earl Warren, speaking for the majority in one of the U.S. Supreme Court's reapportionment cases, dismissed the argument that legislatures should take some account of geographic or economic or social factors in apportioning seats.

"People, not land or trees or pastures, vote," wrote the Chief Justice in a famous phrase.

But Justice Potter Stewart seems to have come a lot closer to the realities of modern life in a dissent.

He warned that the Court's new mandate "forever freezes one theory of political thought into our Constitution, and forever denies to every State any opportunity for enlightened and progressive innovation * * * so as to accommodate * * * the interests and aspirations of diverse groups of people without subjecting any group or class to absolute domination by a geographically concentrated or highly organized majority.

"Throughout our history," continued Justice Stewart, "the apportionments of State legislatures have reflected the strongly felt American tradition that the public interest is composed of many diverse interests, and that in the long run it can better be expressed by a medley of component voices than by the majority's monolithic command.

"What constitutes a rational plan will vary from State to State since each State is unique, in terms of topography, geography, history, heterogeneity, concentration of population, variety of social and economic interests, and political language."

What that means in simpler language is that Rochester isn't New York City and the villages of Wayne County aren't the suburban subdivisions of Long Island.

The problems of various sections of the very diverse Empire State and similar States are quite different. These diverse sections need strong, distinctive voices at the State capital that are potent enough to be heard, and which cannot be drowned out by court or legislative fiat.

Much has been heard about the need for the protection of beleaguered rural minorities from a rampaging urban majority. The point needs no belaboring. And it is not necessarily the best one that can be made for the viewpoint that population isn't everything in apportionment.

Consider the case of the cities that are supposed to be the chief beneficiaries of "one man, one vote."

The Supreme Court is said to have snatched cities out from under the oppressive heels of suspicious, tight-fisted country cousins who have perpetuated their power through malapportionment in the State capitals.

That's true to some extent. But who will, in the end, get the real power?

Cities have very special problems that will need a lot of sympathetic handling by State legislatures.

In a time when special problems of crime and traffic control and expressway building and urban renewal impose a tremendous financial burden on cities just as they are suffering from shrinking tax bases, cities obviously must look beyond their own resources for assistance.

It is not just rural folk who would deny it to them. The cities must also contend with the affluent suburbs, filled with people who have fled cities because of the very conditions that cities must correct to survive.

These are people who often are unsympathetic to city needs and antagonistic to cities whenever cities try to obtain suburban support for effort to solve municipal problems—even though such suburbanites are perfectly willing to earn their livelihoods in the cities and to work and shop there.

But what is happening to the population of cities in this time when the one-man, one-vote principle is imposed on them?

It is shrinking steadily while the suburbs are booming. In New York State's major metropolitan areas, the total population of the central cities dropped from 9.6 million in 1950 to 9.5 million in 1960. But the total population of the suburbs outside the cities in these same metropolitan (urbanized) areas more than doubled, from 1.7 million to 3.5 million.

In 1950, the major cities had 65 percent of the State's population. In 1960, they had only 57 percent.

The trend continues. From the standpoint of cities confronted with one-man, one-vote apportionment, the situation will get steadily worse. Urban interests could be swept away in a suburban tide before too many years pass.

The need for protection of the diverse interests in a State against the one-man, one-vote system seems likely to become steadily clearer, and only the Dirksen amendment offers a practical solution.

[From the Times-Union, Dec. 27, 1965]

THE DIRKSEN AMENDMENT—ONE MAN, HOW MANY VOTES?

(By Calvin Mayne)

The late U.S. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter once warned his colleagues that they were entering a thorny "political thicket" by tampering with State reapportionment.

Now the thicket has become a trackless jungle as State after State tries to comply with the High Court's one-man, one-vote rulings.

Most voters and not a few lawmakers do not know from one election to the next what districts are represented by whom in State legislatures. The New York Legislature will make another stab at devising a legally acceptable reapportionment plan next month.

The sensible way out of this mess is for Congress and the States to adopt the reapportionment amendment to the U.S. Constitution proposed by EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, of Illinois, Senate Republican minority leader.

The amendment came within seven votes of the necessary two-thirds majority in the Senate last year. It deserves passage in 1966.

The Dirksen amendment would permit a State to apportion one house of a two-house legislature on the basis of factors other than population alone. That could not be done, however, unless representation in the other house was on a strictly one-man, one-vote basis and unless the people approved any apportionment plan in a referendum.

To support the Dirksen amendment, it is not necessary to reject flatly the one-man, one-vote principle. Nor is it necessary to think that some voters are inherently wiser and more virtuous than others; that America would be better off under some benign bucolic despotism, or that city folk are unfit to govern themselves and need a rural checkrein on their urban madness.

It also should be understood that even the Supreme Court is not dead set on absolute voting equality. Recent decisions indicate that a 15-percent deviation in the populations of voting districts would be accepted by the Court; so the Court really is talking about a maximum of 1.30 votes for some people against one vote for others. Inequality thus becomes a matter of degree.

To clear out some more underbrush, there is nothing subversive about Congress and the people overruling the U.S. Supreme Court. The process of constitutional amendment is, after all, the final bastion for democracy against undue arbitrariness, or even injustice, by nine very human men in black robes in Washington.

Many supporters of the Dirksen amendment first part company with the Supreme Court's decision on legislative reapportionment in the Court's rejection of the Federal analogy.

In Congress, there is a House of Representatives apportioned according to population and a Senate made up of two Senators from each State.

That means that voters in little Rhode Island—or voters in Alaska, which is very big in area but an even smaller population—have a representation in Congress hundreds of times stronger per voter than in such densely populated States as New York, New Jersey, Illinois, California, Ohio, or Pennsylvania.

Perhaps the Supreme Court Justices now would like to declare this embarrassing (to them) section of the Constitution unconstitutional; but they are not likely to try, or to get very far even if they do try. So this patent inequality of representation simply stands as a mighty obstacle for the Court's supporters to bypass or ignore.

Advocates of one man, one vote usually call the congressional system a necessary compromise or a political accident. Yet there is abundant evidence that it represented sound thinking on governmental structure by the Founding Fathers that is as applicable today as it was when drafted nearly two centuries ago.

But the Supreme Court simply dismissed as irrelevant any comparison between the congressional system and a similar system of representation in State legislatures.

In one key decision, Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote off counties or cities for which any special degree of representation was sought as mere administrative subdivisions of the States. He called them subordinate governmental instrumentalities created by the State to assist in the carrying out of State government functions.

On closer inspection, this statement reveals either a gross ignorance of the importance of these subdivisions in modern government—which is doubtful among the astute Justices—or a belief in centralism which seems unrealistic and even downright dangerous to many Americans.

Try to tell Mayor-elect John Lindsay that New York City is nothing more than a "subordinate governmental instrumentality created by the State to assist in the carrying out of State government functions." Or tell it to Mayor Frank Lamb, of Rochester, or Mayor Daley, of Chicago.

Try persuading Gordon Howe, of Monroe County, or Porter Homer, of Dade County, Fla., that the county governments they manage are simply convenient subdivisions of State government which legislatures are free to wipe out overnight to obtain a more convenient arrangement of subdivisions.

Some cities and metropolitan counties have become, in various ways, more important governmental institutions than the States of which they are parts.

The instinct for home rule runs very deep among the American people. The time when a State could exercise its theoretical power and wipe out its governmental subdivisions of cities and counties has long since passed. A State legislature that tried it would find itself overturned in the very next election by angry voters who would not think that their identity as residents of a particular city or a county should be so blithely disregarded.

Indeed, consider one Earl Warren, speaking from the less Olympian heights of the State capitol in Sacramento when he was Governor:

"Many California counties are far more important in the life of the State than their population bears to the entire population of the State. It is for this reason that I have never been in favor of restricting the representation in the [State] senate to a strictly population basis."

Something funny happened to Governor Warren's opinion on his way to the Supreme Court.

[From the Buffalo Evening News, Apr. 9, 1966]

DIRKSEN'S LAST CHANCE

Last summer, when Senator DIRKSEN, Republican of Illinois, failed by seven votes to muster the needed two-thirds for Senate passage of his constitutional amendment modifying the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote rule for State legislative apportionment, he vowed he'd try again this year.

Now he is ready for that last chance effort, and Senate debate on his amendment is scheduled to start next week. Senator DIRKSEN evidently hopes that he has lined up enough more votes to put it through, not opponents with an equal show of confidence deny it. Further debate won't change many votes, if any, but events since last summer and further State-by-State experience with the arbitrary judicial edict may have done so—as we should learn soon enough from the final rollcall.

Having strongly supported the Dirksen amendment with a series of editorials last August, we can only reiterate that support now. And this time, we hope that at least one New York Senator—notably Senator JAVITS, who has been on both sides of this issue at various times in the past—will stand up for the principle of giving the people of each State themselves some limited choice as to the kind of representation they may have in their legislatures.

Even if the Dirksen amendment does muster the two-thirds vote it needs in the Senate, it will still face plenty of rough sailing—not only in winning the same two-thirds passage in the House, but in being ratified by 38 State legislatures.

But however one rates the amendment's chances of ultimate adoption, the basic principle is so sound that believers in it cannot in good conscience abandon it while there is any chance to make it prevail.

[From the Valley City (N. Dak.) City Times, Feb. 15, 1966]

WHERE WOULD THE WEST BE?

Coming up for debate in the Senate soon will be the Dirksen amendment, Senate Resolution 103, which, if adopted, would allow the States to apportion one house of a bicameral legislature on the basis of population, geography and political subdivisions in order to insure effective representation of the State's various groups and interests.

Foes of the amendment claim this violates the principle of one person, one vote. Through court-approved apportionment our U.S. Senate would suffer a drastic revision. Apportioned in this manner the heavily populated Eastern and Southwestern States could have a predominance of power in the Senate. One-man, one-vote selection would give New York nine Senators, California an equal amount, Texas and Pennsylvania six each and Ohio five.

Our State of North Dakota could find itself sharing two Senators with four other States, Montana, Wyoming, South Dakota, and Nebraska. In the entire West there would only be 29 Senators, with Eastern States, beginning with Minnesota and Iowa and others in a direct southward line, holding a total of 69. Of the 18 States in the West, 15 of the 29 Senators could be citizens of California and Texas.

Because the operation of the National Government is of equal concern to the States and to the geographic areas represented it is not feasible to turn over major representation to a group of States who do not come into contact with the problems of the Plains States and whose needs and outlooks are different from ours.

There is need for one-man, one-vote representation in all government, and we have it in our vote for representatives. There is also a need for a check balance to protect the areas where population is scarcer than the national average. This is provided through our senatorial representation.

The Dirksen amendment, Resolution 103 is needed legislation to provide adequate representation for all.

[From the Cincinnati (Ohio) Post and Times-Star, Aug. 20, 1965]

FAIR, BUT ALSO EFFECTIVE

Senator DIRKSEN again is going to bat for his constitutional amendment on the apportionment of representation in State legislatures. He should. His cause is logical and equitable.

Recently, the Senator was narrowly defeated in his proposal to offer the people the right to make their own decision, in each State, on how their legislatures should be divided. This amendment simply would have given the voters the right to choose whether one house of their legislature should be allotted along lines other than a strict population basis.

The amendment lost because it was seven votes short of the two-thirds majority required for a constitutional proposal.

But in the 1966 session of Congress, or in the next Congress—eventually—an amendment such as Mr. DIRKSEN advocates will be submitted to the States. Sooner or later the people, understanding the problem, will demand the return of their own right—the right to decide for themselves.

The liberals who oppose the Dirksen amendment are wrong on two counts. They are wrong because they, of all people, are denying the voters the right to choose for themselves the form of their own State legislatures. And they are wrong because they persist in mixing the issues.

The only issue in the Dirksen amendment is the right of the people to decide.

But the liberals insist on reading it as a backhanded attempt to perpetuate malapportioned legislatures.

There are malapportioned legislatures. That's why the voters of Tennessee, for example, went to the Supreme Court and got a ruling that if the Tennessee Legislature, as the State constitution required, did not apportion itself fairly the courts would undertake the job.

The Dirksen amendment does not shut the door on the reform of legislative apportionment. It is an insurance against misapportionment. Because it provides that any allocation of legislative districts must be approved by the voters. Moreover, in his new version of the Dirksen amendment, the Senator proposes that any legislative plan submitted to the voters first must have been offered by a legislature in which at least one house was properly apportioned on a population basis.

The Dirksen amendment proposes to make legislatures both fairly representative and effectively representative.

So we hope Senator DIRKSEN keeps up his fight along this line. And that those who have been misrepresenting the purpose of the amendment will get their sights in focus, so they will see that this is a way toward the goals they claim to favor—fair and effective representation in State legislative halls.

[From the Cincinnati Post and Times-Star, Aug. 4, 1965]

THE PEOPLE ARE THE LAST WORD

In our system of government, as spelled out by the Constitution and every other principle we go by, the people are the final word.

But a substantial number of Members in the U.S. Senate, although generally classifying themselves as liberals, are opposed to this system.

They demonstrate this opposition by the bitter manner in which they seek to defeat the so-called Dirksen amendment to the Constitution.

Last year, the Supreme Court, in an amazing ruling, held that both houses of a State legislature had to be apportioned on a strict population basis—the so-called one-man, one-vote proposition. This despite the State-by-State apportionment of the U.S. Senate, despite the constitutions of most States, despite recent and specific approval by the voters in some States of a different system.

Nobody wants to rip out the Supreme Court because of this airy decision, although the decision had the effect of ripping out most State legislatures.

The way to correct the Court's action is to write into the Federal Constitution an amendment. This amendment has been offered by Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois. All the amendment says is that any State may set up one house of its legislature on other than a population basis if—emphasis on the if—the people of the State want it that way.

But the Senators opposing the Dirksen amendment don't want the people to decide for themselves. The plain implication is that the Senators know better than the people of the States what is a proper system for the States. Since many of these Senators have been among the most zealous champions of civil rights, their inconsistency on the Dirksen issue is beyond comprehension.

If the people in the States are not capable of deciding such basic questions as the manner in which they wish their legislatures to be organized, then it is valid to question the capacity of the people to decide other questions—who, for instance, should represent them in the U.S. Senate.

Maybe, if these anti-Dirksen Senators are right, we should go back to the old system of having U.S. Senators chosen by State legislatures. (We wouldn't favor that for a minute, but it is just as logical as the opposition to the Dirksen amendment.)

There are many arguments favoring the Dirksen amendment. But, regardless of all other arguments, the issue now before the Senate is fundamental—the right of the people of the States to decide for themselves. Despite all the windy debate, this is the only issue.

[From the Findlay (Ohio) Republican-Courier, Mar. 11, 1966]

AN ISSUE THAT DESERVES TO GO TO THE STATES

Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois, thinks he has a good chance of getting Senate approval of his proposed constitutional amendment on reapportionment. He expects to force a vote this month on the issue of submitting the proposal to the States.

The Illinois Senator has made known that he has secured the support of prominent leaders in all 50 States. He needs a two-thirds majority for approval of the amendment which would permit the people of each State to vote whether they want to apportion both houses of their legislature on a population basis, as decreed by the Supreme Court, or apportion one of them on a geographic basis in the traditional way.

In a test vote last fall, the Senate GOP leader mustered 57 Senate votes for the amendment, 10 shy of the two-thirds majority needed with all 100 Members voting.

In the month since he revealed formation of a Committee for Government of the People to organize support for the amendment, DIRKSEN has received a response "beyond all expectation," he said.

The hundreds of committee members listed by DIRKSEN included noted educators and political scientists, legislative leaders, business executives, government officials, farm leaders trade association officials, and prominent members of the bar.

The national committee is bipartisan. Serving as cochairman with DIRKSEN are Senators FRANK CHURCH, Democrat, of Idaho, SPESSARD L. HOLLAND, Democrat, of Florida, ROMAN L. HRUSKA, Republican, of Nebraska, FRANK J. LAUSCHE, Democrat, of Ohio, HUGH SCOTT, Republican, of Pennsylvania, and five Members of the House.

It is an issue that should go to the States. We hope the Illinois Senator is successful in his effort.

[From the Columbus (Ohio) Citizen-Journal, Aug. 4, 1965]

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There are many arguments favoring the Dirksen amendment. But, regardless of all other arguments, the issue now before the Senate is fundamental—the right of the people of the States to decide for themselves. Despite all the windy debate, this is the only issue.

[From the Columbus (Ohio) Citizen-Journal, Aug. 20, 1966]

FAIR, BUT ALSO EFFECTIVE

Senator DIRKSEN again is going to bat for his constitutional amendment on the apportionment of representation in State legislatures. He should. His cause is logical and equitable.

Recently, the Senator was narrowly defeated in his proposal to offer the people the right to make their own decision, in each State, on how their legislatures should be divided. This amendment simply would have given the vcters the right to choose whether one house of their legislature should be allotted along lines other than a strict population basis.

The amendment lost because it was seven votes short of the two-thirds majority required for a constitutional proposal.

But in the 1966 session of Congress, or in the next Congress—eventually—an amendment such as Mr. DIRKSEN advocates will be submitted to the States. Sooner or later the people, understanding the problem, will demand the return of their own right—the right to decide for themselves.

The liberals who oppose the Dirksen amendment are wrong on two counts. They are wrong because they, of all people, are denying the voters the right to choose for themselves the form of their own State legislatures. And they are wrong because they persist in mixing the issues.

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The Dirksen amendment does not shut the door on the reform of legislative apportionment. It is an insurance against misapportionment. Because it provides that any allocation of legislative districts must be approved by the voters. Moreover, in his new version of the Dirksen amendment, the Senator proposes that any legislative plan submitted to the voters first must have been offered by a legislature in which at least one house was properly apportioned on a population basis.

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[From the Columbus (Ohio) Citizen-Journal, July 23, 1965]

LET THE SENATE VOTE

By any logic, the Senate should be permitted to vote on Senator DIRKSEN's proposed constitutional amendment to modify the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote edict on State legislatures.

A small group of liberal Senators has vowed to block a vote by any means—legislative maneuver if possible, Senate filibuster if necessary.

They apparently fear the necessary two-thirds majorities in Senate and House favor the amendment. That is why they are determined to keep Congress from expressing its will.

Yet the entire thrust of the Supreme Court's ruling last year was in favor of letting majority opinion be expressed in legislative affairs. As Chief Justice Warren pointed out, domination of a legislature by a minority violates the constitutional rights of citizens. That surely applies as much to Congress as to a State assembly.

Justice Warren also declared that the makeup of the U.S. Senate—which is on the basis of geography rather than population—is "ingrained in our Constitution, as part of the law of the land."

In other words, the Senate is a valid constitutional body. Those who support the Supreme Court's viewpoint should be the last to try to prevent a free vote by minority action.

[From the Portland (Oreg.) Journal, Aug. 9, 1965]

WHY NOT TRUST THE PEOPLE?

Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN's proposed constitutional amendment to assure the States some leeway in forming their State legislatures won a 57 to 39 majority in its first test in the Senate last week, but unfortunately that wasn't enough. It fell 7 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed for adoption of a constitutional amendment.

But the Republican Senate leader says he will try again, and good luck to him. The Supreme Court's now-prevailing rule that population and only population can be considered in allotting the seats in State legislatures is too rigid.

It fails to recognize the special problems of States which may be cut up by mountains, like several of the Western States, or by the ocean, like Hawaii. It ignores the disregard which might result for the problems of rural areas in huge States where one-third to one-half the population is concentrated in just one or two counties, as in California and Alaska. And it denies to the people who have to live with those problems, the residents of the States themselves, any leeway in dealing with them.

In its present form, the Dirksen amendment contains several safeguards against its critics' charge that it would result in continued unfair rural domination of legislatures.

Nothing in the amendment prohibits a State from adopting population as the only basis for allotting seats, as Oregon has. In any event, one house of a two-house legislature would remain subject to the pure one-man, one-vote rule while the other served as a check on it in keeping with long-established American practice.

Factors which could be considered are specifically limited to "population, geography, or political subdivisions." Any new apportionment plan would have to be approved in a referendum by a majority of the voters in the State, and reapproved by them after every Federal census. And when a new apportionment first was referred to the people, they would also have to be given the alternative of adopting a plan based on population only.

The amendment is in keeping with the fundamental liberal principles of letting the people decide their own affairs, and of striking a balance between majority rule and minority rights. The majority of Senators, who voted for it, are on sound ground.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Evening and Sunday Bulletin, Feb. 27, 1966]

CRUSADER DIRKSEN AGAIN

In the Constitutional Convention which met here during the hot summer of 1787 there developed a dangerous tug of war between big States and little ones. The principle of one-man, one-vote (lately enunciated by the U.S. Supreme Court) would have put Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, and Virginia in full control. Compromise offered the way out: a Senate in which States were equal, a House based on population.

This makeshift arrangement has been copied in nearly all the States, though the reasons were not so binding. It is now to be scrapped in the States for the one-man, one-vote principle under ruling of the Supreme Court; and few question the Court's capacity to make such a ruling. Not everyone, though, thinks it wise.

A leader in the opposition is U.S. Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, who has organized committees in all 50 States for the purpose of furthering a U.S. constitutional amendment permitting one of the houses of bicameral legislatures to be chosen on a basis other than population. Mr. DIRKSEN is conservative, and so are most of the members of his committee. But the Senator from Illinois has repeatedly demonstrated in recent years that he is a skillful operator when it comes to legislation—and that he is by no means a blind mossback. His cooperation with Democratic Presidents is on the record

The present venture can and will be argued vigorously. Senator DIRKSEN's backers have two strong points: (1) the Federal makeshift has worked extraordinarily well for 177 years; and (2) in copying the national system of a continuing body of elder men to temper the responsiveness of the lower houses, the States can point to successes of their own in foolish laws never passed.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Evening and Sunday Bulletin, Aug. 6, 1965]

DEMOCRACY AND THE MAJORITY

It is rather ironic that the Dirksen amendment has been defeated by a minority of Senators—a minority whose principal argument has been that minorities have had too much power in State legislatures.

The requirement that a constitutional amendment must have a two-thirds vote in both Houses of Congress as well as the approval of three-fourths of the State legislatures is one of many safeguards in American constitutional law and political practice against the sometimes harsh rule of simple majorities. Unequal legislative districting has been another such safeguard; and although this has sometimes been abused to perpetuate rural domination of legislatures long after urban interests should have prevailed, it has not been without its beneficial applications as well.

Whatever Senator DIRKSEN may now decide to do—and the prospects for eventual approval of his amendment grow dimmer as State reapportionment proceeds—the country owes him its gratitude for dramatizing the uneasy feelings that many Americans have about the unrelenting application of stern mathematics to the subtleties of representative democracy.

If Congress is foreclosed from doing it, the courts would seem to have a duty to pursue with increased perception and care the basic goal of fair representation for all in the legislative machinery of America. The two-party system creates a strong bias toward "winner takes all." At the same time it makes schemes of proportional representation to protect minorities largely unworkable. Instead, apportionment and districting have been used—as well as misused—to help insure that ethnic, social, economic, and political grouping have their proper weight, for as Prof. Robert G. Dixon, Jr., of the George Washington University Law School has observed, "Groups are as relevant as individuals" in "a dynamically democratic public order."

The Dirksen amendment would at least have allowed the voters of a State to choose between one-man, one-vote apportionment for one house of their legislature and alternate plans taking varying special interests into account. A Senate majority favored giving the majority of voters this right. If the courts are really as attached to the majoritarian concept of democracy as they have lately seemed to be, they might well heed this clear signal that many—perhaps most—Americans are prepared to exercise their political power with enough restraint to give the other fellow—outnumbered or not—a fair shake.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Evening and Sunday Bulletin, Jan. 10, 1965]

LEGISLATURES AND ONE MAN, ONE VOTE

Senator DIRKSEN and Representative McCULLOCH are pushing in Congress for a constitutional amendment to permit the individual State legislatures—if they want to—to apportion one house of a two-house legislature on some other basis than population, in contradiction to the U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote ruling of last June.

Under the proposed amendment, however, any apportionment based on other than population would have to be approved by the States voters in a referendum.

Governor Scranton called for such a constitutional amendment in his message to the Pennsylvania Legislature on Tuesday.

Granted, it is going to be tough if not impossible to get the amendment through the intricate procedures required for any constitutional revision. Nevertheless, the proposal has real merit.

It should be noted that no State would have to apportion on any other basis than population under the amendment; the States would merely have the right to, provided their voters approved.

In many States there is no good reason for apportionment of an upper house on any basis other than population. Pennsylvania's Senate, for example, comes pretty close to being apportioned on a population basis right now, and there is no logical reason for any other system here. This is because Pennsylvania is relatively balanced in population between those who live in cities, those who live in suburbs, and those who live in rural areas. Thus all interests can be adequately represented.

But take a State—and there are several—which has a heavy concentration of population in one small area and an extremely sparse population spread over a vast area.

It is most certainly conceivable that the interests of the vast, sparsely populated area, which might include tourist development, roads for lumbering, etc., could be totally ignored by a legislature heavily dominated by urban interests.

The Supreme Court based its ruling on the U.S. Constitution, of course, but at the same time its decision came awfully close to infringing on our fundamental system of checks and balances between the three coordinate branches of government—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Evening and Sunday Bulletin, July 25, 1965]

THE GLUE OF UNITY

A Senate committee is deadlocked on the Dirksen constitutional amendment that would allow apportionment of one house of a State legislature on nonpopulation factors, if the State's voters approved such a plan both initially and after each 10-year census. As a result, Senator Dirksen has used an unusual parliamentary ploy to get his proposal before the Senate as a substitute for a minor bill, warning that he's "playing for keeps."

The amendment seeks to temper the historic one-man, one-vote decision of the Supreme Court a year ago, which already has forced some 40 State legislatures to reapportion their seats or consider doing so, and has also been successfully cited to challenge apportionment of many local governing bodies.

Rural interests have protested at the real or prospective loss of their historic leverage and fear they will be run over, while urban spokesmen have, of course, responded that their needs long have been shortchanged by rural-dominated legislatures. Both are right, in large measure. The dilemma is as old as the Republic.

The answer is compromise—but one that is reasonably responsive to the changing character of the country, not frozen in favor of shrinking minority interests, as was the case before the Supreme Court acted.

The Nation does seem to be becoming politically more homogeneous; that is, the main governmental concerns of most citizens are more and more alike. But important differences will long endure. Such unity as this Nation of infinite variety has been able to achieve has been largely grounded, as wise statesmen since Calhoun have clearly perceived, on the ingenuity with which it has allowed the majority to work its will without trampling minorities into the dust.

The High Court's ruling was perhaps necessarily legalistic and sweeping; more finely tuned legislative remedies had been blocked by the very problem that needed correction. But now that the Court has established the principle, progress toward its implementation might reasonably be better matched to the varying pace of change in the several States.

Changes already approved in the Dirksen proposal insure against the "repeal of progress" that some fear it portends. No State could depart from one man, one vote without a majority of its voters approving—and reviewing such departures every decade. And the majority would be assured control of at least one house, providing ample bargaining power.

Senator Javits insists the courts should be kept in charge of any deviations from one man, one vote, but this principle seems well preserved at the heart of the Dirksen amendment. If referred to the States, it could afford an excellent opportunity for review and adjustment of a compromise that is the very glue of American unity.

[From the Charleston (S.C.) Evening Post, Dec. 23, 1965]

MR. DIRKSEN AT BAT

The South Carolina Senate, near tears over the recent discovery that it has been unconstitutional for 176 years, might be cheered to know that Senator Dirksen still hopes to restore relevant portions of the Constitution to their former shape. A bill for that purpose, Senate Joint Resolution 103, has already been introduced and has cleared committee. It awaits action at the coming session of Congress.

Needless to observe, a good many sharpshooters are lying in ambush along the way. These gentlemen have already polished off one of Mr. Dirksen's apportionment bills, and it would be foolish to think that they are out of ammunition. At the same time, Senate Joint Resolution 103 is very much alive, if not yet kicking. There is some reason to hope.

Mr. Dirksen's original measure, which he substituted for a minor bill to designate the dates for National American Legion Baseball Week failed on a rollcall vote last August 4. But whereas the Senate shrank from giving the bill the necessary two-thirds majority, 57 Senators voted for the bill and only 39 against. In short, the Dirksen bill came within seven votes of success.

The new version may stand a better chance. Like its forerunner, Senate Joint Resolution 103 would amend the Constitution so as to allow one house of each State legislature to be apportioned on some basis other than population. Because it would amend the Constitution, a two-thirds majority is needed. But the new Dirksen proposal enjoys several advantages over its predecessor.

To begin with, it is not being sneaked through the service entrance as a bill to establish American Legion Baseball Week. It will enter the Senate through the front door, having first obtained permission from the proper committee.

The committee's report, when it is issued, will fall short of enthusiastic endorsement. In fact, a little political leverage having to do with the administration's immigration bill was needed to pry loose the committee's grip. But the grip was loosened, and the new bill is perfectly respectable. No man need be ashamed to support it.

Other circumstances augur well for this bill, too. Since the Supreme Court's preposterous decision in *Reynolds* v. *Sims,* in which the Court said that both houses of State legislatures had to comply with the one-man, one-vote dictum, the States themselves have been busy. So far 28 of them have petitioned Congress to call a constitutional convention to undo the Court's mischief. This is 6 short of the 34 required to call such a convention, but an additional 13 States expresesd their displeasure with the Court in other ways, some by memorializing Congress to act.

Congress has never called a constitutional convention, and it probably never will. Such an assembly, once created, would not have to confine its deliberations to reapportionment. It could range over a wide area, striking sections of the supreme law as fancy dictated and adding others. It has never appealed to Congress to delegate such powers. But Congress has proposed its own amendments, and it has always done so when the threat of a convention call seemed real.

Twenty-eight requests are likely to seem remarkably real when Congress reconvenes. A little prodding here and a little pleading there, and Senator Dirksen's proposal may come to be regarded as a work of genuine statesmanship. The outlook is pure Mudsville right now, but hold on. Baseball Week was last year.

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Apr. 11, 1966]

RESCUE FOR RIGHTS

While reapportionment of the State senate under orders of a U.S. court is an accomplished fact in South Carolina, an important struggle is proceeding in the U.S. Senate to reassert the people's right to apportion State legislatures as they choose.

The pending legislation, known as the Dirksen amendment, has many supporters in Congress, liberals as well as conservatives. Among those who approve of the amendment are supporters of the belief that the American people can be trusted to govern themselves.

Senator Frank Church, Democrat, of Idaho, is a liberal who favors the amendment. He pointed out in a recent speech that the apportionment decisions of the Supreme Court, "while based upon the laudable argument that State legislatures should be apportioned strictly in accordance with population, have the effect of prohibiting the people from organizing their own State legislatures in any other way. This goes too far."

Senator Church argued that the people of any State should be entitled to establish a State senate in which each county would enjoy equal representation.

Senator Everett Dirksen, Republican, of Illinois, and other sponsors of the amendment want to restore a freedom that the Supreme Court destroyed. They deserve the support of all citizens who believe in the capacity of the American people to decide for themselves how their laws should be written.

[From the Huron (S. Dak.) Daily Plainsman, Mar. 17, 1965]

ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE APPORTIONMENT RULE COULD BE MODIFIED IN CONSTITUTION

Application of the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote rule to the apportionment of State legislature is having disturbing side effects all over the country.

South Dakotans saw legislative action on important measures stymied by a partisan scrap over reapportionment; Californians apparently are giving passing interest to a partition of the populous southern half into a separate State; and in other States where rural minorities hold power through outdated apportionments, legislatures are faced with court compulsion to act.

Our legislature showed little resistance to one-man, one-vote apportionment and argued only over district lines. Yet South Dakota, by legislative resolution, joined the parade of States asking Congress to call a constitutional convention to draft an amendment to permit States to apportion one house of their legislatures on a basis other than population. Twenty-two States have joined this movement.

If two-thirds of the States join this parade, it will be the first time in the history of the Union that an amendment has been initiated by the States. But Congress may propose its own amendment before the convention call is made.

A Senate committee is conducting hearings on the proposal of Senator Everett Dirksen, Republican, of Illinois, which would permit the nonpopulation apportionment of one house if the plan were approved by the voters of a State. This plan has the advantage of being extremely simple and, for this reason, possibly flexible enough to be adopted by many States without completely upsetting one house of their legislature.

There is still a serious question of the propriety of the Supreme Court decision to force reapportionment within the individual States. And there is an equally serious argument that apportionment by Federal authority could be carried all of the way down to local school districts. Although such a situation would be ludicrous, it would simply be an extension of Federal enforcement of the one-man, one-vote rule to the last logical extreme.

If the Congress is to draft new legislation affecting apportionment of legislatures, the Dirksen plan is simple and at least allows the States the same leeway in apportioning one house of a bicameral legislature on a nonpopulation basis that the U.S. Senate itself enjoys.

[From the Chattanooga (Tenn.) News-Free Press, Apr. 14, 1966]

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

When the newly independent American Colonies, soon to become States in the United

States of America, devised the Constitution that was to provide the basis for the new country, it was agreed that representation in the legislative body, the Congress, should be based on population for the House of Representatives and on political subdivisions for the Senate.

In other words, the number of Representatives was to depend upon the number of people, but the number of Senators was to be equal for all States, two for populous New York and two for tiny Rhode Island, and two for each of the others.

This arrangement was a great compromise that permitted the Constitution to come into being. This was a key to the creation of the Union by the States.

There was nothing in the Constitution that said the States could not make the same arrangements for their own legislatures, nor was there anything that said they had to follow the same pattern. Whatever they did was State business. Nor has the Constitution of the United States been amended with any intent to deprive the States of their power of individual decision on legislative representation.

But a few years ago, the U.S. Supreme Court, following the ever-extending pattern of arrogating to itself the power to dictate in matters which it has no business dictating, ruled without sound basis that States must apportion both houses of their legislatures according to population. The ruling has been given the appealing description of one man, one vote.

Some States had followed the national pattern, and provided for one house of their legislature to be apportioned according to population and one house to be based on geography or political subdivisions. Tennessee, by contrast, provided for both houses of its general assembly to be based on population. Many States, whatever their representational formulas, failed to live up to them, not apportioning according to their own rules. Tennessee was one of these. Tennessee now has been forced by Federal court action to do what it should have done without Federal intervention, apportion as Tennessee's constitution says.

We believe Tennessee's plan for representation of both legislative houses according to population is a good plan for Tennessee. We believe it ought to be lived up to with regular reapportionment every 10 years, as constitutionally required, to keep pace with population changes. But we don't believe the 49 other States of the Union ought to have to have the same formula as Tennessee if their people want something different, just as we don't believe the U.S. Senate seats ought to be apportioned on the basis of population just because Tennessee sets its senate up that way.

The Supreme Court was in gross error, we believe, in usurping authority to demand that all State legislatures be apportioned by population.

To undo the error of the Supreme Court and to return to the States and their people the right that the Federal Constitution's framers and amenders never intended to take away from them, Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, has introduced a proposal for a constitutional government. Opponents claim this would overcome the one-man, one-vote idea. Senator DIRKSEN has corrected them by pointing out that his amendment would only let the people decide for themselves, would give the people a choice, and would allow them to reconsider it periodically.

We believe this is sound and reasonable. If the Dirksen amendment were adopted, we do not think Tennessee necessarily ought to change its system. Some States might prefer other systems. Every State ought to have a right of free choice. The Supreme Court has wrongfully denied free choice.

The Dirksen amendment proposal is currently before the Senate and a showdown vote is due next week. The outcome will be close. We favor the plan to let the people of each State decide for themselves.

[From the Jackson (Tenn.) Sun, Jan. 26, 1966]

STATE LEGISLATURES AND DIRKSEN'S PLANS

The expressed purposes behind Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN's announced formation of a Committee for Government of the People deserve hard thought on the part of every citizen.

In short, the distinguished Senator and the committee of which he is chairman are seeking nationwide support of a proposed constitutional amendment which would let the people of States decide how their legislatures shall be apportioned.

The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled, instead, that both houses of a State legislature shall be apportioned on a population basis—a ruling which upsets a long-cherished practice that a State could apportion one house along geographical lines, affording a system of checks and balances.

Senator DIRKSEN's own words provide the food for hard thought:

"The traditional balance of one house based upon population apportionment and one house based upon area representation has been invalidated. The seeds of destruction have been planted which, if allowed to flourish, will destroy our traditional concept of assuring the small and the weak and the minority a forum in which to be heard. The very value of the universal franchise within a democracy has been jeopardized.

"For if we apportion our States solely on the basis of population, the control of our States surely will be vested in the hands of the selfish few who can control the greatest blocks of votes within the few greatest cities, be they party functionaries, labor leaders, or other self-servers who are in no way responsible to the will of the people.

"And if these political and big city labor leaders control the cities and the legislatures—with no option left to the people to correct abuses—then they will control the apportionment of congressional districts, the selection of delegates to our national political conventions, the exercise of election laws themselves, appointments by Governors respectful of concentrated power, the functions of regulatory agencies, and the whole spectrum of State legislation, including taxation, welfare, banking, interest rates, labor law, housing, education, transportation and highways, marketing, utilities, water, air pollution, construction, public ownership, and a host of other subjects influencing every business, every farm, every jobholder and wage earner in this country.

"When that day arrives—as it surely will if the people are left no recourse in the composition of their legislatures—our long and largely successful struggle to rid our political system of political bossism will indeed be lost. And on that day, the Republic we love will be critically sick.

"And so I say, down the road paved with distrust for the people, to the devil with the rights of minorities, lies a concentration of political power far more devastating than any against which our forefathers rebelled. At the end of this road lies concentrated power in the hands of a few self-serving manipulators to control the legislative and executive branches of our State and Federal governments, to dictate the destiny of the American Republic—and voiceless voters.

"These would-be bosses today champion the 'population only' cause. Why? Because behind its ring of fairness they see control of State legislatures falling into their hands. Yet these same champions already say the people can't be trusted whenever many of us in the Congress say, let the people decide.

"This is an issue the people themselves must decide. Instead of locking State legislatures into a permanent, inflexible apportionment, we say let the people of each State choose once every 10 years between alternative plans, whether they want to apportion both houses of their legislature on a population basis, or whether they want to apportion one of those two houses on a geographic basis in the traditional way.

"That is what the proposed amendment would do. There is nothing mandatory about it, except to give the people the chance to make a choice—the very chance that would be denied them by those who now talk so glibly about one man, one vote."

[From the El Paso (Tex.) Times, Aug. 6, 1966]

KEEP ON FIGHTING

A majority of the U.S. Senate agreed with the Republican leader, Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois, that the Supreme Court's decision that State legislatures must have a membership based on population in both houses was wrong and should be changed.

The vote on Senator DIRKSEN's proposed constitutional amendment was 57 to 31, 7 short of the necessary two-thirds majority.

We agree with Senator DIRKSEN. We insist that the States should have the right to determine how the members of their legislatures are elected, how many members those legislatures should have, and what basis is used in districting the various States.

Senator DIRKSEN promised to keep on fighting. We think the Senate vote gave him the needed encouragement. He said:

"I am not going to let a court somehow destroy this great inheritance—the greatest government on the face of the earth."

Senator DIRKSEN said an integral part of this Government is the constitutional provision guaranteeing to each State a "republican form of government."

That is something the modern ultraliberals in Congress have chosen to ignore.

Repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act was proof that those liberals flatly refuse to consider States rights.

We wonder what those liberals will do next.

[From the Salt Lake City (Utah) Deseret News, Apr. 12, 1966]

WHOM DO YOU TRUST?

Soon, now that Congress is back to work following the Easter recess, a decision is expected on whether or not majority rule, popular control of the Government, and States' rights still mean anything in America.

The Senate is expected to act soon on the Dirksen reapportionment amendment, Senate Joint Resolution 103, and all those issues are at stake.

The amendment would make it possible, but not mandatory, for the States to apportion one house of the State legislature on the basis of geographic or other factors, when approved by a majority vote of the people.

To make both chambers of a legislature virtual carbon copies of each other is to erode the system of checks and balances that is such an important guardian of our individual liberties.

By contrast, the Dirksen amendment would place the right to determine the composition of State legislatures where it belongs—with the people of the States. Failure to adopt it will be a denial of majority rule to the people of the States.

As Senator GEORGE SMATHERS, of Florida, put it, "We who support the Dirksen amendment are willing to trust the people." Is Congress willing to do the same?

[From the Salt Lake City (Utah) Deseret News, Feb. 11, 1966]

Let the People Decide

With the belated demise of the right to work repeal issue in the 89th Congress this week, the Nation's lawmakers can at long last get down to more vital business.

Before the issue fades away, however, a word of thanks is in order for those who crossed party lines to allow the individual States to decide whether or not they want right-to-work laws. Among them were Democratic Senators **Alan Bible** and **Howard Cannon** of Nevada, and **Carl Hayden** of Arizona. It's encouraging to know that there are those in public life who put principle ahead of political expediency. If the moral tone of this country is to be what it should be we will need more of them.

The issue, of course, is far from being completely dead. Now the battleground is expected to shift to the State legislatures. As it does, Congress should promptly turn its attention to the Dirksen amendment as one of its first orders of business.

The Dirksen amendment, Senate Joint Resolution 103, would permit States to elect members of one house of the legislature on some basis other that population, just as is now done in Congress itself. Moreover, it would require each State to reapportion its legislature every 10 years.

This amendment is needed because in 1964 the U.S. Supreme Court, in seeking to prod States which had been much too tardy about reapportioning, required both chambers of State legislatures to be selected on a population basis.

If this requirement persists, the two chambers will become virtual carbon copies of each other, eroding the system of checks and balances that is such a vital part of our American heritage.

In Utah, because of the way our population is concentrated, strict application of the rule could put control of the legislature in the hands of just a few Wasatch Front counties.

In Nevada, it would put Las Vegas and its immediate environs in control of the entire State.

Indeed, as Senator **Everett Dirksen** himself has noted: "If we apportion our States solely on the basis of population, the control of our States surely will be vested in the hands of the selfish few who can control the greatest blocks of votes within the few greatest cities, be they party functionaries, labor leaders or other self-servers who are in no way responsible to the will of the people."

As an indication of how the people feel about the Dirksen proposal, 28 State legislatures have called upon Congress to call a constitutional convention to adopt such an amendment, while 3 more have memorialized Congress to pass an amendment itself.

Just as Congress decided to let the individual States decide whether or not they want right-to-work laws, so should the States be allowed to decide the composition of their own State governments.

[From the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch, June 30, 1965]

Against One Man, One Vote

There is still a fair chance that one branch of each State legislature can be legally reapportioned on the basis of something besides population alone. The U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision may yet be modified by constitutional amendment.

It is interesting to note that President Lyndon B. Johnson is keeping "hands off" on this one. Furthermore, two of the leading liberals in the Senate, where debate is about to begin—**Javits**, of New York and **Kuchel**, of California—are both understood to favor the amendment.

If L.B.J. were to engage in his usual orgy of arm twisting, the amendment wouldn't have a chance. Why he is remaining aloof, isn't clear; maybe the fact that Senator **Everett Dirksen**, of Illinois is leading the fight for the amendment explains the President's passive attitude. **Dirksen** has rendered invaluable aid to Johnson on some of the latter's crucially important legislation, and the White House may be doing him a reciprocal favor.

At all events, it appears that the amendment may squeak through with the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate, despite the filibuster to be mounted by some of the liberals. When Southerners use the filibuster, they're enemies of civilization and agents of the devil, but in the hands of a Northern or Western liberal, the filibuster is automatically transformed into something high and noble.

But despite the most intensive effort these liberals can put on, the amendment may pass the Senate by a whisker. In that event, its chances of getting the required two-thirds in the House would then be much improved. After that, of course, it would have to be approved by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States.

So the process is a long and difficult one, and Senator **Dirksen** and his allies may come a cropper before it is completed. On the other hand, the outlook for the amendment is by no means hopeless.

It certainly should be adopted. The one-man, one-vote dictum of the Supreme Court is on a par with many of the other unsound opinions handed down by that tribunal in late years.

If both branches of every general assembly were to be apportioned solely on the basis of population, with no regard for geography, economic interests, or local customs and preferences, most of the country would soon be dominated by the heavily populated urban areas.

The Congress of the United States has a branch, the Senate, whose Members are elected with no regard whatever for population; i.e., with two Senators to each State, whether that State be New York or Nevada.

All that is being asked here is that the people of every State be allowed to vote on whether they wish to apportion one branch of their State legislature on the basis of considerations other than mere population.

In Virginia, we had a reapportionment last December which transferred eight house seats and three senate seats from rural to urban areas—as was only right and proper. It was done pursuant to the one-man, one-vote ruling of the Supreme Court, but it did not go to such extremes as has happened in some States—and could conceivably happen in Virginia, if this latest Virginia reapportionment should be overturned in the courts.

But passage of the pending constitutional amendment would protect Virginia and the other States. If it isn't passed, much of the country will be dominated almost completely, in a few years, by the big city machines. These, in many instances—albeit not in Virginia—are controlled by the least admirable elements of their communities, and are shot through with graft.

It is vital to the future of the Nation that the protective amendment be approved.

[From the Norfolk (Va.) Ledger-Star, Jan. 3, 1966]

The Dirksen Bill's Chances

The other day on the page opposite this one, Columnist John Chamberlain mulled rather gloomily over the prospects for Senator **Dirksen**'s constitutional amendment on apportionment.

This is an amendment to allow States to apportion one house of a two-house legislature on a basis other than population. It would thus create an exception—a most valid one to our way of thinking—to the blanket one-man, one-vote edict of the Supreme Court.

Mr. Chamberlain's point was that even if the Senator should get his bill through Congress on the impending second try, it would still confront the hurdle of ratification by State legislatures. And since many of these will have been reapportioned on the one-man, one-vote basis, they wouldn't be likely to vote against their vested interest.

Perhaps there is much validity to this assessment. But we would think it depends on how radically the one-man, one-vote reapportionments are changing the political coloration of the affected legislatures.

In Virginia, for example, we doubt that the predominant legislative view has been changed sufficiently by redistricting to prevent ratification of such an amendment. And there would be many other States, we believe, still sympathetic to allowing that nonpopulation form of representation which can be a healthy check on mass rule. For it is a form so basic to the American system as to be incorporated in the constitutional structure of the Federal Government itself. That is, in the equal representation given the States, regardless of population, in the U.S. Senate.

Further on the favorable side there is the fact that no State legislature, however constituted, would be voting to "do away with itself." This would be a permissive amendment. A State could apportion one house on nonpopulation lines if it wished; there would be nothing compulsory. And we would suspect that many legislators, even though elected on a population basis themselves, still believe enough in the free choices and principles cherished by America's founders to support such latitude of action among the States.

We would surely hope that there are enough of them, in the Congress and in the State assemblies, to give Senator **Dirksen**'s amendment a somewhat better chance for adoption than Mr. Chamberlain foresees. The issue at least ought to be pressed far enough to test sentiment at that point nearest the people, which is in the State lawmaking bodies.

[From the Norfolk, Va., Ledger-Star, Aug. 10, 1965]

Senator Dirksen Keeps Fighting

It is heartening that Senator **Dirksen** is devoting further study to his proposed Constitutional amendment on reapportionment of State legislatures. Apparently undiscouraged after the proposal's defeat by his colleagues, the Senator from Illinois plans to revise the measure and submit it again.

The amendment would allow States some relief from the one-man one-vote edict of the Supreme Court by permitting apportionment of one house of a State legislature on considerations other than population. The proposal was favored in the Senate, 57-39, but short of the two-thirds majority required on constitutional amendments.

The Dirksen amendment, we believe, is soundly based. It would reestablish State authority to set up lawmaking in much the manner the Constitution spells out on the Federal level, where population is not a basis for representation in the Senate.

Many States, of course, have long based apportionment of both legislative bodies along population grounds. In Virginia, the general assembly's makeup was guided generally by population factors even before the recent redistricting.

But, doesn't this choice belong to the individual States? Shouldn't it be returned to them?

Elsewhere on today's page, Mr. William S. White discusses the amendment's failure in the Senate and observes sadly that the defeat was somewhat academic since the measure had little chance of surviving the Judiciary Committee in the House.

Still, it is encouraging to us that Senator DIRKSEN hasn't given up.

The Senate minority leader not only is tenacious; he is a man of respected prowess in the ways of legislative operation. Importantly, too, he is a practical politician. And the fact that he sees enough hope for his reapportionment amendment to direct further energies toward its passage provides us with hope also.

[From the Norfolk, Va., Ledger-Star, July 2, 1965]

AMENDMENT OFF TO A GOOD START

The Dirksen reapportionment amendment has come through an important early test. And in very good shape.

A Senate Judiciary subcommittee has approved the plan by a lopsided majority of 6-to-2, and even the opponents on the subcommittee are predicting that the amendment will win the backing of the full Judiciary Committee.

The purpose of the proposal is to amend the U.S. Constitution to permit the apportionment of one house of State legislatures on a basis other than population, in much the same way that the U.S. Senate has its seats allocated. Such apportionment at the State level is now forbidden by the one-man one-vote premise laid down by the Supreme Court.

A constitutional amendment to reverse the Supreme Court on this point and reestablish State authority to set up little Federal legislative machinery is very much in order, we believe.

For the court, in its prohibitive ruling, subscribed to a head-count type of State government which ignores both the wisdom of this country's founders and the very obvious merits of putting some kind of check on what in some instances could be no more than mob rule.

The genius of the American system lies in such checks and balances all along the line. This kind of thing is a potent safeguard against both runaway "popular" government on the one hand and tyrannical concentration of power in a few hands. The popular will of the moment is not always the wisest course. If nothing else, the counterweight of a legislative chamber like the U.S. Senate (where each State has the same power regardless of population) can slow down some emotional stampede while more sober second thoughts are brought to bear.

If such a system is sound for the national legislative body, it is no less sound for a State, in which many elements other than population can properly be given weight in the lawmaking process. Should the people of a State not want such a bicameral structure, all very well. But under the Supreme Court fiat, they don't even have a choice. It's one-man, one-vote representation, and that's the end of it, under a theory of democratic equity which the justices plucked out of the air rather than seeking the basis for a decision in the Constitution and intent of the country's original architects.

The amendment plan sponsored by Senator DIRKSEN would put the Nation back on the right track, and though the original proposal has undergone some alterations in committee, no damage to its chief objective has been done. In fact, the changes so far might help, both in winning the support it will need to survive the opposition (a filibuster by liberal elements is threatened on the Senate floor) and in keeping the anti-Supreme Court sentiment from going too far.

For one thing some debatable language has been cut out. It is language which some thought would fence the Supreme Court out of apportionment cases altogether, though the Dirksen forces denied it. For another, a provision has been added which would resubmit to the people, after every 10-year census, any apportionment plan in which one State legislative chamber has been apportioned on a basis other than population.

All told, the prospects look encouragingly bright for correcting a grievous Supreme Court departure from a principle which has served the country and many of its States exceedingly well.

[From the Daily Advance, Apr. 2, 1966]

A LOSING BATTLE, WE FEAR

How goes Senator DIRKSEN's proposed amendment aimed at modifying the U.S. Supreme Court's iniquitous one-man, one-vote State reapportionment rule?

We would like to point to an enormous volume of mail from the grassroots favoring the amendment, the fine work done by a newly formed organization called the Committee for Government of the People, and express confidence in the eventual success of a worthy cause.

But the bald facts concerning the progress of the DIRKSEN proposal can produce little more than a spirit of defeatism among Americans who hoped that somehow this unconstitutional edict of the high tribunal could be nullified by action of the Congress and State legislatures.

The cards are heavily stacked against this happening in the foreseeable future.

One usually reliable Washington correspondent—Bruce Biossat of the Newspaper Enterprise Association—reported the other day that realistic nosecounters say the measure is unlikely to muster any more support in the Senate than it drew last summer, when it fell seven votes short of the two-thirds needed for a constitutional amendment.

The proposal could come up for debate soon after the Senate's Easter recess, if DIRKSEN holds Majority Leader MANSFIELD to his agreement. Foes of the amendment say they welcome an early vote and won't filibuster. Dirksen forces have suggested debate might last no more than 3 days.

Contrary to published account, Mr. Biossat writes, Senator DIRKSEN has no plan to liberalize his proposal further in hope of attracting sufficient additional votes to put it across. DIRKSEN has already modified the measure several times without crucial benefit. To soften it again would smack of the absurd.

But even if the amendment could clear the Senate it would still face the toughest sort of going in the States.

By election time in November probably 42 or 43 of the States will have seen their legislatures either permanently or temporarily reapportioned in both houses in accordance with the one-man, one-vote rule. Right now 14 States already have legislature bodies thus redistricted. Another 27 States appear certain to elect their bodies on the one-man, one-vote principle this fall. Of the remaining seven States, four are under Court order to change their legislatures and are taking action but need not meet a 1966 election deadline. Two are merely at the court-challenge stage and one, Maine, plans to submit a constitutional amendment altering senate apportionment to the voters. By December, then, at least 42 States will have one-man, one-vote deals operative.

The Dirksen amendment would have to be ratified by 38 State legislatures, assuming congressional passage. It's difficult to imagine that dozens of legislatures newly weighted toward city-suburban representation would approve a proposal which would threaten their ascending political power.

And the prospects for winning the battle against judicial tyranny seem depressingly dim. The rights of the States and of the individual citizen appear destined to absorb another shellacking from nine powerful men—or at least a majority of those nine.

[From the Daily Advance, Feb. 16, 1966]

DIRKSEN'S NEW BATTLE

Senate Minority Leader EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, of Illinois, has just won a valiant victory in Congress in behalf of individual rights.

But he isn't resting on his laurels. Another struggle—this time against the unconstitutional one-man, one-vote ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court—is underway. The terrain is more tortuous than that encountered in the fight to save section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, and the prospects of eventual triumph slimmer.

But a mighty campaign beginning at the grassroots level to get this vital issue before the American people is well underway, and before it is done the liberal Senate bloc and a coalition of organized labor leaders and big-city bosses planning to take over control of the State legislatures will know they've been in a real scrap.

At the last session of Congress, a constitutional amendment (usually referred to as the Dirksen amendment because of its No. 1 "quarterback") was offered in the Senate. Its purpose was "* * * to preserve to the people of each State power to determine the composition of its legislature and the apportionment of the membership thereof in accordance with law and the provisions of the Constitution of the United States." There were 57 yea votes against only 39 nays. However, the amendment was rejected because the necessary two-thirds majority wasn't obtained.

The proamendment arguments are many and varied. Justice Harlan, in dissenting from one of the Court's reapportionment decisions, said: "* * * judicial entry into this realm is profoundly ill advised and constitutionally impermissible * * * the vitality of our political system, on which in the last analysis all else depends, is weakened by reliance on the judiciary for political reform; in time a complacent body politic may result."

A different kind of argument comes from DIRKSEN himself: "The question is not one of rural domination or urban domination or ethnic domination or labor domination or any other type of dominatoin. The issue, simply, is whether the people of a State are to be allowed to determine for themselves the manner in which they would be governed."

Still another potent argument is put forward by the National Council for Fair Reapportionment, Inc.: "This amendment will cure the present situation in which a bare majority of the voters can deny representation in the State legislatures to all other individuals. * * * It will protect racial and religious minorities. * * * This amendment provides for the minority representation in the halls of government and the protection of rights of the individual to paticipate. * * * This amendment will make government more democratic because it will insure the appropriate representation in the State legislature of the 49 percent of the people who might otherwise be denied representation."

Senator DIRKSEN asks the American people these questions:

Will you, and the other citizens of your State, be able to decide by open, free, majority vote how you wish to be represented in your own State legislature? Or will a Federal court do it for you?

And then he points out that the people have had the privilege of deciding this matter since the Constitution was adopted. It has been reaffirmed and reguaranteed through the years by political practice and by eminent court justices, including the U.S. Supreme

Court itself. Then a 6-3 decision in 1964 took this right away. From now on and almost at once, the Court majority said, each house in the State legislature must be made up of districts "equal" in population. Nothing else would do.

"Six judges thereby not only left you no choice. They left you no opportunity even to discuss or debate the question. Yet it's your legislature they've shaping for you. * * * What is really at issue here is not whether 'equal population' districts are, or are not, better. The issue is simply whether the people can continue to make the choice."

It has been pointed out that the supreme irony of the drama about to unfold is that the severest critics of the Dirksen amendment will be Senators who themselves are not chosen by one man, one vote. They're elected by a process wisely devised by our Founding Fathers that recognizes the importance of considering geography in electing U.S. Senators. The fact that the system has worked well for 176 years refutes the claim that there is need to abandon the same system in States.

In taking a "hunting expedition" to find specious reasons to deny States this most basic right, the Supreme Court has actually struck a blow against minority and rural interests that could seriously undermine State governments.

Those concerned with preventing this should back Senator Dirksen and his forces to the hilt. A groundswell from the populace—it is hoped that the newly organized Committee for Government of the People will do much to bring this about—may shake just enough of our solons to get that necessary two-thirds. And already 26 States have passed resolutions calling for a national constitutional convention to assure that the amendment goes before the people. Approval of only six more States is needed.

[From the Norfolk (Va.) Ledger-Star, Dec. 10, 1965]

One-Man, One-Vote Mischief

Federal Judge Walter Hoffman had little choice, outside the question of timing and method, in decreeing that Virginia Beach and Chesapeake must reapportion to put the election of councilmen on a one-man, one-vote ratio.

The basic decision had already been made by the Supreme Court, and its application in the specific local cases was more of a formality than anything else.

But the premise contained much that was wrong to start with, and that wrongness now shows itself more clearly than ever in its inflexible application to two of our own local situations.

The extension of this rigid, oversimplified standard to Tidewater is no great victory for democracy; rather it is a serious complication for that local democracy under which two newly consolidated municipalities were working out difficult problems gradually and in their own agreed way.

It is very unlikely that South Norfolk and Norfolk County could have gotten together in the first place to form Cheasapeake, or Virginia Beach and Princess Anne County to form the enlarged City of Virginia Beach, if they had anticipated the early homogenization of their voting populations. So compromises were worked out which left much of the old representation systems intact, while an orderly transition to more uniform representation some time in the future was spelled out in the merger agreements and charters. It is these agreements that have now been shattered by the court's heavy-handedness; a one-man one-vote ratio must be established immediately, no matter what the localities themselves want.

And what is the Federal court's alternative, if the general assembly doesn't prescribe a system acceptable to the court next year? Well, the elections in the two cities would be made an at-large scramble.

And right there is part of the erroneous position of the Supreme Court's dictum to the Federal judiciary—that because an at-large election, with everyone voting for all candidates, adheres to the one-man one-vote idea it is therefore entirely fair and democratic and can be a quite righteous order of the court if no other acceptable plan is forthcoming.

At-large elections can admittedly be fair, but only under certain circumstances. U.S. Senators are properly elected at large in their States because they represent the State at large. And in certain communities which have achieved a close knitting of interests and which are not too big, geographically, an at-large system may be fine.

But in other places this method can be grossly unfair—perhaps putting control in the hands of men all from some particular neighborhood or clique and denying a voice entirely to other districts which have a right to exert their weight as a district. Certainly the unusual territorial expanse of Chesapeake and Virginia Beach, as well as widely differing interests in various parts of those cities, justify some type of district representation if that is what these cities prefer.

But under the Court ruling they are getting no choice: Either carve up the historic districts now and produce a new arrangement on a one-man one-vote pattern or go to at-large elections. And this decree so damages the delicately constructed merger agreements in one situation—Chesapeake—that an outright dissolution of the consolidation is being demanded by some leaders.

As the Nation sees more and more of such Federal ordering of local affairs, on the basis of the Supreme Court's magic formula, the argument becomes ever more weighty for the States to move ahead with their effort to curb this newly proclaimed Court power. That is, by securing an amendment to the U.S. Constitution which will specifically restore to the States and localities certain rights and prerogatives in shaping the representational structures of their own governments.

[From the Lynchburg (Va.) News, Apr. 15, 1966]

Let the People Decide

We can't make any sense out of the arguments against Senator Everett Dirksen's proposed amendment to let the people vote on whether or not they want one house of their State's legislature apportioned on a basis other than population.

Opponents of the bill—and let's identify them by their own political label: liberals—are contending that it would sanction malapportionment of legislatures.

Will somebody please explain how this can be so—if the people of an entire State vote on it, on a one-man, one-vote basis?

If a majority prefer both houses of a legislature apportioned according to the one-man, one-vote ruling laid down by the Supreme Court, they certainly would vote their preference—and that would be that. How could the one-man, one-vote champions lose?

What are they afraid of? Are they fearful that the people would prefer one house of their State legislatures to be apportioned on some other basis than population? It would seem so. In other words, it would seem that they don't want to give the people a chance to speak.

If, as the opponents of Senator Dirksen's amendment claim, the people want their State legislatures apportioned on a one-man, one-vote basis, a referendum would surely prove their claim.

If not—why should these elected representatives of the people want to deny their constituents their democratic right to govern themselves as they see fit, according to the U.S. Constitution?

What's wrong with letting the people decide?

Many of the same people who are fighting the Dirksen amendment were behind the attempt to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act—the provision which gives the people of each State the power to decide whether or not they want right-to-work laws. These same Members of Congress did not want the people to decide that issue for themselves, either.

It seems to us that these Congressmen and Senators don't trust the people they represent to make intelligent decisions.

Or is it that they fear the people won't vote the way they want them to?

This is a constitutional democracy—or supposed to be. People have the right to vote on issues as well as on candidates.

We have a deep sense of misgiving about elected officials and officeseekers who ask the people to vote for them—but don't want to give the people a chance to vote on issues that profoundly affect their rights under the Constitution.

[From the Lynchburg (Va.) News, Mar. 17, 1966]

The More They Say

"Organized labor could have made a deal with Senator Everett Dirksen, the Republican minority leader, by which he would have backed away from his filibuster against repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law. But AFL-CIO President George Meany considered the price too high. He balanced the narrow benefits which would accrue to more stable labor-management relations against the larger good affecting the State and National welfare, and said, 'No deal.'"

So wrote columnist Jack Herling in the Washington Daily News of February 8. Mr. Herling didn't say that such a "deal" was reported; he stated it as a fact.

Senator Dirksen took the floor of the Senate to challenge Herling's statements. The Senator declared there was "not a scintilla of fact or truth in the whole matter."

"I am not a dealer," he stated. "I know my mind. I know my convictions. I have some devotion to principle, and that is all I need for guidelines. I need no dealing with Mr. Meany or anyone else. I am sure that Mr. Meany would be the first to say that Everett Dirksen never approached him or any of his associates about a deal."

Herling accused Senator Dirksen of proposing to back away from a filibuster against repeal of the right-to-work laws in 19 States in return for support of his constitutional amendment on reapportionment.

The columnist wound up quoting Meany as refusing to "sell the people short for that kind of deal."

The more these people talk, the more they turn logic inside out. For Dirksen's constitutional amendment would permit the American people in the individual States to decide for themselves how they want to elect their legislatures.

But the Meanys of Big Labor, the Johnson administration and the Congress have steadfastly refused to let the people decide this matter for themselves. They don't want to give the people a chance to vote on it.

Nor do the Meanys want the people to decide for themselves whether they want right-to-work laws.

In both cases, the Meanys want their will forced upon the people by the Federal Government. In both cases, they refuse to let the people speak for themselves.

Some "champions" of the people! The hypocrites.

[From the Longview (Wash.), Daily News Apr. 8, 1966]

Let the People Decide

The arrangement of two Senators from each State has worked out fine for 180 years in Congress, but the Supreme Court has ruled that the same principle is unconstitutional for the States. Both houses in a State legislature must be formed on the basis of where the people are—not according to geography, as in the case of the U.S. Senate.

It is pointless to argue with the Supreme Court. If the Court rules that geographic apportionment of States is unconstitutional, then the remedy is to alter the Constitution, which can be done.

Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN of Illinois is head of a bipartisan group promoting a constitutional amendment. The amendment would permit States to choose, by popular vote, whether or not they want one house of the State legislature to be apportioned according to geography or by population.

This seems fair enough. If the arrangement gives any region an advantage, it would go to the heavily populated areas. The rural areas would be at a disadvantage in a vote to determine how the State should be apportioned.

If the Constitution remains as it is, political power will tend to concentrate even more in provincial urban centers. The problem with people in the larger cities, as those concentrated around Puget Sound, is that they are apt to become preoccupied with their own problems and ignore the rest of the State. We'd venture that the people in Longview, Ellensburg and Richland know a great deal more about Seattle than the other way around. There's a great deal more involved in a State than the number of people. Americans also have a tradition that the rights of minorities will be protected. Having one chamber in a State legislature based partly on geography would be a guarantee that the State won't be run by people who believe the world consists of what can be seen from the top of the Space Needle.

[From the Everett (Wash.) Herald, Apr. 5, 1966]

DIRKSEN'S AMENDMENT

Let's listen to U.S. Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN for a minute.

"When the Founding Fathers created this great Republic, in their wisdom they developed a magnificent new system of checks and balances not only among the several branches of government, but within the legislative branch itself and between the Federal and State systems, all to assure a balance of powers as against a concentration of powers such as preceded the independence of this Nation.

"But now it has fallen to the Members of this Congress—to the legislatures now sitting in the several States—and to the people of this great Nation—to preserve and continue the system embedded into our Constitution. The checks and balances we cherish as our American heritage today stand challenged as never before in the 180-year history of this Republic.

"I refer to the strange contention that the people cannot be trusted to vote on the composition of the State legislatures which govern them.

"By judicial decree, the Federal system in effect has been struck down. The traditional balance of one house based upon population apportionment and one house based upon area representation has been invalidated. The seeds of destruction have been planted which, if allowed to flourish, will destroy our traditional concept of assuring the small and the weak and the minority a forum in which to be heard. The very value of the universal franchise within a democracy has been jeopardized.

"For if we apportion our States solely on the basis of population, the control of our States surely will be vested in the hands of the selfish few who can control the greatest blocks of votes within the few greatest cities, be they party functionaries, labor leaders or other self-servers who are in no way responsible to the will of the people.

"And if these political and big city labor leaders control the cities and the legislatures—with no option left to the people to correct abuses—then they will control the apportionment of congressional districts, the selection of delegates to our national political conventions, the exercise of election laws themselves, appointments by Governors respectful of concentrated power, the functions of regulatory agencies, and the whole spectrum of State legislation, including taxation, welfare, banking, interest rates, labor laws, housing, education, transportation, and highways.

"When that day arrives—as it surely will if the people are left no recourse in the composition of their legislatures—our long and largely successful struggle to rid our political system of political bossism will indeed be lost. And on that day, the Republic we love will be critically sick.

"This is an issue the people themselves must decide. Instead of locking State legislatures into a permanent, inflexible apportionment, we say let the people of each State choose once every 10 years between alternative plans, whether they want to apportion both houses of their legislature on a population basis, or whether they want to apportion one of those two houses on a geographic basis in the traditional way.

"This is what the proposed amendment would do. There is nothing mandatory about it, except to give the people the chance to make a choice—the very chance that would be denied them by those who now talk so glibly about one man, one vote.

"We fought this battle last year, and we came within a very few votes of securing the two-thirds vote needed to move it through the Senate. We will fight the good fight again this year. I am here today to tell you we will not only move it through the Senate, we will pass it through the House and into the States for ratification."

[From the Spokane Spokesman-Review, June 27, 1965]

CONGRESS SHOULD CHALLENGE COURT

Some progress is being made in Congress on the proposal to amend the Federal Constitution with respect to State legislative apportionment.

The full Senate Judiciary Committee is expected to consider this week a measure, recently approved by a subcommittee, which would specifically guarantee the right of a State to apportion one house of its legislature on a basis other than population—if the State should so desire.

There is substantial nationwide backing for this principle, firmly imbedded in our governmental heritage for 175 years, until it was overthrown by U.S. Supreme Court ruling.

The so-called one-man, one-vote decision of 1964 was deplored by a dissenting Justice, Potter Stewart, who said the ruling "finds no support in the words of the Constitution, in any prior decision of this Court, or in the 175-year political history of our Federal Union."

The 1964 decision has created chaotic difficulties in many States across the land. It has been a basis for Federal judicial interference in a legislative matter rightfully belonging within the jurisdiction of the individual States.

The State of Washington was not directly affected by this particular decision, even though it was required by Federal judicial edict to reapportion its legislative districts. The fault was with the State's old apportionment law, which was deemed to be in violation of the State's own constitution—which has always required both houses of the legislature to be apportioned on a population basis.

The proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution is a direct challenge to Federal court authority to dictate to the States in a field of legislation previously reserved for State jurisdiction. Congress ought to challenge the court in this matter, and to provide the States an opportunity to ratify the proposed amendment.

This proposal bears the name of Senator DIRKSEN of Illinois, minority Republican leader, but it has had great bipartisan approval and support. The Senate Judiciary Committee should pass the measure and recommend final congressional action.

Federal constitutional amendment, as also recommended by the American Bar Association's policymaking house of delegates, is the proper way to curb the erosion of State rights by Federal judicial edict. Federal lawmakers should be encouraged now to vote for the proposed Dirksen amendment.

SALISBURY, MD.,
April 18, 1966.

Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Daily Times, Salisbury, Md., has repeatedly opposed one-man, one-vote principle for both houses of legislature. It endorses principle that people of States should have a right to decide issue. We feel that with both houses apportioned on population, instead of one smaller body reflecting geography, regional, and other factors, second house is unnecessary and better government could be obtained with unicameral legislatures which could be streamlined, better staffed and more efficient. We deplore lack of check and balance inherent in two houses apportioned by population alone. One will be mere echo of other and we will be ruled solely by numbers.

RICHARD L. MOORE,
Editor, Daily Times, Salisbury, Md.

[From the Pekin (Ill.) Daily Times]

We're not worried in Indiana.

We are worried in Arizona.

We should be in Illinois.

Why?

The Dirksen effort to give the States the right to decide whether or not they want Senators by area may come to a vote Wednesday.

In Indiana, Indianapolis does not have more people than the rest of the State.

Metropolitan Phoenix does have more people than all the rest of the State. With both houses elected by population, Phoenix can deny water, can tax, and rule all Arizona.

Chicago?

Just now the "Illinois property tax" (a book of statistics) has come.

On page 95 it tells how many people in Illinois did not list their automobiles for taxation.

Our government is supposed to come from Springfield in Sangamon County. In Sangamon County 62,849 autos were registered; 57,037 were listed for taxing. Nine percent avoided paying auto tax.

Now look at Cook County: 735,332 cars were registered; 218,150 were assessed. Seventy percent didn't pay tax on them.

Equally important, Springfield valued cars, each at $553, Cook County valued each at $334.

If I've figured correctly, if all Cook County motorists had listed their autos, at $553, Cook County would have had an additional valuation of one-third of a billion dollars in autos alone; not counting the other personal taxes they refuse to pay.

[From the Klamath Falls (Oreg.) Herald and News, April 13, 1966]

REAPPORTIONMENT: LET PEOPLE DECIDE

In an era of too much big government, too many big cities and far too much emphasis on people rather than at least some consideration of the great land in which we live, we become involved with issues like reapportionment.

On the face of it—and it goes no deeper—reapportionment, which would provide representation in State legislatures according to the number of people in a given area, sounds logical.

But it isn't.

In the State of Oregon, for instance, a few larger cities and environs, like Portland, Salem, and Eugene, would dominate the State legislature. Because these communities, with the bulk of population, would have the greatest representation at the capitol.

But a State is more than people. It's individuals; it's mountains, rivers and streams, farms and ranches, deserts and small towns. Geography is important, too.

We, in eastern and southwestern Oregon, don't want the politicians of Multnomah County calling all the shots for us. They represent a concentrated little area along the Willamette not one twenty-fifth the size of Klamath County. On the basis of population, however, this area would have many, many more times the representation.

Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, has proposed an amendment to our Constitution "to preserve to the people of each State the power to determine the composition of its legislature and the apportionment of the membership thereof in accordance with the law and the provisions of the Constitution of the United States."

This is an extremely fair approach to the decision rendered by the U.S. Supreme Court in June 1964, ordering that both houses of the State legislature be apportioned on a population basis.

DIRKSEN's amendment, Senate Joint Resolution 103, would return to the people of each State the right to decide how their State legislatures should be comprised, all of which stems from the long-time American belief in the principles of self-government. Let the people vote what they want.

It's that simple.

What's startling is that the good old U.S.A. got along wonderfully well for 175 years—until June 1964—in matters of representation. From time to time changes were made according to the dictates of the people. But they resolved the issue. Not Washington, or the Supreme Court.

There is need of corrective action and the Dirksen reapportionment amendment offers the opportunity.

If you feel similarly, tell Representative AL ULLMAN and urge him to get on the Senate Joint Resolution 103 bandwagon. We'd be amazed if he doesn't go for it 100 percent.

State Senator Harry Boivin is all for the reapportionment amendment. We trust Representatives George Flitcraft and Carrol Howe are of the same belief.

[From the Marion (Ind.) Chronicle, Apr. 1, 1966]

REAPPORTIONMENT: DIRKSEN AMENDMENT—TREES, ACRES—PEOPLE—ONE MAN, ONE VOTE

In the summer of 1964, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that all State legislatures must be apportioned strictly according to population.

It was called the one-man, one-vote decision, and has kept State governments in an uproar as States attempted to comply.

Opposition to the ruling is growing. The Supreme Court claimed legislators represented "people, not trees and acres." But there is more to it than that, since geographic interests vary.

Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN has proposed a constitutional amendment to allow States to consider geography and other factors besides population in apportioning one legislative house.

A detailed study of the Court's ruling, what has stemmed from it and the Dirksen amendment appears on page 10.

[From the Marion (Ind.) Chronicle, Apr. 1, 1966]

DIRKSEN PLAN WOULD LET STATES CONTROL LEGISLATURES

(By John F. White)

For almost two centuries residents of the various American States had the prerogative of deciding how they would choose their own State governments.

But in the summer of 1964, the Supreme Court of the United States changed that in a landmark decision which decreed that henceforth the makeup of all State legislatures—both houses—must be based on population.

Since that time States have acted in haste to comply with what they believed to be the intent of the court. In general, the ruling has meant that control of all State legislatures will be in the hands of large urban centers and that outlying areas will have only a small voice in State govenment.

The Supreme Court ruling has met with widespread opposition, for most people want to know why the Federal Government can have one legislative body made up according to population and one organized according to geography but States cannot do the same.

Presently before Congress is a piece of legislation designed to give back to the States the privilege of deciding how their own legislatures will be formed.

Known as the Dirksen amendment, because it was authored by Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois, the amendment in simple language sets out that in each State having a bicameral legislature—two houses—one house would have to be apportioned according to population but that geography and other factors could be considered in deciding the makeup of the other unit.

The proposal is permissive, not mandatory. The voters of each State would decide on the apportionment of their legislatures. If they wanted to have both houses districted according to population, they could do it. But if they wanted to use geography or other factors in dividing the seats in one house, they would be allowed to do so.

The Dirksen proposal is an amendment to the U.S. Constitution and is in the form of a resolution. To date, it has not cleared Congress, but it seems likely that if it does, ratification by the States would follow rather quickly.

Some of the reasoning of the Supreme Court in its famous one-man, one-vote decision is open to question.

The first assumption that is doubtful is that the interests of people in all sections of a State are quite similar.

There are some small States where this might be true, but the vast majority of States are so large and the economies and interests of various areas so varied that in some respects, there is almost no close tie at all, except for the fact that all are residents within a prescribed boundary, often drawn without much thought to community of interest. A good example is Michigan, which has its Upper and Lower Peninsulas, as different as night and day.

In the decision which threw legislators into a tizzy all over the country, Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote that "Legislators represent people, not trees or acres. Legislators are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests."

If such is the case, does it not also hold true for U.S. Senators and Representatives? Congressmen, we're sure, feel they represent and were elected by people * * * not trees or acres, as might be implied.

The Chief Justice, however, contends there is no comparison possible between the Federal System and the State legislatures, because the Federal plan was set up to quiet the fears of small States that they might be dominated by large States and the large States that they might be controlled by excessive power in the small States.

The Supreme Court's decision loses a lot of punch when facts and realities are considered.

While those who favor the one-man, one-vote philosophy are right in their contention that many legislatures have not been reapportioned in many years and hence are heavily weighted for rural areas, the reapportionment as directed by the Supreme Court simply means that the populous areas will be given full control of the State governments.

Equality will not be involved, since mere population will be the governing factor. Under this setup, smaller communities will have no voice at all in State government. It simply means taking control from one group and handing it to another without any regard for fair representation. In many cases, it will be the same situation which existed before, with only the roles of the majority and minority switched.

When the court implies that all residents of a State have the same interests, it is being unrealistic. The needs of a rural, smalltown community are in no way similar to those of a large metropolitan area, such as New York or Chicago. But under the Supreme Court's guidelines, these large cities, which often contain more than half the State's population, will have life or death control over all residents of the State.

As previously mentioned, some small States, such as Rhode Island, might find that most of its people hold pretty much the same views and interests.

But then look at Florida or California, two States where the north and south portions are completely different. A resident of Los Angeles has practically nothing in common with a person living in one of California's rugged northern counties. But under the new legislation, the southern area will be able to dominate both houses of the legislature.

Under the Supreme Court-ordered reapportionment, the inequities are just as great as they were in the past when there was a tendency of rural areas to cling to the control they had won years ago.

The Dirksen amendment, however, offers the people an opportunity to change the current situation and establish something more akin to fair and equal representation, or at least provide most people with some weight in the legislature. At the very least it gives the people of a State an opportunity to decide how they will be governed.

There is nothing mandatory about it.

The Federal system has not been popular in all States in the past, and may not be in the future. At the time the Supreme Court wrote its one-man, one-vote decision, almost half of the 50 States—24—already required that both houses of their legislatures be apportioned according to population, although in many of these States the State constitutions were being ignored, for the seats had not been reapportioned for many years.

We always have favored the Federal system. We feel that it provides better government in that one house is able to keep the other from running wild. A legislature heavily weighted in both houses with representatives from large cities, or from rural areas, naturally is going to lean heavily toward legislation favoring which ever group is in control.

Given a choice, some States probably would prefer to have their legislatures apportioned on the basis of population only.

Others, especially the larger States with divergent economies and interests probably would prefer to have one house made up according to population, the other according to geography.

The main point is not which the State would choose, but that the people of the State, and not the Supreme Court of the United States, would decide on how they would be governed.

The Dirksen amendment now is before Congress. It should be passed this session in order that the States can regain control of their legislative bodies.

[From the Arizona Republic, Apr. 17, 1966]

MAJORITY RULE

The U.S. Senate will soon be voting on the Dirksen, or reapportionment, amendment. Although a majority of the Senators are in favor of the measure, it take a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress to submit a constitutional amendment to the States. Then it takes the approval of three-fourths of the States to actually enact the amendment. Needless to say, those are pretty stringent vote requirements. But they can be attained.

As everyone knows, the States of the Union are under a Supreme Court ukase to apply the one-man, one-vote formula to both houses of State legislatures. The Dirksen amendment would make it possible, but not mandatory, for the States to apportion one house of a legislature by geographic or other factors instead of population, when approved by a majority vote of the people.

"Instead of locking State legislatures into a permanent, inflexible apportionment," says Senator DIRKSEN, "we say let the people of each State choose once every 10 years between alternative plans, whether they want to apportion both houses of their legislature on a population basis, or whether they want to apportion one of those two houses on a geographic basis in the traditional way."

The Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision was, of course, aimed at establishing majority rule. What it actually has done, however, is put overwhelming political power in the hands of the cities. We don't believe urban populations have a monopoly of all knowledge about government. And we think it would be disastrous to place the farm populations of this country at the mercy of the city populations.

However, quite aside from the political implications, we hope the Dirksen amendment passes for the same reason the Supreme Court reversed the established pattern of legislative apportionment: an abiding faith in the wisdom of the majority. The majority of Congressmen and the majority of State legislatures has expressed support, in one way or another, of the Dirksen amendment. That majority should be heard, especially since the Dirksen amendment would not force any State to again reapportion its legislature if it didn't want to.

In the best tradition of American politics, the Dirksen amendment would allow a majority of the voters of a State to change the apportionment of one house of the State legislature. Although there is good reason to believe that Senators HAYDEN and FANNIN will vote for the Dirksen amendment, we suggest you write them and urge their all-out support for majority rule in the matter of apportionment. They can be reached at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

[From the Fairbanks (Alaska) Daily News-Miner, Feb. 28, 1966]

REAPPORTIONMENT LAWSUIT A HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT

The lawsuit filed by 15 of our State senators challenging State senate reapportionment is the healthiest action to emanate from Alaska's lawmaking assemblage this year.

If the suit is successful the victory will tie in with a State-by-State campaign, now underway, which would permit the voters of each State to decide whether they want one house of their State legislatures to be apportioned according to geography, political subdivisions and population in preference to mandatory population-only apportionment.

Governor Egan, perhaps acting too quickly in abiding by the letter of the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote ruling, has issued a reapportionment order that would take State senators away from northwestern and southeastern Alaska and add the seats into the more populous Anchorage and Fairbanks areas.

He said he had to, but the suit contends the legislature or a constitutional convention should be able to determine whether some of the attributes of the present Senate, originally established on a nonpopulation basis, should be retained. The Governor's order is termed unilateral and illegal.

We hope the suit is successful, for the campaign on the nationwide level for a reapportionment constitutional amendment to modify the High Court ruling is gathering plenty of steam.

One can only wonder what would have happened to the development of the Far West if the one-man, one-vote edict had been federally applied during the early growth of this Nation. Where, in fact, would the country be now if the Supreme Court's "logic" were applied to the U.S. Senate?

On the Alaska level, the the house of representatives, made up on a population basis, has more than half its membership coming from the areas of the two principal cities.

If this makeup prevails in the upper house, the needs of the smaller communities will gradually be forgotten, even though their economic contributions in terms of such resource-based industries as timber, fisheries, and mining represent more than half the State's wealth.

Therefore, hasty compliance with the Supreme Court ruling is not in the best interests of Alaska as a whole. The better strategy is to explore every way possible to bring geographical and economic considerations to bear on the issue of how the State senate will be made up. It was probably with this concept in mind that the Alaska Legislature in its wisdom last year resolved in favor of a Federal constitutional amendment that would allow States to apportion on a basis other than strictly population.

Reapportionment committees seeking this goal have now been established in all 50 States. In our State, the committee is comprised of Frank Peratrovich, of Klawock, William Boardman, of Ketchikan, Milton Daugherty, of Juneau, Robert Ditman, of Valdez, Harold Hansen, of Cordova, R. J. McNealy, of Fairbanks, John O'Connell, of Sitka, Brad Phillips, of Anchorage, and Frank See, of Hoonah.

When the Supreme Court decision was handed down in June 1964, Justice Potter Stewart in a dissenting opinion declared:

"What the Court has done is to convert a particular political philosophy into a constitutional rule, binding upon each of the 50 States, from Maine to Hawaii, from Alaska to Texas, without regard and respect for the many individualized and differentiated characteristics of each State, characteristics stemming from each State's distinct history, distinct geography, distinct distribution of population, and distinct political heritage."

The strength of these observations will guide the campaigns on the State and National level, perhaps to an equitable conclusion.

[From the Fairbanks (Alaska) Daily News-Miner, Apr. 12, 1966]

COURT RULING: NEW CHANCE FOR SENSIBLE REAPPORTIONMENT

Yesterday's invalidating of the Governor's reapportionment order is good for Alaska.

It is understandable that the Governor should have moved to comply with the U.S. Supreme Court decision requiring State senators to be elected on a basis of population rather than geography or other considerations.

Yet, according to the superior court at Juneau, the way he did it exceeded his authority. The court found that the Governor has the power to request and recommend a reapportionment plan, but not the authority to actually reapportion. That power lies with the State legislature and the people of Alaska.

Therefore, this year's elections are scheduled to be held under existing State constitutional provisions. Meanwhile, the legislature or a constitutional convention may draw up a reapportionment plan to submit to the voters of the State.

Any political statements that the Governor acted prematurely and unilaterally are overshadowed by the new opportunity now to draft a plan to give the less populous but no less important areas of Alaska a continuing voice in State government.

When there is already a solid nationwide campaign afoot to change the Supreme Court's ruling, it does not make sense for Alaska of all States to rush into a blind acceptance of the population-only theory.

The Far West could never have been opened up, settled, and developed economically if this political philosophy had been paramount a century ago. Alaska is still opening up and developing.

The larger population areas of Anchorage and Fairbanks already enjoy a majority in the State's house of representatives. If the same thing happens in the Alaska Senate, the other areas of the State will lose out politically, which is tantamount to losing out economically.

Southeastern Alaska, whose timber and fisheries contribute so much to the economy of the State, should not be cheated of adequate representation. The same can be said of northwestern Alaska with its mineral and petrochemical potential.

The longer we can hold off robbing senators from these areas, and adding them on at Anchorage and Fairbanks, the better off the State will be as a whole.

In the broadest perspective, the court ruling at Juneau this week helps bolster the nationwide campaign which, if successful, will permit voters of each State to decide whether they want one house of their State legislature to be apportioned according to geography, political subdivision, and population—in preference to mandatory population-only apportionment.

If it withstands appeal to the Alaska Supreme Court, this is a ruling that will be good for Alaska, and all the Nation's States.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Let me say to my colleague, who mentioned a television station in Indiana, that he picked out the one station which is not for this proposal. All the others are in favor of it, so far as I can tell.

Therefore, let us keep the record straight. Let us let the country know that I know what the law is, as well as the distinguished nonlawyer from Wisconsin, the distinguished nonlawyer from Illinois, my colleague [Mr. DOUGLAS], and the distinguished lawyer from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS].

I know the score. We remain within the law. We intend to do so.

It seems awfully funny, when we go out and collect money for a cause of this kind for the benefit of the people and for no one else, that these "red herrings" must be hauled across the Senate floor.

For whom are we working? For someone's pockets? For some corporation? For some business enterprise? For some economic group?

No.

We are working for the people of this country. That has been the whole burden of this crusade.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield at that point?

Mr. DIRKSEN. It has been an educational campaign that we have carried into every one of the 50 States in the Union, and I am proud of it.

I never cease to marvel. I put the question here on the floor, "What is the matter with you opponents? Are you afraid of the people of the United States?

I never saw the white feather of fear go up so often as in connection with this particular proposal because we are going back to the people, recognizing the dual sovereignty which has been set up under the Constitution of the United States and letting the people back home in the respective States articulate their constitutional rights, which they enjoyed for 175 years until the Supreme Court threw them in the ash can.

Now I am happy to yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. TYDINGS. If, as the Senator suggests, funds for the drive have been contributed by the people and not by the major special interest groups, such as the National Association of Manufacturers, the various utilities, the Farm Bureau, and others, then why does he not publish the names of the contributors and the amounts, so that the people can see who is paying for this lobbying effort?

Mr. DIRKSEN. All right. If we can get the AFL–CIO and George Meany, the League of Women Voters, and these other organizations which were just read into the RECORD, and let them make a statement, then we will be prepared to do it. Incidentally, while that is going on, let us find out who is making contributions to the 1966 campaign, in good green money, and see whether that has a bearing upon the viewpoints which are expressed in the Senate.

Mr. TYDINGS. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. Was not the Committee for Government of the People organized for the sole purpose of passing the Dirksen amendment and abrogating the Supreme Court's decision in Reynolds against Sims? Is that not the purpose?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Certainly, we are not abrogating the decision. We are just taking our cause to the people. When this is not done, let the Senator tell me where a State will ever go if it is unhappy under the Reynolds against Sims decision. Where is it going to get relief, now or in the future? There is no place. The door has been closed. The Senator refuses to open it, even a little, where the people are unhappy with the Senator's deal.

Mr. TYDINGS. Getting back to my question again, is it not a fact that this committee was organized for the purpose of influencing legislation; namely, the passage of the Dirksen constitutional amendment in Congress?

Mr. DIRKSEN. The Senator forgets that the committee consists of Senators. We are influencing legislation every day on the floor of the Senate. Every time a Senator opens his mouth and makes a speech, he is trying to influence legislation on the floor of the Senate. We do not have to apologize as Senators for that, but those who have to register under the Antilobbying Act are registered.

Mr. TYDINGS. Does not the lobbying act provide that committees which are organized for the specific purpose of passing legislation must file, on a quarterly basis, reports of contributions received and expenditures made?

Mr. DIRKSEN. If the Senator wants to make it an issue, why does he not make it plain? Why does he not go before the grand jury?

Mr. TYDINGS. I am asking the Senator.

Mr. DIRKSEN. The Senator is not going to get me to respond to the question in the form he has put it. That is the red herring that has been paraded here in the Senate for the past several months.

Mr. TYDINGS. It is not a red herring. The people are not asking for the Dirksen amendment. The groups that are pressing and contributing money for the adoption of the Dirksen amendment are the special interest groups that control the rotten borough State legislatures. The people would like to have fair representation. The reason I asked the question is so we can know where the money is coming from, whether it is from the average citizen, or whether, indeed, it is from the special interests who want to maintain the status quo in their State legislatures.

Mr. DIRKSEN. We have made clear what we are trying to do, but it is clear that that issue is one of the red herrings. The Senator has not mentioned any issue of substance.

Mr. TYDINGS. Let me ask a question of substance. Will the Senator tell me and the other Members of the Senate what is meant by the language on page 2, beginning on line 16, of Senate Joint Resolution 103, which reads:

> Members of the other house may be apportioned among the people on the basis of population, geography, and political subdivisions in order to insure effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate?

That is a substantive question. What does that language mean?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I do not know that I can add to the Senator's enlightenment if he does not know what it means, because that is the language of the Court in some of the opinions which have been handed down. When it comes to fair representation, we are for fair representation. That is the proposal we have been advancing day after day and week after week.

Mr. TYDINGS. As a matter of fact, that is the language of the dissenting opinion in the case of Lucas against Colorado, the language of Justices Stewart and Clark, who had to pass on nine reapportionment cases the following week, and disagreed in four of them. How can we be expected to be able to interpret it when the dissenting Justices who formulated that language could not interpret it the following week?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I must confess I had difficulty following the majority decision, and Judge Harlan castigated the Court and made a thorough explanation of the matter as far back as 1868, and the original 14th amendment. That was lost upon the Court.

Mr. TYDINGS. As a matter of fact, the Senator will agree——

Mr. DIRKSEN. I will not agree.

Mr. TYDINGS. Will the Senator agree that the language drafted is so broad and elastic as to be impossible of judicial interpretation?

Mr. DIRKSEN. No.

Mr. TYDINGS. How would one determine whether a rotten borough legislature had been reapportioned to give representation to various groups and interests? For instance, in the State of Maryland Negroes constitute 18 percent of the population. Would the Senate believe that, in order to receive effective representation, they should receive 50 percent of the seats in the legislature?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Does this joint resolution say that?

Mr. TYDINGS. It states: "In order to insure effective representation of various groups and interests making up the electorate."

Mr. DIRKSEN. Certainly, but it does not mean only one particular group. The Senator is trying to bring the issue of civil rights into it, and it is not involved.

Mr. TYDINGS. Very well. Let us consider the farmers of Maryland who comprise 11 or 12 percent of the population of the State and are located primarily in 15 rural counties. Does the Senator think that those 11 or 12 percent are entitled to elect representatives to control 50 percent of one house?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I remember the shrieking about "one man, one vote." There is nothing that takes anything away from the people of Baltimore or the farmers in the question which would be submitted by the Legislature of Maryland. Everybody would have one vote. The farmers, the miners—if there are any in Maryland—the foresters, the people who live in Baltimore, the fishermen, the oystermen—they all get a vote. Nothing can be done at all unless the majority of the people, who are said to be complaining about one man, one vote, do so by majority vote.

Mr. TYDINGS. The point I am trying to make is that under the language of the joint resolution it would be possible to have one house of the legislature controlled by 11 or 12 percent of the people of a State.

Mr. DIRKSEN. What are we trying to do here? We start out by saying that the legislature of each State—they are the people—shall be apportioned by the people of that State. We start out with that and begin with it. That is how the Constitution begins.

Mr. TYDINGS. Let us stop right there, if the Senator will. How would that be achieved? Does it mean that it would be reapportioned by the existing rotten borough legislature? Does it mean that there would be a State convention?

Mr. DIRKSEN. We have already taken care of conventions, because it has been in the Constitution of the United States from the very beginning. Why do we have to spell it out? It is there, and the people can make the choice. But the State legislature has to get up the plan and submit it to the people. We are retaining sovereignty in the States, the sovereignty that was established 175 years ago.

Mr. TYDINGS. To get back to the question of groups and interest, as the language of the resolution is now framed, is it not correct that a small minority of interests, representing perhaps only 11 or 12 percent of the people could effectively control one house of the legislature? Would it not be possible to do that?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I have been trying to make clear for some time that we get nowhere until the legislatures are reapportioned, because 40 of them have already been reapportioned. There are only 10 to go. Then the plan is submitted to the people as to whether they want it on a population basis. The question goes to the people. It cannot become effective without the people saying so. That is one man, one vote.

Mr. TYDINGS. But it is still possible to have one rotten borough house of the legislature limit the whole vote of the people of the State.

Mr. DIRKSEN. We reconfer sovereignty on the people of the States, because the sovereignty of the people and the States is provided for in the Federal Constitution. Everything not conferred on the Federal Government is reserved to the States and the people of the States. That is what we want.

Mr. TYDINGS. I could not agree more with the Senator on that, but is it not a fact that under the language of the Senator's proposed constitutional amendment, the legislature would be able to set up an apportionment plan for one group which could, in effect, dilute or limit the right of the vote for 70, 80, or even 90 percent of the people, by the language "various groups and interests"?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I am prepared to put my faith and confidence in the people. The Senator seems to fear the people in Maryland. I do not.

Mr. President, there is no use carrying on this colloquy. The Senator is not going to get anywhere trying to persuade me, and I know that I am going to fail to persuade him.

In addition to the 160 editorials which I have submitted, I add a telegram from the Michigan State Grange:

> Michigan State Grange does heartily endorse the Dirksen amendment to Senate Joint Resolution 103 contrary to statements erroneously read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD recently.
>
> GROVER GRIGSBY,
> *Master, Michigan State Grange.*

There have been so many distortions of this entire issue, we are going to keep the record straight when we finally get around to voting on this matter.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky will state it.

Mr. MORTON. Under the unanimous-consent agreement, is it in order to speak now to the joint resolution itself, or is it requisite that an amendment be pending?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution is pending. It is in order for the Senator to speak on the joint resolution.

Mr. MORTON. It is in order to speak on the joint resolution itself?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MORTON. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, I favor Senate Joint Resolution 103, a proposal that needs prompt acceptance if we are to head off some very dangerous trends in this Nation of ours.

It has come to the attention of all of us during recent years that there are some so-called experts on government and political science who frankly favor the abolition of the States.

They say that State governments have failed, that State lines are meaningless, and that all we need is a big Federal Government and some form of local governments.

Where they would stop dismantling our existing machinery of government is not clear, since many of these people say that county boundaries and city limits are also useless and meaningless.

There are others who are less forthright.

They would increase the Federal Government at the expense of State and local governments. They would chip away at the authority and sources of revenue of State and local governments until they became in fact useless and impotent.

Let us admit that there are many problems which cross State and local boundaries—water pollution, air pollution, transportation, flood control, conservation of natural resources, and many others.

But this does not mean that we should do away with the States or limit them to ceremonial functions.

We have had much valuable experience in State government. Most of us have a great pride in the history and traditions of our own States. Quite a few of us have been educated at State universities, and we treasure that experience. State history, State traditions, State pride, and State action are part of the American way of life, and I want to preserve them all, as I am certain do most of the Members of this body.

Along with most of my colleagues, I want to give the States the right and opportunity to do the job our Founding Fathers envisaged for them. I want to give them the tools for good government, not take these tools away from them.

This is why I am for Senate Joint Resolution 103. I am satisfied it will strengthen State government by giving each State the right to decide—by popular vote—whether or not the rigid application of the one-man, one-vote principle in both houses of a State legislature is best suited to the needs of their State.

Why should anyone be afraid to let the residents of a State make this decision by popular referendum? Is it contended that the people of a State will vote to destroy their legislatures by unwise districting? I do not think so. I think they will vote wisely to make their legislatures responsive and responsible to the needs of all of their citizens.

That is why I am for Senate Joint Resolution 103, a simple, forthright proposal for a constitutional amendment which would permit each of our 50 States to "let the people decide."

During the discussion of Senate Joint Resolution 103 there has been frequent mention of certain political and governmental changes that were hailed as great reforms at the time they were introduced—some of which proved their worth and have been retained and some of which have been relegated to the dustbin of history. It seems to me that the point has been well made that change is not automatically for the good.

It also seems to me, I might add, that history teaches us that there is no perfect political panacea, no single cure-all for any of the ailments of the body politic, no wonder drug that can work overnight upon our society.

I yield to none in admiration of the contributions which academicians have made to the science of politics which they have learned by reading books and passed on to those of us whose thoughts are involved with immediate problems in the form of additional books. I do not challenge the right of theoreticians to tell us what to do any more than I challenge the right of behavioral disciplinarians to tell us why we vote as we do, or the right of opinion analyzers to tell us how we are going to vote, or the right of computers to tell us how we have voted before the polls have closed.

I mention this because quite a few theoreticians see one man, one vote as a cure-all for everything from the common cold to a deficit budget.

Let me say that even though I do not have a long list of degrees in political science, I have been exposed to enough history to know that our forefathers were able to create a Republic, to set up a Constitution to guide its operation, and to set up lawmaking bodies in the newly created States without benefit of political scientists, opinion analysts, or special help from the judicial branch of the Government. What they created without benefit of these special skills and disciplines seems to me to have worked pretty well and still to be capable of improvement.

As I said, to hear some of those who insist that the one-man, one-vote rule must be applied universally and to the ultimate degree talk about the issue now before us, you would think that the one-man, one-vote rule is the magic cure-all which will solve all of the problems of State governments with some form of quick magic.

Redistricting all houses of all legislatures in all States will not change many facts.

Redistricting will not keep pollution from entering a river upstream and defiling the waters of that river as it flows downstream. It will not prevent legislators from facing conflict of interests in the votes they cast. It will not magically open new and painless sources of revenue so desperately needed by the States. It will not fill in the chuckholes in State roads, it will not educate children, it will not pay teachers more, it will not even bring the conference football championship to the State university. Neither, I might add, will adoption of the pending joint resolution solve these problems.

So, let us get away from the world of imagery and wishful thinking and factless persuasion and talk a little sense. No one wants to abandon majority rule in favor of minority rule. This joint resolution certainly would not do that—no matter what anybody may try to tell us.

It would let the people of each State decide whether they can strengthen their legislative process by including factors other than population in the districting of one house of their legislature. It says, "Let the majority decide." I repeat: "Let the people decide." I believe that people when permitted to do so will decide wisely, and I say that we should trust them enough to give them the right.

If some of my distinguished opponents should say, "Why, that man is so old fashioned that he thinks people are better equipped than computers to create legislative districts," I will plead guilty. I do think that people are smarter than computers. Of course, being one of the people myself, I am possibly prejudiced. Somehow I believe, however, that we would not have had the Boston Tea Party or the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution or the Bill of Rights and many other things if our forefathers had sat around waiting for computers to be invented.

Let us stick with people for a little while longer and give them a chance to decide. That is the way I am going to cast my vote.

I have one other point I want to make. The opponents of Senate Joint Resolution 103 cite the one-man, one-vote rule for districting of State legislatures as the ultimate in political perfection, a concept so logical and unassailable that any alternate proposals are not worthy of discussion. I think we should ask how widely the practice is followed in real life by those who oppose Senate Joint Resolution 103.

Are those who assail this proposal to allow the States a little freedom to adjust an arbitrary formula to meet realities and fit the differing needs of the States sincere when they say that nothing but strict one-man, one-vote representation is fair and workable and truly democratic?

Would Senator DOUGLAS and Senator PROXMIRE and Senator TYDINGS pull out of the United Nations? It is really badly districted and wanders quite a distance away from the one-man, one-vote yardstick they espouse for State legislatures.

But let us go on. Senator DOUGLAS, I am sure, is quite happy to have one full vote each from Senator PROXMIRE and Senator TYDINGS on his side in favor of sustaining the rigid and inflexible rule of one man, one vote for State legislative bodies.

Actually, if the Senator were fettered by the rules of logic which sometimes trouble lesser intellects, he might be a little bit embarrassed by comparisons of the numbers of people represented respectively by himself and his oratorically inclined colleagues. If Senators DOUGLAS, PROXMIRE, and TYDINGS believe that the votes of all Senators should have equal weight, they are curiously untroubled about the fact that the vote of Senator DOUGLAS represents more than 10 million people in his State, whereas Senator TYDINGS represents some 3 million.

Some of my distinguished colleagues may explain that this disparity exists because we have States of different sizes. Let me say that I cite such inconsistencies because they exist and because some of the arbitrary adherents of the one-man, one-vote rule seem to either ignore them or enjoy them.

I particularly do not want to have this statement misconstrued as any reflection on Senator PROXMIRE or Senator TYDINGS. I believe that they are able ornaments of the Senate; I know them to be patriotic and conscientious, and I believe the Senate is the better for their presence, even though they all might not be here if they were subjected to the one-man, one-vote principle. In fact, I would go so far as to say that the fact that we are able to enjoy the benefit of their wisdom and industry is possibly an argument that minority groupings frequently send talented and able men to legislative bodies.

And that is why I shall refrain from reminding my two distinguished colleagues from the smaller States that their representation here is not one man, one vote. We have heard a lot about rotten boroughs during this debate. I am sure that no Senator wants to leave the impression that small States, including my own, are rotten boroughs.

I shall certainly oppose any movement to join Maryland with Pennsylvania or Wisconsin with Minnesota or Kentucky with Ohio for the purpose of electing Senators. I should hate to see them depart this body, because despite the fact that they come from relatively small constituencies, I am certain that they make every effort to understand the problems and needs of such underrepresented States as New York and California and Texas.

So, I shall not belabor the logic on this issue. In fact, I am rather happy to see them accept the benefits of a districting system they would apparently deny to others. This rather glaring lack of consistency on their part merely makes them to all the more warm, human, and likable. Gentlemen, I suggest we extend to them a guiding hand and help them fulfill their destinies through granting their States a new opportunity for self-expression. Let us all vote for Senate Joint Resolution 103.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, when the U.S. Supreme Court in 1962 overruled years of precedent to decide that Federal courts could pass upon the validity of State legislative apportionment systems, Mr. Justice Frankfurter sharply and eloquently protested. In so doing, he prophetically stated:

> [This decision] may well impair the Court's position as the ultimate organ of "the supreme law of the land" in that vast range of legal problems, often strongly entangled in popular feeling, on which this Court must pronounce. The Court's authority * * * ultimately rests on sustained public confidence in its moral sanction. Such feeling must be nourished by the Court's complete detachment, in fact and in appearance, from political entanglements and by abstention from injecting itself into the clash of political forces in political settlements.[1]

In my opinion, there should be little doubt of the sagacity of that protest, and the wisdom there expressed. Today, Federal courts have not only apportioned a number of legislatures; they have shortened terms of legislators and lengthened them, have directed unscheduled elections and canceled scheduled ones, have specified what business legislatures may carry on and under what conditions, have either set aside or directed efforts to write new State constitutions. In brief, they have participated and are participating in the full panoply of political activities in our States. No detachment, no refusal to entangle themselves in day-to-day political activities, no self-restraint is visible in most of the lower Federal courts and certainly none in the U.S. Supreme Court. Rather, the attitude is that of the Federal court which reapportioned both houses of the Oklahoma Legislature. Said the court:

> We know, of course, that the function of apportioning the State legislature is essentially legislative in nature; one which the courts have never before undertaken; and one from which we may very well be precluded, even in the face of inadequate redress for the deprivation of civil rights * * *. It may well be that the affirmative relief we grant is in excess of our judicial power. If so, we will know in due time.[2]

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[1] *Baker* v. *Carr*, 369 U.S. 186, 267 (1962) (dissenting).

[2] *Moss* v. *Buckhart*, 220 F. Supp. 149, 155 (D.C.W.O. Okla. 1963), aff'd. 378 U.S. 558 (1964).

But the judges were not reversed, their handiwork was sustained by the Supreme Court in so perfunctory a manner that no opinion was even written. Thus encouraged, the judges ordered into effect their plan, threw out a plan which had been adopted by the voters 4 months earlier, set aside certain primary elections in which legislative nominees had been chosen, and ordered new primaries.[3]

The rising public dissatisfaction with the Supreme Court and its role in the apportionment field is evidenced by the number of States petitioning Congress to take the unprecedented steps of calling a convention to propose and submit to the States a constitutional amendment to bring rhyme and reason back to the subject. It is evidenced by the rising chorus of critical comment from the legal profession and the law professors, a criticism to which even the prestigious Harvard Law Review has given voice.[4] It has been here indicated, when the House of Representatives passed a bill to strip from the Federal courts jurisdiction over apportionment cases, and when a substantial majority of the Senate expressed itself as wanting the courts to go slowly until a constitutional amendment could be submitted. Mr. President, this constitutional amendment is needed to put rationality back into the apportionment situation.

The proposed amendment to which I and a large number of my colleagues have given our support is Senate Joint Resolution 103, introduced by the distinguished minority leader, the Senator from Illinois. It provides as follows:

> Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to preserve to the people of each State power to determine the composition of its legislature and the apportionment of the membership thereof in accordance with law and the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

Very simply, the proposal recognizes and expresses several important points.

First. It recognizes that the people of any State are far better able to decide how their individual State differences are going to affect, and should affect, their apportionment scheme, than are Federal judges appointed for life. It allows them to take into account densely concentrated populations or a sparse spread of people, to mediate between rural, urban, and suburban, to solve problems caused by great distances, communications, inaccessible regions, and the like.

Second. It recognizes that in a democratic government population should play an important, even predominant, role in the allocation of political power. It does this by leaving untouched the holding that one house must be based on population; it does this further by leaving to the unfettered vote of the people of the State the determination of whether to base the apportionment of the other house on population or on other factors of their choosing. The people decide. Presumably, this is what the proponents of one man, one vote want.

Third. It is an attempt to extricate the Court from the blind alley into which it has strayed and to restore much of its lost prestige and influence. It seeks to do this by recognizing part of the principle laid down by the Court in the apportionment cases, giving it the sanction of congressional approval and the approval of ratifying States, and at the same time, loosening the rigid, unworkable strict population standard for both houses of a State legislature. No one can point to anything in the proposed language itself which would constitute a rebuke of the Court.

Yet, we must not forget that the amendment is necessary because the Court overstepped the boundary of judicial competence in the first place by getting into the issue, and compounded the error by a unique approach to interpretation of the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment to arrive at its apportionment decisions of June 15, 1964.[5]

THE COURT IGNORED PRECEDENT IN DECIDING BAKER AGAINST CARR

While State courts had fairly often adjudicated apportionment cases on State constitutional grounds, the Federal courts had steadfastly refused to become involved, especially on the grounds of Federal constitutional rights. The famous case of *Colegrove* v. *Green* in 1946, 328 U.S. 549, emphasized the reasons the Federal courts should not get involved, pointing to the intricacies of party fights and local geographical bargaining that comprise the "political thicket," and the delicacy of intruding on the balance of Federal-State relations. Mr. Justice Frankfurter then met all the later arguments.

But earlier, such men of stature as Justices Brandeis, Cardozo, Stone, and Roberts indicated, in *Wood* v. *Broom*, 287 U.S. 1 (1932), that they felt the Federal courts should absolutely refrain from getting involved in apportionment cases, even to the extent of deciding whether or not there was an applicable Federal statute upon which to base action.

Certainly in the constellation of judicial greats, Brandeis, Cardozo, Stone, and Frankfurter are not men to be taken lightly.

Yet in Baker against Carr in 1962, a majority of the Court did disregard these considerations and invade the "political thicket." Baker was couched as merely a small foray. It supposedly only decided that the Federal courts had jurisdiction and plaintiffs like those at the bar standing to sue. Concurring Justices were full of assurances that no revolution was in prospect.

Mr. Justice Douglas:

> Universal equality is not the test; there is room for weighing.[6]

Mr. Justice Clark:

> No one * * * contends that mathematical equality among voters is required by the equal protection clause.[7]

Mr. Justice Stewart:

> Contrary to the suggestion of my Brother Harlan, the Court does not say or imply that "State legislatures must be so structured as to reflect with approximate equality the voice of every vote."[8]

THE COURT IGNORED EVERYTHING IN DECIDING REYNOLDS AGAINST SIMS

It is hard, Mr. President, to know how to discuss the Reynolds against Sims case and its companion cases. There are so many things wrong with them.

In Baker, Mr. Justice Brennan assured everyone that legislative apportionment systems were challengeable under the equal protection clause because "judicial standards under the equal protection clause are well developed and familiar."[9]

Well, let us consider those standards. Chief Justice Warren explained them in another case by saying:

> A statutory discrimination will not be set aside if any state of facts reasonably may be conceived to justify it.[10]

In the same case, Mr. Justice Frankfurter noted:

> Neither the due process nor the equal protection clause demands logical tidiness * * *. It is enough to satisfy the Constitution that in drawing (lines of distinction) the principle of reason has not been disregarded.[11]

But when it came to legislative apportionment, the concept of rationality went out the window. Both houses of a legislature must be apportioned solely on a population basis, because "people not land or trees or pastures, vote."[12]

With this irrefutable maxim of sophisticated political science, the Court majority would brook no deviation from equality of population; and, history, or economic interests, or other groupings were just not permissible factors. Forgotten by Chief Justice Warren was Governor Warren's assertion in 1948:

> I have always believed that rural counties are of much more significance in the life of our State than the population those counties would represent * * * and I believe the principle of balanced representation in the two houses of the legislature is in keeping with the Federal system of representation.[13]

A second possible approach would be a historical one. Here, the Court carefully avoided talking about the basis of apportionment of the early State legislatures or of those which ratified the 14th amendment, except for a brief citation to the now discredited assertion of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations that the original constitutions of 36 States provided for population-based apportionment and an irrelevant mention of the Northwest Ordinance.[14]

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[3] *Reynolds* v. *State Election Board*, 233 F. Supp. 323 (D.C.W.O. Okla. 1964).

[4] Kurland, "The Supreme Court, 1963 Term: Foreword," 78 Harvard Law Review 143 (1964).

[5] *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U.S. 533 (1964); *WMCA, Inc.* v. *Lomenzo*, 377 U.S. 633 (1964); *Maryland Committee for Fair Representation* v. *Tawes*, 377 U.S. 656 (1964); *Davis* v. *Mann*, 377 U.S. 678 (1964); *Roman* v. *Sincock*, 377 U.S. 695 (1964); *Lucas* v. *Forty-Fourth General Assembly of Colorado*, 377 U.S. 713 (1964).

[6] 369 U.S. 244–45.

[7] 369 U.S. 258.

[8] 369 U.S. 265.

[9] 369 U.S. 226.

[10] *McGowan* v. *Maryland*, 366 U.S. 420, 426 (1961).

[11] 366 U.S. 524.

[12] *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U.S. 533, 580 (1964).

[13] Quoted in Barclay, "The Reapportionment Struggle in California in 1948," 4 Western Political Quarterly 319 (1951).

[14] *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, supra, at 573.

Professor Dixon of George Washington University Law School has convincingly demonstrated the inaccuracy of this assertion and instead has produced documentation that shows that "population disparities among representative districts have been an endemic feature of the American scene." [15]

In Reynolds, itself, Mr. Justice Harlan should have forever settled the argument over whether the States that ratified the 14th amendment were apportioned on a population basis or understood that by ratifying they were placing in doubt their apportionment systems. Said the Justice:

> Of the 23 loyal States which ratified the amendment before 1870, 5 had constitutional provisions for apportionment of at least 1 house of their respective legislatures which wholly disregarded the spread of population. Ten more had constitutional provisions which gave primary emphasis to population, but which applied also other principles, such as partial ratios and recognition of political subdivisions, which were intended to favor sparsely settled areas * * *.
>
> Each of the 10 reconstructed States was required to ratify the 14th amendment before it was readmitted to the Union. The Constitution of each was scrutinized in Congress. Debates over readmission were extensive. In at least one instance, the problem of State legislative apportionment was expressly called to the attention of Congress. * * * The constitutions of 6 to 10 States contained provisions departing substantially from the method of apportionment now held to be required by the amendment, and, as in the North, the departures were as real in fact as in theory.[16]

As Professor McCloskey has succinctly put it:

> It is certainly untrue that one man, one vote was regarded by the framers as an imperative basic principle for carrying on the day-to-day, year-to-year process of government, and it is at least dubious that any such principle became embodied in our constitutional tradition in the years that followed.[17]

But the majority of the Court was not concerned with history, not even with that incredible statement of Mr. Justice Douglas:

> The conception of political equality from the Declaration of Independence to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, to the 15th, 17th, and 19th amendments can mean only one thing—one person, one vote.[18]

Instead, the Court's majority relied on the "logic" of the situation.

To conclude differently, and to sanction "minority control of State legislative bodies, would appear to deny majority rights in a way that far surpasses any possible denial of minority rights that might otherwise be brought to result." [19]

It is then with logic of the matter that we must deal. I quote Professor de Grazia of New York University, the recognized authority on apportionment and representation in the United States today:

> It is completely erroneous in fact and principle to say there is no justification in our democratic heritage, in logic, or in practical requirements of government for choosing (a standard other than population). There are, on the contrary, practices and justifications in all three regards, each in its own way as important, or more important, than the equal population doctrine.[20]

In brief, there are a number of sound reasons why we think the Constitution should be amended to allow the people in each State to determine how and on what standards the houses of their legislative bodies should be based, reasons why I think it desirable and indeed necessary to base apportionment on different standards in the two houses.

The first reason is the logic of bicameralism. Why have two houses if both are going to represent exactly the same thing? The reason for bicameral legislative bodies, after all, is to create a balance, to institute a check on hasty, though popular, action so that there is time for reflection. This check becomes meaningless if both houses are subject to the same passions of the moment.

This does not mean, of course, that a body apportioned on factors other than population will be a permanent hindrance to legislation which the majority really want. All it means is that consideration of undesirable legislation will be slowed to allow time for evaluation.

This check-and-balance system is quite analogous to our national Congress and no amount of hairsplitting about the difference between States and counties can obscure that fact. Counties are, of course, not sovereign as are States, but the county does provide the most practical basis of representation for geographic, economic, and community interests. The county is a historic unit of government with election machinery, boundaries well known to voters, political organizations, and long traditions which accustom voters to consider their county as a unit for political activity.

For these reasons, the county is well adapted to make up units of representation, to serve as the basis of apportionment. This is the actual meaning of the "Federal analogy" and it should not be lost sight of.

The people of a State might rationally conclude that the dangers of "bossism" controlling the legislature would make desirable the allocation of seats in one house on some other than a population base. If there is one large city in a State which is bossed, the chances are quite good that all the legislators from that city will be, or can be, controlled by the "boss." If these legislators make up the majority of both houses, the people of the rest of the State are at the mercy of the city. On the other hand, there is no such exercisable control over the legislators who come from the many diverse and differing areas of the State.

Still another reason for according nonpopulation factors some weight should be appreciated by everyone who has ever sought public office. It is physically easier to campaign among and to represent people densely concentrated in a city than the same number of people scattered throughout the countryside. And, conversely, it is easier for the people so concentrated to obtain information about and to contact their representative than it is for the same number of people in a huge rural area.

Another reason for a nonpopulation-based apportionment is that of according representation to the community, of recognizing autonomous localities within the larger representative system.

Representation of communities goes back at least to the late Middle Ages, was matured in the English parliamentary system of borough and shire representation, and was fully adopted in the American colonial and State system of representation. Surely, it is rational to seek to preserve the influence of diversity, of the many differences of view, that would otherwise be submerged in a purely numerical system.

Against these reasons is posed a myth, which has been described as follows by Professor de Garzia:

> [I]f the number electing an official in one constituency is less than in another, when both officials have the same formal power in the same policymaking group, then the people of the first constituency are denied something (are unequal) and the extent of the denial and inequality varies with the difference in numbers between the two constituencies.[21]

This is a numbers game, nothing more. The research into the question of the so-called rural-urban conflict does not bear out the premise that nonpopulation based apportionment has led to poor government and to maltreatment of the cities. In one of the best known studies of the Illinois and Missouri Legislatures, an observer summarized his findings as follows:

> 1. Nonmetropolitan legislators seldom vote together with high cohesion against metropolitan legislators;
>
> 2. The metropolitan legislators usually do not vote together with high cohesion; and
>
> 3. Metropolitan legislators are usually in the prevailing side when they do vote together with high cohesion.[22]

Professor Derge's conclusion was:

> The city's bitterest opponents in the legislature are political enemies from within its own walls, and those camped in adjoining suburban areas.

Other studies have arrived at much the same conclusion, and at the absence of antiurbanism in terms of legislation.

Too, the numbers game fails to reckon with the minority in the big concentration of population who must look elsewhere for the achievement of their goals.

In any event, what Senate Joint Resolution 103 would do is allow the people to decide. If they want population-based apportionment in both houses, they can have it. If they prefer something else, they can have it. One would expect that those who so loudly proclaim their faith in one man, one vote to be strongly in favor of this.

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[15] Dixon, "Reapportionment in the Supreme Court and Congress: Constitutional Struggle for Fair Representation," 63 Michigan Law Review 209, 239 (1964).

[16] *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, supra, at 602–608.

[17] McCloskey, "Foreword: The Reapportionment Case," 76 Harvard Law Review 54, 71 (1962).

[18] *Gray* v. *Sanders*, 372 U.S. 368, 381 (1963).

[19] *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, supra, at 565.

[20] De Grazia, "Dissent, One-Man, One-Vote" (20th Century Fund, 1964), 18.

[21] De Grazia, "Apportionment and Representative Government" (1963), 55.

[22] Derge, "Metropolitan and Outstate Alinements in Illinois and Missouri Legislative Delegations," 52 American Political Science Review, 1051, 1065 (1958).

But, in the Colorado case, also decided June 15, 1964, we saw what happened when an ideology collided with the facts. In November 1962, the people of Colorado had before them two proposals. One would have established apportionment of both houses on a population basis; the other took area into consideration. In a statewide vote, in which every man's vote counted as much as every other man's, the people chose the latter and rejected the former. Not one county turned in a majority for the population-based apportionment. When the Court was confronted with this fact, it forgot its concern over the denial of majority rights and forced on the people of Colorado the plan which they had overwhelmingly rejected. So much for the right of the majority, so much for one man, one vote, when a nonelected, appointed-for-life group of individuals can determine how the seats in a State legislature are to be apportioned.

I believe backers of Senate Joint Resolution 103, Mr. President, stand with President Lincoln, who said in his first inaugural address:

> Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? [38]

With "patient confidence" in their judgment we wish to return to the people a right taken from them by the Court, a right they will exercise and decide on the only truly one-man, one-vote basis—in a statewide referendum.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I shall vote for Senate Joint Resolution 103, proposing a constitutional amendment for the stated purpose of "preserving to the people of the States the power to determine the composition of their respective State legislatures."

My vote is based on the simple proposition that people in the States should be allowed to determine for themselves how they wish to be represented in at least one house of their own State legislature.

At present this privilege is denied to people by Federal Supreme Court decrees which force representation in both houses of State legislatures based on population alone.

My vote will be affirmative, not negative. It will be for the right of people by referendum to make fundamental decisions concerning their own government. Nothing could be more American. Nothing could be more constitutional.

I shall not be casting an "anti" vote.

I am not antiurban. As chairman of Virginia's Advisory Board on Economic Development I have worked for years on bringing industry into the State.

I am not antireapportionment. I supported equitable apportionment throughout my 18 years in the Virginia Senate, including the last reapportionment act which put Virginia at the top of the list in fair apportionment.

The one-man, one-vote philosophy admittedly has democratic appeal. It is the theory of representation in the National House of Representatives.

The other side of the question is whether under our form and system of government other considerations are valid in State government as we find them to be for representation in the U.S. Senate.

I concede that people may honestly disagree on the question involved. My position is that they should be given—not denied—the opportunity to assert their views with respect to their own State government at the polling places.

Members of the Supreme Court themselves disagree. Justice Stewart Potter, among other members dissenting in the decision, said:

> What the Court has done is to convey a particular political philosophy to a constitutional rule, binding upon each of the 50 States * * * without regard and without respect for the many individualized and differentiated characteristics of each State * * * stemming from distinct history, distinct geography, from distinct distribution of population and distinct political heritage.

It is not special pleading to say that people in more sparsely populated rural areas make contributions to our economy and society which may not be fairly measured in terms of population percentages alone.

Examples are citizens engaged in agriculture, forestry and lumbering, in mining, quarrying and petroleum, in fishing, canning, and other nonurban-type occupations.

But under the Court decree, great diversified States like New York, Illinois, and California could be dominated by single metropolitan complexes in the New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles areas.

Boston and Baltimore metropolitan areas would occupy the same positions in the Massachusetts and Maryland Legislatures.

This situation is not limited to heavily populated States. Wilmington could dominate the Delaware Legislature. Denver could dominate the Colorado Legislature. Phoenix could dominate the Arizona Legislature. Honolulu could dominate the Hawaii Legislature.

These cases are not cited to argue against giving great weight to population in State legislature representation. But they do raise questions as to whether there are other valid considerations—considerations which may vary in various States—that also should be taken into account.

The pending resolution would submit to the States for ratification a constitutional amendment which would guarantee representation on a population basis in one house of each State legislature, but it would allow the people of the respective States, after each decennial census, in statewide referenda to determine the basis of representation in the other house.

I believe that government should be kept as close to the people as possible. The proposed constitutional amendment would preserve the power of the people to determine the composition of at least one house in their own State legislatures.

I believe that Congress should act to restore this right to the people of the States. That is why I am voting for the pending resolution.

What the people of the respective States—including my own State of Virginia—decide in their own referenda will be acceptable to me.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the Norfolk, Va., Ledger-Star of April 14, entitled "Senator DIRKSEN Tries Again"; and an editorial from the Lynchburg, Va., News of April 15, entitled "Let the People Decide."

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Norfolk (Va.) Ledger-Star, Apr. 14, 1966]

SENATOR DIRKSEN TRIES AGAIN

The hour is late, but there may yet be a chance to modify the effect of the one-man, one-vote dictum for State legislative apportionment. Senator DIRKSEN apparently still hopes so.

The Senate Republican leader has called up again his proposed constitutional amendment that would allow the individual States to override the Supreme Court's 1964 decision in the case of *Reynolds* v. *Sims*. In that case, the Court ruled that members of both houses of bicameral State legislatures must represent districts substantially equal in population.

Mr. DIRKSEN's amendment would permit—not compel, we may note—a State to aline one of its chambers according to population, the other on the basis of geography and political subdivision.

It is sound legislation, founded on a basic principle of American government—one that recognizes that people are not simply numbers in a ballot box; that they tend to form groupings and communities that have common interests: in one case perhaps agriculture, in another shipping, in a third textiles. Such communities may not be dense in population, but they deserve some sort of equity in representation, especially on the State level.

There are obstacles to enactment of the Dirksen amendment, however. A similar version last summer drew 57 votes in the Senate to 39 opposed, but this fell short of the needed two-thirds majority. Meantime, the State legislatures, under the Federal gun, have not been idle. Thirty-seven by now have completed reapportioning themselves, and the eight others have apportionment plans under court review. They had little choice but to do what the courts directed, for the alternative was the political chaos of elections at large.

With this much an accomplished fact, neither Congress nor the reapportioned State legislatures may be particularly amenable to still more change. Virginia's Senator BYRD, who leans to such a change himself, predicted in Norfolk last night that there won't be enough votes to pass the measure. But the attempt is still worthwhile. We wish Senator DIRKSEN success.

[From the Lynchburg (Va.) News, Apr. 15, 1966]

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

We can't make any sense out of the arguments against Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN's proposed amendment to let the people vote on whether or not they want one house of their State's legislature apportioned on a basis other than population.

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[38] In two complete works (Nicolay & Hay, etc. 1920), 7.

Opponents of the bill—and let's identify them by their own political label: "liberal"—are contending that it would sanction malapportionment of legislatures.

Will somebody please explain how this can be so—if the people of an entire State vote on it, on a one-man, one-vote basis?

If a majority prefer both houses of a legislature apportioned according to the one-man, one-vote ruling laid down by the Supreme Court, they certainly would vote their preference—and that would be that. How could the one-man, one-vote champions lose?

What are they afraid of? Are they fearful that the people would prefer one house of their State legislatures to be apportioned on some other basis than population? It would seem so. In other words, it would seem that they don't want to give the people a chance to speak.

If, as the opponents of Senator **Dirksen**'s amendment claim, the people want their State legislatures apportioned on a one-man, one-vote basis, a referendum would surely prove their claim.

If not—why should these elected representatives of the people want to deny their constituents their democratic right to govern themselves as they see fit, according to the U.S. Constitution?

What's wrong with letting the people decide?

Many of the same people who are fighting the Dirksen amendment were behind the attempt to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act—the provision which gives the people of each State the power to decide whether or not they want right-to-work laws. These same Members of Congress didn't want the people to decide that issue for themselves, either.

It seems to us that these Congressmen and Senators don't trust the people they represent to make intelligent decisions.

Or is it that they fear the people won't vote the way they want them to?

This is a constitutional democracy—or supposed to be. People have the right to vote on issues as well as on candidates.

We have a deep sense of misgiving about elected officials and office seekers who ask the people to vote for them—but don't want to give the people a chance to vote on issues that profoundly affect their rights under the Constitution.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, prolonged debate, and the passage of time, generally contribute to the clarification of controversial issues and promote agreement. Unfortunately, this has not been the case with the reapportionment issue during our last two sessions. Rather, in much of what has been said on this issue, there has been a hardening of positions. This is particularly true of the extreme opposing sides on this issue. Many appear to have frozen themselves into such fixed and unflexible positions that they frequently are talking past one another, instead of moving toward the mutual understanding which will enable us to achieve a constructive resolution of this issue in the interests of the entire country.

It is not, of course, uncommon in political life to find men of manifest intelligence, sincerity and goodwill locked into adamant positions on an issue of this type. When such situations occur, we sometimes simply have to agree to disagree and let it go at that. But the issue of reapportionment cannot be dismissed in this fashion, for this is a constitutional issue which goes to the very foundations of representative government in these United States. Each and every one of us—whatever his position on this issue—appreciates that our action—or lack of action—on the proposal before us will have profound effects on the character of representative government in our country for many years to come.

Mr. President, I do not believe I exaggerate the importance of this constitutional crisis by comparing it with the great struggle over the future of the Supreme Court back in 1937. It is certainly one of the most important domestic issues of our time.

Given these considerations, it is imperative that before casting our final votes on this matter we make every possible effort to understand the arguments on all sides of this issue. Only through such an understanding is it possible to achieve a considerably broader and more objective view than that which has all too frequently characterized discussion of this controversy. Having achieved this I believe we can resolve this controversy in a fashion which will enable all of us to achieve the objective which we share, that is the insuring of the soundest possible government for each and every one of our 50 States.

Mr. President, let us examine the principal position and arguments of the disputants in this controversy. This examination can best begin with an identification of what I take to be the extreme positions in this issue. On the one hand are those who argue, either directly or implicitly, that we should return to the conditions of pre-Baker against Carr. At the other extreme are those who endorse without reservation the Supreme Court's line of reapportionment decisions and who would brook no compromise with the so-called one-man, one-vote doctrine as elucidated in Reynolds against Sims.

Mr. President it is also useful at the onset of this discussion for all of us to freely acknowledge that while this is primarily a broad constitutional issue, it is also a struggle of political partisans. Substantive political interests have been affected by these decisions and these partisan interests have been an integral part of the whole reapportionment debate. For one of the things at stake here is a substantial redistribution of political influence in our State and local communities. Thus, the contest to secure substantive partisan advantage is clearly evident.

But this is true of all important political issues which we can observe and describe, and there is nothing surprising nor reprehensible about this. Indeed, bitter partisanship is the first characteristic of political life that strikes our ears and eyes; the first characteristic we observe when we turn our attention to political controversies is bitter denunciation of the opponent and sweeping claims for our own side. This is true whether the issue be one of taxation, civil rights, intervention in Vietnam, repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, or whatever other important political issues are facing the Senate today. A very sound generalization is that strong partisanship inevitably lies at the heart of every major political dispute.

However, today, the Senate is called upon to consider a constitutional amendment, which shall be a change in the basic structure of the Constitution within which partisans fight out their controversies. The question then is whether we can somehow rise above partisanship in this particular controversy, whether we can gain a perspective which will enable us to help these partisans to be more reasonable and to accept a formulation which will be to their good and to the good of the generations which follow. The answer to this question certainly should be in the affirmative, and I believe that it will be.

Mr. President, consideration of simple political partisanship will be a factor in the decision that each and every one of us in the Chamber will make. But as the result of our decision will have an impact that goes far beyond the narrow partisan advantages or disadvantages that will accrue to certain groups and interests other factors must constitute the final determinant in our decision.

It is these other factors which must receive our most serious attention. With this in mind let us begin by discussing the Supreme Court's decision to intervene in the area of State legislative apportionment, and then turn to an assessment of that decision and an evaluation of its impact.

Mr. President, I have no difficulty whatsoever in understanding how the Court was drawn into the problem of reapportionment. There is no question but that in too many States there were entrenched factions which stubbornly, even blatantly ignored the reapportionment requirements of their own State constitutions or otherwise so acted as to deny the citizens meaningful opportunities to this most important question of the composition of their representative bodies. One can fully appreciate the sense of prolonged frustration and injustice which was felt by many citizens in those States.

We know that State courts had steadfastly refused to take jurisdiction to force adherence to the reapportionment provisions of these State constitutions. We know also that certain of the constitutional conventions which were convened through the agency of these malapportioned legislatures were intent on preserving the status quo. Situations such as these threaten the stability of constitutional government, creating apathy and cynicism in the citizenry.

Mr. President, there is no question then that some effective action was required to rectify such injustices as they existed. It is indeed unfortunate that we were unable to take the initiative in our National Legislature by proposing an appropriate constitutional amendment or through some other action in helping to overcome this problem. We were put on notice by the Supreme Court's decision in the Baker case that action was called for, but we failed to act in time.

It is clear enough why the Federal judiciary was drawn into the problem of reapportionment. Recognizing an injustice and believing that all other avenues for redress of grievances had been exhausted the Court chose to enter the political thicket which it had so long avoided.

Mr. President, I want to make it perfectly clear that I have not and will not support any action which would attempt improperly to exclude the Federal courts from continued involvement in this issue. The supporters of judicial intervention in the area of reapportionment can rightly claim that some patent injustices have been rectified by judicial action. In this respect their position is sound and true. But the question to which I must return shortly is whether those who support everything the Federal judiciary is doing in this area grasp the complete truth, or whether they have a partial view, a partially correct view.

We can move toward this question by briefly examining one of the major opposed positions on this issue, the position of a part of those people who have been critical of certain aspects of the intervention of the Federal judiciary in the area of reapportionment. Critics of the Supreme Court's action do not all share the same ground, as is manifest by the numerous proposals which have been made for different kinds of constitutional amendments. But one ground of criticism which is common to many of the critics is that the Supreme Court did not act in a fashion designed to achieve needed reapportionment with a minimum amount of judicial intervention in State affairs and a minimum of damage to the integrity and continuity of State legislatures.

Mr. President, no one knows better than those of us assembled here that each of the 50 States which constitute the United States is unique in important respects. Each has a unique political history, each State differs with respect to the character of its populace, economy, and geography. The question of reapportionment is general in one sense, but it can be understood only in application to the 50, particularly State governments, each of which has been vitally affected by the Supreme Court's decision in Reynolds.

Mr. President, I want to make it clear that I am opposed to the conclusion which some critics of the sweeping action of the Court draw. They conclude that we should return to the status quo ante Baker, but I reject this extreme position—just as I reject its opposite; that is, uncompromising advocacy of the position taken by the Supreme Court in Reynolds. I believe that because of the rigidity of the Reynolds decision and its sweeping finality many unique, time-tested, and broadly popular institutions of State government were needlessly struck down and that the way has been paved for innumerable future injustices, many of which the Court itself will come to deplore.

Mr. President, we can discover a position which transcends these two extremes. What we should be seeking here today is action which will preserve the invaluable parts of the Supreme Court's action in correcting ancient abuses—without, at the same time, opening the way for new abuses and injustices. Fortunately, there is a course of action open to us which can achieve these goals. This path can be best found through a brief examination of the chief defect of the Supreme Court's reasoning in its reapportionment decisions.

This defect is a serious one; it is nothing other than the insufficient attention which the majority of the Court gave to the very meaning of representation. Certainly we can agree with the Court's contention that representation within a democratic community must be designed to care for the needs of all the people. This is no new finding on the part of the Court.

What the Court has failed to understand is that the complex representative institutions of State government have been devised in large part to care for the needs of all the people. It is one thing to assert, as the Court properly does, that the needs of every human being should be taken into account in devising a system of representation; it is quite another thing to design the specific representative institutions to meet these needs.

Unfortunately, Mr. President, these two questions have been hopelessly confused by the Court in its pronouncement of the simplistic and mislabeled doctrine of one man, one vote. This doctrine can be characterized as mislabeled because the Reynolds decision did not extend the suffrage to anyone who had been disfranchised previously; it did not broaden suffrage, nor did it afford equal political representation to everyone in the community, as it claims to have done.

What the Reynolds decision did was to uniformly force the single standard of equally populous representative district upon each of our 50 States. Now, there was some merit in this, as I have stressed, for it is certainly true that some of the needs of some portion of the populace of each State may be well served through the creation of representative districts which contain approximately the same number of people. Indeed, if the people of a given State were identical in every important respect, if they were, in short, perfectly homogeneous, then the Court would be right in thinking that equally populous representative districts would afford equal representation to everyone.

But, Mr. President, what the Court has overlooked is the fact that while the citizenry of any American State is homogeneous in some respects, it is heterogeneous in other respects. There are many important differences in the fashion in which the various parts of the citizenry make their living, for example, and these differences in turn frequently are related to residence in different types of communities within diverse geographic areas of a State. Viewed from this perspective the populace of most American States consists of a variety of occupational, economic, geographic, and other minorities. This is why—during a period of almost two centuries—our various States have developed systems of representation intended to take account of the entire needs and contributions of the entire citizenry as it is constituted by this pluralistic pattern of minorities.

This principle was recently emphasized by two Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court in dissenting from a most extreme application of the simplistic principle of Reynolds. As Justices Stuart and Clark noted:

> Representative government is a process of accommodating group interests through democratic institutional arrangements. Its function is to channel the numerous opinions, interests, and abilities of the people of a State into the making of the State's public policy. Appropriate legislative apportionment, therefore, should ideally be designed to insure effective representation in the State's legislature, in cooperation with other organs of political power, of the various groups and interests making up the electorate. In practice, of course, this ideal is approximated in the particular apportionment system of any State by a realistic accommodation of the diverse and often conflicting political forces operating within the State.

This traditional recognition of the needs and contributions of minorities, this affording to them of political representation through a complex of different institutional forms, is in no sense undemocratic, as some people today seem to think. On the contrary, this protection of minority interests through various systems of representation has proved to be one of the most effective devices for the preservation of stable, just, and democratic government throughout the United States. The underlying reason for this is that representative, lawmaking bodies which take account of the needs and contributions of the entire body of people in the community—considered from every pertinent political aspect—insures a more full and balanced weighing of legitimate political claims than any simplistic system of representation possibly could.

Furthermore, such taking into account of the strikingly different needs and contributions of the many minority groups and interests which constitute the populace of American States is not incompatible with the enjoyment of equal human rights, a point which is stressed continually by those who demand that representation in State legislatures be based solely on equally populous representative districts, the so-called one-man, one-vote doctrine.

Finally, Mr. President, it must be noted that the supremely paradoxical aspect of this doctrine is that it may serve to move us away from our goal of insuring adequate representation to all the people as they are constituted by the various groups and interests which make up the populace of a typical American State.

This unintended and little understood aspect of the Reynolds decision has been stressed by a U.S. district court in its consideration of a proposed plan for redistricting the Senate of the State of Hawaii. This reapportionment plan created remarkably compact and contiguous senatorial districts within which each senator would represent almost exactly the same number of constituents as any other senator. In considering this plan, the U.S. district court found no fault on any of these grounds, but did find that the designers of the plan had considered "no other criteria, save number of registered voters, geographical boundaries and historical representative district lines. Apparently ethnic, political, industrial, economic, social, occupational factors, and community of interests and problems were given little if any consideration by the legislature."

By failing to take into account these ethnic, political, industrial, economic, social, occupational, and other factors, the designers of this reapportionment plan had, according to the court, failed to create representative districts of equal "realistic political weight." Furthermore, argued the court, unless representative districts were of "realistic political weight," they could not possibly provide "vital equality of voter representation." Going further, the court attempted to set forth rough guides to the factors which must be taken into account in designing adequate representative districts:

> While it is a fundamental factor under the decisions of the Court, population is not the sole definitive measure for setting up either representative or senatorial districts. Compactness and contiguity of the territory are admittedly also factors, but community of interests, community of problems, socioeconomic status, political and racial factors—each and all must be considered, and not only must the electoral districts be laid out with the totality of those factors having been taken into consideration, but even more, the sum total of all the districting must result in substantial equality of meaningful representation to each and all the voters of the State.

The district court's argument provides an especially illuminating illustration of the difficulties encountered by the lower courts in attempting to perceive and apply the basic principles of the Reynolds decision in a fashion which does not do violence to the principles of representative government.

Mr. President, the Court's reasoning in Reynolds had recommended itself to many as providing a clear-cut, simple standard, the application of which appears to insure equal representation to all of the inhabitants of our 50 States. By setting forth the seemingly unambiguous standards of one man, one vote, instead of some broader standard by which the reasonableness of State apportionment provisions might be judged—such as those suggested, for example, in the opinions of some of the Justices in the Reynolds case—the Court probably expected that it would avert an endless stream of litigation through which each of the States would seek judicial determination of the reasonableness of its apportionment provisions.

If this was the Court's expectation, it has proved groundless both in Hawaii and elsewhere. As we have seen, the district court rejected the Hawaiian Legislature's plan on the grounds that equality of population is only one of many relevant factors which must be taken into account if representative districts are to have equal political weight and thereby to afford what the Court terms "vital equality." The criterion of numerically equal districts may afford formal equality, but, as the district court emphasized, ethnic, economic, occupational, social, and many other factors do have a direct bearing on the degree and the character of political participation within representative districts. The Court was, therefore, led to the sensible, if complicating conclusion that these factors must be taken into account if the realistic political weight of various representative districts is, in fact, to be equal. But this argument on the part of the district court points implicitly to a fundamental ambiguity in Reynolds.

If the district court's interpretation is upheld—which would be surprising—courts throughout the Nation will be explicitly, continually, and heavily involved in the exercise of political discretion of an unusually subtle, fundamental, and demanding kind. If, on the other hand, the district court is overruled, the questions it has raised about the meaning of the Reynolds formula in securing genuine equality in apportionment still stand. If some representative districts whose power far exceeds that of other political units—even though they may be of equal population—are permitted to result from application of the guides furnished by Reynolds, then the cause of equal protection has not been furthered, for minorities may continue to exercise an inordinate influence in State legislatures. Or, alternatively, minorities may be liquidated, rather than being allowed to mitigate majorities.

Mr. President, ours is a democratic political system the majority rule operating within the framework of constitutionally limited government designed to protect the rights of individuals and minorities. Such a political system is simple in theory but delicate and complex in actual operation. Our various institutions of government must be designed so that majorities do not tyrannize minorities on the one hand nor that minorities so obstruct majorities that the general interest is flouted and depreciated.

There is always a tension between majority desires and minority rights. It is probably impossible to achieve a perfect balance, but the struggle to achieve this ideal is continuous.

Mr. President, in this connection it has often been argued that the full and strict implementation of the Reynolds doctrine is necessary to strike down a situation whereby an entrenched rural minority obstructed and dominated the helpless and urban majority.

Mr. President, the whole force of my argument to this point has been that the reapportionment issue is not simply a case of rural-urban conflict, but rather a broad constitutional issue of far-reaching significance for the meaning and practice of representative democracy. However, because the reapportionment issue has been painted by so many of the more vocal and zealous opponents in the Reynolds doctrine as a rural-urban political conflict it is useful and necessary to examine this more carefully.

Those who contend that the majority of the populace is frustrated unless all legislative representation is based upon strict application of the one-man, one-vote doctrine simply ignore the facts of our governmental structure, the nature of our checks-and-balances system, and the modern trend of our socioeconomic structure.

It is useful to remind ourselves of the fact that the populous majority now elects statewide officers—the Governor's cabinet. Through them this majority selects much of the administration's personnel and controls most of the State, county, and city government. Where initiative and referendum are available, the populous majority has a clear and direct means of expression. Even in the courts the populous majority elect, or through their elective representative, appoint the member of the judiciary. Furthermore, in those State legislatures where one house was traditionally elected on a populous basis the populous majority possessed the power to approve or reject any legislation proposed by the other house which was apportioned so as to account for other factors in addition to population.

Mr. President, we must also keep in mind that increasingly in this century our population and our economic wealth has become concentrated in relatively few great metropolitan areas. Given this fact and also the facts of our other representative institutions which I have just reviewed, the argument that a provision whereby the majority of the voters in a State could apportion one house of the legislature on a basis other than a single counting of heads is politically intolerable or constitutionally unacceptable is naive and, frankly, just a bit absurd.

People from rural areas and from our smaller towns and cities are well aware of these conditions. We, therefore, can understand why rural and allied interests have fought to preserve what they consider to be a vital safeguard to an ever-declining minority interest.

A realistic view of partisan politics requires us to admit that in many instances the actions of these groups help to perpetuate the system of legislative representation that was often unfair and unjust. But compassionate understanding and a decent respect for constitutional principles should restrain us from striking back and eliminating this vital safeguard to minority interests.

There is, however, regretfully a tone of political vengeance in the position taken by the more zealous supporters of the one-man, one-vote principle. Again while I can appreciate this attitude on the part of some, this emotionalism must not be allowed to become a factor in our decision on the proposal before us. Old grievances must not be settled by creating new injustices.

Mr. President, in conclusion I would argue that the solution to the problems created by the action of the U.S. Supreme Court in Reynolds is to pass the proposed amendment before us which would permit the people of each of our diverse States, if they so wished, to again take account of the multitude of diverse factors which require consideration in any adequate system of representation.

Unless one does not accept the doctrine of popular sovereignty which has always served as the very foundation of our system of government, it is clear that all the Dirksen amendment does is to provide the people of each of our States the future opportunity to achieve equal protection in the only way in which it can realistically be achieved; that is, through a system of representation which takes account of all of the interests of all of the people, and not simply the interest of a part.

This is the moderate and constructive position, one which steers a course between two extremes. This is not an attempt to return to the status quo ante-Baker, but rather is an attempt to avoid the difficulties of the other extreme.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum. Let me say, for the purpose of informing the attachés, so they may inform Senators, that, as I understand, the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH] is prepared to bring up his amendment. So I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I offer an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 2, lines 4 and 5, strike out "include one house" and insert in lieu thereof "be".

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as my statement may require.

Mr. President, when an attempt was made in September 1964, to set aside the implementation of the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision, I voted in the negative because of my belief that the independence of the judicial branch of our Government had to be upheld. At the same time I expressed my belief that it ought to be permissible for one chamber of a State legislature to be apportioned on some basis other than equal population, if approved by the majority of all citizens of the State in a direct one-man, one-vote referendum.

We have come a long way down the road since then. First, a constitutional amendment to allow State legislatures to apportion one house on a basis other than population without a referendum was proposed and rejected in the Constitional Rights Subcommittee. The committee decision was, in my opinion, a wise one because any variation from equal representation can only be justified when approved by a majority of a State's citizens.

Then Senator DIRKSEN introduced an amendment which did provide for a referendum. This time the subcommittee recommended the amendment after making several improvements in it, but the Senate refused to approve it in the 1st session of this Congress.

In this second session, the reapportionment amendment has been further modified and improved.

Throughout this debate, those of us who support the proposition that the citizens of each State should be entitled to some choice in the apportionment of their own State legislatures have had reason to be grateful to many of those who disagreed.

There are Members of this body who have opposed the reapportionment amendment in the past—who voted against it last year—but who have done so not out of hostility to its objective, but because, in their sober, reasoned judgment, they found what, to them, appeared to be flaws in the proposal. Their arguments have been rational rather than emotional.

Some Senators have said their opposition to the reapportionment amendment, stems from the absence of a clause in the proposal requiring prior compliance of State legislatures with the Supreme Court ruling. This question was raised recently in an article in the April issue of the American Bar Association Journal in which Mr. Peter H. Wolf asked:

> "If the equal protection clause demands no less than substantially equal State legislative representation for all citizens," can a malapportioned State legislature ratify an amendment that would impair its citizens "rights to equal State legislative representation?" Stated another way, if "the equal protection clause required that the seats in both houses of a bicameral State legislature must be apportioned on a population basis," can a malapportioned State legislature ratify its own unconstitutional existence?

I believe these doubts are reasonably based and should be resolved. I have come to the conclusion that the adoption of an express requirement for prior compliance is desirable.

I believe that the best way—the simplest and most direct—to accomplish this objective would be to modify the ratification clause of the amendment in such fashion as to impose the requirement for prior compliance.

This is a very simple change. The words "include one house" would be deleted and the word "be" substituted. Thus, the first sentence of Senate Joint Resolution 103 would read:

> *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring herein)*, That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years of its submission to the States by the Congress, provided that each such legislature shall be apportioned on the basis of substantial equality of population—

And so forth. This change would take care of two problems at once: it would obviate any difficulties with respect to possible legal challenge of the ratification process, and it would take care of the point urged by some Senators; namely, that compliance with the Court's apportionment decisions must precede ratification of the proposed amendment. This would assure that any modified apportionment plan subsequently drawn up would be proposed by a legislature constituted in accordance with the Court's one-man, one-vote rule.

Mr. President, I therefore send the amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

I am joined in the cosponsorship of this amendment by the distinguished Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] and the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS].

I also ask unanimous consent that the article from the American Bar Association Journal, referred to earlier, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN ANTIREAPPORTIONMENT AMENDMENT: CAN IT BE LEGALLY RATIFIED?

(NOTE.—Mr. Wolf looks at comparatively unaired problems relating to whether malapportioned State legislatures may legally ratify an amendment to the Constitution under which the one-man, one-vote principle might be diluted. His conclusion is that the question of ratification by these legislatures would be justiciable, and that only State legislatures apportioned in accordance with present standards are able to give competent ratification to an antireapportionment amendment.)

(By Peter H. Wolf, of the District of Columbia bar)

Congress is engaged again in the battle over reapportionment of State legislatures. An attempt made at the end of the 2d session of the 88th Congress to remove reapportionment litigation from the jurisdiction of Federal courts was defeated by a filibuster in the Senate.[1] The 1st session of the 89th Congress witnessed an effort to limit the effect of the Supreme Court's extension of the one-man, one-vote principle of *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U.S. 533 (1964), by means of an amendment to the Federal Constitution. That attempt failed to muster the required two-thirds majority in the Senate.[2] Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois, the prime mover behind the antireapportionment drive, has renewed efforts to amend the Constitution in the second session of this Congress. The proposed amendments have taken various forms,[3] and

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[1] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol 110, pt. 17, pp. 21896, 22758.

[2] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 111, pt. 14, p. 19373.

[3] See e.g., H.J. Res. 13, 14, 24, 151; S.J. Res. 2, 37, 38 and 44, 89th Cong., 1st sess. (1965). The amendment proposed by Senator DIRKSEN has received the most attention. Extensive hearings were held on his (S.J. Res. 2) and other proposals (S.J. Res. 37, 38, and 44) in March, April, and May 1965, before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Those proceedings are printed in a 1,228-page document entitled "Hearings on Reapportionment of State Legislatures." An amended version of S.J. Res. 2 was debated in the Senate in July and August 1965, as an amendment to S.J. Res. 66 (National American Legion Baseball Week). After its defeat, Senator DIRKSEN introduced another version, S.J. Res. 103, for consideration in the current session of Congress. It reads as follows:

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein)*, That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years of its submission to the States by the Congress, provided not unexpectedly, they all provide for ratification by three-fourths of the States.

But substantial and comparatively unaired legal questions arise with respect to this method of ratification—by State legislatures—of an amendment concerning apportionment of those legislatures. If "the equal-protection clause demands no less than substantially equal State legislative representation for all citizens," [4] can a malapportioned State legislature ratify an amendment that would impair its citizens' rights to equal State legislative representation? [5] Stated another way, if "the equal-protection clause requires that the seats in both houses of a bicameral State legislature must be apportioned on a population basis," [6] can a malapportioned State legislature ratify its own unconstitutional existence? The issue has been poignantly framed by Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, of Connecticut: These proposed constitutional amendments would allow "the rotten boroughs to decide whether they should continue to be rotten." Can they so decide?

As this article will show, a good case can be made for answering these questions in the negative. Not only are the questions substantively raised by the Supreme Court's reapportionment decisions, but the negative answers are now procedurally possible because of their fountainhead, *Baker* v. *Carr*, 369 U.S. 186 (1962).

I. PRIOR CHALLENGES TO CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Ratifications of constitutional amendments have been challenged in the courts before. The first such case in the Supreme Court was *Hawke* v. *Smith* (*No. 1*), 253 U.S. 221 (1920). The constitution of Ohio extended the referendum procedure to any ratification by the legislature of proposed amendments to the Federal Constitution. The Ohio Legislature ratified the 18th amendment (prohibition), but prior to a referendum the U.S. Secretary of State proclaimed ratification by the necessary 36 States, among them Ohio. A citizen-taxpayer-voter of Ohio sued to restrain the secretary of state of Ohio from spending public money to prepare and print ballots for the referendum.

Ohio's highest court sustained a demurrer to the suit, but the Supreme Court reversed and held that the proposed amendment could not be referred to the voters of the State since the provisions of the State constitution requiring a referendum were inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States. The Court said ratification of an amendment by a State legislature is a federal function derived from article V of the Federal Constitution; [7] it is distinct from a legislature's role as an organ of the State and therefore independent of any State constitutional requirements.[8]

In *Fairchild* v. *Hughes*, 258 U.S. 126 (1922), citizen-taxpayers sued to have the 19th amendment (women's suffrage) "declared unconstitutional and void". The Supreme Court held in a short opinion that they had no standing to bring suit; they had "only the right, possessed by every citizen, to require that the Government be administered according to law and that the public moneys be not wasted".

In 1931 in *United States* v. *Sprague*, 282 U.S. 716, the United States prosecuted an appeal from an order of a district court quashing an indictment charging Sprague and others with unlawful transportation and possession of intoxicating liquors in violation of the National Prohibition Act. The district court had held that the 18th amendment, by authority of which the National Prohibition Act was enacted, had not been ratified so as to become part of the Constitution.

The defendants made the ingenious argument in the Supreme Court that proposed amendments conferring on the United States new direct powers over individuals, such as the 18th amendment, must be ratified by conventions in the States and not by State legislatures. They reached this conclusion by arguing that "if the legislatures were considered incompetent to surrender the people's liberties when the ratification of the Constitution itself was involved, a fortiori they are incompetent now to make a further grant." The Court rejected these arguments. It found the language of article V—"as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress"—too clear to permit reading any exceptions into it by implication.

The last significant case on the subject was *Coleman* v. *Miller*, 307 U.S. 433 (1939). In 1937 the Kansas Legislature considered the child labor amendment (proposed to the States in 1924) for the second time. A tie vote in the State senate was broken in favor of ratification by the vote of the lieutenant governor, the presiding officer of the senate under the Kansas constitution. The right of the Lieutenant Governor to break the tie was challenged on the ground that under article V ratification of constitutional amendments was solely the function of State legislatures.[9] It was also alleged that the proposed amendment had lost its vitality because of the previous rejection by the Kansas Legislature and failure of ratification by the States within a reasonable time.

The Supreme Court held that these were Federal questions and that the senators on the losing side had a cognizable right under the Federal Constitution—the right to have their votes given effect on the ratification or rejection of a proposed constitutional amendment. But on the question whether the lieutenant governor could break a tie vote on the ratification of the proposed amendment, the Court was equally divided.[10] Was it a justiciable controversy or was it a political question and thus not susceptible of judicial decision? No opinion was expressed. The Court went on to hold that Congress, as the political department of Government, had the ultimate control over proposed constitutional amendments and the efficacy thereof. The previous rejection of the proposed amendment by the Kansas Legislature and the lapse of time since the proposal thereof were political questions not subject to review by the Court. The denial by the Supreme Court of Kansas of the relief prayed for was affirmed.[11]

II. THE EFFECT OF BAKER AGAINST CARR

How have these cases been affected by recent decisions. Prior to Coleman, which appears to be an exception rather than the rule on the justiciability issue,[12] the Court had taken cognizance of a number of diverse challenges to constitutional amendments. That each case had been rejected on the merits does not weaken the force of each one's implicit justiciability. Yet because of Coleman, the last decided case interpreting article V, the hurdle of the "political question" must be overcome in any challenge to ratification of an antireapportionment amendment.

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that each such legislature shall include one house apportioned on the basis of substantial equality of population in accordance with the most recent enumeration provided for in section 2 of article I:

" 'ARTICLE —

" 'SECTION 1. The legislature of each State shall be apportioned by the people of that State at each general election for Representatives to the Congress held next following the year in which there is commenced each enumeration provided for in section 2 of article I. In the case of a bicameral legislature, the members of one house shall be apportioned among the people on the basis of their numbers and the members of the other house may be apportioned among the people on the basis of population, geography, and political subdivisions in order to insure effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate. In the case of a unicameral legislature, the house may be apportioned among the people on the basis of substantial equality of population with such weight given to geography and political subdivisions as will insure effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate.

" 'SEC. 2. A plan of apportionment shall become effective only after it has been submitted to a vote of the people of the State and approved by a majority of those voting on that issue at a statewide election held in accordance with law and the provisions of this Constitution. If submitted by a bicameral legislature the plan of apportionment shall have been approved prior to such election by both houses, one of which shall be apportioned on the basis of substantial equality of population; if otherwise submitted it shall have been found by the courts prior to such election to be consistent with the provisions of this Constitution, including this article. In addition to any other plan of apportionment which may be submitted at such election, there shall be submitted to a vote of the people an alternative plan of apportionment based solely on substantial equality of population. The plan of apportionment approved by a majority of those voting on that issue shall be promptly placed in effect.' "

[4] *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U.S. at 568 (1964).

[5] Senator DIRKSEN's amendment does not in and of itself deprive citizens of their right to equal State legislative representation; it permits the States to base their legislative apportionment on factors in addition to population only after approval by a referendum of the people. But there is no question that the citizens' present rights to equal representation would be impaired, because they would be subjected to a popular vote, unlike other constitutional rights.

[6] *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U.S. at 568 (1964).

[7] U.S. Constitution, article V: "The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; *Provided*, * * * That no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

[8] See also *National Prohibition Cases*, 253 U.S. 350, 386 (1920; *Leser* v. *Garnett*, 258 U.S. 130, 137 (1922).

[9] *Hawke* v. *Smith* (*No. 1*) *supra;* note 8 supra.

[10] Just how this division of an apparently odd number of justices came about, however, is unclear. See note, "Swing a Justice in Half," 48 Yale Law Journal, 1455 (1939).

[11] See note, 122 A.L.R. 717 (1939) and *Chandler* v. *Wise*, 307 U.S. 474 (1939).

[12] Another exception, however, voiced in *Leser* v. *Garnett*, *supra* note 8, was that official notice of ratification by the several States was conclusive on the courts. Yet *Coleman* itself greatly diminished the force of this exception by its ruling that the State senators possessed Federal rights and privileges that gave the Court jurisdiction over the controversy.

The foremost case on the question of justiciability in recent times is *Baker* v. *Carr*, 369 U.S. 186 (1962), in which Tennessee voters claimed denial of equal protection of the laws under the 14th amendment by virtue of the debasement of their votes. The Court in Baker held (1) that the Federal courts possessed jurisdiction of the subject matter, (2) that the voters had standing to challenge the Tennessee apportionment statutes and (3) that their complaint presented a justiciable cause of action on which they would be entitled to appropriate relief. Six of the eight justices participating in the decision joined in the majority opinion by Mr. Justice Brennan, in which "political questions" in prior cases were categorized as follows:

"Prominent on the surface of any case held to involve a political question is found (1) a textually demonstrable constitutional commitment of the issue to a coordinate political department; or (2) a lack of judicially discoverable and manageable standards for resolving it; or (3) the impossibility of deciding without an initial policy determination of a kind clearly for nonjudicial discretion; or (4) the impossibility of a court's undertaking independent resolution without expressing lack of the respect due coordinate branches of government; or (5) an unusual need for unquestioning adherence to a political decision already made; or (6) the potentiality of embarrassment from multifarious pronouncements by various departments on one question." [13]

An examination of the problem of ratification of an antireapportionment amendment by a malapportioned State legislature reveals that none of these common characteristics of "political questions" is present:

1. Although it is "textually demonstrable" that ratification of constitutional amendments is committed by article V to State legislatures,[14] the Baker Court stated:

"Deciding whether a matter has in any measure been committed by the Constitution to another branch of government, or whether the action of that branch exceeds whatever authority has been committed, is itself a delicate exercise in constitutional interpretation, and is a responsibility of this Court as ultimate interpreter of the Constitution." [15]

Furthermore, State legislatures are not a "coordinate political department" in the traditional sense of legislative, executive and judicial, although they are a concomitant of the federal system.

2. Even if the plethora of judicial actions in the wake of *Baker* v. *Carr* [16] may have demonstrated great variation in the enforcement of reapportionment decisions, there is certainly no lack of "judicially discoverable and manageable standards" for determining whether any particular State legislature is constitutionally apportioned.

3. No "initial policy determination" of a nonjudicial sort is required of a court prior to a decision whether a malapportioned State legislature participated in the ratification of its own unconstitutional existence.

4. Surely it cannot be said that a court's independent resolution" of the validity of a State's ratification would express "lack of the respect due coordinate branches of government" when the Court has, since *McCulloch* v. *Maryland*, 4 Wheat. 36 (1819), wielded its power to declare State enactments unconstitutional.

5. A "need for unquestioning adherence to a political decision already made" does not exist when the challenge is whether the political decision itself has been formulated in a manner consistent with the requirements of the Constitution.

6. The only danger of "multifarious pronouncements" would arise from the possibly varying decisions by lower courts on individual legislatures' ratifications of an antireapportionment amendment. Any conflicts would eventually be resolved by the Supreme Court, would provoke no worse situation than now already exists because of various court reapportionment orders and would be confined to the judicial department of government.

Baker greatly refined and diminished the force of the political questions impediment to constitutional adjudication. Having spawned the vast sweep of reapportionment litigation and the attempts to thwart reapportionment as well, Baker should also permit a return from the deviation in Coleman to the line of cases that have considered without hesitation the validity of ratification of constitutional amendments.[17]

III. RESULTS OF A CHALLENGE TO VALIDITY OF RATIFICATION

Once the Supreme Court is loosed from the judicial restraints imposed by the justiciability issue, a challenge to the validity of the ratification by a malapportioned State legislature of a proposed antireapportionment constitutional amendment would rely on little more than an axiom of constitutional government. It may be stated as follows: Since the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, governmental action not in compliance with its requirements as authoritatively interpreted is, provided the requisites of standing and justiciability are met, subject to invalidation by the courts.

This axiom imposes constraints on all actions governed by the Constitution. But how is it applicable to attempts to alter one man, one vote by constitutional amendment?

First, it should be said there is no fundamental reason why a constitutional right may not be altered or eliminated by a constitutional amendment. During the hearings on reapportionment of State legislatures, some witnesses expressed horror at the idea that the Bill of Rights, for example, could be repealed. They instinctively felt there must exist a constitutional reason why such a repeal could not lawfully be brought about. Generally, the amendments have greatly enlarged constitutional rights. But by a form of majority will, as specified in the Constitution, constitutional rights may be altered or repealed, even in light of our tradition that these rights may not be infringed simply because the majority wills it.[18] In this sense constitutional government is reversible.

In another sense, however, constitutional government, short of revolution, is irreversible, for no one could seriously contend that while the Bill of Rights was being reconsidered its operation would be suspended. As part of the existing Constitution and as interpreted by the courts, it would remain effective until lawfully repealed or altered by constitutional amendment. Any attempt to repeal the Bill of Rights that violated those rights in the process of repeal would be subject to challenge. The constitutional axiom is just as applicable while amending the Constitution as it is at any other time.[19]

This must also be true with respect to equal protection, as that 14th amendment phrase encompasses the right of equal State legislative representation; that right remains in effect until repealed and must necessarily span the amending process. The Constitution has been authoritatively and unequivocally interpreted to require that "the seats in both houses of a bicameral State legislature must be apportioned on a population basis." [20] The very least the constitutional axiom requires is that when a State legislature participates in the amending process—the only specifically delineated function of State legislatures under the Federal Constitution—concerning an impairment of constitutional rights as embodied in that legislature's own composition, the courts will demand that that legislature accurately reflect the only majority by which our system permits impairment of such rights. Thus, a malapportioned State legislature may not lawfully ratify a constitutional amendment that might permit that malapportionment to be perpetuated.[21]

This statement requires elaboration to some degree, for practical considerations must be permitted to impose upon legal theories in the now-violated political thickets of reapportionment. These considerations have a twofold effect.

Practicalities affect the constitutional issues of ratification in a restrictive sense because of the ever-present legal question of retroactivity. Malapportionment of a State legislature does not demand a declaration of retroactive invalidity of all acts of that legislature from the time it was first malapportioned. Such a vindication of citizens' rights to equal representation would be not only impractical but chaotic.[22] A State legislature, more than most litigants, is entitled to a presumption of the legitimacy of its acts and so are the citizens who rely on those acts.[23] It is true that a court may give retroactive effect to a declaration that any given act of a legislature is inconsistent with the Constitution. But when the attack is against the legitimacy of the legislature, rather than against a particular act, the presumption will prevent blanket invalidation of acts prior to any authoritative determination of the acting body's illegitimacy.

Therefore, it is reasonable to require that a successful challenge to the ratification of an antireapportionment amendment by a malapportioned State legislature can be made only when the legislature in question has already been determined by a court to be constitutionally unrepresentative at or before the time it attempted to ratify. Ratification by a legislature in fact malapportioned, but which had not been so determined by a court before it ratified, would be valid. If this were not the case, no amendment to the Constitution could ever be ratified finally and relied upon, because it would never be immune from retroactive attack.

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[13] 369 U.S. at 217.

[14] The Court in Baker cited *Coleman* v. *Miller* as demonstrative of a "political question" on this very matter of commitment to a coordinate political department, 369 U.S. at 214. But it did so only on the basis of Coleman's refusal to decide, because committed to Congress, how long a proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution remained open to ratification and what effect a prior rejection had on a subsequent ratification. Coleman was not cited as illustrative of nonjusticiability on the question of the validity of the actual ratification process by a State legislature. Of course, it could not have been so cited since the Court in Coleman was equally divided and expressed no opinion on whether the lieutenant governor could cast the deciding vote.

[15] 369 U.S. at 211.

[16] A graphic summary of reapportionment actions in the States was presented in the Washington Post, Nov. 7, 1965, p. E1.

[17] Baker's undermining of Coleman was recognized in a memorandum made a part of the record by Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL, of California, in the "Hearings on Reapportionment of State Legislatures," supra note 3, at 30.

[18] *Lucas* v. *Colorado General Assembly*, 377 U.S. 713, 736–737 (1964).

[19] See *Graham* v. *Jones*, 198 La. 507, 3 So. 2d 761 (1941), and cases cited; *Crawford* v. *Gilchrist*, 64 Fla. 41, 59 So. 963 (1912); 16 Am. Jur. 2d Constitutional Law, secs. 39, 43.

[20] *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U.S. at 568 (1964).

[21] These grounds for invalidation of a State legislature's ratification would hold true for any constitutional amendment. But it is doubtful that a litigant would have standing to bring suit for any but an amendment directly affecting his personal constitutional rights, of which an antireapportionment amendment is the prime example. No voter would have standing to challenge ratification of the pending constitutional amendment on presidential succession, for example.

[22] *Cf. Linkletter* v. *Walker*, 381 U.S. 618 (1965); *Tehan* v. *Schott*, 382 U.S. 406 (1966).

[23] *Fletcher* v. *Peck*, 6 Cranch 87, 130–131 (1810).

Second, the inevitable practical aspects of reapportionment law have an expansive effect where ratification of the Constitution is involved. Because of pragmatic considerations it cannot be required that a State legislature's apportionment continuously change with shifts in population. Apportionment after each decennial census is probably sufficient.[24] For example, relief to a litigant claiming infringement of his voting rights 5 years after a legislature's reapportionment might reasonably be denied on the ground that his suit was premature in relation to the practicalities of reapportionment. This could be done even though intermediate census figures showed that population shifts actually made the representation in that legislature significantly unequal. Yet, it is perfectly true that such practicalities do not prevail against the constitutional arguments set forth above, especially when the context is the Federal function of ratification of a constitutional amendment dealing with the very issues which give rise to those practicalities.

As long as a legislature is not apportioned within realistic constitutional bounds, no matter if just before or just after a decennial census, the arguments for invalidating its ratification of an amendment on the subject of apportionment are completely applicable. It may be that higher standards of apportionment should be required in the constitutionally prescribed process of amending the Constitution than for ordinary legislative purposes. It might be possible for a legislature to be in fact malapportioned, and therefore unable lawfully to ratify an antireapportioment amendment, yet for that same legislature not to be obligated to reapportion itself for legitimacy of its day-to-day activities. The legal means for bringing such an argument to bear, especially in light of the aforementioned limitation requiring that a determination of malapportionment be made prior to the legislature's actual act of ratification, unfortunately may depend, however, on the legal complexities of enjoining a malapportioned State legislature from considering a constitutional amendment.

The arguments based on the constitutional axiom are further sustained by the need for consistency among the Supreme Court's decisions. The failure of State legislatures to reapportion themselves because of a preference for the expedient status quo, often in violation of their own State constitutions, brought about the legal anathema of the deterioration of a right (to vote) without a remedy (even by "political" means). In the tradition of the common law a judicial remedy was forged in *Baker* v. *Carr*. Were the Supreme Court to permit unconstitutionally constituted legislatures to be entrusted with the option of perpetuating their unconstitutionality, it would be turning its back on the very same plight of the voter without a remedy that initially prompted judicial intervention. A new vicious circle would be created: Citizens with the right to equal State legislative representation would be deprived of the power to enforce that right when that right's very continuation was at stake.

The entire problem was accurately summarized in a portion of the testimony before Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments by Royce Hanson, associate professor of government at American University, when in discussing Senator DIRKSEN's proposed amendment, he stated:

"Finally, Senate Joint Resolution 2 provides for ratification by the legislatures of the States. This procedure for this amendment presents every legislature with an irresistible conflict of interest. Every Member has a personal interest in the amendment. Too often such interests exceed the public interest. If legislatures were to vote on it, I think we can predict in about every State where the legislature is under court mandate to reapportion, lawsuits challenging the capacity of a malapportioned legislature to sit in judgment of this amendment, would occur. Even if all the suits are lost, it seems to me incredible that the Congress would be a party to so cozy an arrangement as this procedure permits."[25]

Professor Hanson's misgivings that ratification would be far more on the level of self-preservation than on the higher plane of constitutional concern are amply illustrated by the fact that some State legislatures that have enacted reapportionment plans under court order have provided that the plans shall be immediately and automatically rescinded if an antireapportionment amendment becomes effective.[26] Similar misgivings arise from a realization of the misleading quality of the question used as the battle cry of those supporting an antireapportionment amendment—"What is wrong with letting the people decide?" It is not the people who would ratify an antireapportionment amendment; it is the State legislatures. If "letting the people decide" refers to the referendum provisions of the Dirksen amendment, those provisions are totally irrelevant to the amending process itself.

As pointed out earlier, challenges to ratifications of an antireapportionment constitutional amendment by malapportioned State legislatures now appear to be justiciable in the courts. Such an amendment and the operation of the constitutional axiom in the context of its ratification are unique in our constitutional history. For not only does a proposed antireapportionment amendment specifically impair a preexisting constitutional right, but its ratification by legislatures that may be malapportioned attempts alteration by means that inherently violate that same constitutional right. The outcome of each challenge can logically and constitutionally result only in an invalidation of a malapportioned State legislature's bootstrap ratification of its own unconstitutional composition.

IV. PERMISSIBLE FORMS OF RATIFICATION

If ratification by malapportioned State legislatures of an antireapportionment amendment can be successfully challenged in the courts, does that mean the Supreme Court has enunciated a constitutional concept which is irrevocably insulated from alteration? Or are means still available by which to amend the Constitution? If so, are there operative constraints imposed as a result of the present requirement that every citizen's vote count as much as another's?

It is by now apparent that an antireapportionment amendment may be ratified by legislatures in three-fourths of the States when both houses of each legislature are lawfully apportioned on a population basis.[27] The proposed amendment adopted by Congress could specifically so provide.[28] The real queestion, perhaps, is pragmatic: Would lawfully apportioned legislatures ratify an antireapportionment amendment? Fear that they might not has apparently influenced the backers of the various antireapportionment proposals and may account for their early attempt in the 88th Congress to remove reapportionment litigation from the jurisdiction of Federal courts until, allegedly, Congress could consider an amendment to the Constitution. As reapportionment proceeds apace through the courts, this practical question becomes more and more important, for fewer and fewer malapportioned legislatures will exist.

Another method of ratification is set forth in article V—ratification by conventions in three-fourths of the States. This method has been used only once—for ratification of the 21st amendment (repeal of prohibition). None of the joint resolutions introduced in the 89th Congress adopts this method. Apparently, supporters consider it more doubtful that ratification could be obtained by conventions in the States. Ratifications certainly would be less likely than if self-serving State legislatures passed on it. It is no doubt true, however, that ratification by the convention method may be subject to abuse. It is the State legislatures that would set up the ratifying conventions. If provisions for free selection of delegates on an equal population basis were not provided, successful challenges in the courts on grounds similar to those mentioned could well result.

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[24] The words of the Supreme Court in *Reynolds* v. *Sims* are applicable, 377 U.S. at 583–584 (1964): "That the equal protection clause requires that both houses of a State legislature be apportioned on a population basis does not mean that States cannot adopt some reasonable plan for periodic revision of their apportionment schemes. While we do not intend to indicate that decennial reapportionment is a constitutional requisite, compliance with such an approach would clearly meet the minimal requirements for maintaining a reasonably current scheme of legislative representation. And we do not mean to intimate that more frequent reapportionment would not be constitutionally permissible or practicably desirable. But if reapportionment were accomplished with less frequency, it would assuredly be constitutionally suspect."

[25] "Hearings on Reapportionment of State Legislatures," supra note 3, at 660.

[26] See e.g., North Dakota Statutes, ch. 338, sec. 5 (Mar. 20, 1965): "Amendment to U.S. Constitution—Results: Upon the effective date of any amendment to the U.S. Constitution which delegates to the States the right to apportion their legislatures in a manner to be determined by each State or its citizens or in accordance with the amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the provisions of * * * this Legislative Apportionment Act shall become null and void and the apportionment of the representatives and senators of the legislative assembly of this State shall be as provided by the laws of North Dakota in effect on July 1, 1963 * * *."

A statute such as this is clearly suspect on the same constitutional grounds applicable to the ratification of a constitutional amendment: it is the act of an illegitimate legislature apportioning a future legislature in violation of existing constitutional rights to equal representation.

[27] Nebraska is the only State without a bicameral legislature.

[28] S.J. Res. 103, supra note 3, goes only half way in this regard by requiring that each ratifying State legislature "shall include one house apportioned on the basis of substantial equality of population." Reynolds v. *Sims, supra* and *Lucas* v. *Colorado General Assembly, supra,* note 21, provide no basis for such a partial compliance with present constitutional requirements. See Killian, "State Legislative Apportionment: An Analysis of Proposed Constitutional Amendments," Library of Congress Legislative Reference Service, American Law Division, pp. 6–12 (Dec. 7, 1965).

Nevertheless, ratification by State conventions provides a justifiable alternative.

A final method of change relates to the means of proposing an amendment for ratification. Article V provides for proposing amendments by a constitutional convention called by Congress upon application by two-thirds of the State legislatures. This approach to amending the Constitution has never been used and, indeed, many have cautioned against it.[29] As many as 26 State legislatures have passed resolutions requesting Congress to call a constitutional convention on the reapportionment issue. More than a third of the States have rejected such a resolution, however, so that this method of amendment appears remote at the present time.

Amendments proposed by constitutional convention would require ratification by three-fourths of the State legislatures or by three-fourths of the States meeting in convention. Ratification would, therefore, be subject to challenge on all the grounds set forth above. It is possible, though perhaps unlikely, that these same arguments could be applied to invalidate a malapportioned State legislature's mere application to Congress to call a convention for the purpose of proposing an antireapportionment amendment.

CONCLUSION

It can fairly be said that very real constitutional problems exist that have not been considered properly by Congress in its study of antireapportionment proposals. These issues go to the heart of the controversy. Supporters of an antireapportionment amendment appear to have avoided them. One can hope, however, that they would not wish to put forth a hasty proposal that would merely invite countless lawsuits because of the method adopted for ratification. Their course should be to have fair and open discussion of these issues and to insure fair and just ratification procedures that are not beset by the spectacle of politicians attempting to validate their own unrepresentativeness.

At the same time, opponents should point out the difficulties that can be expected since they may bear directly on the very desirability of an attempt to amend the Constitution to permit even partial malapportionment. Insofar as possible invalidity of State ratifications of an antireapportionment amendment may affect the desirability of change—indeed, the possibility of change—the debate should be open and above board. The voters deserve no less.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Who yields time on the amendment? Do the Senators yield back the time under their control?

Mr. **CHURCH**. I yield time to the distinguished Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. **HRUSKA**. Would the effect of the amendment proposed by the Senator from Idaho result in the inclusion of an additional condition in the preamble to the joint resolution?

Mr. **CHURCH**. The Senator is correct. It does include an additional requirement.

Mr. **HRUSKA**. If the amendment were adopted, two conditions would be in the preamble, one having to do with the 7-year period within which the legislatures must ratify this amendment. As I recall, this time element is usual in the submission of amendments to the Constitution to the legislatures for ratification. Is my understanding correct?

Mr. **CHURCH**. That is so.

Mr. **HRUSKA**. The second condition would be that before a legislature would be qualified to vote ratification of the amendment, it would have had to comply with the Supreme Court interpretation of the Constitution in Reynolds against Sims.

Mr. **CHURCH**. Yes. The objective sought by the amendment is to make certain that the three-quarters of the State legislatures which must, under the Constitution, join in ratification of an amendment, shall consist solely of legislatures which have complied with the Supreme Court decision and are, in fact, apportioned in accordance with it. This would eliminate any question with respect to malapportioned legislatures participating in the ratification process. Thus, it would remove the doubts that have been expressed concerning this possibility.

Mr. **HRUSKA**. I thank the Senator from Idaho.

Mr. President, this point arose during the hearings held on this resolution before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments. It was my contention, when that point was raised, that no such language or additional requirement was necessary in the language of the joint resolution, for the simple reason that by the time it was transmitted to the legislatures for action, all the legislatures would have complied with the Supreme Court decision. I think the time that has elapsed since last summer, when the hearings were held, has borne that out. Certainly, by next January there will have been compliance with that Supreme Court decision by all State legislatures.

For that reason, it was my contention that no such express provision was needed in the joint resolution. However, I see no harm whatsoever in it. There is a chance that some cases may still be pending, perhaps on a provisional or an interlocutory basis. That could result in some legislatures ratifying the joint resolution without having complied with the Supreme Court decision.

With that possibility, the proposed amendment, it seems to me, makes good sense.

Some 11 months ago, the chairman of the subcommittee [Mr. BAYH] made a speech to the Indiana League of Women Voters in Fort Wayne, Ind., in which he set forth several points which he wanted to include in the joint resolution before he would consent to it.

The first was compliance with the Supreme Court's requirement for equal-population districts as a precondition for authority to apportion one house of a legislature on a basis other than population.

The second point was a requirement that legislatures desiring to apportion one house on a basis other than population submit a specific apportionment plan for the people to approve or reject.

The third was a mandatory return to the equal-population principle unless every 10 years the people approved a legislative plan for apportioning one house on some basis other than population.

The fourth was that approved apportionment plans should be subject to judicial review to prevent violations of other constitutional guarantees.

Further, in a press release of April 7, of this year, the distinguished chairman of our subcommittee said:

> During executive sessions of the subcommittee, I offered one other proposal: That factors other than population considered in any legislative plan be limited to geography and political subdivisions.
>
> Senator DIRKSEN, over a period of months, incorporated all these suggestions into his proposal except for the key suggestion of "prior compliance" of the legislatures with the Supreme Court decision.

Mr. President, it seems to me that, an agreement to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Idaho should clarify the atmosphere so that very learned chairman of our subcommittee can vote for this amendment.

I note that the distinguished junior Senator from Illinois is present. Perhaps he might want to comment on the question of whether the amendment is in keeping with his thinking.

Mr. **DIRKSEN**. Precisely so. The distinguished Senator has very explicitly stated that 4 points were incorporated and that this was a fifth point that he wanted to see incorporated in the resolution that is presently before the Senate.

That is quite acceptable except that it cannot be offered as a committee amendment. Therefore the Senate must vote on it. It is acceptable. By the end of the year, over 40 States will have reapportioned, so that for practical purposes the question becomes more or less moot. There may be a few States in which there would be a problem.

I am agreeable so that there can be no constitutional or legal question as to whether a malapportioned legislature is in a position to validly and legally vote on this proposal when it comes to the people for ratification.

Mr. **HRUSKA**. Mr. President, I am grateful for that explanation. Other Senators may have been confronted with that same proposition. This amendment would remove any objection on that ground.

Mr. **CHURCH**. Mr. President, I yield to the senior Senator from New York.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The senior Senator from New York is recognized.

Mr. **JAVITS**. Mr. President, I join with the distinguished Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH] and the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] in sponsoring this amendment.

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[29] Knotty questions arise from this method of constitutional amendment. What happens if Congress refuses to call a convention? Must the applications of the States to Congress be identical in form or content or both? Can matters outside the scope of the States' applications to Congress be considered in a constitutional convention? Proposal of amendments in this fashion has been called a form of "constitutional end run" because there is no direct guidance or participation by the Federal Government. Washington Post editorial, Oct. 27, 1965, p. A20. The danger of a runaway convention, venting deep-seated angers at the Supreme Court, is also said to be a risk.

I think it very materially improves the joint resolution which will be voted on tomorrow. I hope very much that the amendment will be agreed to.

The amendment certainly perfects the resolution. I am not necessarily, by sponsoring this amendment, committed to vote for Senate Joint Resolution 103. However, I think it is our duty to present the very best possible version of this measure.

I think what is troubling me and what is troubling many others concerns whether there has been enough time in which to make sufficiently clear what we ought to do or whether perhaps a little more time is needed to make more clear whether an amendment of this character is needed.

Everyone seems to agree that State legislatures, notwithstanding their first moment of panic, conformed.

I think that a real service is being performed by the Senator. I am glad to join with him in making it crystal clear that there should be no opposition to an amendment of this kind if Congress should send it to the States to be voted on by other than fully qualified legislatures. I am glad to join with the Senator.

I wanted to make it clear that in joining with the Senator, I seek to present to the Senate the very best possible piece of legislation.

I sincerely and prayerfully hope that the matter comes to a successful conclusion.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, a few weeks ago Mr. Justice Douglas said:

> Sometimes the decisions of this Court are not approved in the long run. And constitutional amendments are made. For example, our Court held that the graduated income tax was unconstitutional. And we got the 16th amendment—we changed that. Our Court held that a State could lay a poll tax as a condition of voting, and that was changed with respect to Federal elections. Our Court held that a State could keep women from voting and that was changed by the 19th amendment. This is part of the process. People can have such constitutions—such provisions—as they want.

It is the duty of the Court to construe the Constitution as it exists, to the best of their knowledge.

The conclusion is simply this. That decision is the law of the land. It was an interpretation of a clause in the 14th amendment. If nothing is done and people become unhappy over what is happening in the States, where do we go? There is no place to go.

This stands like a concrete wall against any modification unless we go back to the people of the States and give them a chance at least to submit it to their people.

That is the residual issue before us.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I say to my very distinguished minority leader that he states the case exactly. I have never been afraid to deal with this subject by amendment.

I yield to no one in my respect for the Supreme Court. But the Supreme Court is a coordinate branch of the Government. We, too, have our duties, and the people have their duties.

The only question that troubles me and others is the question of whether this is the time to erect a new body of law. It should not be done unless we feel that social conditions require it.

The Senator from Illinois, whose judgment is very impressive to me, believes that the time has come now and that we should establish a mechanism to respond to the social needs.

I want to satisfy myself, and I feel sure that others feel the same way, based upon experience with the decision, that there is a social need.

I respect the viewpoint of the Senator on that, and I am sure that when the time comes, he will have just as much respect for my viewpoint.

Mr. DIRKSEN. The Senator is correct.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President. I am prepared to yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield back his time?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time is yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Idaho on behalf of himself and other Senators.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution is open to further amendment. The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

CHURCH AMENDMENT APPLIES ONLY TO RATIFICATION, BUT NOT TO PROPOSAL OF MALAPPORTIONMENT PLANS

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, we have just agreed to a very minor change in the Dirksen amendment. It is not a change of great significance.

Under the pressure of opposition, as the Senator from Idaho has specified, my colleague, the junior Senator from Illinois, has made one after another of a series of concessions. However, the vital and worst part of his amendment still remains.

I point out, if I may, what is contained in the amendment and why, in my judgment, it should still be opposed and voted down.

In the first place, the Church amendment, which we have just agreed to, and which the opponents of the Dirksen amendment did not oppose, merely refers to the requirement for legislatures ratifying the constitutional amendment. It, therefore, could apply to only 38 legislatures, the number required to ratify the amendment, and it need not apply to the remaining 12 legislatures whose ratification would not be necessary for the adoption of the constitutional amendment.

We might, therefore—and in my judgment probably would—arrive at a situation in which 38 of the States had reapportioned both houses substantially on the basis of population, but 12 States would not so have done. In these 12 States, the malapportioned house of the legislature could push through a plan giving to the minority control of that house and thus a veto over actions of the house based on population. Even in the 38 States, population changes might result in minority control of the legislature when it proposes a plan of apportionment under the amendment.

S.J. RES. 103 WOULD TAKE AWAY A BASIC RIGHT OF CITIZENS

My colleague has made a characteristically eloquent argument that under the amendment the people, by referendum, would have the right to adopt any constitutional provision which they wish. And so perhaps, by strict legal judgment, they would have.

But I happen to be one who believes that there are innate principles upon which government is founded, and that a majority of the people do not have the moral right to deny to individuals those basic principles and rights.

I have before me the Constitution of the United States and its first 10 amendments, collectively known as the Bill of Rights. It is perhaps true that an amendment could be passed which would take away from individuals the protections guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. But I believe that would be ethically wrong, because I think virtually all of those guarantees are based in the moral law, in the judgments of the heart and of the informed conscience, and that they are rights of the individual.

Our grandfathers and great grandfathers would have appealed to natural law. People may question where the books are that contain this natural law. But when our forefathers spoke of natural law, they were really speaking of ethical law, God-given law, based in the moral constitution of people and the moral constitution of the universe.

Let us take the first amendment:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

Do we seriously believe that the majority of the people should have the right to prohibit an individual from worshiping God according to the dictates of his conscience? Do we wish to open the floodgates of change, so that this feature of the Constitution may be taken away and removed? I do not believe that we do.

The first amendment goes on:

> Or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press.

Are we to say that the majority of the people shall be able to abrogate this right belonging to individuals? I suppose that constitutionally they could do so. But it would be a violation of the ethical law, the moral law, the law of the universe, as some of us believe, and would deprive this country and the citizens thereof of one of the rights of which we are most proud; and I do not believe many of us would wish to be put in the position of assisting that process to take place.

Then the first amendment continues:

> or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Do we want to open the amending process, so that the right of assembly and of petition can be removed from individual citizens by a majority vote? I cannot believe that this is so.

Or, to proceed to the fourth amendment:

> The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated.

Are we to make it possible for a later generation, by amendment, to remove these guarantees and make it possible for a Gestapo to rap on the door of a man's house at night, without a warrant, and take him away? That is what was done in the Nazi countries. It is what has been and probably is being done in the Communist countries.

Or features of the fifth amendment:

> No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on presentment or indictment of a grand jury.

I suppose we could sweep away the right to prior indictment by a grand jury by a constitutional amendment, ratified by the people in an unwary election or in a fit of popular passion. But is this not a right based on human decency and respect for the individual, deep in the moral laws of mankind?

Or the sixth amendment:

> In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed.

Yes; we can deprive people of the right to a jury trial, and allow them to be sentenced by a court or by a military tribunal. But that is not something, I believe, that we would like to do; and it would be a heavy responsibility for this Congress, in a later action, to make it possible.

Or the eighth amendment:

> Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Are we to make it possible, at some future time, by a referendum, to remove these protections of the individual? Would we make it possible for the thumbscrew and the rack to return? Would we make it possible for the horror camps of Dachau or the prison settlements of Russia to come to this country?

I cannot believe that this would be right. These are principles of the moral law. I submit that the 14th amendment is also based not merely on the amendment itself and the process by which it was ratified but upon the conscience of mankind.

Let me read the 14th amendment:

> SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.

This is the principle that people are citizens of the Nation as well as citizens of the State, and in their rights as American citizens they can be protected by the law.

Therefore, would we go back to the Dred Scott decision and say that the rights of individuals are purely States rights and not national rights; that individuals are citizens of States but not of the Nation and, therefore, not being citizens of the Nation are immune or insulated from national protection?

That was one of the features of the Dred Scott decision and it led to the Civil War. Out of that war the consciences of men were touched more deeply than they had ever been before.

The 14th amendment goes on to say:

> No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States—

That means that these are privileges and immunities which are national rights and a State legislature cannot take them away.

Continuing—

> nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Mr. President, how can it be said that people get the equal protection of the laws if they are grossly and unequally represented in the legislatures which make the laws?

I maintain that this is a natural right, an ethical right—yes, using the term in its proper way, a God-given right, that people shall be equal in the sight of God and equal in the sight of law—that no majority can or should take away from an individual.

Accordingly, Mr. President, let me say that the Dirksen amendment in its present form still violates this basic, human and ethical principle, in that it would permit a majority, by referendum, to take away from individuals the equal protection of the laws.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I believe that the Senator from Illinois has made the prime argument against the principle behind the Dirksen amendment; namely, that a referendum, even if the questions were to be fairly framed, and even if there were substantial participation in the referendum, that under these circumstances, it would not be in accordance with the basic American principles, to permit that referendum to destroy such rights as freedom of worship, freedom of the press, trial by jury, or the right to equal representation.

I should further like to ask the distinguished Senator from Illinois whether he did say—as I understood him to say a few minutes ago—that he considered the Church amendment to be a minor amendment. Is it not true that, compared with the Bayh proposal, this amendment would not provide for judicial review, No. 1; and, No. 2, that it would permit, as I understand it, a situation in which 38 or 40 State legislatures which are properly apportioned on the basis of one man, one vote, could adopt this amendment to the Constitution, and then another State which was still malapportioned would be in a position to provide a referendum which would affirm a gross malapportionment in that particular State; is that not true?

Mr. DOUGLAS. The Senator is completely correct. It would only require prior compliance in the case of the 38 States whose approval is required for ratification, but not in all 50 States. There could, therefore, be 12 States malapportioned which could then submit referenda to the voters, and do it with a built-in bias in favor of their existing malapportionment.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The Bayh amendment provides as follows:

> SECTION 1. The legislature of each State shall be apportioned upon the basis of substantial equality of population * * *
>
> In both houses.

Then in section 2, it states:

> Any State legislature which is apportioned on the basis of substantial equality of population, may, when apportioning * * * make reasonable use of geographic and political subdivision factors, in addition to the factor of population.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Yes.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I submit that there is a world of difference. In the first place, the proposal of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BAYH) provides that before a legislature would be in a position to provide for any modification of the one man, one vote, it would have to be apportioned on the basis of one man, one vote, and in the second place—and this is, by a much more important distinction—that the Senator from Indiana provides for making reasonable use of geographic and political factors in making that apportionment.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Yes.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I invite the attention of the Senator from Illinois to the Dirksen amendment which provides as follows:

> In the case of a bicameral legislature, the members of one house shall be apportioned among the people on the basis of their numbers and the members of the other house may be apportioned among the people on the basis of population, geography, and political subdivisions in order to insure effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate.

In other words, in the Dirksen amendment as modified by Senator CHURCH there is no standard by which the Court could insist on a reasonable representation of population so that the Dirksen amendment could easily permit a situation which would provide as gross a malapportionment, as gross a distortion or dilution of the vote, as the Senator from Illinois has so often cited in the situation which maintained in this country up until a year or two ago; is that not correct?

Mr. DOUGLAS. The Senator from Wisconsin is completely correct. By the use of the term "reasonable," the Bayh amendment had a built-in provision that apportionment plans would have their constitutionality ultimately passed upon by the Supreme Court. This is totally absent from the Dirksen amendment. As I shall try to show in a few minutes, the standards laid down in the Dirksen amendment are so vague that a State legislature could with impunity grossly violate the equal protection of the laws.

Mr. PROXMIRE. One more point. An hour or two ago I emphasized this point, but I believe it is most appropriate right now, that section 2, page 3 of the Dirksen amendment contains a sentence which, in my judgment, would make it difficult for the Supreme Court to review the fairness of apportionment. It states as follows, on line 5:

> If submitted by a bicameral legislature the plan of apportionment shall have been approved prior to such election by both houses, one of which shall be apportioned on the basis of substantial equality of population—

Mr. DOUGLAS. And one of which need not be.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Right.

The amendment goes on to say:

> If otherwise submitted it shall have been found by the courts prior to such election to be consistent with the provisions of this Constitution, including this article.

This particular sentence is so artfully contrived that it appears, to me at least, that by excepting, leaving out, judicial review in the ordinary manner it would be exercised, it makes it very difficult for the Court to impose its judgment in the circumstances which would obtain in apportionment.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I think it would make it almost impossible.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. HRUSKA. The sentence read by the Senator is necessary. The question of apportionment could not be submitted unless one of the houses is apportioned on the basis of population.

There should not be any concern that there will be a vacuum, because if the amendment goes into force and effect, and if a State has taken no action, the rule of Reynolds against Sims controls. It is the basic law of the land, and both houses must be apportioned on a population basis. But once there is compliance, and a plan is put into effect with one house on a population basis and the other on some other basis, if that sentence is not included no proposal for another plan could ever be made.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I thank the Senator from Nebraska. As I said yesterday, he is extremely able in this field, and, of course, is a member of the subcommittee and has followed this issue. But it does not satisfy the point I tried to make. I would agree that this does serve an additional purpose, but it seems to me the construction of this sentence would make it more difficult for the Supreme Court to review an apportionment which provided that one house is on the basis of population and the other house, as the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] said, might have one district which was two or three or four times larger than another, and yet both districts had the same number of representatives in that body.

Mr. HRUSKA. Could that situation exist under Reynolds against Sims?

Mr. PROXMIRE. No.

Mr. HRUSKA. What is the complaint? There is a law which governs that situation and a constitution which governs it. That cannot come to pass. That will not be tolerated. Federal courts over the land are assuring that that condition is removed.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The amendment has no other purpose if it does not provide that one house of the State legislature may be on the basis of population and the other house on another basis. Under Reynolds against Sims that is not possible.

The point I am making is that under the Dirksen amendment the Supreme Court is not in a position to impose a reasonable rule, as under the Bayh amendment.

Mr. HRUSKA. The purpose of the amendment is to remove this step from the purview of the Supreme Court.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Exactly. I am glad the Senator has made that statement. That is the outstanding statement made by either side. When he says the purpose of the amendment is to remove it from the purview of the Supreme Court, I would agree with him 100 percent. He is dead right.

Mr. HRUSKA. But one house being apportioned on population——

Mr. PROXMIRE. The other house can be apportioned——

Mr. HRUSKA. On another basis. It is on that basis that we established the Constitution. It is for the people of the United States to decide. It is not for the Supreme Court to be the last guesser on this question. There is an authority higher than the Supreme Court, and that is the people of the States and, collectively, the people of the United States, to decide. If they want one chamber of their State legislature based on population and area, it is for them to say. It is the purpose of the amendment to say that the Supreme Court has no business in this question, if the people follow the strict procedures under this amendment and then decide to have that kind of legislature.

Mr. PROXMIRE. This is by far the most enlightening statement made by either side. The Senator has made it clear that, so far as one house of the legislature is concerned, the Supreme Court would not be in the position of exercising its judgment. Final determination would be proposed by the State legislature.

Mr. HRUSKA. It would have to be submitted to the people, and it would have to be resubmitted and approved every 10 years. That is the essence of the amendment.

VAGUE STANDARDS

Mr. DOUGLAS. The second major objection which I have to the Dirksen amendment is the vagueness of the standards it mentions which may be used as a basis for the apportionment of representatives in one house.

It is true that supporters of the Dirksen amendment now concede that one house is to be apportioned on the basis of population. This was not supported by them some years ago. But they have gradually come around to concede that one house is to be apportioned on the basis of population. But, of course, if a minority can control one house of the legislature, in effect it can control both houses, because one house of the legislature, by refusing to consent, can exercise a veto power, and if it is stubborn enough, as we have seen is true in many State legislatures, it can compel the other house, the popularly elected house, either to yield or to consent to a compromise. It can even force the popular house to agree to legislation, including apportionment plans, which are not in the public interest.

Mr. President, while under the Dirksen amendment, in lines 14 and 15 of page 2, it is true that the members of one house shall be apportioned on the basis of their numbers, it is also, under lines 16 through 20, explicitly stated that the members of the other "house may be apportioned among the people on the basis of population, geography, and political subdivisions in order to insure effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate."

This is vague and confusing language. I had always assumed that in the United States of America it was the people who were supposedly represented in the State legislatures. I had not thought that groups and interests were to be explicitly represented as such. I had never thought that the American legislatures were based on the theory of occupational representation; that the farmers were to have a given number of representatives, the factory workers a given number, the white collar workers a given number, the investors a given number, and the professional groups a given number. These factors may be taken into consideration by the political parties in making up their slates and often are, but the people who are elected are supposed to represent the people as such; not groups, not interests, but individual citizens.

The Dirksen amendment opens the way not merely for occupational representation but for religious representation and for racial representation.

One can see the theory carried out that Western Europeans should have so many representatives, that white Anglo-Saxon Protestants are to have so many representatives, that northern Europeans are to be represented, and Negroes are to have so many representatives.

This issue was fought out when they were drawing up a constitution for India. My friend B. K. Ambedkar who was my classmate at Columbia, and who was the representative of the depressed classes, urged that representation should be on the caste model, stating that this was the only way the depressed classes could be assured of adequate representation. He was opposed by Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Nehru, who urged that people should be represented as such, and that the individuals in the depressed classes would get representation through their influence within a general constituency. The view of Gandhi and Nehru conquered and I think the ultimate result has been good for India.

What is meant by the phrase, "members of the other house may be apportioned among the people on the basis of population, geography, and political subdivision"?

Do we want acres to be represented, square miles to be represented; or do we want people to be represented?

PEOPLE ARE REPRESENTED IN THE UNITED STATES

I submit that in a democratic government it is only the people who should be represented. Acres are inanimate and the owner of acres should not be given undue importance because of his ownership.

We are not back in Great Britain in the days before the Reform Act of 1832. We are in 20th century America. When it comes to people being represented, how can it be said that one set of people are superior to another set of people, and by that fact should be given greater representation than the other group? How can it be said that people of one religion are superior to another set of people; or that people who live on the land are superior to those who live in cities or suburbs; or that people who work with their hands are superior to those who work more with their brains?

These are artificial distinctions, unworthy of being incorporated in the basic law of any State, unworthy of being permitted by the Constitution of the United States, and yet this amendment would open the door wide for such a referendum.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Yes, I am happy to yield.

Mr. HRUSKA. With respect to the statement that such a provision is unworthy of being contained in the Constitution, we have such a statement in the Constitution now, have we not?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Does the Senator mean equal representation?

Mr. HRUSKA. We have in this body representation on an area basis, and by the statement of the Senator from Illinois he says it is unworthy for the Constitution to contain such a statement.

Would the Senator care to elucidate on that proposition? Is this Senate, as it is composed, unworthy as a body? Is it unworthy of the Constitution and all of the majesty, might, and tradition of this body?

Mr. DOUGLAS. The Senator from Nebraska is perfectly well aware of the circumstances under which the equality of the States, not the people, was embodied in the Constitution. He is perfectly aware of the fact that the delegates from Delaware, led by Bedford, threatened that unless little Delaware had as much representation as big Virginia, New York, and Massachusetts, that Delaware would not join the Union and, indeed, that Delaware would make a treaty with a foreign power.

This meant in fact that the flags of either Great Britain or France would fly on this soil. While the delegate from Maryland did not make an open statement to this effect, it is well known that Luther Martin, the leading delegate from Maryland, held this same opinion, and this was voiced in the cloakrooms at Independence Hall.

Therefore, at the point of a threat, the principle of equal representation of States of unequal size was put into the Constitution, and the big States agreed to it because it was the only way in which we could get a constitution and a United States. Otherwise we would have split up into probably 3 disconnected republics: Northern, Middle, and Southern groups of States.

As a result of all this, those of us who come from larger States and the people we represent are grossly underrepresented in the Senate. We know that this is wrong morally but we also know it is the one feature of the Constitution which cannot be changed because article V of the Constitution provides "no State without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate."

Thus it was written into the Constitution. We are chained. We of the big States are chained in this body. We will bear our chains with dignity, but we think it appropriate from time to time to point out that they are chains. I do not believe it is morally right that the 17 million people of California or New York should have no more voice in this body than the 300,000 people of Nevada or the 300,000 people of Delaware.

We cannot change this disability. We do not intend to change it. It is the price we pay for union. But I think we are justified in protesting against surrounding this with the sanctity of any moral law.

Mr. HRUSKA. The States, however, by article V can relinquish that right. I do not recall any great campaign being waged by anyone, including the Senator from Illinois, to change the provision that he read from the Constitution.

Mr. DOUGLAS. My dear friend, we know what would happen, as a practical matter, to any measure to give up their equal voice in the Senate. So it is useless to propose this, but it serves some purpose to point out the facts.

When I last made computations, 26 States in the Union, with a majority in the Senate, had one-sixth of the population. This body is controlled by the small States and we might as well admit that fact.

I sometimes think that to be a representative of a large State in the U.S. Senate is to be a second class citizen.

The eight largest States in the Union, with a population equal to approximately one-half of the total population of the Nation, have 16 Senators or slightly less than one-sixth of the total number. The eight smaller States with a total population, as I last computed them, of not more than 5 or 6 million people, or 3 to 4 percent of the population of the United States, have as many Senators as the eight largest States with a population of 20 times as great. Those are the facts.

Mr. HRUSKA. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I believe that violates the moral principle of equality of citizenship, but we cannot change that. We are chained. The key has been thrown away and we accept it. I would not have brought this up had not my dear friend from Nebraska pressed me on this point.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Certainly.

Mr. HRUSKA. I should like to press the Senator from Illinois a little further. Does he consider that this body has worked well in the past 175 to 200 years?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Not so well as it might have worked.

Mr. HRUSKA. Has it not been one of the fine, saving features of our parliamentary system, to which we look with great comfort? All we ask in the consideration of the Dirksen amendment is that if the people of any State, having in mind the success that has attended the history of the Senate, desire that kind of system in their State, they should be able to have it. The door should not be closed to them by the Supreme Court. Until approximately 5 years ago the Court said that the Federal system in the States was all right and it would not interfere.

But then the Court reversed its direction completely and that is why we are debating the proposal in the Chamber today.

We want the people to decide whether they want the new Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court in Reynolds against Sims, or want to return to the system they had before Reynolds against Sims. The issue is as simple as that.

So regardless of the origin of representation in a federated-State Republic the system has worked well. Some States would like to use that principle in their State government. That is the simple issue before us.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I say to my good friend from Nebraska that whatever merits this body has, and it has many, they have not come from under-representation of the people who live in the big States. That is not a virtue of this body, and such virtues as we have may perhaps be due to our longer terms, to our smaller numbers, and to the more informal rules under which we operate.

In short, the governing clauses under which a malapportionment of one house of the State legislatures may be planned are so vague that virtually any plan could be submitted to the people on referendum. As the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE] has pointed out, once submitted and carried, it would be immune from judicial review. That is another very vital difference between the Dirksen amendment and the Bayh amendment as it was proposed. There would be no judicial review. It would be possible for a legislature to set up almost any system and submit it to referendum.

BASIC RIGHTS ARE NOT SUBJECT TO A REFERENDUM

Now we come to the question of referendum. It so happens that in my younger days I was a strong supporter of Mr. William S. Uren, of Oregon, who was in a sense the so-called father of popular government. He believed in the initiative and in the referendum. He distrusted legislative bodies, and he wished to introduce a popular check. As a result of his work, a number of States adopted the initiative and referendum, which perhaps have a limited sphere in

American government. But I must confess that the experience of 50 years of State history indicates that they can be manipulated by propaganda campaigns, well financed and using the modern agencies of communication, so that the people do not have a good opportunity to consider a measure, to weigh the merits and demerits, and to make a balanced, final judgment.

The great expert in throwing dust in the eyes of the public is the very public relations firm which is now sponsoring this constitutional amendment, Whitaker & Baxter, and it will continue to advocate malapportionment if this amendment should be proposed by Congress and if it were to be ratified by three-fourths of the States.

There will be powerful corporate interests, such as private utilities which want to be free to fix excessive electricity and gas rates for the consumers in the thickly populated areas, which will want to have legislatures malapportioned. There will be powerful corporate interests which will not want protective labor legislation or which will not want labor unions, and they will not want the areas where wage earners live to be represented in proportion to their number. These interests believe that they can fare better in malapportioned State legislatures, as they have fared, than they will in legislatures apportioned according to population.

There will be groups now emitting excessive amounts of smoke, polluting the air, and polluting the water which will not want the strict controls which a metropolitan community might wish to impose upon them; and they will want a malapportioned State legislature, or at least one house malapportioned, by people who are not threatened with polluted air or polluted water. Therefore, finding these problems outside their experience, they will not wish to protect those in the metropolitan areas who face these conditions every day.

So, Mr. President, the powerful forces in this Nation which have found malapportioned State legislatures very much to their liking and their interest will help to finance propaganda campaigns, as in all probability they are financing this campaign. They will have expert firms of public relations experts, expert advertising men of the Madison Avenue variety, who can befuddle the public with cleverly phrased terms and obtain popular majorities.

As I recall, it was Bertrand Russell who once defined advertising as the art of producing irrational belief, and I think this definition applies to many of the public relations groups.

The referendums can be staged on terms not conducive to clear thought. The records of many years shows that even if the referendums are submitted in a general election only a small minority of the people will turn out, and the decision may be made by a majority of 15, 20, or 30 percent of the voting-age population. Therefore, the affirmative votes of a relatively small fraction of the population would be fixing the basis of representation for the ensuing decade.

The same thing can happen after each census. In short, this is an advertising man's rhapsody. If this measure is passed, it will permit public relations firms and advertising agencies serving corporate wealth to reap a rich harvest both in trying to ratify the amendment and in proposing apportionment plans once the amendment is ratified.

Mr. President, I hope very much that the Senate, before it votes on the amendment tomorrow, will realize that the Church modification, while making a slight improvement, does not touch the basic weaknesses of the Dirksen constitutional amendment.

I hope very much, therefore, that this amendment may be rejected, as it was rejected last year, and as previous efforts to ramrod legislation through Congress to override the Supreme Court were rejected.

We base our case on the moral law, the moral right, and the ethical right that all people are equal in the sight of God and equal in the sight of law and equal in the decisions which society makes.

I know of no better way of apportioning legislatures than on the basis of people who are counted equal in their citizenship. I know of no other measuring stick which can be fairly imposed. In the long run, this will be best for the Nation.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina is recognized.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I firmly support Senate Joint Resolution 103 which would return to the people of the States the authority to apportion one house of its legislature on a basis of factors other than population alone. The factors which can be considered by the people in determining the apportionment of one house of its legislature, under the terms of the pending resolution, include population, geography, and political subdivisions. These diverse and legitimate factors are to be welded together in such a manner "to insure effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate."

Senate Joint Resolution 103 is permissive rather than mandatory in that it does not require any State to take advantage of its provisions and apportion one house of its legislature on the enumerated factors. Those States which have both houses of their legislature apportioned strictly upon population and are satisfied with the results are not required to change. However, if a State has traditionally apportioned one house of its State legislature upon factors other than strict population and desires to continue this practice, or return to it, this resolution would grant the authority.

The apportionment of State legislatures, in my judgment, is a matter which falls solely within the jurisdiction of the individual States and the people thereof. It is not a justiciable matter, and is not within the jurisdiction of the Federal court. When the Supreme Court first announced its decision in the case of Baker against Carr and the later decisions to follow, including Wesberry against Sanders and Reynolds against Sims, it entered a political thicket and usurped authority which had theretofore resided in the people. The Court turned its back upon the doctrine most recently announced in the case of Colegrove against Green, which recognized the fact that apportionment matters were political in nature and not given to judicial determination.

As this debate progresses, I have been encouraged by the manner in which individuals in every State in the Union have shown their familiarity, interest, and concern with this vital issue. I have been particularly impressed by the breadth of the realistic subject matter which has been introduced as illustrative material in driving home particular points of emphasis. Wherever sincere effort is made to debate this issue, it inescapably follows that the purposes behind Senate Joint Resolution 103 unfold as practical and realistic elaboration of living experiences in government. The reason is, of course, that we have had long experience with the application of the principle contained in this proposed amendment.

We have now come far enough along the road of court-dictated legislative reapportionment in the several States for even those who favor it to know that reapportionment under court order is really not something that can be classified as all good, any more than it can be said that reapportionment by State legislators can be classified as all bad. The human element still exists and will continue to exist. This being the case, we can never expect the definition of what is rational and what is arbitrary to be interpreted in quite the same way under all conditions, even by the courts.

In this regard, I am reminded of a recent public utterance of AFL-CIO President George Meany. He was discussing the position of organized labor in relationship to the Democratic and Republican Parties. His remarks illustrate rather clearly my point that there is no such things as all black or all white when it comes to measuring right or wrong in the undertakings of either government or organized labor. My interpretation of George Meany's remarks is that he wants to be represented strongly in the political party that can do his union the most good. Let me quote him in this regard from a news article which appeared in the Wall Street Journal coverage of his speech here in Washington at a legislative conference of the building and construction trades department of his organization:

> Mr. Meany's speech underlined the continuing discontent among union leaders at the failure of the Democratic leadership in Congress to help push through labor-backed measures.
>
> But Mr. Meany was careful to aim his fire at the Democratic Party, and not directly at President Johnson—even though some union chieftains still grumble privately that defeat of a bill to repeal State right-to-work laws, which outlaw the union shop, was due to tepid support from Mr. Johnson.
>
> Mr. Meany declared that "I don't buy the idea * * * that labor needs the Democratic Party. I'm sure it is the other way around."

> He added that labor couldn't buy either party. "The Democrats," he said, "cannot deliver" on legislation and the Republican Party seems to be under the control of "financial interests."
>
> "So I would say," Mr. Meany said, "that we have got to take a new look at our political action." This means, he added, that unions must work through the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education and that "we don't work with any political party, whether it is Republican, Democrat, or anything else."

Mr. Meany's approach to his union's political problem is, as I said before, illustrative of my point that labels and slogans are not always sufficient in our scheme of government, but that representation is always of the utmost importance. He places his reliance upon the old Gompers principle that labor should support people regardless of political parties, and should support people rather than labels and support them on the basis of their attitude and their voting record. He makes this approach to partisanship even with the thought uppermost in mind, I presume, that labor must be represented in sufficient numbers in any group possessed of the ability to act.

To me, this is a major argument in behalf of Senate Joint Resolution 103. This resolution places in the hands of the voters in every State the right to determine how they wish to be represented in one house of their State legislature. It does for all minority groups what George Meany has so forcefully enunciated as the ambition of organized labor in its relationship with political parties. We should keep in mind that he was speaking for a minority group insofar as political parties are concerned. He says he is not "the least bit pessimistic" about what has been happening over the years in regard to labor's opportunities, to which I reply that I will be pessimistic about the opportunities of many other groups in our society who are in both a numerical and representative minority if Senate Joint Resolution 103 is not approved. I say this because I want to see people throughout this land properly represented in State government and actively participating in State government. It should and must be legally possible for all groups in any State to be the beneficiaries of a balanced system of representation. This is the real purpose of Senate Joint Resolution 103.

The State of New York was one of the parties to the original suit in which the Supreme Court held that both houses of the State legislature must be apportioned on population factors alone. To many of us who have been watching the reapportionment struggles in the State of New York during recent years, there has come a new understanding of just what failure to grant minority interests proper representation and maintain a balanced approach to current problems can produce by way of frustration and actual disaster. I sincerely believe that what has been transpiring in New York of late should be viewed as an object lesson worthy of study by all of the Members of this body.

New York State, more so than most of the States of the Union, has for many months been in the throes of trying to distinguish between what the courts and the legislature consider "rational" and "not arbitrary." It has battled with the problem of "geographic discrimination, political balance, minority representation," and "legislative responsiveness." It has, as have all States, wrestled with district boundaries and population estimates, with ratios and with predicted court interpretations, and it has at long last come up with a formula that may be in existence for some time.

With all of this in mind, let us look again at the situation that has developed, then to the likelihood of needed changes in State representation in the future. I know of nowhere we can turn for a better illuminated warning of the danger that is contained in seizure of control by a few of an urban area and the political seizure of control at the State legislative level. In fact, I will say that what has been taking place in New York State provides a complete explanation, as well as a demonstration of why George Meany has been declaring himself opposed to Senate Joint Resolution 103. Senators may recall that he classified defeat of Senate Joint Resolution 103 the major objective of labor this session. It is difficult for me to understand why this opposition to Senate Joint Resolution 103 is so intense. Senate Joint Resolution 103 provides a vehicle by which the people of the State may voice their own preferences in the composition of one house of the State legislature. The highly populated areas will, of course, have a proponderance of the vote since any referendum held will be decided purely on the basis of the number of votes cast there without regard to any political subdivisions or geographical boundaries as such. A majority vote is required for approval of any reapportionment plan, and it is inconceivable to me that the interest of the more densely populated areas will not be fully protected by virtue of this requirement. On the other hand, without passage of this proposed constitutional amendment, the voters of any particular State will have absolutely no recourse once the courts have ruled.

Mr. Meany himself has said that he is not pessimistic about labor's ability to protect its vital interest at the polls. During his recent Washington speech, he said:

> We are going to concentrate on more and better political action. We are not going to spend a lot of time crying over split milk. If we need a two-thirds vote to pass a labor bill, we have to get out and get the two-thirds vote.

This resolution is the only vehicle available by which a vote of the people can be had on the question of State legislative reapportionment. It appears to me that Mr. Meany should be willing to trust the judgment of the voters in each particular State on this question and let the people decide.

We are in a position today where a series of Court decisions has made it virtually impossible for the citizens of a State to determine the form and composition of their State legislature. No one, in all fairness, should object to a procedure which keeps the door open for protective corrections and improvements in the future. It is keeping this door open for improvements that raises the greatest challenge before us in this Chamber today. With recent experiences fresh in our minds, we must recognize that there is need for reestablishment of the voters' right to order such corrective change in representation when needed.

Unless that door is kept open and our system of legislative representation is kept flexible and adjustable to our social and economic needs, we are in for some drastic and frustrating changes in our way of life. We face the prospect of having to forever abandon a way of life that trusts decisionmaking to balanced representation.

I am not attempting to foresee in detail what the centralism of control which will surely result, will produce. All the Members of this body have had enough experience in government for independent and intelligent speculation on that point. It is obvious, however, that Court-dictated reapportionment most assuredly results in confusion, chaos, and a general breakdown in the orderly processes of the State government. It also results in a gradual, but steady shift in ultimate political authority away from the people. This steady erosion of the voter's authority and responsibility to govern himself can be halted by the adoption of the pending resolution.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT—ORDER FOR RECESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to propose a unanimous-consent agreement:

First, that the Senate convene at 12 o'clock tomorrow morning, at the conclusion of its business today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. BYRD of Virginia in the chair). Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if there are no further amendments, may we have a third reading?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution is open to further amendment; if there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 103) was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, notwithstanding the fact that the pending joint resolution has been amended, that the unanimous-consent agreement entered into on April 13, 1966, to vote at 2 p.m. tomorrow on final passage of Senate joint resolution 103, be continued in effect as if the joint resolution had not been amended, and that rule XII, paragraph 3, for the purpose of entering this agreement be waived.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, implicit in this agreement is the fact that the 2 hours from 12 to 2 p.m. be equally divided between the distingished Senators from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS and Mr. DIRKSEN], or whomever they may designate, as set forth in the agreement of April 13, 1966.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr, Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House insisted upon its amendments to the bill (S. 944) to provide for expanded research and development in the marine environment of the United States, to establish a National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, and a Commission on Marine Science, Engineering and Resources, and for other purposes, disagreed to by the Senate; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. LENNON, Mr. ROGERS of Florida, Mr. ASHLEY, Mr. DOWNING, Mr. MOSHER, and Mr. PELLY were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

RECESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if there is no further business, I move that the Senate stand in recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow. Before the Chair puts the motion, may I say that there will be no morning business until after the joint resolution has been disposed of.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 29 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Wednesday, April 20, 1966, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 19, 1966:

IN THE ARMY

The following-named officer under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3066, to be assigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by the President under subsection (a) of section 3066, in grade as follows:

Maj. Gen. William Beehler Bunker, O19402, U.S. Army, in the grade of lieutenant general.

The Army National Guard of the United States officers named herein, who presently hold recess appointments, for permanent promotion as Reserve commissioned officers of the Army under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 593(a) and 3385:

To be major generals

Maj. Gen. Ivan Hardesty, O399704.
Maj. Gen. Luther Elmer Orrick, O357391.
Maj. Gen. Noble L. Schlatter, O408711.
Maj. Gen. Archibald Alexander Sproul, O406823.
Maj. Gen. Paul Robert Teilh, O361063.

To be brigadier generals

Brig Gen. Ross Ayers, O378526.
Brig. Gen. William Charles Doyle, O1307380.
Brig. Gen. Daniel Kramer Edwards, O401801.
Brig. Gen. Robert Lew Gamrath, O580755.
Brig. Gen. Robert Francis Hassard, O360866.
Brig. Gen. John Vaughan Kean, O1004792.
Brig. Gen. Samuel Odell Robertson, O1634265.
Brig. Gen. Maurice Dana Tawes, O332136.

The Army National Guard of the United States officers named herein, who presently hold recess appointments, for permanent appointment as Reserve commissioned officers of the Army under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 593(a) and 3392:

To be brigadier generals

Brig. Gen. Marvin John Evans, O1100975.
Brig. Gen. Clarence Clemens Schnipke, O359322.
Brig. Gen. Vernon Franklin Sikes, O408212.
Brig. Gen. Edward Blaize Thorpe, O337914.

The United States Army Reserve officers named herein who presently hold recess appointments, for permanent promotion as Reserve commissioned officers of the Army, under the provisions of title 10 United States Code, sections 593(a) and 3384:

To be major generals

Maj. Gen. Benjamin Joseph Butler, O407344.
Maj. Gen. John George Cassidy, O309923.
Maj. Gen. Ian MacLeod Davidson, O317046.
Maj. Gen. Robert Paul Schulz, O330078.
Maj. Gen. Robert Cleland Tyler, O282150.

To be brigadier generals

Brig. Gen. Arnold Tracy Barber, O351016.
Brig. Gen. William Howard Booth, O302516.
Brig. Gen. William Wirt Brock, Jr., O314981.
Brig. Gen. Edward Joseph Czerniuk, O336420.
Brig. Gen. William Wiant Davis, O357449.
Brig. Gen. Kenneth Louis Dedekind, O518645.
Brig. Gen. Joe Newton Frazar, Jr., O405975.
Brig. Gen. Herbert Robert Hackbarth, O1167014.
Brig. Gen. Martin Richard Krausz, O369198.
Brig. Gen. John Thomas Pegg, O905691.
Brig. Gen. Mackenzie Edgerton Porter, O340870.
Brig. Gen. Andrew Wier Rogers, Jr., O340870.
Brig. Gen. Edward Hill Thomas, O391315.

IN THE MARINE CORPS

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for permanent appointment to the grade of colonel:

Austin, Philip N.
Barber, William E.
Barrow, Robert H.
Beckington, Herbert L.
Breen, Richard R.
Bruce, Henry K.
Butcher, Warren A.
Cass, Bevan G.
Clapp, Archie J.
Collins, George J.
Corman, Otis W.
Cowper, William H.
Daniels, Elmer R., Jr.
Danowitz, Edward F.
Dewees, Raymond, Jr.
Dillon, Rex O.
Dominick, Robert L.
Donnell, James W.
Dressin, Sam A.
Earney, William R.
Emils, Arnold L.
Ewers, Norman G.
Frankovic, Boris J.
Fribourg, Leonard E.
Garner, James E.
Gibson, Baylor P., Jr.
Gould, William R.
Gray, Roy C., Jr.
Guss, William F.
Hamm, Norman L.
Henley, Paul B.
Howe, Odia E., Jr.
Ing, Herbert E., Jr.
Jackson, Owen G., Jr.
Jennings, Francis C.
Johnson, James K.
Johnson, Wayne
Jones, States R., Jr.
Kern, Richard H.
Knapp, George C.
Lawrence, George E.
Lefaivre, Edward N.
Lobell, William R.
Lupton, Edward I.
MacAskill, Ross M., Sr.
MacQuarrie, Warren L.
Matthews, Merlin T.
McGraw, William C., Jr.
Merchant, Clark E.
Miller, Edward J.
Mitchell, Joseph A.
Morrison, Gene W.
Patton, Harvey M.
Payne, Ernest W.
Pond, Darwin B., Jr.
Quillian, Stone W.
Reed, Herbert C.
Reed, Roy L.
Rieder, Glenn L.
Ross, John D.
Scherer, John H.
Schmagel, Arthur O.
Schmidt, Carl E.
Sevier, Charles B.
Sigler, William M., Jr.
Sloan, Jack R.
Smith, Richard B.
Stanford, Norman R.
Tobin, John L.
Truesdale, Marion G.
Tulipane, Thomas T.
Vance, Johnnie C., Jr.
Warren, Robert F.
Warren, Stephen G.
Wilker, Dean
Wilson, Frank E.
Wilson, James E., Jr.
Wray, Robert P.
Zaro, William J.

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for permanent appointment to the grade of lieutenant colonel:

Adams, Nate L., II
Aitken, Hugh S.
Alderman, Harry L.
Alison, James C.
Arford, Jack O.
Arkland, Ezra H.
Ashley, Maurice C., Jr.
Baeriswyl, Louis, Jr.
Balzer, George T.
Barry, Richard S.
Belbusti, Albert F.
Beverly, Arthur C.
Blagg, Russell E.
Blaha, Herbert J.
Blyth, Charles W.
Bodley, Charles H.
Brady, Byron F.
Brent, Joseph M.
Brimmer, Donald R.
Brown, Dale L.
Brown, Travis D.
Buchanan, Fitzhugh L., Jr.
Bunnell, Charles F., Jr.
Cahill, John J.
Carey, Richard E.
Caridakis, George
Carper, Esten C., Jr.
Coffman, Harold L.
Coffman, John W.
Coffman, Raymond P., Jr.
Cole, Doyle H.
Collins, Edward E.
Cooney, Orville D.
Corn, Clifford D.
Cory, Orie E.
Cothran, Charles A.
Counselman, John D.
Critchett, Edward W.
Crocker, William G.
Crowley, Richard W.
Cummings, Brian J.
Cummings, William M.
Cunliffe, Bruce F.
Damm, Raymond C.
Davis, Joseph L.
Davis, William J.
Dawson, Thomas E.
Deptula, Edwin A.
Dickey, Robert R., III
Dicus, William A., Jr.
Dixon, Frank L., Jr.
Doezema, Richard M.
Doster, Grover C., Jr.
Drury, John W.
Ducharm, Roy M.
Duffy, Leroy M.
Duncan, Edward F.
Eastman, Robert E.
Edwards, Roy J.
Emma, Carl J.
Engesser, Robert B.
Erickson, Loren T.
Eschholz, Theodore S.
Estes, Donald E.
Evans, Donald L., Jr.
Eykyn, Richard G.
Fegley, James E.
Fields, Paul R.
Flood, James H.
Flores, James R.
Fox, George C.
Francis, Richard H.
Fredericks, Harold D.
Galbraith, Thomas H.
Gallman, James R., Jr.
Gardner, Marvin D.
Gastrock, Joseph K., III
Gately, William F., Jr.
Geddes, David G.
Gilman, Donald E.
Green, Thomas N.
Greenstone, John R.
Grier, Samuel L.
Gunning, Thomas I.
Hall, Edward C., Jr.
Hall, Wayne L.
Hall, William D.
Haney, James M.
Hanifin, Robert T., Jr.
Hanlon, Edward W.
Harrell, James E.
Harris, Jack W.
Harris, Leroy C., Jr.
Harris, William A.
Hatch, Harold A.
Head, Ralph M.
Hecker, James S.
Henry, Kenneth W.
Hermes, Jack M.
Hess, John J.
Hetrick, Lawrence W.
Heyer, Wallace A.
Hickman, William T.
Hillmer, Donald F.
Hittinger, Francis R., Jr.
Holicky, Joseph J., Jr.
Holt, Edward Y., Jr.
Horn, James A.
Hudson, Floyd G.
Hunt, Forest J.
Ives, Merton R.
Jackson, Mallett C., Jr.
Jaworski, Edmund W.
Jesse, William L.
Johnson, John M., Jr.
Johnson, Richard M.
Johnson, Robert L.
Jones, Charles M. C., Jr.
Jones, Donald R.
Kapetan, Nick J.
Kavakich, Nicholas
Kelley, David D., Jr.
Kelly, Hercules R., Jr.
Kelly, James P.
Kenyon, Joris F.
King, Charles F., Jr.
Kirby, Edward K.
Kleppsattel, Frederick M.
Kliefoth, George C.
Knight, Frederic S.
Kurowski, Anthony R.
Leidy, Alfred L.
Lillich, Gerald L.
Lucy, Robert M.
Ludwig, Verle E.
Lundin, Herbert V.
Macklin, William H.
Mac Lean, James H.
Mader, John F.
Magrudder, Bruce, Jr.
Marchette, Donald E.
Markham, Edward J., Jr.
Marlowe, William H.
Marousek, Lawrence A.
Martin, Lee D.
Marusak, Andrew V., Jr.
Mason, Ronald A.
Masterpool, William J.
May, Donald L.
Mazzuca, Paul, Jr.
McCain, Gene M.
McCarty, Stewart B., Jr.

McClelland, William A.
McCloskey, Donald V.
McClure, Mack R.
Mc Cutchan, Robert C.
McElroy, Robert L.
McNeely, Robert L.
McNicholas, Robert J.
Meeker, Ermine L.
Meyer, Edward B.
Michaud, John B.
Miller, John H.
Miller, Richard R.
Miller, Robert T.
Moak, Stanley T.
Montague, Paul B.
Mooney, Arthur R.
Mooney, Thomas G.
Moore, Ben A., Jr.
Morgan, James L.
Morrow, Richard C.
Murphree, Thomas E.
Murphy, Edward S.
Needham, Robert C.
New, Noah C.
Newton, Minard P., Jr.
Nilsen, George H.
Nolan, Harry J.
Nolan, Jack L.
O'Keefe, Keith
Osserman, Stanley J.
Owens, Owen L.
Paradis, Eugene J.
Parrott, Robert E.
Patton, William C.
Peabody, Clifford J.
Pearcy, Eddie E.
Peard, Roger W., Jr.
Pearson, Martin
Phelps, Laurence M., Jr.
Pieti, Jerome N.
Plaskett, William, Jr.
Post, Robert J.
Puckett, Eugene R.
Purdum, Frederick K.
Pytko, Albert R.
Rapp, David A.
Reed, Jack L.
Reese, Howard E.
Reissner, Pierre D., Jr.
Richards, Wayne E.
Robinson, Gus
Roeder, Raymond E., Jr.
Rogers, Harry L., Jr.
Rudzis, Edwin M.
Ruggiero, Alexander S.
Rump, William S.
Runyan, Clair F.
Santee, Robert E.
Saunders, William F., Jr.
Scharfen, John C.
Scharnberg, George R.
Schimmenti, Joseph A.
Schneeman, Charles J., Jr.
Schreier, William J.
Schryver, Hugh C., Jr.
Scott, Kenneth M.
Sears, Redford D.
Selmyhr, Garlen L.
Shareon, Donald W.
Sherman, Warren C.
Showalter, Charles E.
Shutler, Philip D.
Sigmon, Emmett B., Jr.
Simpson, Parks H.
Skvaril, Warren J.
Smith, Donald H.
Smith, Edward E.
Smith, George W.
Smith, Robert N.
Snelling, Edward W.
Snow, Melvin W.
Sparks, William F.
Starek, Robert H.
Steed, Robert E.
Steinway, Robert A.
Stemple, James W.
Stephens, Reuel W., Jr.
Stephenson, Charles R., III
Stevens, Thomas J.
Stowers, Robert M.
Stuart, Vaughn R.
Sullivan, Ralph E.
Summers, Theodore
Swords, John J.
Taft, Leonard C.
Tardif, Donald W.
Taylor, Robert W.
Taylor, Roma T., Jr.
Thomas, Jay J., Jr.
Tief, Francis W.
Timmes, Edward A.
Tooker, Donald K.
Trapnell, Nicholas M., Jr.
Troxler, George W.
Tucker, Chester E.
Uffelman, Paul R.
Utter, Leon N.
Van Cleve, Roy R.
Vernon, Thomas E.
Vogt, Timothy S.
Vosmik, Joseph M.
Vrabel, Michael J.
Wachter, John A.
Waldrop, Floyd H.
Walsh, John J.
Wayerski, Joseph R., Jr.
Webb, Lewis R.
Wentworth, William
Werner, Robert F.
Wessel, Wallace
Westerman, Jack
White, Thomas B., Jr.
White, William J.
Whitebread, Robert C.
Wildey, Robert L.
Williams, Kenneth C.
Wilson, Harold B.
Wilson, Robert H.
Winter, Robert M.
Wirth, Leroy K.
Witkowski, Henry J.
Woodruff, Paden E., Jr.
Young, Edwin M.
Young, James R.
Zorack, John L.

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for permanent appointment to the grade of major:

Adams, Sammy T.
Alber, John W.
Allen, Thomas H., Jr.
Alm, Richard A.
Alves, Edward R., Jr.
Andersen, Andrew E., Jr.
Andersen, Ernest J.
Arquiette, John B.
Ayers, Thomas J.
Baker, Clarence M.
Baker, William H.
Balius, David H.
Bany, John B., Jr.
Barton, Willis W., Jr.
Beal, Don D.
Beauchamp, Glen T.
Bell, George N.
Binney, Douglas C.
Bird, Neale E.
Blair, John H.
Blair, Richard R.
Bloom, Allan H.
Bomgardner, George I.
Bowen, James T.
Boyd, Daniel Z.
Boyd, Frank M.
Bradberry, Joe E.
Bradley, William C.
Bray, Richard P.
Breckenridge, Floyd S., Jr.
Bright, Ray E.
Brindell, Charles R.
Brooks, Thomas D.
Brower, Joseph P.
Brown, Guy L.
Bujan, Charles D.
Burk, Thomas K., Jr.
Cable, Wiley R.
Cahill, John J.
Calder, James D.
Campbell, John W.
Cantieny, John B.
Carpenter, Donald R.
Carruthers, Robert E.
Caudill, Curtis E.
Cavallo, Louis J.
Chace, Frank C., Jr.
Challgren, Stanley A.
Chaney, Earl D., Jr.
Christensen, Don R.
Christy, Robert A.
Clark, Bernard E.
Clark, Fred E., Jr.
Clatworthy, John
Cockey, John M.
Coffin, James H.
Comfort, Clayton L.
Conlin, John C.
Connolly, James J.
Conrado, James S., Jr.
Cook, Edward C.
Cook, Walter T.
Cooke, Richard M.
Courtney, Richard G.
Cox, Donald L., Jr.
Coyle, Thomas J.
Craig, Winchell M., Jr.
Daley, John J., Jr.
Daly, Daniel C.
Darron, Robert R.
Davidson, Darrell U.
Deem, Richard G.
Delcuze, Godfrey S.
Des Jardines, Lawrence J.
Dickey, David K.
Dininger, Charles F., Jr.
Donovan, Orval E.
Dorffeld, Charles E.
Drennan, Lawrence T., Jr.
Dresely, John W.
Duck, John E.
Duff, John C.
Dumont, Thomas J.
Dunbaugh, Charles R.
Duncan, Billy R.
Dunn, Hollis T.
Dunn, Walter F.
Duphiney, Randall W.
Durham, John A., Jr.
Dutton, Thomas A.
Eagan, Arthur J.
Eddy, James R.
Egger, Charles H. F.
Eitel, Robert J.
Elam, David L.
Eleazer, William R.
Emmons, Charles D.
Evans, Donald C.
Eversole, Carl J.
Fauver, Ronald E.
Fennell, Patrick J., Jr.
Ferrington, George B., Jr.
Fisher, Farris C.
Fites, Malcolm V.
Fojtlin, Louis
Forrey, Wilmer H.
Foster, Richard M.
Friberg, James W.
Fridell, John R.
Frisbie, H. R., Jr.
Fritschi, George W.
Gallagher, Edward W.
Gallagher, John H.
Gamble, Ross M.
Ganey, Thomas P.
Garrett, Donald J.
Glasgow, Harold G.
Glidden, Thomas T.
Goar, John W.
Goodall, Robert L.
Goodin, James C.
Gradl, Herbert M.
Gragan, David E.
Greene, John W.
Greer, Roger W.
Guay, Robert P.
Hamilton, John A.
Hammel, Charles F.
Harp, James J.
Harvey, Donald L.
Haskins, Francis W.
Hatch, Richard L.
Hauck, Walter R.
Haviland, Harold D.
Hawkins, David H.
Hearn, Thomas M.
Heering, David P.
Helsher, Paul M.
Henry, Clark G.
Herron, David G.
Hieber, George A.
Hillyard, Gordon L.
Hines, Jack D.
Holt, Ralph P.
Horne, Ivan F.
House, William E., Jr.
Houston, Stanley S.
Hower, Raymond R.
Hunter, Earl R.
Hutchins, Walter P.
Hutchinson, Robert N.
Hyatt, John K., Jr.
Irons, Milton E.
Jacobson, Douglas T.
Jaksina, Stanley C.
Jarman, Lewis W.
Jenks, Harry E., II
Jerabek, Milton H.
Johnson, Clifford H.
Johnson, Mannon A., Jr.
Jones, Robert W. G.
Joy, Lester H.
Julian Martin D.
Kehoe, James P.
Kelly, John F.
Kent, Brian B.
Kittler, Simon J.
Klein, Robert D.
Koppenhaver, Howard M.
Kraynak, John P.
Lawrence, Rodney O.
Layne, Donald Q.
Lee, Richard J., Jr.
Leftwich, William G., Jr.
Leisy, Robert R.
Liddle, Chester A., Jr.
Limbach, Walter R.
Lippold, Orville V., Jr.
Litzenberger, Earle D.
Lockard, Edwin W.
Lono, Luther A.
Lugger, Marvin H.
Lunsford, William T.
Maas, Bertram A.
MacDonald, Herman A., Jr.
Madden, Byron E.
Malovich, Arthur D.
Manhard, Albert H., Jr.
Mann, Bennie H., Jr.
Mann, John W.
Marques, Preston P., Jr
Martin, Richard L.
Martin, Robert W., Jr.
Maxwell, Hurdle L.
Mayer, Donald F.
McAdams, Donald J.
McConnell, Warren M.
McCreight, Jack D.
McDermott, Arthur T.
McDonald, Daniel V.
McMonagle, James J.
Medis, James W.
Merrill, Will A.
Miller, John H.
Miller, William S., Jr.
Mitchell, Frank H., Jr.
Morgan, Donald C.
Morris, Clark S.
Muhlig, John R., Jr.
Murphy, Donald L.
Murray, Francis R.
Needham, Michael J.
Nelson, Ronald E.
Newman, Buel B., Jr.
Nielsen, William J.
Nugent, Thomas F. E.
O'Brien, Charles H.
O'Connell, Patrick J.
Ogden, Bruce F.
O'Neill, John E.
Orr, Arnold J.
O'Toole, John L.
Owen, Billy M.
Pagano, Vincent B.
Palmer, Charles B.
Palmer, Richard L.
Palmer, Robert P.
Parish, Lowell W.
Paro, Eugene E., Jr.
Pate, Gerald S.
Perez, Richard
Peterson, Bob K.
Pfeifle, Richard C.
Pitcher, Bert R., Jr.
Pitchford, Charles F.
Plamondon, Robert A.
Platea, Anthony P., Jr.
Poindexter, John E.
Poitevent, Walter O.
Porter, George A.
Powers, William T.
Prebihalo, Robert G.
Rainbolt, Richard E.
Raines, Thomas E.
Rapp, John M.
Ratcliff, Percy D.
Realsen, Arvid W.
Rhine, Wesley E.
Ringler, Jack K.
Ritter, Otto W.
Rivard, Ronald I.
Roe, John M., Jr.
Rogers, Lane
Rojo, Manuel, Jr.
Rovegno, Donald C.
Rowlands, Cledwyn P.
Rueckel, Frederick A.
Ryan, James, Jr.
Ryan, Philip J.
Salter, Martin E., Jr.
Salzman, Frederick P., Jr.
Sanford, Herbert C.
Savoy, Ernest R.
Sayce, Donald H.
Sears, Walter E., Jr.
Seiler, David F.
Selby, Donald F.
Shauer, Walter H., Jr.
Sheahan, Robert R.
Sherlock, John, Jr.
Shuttleworth, James E.
Simmons, Jack A.
Simpson, Donald R.
Simpson, Thomas H.
Simpson, William A.
Sinclair, John E.
Skipper, Kenneth J.
Slack, Gerald J.
Slack, Thomas W.
Sleger, Joseph, Jr.
Smigay, Daniel B.
Smilanich, William E., Jr.
Smith, Bernard B., Jr.
Smith, Craig S.
Smith, Haywood R.
Smith, John H.
Smith, Joseph N.
Smith, Kenneth E.
Smith, Kenneth L.
Snead, Douglas L.
Solliday, Robert E.
Sparks, John A.
Spurlock, David A.
Standish, Cameron
Statzer, Merlin V.
St. Clair, Fred W.
Stephens, Ray A.
Stiffler, Charles R.
Stoffelen, Peter L.
Strain, Donald H.
Studt, John C.
Sulik, Richard A.
Sullivan, Thomas L.
Sullivan, William J.
Sullivan, William M.
Swinney, James T.
Teague, Charles E.
Thatcher, John L.
Thompson, Robert B.
Thompson, Robert H.
Thurber, William M.
Tiede, Herbert R.
Tighe, Paul J.
Treble, Charles
Truesdale, Bruce A.
Twining, David S.
Tyksinski, William A.
Vandersluis, Jan P.
Van Sant, Frederick N.
Vidano, Albert J.
Viers, Willard G., Jr.
Wagner, David H.
Wahlfeld, Howard W.
Walker, James H.
Walker, Joe G., Jr.
Walker, John B., Jr.
Walling, Robert P.
Warren, Frank R.
Waters, George J.
Watson, Leroy E.
Wells, Ullie C.
West, Frank K., Jr.
Whalen, Robert P.
White, Robert D.
Williams, Frank P., Jr.
Williams, Robert G.
Wiltsie, Russell E.
Wolcott, Frank B., III
Wonhof, Alan E.
Wood, Charles D.
Wood, Donald E.
Yelek, Don L.
Young, Dale E.
Zimmerman, Eugene H.
Zimolzak, Frank

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for permanent appointment to the grade of captains:

Abshire, Ronald M.
Adams, Billy H.
Ahlers, Richard J.
Allinder, Myrl W., Jr.
Andersen, Donald E.
Anthis, Bobby G.
Armentrout, Terrence J.
Atherton, John P.
Atteberry, George W.
Austin, Claude A.
Austin, Randall W.
Auten, Don E.
Ayers, Ronald A.
Babos, Robert L.
Bailey, Ross T.
Balch, Robert M.
Banks, Edward J.
Barry, Albert P.
Bauer, William D.
Beason, Richard W.
Beckwith, William H.

Belcher, William R.
Berbaum, Gene E.
Bergen, Daniel F.
Bird, Malcolm T.
Bledsoe, Dwight L.
Bohr, Harper L., Jr.
Bolen, Herman R.
Brandon, James R., III
Bratcher, Glenn D.
Breitenbach, Roy G.
Brennan, Robert V.
Bridgewater, Billy R.
Brinegar, Richard L.
Brinkley, Edward C., Jr.
Britton, Oscar W.
Brooks, George W., III.
Brown, James B.
Brown, Larry K.
Brown, Owen G.
Brown, Peter C.
Buchanan, John H.
Buffington, Jerome A.
Burgess, Robert E.
Burke, John P.
Burleson, Eugene B., Jr.
Busby, Orlando L., Jr.
Cameron, Paul F., Jr.
Campanelli, John M.
Caracio, Vincent D.
Carroll, William R.
Cartwright, David L.
Cason, Billy A.
Caulfield, Matthew P.
Cavagnaro, Dennis A.
Chancey, John A.
Clark, Drew J.
Clark, Harold H.
Clark, William B.
Close, Ralph L.
Cohan, Leon, Jr.
Cole, Jean P.
Collins, Larry M.
Collins, Patrick G.
Connell, Carey B., Jr.
Conner, Michael H.
Cook, Jerry J.
Cormack, Donald H.
Coughlin, John T. Jr.
Cowley, Everett L.
Coxe, Charles R.
Crabtree, Robert G.
Crane, William B.
Culpepper, Warren A.
Cunningham, Dennis M.
Curd, James H. R.
Dalberg, James E.
Dalzell, Thomas J.
Daniels, Bobby L.
Davis, Charles E., III
Davis, Donald L.
Day, Bernard C.
Dean, Alan J.
Deibert, John C., III
Delmore, Laurence, III
Delp, Barrie O.
Doane, Edward R.
Doherty, Donald G.
Doherty, Shaun J.
Dooley, Gerald F.
Dorman, Dale D.
Doughty, Clifford C.
Drew, Terry C.
Discoll, Eugene J., Jr.
Drum, David S.
Dube, Marcel J.
Duckworth, J. R.
Dulaney, Richard L.
Dunn, Edward D.
Du Pont, Delbert H.
Durrant, John D.
Dyer, Edward J., Jr.
Dyer, Paul W.
Edwards, Robert F.
Eichelberger, John M.
Elgaard, Robert J.
Elser, Thomas L.
Eltringham, Charles J.
England, Gary L.
Enos, Gerald A.
Evans, Dan F.
Evans, Robert V.
Faleskie, Thomas J.
Faulkner, James P.
Featherston, Robert K.
Fehlen, Philip J.
Festa, Donald
Fitzgerald, Robert M.
Flynn, John G.
Fritsch, John R.
Fry, Duane E.
Garcia, John T.
Garner, John T.
Gavis, John S., Jr.
Gazzale, James F.
Gering, Michael S.
Gibbs, George
Gilfillan, William, III
Gillespie, Alec
Gobble, Johnny B., Jr.
Golden, Glen
Gonzales, Leroy H.
Gould, Francis L.
Green, John M., Jr.
Griffin, William J.
Grissett, Larry K.
Hale, Harold W.
Hale, William H., Jr.
Hanley, Michael J.
Hanthorn, Russell L.
Hargrove, Thomas C.
Harms, John E.
Harris, John E.
Heiman, Peter M.
Heinzerling, Conrad W., Jr.
Henry, James W.
Herlocker, James E.
Herman, Donald F.
Hilgers, John J. W.
Hillsman, William P.
Himmerich, Robert T.
Hogart, William, Jr.
Hodgen, Donald A.
Hogaboom, Pieter L.
Holder, Maurice A.
Hoppmeyer, Herbert E., Jr.
House, Robert L.
Hudson, Jerry E.
Huf, Walter R.
Huff, Edwin L.
Huffcut, William H., II
Hyatt, Lloyd W., Jr.
Ilzhoefer, Robert E.
Janssen, Audrey A.
Jarvis, Earnest
Jensen, Thomas R.
Kalas, Warren D.
Kanaley, Thomas F., Jr.
Kazalunas, John
Keane, Michael F., Jr.
Keller, Floyd H.
Kelley, John D.
Kelley, William R.
Kerr, Richard A.
Kershner, Jerry L.
Klinkenberg, Arnold L.
Koch, Neil D.
Krages, Bert P.
Kurth, Gerald F.
La Croix, Carroll M.
Lakes, Jack B.
Lanigan, John D.
Lawe, Richard C.
Lecy, Henry E.
Lee, William F.
Lengauer, George T., Jr.
Leonard, James B., Jr.
Letchworth, Rodney R.
Lewis, Dayton A.
Light, Terry B.
Loftus, William E.
Losey, James L.
Ludwick, William B.
Maddocks, Maynard W.
Magee, James T., Jr.
Mahoney, John M.
Mailler, David W.
Maley, Fredric W.
Manazir, Charles H.
Marks, James A.
Marsh, Franklin H.
Marsh, Robert L., Jr.
Maxwell, John A.
Mayberry, William B.
McBrien, Thomas P.
McCabe, John G.
McCarthy, Albert J., Jr.
McCormick, Ralph C.
McEvoy, David L.
McGuire, James S.
McMenamin, John J., Jr.
McRaney, Curtis D.
Mead, William H.
Means, Henry N., III
Meixner, Edwin G.
Melville, Robert H.
Merrill, Roland S.
Miller, Anthony D.
Miller, Joe E.
Miller, Richard A.
Millner, Frank E.
Mixson, Miles E.
Mizell, James W.
Moffett, Donald L.
Molsbee, Neil
Moore, Richard H.
Morris, Paul D.
Mulkey, Jesse G.
Murley, Thomas E.
Murphy, John R.
Nebel, Rudolf M.
Nevins, William J., Jr.
Nicol, Alton E.
Nicoll, Robert V.
Norris, Wilton J., Jr.
Nugent, Wallace R.
Oakley, Cledith E.
Obenhaus, Leon E.
Oblinger, Daniel H.
O'Brien, John F.
O'Brien, Joseph J.
O'Dare, Robert E.
O'Donnell, Thomas R.
Olson, Reid H.
O'Meara, James J.
Omer, Jack L.
O'Neill, Michael G.
Oravits, Joseph J.
Orsburn, Lyndell M.
Pacheco, Victor F.
Paige, Reid B.
Pardee, Dennis L.
Parks, Bennie L.
Parks, Hugh L., III
Patrick, Jimmy L.
Patton, Charles R.
Peters, Thomas H.
Peterson, John N.
Phillips, Billy G.
Philson, Harry F.
Pisanchin, Charles M.
Polk, Larry J.
Polyak, George R.
Powell, Donald A.
Power, Thomas J.
Powers, Allen L.
Pratt, Thomas M., III
Quist John W.
Radzyminski, John T.
Raines, Richard C.
Ramsay, Charles J.
Rankin, Dan F.
Ray, Allen B.
Reddick, William G.
Reece, John H.
Reed, Robert L.
Renner, William A.
Reno, Robert J.
Rever, William H., Jr.
Reves, Samuel S.
Reynolds, Richard C.
Richter, Eugene P., Jr.
Ringley, Edward M., Jr.
Roberts, Alfred M., III
Robinson, Carson N.
Rodgers, Robert F.
Rogers, Charles W., Jr.
Rohde, John A.
Rose, Earl V.
Rountree, Lee C.
Rozman, John J.
Ruhl, Herbert H., Jr.
Rushing, Clifton L., Jr.
Sallis, John E.
Schimeneck, Joseph G.
Schober, Frederick J.
Schopperle, William G.
Schuler, John L.
Schultze, Barrett R.
Schwartz, Richard H.
Seay, Herbert L.
Seward, William H.
Seymour, William D.
Shannon, Thomas H.
Sheehan, James P.
Sherman, Wayne F.
Shields, John M.
Shoptaw, Robert D.
Shroyer, David K., Jr.
Silvear, Thomas A.
Simpson, James D.
Simpson, James F.
Sims, George W., Jr.
Sims, William C.
Sinnott, William T.
Small, Charles D.
Smith, Louis O.
Smith, Malcolm E., Jr.
Smith, Walter G., Jr.
Sniffen, James E.
Sollberger, Leonard A., Jr.
Solter, Harry L., Jr.
Spangler, John F.
Spence, Jack R.
Sperry, Charles B.
Speth, Charles R.
Sprick, Doyle R.
Stackpole, Henry C., Jr.
Stein, William L.
Stewart, James L.
Strasser, John H.
Sudmeyer, Paul T.
Sutton, Robert A.
Swenson, Wayne R.
Taylor, Richard H.
Telford, Jacque W.
Thames, Samuel E.
Theer, Richard E.
Therriault, Anton E.
Thomas, William L.
Thompson, Amos D., Jr.
Thompson, James M., Jr.
Thrasher, Robert R.
Tierney, David T.
Tierney, Michael W.
Toth, James E.
Tremmel, Donald F.
Tremper, William F.
Trenski, Daniel F.
Tubach, Paul B.
Tutterow, Henry W., Jr.
Tyrrell, Leon D.
Ulses, Robert J.
Usher, Rockley E.
Van Niman, John H.
Veno, Stephen J.
Vest, David G.
Villeneuve, David A.
Vindich, Joseph G.
Vogler, Lewis D.
Vorreyer, Richard W.
Wall, Melvin N.
Wallace, Daniel T.
Walters, Roger D.
Wanner, Sanford B.
Wasko, Michael J., Jr.
Watkins, Thomas L.
West, Herman B., Jr.
Westphal, Paul E., Jr.
Whaley, Robert G.
Wheeler, Joseph J.
Whiting, Edward R.
Wile, William A.
Williams, Carroll
Wilson, Kelton M.
Wilson, Robert B.
Wogan, Christopher M.
Wood, Howard C.
Woodward, Robert L.
Yenerall, Grant L.
York, Geoffrey A.
Youngman, Thornton L.
Zachodni, Michael J.
Zinowski, Walter T.

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for permanent appointment to the grade of first lieutenant, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Achilles, Dennis M.
Ackerman, Carl P.
Adams, Charles N.
Adams, Wayne T.
Ahern, John R.
Amey, David G.
Anderson, Donald F.
Anderson, John M.
Anderson, Larry R.
Anderson, Michael W.
Anthes, Fred W.
Archer, James B.
Archer, John T.
Ashe, Thomas D.
Atkinson, Dennis M.
Averill, Clair E., Jr.
Backus, Larry A.
Bacon, Charles L.
Bakke, Allan P.
Bannan, Richard C.
Barclay, Boyd L.
Bardo, Richard K.
Barker, Richard T.
Barnes, William G., Jr.
Barth, Peter L.
Bartlett, Robert O.
Barton, Francis J.
Bates, John F.
Beaver, Dale S.
Beery, James R.
Bement, George E.
Benjamin, Benjamin E.
Bennett, William H.
Bentley, Jerome H., III
Berg, Allan E.
Best, Coy T., Jr.
Bettle, George R.
Bevins, Lance V.
Bevis, Abraham
Bianchino, Richard L.
Biddle, Ronald J.
Bing, Noel C.
Bishop, Max D.
Bittner, Donald F.
Black, Robert A., Jr.
Bluhm, Bradley W.
Bockewitz, Carl E.
Bode, Wichard H., Jr.
Boone, Latham, III
Boss, Michael O.
Boyan, John W.
Boyd, Thornton
Bradley, Christopher M.
Braly, Clinton E.
Breede, Walter J., III
Brennan, John F.
Berwin, Anthony D.
Bride, Roger S.
Brinson, Lloyd G., Jr.
Brown, David W.
Brown, Frederick G.
Brown, Gary E.
Brown, Raul B.
Brown, Robert W., Jr.
Browning, Robert A.
Bruce, Curtis B.
Brumbaugh, Clay A.
Brutke, Robert L.
Bryan, Frederick T.
Burgett, George S.
Burns, Arthur E., III
Burns, Donald E.
Burns, Thomas V.
Burnsteel, Ronald G.
Burrows, Bruce
Byron, Michael J.
Calkins, Chester C., Jr.
Carlson, Gary E.
Carter, Kenneth L.
Carter, Thomas C.
Cassady, David J.
Catalogne, Paul R.
Chadwick, Leon G., III
Champion, Robert C., Jr.
Chandler, Kurt J.
Chavez, Lonnie S.
Cheff, Stanley W., Jr.
Christoph, William H.
Church, Jorel B.
Clancy, Joseph B.
Clark, James A.
Clausen, Charles D.
Clay, William C., III
Clingman, David W.
Cochran, Michael E.
Coffel, Richard V.
Coffman, Richard W.
Cole, William E., II
Collier, Michael H.
Conaster, Bernis B., Jr.
Connell, James E.
Cormier, Ronald C.
Costello, Walter J.
Courtney, Paul H.
Cox, David E.
Cox, Millard
Cox, William F.
Crafton, Miles H., Jr.
Crafton, Wayne N.
Craig, Richard J.
Critser, Ronald R.
Cullen, Thomas B.
Cuny, "C D"
Curran, James E., Jr.
Curtis, Edward R.
Darling, Marshall B.
Davidson, William D.
Davis, Donald R.
Davis, James A.
Davis, Leroy G.
Davis, Roger E.
Dearman, Lester R.
De Holl, John D.
Delgrosso, Carmine J.
Demeo, Angelo C.
Dempsey, Thomas F.
Devitt, Thomas P.
Dickson, William P.
Dinius, Ernest L.
Dohrman, John W.
Dolan, John T.
Donnelly, Patrick J.
Donoho, Robert C.
Dougherty, John J.
Dove, Richard J.
Downey, David A.
Doyle, Michael J.
Doyle, Robert A.
Dozier, Walter B.
Drury, Richard L.
Duffy, Charles
Dugas, Clay J., II
Duncan, Dorris A.

Dwyer, Edward J., Jr.
Eaton, Leonard M.
Egan, James F., II
Eiland, Earl W.
Ek, Paul R.
Ek, Steven J.
Ellis, James F.
Elsworth, Richard W.
Ely, John N.
Enright, Patric S.
Fagan, Brian J.
Fagan, James W.
Faught, Robert J.
Faulkenberry, Paul I.
Favor, Joseph M.
Ferguson, Roger G.
Field, James D.
Field, Peter B.
Finizio, Frank A.
Fischbach, John T.
Fisher, James A.
Fleming, Victor K., Jr.
Frank, Douglas R.
Franz, Howard A.
Frindt, Richard A.
Fullerton, Richard F.
Gardner, Chester M., Jr.
Gardner, Joel R.
Garner, Barry L.
Getsey, Michael R.
Girvin, Bobby G.
Goetz, Robert H.
Golden, John J.
Grabowski, Bernard
Graham, James A.
Grant, Donald A.
Gray, Edwin T.
Green, William R.
Gregory, Simon H.
Griggs, Alfred L.
Grinstead, Jackie L.
Hales, John F.
Hampton, Thomas L.
Hanley, Joseph J.
Hanson, James H.
Hardaker, William T., Jr.
Harkness, Christian L.
Harper, Michael H., Jr.
Harrison, John C.
Hayslip, James D.
Heflin, William L.
Heintz, Ronald A.
Henning, Stuart L.
Henson, Jerry L.
Herd, James R.
Herkal, Walter H., Jr.
Hess, Jerome L.
Hildreth, Kent R.
Hillgaertner, William W.
Hitzelberger, Daniel A.
Hoekstra, James V.
Holbrook, Vernon J.
Holland, Alwin G., Jr.
Holland, George F., III
Holmes, Hal, Jr.
Homan, Franklin J., II
Hornbacher, Keith D.
House, John A., II
Howard, Otis E., III
Huddleston, Charles R.
Hudiburg, Walter F., Jr.
Hudson, William E.
Huesman, Ronald H.
Huey, Benjamin M., II
Hughes, Robert A.
Hulit, Richard C.
Hultman, Bruce A.
Hunt, Gerald
Incociati, Raymond F.
Jaros, James J.
Jenkins, James T.
Johnson, Gilbert D.
Johnson, Kenneth H.
Johnson, Thomas L.
Johnson, Ward S.
Johnston, Harold C., Jr.
Jones, Jack L.
Jones, Patrick S.
Jones, Richard C., Jr.
Jones, Robert E.
Jordan, Charles G.
Joyce, Robert W.
Joyner, Charles D.
Jungmann, Norman G.
Kalt, Gerard T.
Kapsch, Richard J.
Keenan, Thomas P., Jr.
Kelly, Cary
Kelly, John A.
Kelly, John A.
Kenyon, Richard B.
Kerchner, John P.
Keskey, Theodore J.
Kingrey, Robert N.
Kirby, George W.
Kirby, Thomas W.
Kiser, Hague M.
Kiser, John W., Jr.
Klabough, Francis T.
Kleiboeker, Larry G.
Kolbe, Edward A.
Konopka, Anthony F.
Konrath, William E.
Kozak, Gerald W.
Krolak, Leonard R.
Kugel, Peter A.
Lake, Harry E., Jr.
Lamphier, Timothy A.
Land, Carlton E.
Langley, Howard F., Jr.
Leonard, William E.
Le Sieur, James G., III
Libbey, Jacob E.
Lind, Stephen W.
Lindsay, John R.
Linsert, Henry, Jr.
Lippincott, Marvin H.
Little, David R.
Little, Ernest K.
Litz, Eugene M.
Lloyd, Edward J.
Lloyd, James F., Jr.
Locke, Hubert A.
Loeber, William G., III
Longo, Joseph S., Jr.
Luhrsen, David A.
Lundeman, Alf
Lyle, Charles A.
Lyon, Alfred E.
Mackin, Harry T.
Madeo, Robert A.
Madsen, Chris
Madson, Gerald G.
Makowka, Phillip S.
Manco, Edward J.
Manning, Douglas E.
Marlatt, James K.
Marra, Michael A.
Marshall, William S., III
Martinez, Robert J., Jr.
Matthews, Ronald R.
McCarthy, Patrick L., Jr.
McCloy, Harry M., Jr.
McConnaughey, Edward C., Jr.
McCulley, Michael D.
McCurry, Kenneth D.
McFarlane, Richard S.
McGowan, Thomas A.
McGuirk, Michael
McKenna, Bruce S.
McMahon, Daniel K., Jr.
McVay, Donald M.
Medlin, Laurence R.
Merrick, Burton J.
Merry, Bion E.
Metcalf, Donald W.
Meyers, Tolman U.
Miles, Perry W., III
Milner, Terry L.
Mitchell, Jay A.
Mitchell, Patrick G.
Mitchell, Robert L.
Mockenhaupt, Robert J.
Monroe, Anthony A.
Moore, Brady L.
Moore, David W.
Morra, Joseph G.
Morris, David A.
Morrison, Robert S.
Moser, Richard E.
Motekew, Edward W.
Mulherin, Charles H., Jr.
Mullane, Joseph F., Jr.
Munger, Christopher D.
Murphy, John P.
Murphy, John T.
Murphy, Joseph P.
Myatt, James M.
Nay, David R.
Neist, Terrence P.
Nelms, Earl L.
Nelson, David A.
Nervo, Eugene T.
Newbury, Lane
Newton, John L.
Nichols, James W.
Nisewaner, Ken W.
Noe, Robert E.
Noll, Ernest G., Jr.
Northcutt, William R.
Nugent, Gerard P., Jr.
Nykreim, Theodore P., Jr.
O'Brien, Paul W.
O'Connor, Donald J.
O'Connor, John P.
Oetting, Robert L.
Ogle, Daniel J.
Okrina, Loren J.
Olson, Robert V.
Optekar, Peter S.
Osborne, Ronald G.
Palmerlee, Thomas M.
Pardini, Albert J.
Parker, Alson H., III
Paull, Jerome T.
Perry, Leon E.
Perzinskas, Henry L.
Peterson, Michael B.
Phelps, William E.
Phillips, William R.
Pierpoint, Charles C., III
Pierson, John H., Jr.
Pierzchala, Richard P.
Pinckney, John M., III
Pitaro, Nicholas R.
Pittroff, Lyle F.
Pitts, Thomas E.
Pixton, Marvin F., III
Plachy, Ronald J.
Platt, John F.
Pleier, Joseph R.
Pollock, Jimmie R.
Porchey, David V.
Porter, Robert D.
Praeger, Dirck K.
Preston, Charles P.
Price, Ernest E., III
Rabert, Daryl L.
Rafferty, Thomas F.
Ramsey, Kenneth R.
Rank, John A., III
Raske, Walter O. A.
Reilly, Michael J.
Repp, David M.
Reynolds, Donald J.
Reynolds, Kenneth E.
Richey, George G., Jr.
Richmond, James M.
Rickmon, James E.
Rider, Jon K.
Ries, Edward G., Jr.
Ritzenthaler, James M.
Roberts Howard S., Jr.
Roberts,Morris R.
Roberts, Thomas W.
Robinson, Jean O.
Rodgers, John H.
Roney, John A.
Roniger, Joseph J., Jr.
Rooney, Christopher J.
Rosenberg, Donald L.
Ross, Michael R.
Ryan, James P., Jr.
Saltarelli, Donald J.
Saracino, Lynn E.,
Scaplehorn, William E., Jr.
Schmidt, George T.
Schumacher, Ludwig J.
Sciepko, Ronald S.
Sconyers, David J.
Scott, Gerald E.
Sears, Kenneth M.
Shelton, Roy H.,Jr.
Shore, David R.
Shore, Moyers S., II
Shugart, Edward R., III
Simmons, Clyde M.
Simpleman, Louis L.
Siweck, David L.
Smith, Alfred T.
Smith, Clarence D.
Smith, David E.
Smith, George E., Jr.
Smith, Phillip R.
Smith, Roger A.
Smith, William E.
Snee, Thomas J.
Spadafora, Charles A.
Sparks, William M.
Squires, Robert J.
Sramek, James B.
Starzynski, Paul M.
Statler, Frank L., Jr.
Stein, Ronald M.
Stolz, Frank C., Jr.
Stummer, John R.
Sullivan, John A., Jr.
Swinburn, Charles
Swinburne, Herbert H., Jr.
Sympson, Kenneth P.
Takabayashi, Glenn
Tanksley, Lawrence E.
Terrill, William B.
Tester, Bruce A.
Thomas, Blake K.
Thomas, Ernest A., Jr.
Tieken, Robert, Jr.
Toettcher, Richard P.
Tomasko, David A.
Tomlin, Richard D.
Tompkins, Howell A., Jr.
Townsend, Patrick, L.
Tozour, Douglas O.
Trapp, Richard B.
Treschuk, Timothy M.
Urland, Robert S.
Valdov, Juri
Vanderham, Thomas L.
Van Grol, Daniel P., III
Van Riper, James K.
Van Riper, Paul K.
Van Ryzin, Peter J.
Varanini, Emilio E., III
Vecchitto, Wayne A.
Vejtasa, Eugene S.
Vos, Melvin L.
Walker, John S.
Walker, Larry D.
Walker, Richard W.
Ward, Alexander K.
Warner, John H.
Warshaw, Joel M.
Watson, John D.
Watson, Jonathan G.
Wawrzyniak, Daniel J.
Weathers, Dudley M.
Webb, Allen B.
Weber, John D.
Weibel, Jerry R.
Weinhart, John R.
Wellman, Donald A.
Werth, Duncan S., II
Whitaker, Alexander W.
Whitehouse, Richard A.
Whitworth, Wyatt C.
Wieden, Clifford, Jr.
Williams, Billy L.
Williams, Clarence D.
Williams, Claude N.
Williams, Peter D.
Williams, Thomas E., Jr.
Wilson, Willis C.
Winegardner, Samuel C.
Wingenbach, Edward C., III
Winkelbauer, Michael N.
Wise, Thomas J., Jr.
Witt, Siegfried R.
Woggon, John A.
Wood, Laurie E., Jr.
Wood, William M.
Yaeger, Richard A.
Yost, Robert C.
Young, Gary L.
Zealley, Harold E.
Zobenica, Ronald M.

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for temporary appointment to the grade of first lieutenant, subject to qualification therefore as provided by law:

Amos, Richard H.
Bailey, Robert G., Jr.
Barnes, John W.
Becker, James S.
Brown, William F.
Calhoon, Charles McD.
Campbell, William B.
Carey, Michael D.
Carlisle, Kenneth T.
Caskey, John J.
Chapman, Johnny D.
Christians, Marvin E.
Cobb, Russell L.
Crowell, Gary E.
Cullers, Ronald K.
Cummingham, Jack W.
Czechowski, Thomas L.
Davis, Alan F.
Donaghy, Richard E.
Drake, Robert F.
Eastman, Albert R., Jr.
Esguerra, Delano R.
Fitz, Dennis R.
Fitzgerald, George R.
Ford, William R.
Galloway, Neil C.
Garland, Malcolm C.
Gibbons, Wayne M.
Gilliland, Woody F.
Green, Joe B.
Griggs, Gary M.
Gyllenhoff, Gustav E.
Harrington, James A.
Hartnett, Stephen M.
Healy, William E.
Herms, Ronald G.
Hess, Richard D.
Higley, David A.
Hill, Alan S.
Holm, Thorvald, P. E.
Howard, Marshall L.
Jackson, William T.
Johnson, Elsie M.
Jones, Gerald W.
Keener, Arthur J. C.
Knapp, Mary J.
Kusky, Carl S., Jr.
Lawlor, William F., III
Lindsey, Merrill J.
Marshall, Jon A.
Matthys, Frederick H., Jr.
McClenahan, James E., Jr.
McClung, Daryl S., Jr.
McCollum, William E.
McTierman, Matthew G.
Melvin, Paul
Mirgeaux, Joseph L., Jr.
Mullinax, Alan C.
Murray, John D.
Mutter, James M.
Nash, Gary J.
Nichols, Douglas R.
Norton, Craig W.
Oates, Ronald C.
Packwood, Glen E.
Patterson, Howard C.
Peters, Louis R.
Pettit, Alan D.
Pinion, Richard F.
Pritchett, Sara J.
Puckett, James M.
Pullis, Roger M.
Ray, Ronald D.
Reid, Errol
Reilly, Richard M.
Renier, Robert R.
Reynolds, Philip F.
Rohleder, D. W.
Rosenau, Robert C.
Ruffer, Jack A.
Rutkowski, Patrick F.
Sexton, Merlyn A.
Schafer, Don F., Jr.
Smith, Frederick J.
Smith, Samuel W., Jr.
Stocking, John E.
Storbeck, William W.
Strohecker, Thomas L.
Sweeney, Charles T.
Tutt, Charles S.
Vogelgesang, Donald A
Weaver, James M.
Weis, Jerome L.
Westendorf, Gerald C.
Whitlow, Robert H.
Williams, Robert S.
Williams, Samuel M.
Woodburn, Lance P.
Yanda, Lonnie V.
Zalewski, Thomas

Diplomatic and Foreign Service

The following-named persons to the offices indicated, pursuant to section 517 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended:

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 1, consular officers, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

Robert J. Clarke, of Pennsylvania.
Henry A. Dunlap, of Maryland.
Lawrence J. Hall, of Texas.
Alexander A. Kliefoth, of Virginia.
Henry L. Miller, of New York.
John W. Mowinckel, of the District of Columbia.
Edward J. Nickel, of Connecticut.
Joseph C. Wheeler, of Pennsylvania.
Miss Barbara M. White, of the District of Columbia.
Earl J. Wilson, of Texas.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 2, consular officers, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

William A. Bell, of the District of Columbia.
David J. DuBois, of the District of Columbia.
Harold E. Engle, of Kansas.
Clifton B. Forster, of Maryland.
Henry H. Gosho, of Maryland.
Arnold C. Hanson, of Maine.
Alfred Jacobson, of Virginia.
Harry Keith, of Maryland.
Bernard J. Lavin, of Hawaii.
E. Russell Linch, of California.
Haynes R. Mahoney, of Florida.
Francis S. Mason, Jr., of Florida.
James M. McDonald, Jr., of New Jersey.
Paul A. Modic, of the District of Columbia.
E. Lewis Revey, of Florida.
Yale W. Richmond, of Virginia.
Robert L. White, of Colorado.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 3, consular officers, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

Myron A. Baskin, of Virginia.
Stuart J. Bohacek, of Nebraska.
William D. Bristow, of California.
Martin C. Carroll, Jr., of New York.
Bernard Casper, of California.
R. Dabney Chapman, of Maryland.
Milton M. Chase, of Ohio.
Edward J. Conlon, of the District of Columbia.
Joe B. Cox, of Ohio.
Robert D. Cross, of Colorado.
Richard H. Curtiss, of Virginia.
Philip DiTommaso, of Pennsylvania.
Evan Fotos, of Massachusetts.
Robert C. Goodman, of California.
Theodore G. Hartry, of California.
David I. Hitchcock, of Connecticut.
Theodore R. Jaeckel, of the District of Columbia.
Jack W. Juergens, of Kansas.
William H. Keogh, of Maryland.
Kenneth D. Koch, of Michigan.
Thomas R. Kruse, of Iowa.
Robert H. Leeper, of Pennsylvania.
James O. Mays, of Georgia.
Charles A. McGinley, Jr., of Maryland.
Charles L. Medd, of New York.
Miss Theresa C. Mravintz, of California.
Howard F Needham, of Maryland.
Allan Nelson, of California.
Robert L. Nichols, of New Hampshire.
Milos O. Ptak, of Ohio.
Edward T. Purcell, of Maryland.
James G. Rogers, of California.
Gunther K. Rosinus, of Indiana.
Irving L. Sablosky, of Illinois.
G. Frederick Stutz, of Massachusetts.
Frank D. Underwood, of Maryland.
Hal W. Vaughan, of Florida.
Arthur K. Willey, Jr., of Virginia.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 4, consular officers, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America.

Miss Denise M. Abbey, of Washington.
Philip W. Arnold, of New York.
James M. Ascher, of Illinois.
Rexford L. Baer, of California.
Edward R. Brandt, of Maryland.
Melvyn R. Brokenshire, Jr., of Texas.
Robert A. Cattell, of the District of Columbia.
Gerald L. Clay, of Nevada.
John D. Clayton, of Virginia.
Robert P. Ebersole, of Florida.
G. Michael Eisenstadt, of New York.
Arthur S. Giuliano, of New Jersey.
Henry O. Green, Jr., of Arkansas.
Harry L. Hughes, of the District of Columbia.
Franz E. Krell, of Illinois.
Miss Joann Lewinsohn, of Oklahoma.
Charles M. Magee, of Louisiana.
Miss Tana M. Mayland, of California.
Miss Gabriella E. Metcalf, of the District of Columbia.
Michael T. F. Pistor, of Arizona.
Eugene Frederick Quinn, of Pennsylvania.
Miss Elizabeth K. Rousseau, of the District of Columbia.
Edward J. Slack, of South Dakota.
Peter N. Synodis, of California.
Miss Margaret V. Taylor, of California.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 5, consular officers, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

Dino J. Caterini, of Ohio.
Allan B. Croghan, of California.
Neal T. Donnelly, of New York.
Edward A. Elly, of Michigan.
Robert E. Knopes, of Wisconsin.
Robert F. Krill, of Pennsylvania.
Donald E. Mathes, of Missouri.
Merrill S. Miller, of Virginia.
James L. Morad, of California.
Howard G. Neuberg, of California.
Donald E. Reilly, of California.
Robert H. Ruffner, of Michigan.
Miss Barbara M. Shelby, of New Jersey.
Alfred J. Waddell, of the District of Columbia.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 6, consular officers, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

Miss Joan L. Dickie, of New York.
Philip W. Ernst, of Minnesota.
J. Richard Overturf, of California.
Peter J. Reuss, of Florida.
Franklin J. Tonini, of Florida.
Kenneth C. Wimmel, of Ohio.
Robert J. Wozniak, of Michigan.

The following-named persons to the offices indicated, pursuant to section 516 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended:

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 7, consular officers, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

Thomas Hardy Crawford, of the District of Columbia.
Alan L. Gilbert, of the District of Columbia.
John F. Kordek, of Illinois.
Kent D. Obee, of Idaho.
Miss Mary E. Procter, of Massachusetts.
Peter L. Quasius, of Wisconsin.
Richard W. Schmidt, of Massachusetts.
Richard C. Schoonover, of California.
William Merrell Stott, of New York.
John E. Stuckey, Jr., of Kansas.

WITHDRAWALS

Executive nominations withdrawn from the Senate April 19, 1966:

The nominations of the following-named persons to be Foreign Service officers as indicated, which were sent to the Senate on January 14, 1966:

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 2, consuls, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

Robert J. Clarke, of Pennsylvania.
Henry A. Dunlap, of Maryland.
Fitzhugh Green, of New York.
Lawrence J. Hall, of Texas.
Stanley E. Kalish, of the District of Columbia.
Alexander A. Kliefoth, of Virginia.
James H. McGillivray, of California.
Henry L. Miller, of New York.
John W. Mowinckel, of the District of Columbia.
Edward J. Nickel, of Connecticut.
Joseph C. Wheeler, of Pennsylvania.
Miss Barbara M. White, of the District of Columbia.
Earl J. Wilson, of Texas.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 3, consuls, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

William A. Bell, of the District of Columbia.
David J. DuBois, of the District of Columbia.
Harold E. Engle, of Kansas.
Clifton B. Forster, of Maryland.
Henry H. Gosho, of Maryland.
Arnold C. Hanson, of Maine.
Alfred Jacobson, of Virginia.
Harry Keith, of Maryland.
Bernard J. Lavin, of Hawaii.
E. Russell Linch, of California.
Haynes R. Mahoney, of Florida.
Francis S. Mason, Jr., of Florida.
James M. McDonald, Jr., of New Jersey.
Paul A. Modic, of the District of Columbia.
E. Lewis Revey, of Florida.
Yale W. Richmond, of Virginia.
Robert L. White, of Colorado.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 4, consuls, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

Myron A. Baskin, of Virginia.
Howard E. Biggerstaff, of California.
Stuart J. Bohacek, of Nebraska.
William D. Bristow, of California.
Martin C. Carroll, Jr., of New York.
Bernard Casper, of California.
R. Dabney Chapman, of Maryland.
Milton M. Chase, of Ohio.
Edward J. Conlon, of the District of Columbia.
Joe B. Cox, of Ohio.
Robert D. Cross, of Colorado.
Richard H. Curtiss, of Virginia.
Philip DiTommaso, of Pennsylvania.
Evan Fotos, of Massachusetts.
Robert C. Goodman, of California.
Theodore G. Hartry, of California.
David I. Hitchcock, of Connecticut.
Theodore R. Jaeckel, of the District of Columbia.
Jack W. Juergens, of Kansas.
William H. Keogh, of Maryland.
Kenneth D. Koch, of Michigan.
Thomas R. Kruse, of Iowa.
Robert H. Leeper, of Pennsylvania.
James O. Mays, of Georgia.
Charles A. McGinley, Jr., of Maryland.
Charles L. Medd, of New York.
Miss Theresa C. Mravintz, of California.
Howard F. Needham, of Maryland.
Allan Nelson, of California.
Robert L. Nichols, of New Hampshire.
Milos O. Ptak, of Ohio.
Edward T. Purcell, of Maryland.
James G. Rogers, of California.
Gunther K. Rosinus, of Indiana.
Irving L. Sablosky, of Illinois.
G. Frederick Stutz, of Massachusetts.
Frank D. Underwood, of Maryland.
Hal W. Vaughan, of Florida.
Arthur K. Willey, Jr., of Virginia.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 5, consuls, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

Miss Denise M. Abbey, of Washington.
Philip W. Arnold, of New York.
James M. Ascher, of Illinois.
Rexford L. Baer, of California.
Edward R. Brandt, of Maryland.
Melvyn R. Brokenshire, Jr., of Texas.
Arthur L. Bunn, of Florida.
Robert A. Cattell, of the District of Columbia.
Gerald L. Clay, of Nevada.
John D. Clayton, of Virginia.
Robert P. Ebersole, of Florida.
G. Michael Eisenstadt, of New York.
Arthur S. Giuliano, of New Jersey.
Henry O. Green, Jr., of Arkansas.
Harry L. Hughes, of the District of Columbia.
Franz E. Krell, of Illinois.
Miss Joann Lewinsohn, of Oklahoma.
Charles M. Magee, of Louisiana.
Miss Tana M. Mayland, of California.
Miss Gabriella E. Metcalf, of the District of Columbia.
Michael T. F. Pistor, of Arizona.
Eugene Frederick Quinn, of Pennsylvania.
Miss Elizabeth K. Rousseau, of the District of Columbia.
Edward J. Slack, of South Dakota.
Peter N. Synodis, of California.
Miss Margaret V. Taylor, of California.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 6, vice consuls of career, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

Dino J. Caterini, of Ohio.
Allan B. Croghan, of California.
Neal T. Donnelly, of New York.
Edward A. Elly, of Michgian.
Robert E. Knopes, of Wisconsin.
Robert F. Krill, of Pennsylvania.
Donald E. Mathes, of Missouri.
Merrill S. Miller, of Virginia.
James L. Morad, of California.
Howard G. Neuberg, of California.
Donald E. Reilly, of California.
Robert H. Ruffner, of Michigan.
Miss Barbara M. Shelby, of New Jersey.
Alfred J. Waddell, of the District of Columbia.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 7, vice consuls of career, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

Barry E. Ballow, of California.
Donald S. Birn, of New York.
Richard A. Boardman, of New York.
John T. Burns, of Florida.
Thomas A. Calhoun, of California.
Miss Ruth Marie Connolly, of Massachusetts.
Miss Joan L. Dickie, of New York.
Miss Joan R. Edmonds, of California.
Philip W. Ernst, of Minnesota.
Donald W. Hauger, of Florida.
Raburn L. Howland, of Ohio.
Leon Lederer II, of Virginia.
John R. Lepperd, of Virginia.
J. Richard Overturff of California.
Cecil E. Pollard, of California.
Miss Jeanne M. Pryor, of Arizona.
Harold F. Radday, of California.
John M. Reid, of Virginia.
Peter J. Reuss, of Florida.
Joel W. Rochow, of Illinois.
Michael G. Roskin, of California.
Michael D. Schneider, of New Jersey.
Jon W. Stewart, of Arizona.
Wesley D. Stewart, of Ohio.
Franklin J. Tonini, of Florida.
Kenneth C. Wimmel, of Ohio.
Peter C. Wolcott, of New York.
Robert J. Wozniak, of Michigan.

For appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 8, vice consuls of career, and secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

Thomas Hardy Crawford, of the District of Columbia.
Alan L. Gilbert, of the District of Columbia.
John F. Kordek, of Illinois.
Kent D. Obee, of Idaho.
Miss Mary E. Proctor, of Massachusetts.
Peter L. Quasius, of Wisconsin.
Richard W. Schmidt, of Massachusetts.
Richard C. Schoonover, of California.
William Merrell Stott, of New York.
John E. Stuckey, Jr., of Kansas.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, APRIL 19, 1966

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rabbi Hyman B. Faskowitz, Congregation Tifereth Israel, Brooklyn, N.Y., offered the following prayer:

Avinu Shebashomayim. Heavenly Father, standing here in the home of our Federal Legislature, the House of Representatives of the United States of America, we proclaim Thy sovereignty over all creation and Thy providential guidance of the destinies of nations as well as individual human beings. We pray Thee, Oh Merciful Father, to confer upon these dedicated public servants the strength that they require to face the problems that confront them. Give them the courage and wisdom to pursue with diligence and persistence the principles of our great democracy. Grant them the fortitude needed to persevere in the endeavors to preserve freedom and human dignity. May they be blessed with an understanding heart and soul attuned to the needs of those in misery and suffering. Inspire in them an ardent wish coupled with a firm determination to rise to the heights of idealism in the consideration of the issues facing America. Mayest Thou bless the efforts of our President and the Congress to bring about and to assure lasting peace. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on the following dates the President approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

On March 30, 1966:

H.R. 969. An act to authorize redetermination under the Civil Service Retirement Act of annuities of certain reemployed annuitants;

H.R. 1647. An act to provide for the payment of certain amounts and restoration of employment benefits to certain Government officers and employees improperly deprived thereof, and for other purposes;

H.R. 10553. An act to preserve the benefits of the Civil Service Retirement Act, the Federal Employees' Group Life Insurance Act of 1954, and the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959 for congressional employees receiving certain congressional staff fellowships; and

H.R. 12762. An act to authorize appropriations for procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and offshore establishments for the Coast Guard.

On March 31, 1966:

H.R. 7526. An act to provide for the striking of medals in commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of San Antonio; and

H.R. 10722. An act to authorize the payment of an allowance of not to exceed $10 per day to employees assigned to duty at the Nevada test site of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, and for other purposes.

On April 4, 1966:

H.R. 10403. An act for the relief of Edward F. Murzyn and Edward J. O'Brien.

On April 8, 1966:

H.R. 6319. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide for treatment of the recovery of losses arising from expropriation, intervention, or confiscation of properties by governments of foreign countries, and to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to extend the initial enrollment period for supplementary medical insurance benefits.

On April 13, 1966:

H.R. 6568. An act to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to make permanent the existing temporary suspension of duty on copra, palm nuts, and palm-nut kernels, and the oils crushed therefrom, and for other purposes.

On April 14, 1966:

H.R. 3349. An act for the relief of certain retired officers of the Army, Navy, and Air Force;

H.R. 4599. An act to provide for the free entry of certain stained glass for the Congregation Emanuel, Denver, Colorado, and of certain chipped colored glass windows for Saint Ann's Church, Las Vegas, Nev.;

H.R. 6845. An act to correct inequities with respect to the basic compensation of teachers and teaching positions under the Defense Department Overseas Teachers Pay and Personal Practices Act;

H.R. 7723. An act to amend the tariff schedules of the United States to suspend the duty on certain tropical hardwoods; and

H.R. 9883. An act to amend subchapter S of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, and for other purposes.

On April 16, 1966:

H.R. 959. An act to amend the Fire and Casualty Act regulating the business of fire, marine, and casualty insurance in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 2752. An act for the relief of Kock Kong Fong;

H.R. 2938. An act for the relief of Przemyslaw Nowakowski;

H.R. 2939. An act for the relief of Manojlo Verzich;

H.R. 3875. An act for the relief of Mrs. Panagiota Vastakis and Soteros Vastakis;

H.R. 4743. An act for the relief of Ralph Tigno Edquid;

H.R. 6112. An act for the relief of David Glenn Barker (Jai Yul Sung) and Richard Paul Barker (Pil Su Park);

H.R. 7813. An act to authorize the loan of naval vessels to China;

H.R. 9442. An act for the relief of Ki Sook Jun; and

H.J. Res. 837. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim the week beginning April 17, 1966, as "State and Municipal Bond Week."

On April 18, 1966:

H.R. 8466. An act to amend the Fire and Casualty Act to provide for the licensing and regulation of insurance premium finance companies in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 8647. An act for the relief of the Troubadors Drum and Bugle Corps of Bridgeport, Conn.; and

H.R. 11664. An act to confer additional jurisdiction upon the Superintendent of Insurance for the District of Columbia to regulate domestic stock insurance companies and to exempt such companies from section 12(g)(1) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934.

NEW CONCEPT OF FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, I have been amazed by many recent Supreme Court decisions that have coddled subversives, criminals, and deliberate lawbreakers.

The last such decision—striking down the Arizona loyalty oath—however, is the most incomprehensible of all to me.

How is it that a Constitution that has stood for nearly 200 years, and under which the greatest civilization of all times has flourished to the benefit of all its peoples, can now be so interpreted as to make it illegal for a sovereign State to require loyalty to our institutions from its employees?

Does this new concept of "freedom of association" negate all existing contracts of employment?

Does a contract of employment requiring an employee to work on Saturday violate his "rights of association" by isolating him from his Saturday afternoon golf cronies?

Are his "rights of association" denied an incarcerated criminal by restraining him from participating in his usual educational and cultural gatherings at Joe's Bar?

Does this decision mean that no longer will the President of the United States or Members of Congress be required to take an oath of loyalty to the United States and its institutions?

What God-given wisdom does our present Court have that was denied to all its predecessors?

I sincerely hope that some of the answers can be found to these questions before we turn over the reins of our Government and our courts to the beatniks, criminals, and anarchists.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR SAFETY PERFORMANCE STANDARDS FOR MOTOR VEHICLES

Mr. MACKAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. MACKAY. Mr. Speaker, we were shocked and saddened by the death of our colleague Representative Ashton Thompson last July when he was killed in a traffic accident in North Carolina.

The word "accident" is a real misnomer for what happened in the light of testimony given by James R. Hoffa before the Senate Commerce Committee on April 6 of this month.

Mr. Hoffa said:

> The death of the late Congressman Thompson, of Louisiana, was caused by a gypsy operator who had been on the highway 21 consecutive hours in violation of the ICC maximum hour standards and who suffered from glaucoma in both eyes as well as diabetes. The accident report shows that the driver testified that he did not see the late Congressman's car parked by the side of the road at the time the crash occurred.

This is just another tragic case of the untimely death of an individual caused by our failure to build a safer traffic environment.

It is encouraging to see how the subject of traffic safety has emerged as the major new concern of this 89th Congress. Hearings are in progress or have been concluded by two committees of the House and three committees of the Senate.

We should enact legislation at this session which will explicitly assign responsibility for safety performance standards for motor vehicles, for comprehensive research as to the causes of accidents and resulting deaths and injuries, and for a national program of traffic safety supported by grants-in-aid to the several States.

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 6 OF THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Subcommittee No. 6 of the House Select Committee on Small Business be permitted to sit this afternoon during general debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE INVESTIGATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on the Investigation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare be permitted to sit during general debate this afternoon and the balance of the week.

Mr. Speaker, I might advise the Members of the House that this has been cleared with the minority side.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

SENATE CONFIRMS MOORE AMENDMENT

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, it is regrettable that the chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN], insists on engaging in nitpicking on the Moore amendment to S. 2729 relating to the authorization and separation of loan funds for the Small Business Administration. As is known, the House completed action Monday on this vitally important legislation.

It is even more regrettable that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] again has misled this body. On April 5 I informed the Members of this body that I had completed arrangements with two distinguished Members of the other body to amend the Moore amendment. This was done and the Moore amendment to S. 2729 was confirmed by the other body as amended. Suffice to say, my amendment to S. 2729 places a $100 million ceiling on economic opportunity loans within the $1.4 billion authorization for the small business loan program. The other body adopted the Moore amendment in this respect. This amendment will prevent a drain on regular small business loan funds by economic opportunity loans. This is to avoid a repetition of a drain similar to the one last year caused by the heavy demand for disaster funds. Because of this heavy drain, the small business loan program has been defunct for many months. Now that the House and Senate adopted my amendment, despite the opposition of the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, it is my hope that we all can work together in the Congress to retain the SBA as an independent agency. Work to keep it from being gobbled up by the Commerce Department. Persuade the President to appoint a full-time Administrator so that the SBA can get moving again as a vital force in our small business community. You may be interested in knowing that small business accounts for 90 percent of all wholesale, retail, manufacturing, and service firms in the United States employing 40 percent of the labor force.

I believe it is time that all of us get on with the important business of putting the SBA back into business.

YOUTH TEMPERANCE EDUCATION WEEK

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the Senate joint resolution (S.J. Res. 18) to provide for the designation of the fourth week in April of each year as "Youth Temperance Education Week."

The Clerk read the title of the Senate joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, is there a report on this bill and is the bill before the Members of the House?

Mr. McCLORY. The bill has been reported by the full Committee on the Judiciary of the House and is before the House. The bill was amended in committee so that instead of designating 1 week out of every year as Youth Temperance Education Week, the measure will apply only to this year. This resolution is for the sole purpose of designating the fourth week in April of this year commencing on April 24, 1966, as "Youth Temperance Education Week."

Mr. HALL. That is not the question. The question is, Is the bill on the floor and available to Members along with the report of the committee? The reason the gentleman from Missouri asks this question is that yesterday unanimous consent was sought to bring this up on the unanimous-consent calendar and very respectfully I asked the gentleman forwarding it out of the distinguished Committee on the Judiciary at that time to hold it off on the Consent Calendar until such time as it could be studied by the regular objectors. Now my question today simply requires a yes or no answer: Is it available for study by Members or is it not?

Mr. McCLORY. I believe it is available. We had it before the committee and I assume it is now reported to the House and is available to the Members of the House.

Mr. HALL. Can the gentleman show me a copy?

Mr. McCLORY. I cannot. I do not happen to have it in my possession now. I have just come from my committee meeting. But I do have it in my files, I will say to the gentleman. If he wants me to show it to him I will withdraw my present request.

Mr. HALL. I strongly recommend it, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my request for the present consideration of the Senate joint resolution.

The **SPEAKER.** Without objection, the gentleman from Illinois withdraws his request.

There was no objection.

REPORT OF NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 424)

The **SPEAKER** laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States which was read, and together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Science and Astronautics and ordered to be printed with illustrations:

To the Congress of the United States:

This report to the Congress describes 6 months of great achievement by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

It was during this period—January 1, 1965, to June 30, 1965—that America made immense strides in the field of manned space travel.

This was the time, too, of Ranger's spectacular success in transmitting live TV images of the moon's surface. It was the time of Edward White's 22-minute jet-propelled walk in space.

The best characteristics of our people—their courage, their imagination, their technical and managerial competence—have been vividly demonstrated in the national space program.

This is indeed an era of progress—with space technology providing a vital stimulus as we move to unravel the mysteries of space, and to solve the complex economic, political, and social problems of life here on earth.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *April 18, 1966.*

DEFINITION OF THE TERM "CHILD" FOR CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT PURPOSES

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 1746) to define the term "child" for lump-sum payment purposes under the Civil Service Retirement Act, with a Senate amendment thereto, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

> Page 1, line 4, after "by" insert "striking out the word 'four' in the third sentence and inserting the word 'five', and by".

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, may we have a very brief explanation of the amendment?

Mr. DANIELS. I will be happy to explain the amendment.

Mr. Speaker, during the 1st session of the 89th Congress, the House passed H.R. 1746, to permit the natural child of a deceased Federal employee to share in the distribution of any lump-sum payable to survivors, to the same extent as a legitimate child. The Senate, on March 17, 1966, passed the bill with an amendment.

The Senate amendment would extend the period of time during which a student-child of a deceased Federal employee may be absent from a full-time course of study in a recognized educational institution.

The Civil Service Retirement Act provides for the payment of a survivor annuity to a student-child enrolled in a course of full-time study until the end of the school year in which he or she reaches age 21. The student is given the benefit of payment during summer vacations if notice of intention is given to reenroll in school after a recess of not to exceed 4 months. This provision was designed, primarily, to include any student whose continuity of enrollment was interrupted by completion of high school at the end of the spring term and entrance into college in the fall term, and to cover the summer interim between the spring and fall terms of bisemester schools.

If the period of nonenrollment exceeds 4 months, regardless of reason and irrespective of circumstances beyond the student's control, the survivor annuity is stopped and cannot be resumed, even when the child subsequently becomes a bona fide student.

Several cases have come to the attention of the Committee and the Civil Service Commission, whereby students' benefits have been terminated because the interim between semesters or between schools exceeded the 4-month limitation by a few days. Further, many colleges have adopted the trisemester program which can, in many cases, result in an absence from school exceeding 4 months. It has been brought to the committee's attention that it is necessary for some student-children to withdraw from trisemester programs in order to secure a few months employment in order to earn money to continue their educations. Because of the scheduling of trisemester programs, such students are necessarily absent from school for a period slightly exceeding 4 months.

The Senate amendment will resolve this immediate problem by extending from 4 to 5 months the interim during which a student may be absent from the continuous pursuit of his or her education. Students in receipt of survivor annuities at this time may, by the adoption of the amendment, secure summer employment and return to school in the fall, and continue to receive the payment of their small survivor benefits. The payment of these benefits makes the difference, in many cases, between continuing in school or the child having to withdraw permanently.

The Civil Service Commission has indicated the desirability of this amendment, which will prevent the deprivation of benefits to deserving children.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his explanation and withdraw my reservation of objection.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

YOUTH TEMPERANCE EDUCATION WEEK

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 18 to provide for the designation of the fourth week in April of each year as "Youth Temperance Education Week."

The Clerk read the title of the Senate joint resolution.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, are the amendments available?

Mr. McCLORY. The amendments are at the desk. I move the adoption of the amendments. In fact, my request was for the immediate consideration of the bill as amended and as recommended by the committee.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the consideration of the Senate joint resolution?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate joint resolution, as follows:

S. J. Res. 18

Whereas the National Youth Temperance Council was created to develop and promote programs and activities by our youth for our youth which will help them to achieve the best possible preparation for successful, useful living; and

Whereas these programs, which have been established throughout the United States, perform a vital service in the constructive development of our youth by offering them outstanding opportunities to acquire moral strength, physical fitness, and civil responsibility; and

Whereas many Governors and mayors have, over the past several years, issued proclamations giving official recognition to the annual observance of the fourth week in April as "Youth Temperance Week": Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President is authorized and requested to issue annually a proclamation designating the fourth week in April of each year as "Youth Temperance Education Week", and inviting the people of the United States to cooperate during such weeks with programs of temperance education.

With the following committee amendments:

On pages 1 and 2, strike all "Whereas" clauses.

On page 2, lines 3 and 4, strike "annually"; and on lines 4 through 5, strike "fourth week in April of each year" and insert in lieu thereof "week beginning April 24, 1966,".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The Senate joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A joint resolution to provide for the designation of the week beginning April 24, 1966, as 'Youth Temperance Education Week'."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 64]

Abernethy
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn
Ayres
Blatnik
Bow
Brademas
Broyhill, Va.
Burleson
Callaway
Cameron
Casey
Celler
Chelf
Colmer
Conyers
Delaney
Dow
Dowdy
Dwyer
Edwards, Calif.
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Farnsley
Fisher
Flynt
Fraser
Fuqua
Hagen, Calif.
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Harvey, Ind.
Jarman
Jones, Ala.
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
Leggett
Long, La.
Long, Md.
MacGregor
Machen
Mathias
Matthews
Moeller
Moorhead
Morse
Morton
Multer
Murray
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
Powell
Purcell
Rivers, Alaska
Roberts
Roncalio
Rooney, N.Y.
Rostenkowski
Roudebush
Roybal
Scheuer
Sisk
Skubitz
Stubblefield
Teague, Tex.
Toll
Utt
Walker, Miss.
Weltner
White, Idaho
Williams
Willis
Wilson, Charles H.

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall, 359 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

PRIVATE CALENDAR

The SPEAKER. This is Private Calendar Day. The Clerk will call the first individual bill on the Private Calendar.

MAJ. ALAN DEYOUNG, U.S. ARMY

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 10990) for the relief of Maj. Alan DeYoung, U.S. Army.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 10990

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Major Alan DeYoung, United States Army (069478), of Falls Church, Virginia, is relieved of liability to the United States in the amount of $7,056.73, representing an overpayment of compensation made to him by the Department of the Army during the period November 1, 1950, through January 31, 1965, as a result of administrative error. In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, credit shall be given for amounts for which liability is relieved by this section.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line 5, strike "$7,056.73" and insert "$7,061.73."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ABDUL WOHABE

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 10220) for the relief of Abdul Wohabe.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

FRANTISEK VOHRYZKA

The Clerk called the bill (S. 943) for the relief of Frantisek Vohryzka.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

ABRAHAM EZEKIEL COHEN

The Clerk called the bill (S. 2696) for the relief of Abraham Ezekiel Cohen.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

LEE CHUNG WOO

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 1233) for the relief of Lee Chung Woo.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 1233

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Lee Chung Woo shall be eligible for a visa as a nonimmigrant temporary visitor: *Provided,* That the administrative authorities find that the said Lee Chung Woo is coming to the United States for the purpose of being adopted by Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Hyun, a citizen of the United States and a lawfully resident alien, respectively, and that he is found otherwise admissible under the immigration laws. In the event the adoption relationship between the above-named persons does not occur within the time proscribed by the Attorney General, the said Lee Chung Woo shall be required to depart from the United States and upon failure to do so shall be deported in accordance with the provisions of section 242 and 243 of the Immigration and Nationality Act. In the event that the adoption becomes valid, the said Lee Chung Woo may be classified as an eligible orphan within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of the Act, upon approval of a petition filed in his behalf by the said Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Hyun, pursuant to section 205(b) of the Act, subject to all the conditions in that section relating to eligible orphans, whereupon the Attorney General is authorized and directed to record the lawful admission for permanent residence of the said Lee Chung Woo, upon payment of the required visa fee as of the date of his entry pursuant to this Act.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Lee Chung Woo may be classified as a child within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of the Act, upon approval of a petition filed in his behalf by Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Hyun, citizens of the United States, pursuant to section 204 of the Act."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

WON LOY JUNG

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 1822) for the relief of Won Loy Jung.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

CHARLOTTE SCHULZ

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2290) for the relief of Charlotte Schulz.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 2290

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Charlotte Schulz may be naturalized upon compliance with all the requirements of title III of the Immigration and Nationality Act, except that—

(a) no further period of residence or physical presence within the United States or any State shall be required; and

(b) the petition for naturalization may be filed with any court having naturalization jurisdiction.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That the periods of time Charlotte Schulz has resided in the United States since her lawful admission for permanent residence on July 20, 1955, shall be held and considered to meet the residence and physical presence requirements of section 316 of the Immigration and Nationality Act."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

LEONARDO TUSA

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 4083) for the relief of Mr. Leonardo Tusa.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

MICHAEL FAHIM ELIAS

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 4458) for the relief of Michael Fahim Elias.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

WANDA OLSZOWA

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 3774) for the relief of Wanda Olszowa.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 3774

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Wanda Olszowa may be classified as an eligible orphan within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of that Act, upon approval of a petition filed in her behalf by Mr. and Mrs. Frank Ochab, citizens of the United States, pursuant to section 205(b) of that Act, subject to all the conditions in that section relating to eligible orphans.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Wanda Olszowa may be classified as a child within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of the Act, upon approval of a petition filed in her behalf by Mr. and Mrs. Frank Ochab, citizens of the United States, pursuant to section 204 of the Act."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GUISEPPE BOSSIO

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 7508) for the relief of Guiseppe Bossio.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the reqeust of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

JACOBO TEMEL

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 1414) for the relief of Jacobo Temel.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

VICTOR O. McNABB

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 1256) for the relief of Victor O. McNabb.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

MOAPA VALLEY WATER CO., OF LOGANDALE, NEV.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2270) for the relief of the Moapa Valley Water Co., of Logandale, Nev.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

WILLIAM F. KUHLMAN

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 3692) for the relief of William F. Kuhlman.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 3692

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That William F. Kuhlman of Fort Worth, Texas, is relieved of liability to the United States in the amount of $3,732.95, representing an overpayment of compensation received by him from November 4, 1961, through January 26, 1963, while employed at the Fort Worth Army Depot, Fort Worth, Texas, which resulted from a failure to make the full withholding from his compensation required by section 13 of the Civil Service Retirement Act (5 U.S.C. 2263). In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, credit shall be given for amounts for which liability is relieved by this Act.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the said William F. Kuhlman an amount equal to the aggregate of the amounts paid by him or withheld from sums otherwise due him, in complete or partial satisfaction of the liability to the United States specified in the first section of this Act. No part of the amount appropriated in this Act in excess of 10 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with such claims, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 2, lines 10 and 11, strike "in excess of 10 per centum thereof".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

JOHN F. REAGAN, JR.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 4075) for the relief of John F. Reagan, Jr.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 4075

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the limitation on the time within which applications for disability retirement are required to be filed under section 7(b) of the Civil Service Retirement Act (5 U.S.C. 2257(b)) is hereby waived in favor of John F. Reagan, Junior, former employee of the Norfolk Naval Station, Portsmouth, Virginia, and his claim for disability retirement under such Act shall be acted upon under the other applicable provisions of such Act as if his application had been timely filed, if he files application for such disability retirement within sixty days after the date of enactment of the Act. No benefits shall accrue by reason of the enactment of this Act for any period prior to the date on which application for disability benefits was filed by or in behalf of John F. Reagan, Junior: *Provided*, That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, benefits payable by reason of the enactment of this Act shall be paid from the civil service retirement and disability fund.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, lines 4, 5, and 6, strike "section 7(b) of the Civil Service Retirement Act (5 U.S.C. 2257 (b))" and insert "section 6 of the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended, 5 U.S.C. (1946 Ed.) 710,".

Page 2, line 4, strike "was" and insert "is".

Page 2, line 4, after the word "filed", insert "in accordance with this Act".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

LESSEES OF A CERTAIN TRACT OF LAND IN LOGTOWN, MISS.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 6305) for the relief of lessees of a certain tract of land in Logtown, Miss.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 6305

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in addition to, but not in duplication of, any payments that may otherwise be authorized by law, the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, or his designee, is hereby authorized and directed to pay to each lessee of a portion of the Baxter tract (tract numbered 1253-E) Logtown, Mississippi, who is named and whose interest is described in the deed of easement from Roy Baxter, Junior, and Margot Gack to the United States dated July 23, 1964, and recorded in book Q-8, pages 471 to 480 of the land records of Hancock County, Mississippi, (1) the fair market value, as the said Administrator or his designee shall determine it, of any existing improvements owned by such lessee which have been or will be abandoned in place upon vacation of the leasehold because of the acquisition of the above easement: *Provided*, That in consideration for such payment each such lessee shall assign, transfer or lease to the United States all his right, title, and interest in and to such improvements; or (2) the fair market value less salvage value, as the said Administrator or his designee shall determine, of any improvement owned by such lessee which upon vacation of the leasehold, the lessee, because of the acquisition of the above easement, has removed, sold, or otherwise disposed of. Such payments shall be made from funds available to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for land acquisition, Mississippi Test Facility, Mississippi.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 2, after line 16, add the following:

"The determination of the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, or his designee, shall be final and the provisions of this Act shall create no rights or liabilities not otherwise existing or available, nor affect the validity of any property acquisition by purchase or condemnation.

"No part of an amount paid under the authority of this Act shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EUGENE J. BENNETT

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 8793) for the relief of Eugene J. Bennett.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 8793

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Eugene J. Bennett, DAC-USAAD-TF, APO 287, New York, New York, is hereby relieved of liability to refund to the United States the sum of $1,418.26. Such sum represents the aggregate amount of salary overpayments made to him, through administrative error and without fault on his part, for various periods from May 12, 1957, to August 23, 1959, both dates inclusive, as a civilian employee of the United States. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the said Eugene J. Bennett, an amount equal to the aggregate of the amounts, if any, which have been paid by him, or which have been withheld from amounts otherwise due him, in complete or partial satisfaction of his liability to the United States: *Provided*, That no part of the amount (if any) appropriated in this Act in excess of 10 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 2, line 7, strike "in excess of 10 percentum thereof".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

WILLIAM A. BUZBEE

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 9213) for the relief of William A. Buzbee.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 9213

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That William A. Buzbee, of Smiths, Alabama, a civilian employee of the Department of the Army at Fort Benning, Georgia, is hereby relieved of liability to the United States in the amount of $3,208.96, the amount by which he was overpaid, as a result of administrative error, during the period from July 14, 1957, to July 25, 1964. In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, credit shall be given for any amount for which liability is relieved by this Act.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to William A. Buzbee, of Smiths, Alabama, an amount equal to the aggregate of the amounts paid by him, or withheld from sums otherwise due him, in complete or partial satisfaction of the liability to the United States specified in the first section: *Provided*, That no part of the amount appropriated in this Act in excess of 10 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 6, strike "$3,208.98" and insert "$3,496.18".

Page 1, line 8, strike "July 14, 1957, to July 25, 1964." and insert "July 7, 1957, to February 21, 1965.".

Page 2, lines 8 and 9, strike "in excess of 10 per centum therof".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CERTAIN CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY AT FORT SAM HOUSTON, TEX.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 9217) for the relief of certain civilian employees of the Department of the Army at Fort Sam Houston, Tex.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 9217

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That each civilian employee and former civilian employee of the Department of the Army at the Brooke Army Medical Center, Fort Sam Houston, Texas, named in section 2 of this Act, is relieved of liability to pay to the United States the amount set forth opposite his name, which amount represents an overpayment of compensation made to him as a result of administrative error during the period June 17, 1956, through September 5, 1959. In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, credit shall be given for amounts for which liability is relieved by this section.

SEC. 2. The employees referred to in the first section of this Act, and the amount of liability of each of them, are as follows:

Lena Barthel	$274.72
Ruby M. Borders	291.60
La Nora Farguhar	9.81
Edna O. Jameson	89.60
Louis L. Norcross	9.81
Alice E. Teas	84.11
Muriel Whary (now Meyer)	420.14
Maude S. Yarborough	214.44
Helen Engel	83.69
Gwendelyn G. Harmer	77.85
Margaret N. Hinton	28.80
Marjorie M. Mallory	60.80
Lily Martinez	60.80
Julia A. McAskill	6.54
Frances M. Seaver	300.49
Juanite Stewart	115.36
Marjorie K. Stinnett	241.67
Robert M. Baty (deceased)	196.00
Vera H. S. Estes	80.28
Kelly C. Gatlin	84.46
Hortense McDaniel	294.63
Louis H. Baldini	469.78
Alice E. Benson	222.40
Iris E. Blume	310.45
Helen P. Boyd	283.55
Leslie E. Brigance	207.64
Ila M. Brown	145.60
Rudolph O. Castillas	80.00
Edwin Centeno	81.28
Mildred Chamberlain	48.00
Hazel L. Colombe	72.80
Freerick R. Dodge	387.75
Leo K. Edwards	78.96
Lee Enderle	461.24
Maria B. Esparza	275.58
Idella Fields	98.89
Jack R. Fletcher	386.54
Georgia A. Flowers	83.20
Bessie Fowles	9.81
Bertha K. Gale	83.20
Bobbie A. Greathouse	265.12
Elizabeth L. Hahn	343.80
Mary H. Hamilton	457.96
Gloria Handley	145.30
Beulah G. Heath	83.20
Mariam W. Hiester	374.40
Marry Ellen Inghram	88.27
Lois A. Jost	83.20
Mary Beth Kile	83.96
Wilburn M. Kitchen	158.40
Ann A. M. Lange	84.67
Mary L. Manning	9.81
Marshall L. Marks	55.16
Albert E. Marotta	375.74
Marjorie M. McCoy	126.63
Florence T. McIlhenny	239.20
Ignacia A. Menchaca	28.24
Dennis L. Miller	145.60
Jewel A. Patrick	219.44
Kathryn M. Patterson	44.80
Santa E. Pena	85.02
James B. Pullum	175.69
Eileen M. Rafferty	247.44
Ethel P. Rothe	57.60
Ruben A. Snachez	163.40
Goldie R. Smith	378.54
James W. Tabor	200.55
Leo Tatum	85.02
Viola Tatom	83.55
Helen W. Vaughan	277.20
Emeterio Villarreal	298.17
Ben Wadlington	163.20
Margaret W. Wear	208.32
Ethel B. Winchester	432.50

With the following committee amendments:

Page 2, after the name "Leslie E. Brigance", strike "207.64" and insert "207.74".

Page 3, after the name "Gloria Handley", strike "145.30" and insert "145.60".

Page 3, following the name "Ethel P. Rothe", strike "Ruben A. Snachez" and insert "Ruben A. Sanchez".

Page 3, after "Ethel B. Winchester—432.50", add the following:

"SEC. 3. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to each individual named in section 2 of this Act, the sum certified to him by the Secretary of the Army as the aggregate of amounts paid by such individual to the United States, or withheld from amounts due him from the United States, on account of the liability for which relief is granted by the first section of the Act. No part of the amount appropriated in this Act shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FRITZ A. FRERICHS

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 10133) for the relief of Fritz A. Frerichs.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 10133

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Fritz A. Frerichs, United States Navy, retired (326984), of Pottstown, Pennsylvania, is hereby relieved of liability to the United States in the amount of $1,507.12, the amount he received in violation of the Act of July 31, 1894 (5 U.S.C. 62), while employed by Valley Forge General Hospital in the period beginning June 16, 1956, and ending November 14, 1958, because of an administrative error. In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, credit shall be given for any amount for which liability is relieved by this Act.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to said Fritz A. Frerichs, an amount equal to the aggregate of the amounts paid by him, or withheld from sums otherwise due him, in complete or partial satisfaction of the liability to the United States specified in the first section. No part of the amount appropriated in this section shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

KATHERINE NABOKOFF AND OTHERS

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 10846) for the relief of Katherine Nabokoff, and others.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

CERTAIN EMPLOYEES OF THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT AT EAU GALLIE, FLA.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 10838) for the relief of certain employees of the Post Office Department at Eau Gallie, Fla.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 10838

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That each individual named in section 3 of this Act is relieved of liability to pay to the United States the amount set forth opposite his name, which amount represents an erroneous payment of compensation received by him during the period April through October 1964, as an employee in the postal field service of the Post Office Department at Eau Gallie, Florida, and was erroneously paid to him due to administrative error.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to each individual named in section 3 of this Act, the sum certified to him by the Postmaster General as the aggregate of amounts paid by such individual to the United States, or withheld from amounts due him from the United States, on account of the liability for which relief is granted by the first section of this Act.

SEC. 3. The individuals referred to in the first section of this Act, and the amount of the liability of each of them, are as follows:

Name:	*Amount of overpayment*
Howard Meister	$58.72
Edward C. Rose	112.00
Carl Leroy Hood	140.48
Donald E. Gould	156.61
Davis S. Bennett	93.20
Henry Andrew Ecker	136.24
Carl E. Hanna	74.40
Robert A. Harrigan	30.72
Anthony F. Maliszewski	40.08
Walter S. Park, Jr	93.20
Richard D. Peck	246.90
Ray Plymale	71.28
Richard K. Quavillon	106.24
Glenn D. Rector	138.40
Dudley D. Seay	155.68
Joseph R. Upperman	70.24
Donald R. Wolff	32.56
William T. Barna	71.04
Edward G. Campbell	35.52
Charles R. Dwyer	78.24
Allen Bernard Haskins	40.80
Richard Howe	69.12
Robert Dale Howe	118.32
David K. Miller	111.36
Clifton J. Ziegler	35.52
George Wesley Baver	35.52
Clifford Hall	119.88
Stanley E. Mitlehner	30.24
Newman G. Watson	29.76
Thomas L. Carson	31.92
Victor Lee Johnson	95.04
V. E. Shimandie	102.64

SEC. 4. No part of the amount appropriated in this Act for the payment of any claim shall be paid or delivered to or received

by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with such claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ELEANORE W. WARD

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 11035) for the relief of Eleanore W. Ward.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 11035

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Eleanore W. Ward of the District of Columbia is hereby relieved of liability to the United States in the amount of $224, the amount of an overpayment of her salary as an employee of the Army Map Service in the period beginning in March 1963 and ending on October 19, 1964, because of an administrative error. In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, credit shall be given for any amount for which liability is relieved by this Act.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to said Eleanore W. Ward, an amount equal to the aggregate of the amounts paid by her, or withheld from sums otherwise due her, in complete or partial satisfaction of the liability to the United States specified in the first section. No part of the amount appropriated in this Act in excess of 10 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 7, strike "in March 1963" and insert "on March 17, 1963".

Page 2, line 8, strike "in excess of 10 per centum thereof".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MRS. EDNA S. BETTENDORF

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 11038) for the relief of Mrs. Edna S. Bettendorf.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 11038

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the limitation on the time within which applications for disability retirement are required to be filed under section 6 of the Civil Service Retirement Act as in effect on June 28, 1953 (5 U.S.C. 710 (1952 ed.)), is hereby waived in favor of Mrs. Edna A. Bettendorf, a former employee of the General Services Administration, and her claim for disability retirement under such Act shall be acted upon under the other applicable provisions of such Act as if her application had been timely filed, if she files application for such disability retirement within sixty days after the date of enactment of this Act. No benefits shall accrue by reason of the enactment of this Act for any period prior to the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 2. The provisions under the heading "Civil Service Retirement and Disability Fund" in title I of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1959 (72 Stat. 1064; Public Law 85–844), shall not apply with respect to benefits resulting from the enactment of this Act.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line, 7, strike "Mrs. Edna A. Bettendorf" and insert "Mrs. Edna S. Bettendorf".

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill for the relief of Mrs. Edna S. Bettendorf."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TRI-STATES CONSTRUCTION CO., INC.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 12237) for the relief of Tri-States Construction Co., Inc.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 12237

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $42,400 to the Tri-States Construction Company, Incorporated, a Florida corporation, which sum was determined by the Court of Claims in Congressional Case numbered 3–59, decided December 17, 1965, to be the amount equitably due that corporation as reimbursement for a 15 per centum overrun in the amount of trees and brush cleared under a lump sum contract. No part of the amount appropriated in this Act in excess of 20 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HUBERT J. KUPPER

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 11251) for the relief of Hubert J. Kupper.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

ELTON P. JOHNSON

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 12396) for the relief of Elton P. Johnson.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 12396

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $727.10 to Elton P. Johnson, an employee of the Agricultural Research Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, in full satisfaction of a compromise settlement in a suit brought against him in the circuit court for Davidson County, Tennessee, as the result of injury received by Flournette Reynolds, a minor, by next friend Estella Reynolds, when she ran into the highway and into the side of the Government vehicle being driven by Elton P. Johnson, in the scope of his Federal employment: *Provided,* That no part of the amount appropriated in this Act shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. This concludes the call of the Private Calendar.

RECESS

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the House will stand in recess for 5 minutes.

There was no objection.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 57 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess.

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker at 1 o'clock and 2 minutes p.m.

GRAND DUNES NATIONAL SEASHORE, OREGON

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 812 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 812

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 7524) to establish the Oregon Dunes National Seashore in the State of Oregon, and for other purposes, and all points of order against said bill are hereby waived. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed two hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider the substitute amendment recommended by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs now in the bill and such substitute for the purpose of amendment shall be considered under the five-minute rule as an original bill. At the conclusion of such consideration the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any of the amendments adopted in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or committee substitute. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, at the conclusion of my remarks I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 812 provides an open rule, waiving points of order, with 2 hours of general debate on H.R. 7524, a bill to establish the Oregon Dunes National Seashore in the State of Oregon, and for other purposes. The resolution further provides that the substitute amendment presently in the bill shall be considered as an original bill for the purpose of amendment.

Points of order were waived on the original bill because it would have permitted the Secretary of the Interior to use funds derived from the sale of real property in the seashore area for the purchase of other property without going through the appropriations process. This, of course, would have been in violation of clause IV, rule 21. The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs reported a complete substitute for the original bill and this substitute does not—repeat, does not—grant to the Secretary of the Interior the authority to buy and sell Government property without going through the appropriations process. Consequently the Committee on Rules voted to report the rule under consideration to protect the original bill by waiving points of order, but did not waive points of order against the amendment in the nature of a substitute since it did not violate clause IV of rule XXI.

The original bill authorized the Secretary to secure land through the exchange procedure and also permitted him to buy and sell such property. The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs reported the bill with an amendment in the nature of a substitute which struck the violation and, therefore, is not subject to a point of order. On page 24, line 13, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs inserted a provision in the bill which denies the Secretary the authority to use any funds not acquired through the appropriations process.

The need for waiving points of order against the original bill could have been eliminated by the reporting of a clean bill, since the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute does not violate the rule.

The Oregon Dunes National Seashore, as proposed in H.R. 7524, will be a unit of the national park system and an addition to the system of national seashore areas which the Congress has authorized over the last few years.

Located on the Pacific coast about halfway between the northern and southern boundaries of the State of Oregon with the Siuslaw River marking its north end and Tenmile Creek its south end, the area to be included in the Oregon Dunes National Seashore lies in Lane, Douglas, and Coos Counties and has a length of approximately 30 miles, a width varying from one-half mile or less to 3 miles, and a total land and water area of 30,570 acres, more or less. Practically the entire outer length of the area is a fine sand beach, 30 yards wide at high tide and 125 yards wide at low tide. A number of fresh water lakes are within or border on the national seashore.

The Oregon dunes area has been described as one of the finest remaining natural areas on the west coast and as one of the 10 best unspoiled seashores in the whole country exclusive of Hawaii or Alaska. It not only has great scenic beauty and considerable interest to the earth scientists but it also offers fine opportunities for recreation seekers—campers, hikers, picnickers, swimmers, fishermen, photographers, and the like.

Parts of the area to be included within the national seashore are already developed, in whole or in part, for outdoor recreational use. There is a growing popularity of the area for outdoor recreation.

The fair market value of the land in private ownership that is to be acquired is estimated at $2 million, but this, of course, is subject to change if conditions beyond Federal control change.

The total estimated cost is $8,884,000.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 812 in order that H.R. 7524 may be considered.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman yielding and I certainly appreciate his clear explanation as to why there has been a waiver of points of order against this bill.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Well, if I may state to the gentleman from Missouri, we anticipated that the good doctor would rise to the question of waiving points of order on this bill.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, points of order have been waived and do I understand this was done by the Committee on Rules itself because of the submission of the original bill, which would have violated rule XXI, and not at the request of the chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs?

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. I shall be delighted to yield to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL], the chairman of that committee, to respond to the question of the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, this was done at the request of the chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, because on page 2 of the original bill, there is a reference to the authority to acquire lands through the procedure of exchange. We have stricken that provision out of the bill with the adoption of the committee amendment. We did not want to leave ourselves open to a point of order on the original bill, which might have defeated our consideration of the substitute bill. This is the only reason it was done.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, the substitute bill does not in any manner conflict with rule XXI or any other rule as to germaneness of the House of Representatives?

Mr. ASPINALL. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, as stated by the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, House Resolution 812 will provide for 2 hours of general debate for the consideration of H.R. 7524, the Oregon Dunes National Seashore in Oregon.

Mr. Speaker, this is an open rule, except for the waiving of points of order, which I believe was adequately explained in the presentation just prior hereto.

Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the bill is to establish the Oregon Dunes National Seashore. The proposed site covers approximately 30,570 acres of coastline, stretching about 30 miles north and south and from one-half to 3 miles in width. In addition to superb sand beaches, several fresh water lakes are either in or adjacent to the proposed site. It is served by U.S. 101 and within easy driving distance of between 3 and 4 million people.

About one-half the land is already owned by the Federal Government. Oregon owns 5,260 acres and the remaining 4,000-odd acres are privately owned. It is estimated that $2 million is the fair market value of these acres.

Development plans include campsites, a concession building at the north entrance, marinas and boat docks, parking facilities, picnic areas, and nature trails. Total development costs are estimated at $8,884,600.

A seven-man Commission, six of whom the Secretary of the Interior will appoint from local people recommended by the Governor, will oversee the operations for 20 years. They will receive only travel expenses.

Private owners of improved lands within the proposed national seashore have a right of residency of not more than 25 years, or when the owner dies, or the youngest child under 21 dies. The owner may elect which system he prefers. Beach lands may be removed from this right of occupancy by the Secretary.

Total authorization, covering both land acquisition and development, is $10,884,000. Annual operation and maintenance costs, which will come out of regular National Park Service appropriations, are estimated at $411,000, 5 years after enactment. There is no estimate given between enactment and that date. The national seashore will be subject to regular user fees already prescribed.

The Department of the Interior, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Health and Welfare all support the bill. The Bureau of the Budget approves the bill. There are no minority views.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL COUNCIL ON MARINE SCIENCE, ENGINEERING, AND RESOURCES

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (S. 944) to provide for expanded research and development in the marine environment of the United States, to establish a National Council on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources, and for other purposes, with amendments of the House thereto, insist on the House amendments, and agree to the conference requested by the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland? The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. LENNON, ROGERS of Florida, ASHLEY, DOWNING, MOSHER, and PELLY.

THIRD POWERPLANT, GRAND COULEE DAM, COLUMBIA BASIN PROJECT, WASHINGTON

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up the resolution (H. Res. 811) providing for the consideration of H.R. 7406, a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain a third powerplant at the Grand Coulee Dam, Columbia Basin project, Washington, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 811

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 7406) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain a third powerplant at the Grand Coulee Dam, Columbia Basin project, Washington, and for other purposes. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed two hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider without the intervention of any point of order the amendments recommended by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs now printed in the bill. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit. After the passage of H.R. 7406, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs shall be discharged from the further consideration of the bill (S. 1761), and it shall then be in order in the House to move to strike out all after the enacting clause of said Senate bill and insert in lieu thereof the provisions contained in H.R. 7406 as passed.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH] one-half of my time; and pending that I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution provides for an open rule with 2 hours of debate. It does, however, waive points of order. The waiver of points of order was based on the fact that there was question raised as to whether the amendment made by the committee to section 2 of the present bill would be germane to the bill as a whole.

The Committee on Rules agreed with the chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs that there should be opportunity for the Congress to have access to the annual reports which are required by section 2, and therefore provided in the resolution for the waiver of points of order.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no great controversy on the resolution itself although I understand there is some on the bill. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 811, will provide for 2 hours of debate for the consideration of H.R. 7406 for a third powerplant at the Grand Coulee Dam, Columbia Basin project in Washington. It is an open rule so far as the amendments are concerned. But points of order are waived. It is my understanding, this being a Senate bill, that there is certain language in the bill which has been stricken but it is still in the original print with the result that it would violate clause 7, rule XVI of our rules as being extraneous and not germane.

At the request of the chairman, we considered this and points of order were waived for that particular reason.

The purpose of the bill is to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain a third powerplant at Grand Coulee Dam, along with other necessary works including a visitors center. The total cost is estimated at $390 million; the powerplant has a rated capacity of 3.6 million kilowatts. The bill also requires an annual consolidated financial statement for all projects in the Federal Columbia River power system, present, and future. The report claims that the amendment "creates or recognizes a basin account in the Pacific Northwest."

The powerplant will be constructed adjoining Grand Coulee Dam. Twelve turbine generators will be installed as the power market increases; the final ones will be installed in 1983. The project is an outgrowth of the treaty signed in 1964 between Canada and the United States to cooperate in the development of the Columbia River. The benefit-cost ratio is 3 to 1. Revenues from the sale of power will more than pay for the capital investment within 50 years. This is a part of the Bonneville projects.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] has submitted supplemental views. He does not oppose the project; he does feel that the report is misleading and that it approves the takeover by the Secretary of the Interior of power residing in the Congress. He recommends that the bill be returned to committee for further consideration of these issues.

He points out that the committee amendments do not create a basin account as that term is understood and applied to other projects. He states that the Secretary of the Interior has unilaterally set up an amortization accounting device without congressional approval. The only thing required by the committee amendments is a consolidated financial statement on all projects in the Northwest.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] further states that the Secretary of the Interior has set up a pool into which all revenues from Federal hydroprojects flow, without any congressional approval. The committee report approves this administrative fiat; Mr. SAYLOR opposes this submission. He believes it is for Congress to set national policy. He points to a number of ambiguities in the bill and notes that the action of the Secretary of the Interior, in following his plans will foreclose congressional action if he is not required to conform to clean statutory language, which is not in the bill.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] notes that the repayment schedule proposed by the committee is opposed by the Treasury believing it does not accurately reflect project costs nor present an equitable cost-sharing arrangement.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the previous question is ordered.

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

OREGON DUNES NATIONAL SEASHORE, OREG.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 7524) to establish the Oregon Dunes National Seashore in the State of Oregon, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Colorado.

The motion was agreed to.

IN COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 7524, with Mr. MONAGAN in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL], will be recognized for 1 hour, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR], will also be recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself as much time as I might consume.

Mr. Chairman, ever since the report of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission—a commission that was made up of eight congressional members and seven members from private life—came out in 1962, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has been guided in large measure by its findings and recommendations. We have attempted to put emphasis on the need for spacious national areas for outdoor recreation, on the need for areas which will be easily accessible to large segments of our population, and particularly on the need for preserving for public use parts of what has been referred to as our vanishing shoreline.

I think we have been reasonably successful in our efforts along the east coast, but we have been much less so on the west coast. Here in the East we now have five authorized national seashores, all of them substantial in size. On the west coast, we have only one. We propose to double that number by adding the Oregon Dunes National Seashore to the Point Reyes National Seashore which we authorized a few years ago.

This new national seashore will include about 30,600 acres of land and water. Nearly 62 percent of the land area is already in Federal ownership; about 21 percent is owned by the State of Oregon or its political subdivisions; and the remainder, about 17 percent, is in private ownership. This means that there are only about 4,100 acres to be bought by the Federal Government, and about 2,300 of these acres are classified as unimproved land and another 1,200 as timberland. This leaves only 500 acres or so that are residential, commercial, or industrial property.

Translated into dollars, we can create this new national seashore at a cost for the land of about $2 million at today's prices. The improvements that are contemplated—campgrounds, marinas, boat ramps, picnic areas, trails, parking facilities, a headquarters building, and the like—are estimated at about $8,880,000. And the annual maintenance costs, once the seashore is in full operation, will run a little over $400,000, given today's salary and wage scales.

Since the Oregon Dunes National Seashore is right on U.S. 101, which runs down the west coast from Canada to Mexico, it will be readily accessible to hundreds of thousands of travelers each year. Indeed, the annual visitation is estimated at 3 million by 1990. Considering that nearly 400,000 people already use the limited facilities that exist in the national forest and State parks in the vicinity, that does not seem to me to be an extravagant estimate. In fact, it may well turn out to be low.

The point is, of course, that we are not engaged in creating merely an enlarged local or State park for the local or State population. We are engaged in creating a national facility that will be available to people from all over the country. The experts tell us, and I am ready to believe, that the 30 miles of shoreline—nearly all of it a fine sand beach backed up by dunes and forests—will make it a worthy addition to the national seashores that we already have. For this reason, among others, I recommend a rule and the passage of the bill.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASPINALL. I will be glad to yield to my friend, the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

On page 6 of the report, at the top, it is stated that the total estimated cost of these and other developments is $8,884,000.

On page 8 of this report it is stated:

> The amount authorized to be appropriated for land acquisition and development in connection with the Oregon Dunes National Seashore is $10,884,000.

Is the difference in those figures due to the cost of land acquisition, or what is the difference?

Mr. ASPINALL. The difference is in the cost of development: $2 million, as I suggested in my statement, is for the purpose of purchasing necessary land. This is acquiring nonfederally owned land. The $8,884,000 is for the purpose of developing and getting the necessary facilities to see that this area is developed as it should be to handle this large number of visitors that will undoubtedly be coming to it.

Mr. GROSS. So that in the language on page 6, the total estimated cost is actually short by $2 million as compared with the language on page 8?

Mr. ASPINALL. On page 8 we have the total amount authorized. That is the closed appropriation authority. That is on page 4, section 12 of the report and substitute bill.

Mr. GROSS. I do not want to quarrel over semantics, but you have the total cost on page 6 of $2 million less. But on page 7 of the report it says:

> Section 7 authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to undertake dune stabilization and erosion control work for the protection of the national seashore.

Is that part of the $10,884,000, or will there have to be additional money appropriated?

Mr. ASPINALL. This will be a part of the development activities of the area.

Mr. GROSS. And the estimated cost of the annual maintenance, the administration and maintenance, is how much?

Mr. ASPINALL. Four hundred and eleven thousand dollars. This means we take the scale of wages and the cost existing at the present time for the ultimate operation costs in the area. This will be a cost which will start at a lower figure and ultimately go to the suggested figure.

Mr. GROSS. I note on page 5 of the report it is stated:

> The fair market value of the land in private ownership that is to be acquired is estimated at $2 million, but this, of course, is subject to change if conditions beyond Federal control change.

I wonder if the gentleman is thinking in terms of inflation. If he is, the Federal Government can do something about that.

Mr. ASPINALL. I know how worried my friend is about inflation trends today. I am in agreement with him.

What we are concerned with here is the speculative price which comes into play as soon as we authorize these projects. We believe we have tied this to a figure we can use. The amount is not large. The purchase will be made in time, so we believe the figure will be realistic.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASPINALL. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Whenever the Federal Government takes land, local units lose a part of their tax base, and we always get into the problem about how to replace the local tax values the Federal Government is taking away. I am curious to know how that problem is resolved in this bill.

Mr. ASPINALL. I say to my friend that in our committee we always get in touch with the taxing authorities, to determine whether they are in favor of the legislation. In this instance our file shows that the taxing authorities are in favor of this legislation.

From past experience we know, as to things we have authorized to date, improvements that are made—such as the private concessioner operations, and the amount of money brought in by the additional visitors—more than make up for what we take away from the tax base in the first instance.

I say to my friend, this is quite true in one of my areas. One of my counties did object to an authorization in the first place, but that was after the bill had been approved and had become law. That was about 6 years ago. Already the improvements constructed in place of the tax values that were destroyed, amount to more than the tax base that was destroyed.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, when the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission was appointed, the act which established the Commission stated that it should determine the needs of the people of this country for recreation in the year 1975 and in the year 2000. Pursuant to that direction by the Congress, the Commission did an excellent job in determining the needs for recreation in this country. The report of that Commission was made to President Kennedy, and President

Kennedy and President Johnson submitted legislation to carry out the intent and the purpose of that Commission's report.

One of the points the Commission early determined was that large sections of our seashore which still remain in Federal ownership and not cluttered by commercial development—on the east coast, on the west coast, and in the Gulf of Mexico—and that it should be set aside for the people.

The House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, chaired by my good friend, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL], I think has done a very excellent job in this area of responsibility. We have taken care of almost all of the areas recommended by that Commission. The bill before us today is another step to complete the entire picture. Practically all of this land is owned either by the Federal Government or by the State. The best estimate which the Department of the Interior is able to give to our Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is that the $2 million at today's prices will enable the Federal Government and the National Park Service to acquire all of the inholdings. However, by sad experience both on the east coast and the west coast as well as in every other area where we have established either a national park, a recreation area, or a seashore, the land speculators immediately move in. Unless this administration is willing to say to the Bureau of the Budget and to the Appropriations Committee of the House that are considering funding the bills which we have passed that they should provide at once the amounts of money that the departments say are necessary to acquire this land, it is not fair to criticize the departments or the House or Senate Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs, or the Appropriations Committee because prices have increased.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, will my friend yield to me for a minute?

Mr. SAYLOR. I am happy to yield to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. ASPINALL. What my friend is saying is that unless we do move expeditiously on the purchase of these areas for which authorization has been had, then not only the Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs but the Congress itself has to duplicate and sometimes take more time in the study for additional authority for the purchasing of land necessary beyond the original authority. Is that right?

Mr. SAYLOR. That is absolutely correct. I just hope that while the 88th Congress was known as the conservation Congress—and we are proud of the record that we established there—that if we are actually going to accomplish and put into effect the beneficial legislation which was passed there, it must immediately be implemented with funds to acquire the lands that are involved at each one of these projects.

I would like to call attention to one item in section 2 of the bill. We authorize the Secretary of the Interior to use all of the usual methods of acquiring land except exchange. It seems rather strange that in a State where the Federal Government owns rather large sections of land that the Secretary himself should be prevented from using the exchange method.

One of the reasons given is that a large portion of the land in Federal ownership in the State of Oregon is known as the O. & C. lands and the Coos Bay Wagon Road lands or the revested lands. These lands were taken back and put into Federal ownership after they had been given by Congress to various railroads along the rights of way. They are not operated as a sustained yield unit. But the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture have not had any difficulty in making exchanges of those lands with forest lands with which they are intermingled.

Therefore, I think it would have been a better bill had we given the Secretary of the Interior the right to exchange lands of the Federal Government within the State of Oregon.

At the time we passed the bill for Point Reyes we authorized the Secretary of the Interior to use the exchange method. I am sure at the time that that bill was passed and the exchange method was authorized, the committee expected the Secretary of the Interior to exchange lands within the State of California.

But the Secretary of the Department of the Interior and the people in the Interior Department decided that they would not exchange just lands in California, but they went up to Oregon. The people in Oregon complained, and I believe with justification, that the lands being bought or exchanged at Point Reyes should be purchased within the confines of the State of California.

Mr. Chairman, in several other bills we have placed a requirement for exchange but have limited it to the State in which the project is located.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that the Secretary should have had that right in this bill.

Mr. Chairman, the second point on which I would like to comment is with reference to the Advisory Board. We establish an Advisory Board composed of seven members.

Basically, I am opposed to advisory boards in areas such as this. However, I am going along with it because the bill provides, on page 26 thereof, in section (d) a termination date of the Board. In other words, it shall only be in existence in an advisory capacity for 20 years and shall cease to exist after that period of time.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, would my colleague yield to me at that point?

Mr. SAYLOR. Yes, I shall be happy to yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ASPINALL. It shall be in existence for a period of not more than 20 years?

Mr. SAYLOR. Not more than 20 years, but it must cease to exist within the period of 20 years.

Mr. Chairman, I am not one of those who believes that the Board will ever terminate within a period of less than 20 years. I am just happy to see that we have so fixed it that they will only be in an advisory capacity to the Secretary of the Department of the Interior for this particular period of time.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that the Members of the Committee will notice that the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs struck out all after the enacting clause and rewrote completely this bill. This is typical of the work of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and exemplifies the approach that it takes to these projects.

Mr. Chairman, I urge that the members of the Committee support this legislation. It represents another step and is another piece in the puzzle which we are fitting together in an effort to try and establish adequate recreational and resource facilities under the Federal and State Governments to take care of the recreational needs of this country for 1975 and for the year 2000.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. SAYLOR. Yes, I am happy to yield further to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ASPINALL. Referring back to the gentleman's reference to the Advisory Board, it must be clearly understood that the Advisory Board will have no authority and in fact no part to advise with reference other than to such things as development. It has nothing to do with the purchase of land, because the boundaries are fixed; is that not right?

Mr. SAYLOR. That is right; the boundaries are specifically designated. The map was brought before the committee and we were very careful to make sure that the boundaries of this area were designated by the map referred to in the bill and on file in the Office of the Secretary of the Department of the Interior.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. DUNCAN] 5 minutes.

Mr. DUNCAN of Oregon. Mr. Chairman, during the 2 years of my very pleasant service on the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs I have learned that after the chairman of the committee had finished explaining a bill or interrogating a witness, and after the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] had finished doing likewise, there was really very little left for the balance of the committee to do. Most of the significant and important parts of the bill had already been covered, and covered well.

I think the explanations given this morning by these two gentlemen are identical with the experience I had while serving on the committee. I do want to thank both of these gentlemen as well as the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. RIVERS], chairman of the subcommittee, for the time and effort they have devoted to perfecting this piece of legislation and finally bringing it to the floor of the House. All three are well known as outstanding conservationists of this country.

I know that members of this committee have gone to the area and held field hearings, spending time that they very well could have spent in their own districts to solve their own legislative problems.

I am grateful to the members for the time they have spent.

Mr. Chairman, I would like also to express my appreciation to my colleague, the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. WYATT] who has made very significant contributions as we have worked cooperatively for the passage of this bill; and we have tried to work together on this as we have on other matters of significance to both his district and mine. I am grateful to him.

The chairman of the committee mentioned that some toes have been stepped on and some feelings have been injured as a result of this bill. I suppose that any piece of legislation as it goes through the crucible and does come out, is going to come out as a compromise and it is going to be a piece of legislation which no one would support completely if they had the final and only word on the passage of the bill.

Often I have suggested to my constituents that if it were not for the other 534 people in the Congress of the United States, I could get legislation which I personally thought was a lot better and could do it much more expeditiously than it is done now under the regular legislative process.

But all legislation is a compromise. In my judgment, time has been on the side of the passage of this bill just as I think time was on the side of the passage of the wilderness bill. Eventually, as we recognize the disagreements and weld them together in the committee process, both in the legislative committee and in the Committee of the Whole, we come out eventually with a piece of legislation that moves down the middle of the trail and helps this country to move forward. I think this is what happended here.

We have cut the size of the original measure—that was introduced many, many years ago by Senator Neuberger—down materially. We have eliminated almost, I think, every significant and major industrial, manufacturing area in this particular section of western Oregon. We have eliminated almost entirely the rather substantial residential development that has gone on in this area so that now there are probably only 15 to 16 private homes in the areas.

The opposition that still exists in the Congress of the United States, and there is some that still exists, is centered really on the principle of this question of condemnation. I have expressed myself this way before—that recreation is a public use and will become increasingly more so in the days and years to come.

Since your committee recognizes that it is a public use, then it seems to me you cannot deny the sovereign ultimate power to rely upon the proceedings in eminent domain to prohibit one person or a few people from frustrating the will of the majority.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania pointed out one possibility where the power of condemnation is necessary when he referred to land speculators. Another is where someone might wish to make a change in use of his property so as to make it completely adverse to the purposes for which this area is being established.

I do not really expect that this will come to pass in this area. I do not really expect that we will ever have to use the power of condemnation. But it seems to me that, even more significant than the establishment of a Dunes seashore in Oregon, is the preservation in this area of recreation, of the ultimate power of the sovereign to condemn.

As I said and as I say again, I am willing to delay it or defer it or circumscribe it in any way that would be necessary in order to take the legitimate ambitions and desires of the people of the area into consideration—but we cannot eliminate it.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DUNCAN of Oregon. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ASPINALL. The gentleman from Oregon refers to the 15 or 20 homes that were in the area. These homes will be permitted to stay there for a term of first, not to exceed 25 years, or second, for a term ending at the death of such owner. The death of the owner's spouse, or at a time all of the children of such owner or the owner's spouse die before reaching 21 years of age or at the time the youngest such child reaches the age of 21, whichever of all such events occurs the latest.

Mr. DUNCAN of Oregon. I think very few of us today live in the ancestral mansions in which our parents were raised.

In this particular, the instant bill permits the owner to remain and he may live just as he does now and have the right to the use and occupancy of his property for noncommercial residential purposes for a term of not to exceed 25 years or for an indefinite period to be measured by the life of the owner plus the life of the spouse and such additional periods as may be necessary until all of the children of either reach 21 years of age or die before reaching their 21st birthday.

So I think there is no danger that homes will be destroyed. Likewise we have so delineated the boundaries of this as to give adequate protection to several major wood processing firms in the area which have for a long time proved themselves to be good neighbors. I refer to Crown, Sparrow, and International Paper.

I think we have an opportunity to prove here in western Oregon that recreation and industry can live side by side. We already have a history of some 2 or 3 years of a pulp-producing plant in the immediate proximity of this area which is already being used for recreational purposes by the people of Oregon. I think as this country becomes more and more populated and the industrial demands become greater and greater contemporaneous with the increase in demand for recreational uses, that this will have to be done, and here in western Oregon we have an opportunity to set an example.

Before I conclude I should also like to pay tribute to Senater Richard Neuberger, who put in bill form this concept of an Oregon Dunes National Seashore. I wish he were still here today to see his work culminate in the passage of this bill by the House of Representatives. In any event his widow, and the now distinguished junior Senator from Oregon, is still in the Congress, and this measure represents the culmination of many years' work by her.

I have looked forward for 3 years to the moment I could stand before you today to speak for passage of my bill to establish the Oregon Dunes National Seashore. This measure has been before the Congress of the United States in one form or another since 1959 and I have considered this one of my major legislative goals of the 89th Congress.

The Oregon Dunes is an area of unique beauty on the Oregon coast between the Siuslaw River to the north, and Ten-Mile Creek to the south. The proposed seashore, stretching for about 30 miles along the Oregon shore, embraces a magnificent display of coastal sand dunes and placid fresh water lakes. Within this dunes complex there are three distinct types of landforms. Fronting the ocean is an attractive, clean, fine textured, wide sandy beach. Immediate inland is a spectacular expanse of moving sand that is being swept from the ocean by the wind and subsequently deposited and formed into what have been described as the finest remaining examples of coastal dunes in the United States.

The third and easternmost landform consists of ancient forest covered dunes with maximum heights up to 450 feet above the sea. Included in the area are a number of small irregular fresh water lakes which, lying in dunes depressions, possess high scenic and recreational values. Generally speaking, the entire stretch of beach and the immediate inland area are undeveloped.

Vegetative cover ranges from dunes grasses to the dense picturesque coniferous forest with an understory of varied shrubs and a fine rhododendron display. Vegetation found in the proposed seashore area is one of the finest examples of ecological succession to be found along the entire Pacific coast.

The Federal Government owns between 51 and 52 percent of the land surface in the State of Oregon, yet the State, with its very fine system of State parks, has done a far better job in meeting the projected needs for outdoor recreation facilities than has the Federal Government. This has been due, at least in part, to the fact that after timber production, outdoor recreation is one of the larger contributors to Oregon's economy. In the central coastal area, outdoor recreation is every bit as important to the economy and well-being of the region as it is in any other part of the State.

The total land and water area within the boundaries of the Oregon Dunes National Seashore would be 30,570 acres, more or less. Of this, approximately 6,000 acres are water surface. About 4,070 acres are private lands, of which 250 acres are classed as commercial and industrial land and 260 acres are residential property. The fair market value of the land in prviate ownership to be acquired is estimated at $2 million, but this, of course, is subject to change if conditions beyond Federal control vary.

I would be somewhat less than candid if I said that this seashore proposal has been devoid of controversy. I believe most of the controversy began with the original seashore proposal years ago, which would have included much of the summer home development around several of the inland lakes, particularly Woahink, Siltcoos, and Tahkenitch Lakes. When I came to Congress in 1963 I introduced H.R. 5186, which varied somewhat from previous legislative proposals. The major variation, I believe, was a constriction of boundaries to eliminate most of the developed areas around these lakes. In essence, I used Highway 101 as the eastern boundary, with several portions extending east of the highway to include access to the three lakes I have named.

In the 2 years that followed, until I introduced in the 89th Congress the bill we are presently considering, I made several other minor modifications of the boundaries. These modifications excluded four small tracts on the periphery of the seashore, which were not absolutely essential to the seashore and which are important to the economic life and development of the area. Three are presently owned by the International Paper Co., and include a pumping station on the south end of Lake Tahkenitch from whence water is pumped to the paperplant at Gardiner, together with two small dams across the outlets of Tahkenitch and Siltcoos Lakes, placed several years ago to regulate the water levels, again to supply water to the paper plant. The fourth small tract is owned by Crown Zellerbach Corp., and contains a log loading area together with a few necessary buildings on Tahkenitch Lake. There is no other practicable place from which Crown can load the harvest of their extensive tree farm operation with access to a highway system. This operation, as a matter of fact, is an interesting one and may well prove to be an additional attraction rather than a detraction. Additional acreage owned by the Sparrow Pacific Corp., has been excluded near the Umpqua River. Rather than following a section line, the new boundary substantially follows the divide, which is a much more logical line of demarcation.

I added a limited acreage to provide a north entrance to the seashore without the necessity of bridging the lakes or invading a girl scout camp. This addition goes along an O. & C. road recently constructed from Highway 101 out to the foredunes. This is important, both for maximum and convenient utilization of the facility, and will be of interest economically to the town of Florence.

Through an oversight last Congress, only a portion of the Rhododendron State Park was included. The balance of this area, about 10 acres, has been included in this bill. I made one major addition to the seashore—the land included in the Tugman State Park near the south end of the proposed seashore and east of the highway. This would complete the consolidation of the excellent State parks into the area, and with the National Park Service providing the operation and maintenance for these areas, would release State funds for recreational development elsewhere.

Most people agree that it is uneconomic to have State parks and a national seashore in the same area administered by different agencies. I am advised that the State park authorities do not disagree to the inclusion of these parks within the seashore; however, I have provided that no lands owned by the State or local governments can be acquired by the Secretary without the consent of the owner.

There are several residential properties which would be included within the seashore, and I have used a modified "Cape Cod formula" to accord these residential property owners treatment comparable to that accorded residents in other seashore areas established in recent years. H.R. 7524 provides that as a condition to acquisition of improved residential property, the owner could retain the right of use and occupancy of such property for noncommercial residential purposes for a term not to exceed 25 years or for a term ending at the death of such owner, the death of the owner's spouse, or at the time all of the children of the owner or the owner's spouse die before reaching 21 years of age, or at the time the youngest child reaches the age of 21, whichever of all such events occurs the latest.

The owner would elect at the time of conveyance the term to be reserved, and this right may during its existence be conveyed or leased in whole but not in part for noncommercial residential purposes. The owner could also retain the right and use of at least 3 acres or all of such lesser amounts as may be held in the same ownership as the dwelling for the same period. Provision is made for the Secretary to exclude from this parcel of land, any beaches or waters, together with so much of the land as the Secretary may deem necessary for public access thereto.

The senior Senator from my State has stated his opposition to this bill because it carries with it the right for the Secretary to condemn private properties in acquiring the lands within the seashore. I have no reservation whatsoever that recreation is a valid public use and that the Government should therefore be able to condemn lands for recreation use. I am willing to delay, modify, attach conditions to, and further compromise the condemnation power of the Secretary in this case, but I will not strip him of the prerogative of using the power of eminent domain when all other attempts to negotiate for the purchase of the land fail. My own opinion is that condemnation will probably not be necessary in the Oregon Dunes area except to resolve differences in prices of land to be acquired.

I have also made provision for several developments and uses in the area that are necessary for the continued economic well-being of the communities adjacent to the proposed seashore. One of these uses is the pumping of water from the vast underground fresh water reservoir underlying the dunes. I have also provided for protection of an existing use by the International Paper Co. of a pipeline which crosses the proposed seashore from a plant near Gardiner and continues out into the ocean where certain industrial wastes are trickled into the offshore waters.

The concept of management for the Oregon Dunes National Seashore is that this will be an area of public use, not a preserve. This bill would direct that the Secretary set aside and develop areas for camping, picnicking, boating and other recreational facilities and shall continue to lease lands within the seashore now used for Girl Scout camp for continued use as such, and shall permit hunting and fishing on lands and waters within the seashore in accordance with the laws of the State of Oregon, provided that the Secretary may designate certain zones or establish certain periods when no hunting or fishing would be permitted for reasons of public safety or administration.

Mr. Chairman, I have looked forward to this day for a long period of time. As I have said, there has been controversy during the years that this proposal was undergoing gestation. This bill, as presented to the House today, is a compromise—it is a good compromise. I believe that the protections I have written into this bill, and which the distinguished chairman and members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs have agreed to, have removed most of the controversial points which were to be found in earlier legislative proposals.

The bill carries an authorization for the sum of $10,884,000 for land acquisition and development of the national seashore. This is merely an authorization and I would hope that the pressures being felt by the economy of the United States today will ease in the not too distant future to the point where appropriations for this purchase and acquisition can be made.

There has been a understandable feeling of unrest among the residents and property owners in the vicinity of the Oregon Dunes since the first legislative proposal was introduced over 7 years ago. Property owners have been uncertain for these long years as to whether they would find their lands within the seashore. As a result they have not been truly free to develop their lands as they might otherwise have liked. We can do great service to these people by enacting this proposal quickly so that the boundaries will become firm and the area may proceed along its course of orderly development which is its destiny.

I look forward to favorable action by this body and hope favorable action will soon follow in the other body of the Congress, so that ultimate development of this magnificent recreational resource may become a reality. I know that the Oregon Dunes National Seashore will, in a very few years, become one of the great assets of the central Oregon coast.

Mr. ASPINALL. I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Oregon.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Chairman, will the distinguished gentleman yield to me?

Mr. DUNCAN of Oregon. With the greatest of pleasure I yield to my distinguished colleague from Oregon.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation, and certainly wish to commend my colleague from the Fourth District of Oregon for the magnificent job that he has done in bringing this bill to the floor of the House. May I also pay my respects to the chairman of the committee, the extremely able Representative from Colorado, Mr. ASPINALL. He has offered wonderful leadership in so many areas of legislation important to those of us who come from the western region of this country.

Mr. Chairman, the beauty of the Oregon Dunes is virtually unsurpassed. An eminent biologist and recognized authority on dunes has described them as "the most beautiful and impressive coastal dunes in North America, if not the world."

The National Park Service, in a comprehensive study of all the Nation's shorelines, has found the proposed Oregon Dunes 1 of the 10 most important and relatively unspoiled natural seashore areas in the 48 contiguous States.

Adding striking variety to the rugged Oregon coastline, the dunes have thrilled its visitors from the early explorers to the modern tourists who camp in the surrounding forests.

The dunes themselves are an unusual phenomena of nature. As high as 450 feet in places, these great mountains of sand are unlike other seashore sand formations. But rather they are great transverse-ridged dunes usually found only in the great desert areas of the world, but rarely on seashores, and rarely in North America.

Sand, swept from the beach area by the wind, has formed the dunes which are still moving—already having inundated an ancient coniferous forest forming a landscape of striking geologic and scenic interest.

The late Senator Richard L. Neuberger, an enthusiastic Oregonian and militant conservationist, described the proposed seashore when he introduced the first bill for its creation in March 1959.

He said:

> The Oregon Dunes consist of lofty and majestic ramparts of sand which tower above the sea. Behind the dunes, lie gemlike little lakes. Native grasses and evergreen trees add to the wild beauty of the location. Birds and wildlife abound.

The national park system itself originated as a valuable attempt to compromise two quite just yearnings; on the one hand there was the desire to create a great civilization and all that this means in the sense of vast cities, vast industries and the necessary exploitation of the material wealth of the land; on the other hand, there was the understandable and laudable desire to preserve for ourselves and future generations something of the unspoiled and unexploited natural wonders of the earth which civilization threatens to extinguish.

The unrestricted utilization of natural resources involves a harsh alteration of the majestic natural beauty of the earth—an alteration which threatens to leave this beauty but a memory in the consciousness of future generations. By protecting certain areas of land from man's despoilation, the national park systems in one sense creates monuments to our past.

We have rightly recognized that buildings, for example, of historic interest should be preserved in their original state; we create monuments to those individuals in our society who have made substantial contributions to our future and our general welfare; it is certainly no less fitting that we honor and preserve for posterity some part of our bond to our natural heritage.

But national parks are far more than a gesture of gratitude to our past. The tremendous increase in population and the need to use more and more of the land to supply and maintain the population means in turn that there is less and less area for the recreational use of the people. The Oregon dunes promises to be one more sorely needed oasis of relaxation and pleasure in a desert of concrete and steel. Creation of a national seashore in this area is in the very highest tradition of conservation. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall has declared that no other area on the entire Pacific coast possesses such a comparable association of dunes, seashore, fresh water lakes, and forests.

In 1964 tourists and sportsmen made more than 350,000 visits to the area which has year-round recreational opportunities for hiking, riding, camping, picknicking, fishing, hunting, boating, clam-digging, and beachcombing. In 25 years time it is expected that 3 million persons will be visiting the area each year.

In supporting this legislation I wish to thank and to congratulate my distinguished colleague from Oregon [Mr. DUNCAN], for his unending efforts to preserve this natural wonder. I also wish to congratulate him for his success in working out the many very difficult problems concerned with this proposal and in bringing it now before this House.

Mr. DUNCAN of Oregon. I thank the gentlewoman from Oregon for her comments, which demonstrate once again the interest which Members of the Congress from the State of Oregon have in projects outside their own district.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oregon has expired.

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. MATSUNAGA] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Chairman, I wish to commend the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. DUNCAN], for the important role he has played in bringing the bill, H.R. 7524, up for consideration by this body. He not only introduced the measure, but also pursued its programing through the legislative processes for its early consideration by the House. The people of the State of Oregon can be justifiably proud of the gentleman in the well [Mr. DUNCAN], for in the relatively short time he has been a Member of Congress, he has proven himself to be an exceptionally effective legislator. If this bill is enacted into law, and I have no doubts that it will, it will stand as a monument to his effectiveness. Many of his colleagues, like myself, will support this legislation principally because of the faith that we have in its introducer and principal advocate, the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. DUNCAN].

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MORTON].

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Chairman, I would also like to rise in support of this legislation. At this point, perhaps, I am the devil's advocate when I point out some pitfalls that we may be running into in carrying out the purposes of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission report. It is simply this. I believe that we are authorizing park legislation faster than we are able to fund it from funds that are accumulated in the land and water conservation fund.

In some cases, this is not a major obstacle, but in other cases it is. In this particular concept of the Oregon Dunes Seashore, there are not a great many property owners involved who are going to sell their property. The residential property, it is anticipated, will continue to be occupied by the residents. The other tracts of land are relatively large and do not compose many different lots. But, in areas where we have a great many property owners, we run into a very difficult problem of dealing with literally hundreds of individual people.

I hope that, in its wisdom, this Congress will continue to authorize and develop the authority for the development of outdoor recreation areas, particularly in the denser populated sections of the country, on the eastern seaboard, the western seaboard, and near the metropolitan areas of the Midwest. But, I also hope that we will be able to fund these acquisitions and fund them with deliberation and without delay.

As soon as a park or seashore is authorized, a cloud is put on the title of the property to be acquired. It becomes difficult to sell it or transfer it. It becomes impossible, in many cases, to develop it. Therefore it is important that this Congress consider not only authorizations but also plans for funding the acquisition.

The development of facilities can be delayed without hurting anyone, but the funding of the acquisition of the property must take place so that the individual property owner is protected, and the individual property owner can take his money and invest it somewhere else, if this is his desire.

I am very much for this legislation. I feel that it has been well worked over by the committee. It reflects the leadership both of the chairman of the Committee on Interior and of the ranking minority member, my colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR]. But I do want to say that here, again, is an example of where we enthusiastically authorize without a definite assurance that we are going to be able to provide the money to make the acquisition.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, will my colleague yield?

Mr. MORTON. I yield to my chairman with great pleasure.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, if I understand what my colleague is trying to get across to us, it is this: As soon as any administrative branch of the Government having jurisdiction over such areas sends its recommendation for such a facility as we are considering at this time, then not only the Members of Congress in both bodies from that area are placed on the spot, as it were, as far as promoting legislation and trying to get it passed is concerned but, after it has been given consideration and approval by the Congress and signed by the Chief Executive, then of course Members of Congress are placed further on the spot by trying to get funds to have the development.

Before the development and purchase of the property can take place, ofttimes the charge against the Federal Treasury becomes 30 to 50 percent higher than it was said to be at the time of authorization.

What my friend is suggesting is that if we are not going to fund these projects, perhaps there should not be quite so many recommendations. Is that right?

Mr. MORTON. This is the point, Mr. Chairman.

I think the gentleman has explained it very well. My concern is that when we tell the people in the area we are going to build a park, that we are going to set aside an area for outdoor recreation, for visitors; concessions, trails, and the like, this is considered a Federal takeover of property. We sell the idea in good faith. Then, when it comes to paying for it, we have delays which may cause great inconvenience to individuals.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORTON. Certainly, I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HOSMER. Will the gentleman specify in rather more detail how these projects are funded—or, I should say, how they are not funded? Is it partially through a fund and partially through straightforward appropriations that are contemplated? How does it work?

Mr. MORTON. In the case where authorizations are to funded from the conservation land and water fund, this land and water fund, as the gentleman from California knows, is developed through several sources. One source is the fuel tax on motorboats, and another is from users' and admission fees. It is from this fund that appropriations are made to cover the cost of the acquisitions and development of parks and recreation facilities.

Mr. HOSMER. But that is a fund that does depend upon certain annual collections, probably unpredictable. But is it the point of the gentleman that the requests we get to authorize such facilities as these bears no reasonable relationship to the accumulating of the funds?

Mr. MORTON. This is correct. I am concerned that I do not really know the answer to that because, for example, in the Assateague appropriation this year, there was a cut from, I believe, $3.8 million to a lower figure recommended by the Bureau of the Budget and approved by the Committee on Appropriations of the House.

Mr. HOSMER. Assateague itself was authorized some time ago.

Mr. MORTON. That is correct. The cost of that total acquisition, really, is unknown. There is an estimate in the neighborhood of $20 million. If we are to fund only $3.5 million of the $20 million requirement now, what will happen to all the property owners who will be locked in until the time we can find the necessary funds and make the actual purchases, either through negotiation or through the use of eminent domain.

Mr. HOSMER. If they are not intelligent enough to figure out some way to boost the value of their land, they will take a loss during all the time they wait for Uncle Sam to take it.

The gentleman mentioned that the Oregon Dunes involves only a small number of landowners, compared with Assateague. Still, it does involve American citizens who should receive some consideration from and protection by their Government.

Mr. MORTON. That is correct. The point I made was amplified by the chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. In our enthusiasm to do a sound conservation job we must not overlook the hard reality of funding the authorizations which we make.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield on that point?

Mr. MORTON. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. I appreciate the gentleman's yielding. I certainly appreciate what the gentleman has said.

I realize the need for further recreation areas and for designating U.S. Department of the Interior national monuments and national parks. I have had an experience which I believe dovetails with what the gentleman is stating, insofar as Corps of Engineer impoundments are concerned. There are many of them within a radius of 100 miles of my hometown in southwest Missouri.

The general process of Federal land acquisition goes much deeper than the question of speculation after an area has been designated as an impoundment or a park; or how the funds will be provided—be it through the land conservation and water use fund, which we passed in 1964; or be it through a general appropriation; or be it that water users or recreation or fish and wildlife people pay a proportionate share on assessments which are made for use of impounded waters. This is proper.

I believe we are making progress in determining economic feasibility in our Federal participation in these matters.

There has been a study made by a special subcommittee of the House Committee on Public Works, in the past 3 years, as to modern methods of land acquisition under these and other circumstances such as the gentleman so beautifully portrayed. Unfortunately, nothing was done about this report until recently, predicated upon cries for relief from the people whose land was being condemned, who oftentimes had nothing to do with having the impoundment authorized in the first place. In many instances the land had been in the family for generations. Therefore, this was brought to my attention, and we researched the problem and found that the special ad hoc subcommittee, of the Committee on Public Works, had made a beautiful report about improving and enhancing methods of land acquisition, whether for national parks or monuments, or for recreational purposes, or reclamation projects or flood control and power projects of the Corps of Engineers.

As a result, we have introduced a bill in the current session of Congress which would change the method of land acquisition, I hope to the point that it would eliminate speculation or an increase in the fair market value after the designation of a park or an impoundment, and at the same time would provide a new method for funding in cooperation with those who are served. It would certainly enhance the image of big Federal Government, and assist those who were being directly or indirectly forced to turn over their properties for the so-called common good.

I must say that I do not favor the use of entrance fees. User fees are all right, but not entrance fees for these impoundments, in order to have funds or a kitty from which to make disbursements for purchase or improvements, as the gentleman so well pointed out, to these new areas we are designating that eventually require land acquisition.

However, there comes a question of the difference between bargaining and bartering as established by the Congress with respect to the land acquisitions for the Federal Government in the last few years as being better than simply condemnation under the right of eminent domain, on the one hand; and threatening and harassing on the other hand. These can involve such things as semantics and attitudes as the gentleman from Maryland was pointing out as well as threats and innuendoes, namely, delay in tax billing and delay in improvements or a cloud over a title or speculation in the surrounding areas, to which people must eventually remove themselves. There are also questions of salvage values, lease-backs, threat of court action, and leap-frogging—to say naught of tax and crop delays.

I would urge earnest consideration and the coordination of the House's committees having jurisdiction in some new method of Federal land acquisition, if we are to continue beyond the 34 percent of acreage now controlled by the Federal Government.

The **CHAIRMAN.** The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Maryland 1 more minute.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORTON. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Chairman, I think with considerable restraint that the gentleman from Maryland has not anticipated one of the arguments that might be presented against his thesis, which is simply that there is not any money around to put in these things, because we are spending it on a war and so forth. Actually, the "so forth" part of that amounts to a great deal more than the war in Vietnam. Daily, almost, we see new proposals for the spending of money coming up from the White House. We are pressured to enact these and give them a start and thereafter fund them. Here we have a fine program which is already in existence and which is worthy of funds. I think in all fairness that the people downtown ought to give some attention to these existing worthy programs and to the funding of them before they come traipsing up here with a whole brace of new ways to take money out of the U.S. Treasury.

Mr. MORTON. I could not agree with the gentleman more.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. ULLMAN].

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to congratulate the chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL] and my colleague, the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. DUNCAN] for the long and diligent effort they have put into this bill over a period of years. I think I know a little bit about the problems surrounding this project, because I was on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a number of years ago when we held the first hearings out in Florence, Oreg., and learned of some of the problems and the opposition involved in the proposal. At that time it seemed to many that it might not ever be possible to overcome the obstacles, but I have watched the activities of the gentleman from Oregon who represents that district and I have observed the diligence with which he has approached these problems, putting together a package that has in large part overcome the opposition of those who did not favor the project.

As an original member of the National Outdoor Recreation Review Commission, I know that we pondered long over the problem of saving these great outdoor assets for future Americans. This project, the Oregon dunes, typifies the best of those proposals that we were talking about. This will be a great landmark to outdoor recreation. What we are doing today will be appreciated more and more as the years go by.

Mr. Chairman, again I commend the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL], for his diligence and the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. DUNCAN] for his successful advocacy of this bill.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the rule, the Clerk will now read the substitute committee amendment recommended in the reported bill as an original bill for the purpose of amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 7524

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to provide for conserving and developing for the benefit, inspiration, and use of the public, certain ocean shoreline, and dunes, forested areas, fresh water lakes, and recreational facilities in the State of Oregon, the combination of which comprises a total area of scenic, scientific, recreational, and historic significance, there is hereby established the Oregon Dunes National Seashore (hereinafter referred to as the "seashore") which, subject to valid existing rights, shall comprise the lands described in section 11 of this Act. The seashore shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 2. All lands of the United States within the exterior boundary of the seashore are hereby made a part of the seashore for the purposes of this Act: *Provided,* That all lands required for purposes of the United States Coast Guard or the United States Corps of Engineers shall continue to be used by such agencies to the extent required for such purposes. Within the exterior boundary of the seashore the Secretary is authorized to acquire by purchase, donation, with donated or appropriated funds or by such other authorized means except exchange as he deems to be in the public interest, such lands, submerged lands, waters, or interests therein as he considers commensurate with the adaptability of such lands and waters to the purposes of this Act: *Provided,* That lands, submerged lands, waters, or interests therein, owned by or under the control of the State of Oregon or any political subdivision thereof may be acquired only with the consent of such State or political subdivision: *Provided further,* That no part of the Southern Pacific Railway right-of-way may be acquired without the consent of the railway: *And provided further,* That the Secretary shall not acquire any lands for said seashore beyond the exterior boundaries delineated herein, except that he may acquire by purchase or donation land contiguous to the seashore where the owners thereof desire to so convey their property and as and when funds are made available therefor by the Congress.

SEC. 3. (a) There is hereby established an Oregon Dunes National Seashore Advisory Board (hereinafter referred to as the "board") composed of seven members appointed for a term of two years each by the Secretary as follows: (1) three members to be appointed from the recommendations made by the board of county commissioners or county court of each of the three counties in which the seashore is located, one member from the recommendations made by each such board or court; (2) three members to be appointed from recommendations of the Governor of the State of Oregon; and (3) one member to be appointed by the Secretary.

(b) The Secretary shall designate one member to be chairman. Any vacancy in the board shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made. The members shall be paid no compensation as such but shall be paid expenses incidental to travel when engaged in discharging their duties as such members.

(c) The Secretary or his designee shall, from time to time, consult with the members of the board with respect to matters of policy relating to the development of the seashore. The board shall meet not less than twice yearly upon the call of the member designated as chairman by the Secretary, or additionally upon request of the Secretary.

(d) The Board shall cease to exist twenty years after the effective date of this Act.

SEC. 4. (a) (1) Any owner or owners (hereinafter in this section referred to as "owner") of improved property on the date of its acquisition by the Secretary may, as a condition of such acquisition, retain the right of use and occupancy of such property for noncommercial residential purposes for a term of (1) not to exceed twenty-five years, or (2) for a term ending at the death of such owner, the death of the owner's spouse, or at the time all of the children of the owner or of the owner's spouse die before reaching twenty-one years of age or at the time the youngest such child reaches the age of twenty-one, whichever of all such, events occurs the latest. The owner shall elect at the time of conveyance the term to be reserved. Where any such owner retains a right of use and occupancy as herein provided, such right may during its existence be conveyed or leased in whole, but not in part, for noncommercial residential purposes. The Secretary shall pay to the owner the fair market value of the property on the date of such acquisition less the fair market value on such date of the right retained by the owner. At any time subsequent to the acquisition of such property the Secretary may, with the consent of the owner of the retained right of use and occupancy, acquire such right, in which event he shall pay to such owner the fair market value of the remaining portion of such right.

(2) Any right of use and occupancy of property, retained as provided in paragraph (1) of this subsection, may be terminated by the United States District Court for the District of Oregon in any action brought therein by the Secretary to acquire such right at any time after the date when such property is no longer used for noncommercial residential purposes only.

(b) The Secretary's authority to acquire property by condemnation shall be further suspended with respect to any particular property which is used for commercial or industrial purposes during any periods when such use is permitted by the Secretary and during the pendency of the first application for such permission made to the Secretary after the date of enactment of this Act if such application is made not later than one year after the date of enactment of this Act.

(c) The term "improved property", wherever used in this Act, shall mean a detached, one-family dwelling (hereinafter referred to as "dwelling") the construction of which was begun before May 1, 1965, together with so much of the land on which the dwelling is situated, the said land being in the same ownership as the dwelling, as the Secretary shall designate to be reasonably necessary for the enjoyment of the dwelling for the sole purpose of noncommercial residential use, together with any structures accessory to the dwelling which are situated on the land so designated. The amount of the land so designated shall in every case be at least three acres in area, or all of such lesser amount as may be held in the same ownership as the dwelling, and in making such designation the Secretary shall take into account the manner of noncommercial residential use in which the dwelling and land have customarily been enjoyed: *Provided,* That the Secretary may exclude from the land so designated any beach or waters together with so much of the land adjoining such beach or waters as the Secretary may deem necessary for public access thereto.

(d) To assure that land contiguous to the boundaries of the seashore is used in a manner which is not detrimental to the purpose for which the national seashore is established, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized, notwithstanding any other provisions of this Act, to procure by gift, purchase with donated or appropriated funds or otherwise, scenic easements or other less-than-fee interests in land not to exceed five hundred feet in width contiguous to the boundaries of the seashore: *Provided,* That in the west one-half of section 2, in section 3, and in the north one-half of section 11, all of township 20 south, range 12 west of the Willamette meridian such scenic easements or other interests may exceed a width of five hundred feet: *Provided further*, That no scenic easement may be acquired in the north three-quarters of section 34, township 18 south, range 12 west, Willamette meridian: *Provided further*, That such scenic easements or other interests may be acquired without the consent of the owner only if the Secretary determines that the land is being proposed for a change in use which would destroy its present scenic values and interfere with the conservation and development objectives of the national seashore: *Provided further*, That the continuation of sustained yield forest management practices including, but not limited to, harvesting and replanting, shall not be considered a change in use.

Sec. 5. The Secretary shall furnish to any interested person requesting the same, a certificate indicating with respect to any property located within the seashore as to which the Secretary's authority to acquire such property by condemnation has been suspended in accordance with the provisions of this Act that such authority has been so suspended and the reasons therefor.

Sec. 6. (a) The Secretary is authorized and directed, under terms and conditions prescribed by the State of Oregon, to permit the investigation for, appropriation, storage, and withdrawal of ground water, surface water, and lake, stream, and river water from the seashore and the conveyance thereof outside the boundaries of the seashore for beneficial use in accordance with the laws of said State if permission therefor has been obtained from said State before the effective date hereof: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall prohibit or authorize the prohibition of the use of water from Tahkenitch or Siltcoos Lakes in accordance with permission granted by the State of Oregon prior to the effective date hereof in connection with certain industrial plants being developed at or near Gardiner, Oregon.

(b) The Secretary is authorized and directed to permit transportation and storage in pipelines within and through the seashore for disposal in the Pacific Ocean of domestic and industrial wastes in accordance with the laws of the State of Oregon and under the terms and conditions of permits therefor granted by said State before the effective date of this Act.

(c) The Secretary is further authorized to grant such additional easements and rights, in terms up to perpetuity, as in the judgment of the Secretary would be appropriate and desirable for the effective use of the rights to water and the disposal of waste provided for herein and for other utility and private purposes in accordance with the laws of the State of Oregon, subject to such reasonable conditions as are necessary for the protection of the scenic, scientific, historic, and recreational features of the seashore.

Sec. 7. The Secretary may conduct such sand dune stabilization and erosion control programs within the seashore as he deems necessary to insure the protection of manmade developments and the natural resources of the area, and he shall secure the advice and assistance of other Federal and State agencies to accomplish these purposes.

Sec. 8. No existing authority or responsibility of any Federal, State, or local governmental agency with respect to jurisdiction over the construction, reconstruction, operation, and maintenance of any public highway shall be altered or affected by this Act or by relocation of any such highway, but the Secretary may acquire jurisdiction over such highway by agreement with the administering agency pursuant to section 2 of this Act. In the event any such highway is relocated or reconstructed, any increased costs attributable to the adoption of recommendations of the Secretary in connection therewith shall be borne by funds available to him.

Sec. 9. The Secretary shall set aside areas and develop facilities for camping, picnicking, boating, and other recreational facilities, and shall continue to lease the lands within the seashore now used for a Girl Scout camp on the same terms and conditions as they now are for so long as such lands are used for a Girl Scout camp, and shall permit hunting and fishing on lands and waters under his jurisdiction within the seashore in accordance with the laws of the State of Oregon: *Provided*, That the Secretary may designate zones where, and establish periods when, no hunting or fishing shall be permitted for reasons of public safety, administration, or public use and enjoyment not compatible with hunting or fishing. Regulations prescribing any such restrictions shall be issued after consultation with the Oregon State Game Commission.

Sec. 10. Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the property acquired by the Secretary under this Act shall be administered by him subject to the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916, as amended and supplemented (39 Stat. 535; 16 U.S.C. 1 et seq.), relating to the areas administered and supervised by the Secretary through the National Park Service, except that authority otherwise available to the Secretary of the Interior for the conservation and management of natural resources may be utilized to the extent he finds such authority will further the purposes of this Act.

Sec. 11. The seashore shall consist of land, water, and submerged land on the Oregon coast lying generally between the Siuslaw River on the north and Tenmile Creek on the south, the exterior boundary of which is depicted on the drawing entitled "Boundary Map, Proposed Oregon Dunes National Seashore," numbered NS–OD–7112C and dated January 1966, which is on file and available for public inspection in the office of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, and to which is attached and hereby made a part thereof a detailed description of said exterior boundary by metes and bounds and a document entitled "Private Property Within Proposed Boundary (To Accompany Drawing No. NS–OD/7302A)." The Secretary may by publication of a revised drawing in the Federal Register make minor adjustments in the boundary of the seashore except that the total acreage of the seashore may not be increased beyond the acreage within the boundary referred to in such drawing.

Sec. 12. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated for land acquisition in connection with, and for the development of, the Oregon Dunes National Seashore the sum of $10,884,000.

Mr. ASPINALL (during reading of the substitute committee amendment). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee substitute amendment.

The committee substitute amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. MONAGAN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7524), to establish the Oregon Dunes National Seashore in the State of Oregon, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 812, he reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

THIRD POWERPLANT, GRAND COULEE DAM, COLUMBIA BASIN PROJECT, WASHINGTON

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 7406) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain a third powerplant at the Grand Coulee Dam, Columbia Basin project, Washington.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 7406, with Mr. MONAGAN in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ROGERS] will be recognized for 1 hour and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] will be recognized for 1 hour.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ROGERS].

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may use.

Mr. Chairman, the legislation which the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs brings before the House today authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain a third powerplant at Grand Coulee Dam. As amended by the committee, the legislation also provides for basinwide accounting in the Pacific Northwest. The distinguished chairman of the full committee, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL], will discuss the committee amendment. It is my purpose to outline briefly what is involved in the third powerplant proposal.

Taken alone, the third powerplant is a giant in its own right. There is no existing powerplant in the United States with greater power generating capacity than this proposed addition to Grand Coulee. It will ultimately add 3.6 million kilowatts of generating capacity to the Federal Columbia River power system and provide about 4.6 billion kilowatt hours energy anually to meet the ever-increasing demands for electric power and energy in the Pacific Northwest.

The third powerplant will be constructed on the east bank of the Columbia River adjoining the Grand Coulee Dam. Reservoir water will be conveyed around the existing dam to a new forebay to be formed by a concrete forebay dam. Penstocks from this forebay would lead to the powerhouse at the downstream river level. Twelve turbine-generator units will be installed in pairs as the power market builds up, with the final pair expected to be in operation by about 1983. Each generator will have a capacity of 300,000 kilowatts, eventually totaling 3,600,000 kilowatts for the third powerplant and 5,600,000 kilowatts for the entire hydroelectric project at Grand Coulee Dam. New visitor facilities at the dam will be required to replace those displaced by the new construction. The switchyard facilities which are presently in the location of the proposed third powerplant will be moved across the river to the west bank and downstream from the dam. The third powerplant will be integrated electrically and financially into the Federal Columbia River power system.

The third powerplant is the key element in the plan to most effectively use improved streamflows resulting from the 1964 treaty with Canada for joint development of the Columbia River. In addition, it will make more efficient use of the Pacific Northwest-Pacific Southwest extra-high-voltage transmission intertie approved by the Congress in 1964 and presently under construction.

Under the Columbia River Treaty, dams will be constructed above Grand Coulee to more than triple the usable storage on the Columbia River. Canada has already started construction of huge dams to store 15.5 million acre-feet of water on its side of the border. This additional storage will provide increased flood protection in both countries and will greatly enhance the hydroelectric potential of the powerplants on the Columbia River. The United States must construct additional power generating facilities at various dams in its existing system in order to take full advantage of this potential. The Grand Coulee Dam because of its location in relation to other Columbia River powerplants, its height, its large reservoir capacity, and the regulation of River flows by Chief Joseph Dam immediately downstream, will develop a major share of the increased power potentional made possible by the treaty.

The four-line extra-high-voltage transmission intertie between the Pacific Northwest and the Pacific Southwest which is now under construction represents a new development in electric power technique. It is the largest single electric transmission program ever undertaken in this country and is one of the finest examples to be found of cooperation among publicly owned and privately owned facilities and the Federal Government. The Canada Treaty and the intertie are complementary. Because of the intertie, the Canadian power salable in the United States as well as third powerplant power can be marketed during the early years of its availability in any of the Pacific coast States. While the rapidly growing demands for electric power and energy in the Pacific Northwest will absorb the power produced by the third powerplant, there will be some peaking power and secondary power in the early years of the third powerplant operations which can be marketed in the Pacific Southwest over the intertie.

Under the Columbia River Treaty, the Government of Canada is committed to complete all three of its reservoirs by 1973. In fact, the first two of these reservoirs are already under construction. In order to make use of the improved stream regulation when it becomes available, construction of the third powerplant should be started as soon as possible. Under treaty storage conditions without the third powerplant, a great deal of water which would be available to generate both prime power and secondary energy would necessarily have to be spilled and wasted downstream.

The cost of constructing the third powerplant and appurtenant works, including a visitor center, is estimated at $390 million on the basis of prices prevailing at the present time. As already indicated, authority is provided for stage construction as the power market builds up. It is expected that the first stage will be completed in 1973 with the final units placed in operation around 1983. The entire cost, except for about $1.3 million for the visitor center, will be fully reimbursable with interest. The cost associated with each stage of development will be repaid within 50 years from the time that stage becomes revenue producing. The formula for determining the interest rate is the one which has been used for all or nearly all water resources development projects authorized to be undertaken by Federal agencies in recent years. The interest rate under the formula at the present time is 3⅛ percent.

The economic and financial feasibility for the third powerplant is exceptionally favorable. The benefit-cost ratio is better than 3 to 1. While the third powerplant will be integrated into the Federal Columbia River power system for repayment purposes, an analysis of the costs and revenues and the sale of power attributable to this plant will show that the capital investment associated with each stage could be repaid well within 50 years from the time the stage becomes commercially productive with revenues attributable to the third powerplant. As a matter of fact, the prospective annual revenues attributable to the third powerplant would exceed the annual financial cost by almost $4 million.

Mr. Chairman, the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee concluded that the construction of a third powerplant at Grand Coulee is physically, economically, and financially feasible and that it should be constructed at the earliest possible time to take advantage of our Treaty with Canada.

We urge your approval of this legislation.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Did the gentleman say that this $390 million could be paid back, or will be paid back? There is a difference.

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. I think this ought to be said: That this "could be paid" is what we are interested in, that the possibility is there; and, if the possibility is there, then it is a responsibility of the Congress to see that they are paid. I will say to my good friend from Iowa, that this is what we had in mind, and what I had in mind.

Mr. GROSS. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. I will be happy to yield.

Mr. GROSS. How many of these 3½ million kilowatts will be wheeled east to Iowa?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. The chances are that none of them will be wheeled east to Iowa at the present time, because there is no provision for this at the present time.

As a matter of fact, I think that it would be much more economically feasible to obtain in Iowa electricity produced nearer to Iowa than this.

Mr. GROSS. In other words, industry will continue to leapfrog the State of Iowa to go to the Pacific Northwest for this cheap power?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. The point is, I do not believe industry is going to leapfrog the great State of Iowa to go out here, because of this additional energy.

The additional energy will permit the Pacific Northwest to build up. But the major point involved, and what we tried to do in the committee, is to see that electricity is not afforded at a cheap price to undercut competitive sources in other places.

This is the reason I pointed out just a minute ago that the cost of these facilities must be paid for under the reclamation law, and the rates charged for this electricity must be sufficient to meet these demands.

My personal feeling is that these rates must also be in conformity with competitive rates, either from other public sources or from private sources.

Mr. GROSS. Would the gentleman say that is the case now with respect to electric rates in the Pacific Northwest?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. I would say that it is a highly controversial issue. We have tried to get this adjusted. I believe the committee has made some measurable steps forward.

There was serious suspicion for some time on this subject matter. We have addressed ourselves in the committee to the problem, and I think we have made some headway.

I would say further to my good friend from Iowa, that if the proper headway is not made to see that this is competitive, the gentleman from Texas will certainly be glad to discuss it further with the gentleman from Iowa, and do what is necessary to bring this about.

Mr. GROSS. Is there no way to bring private utilities into this picture? Is there no way that they can build a dam of this size and spare the taxpayers the uncertainty of an investment of $390 million?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. This, of course, is fully reimbursable. It would be a question, if you get into issue as to who is going to build this dam. Of course, this source of power does belong to the public. But when you get into this phase, the controversy as between public and private power resolves itself as to the use. If we have the source of power, it ought to be developed.

Private industry ought to be allowed to use it. Private companies ought to be allowed to purchase it. It should not be put into the economy at an unfair rate.

Mr. GROSS. I ask the gentleman whether the Government can borrow money today for an interest rate of 3⅛ percent?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. No; I do not believe it can.

Mr. GROSS. Why should there not have a more comparable interest rate on this money?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. This is the same formula which has been used. I believe the history of the interest rate will establish that in the overall picture the interest return based upon this formula will measure up in the long-term picture.

I say to the gentleman further, if it does not the gentleman from Texas certainly will be willing to go along with making any adjustments necessary to see that all the interest at the going rate is paid.

Mr. GROSS. I note that the President apparently supports this legislation. I do not necessarily pose this in the form of a question, and I am not asking the gentleman to answer.

We had a rather sad experience recently, in the fact that President Johnson said the $750,000 palace for the Vice President was not necessary. He signed the bill, but he said it was not necessary and he would not ask for the money.

In this instance, if the President says he is for it, I wonder if he might say, if the bill is passed, that it is not necessary at this time, since we are fighting a war, and we have inflation on our hands.

I was a little surprised the other day that the President did not veto the mansion for the Vice President, since it was not necessary. He might have sent word up here to tell us 10 days before that he was not for the mansion, but he did not do so.

I wonder whether the President actually is for this bill.

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Frankly, I have not discussed it with the President. I do not know what his position is.

My position on this bill is based primarily on one thing; that is, this is an investment in America, because it is a source of energy which ought to be developed as soon as it can be.

I agree with the gentleman from Iowa that it ought to be paid for. In other words, it ought to make money for the United States. It ought to increase the wealth of the United States.

My position would be the same, regardless of what the President said or thought.

Mr. GROSS. I just wonder if Lyndon Johnson means what he says and says what he means.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. I yield to the gentlewoman from Washington.

Mrs. MAY. I wish to refer to the colloquy my friend and colleague from Texas had with my distinguished colleague from Iowa concerning getting the private utilities into this picture.

I point out that this is not a new dam. This is the addition of a powerplant to the existing Grand Coulee Dam. It has not been a controversy, as to whether private enterprise or the Federal Government should build it.

As has been said, this is a Federal facility. As a matter of fact, I do not believe that any of us have heard from private utilities in our part of the country, or elsewhere, in opposition, on a competitive basis, concerning the addition of a third powerplant to the Grand Coulee Dam.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Were they invited to compete?

Mrs. MAY. Under the present circumstances, this is an established Federal dam. I cannot imagine any private utility considering it feasible to share the construction and maintenance of one-third of a Federal power dam.

Now there are other damsites in our area on which there has been controversy, concerning whether private or Federal funds should build them in the Northwest. This is not one of those projects.

Mr. GROSS. I wonder if they were invited to show any interest in this proposition?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Let me say this to the gentleman; I do not think we have to invite them in order to get them interested in a source of power like this. We always get in the situation in this sort of thing where it depends on whether A, B, C, D, E, F, or G is the one going to get this one gold mine. That is what it will actually amount to under those circumstances, since it does belong to the public. It has simply been the conclusion of most involved in it that the best thing to do is to develop the source and make it available to private companies, which is what they are doing.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Yes. I am happy to yield to the chairman.

Mr. ASPINALL. There is no reason to bring in the question of private power versus public power in this particular instance as it relates only to the authorization of a third powerplant. They have an arrangement in the Northwest between the private power utilities and the public power operations so that they are in harmony with the distribution and marketing of the power.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. My point is that if the private utilities wanted to put $390 million into this, is there any reason why they should not do it and save the taxpayers the risk that they are taking? It is my understanding some of these projects are not doing too well as far as paying out is concerned. Is that possible?

Mr. ASPINALL. If my colleague from Texas will yield?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. I am happy to yield.

Mr. ASPINALL. Throughout all of the hearings we had no indication at all that any private utility wanted to put any money into the construction of this project.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. I will be happy to yield to my good friend from Washington.

Mr. FOLEY. It might also be useful for my colleague from Iowa to know that during the course of the hearings on the third powerplant bill favorable reports were received from all Federal departments from State agencies required under the Flood Control Act. The Governor of the State of Washington both in the previous administration and the present administration favored the bill. It is universally supported, to my knowledge, by all power groups in the Pacific Northwest, whether investor-owned utilities, or non-Federal public bodies, and as near as I can determine it has unanimous support from industry, labor, and agriculture.

As the distinguished chairman of the committee just pointed out, the hearings were extended. There were no alternative proposals received for the utilization of this power resource.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. I have no doubt that everybody is for it in the Pacific Northwest. They ought to be, with this kind of a deal. I have no doubt about that. I am thinking of some of the rest of the citizens around the country. I do not know whether you are going to get any of this power down in Texas. Texas is doing all right with the billions of dollars of defense contracts that are going down there. I would like to see some of the good things of life spread out just a little bit over all of the country.

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Let me say to the gentleman that I do not have any defense contracts in my district in Texas. I have been trying to get them, but no success.

Mr. GROSS. But they have them in Fort Worth and Houston and elsewhere over Texas.

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. That is the trouble for me. Fort Worth and Houston are almost as far from me as Iowa. We are not going to get any of this power, but the point is this: If we have these sources of power, we ought to develop them. I think a full basin development such as is being done in the Colorado River is important to the building of the wealth of this Nation. That is the purpose behind it.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, if you ever saw a good bill, one that would probably fit into the development of an area suddenly become the vehicle to try and perpetrate a fraud upon the American people, we have the finest example before us in the bill that we are now considering.

Mr. Chairman, when this bill was introduced by our colleague, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. FOLEY], it was a rather simple bill. It provided that the Secretary of the Department of the Interior was instructed to construct, operate, and maintain a third powerplant with a rated capacity of approximately 3,600,000 kilowatts, together with the necessary appurtenant works including a visitor center at the Grand Coulee Dam, as an addition to and an integral part of the Columbia Basin Federal reclamation project.

Mr. Chairman, section 2 of the bill stated that there was enough money to be appropriated to carry out the purposes of the bill, and that is what the Department of the Interior reported favorably upon.

Mr. Chairman, I want to say here and now, that bill I support. I support the original bill to establish a third powerplant at the Grand Coulee Dam. It should be built. It was required to be built.

Mr. Chairman, this Congress, last year authorized the intertie system. Now some of us last year fought the intertie system and said at that time what appeared was like the iceberg—10 percent above the water and 90 percent below it.

What you are getting today is a part of the 90 percent, but you are going to have to pay for it because you authorized construction in the last Congress for powerlines to be built from the Pacific Northwest right down to California—three to California and one to Hoover Dam.

Two of the proposed lines going to be authorized—that were authorized—are to go down to California and are alternating-current power, approximately 1 million kilowatts in each line.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, you heard my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ROGERS] say that this was to be the greatest thing ever undertaken. Well, let me say to my colleague that I predict there will never be a line built at the present time that will carry 1 million kilowatts of alternating-current power. It has never been done. All of the experimenting that has ever gone on indicates that it is absolutely impossible to do it and the probable amount of power that you will get in any one of those lines is about 650,000 kilowatts.

Now you have a d.c. line. You have two of them. You have one going down to California and the other one going down to the Hoover Dam.

There has never been that kind of d.c. power generated and transmitted over these distances anywhere in the world. Yet the Congress in the last session authorized it. We had the battle and I lost and those of us who lost asked that it be held up until more research was done. We were overruled and as a matter of political expediency the bill was passed.

Now we are asked by Mr. FOLEY to approve the third power project to generate 3.6 million kilowatts of power.

Let us look at that power. It is rather interesting to look at some of the testimony that was given before our committee.

I am reading from page 42 of the hearings and from the testimony of Mr. Udall, Secretary of the Interior. Here is what he said at this point:

> Weighing all these factors, there will be in 1973—without the third powerplant—a shortage of firm power in the Northwest and a shortage of peaking capacity to make maximum economic use of the intertie lines. This power deficit would increase in the years after 1973. On the other hand, with the third powerplant and other prospective developments, the Bonneville Power Administration could maintain a reasonable balance between requirements and resources for the immediate future.

Now this 3.5 million kilowatts of power is only peaking power. Do not let anybody kid you that they are going to bring out 1 kilowatt of firm power. Whether you like the Department of the Interior or do not like them, they were frank enough to come up and tell us that there was to be no firm power. It is going to have a load factor of less than 15 percent. This is startling, I am sure, but this is what the Bureau came up with and said they would have. And it is going to be expensive power.

Do not let anybody kid you that this is going to be 3-mill power. Now, if you have the courage to sit down and analyze what the Bureau told you and look at what the actual annual benefits are from the power in this project—$43,838,000. All you have to do is to take the 3.6 million kilowatt-hours and multiply it by $12 a kilowatt per year to come out with that figure. That is where they got the figure. This is not 3-mill power, and do not you folks from the Pacific Northwest ever think for one minute that you are going to get 3-mill power because the Bureau has already said you would not. They put it here. They told you what it is going to cost you. They told you how much money you are going to have to pay for it.

Now I would like to tell and show you what little respect the Department of the Interior and the Bonneville Power Administration has for the Congress of the United States. They have already begun the construction of this project. How do you like that? They have already moved in. They have not worried about the Congress. People who have visited this area of the Grand Coulee Dam have asked what was the new construction that was going on. They were told—"Well, when the Congress gets around to it, they will pass the bill. Don't let it worry you."

So we are going ahead with it. Mr. Luce would have the greatest shock of his life as well as Mr. Holum, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, if the Congress decided they would not pass this bill.

Now one of the reasons they say we have to put this bill through and pass this bill is that the southwest area of the United States has a winter peak and the northwest area has a summer peak and power is going to flow back and forth on that line.

This is the reason for the great intertie that was set up. But let us look at some of the figures that the Bureau gave us to justify it. As my good friend the gentlewoman from Washington said to our colleague from Iowa, why, there is no new dam. And there is not. But look at what the Bureau did. They took that same old dam. They did not put in a new spillway. They did not put in anything. But they turned around and, in order to justify this project, they made a charge for flood control over and above the old.

How did they get flood control? Well, it is very interesting, if you have read their statements, and it is all in the record of the hearings on September 9 and 10, 1965. They did not try to hide it.

Part of the dam that is there now will not work. So they are going to get some more flood control by putting in some new turbines and allowing water to flow through those turbines.

I challenge anyone on the committee, anyone from the Pacific Northwest or anywhere in the United States, to say that the first tier there at Grand Coulee will work. The Bureau admits it will not. They sent out reports and said it would not work.

This, however, is necessary because last year we passed the first bill. But then our committee decided they they would do something new. Now our committee has said, "We are going to make the Pacific Northwest come up with a whole new system of accounting. We are going to try to get some reclamation benefits."

Well, I want to go on record today and say that I am in favor of good reclamation projects and I have supported good reclamation projects and in the future I will support good reclamation projects. But, lo and behold you, we now have our committee putting the stamp of approval upon an accounting system that has been said to be so bad that the Comptroller General of the United States just cannot put up with it.

You know, sometimes when these agencies appear before the committees they try to overwhelm you with testimony. A shining example of that appears in the testimony given on the first day of September 1965, by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Kenneth Holum, before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs: "Informational Hearings on River Basin Accounts." Let me read to you folks what Mr. Holum said to the Senate committee just 8 days before our committee held hearings on the third powerplant:

> In connection with the discussion of the Northwest, however, and particularly of the Columbia River Federal Power System, we would like to make it clear at the outset that we do not have a pay-out study for the system which has been approved by the Secretary to present to the committee.
>
> The Bonneville Power Administration has prepared such studies based upon different assumptions. These studies are now under review in the Department. Therefore

> we are not in a position at this time to present to you an approved repayment study for the Columbia River Federal Power System.

Let us look at what the accounting system is in the Pacific Northwest. I have taken the figures which the Bureau presented, and I have had them drawn up here schematically, so that all can see them.

I would like those who come from the Pacific Northwest to pay particular attention, because this shows the power payout in millions of dollars in the Columbia Basin, in all of the projects that have been authorized since 1940.

Note the items in red. These are the amounts that are eligible to repay or to assist reclamation projects in the Pacific Northwest. Note also the large amount in red, because that no longer exists.

In 1963 the Bureau downtown changed its accounting system, with no authorization from Congress or anywhere else. We now have what is known as rolling amortization. Every time a new project is authorized, they roll the payout period on and on and on, and lower the amount that has to be repaid. This is why in the Pacific Northwest, with the expenditures of several hundred million dollars a year, have been able to keep these power rates down.

Now notice the small amount that is in red. These are drawn to scale from the figures submitted to the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee by the Department of the Interior. It is all there, if we just look for it. But we were so anxious to make sure that we took advantage of this whole thing, that we just went overboard, because we wanted a new accounting system.

The large amount that was in the other scale from the Columbia Basin for the repayment of reclamation projects no longer exists. They have rolled back from 1940, 1950, 1960, and they are back here now, to these projects that are now under construction.

Notice the small amount that is now eligible for assistance in the irrigation projects.

I am in a strange position. I am supposed to be the loyal opposition of the administration in power. Who supports me? It is the leaders of the administration.

The Comptroller General, in a report submitted to the Congress in February of 1965, complained about this type of an accounting system which the Bureau has put into effect. What is said in the report dated February 16, addressed to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House?

> The enclosed report contains our opinion that the financial statements which the Bonneville Power Administration prepared for fiscal year 1963 in response to the requirements of the Bonneville Project Act do not present fairly the results of power operations or the financial position of the integrated power system. * * * These financial statements were prepared by the Bonneville Power Administration and were submitted by the Administrator in lieu of combined financial statements * * * submitted in prior years.

It is said that there is not a proper disclosure in this method of accounting, and that they will not make any further audits. They do not disclose the cost of generating power.

> Accordingly, until appropriate principles relating to disclosure are adopted and applied, our audits of the Bonneville Power Administration hereafter will not include an examination of the financial statements for the purpose of expressing an opinion thereon.

Why is that? It is because they do not disclose the true picture of what is going on in the Pacific Northwest.

I know that some folks may believe that this is only my own idea, and that I have dreamed this up. That is not the case at all. The Department of Interior knows what they are doing. The Department of Interior has reported to our committee, and we were very kind about it. We put it in our report of the hearings. But the trouble is we did not take the time to read the testimony we put in our own report of the hearings.

You Members can find on page 65 of the hearings as printed on H.R. 7406, the Columbia River Federal Power System repayment study. This is the study which the Columbia River Power Board submitted to the Federal Power Commission.

Let me show schematically exactly what this rolling account which we have authorized and put our stamp of approval on, in this bill, will do, when we look at it for the entire basin.

In the report, which we have included, the Bonneville Power Administration and the Secretary of the Interior have been honest. They have shown that they are going to operate at a loss if we merely continue this system.

This is the postponed amortization. It is $1.5 billion they are just rolling back. Why do I cut it off in that year? It is because, if we look at the report, we find that you folks in the Pacific Northwest, according to Bonneville, are going to have all of your facilities built by that time.

There is going to be absolutely nothing done in the future for the Pacific Northwest. They hope they are going to have it all in by that period in time. Then they hope to have this possible surplus. Now, they do not say they are going to have that amount. They just say that if all of the things continue that are presently going for us, then we will be able to have that amount of surplus.

I want you to note from the chart in the lower right-hand corner, you people from the Pacific Northwest who said that you wanted this accounting system because it would give irrigation assistance—I want you to note the amount of irrigation assistance that the Department itself says in their report it will be able to give to them.

Now, very frankly, some of you folks apparently do not pay much attention to all of the things that cross your desk. One of the things that crossed mine was a memorandum dated January 14, 1965, to the Chief of the Power Division from the chief payout analyst of the Department of the Interior analyzing the 1964 financial reports. This is what it states with regard to Grand Coulee:

> The Columbia Basin project shows a large net income when in reality we are unable to show payout. The amount allotted by Bonneville is insufficient to meet the payment requirements with respect to irrigation aid. The Bonneville Power Administration has committed itself to producing a study showing how the repayment of irrigation aid will be accomplished, but after over 2 years has produced no evidence as to the future increase in payments for meeting the Bureau's irrigation repayment in a 50-year repayment period. The payment to meet this requirement should be over $14 million annually instead of $7,704,842 now credited.

It is also interesting to note, in trying to account for some of the projects—and I read this because we ought to have a little humor in anything as serious as this—

> An attempt at super accuracy is made by including the Crooked River project with a gross income of $67 and absolutely no expenses which probably accounts for the name of the project. The listing of this project as an electric power operation of the Bureau could result in a good deal of ridicule being directed toward the Bureau and should be eliminated.

Some other things should be eliminated, but let me read you the conclusion:

> The conclusion to be reached is that the depreciation method of accounting is not compatible with the Bureau's operation and places the Bureau in an indefensible position unless all power rates are eventually raised to meet annual deficits. The financial report on the annual basis does not indicate the number of years of service or that these deficits will be met in the overall legally allowable repayment period nor does it indicate that the revenues over wet and dry hydraulic years will eventually be averaged to accomplish repayment. By using the annual profit and loss approach, the inference is that this is the Bureau's basis for rate making and as a result a legitimate case can be made (using the Bureau's report) that rates should be raised in most instances.

Now, this is from the department itself. Then the other day across the desk of each one of you there came the annual financial report of the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Reclamation. I do not know whether you folks who say you are interested in reclamation are really interested or not or whether you bothered yourselves to look at it, but if you did, it has exhibit No. 6. Please understand, folks, these are not my figures. These are the Bureau's.

Mr. Chairman, someone has said that one of the reasons we should have this kind of an accounting system we have in section 2 of this bill is that we want to make it like the Columbia River Storage Project in the Columbia River Basin.

Well, Mr. Chairman, the Columbia River Storage Project in fiscal 1965 had a net loss of $3,718,568.

The Rio Grande had a net loss of $523,906.

Also, Mr. Chairman, someone else said "Well, do not worry about those two; we want to make it like the Missouri System—the integrated Missouri system—which had a net loss of something over $7 million, and one other project had a net loss of $187,281."

Mr. Chairman, the entire power picture as presented by the Bureau of Reclamation for fiscal year 1965 indicates that they had a net income of $3,633,959. At that rate of income it would take over

300 years for the power income to pay out the amount we have already allocated to power. And, if you take the amounts that have been allocated to irrigation, which are also in the financial report which the Bureau has put out, I would like to call your attention to the balance sheet, because at the rate of $3.60 billion a year, which is the income, it would take 530 years to pay out irrigation benefits which we have allocated to multipurpose projects. It would take 300 years to pay out what we have allocated above the irrigators' ability to pay, and 280 years to pay out all that we have allocated to the electrical construction. In other words 1,400 years from now the Bureau's figures, which they put out, indicate that Uncle Sam will at last be square.

Now, Mr. Chairman, let me comment on the 1,400 years, because the Bureau a few weeks ago or a few days ago came up and said that the 50-year period which we had allocated to the payout of reservoirs was entirely too short. Lo and behold, on January 31, 1966, the Bureau of Reclamation went out into Idaho and there they took a look at that great dam, the American Falls Dam. That dam has been there since 1910, just about 55 years. And what do they say? The dam must be rebuilt. They say that the structure is so poor that it must be rebuilt, at an expense of untold millions of dollars. They have not even gotten around to estimating the amount that it will take.

Now, very frankly, I hope that when the committee considers this bill it will pass that part of the bill which states that we are going to construct a third powerplant, because we have authorized the Department of the Interior millions of dollars to spend for the intertie system which will basically be useless unless we spend this additional amount of money. Then delete section 2 of the bill and you will require the Department of Interior to come up with—and the Bonneville Power Administration—an accounting system which the Comptroller General says properly reflects the manner in which we should have cost accounting. Then if you do, I am perfectly willing to support legislation to set up a basin account.

But I am not willing to set up a basin account where the Bureau comes in and absolutely defies the Congress. In 1963 by that accounting system they got away with rolling back $700 million and postponing that. So says the Comptroller of the Currency. I am not about to have anyone go along with postponing the amortization of $1.5 billion.

This is what the amendment in section 2 and adopted by the committee does to this bill. At the proper time when we consider it, I hope that this amendment will be defeated.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I am happy to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HOSMER. I think there is a very remarkable change in the position today by the gentleman from Pennsylvania that should be noted. For years the gentleman from Pennsylvania has been telling us that these Bureau of Reclamation projects would never pay off. Today he has an infinitely more optimistic estimate that it will only take 1,400 years.

Mr. SAYLOR. I can only say that I did not say this—the Bureau said it. Very frankly, if my colleague wants to be so facetious, I might tell him that we have approved, and since he has been a member of the committee, some projects that go to infinity and they will never pay off.

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL].

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, I am sure my good friend, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, did not really mean what he said when he suggested that those of us who support amendment No. 2 were perpetrating a fraud upon our colleagues—and upon our colleagues especially from the area concerned who have been interested in reclamation. I can assure you that the development of section 2 has grown out of a desire on our part to try to get an accounting system in the Northwest that we could understand and one that would be inclusive.

My colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] uses his maps—which I have not seen until today—and he suggests that one of the difficulties is a decision made by the Department of the Interior in 1963 under which they are working at the present time. I can assure my colleagues that what we have in section 2 of the bill as proposed by the committee is not an out and out ratification of what the Department of the Interior is presently doing and it is not meant for that purpose whatsoever.

I can understand a part of the gentleman's statement relative to the rollback. This perhaps is present in all of the other great basin developments, but it is not to the extent that my colleague has suggested when he stated there is $1.5 billion involved.

I want to read from the report.

The report says:

> The total commercial power investment repaid in the study is $5,303,214,000.

This is all repayable within the authorized period at the rate of interest at whatever it was at that time of authorization—2½ percent on those projects authorized and constructed by the Department of Defense and 3 percent on projects authorized and constructed by the Bureau of Reclamation until the change stated in the Water Facilities Act; and since that time it has been comparable to other water resource projects and presently is about 3⅛ percent.

The total irrigation assistance which is to be repaid, and which, if any part of it is rolled back to the detriment of the taxpayers, is not $1½ billion, but the total investment presently is $689 million, of which $598 million has to do with the Grand Coulee alone. These are large figures. But the benefits that flow from them are also large.

The suggestion has been made that we have endeavored to get this into some kind of alinement with other accounts, and that is true. There is only one real basin account at the present time, and that is the Upper Colorado River program. This is a basin account. There is the semblance of a basin account in the Missouri Basin and in the Central Valley project of California. And the way that the Northwest area is being operated at the present time, some people might suggest that this has at least some aspects of a basin account, but is does not approach the procedure as it would if you followed the language in the proposed section 2.

I would suggest to my colleagues that they read this language and see where there is any difficulty and where there might be pitfalls about which to be concerned.

There is one thing upon which my colleague from Pennsylvania and I agree, as I understand him. We agree upon the necessity of sooner or later having a basin account in the Northwest area. The question is, How do we approach it? Do we approach it by a constructive step as proposed by the committee, or do we approach it by leaving things in their present status quo? We think we have made a constructive suggestion in section 2.

I am going to refer to my statement so that my colleagues will understand what is involved in the Northwest.

I think some of the finest developments we have had in water resource development and in power development and the finest relations we have had between private power and so-called Federal power or municipal power—government power—are to be found in the Northwest. I do not think there is any question about this.

So my criticism is not because of anything wrong with the general program. I support it. I might say that I support this bill without section 2 just the same as I support it with section 2. But I would support it with more feeling of satisfaction if section 2 would be permitted to stay in the legislation.

The new section 2 which the committee added to H.R. 7406 requires an annual consolidated financial statement for all projects in the Federal Columbia River power system or associated therewith at the present time or in the future and, to the extent, recognizes the existence of a basinwide power account in the Pacific Northwest. In addition to this, the language of section 2 requires that the financial statement include all irrigation charges which are presently required to be returned from the revenues of the Federal Columbia River power system or any of its units, and provides that all irrigation projects hereafter authorized in the Pacific Northwest may be assisted financially through the basinwide power account. This new section 2 thus contemplates the pooling of all costs and all revenues into an integrated accounting system covering all existing, authorized, and future power projects and including all irrigation charges which are a present obligation against the net revenues of the system or any units thereof and also including that portion of the irrigation costs of future projects which is beyond the ability of the irrigation water users to repay and cannot be returned from other project sources of revenue. Under this new language prompt steps would have to be taken to revise power rates if the consolidated financial statement indicates that repayment is not being accomplished as it should be.

The language of this new section 2 will assist in maintaining the Columbia River power system in a sound financial position and will promote maximum development and utilization of the water resources of the Columbia River Basin. It will permit an orderly program of planning worthwhile reclamation projects in the Pacific Northwest region on the basis of engineering and economic feasibility and local and area needs even though the irrigation costs of such projects cannot be fully repaid by the water users.

Since the inception of the Federal reclamation program in 1902, all the various applicable acts of Congress have consistently required that the costs of reclamation developmens that are allocated to irrigation must be fully repaid. As irrigation projects grew more complex and costly, it became increasingly difficult, and in many instances impossible, for the irrigation water users to repay these costs. In recognition of this situation, Congress has repeatedly provided for the use of surplus revenues derived from Federal power facilities associated with reclamation projects to assist in the return of the irrigation costs. Under this financing procedure the presence of associated power potential became an important factor in determining the financial feasibility of reclamation projects. However, not all potential and meritorious irrigation projects could be planned with associated or related power facilities. This led to the concept of basinwide accounting, with the underlying theory that there is justification for giving consideration to the interrelationship of water resources developments on a river basin or regional basis.

This basin account concept has been authorized by the Congress in connection with the construction and development of the Central Valley project in California, the Missouri River Basin project, and the Upper Colorado River Storage project. The Pacific Northwest is as ideally suited to the application of this concept as any other region of the Nation because of the abundance of water and land suited to irrigation development, the need for financial assistance to fully develop the irrigation potential and the availability of considerable surplus power revenues. The application of the basin account concept to the Pacific Northwest is not only desirable and meritorious but it is necessary for orderly and efficient administration.

In order that you may understand the need for clarifying by legislation the present situation in the Pacific Northwest, let me give you a brief legislative history of the Federal Columbia River power system and associated projects.

The Bonneville Dam and power development and the Grand Coulee Dam and power development, both on the Columbia River, were authorized in the Rivers and Harbors Act of 1935. The construction of the Bonneville project was by the Corps of Engineers; the construction of Grand Coulee was by the Bureau of Reclamation. The Bonneville Project Act, which establishes the Bonneville Power Administration as the power-marketing agency in the Pacific Northwest, was enacted in 1937. The Columbia Basin Project Act, passed in 1943, authorized the Columbia Basin irrigation project and reauthorized the Grand Coulee Dam as a part of that project in order to provide financial assistance to the irrigation development.

The Hungry Horse Dam and power development on the Flathead River in Montana was authorized for construction by the Bureau of Reclamation in 1944 and the last power unit was placed in service in 1953.

The Rivers and Harbors Act of 1945 authorized the Ice Harbor, Lower Monumental, and Little Goose Dams and power developments on the Snake River to be constructed by the Corps of Engineers. Ice Harbor was placed in service in 1962 and the Lower Monumental and Little Goose developments are presently under construction. The Chief Joseph Dam and power development on the Columbia River was authorized for construction by the corps in the Rivers and Harbors Act of 1946, and the last unit was placed in service in 1958.

In 1948, the Yakima Federal reclamation project was authorized, including the Chandler powerplant to assist irrigation development. The Roza powerplant was added to the Yakima project in 1958 by a secretarial finding of feasibility. In 1950, the Palisades Federal reclamation project was authorized which also included power development as a part of the project. The Palisades project, along with the Boise diversion, Black Canyon, and Anderson Ranch powerplants of the earlier authorized Boise project and the Minidoka powerplant of the earlier authorized Minidoka reclamation project, were incorporated into the Federal Columbia power system on July 1, 1963.

The dams and power developments in the Willamette Basin, consisting of Detroit, Big Cliff, Lookout Point, Dexter, Hills Creek, Cougar, Green Peter, and Foster were authorized in the Flood Control Acts of 1948 and 1950. The Detroit, Big Cliff, Lookout Point and Dexter developments were placed in service in 1953, 1954, and 1955; Hills Creek was placed in service in 1962; Cougar was placed in service in 1964; and the Green Peter and Foster developments are still under construction.

The Dallas Dam and power development was authorized for construction by the Corps of Engineers in the Flood Control Act of 1950 and the last power unit was placed in service in 1960. The Albeni Falls power development on the Pend Oreille River in Montana, also authorized in the Flood Control Act of 1950, was completed in 1955. The John Day Dam and power development on the Columbia River was also authorized for construction by the Corps of Engineers in the Flood Control Act of 1950. The John Day development is still under construction.

The Dworshak Dam and power development on the Clearwater River in Idaho was authorized for construction by the Corps of Engineers in the Flood Control Act of 1962 and is presently under construction.

Beginning in the 83d Congress, reclamation projects without associated power facilities were authorized with the provision that financial assistance would come from power revenues of a specific existing power project or projects named in the act. The Foster Creek division of the Chief Joseph reclamation project was authorized in 1954 and the authorizing act provided for financial assistance from power revenues of the Chief Joseph Dam power development. The Michaud Flats reclamation project was authorized in 1954 and the authorizing act provided for financial assistance from the Palisades power development and power plants connected therewith. The Talent Division of the Rogue River Basin project, also authorized in 1954, included power development as a part of the project and it was not necessary to provide assistance from an unrelated power plant.

In the 84th Congress the Crooked River Federal reclamation project was authorized in 1956 and the act provided for financial assistance from power revenues of The Dalles power development on the Columbia River. It is interesting to note that in the committee's report on the Crooked River project there is this statment:

> The committee believes that a basin account or some similar plan of financing should be established for the Northwest whereby irrigation assistance for new projects may be obtained from the overall Federal power system rather than from individual projects, and recommends that the Department of the Interior submit early recommendations for such a plan.

This was the committee's position 10 years ago.

In the 85th Congress the Greater Wenatchee division of the Chief Joseph project was authorized in 1958 with financial assistance to come from power revenues of the Chief Joseph power development on the Columbia River.

In the 86th Congress, the Spokane Valley project in Washington was authorized in 1959 with financial assistance also to come from the Chief Joseph power development. The western division of the Dalles reclamation project was authorized in 1960 with financial assistance to come from the power marketed through the entire Bonneville system even though this reclamation project is adjoining the Dalles power development on the Columbia River.

In the 87th Congress, the Mann Creek project in Idaho was authorized in 1962, and the act provides for financial assistance from power revenues of the Federal power system in southern Idaho. The Baker project, Oregon, also was authorized in 1962 with financial assistance to come from power revenues of the McNary power development on the Columbia River.

In the 88th Congress, the Lower Teton project was authorized in 1964 with financial assistance to come from Bonneville system power revenues attributable to Federal projects in Idaho. The Whitestone Coulee unit of the Chief Joseph project also was authorized in 1964 with financial assistance to come from Chief Joseph power development on the Columbia River.

Four additional Corps of Engineers projects have been authorized on which construction has not started. They are the Libby development in Montana, the Lower Granite and Asotin developments on the Snake River, and the Lost Creek development in Oregon. In addition, the Fremont powerplant of the Lower Teton project has not been started.

This brief history of authorizations of projects included in the Federal Columbia River power system and reclamation projects associated therewith should be evidence enough to support the kind of basinwide accounting we are asking for in H.R. 7406. This entire system of over 11 million kilowatts of capacity in completed and authorized projects, and roughly 10,000 miles of transmission lines should be operated as a single generating and marketing unit with irrigation assistance made an obligation against the entire system.

Physically, the projects are hydraulically and electrically integrated, and the power is transmitted over a common grid. Administratively, the Bonneville Power Administration markets the power at uniform rates throughout the entire marketing area under contracts that sell power not from any particular project, but from the integrated system. Power revenues from such an integrated system cannot be identified as coming from any particular generating source. Because of the benefits of integration, neither the power and energy sold nor the revenues received can be accurately related to specific generating plants. The power which is sold is, in a real engineering sense, produced by the system as a whole and the revenues therefrom are system revenues. Thus, it is not practical to tie an irrigation project to a specific powerplant for financial assistance. The only practical procedure is basinwide accounting with the pooling of all costs and all revenues. This then is the basis for the language of this new section 2 which the committee placed in H.R. 7406.

The repayment policy now being followed for the Federal Columbia River power system was approved by the Secretary of the Interior on April 3, 1963. The procedure followed for presenting Bonneville Power Administration rate and repayment data is based on repayment of the consolidated system including other financial obligations. The language of the new section 2 thus reflects and is an outgrowth of the factual situation in the Columbia River Basin today. It rests on the premise that all revenues and all costs of the individual projects which are covered by the consolidated financial statement are in fact pooled and should be so recognized in law.

Neither the procedure being followed nor the language of this new section 2 change in any respect the provisions of laws under which any project has been or is being constructed and under which it is to be repaid. There is no existing legal obligation to amortize costs to be met from power revenues on the basis of a fixed annual payment. The payout requirements of the various projects are in terms of maximum payout period which is 50 years for powerplants from the time they are placed in service, 40 years for transmission lines, 50 years plus development period for irrigation projects, with 66 years allowed in the authorizing act for repaying both water and power costs in the case of the Kennewick Division of the Yakima project. So long as revenues derived by sale of power through the system as a whole are applied to accomplish these payout requirements of each project, the procedure meets all legal requirements. None of the power marketing statutes involved in Bonneville Power Administration's power operations specify an annual repayment requirement.

With respect to reclamation projects, the basinwide accounting procedure is not in conflict with the Hayden-O'Mahoney amendment—Act of May 9, 1938—which deals with the cash distribution of the revenues in the Treasury as between the reclamation funds and the general fund. Neither is the procedure in conflict with section 9C of the Reclamation Project Act of 1939 which deals with the payout requirements of reclamation projects. Neither the Hayden-O'Mahoney amendment nor section 9C requires a fixed annual payment, nor do they preclude the interproject transfers of power so that it may be coordinated and sold by a single marketing entity under systemwide rate schedules.

EXTRACT FROM THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION ACT FOR 1939 (ACT OF MAY 9, 1938)

All moneys received by the United States in connection with any irrigation projects, including the incidental power features thereof, constructed by the Secretary of the Interior through the Bureau of Reclamation, and financed in whole or in part with moneys heretofore or hereafter appropriated or allocated therefor by the Federal Government, shall be covered into the reclamation fund, except in cases where provision has been made by law or contract for the use of such revenues for the benefit of users of water from such projects: *Provided*, That after the net revenues derived from the sale of power developed in connection with any of said projects shall have repaid those construction costs of such project allocated to power to be repaid by power revenues therefrom and shall no longer be required to meet the contractual obligations of the United States, then said net revenues derived from the sale of power developed in connection with such project shall, after the close of each fiscal year, be transferred to and covered into the General Treasury as "miscellaneous receipts:"

NOTE.—The foregoing paragraph is popularly called the "Hayden-O'Mahoney amendment."

The matter of establishing a basin account in the Pacific Northwest had been under discussion for more than 15 years. It has been considered by the Committee on numerous occasions. It is discussed each time we have under consideration the authorization of another reclamation project in the Northwest. In 1960, extensive hearings were held on legislation to establish a full-fledged basin account. While the language of the new section 2 does not create a full basinwide account for all aspects of Federal water development in the Columbia Basin, it approximates it as closely as is necessary at the present time. While it might be desirable to have a completely uniform system applicable to all projects, the Committee recognizes that these authorizations have been granted over a long period of years, that they were made under varying circumstances, and that each reflects the thinking of its time. In adopting the language of section 2, we have not attempted to cope with the multiplicity of problems that might be encountered if we were to undertake a complete revision of the laws relating to power and irrigation projects of the Pacific Northwest.

Mr. Chairman, at a time when we are increasing the presently installed power capacity of the Federal Columbia River power system by more than 50 percent and the authorized capacity by a third, it seems fully appropriate to recognize basinwide accounting and provide for an annual consolidated financial statement to assure that the Federal Columbia River power system is maintained in a sound financial position and that the state of the account is made known to all interested parties. It also seems appropriate to authorize financial assistance to future irrigation projects as a means of providing maximum development and utilization of the water resources of the Columbia River Basin.

I urge the adoption of the Committee amendment and the approval of H.R. 7406, as amended.

May I just make this statement? A basinwide accounting program, or a basin account, has almost uniformly received the opposition of some of the public power leaders of the Northwest. I believe I can understand this, for the simple reason, if one of these power projects pays out on time and is not related to the rest of them, then the law provides that those revenues shall go into the General Treasury. With the revenues going into the General Treasury it is possible that there will be a request for lowered power rates from that particular operation. Of course, we have had this difficulty between those who want cheap power and those who want irrigation.

What we propose to do, of course, is to keep this as one unit, one big project, insofar as accounting is concerned; tie it together and have it pay out in accordance with the payout schedules and the incomes accumulated because of the returning revenues, until we have the entire Northwest properly developed insofar as its water and land resources are concerned.

Mr. Chairman, I believe I can say with some justification for the position taken by some of the adherents and supporters of public power, because the cheaper you can get the power produced the cheaper you can sell it, and of course this pleases the consumer.

I cannot see how the private power interests could take any exception to what we are trying to do here today.

This central accounting system is one of importance, and it is our desire to make it honest and to have these power rates continue at rates that will pay off the projects as originally planned in the authorizations.

Mr. Chairman, I feel that this is good legislation.

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASPINALL. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Oregon.

Mr. ULLMAN. The gentleman from Colorado has made an excellent statement in explanation of this legislation, and I commend him for it.

Does the gentleman see any possibility of increased power rates in the Pacific Northwest because of the enactment of this legislation?

Mr. ASPINALL. I see no possibility of increased power rates in the Northwest because of the authorization of the third powerplant or because of the central accounting program that we are attempting to set up. I do see a more uniform understanding of the system of power rates in the Northwest because of this general central accounting program.

Mr. ULLMAN. If the gentleman would yield further, in the case of future reclamation authorizations where the reclamation users cannot afford to pay the full cost of the project—what would be the procedure in attaching the further payments to the basin account?

Mr. ASPINALL. If the Congress follows the procedure that it has followed for several years, the payout period will be 50 years plus an additional 10 years for the development of any separate block. The payout on that particular project will have to take place within that 50-year period. Just as under our section 2 the payout period for all these projects is exactly what was provided in the original auhorization.

Mr. ULLMAN. The cost of these recreation projects will be attached to the basin account but will not effect increased power costs because it will pick up the revenues at the end of the payout period; is that correct?

Mr. ASPINALL. The gentleman from Oregon is correct. We have just recently authorized the Tualatin and Manson units and we have attached them to the Bonneville power account.

Mr. ULLMAN. Will the language be, "The Columbia Basin account" when we hereafter attach projects to it?

Mr. ASPINALL. If I remember correctly, we refer to it as the Northwest power account.

Mr. ULLMAN. I want to commend the gentleman. I have been in favor of a basinwide accounting system for a long period of time as the gentleman knows, when I was a member of his committee. The problems have been very complex. There has been some opposition, but I commend the gentleman for his long interest in this proposal and for the inclusion of this language in this bill.

Mr. ASPINALL. May I say further, it is my hope if we do find any bugs in this legislation, as my colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, has suggested, that I will find my colleague from Pennsylvania helping me to take care of this because I think I realize his interest is trying to keep this project as a financially sound project.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASPINALL. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SAYLOR. I would comment to my colleague, the gentleman from Oregon, who is worrying about a power rate increase, that the accounting system has shown over the past number of years that they have had an annual deficit of about $17 million. But they increased the rates $2½ million and balanced their books. This is the type of accounting system that has been complained about by the Comptroller General and this is the kind of thing that should not be allowed.

By this bill and by this amendment we have adopted in the committee, we are putting our stamp of approval on it.

Mr. ASPINALL. I do not like to take issue with my colleague on figures because we can so often get involved in a discussion of figures. But, if I remember correctly, the amount of money to be raised by a rate increase is $4 million and not $2½ million. This amount is said to be sufficient to keep this particular part of the Northwest operation in financially sound annual condition.

I will have to be clear on this. We went behind year by year for several years beginning with the early fifties, but we were using up revenues that had been accrued because of the good years following the war and the sale of power in that area to industries that were oriented to the war effort.

I think perhaps almost any other interest private or otherwise, would have undoubtedly liked to proceed for some time using up these additional revenues rather than asking for an increase in power rates. Our committee was cognizant of this and I think we put as much pressure on the Department of the Interior to get these power rates in conformity with the moneys needed to take care of the payout of the Grand Coulee operation as any other group or individual.

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASPINALL. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BURTON of Utah. I would appreciate it if the gentleman now in the well would comment on a feeling that has been expressed to me by several of our colleagues—I should say a worry that has been expressed to me—that if this bill passes, it represents a giving up by our committee and by the Congress what should properly be a congressional responsibility. In other words, what do you say as to the point that the Secretary, if this bill passes, has the authority to go ahead and proceed with the construction of projects without congressional reference.

Mr. ASPINALL. Oh, no, no. This has nothing to do with the construction of additional projects. We have kept this in mind. This bill is tied entirely and solely to the third powerhouse division of the Grand Coulee project. Any other projects that will be tied in later on, if they are, will have to be brought before the Congress and will have to be authorized by the Congress the same way that we have authorized the Tualitin and Manson and the third powerhouse that we are now considering.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ASPINALL. I am glad to yield to the gentlewoman from Washington.

Mrs. MAY. I should like to ask two questions of the distinguished chairman. I do so for the record. I realize in a way I am asking for a duplication of his remarks. But would he clarify in what state this legislation would leave the old irrigation districts with the Columbia Basin accounting system on them?

Mr. ASPINALL. The Columbia project is tied to the Columbia River Basin program. This is the one to which our friend from Pennsylvania referred when he showed us his first map, the payout period that was set up originally for that project.

Although I cannot find the authorization for that kind of a pay-out, there are 500,000 acres of land still to be developed in that project. We came along with other projects, and we tied one to the Chief Joseph. We tied another to Idaho-produced power, projects in Idaho. We tied others to different projects. Just recently we have tied to the Bonneville project itself.

Mrs. MAY. Would the gentleman say that it would be fair to say that while the language of his amendment is not made retroactive to cover older projects, the Kaskaska or the Roza, it does not change their status in any way whatsoever?

Mr. ASPINALL. It has nothing to do with their status. It does bring them into the central accounting system so we know where the moneys come from and we know where they are supposed to be paid out.

Mrs. MAY. May I ask the chairman to state also for our legislative record here today as to whether this Columbia Basin account type of language would have any effect at all on the Columbia River Basin Act from the standpoint of the irrigators that are in there right now concerning repayment?

Mr. ASPINALL. It would have no effect whatsoever if the administrators follow the law and the policy, which is for the user to pay what they can pay. My colleague, the gentlewoman from Washington, and I have been through that in the last 4 or 5 years on some of these projects. We endeavored and did make it an exception in one or two instances, but they are supposed to pay exactly what they can pay under a formula that is recognized, by the departments.

Mrs. MAY. I thank the chairman for clarifying those two points.

Mr. Chairman, I include a copy of letter, the original of which was referred to in the debate on the legislature now under consideration:

COMPTROLLER GENERAL
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C., December 30, 1965.

B-114858.
Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
Secretary of the Interior,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The General Accounting Office has examined the accompanying financial statements of the Columbia River Federal Power System for fiscal year 1965, which were prepared by the Bonneville Power Administration. The designation Columbia River Federal Power System (previously the Columbia River Power System) is used to describe the integrated power system in the Pacific Northwest consisting of (1) power-generating facilities of the Corps of Engineers (civil functions), Department of the Army, and of the Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior, and (2) transmission facilities of the Bonneville Power Administration. The administration markets the power generated by the integrated system.

Our examination of the financial statements was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and included such tests of the accounting records of the Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the Bonneville Power Administration and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances. Our last examination of financial statements of the system was made for fiscal year 1963. Although no examination was made of fiscal year 1964 statements, our examination of fiscal year 1965 financial statements included appropriate tests of transactions—recorded in the accounts during fiscal year 1964—to determine the reasonableness of the account balances at the beginning of fiscal year 1965. Our examination was made pursuant to the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921 (31 U.S.C. 53), and the Accounting and Auditing Act of 1950 (31 U.S.C. 67).

The accompanying statements present the combined financial results of operations in the generating, transmitting, and marketing of electric power and the financial position of the integrated power system. Combined statements for the integrated power system were last prepared for fiscal year 1962. The financial statements prepared for fiscal years 1963 and 1964 were statements of the Bonneville Power Administration only. Accordingly, the financial statements of the Columbia River Federal Power System for fiscal year 1965 have not been prepared on a comparative basis. Also, a statement of sources and application of funds for fiscal year 1965 has not been prepared. We have suggested that this information be included as part of the financial statements for future years. The administration has agreed to present such statements beginning with fiscal year 1966.

The method of measuring the financial condition and operating results of the system has changed substantially in the past 3 fiscal years. Adjustments made as a result of these changes primarily account for the $145.6 million increase in accumulated net power revenues from $57.2 million at June 30, 1962, to $202.8 million at June 30, 1965. (See note 9 of the accompanying statements.) The conversion from the straight-line method of depreciation to the compound-interest method for facilities throughout the system accounts for about $131.7 million of this increase. (See explanation in note 3.) We concurred in this change.

Under the compound-interest method of computing depreciation, the annual provisions increase each year during the period used for the depreciable life of the asset; whereas, under the straight-line method of computing depreciation, equal annual amounts are provided for depreciation. Accordingly, under the latter method of computing depreciation, the combined amount recorded for depreciation and interest on the unrepaid investment is high during the early life of the asset and decreases as interest on the investment decreases because of repayments on the investment; whereas, under the compound-interest method of computing depreciation, the combined amount recorded for depreciation and interest tends to be about the same for each year because the provision for depreciation increases as interest on the investment decreases. At the end of the depreciable life of the asset the total amounts computed under each method would be equal—only the yearly allocations would have differed.

As applied to the facilities of the Columbia River Federal power system, the compound-interest method for determining depreciation conforms to the method used to determine a factor for amortization of capital investment in establishing rates charged for power deliveries to customers and to measure requirements for repayment of capital investment, except that the period of years during which depreciation is assigned as an operating cost is based on the composite economic service lives of the assets. The composite economic service lives are generally longer than the 50-year periods used in establishing power rates and repayment schedules. In the fiscal year 1963, the Administration changed the method of computing depreciation for the transmission facilities from the straight-line to the compound-interest method but the Bureau and the corps continued computing depreciation for generating projects by the straight-line method.

We suggested to the Department of the Interior that depreciation for transmission facilities and for generating projects be computed on a uniform basis. The Department proposed, and we agreed, that depreciation for generating projects be computed by the compound-interest method and that the depreciation be included in the financial statements although it would not be recorded in the project accounts until adopted by the corps.

The Columbia River Federal power system is required to provide from its power revenues repayment to the Federal Government for the costs of irrigation facilities that water users are unable to repay. The contribution required to provide this assistance to irrigation amounted to $335.7 million at June 30, 1965. The Administration estimates that repayment of this obligation will begin in 1997, after the repayment of the major portion of the power investment. For purposes of the financial statements of the power system, the amount for irrigation assistance from power revenues is shown as a deferred charge and a related liability.

In a report on our examination of financial statements prepared by Bonneville Power Administration for fiscal year 1963, we expressed the opinion that those financial statements did not fairly present the results of power operations for the year or the financial position of the integrated power system at June 30, 1963 (B-114858, Feb. 16, 1965). The primary reasons for our adverse opinion were that the cost of generating power marketed by the Administration had not been properly disclosed, firm cost allocations were lacking for nine generating projects, and the effect of following accounting practices that were inconsistent with those of prior years was not adequately disclosed in the notes to the statements. Also, we concluded that, until appropriate principles relating to financial statement disclosures were adopted and applied, our continued examination of the Administration's financial statements would serve no useful purpose.

The points of difference regarding the fiscal year 1963 financial statements were subsequently discussed by representatives of our office, the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, and the Bonneville Power Administration. These discussions led to the adoption of several improvements in the presentation of the financial status and operations of the integrated power system. We are of the view that substantial progress has been made in the presentation of the financial aspects of these operations and that, with continuing effort devoted to further improvement, the remaining problems, referred to below, will be resolved within a reasonable period of time.

The notes to the accompanying financial statements indicate that a number of matters remain to be resolved for improved disclosure of the financial position and results of operations of the integrated power system. The more important of these, described in notes 3 through 7, are (1) the need to establish uniform composite service lives of turbines and generators for use in computing depreciation (2) the inconsistency in the capitalization of interest costs during construction (3) the inconsistency in capitalization of preliminary survey and investigation costs (4) the exclusion from the accounts of the costs applicable to power-system operations for space rental and audit service furnished by other Federal agencies, and (5) the need for the Corps to record in the official accounting records depreciation of plant assets as determined under the compound-interest method.

The accounts and financial statements are subject to adjustment because firm allocations of the cost of constructing joint-use facilities at 8 of the 16 generating projects in operation at June 30, 1965, had not been made to power and nonpower purposes. (See note 5 to the statements.) The cost of joint-use facilities at the eight projects amounted to $459.5 million at June 30, 1965, of which $224.9 million was tentatively allocated to power. Changes in allocations may require significant adjustments because of the recent changes illustrated in note 5. The changes in fiscal year 1963 for the Dalles, McNary, and Columbia Basin projects resulted in transferring about $63 million of the cost of joint-use facilities from power to nonpower purposes and increasing annual net power revenues by about $2.8 million. Further, the amount of net power revenues accumulated before fiscal year 1963 was increased $5 million because the accounts for the Dalles and McNary projects were adjusted retroactively to the start of project operations. In contrast, the change for the Ice Harbor project illustrates that adjustments to allocations can be relatively insignificant.

In our opinion, the accompanying financial statements, together with the explanatory comments provided by us above, present fairly the assets and liabilities of the Columbia River Federal Power System at June 30, 1965, the financial results of its power operations for the year then ended, and the financial effects of the substantial changes in accounting principles and practices adopted between June 30, 1962, and June 30, 1965, in conformity with principles and standards of accounting prescribed for executive agencies of the Federal Government by the Comptroller General of the United States, except for the lack of firm construction cost allocations described in the preceding paragraph—the financial effect of which is not now determinable.

Copies of this report are being sent today to the Administrator, Bonneville Power Administration, and to the Commissioner of Reclamation.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK H. WEITZEL,
Acting Comptroller General of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Colorado has consumed 36 minutes. There is 1 minute remaining to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. HOSMER].

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this measure, which is in furtherance of the development of the Pacific Northwest. Some 150 million acre-feet of water annually make up the Pacific Northwest watershed and 90 million acre-feet eventually flow into the Pacific Ocean. In the meantime, the dynamic forces of the water as it descends to lower altitude are utilized by the handiworks of man to generate electric power, and the revenues from that power are devoted to paying back the costs of irrigation and power construction work.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania indicated that there is some doubt about how much electricity is going to have to be generated and sold over how many numbers of years in order to accomplish this payback. But nevertheless that is the theory underlying this, and the more powerplants we have on these river systems to generate electricity to be sold to bring in revenues, the sooner we will approach some kind of fiscal sanity with respect to river system-hydroelectric-irrigation projects of this type. I say fiscal sanity because the charts which the gentleman from Pennsylvania showed were fiscal hypothecations at most. They were estimates by people who have not been too good at estimating in the past as to what the possible financial results and the consequences of the Columbia River system improvements might be.

Their guess is one thing. Other people guess other things.

I see the gentleman from Pennsylvania has arisen and if I have sufficiently interested him already so that he asks me to yield, I will be delighted to.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOSMER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SAYLOR. As I said before, those charts reflect what the representatives of the Bureau told our committee.

Mr. HOSMER. I just got through saying that they reflect something. Whether the something that they reflect is accurate or not is entirely another question, to which nobody has addressed himself yet today. I am not going to try to because this whole subject is a tremendous ball of smoke, that you can reach into and touch absolutely nothing that is meaningful to the senses.

But back to the point. There are many millions of dollars involved here to build this powerplant. It should be built, because it is going to pour some more money into basin accounts. Anything more we can get in them is an awfully good idea.

The trouble with it is that it may not be enough more. There may not be enough more kilowatts in this project, and the kilowatts that are in it may not be sold for enough money to do the job.

At this time I want specifically to address myself to the comments of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, relative to the proposed section 2 that is to be offered by way of amendment. I may surprise him, but I want to say that his arguments are logical arguments. His arguments are irrefutable arguments. His arguments are factual arguments. His arguments are persuasive arguments. They are compelling against something, but not what necessarily is the issue before us in this amendment here today. I will be delighted to follow those arguments if and when they are applied against the appropriate issue.

All that this amendment No. 2 does—and its language, I will have to admit, is very cumbersome—is simply tell the Secretary of the Interior every year to give the Congress and the President a consolidated financial statement. It does not consolidate the accounts. It is just a consolidated financial statement of all those many projects up in this area.

If the Secretary can make that calculation, and if anybody can understand it once he does, and if the understanding to the Secretary of the Interior is such that the money coming in is not enough to make the payout, then he is told to raise the rates for the power that is sold.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 additional minutes to the gentleman.

Mr. HOSMER. That is a fairly sensible proposition. Some people have been trying to get the power rates raised in this area for a long time. Maybe if this thing is persuasive enough, compelling enough, understandable enough, and graphic enough, and it comes in next year, they will raise power rates next year.

Everybody in the Pacific Northwest will scream their eyes out. But I think even the people in the Pacific Northwest are coming to realize that this is not a perpetual bonanza, this money that is going into the Pacific Northwest by the millions and millions and millions. At some point the Pacific Northwest has to admit that it is no longer an economically undeveloped area of this earth, that it can stand on its own two feet, and that it can pay its way just as can the other portions of this country.

I do not think that is too radical a proposition. It may be extreme, but I do not suppose it is really radical, when you come right down to it, because Uncle Sam needs the money.

The original idea of putting money into areas like the Pacific Northwest to build them up is a good one, but eventually they come to a state of adulthood, and then they have to start paying the same amount of money for things as everybody else does.

It is well to recall, when Chairman ASPINALL was speaking, he gave a little whistle. This reminded me of how this whole complex of projects along the Columbia River got started.

I do not know whether the story is accurate, but the story is told that in 1932, when candidate Roosevelt was campaigning over the country, his train went into the Pacific Northwest, some place by the Columbia River, and he leaned over to one of the local politicians and asked, "What will I tell them here?" The fellow said, "Tell them you will build them some dams." So he got out on the back of the train, at a whistle stop, and he said, "Mah friends, this great area of our country, under the New Deal, will be developed. It will be the land of the future. The Columbia River and its tributaries will have dam after dam after dam, and this will be a land forever to be praised," and so on. It was not much more than 12 months after that when, sure enough, the steam shovels went in and the cement started to be poured—and it has not stopped since. Every single year, peacetime and wartime, the Pacific Northwest has gotten a few more millions of dollars for these projects. This is a great credit to their people in the Congress, incidentally, who represent them so ably and who have such large sacks to carry the largess of the Treasury back up to that great area of the country.

Nevertheless, it is time now for them to start paying their way, to start raising the power rates.

If the gentleman from Pennsylvania is unsuccessful in defeating this amendment, I believe we will have a little more possibility of bringing realistic rates for electricity to the Pacific Northwest.

If there is a revenue loss, if the Pacific Northwest feels "put upon" by the extra expense which is going to be involved, I hope the people will let some of us from the Pacific Southwest come to them, hat in hand, offering to pay money for some of the water they have up there, which they now waste out into the Pacific Ocean, so that we can bring it down into Arizona, California, New Mexico, and the Colorado River system to take care of the very pressing problems we have.

I wish to congratulate the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. WYATT], who represents the great city of Newberg, which has a great newspaper known as the Newberg Graphic, which only a few days ago editorially commented favorably upon the wisdom of the Pacific Northwest exporting its surplus water to the arid Pacific Southwest, and about stopping the use of this water issue for the political white horse every even year when elections come along. I hope that the editor of the Newberg Graphic, who has such persuasive and logical ideas, will be able to extend them fully to his fellow citizens.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOSMER. I am delighted to yield to my friend from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SAYLOR. I should like to ask the gentleman from California whether he is supporting this legislation because of the 150 million acre-feet of water, upon which he has cast a jaundiced eye in his remarks——

Mr. HOSMER. A jealous eye, if I may correct the gentleman.

Mr. SAYLOR. It is a jaundiced eye, as I listened to the remarks. The gentleman comes from an area short of water. Does he support this because of that reason, or because it is a good project?

Mr. HOSMER. I cite for the gentleman a page of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I do not have the page number yet, because the RECORD is not printed. It will be available tomorrow morning. If the gentleman will look at the opening sentence I used when I commenced these remarks I am now making, he will read words to the effect:

"I rise in support of this measure, which is in furtherance of the development of the Pacific Northwest."

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY].

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I am proud to say that the Columbia Basin project embraces a portion of the Fourth Congressional District, State of Washington, which it is my privilege to represent in the Congress. I cannot lay claim to all of Grand Coulee Dam, because only one-half of the dam is in the Fourth Congressional District. The other half is located in the Fifth District, represented by my distinguished colleague across the aisle [Mr. FOLEY].

Mr. Chairman, I am cosponsor of the legislation before us today, having introduced H.R. 8197, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain a third powerplant at the Grand Coulee Dam, Columbia Basin project, Washington. The bill before us today is H.R. 7406, which in its original form was identical to the legislation which I had introduced and cosponsored with my Washington State colleague.

At the outset, I wish to make it absolutely clear that I intend to support and vote for the third powerplant. This is a project which will further the orderly development of the resources of the Pacific Northwest. When the 3.6 million kilowatts of generating capacity is ultimately added to the existing 2 million kilowatts at the present two existing powerplants, the total generating capacity of Grand Coulee Dam will be larger than from any single hydroelectric development in the world.

The increased power potential to be realized by the third powerplant was made possible by the Columbia River Treaty between the United States and Canada.

As noted in the April 13, 1965, letter from the President of the United States to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, transmitting draft of legislation to authorize the third powerplant at Grand Coulee Dam, the rapidly growing demands for electric power in the Pacific Northwest will readily absorb the power produced by the proposed powerplant. However, some peaking power and secondary—not regularly available—power that is surplus to the needs of the Pacific Northwest in the early years of the project can be marketed in the Pacific Southwest over the intertie. Thus, the intertie will permit maximum utilization of the water flowing past Grand Coulee Dam, resulting in conversion in its truest sense.

As was pointed out, the benefit-cost ratio is exceptionally favorable, being more than 3 to 1. Revenues from the sale of power will more than pay for the capital investment, and in addition to power benefits, the project will provide increased flood protection benefits.

I might add, Mr. Chairman, that the third powerplant is a necessary project because unless such facilities are constructed, a severe power shortage would occur in the Pacific Northwest by the year 1973. In addition, a shortage of peaking capacity in the regions served by the Pacific Northwest-Pacific Southwest intertie now under construction, would be experienced.

The third powerplant project, as far as I am aware, Mr. Chairman, is a completely noncontroversial project. It is recognized as being clearly essential.

Perhaps not so clearly essential, Mr. Chairman, are the amendments to H.R. 7406 made in the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs which would, in effect, bring about what is popularly referred to as a Columbia Basin account—a new accounting system for water resources development projects. I would like to state that I am not opposed to the establishment of a Columbia Basin account, and as a matter of fact, sponsored such proposed legislation when I first came to Congress nearly 8 years ago. There is much merit to the idea of working out an accounting system for power and reclamation projects in the Columbia Basin, and the committee amendments to the bill, as offered by the distinguished chairman [Mr. ASPINALL] are no doubt intended to establish such a system.

On the other hand, I can certainly understand the concern expressed today by those who feel the amendments have not received adequate consideration in committee.

In this regard I would like to advise my colleagues that as soon as the committee reported the bill I sent copies of the report to interested individuals and groups in the State of Washington for analysis of the amendments, and in addition I met with such groups and individuals during the past week when I was in my home State. By and large, Mr. Chairman, it seems to be the consensus of feeling that the amendments, although not perfectly satisfactory to everybody, are generally acceptable.

I would be less than frank if I did not admit I have certain reservation over acceptance of language on any subject which has not had the benefit of testimony in open hearings by public witnesses. On the other hand, certainly the subject of Columbia Basin account legislation is nothing new and has been discussed at length and on many occasions throughout the Columbia River Basin.

In a way, Mr. Chairman, it is like the response I received from a number of constituents answering my recent poll of the people of my district on various legislative issues before Congress. Some of these people indicated it was difficult to give a straight yes or no answer to some of the questions because so much is involved. This is what we face today. On balance, however, and lacking any compelling reason to feel otherwise, I shall support H.R. 7406 as reported.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from Washington has expired.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentlewoman from Washington.

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. MAY. I am delighted to yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. WYATT].

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Chairman, I would like to commend the gentlewoman for her statement and to associate myself with her remarks. Further, I wish to state that I support the bill as it has been reported out by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Mrs. MAY. I thank the gentleman from Oregon.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, to show that I support the bill as the gentleman from Washington [Mr. FOLEY] originally introduced it, at this time I yield 5 minutes to my colleague from Washington.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Chairman, as the author of this bill, I am grateful to the distinguished ranking minority member, for his generosity in yielding to me.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that members of the Committee have heard much this afternoon on the technical questions involving the repayment of Federal projects in the Pacific Northwest. Therefore, I do not wish to burden the members of the Committee with extended remarks.

I would only say that the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL] has described most ably the deliberations of the committee with respect to committee amendment No. 2. As I view committee amendment No. 2 it is designed to ratify the procedures which have been followed since 1963 by the Bonneville Power Administration. There is nothing new in this amendment in the way of repayment procedures. There is nothing new in the way of project authorizations, except that having to do with the third powerhouse itself. There is nothing new or different in the way any irrigation charges are repaid or the Bonneville power rates are determined.

There is no additional burden placed upon the power revenues of the Bonneville power system if this amendment is adopted. Finally there is no commitment to any future irrigation program, with or without power assistance as the result of this amendment.

I do not feel that we should lose sight of the fact that the central purpose of this bill is a very simple one; that is, to authorize what in my judgment may be one of the finest investments of Federal funds for resource development in the history of the Pacific Northwest and the Nation.

Mr. Chairman, the third powerhouse at Grand Coulee Dam should be built. There is no economic reason; there is no other reason to oppose its construction.

Indeed, Mr. Chairman, it would be sheer foolishness not to take advantage of the great storage capacity now being constructed in Canada. The United States has already committed $254 million for the downstream benefits from that great storage system in British Columbia which is well ahead of its construction schedule of 1973.

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOLEY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. REINECKE. I would like to ask the gentleman a question.

In view of the fact that there is a third powerplant proposed, obviously this will require a greater release of water from the Grand Coulee Dam to operate the turbines of the third powerplant. Is it anticipated in any of the future works on the whole basin to increase powerplants of the other dams downstream in view of the fact that there is a larger amount of water?

Mr. FOLEY. Yes—advance planning is underway for increased generation capacity at many if not all the dams on the Columbia.

Mr. REINECKE. Then there is a commitment for future works downstream, from what the gentleman is saying—is that correct?

Mr. FOLEY. The utilization of this additional storage in Canada makes desirable increasing the installation of generators at Chief Joseph Dam, the Bonneville and other dams on the Columbia River. The principal dam in this regard is, of course, Grand Coulee.

We will soon have the resources to produce electrical power on the Columbia that was not before available to us because we did not have the storage facilities that will be created in Canada. We have paid for that downstream benefit. It is a natural resource of the Nation. The third powerplant is a revenue producing project, one of the finest and most feasible that has ever come before the Congress. It will pay back to the U.S. Treasury within 50 years all but a fraction of its costs with interest.

There is no reason, I submit, to the members of the Committee, why this bill should not have the unanimous support of the Committee.

Mr. REINECKE. I would like to ask one further question regarding the sale of surplus power. This will still be sold through the Northwest intertie; is that correct?

Mr. FOLEY. Yes, the Bonneville Power Administration will sell any surplus power to the Pacific Southwest through the intertie.

Mr. REINECKE. At what price will the power be sold?

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOLEY. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, I rise to commend my colleague for his sponsorship of this legislation and for his work upon it. I strongly support the legislation and urge its passage.

Mr. Chairman, the House will vote today on H.R. 7406, a much-needed bill to authorize a third powerhouse at Grand Coulee Dam. I strongly urge the House to pass this legislation. Construction of the 12-generator powerhouse will make another 3.6 million kilowatts available to business and consumers in the Pacific Northwest. In my Second District, the rates for electricity are the lowest in the Nation. A third powerhouse will help to keep these rates low.

Last year the demand for power in my district was slightly over 1 million kilowatts. Within 20 years this demand is going to be 4 million kilowatts—more than the entire output of this new powerhouse. Low-cost power has already stimulated the growth of industry in northwest Washington. Anacortes and Ferndale now play host to oil refineries; expansion is forecast by the International Aluminum Co.—Intalco. A third powerplant will encourage further growth of our pulp and paper mills, such as Georgia-Pacific, Scott, Simpson-Lee, and Weyerhaeuser. Development of industry on the Olympic Peninsula will also require an adequate amount of low-cost electricity. I call upon the House today to approve H.R. 7406, legislation that will authorize a third powerhouse at Grand Coulee and that will generate prosperity throughout the Pacific Northwest.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Washington [Mr. FOLEY] has expired.

All time has expired. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to construct, operate, and maintain a third powerplant with a rated capacity of approximately three million six hundred thousand kilowatts, and necessary appurtenant works, including a visitor center, at Grand Coulee Dam as an addition to and an integral part of the Columbia Basin Federal reclamation project.

(b) Construction of the third powerplant may be undertaken in such stages as in the determination of the Secretary will effectuate the fullest, most beneficial, and most economic utilization of the waters of the Columbia River.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the first committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 2, line 1, after the word "project" insert the following:

"The construction cost of the third powerplant allocated to power and associated with each stage of development shall be repaid with interest within fifty years from the time that stage becomes revenue producing. The interest rate used for computing interest during construction and interest on the unpaid balance of the cost allocated to power shall be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury as of the beginning of the fiscal year in which the initial request for appropriations for the construction of the third powerplant is made, by computing the average interest rate payable by the Treasury on all interest-bearing marketable public debt obligations of the United States then outstanding which, upon original issue, had terms to maturity of fifteen years or more, and by adjusting such average rate to the next lowest multiple of one-eighth of one per centum."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 2, following line 19, insert a new section 2 as follows:

"SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Interior shall prepare, maintain, and present annually to the President and the Congress a consolidated financial statement for all projects heretofore or hereafter authorized, including the third powerplant at Grand Coulee Dam, from or by means of which commercial power and energy is marketed through the facilities of the Federal Columbia River power system and for all other projects associated therewith to the extent that the costs of these projects are required by law to be charged to and returned from net revenues derived from the power and energy, or any power and energy, so marketed, and he shall, if said consolidated statement indicates that the reimbursable construction costs of the projects, or any of the projects, covered thereby which are chargeable to and returnable from the commercial power and energy so marketed are likely not to be returned within the period prescribed by law, take prompt action to adjust the rates charged for such power and energy to the extent necessary to assure such return. Section 9, subsection (c) of the Act of August 20, 1937 (50 Stat. 736), as amended (16 U.S.C. 832h) is hereby repealed.

"That portion of the construction cost of any project hereafter authorized to be constructed, operated, and maintained by the Secretary of the Interior under the Federal reclamation laws (Act of June 17, 1902, 32 Stat. 388, and Acts amendatory thereof or supplementary thereto) within the Pacific Northwest which, though allocated to irrigation is beyond the ability of the irrigation water users to repay within the repayment period prescribed by law for that project and cannot be returned within the same period from other project sources of revenue shall be charged to and returned within that period from net revenues derived from the marketing of commercial power and energy through the Federal Columbia River power system, unless otherwise provided by law. As used in this Act, the term "Pacific Northwest" has the meaning ascribed to it in section 1 of the Act of August 31, 1964 (78 Stat. 756)."

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from Pennsylvania rise?

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, this is the amendment to which I referred when I spoke under the time allotted for debate of the bill. Let me again tell you what we are doing here.

In 1963, the Department of the Interior, without asking the consent of Congress, without asking anyone's advice, set up an entirely new accounting system. They began to do what is known as rollback accounting, or a rolling accounting system, so that during the time any project is authorized, they take 50 years to amortize all existing projects during the next 50-year period. This is why they have been able to show the remarkable figures which they have presented to the committee from time to time.

But as remarkable as those figures are, when it comes to a general accounting system, listen to what Assistant Secretary Holum had to tell the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs 8 days before the hearings were held by the House committee:

Perhaps I should also point out as a further premise that in considering basin accounts we are concerned with a very elusive subject. In many respects it is simple accounting concepts, difficult to define in specific and precise terms. For this reason we have developed charts and reports which we hope will help in explaining some of the concepts involved. I suspect that after we are through, you will still have many unanswered questions.

Now, very frankly, there was not a word of testimony on this amendment taken before our committee during this hearing. You do not have a report from an agency downtown supporting this proposition. The very fact is that the Comptroller General has submitted a report criticizing the system that is now in existence and asking that a different system be established.

Very frankly, with no warning whatsoever in the subcommittee, this amendment was proposed. Two days later, before the full committee, without any testimony, the amendment was adopted. At that time I asked whether or not we were establishing a basin account. The counsel said, "Yes, we are establishing a basin account."

The chairman of the full committee said, "Oh, we are not establishing a basin account."

If that is the way to legislate, it is contrary to the practice that has existed in that committee for the past 17 years. If the people in the House of Representatives are interested in a basin account, I have prepared and there is pending before our committee a bill to authorize a uniform method of accounting. That bill is H.R. 10724, a bill to establish a uniform policy for repayment of costs of Federal electric power projects. The chairman has asked for committee reports. The Comptroller General of the United States has said the bill is excellent, that I have introduced an excellent bill, but it does not go far enough, and he suggests more things that should be done.

Very frankly, if that is what we want to do, if we want to set up a basin accounting system for the Pacific Northwest, then let us do it by proper legislation, and not attach it to this bill.

As I said when I started, I supported this original bill as it was originally introduced. But I cannot support it with this amendment that has been added to it. It makes this bill a vehicle which completely changes the entire complex in the Pacific Northwest, and one which should not be here at this time.

I sincerely hope that the members of the Committee will defeat this amendment and, if we are interested in this type of legislation, have the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee consider this as a separate legislative proposal.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I am happy to yield to my colleague from North Carolina.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, would it be correct to say that this amendment would permit the continued use of funds after the payout has been completed for other projects?

Mr. SAYLOR. There is no doubt about it. At present no one knows just what this amendment does. It is so loosely drawn that nobody can tell what it is going to do.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. SAYLOR was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, will it be possible to use those funds intended for feasible projects and divert them to finance unfeasible projects?

Mr. SAYLOR. Absolutely. There is nothing in this amendment that would prevent the very thing which the gentleman from North Carolina has pointed out. It is one of the reasons why this amendment should be defeated.

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I think it would be well to point out that the committee has been studying this matter for a number of years, and the question of a basin account has been discussed pro and con in several areas of the West, and certainly in regard to the Columbia Basin area. But I would point out to my colleague that the amendment that is offered begins this way:

> The Secretary of the Interior shall prepare, maintain, and present annually to the President and the Congress a consolidated financial statement for all projects heretofore or hereafter authorized, including the third powerplant at Grand Coulee Dam.

This will give to the Congress of the United States full information annually as to what is being done in this general area with the production and sale of electric energy produced at that point and see that proper rates are charged.

There has been a great discussion for many years that great subsidies are flowing from these things, and that the power is being given away, and that these projects, although they could be economically feasible, are not self-sustaining.

This amendment makes it possible for the Congress of the United States to keep up annually and know what is going on, and to require that proper rates be charged for electric energy produced at this source to meet the payouts, required on all the projects in the basin.

I feel that it is certainly in the best interests of all the people of the United States that this be done, that this amendment be adopted, because in that way we will certainly place the responsibility on the Congress to answer the questions that might arise in the future as to whether or not subsidies are being granted to people in the Pacific Northwest, or people taking electric energy from that source.

If subsidies are forthcoming there, then the Congress will have the responsibility with the knowledge and the information from these reports to act, and to act very quickly.

I realize—and I am sure everyone here does—that unless we try to plan a development of a river basin with respect to a full development of the basin, there can be much of the energy and much of the natural resource wasted. Unless this sort of thing is done, I think that the Columbia Basin will of course not be fully developed, that the West will not have access to the energy that is available there to help develop this great section of the country.

I would certainly urge that the committee amendment be adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SAYLOR) there were—ayes 44, noes 30.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

> SEC. 2. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Strike out section 2 and insert:
>
> "SEC. 3. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, for construction of the third powerplant and necessary appurtenant works including a visitor center at Grand Coulee Dam, the sum of $390,000,000, based on estimated costs as of April 1966, plus or minus such amounts, if any, as may be justified by reason of ordinary fluctuations in construction costs as indicated by engineering cost indexes applicable to the types of construction involved herein."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. MONAGAN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7406) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain a third powerplant at the Grand Coulee Dam, Columbia Basin project, Washington, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 811, he reported the bill back to the House with sundry amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment?

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I demand a separate vote on amendment number 2, which begins on page 2, line 23, and goes through page 4, line 9.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any other amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gros.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment on which a separate vote has been demanded.

The Clerk read as follows:

> SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Interior shall prepare, maintain, and present annually to the President and the Congress a consolidated financial statement for all projects heretofore or hereafter authorized including the third powerplant at Grand Coulee Dam, from or by means of which commercial power and energy is marketed through the facilities of the Federal Columbia River power system and for all other projects associated therewith to the extent that the costs of

these projects are required by law to be charged to and returned from net revenues derived from the power and energy, or any power and energy, so marketed, and he shall, if said consolidated statement indicates that the reimbursable construction costs of the projects, or any of the projects, covered thereby which are chargeable to and returnable from the commercial power and energy so marketed are likely not to be returned within the period prescribed by law, take prompt action to adjust the rates charged for such power and energy to the extent necessary to assure such return. Section 9, subsection (c) of the Act of August 20, 1937 (50 Stat. 736), as amended (16 U.S.C. 832h) is hereby repealed.

That portion of the construction cost of any project hereafter authorized to be constructed, operated, and maintained by the Secretary of the Interior under the Federal reclamation laws (Act of June 17, 1902, 32 Stat. 388, and Acts amendatory thereof or supplementary thereto) within the Pacific Northwest which, though allocated to irrigation, is beyond the ability of the irrigation water users to repay within the repayment period prescribed by law for that project and cannot be returned within the same period from other project sources of revenue shall be charged to and returned within that period from net revenues derived from the marketing of commercial power and energy through the Federal Columbia River power system, unless otherwise provided by law. As used in this Act, the term "Pacific Northwest" has the meaning ascribed to it in section 1 of the Act of August 31, 1964 (78 Stat. 756).

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the amendment in disagreement.

The question was taken, and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. **SAYLOR**. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The **SPEAKER**. Evidently a quorum is not present. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas, 240, nays 111; answered "present" 2, not voting 79, as follows:

[Roll No. 65]

YEAS—240

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspinall
Bandstra
Baring
Battin
Beckworth
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Broomfield
Brown, Calif.
Burke
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Byrne, Pa.
Cabell
Carey
Carter
Chelf
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Clevenger
Cohelan
Corman
Craley
Cunningham
Curtis
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Dawson
de la Garza
Derwinski
Devine
Diggs
Dingell
Dole
Donohue
Dow
Dulski
Duncan, Oreg.
Dyal
Edmondson
Erlenborn
Evans, Colo.
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Fisher
Flood
Foley
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gilligan
Gonzalez
Grabowski
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Greigg
Grider
Griffiths
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hamilton
Hanley
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Iowa
Hardy
Harsha
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hechler
Helstoski
Herlong
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Hosmer
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Huot
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Jennings
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Okla.
Jones, Ala.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Keogh
King, N.Y.
King, Utah
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Krebs
Laird
Leggett
Lipscomb
Long, Md.
Love
McCarthy
McClory
McDowell
McFall
McGrath
McVicker
Machen
Mackay
Madden
Mahon
Martin, Nebr.
Matsunaga
May
Meeds
Miller
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Morgan
Morris
Morrison
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nedzi
O'Brien
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Olsen, Mont.
Olson, Minn.
O'Neill, Mass.
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Pool
Powell
Price
Pucinski
Purcell
Randall
Redlin
Rees
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Rivers, S.C.
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rogers, Tex.
Ronan
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Roush
Rumsfeld
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Schisler
Schmidhauser
Senner
Shipley
Sickles
Sikes
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Stalbaum
Steed
Stephens
Sullivan
Sweeney
Talcott
Teague, Calif.
Tenzer
Thomas
Thompson, N.J.
Thompson, Tex.
Todd
Trimble
Tunney
Tupper
Tuten
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Vivian
Walker, N. Mex.
Watts
White, Tex.
Whitten
Wilson, Bob
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Yates
Young
Younger
Zablocki

NAYS—111

Abbitt
Adair
Andrews, George W.
Andrews, Glenn
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Belcher
Betts
Bolton
Bray
Brock
Brown, Clarence J., Jr.
Broyhill, N.C.
Buchanan
Byrnes, Wis.
Cahill
Callaway
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Cooley
Corbett
Cramer
Culver
Curtin
Dague
Davis, Wis.
Dickinson
Dorn
Downing
Duncan, Tenn.
Edwards, Ala.
Ellsworth
Findley
Fino
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Pa.
Gathings
Goodell
Griffin
Gross
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Harvey, Mich.
Hébert
Henderson
Horton
Hutchinson
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Mo.
Kornegay
Kunkel
Kupferman
Langen
Latta
Lennon
McCulloch
McDade
McEwen
McMillan
MacGregor
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin, Ala.
Michel
Mills
Minshall
Mize
Moore
Morton
Mosher
Nelsen
O'Neal, Ga.
Ottinger
Passman
Poff
Quie
Quillen
Reid, N.Y.
Reinecke
Robison
Satterfield
Saylor
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Secrest
Selden
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith, Va.
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Stratton
Taylor
Thomson, Wis.
Tuck
Waggonner
Watkins
Watson
Whalley
Whitener
Widnall
Wydler

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—2

Race
Reid, Ill.

NOT VOTING—79

Abernethy
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Ayres
Barrett
Bates
Bow
Brooks
Broyhill, Va.
Burleson
Callan
Cameron
Casey
Celler
Colmer
Conte
Conyers
Delaney
Dent
Denton
Dowdy
Dwyer
Edwards, Calif.
Edwards, La.
Everett
Farnsley
Farnum
Feighan
Flynt
Fogarty
Ford, Gerald R.
Fuqua
Hagan, Ga.
Hagen, Calif.
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Harvey, Ind.
Hays
Jones, N.C.
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
Landrum
Long, La.
Macdonald
Mackie
Martin, Mass.
Mathias
Matthews
Moeller
Moorhead
Morse
Multer
Murray
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
Reifel
Resnick
Rivers, Alaska
Roberts
Roncalio
Rooney, N.Y.
Rostenkowski
Roudebush
Roybal
Scott
Sisk
Slack
Staggers
Stubblefield
Teague, Tex.
Toll
Utt
Walker, Miss.
Weltner
White, Idaho
Williams
Willis
Wilson, Charles H.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. White of Idaho for, with Mr. Race against.

Mrs. Hansen of Washington for, with Mrs. Reid of Illinois against.

Mr. Reifel for, with Mrs. Dwyer against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Rooney of New York with Mr. Gerald R. Ford.

Mr. King of California with Mr. Martin of Massachusetts.

Mr. Delaney with Mr. Bow.

Mr. Dent with Mr. Morse.

Mr. Fogarty with Mr. Bates.

Mr. Barrett with Mr. Conte.

Mr. Hays with Mr. Keith.

Mr. Roybal with Mr. Mathias.

Mr. Staggers with Mr. Harvey of Indiana.

Mr. Teague of Texas with Mr. Roudebush.

Mr. Toll with Mr. Ayres.

Mr. Charles H. Wilson with Mr. Broyhill of Virginia.

Mr. Multer with Mr. Walker of Mississippi.

Mr. Feighan with Mr. Utt.

Mr. Brooks with Mr. Jones of North Carolina.

Mr. Celler with Mr. Scott.

Mrs. Kelly with Mr. Burleson.

Mr. Rostenkowski with Mr. Roncalio.

Mr. Mackie with Mr. Dowdy.

Mr. Nix with Mr. O'Hara of Illinois.

Mr. Landrum with Mr. Edwards of Louisiana.

Mr. Conyers with Mr. Sisk.

Mr. Rivers of Alaska with Mr. Resnick.

Mr. Moorhead with Mr. Murray.

Mr. Willis with Mr. Slack.

Mr. Weltner with Mr. Everett.

Mr. Hanna with Mr. Hagan of Georgia.

Mr. Cameron with Mr. Abernethy.

Mr. Anderson of Tennessee with Mr. Colmer.

Mr. Matthews with Mr. Casey.

Mr. Edwards of California with Mr. Denton.

Mr. Roberts with Mr. Fuqua.

Mr. Macdonald with Mr. Farnsley.

Mr. Farnum with Mr. Flynt.

Mr. Hagen of California with Mr. Long of Louisiana.

Mr. Stubblefield with Mr. Williams.

Mr. Moeller with Mr. Callan.

Mr. **DORN** changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. **ANDREWS** of North Dakota changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mrs. **REID** of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I have a live pair with the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. HANSEN]. If she had been present she would have voted "yea." I voted "nay." I withdraw my vote and vote "present."

Mr. **RACE**. Mr. Speaker, I have a live pair with the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. WHITE]. If he had been present he would have voted "yea." I voted "nay." I withdraw my vote and vote "present."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

The **SPEAKER.** The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time and was read the third time.

The **SPEAKER.** The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken, and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. **HALL.** Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were refused.

So the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The **SPEAKER.** Pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 811, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is discharged from further consideration of the bill (S. 1761) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain a third powerplant at the Grand Coulee Dam, Columbia Basin project, Washington, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

S. 1761

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to construct, operate, and maintain a third powerplant with a rated capacity of approximately three million six hundred thousand kilowatts, and necessary appurtenant works, including a visitor center, at Grand Coulee Dam as an addition to and an integral part of the Columbia Basin Federal Reclamation project.

(b) Construction of the third powerplant may be undertaken in such stages as in the determination of the Secretary will effectuate the fullest, most beneficial, and most economic utilization of the waters of the Columbia River.

Sec. 2. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated for construction of the third powerplant and necessary appurtenant works including a visitor center at Grand Coulee Dam, the sum of $364,310,000, based on estimated costs as of April 1964, plus or minus such amounts, if any, as may be justified by reason of ordinary fluctuations in construction costs as indicated by engineering cost indexes applicable to the types of construction involved herein.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. ROGERS OF TEXAS

Mr. **ROGERS** of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Rogers of Texas moves to strike out all after the enacting clause of the bill S. 1761 and insert in lieu thereof the text of H.R. 7406, as passed, as follows:

"That (a) the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to construct, operate, and maintain a third powerplant with a rated capacity of approximately three million six hundred thousand kilowatts, and necessary appurtenant works, including a visitor center, at Grand Coulee Dam as an addition to and an integral part of the Columbia Basin Federal reclamation project. The construction cost of the third powerplant allocated to power and associated with each stage of development shall be repaid with interest within fifty years from the time that stage becomes revenue producing. The interest rate used for computing interest during construction and interest on the unpaid balance of the cost allocated to power shall be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury as of the beginning of the fiscal year in which the initial request for appropriations for the construction of the third powerplant is made, by computing the average interest rate payable by the Treasury on all interest-bearing marketable public debt obligations of the United States then outstanding which, upon original issue, had terms to maturity of fifteen years or more, and by adjusting such average rate to the next lowest multiple of one-eighth of one per centum.

"(b) Construction of the third powerplant may be undertaken in such stages as in the determination of the Secretary will effectuate the fullest, most beneficial, and most economic utilization of the waters of the Columbia River.

"Sec. 2. The Secretary of the Interior shall prepare, maintain, and present annually to the President and the Congress a consolidated financial statement for all projects heretofore or hereafter authorized, including the third powerplant at Grand Coulee Dam, from or by means of which commercial power and energy is marketed through the facilities of the Federal Columbia River power system and for all other projects associated therewith to the extent that the costs of these projects are required by law to be charged to and returned from net revenues derived from the power and energy, or any power and energy, so marketed, and he shall, if said consolidated statement indicates that the reimbursable construction costs of the projects, or any of the projects, covered thereby which are chargeable to and returnable from the commercial power and energy so marketed are likely not to be returned within the period prescribed by law, take prompt action to adjust the rates charged for such power and energy to the extent necessary to assure such return. Section 9, subsection (c) of the Act of August 20, 1937 (50 Stat. 736), as amended (16 U.S.C. 832h) is hereby repealed.

"That portion of the construction cost of any project hereafter authorized to be constructed, operated, and maintained by the Secretary of the Interior under the Federal reclamation laws (Act of June 17, 1902, 32 Stat. 388, and Acts amendatory thereof or supplementary thereto) within the Pacific Northwest which, though allocated to irrigation, is beyond the ability of the irrigation water users to repay within the repayment period prescribed by law for that project and cannot be returned within the same period from other project sources of revenue shall be charged to and returned within that period from net revenues derived from the marketing of commercial power and energy through the Federal Columbia River power system, unless otherwise provided by law. As used in this Act, the term 'Pacific Northwest' has the meaning ascribed to it in section 1 of the Act of August 31, 1964 (78 Stat. 756).

"Sec. 3. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, for construction of the third powerplant and necessary appurtenant works including a visitor center at Grand Coulee Dam, the sum of $390,000,000, based on estimated costs as of April 1966, plus or minus such amounts, if any, as may be justified by reason of ordinary fluctuations in construction costs as indicated by engineering cost indexes applicable to the types of construction involved herein."

The **SPEAKER.** The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. **ASHBROOK.** Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The **SPEAKER.** Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 249, nays 79, not voting 104, as follows:

[Roll No. 66]

YEAS—249

Abbitt
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Andrews, George W.
Andrews, Glenn
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Ashley
Ashmore
Aspinall
Bandstra
Battin
Beckworth
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Brademas
Brooks
Brown, Calif.
Burke
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Byrne, Pa.
Cabell
Callan
Carey
Carter
Chelf
Clark
Clawson, Del
Clevenger
Cohelan
Cooley
Corman
Craley
Culver
Cunningham
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Dawson
de la Garza
Dingell
Dole
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Downing
Dulski
Duncan, Oreg.
Dyal
Edmondson
Erlenborn
Evans, Colo.
Evins, Tenn.
Farbstein
Fascell
Fisher
Flood
Foley
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Gallagher
Gathings
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gilligan
Gonzalez
Grabowski
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Greigg
Grider
Griffiths
Gubser
Halpern
Hamilton
Hanley
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Iowa
Hardy
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hébert
Hechler
Helstoski
Henderson
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Hosmer
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Huot
Ichord
Jacobs
Jarman
Jennings
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Okla.
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Keogh
King, Utah
Kirwan
Kornegay
Krebs
Kupferman
Leggett
Lennon
Long, Md.
Love
McCarthy
McClory
McDade
McEwen
McGrath
McVicker
Machen
Mackay
Madden
Mahon
Marsh
Martin, Nebr.
Matsunaga
May
Meeds
Miller
Mills
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Morgan
Morris
Morrison
Morton
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Olsen, Mont.
Olson, Minn.
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Passman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Pool
Powell
Price
Pucinski
Purcell
Race
Randall
Redlin
Rees
Reinecke
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Rivers, S.C.
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rogers, Tex.
Ronan
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Roush
Ryan
Satterfield
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Schisler
Schmidhauser
Scott
Selden
Senner
Shipley
Sickles
Sikes
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Va.
Stafford
Stalbaum
Steed
Stephens
Sullivan
Sweeney
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Tenzer
Thomas
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Todd
Trimble
Tuck
Tunney
Tupper
Tuten
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Vivian
Waggonner
Walker, N. Mex.
Watson
Watts
White, Tex.
Whitener
Wright
Wyatt
Yates
Young
Zablocki

NAYS—79

Adair
Arends
Ashbrook
Belcher
Bolton
Bray
Brock
Broomfield
Brown, Clarence J., Jr.
Broyhill, N.C.
Buchanan
Cahill
Callaway
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don H.
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Corbett
Cramer
Curtin
Curtis
Dague
Davis, Wis.
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Duncan, Tenn.
Edwards, Ala.
Ellsworth
Findley
Fino
Fulton, Pa.
Goodell
Griffin
Gross
Grover
Gurney
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Harsha
Horton
Hutchinson
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
King, N.Y.
Kunkel
Langen
McCulloch
McMillan
MacGregor
Mailliard
Martin, Ala.
Michel
Minshall
Mize
Moore
Mosher
Quie
Quillen
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Rumsfeld
Saylor
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Secrest
Shriver
Springer
Stanton
Stratton
Watkins
Whalley
Widnall
Wilson, Bob
Wolff
Wydler

NOT VOTING—104

Abernethy
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Ayres
Baring
Barrett
Bates
Betts
Boland
Bolling
Bow
Broyhill, Va.
Burleson
Byrnes, Wis.
Cameron
Casey
Cederberg
Celler
Colmer
Conte
Conyers
Daddario
Delaney
Dent
Denton
Diggs
Dowdy
Dwyer
Edwards, Calif.
Edwards, La.
Everett
Fallon
Farnsley
Farnum
Feighan
Flynt
Fogarty
Ford, Gerald R.
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Garmatz
Hagan, Ga.
Hagen, Calif.
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Harvey, Ind.
Harvey, Mich.
Hays
Herlong
Irwin
Jones, N.C.
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
Kluczynski
Laird
Landrum
Latta
Lipscomb
Long, La.
McDowell
McFall
Macdonald
Mackie
Martin, Mass.
Mathias
Matthews
Moeller
Moorhead
Morse
Multer
Murray
Nix
O'Brien
O'Hara, Ill.
Patman
Poff
Reifel
Resnick
Rivers, Alaska
Roberts
Roncalio
Rooney, N.Y.
Rostenkowski
Roudebush
Roybal
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Staggers
Stubblefield
Teague, Tex.
Thompson, Tex.
Toll
Utt
Walker, Miss.
Weltner
White, Idaho
Whitten
Williams
Willis
Wilson, Charles H.
Younger

So the motion was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Rooney of New York with Mr. Gerald R. Ford.

Mr. Delaney with Mr. Smith of California.

Mr. King of California with Mr. Byrnes of Wisconsin.

Mr. Dent with Mr. Betts.

Mr. Fogarty with Mr. Morse.

Mr. Mackie with Mr. Cederberg.

Mrs. Kelly with Mrs. Dwyer.

Mr. Staggers with Mr. Bow.

Mr. Toll with Mr. Ayres.

Mr. Charles H. Wilson with Mr. Utt.

Mr. Feighan with Mr. Martin of Massachusetts.

Mr. Garmatz with Mr. Conte.

Mr. Fallon with Mr. Laird.

Mr. White of Idaho with Mr. Keith.

Mrs. Hansen of Washington with Mr. Bates.

Mr. Boland with Mr. Lipscomb.

Mr. Daddario with Mr. Mathias.

Mr. Celler with Mr. Poff.

Mr. Barrett with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.

Mr. Roybal with Mr. Roudebush.

Mr. Hays with Mr. Latta.

Mr. Teague of Texas with Mr. Harvey of Indiana.

Mr. Moorhead with Mr. Reifel.

Mr. Moeller with Mr. Harvey of Michigan.

Mr. Patman with Mr. Skubitz.

Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Younger.

Mr. Jones of North Carolina with Mr. Broyhill of Virginia.

Mr. Herlong with Mr. Walker of Mississippi.

Mr. Rostenkowski with Mr. Abernethy.

Mr. Anderson of Tennessee with Mr. Colmer.

Mr. Conyers with Mr. O'Hara of Illinois.

Mr. Nix with Mr. O'Brien.

Mr. Fuqua with Mr. Farnum.

Mr. Edwards of California with Mr. Farnsley.

Mr. Matthews with Mr. Macdonald.

Mr. Sisk with Mr. Burleson.

Mr. Cameron with Mr. Casey.

Mr. Diggs with Mr. Denton.

Mr. Thompson of Texas with Mr. McFall.

Mr. Landrum with Mr. Long of Louisiana.

Mr. Rivers of Alaska with Mr. Hagen of California.

Mr. Hanna with Mr. Hagan of Georgia.

Mr. Fulton of Tennessee with Mr. Edwards of Louisiana.

Mr. Flynt with Mr. Dowdy.

Mr. Stubblefield with Mr. Resnick.

Mr. Weltner with Mr. Whitten.

Mr. Willis with Mr. Everett.

Mr. Irwin with Mr. Baring.

Mr. Roncalio with Mr. Roberts.

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the Senate bill.

The Senate bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 7406) was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their own remarks and include pertinent information.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Select Subcommittee on Education be permitted to sit tomorrow during general debate while the House is in session to take testimony on the public library extension bill in order to accommodate out-of-town witnesses.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

THERE ARE MANY KINDS OF WARS, AND THERE ARE MANY WAYS TO FIGHT THEM

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, there are many kinds of wars. And there are many ways to fight them.

We now face what will probably be the greatest, longest, and most expensive war in the history of mankind—the war against hunger.

Victory is by no means certain. In fact, in many parts of the world, the cards seem to be heavily stacked against the human race. Starvation is advancing relentlessly. As population increases, per capita food production is falling behind.

Fortunately, the United States is aware of this problem and for a number of years has had programs in operation that would bring food to the tables of the world's hungry.

President Johnson has spoken often and eloquently about our moral obligations, as human beings, to share our plenty with those who are less fortunate. The Department of Agriculture has played a major role in this unselfish humanitarian effort.

Last year, the Department of Agriculture formed a new agency, the International Agricultural Development Service, to carry out President Johnson's forward looking proposal that we fight world hunger by sharing our agricultural know-how with other peoples.

Recently, Agricultural Notes, a publication of the Department of Agriculture's Federal Extension Service, published an excellent article describing the outstanding work of the International Agricultural Development Service. I found this article so inspiring and informative, that I commend it to the attention of all Americans, and am happy to insert it at this time into the Congressional Record:

Sharing Our Agricultural Know-How

Imagine, if you will, that your yearly income is below $200. You live in a shantytown toolshed with no bathroom, no inside running water, no electricity, no furniture save a table and one chair, a meager supply of poor quality food.

Imagine each member of your family with only one old dress or suit. No subscriptions to newspapers, magazines, or book clubs—no money for them; your family is illiterate anyway.

Picture your nearest clinic or hospital 10 walking miles away; a midwife in charge instead of a doctor.

Contemplate your life dependent on a $5 cash hoard and 3-acre tenant farm.

Imagine expecting to live only 40 or 50 years.

Think of daily facing the ugly specter of hunger, the drudgery of unrewarding labor and the cruelty of so little hope that you are unable to hold faith with the future.

Beyond comprehension? For Americans, yes. Yet as we Americans live our lives made rich by America's abundant material, social and spiritual wealth, many on earth—possibly a billion and a half people in Africa, Asia, and Latin America—are intimately acquainted with these conditions. One out of every two people in the world live this way every day.

WITH FOOD AND KNOWLEDGE, WE CAN HELP

The means to help people who live under these conditions is in our hands. One way we help is by giving them food. In the first 10 years of the U.S. food-for-peace program, $15.4 billion worth of U.S. farm products were shipped abroad to feed the hungry. This vital program staves off the immediate pangs of starvation.

Another way is to share our knowledge with them. Both ways fulfill the practical philosophy that "to help a hungry man, first give him food; but for long-lasting help, offer him not only abundance, but also the know-how which makes abundance possible."

With this philosophy bolstered by the long-standing American tradition of helping out the neighbor, the U.S. Department of Agriculture cooperates with the Agency for International Development and other organizations in sharing with the developing countries our great wealth of agricultral know-how.

"In the years ahead, if the developing countries are to continue to grow, they must rapidly enlarge their capacity to provide food for their people," President Johnson has said.

"To meet their needs for food, the developing countries need help. We in the United States are uniquely equipped to give it. We must use our agricultural abundance and our extensive technical skills to assist the less developed countries to strengthen their ability both to produce and buy agricultural commodities and, more generally, to support rural development. We can and must mount a more comprehensive program of technical assistance in agriculture engaging the U.S. Department of Agriculture, our State universities and land-grant colleges, and the most creative of our people in agriculture, marketing and industry."

IADS CREATED TO DO JUST THAT

The International Agricultural Development Service of the Department of Agriculture was recently created to coordinate just what the President called for—sharing our agricultural know-how.

An irrigation system in Morocco, a soil, water, and plant conservation demonstration in Tunisia, an agrarian reform project in Paraguay are outgrowths of only a few know-how sharing projects of the Department of Agriculture, sponsored by the Agency for International Development.

International Agricultural Development Service is responsible for mobilizing special assistance from all USDA agencies when less developed countries ask for help. It works with the Agency for International Development and maintains close liaison with land-grant universities, international organizations, foundations, co-ops, and private institutions also providing agricultural assistance abroad. To IADS falls the task of coordinating the U.S. Department of Agriculture's programs of international technical assistance and training now underway in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It evaluates requests for technical aid, helps draw up plans for filling them, and then assists in carrying them out—all in cooperation with AID.

Often, at a country's request, a team of specialists is sent to the country to make an on-the-scene evaluation. Based on the team's observation and recommendations, IADS advises AID what help can be and should be provided.

Agreements with AID to provide USDA assistance enables agencies of the USDA to send their own specialists. The participating agency service agreements teams eliminate the need for a large separate technical assistance corps.

Almost 200 USDA specialists have offered technical advice and guidance to governments of 26 countries this past year. About half of these specialists are members of resident teams now assisting on many fronts of agricultural development—forestry, agricultural economics, cooperatives, extension research, credit, conservation. Resident technicians are assigned to countries for 2 years or more where they work with members of U.S. Agency for International Development missions.

One USDA resident team of two Farmers Home Administration credit specialists is in Nepal today assisting the AID mission and the Government of Nepal to create a supervised credit program for farmers. Some specialists are making scientific searches for solutions to the critical blocks to development. Others are seeking solutions to insect and livestock disease problems which plague production. Some specialists are on emergency assignments such as directing forest-firefighting or seeking ways to stabilize farm prices.

During the past year, 12 USDA specialists have spent from 2 weeks to 3 months assisting the Indian Government in price stabilization and agricultural organization. In addition, the Department has been asked to send action teams to help India develop credit cooperatives and a land and water conservation program.

Three USDA technicians from the Economic Research Service, the Farmers Home Administration, and the Soil Conservation Service are now in Nicaragua to assist that Government with projects in agricultural economics, credit, land tenure, and pastures and forage crops. Two USDA advisers are now advising the Nicaraguan Government on reorganization of its Ministry of Agriculture.

WE TRAIN THEM FOR THE WORK AHEAD

A major block to agricultural progress in developing nations is that so few of their people are trained in agricultural skills. This past year, almost 5,000 technicians, scientists, and leaders from other countries were brought to the United States for training in agriculture. Equipping them with new agricultural skills and knowledge is part of USDA's technical assistance to developing nations. About half are sponsored by the Agency for International Development; others by private foundations, the United Nations, and other governments.

A course in public administration in agricultural development for administrators is of particular significance. This is the case because it involves participants of outstanding stature and the objectives are directed toward an area of dire need of strengthening in most developing countries.

Among the many foreign nations who received special training in the United States last summer were 47 women from the African nations Niger, Chad, Ivory Coast, Mauritania, Senegal, Dahomey, and Central African Republic. They studied home economics and human nutrition and visited American homes, health centers, and hospitals.

U.S. training in agriculture for foreign agriculturists includes the opportunity to work with such specialists as county agricultural and home demonstration agents, soil conservation technicians, farmer cooperative managers, researchers, and forest rangers. Many attend special short courses conducted by universities, USDA, or U.S. business firms. A number of these foreign agriculturists enroll in university courses along with American students.

We also give training in their own country through assistance in the establishment of educational institutions and in conducting special training courses.

ALL FOR PEACEFUL PROGRESS

Whatever results of U.S. technical assistance seem most important to you—the great humanitarian accomplishments of helping people live better, the resultant better future market for American products at foreign economies develop, or the spread of democratic ideals and methods—all will add up to a common American goal of worldwide peaceful economic and social progress. Assistance of this type, we hope, will hasten the day when all peoples of the earth can equally give thanks for a world where no man lives in want.

VIGOROUS ANTITRUST ENFORCEMENT WILL CURB INFLATIONS

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, some few weeks ago I brought to the attention of the House, in connection with the annual economic report of the Joint Economic Committee, the need for continued vigilance in the enforcement of our antitrust laws. At that time I expressed concern that the report of the Council of Economic Advisers omitted any reference to our antitrust programs, and that the indication seemed to be that there was a slackening of needed vigorous enforcement of those laws. Unfortunately, I must report to this House that those fears have been confirmed. In an address before the antitrust section of the American Bar Association, on April 14, 1966, the distinguished chairman of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, Senator Philip A. Hart, charges that current antitrust activities are being "carried on in a low key." Under unanimous consent I include the Senator's remarks on that occasion in the Record and urge their consideration by my colleagues:

Emerging Paradoxes in Antitrust

(Remarks of Senator Philip A. Hart, Democrat, of Michigan, before antitrust section of the American Bar Association, Shoreham Hotel, Thursday, April 14, 1966)

The United States is riding the crest of the greatest merger tide in our history with no end in sight. Many of our large firms are being consolidated into conglomerate enterprises. Overall concentration continues to increase and companies once dominant in one industry are reaching into others. The chief economist of the Federal Trade Commission estimates that by 1975, 200 corporations will hold 75 percent of all manufacturing assets. Yet, in spite of these developments, antitrust enforcement is being carried on in a low key; major mergers are consummated without apparent challenge; predatory practices often receive little attention, identical pricing patterns in concentrated industries seem to be regarded with little concern.

Certainly, it would be paradoxical if the Nation which has demonstrated to the world through its own prosperity and economic growth the flowering benefits of competition should now turn its back on the same policy. There are many who would repudiate competition for its own success and retire antitrust—the essential partner and guarantor competition—to a position as chairman emeritus of the board with only perfunctory duties.

Big business is stepping up its attack on meaningful antitrust enforcement. Fortune magazine would have us amend the antitrust laws so that for all practical purposes they would not reach mergers. Liberals have turned their attention elsewhere and—one gets the feeling—treat antitrust as an old racehorse who should be retired to pasture.

The general public is tranquilized by prosperity. And antitrust agencies (in all but a few exceptional cases) are adopting a tentative—if not timid—attitude toward anything but hard-core violations.

With inflation peering around the corner, one could expect someone to be concerned about the role that antitrust should be playing in holding down prices. Yet this seems to be the only area that remains ignored in public analysis of the inflation problem. There are many methods, of course, for dealing with inflation, but certainly any long-term solution requires attention to antitrust factors. It is significant of current attitude, I think, that recent attempts by Government to hold down specific price rises have involved many agencies—but apparently not the Antitrust Division of the Justice Department.

The idea seems to be taking hold that competition and antitrust are outdated in a modern, dynamic economy and that the only method of dealing with prices, wages, and production is a firm set of Government controls. This is what many shades of political and economic opinion seem to assume, including big business itself. Certainly any informed observer must know that Government cannot allow pricing power to reside for any significant period of time in the hands of a few powerful corporations overseeing our basic and most important industries.

To me, today's turning away from competition and antitrust is killing the goose that has been laying golden eggs. It makes no sense either in economic terms or in terms of our traditional concepts of freedom.

If anyone believes that I have exaggerated the situation, he need only examine the heart of any free competitive system—price competition. Price competition traditionally has been assumed to include—among other things—competition between companies making the same or to some extent interchangeable products. Today in one major industry after another price competition has been replaced by a form of identical pricing. The Senate Antitrust Subcommittee has volumes of hearings over the years documenting this phenomenon. But you don't have to read our hearings—just glance through any issue of the Wall Street Journal. In practically every issue there is a story which heralds an industrywide price boost. The press and public opinion has been conditioned to think of price hikes in terms of an entire industry—not in terms of individual companies. But what is the difference in effect between this uniform industrywide lockstep pricing and price fixing? Certainly, the ultimate effect on the consumer is the same, only the form differs.

The antitrust laws hold any form of price fixing as so pernicious and without redeeming social value that it is condemned as illegal per se. This is the one per se rule which seems to have won general acceptance. Price-fixing cases by the Justice Department generally are applauded. Yet identical industry pricing practices have been practically ignored. This is a paradox which permeates our entire economy, which must have an effect on inflation, and about which no one seems concerned. It explains, in part, why competition and antitrust face such an uncertain future.

The Senate Antitrust Subcommittee hearings have established an intimate relationship between "identical pricing" and industry structure. Where there are many competitors—with none having a predominant market position—price competition is more likely to occur. But where there are relatively few competitors or one competitor holds a substantial market position, the rivals appear able to avoid meaningful price competition. This does not mean that direct relationships or precise lines can be drawn as to how many competitors are necessary to maintain a competitive market or how big a dominant company must be to effectively destroy the competitive nature of a market. But it does mean that as a general rule oligopolistic markets or markets dominated by one firm tend to be characterized by noncompetitive pricing behavior.

And we are now faced with the irrefutable fact that in a substantial number of key manufacturing industries output is concentrated in relatively few firms.

The outlook for the future is further clouded by the accelerating trend toward economic concentration despite recent court decisions that could be the basis for a stronger antitrust effort. This trend is documented in our recent concentration hearings and in the reports of the Federal Trade Commission. Mergers went over the 2,000 figure last year and reportedly continue to increase, as does overall concentration.

The hearings also explored the nature of the conglomerate merger which seems to be characterizing the current merger movement. They documented acquisitions by our largest corporations in industries in which they traditionally had not been involved and demonstrated the ability of a corporation with a dominant position in one industry to spread its economic power into others.

The paradox is that the conglomerate merger is going almost unchallenged, although as Donald Turner, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Antitrust Division, has pointed out in his Harvard Law Review article, it is the kind of merger for which there is the least economic justification. Congressional reports on the Celler-Kefauver amendment to section 7 of the Clayton Act make clear that it was intended to apply to conglomerate as well as horizontal and vertical mergers. The anticompetitive nature of such mergers in terms of possibilities for reciprocity practices and the ability to use profits from one area of endeavor to subsidize attacks on smaller firms in another is well recognized. Yet these kinds of mergers increase daily and despite apparent Supreme Court sympathy to their possible anticompetitive effects, the enforcement agencies proceed with a caution which has had a negligible effect on these rapidly increasing numbers of acquisitions.

Lurking behind this current merger boom with its resultant increase in overall concentration is the assumption that modern technology and innovation require the giant corporation. Rarely in current antitrust literature does this assumption seem to be challenged.

This to me is the greatest paradox of all.

I would hope you will read volumes 3 and 4 of our concentration hearings entitled "Concentration, Invention and Innovation" and "Concentration and Efficiency." A fair reading of this testimony not only would seem to refute this accepted assumption, but in many cases indicates that the independent inventor and smaller corporation are the more fertile source of new ideas and innovation; that modern technology points to the smaller, not the larger, corporation as being most efficient.

The innovation rationale received critical examination using three major approaches.

1. Historical review: here specific innovations and inventions were examined to determine the source of the original idea, who develops it, and to assess contributions by individual inventors and small enterprises versus large corporations.

2. Statistical: various measures of inventive and innovative activity were related to the size of the company. In this area, attention was called to what some experts regard as considerable overstatement in published figures on research and development.

3. Comparison of cost of innovation in large versus small companies: this is possible when a large and small firm independently "hit on" the same idea at about the same time and develop it into a marketable product.

Anyone listening to the testimony and data would receive the strong impression that the innovation rationale often makes little sense as a justification for giant manufacturing units.

In the efficiency hearings we heard from IBM, National Cash Register, and Honeywell Corp., among others. What became apparent from their testimony is that modern technology is making more efficient the smaller and medium size company.

I also noted while listening to the radio while driving home the other night that General Electric now has built an advertising theme around the same idea—that shared time computer operations bring the advantages of modern computer technology within the reach of the smallest business unit.

The computer indeed has been made available to all. To the small company, leasing and pooling arrangements can make computerized operations a reality and give the smaller corporation the advantages of inventory control, detailed market statistics, cost accounting data, and other vital information for management decisions.

Meanwhile, the smaller corporation has the advantages of flexibility, rapid decisionmaking, and other managerial efficiencies which are not available where layers of bureaucracy are built in.

The available evidence, then, strongly points to the lack of economic justification—whether it be based on modern technology, efficiencies of scale or innovation—for an economy dominated by large firms operating in concentrated industries.

Certainly these conclusions—based on the evidence produced at our concentration hearings—mean that the logical trend should be toward more competitors—not more concentration. It is, I believe, now clear that a concentrated economy dominated by large firms does not make good economic sense. Bigness—in many industries—should not be necessary to achieve economies of scale in view of the new technologies or to pursue meaningful and productive lines of invention and innovation.

One last area that points up the paradox in modern antitrust is our inattentiveness to the realities of contemporary world business operations. The 200 or so of the biggest world corporations are no longer national—they are multinational, with plants in anywhere from 25 to 50 countries and with customers in more than a hundred. At the end of 1965, U.S. direct investment abroad totaled nearly $50 billion, double what it had been less than a decade ago. For many Americans industrial companies overseas sales are more important than sales at home. What is even more striking, the dominant means of supplying foreign markets is from production facilities located abroad instead of, as was once the case, through exports from the United States. There can be no doubt that during the last 15 years the world economy has undergone a profound change, increasingly coming under the domination of transnational corporations that do not seem to be within the effective control of any single nation.

From another standpoint, the enactment of antitrust laws by several foreign countries and by the EEC presents new problems for world businesses that must operate in many countries. Shortly the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee will begin hearings that will explore the characteristics and effects of present-day international business operations. To date little study has been devoted to this important subject. The issues are complex, but, hopefully by the time these hearings are concluded, we will have a better understanding of the situation.

If I sound pessimistic about the future of antitrust, it is because I do feel strongly that competition represents the most desirable way to shape a dynamic economy.

What I have tried to convey is that our economy today requires a tough, stringent, and vigorous antitrust approach—not a laissez-faire antitrust policy. This approach has brought us to the threshold of phenomenal economic progress. It deserves better treatment than it is receiving. Its role needs to be increased—not diminished—if we are to continue economic progress. A company is entitled to be judged on its own merits and efficiencies—not on its market power. This is the way of real progress. To throw aside a time-tested concept on the basis of false assumptions—as I believe is happening—will result only in a cartelized industrial system with Government finally setting prices and wages. That a continuation of the present trend will result in this end should be clear, I believe, to anyone who is willing to step back for a moment and view with perception the present economic panorama. Of course, everyone involved loudly proclaims his devotion to competition, his rejection of Government wage and price controls. But being for competition also requires being for antitrust. The two cannot be separated. All of you have an obligation to represent individual clients to the best of your ability. But I would hope you accept another obligation—to assist in preserving competition through an effective antitrust approach.

SMALL BUSINESSMEN SUFFER FROM INCREASING MERGERS

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, we have known for some time that all sectors of our economy from banking to shoemaking are experiencing a persistent and increasing merging of companies, thus forcing small businessmen out of business. The large giants of industry are the benefactors of this movement.

Recently I received a very real example of this problem from a constituent of mine, Mr. Lester L. Prud'homme of Texarkana, Tex., protesting the tactics of large lumber companies, forcing the small companies to submit to their way of doing business and, if not, finding themselves outpriced in the market.

Mr. Speaker, we are faced with a genuine problem in the ever-increasing mergers and consolidations. I commend to the Members' attention an example of the problem of the small lumber dealer.

LESTER L. PRUD'HOMME, INC.,
Texarkana, Tex., March 30, 1966.

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WRIGHT: When President Johnson sold some stockpile metals to hold down prices and one of those young "Republican Democrats" criticized the action, I remarked that I wish he had some stockpiled lumber to sell. It is even worse now and seems to be getting worse every day.

Since last July the lumber market has advanced 20 percent or more and pressure is on to make further advances in softwoods and even more so in hardwoods.

No doubt you are aware of all this, but thought you would like to have it called to your attention since fighting a war causes Uncle Sam to buy so much lumber and wooden articles, including pallets and ammo boxes.

Sellouts and mergers have probably had very little to do with recent price advances, but they can have in the future and always make it more difficult for the independent wholesalers and commission salesmen, as well as the small producers, to survive. Does the Sherman Antitrust Act still exist, or can it do nothing about the "restraint of trade" caused by these mergers and expansionists?

Your friend,

L. L. PRUD'HOMME.

ANGELINA COUNTY LUMBER CO.,
Keltys, Tex., February 2, 1966.

To Our Customers and Friends:

Our sawmill operation was discontinued on December 10, 1965, after 75 years of production. The lumber inventory has been sold, and the last of it will be shipped this week.

We are grateful for the many pleasant relationships we have had with you over the years, and we thank you for your support and friendship, without which our long operation would not have been possible.

Sincerely,

C. L. ZEAGLER,
Sales Manager.

POTLATCH FORESTS, INC.,
Warren, Ark., January 28, 1966.

Re Ozan with Potlatch.

To Our Lumber Sales People:

As of January 31 Ozan Lumber Co. at Prescott, Ark., becomes the Ozan unit of Bradley-Southern Division, Potlatch Forests, Inc. New pine price lists covering materials from all three mills will soon reach you. These will reflect prices required for items available from these sources of good lumber supply. All orders will be acknowledged on the PFI forms; likewise, the invoicing will be done from Warren to enable processing on the IBM system of handling.

An extra shift will begin at Prescott on Monday night, January 31, so that you will have more lumber to offer than heretofore. The Ozan mill will become a two-shift operation just as is the case with the two pine and the two hardwood mills now supplying the Warren plants. Stock sheets listing available supplies will be mailed next week.

We welcome the Ozan sales distributors. There should be no interruption in their normal sales practices. We are extremely proud to have Ozan at Prescott on our team. Here is a mill with many years of continuous operation located in some of the best pine timberlands in the State, and with strictly modern milling equipment to do an outstanding milling job. We are delighted to welcome them into our group and to have their products available for the many customers who demand a superior quality.

Hope you will have a chance to visit us before too long and let us show you this new acquirement to the Potlatch family.

Yours very truly,

H. C. Clayton, R. H. Hankins, Jr., Max Givens, Jack Fort, C. G. Womble, George Morgan, J. R. Taylor, Conrad Deal, F. W. Girdner, PFI Sales Group.

TEMPLE INDUSTRIES,
Diboll, Tex., March 23, 1966.

To: Our customers.
From: Temple Industries.
Subject: Pine lumber prices.

Effective immediately, the prices for pine lumber in our March 18, 1966, price guide are withdrawn.

Please contact your Temple salesman or the sales office here in Diboll for prices and availability.

A new price guide will be sent to you shortly.

OLIN FOREST PRODUCTS DIVISION,
West Monroe, La., March 29, 1966.

DEAR CUSTOMERS: We hereby cancel base price list No. 1028 of January 28, 1966. We feel this basic pricing information is obsolete and are discontinuing it except for timbers and enclose a copy of list No. 3028 for your information.

We will continue our frequent mailings of current stock sheets which will keep you advised of pricing as well as inventory information.

We take this opportunity to thank you for your business and look forward to serving you in 1966.

Yours truly,

C. E. WEBB,
Pine Sales Manager.

SOUTHWEST FOREST INDUSTRIES,
Corrigan, Tex., March 12, 1966.

To All Representatives:

Effective this date cancel all of our price lists and quotations you have made for us, until new price list is furnished.

Temporarily all quotations and orders will have to be priced and cleared through this office.

Thanks for your cooperation.

RAY CLUCK.

LESTER L. PRUD'HOMME, INC.,
Texarkana, Tex., March 30, 1966.

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WRIGHT: When we received attached letter from Day & Zimmermann, Inc., we thought it an idea of theirs but when we received practically the same from Thiokol Corp. (also attached) we realized it is a regulation of the armed services procurement.

This causes untold and unnecessary work for all bidders and in evaluation of bids for no benefit to the Government that I can see: the Government, after all, is interested only in the delivered cost.

The purchasing department at Day & Zimmerman has been days behind in evaluating bids since this system has been followed.

Boxmakers have had to cut parts for a box and weigh them with the required amount of nails, hardware, rope, and corrugated fasteners, if any, before they can determine the weight before arriving at price to bid. Ordinarily the shipper estimates the cost and does not worry about a little difference in weight. In case boxes are shipped in bidder's truck, the weight makes no difference anyway: it's how many boxes can be put on a truck.

If the buyer is to select the mode of transportation, what happens to the vendor's truck which he must maintain to ordinarily give service and what happens if the buyer selects airmail express and vendor underestimated the weight slightly?

We think it is all much to do about nothing and I know the buyers and vendors would be glad to hear that this regulation is canceled.

Your friend,

L. L. PRUD'HOMME.

DAY & ZIMMERMANN, INC.,
Texarkana, Tex., December 31, 1965.

LESTER L. PRUD'HOMME,
Texarkana, Tex.

GENTLEMEN: Refer to our request for bid A-2991 dated December 22, 1965, and scheduled for bid opening January 5, 1966, at 10 a.m. Bid opening time being extended to January 10, 1966, at 10 a.m.

Please incorporate the following as a part of our request for bid. On page 1 for 14,300 skids, you are to quote on the following alternate:

Same as on item 1, except bid prices will be f.o.b. point of origin or manufacture, truck or rail, and will include all costs for loading, blocking, bracing, drayage, demurrage, switching, or any other services necessary for delivering f.o.b. carrier's equipment. The point of origin or manufacture must be specifically listed by each bidder. Day & Zimmermann, Inc., reserves the right to select the mode of transportation.

The bidder must complete the following guaranteed maximum shipping weight information for use in determination of transportation costs for f.o.b. shipping points. If the delivered shipping weights and dimensions exceed the guaranteed maximum shipping weights indicated below, the bidder agrees that the contract price shall be reduced by an amount equal to the difference between the transportation costs computed for evaluation purposes based on bidder's guaranteed maximum shipping weight and dimensions and the transportaton costs resulting from the use of correct shipping data.

Outside dimensions: Length ------, width ------, height ------.

Guaranteed maximum gross weight of box ------.

The above paragraphs also apply to the delivery alternate No. 1.

Container Data Sheet

Armed Services Procurement Regulations, section 2-201 (subpar. xiii) reads in part, as follows: "Guaranteed maximum shipping weights (and dimensions if applicable): Each bid will be evaluated to the destination specified by adding to the f.o.b. origin price all transportation costs to said destination. The guaranteed maximum weights (and dimensions if applicable) are required for determination of transportation costs. Bidder must state the weights (and dimensions if applicable) in his bid or it will be rejected. If delivered items exceed the guaranteed maximum shipping weights (and dimensions if applicable), the bidder agrees that the contract price shall be reduced by an amount equal to the difference between the transportation costs computed for evaluation purposes based on bidder's guaranteed maximum shipping weights (and dimensions if applicable) and the transportation costs that should have been used for bid evaluation purposes based on correct shipping data."

In accordance with the above requirement, please give the information set forth below:

1. Maximum shipping weight of one unit: ------ pound.

(a) If small parts, weight per 100 units: ------ pound.

2. Maximum shipping weight of your standard shipping box or carton with necessary packaging material which meets ICC specifications and which will be used to ship (quantity) ------, ------ pound.

3. Type of shipping box or carton: (wood, corrugated, steel, etc.) ------.

(a) Height: ------.
(b) Width: ------.
(c) Length: ------.

4. Method used to protect parts in box or carton: ------.

5. Do you have railroad trackage at your plant: (Yes) ----; (No) ----.

(a) If yes, railroad trackage is served by: ------.

6. Our shipping point is: ------.

7. Quote unit prices f.o.b. destination (Karnack, Tex.).

8. Quote unit prices f.o.b. shipping point and name shipping point.

Thiokol Chemical Corp. reserves the right to purchase f.o.b. destination or f.o.b. shipping point.

9. Condition No. 30, "Audit—Price Adjustments," is attached and incorporated by reference.

To be responsive, your bid must include the information requested above.

CEILING REACHED ON CERTIFICATES OF DEPOSIT RATES: WARNING TO THE ECONOMY

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, back in December, the Federal Reserve Board claimed that the raising of regulation Q rate from 4½ to 5½ percent would allow banks maximum flexibility and maneuverability in establishing certificates of deposit rates. When Chairman William McChesney Martin, Jr., assured the Joint Economic Committee that it would be a good deal of time before many banks would find themselves bumping the 5½-percent ceiling, I warned the Congress then that the big banks would waste no time before they would be at 5½ percent and would then be pushing for higher rates.

Well, Mr. Speaker, now we see the truth. In only 4 short months the large New York City banks are paying 5½ percent on negotiable certificates of deposit. A number of these big banks have been paying the maximum rate on privately negotiated large certificates of deposit for some time. Now they feel no longer shy about the matter and can now boast publicly of 5½ percent.

A recent article in the distinguished journal, the Economist, concerning the tight squeeze that the 5½-percent certificates of deposit rate has caused the American money market, has been brought to my attention.

The Economist points out that the big banks have wasted little time in leaping to the 5½-percent level. We all know, Mr. Speaker, what harmful effects this action is causing our homeowning public and the whole economy. The jockeying by our big banks and the Federal Reserve Board for high interest rates is hurting the economy.

Little is known of the effect upon our economy that these negotiable certificates of deposit have. When little is known about a drug, we do not let the public use it. Perhaps we should not let big banks use an instrument of which we know little. I commend the following article to all Members of Congress:

Chasing Savings

Up to early January the banks may have made only moderate use of their right to pay higher interest rates on time deposits, as the Federal Reserve Board announced in March. But the pace is quickening, as money grows tighter and the demand for loans shows no sign of slackening. Even the Board's report conceded that the big banks, which account for most of the negotiable certificates of deposit now outstanding, had wasted no time in raising the rates they paid on them. These certificates of deposit, which have become a popular way of attracting money, are issued to major corporations in denominations of $100,000 or more and mature on specific dates. For a few days in the middle of March—always a tight time because corporations are paying their taxes—the Chase Manhattan Bank, New York's largest, had to pay the ceiling rate of 5½ percent to get the money it needed. Such money is not really savings, but simply corporate cash which is temporarily idle—and there is less of it about than there used to be, with the tightening of credit and the fierce industrial expansion which is going on. There will be another squeeze this month when some $3 billion worth of certificates of deposit mature.

The high rates which the big banks are willing to pay pinch the more sedate thrift institutions—the mutual savings banks and the savings and loan associations—America's equivalent of Britain's building societies. Recently in California the Bank of America—the biggest in the country—raised to 5 percent the rate which it pays on large nonnegotiable savings certificates. Only a day went by before big savings and loan associations raised their rates to meet the challenge and other California banks have announced increases, some up to the Federal maximum of 5½ percent. Only a few days earlier the Federal Home Loan Bank Board had relaxed its regulations to allow federally chartered savings and loan associations to pay more to preserve their flow of funds.

Housebuyers and the housing industry seem bound to suffer as credit for mortgages becomes costlier and scarcer. Normally this would worry the administration, but not when an overstrained economy is the great danger. Last week the President pleaded with businessmen—with some success—to postpone new building projects wherever possible and gave a good example by vetoing a small addition to his Texas ranch.

The top Government supervisor of savings and loan associations has issued a warning against panicky escalation of interest rates which invite retaliation and will not necessarily increase the supply of savings. But it has been left to the advocate of cheap money, Mr. Patman, chairman of the Banking Committee in the House of Representatives, to produce a solution sure to make the banks blench. He is about to hold urgent hearings on a bill to ban the issue of negotiable certificates of deposits—on the ground that they compete with Treasury securities and are instruments of inflation.

SECRETARY FOWLER WARNS BANKERS THAT SKYROCKETING INTEREST RATES FAN INFLATION

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, for many years I have raised the warning that high interest rates feed the fires of inflation and accommodate only one self-interested group, the big banks. Just this past Tuesday, April 5, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Honorable Henry Fowler, in a wide-ranging speech before the annual meeting of the Association of Reserve City Bankers in Phoenix, Ariz., warned bankers that stemming the tide of inflation cannot be accomplished without restraining the spiraling growth of interest rates.

Secretary Fowler's speech devotes a major section to the international monetary situation, warning that an early end to the balance-of-payments voluntary restraint program is unlikely until the crisis in Vietnam subsides.

The Secretary's speech traces the reasons for the administration's economic policy from one of stimulus to one of moderate restraint. Coordination of monetary policy by the Federal Reserve and the rest of the administration is strongly urged.

Mr. Fowler echoes a belief that I have long held:

> When the bigger banks rely only on higher interest rates as means for allocating credit among a few large borrowers, this tends to put up the cost of money for everyone.
>
> It is the average wage earner, the small businessman, and the new homeowner who must suffer the most.

The leapfrogging growth of interest rate competition in time deposits has caused great concern in all sectors of the financial world and ignores all sense of caution and moderation that is needed in this time of economic uncertainty. Secretary Fowler warns the bankers that this type of policy can do no good to our banking and financial system.

Mr. Speaker, I commend to the Members of Congress Secretary Fowler's important address:

Remarks by the Honorable Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury, Before the Annual Meeting of the Association of Reserve City Bankers, at the Biltmore Hotel, Phoenix, Ariz., Tuesday, April 5, 1966

In reviewing economic trends and prospects with you today, I would like to start on the international side, which has come into increasing prominence among the areas that most concern economic policy. To start with, the United States experienced a substantial improvement in its balance of payments last year.

Thanks in good measure to the outstanding cooperation of banks and other financial institutions, the deficit was reduced by $1.5 billion, and totaled, for 1965 as a whole, $1.3 billion on an overall or liquidity, accounting basis. This was the smallest balance-of-payments deficit since 1957—less than half the $3 billion average deficit, on the same accounting basis, for the 7 preceding years, 1958 through 1964.

Banks made a major contribution to the improvement in our balance of payments last year—by holding their net expansion of foreign credit to $155 million.

Further evidence of this continued cooperation came last week when the Federal Reserve Board reported that banks, in the first 2 months of 1966, reduced their outstanding foreign loans and investments by $385 million.

We do not yet have before us any new estimate of the balance-of-payments outlook for this year. The assessment we made in November and again in mid-February of the prospects for reaching our goal of equilibrium remains, by and large, our assessment today.

Late last year and again in February, I noted the particular difficulties this year in assessing the balance-of-payments prospects, because of the uncertainties regarding the cost of our commitments in southeast Asia, both in the sense of our direct spending and the indirect effects on our trade balance by reason of its impact on our domestic economy.

The burgeoning of the U.S. economy, beyond our expectations of last November, may mean enlarged imports and less allocation of effort to increasing our exports. And the American tourist seems to be winging to Western Europe in ever greater numbers, magnifying a net travel deficit that in 1965 was 133 percent of the total deficit as compared to 33 percent in 1960.

But plus factors are the hoped for absence of some of the factors which in 1965 pulled down our trade surplus from previous years.

These factors which contributed to a reduction of our 1965 trade surplus included—

Economic expansion was at a reduced rate last year in Western Europe and Japan. This was probably the main factor in holding our exports for the year to an increase of less than 4 percent, compared to increases in the previous 4 years averaging about 7 percent. During the year, business conditions improved abroad, and our sales abroad rose in the third and the fourth quarters. A continuation of this trend would improve our trade picture in 1966.

Traders anticipating a dockworkers strike that did indeed occur in early 1965 pushed out about $160 million of exports late in 1964 that normally would have gone out in the first quarter of 1965, while they similarly hastened imports by some $60 million.

Steel users, anticipating a steel strike that did not come to pass, made exceptional steel imports in 1965 estimated at some $300 million.

Agricultural exports were at the low annual rate of $5.9 billion in the first half of 1965, but recovered during the last half, reaching an annual rate of $6.75 billion in the last quarter of 1965.

In assessing future prospects for our balance of payments we should ever be mindful of President Johnson's statement at the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank last October: "The United States has taken firm action to arrest the dollar drain. Should further action be necessary in the future, such action will be taken."

Looking ahead, I would like to be able to suggest some magic date for the termination of the voluntary balance-of-payments restraints. But I cannot do so. We are not likely to be able to terminate this program so long as hostilities in South Vietnam on the present scale persist.

When that is over, there can be a thoroughgoing reexamination of all of the factors that throw light on the prospects that the voluntary restraints program could be modified or abandoned without bringing back major deficits in our balance of payments.

Meanwhile, we are moving forward to improve the international monetary situation, by arranging for new sources of liquidity to finance growing international trade in the absence of dollar deficits.

Last July I suggested that the time had come to move ahead from technical study to the negotiating table. This was becoming increasingly evident as our own balance of payments improved and reduced the supply of dollars which had been augmenting the reserves of foreign countries for a number of years.

Between 1958 and 1964, deficits in the U.S. balance of payments were the source of about three-quarters of the new reserves accumulated by the rest of the world.

If the growth of monetary reserves of the free world were to depend solely on additions to monetary gold, which recently have run no more than $500 million yearly, then annual reserve increments would not even reach 1 percent. It is clearly time to begin planning the means to supplement gold with the deliberate, careful creation of additional reserves as needed.

Since last July, we have been moving ahead. In September, following a series of bilateral talks I had with financial officials of a number of other countries, the new negotiating machinery was established in Washington at the time of the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund. The finance ministers of the group of 10 leading industrial countries who have been working together on monetary problems since 1962 met in Washington at that time.

As the first phase of contingency planning, they instructed their deputies to seek a basis of agreement on the improvements needed in the international monetary system, including arrangements for the future creation of reserve assets. It was further provided that once a basis for agreement on essential points was reached, it would be necessary to proceed from this first phase to a second phase, involving a much larger group of countries. This was to permit broad consideration of the questions that affect the world economy as a whole.

At the same time, the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, who participates in the ministerial meetings of the Group of Ten, indicated that the Fund would pursue its own investigation of the ways and means of creating international reserves.

Since then, negotiations have been pursued actively. The deputies are proceeding to draft their report to the ministers, which we hope and expect will show considerable progress toward a consensus on the essential features of an international system for creating reserves.

Broadly speaking, there are three main approaches to reserve creation.

The first would modify and adapt the present system of drawing rights in the International Monetary Fund, extending, within prescribed limits, virtually automatic drawing rights to be treated as reserves.

The second major approach is built on a composite reserve unit, directly transferable among participating countries. Such a unit would be well suited for holdings of reserves by relatively advanced countries and would be attractive to them. Supplementary arrangements could be made to provide equivalent resources to other countries. Reserve units, being clearly recognizable as a new element in the monetary system, might be more effective than drawing rights in demonstrating that the world is no longer exclusively dependent upon gold and reserve currencies.

The third broad approach is simply a combination of these two—drawing rights and reserve units. Through drawing rights the monetary system would retain the benefits of familiarity, Fund supervision, and adaptability to use by all qualifying members of the Fund. At the same time, incorporation of reserve units would lay the foundation for more far-reaching innovation. The tentative U.S. proposals, presented recently in the Group of Ten negotiations, fall into the third, or dual, approach.

With any of these approaches, there are a number of important questions.

One important question is the link to gold and alternative means for insuring acceptability of a new reserve unit. Clearly, the status of any reserve asset depends upon its acceptibility. The link to gold refers to proposals that would permit reserve units to be transferred in international settlement only when accompanied by some specific amount of gold. In effect, the reserve unit would not be usable on its own as an independent reserve asset.

The purpose of such a link is psychological, appealing to the point of view which stresses gold rather than other forms of reserves. The link to gold might also reinforce the tendency to hold newly created reserves rather than spend them.

At the same time, reserve creation aims to supplement future new gold supplies, and to dampen excessive preoccupation with gold on the part of private hoarders or even monetary authorities. Many doubts have been raised as to whether the link to gold would further these objectives. If such a link encouraged larger reserve holdings of gold, this would have the doubly bad effect of shrinking world liquidity and promoting an inefficient and destabilizing outflow of gold from the reserve centers.

In our view a new reserve asset should supplement and not displace existing reserves. While existing amounts of official holdings of reserve currencies are not necessarily ideal, the use of new reserve assets merely to replace existing reserves would make no positive contribution and would risk disturbing international financial markets.

A meeting of minds must also be found on the process for deciding how fast reserves should grow. Countries well supplied with reserves may take a more cautious view than others who see their longrun objective as one of building up reserves.

I have sketched only two of the challenging questions on which our negotiators are searching for common ground in this new area. For it should be stressed that the deliberate creation of new reserve assets is a significant development in monetary history. Reserves have developed in the past not by conscious design, but through central bank accumulation of high quality financial assets, with assured liquidity and broad international acceptance. Countries have earned their reserves either by producing gold or by surpluses in their balance of payments.

The present negotiations to agree on planned reserves creation attest to the imagination, patience, and sense of responsibility of the nations concerned. This stage has been made possible by the past years of monetary cooperation through the International Monetary Fund, the Group of Ten and the Bank for International Settlements. It is not surprising that countries approach this subject with utmost care and deliberation, for they are shaping the principles and procedures that may guide international financial developments for many years to come.

We expect the Group of Ten deputies to complete the report on their areas of agreement that can be made available to the ministers and governors of the Group of Ten countries before the summer of this year. Once sufficient agreement is reached on major points, it will be productive to move on to the next stage of reaching agreement among the broader group of countries. This work must progress if world trade and world economic development are not to be impeded for want of adequate monetary machinery.

In striving to reach balance in our international payments and in seeking with other nations to strengthen the international payments machinery, we recognize that maintaining a balance in our own economy here at home is fundamental.

Indeed, this is true of all the other challenging areas of international initiative, in addition to international monetary affairs, in which our leadership and participation is vital.

And we are taking the initiative this year, as last, to seek assiduously in both quiet and public diplomacy to enlist the cooperation of likeminded nations in bold new efforts.

These efforts encompass the promotion of freer trade by both achieving a significant reduction of duties on a reciprocal basis and removing nontariff barriers. These efforts include new initiatives to make available to needy peoples elsewhere in the world the opportunity, means and incentive for conquering hunger and disease, for living under the liberating light of education, and for developing their own resources.

Last week President Johnson and Prime Minister Gandhi, of India, set in motion joint government programs in which we hope other nations, private foundations, and private industry will share. This multilateral effort is of crucial importance to the viability and progress of a great nation of 500 million people—the second most populous in the world—and a bulwark of democracy in threatened Asia.

The tragedy of mass starvation must be averted as better agricultural techniques and organizations for production and distribution are set in motion. The Indio-American Foundation for Education and Scientific Research is a fitting complement. An undernourished nation or one lacking in adequate skills in this technological age cannot play the role destiny has shaped for it in Asia and the free world.

Of particular interest to bankers, and with meaningful support from organizations such as the American Bankers Association, the United States is joining 31 other nations—including 12 nations outside Asia—in creating, this year, the Asian Development Bank. This institution is to be chartered and managed on the sound banking principles developed and applied by the World Bank and similar institutions. It seeks to extend to the people of Asia the opportunity to share in the economic abundance and social progress that so many of us in the rest of the world take for granted.

The year 1966 is a year in which we hope international financial cooperation will succeed in reducing the inadequacies and obstacles existing in private capital markets in Western Europe. We are hopeful that the slowly progressing studies under the aegis of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development will come to fruition this year in some positive programs. We hope these multilateral programs will attack at last major impediments to larger private capital formation and a freer flow of funds and capital at reasonable costs and interest rates.

We hope for the enactment in our own Congress this year of the Foreign Investors Tax Act designed to remove tax discrimination against foreign investment in the United States. It should promote the flow of foreign capital into our own markets and help, over the long pull, to relieve the burden on our balance of payments that results from an inadequate two-way flow.

But, by all odds, the most challenging area of our international activity in 1966 centers in Vietnam.

It is a crucial test. And we cannot afford to fail. If we do, we shall fail ourselves as well as the people of South Vietnam. If we do, we shall have undermined the faith of all whose freedom depends on us. We shall have undermined the web of alliances on which world peace and security depend and we shall have undermined our own faith in ourselves.

We must live up to our commitment to the defense of freedom. At the same time, we must strive to enlarge and explore every avenue for unified action with our allies in the common defense—for, indeed, to the extent that the allies of freedom cannot unite in its defense, the lesser the chances for peaceful accommodation with those who are so fiercely united against it.

For these reasons neither in Vietnam nor in Paris will we allow foes or friends pursuing nationalist aspirations to push us back in fear or pique to a lack of concern with peace and freedom beyond the two oceans which wash our shores.

All this brings us back to the realization that our ability to discharge our responsibilities for free world leadership will depend on how we act at home in maintaining a strong and dynamic economy; in sustaining a healthy rate of growth with reasonably full employment and relative price stability; and in extending for our own citizens—all races, all creeds, and all age groups—the boundaries of economic opportunity and social justice.

The situation in our economy, as you know, is this: The demands of Vietnam added on to an economy closer to full employment and full utilization of productive capacity than at any time in recent years have increased the dangers of inflation and the need for responsible restraint in both the public and private sectors.

The administration has shifted from a fiscal policy of steady stimulus to private economic demand to a policy of moderate restraint. We are striving for a fiscal 1967 budget that, despite a projected increase of $10.5 billion of special Vietnam expenditures over and above those in the 1965 budget, will show a surplus on the cash basis and closely approach balance on a national income accounts and the regular or administrative basis.

On the revenue side of the President's budget the shift from a policy of stimulus to one of moderate fiscal restraint has already been reflected by the prompt and commendable action of the Congress in enacting the Tax Adjustment Act of 1966—a measure that will raise some $6 billion in Federal revenues over the next 15 months, and will withdraw a total of $2.7 billion from the private spending stream during calendar 1966.

We expect this measure to serve as a growing force for economic restraint over the coming months—together with other restraining influences already beginning to take hold, such as the Federal Reserve action a few months ago and the increase in social security and medicare taxes of $6 billion at annual rates which began to take effect last January.

All of these things have contributed to a significant change in the economic mix.

I did not come here today to discuss whether and when we will need additional tax increases. The arguments on that question have been thoroughly aired in recent weeks, and the President has made his position most clear: The time for decision is not yet at hand, but if it comes he will not hesitate—election year notwithstanding—to ask for tax increases if required.

Evidence of the threat of inflationary pressures is disturbing enough to require that we keep the closest watch on economic and financial developments, exercise all the responsible restraint in both the public and private sectors for which the President has pleaded in the months past, and make ready the way for prompt and prudent action if that is required.

We in the Treasury are continuing our contingency planning in the field of taxation—not only in terms of possible tax increases to pay for additional public expenditures that may be required beyond those already planned or to forestall inflation, but also in terms of possible tax reductions when and if a relaxation of hostilities in Vietnam will mean a reduction in defense expenditures, or the danger of overheating the economy is no longer present.

In the meantime, now that I have received a great deal of advice, private and public, from many of you in this room and your bank economists who, through their excellent bank letters and public addresses, keep me informed as to your and their views, it seems fairplay for me to turn the tables and indulge in a few comments concerning your business. Just as you have a proper concern and give advice on the area in which I operate, I have a very real interest in your business.

For it is important that we understand each other on certain points.

First, I recognize that bank borrowing and lending practices are determined by the banks themselves and the monetary and bank supervisory authorities who receive their powers directly from the Congress and not through the President and, hence, are not subject to policy direction by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Second, as previously described actions have indicated, I believe that fiscal policy should play an active role in both stimulating the economy when it is stagnant or lagging and restraining the economy when it is excessively exuberant. There is always room for differences on when these conditions exist to the degree that public action should be undertaken, what type of fiscal action is the most compatible with the national interest, and the pace or extent to which the economy should either be stimulated or restrained by fiscal action.

All of my instincts are that either stimulus or restraint should be applied in moderation or in stages except in the direst emergencies. I was not one for pressing the accelerator down to the floor in the expansionary period of the first 5 years of this decade. And, as you well know, since the national decision to enlarge our military activities in Vietnam, I have been urging moderate and responsible restraint in both the public and private sectors—preferring to touch the brakes lightly without risking a skid into a recession because I do not believe drastic action is necessary or appropriate.

Third, I have no objection of any kind to using monetary policy as a part of the total economic stabilization arsenal. I have said so repeatedly in responding to inquiries at congressional hearings.

Fourth, I believe that fiscal and monetary restraints to deal with threats of inflation should work in a coordinated fashion, just as fiscal and monetary policies directed toward expansion have worked together in the past 5 years.

My objection to the December action of the Federal Reserve System had to do with the fact that I would have preferred to have had that decision delayed until January, until the administration knew and the Board could know what the budgetary outlook was for the remainder of fiscal 1966 and fiscal 1967, so that we could have decided together what combination of fiscal and monetary restraints were appropriate, if there were room for agreement.

I trust that the coordination which had previously existed between our monetary and our fiscal policies has again been reestablished and that instances of disagreement over procedures and timing will in the future be less important. Certainly, the administration's acceptance of the Federal Reserve's action in December as a fact of life and its incorporation into our budget planning symbolizes that desire for coordination.

As the subsequent shift of fiscal policy in the President's January budget from stimulus to moderate restraint signified, some shift in monetary policy in the nature of a moderation of credit growth was appropriate.

It is important, however, that such moderation as is needed, particularly of bank credit growth, be accomplished without the skyrocketing of interest rates. Raising the price of money should not—and need not—be the only means of determining which applicants get the loans.

When the bigger banks rely only on higher rates as the means for allocating credit among a few large borrowers, this tends to put up the cost of money for everyone.

The better course, in dealing with a credit growth that threatens inflation, is to turn down or scale back the less deserving loan applications.

In this connection, I read with considerable interest, the recent remarks by J. Howard Laeri, vice chairman, First National City Bank of New York, at an American Bankers Association meeting in Chicago. He suggested some voluntary lending guidelines for bankers to follow in curbing loans that would contribute to what he termed current inflationary credit excesses. He called them "today's six deadly sins of lending." Make up your own list if you don't like Mr. Laeri's.

Mr. Archie K. Davis, chairman of the Wachovia Bank & Trust Co., Winston-Salem, N.C., and the president of the American Bankers Association, also has suggested that it is essential for bankers to weed out less productive and speculative loans.

Banking industry leaders are showing an increasing awareness of the need for making monetary policy effective through their bank lending policies, and are to be commended for moving in this direction.

I would hope, also, that there will be an accompanying disengagement from unreasoning competition for time and savings deposits that ignores the need for caution and the harm that kind of competition can do to our banking and financial system.

Federal debt management also has a role to play in achieving the broad emonomic objectives which are our mutual concern. This is why, this past February, we took the opportunity while refunding the mid-February maturities, to offer the holders of April, May, and August 1966 issues an exchange into a new 4¾-year, 5-percent note.

This move achieved some useful debt extension and lightened significantly the refunding tasks that await us now in May and August.

In taking a broad view of the Treasury debt structure and its economic impact, it may be of some interest to note that while the total Treasury debt today is some $3 billion greater than a year ago, our last reading showed that Treasury debt in the hands of the public was actually down by $1.5 billion over the year. And for those who sometimes look to Government financial policies as the source of undue monetary expansion, I would remind you that commercial bank holdings of Treasury debt are down by $3 billion in the past year. No doubt this decline in bank holdings has made our financing task a mite more difficult and costly, but it has also provided rather striking evidence that our deficit has been financed with genuine savings accumulations.

In rounding out this picture of debt management, I should say a few words also about Federal agency sales of financial assets.

This type of activity is designed to channel more private investment funds into the Federal credit programs, and avoid locking up scarce budgetary resources in a rising aggregate of direct Federal loans. It carries forward a program that received its first strong impetus in the mid-1950's under the Eisenhower administration. The principle of substituting private for public credit, and helping thereby to cut new channels of moneyflows in the credit markets, was warmly endorsed subsequently by the Commission on Money and Credit, and by President Kennedy's Committee on Federal Credit Programs, which was chaired by my able predecessor, Douglas Dillon.

In seeking to expand this useful area of partnership between private and public enterprise we are well aware that it would be pointless to attempt to press more on the market than it can readily absorb. That is why we are interested in further developing the techniques for amassing pools of direct loans held by Federal agencies and selling participations in those pools to private investors. This provides an effective, economical means for tapping the resources of the private market to serve broad public purposes.

In making these asset sales programs the success they should be, the Government needs your help and I am here today to ask for it.

After taking account of net sales of federally owned financial assets and direct Federal agency issues, and balancing this against the decline in holdings of Treasury obligations in the hands of the public, we would estimate that the Federal sector will make only a modest net demand for credit on the private economy for this fiscal year—perhaps on the order of $2 or $3 billion. More impressive still, according to current plans, we would expect the Federal sector to make little or no net credit demand on the rest of the economy in fiscal 1967.

While we recognize that monetary and fiscal policies exercised by public authority have important roles to play in containing a buoyant economy, these alone are not enough. There also must be responsible restraint in the private sector, in the many day-to-day decisions affecting prices and wages.

We sometimes hear of particular periods of price increase described as "cost-push" or "demand-pull," with particular remedies supposedly appropriate to one situation or the other. We all know, of course, that, in an economy as complex as ours, both "cost-push" and "demand-pull" forces may be at work, and interacting, at the same time. This means that we need both monetary and fiscal restraints and, alongside them, appropriate wage-price guidelines to serve as yardsticks for keeping wage and price decisions within noninflationary bounds.

Those who would discard the guidelines might do well to consider the alternatives—in terms of price behavior, economic growth, gold outflow, and maintenance of basic economic freedom.

Incidentally, as an aside to some outspoken bank and academic economists, advice on using monetary and fiscal restraint to contain inflation would carry more conviction in certain quarters if it were accompanied by equally vocal support of wage-price guideposts.

In closing, I want to emphasize a very important part of any anti-inflationary effort—our savings bond program which is moving forward now with new impetus.

Already the higher rate of 4.15 percent, recently announced by President Johnson, is making its ampact on the payroll savings plan throughout industry.

Specifically, top management officials of more companies are actively committed to the plan; many more employees are being introduced to its values; increased allotments are being reported by those already participating in the plan.

And, incidentally, President Johnson has launched a governmentwide payroll savings bond drive that promises to break by a wide margin all previous records of Federal employee participation since World War II.

While it will take some few months yet to determine the effect of the higher interest rate on payroll savings totals—since the Government campaign and many of the corporate campaigns are just getting under way—early indications are that substantial results will be registered.

The bankers of America are our longtime, dedicated allies in the successful promotion of the savings bond program.

I commend bankers everywhere for their support of our program in the past and I solicit their encouragement and cooperation for the need and the effort that lie ahead.

In the savings bond program, and in every other part of our national effort to maintain steady balanced growth while meeting vital commitments, we must all—in Government, in banking and finance, in industry and commerce—bear an extra burden of responsibility in the days and months ahead.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE BOSTON CELTICS AND TO BIG BILL RUSSELL

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Boston Celtics of the National Basketball Association have blazed the trail again.

Their captain and outstanding player, big Bill Russell, has been named to coach the Boston Celtics for the next basketball season. This marks the first time that a Negro has been named to lead a major basketball team. As a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, it is the first time that a major professional team in any sport has ever selected a Negro to the top management position.

Mr. Speaker, it is not the first time that this magnificent basketball organization from Boston has made its followers stand up and cheer—not alone from being the winningest team in professional basketball but also because of its concern for giving a chance to a gifted player no matter what the color of his skin.

In 1950, the Celtics was the first team to sign a Negro player in the National Basketball Association.

> I'm pleased, proud and happy. Once again the Celtics make history.

These are the words of the Celtics' owner, Marvin Kratter. Mr. Speaker, those of us who have been a part of the great legislative strides in the Congress of the United States in civil rights, are pleased and proud, too.

We congratulate Marvin Kratter, Arnold "Red" Auerbach—the present and the greatest basketball coach of all time, the entire Boston Celtics team and management. We wish Bill Russell the same kind of coaching success enjoyed by "Red" Auerbach. All Americans can be proud of his achievement.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include with my remarks a column by the highly respected sports writer of the New York Times, Arthur Daley, and a background story, "Glory at the Basket," from the New York Times:

THE BREAKTHROUGH

(By Arthur Daley)

"Red" Auerbach interrupted a conversation with a visiting reporter as Bill Russell ambled past in the Boston Celtic dressing room the winter before last.

"Why don't you get in condition?" growled Auerbach. "All you're able to do now is play a lousy 48 minutes."

Since pro basketball games are 48 minutes in duration, the artificiality of the redhead's pseudo complaint was obvious. Russell merely grunted and grinned admiringly at Auerbach. And Auerbach grinned admiringly at Russell. There was no mistaking the deep rapport between the men.

That rapport took on new significance yesterday. The dynamic Red had announced some time ago that he was retiring as Celtic coach after a fantastically successful reign. Hence speculation was widespread about the identity of the man who would inherit his mantle. Auerbach ended it in stunning fashion by naming Russell as the next Celtic coach. What gives this move such extra impact is the fact that Big Bill is a Negro.

THE PIONEER

This makes him a pioneer because this is the first breakthrough of the color line. No major professional team in any sport had ever elevated a Negro to the top directional job. But Russell will not be the last. In many respects, it was a logical advancement because the tall master of defense had already earned the profound respect of everyone connected with the game, especially his teammates and Auerbach.

Although their relationship embraced mutual understanding and appreciation, Russell and Auerbach enjoy a strictly professional rapport. Big Bill said as much in his recent autobiography, "Go Up for Glory," as he frankly appraised his boss as the greatest of all coaches, the only one he'd ever play for. Then he added:

"Yet, we are not particularly friends. No man who ever has played for Auerbach has ever been close to him, with the possible exception of Bob Cousy."

When Cousy retired and Russell became the captain of the team, he moved so easily and gracefully into the role that his promotion probably will be just an extension of what he has been doing. Since Auerbach will stay on as general manager to handle player procurement and the manifold other jobs the position calls for, the new player-coach need concern himself only with floor direction. He is fully familiar with the assignment.

The other players look up to him and this isn't only because he's 6 feet, 10 inches tall. He embodies the Celtic spirit just as Cousy did before him, a fierce pride in the team whereby self-interest is always subordinated for the good of the team as a whole.

Militant on the subject of civil rights and occasionally abrasive because of his outspoken characteristics, Russell has made outsiders mad at him. But in the tightly knit family of a pro basketball squad—this is the tightest knit unit of any sport—he is extremely well liked. He can be bright and witty off the court. On it, though, he is the type of player that the other Celtics cannot help but admire.

Only K. C. Jones, a teammate at the University of San Francisco, has been a Celtic as long as Bill has. So he was one of the game's dominating performers when the others enlisted in the ranks. Even at the age of 32, he still is a dominating performer.

DEFENSIVE WONDER

In a way, he is a self-made star. His forte was defense and he developed the art to a peak such as no one else has come close to attaining. He has been such a terror at disrupting enemy offensive surges with his rebounding and blocking of shots that the Celtic attack has been geared around him. Russell gets the rebound or missed shot. Zing. And the Celtics are flashing downcourt in the quick break that has been the cornerstone of their success.

It is possible that disintegration has begun to reach into the great machine Auerbach drove with such intensity to success after success. Some of the parts are getting worn by age, and the Celtics, like the old Yankees they once resembled, no longer generate fear in the opposition. That will be the heaviest burden Russell will be asked to assume.

Bill once said that he never wanted to be a coach. But he became so fascinated by the idea of becoming the first Negro coach in a major professional sport that he could not resist the challenge. Maybe it's part of the pride that lifted him—and the Celtics—to greatness, an overwhelming urge to be best. It even is reflected in his salary as a player. It's $100,001 per annum. Why the extra buck? Wilt Chamberlain, his foremost rival, is paid $100,000.

"GLORY AT THE BASKET"

(By William Felton Russell)

If his book were called "Small Expectations" instead of "Go Up for Glory," the title might better describe the roots of William Felton Russell. He never expected to be most of the things he has become, and that's only fair, because he has not become most of the things people expected. He never expected to be much of a basketball player, nor to go to college, nor to become wealthy, nor to meet two Presidents of the United States, nor to own a rubber plantation in Africa, and a restaurant in New England. He never expected to have his autobiography published at the age of 32, nor to become the key figure in the longest streak of championships any major professional team has compiled in American sports.

Nor did he expect, as recently as a month ago, to become the first Negro to be named as head coach of a major league team, as he was yesterday when he was named to succeed Arnold "Red" Auerbach next season as coach of the Boston Celtics of the National Basketball Association.

It is the significance of such a breakthrough that matters most to Russell, who has always been outspoken on racial matters. He has never bothered to hide his bitterness at limitations on opportunities for Negroes, and has never hesitated to rock the boat in attempting to extend them.

But Russell's militancy is not the most striking facet of his personality. To those who have frequent contact with him, Russell's main characteristics are pride, intelligence, an active and appreciative sense of humor, a preoccupation with dignity, moodiness, a capacity for consideration once his friendship or sympathy has been aroused, and an unwillingness to compromise whatever truths he has accepted.

WIDE-RANGE ATHLETE

He is a thoughtful man, introspective and intense, involved with the larger world and immensely curious about it, opinionated at any given moment, but willing to alter his conclusions as his viewpoints shift. His social sense is strong, his appetite for knowledge is large, and his tolerance of what he considers to be an affront is constantly diminishing.

All this, somehow, is not what people expect of a 6-foot 10-inch professional athlete who has won every attainable prize in his sport and a huge salary. Athletes are supposed to be unshakably enthusiastic, unthinking outside their professional sphere, grateful to the amorphous public however abusive it becomes, and able to mind their own business.

Nor do people expect a basketball star to be individualistic enough to sport a short beard along with his mustache, to express his own prejudices, or to refuse to sign autographs as a matter of principle.

But if such a description makes Russell seem severe, it needs modification. His high-pitched laugh somewhere between a cackle and a giggle, brightens the company he is in. He can laugh at himself as well as at others, and has a fine eye for the ridiculous—and the ridiculous crops up constantly in the hectic world of professional basketball.

As a coach, one can expect him to be the sort of man who often thinks of the quotability of a remark before making it, and who can turn a pertinent phrase with considerable skill. The analytic powers that make him so original and effective as a defensive player seem well suited to his new position. And the sort of passionate self-demand that enabled him to become a success is bound to make him hard to live with at times.

LONG WAY FROM MONROE

Russell was born in Monroe, La., on Lincoln's Birthday, February 12, 1934, and spent the first 8 years of his life there. Then his mother took him and his brother, Charlie, to Oakland, Calif., where their father had gone to work in a war plant. Russell grew up there.

In the eighth grade, he almost flunked. In the ninth, at Hoover Junior High, he couldn't even make the home room basketball team (he wasn't very tall then). At McClymonds High School, which was 95 percent Negro, he was simply the kid brother of Charlie, a fine athlete who had gone to Oakland Tech instead of McClymonds. On the junior varsity team there, he had to share the 15th uniform with another boy.

But by the time he was a senior and 6 feet, 5 inches tall, he was playing on the varsity, and all life—externally—opened up: the University of San Francisco, undefeated seasons, the Olympics in Australia, and finally the Celtics.

Internally, life has not opened up that much yet for Bill Russell. His real hopes are still concerned with a better society for his children—Bill, Jr., and Jacob, his sons, and Kenyatta, his 3-year-old daughter—and the breakthrough character of his new position means much to him in that light. It won't, in his mind, make up for Monroe, La., but it will help supersede it.

CHINA: A STRANGER AND AFRAID

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to note the extent to which the United States is at last beginning to take notice of mainland China.

Official policy, judging from Secretary Rusk's recently released testimony, is far more realistic than it has been in years. But as we become more concerned about China, we do well to study the views of the few Americans who have continued to study China while it was unfashionable to do so.

O. Edmund Clubb, a scholar who served in China while an officer in the Foreign Service, has written a lucid and thoughtful article which appears in the winter 1966 issue of the Columbia University Forum.

In "China: A Stranger and Afraid," Professor Clubb discusses China's role in the world community. He rejects the theory that China has the ability to win control of the future of the developing nations, and he lists the weaknesses of China itself. In conclusion, he theorizes that China's entire world stance might be changed if she became a member of the family of nations.

His article is a most useful contribution to the current discussion of China. The entire text follows:

CHINA: A STRANGER A. AFRAID

(By O. Edmund Clubb)

(NOTE.—O. Edmund Clubb is research biographer at Columbia's research project on men and politics in modern China and senior research associate in the East Asian Institute, of which Prof. A. Doak Barnett is acting director. The research project on modern China, formed in 1955, is preparing a three-volume biographical dictionary of men of the Republican period, 1912–49. The first volume of this series will appear in the fall of 1966. Mr. Clubb came to Columbia after a distinguished career in the U.S. Foreign Service, having served 24 years in China, Indochina, and the Soviet Far East. He was consul general at Vladivostok, Mukden, Changchun and, at the time of the Communist takeover, Peiping. From 1950 to 1952 he was Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs in the State Department. His latest book, "Twentieth Century China," published by Columbia University Press in 1964, has just been issued in paperback; he is currently at work on a book about Sino-Soviet relations.)

To many Americans China seems a strange giant, recently entered upon the world scene and given to inexplicable words and acts. For some, it constitutes "a growing menace to our national security." Actually, for all of us the "China question" looms ever larger as a major problem of the latter half of the 20th century.

In appraising present-day China, one must constantly refer to its prophetic past. The Chinese people constructed their imperial state in geographic and cultural isolation, and for two full millennia that Empire, culturally without a peer within the range of Chinese vision, occupied a prominent political position in Asia, ringed about by unruly barbarian nomads and subordinate vassal states. The Chinese culture was non-Greek, non-Roman, non-Christian and nonchivalrous. The sole accepted cosmogony, Chinese Confucianism, looked to an ultimate universalism in which all peoples would be united under the one legitimate rule on earth, that of the Son of Heaven—the Chinese Emperor.

It was thus only natural that, when Occidental seafarers in the 19th century battled to break through China's closed door, the Chinese rejected the validity of Western concepts of international intercourse, political philosophy, and economic theory. China proved very difficult to deal with in the 19th century, when it was weak; it is scarcely surprising, then, that when China grew stronger, it still manifested individualistic attitudes toward a world order it had had no part in making.

The main aims of Chinese Governments from the 1911 revolution onward have been the sloughing off of China's unequal status and restoration of China's former position of dominance in Asia. Mao Tse-tung and his colleagues not only inherited the same urge to national aggrandizement, but dreamed rosier dreams still, thinking to have a renascent, reinspired China provide a pattern for the emerging countries of the world—even as Confucian China had been regarded as the model for would-be civilized peoples everywhere under heaven." Communist China, that is, would lead the world revolution in the overthrow of imperialism; the Maoist design would show the way to humanity for construction of a brave new world.

During the past century of uncomfortably close contacts with the world of competitive states, China regularly endeavored to achieve its aims by playing one power against the other; Communist China under Peking's guidance has in large measure followed the tradition. Since the beginning of the Republic in 1912 the Chinese have developed close, friendly relations with no big power—except for the brief period between 1950 and 1957, when the Communist Chinese acted as if they and the Soviet Russians were true allies. After 1957 Peking relapsed into the tradition.

At present China has reasonably friendly relations with a number of small countries, from Cambodia to Albania; but one can perceive here something of the patriarchal benevolence that Imperial China manifested toward a vassal nation, which was expected in due course, to "lai-hua"—come and be converted (to the Chinese way). Peking, in implementing the doctrine of peaceful coexistence to which it subscribes, applies it only to "friendly" countries, not to others. And Peking's suggestion that there should be formed a new United Nations carries the clear implication that the new organization should naturally be made up of countries hewing to the Chinese line. The Peking regime apparently assumes today that the weaker countries with which it maintains amicable relations will eventually accept the Maoist type of revolution, and "lai-hua." Other big powers present in Asia, on the other hand, fall automatically into the category of potential competitors with China. And that category includes the U.S.S.R.

This in part explains why China, in its quest for power, places such great stress on anticipated revolutions in the poor, underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Mao Tse-tung proposes that the Chinese pattern should be exported for use in alien environments as far afield as Africa and Latin America. He would foster and support "wars of liberation," to the end that that there could be created something in the nature of an Asian People's Federated Republic, with China dominant in the center—once again the Middle Kingdom, as of old.

China's position in the world community would obviously be tremendously enhanced if various emerging nations were to experience violent revolutions giving birth to Maoist-type regimes that would revolve contentedly in the Chinese orbit. But political environments differ widely throughout the world, revolution is a complex and perilous undertaking of uncertain issue, and in the global theater China has so far had little success.

Lacking either the economic strength that would permit it to compete on equal terms with industrialized countries for influence among the developing nations, or the military sinews that would permit direct intervention in the affairs of other countries in defiance of third powers, China has been forced to depend largely upon political propaganda to further its foreign policy aims. However, since that propaganda has been couched in bellicose terms in an era when the peoples of the world long generally for peace and economic betterment, and has moreover been transparently designed to serve Chinese interests first and foremost, other countries have shown themselves reluctant to accept Maoism as a promising solution for their indigenous problems. Peking's campaign to discredit Soviet communism has for the most part had the boomerang effect of discrediting Chinese communism.

The probability of China's winning control of the future of the developing nations is therefore remote. The dream is not likely to become reality. Given time, Peking may indeed prove able to exploit, to a degree, the growing resentments of the poor nations of the world against the rich. But China's relation to the world community will in the foreseeable future be determined less by developments in the zone of the emerging nations than by its relations with the two great nuclear powers, the Soviet Union and the United States.

Peking's relations with Moscow offer an outstanding example of modern China's ingrained unwillingness to maintain relations with another major power in Asia on a basis of equality—unless that equality is heavily weighted in China's favor. Communist China's main opportunity for advancing rapidly toward its goal of becoming a first-rate military, political, and economic power lay in close collaboration with the Soviet Union, its ally from 1950 onward. Soviet aid to China in the first 8 years of operation of the Sino-Soviet alliance (1950–57) was of critical importance in both military and economic terms.

Over the next 8 years, Peking endeavored to impose upon Moscow a Maoist truth which would have required the Soviet Union to cut off economic aid programs benefiting bourgeoisie nationalist regimes among the emerging nations and channel massive aid to China instead. China also demanded that Moscow force the pace of Communist-led revolutions against such bourgeoisie nationalist governments in order the quicker to "encircle the towns by the countryside" on a global scale, with the U.S.S.R. accepting military confrontation with the United States if the latter opposed its arms to the course of revolution.

The results of that campaign are notorious. The Soviets rejected these self-serving Chinese propositions. Working arrangements between the two countries broke down in the military, political, and economic fields in 1960. Peking had two subsequent opportunities. In mid-1963 and after Khrushchev's dismissal in October 1964, to retreat from its attack on the Soviet leadership. On the first occasion, it sent a party delegation to Moscow under the leadership of the hardnosed Teng Hsiao-p'ing; but the Chinese had set their price too high and no agreement was reached.

On the second, Premier Chou En-lai made the trip to the Soviet capital. Peking probably assumed that its attacks on the Soviet leader during the preceding months had brought about his downfall; that is, that it had won a victory the fruits of which were to be had for the asking. This turned out to be an incorrect assessment of the situation, and Chou, finding upon scratching Brezhnev and Kosygin that they were as much Tatars as Khrushchev, returned home emptyhanded. But the Chinese still flaunted their new policy of self-reliance, continued their war of attrition against the Soviet political position, and at the end of the year announced that their third 5-year plan would be launched in 1966.

The outward appearance of solid strength and robust self-confidence is deceptive. China is in serious difficulty. It has isolated itself from the chief holders of world power before having constructed an adequate military and economic base, before having gained a power fulcrum whereby effectively to lever one great power against another for China's benefit. Without substantial foreign aid, China cannot develop its backward economy speedily to a condition of national self-sufficiency. And at this very time the country faces a grave foreign danger. The two circumstances are interrelated, and they are critical: If the Peking regime leads the country to disaster in either the domestic or the foreign field, its strategy stands discredited in the eyes of its people and its hold on the mandate of heaven is weakend.

In the economic field, the country's planners would be able to provide for a rapid development of agriculture to meet the multiple demands of a growing industry and an exploding population only by keeping capital investment in industry at the low level maintained during the past 5 years of economic "readjustment."

A return, on the other hand, to emphasis on industrialization, at a time when China is still importing over 5 million tons of food grains annually, without a substantial reduction of births, could mean that the population-food supply ratio would soon get dangerously out of balance. Up to the end of 1965 no details of the projected new plan had been announced. Peking is obviously unable to evolve a third 5-year plan suitable for satisfying the national purposes with respect to both peace and war.

This is the situation at a time when, on the foreign front, China lives under the threat of the military power of the United States, which it early designated as its "Enemy No. 1." The United States, be it said, has acted in generous measure to confirm this image. In the decade and a half since the 1950 break in Sino-American relations, it has labored strenuously to erect a great wall for the containment of China, and now mans a ring of strong military bases stretching from Korea and Japan in the north to Thailand in southeast Asia on the periphery of China.

It is allied to the Chinese Communists' domestic enemies, the Chinese Nationalists on Formosa, and for 15 years has maintained the U.S. 7th Fleet in the Formosa strait. And it has been the chief barrier to the admission of Peiping's delegation into the United Nations. In international as in personal relations, hostility breeds hostility. China now clings to the slogan "anti-American imperialism" with a near-religious fervor, and the United States is as rigidly committed to its anti-Chinese policy.

One cannot fruitfully dwell long on might-have-beens. It is known that the Chinese Communists are intelligent, pragmatic to a degree, and formed as other men. There is no proving the proposition that a subtler Chinese foreign policy line, or a more imaginative and flexible American approach to China, in the 1950's, would have resulted in a happier situation in the 1960's. It only seems probable. In fact, the situation is now entering a new stage, far more critical than in 1950, 1955, or 1958, when we almost went to war with China. The steady escalation of military action in southeast Asia carries the inherent threat that it will thrust over new frontiers, and into China.

The United States is determined to have an independent non-Communist South Vietnam. Our client Saigon regime desires American trops to remain in South Vietnam, to support it in power and to give it ultimate victory over all enemies. The Vietnamese revolutionaries, of North and South aim at the construction of a Communist South Vietnam, free of American influence and free to unite with the North. Even in the unlikely event of reconciliation of such widely divergent aims through political means, there would remain a larger conflict: Peiping campaigns for the expulsion of American influence from south and southeast Asia, while Washington works on measures to provide for "the security of the Indian Ocean." The United States, at war in Vietnam, is driven inexorably to expand its military action. And China is under an urge to respond.

The war is, in fact, already being carried beyond Vietnam's border's. As a part of its effort to interdict the flow of men and supplies from North to South Vietnam, the United States, some time back, began airbombing the Ho Chi Minh trail in eastern Laos. In December, leaning upon the pretended sanction of the "doctrine of hot pursuit," Washington let it be known that it was contemplating carrying the war into Cambodia. Thailand is already involved, with American use of Thai air bases for bombing raids on both Laos and Vietnam. The little war begun against obscure guerrillas in an Asian jungle gets bigger.

The United States has frequently declared that it seeks no military bases in southeast Asia, but bases are in fact under urgent construction in Formosa, Thailand, and on the South Vietnam seacoast—and in particular at Danang and strategic Cam Ranh Bay. The bases are suitable for a much bigger war than that in Vietnam.

Rather than try to dismount, the United States continues its perilous ride of the tiger—along a road that has an unknown ending.

China sees the American military buildup in the Far East as a direct threat. This has been implicit all along in the Dullesian doctrine of "massive retaliation" as enunciated in 1954 with reference to the Indo-Chinese War of that time, and in our alliance with the Nationalist faction on Formosa. When China exploded nuclear devices in October 1964 and May 1965, the Chiang Kai-shek regime in Taipei was prompt to suggest that now was the time to destroy their enemy's nuclear establishment—presumably with the hope that the U.S. Air Force, if it went into action, would take the occasion to deal some heavy blows to the Chinese Communist military machine as a whole.

China is militarily a second-rate power, lacking both a stockpile of atomic warheads and a delivery system. Nevertheless, there have recently been an increasing number of official statements about Chinese "might." Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, addressing the NATO Council in mid-December, warned that China would obtain an effective nuclear capacity within a decade, posed the leading question whether China would endeavor to gain control of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, asked how NATO defenses would be affected if China extended its control to other areas of the world, and finally wondered what NATO could do to prevent the expansion of Chinese Communist influence and to assist China's immediate neighbors. By implication, he suggested that NATO should constitute itself an international police force to withstand Chinese aggression.

Kaiser Wilhelm II once warned the world to beware the "Yellow Peril." True, Communist China is rather more fearsome than was either enfeebled Imperial China or resurgent Japan at the end of the 19th century, and its strident pronunciamentoes have tended to lend color to the thesis that China plans world conquest. It is however a time-honored Chinese political tactic to try to frighten off a feared enemy by taking a fierce stance and setting up a loud clamor. We should not forget that for 2,000 years Chinese emperors maintained that they were the sole legitimate rulers of mankind, without China's ever having come close to conquering the world. We might also do well to remember that Communist China's military and economic weaknesses impose some unyielding limitations on its capacity; the gap between Chinese and American economic and military power is great, and the gap is widening, not narrowing. From the beginning of its adventure in Vietnam the United States has offered the argument, inter alia, that it fights to prevent a Chinese takeover of southeast Asia. The French proverb has it that "One always paints the wolf bigger than it is." There would appear to be some of this exaggeration in the American picture of "the Chinese menace."

With the passage of time fears acquire a substance of their own, and so it is in the present situation. China fears American military might, and by reason of its obsessions has seemingly developed, as suggested by U Thant, political tensions giving rise to "unreasonable reactions"; but it cannot renounce its interest in southeast Asia, which lies on its immediate periphery and where from 10 to 12 million Chinese reside. The United States, goaded by apprehension of the unknown future and of hypothetical Chinese action, is subject to a growing urge to launch a preventive war before China achieves greater power.

Peking's dilemma is a harsh one. The Chinese Communists are determined that China shall become a nuclear power, both to attain significant great-power status and to defend itself against the United States and the Soviet Union. Even if they make optimum use of their limited economic resources and drive the nation at forced-draft pace, to achieve their objective they need time—a period of safety, shielded from war. The danger of war, however, far from diminishing, will tend automatically to increase pari passu with the growth of China's military power, until that power might be great enough to have a deterrent effect.

Peking is faced with a choice between two difficult alternatives: it might endeavor to effect a Sino-American detente causing the United States to relax its fears and refrain from military action against China; or, it might act to win an absolute commitment from the U.S.S.R. to extend the Soviet nuclear umbrella over China for protection against the United States until China had built up its own nuclear capacity. The chief issue between Peking and Moscow is no longer one of "export of revolution," but of providing for China's survival.

Peking's anti-American policy is at the core of its entire world-affairs policy. I do not mean that Communist China is unable to shift to a policy of "peaceful coexistence" in Sino-American relations; I do contend, however, that a shift is highly improbable as long as the United States offers no concession to Chinese interests. Statements such as Mr. McNamara's breathe no spirit of conciliation, but rather accept without question a basic premise that the United States and China are enemies.

For the practical future, then, Peking faces the problem of getting an absolute Soviet commitment to China's protection. The existing Sino-Soviet treaty of alliance provides less than that, since the operative provision refers to an attack from Japan or any state allied with Japan; Moscow might well interpret it as inapplicable to a conflict arising in south, or southeast Asia. Moreover the Peking leaders have charged Moscow with breach of international contracts, betrayal of the world revolution, and connivance with "imperialism"; they have endeavored to undermine the Soviet position in the world Communist movement, have raised the question of title to lands once Manchu but now Russian, and have tried all too transparently to embroil the U.S.S.R. in strife with the United States which might leave both incapacitated for decades to come (if they ever recovered). With such a record, the Chinese can hardly be assured in their own minds that a verbal guarantee from Moscow would hold.

China could not in any event obtain the needed partial reconciliation without giving a quid pro quo. But, considering the extremes to which they have pushed the dispute, Mao Tse-tung and his lieutenants are in a poor position to compromise.

They have pinned their political prestige to being correct in their strategy, and have continued so far along their "infallible" course that retreat is difficult. The Sino-Soviet dispute has in Peking's eyes changed its character from "nonantagonistic" (a category of quarrels, which, in Maoist terms, is susceptible to resolution through amicable persuasion) to "antagonistic," a condition resolvable only through coercion. So Mao, like the Chinese general of ancient times, has "broken the cooking-pots and sunk the boats" behind him and his army. Having come to the conclusion that only Soviet deeds, and not words, would constitute the guarantee they desire, the Chinese leaders doggedly carry on the struggle to compel Moscow to take a line of action suitable to Chinese national aims.

Peking therefore continues the harassment of the Soviet position that it launched in 1960, decrying Moscow policy with respect to the emerging nations as counterrevolutionary, proclaiming that Moscow is on the verge of making a deal with Washington for division of the world between them, and asserting that China offers the sole revolutionary truth: Maoism would redeem even Moscow if only the latter would accept it as the true "Marxist-Leninist" gospel.

By continuing pressure, China hopes to mobilize a "revolutionary" public opinion against Moscow, to cause the Soviet leaders to adopt a more radical line of action and prove their revolutionary manhood by confronting the United States, eyeball to eyeball, while China arms.

Vietnam is the fulcrum that China, in its extremity, would use, and its suitability for exacerbating relations between Washington and Moscow can hardly be doubted. But Moscow, long acquainted with Chinese political tactics, easily recognizes them for what they are, and consequently is not easily to be coerced. China still stands in the greater danger of becoming embroiled in the fighting. Given the acuteness of the Chinese strategic problem, Peking will probably react to an expansion of American military actions in southeast Asia by supporting revolutionary movements in that same region, with the aim of flanking and harassing the American presence in presumed self-defense. This, in turn, would lead almost automatically to an increased American effort at containment and intensification of American involvement in the Asian war. The possibility of a direct confrontation between the United States and China would then be brought closer.

A war that would be a tragedy for both the United States and China could easily result. Be it granted that the United States, with its devastating power, could work great damage on China. That country might well suffer the 300 million casualties that Mao Tse-tung is reported to have contemplated theoretically, with equanimity, in 1957, when he argued that the Socialist camp (meaning the Soviet Union in particular) should brave the dangers of nuclear war with the United States. But, even assuming the improbable, that nuclear weapons would not be used and mankind possibly decimated or destroyed by fallout, the American loss of lives and international prestige and influence as a consequence of war would certainly outweigh the benefits of pyrrhic victory.

Such a war would leave the Chinese nation and its culture in ruins. The Chinese people, amiable and diligent, patient and enduring, are desirous of creating a new society in which they might live better than under autocratic emperors and greedy warlords. They are making great sacrifices for the attainment of difficult goals, and they truly deserve "the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity" (in the words of the 1922 Nine Power Treaty on China) to proceed with their colossal task of national reconstruction. War would wreck the products of their arduous labors and shatter their dreams.

Through such a war, the entire human community would lose, probably irretrievably, the slight chance that remains to create a world of law and order. Given the technological advances of the half century since World War I, it cannot be assumed that a liberal margin of possibility for human survival still exists, and that after another war between major powers mankind would have "yet one more chance." Man has begun too late to change into a rational political being. The next war will probably be the last.

There are of course elements of hope. On January 2, 1966, the New York Times, in a special dispatch filed in Texas, reported what was clearly an authorized reflection of President Johnson's contemporary view: "If man is not prepared to regard all his fellows as brothers, Mr. Johnson thinks, he must for his own safety come to regard them at least as fellow citizens of a world community that modern weapons and communications have made smaller than individual nations used to be just a short while ago."

Two years earlier China had shown some signs of acting in line with that general concept. In accepting French recognition and simultaneously announcing the "doctrine of the intermediate zone" in January 1964, Peking evidenced a willingness to try at least limited "peaceful coexistence" with countries other than the emerging nations. China has so far won only minor economic and political benefits with that policy, but that strategic shift could not in any event have been expected to bring solutions for China's crucial problems, and in the net there were gains, not losses.

There is, then, a possibility of change in Peking's attitudes under the sharp goad of necessity. China's present leaders have not been able to realize their greater dreams and have been unable to make headway toward a remodeling of the world in the Maoist pattern. But these men confront the problem of retaining power, and are practical. Frustrated in its larger ambitions, Mao Tse-tung's generation may prove ready to adjust its policies to save what it has; and the future generation of Chinese leaders, as Mao himself greatly fears, may prove distinctly less revolutionary, may even be "revisionist," in its approach to the many problems that face the nation.

A China heavily involved in the manifold tasks of economic reconstruction would patently be less inclined toward adventuristic attempts to "liberate" the rest of the world from a "bondage" that hardly affects China—especially if it were allotted a place of acknowledged consequence in that world.

It is in this that China may get the larger gain from shifting to the doctrine of the intermediate zone. It appears probable that, barring unforeseen developments, Peking's delegation will be voted into China's place by the U.N. General Assembly next fall. That event would give Peking the gratifying political "victory" of having vanquished, by democratic process, Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa and Chiang's protector power, the United States, and of having won its "rightful" place in the parliament of man. This would reduce China's resentments without great loss of substance to the United States. In addition, China in the United Nations as a full-fledged member, instead of outside in outlaw status, would be entitled to the protection of the community and its laws.

That broad guarantee, including the implicit American policy of self-restraint toward a fellow U.N. member, could gradually come to take the place of the missing firm Soviet guarantee of China's safety. China might consequently be increasingly inclined to view its role in the world community in a new light and contribute generously to the work of strengthening the machinery of law and order that offered it protection. In the end, the United States and China, achieving a greater degree of mutual understanding than exists at present, might become reconciled to peaceful coexistence with each other.

Much depends, it is clear, on the course of impending events in southeast Asia. Without peace, there can be no unity of mankind; without China's participation, there can be no peace. If China is not brought soon into the organized world community, that community will probably cease to exist.

WARSAW GHETTO DAY: A COMMEMORATION

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, 23 years have passed since the days of the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto. There in the tragic spring of 1943, the still surviving members of the Jewish population of Warsaw made a desperate last-ditch stand against the forces of death. The immediate effect was an explosion of Nazi violence and insanity unparalleled in modern history, but the final result can only be one more affirmation of the determination of an indomitable people to survive prejudice and cruelty.

Before the Second World War, the Jewish population of Poland numbered over 3 million and of these 330,000 lived in Warsaw. When the Nazi troops entered Warsaw in 1939, the first decree of the occupation forces was to declare all Jews subject to forced labor. But this was only the beginning. Before long the Jews were forbidden to work in key industries, to leave the city limits, to buy or sell to "Aryans," or even to bake bread.

Organized religious activities were soon abolished. The Jews were stripped of any of the rights of other citizens. A Jewish police officer could be executed for apprehending an "Ayran" criminal. The sacred Star of David became an emblem of one's persecuted status.

The final horror of this nightmare was yet to come. On the 16th of October 1940 a ghetto was established by the Nazi governor of Warsaw. A 100-square-block area was set aside in a corner of Warsaw. Non-Jewish Poles were moved out and the Jewish population from Warsaw and the surrounding areas of Poland was moved into the ghetto; 500,000 people, one-third of the population of Warsaw, was squeezed into an area encompassing one-twentieth of the city. Living conditions soon became desperate. Food was so scarce that half of the population died of starvation within just 2 years.

But this attrition rate was not enough for the gruesome efficiency of the Nazis. A "final solution" was begun in the summer of 1942. The Jews were told that they would have to be "resettled in the East." This action, of course, was the beginning of the systematic mass extermination of the Jewish population of Poland. A quota was issued by the Nazi authorities; some volunteers were produced and the rest were forcibly dragged to collection points and herded onto closed freight cars to the concentration camps at Auschwitz and Treblinka where they would meet their death.

Gravely weakened by starvation and without weapons, the Jews in the ghetto were nearly helpless before the brutal tyranny of the Nazis. Nevertheless, a secret resistance organization, the ZOB, was formed in the summer of 1942 by the Zionist youth organizations. Their most dreaded murderers were assassinated, and the Nazis responded viciously.

Eventually there were only 40,000 Jews left in the ghetto; the rest were dead. When the final deportations were begun in January of 1943, the Germans suddenly encountered strong resistance. Armed only with pistols, a few hand grenades, and Molotov cocktails, the resisters inflicted heavy casualties on the Germans and forced a temporary retreat.

The Nazis found an excuse for a direct assault on the ghetto when a call for workers to be sent to the Trawniki concentration camp was answered by only 200 Jews. On April 19, 1945, at 2:15 in the morning the attack began. The first battle raged for 12 hours until the Germans were finally repulsed. The Germans then brought reinforcements. The next attack was supported by tanks and air strikes, but still the poorly equipped and inexperienced resisters fought on—on to the death. Finally, on May 16, the battle came to an end. In a last symbolic act, the Nazis dynamited the great Jewish synagogue. There was no longer a Warsaw ghetto; the Jewish district and its population in Warsaw had been destroyed.

Nevertheless, the resistance never ended until the Nazis had finally been defeated. Some made their way to fight with the Allies, others continued underground operations against the Nazis as late as the fall of 1943.

Mr. Speaker, the story of the Nazi nightmare in Warsaw represents one of the most shocking tragedies in the history of modern man. But the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto also represents a promise of man's determination to resist to the end, to fight for his survival against the most staggering—even hopeless—odds. Above all, it is a testimony to the courage and determination of the Jewish people.

NATION'S PRESS CLOUDED WITH CHARGES OF PLAYING POLITICS WITH OUR ARMED FORCES IN VIETNAM

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the Nation's press is clouded today with charges by the minority party that the United States is playing politics with our Armed Forces in Vietnam. Further, that U.S. policy with respect to the present government of South Vietnam is not clear, and, of course, the ever-present charge that all items of logistics and Vietnamese operations are not proceeding with the efficiency of training exercises. These charges most certainly must confuse some Americans who rely upon the press, radio, and television, for their knowledge of national and international events.

It is my opinion that this administration has been conducting the southeast Asia geopolitical-military operation in the best possible manner. The President's position and actions have been timely, correct, and in the best interests of not only our fighting men, but of all Americans.

Secretary Rusk has clearly enunciated and stated our position time and time again. The President has done so with complete candor to all Americans at frequent enough intervals to satisfy all reasonable citizens.

It is not in our national interest to continually tell the enemy what our next move is, as some people keep urging. It is not in the interest of American military men in this theater to report in great detail, a day to day account of their operations. After all, the 22 million Americans who are veterans of World Wars I and II and the Korean war do know that secrecy and surprise are necessary to successful combat operations as well as to many diplomatic necessities.

I include a very excellent editorial which appeared today in the New York Daily News by Ted Lewis, which is a searching, current analysis of our positions. Once again, let me exhort all Americans, including some of the impatient politicians, to keep our foreign policy nonpartisan and let the President conduct our foreign affairs without the impedence of the second-guessing demagogs.

CAPITOL STUFF

(By Ted Lewis)

WASHINGTON, April 18.—President Johnson is returning to the White House from Texas to find an overwhelming demand that he clarify the administration's stand on the political foulup in South Vietnam.

This effort to make the President speak out is at the heart of all the shenanigans in Congress. Most influential Senators of both parties have now given their unsolicited advice, as well as Republican congressional leaders, who are properly playing politics with a vengeance on the Viet issue.

All these maneuvers are basically aimed at drawing the President out. They have at the same time compounded the present confusion over the direction the administration is moving.

This was never more evident than in developments on Capitol Hill today. Under prodding questions by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State Rusk chanced the prediction that in the forthcoming Vietnamese election the Communists would lose out. At the same time Senate Democratic Leader MIKE MANSFIELD took a somewhat opposite view, and offered another "peace package" involving some gobbledegook about it being Asia, not Washington, "where peace must now be sought."

MANSFIELD's proposal was supposed to have more importance than Rusk's carefully qualified views. This was because MANSFIELD had flown to Mexico City with L.B.J. last week. So conjectures arose that Johnson was floating a trial balloon in the hands of MANSFIELD.

This was obviously a silly conclusion for Johnson and MANSFIELD have never seen eye to eye on Vietnam.

But it is going to take the President himself to clear up such matters. He clearly cannot stay mum many days longer and must tell the Nation exactly where his administration stands in the new political situation in Vietnam.

PRESIDENT FOLLOWING RULE OF SILENCE

Since the start of the political crisis involving the Ky military junta, Johnson has been operating under a self-imposed rule of silence.

His own advisers, in and out of Congress, felt this mumness was smart, at least until the political dust settled. It now has in a limited way. The political landscape will not become totally clear until the late summer elections, demanded by the Buddhists, are held. But obviously the President knows he cannot wait until then to supply a chart of his revised policy course.

L.B.J. would probably much prefer to take his own sweet time about delivering any clarification. Yet in this case he has no other choice than to explain exactly where the administration stands. He must come up with answers to widely divergent congressional viewpoints.

For example, the two most intelligent military thinkers in the Senate, RICHARD B. RUSSELL, Democrat, of Georgia, and JOHN STENNIS, Democrat, of Mississippi, have posed the question of a reappraisal of our war policy.

RUSSELL'S POSITION ON WITHDRAWAL

RUSSELL has recommended that if a neutralist government comes to power in Saigon, and proposes we withdraw our troops, then we definitely should.

Then there is the demand by such Republicans as House GOP Leader GERALD FORD, of Michigan, that Johnson make an early choice, in view of the political mess, between accelerated bombing or commitment of 220,000 more troops "to gain a cease-fire."

The President is also under pressure to clear up various semantic nuances in his policy, nuances that never seemed important until the present political foulup developed.

This problem was touched on by Secretary Rusk under questioning at today's Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing by Senator Albert Gore, Democrat, of Tennessee.

Gore wanted to know whether the administration would accept a "neutralist" government in South Vietnam should such a government be chosen. Rusk said the United States would not object if the voters favored a nonalined government as long as South Vietnam was left safe and secure.

Rusk appeared to be trying to make a distinction between a neutralist and nonalined government. It is a little hard for the average American to figure out the difference, unless he is reminded that Johnson in December 1963—soon after John F. Kennedy's assassination—wanted no part of neutralism in South Vietnam.

POLITICAL SITUATION IS UNPREDICTABLE

This is what the President said at that time in a message to Gen. Duong Van Minh, one of the temporary bossmen in Saigon. "Neutralization of South Vietnam is unacceptable," said L.B.J., and added that as long as the Hanoi Communists persisted in their aggressive policy, "neutralization would only be another name for a Communist takeover."

It should not be expected that when Johnson does try to explain where his administration now stands in Vietnam, he will supply all the answers. He does not know himself because the present political situation is volatile and unpredictable.

But Presidential guidelines are needed, if only to determine the party line so that Democratic Congressmen will be able to follow the leader, knowing at least what general direction he is taking.

Whether, for example, he indicates we are going to step up our own war effort between now and the Vietnamese election, and whether he repeats the old policy line that we are only in Vietnam to rescue, on request, a country attacked by an aggressor.

The key question is too delicate to be answered publicly. It is of course whether, should such a contingency arise, we would accede to a neutralist government's request to pull our military out.

WEAVER'S TALK IS CITY CHALLENGE

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, April 16, 1966, Secretary Robert C. Weaver came to Cleveland and addressed the Roosevelt dinner of the Cleveland chapter of Americans for Democratic Action.

During the course of his dynamic speech, Secretary Weaver outlined President Johnson's demonstration cities proposal. He directed attention to the purpose of this program to revitalize residential areas without demolition, without relocation, and without shifting problems from one neighborhood to another.

The proposals made by Secretary Weaver were very warmly received in Cleveland, where large segments of the central city crave rehabilitation and modernization. The people of these communities have time and again reasserted their desire to live in the central city areas in close proximity to the downtown and the cultural attractions of the city. The inner city must be rebuilt for them, and Secretary Weaver's proposals give them hope.

Following is the editorial which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on April 17, 1966, entitled "Weaver's Talk Is City Challenge":

WEAVER'S TALK IS CITY CHALLENGE

Cleveland has been challenged to show its initiative and imagination in urban renewal planning.

It is a challenge which the citizens of the community, the city administration especially, cannot afford to neglect.

The great hopes of urban renewal, as well as its problems which at times are so depressing, were outlined in Cleveland last night by Secretary Robert C. Weaver of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Secretary Weaver tossed out the challenge in his address at the Roosevelt Day dinner of the Cleveland chapter of Americans for Democratic Action. He did not color the urban renewal picture rosy. But he did put the situation in understandable terms, especially when he said that halfway measures to meet the problem would not suffice.

Citizens of Cleveland and other metropolitan communities should heed his warning, that it is not enough to build up a tax base or erect architectural monuments. Citizens must become involved in revitalizing residential areas; social renewal must accompany physical improvement.

One of the best ways to interest citizens is this problem to remind them that poverty, blight and crime are interrelated.

Investment of money is useless unless, in the Secretary's words, "time, sweat and caring" go along with it.

He reminded his audience that moving to the suburbs is no escape; suburbs eventually inherit all the worst vices of urban decay. This has a special emphasis for Cleveland.

But the Secretary wasn't just theoretical. He left several suggestions for Cleveland:

Enforce building codes. Nonenforcement, as Cleveland has found out, builds overnight slums. The Federal Government will pay, in most cases, two-thirds of this expense.

Try to qualify as a Demonstration City. This operation still is before Congress but Cleveland should not waste a day in preparing its application as a target area. HUD believes the benefits of a Demonstration City rating will be of inestimable value to communities so designated.

Attack a renewal project by fixing up an entire one- two- or three-block area which will serve as an inspiring example. A patchwork attempt to do the job in a large area, such as Hough's 860 acres, is too slow, too heart-breaking. Concentrate for impact.

Urban renewal cannot stand alone on reclaimed land or demolished slum buildings. It will not do the job unless it is accompanied by expanded opportunities in housing, employment, recreation, and education. Here the secretary shows a down-to-earth realization.

His enthusiasm for the task should be contagious. Cleveland, with the splendid opportunity for improvement, with a grand new State university complex in the wings, must respond to Secretary Weaver's challenge.

It must meet the challenge—with inspiration, imagination and with energy.

The news report of the Plain Dealer of April 17 follows which quotes from Secretary Weaver's speech:

WEAVER SAYS GHETTOS NEED MASSIVE PROGRAMS

"Old approaches, stale thinking and mismanagement can no longer be tolerated.

"The goals we have set have evaded us for too long.

"It is simply not reasonable to assume, any longer, that the people trapped in the Harlems and the South Sides and the Houghs are going to be content with halfway measures. Nor can the Nation be content with these glaring exceptions to general affluence."

The speaker was Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of the new U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and first Negro ever to serve in the Cabinet.

He said here yesterday that one-shot programs that deal with single phases of the Nation's vast and complex urban problems are not adequate.

He said the real answer lies in massive metropolitan area programs that would—

Achieve both property renewal and improvement in individual lives.

Coordinate simultaneous attacks on many urban problems.

Be locally planned and involve the people affected to the maximum possible extent.

Specifically, Weaver offered the "completely new strategy" of President Johnson's "demonstration cities" proposal.

Weaver spoke at the Roosevelt Day dinner of the Cleveland chapter, Americans for Democratic Action, in the Hollenden House.

The chapter gave its New Frontier Award for Community Service to Dr. Kenneth W. Clement, Cleveland surgeon and leader in many movements seeking civil rights and economic opportunity for Negroes.

Last week Dr. Clement was announced as a member of an interracial, nonprofit corporation which will build seven new apartment buildings in the Hough area.

The ADA citation recognized "his lifetime of selfless pioneering service dedicated to the improvement of human welfare, to the enhancement of human dignity and to the strengthening of our economic and political democracy."

Weaver said some urban renewal programs have fallen short and that "we cannot afford any further disruptions."

He said cities must raise their sights. "It is no longer enough to beef up a city's tax base, or to build architectural monuments, if that is all a city proposes to do."

"Unless we can honestly say that our programs have expanded opportunities for housing, for jobs, for recreation and education; unless we can honestly say that our programs are creating neighborhoods of which we can all be proud, then I say we are not doing our job."

Weaver devoted the greater part of his talk to describing the demonstration cities proposal.

"Its aim," he said, "is the total improvement in the lives of 10 percent or more of the total community population, and a basic change in the whole community."

As Weaver listed them, these are some salient feature of the idea:

It would revitalize residential areas but generally without demolition and without moving people out or shifting problems from one neighborhood to another.

The community's total housing supply would be increased.

There would be rehabilitation, loans, grants, and writedowns of property values.

New public institutions, such as schools, improved utility and other services, and building code enforcement would be included.

Simultaneously, all the Federal programs, "for social and human betterment," including antipoverty programs and the various job training and vocational projects, would be focused on the area concerned.

"Multipurpose neighborhood centers," Weaver said, "would provide home management and family counseling, legal assistance, services for youth and the aging."

In a hypothetical city of 1.7 million, Weaver said, the demonstration would take 5 years and $525 million. Under present legislation the Federal share would be $325 million.

The city would pay $200 million. But under the demonstration cities program, it would get 80 percent of that—$160 million—as an additional Federal grant for additional services.

Weaver emphasized local planning. He said two undertakings here, those of Project HOPE in the Hough area and the Mount Pleasant Community Council, "indicate that there are citizens willing to take the leadership for better communities."

Also appearing below is the Plain Dealer article of April 17 entitled "'Show' Project in Hough Urged":

CONCENTRATE, WEAVER ADVISES: "SHOW" PROJECT IN HOUGH URGED

(By Donald Sabath)

A demonstration program in rehabilitation for the Hough area was proposed yesterday by Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Weaver suggested that the city's program be small enough to be workable, yet large enough to make an impact on the residents of the renewal project.

He made the remarks after he toured the Hough area portion of the University-Euclid renewal project with U.S. Representative CHARLES A. VANIK, Democrat, 21st District. The 860-acre project has been underway for 4 years.

Weaver, in Cleveland last night to address the Roosevelt Day dinner of the American for Democratic Action chapter, said the blame for lack of positive results in Hough can be shared by both his department and city renewal officials.

"It's a joint responsibility," Weaver said in an interview with The Plain Dealer. "But the initiative must come from Cleveland officials."

Weaver suggests the city pick one Hough area, one or two square blocks in size and then concentrate all its renewal resources on fixing up the area.

"Trees should be planted and recreation areas should be provided and the city should use all its resources to give a new life to this section," Weaver said.

But the best example of rehabilitation can only be the creation of adequate housing for the residents in Hough, he added.

"We should use all the tools available for rehabilitation," Weaver said, "including nonprofit organizations and low-interest Federal loans and a wider use of programs using all the facilities of public housing."

Weaver said bringing all these together can prove the city "is doing something in Hough."

The lack of housing code enforcement in the $16.5 million University-Euclid project was called "a great mistake" by the secretary.

Two weeks ago, James P. Friedman, urban renewal commissioner, told the U.S. Civil Rights Commission hearing here that the city did not enforce the housing code in Hough once it was designated a renewal project.

"Code enforcement is one of the major tools in rehabilitation and that is exactly what the Hough project is," Weaver said. "With housing inspections you prevent homes from getting more rundown than they are."

Weaver said two-thirds of the cost for the housing inspectors would have been paid by the Federal Government. These funds had been available for 4 years, he said.

With rent supplements, public housing and new housing, Weaver said he thought the Hough area could become a mixture of projects for both low-income and middle-income families.

The Cleveland Press article of Monday, April 18, entitled "City Acts on Weaver's Plea To Draft Massive Housing Plan" appears below:

[From the Cleveland Press, Apr. 18, 1966]

CITY ACTS ON WEAVER'S PLEA TO DRAFT MASSIVE HOUSING PLAN

Cleveland will be ready with plans for a massive assault on the social, economic, and housing problems of a large area of the city if President Johnson's demonstration cities program is approved by Congress.

The program would take huge areas of 60 to 70 cities and "blanket" them with every conceivable type of assistance known to make them stable and economically sound.

It calls for spending $2,300 million in a 5-year program.

The immediate need for such drastic measures was emphasized here again during the weekend by Robert C. Weaver, new director of Urban Development Department.

"One-shot programs that deal with single phases of the Nation's vast and complex urban problems are not adequate," Weaver told the Cleveland chapter of the Americans for Democratic Action at the Hollenden House.

Locher said that Weaver's warning was "loud and clear" and that the city would be ready to participate in the program.

"I intend to call in all agencies of government again this week to map a target area for such a massive attack on all problems of a given area," Locher said.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RUMSFELD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, on March 16, 1966, a rollcall vote developed—rollcall No. 40—on H.R. 6785, to promote the observance of a uniform system of daylight saving time throughout the United States. It was necessary for me to be away from Washington on that day, and the RECORD shows that I did not vote on the bill. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RUMSFELD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, on March 31, 1966, a rollcall vote—No. 53—was taken on the adoption of the rule on S. 2729, to amend the Small Business Act. A rollcall vote also developed—No. 54—on final passage of this bill. The RECORD shows that I did not vote in both instances. It was necessary for me to be away from Washington on that day, but had I been present, I would have voted "yea" in both instances.

FREEDOM AND PROGRESS

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SKUBITZ] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a speech given here in Washington by Mr. Arthur A. Smith, senior vice president and economist for the First National Bank in Dallas, Tex.

Mr. Smith makes a very valid point when he states:

> There must be a point of no return in the process of stimulating the economy—a point beyond which negative returns in the form of inflation and other perils set in.

I hope the administration and its supporters take heed and read this message before we enact many more expensive, new Government programs.

This speech was given before the ninth annual meeting of the National Independent Dairies Association. It merits the attention of all those concerned with our present and future economy:

FREEDOM AND PROGRESS

(By Arthur A. Smith)

The Nation has now entered the 6th year of uninterrupted, high-level economic expansion—a period never before equaled; indeed, a phenomenal period. A year ago there was some concern among business analysts over whether the economy could sustain the record level much longer. Now greatest concern appears to be over how to restrain the economy from overheating and generating injurious inflation.

Not long ago I had a letter from a friend saying among other things:

"I would like to have your opinion as an economist as to whether there can be any real prosperity in a nation that continues to get deeper and deeper in debt, that raises its temporary debt ceiling ever higher and higher, that is spending about 12 percent of its annual budget to pay interest on the national debt. Really, I think this is a serious question, and I would like to have your observations on it. In other words, are we having real prosperity or false prosperity?"

I readily agree that the question is a serious one, and I just as readily declare it to be a tough question to answer—that is, with an answer that will satisfy everyone. Much depends upon definition of terms. There is no denying the fact that the Nation's economy now is very active and is performing at a record level measured in terms of meaningful, generally accepted indicators. By common definition, we would have to say that we are in a very prosperous period.

We have had other periods of prosperity in our history (some were records for their time), but none as high as this one because we have grown in wealth, population, technology, etc., as time has passed. No so-called period of prosperity has lasted forever. In the past—going a long way back, long before Keynes, the Deals (New and Fair), the New Frontier, the Great Society, etc.—we had prosperous times, and they always exhausted themselves—degenerated into recessions, sometimes into depressions, and finally recovered to be prosperous again.

For want of a better term, we called these fluctuations business cycles. They were enigmatic economic phenomena whose cause or causes baffled businessmen, economists, and everybody else. Every respectable college or university offered in its department of economics one or more courses in business cycle theory, the very title itself being a frank and honest confession that nobody knew much for absolute certain about the subject. True, there were many hypotheses, opinions, notions, and even logical convictions, when basic assumptions were accepted.

It was easy to describe the business cycle and its phases. When there was relatively full employment, lots of purchasing power from wages and salaries, profits, interest, and other sources of income, high volume of retail sales, easy credit, high productivity, large capital expenditures, scarcely any business failures, everybody optimistic, etc., we had prosperity (or "good times"). When unemployment began to increase, sales to fall off, factories to shut down part time or completely, losses to appear in the accounts, pessimism to develop, credit to tighten, business failures to increase, we said we were in a recession. Then when the recession became bad enough, we began to call it a depression.

Everybody liked prosperity; nobody liked depressions. Each time we had a serious, really bad depression most people demanded that something be done about this, that, or the other, depending upon what they thought caused the trouble. Some folks blamed the banking system. Some said our monetary system was responsible. Some pointed to Wall Street as the culprit. Farmers thought it was the protective tariff (unless they happened to grow sugarcane, sugarbeets, or wool). Some contended that the fault was in the distribution process—that purchasing power tends to get concentrated in the hands of a relatively few who save too much and don't spend enough.

The followers of Karl Marx said the real villain was the capitalistic system itself. Depending on who was in office when it happened, the Democrats said the Republicans were to blame, and the Republicans just as forcefully said it was the Democrats. Sometime during the second half of the 19th century a few economists even advanced the theory that spots on the sun caused business cycles. And there were numerous other theories, as well as numerous other whipping boys.

The point is that periods of prosperity occurred, stayed around for a while, and vanished—as did other phases of the cycle. No one, to my knowledge, has ever worked out an infallible formula to predict the business cycle, or to determine the duration of a phase of the cycle in advance. Furthermore, I do not know of any authority who has ever devised any way of determining whether the prosperity phase or any phase is real or false (unreal).

What is real prosperity? Is it prosperity that will last forever? If so, we have never had a real prosperity.

My friend sems to imply that our current prosperity is false because the Nation "continues to get deeper and deeper in debt." The Nation does continue to get deeper in debt—both the private segment of the economy and the public segment. Other periods of prosperity have been accompanied by a large volume of credit. In fact, easy credit generally characterizes the prosperity phase of the cycle. Most assuredly that was true of the late 1920's when we enjoyed the best prosperity we had ever had to then. After the economy collapsed some analysts said that the principal cause was "overexpansion of credit." Government credit outstanding was relatively small in the late 1920's. Actually the Federal Government had paid its debt down to $16.2 billion by 1930 from a record high of $25.5 billion in 1919, almost all of which was incurred in connection with World War I. So if there was "overexpansion of credit" in the 1920's, it was private, not public, credit. Actually, however, even with the 20–20 vision of hindsight, there was (and still is) no general agreement on what brought prosperity to an end and produced the very bad depression of the thirties, regarded as the worst in our history. Incidentally, the depression was not confined to the United States; it was a world depression. There is even an abundance of evidence that it did not start in this country.

One thing is sure—regardless of whether the preceding prosperity was real or false, any mature person who lived through the thirties will not hesitate to say that the depression was real.

We had had bad depressions before, and each produced changes in our way of doing things, but none caused as great a social, economic, and political revolution as the depression of the thirties. The American people by their votes expressed a willingness, even eagerness, to go along with the most radical changes in the role of the Central Government the Nation has ever experienced. Among the mandates none was firmer than those empowering the Federal Government to do something about the depressed economy. The first measures taken were of an emergency nature; later legislation was designed to make permanent changes.

The program was interrupted by World War II without proving its effectiveness one way or the other. The war quickly brought economic recovery as the Nation's productive facilities were not only greatly expanded but were driven to the limit satisfying the voracious appetite of Mars while civilian demand was held in check by rationing and other restrictions. It is important to point out that only about 40 percent of the costs of the war were met by taxes, the remaining 60 percent by Government credit, thus building up a large amount of purchasing power which people were unable to spend because of restrictions. After the war a great backlog of civilian demand for homes, automobiles, appliances, and numerous other things fortified with accumulated liquid assets earned and saved when such goods were not available kept the economy moving with only a short, mild recession marking the shift from "guns back to butter." Likewise following the war our foreign assistance program contributed greatly to keeping the economy at a high level. Then came the Korean war and the cold war both requiring relatively large annual defense expenditures which together with continued foreign aid programs kept Federal budgets climbing back toward their peak of World War II years. At the same time domestic functions became more expensive not only because they were being broadened, but because new ones were being added. Now we have Vietnam.

This small capsule of history is revealing because it points to a sequence of developments which enables us to identify some of the more pronounced forces which have been stimulating our economy over the past quarter of a century. These are:

1. Large and growing Government spending, mostly for defense, for defense-related purposes, and for new domestic functions—spending accompanied by deficit financing (credit).

2. Capital spending by American business reached record proportions, especially in relatively new science-based industries such as electronics, petrochemicals, aviation and space, atomic energy, and wherever automation has caught on. Capital spending is particularly stimulating because of its multiplier effect. Credit has played a prominent role here too because high corporate taxes have induced far more credit financing than equity financing. Tax concessions in the form of accelerated depreciation allowances and the capital investment credit have encouraged capital expansion in recent years.

3. Consumers, aided by rising and more widely distributed incomes and by readily available and favorable credit, bought homes, automobiles, appliances, furnishing, and other consumables in record amounts.

4. Research and development outlays, largest in the world, brought dramatic scientific breakthroughs, technological advances for more efficient industrial production, and new and improved products for better living.

5. Also stimulating to the economy were a substantial growth in population and an almost incredible shifting of people from rural to urban areas.

6. I have reserved for the last a source of impulsion that will bring me nearer to the theme of my talk. I refer to the deliberate manipulation of fiscal and monetary policy to propel the economy forward and upward.

Among the fiscal devices used were the 7-percent investment credit, reductions in income and excise taxes, and continued high-level spending, the tax cuts coming at a time when the economy was operating at a record level up to then and raising in the minds of a meek minority the question: Does the economy need a stimulus? Proponents quickly replied that, although business activity was at record levels, the economy was not making enough progress—it should be doing better. Furthermore, we want to sustain high levels and avoid a recession, they said. It was easy to point to unemployment as a problem justifying such action, as if there were no other way to reduce unemployment.

Indeed, it was, as President Johnson said, "a bold approach"—the Keynesian approach of cutting taxes to balance the budget. In the thirties we called it bootstrap economics.

Has it worked? Until the fall of 1965, things looked great. We had apparently found a miracle-working means of perpetuating prosperity. The new economics had arrived in all the glory of success. One of the scheme's most articulate sponsors, Dr. Walter W. Heller, formerly Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, could say in his Frazar B. Wilde lecture, October 27, 1965, "Active use of the tax and budget instruments to achieve the economy's full potential—and to keep it fully employed—has become in political practice an exercise in sound finance." And in a gracious gesture, he quoted his successor, Gardner Ackley, who had referred to the fiscal action as "a stunning success, convincing even its critics." Then to prove the point with figures, Dr. Heller referred to Arthur Okun's analysis showing step-by-step the quantitative impact of the tax cut upon the economy—how, for example, gross national product for the second quarter of 1965 alone was $24.5 billion greater than it would have been without the tax cut and how "the ultimate payoff on the 1964 tax cut would be a $36 billion increment in gross national product." But the clincher and the delight of the expansionists was the fact that Federal receipts actually rose despite the cut in tax rates.

Those who championed fiscally spurred expansion are inclined to leave unmentioned the essential role monetary policy played as a collaborator. Banking credit had to expand to accommodate the fiscal process—and it did so quite dramatically. In 1965, for example, commercial bank credit expanded about $25 billion—a record expansion made possible by a sympathetic central bank policy which furnished the necessary reserves.

It should be no mystery even to the average layman, unlettered in economics, that there must be a point of no return in the process of stimulating the economy—a point beyond which negative returns in the form of inflation and other perils set in.

The question is not whether Government should be charged with the responsibility of controlling the business cycle and unemployment, but rather whether the measures applied are proper—and if so, how intensively they should be used and what the ultimate costs of their use will be. I agree that it is socially desirable to control the business cycle, but we ought to settle for a program that eliminates the extreme peaks and the extreme valleys, leaving an area within which the economy can fluctuate.

We have had four readjustments or recessions since the end of World War II. It is possible that these (and perhaps others to come) serve a corrective purpose in our economy, preventing the accumulation of forces that ultimately might cause an old-fashioned bust or depression. I know of no way to be sure of this, but as I reflect upon the great depression of the 1930's, I am convinced that mass emotion then drove the economy farther down that was warranted by sheer economics. This was forcefully implied by Roosevelt in his inaugural address March 4, 1933, when he said that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

It could be that we have found ways and means through economic and political changes adopted since 1933 to prevent or at least mitigate the mass fear and distrust that occasionally used to paralyze our economy. For example, we have not witnessed runs on banks since the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation was created in 1933. Yet many people remember well that in the darkest days of the Great Depression scarcely any bank was not suspect, even the strongest and best, who to remain strong and as liquid as possible hesitated to make many loans it otherwise would have made—loans needed for normal business operations.

The thought I want to convey is that, had it not been for emotional forces (fear), the depression which began with the stock market crash in the fall of 1929 might not have been very severe—not much more than a mild recession, maybe no more serious than what we have had four times since 1945. Of course, all this is pure supposition, but if it be true, then we conceivably could be through forever with depressions as cataclysmic as the one of the thirties.

One thing can be said for sure: Nobody wants to see another depression, and many measures (rightly or wrongly) have been adopted to make the economy depression-proof. Perhaps we should be satisfied if we can just eliminate the extreme swings in the business cycle.

This, however, seems not to be our intentions. We are seeking to keep the economy always forging upward, and to do so we will have to continue to adopt so much centralized regulation and control that eventually there will be little left of individual freedom or free enterprise. Either that unpleasant end will be reached, or we will build up such a topheavy economy from monetary and fiscal stimulation that it ultimately will collapse.

An economic symposium was held here in Washington, February 23, 1966, commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Employment Act of 1946—the legislation which more than any other placed in the Federal Government responsibility for directing the Nation's economy toward expansion and full employment. I have not seen a copy of the proceedings of the symposium but I have been told by friends that there was a great deal of boasting by disciples of the new economics to the effect that at last "we have learned the economic facts of life and we now realize that recession and inflation are not inevitable." I do not contend that recession and inflation are inevitable, but I doubt seriously whether we have learned the facts of economic life, or facts about people who are the real characters in the drama of real economic life. If those in their academic ivory towers who concocted the theoretical formula by which the Nation's economy is to be manipulated via fiscal and monetary policy actually understood the facts they would realize that it is yet too early to celebrate, or even to claim full credit for the level of the economy. To be fair, they would be obliged to admit that there have been some powerful assists from three hot wars and a cold one over the past 25 years and from literally an industrial revolution made possible by almost incredible scientific breakthroughs and innovations undreamed of short years ago. Furthermore, they would be obliged to admit that the fine degree to which they expect to manipulate the economy can be achieved only by greater and greater controls, because as long as people remain relatively free to make economic decisions just so long will the formula find its desired achievement impossible. If the people discover an inflation bias of, say, 2 percent a year built into the formula, they will discount that amount in their own speculative economic behavior, making necessary a higher built-in percentage to provide the required stimulus—and so on. If the enterpriser is left free to combine the agents of production into the most economical combination, he will aggravate the unemployment problem by substituting machines for humans when wage guideposts, wage legislation, or union power make labor costs greater than machine costs. Other examples can be given, but the point to be emphasized is that short of almost totalitarian authority, the formula will not, and cannot, operate except to eliminate cyclical extremes. Within certain limitations and under certain circumstances there may be merit to the idea, but the danger is that it will not be applied within those limitations and under those circumstances. A good analogy is to be found in the use of habit-forming drugs (narcotics). Medical doctors will prescribe them at times, but the skilled physician is always careful to protect the patient from addiction. Doctors of economics seem to have made a patient out of the economy which in turn appears to have become addicted to deficits and other fiscal stimulants to the point where even the doctors are reluctant to use restraint, fearful that the patient will not submit willingly, or let us say, politically.

Strictly speaking, proper and effective fiscal and monetary management, as generally conceived and defended by the new economics, is a two-way process—a two-way street. It must be used to check as well as to accelerate, but checking provokes such popular opposition from so many sources that even wise and honest fiscal and monetary authority cannot function efficiently against the political force that interferes. Herein lies a fundamental weakness of a managed economy in a democratic society. Only in a highly centralized, perhaps totalitarian state, where the authority is all-powerful, can this weakness be overcome.

I do not question the integrity or the motives of those whose economic theories currently dominate Government authority. I fear the ultimate consequences, perhaps not in the lifetime of anyone present, but in the time of our children or grandchildren. What I am saying is that the goals of a managed economic society cannot be achieved without the sacrifice of individual freedom to the point where progress is stifled.

If people insist upon measuring progress in material terms—in terms of want-satisfying things—they ought to have sense enough, reason enough, and enough knowledge of history, to recognize the connection between their freedom and their material progress. When I speak of freedom, I do not mean absolute freedom because such a condition is hardly conceivable. I refer to freedom to doubt, to probe, to venture, to innovate. In man's history restraints on such freedom have stemmed from different agencies of social control, including the church which for centuries kept the masses in ignorance. You will recall from your study of the history of the Middle Ages (the Dark Ages) that it was pretty generally believed and actually taught by the church that this life was a "vale of tears" through which man had to travel to a perfect life. I submit that such a restraint on the mind was no stimulus to progress.

Restrictions or restraints which once prevailed over a person's occupation (still persist in some eastern countries) afford another example. Where you have a custom which decrees that trades shall be hereditary (the son must follow in the same occupation as the father) and that tools and methods used by ancestors shall continue to be used, you most certainly have a restraint on enterprise. And wherever you find the caste system, you have restraint on the individual. Wherever a religion decrees that a big fat cow is sacred and shall not be killed, you have a restriction which aggravates the pressure of population on food supply. Where the church or religion dominates the will of the individual to the extent of keeping him in ignorance or binds him to a kind of mysticism that delimits his inclination to doubt, you nave restraint of the very worst kind, as bad certainly as physical enslavement or conditions of feudalism which bound the workers to the soil.

One thing we know for sure about material or economic progress. It has not been the same in all countries. And when you seek an explanation of the difference, you must be impressed by the fact that where the individual has been liberated, where the scientific spirit has been allowed to develop and man allowed to venture, you have the greatest progress, at least material progress, and if we had the instruments to measure nonmaterial evidences of progress, we probably would find the same for them.

Just as economic progress has not been the same in all countries, so the benefits of economic progress have not been shared uniformly and equally by each individual. Freedom or liberty to the individual generated competition or economic rivalry which yielded different economic results to different persons.

To some thinkers there is an incompatible situation unless liberty and equality exist side by side. To others there can be no such thing as liberty and equality as long as people differ in their capacities. The swift will always outrun the slow; the strong excel the weak; and forced economic equality will not only destroy freedom but incentive also, because forced equality presupposes a dominant authority.

Here then is the substance of the ideological collision between individualism and collectivism which is so far from being resolved today.

The Socialists contend that as long as there is economic inequality there cannot be liberty. Therefore, they would have the state own and control the instruments of production and have it use its power to distribute the results of its regulation with approximation to equality.

It may be a problem of semantics for me, but what seems bound to emerge from the

Socialist goal is an organic society wherein the concept of individual liberty will be virtually unknown. The idea of "to each according to his needs and from each according to his ability"—deeprooted in Socialist philosophy—runs into a lot of practical snags.

Is there anything inherent in the nature of man which would prevent the substitution of collective ownership and control of industry for individual initiative and the competitive system? So far as economic motivation is concerned, can the profit motive (or individual reward-in-relation-to-individual contribution motive) as a stimulus to economic effort be replaced by the social service motive? Is self-interest an instinctive force and is the profits motive irreplaceable as an incentive?

At least a part of the answers to these questions, if ever found, very probably will relate to the basic nature of man's wants and whether under collectivism he can expect to produce more and/or curb his wants by moral action any better than before.

Finally, as we in America move along the scale that measures the role of government in our economy, where is the point of no return—the point beyond which a totalitarian state becomes inevitable? May we never experience that extreme because many precious noneconomic values you and I hold dear will not survive. Let's hope and pray that the good sense of the people and their elected representatives will be strong enough to stop us short of the point.

IN DEFENSE OF A SACRED TRUST

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, one of the most inspiring scenes recorded during the Second World War occurred during the fight for Iwo Jima in the Volcano Islands when four U.S. marines, in the fury of battle, raised the American flag atop Mount Suribachi. In this wild, brief tableau was depicted the depth and utter seriousness of commitment which loyalty to this Nation may at times demand, a commitment which is symbolized by the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag. The flag, then, represents the myriad number of sacrifices—even the loss of life itself—which has been made by selfless men and women since the founding of this Nation.

Consequently, recent incidents of willful desecration of the flag are repugnant to all sincere citizens. At present there are some State laws which cover this abuse, but there is no national law to safeguard our national symbol from defacement. The recent flag mutilation at a midwestern university, the flag-ripping at Cordele, Ga., and the burning of the flag at an off-Broadway theater in New York City demonstrate the need for a Federal law on this subject.

I have introduced legislation which proposes:

> Whoever publicly mutilates, defaces, defiles, defies, tramples upon, or casts contempt, either by word or act, upon any flag, standard, colors, or ensign of the United States shall be punished by imprisonment of not more than 1 year and a fine of not more than $1,000.

As I have pointed out before, it took about a month's time to put a bill through Congress making it a Federal offense to mutilate or destroy draft cards. There is no reason why legislation cannot be enacted by this Congress to protect the American flag. I am hopeful that this legislation will be given active consideration by those patriotic organizations which have labored these many years to instill respect and reverence for our flag.

I insert the account from the New York Daily News of April 12, 1966, concerning the burning of the flag in New York City in the RECORD at this point:

FLAG BURNED? THEATER UNDER FIRE

The offbeat off-Broadway Bridge Theater was threatened with loss of its license and criminal prosecution yesterday for a weekend performance in which a department of licenses inspector reported an American flag was burned onstage.

In addition, it was charged, children aged 5 and 8 were used as actors without the required city authorization and "the foulest words were put into their mouths both in English and Spanish."

License Commissioner Joel J. Tyler issued an order returnable at 2 p.m. Thursday directing the management to show cause why the license should not be revoked.

A VARIED PROGRAM

Although Tyler did not threaten criminal prosecution, legal sources pointed out that if the flag burning is confirmed, charges could be brought under section 14425 of the penal law. This makes publicly "mutilating, defacing or defiling" the flag a misdemeanor punishable by up to a year in prison and $500 fine.

The Bridge, at 4 St. Marks Place, is known as a showplace for far-out flicks known as "underground" movies but it has frequent changes of entertainment. Recently it staged a ballet in which all the dancers were nude.

PROTEST "IN ABSTRACT TERMS"

The show that brought Tyler down on its neck was a Friday midnight "benefit"—for the theater itself—entitled "Nightcrawlers at the Bridge." It consisted of five movies and five live performances—climaxed, as far as the license department is concerned, by a sketch written by one Jose Rodriguez Soldere and entitled "L.B.J."

A woman who identified herself as Elsa Tambellini, the coproducer, told a reporter by phone that she regarded "L.B.J." as "in a sense a protest against Vietnam in abstract terms."

It played, she said proudly, to a packed house—with all the 88 seats filled and standees at the rear.

On the basis of his inspector's report, Commissioner Tyler didn't see anything very abstract about the skit. He said the scene apparently was a Vietnamese village; the cast included the two children, a chicken (tied up so it wouldn't run away) and several adults, and the dialog bristled with obscene denunciations of the President, the United States and the flag. The flag burning was the grand climax.

A TRAGIC LACK OF LEADERSHIP

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, on April 6 of this year I inserted remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD concerning the use of the double standard by the British Government in its trade relationship with the United States during the Korean war, the Cuban missile crisis and the present Rhodesian embargo campaign.

The present issue of the U.S. News & World Report for April 25, 1966, struck the same theme in its article, "Double Standard for U.N.—Action on Rhodesia, Not on Vietnam," which amplifies on the use being currently given this most questionable and dangerous policy by the U.N. itself.

One can only wish that the U.N. had acted as forcefully when the Soviets killed thousands of Hungarians in Budapest in 1956 or the Indians invaded the Portuguese colony of Goa.

British arrogance is as old as letters of marque and reprisal. Whereas in earlier years they had dealt with intimidation of smaller nations with their seapower, they now ply their trade with the enemies of the free world as in Cuba, North Vietnam, and Red China.

In these days when we allow camp-ins on public grounds in the Capital despite law, maybe in the strange world of 1966 they would grant a few of us letters of marque and reprisal to intercept ships going to Cuba. Maybe we could bag a Briton or two.

In a more serious vein, the present situation in the U.N. can be traced largely to a lack of leadership on the part of the United States in its dealings with the world body. The views of Congressman OMAR BURLESON and former Congresswoman Marguerite Stitt Church, who were members of the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly in 1961, are especially pertinent today. One recommendation states:

> Over and over again we observe that other nations present expressed, as a keystone of their policy their own self-interest. The United States could well afford, without timidity or reticence, to lay more emphasis on its own self-interest. Much as we admire our traditional generosity and good will, we wonder whether, in a cold and hostile world atmosphere, the time has not come when in the interest of survival the United States must temper its good intent and nobility of purpose with some hard commonsense. Personally, we think so. The United States must define and defend its own self-interest. To be able to do so, it must remain defensively strong; economically and financially strong; above all, morally strong in purpose and will. In the world, as well as in the United Nations, the United States must dare to speak out with consistency and strength. It must assume leadership, not based on its might or its wealth—or its bounty—but on the endemic strength of the freedom and human dignity for which it stands.

I think the above-quoted words should be borne in mind when reading the U.S. News & World Report article which I insert in the RECORD at this point:

DOUBLE STANDARD FOR U.N.?—ACTION ON RHODESIA, NOT ON VIETNAM

(NOTE.—What kind of peace is the United Nations for? Question is up again because U.N. cracked down on Rhodesia, a country at peace, while ignoring Red aggression in Asia. It is producing some second thoughts about the U.N. as a world policeman.)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—Britain, in the name of the United Nations, is using armed force—a naval blockade—to bring down the Government of Rhodesia, a nation at peace.

President Johnson has thrown the support of the United States behind Great Britain in that effort.

The United Nations, which voted to authorize armed force against peaceful Rhodesia, has failed to act against Communist warmakers in Vietnam.

Britain, which sought and got U.S. cooperation in a naval blockade of trade with Rhodesia, insists on trading with warmaking North Vietnam, whose troops are killing Americans.

The British also continue to trade with Communist China and Communist Cuba. American urgings to halt such trade are rejected.

The whole question of this trade has been ignored by the U.N.

In the United Nations, at least a near majority of members would favor admitting to membership Red China, which encourages and supports the war against South Vietnam and which not long ago attacked India and which previously attacked and conquered Tibet.

At the same time, there is strong support in the United Nations for a move to kick out Nationalist China and give its Security Council membership to warlike Red China.

All of these things, and more, are leading people in Congress and elsewhere—even in the U.N.—to charge that a double standard is being applied to world affairs by the United Nations—and by Britain.

One standard, critics complain, is being applied to bring the U.N.—which is supposed to enforce peace—into the domestic affairs of Rhodesia, where there is no war.

An entirely different standard, the critics charge, is applied in failing to deal with an actual conflict in Vietnam that could contain the seeds of another world war.

American taxpayers, throughout the U.N.'s history, have paid almost half of its costs—a contribution of $2.5 billion in 20 years.

Yet now, in an hour of need, the United States is finding the U.N. to be of little or no help.

This, critics point out, is not a new situation. Repeatedly, in the past, the U.N. has stood on the sidelines while the United States and other nations, acting on their own, have dealt with wars and threats of war.

Recent events have served not only to point up the U.N.'s past record of peacekeeping failures—they also have raised a new concern.

TO A POINT OF DANGER?

The U.N. action against Rhodesia is generally recognized as breaking new ground—setting a precedent which many statesmen regard as dangerous. Never before has the U.N. Security Council called upon a specific country to use its armed forces in a specified action.

Arthur J. Goldberg, chief representative of the United States at the U.N., acknowledged the precedent-setting nature of the U.N. action against Rhodesia. Just before the Security Council voted on April 9, Mr. Goldberg said:

"It should be a matter of great, deep consideration and concern for all of us to put our sanction upon what will be a rule of international law when this Council acts—vessels on the high seas can be arrested and detained in the interest of international law which we will be making here today."

Ambassador Goldberg then voted in favor of the resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 10 to 0.

What the U.N. resolution did was call upon Britain "to prevent, by the use of force, if necessary, the arrival at Beria of vessels reasonably believed to be carrying oil destined for Rhodesia."

A few hours later, on April 10, a frigate of the British Navy intercepted a tanker, the *Manuela,* which was believed to be heading for Beira in Mozambique with oil for Rhodesia. Armed British sailors went aboard and ordered the *Manuela's* captain to turn away from Beira. He complied. Armed force, in the name of the U.N., had prevailed.

What concerns many critics of the U.N. action is that this use of armed force is taking place not in a war, but in a dispute between Great Britain and a former colony of Britain.

Rhodesia, for many years, was a part of the British Empire. Last November 11, the Rhodesian Government declared its independence. The issue: Britain insisted that Rhodesia's 217,000 white residents open the way for early control of the Government by the nation's majority—3.9 million blacks, The white-dominated Government, headed by Prime Minister Ian Smith, refused.

Britain promptly embargoed trade with Rhodesia. The United States followed suit.

But Rhodesia's Government did not collapse, as Britain expected. It continued to get supplies by various means. Vital supplies of oil were reaching Rhodesia from the port of Beira, in Portuguese-ruled Mozambique.

It was to cut off this source of oil that Britain obtained the U.N. sanction for the use of armed force.

In the U.S. Congress, criticism of the international moves against Rhodesia has been growing in recent weeks.

On April 6, Representative JOHN M. ASHBROOK, Republican, of Ohio, lashed out against what he called the double standard used by Britain. He said:

"We [Americans] have supinely fallen into line in cooperating with Britain's economic blockade of Rhodesia. Yet, when President Kennedy asked the British to cease trade with Cuba during the missile crisis, he was turned down. This was not the first time that Britain employed the double standard in her trade relations with Uncle Sam."

This question was asked recently by Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, Democrat, of Mississippi:

"Since the United States is cutting off our shipments to and purchases from Rhodesia in order to help Britain bring that turbulent dominion back under its control, why should we not ask Britain to help us cut off shipments of goods and supplies into North Vietnam, in aid of a defense against Communist aggression which is important to the whole free world?"

It is being recalled by some critics that British officials, themselves, were complaining only a few years ago about a "double standard" in the U.N.

Addressing the U.N. General Assembly in 1961, the Earl of Home, then Britain's Foreign Secretary, said this:

"Is there growing up, almost imperceptibly, a code of behavior where there is one rule for the Communist countries and another for the democracies?"

Lord Home also made this complaint:

"A large number of new countries are putting their campaign for acceleration of independence for colonial territories before the main purpose of the (U.N.) Charter, which is to provide peace and security * * *. This concentration on colonialism leads to the adoption of a double standard of behavior by many of the newly elected countries."

Since that British complaint of 1961, new African nations have become even more powerful in their influence on the United Nations. On April 15, Lyle Wilson, a columnist for United Press International, wrote this:

"Race now is the compelling force in the modern United Nations.

"Thus it is that the United Nations is not impressed by the Chinese-North Vietnamese Communist aggression against South Vietnam.

"Article I, chapter I of the U.N. Covenant states that the U.N.'s pledge and purpose is to suppress aggression.

"But somehow that seems to apply only rarely in those situations deemed urgent by the United States.

"But let a matter of race, skin color, or colonialism come upon the U.N. scene, and there is instant action."

Despite the British and U.N. actions, oil and other needed supplies are continuing to reach Rhodesia from white-ruled South Africa.

As long as this channel remains open, and trade with Zambia to the north continues more or less normal, Rhodesian leaders appear convinced that the British and United States measures will fail.

SOUTH AFRICA NEXT

Now this question is being raised: Will further action by the United Nations be sought—this time against South Africa?

From a member of the international staff of U.S. News & World Report in Rhodesia comes this size-up of the situation and the outlook:

"There is no panic among whites in Rhodesia.

"As Rhodesian leaders see it, neither Britain nor the United States wants to clamp down too hard on South Africa, no matter what the black African nations say. Action against South Africa would open up a whole Pandora's box of troubles that neither Western power is anxious to have to solve.

"Besides, Britain has some $4 billion worth of money sunk into South Africa, and American investments there run about three-quarters of a billion."

However, both United States and British officials agree: If present measures fail to bring Rhodesia's white Government to its knees, pressure will grow from black African nations for stronger action.

The outlook, then, is for another test of how far the United Nations is willing to go in using armed force against a peaceful nation—while ignoring war in Vietnam.

NUCLEAR AFFAIRS COMMITTEE REPORT TO GOP CONFERENCE ON ERRONEOUS AND MISLEADING TALK BY U.S. DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATORS WHICH SHOULD BE CORRECTED

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. HOSMER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the following is a report, together with its enclosure which I made on April 18 to the House GOP conference as chairman of its nuclear affairs committee:

APRIL 18, 1966.

From: Representative CRAIG HOSMER, Chairman, Nuclear Affairs Committee.
To: House GOP Conference:
Subject: Erroneous and misleading impressions created by U.S. negotiators at 18-Nation Disarmament Conference.

For your information my letter of April 13 to William C. Foster, Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and Chief of the U.S. Delegation to the ENDC is reproduced herewith.

It indicates trouble ahead for nations and persons who may be caused to misassess the actualities of some U.S. arms control and disarmament schemes due (1) to certain statements made by Adrian S. Fisher, Acting Chief of the Delegation at Geneva, on April 4, and (2) the habitually erroneous and misleading semantics employed by ACDA and others in referring to a so-called comprehensive test ban treaty proposal.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., April 13, 1966.
Hon. WILLIAM C. FOSTER,
Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington, D.C.

DEAR BILL: This letter is written in my capacity as congressional adviser to the U.S. delegation to the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference to you in your capacity as head of this delegation.

While you were in the United States recently your Deputy Director, Adrian S. Fisher took charge in Geneva. At the ENDC's 254th meeting on April 4, Mr. Fisher made a speech which gave rise to news stories of which the following is a sample:

"UNITED STATES DETAILS WAY TO SPOT UNDERGROUND TESTING

"GENEVA, April 4.—The United States made public today details of a plan said to guarantee that on-site inspections could catch any violation of a treaty banning underground nuclear tests.

"Chief U.S. delegate, Adrian S. Fisher, told the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference the system involves analysis of fission-product gases which slowly leak to the surface after such an explosion. Fisher claimed such gases could only result from a nuclear explosion and analysis of the surface would soon show whether the country concerned had cheated.

"'This would make it impossible for a country to get away with secret tests by thoroughly cleaning up the surface of the explosion area to deceive on-site inspectors,' he said."

Recalling no such optimistic assessments of this technique when the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy took testimony concerning it during a closed session on February 4, 1965, I referred to the declassified record of this hearing. So much had been deleted as "classified matter" from my questioning of the witnesses that the public record is unintelligible.

I then requested the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy to obtain both Mr. Fisher's speech at Geneva and any declassified data on which it was based. The latter came in the form of a State Department cable dated March 18, to your delegation at Geneva. It was based, apparently, on information furnished by the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency which researches test detection and on-site inspection techniques. A comparison of Mr. Fisher's remarks and the information contained in the cable appears below:

MR. FISHER	THE CABLE
"It is probable that the radioactive fission-product gases from an underground nuclear explosion will leak slowly upwards toward the surface where, with sensitive detectors, some of these gases, unique to a nuclear explosion, could probably be discovered by the inspection.	"It is probable that radioactive fission-product gases from a nuclear explosion will leak slowly towards the surface where they could be picked up by detectors. Short life products will decay rather rapidly but others would remain and probably be detectable.
"Only if the location were subject to on-site inspection would a violator have to consider seriously the possibility of such a leakage and the risk it would entail.	"At any rate, a would-be violator would have to consider the risk that such leakage would occur.
"The scientific techniques for accomplishing the detection and analysis of these special gases have been worked out in the course of research conducted by the United States on on-site inspection. On-site inspectors would be equipped to take samples of surface, water, and soil gases. * * *	"For this reason, the United States places particular emphasis on the desirability of the on-site inspectors being equipped to take samples of surface and soil gases, and perhaps extracting samples of dissolved gases from water found at the site of a seismic disturbance.
"These samples of gas, taken from the soil, the air, and also any water in the vicinity would be subject to chemical and radioactive analysis.	"These samples would be subjected to radiochemical separation and radioactive spectral studies. Techniques for accomplishing each of these functions have been worked out in U.S. research on on-site inspection.
"The detection of these gases, which are unique to the explosion of a nuclear weapon, would certainly supply unambiguous evidence that an underground nuclear explosion had taken place.	"These and many additional methods of gaining evidence of the true nature of an underground seismic disturbance have been examined during the last several years and the gas sampling techniques have proved to be quite promising."
"Furthermore, these inspections, while serving as a deterrent to a possible violator, serve just as importantly to reassure all others that the treaty is being observed. There is then no question of unclear or suspicious events. On-site inspections will serve to reassure all that the unidentified seismic events may be seismically unidentified but nevertheless are simply naturally occurring earthquakes and a threat to the security of no one."	

From portions of Mr. Fisher's remarks it is quite apparent that, although he hedged a bit at the beginning, his last two paragraphs gave ample opportunity for both the other delegations at ENDC and the newsmen hearing his speech to overrate with great error the degree of confidence which can be placed in the fission-product gas analysis technique. Such an overrating has occurred and it is my recommendation that steps be taken to correct it.

The fragility of this technique was amply demonstrated when, on April 8, Dr. Robert A. Frosch, ARPA Deputy Director, sent a copy of the cable to JCAE as "the only document that we have on the subject that is unclassified" and warned in his letter of transmittal:

"We have examined the question of declassification of more detail and concluded that it would be extremely difficult to do so without providing too much useful information to a would-be evader."

The weakness of this technique also is demonstrable by trying to imagine just how many air, water and ground samples on-site inspectors would be required to take over an area ranging from 350 to 1,000 square miles—which is that area to which the closest possible pinpointing of a suspicious underground event could be made from long-range seismic signals traveling at uncalibrated speeds from the event to detectors in a multicontinental network.

I also feel that the classified information on this subject to which you and your Agency are privy should be reviewed by your staff with some thought toward getting Mr. Fisher's remarks in better and more realistic perspective.

Mr. Fisher's remarks of April 4 were made during an interlude of the ENDC meeting in which it was permissible to discuss subjects "collateral" to the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons treaty negotiations. At the time he was addressing himself to the subject of what he termed a "comprehensive test ban" agreement. This means extension of the present "limited test ban treaty" to tests underground as well as to now-barred tests in the atmosphere, underwater and in space. Here again, Mr. Fisher's semantics created somewhat of an illusion as to just what a "comprehensive test ban" agreement actually involves.

Mr. Fisher dwelt upon an ability to detect 250 seismic events annually in the Soviet Union of a seismic magnitude of four or greater. He added, "They will correspond in size to the seismic events created by underground nuclear explosion with yields ranging from a few kilotons to at least several hundred kilotons." Then he spoke in terms of the necessity for "some" on-site inspections "each year" to check on some 45 thereof which could not be identified as natural in origin.

It is quite obvious from Mr. Fisher's language that any testing conducted at levels below "a few kilotons" would escape detection and therefore any possibility of inspection. It is clear from this that what Mr. Fisher refers to is not in fact a "comprehensive test ban treaty" at all. Very productive cheat testing could be carried on at levels below "a few kilotons yield" and stand no chance whatever of detection.

If what Mr. Fisher and ACDA mean when they talk of a "comprehensive" treaty is in reality an uninspected voluntary moratorium in these low-low yield areas, that should be specified. If they are talking about an unenforcible and unmonitorable treaty promise, that should be made clear. On the other hand, if this is to be regarded as an area in which tests are permissible notwithstanding the label of the treaty proposal as "comprehensive," that should be specified. In any event, the nations proposing to enter such a treaty and the American public both ought, in all fairness, to be aware that no treaty can be devised to bar cheat testing in these areas because no technology exists or is likely to be discovered to monitor it. Therefore, in no event would such a treaty be "the living end" with respect to the underground test issue.

It should be made clear in speaking of any such "comprehensive" treaty that it is not in fact "comprehensive" and that no nation should rely on its terms to insure against surreptitious weapons development and progress, no matter how forceful its inspection provisions might be.

I hope that some less misleading terminology than "comprehensive test ban treaty" can be devised and employed to refer to this kind of an arrangement.

Very truly yours,

CRAIG HOSMER,
Member of Congress.

INTRODUCTION OF JOINT RESOLUTION TO GUARANTEE EQUAL RIGHTS FOR MEN AND WOMEN

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. KUPFERMAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker today I have introduced a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution to guarantee equal rights under the law for men and women. It declares that "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

The history of the struggle of women to achieve equality of rights is a long one, fraught with disappointments and frustrations, but also with some degree of success. Today American women have advanced to a higher status than in any other country.

The 19th amendment passed 45 years ago gave women the right to vote—but little else. First-class citizenship means more than voting rights as we are learning from the struggle for civil rights being waged currently. First-class citizenship also requires the lifting of barriers in other areas, such as employment and educational opportunities.

While women have made great strides in both these areas, it took legislation enacted just 2 years ago to give them—at least on paper—the same rights as men in seeking employment.

Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, to which I refer, prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of sex as well as race, but does not cover all potential situations. Despite the efforts of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to establish guidelines for enforcement of this provision, this mandate can be and is circumvented. The Commission, I understand, is presently reviewing these guidelines.

There are other aspects of civil rights which are not covered, even in a limited way, by these two pieces of legislation and which are still denied women in varying degrees in States and localities of our country. Discrimination for women remains in such matters as property rights, the right to own and control one's earnings, and, in some States, the right to serve on a jury. These are rights accorded unquestioningly to men.

Past experience indicates that the only way women will achieve equal rights with men is through the passage of this constitutional amendment and the subsequent ratification of it by the States.

I prefer, however, to look upon this amendment as one for equal rights for men, because in addition to granting women their full legal rights on an equal basis with men, it also grants men equal rights in circumstances where they are discriminated against and experience the results of immunities traditionally enjoyed by women. Or, looked upon in another way, it will mean the end to what I consider to be in this context, reverse discrimination, which exists in some aspects of life where women are favored over men.

For example, passage of this amendment would allow women to serve on juries where they are now prohibited from doing so. At the same time, this means that women may no longer be excused from jury duty, as they are in some States, by virtue of their sex. States and localities would benefit from this just by being able to increase the number of citizens who could be called upon to perform this public duty.

There is another important and controversial aspect to the question of corresponding rights and duties, namely that of conscription into the military service, from which women in this country are exempted. It has been suggested in the past that this amendment would extend to equal treatment for men and women in compulsory service. It may be agreed that women could serve in various clerical or administrative capacities as well as men.

This amendment does not overlook the natural or physical distinction between men and women. It has been said that equal rights does not necessarily mean sameness or identical rights between men and women.

There is another area where this amendment could have beneficial results for men. I refer to alimony laws in this country which could be revised as a result of this amendment, so that women are not favored simply because of their sex.

Another form of "reverse discrimination," exists in the employment field. Discrimination against men is standard policy in many professions but goes virtually unnoticed.

In some American cities, including Los Angeles and New York, municipal governments have made it a practice of hiring only women to function as meter maids. Why not hire meter men?

In the medical profession, women have received increasing acceptance as doctors, and men as nurses. It is only in the past few years, however, that some schools have admitted men into their nurses' training program.

The public conception of nursing as a woman's profession seems to be the prime factor in keeping men out of this field of employment.

From the examples I have cited, I think we can see how calling this amendment equal rights for women tells only half the story of its effect upon American life. A clear pronouncement of equality of rights for both sexes is long overdue in this country, notwithstanding the support it has received from both major political parties. I hope Congress will remedy this situation by passage of this constitutional amendment.

The proposed constitutional amendment follows:

H.J. RES. 1073

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States:

"ARTICLE—

"SECTION 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress and the several States shall have power, within their respective jurisdictions, to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"SEC. 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

"SEC. 3. This amendment shall take effect one year after the date of ratification."

AMERICAN YOUTH WEEK

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] may extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a joint resolution to authorize and request the President to issue annually a proclamation designating the first week of August as "American Youth Week."

In this crucial period of our history when the uniform crime reports suggest an alarming increase of juvenile delinquency and crime and when, on the other hand, such constructive ventures as the Peace Corps and various youth volunteer service programs point to a great deal of youthful idealism, it would seem wise for our Nation to visibly, systematically, and impressively focus its attention and efforts on this vital question: How best to encourage the desirable development of American youth?

A Presidential proclamation of an American Youth Week could be an important first step in assuring a systematic periodical focusing of our Nation's attention and efforts on proper youth development. It would emphasize our Nation's awareness that our youth are America's most precious possession. Various youth organizations from Scouts and "Y's" to Neighborhood Youth Corps, from Camp Fire Girls to religious youth groups, from school bands and football teams to street youth clubs and teenagers in the Armed Forces could join in a united effort to prepare an impressive and inspiring American Youth Week. The purpose of this week would be to stimulate the best development of the largest possible number of American youth, indeed, of every American child and teenager.

It is my hope that the Committee on the Judiciary will give early and favorable consideration to this proposed joint resolution.

COMMERCE DEPARTMENT HOLDS HIDE HEARINGS

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege yesterday to submit remarks to the Department of Commerce, which is holding public hearings regarding that Department's order last month to restrict the export of cattle hides. While I am grateful for the opportunity of presenting my views to the Department, it is my feeling that these are the hearings that should have been held 2 months ago, before the damaging order went into effect. The swiftness of the order caused costly problems for the unprepared hide industry, and the resulting drop in hide prices may destroy needed oversea markets in the future if the order is not promptly rescinded.

I recall our protests following the March 11 export control order. While those of us who protested are encouraged by our success in promoting the public hearings, we still believe such hearings should be held in advance of such orders rather than as an afterthought when the pressures of criticism and protest are felt.

As I pointed out to the Department, there is no shortage of leather in the American shoe industry. Hide prices were still below the level of reasonable return for the producer. And the lowering of the price of leather has completely failed to forestall inevitable rises in U.S. shoe prices.

The truth of the matter, Mr. Speaker, is that American shoe manufacturers have announced sharp price increases in spite of the Department's lowering of the hide prices, which shows that the price of leather has little to do with the price of a pair of shoes. Only 68-cents worth of leather goes into a $10 pair of shoes. Three-fourths of the shoes made last year had soles made of materials other than leather. And a fifth of American-made shoes last year had uppers made of leather substitutes.

Due to the diminishing demand for leather in U.S.-made shoes and the increasing acceptance of synthetic materials by the American public, our beef and hide industry was told by the Government to find other markets. With the cooperation of the Department of Agriculture, the U.S. hide industry found those other markets, only to have another Department of the Government destroy the gains that had been made.

Nobody but the U.S. shoe industry can possibly benefit from the export control order. It is a windfall for the shoe people at the expense of the American farmer, our consumers who buy shoes, our Nation's balance-of-payments position and our gold supply.

Much of the damage has already been done, but the hide industry can still be salvaged by a prompt withdrawal of the export control order that has succeeded in accomplishing nothing except another Government-inspired lowering of needed income to U.S. agriculture and the contradiction of limiting exports at a time when overall U.S. policy is to increase them.

LESS PORK, DAIRY PRODUCTS FOR MILITARY

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Langen] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, the administration is moving steadily ahead in its misdirected efforts to halt the rise in living costs by depressing farm prices. Now they have gone so far as to take the bacon, ham, and chops as well as butter from the tables of our boys in the services.

I refer to reports that the Pentagon has ordered the armed services to cut their use of prime pork in half at U.S. military installations because of higher prices. This latest action followed a Pentagon directive on March 25 to reduce military consumption of butter.

I am certainly in favor of economizing wherever possible in Government expenditures, especially now because of the inflation problem, but not at the expense of our young men in uniform. This move to reduce pork consumption, however, was obviously initiated not by motives of economy, but rather as a part of the administration's systematic drive to further lower farm prices—and in this instance they will not only deprive hog and dairy producers of income, but also of the opportunity to do their part for our servicemen by feeding them.

Hog prices to farmers have already dropped a good 15 to 20 percent since the first of the year, and pork imports into this country from July 1965 to January 1966 were up 43 percent over the same period a year ago. Clearly, from the farmer's standpoint, this is no time for the administration to take action which will expand market supplies of pork and push hog prices even lower.

Gardner Ackley, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, keeps saying that higher farm prices are at the root of rising food costs, but he conveniently ignores the real heart of the matter, which is that the President's inflationary policies have caused significant increases in processing, packaging, transportation, handling and labor costs—and these costs make up 61 percent of the price of food to the housewife.

It seems quite clear that the farmer, who has been struggling with depressed prices for years, can expect no help from this administration, especially when the Secretary of Agriculture—the man who is supposed to represent the farmer to the President—expresses pleasure when already low farm prices get even lower.

CLEVELAND PROPOSES HOUSE SET UP COMMITTEE ON URBAN AFFAIRS

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. Cleveland] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill by which a new standing committee of the House on urban affairs would be created. With this action, I am joining the originator of the measure, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Morse] in what I believe is a farsighted, imaginative and much needed proposal.

As chairman of the Republican Task Force on Congressional Reform and Minority Staffing, I have a particular interest in facilitating the manner in which the House is structured to meet changing times. I do not mean by this to imply that the bill bears the official endorsement of the task force, although I hope that it will when the task force completes its exhaustive studies and presents specific recommendations. Nor would I want it to seem that this is a partisan proposal. It is certainly not and I hope it will draw the support of Members on the other side of the aisle.

COMMONSENSE

The reason is that the proposal is plain commonsense. Some 70 percent of the Nation today lives in urban areas. We have just authorized creation of the new Department of Housing and Urban Affairs in the Executive Branch in recognition of this fact. Now we should realine our present arrangements in the House as well by placing urbans affairs under one legislative roof.

At the present time, such urban problems as transportation, housing, urban renewal, the fight against crime, air and water pollution, welfare, are scattered among several congressional committees and dozens of subcommittees. It is clearly impossible to achieve proper coordination under such a system nor is it possible for Congress to maintain proper supervision of the Executive's urban affairs activities under such a disjointed system.

This bill proposes a 25-member Committee on Urban Affairs with authority to handle all legislation dealing with housing, urban renewal, and slum clearance, prevention and elimination of urban blight, air and water pollution, water supplies and sewage facilities and transportation.

Great credit is due to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Morse] for his initiative in bringing this proposal to the House. I am delighted to join him in offering it and sincerely hope that it will be acted on promptly and favorably.

LETTER FROM AN AMERICAN IN RHODESIA

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashbrook] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I received a fine letter from an American missionary today. She states her grave concern at the number of misconceptions which are rampant in the United States concerning the Ian Smith government. It has been most interesting to see the capricious double standard which the United Nations, the British and, regrettably, our own State Department has applied to Rhodesia. As I pointed out in a prior speech on this floor, by any relative standard we should be applauding rather than attacking what the Rhodesians are trying to do. Several Members of this body have attacked this speech but they evade the central issues. I might ask them if they support the bloody regime in Nigeria and why they offer no protest to the murderous path to power that these so-called leaders have utilized? By any standard, Rhodesia comes out on top when checking the records of the African states. Why then do we see such a fever against the independent Government of Southern Rhodesia?

From Bulawayo, I received the following letter which helps put the matter in better perspective. It is well worth reading to use as a guide when penetrating the jumbled mass of managed and slanted news coming from our left-leaning press:

APRIL 6, 1966.

DEAR MR. ASHBROOK: What is particularly heartening these days is to see so many letters of support from overseas. It is a great pity, though, that even those who are so sympathetic should often be uninformed about our affairs. Where the African is concerned, particularly, people seem to know very little of what is being done. And yet we are doing so much.

People tend to forget, for example, that, in only 75 years, through education, medicine, and the maintenance of law and order, Europeans have raised the African population from 300,000 to 4 million. They forget, too, there are countries amongst our critics which wiped out their own colored populations. If we had done the same we would have no problems now. It seems so unfair that we should be punished for our humanity.

Please try to understand the problems we face. Europeans here pay over 90 percent of the general taxes and it is their money which has to pay for African schools, hospitals, and so on. This means that 230,000 Europeans have to provide not only for themselves, but for 4 million Africans. Yet, in 42 years, we have had little money from Britain, although Kenya has had £20 million in the last 2 years. And now Mr. Wilson is spending millions to destroy everything we have built up. It seems so senseless.

Everything the African has in Rhodesia today is due to the European. It is more than just a coincidence, for example, that his education is far better than in any of the black African states. Rhodesia has one in six of its total population at school. By contrast, Liberia has 1 in 40, Mali 1 in 61 and Ethiopia only 1 in 108.

I wonder if you know that Rhodesia spends 9 percent of its total annual budget on African education and that this is the largest single item. Half Rhodesia's population is under 17, which means that, while Britain has three adults to pay for the education of every child, Rhodesia has only one. Much less than one, in fact, because nearly all the money comes from the Europeans.

But it isn't only in African education that Rhodesia leads the black African states. We pay higher wages, too. The average African wage in Rhodesia is £125 a year. In Kenya it is £32, in Tanzania £18 and in Malawi £17.

Of course, many Africans earn more than £125. The figure is only an average and many of them earn well over £1,000 a year. I should, perhaps, mention that Africans who are employed by the Government receive exactly the same pay as Europeans with similar jobs and qualifications. You could hardly be expected to know, either, that African wages are rising three times as fast as those of Europeans. But, if you don't know, our neighbors certainly do. We have 500,000 foreign Africans—one-eighth of the total African population—working in Rhodesia. They surely wouldn't be here unless they preferred it.

You must realize that we would all like to see the Africans earn more and their wages are rising steadily. But they cannot grow faster than an economy supported by only one-sixteenth of the population. If we were forced to give a basic wage of £25 a month, which is what the African nationalists demanded, the hard fact is that at least 150,000 Africans would be out of work in domestic employment alone. In any case, how many people overseas know that many Africans receive free accommodation and food?

We are particularly proud of our health facilities for Africans. There are clinics all over the country and in Bulawayo and Salisbury African hospitals have far better equipment than anything provided for the European. Indeed many Europeans have to go to them for specialized treatment.

Did you know that, while Rhodesia has 1 hospital bed for every 330 people, Ghana and the Sudan only have 1 for every 1,100, Liberia 1 for every 4,000? Rhodesia has 1 doctor to every 7,300 people. Ghana has 1 for every 18,172 and Liberia 1 for every 25,700. It makes you think, doesn't it?

We are often accused of not allowing the African to vote. How can this be when our voting qualifications don't even mention race? They rely purely on education and earnings and we already have 13 African M.P.'s in Parliament. Surely, it is reasonable for us to expect our voters to have at least a primary education. If they earn £528, this is all they need to get the vote on the higher voters' roll. And, if they have 4 years' secondary education, they need only earn £330. On the lower voters' roll the qualifications are even less. It is worth noting that these franchise qualifications remain the same after independence as they were before.

If you have an open mind, I think you will agree that we have done a great deal for our African people. And we are still doing it. We intend to continue living in Rhodesia and we know that we can only do this if we take the African with us. But we will not be bullied by sanctions from Mr. Wilson which are only hurting the Africans they are supposed to help. Please do what you can to try and stop this madness.

Miss DOROTHY E. WHITE.

P.S.—Thank you for your fine comments on Rhodesia and for taking the time to visit this country. I am an American missionary here and I must say that I can find no fault with the Government and their attitude toward our work. It doesn't make it easy to go to the petrol control board when I know our country is applying oil sanctions but they have been very kind and give special allotments. I think you should encourage more folks to visit out here and see for themselves. There is a much better attitude among the Africans since UDI and where can you find a country that is more peaceful **than this?**

WORCESTER, MASS., BISHOP AND CITY COUNCIL URGE PROMPT ACTION ON CONSTITUTIONAL PRAYER AMENDMENT

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include, at this point, an excerpt from an article in the April 12, 1966, issue of the Worcester, Mass., Evening Gazette, concerning approval action of the proposed constitutional prayer amendment by the mayor, the city council and the school committee of Worcester.

Last April 19 the council resolved, for the third time in 3 years, to endorse a petition to the U.S. Congress for a constitutional amendment permitting prayer in public schools.

Previous to the council vote, Mayor Wells read a statement by Bishop Bernard J. Flanagan, of the Worcester Catholic diocese, urging support of the amendment and I would like to insert the major portion of the statement in the RECORD.

Certainly congressional action on this amendment, to permit the Congress to reflect the majority wishes of the people, is in fullest accord with our traditions of democratic procedure and I most earnestly hope such action will occur in the very near future. The newspaper article excerpt and the bishop's statement follow:

[From the Worcester (Mass.) Gazette,
Apr. 12, 1966]

The city council and the school committee will be asked to support a constitutional amendment which would allow prayer in public schools.

Twice before, the council has voted to petition Congress to initiate such an amendment. Both votes came in 1963.

NEW PETITION

Now, Mayor Wells has submitted a new petition to the council from local members of the Massachusetts Citizens Committee for Public Prayer. It asks the council to reaffirm the votes of 1963.

Under the petition, the council would also "go on record (as supporting the amendment) and petition the Congress of the United States to back the prayer amendment."

To initiate the amendment, both Houses of Congress must approve it by a two-thirds vote. Three-quarters of the States must then ratify it for it to become law.

Rev. Malcolm L. Matheson, minister of Chestnut Street Congregational Church, one of the petitioners to the council, said today that the chief end of the Public Prayer Committee is to have the amendment come before the "people of the United States and let them decide."

Rev. Mr. Matheson added, "If the people don't want prayer in public schools, then we don't want it. But if they do want it, then we want it, too."

SIGNED PETITION

Other members of the Public Prayer Committee who signed the petition are Rev.

Stephen R. Tucker, minister of Bethany Congregational Church; Rev. Robert G. Howes, a Catholic priest from the Diocese of Worcester who teaches in Washington, D.C.; and Mrs. Ruth M. Hilyard, Mrs. Mary L. Travers, and Mrs. Eileen P. Walkavich.

STATEMENT PRESENTED TO THE WORCESTER, MASS., CITY COUNCIL, BY HIS EXELLENCY BERNARD J. FLANAGAN, D.D., ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP OF WORCESTER

It is now nearly 4 years since the U.S. Supreme Court struck down a 22-word prayer in New York State's public schools as an "establishment of religion." That prayer, composed by religious leaders in New York and made available on a voluntary basis to the schools of the State, read:

"Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee and we ask Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country."

Eleven of the thirteen justices who had previously judged the case saw nothing unconstitutional in the simple prayer. Indeed, 19 State attorneys general petitioning as "friends of the court", said:

"Our Founding Fathers together with the great and God-fearing leaders of the last century and a half would be profoundly shocked were they to have been told in their day that in this year of Our Lord * * * a voluntary nondenominational acknowledgment of a Supreme Being and a petition for His blessing, recited by American children in their classrooms, is being seriously attacked as a violation of the Constitution of the United States."

Hardly had the Court's majority reached what Harvard Law Dean Griswold has called its "thought denying" decision then Americans everywhere rose in protest. Proposal after proposal was dropped into the hoppers of the Congress demanding the right of the American people to be heard in an issue so clearly critical. Many predicted that this incredible denial of a consensus prayer would lead on to successive denials until the Nation stood stripped of its long and good traditions of public reverence. We said ourselves:

"Many people will be deeply concerned about the continuing erosion of our religious traditions implicit in these decisions.

"The Supreme Court, in the Lord's Prayer and Bible ruling, has continued along a path unhappily familiar to all from its earlier decisions. The same tedious arguments emphasizing the establishment-of-religion clause are brought forth to support a position which turns its back on the total American tradition and outlaws the present practices of 39 States.

"Let us suppose that the Lord's Prayer and the Bible are excluded from the American public schools for precisely the reasons given by the Supreme Court. What is the next step? Clearly, all other expressions of religion in public life must now be deleted. Let us not wait for them to come up case by case, but in one single gesture let them be suppressed.

"It may take the Court a long time to come to the full understanding of what its decision means, but by that time the American public may make some decisions of its own. In democratic life the tyranny of the few is always a temporary victory: it may be uncomfortable, but its fortunes will ultimately be reversed."

Despite widespread evidence that the prayer decisions were very seriously questioned by the American people and that a restorative amendment was needed to return the first amendment to its original and traditional good sense, effective action has continued for 4 years to be blocked in Congress. Hearings were held in the House only after a nearly successful discharge petition had forced them but no bills were forthcoming. Efforts are now once again underway.

We join our voice enthusiastically to those men of good will of varying faiths and parties who are wrestling with this difficult matter. We believe, as in all such issues, that a reasonably worded prayer amendment is possible. We believe that this amendment will constitute not an attack upon, but rather a counterattack against a dangerous misinterpretation of the first amendment. We call on the Worcester City Council today and on all citizens and their legislative spokesmen—on all in fact, who honestly believe in the democratic process—to respect the clear will of the Nation and demand from the Congress without further delay, a proposal for a prayer amendment. We believe in the wiseness of the American people to act rightly on such a proposal. We have confidence that they will decide as their ancestors decided before them, when they wrote into the seal of the city of Boston, those good words—"Sicut patribus, sit deus nobis." As God was with our fathers, so let Him be with us.

GUAM AND THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I have asked for time this afternoon to speak to our colleagues about Guam and the Virgin Islands, organized but unincorporated territories of the United States. These territories are both owned and I use the verb "owned" advisedly, owned by the United States; Guam by virtue of the Treaty of Paris of 1898 and the Virgin Islands through purchase from Denmark in 1917. Each of the territories has an Organic Act, 1950 and 1936 respectively. Guamanians and Virgin Islanders are U.S. citizens. The territories have not been incorporated into the United States as were Hawaii and Alaska before they became States. Statutes enacted by Congress do not extend automatically to unincorporated territories. The usual language reads something like the following in our legislation:

> For the purpose of this Act the word "State" is deemed to include the fifty States and the territories of Guam and the Virgin Islands.

And so forth. The unincorporated territories of Guam and the Virgin Islands can conceivably become States but they probably will not for years to come, if at all, because neither has the economic base to support statehood.

Guam in the Western Pacific and the Virgin Islands in the Caribbean each has a Governor appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Each has an organic act. Each has freely elected unicameral legislature. Guam has an area of 206 square miles and a population of some 80,000, of whom about one-half are of Chamorro extraction. The other 40,000 are semitransients affiliated in one capacity or another with the armed services.

The Virgin Islands, three of which are populated, St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix, have an area of 140 square miles and a population of perhaps 40,000. Each territory is strategically located; Guam is a bastion of defense in the Western Pacific and the home base of our nuclear submarines and the Strategic Air Corps base from which our B–52's are daily bombarding Vietnam and North Vietnam. The Virgin Islands, located near Puerto Rico, share with the Commonwealth responsibility for keeping an eye on Cuba and the Panama Canal.

Guam and the Virgin Islands are dynamic political entities. Each territory has made tremendous progress during the past 15 years—largely, I believe, through the friendly legislation that has been enacted for each, by the favorable economic climate that has been provided, by the responsibilities that have been given to the people and the encouragement toward self-government that has been granted to them.

The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, of which I am proud to be a member, has primary legislative responsibility for these and other territories and off-shore flag areas of the United States. Through field trips and committee hearings we keep abreast of their needs and desires. We do this, not in a patronizing manner but in an orderly fashion so that our committee may sponsor worthwhile legislation. Our committee members give thought to legislation which will make it possible for thousands to move toward, and I emphasize toward, economy and self-government, rather than burdening the islanders with responsibilitiess which would be found too difficult to meet, we provide opportunities for growth and development. Both the Guamanians and the Virgin Islanders have responded well.

Let me explain the steps that have been taken by Congress in the direction of additional self-government over the past 15 years.

GUAM

First, I shall take Guam. In the 81st Congress we passed the Organic Act which extended citizenship to Guam-born residents, provided for an elective 21 man legislature with lawmaking powers and permitted the covering into the Guam treasury of income taxes collected on the island. The Organic Act also provided that when the legislature and the Governor felt the Guamanians were ready and able to do so, that the right to a trial by jury would be extended. Although there were those who thought this concept of justice could not be successfully followed, it has worked out most satisfactorily.

In the 84th Congress we passed an omnibus bill that corrected a number of oversights in the Organic Act and made a number of Federal statutes applicable to the territory. We also made it possible for the government of Guam to collect taxes on sales of gasoline made by post exchanges located on military reservations when such fuel is not for the exclusive use of the United States.

The Federal income statute was amended to insure that the Government of Guam could use its machinery to collect income taxes. During the same session of Congress the U.S. district judge of Guam was placed in the same category for tenure and pay purposes as other Federal judges.

Legislation was enacted in the 86th Congress to permit civil suits to be filed against the territorial government. The Guamanians have responded to this privilege in an exemplary manner and have not taken advantage of the statute as some "doubting Thomases" have predicted would happen. Again, in the 86th Congress, sensing the maturity of the people of Guam, we transferred 34 acres of submerged land to the territorial government with no strings attached. The land was put to good usage, some as a recreation area and some for highway construction.

During the 87th Congress a minor yet significant act was enacted to permit the Governor to appoint an acting government secretary to act in his stead during his absence, rather than having such a temporary appointment made from Washington.

In each of our territories, Guam, Virgin Islands, and American Samoa, certain submerged areas bordering on the solid land were claimed both by the Federal and territorial governments. Because Congress felt the territories could put the submerged land to better usage than the Federal Government, legislation was passed which permits the territories to own specific portions of the submerged areas, providing genuine need and use can be shown to the Secretary of the Interior and the Congress of the United States.

In November 1962 and again in March 1963, Guam was stricken by severe typhoons which nearly devastated the island. Catastrophe may have been a blessing in disguise. Following the typhoons, Congress passed the Guam Rehabilitation Act which provided $45 million in grants and grants—not aid—funds to rebuild the island in a modern manner. Also in the 88th Congress legislation was passed to create a Housing and Urban Renewal Authority. Excellent progress has been made during the past 3 years and Guam is blossoming in the fashion many of us predicted it would. I am confident that Guam will continue to develop economically, socially and politically under the wise administration of the Office of Territories and the guidance that Congress can and does provide.

In the 89th Congress less than a year ago, Congress amended the Organic Act to provide for the payment of legislative salaries and expenses of the territorial government by the legislature rather than by the Federal Government. The Congress has been pleased with the willingness of the people of Guam to assume responsibility for their legislative expenses.

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Now let us look at the Virgin Islands for which somewhat parallel legislation has been passed during my tenure in Congress. In the 81st Congress the Virgin Islands Corporation, a wholly owned U.S. Government corporation, operating under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior, was created. Its function is to develop the economy of the islands, give limited agricultural assistance, and to operate certain public utilities. Virgin Islands Corporation has served its purpose and its functions, for the most part, have been or are being transferred to the Virgin Islands government. Its charter, which expires in 1969, will not be renewed. The territorial government will be able to assume responsibilities of Virgin Islands Corporation.

The Virgin Islands Organic Act of 1936 was thoroughly renovated early in the 1950's. The Virgin Islands government today is organized under the revised organic act enacted by Congress on July 22, 1954. The government is divided into three branches—executive, legislative, and judicial. The Presidentially appointed Governor is assisted by 11 executive departmental cabinet officers. The Governor maintains his residence on St. Thomas and is assisted by administrative assistants on St. Croix and St. John. Legislative power is vested in the Legislature of the Virgin Islands, a single body composed of 11 senators popularly elected for 2-year terms. Legislation is subject to the approval of the Governor. Bills disapproved by the Governor may be passed over his veto by a two-thirds majority, but if a bill is vetoed twice it is sent to the President for final approval or disapproval. I am hopeful that some day soon it will be possible to remove this power from the President of the United States.

The judicial power resides in local courts and in the U.S. District Court of the Virgin Islands. The district court has certain local jurisdiction as well as jurisdiction in cases arising under Federal law. The judge and the district attorney are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

Besides revising the 1936 organic act, a second important piece of legislation was enacted in the 86th Congress. Federal legislation created the Virgin Island National Park on the island of St. John. This park has proven to be a boon to the economic well-being of the territory through the attraction of thousands of tourists each year.

During the 85th Congress we passed an omnibus bill which extended to the Virgin Islands a number of Federal statutes that had been overlooked during the revision of the organic act.

As an indication of the confidence of Congress in the people of the Virgin Islands, Public Law 289 was enacted in the 86th Congress. This law, enacted at the request of the islanders, changed the convening date of the legislature, increased the per diem from $10 to $20 during the legislative sessions, and delineated the functions of the territorial attorney general and the U.S. attorney.

Included in Public Law 87–419 was a provision to provide for the apointment of an acting government secretary during his temporary absence. During the same legislative session the comptroller of the Virgin Islands was placed under the Classification Act of 1949.

Because Congress recognized the need for additional construction and improvements in the Virgin Islands and in the ability of the legislature to handle most of its own affairs, legislation was passed to permit the issuance and sale of general obligation bonds. A number of remarkable usages have been made from the revenues realized from these bond sales.

As mentioned earlier in my remarks the Submerged Land Act was enacted in the 88th Congress and has provided valuable land in the Virgin Islands for economic development.

Already in the 89th Congress legislation was passed permitting the Virgin Islands to pay the expenses of its members rather than to draw on the Federal Government for reimbursement. I might add that the legislature increased the salaries of its members but not in an undue manner.

SUMMARY

As I have just related, Congress has enacted a number of public laws over the past decade and one-half which have extended self-government to Guam and the Virgin Islands. Although Congress can be proud of this record it must not be contented with its accomplishments. There will be more legislation coming before Congress shortly.

Mr. Speaker, I hope each Member will be searching in his consideration of the merits of the legislation. I urge our Members not to pass it just because our committee presents it, but I urge acceptance because each bill will represent a further step in congressional recognition of the maturity, good judgment, and capabilities of the territorial governments, the legislatures and the islanders themselves. A good many persons outside the Federal Government are watching for the type of legislation we are enacting for our territories and some are complaining that we are not extending self-government rapidly enough.

Within a few weeks members of our Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs will bring before the House bills to provide for an elective Governor and Lieutenant Governor for Guam and the Virgin Islands. They will be sound bills. Their provisions will be meritorious. They will have solid support of the people of the islands, the territorial legislatures, the Department of the Interior, and the committee. They recognize a justifiable desire of the people of Guam and the Virgin Islands.

We are also working on legislation which will place further responsibility on the territorial legislatures whose members are eager to assume additional tasks. One of these bills provides for placing the responsibility for districting the island of Guam by the legislature. The other concerns the Virgin Islands where the territory was districted by the 1954 organic act. Now we plan to permit the legislature to work out a redistricting system to provide for more adequate representation. I commend these four bills to your careful consideration when they come before the committee.

Not this year, but within the next few years, I hope to see legislation which will provide for a nonvoting representative in Congress from Guam and the Virgin Islands. These representatives would perform in much the same manner as did the delegates from Alaska and Hawaii before statehood and as does the Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico.

I hope it will soon be possible to extend to Guam and the Virgin Islands the privilege of voting for the President and the Vice President. Their citizens are U.S. citizens as are you and I, so why should we not extend to them the privilege of voting for the President?

Perhaps some day we might consider making Guam a county of Hawaii or the political headquarters of all our islands in Micronesia. The idea has already been suggested and discussed in our committee.

Mr. Speaker, our offshore flag areas and their people offer a real challenge to us. We have a responsibility to them—not a patronizing responsibility whereby we toss a crumb now and then—but a responsibility to work with them as our equals. They have abilities. They have had the training and experience. Now is the time to recognize their talents and to encourage them to participate fully in their role of self-government.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Hosmer] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. **HOSMER**. Mr. Speaker, I, too, want to add my voice to those who are supporting additional self-government for Guam and the Virgin Islands. I am particularly interested in Guam, where I have visited officially on a number of occasions before and since coming to Congress.

Our Guamanian friends have been living under the American flag for 65 years except for the 3 years they were under Japanese occupation. Although they did not become U.S. citizens until 1950, they have been Americans at heart since the turn of the century when Guam was ceded by Spain to the United States. Through their schools and society and through the association with our mainland and island officials and, most of all, by the influence of thousands of military families stationed on the island, they have acquired the traditions and ways of American life and have learned the values of democratic living through self-government.

One of the early acts on which I was privileged to vote was the Organic Act of 1954 which established a measure of self-government and granted U.S. citizenship to the Guamanians. My vote testified to my confidence and faith that the Guamanians had the capacity to shoulder the responsibilities of citizenship and limited self-government. My impressions have strengthened during the past decade. I believe that the records of the first eight legislative sessions have indicated the maturity, good judgment, and qualities of leadership so essential in self-government. I commend the Guamanians for their viable two-party system, neither of which has ever been tainted with any alien philosophy.

I am convinced that Guam has reached a level of political maturity which warrants the selection of its own Governor and Lieutenant Governor. There is no dearth of candidates, well-qualified by training and experience. The voters will have an ample choice of candidates. I would hope that each political party will post its strongest candidates. In this way the voters will be challenged to make their decision.

The time is ripe for additional self-government to be extended to Guam. I hope there will be other opportunities to permit Guamanians to express themselves. I hope they will soon be permitted to vote for the President and Vice President. I hope they may soon have nonvoting representation in Congress. They already have a man, Mr. Won Pat, doing an excellent job of representing the island but doing so in an unofficial congressional capacity.

Mr. Speaker, I believe in recognizing competence and I have confidence in the Guamanians. I am going to recommend enactment of legislation that will further self-government for Guam.

Mr. **SAYLOR**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Skubitz] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. **SKUBITZ**. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in their remarks concerning the legislation providing for the popular election of the Governors of Guam and the Virgin Islands.

In doing so, I wish to emphasize my endorsement of this legislation by acquainting my colleagues with the remarks of Mr. Leon A. Mawson, State chairman of the Republican Party of the Virgin Islands. His testimony before the Subcommittee on Interior and Insular Affairs is as follows: I quote:

> I was invited here today by the Legislature of the Virgin Islands to testify on behalf of the elected Governor bill, presently before the Congress of the United States.
>
> It is my pleasure to do so, not merely in the capacity as State chairman of the Republican Party of the Virgin Islands, but as a Virgin Islander who was born and raised in the island of St. Thomas.
>
> I am satisfied and convinced that the Virgin Islands are at last coming into their own. They have cast aside the mantle of an "effective poor-house" and have risen to great heights of economic prosperity. They have undergone a complete social, cultural, and political reformation, and they now stand on the threshold of attaining even greater heights in their quest for more autonomy and an even closer alliance with this great Nation of ours, the United States of America.
>
> Indeed, gentlemen, we have come a long way. We are many, many strides ahead in the field of health, education, and social welfare. We have made tourism an industry. We are converting our cane fields into an industrial center. We are rapidly clearing out our slums and, in their stead, attractive public and private housing are gracing our hillsides and our lowlands. Our children are happier and enjoying far greater health and educational benefits than they were just a few years back. Our banks are opening their vaults and inviting our people and visitors to avail themselves of the business opportunities open to them. Our treasury is sound.
>
> At every turn of the road prosperity greets the newcomer. Our legislature has matured, and we are now ready to accept the responsibility and the challenge of running our own affairs and governing ourselves.
>
> Today, gentlemen, we are asking you for that right which we feel we have justly earned to elect our own Governor and to reapportion our legislature in keeping with the recent decision of the Supreme Court.
>
> In conclusion, gentlemen, I respectfully solicit your august body to seriously consider and grant our plea.
>
> Thank you.

Mr. Speaker, I was present at the subcommittee hearings on this matter also. At such time a similar expression was made concerning the economic, political, and social maturity of the people of Guam. I am convinced the people of Guam and the Virgin Islands have earned the right and privilege of electing their own Governors.

Mrs. **REID** of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **SAYLOR**. I am delighted to yield to the gentlewoman from Illinois.

Mrs. **REID** of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join our distinguished ranking minority member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in his remarks concerning the unincorporated territories of Guam and the Virgin Islands.

As the minority counterpart to the chairman of the Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, I have had the privilege and pleasure to visit the beautiful island of Guam, often called the "Gem of the Pacific." I have seen firsthand the progress and industry of these American citizens of Guamanian ancestry.

The Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs has recently considered legislation which vitally affects the people of Guam and the Virgin Islands. This legislation is H.R. 11775 and H.R. 11777 which provide for the popular elections of the Governors of Guam and the Virgin Islands. Mr. Speaker, this legislation will shortly come before this body for consideration and passage. I assure my colleagues that this legislation and similar legislation providing for the reapportionment of the legislatures will have been carefully considered by the subcommittee, and the full committee before coming to the floor for debate and passage. Already, Mr. Speaker, the importance of this legislation has been the subject of a caucus by the minority members of the subcommittee and unanimously endorsed.

The enactment of legislation providing for the popular election of the Governors of Guam and the Virgin Islands is a meritorious step in the furtherance of self-government for Guam and the Virgin Islands. The people of these areas have demonstrated their political maturity and have earned the right to select their own chief executive through the democratic process of free election.

I am happy and proud to have worked in this effort and respond to the wishes of the people of Guam and the Virgin Islands.

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I am glad to yield to my colleague the gentleman from Utah.

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania for yielding to me, and I commend the gentleman in the well for taking this special order to emphasize the legislation now pending before the Committee on Interior and Insular affairs to extend self-government to the territories of Guam and the Virgin Islands through the endorsement of this legislation, providing for the popular election of the Governors of Guam and the Virgin Islands.

I should like, in my brief remarks, to acquaint my colleagues with some facts regarding the territory of Guam.

Mr. Speaker, Guam is the largest of the Mariana Islands, now an unincorporated territory. The island of Guam was ceded to the United States by Spain by the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898. The island is 30 miles long and 4 to 8½ miles wide. It is 1,499 miles from Manila and 5,053 miles from San Francisco. The island is volcanic and mountains rise from 700 to 1,379 feet.

Magellan discovered the group of islands on March 6, 1521, and called them Ladrones. They were colonized in 1668 by Spanish missionaries who renamed them the Mariana Islands in honor of the Queen of Spain.

Guam is a Pacific base of both the U.S. Navy and Air Force.

The island is served by shipping lines from the United States, Australia, Japan, and has scheduled air service from the United States.

School attendance in Guam is compulsory and the island now sustains the College of Guam, in addition to a vocational school. English is the official language of the island.

The principal products are fruits and vegetables and virtually all other commodities are imported, except for metal scraps. Industrial development has begun and the economic future of the island of Guam and its people appears bright.

The capital of Guam is Agana; it has an area of 209 square miles and its estimated population in 1964 was 67,044 people.

Mr. Speaker, the economic, political, and social growth of the territory of Guam requires our unanimous support. And more so, our support in extending the principle of self-government to the people of Guam.

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in the effort to bring about more self-government to our territorial possessions of Guam and the Virgin Islands.

I think the desire of the peoples of both Guam and the Virgin Islands is best expressed by the testimony given by Dr. Aubrey A. Anduze, president of the Virgin Islands constitutional convention before the Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs, concerning the legislation to provide for the popular election of the Governor.

Mr. Speaker, the testimony of Dr. Anduze is as follows:

> Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, permit me to express to you my sincere appreciation for allowing me to appear before your committee to testify on H.R. 11777, a bill to provide for the popular election of the Governor of the Virgin Islands and for other purposes.
>
> My name is Aubrey Anduze, a native of St. Croix, V.I., I was elected in November 1964 during the regular elections to serve as a member of the Virgin Islands constitutional convention and served as the president of said convention.
>
> After considerable public hearings and deliberations the convention on February 26, 1965, adopted a report, which was delivered to the Honorable WAYNE ASPINALL, the chairman of your full committee. One of the recommendations of the convention was the provision for the popular election of the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor of the Virgin Islands.
>
> This proposed legislation has the endorsement of the overwhelming majority of the people of the Virgin Islands as recorded in the extensive hearings conducted in all three Virgin Islands—St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John. Further, it is my personal conviction as a native-born lifetime resident, that the territory has matured and achieved an economic and social stability to make it eligible for its citizens to exercise a much greater degree of self-government. And now speaking on behalf of the people of the Virgin Islands, it is our earnest hope that the 89th Congress will see fit to enact the needed reform. I also ask that the executive branch proposal of the report of the Virgin Islands constitutional convention be incorporated and made a part of the record.
>
> I thank you for your kind attention to this matter.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in their remarks concerning our unincorporated territories of Guam and the Virgin Islands.

As a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, I for one, have come to visualize the full spectrum of importance to our Nation of these territories of Guam and the Virgin Islands. I should, therefore, like to make a few brief remarks concerning the popular election of the Governors in Guam and the Virgin Islands.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation contained in two separate bills represents an important step in the development of self-government and toward the fulfillment of the political aspirations of the people of Guam and the Virgin Islands. Much has been said from time to time of the various ways in which the people of Guam and the Virgin Islands might further participate in their government, and in the relationship of that government to the United States. This debate becomes endless unless resolved or implemented in some manner. The bills providing for the popular election of the Governors of Guam and the Virgin Islands, is, in my opinion, a means of implementing the goal of providing meaningful self-government for our territories. In this manner, we shall bring to an end the era of the federally appointed Governor and bring about a new era of territorial development premised on giving to the people of Guam and the Virgin Islands a strong and significant new voice in mapping their own future.

The need for such legislation is clearly apparent when examined in light of the present economic, political, and social maturity of the people of Guam, and the Virgin Islands. It is completely incongruous to say that the people of Guam and the Virgin Islands may elect their own legislatures; they may establish an independent judiciary; they may legislate with respect to all local matters; they may levy taxes and appropriate moneys for the operation of their government; but they cannot elect the leader of their government, the Governor.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation does not lose sight of the fact that there are still Federal interests in these territories which we have a duty to protect. The legislation contains sufficient safeguards to insure this protection and I urge my colleagues to assist in removing the aforementioned glowing inconsistency.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. HANSEN], the gentleman from California [Mr. REINECKE], and the gentleman from New York [Mr. KUPFERMAN] may extend their remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. IRWIN). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I, too, join my colleagues in extending to Guam and the Virgin Islands the principle of self-government by permitting the popular election of the Governor.

In expressing my support of the legislation providing for the popular election of the Governors of Guam and the Virgin Islands, I shall acquaint my colleagues with some facts regarding the territory of the Virgin Islands.

Mr. Speaker, the territory of the Virgin Islands, administered by the Department of the Interior, forms part of a chain of islands separating the Caribbean and the Atlantic Oceans. They comprise about 50 islands lying east of Puerto Rico. The three largest and most populous islands are St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix. The capital of the Virgin Islands is Charlotte Amalie. It comprises an area of 133 square miles and the estimated 1964 population was 41,913 people.

The Virgin Islands were formerly known as the Danish West Indies and were purchased by the United States from Denmark on March 31, 1917. The islands were discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1493. Approximately 80 percent of the population is Negro descent.

Tourism is the largest industry and is expanding. The principal exports are watch movements, jewelry, rum, wool textile products, sugar, thermometers, and bay rum.

Mr. Speaker, the economy and growth of the Virgin Islands has kept pace with its political and social development. The legislation to provide for the popular election of the Governors of Guam and the Virgin Islands is in keeping with the growth of these areas. The enactment of such legislation will provide further incentive to our people of Guam and the Virgin Islands in their economic, political, and social development.

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] for bringing the matter of self-government for Guam and the Virgin Islands to the attention of our colleagues.

I listened to the testimony on Guam and the Virgin Islands before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and became convinced that the enactment of legislation to extend self-government to the territories is in keeping with the splendid record of American administration in the Caribbean and the Western Pacific.

The legislation before our Interior Committee provides further proof of the good faith of our Nation in working toward the equality of all its citizens. In the Western Pacific there is a very favorable impression of the United States resulting from its action of 20 years ago in granting independence to the Philippines.

I am certain that most people in southeast Asia know that we have no wish to remain in Vietnam longer than absolutely necessary to guarantee the essentials of freedom to those who are struggling for it. Nevertheless, I know there are some who accuse the United States of imperialistic designs Not because I want to give ear to such accusations but because I really believe the Guamanians are ready and able to assume new responsibilities and I favor the extension of laws which will encourage the development of farsighted policies in our territories.

Over the years the Guamanians have stuck with us, through thick and thin; even during the Japanese occupation there was not a trace of disloyalty. Since occupation, the island and its people have matured tremendously. I am more than willing to recommend measures that will permit the Guamanians to elect their own Governor and Lieutenant Governor and to manage their legislative districting affairs.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am indebted to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Representative SAYLOR, for initiating this very interesting discussion on the responsibilities of the United States to its offshore flag areas. I am not personally acquainted with Guam, but do know the Virgin Islands. As the editor of the Bulletin of the Section of International and Comparative Law of the American Bar Association, I am, among other reasons, aware of the cardinal principle in political science that it is incumbent upon an administering power to prepare its charge for responsibility for self-government as rapidly as its people can adjust to new duties, tasks, and privileges.

I attended the recent hearings in the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs while the elective Governor bills for Guam and the Virgin Islands were being heard. I was deeply impressed with the caliber of the witnesses and the testimony they delivered. There is no doubt of their sincerity or patriotism. The Governors—each a native of his territory—displayed remarkable knowledge of, not only his island as would be expected, but also of his relationship with his legislature, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Federal Congress.

Testimony presented to the committee indicated that there is an almost unanimous desire for an elective Governor—not because the voters are unhappy with their present leaders, but because they did not have a voice in selecting them. I would not be surprised to learn that each incumbent would file for the Governor's post and each would make a strong race. In fact, for the Virgin Islands, the Republican chairman so conceded for the Democratic incumbent.

We know that during the Eisenhower administration island-born Governors were appointed for the first time. I commend General Eisenhower for his foresight and wise choice. Both Governors served most capably but were replaced when the opposition party came into power. I am happy to note that both the present Governors are island sons.

Members of each legislature appeared before committee and presented testimony in a forthright manner. I was impressed by the speaker of the Guam Legislature, Mr. Taitano. He spoke well and convincingly of the role his people want to play in the 20th century. He is a successful businessman in politics and we should wish him well in his future endeavors.

I learned that over 85 percent of the eligible voters participated in the last elections. Although no women are presently in the legislature, they have been in the past and several may be grooming themselves for the upcoming campaign.

To me, Mr. Speaker, the Virgin Islands and Guam are ready for the next step in additional self-government. The momentum has been started by the legislation we will soon have before us. I sincerely hope it will be possible for Congress to enact the bills so that, in truth, the United States can show to the western Pacific and Caribbean worlds our appreciation to the territories for a job well done.

VIRGIN ISLANDS

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MORTON] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, I see a great economic future for the Virgin Islands, particularly if enactment of favorable legislation is continued by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Since the Virgin Islands depend to such a great extent on tourism and light industry, it is necessary that aggressive steps be taken to maintain the sympathetic understanding that Congress has shown over the past 15 years.

Each year tourist expenditures surpass those of the year before—for example, in the neighborhood of $70 million will be realized from the industry this year as compared with $48 million in 1964 and $35 million in 1962. The economic health is attested to by a new record in per capita income of over $2,000 as compared with $800 in 1960, by far the highest of any Caribbean community.

Let me give another indication of the trend in the Virgin Islands. Since per capita income is rising and since more and more retired people are taking up permanent residence in the Virgin Islands, income tax payments are increasing at a rapid rate. The Virgin Islands Organic Act provides in section 28 that:

> The proceeds of customs duties, the proceeds of the United States income tax, the proceeds of any taxes levied by Congress on the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands, less the cost of collecting them shall be covered into the treasury of the Virgin Islands and shall be available for expenditure as the legislature may provide.

In 1954 total revenues from these sources amounted to just under $4 million. Last year $10½ million were collected and made available to the Virgin Islands Legislature. What does this mean? It means that when the Secretary of the Interior has to ask for funds to operate the islands, he already knows he has a substantial amount to start with. It is essential that a cushion be provided if the islands are to keep pace with the bursting economy and the burgeoning population. A few weeks ago the Governor said he was operating on a $42 million budget, plus a $6 million crash school construction program financed from the sale of general obligation bonds permitted by legislation enacted in the 88th Congress. Compare that budget with that of 1954—$4⅓ million.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that the economic growth could not occur and could not be sustained in a society that did not possess the maturity to run its own business as well as its own government.

Why do I quote these figures and dwell on economic development? Because I want to point out that the people of the Virgin Islands have by virtue of successful operation of a territory of considerable proportions proven their capabilities and have shown their ability to assume the additional steps of self-government embodied in legislation to provide for an elective Governor and Lieutenant Governor. For the past 12 years—since the enactment of the 1954 organic act under the aegis of my political party—the people of the Virgin Islands have made remarkable strides under an appointive Governor. I firmly believe that they can do likewise under a Governor of their own choice. The voters are politically astute and wise. I am confident that they will make a wise selection of Governor and if he fails to live up to their expectations, they will turn him out at the end of the 2-year term provided in our legislation.

REPORT OF THE QUEENS-LONG ISLAND MASS TRANSPORTATION DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM INDICATES PROGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the technical committee of the Queens-Long Island mass transportation demonstration program recently issued a report on the operations of one project, undertaken to ease the rush-hour commuter problem. I think it is an important project, and its features are applicable to similar situations not only in New York City but other sprawling metropolitan areas.

The purpose of the demonstration program, engineered under the provisions of the Federal Mass Transportation Act, was "to demonstrate the ability of existing transportation facilities in the rapidly growing Queens-Long Island sector; to provide improved transportation for more peak-hour riders by means of, and closer coordination among the various facilities and services and implementation of selected new facilities."

Queens is growing in population. At numerous commuter points, carrying passengers into Manhattan during morning rush hours has become a monstrous obstacle course. There still exists a severe and crushing overtaxing of available mass transit facilities into Manhattan from Queens and other Long Island communities.

To take the particular case of this demonstration project, the Long Island Railroad, by late 1964, had been depositing over 7,500 riders at the Hunters Point Avenue station every morning. These riders would take the short walk to the IRT Flushing Line subway station for accommodation into Manhattan. This subway point is flooded with passengers at rush-hour periods; it is intolerably overcrowded; these LIRR commuters, growing in number along with the general trend, were subjected to unbearable delays along with the rest of the transit traffic.

To ease this situation, a 1-year experimental project was instituted, aimed at diverting LIRR passengers away from the Flushing subway and to the installation of a new shuttle bus service. The buses would carry these commuters to the Manhattan central business district.

The report of the demonstration program covers the first 6 months of operation, from February to August 1965. I believe that it has proved effective in its major objective, which was to attract a substantial number of traditional subway riders away from the subways and into the buses; that is to say, to provide an alternative and convenient competitor to the subway system, which had become inhumanly overburdened.

On the average day, the buses serviced 3,300 passengers to and from Manhattan; morning bus service accounted for 26 percent of the combined shuttle bus-IRT subway commutation at the Hunters Point transfer stations; the buses carried 18 percent of the total in a 24-hour period.

It was found that 97 percent of the bus users were LIRR commuters who formerly took to the subway. We can then say, approximately, that 97 percent of these daily 3,300 LIRR commuters at Hunters Point were diverted to the newly installed bus transportation, relieving the overcrowded subway by a comparable amount.

From the tables compiled by the technical committee of this Queens-Long Island demonstration program, we can surmise that a large portion of the subway crowd did choose to alter their commuter pattern, turning to the shuttle bus. In absolute terms, the number of commuters using both transportation facilities is still increasing.

The buses, of course, were placed specifically to attract the LIRR transfers. But significantly, the buses did not attract other travelers.

In the three tables which I wish to append to my remarks here, table 1 indicates the total amount of weekly shuttle passengers; throughout the 6 months covered, the absolute trend is upward, with due allowance to summer vacationing. Table 2 is revealing. On a 4-week basis, it shows the riding trend or preference of commuters at the Hunters Point transfer area. The trend from subway to bus transportation did not accelerate much following the inception of the shuttle bus service. Commuters more or less stuck to their original choice. Nevertheless, there was a persistent though slight continuing trend toward the buses.

Table 3 indicates morning and daily turnstile counts for both subway and bus passengers.

Based on the fact that only 3 percent of the bus users were drawn from other bus routes or private automobiles, it seems that commuters have to be intensely convinced before they will significantly alter their traveling patterns. Nevertheless, the LIRR riders were convinced, and overwhelmingly so. This suggests that alternative means of transportation must be well advertised to the commuter, and made comparatively convenient to his use.

Peak-hour capacity on the Flushing subway line at Hunters Point became intolerable. Some other facility had to be installed, because peak-hour capacity had already expanded to a point where no additional trains could be accommodated.

The shuttle bus alternative succeeded in easing rush-hour commutation at a major point by diverting traditional subway riders to an alternate form of travel.

It seems to me that this report indicates that we can find means to break the intolerable overcrowding on existing facilities. It takes imagination and coordination, but it can be done.

For the first time, the Mass Transportation Act of 1964 directed the Federal Government's attention toward the developing crisis of urban transportation. Numerous surveys and reports have clarified this crisis boldly and perceptively.

Nonetheless, in most communities across the country, the crushing difficulty of moving people and goods to and from core urban centers has not abated.

On last January 17, I addressed my colleagues in the House on this situation and must emphasize at this time that conditions are worsening.

The effort to plan and institute safe, clean, efficient, and convenient means of traveling to and from central city districts is undoubtedly one of the most compelling of all urban issues.

Greater Federal assistance is needed under the Mass Transportation Act of 1964. We need to pass two pending bills which provide for research and development of new forms of mass transit systems, and which permit the States to allocate part of their Federal highway funds toward urban mass transit.

Mr. Speaker, I hope very much that the Congress will come to grips with this problem during the current session.

The tables referred to follow:

TABLE 1.—*Total weekly passengers, Hunters Point-East Side Shuttle Bus Line, Feb. 15 to Aug. 13, 1965*

Week (Monday to Friday) 1965	A.m.	P.m.	Total
Feb. 15 to 19	10, 421	3, 546	13, 967
Feb. 23 to 26 [1]	8, 507	2, 780	11, 287
Mar. 1 to 5	11, 481	3, 833	15, 314
Mar. 8 to 12	11, 467	4, 194	15, 661
Mar. 15 to 19	11, 593	4, 227	15, 820
Mar. 22 to 26	11, 547	4, 740	16, 287
Mar. 29 to Apr. 2	11, 460	4, 819	16, 279
Apr. 5 to 9	11, 393	5, 105	16, 498
Apr. 12 to 16	10, 967	4, 859	15, 826
Apr. 19 to 23	11, 666	5, 213	16, 879
Apr. 26 to 30	11, 406	5, 559	16, 965
May 3 to 7	12, 180	5, 618	17, 798
May 10 to 14	12, 345	5, 567	17, 912
May 17 to 21	12, 399	5, 435	17, 834
May 24 to 28	12, 145	5, 294	17, 439
June 1 to 4 [1]	9, 719	4, 033	13, 752
June 7 to 11	12, 386	4, 895	17, 281
June 14 to 18	11, 819	4, 714	16, 533
June 21 to 25	12, 540	4, 860	17, 400
June 28 to July 2	12, 605	4, 722	17, 327
July 6 to 9 [1]	9, 605	3, 653	13, 258
July 12 to 16	11, 879	4, 733	16, 612
July 19 to 23	11, 699	4, 454	16, 153
July 26 to 30	11, 933	4, 653	16, 586
Aug. 2 to 6	11, 100	4, 862	15, 962
Aug. 9 to 13	11, 786	4, 893	16, 679
Total, 6 months	298, 048	121, 261	419, 309
Percent	71. 1	29. 9	100

[1] Holidays: Feb. 22, May 31, July 5.

TABLE 2.—*Riding trend, Hunters Point-East Side Shuttle Bus Line (based on 4-week moving daily average), Feb. 15 to Aug. 13, 1965*

4-week period	A.m.	P.m.	Total
Feb. 15 to Mar. 12	2, 204	755	2, 959
Feb. 23 to Mar. 19	2, 266	791	3, 057
Mar. 1 to Mar. 26	2, 304	850	3, 154
Mar. 8 to Apr. 2	2, 303	899	3, 202
Mar. 15 to Apr. 9	2, 300	945	3, 245
Mar. 22 to Apr. 16	2, 268	976	3, 244
Mar. 29 to Apr. 23	2, 274	1, 000	3, 274
Apr. 5 to Apr. 30	2, 277	1, 037	3, 314
Apr. 12 to May 7	2, 311	1, 062	3, 373
Apr. 19 to May 14	2, 380	1, 098	3, 478
Apr. 26 to May 21	2, 417	1, 109	3, 526
May 3 to May 28	2, 453	1, 096	3, 549
May 10 to June 4	2, 453	1, 070	3, 523
May 17 to June 11	2, 455	1, 035	3, 490
May 24 to June 18	2, 425	997	3, 422
June 1 to June 25	2, 445	974	3, 419
June 7 to July 2	2, 467	960	3, 427
June 14 to July 9	2, 451	945	3, 396
June 21 to July 16	2, 454	946	3, 400
June 28 to July 23	2, 410	924	3, 334
July 6 to July 30	2, 374	921	3, 295
July 12 to Aug. 6	2, 331	935	3, 266
July 19 to Aug. 13	2, 326	943	3, 269
Total passengers, 1st 6 months	298, 048	121, 261	419, 300

TABLE 3.—*Percentage of total riding (based on average number of passengers daily), a.m., Hunters Point-East Side Shuttle Bus Line versus IRT, Hunters Point Ave. turnstile counts, Feb. 15–Aug. 13, 1965*

Week (Monday to Friday), 1965	Base, 24-hour turnstile count					Base, 7 to 10 a.m. turnstile count				
	Total, IRT and a.m. bus (100 percent)	a.m. bus		IRT		IRT and a.m. bus (100 percent)	a.m. bus		IRT	
		Passengers	Percent	Passengers	Percent		Passengers	Percent	Passengers	Percent
Feb. 15 to 19	13,321	2,084	15.7	11,237	84.3	9,567	2,084	21.8	7,483	78.2
Feb. 23 to 26	13,180	2,127	16.1	11,053	83.9	9,474	2,127	22.5	7,347	77.5
Mar. 1 to 5	13,193	2,296	17.4	10,897	82.6	9,529	2,296	24.1	7,233	75.9
Mar. 8 to 12	13,192	2,293	17.4	10,899	82.6	9,441	2,293	24.3	7,148	75.7
Mar. 15 to 19	13,219	2,319	17.5	10,900	82.5	9,488	2,319	24.4	7,169	75.6
Mar. 22 to 26	13,186	2,309	17.5	10,877	82.5	9,447	2,309	24.4	7,138	75.6
Mar. 29 to Apr. 2	13,343	2,292	17.2	11,051	82.8	9,656	2,292	23.7	7,364	76.3
Apr. 5 to 9	13,366	2,279	17.1	11,087	82.9	9,601	2,279	23.7	7,322	76.3
Apr. 12 to 16	12,330	2,194	17.8	10,136	82.2	8,912	2,194	24.6	6,718	75.4
Apr. 19 to 23	12,860	2,333	18.1	10,527	81.9	9,174	2,333	25.4	6,841	74.6
Apr. 26 to 30	13,212	2,281	17.3	10,931	82.7	9,542	2,281	23.9	7,261	76.1
May 3 to 7	13,205	2,436	18.4	10,769	81.6	9,536	2,436	25.5	7,100	74.5
May 10 to 14	13,214	2,469	18.7	10,745	81.3	9,410	2,469	26.2	6,941	73.8
May 17 to 21	13,149	2,480	18.8	10,669	81.2	9,438	2,480	26.3	6,958	73.7
May to 28	13,039	2,429	18.6	10,610	81.4	9,238	2,429	26.3	6,809	73.7
June 1 to 4	13,111	2,430	18.5	10,681	81.5	9,384	2,430	25.9	6,954	74.1
June 7 to 11	13,225	2,477	18.7	10,748	81.3	9,545	2,477	26.0	7,068	74.0
June 14 to 18	13,216	2,364	17.9	10,852	82.1	9,393	2,364	25.2	7,029	74.8
June 21 to 25	13,260	2,508	18.9	10,752	81.1	9,292	2,508	27.0	6,790	73.0
June 28 to July 2	13,059	2,521	19.3	10,538	80.7	8,940	2,521	28.2	6,419	71.8
July 6 to 9	12,060	2,401	19.9	9,659	80.1	8,704	2,401	27.6	6,303	72.4
July 12 to 16	12,089	2,376	19.7	9,713	80.3	8,727	2,376	27.2	6,351	72.8
July 19 to 23	12,116	2,340	19.3	9,776	80.7	8,578	2,430	27.3	6,238	72.7
July 26 to 30	12,079	2,387	19.8	9,692	80.2	8,563	2,387	27.9	6,176	72.1
Aug. 2 to 6	11,990	2,220	18.5	9,770	81.5	8,542	2,220	26.0	6,322	74.0
Aug. 9 to 13	12,292	2,357	19.2	9,935	80.8	8,599	2,357	27.4	6,242	72.6
Average, 6 months	12,907	2,347	18.2	10,560	81.8	9,221	2,347	25.5	6,874	74.5
Total, 6 months	1,639,179	298,048	------------	1,341,131	------------	1,171,061	298,048	------------	873,013	------------

JAPAN'S FOREIGN AID PROGRAM

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to hail the decision of Japan to devote 1 percent of its gross national product to aid underdeveloped nations. This is almost twice the proportion of gross national product that the United States plans to spend for foreign aid in the current fiscal year.

In 1965, Japan spent $400 million for foreign aid, 80 percent of which went to countries in southeast Asia. I am also very gratified that a good program of foreign aid is being conducted by West Germany.

Since our own foreign aid program has been so strongly attacked over the years, it is indeed gratifying to know that countries which were raised from the rubble and ashes of defeat by U.S. foreign aid funds are facing up to their own responsibility to help less fortunate countries now.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, 23 years ago today a comparative handful of Jews took on the might of the Nazi army in the Warsaw ghetto. For almost 3 weeks, night and day, the battle raged and it ended only, as they knew from the beginning that it must, in death.

Was this then a foolish course, obstinacy in the face of might? Let us hope to God that future historians never mark it as such. These fighters were no Paladins riding off to battle in the name of chivalry. These fighters were men, women, and children who knew that they had to die—but who also knew that their dying would be that of proud men and a source in future years of hope, pride, and solace to a stricken people.

What was the sin of these people? They were Jews. That was sufficient in 1943, and too many other years, to warrant death. In all, before the Nazi hate orgy was to end in the smoking ruins of Berlin, some 6 million Jews would find their way to the gas chambers and other horrible means of extermination.

It is easy for us today to condemn what happened and say that it could not happen again. But is this true? The Nazi slaughter of the Jews could just as well have been leveled against another group, another religion or race. All it needed to be successful was the seed of prejudice. For that was the true evil—prejudice, the willingness to allow a scapegoat to be created and then damned because he was, after all, different.

The Jews fighting in the Warsaw ghetto were demonstrating for the world the true evil of prejudice and they were also showing that proud people will fight to preserve their freedom even when the situation is hopeless. They at least died with the ideal intact.

Mr. Speaker, several years ago I had the privilege of visiting the ghetto monument in Warsaw to offer a silent tribute to those millions of martyrs to the curse of prejudice. I can assure you that the visit left a lasting impression on my mind to the point where it is difficult for me today to recall that trip without pondering the terrible fate that befell Europe's Jews. But it is a good thing to be reminded of the sick pages of history, too, for we, as Americans, as leaders of the free world, can little afford to forget such history.

We have our prejudices in this country, to be sure. But we are also doing something about them. Almost alone in the world, this country is waging a dedicated, vigorous, and legal fight to insure the rights of all men. We sometimes, unfortunately, falter in this fight and when we do it would be a good thing if we all brought our thoughts back to Warsaw and the fight that began there 23 years ago, for that is where the path of prejudice leads.

LEADING FIGURES OF PANAMA CANAL CONSTRUCTION

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the year 1965 was the 50th anniversary of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition held at San Francisco in 1915 to celebrate the opening of the Panama Canal. It is particularly appropriate that the Book Club of California in 1965 issued a volume of keepsakes consisting of 12 folders under the title of "The Panama Canal: The Evolution of the Isthmian Crossing." The editor of the series was Dr. John Haskell Kemble, professor of history, Pomona College, Claremont, Calif., who chose as authors for the various parts persons well qualified to write on assigned topics.

One of the chapters thus included, "Leading Figures of Panama Canal Construction," by Capt. Miles P. DuVal, Jr., U.S. Navy, retired, will be of special interest to students wishing to know the key personalities in the spectacular fields of engineering and sanitation during the construction of the canal.

The indicated chapter, with editorial notes about its author and the mural picture on its front cover, follow:

[Chapter 6: The Panama Canal; The Book Club of California, 1965]

Leading Figures of Panama Canal Construction

(By Miles P. DuVal, Jr.)

In his essay on "Self-Reliance" Emerson stated that an institution is the lengthened shadow of one man and that all history resolves itself into the biography of a few stout and earnest persons. This principle is well illustrated in the building of the Panama Canal so objectively symbolized in the mural by William Andrew Mackay in the Roosevelt Memorial Hall of the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

In the center are the two key figures, President Theodore Roosevelt receiving the plans for the Panama Canal from Chief Engineer John F. Stevens. At the right is Col. William C. Gorgas, and on the left is Col. George W. Goethals.

When Vice President Theodore Roosevelt succeeded to the Presidency in 1901, the movement for the construction of an Isthmian canal, sparked by the dramatic dash of the *Oregon* from the Pacific Coast of the United States around South America to join the U.S. Atlantic Fleet off Santiago, Cuba, was well underway; and the energetic young President assumed leadership.

After prolonged negotiations between the United States and Colombia, the representatives of the two countries on January 22, 1903, signed the Hay-Herran Treaty for the construction of an interoceanic canal at the Panama site, which was ratified by the U.S. Senate on March 17, 1903. The failure of the treaty power of Colombia to ratify this agreement during a special session of the Colombian Congress in that year caused President Roosevelt to seek other means.

Fortunately, the crisis came at a time when he could act unhampered. The province of Panama, on November 3, 1903, seceded from Colombia and then President Roosevelt negotiated the necessary treaty with Panama, the successor state, rather than with Colombia. It has his prompt, courageous policy that brought about the creation of the Republic of Panama, the acquisition by the United States of the Canal Zone territory, and the construction of the Panama Canal. No one stands higher in its history than Theodore Roosevelt.

When the time came for serious construction to start, President Roosevelt in 1905 appointed as Chief Engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission one of the greatest railroad construction engineers that our country has ever produced—John F. Stevens. As the discoverer of Marias Pass in Montana, through which Stevens had built the Great Northern Railroad, he had seen what happens in mountainous areas when the delicate balances of nature are altered, and he was uniquely qualified by other experiences in undeveloped country to supervise construction of a ship channel through the difficult and treacherous terrain of Panama.

After walking from one end of the Canal Zone to the other to survey the scene and studying past construction achievements of the French (1879–89), he developed the plan for the canal known as the high-level lake-lock type, utilizing as much as possible the work of the French. In 1906, when the question of type was before the Congress, he led the fight in Washington for the adoption of his plan against a powerful combination of opposing forces consisting of interests some of which wished no canal at all and others of which desired authorization for construction of a canal at sea level. Supported by the Isthmian Canal Commission, Secretary Taft and President Roosevelt, the views of Stevens prevailed and the Congress adopted the high level, lake-lock design. In addition, Stevens planned the transportation system for removing spoil from Culebra Cut, located the Gatun locks, and selected the Gatun Dam site to form Gatun Lake thus converting the torrential Chagres River into a beneficent agency for the canal project. In addition, he purchased the major part of the construction plant, reconstructed the Panama Railroad, planned the basic engineering organization and recruited the forces for accomplishing the task.

After bringing the project to the point where its success was a certainty, with opening date estimated by him as January 1, 1915, he resigned his position in early 1907. In spite of this action, President Roosevelt, in recognition of the tremendous services of Stevens, appointed him as the first man to hold the combined offices of Chairman and Chief Engineer, Isthmian Canal Commission.

Stevens was succeeded by Col. George W. Goethals, one of the leading members of the Engineer Corps of the Army. Ably assisted, mostly by civilians recruited by Stevens, Goethals headed the project during the remainder (1907–14) of the construction era and, indispensably aided by civil administration and other departments, completed the canal substantially with the Stevens plan, organization and equipment, and then became the first Governor of the Panama Canal (1914–16) in the permanent operating organization under the act of 1912.

Among all the great construction era (1904–14) figures, Col. William C. Gorgas was the only one to remain with the work throughout the entire 10 years. Bringing to the Canal Zone the lessons of his invaluable experiences in Cuba in fighting malaria and yellow fever, Gorgas and his fellow workers transformed the Isthmus from one of the worst pestholes in the world to one of the healthiest spots, making construction of the Panama Canal possible.

Thus, the four men in the mural are the leading heroes of the Panama Canal: Theodore Roosevelt, the statesman who launched it; William C. Gorgas, who sanitated the Canal Zone; John F. Stevens, the basic architect of the Panama Canal and organizer of the forces for construction; and George W. Goethals, under whose direction the project was completed and opened to traffic.

The text of this folder was written by Capt. Miles P. DuVal, U.S. Navy (retired). Captain DuVal is the author of two books on the Panama Canal: "Cadiz to Cathay," the story of the long struggle for a waterway across the American isthmus, Stanford University Press, Stanford University, California, 1940, and "And the Mountains Will Move," the story of the building of the Panama Canal, Stanford University Press, Stanford University, California, 1947.

The mural painting by William Andrew Mackay in the Roosevelt Memorial Hall, American Museum of Natural History, New York, is reproduced by the kind permission of the American Museum of Natural History.

EARLY PHILIPPINE PACIFICATION HAS LESSONS FOR TODAY IN VIETNAM

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Flood] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, during the occupation of the Philippines by the U.S. Army following the Spanish-American War, young American soldiers then faced many tasks that will soon confront another generation of young American fighting men in Vietnam in the period of pacification that will follow present military operations. Furthermore, there are many analogies between the current situation in Vietnam and that which prevailed in the Philippines during the first decade of the 20th century.

One of the many unknown young American heroes in the earlier Philippine struggle, in terms of effective achievement, was Owen A. Tomlinson of Whitestown, Boone County, Ind., whose path, as a member of the Philippine Scouts first crossed that of Harry W. Frantz on one of the latter's extensive trips in the Philippines during the days of pacification.

Many years later, Tomlinson returned to the United States to recover from an illness contracted in the tropics. Mr. Frantz supported his application for employment in the National Park Service in which he rose to high position, eventually becoming superintendent of the Mount McKinley and Mount Rainier National Parks and, finally, western regional superintendent of the Park Service.

Notwithstanding the outstanding success of his later years, he always looked back upon the time of his youthful service with the Philippine Scouts as the highlight of his career.

In a 1941 article, published in the Mulberry Reporter of Mulberry, Ind., Mr. Frantz described the dramatic story of this young U.S. soldier as told to the distinguished writer by Tomlinson. Because its lessons may help some future young American soldier, I include it as part of my remarks:

[From the Mulberry (Ind.) Reporter, Mar. 7, 1941]

Indiana Boy Makes Great Name in Philippines

(By Harry Warner Frantz)

Washington, March 3, 1941.—Twenty-five years ago I tramped 400 miles on the trails of the Mountain Province in Luzon, home of seven tough, betel-chewing non-Christian tribes, and during that long journey the magic name of "Captain Tom" was my password, my currency, and my key to the hospitality of many brown men and white.

I had borrowed "Captain Tom's" introduction and goodwill from a chance acquaintanceship aboard the steamer *Shinyo Maru,* westward bound from Honolulu. Later, too, I had borrowed his flannel shirt, khaki leggings, and provincial maps from the Santa Lucia Barracks in the old Walled City at Manila.

Across high oak-clad mountains above the China Sea and down emerald rice-terraced valleys of that strange, lonely country there lingered the pervasive memory of a friendly Indiana soldier, whose reputation for tact and fair dealing had been a tremendous civilizing influence. Tens of thousands of Malays, and particularly the wild Ifugao, had accepted his counsel to lay down the spear and the head axe, and try life anew on a semi-American pattern. Merely to mention his personal friendship brought distinction and welcome in lost mountain villages or lonely constabulary posts.

Last week "Captain Tom" came into my life again, now as superintendent of the Mount Rainier National Park. We spent a pleasant afternoon sightseeing at Mount Vernon, reminiscing ever and anon about the faraway "Land of the Half-Way Sun," as Ifugao is sometimes known, and I vowed to make some notes of memories renewed. Fact is, the work of young American officers in early years of the Philippine Constabulary was one of the greatest chapters in American colonial history, lost to the records only because Congress dictated the independence of the Philippine Islands rather than their permanent affiliation with the American Union.

Next week Mr. Tomlinson will visit a sister at Crawfordsville, Ind., and I hope my words will enlist his State's appreciation.

Tomlinson's boyhood home was at Whitestown, Boone County, Ind., and at 16, passing for 21, he enlisted as a soldier in the 12th Infantry. That was at Indianapolis in January 1899. On February 19, 1899, he sailed from New York on the transport Sheridan via Gibraltar for Manila, where he arrived on April 6, 1899. Soon he was engaged in the campaign to quell the Filippino Insurrection, a movement that had grown out of the unwillingness of the United States, after the naval battle of Manila, to recognize the government of Aguinaldo.

After that campaign, Tomlinson returned to America; later went again with the 12th Infantry to the Philippines. In March 1905, he was discharged to accept a commission as 3d lieutenant in the Philippine Constabulary. From then until he was invalided home in November 1918, he accomplished countless difficult tasks in policing and civil administration in remote parts of the islands or at Manila headquarters, where he became adjutant with the rank of major.

Neither rank nor post gives true hint of "Captain Tom's" great work in the Philippines, which was that of a civilizing agent of the law among the wildest tribesmen to be found on the earth's surface, fighting men who had not been conquered by the Spaniards in three centuries, and who by comparison make our Sioux seem like pleasant fellows. You have to go way back in the deep mountains, as I did, to appreciate that task. You have to meet the tall spear-bearing Ifugao face to face, and hear the bronze tom-toms beating on the hillsides, and grasp the meaning of a rattan head-basket before you can truly understand that job.

"Captain Tom" never told me much about all that when I was in Manila—it was all part of the day's work, and the men who had served in the Luzon hills let the men who had served among the Moros in Mindanao tell most of the stories and take most of the bows. Fact is, however, that the pacification of the Ifugao, Bontoc, Kalingas, Ilongotes and other tribesmen of Northern Luzon was no less a task than the conquest of the Moros. But it was handled differently.

Even today, Tomlinson seemed more interested in his lowland police duty than in his years as governor of Ifugao, a part of the Mountain Province. (Ifugao being a subprovince, the governor technically was known as a lieutenant-governor, though in fact he was the chief local administrative official.)

There stood out in his mind, for glamour and excitement, his service as an army private, stationed at Moncada, in Tarlac Province. Most of the insurgents had been driven out of central Luzon, and those that remained had organized as bandits and marauders against their own people. The Americans' task was to extend law and order into the outlying villages.

Tomlinson, then 18, was number 1 on a squad assigned to stamp out banditry around Moncada. His corporal, a Westerner, had been a bartender in Oklahoma, and was a good rifle shot. Others in the squad, all 21 or less, were from Indiana and Kansas.

This squad patrolled an area 50 to 75 miles in extent, embracing about 25 villages of from 3 to 75 houses. It was a typical farming community, with lots of horses, carabaos, pigs; and raised rice and vegetables. The people would hold market days in different villages, and the bandits made it a practice to hold them up on the way home, taking cash, sugar or store purchases.

Tomlinson's squad did a lot of hard hiking, gained the good will of the law abiding folks, located friendly men in each community, and then got down to the clean-up business. Six or seven of the bandits were killed, some 40 were jailed, and much of the stolen property was recovered and returned to its owners. But the long hard walks, especially at night, became very tiring.

One day the squad had a little skirmish with one Captain Galinto, who had three or four gunmen and some bolo-wielders in his gang.

"Some of us got the captain; shot him off a beautiful pinto pony," Tomlinson said. "We captured that pony and recovered some of the stolen property. The capture of that pinto pony was the turning-point in our work. The corporal commandeered the pony for his own mount. That gave us an idea. By the time we got to the home station of Moncada, five of the eight men had found horses.

"In 10 days after the end of Captain Galinto we were all mounted. That was the first mounted infantry in the Philippines.

"Our work became fun. The people seemed to like us, and we found good friends in every village. The Filipinos were always glad to see us, and they turned out the village band when we came. Often they served dinner—rice, chicken or pork, fish, all spread out on banana leaves. Then they brought out 'basi', a native wine of the sugar cane. Sometimes there would be a dance. We would remain 2 or 3 days in a village until a marauding band somewhere called for attention."

Later, Tomlinson did similar police duty at Victoria station, in a mountainous country where American horses proved unsuited to their task, lacking good hay and oats, and native ponies had to be substituted.

During his early years with the constabulary, Lieutenant Tomlinson had a tough time stamping out cattle thievery in Bulacan Province. He also operated against a fanatical religious group under one Felipe Salvador, known as the Santa Iglesians. Salvador had political aims, and had been outlawed by the Catholic Church and civil authorities.

A group of the fanatics raided Tomlinson's barracks at Malolas, killed two men, and stole a dozen guns. The barracks was on the main street, and the insurrectionists arrived at the door unobserved, by mingling with a crowd homebound from a cockfight. They first killed a sentry and a corporal. One man upstairs got his gun and shot one of the attackers.

Lieutenant Tomlinson and his men, aided by a native officer who since has become Maj. Gen. Jose de los Reyes of the Philippine Army, took about a year to quell this fanatical movement. The outlaws finally were all killed or dispersed, but Salvador was not captured until 12 years later.

New, Lieutenant Tomlinson's work was to stamp out river piracy along the streams flowing into Manila Bay. The swamps were a hideout for the pirates, who would attack the boats of honest countrymen bound to the towns on market days. Tomlinson spent 5 months on this assignment, patroling the swamps, and making numerous captures.

Another detachment working in cooperation with him in Pampanga finally killed the ringleader, who proved to be the municipal counselor in the second largest town of the province, a gangster operating from a respected civic position. This death ended the good intelligence service among the pirates. Previously, Tomlinson had his men in disguise on many boats in the pirates' region, which were never held up, although boats before and after them might be attacked.

Lieutenant Tomlinson was assigned to the province of Ifugao, in August 1909, at which time he ranked as 1st lieutenant. He became a captain in 1911. Thereafter he was known in the hill country as "Captain Tom." His first post was at Banaue in the rice-terraced country. His superior officer was Capt. Jeff D. Gallman. After a visit home, in 1910, Tomlinson returned to the islands and relieved Captain Gallman as commander of constabulary and lieutenant-governor of Ifugao. In 1912 he served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya, and in 1913 he returned again to Ifugao.

Constabulary headquarters in the Ifugao province were then in Kiangan, where Tomlinson remained until the fall of 1915, when he went on leave. Later he was senior inspector in the Pampanga province, and finally adjutant for the entire constabulary, with office in Manila.

"When I went into the Ifugao country, Captain Gallman had already been in 2 or 3 years, and had done a marvelous job in winning the confidence of the Ifugao people," Mr. Tomlinson said. "This he did by being fair and square with them, and by treating them as he would any other human beings. Before Gallman, Capt. Levi Case was the first American stationed among the Ifugaos, and he started the work, under the general direction of Dean Worcester, Secretary of the Interior. It was Gallman and his splendid personality that really won the Ifugaos to the American viewpoint."

(During my own travels in the mountain province, I found that the American officers rated Gallman and Tomlinson as a team and regarded them equally deserving of credit for the progress of the tribesmen to civilization.)

"Gallman started out to learn all that he could about the Ifugaos, and he started me along the same lines," Mr. Tomlinson continued. "It was our aim always to get the native's viewpoint, and we found every time that he based his actions on judgment that was sound according to his own standpoint. He was manly. He would tell us if he was going to do something contrary to the law, even if he had been previously warned that he would be jailed for such action. The Ifugao frequently used the phrase, 'I'd be ashamed,' meaning that he was sensitive when his honor was involved.

"We found the Ifugao was most appreciative of fair dealing. Under the Spaniard and the lowland native the Ifugao had experienced much treachery.

"There was a great deal of fighting in the country, partly between villages over old feuds, and occasionally individual fighting and headhunting. Perhaps a man had been unable to collect a just debt. Negotiations would go along for a time. Finally, honor was involved and someone thought it necessary to wipe out a debt or avenge the family. Sometimes there would be a kidnapping to even up a score. The Ifugao had a very strict code of honor about their women. Faithlessness was punished by death.

"My own work was partly in the policing field. Then we undertook to improve agricultural conditions by better irrigation canals, furnished small tools, and built trails through the country. We found that the building of trails to the remote districts was one of the most effective means for suppressing headhunting. We could get into troubled country quickly, and the natives knew that.

"No matter how important the offender was, we made it a duty to enforce the law strictly and impartially. We applied simple laws, and did not extend laws too complicated for native understanding. The natives appreciated our efforts to improve their agriculture, and particularly ricegrowing. We improved sanitation by protecting the water supply sources. Then we introduced medical service, and some first-aid nursing. There was a great deal of malaria there, also dysentery, yaws, and other tropical diseases."

As Lieutenant Governor, Captain Tomlinson reported to the Governor of the Mountain Province, stationed at Bontoc, and through him to the Secretary of Interior at Manila. While at Kiangan, Captain Tomlinson and the Ifugaos built a large stone building for the Lieutenant Governor's residence, and another for a school. The school offered vocational work as carpentry and stone cutting, and silk culture was introduced for the girls.

"The United States was far away, and it was hard for the Ifugaos to understand what it meant, but they recognized and respected the American flag."

Mr. Tomlinson said that Dean Worcester was known as the "Apo of Manila," meaning the headman. It was largely due to his policy and personal knowledge of the situation that the Americans were able successfully to govern the hill people and lead them from headhunting and other savagery to better ways of life. In the entire Mountain Province were between 400,000 and 500,000 tribesmen.

At Kiangan there was a Belgian priest, member of a wealthy Belgian cotton-milling family. He built his own chapel and started a school. During the war his money was cut off, but the Catholic Church supported him for a while. The Protestant missionaries did not come to Ifugao, as they had been allotted territory elsewhere in the Mountain Province.

One American soldier lost his head in Ifugao, before Captain Tomlinson's arrival. This soldier was a straggler and was caught when he lagged behind his company. In the nearby Province of Nuevo Vizcaya, Doctor Jones of the Field Museum of Chicago was murdered by Ilongote tribesmen.

"In Ifugao I felt that we were really doing something for those backward people," Mr. Tomlinson said in summarizing his impressions. They appreciated what we did. We had their friendship and they had ours. It was a matter of great pride to us there—3 or 4 white men among more than 130,000 people—to overcome their savage customs, and gradually improve their living conditions, and the extent of their civilization.

"The Ifugao were splendid soldiers. The lowland Filipinos are very good soldiers, too, under good leadership. The Ifugaos are brave, intelligent; some of the best marksmen that I have ever trained. The Ifugaos were better marksmen than white or Chinese soldiers that I trained. They loved marksmanship and had an aptitude for it. They carried out all orders, even against their own people.

"The United States did a splendid job in the Philippines. The proof of it is that you can go through the Philippines from one end to the other and see village schoolhouses. The Filipino is a very enlightened person now. I am sure that, by and large, the Filipino—not the politician, perhaps, but the man in the rice field, or the little merchant for example—is deeply appreciative of what the U.S. Government has done in the islands."

INTEROCEANIC CANAL PROBLEM: TREATY RIGHTS OF COLOMBIA IN PANAMA CANAL AND PANAMA RAILROAD

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, during the last decade, I have addressed this body many times on the more significant aspects of the Isthmian Canal problem. Among the features emphasized were the treaty rights of Colombia in the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad under the Thomson-Urrutia Treaty of 1914 that was proclaimed in 1922.

In this agreement, the United States and Colombia, the sovereign of the isthmus before the Panama revolution of November 3, 1903, Colombia recognized Panama as an independent nation and agreed that the title to the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad is "vested entirely and absolutely in the United States of America, without any encumbrances or indemnities whatever." The United States agreed to extend to Colombia essentially the same privileges in the use of the Panama Canal as enjoyed by the United States and, in the event of interruption of transit or whenever it may be necessary for other reasons to use the railway, the use of the Panama Railroad under conditions similar to those imposed on the United States for such use. The importance of this agreement is recognized in the Panama Canal Reorganization Act of 1950—Public Law 841, 81st Congress—which lists the Thomson-Urrutia Treaty as one of the three international agreements to which the levy of tolls is subject.

In the negotiations for the Eisenhower-Remón Treaty of 1955 between Panama and the United States, so far as I can ascertain, no consideration was given to the treaty rights of Colombia. The 1955 treaty even contemplated the liquidation of the Panama Railroad, which abandonment, had it occurred, woud have been a flagrant violation of the Thomson-Urrutia Treaty. How there could have been such a grave oversight by the treatymaking power of our Government is, indeed, beyond my comprehension.

Fortunately, while the treatymaking department of the U.S. Government, the President and the Senate, were engaged in the negotiation and ratification of the 1955 treaty, the House of Representatives, as the result of my own recommendations, stepped into the situation. Though not able to save the adequate and needed passenger stations and terminals freight yards in Colon and Panama Ctiy, it did prevent, after exhaustive investigation, the abandonment of the main line tracks and the liquidation of the operation of the railroad. Now we have a railroad without its designed terminal facilities, which valuable and needed properties were given to Panama without any consideration whatsoever and our country was forced to provide at its own expense new, less adequate and convenient terminals in the Canal Zone. In a legal sense, it would seem that the treaty rights of Colombia concerning the railroad were impaired by this reckless surrender.

In connection with the current Isthmian Canal studies under Public Law 88-609, 88th Congress, there have been diplomatic agreements between the United States and Colombia as regards the exploration of the Atrato-Truando Canal route but, so far as I have been able to ascertain, there have been no consultation with Colombia as regards the basic treaty rights of that country in the use of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad. In consequence, we may expect that if the pending treaties between Panama and the United States ignore the rights of Colombia in the premises that the latter country may be well justified in demanding indemnity for the injuries that it may thus sustain.

In order that the Nation and the Congress, the Senate as well as the House, may be fully informed as to the exact provisions of the Thomson-Urrutia Treaty, I quote the English version of its text, which is yet in full force and effect, together with the reservation by the U.S. Senate and the protocol of exchange:

[Treaty Series, No. 661]

TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND COLOMBIA—SETTLEMENT OF DIFFERENCES

(Signed at Bogota, April 6, 1914. Ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, April 20, 1921. Ratified by the President, January 11, 1922. Ratified by Colombia, March 1, 1922. Ratifications exchanged at Bogota, March 1, 1922. Proclaimed, March 30, 1922.)

A PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Whereas a Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of Colombia, for the settlement of their differences arising out of the events which took place on the Isthmus of Panama in November 1903, was concluded by their respective Plenipotentiaries at Bogota on the sixth day of April in the year one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, which Treaty, in the English and Spanish languages [Spanish omitted in RECORD], and as amended by the Senate of the United States, is word for word as follows:

"TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THEIR DIFFERENCES ARISING OUT OF THE EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE ON THE ISTHMUS OF PANAMA IN NOVEMBER 1903

"The United States of America and the Republic of Colombia, being desirous to remove all the misunderstandings growing out of the political events in Panama in November 1903; to restore the cordial friendship that formerly characterized the relations between the two countries, and also to define and regulate their rights and interests in respect of the interoceanic canal which the Government of the United States has constructed across the Isthmus of Panama, have resolved for this purpose to conclude a Treaty and have accordingly appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

"His Excellency the President of the United States of America, Thaddeus Austin Thomson, Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Government of the Republic of Colombia; and

"His Excellency the President of the Republic of Colombia, Francisco José Urrutia, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Marco Fidel Suárez, First Designate to exercise the Executive Power; Nicolás Esguerra, Ex-Minister of State; José María González Valencia, Senator; Rafael Uribe Uribe, Senator; and Antonio José Uribe, President of the House of Representatives;

"Who, after communicating to each other their respective full powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have agreed upon the following:

"Article I

"The Republic of Colombia shall enjoy the following rights in respect to the interoceanic Canal and the Panama Railway, the title to which is now vested entirely and absolutely in the United States of America, without any incumbrances or indemnities whatever.

"1. The Republic of Colombia shall be at liberty at all times to transport through the interoceanic Canal its troops, materials of war and ships of war, without paying any charges to the United States.

"2. The products of the soil and industry of Colombia passing through the Canal, as well as the Colombian mails, shall be exempt from any charge or duty other than those to which the products and mails of the United States may be subject. The products of the soil and industry of Colombia, such as cattle, salt and provisions, shall be admitted to entry in the Canal Zone, and likewise in the islands and mainland occupied or which may be occupied by the United States as auxiliary and accessory thereto, without paying other duties or charges than those payable by similar products of the United States.

"3. Colombian citizens crossing the Canal Zone shall, upon production of proper proof of their nationality, be exempt from every toll, tax or duty to which citizens of the United States are not subject.

"4. Whenever traffic by the Canal is interrupted or whenever it shall be necessary for any other reason to use the railway, the troops, materials of war, products and mails of the Republic of Colombia, as above mentioned, shall be transported on the Railway between Ancon and Cristobal or on any other Railway substituted therefore, paying only the same charges and duties as are imposed upon the troops, materials of war, products and mails of the United States. The officers, agents and employees of the Government of Colombia shall, upon production of proper proof of their official character or their employment, also be entitled to passage on the said Railway on the same terms as officers, agents and employees of the Government of the United States.

"5. Coal, petroleum and sea salt, being the products of Colombia, for Colombian consumption passing from the Atlantic coast of Colombia to any Colombian port on the Pacific coast, and vice versa, shall, whenever traffic by the canal is interrupted, be transported over the aforesaid Railway free of any charge except the actual cost of handling and transportation, which shall not in any case exceed one half of the ordinary freight charges levied upon similar products of the United States passing over the Railway and in transit from one port to another of the United States.

"Article II

"The Government of the United States of America agrees to pay at the City of Washington to the Republic of Colombia the sum of twenty-five million dollars, gold, United States money, as follows: The sum of five million dollars shall be paid within six months after the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty, and reckoning from the date of that payment, the remaining twenty million dollars shall be paid in four annual installments of five million dollars each.

"Article III

"The Republic of Colombia recognizes Panama as an independent nation and taking as a basis of the Colombian Law of June 9, 1855, agrees that the boundary shall be the following: From Cape Tiburón to the headwaters of the Rio de la Miel and following the mountain chain by the ridge of Gandi to the Sierra de Chugargun and that of Mali going down by the ridges of Nigue to the heights of Aspave and from thence to a point on the Pacific half way between Cocalito and La Ardita.

"In consideration of this recognition, the Government of the United States will, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty, take the necessary steps in order to obtain from the Government of Panama the despatch of a duly accredited agent to negotiate and conclude with the Government of Colombia a Treaty of Peace and Friendship, with a view to bring about both the establishment of regular diplomatic relations between Colombia and Panama and the adjustment of all questions of pecuniary liability as between the two countries, in accordance with recognized principles of law and precedents.

"Article IV

"The present Treaty shall be approved and ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective laws, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the city of Bogotá, as soon as may be possible.

"In faith whereof, the said Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty in duplicate and have hereunto affixed their respective seals.

"Done at the city of Bogotá, the sixth day of April in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fourteen.

"Thaddeus Austin Thomson.
"Francisco José Urrutia.
"Marco Fidel Suárez.
"Nicolas Esguerra.
"José M. González Valencia.
"Rafael Uribe Uribe.
"Antonio José Uribe."

And whereas the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States to the ratification of the said Treaty was given also with the "understanding, to be made a part of such treaty and ratification, that the provisions of section 1 of Article I of the treaty granting to the Republic of Colombia free passage through the Panama Canal for its troops, materials of war and ships of war, shall not apply in case of war between the Republic of Colombia and any other country";

And whereas the said Treaty as amended by the Senate and the above recited understanding of the Senate made a part of such Treaty have been duly ratified on both parts, and the ratifications of the two Governments were exchanged at Bogota on the first day of March, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, have caused the said Treaty, as amended, and the said understanding, made a part thereof, to be made public, to the end that the same and every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this thirtieth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, and of the independence of the [SEAL] United States of America the one hundred and forty-sixth.

Warren G. Harding.

By the President:

Charles E. Hughes,
Secretary of State.

PROTOCOL OF EXCHANGE

The undersigned Plenipotentiaries having met for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications of the Treaty signed at Bogota, on April 6, 1914, between the United States of America and Colombia, providing for the settlement of differences arising out of the events which took place on the Isthmus of Panama in November, 1903, and the ratifications of the Treaty aforesaid having been carefully compared and found exactly conformable to each other, the exchange took place this day in the usual form.

With reference to this exchange the following statement is incorporated in the present Protocol in accordance with instructions received:

1. In conformity with the final Resolution of the Senate of the United States in giving its consent to the ratification of the Treaty in question, the stipulation contained in the first clause of Article one by which there is ceded to the Republic of Colombia free passage of its troops, materials of war and ships of war through the Panama Canal, shall not be applicable in case of a state of war between the Republic of Columbia and any other country.

2. The said final Resolution of the Senate of the United States signifies, as the Secretary of State in effect stated in the note which he addressed to the Colombian Legation in Washington on the 3rd day of October, 1921, that the Republic of Colombia will not have the right of passage, free of tolls, for its troops, materials of war and ships of war, in case of war between Colombia and some other country, and consequently, the Republic of Colombia will be placed, when at war with another country, on the same footing as any other nation under similar conditions, as provided in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty concluded in 1901; and that, therefore, the Republic of Colombia will not by operation of the declaration of the Senate of the United States above mentioned, be placed under any disadvantage as compared with the other belligerent or belligerents, in the Panama Canal, in case of war between Colombia and some other nation or nations. With this understanding the said Resolution has been accepted by the Colombian Congress in accordance with the dispositions contained in Article two of Law fifty-six of 1921, "by which is modified Law number fourteen of 1914" approving the Treaty.

In witness whereof, they have signed the present Protocol of Exchange and have affixed their seals thereto.

Done at Bogota, the first day of March, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

Hoffman Philip.
Antonio José Uribe.

SOUTH FLORIDA'S POLITICAL SITUATION

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Sikes] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, April 17, Rose Allegato, of the Miami Herald reported on the first of a series of articles on south Florida's political situation. This particular issue deals with the reelection campaign of our distinguished colleague, the Honorable Claude Pepper. I would like to share this fine piece of reporting with all of the Members of the House and I include this article in the body of the Congressional Record along with my remarks.

MENDS FENCES, COURTS VOTERS—PEPPER'S PRACTICAL, NOW

(By Rose Allegato)

(Note.—Rose Allegato of the Herald's Washington Bureau is making the political rounds with south Florida's Congressmen. In this article, the first of a series, she reports on the reelection campaign of Representative Claude Pepper.)

Claude Denson Pepper walked into the dining room of the Four Freedoms Hotel in Miami Beach in the middle of the matzoth ball soup.

He beelined to the nearest table, stuck out his hand, and began, "I'm Claude ——."

The man, bald with eyeglasses, interrupted, "I know you."

Claude Pepper needed no introduction.

He was home in his district among senior citizens on Miami Beach.

From across the room, a man shouted, "Hey, Senator, are you going to get us another social security increase?"

There were smiles everywhere and the matzoth ball soup was temporarily forgotten.

Dan Moriarty, 64, reached over to grab Pepper's hand and advised in a stage whisper, "Run for the Senate if (George) Smathers doesn't."

Pepper beamed appreciatively.

"We need you," Moriarty pressed.

Pepper beamed all the more.

At the moment, Claude Pepper is running for Congress from the northern district of Dade County. For the first time in 30 years, he has no opposition for political office.

"I guess it will be another 30 years before I run without opposition again," Pepper said. He laughed at his own joke.

Even without opposition, Pepper, 65, is attentive to his district. He is shaking hands back home even though the voters have no other choice but Pepper on the ballot.

He has his reasons. Pepper believes he should have come home from the Senate earlier in 1950 to campaign. Perhaps then, George Smathers would not have taken away his seat.

"I'll never make the same mistake," Pepper said. It was more a vow, than a statement.

So here he was at the Four Freedoms. It was a friendly confrontation devoid of campaign urgency.

A woman leaned over to tug at Pepper's sleeve, "You keep up the good work you're doing and we're with you."

Her reaction was typical. Claude Pepper, vilified in 1950, is a hero today in his district. "It is gratifying," Pepper said. "I can be myself."

He reflected on his own statement, then with something akin to wonder in his voice, he went on, "I'm in a district where I can do what I think is right and apparently get elected."

He enjoyed the thought for a few moments more.

"Public life is like a public ministry to me. In 1950 when I was defeated, I felt like a man whose weapons had been taken away. I want to do things for people. I could not do anything worthwhile for people without public office. You can't ever make enough money to help other people."

Pepper had to wait 12 years before he could again "do things for people" through government service. In 1962, he ran for Congress from Dade County and was elected.

"I kept my apartment in Washington all through the years. I thought I might be coming back. I didn't want to go househunting."

Now Pepper wants to stay and stay.

"I will never retire as long as my health is good. I'm not going to sit under a coconut tree."

Pepper is too comfortably secure in his congressional district to think seriously about running for the Senate again. But he likes to point out that he will be only 67 in 1968 and adds, "This is the same age as Churchill when he became wartime Prime Minister."

Then he dismisses the thought and heads out of the Four Freedoms to shake more hands in the district where people let him be himself.

As he breezed through the lobby, Phil Sahl, the manager of the retirement hotel, stopped him, yanked open a closet door and showed him a stack of Pepper-for-Congress signs.

Pepper laughed, "Keep them. We may need them again."

Then he was off. His next stop was a delicatessen on Biscayne Boulevard and 79th Street.

Never a handsome man, Pepper has not improved with age. Yet Pepper is virtually a pinup boy to most ladies in his district. The brief interlude in the eatery on Biscayne Boulevard was proof.

Mary Kay McCormack, a waitress of 53 Northeast 49th Street, threw her arms around Pepper and twittered like a bobby-soxer.

"I work for him. He writes me all the time," she said in an aside. Then, addressing herself to Pepper, "You've gained a little weight." Pepper agreed, admitted he must watch calories, etc. His waitress-fan admonished, "Don't worry. It looks good. But you were a little thinner in that picture you sent me of you and President Johnson."

It was Mitzi Resnick's turn next. She kissed Pepper and put a yellow peace rose in his lapel. Pepper lapped up the attention and mumbled something about Millie. (Mildred is his wife.)

Mrs. Abraham Nemser, of Miami Beach, fluttered over him too, recalling, "I met you at the Ben Turchins many, many years ago."

Someone wisecracked about kissing babies in political campaigns and Pepper shot back with, "I have some pretty babies in my district. They range up to 90 years old."

Given the reaction of the ladies, it is difficult to believe that Pepper, as a boy, worried about his homeliness. And in the 1950 Senate campaign, his looks were ridiculed. (The opposition camp passed out horn-rimmed glasses with false noses.)

Pepper made light of the smear then by saying, "They can call me a Red and a Black, but when they attack my beauty that's too much. I think I'm getting mad."

Yet in a boyhood diary, he once wrote: "I won't object to my homeliness if I have some other qualities which will take me through."

It is obvious at home in his district something takes Claude Pepper through with the ladies.

Men overextend themselves, too.

Jack Hohfelder, 71, a tourist from New York, grabbed Pepper's hand, "I remember you from the Roosevelt days. You were the President's right-hand man."

J. K. Williams, an aging attorney and Legionnaire of note, embraced Pepper, "This is a man I love, I really love him."

It was the same wherever Claude Pepper went shaking hands that day—in North Miami, North Miami Beach, Liberty City.

Why is Pepper so popular? Dade County liked Pepper back in the Senate days when he was losing favor in most other parts of the State. He won Dade County in the 1950 campaign even though this was Smathers' home.

An Alabama farm boy who migrated to Florida, Pepper rose to national prominence in the New Deal era. His poor-boy background (he graduated from the University of Alabama as a Phi Beta Kappa but couldn't afford to buy the key) made him a champion of the underdog and the little people.

He considered himself one with the underdog and nothing in his early life disabused him of the notion.

He went to law school at Harvard to gain prestige but was ever mindful that he was a poor boy among the wealthy.

While at Harvard, he wrote in his diary, "One has a sort of pride in family having means. And it takes courage to stand up and admit your poverty." Another entry from his Harvard days: "Funny how some folks can't understand the longing of the underdog to get up."

Pepper longed "to get up" and lift others up, too. This was the driving force behind his liberalism and what, to this day, endears him to the laboring man and the senior citizens. Much of what Pepper advocated more than a decade ago—such as medicare—is law today.

At least three college theses have been written on Claude Pepper's Senate career, which ran from 1936 to 1950. All three come to the same conclusion: Pepper was defeated largely because he insisted on holding to his liberal course when a conservative tide was sweeping Florida and the Nation.

Now that liberalism is popular once again, Pepper emerges as a martyr, a man who was right at the wrong time. His "martyrdom" adds to his popularity.

As early as 1948, Pepper himself said, "Time and again I have gone contrary to public opinion. If they catch me at a moment when public opinion is against me they may throw me out, but I'm going to continue to fight for what I believe to be right."

And in 1950, after it was all over, he said, "Maybe I should not have gone as far ahead of public opinion in Florida as I have * * * I survived a good while and we gave them a scrap to the very end."

But now that Claude Pepper has recovered some of what he lost in 1950, he is not quite the same man. To some extent, he admits it.

Without apology he concedes he will abandon his congressional work to come home to his district to mend his political fences. He will neglect Congress before he neglects his constituents, He thinks this is the only practical course.

Nor will he ever again neglect his own personal fortunes.

"I never made money out of public office," Pepper said. "I had been a powerful man but when I left the Senate in January 1951, I had to borrow from banks. I was 50 years old. I had no money and I owed thousands."

When Pepper was elected to the Senate in 1936, he had a lucrative law practice in Tallahassee. A year later, he disassociated himself from the law office and depended on the Senate for his livelihood.

"If I had kept my law practice, I would not have been broke. At least I would have had my books and a typewriter."

Pepper had to start all over again. By the time he returned to Congress, he had a thriving law practice in Miami Beach. He is also on the board of savings and loan institutions in Dade and Brevard Counties.

He will not surrender these interests. It is one more way Pepper avoids repeating the mistakes of the past.

There are other mistakes that Pepper sidesteps but he does not talk about them out loud.

After a fashion, Pepper has made peace with his old enemy Ed Ball, the Du Pont baron who contributed so much to his defeat in 1950.

Early in PEPPER's career, Ball, by his own testimony, "helped the buzzard get elected."

By 1944, Ball had changed his mind about CLAUDE PEPPER. He backed John Ollie Edmonds, a Duval County judge. Edmonds lost and Ball's diagnosis, reported in Fortune magazine in 1952, was this: "Ollie was a fine gentleman but a bad candidate. I told him he couldn't follow the marquis of Queensberry rules in a barroom brawl, but he wouldn't listen."

In 1950, Ball backed SMATHERS. PEPPER was warned not to buck the Du Pont interests because it would be "political suicide." He ignored the advice. Specifically, PEPPER favored giving the bankrupt Florida East Coast Railway to the Atlantic Coast Line rather than the Du Pont Estate. He said he didn't want the Du Pont Trust to "seize the economy of Florida."

It is the irony of changing public sentiment that such a view would be popular in Florida today but wasn't in 1950. Even railroad labor was displeased with PEPPER for his stand.

Despite prevailing public sentiment, the Du Pont Estate is still powerful in Florida today and CLAUDE PEPPER knows it.

PEPPER voted the way Ed Ball wanted on legislation in Congress that would split up the Du Pont Trust, which owns 30 banks and an industrial real estate empire.

In turn, when Interama, the proposed North Dade trade center, was in trouble in the Senate, PEPPER, by phone tracked Ed Ball down in Ireland to ask for help.

Again, PEPPER can argue that he is merely being practical.

As long ago as 1922, PEPPER wrote: "I wonder if I'll lose my ideals some day. I think one can combine the practical and the ideal service."

Today, as a Congressman from North Dade, PEPPER works assiduously on the combination.

WHAT ARE WE AFRAID OF IN PANAMA?

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, in recent years much has been published about the Panama Canal and interoceanic canals generally. Some of these writings have been inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by distinguished Members of the Congress, most notably by my very able colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD]. His addresses and statements from 1955 to the present time form a tremendous store of documented and unchallenged information on the significant angles of the overall interoceanic canal problem and are must reading for anyone who wishes to be informed on this vital question.

In this connection, I would invite attention to the comprehensive bibliography on the canal subject compiled by my distinguished colleague from Texas [Mr. THOMPSON], former chairman of a special subcommittee to investigate the financial operation of the Panama Canal, which was published in the RECORD of September 2, 1964, under the title of "Isthmian Canal Policy of the United States—Documentation, 1955–64." Also, I would invite attention to subsequent contributions on the canal subject published in the RECORD, especially two major addresses by Representative FLOOD as follows:

On April 1, 1965, "Interoceanic Canal Problems: Inquiry or Coverup?" and, on July 29, 1965, a sequel under the same title.

In the Appendix of the daily RECORD of October 22, 1965, pages A5965–A5969, was a notable contribution to current canal literature by Harold Lord Varney, president of the Committee on Pan American Policy of New York. The more I study the canal subject the more I am impressed with the imperative necessity for the creation of an independent and broadly based Interoceanic Canals Commission as provided in the Anderson of Tennessee, Bow, and Flood bills.

The latest contribution by Mr. Varney is the highly illuminating article "What Are We Afraid of in Panama?" in which he, in realistic manner but without rancor, brings the vital canal issue into sharper focus.

In order that the indicated article may be recorded in the permanent annals of the Congress and thus be made easily available to a far wider audience, I quote it as part of my remarks:

WHAT ARE WE AFRAID OF IN PANAMA?

(By Harold Lord Varney)

"This new agreement is the most terrible thing this country of ours has ever done. a few in the higher reaches of the Panamanian Government and society, not the masses. * * * However, the establishment of a joint authority for canal operation would only serve to satisfy the aspirations of a few families who have controlled the Republic from the beginning."—Mrs. LENORE K. SULLIVAN, chairman of the House Merchant Marine Subcommittee on the Panama Canal.

If anyone were to propose that we give Texas back to Mexico because the Mexican people were still resentful of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, we would be inclined to question either his good sense, or even his sanity. And yet, this is precisely the kind of action which the United States is being asked to take in the case of the Panama Canal Zone. It is being proposed with the full force of the administration behind it.

Almost any day now, President Johnson will send to the Senate for ratification the three-part treaty under which the United States will turn over to Panama sovereignty over the Canal Zone, a half control of the administration of the canal, and a veto voice in the future of our isthmian defense establishments. We will be asked to do this in the full knowledge that the tiny Republic of Panama is one of the most politically unstable and corruption-ridden nations in Latin America.

When, and if the treaty is ratified, the proud United States will stand stripped of one of its most strategic and essential areas of defense. And this appalling proposal will be ratified unless the outraged voice of the American people halts it.

There are few precedents in history for such an act of abasement by a great nation.

To put over this abject treaty, the whole apparatus of Liberal-controlled persuasion is being set in motion. The campaign is pitched on a high plane of morality. American history is being cynically rewritten to rationalize the surrender. We are being told that the United States has committed some heinous "wrong" against the Panamanian people which we must now expiate by this treaty. By inference, we are being led to believe that the great Americans who made the canal—Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, John F. Stevens, George W. Goethals—men who are a part of the American legend, were sharpers and cheats who schemed to defraud the people of Panama of their national heritage.

Listen to the Louisville Courier Journal which, with a perfectly straight face, recently argued that, in passing the new treaty, "we are undoing an ancient wrong." Or the Baltimore Sun, "The Panama Canal Zone has been a modern embarrassment to the United States. * * * The aura, if not the essence, of colonialism was there." Or the New Haven Register which declared unctuously that, in surrendering the Canal Zone, "the United States has shown the world the greatness of its character."

If we accept this curious thesis of American "guilt," and expiation, then we must admit that the 62-year record of generous, creative, and unrewarded American service to the Panamanian people since 1903 was something shameful, for which we must now make atonement. It is an argument which was invented by a rabble of Panama's worst political elements, abetted by the Communists. In accepting this distortion of history, we are impugning our own fathers.

The Johnson administration, itself, realizes, clearly that it has been trapped into a situation in Panama which can bode only evil for America's future. Early in the negotiations with Panama, the New York Times quoted Under Secretary of State, Thomas C. Mann, the President's envoy, as declaring that "90 percent of the American people" would oppose renegotiation of the 1903 treaty, under which we hold perpetual sovereignty over the Canal Zone. Only 6 years ago, when the sovereignty issue was presented to Congress, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 381 to 12, declared itself almost solidly opposed to any relinquishment of the Canal Zone. Why, then, is such a determined effort now being made to force this unwanted surrender upon the American people?

The only conceivable explanation is an extremely bad case of gutlessness on the part of the advisers who surround President Johnson. For 3 months, following the murderous and staged Panama mob attack on the Canal Zone on January 9, 1964, President Chiari, of Panama, waged a war of nerves against the United States in his demand that the United States enter immediate negotiations to revise the 1903 treaty. On January 11, President Johnson firmly rejected the Chiari demand, as would any other self-respecting American. But in the end it was Chiari who won the test of nerves. In April, President Johnson acquiescently appointed envoys to confer with Panama and to negotiate a new treaty.

As the United States stands upon the brink of this indefensible retreat, the Panama politicians themselves are providing the strongest argument against ratification.

Before Panama's Congress has even received the treaty for acceptance, a powerful opposition has consolidated outside the government of President Marcos Robles, led by former President Arnulfo Arias and former Chief Negotiator Jorge Illucca, which is now denouncing Robles on the ground that he has not extracted enough from the United States. This opposition claims to represent political groups constituting 80 percent of the nation. It has the unofficial support of all the Communists and Socialists. Its attitude is frankly expressed by one of its spokesmen in the Panama Congress who declared recently that Panama's goal is to get the United States completely out of its isthmus and neutralize the canal.

What is in store for the United States, even if we go the whole way in meeting the demands of the Robles regime, was recently hinted by Mr. Arias when he declared that if the United States does not meet the "aspirations of the people of Panama," it faces "violence." Before the ink is dry on any treaty we sign with Robles, the United States may find itself confronting a new and more ravenous Panama regime.

Appeasement of an extortioner has never yet solved a political problem.

HOW WE GOT INTO THE PANAMA MESS

The genesis of the present Isthmian situation is to be found in the almost Byzantine intrigues of Panama politics. Along with its many admirable political personalities, Panama has long been infested with a malodorous breed of gutter politicians. They have combined rapacious official graft with a nonstop abuse of the United States. Early in Panama's history, and increasingly after World War I, ambitious politicos discovered that the surest road to political victory was to revile the hated "gringo."

At first, their attacks were verbal. It was almost routine for newly elected Panama administrations to make demands upon Washington for a revision of the 1903 treaty, which gave the Canal Zone to the United States "in perpetuity." A Panama President who didn't denounce this treaty could expect short tenure in his office. Just as regularly, Washington would decline to discuss the treaty. It was an expected gambit. As far back as 1923, Secretary Charles Evans Hughes gave the definitive answer to this demand when he told the then Panamanian Ambassador that it was "an absolute futility for the Panamanian Government to expect any American administration, any President, any Secretary of State ever to surrender any part of the rights which the United States acquired under the treaty of 1903."

What first induced the Panama troublemakers to substitute violence for talk is not a matter of record. Undoubtedly the idea came from the Communists who have been working deviously in the isthmus since 1920. Whatever the starting point, the Yankee-baiters in Panama decided that they would discover whether or not the U.S. attitude would soften under violence. The President whom they decided to test was Dwight Eisenhower. Unfortunately, Ike had a brother. In one of his ill-advised decisions, he had appointed Brother Milton to be his adviser on Latin American policies. Milton Eisenhower, a former executive of UNESCO in its worst Huxley period, overflowed with the zeal of one worldism. He took his mission seriously.

In 1958, Brother Milton visited Panama City on a fact-finding mission for the President. Shortly before his arrival, a band of Communist-led students had marched into the Canal Zone on what they called Operation Sovereignty. They had planted 59 Panamanian flags in the ground at various points between Panama City and Cristobal. To impress Eisenhower, they smashed the windows in the USIS building in Panama City. They presented a set of demands calling for Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal Zone and the flying of the Panamanian flag in the zone.

Mistaking this staged Communist show for the voice of the Panama people, Milton Eisenhower was alarmed. He returned to Washington to advise his brother to do something to placate Panama. The gesture which was decided upon was a token recognition of Panama sovereignty. But there was to be another ugly demonstration, before the President acted. On November 3, 1959 (Panama's Independence Day) a mob led by the Panamanian Nationalist, and later Panama Minister to the U.N., Aquilino Boyd, attacked the American Embassy, pulled down the American flag and desecrated it.

Official Washington made the unfortunate decision to appease the Nationalist-Communist conspirators. On November 24, 1959, President Eisenhower sent Under Secretary of State Livingston T. Merchant to Panama to announce that the United States recognized the "titular sovereignty" of Panama over the Canal Zone, and that, as a good will gesture, it would permit the flying of the Panama flag side by side with the Stars and Stripes in one location within the zone.

This was the furthest concession which the United States had yet made in its 56 years in Panama. The action was meaningless, except as a symbol, but it proved to be the open door to all the havoc which followed. Anti-American Panamanians took the Eisenhower gesture as an indication that the United States could be frightened into granting more. The exhilarated nationalist politicians, and their Communist allies, proceeded to give the United States some further violence.

In 1956, the United States had made a free gift to Panama of a $20 million bridge across the canal—the Thatcher Bridge. Arrangements were made to dedicate the bridge with ceremonies on October 12, with the venerable Maurice H. Thatcher, former Governor of the Canal Zone, and Under Secretary of State George W. Ball as speakers. The troublemakers showed their contempt for the United States by mobilizing 5,000 rioters, spearheaded by Communist activists, to break up the ceremonies. They wedged themselves onto the bridge, shouted down Under Secretary Ball with obscene epithets, and prevented Governor Thatcher, the guest of honor, from being introduced. Encouraging the mob, all but two of the invited diplomats, instigated by the Egyptian Ambassador, boycotted the ceremonies.

It was a shocking exhibition of Panamanian ill will. And it had all the earmarks of being organized and staged by the money of the America-baiting Panama politicians.

In all discussions of Panama mob action, it would be well to keep in mind that the manipulation and hiring of mobs for street demonstrations is an old established custom in the isthmus. John T. O'Rourke, fearless editor of the Washington News, described the Panama political mobs, as follows:

"There's nothing new in all this. Mobs have been used, deliberately and cynically, by the handful of family dynastics which own and have run (badly) Panama ever since the country was founded. Rioters against the completely legal presence of the United States in the Canal Zone are hired by local politicians during election campaigns to provide a scapegoat for the people they govern, whose poverty they are either unwilling or unable to alleviate."

The inability of Washington to recognize the phoniness of these so-called popular demonstrations, mounted by the paid rioters and their unpaid Communist allies, is one of the root causes for the collapse of American resistance to the political blackmail which is now threatening to cost us the canal.

But all this was a curtain raiser to what was to follow. Ruling Panama at this time was Roberto F. Chiari, who had been inaugurated as President in 1960. Chiari, a millionaire landowner and a member of the elite ruling families caste which has so long dominated Panama politics, was an unscrupulous and twisted character. In his first race for the Presidency, he had openly solicited and accepted Communist Party support. A demagog, who made political capital out of his charge that the United States was paying inadequate wages to Panamanians working in the Canal Zone, he himself, it was charged, was paying Panamanians only half the American zone wage scales on his plantations. His continuous theme song was a demand for the renegotiation of the 1903 treaty.

How far he was involved in the January 9, 1964, riots is a moot question, but his was the major contribution. There is little question that the riots were jointly planned by the politicians of Chiari's party, and the Communists. They were timed to catch President Johnson at the beginning of his Presidency, and when it would be embarrassing to him to face hostilities in Latin America on the eve of his 1964 reelection fight.

The pretext was the patriotic action of five American Canal Zone students, who raised the Stars and Stripes on the flagpole of the Balboa High School, after it had been lowered by the over-timid Canal Zone Gov. Robert J. Fleming. The Governor, following Washington orders, had enraged the Zonites by mounting the Panama flag in several new locations in the zone, and by issuing an order that the U.S. flag should not be flown officially if the Panama flag was not displayed beside it.

On January 9, 200 Panamanian students, led by known Communists, marched into the zone, planted the Panama flag beside the U.S. flag in front of the Balboa High School, and then marched to the Canal Zone administration building where they attempted to pull down the U.S. flag. After damaging property and shrieking threats, they were pushed back across the border by the Canal Zone police.

Meanwhile, the riot-fomenters were busy in Panama City. Congresswoman Thelma King, ardent Castroite and proprietor of Radio Tribuna went on the air to scream that Panamanians were being slaughtered by the Americans in the zone and that they should arm themselves and take to the streets. Other radio stations joined in the hue and cry against the Americans. As expected, the Panama City "mob" of delinquents and looters, always ready to join in disorders, made its appearance. By 7:30 p.m. it had grown to 2,000. By 8 p.m., it had increased to 5,000. It attempted to invade the zone. It began burning and looting property. Members of the mob, with prepared Molotov cocktails, hurled them into the zone. Showing the advance organizations behind the rioting, sound trucks appeared, to give directions to the mob, and snipers were stationed at prearranged points to fire into the zone.

By 8 o'clock, the tiny zone police force, despite the use of tear gas, realized that they could not restrain the mob any longer. They called upon Commanding Gen. Andrew P. O'Meara for Army support. General O'Meara acted speedily and an American Army guard was thrown along the border. At no time did either the police or the U.S. Army enter Republic of Panama territory, or go beyond the defense of the zone. The aggression was all on the part of the Panamanians. Sporadic rioting, becoming ugly at times, raged for 2 more days. When hostilities ended, 4 American soldiers and 21 Panamanians had been killed. Scores more had been wounded. An estimated $200 million of American property had been destroyed or looted.

Where was Chiari, while all this was happening? He had at this command a trained and Guardia Nacional of 3,500. Had he mobilized it (as President de la Guardia had done in a previous student demonstration in 1958) the Guardsmen could have thrust themselves between the attacking mob and the zone border and snuffed out the riot in a matter of minutes. Although he was beseeched to issue the mobilization order, Chiari sat on his hands and permitted the riots to proceed. He reiterated, throughout the bloody 3 days, that the onus was upon the United States to renegotiate the 1903 treaty.

THE DISASTROUS NEGOTIATIONS

Under ordinary circumstances, the American course, under such provocation would have been plain. Through Chiari's refusal to halt the rioting, the Government of Panama was plainly the aggressor party. The United States had been attacked. Its citizens had been fired upon and killed or wounded; its property, including public buildings, had been burned or damaged. Had Washington acted intelligently, it would immediately have demanded indemnities and guarantees of good conduct from Panama. Since the Canal Zone, under the existing 1903 treaty, is American territory, the issue was a domestic one, calling for exclusively unilateral action and settlement. International agencies had no jurisdiction.

Unfortunately, Washington did not act intelligently. The State Department, its mind clouded by considerations of "world opinion" and OAS sensitivity, failed to make official charges against Chiari's Panama, and thus put the Panamanians on the defensive. Our failure to act gave Chiari his opportunity, and he grabbed it. Incredible as it may seem, Panama itself filed charges against the United States and accused us of military aggression. It demanded compensation for alleged damages to Panama. It put us in an intolerable spot by breaking off diplomatic relations and expelling the American Embassy staff from Panama City. Chiari exposed the whole motive of the riots by declaring that diplomatic relations would not be resumed until we agreed to renegotiate the 1903 treaty.

We had been outsmarted and outmaneuvered. In the emergency, instead of calling Chiari's bluff by standing pat, we went on to compound our blunders. We called in the OAS and gave them the authority to settle the dispute.

This was tantamount to calling in the wolves to stop the wolverine. In the OAS was Tejera Paris, representative of Betancourt's crypto-Communist government in Venezuela. Paris was instructed by Betancourt to support Chiari's position. He made a statement to the Panamanians that "everything is going to work out right for you."

Betancourt, since President Kennedy made him an American protege, throws a lot of weight in the State Department in Washington. The United States accepted an Inter-American Peace Committee of the OAS, with Paris as chairman. Already, the control of events had been maneuvered out of Washington's hands and transferred to the OAS. The following months were to see the United States concentrating its efforts upon the placation of the OAS, rather than upon the defense of U.S. interests.

There can be little question that President Johnson, at the beginning, was disposed to make a firm stand against Chiari's intrigues. On January 11, 1964, when the riots were still in progress, he instructed his representatives not to yield to demands to renegotiate the 1903 treaty. Even when he made the further mistake of appointing American plenipotentiaries to meet with Panama negotiators in April, there are indications that, for months, he persisted in his stand against renegotiation. His decision to surrender to all the major Panama demands was not a sudden move: over the months he had found himself sucked down deeper and deeper, into the OAS quagmire. At his side, representing the United States on the OAS was the arch-appeaser, Ellsworth Bunker, always ready to buy time by renouncing long-range interests. In Washington, the full force of the "one worlders" and the fanatical pacifist church groups beat upon him with their eternal gibberish about peace. He wanted to be reelected President in November 1964. He was already bogged down by one military action in Vietnam. He could not give any further leverage to the peace-at-any-pricers.

He postponed his public decision until after he had been safely elected. Then, on December 18, 1964, he gave it to the American people with both barrels. To the consternation of all responsible Americans, he announced that the American negotiators, headed by Robert B. Anderson, who had been meeting for months with the Panamanians, had capitulated to all the major Panamanian demands. Not only had the United States agreed to renegotiate the 1903 treaty, it had agreed to accept full Panama sovereignty over the Canal Zone. It had agreed to give Panama a half interest in the Panama Canal, which has been built with our money. We had given Panama the whole jackpot.

Meanwhile, Chiari and his Liberal Party had put over Marcos A. Robles, one of his political followers, as his successor. Robles is a politican who practices the cool touch. He avoids the inflammatory statements which are Chiari's trademark. Because of his restrained manner, Washington hailed him as a more reasonable man. But under this disarming approach, Robles pursues the same all or nothing path.

President Johnson reiterated his surrender to Panama demands in a joint statement with President Robles, issued on September 24, 1965. In this second statement, he emphasized a decision which is likely to give Americans even more trouble, after we lose sovereignty. This was his agreement to give Panama an equal share in the administration, management, operation, and profits of the American-owned canal. This opened up the controversial question of tolls.

The United States has always been proud to maintain the canal as a nonprofit institution—America's contribution to the commerce of the world. In a sense, we have regarded our operation of the waterway as a fiduciary trust, free of the motive of profit. Accordingly, Congress has never raised the original toll rates which were set in 1914, when the canal was dedicated.

Unhappily, the Panama politicians have a different view. Panama Foreign Minister Fernando Eleta said during the negotiations (as quoted by Time magazine), that Panama regards the canal as a great national asset and, when it has a voice in the administration, it intends to use it to enrich Panama. He indicated that Panama intends to raise tolls "as high as the market will stand." In short, Panama's concept of the canal is a sort of commercial holdup operation which will mulct the commerce of the world for the benefit of Panama.

Such are the partners whom the United States, like Lady Bountiful, proposes to present with a half control of our canal. What a humiliating aftermath to 52 years of honorable, unselfish and reproachless American operation of the canal. What a shabby role for the United States to accept for its future.

THE AMERICAN BALANCE SHEET IN PANAMA

Mealymouthed editoralists, writing in the liberal press, have indulged in such fulsome nonsense concerning the American record in Panama, it would be enlightening to recall a few facts about what the United States has really done in the isthmus. Actually, what have we got to be ashamed of?

When the United States entered the isthmus in 1903, what is now Panama was one of the most backward and benighted areas in the hemisphere. Its 300,000 inhabitants lived miserably on the lowest subsistence level. They were 90-percent illiterate. They had no economy except such crumbs as they could extract from the traffic on the American-owned Panama Railroad (built by Americans in 1855). They were unhealthy and plague-ridden by the mosquito swamps in which they lived. They had no experience in self-government. Only a handful of Panamanians (the hundred families) possessed any property, and they lived, mostly, as landlords, preying upon the misery of their more unfortunate fellow Panamanians.

What was worse, the Panamanians, possessing no natural resources, had no future to anticipate. Unable to lift themselves by their own efforts, they enthusiastically welcomed the United States when, in an inspired moment, President Roosevelt agreed to build a canal across the isthmus, with American capital. They saw the canal as their escape from their deadening poverty.

And how well have their hopes been justified. America's job in the isthmus will easily rank as one of the great social welfare stories of history.

We built the canal—an engineering triumph over difficulties which had baffled a De Lesseps—and, first and last, it cost us $2 billion. By a miracle of sanitary engineering, we cleaned up the swamps and brought health to new Panamanians. We extended our sanitation beyond the Canal Zone into the Republic of Panama, built hospitals, supplied pure water systems, constucted schools and eleemosynary institutions, laid out roads, built docks and harbors.

In a moment of frankness, Diogenes de la Rosa, current chief Panamanian negotiator, rose in the Panamanian National Assembly on October 7, 1965, and gave the score of benefits which the Republic of Panama is now deriving from American occupation of the canal. For the year 1964, he revealed, the total income which the Republic of Panama enjoyed from the American presence in the Canal Zone was $115.4 million. This, in turn, generated activities totaling $233 million, Thus, the United States was pumping into the Panamanian economy an annual contribution of 39 percent of the total national product of $578.8 million.

This is the United States, which, if we may believe the tirades of the antigringo street orators in Panama, is cruelly sucking the life blood of the Panamanian people. We can understand the predatory hopes which motivate the Panamanian demagog or Communists in such a lie. But why should our American bleeding hearts parrot the malicious libel?

THE SEA-LEVEL CANAL RED HERRING

We smile over the jingle that Mr. Parker made much darker what was very dark before. But the proponents of surrender of the Canal Zone to Panama are pursuing a similar strategy. They have attempted to obscure and confuse the whole debate about American sovereignty in the zone by setting up a diversionary controversy about a sea level canal. Although even the most optimistic do not hope to complete a sea level canal, if it is approved, in less than 15 or 20 years (Governor Fleming recently used the figure of 20 years in one of his statements) the Washington sea level lobby and its administration backers, is drowning out honest discussion of the sea level canal possibility by presenting it as a crash program, which must be decided immediately.

It is difficult to escape the surmise that the sea level project has been brought forward at this precise time in order to plant in the American mind an impression that the old canal isn't worth fighting to save from the grasping hands of the Chiaris and the Robleses, because we are soon to have a brand new sea-level canal to replace it.

Probably the best comment on the sea-level project is the question asked by an anonymous quipster: Why in heaven's name, should we talk about building a new canal when we haven't got enough gumption to hold on to the canal which we already own?

Engineering opinion is sharply divided about the feasibility of a sea-level canal. The most persuasive argument for its acceptance was the science fiction proposal that we build it cheaply by atomic blasts. This plan, according to the latest Washington reports, has now been virtually abandoned.[1]

In the effort to dramatize the sea-level plan, the fact was overlooked that we already have an approved "third locks-lake plan" to modernize the old canal. It was worked out by canal engineers during World War II and approved by President Franklin D.

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[1] Washington (D.C.) Star, Feb. 6, 1966.

Roosevelt. It is now gathering dust in the Government archives.

Whatever the ultimate decision on the sea-level proposal, it is obviously not the way to get the Panamanians off our neck. If we sacrifice the present canal, and the treaty in perpetuity which guarantees our control, we will then have to make the fight all over again when we sit down to draft a sea-level canal treaty with the successors of Robles. Already, Panama axes have been sharpened to gouge us, when negotiation time comes. El Mundo (Panama City), in its issue of October 6, 1965, headlined an article reporting that talk in the National Assembly revolves around a demand for a $400 million annuity from the United States to build and operate a sea-level canal in Panama. Perhaps Americans will come out of their trance in time, and ask, "Is it worth it?"

THE MARGIN OF SAFETY

In the end, it is likely that history's verdict on President Johnson's Panama decision will turn upon the question of its effect upon America's defense position in the isthmus. For there is sound reason to believe that the relinquishment of the Canal Zone will not only endanger the security of the canal. It will also upset the whole defense balance which safeguards Central and South America.

For it must be understood that the Canal Zone, which we are giving up, is not only a corridor for a canal. It is also the locus for the whole U.S. security establishment which shields the hemisphere. A security-minded administration could not conceivably take the risk of transferring sovereignty over this strategic area to an unpredictable and faction-torn political question mark like the Republic of Panama.

In the zone, and the nearby Rio Hato airbase, which we lease from Panama, is located an elaborate military complex which protects, not only the canal, but our 19 Latin American allies in the hemisphere. Here is the headquarters of the U.S. Southern Command—a vital link in our defense system. It is the function of this command to maintain liaison with the military establishments of all the Latin American nations, and to provide instruction and training, when requested, to the armies of all our neighbors. Here are our increasingly important antiguerrilla warfare training schools. Here are instruction centers in electronics and communications for officers of the Latin American armies. Literally, the Canal Zone is the nerve center of our Latin American system of defense.

Even if a treaty were obtained permitting the Southern Command to remain, it would be hobbled and thwarted by the transfer of sovereignty over the zone to Panama. Our defense establishment would then be a guest in a foreign nation. It could be evicted at the will of an unfriendly Panama administration. Its maneuverability would be subject to the day-to-day permission of Panama authorities. The situation would be an intolerable one.

To jeopardize the Southern Command to curry favor with the irresponsible politicos of a midget Republic of Panama is not good neighborliness to the 18 other Latin American nations. It is an indefensible default of our responsibilities under the Monroe Doctrine. It is an assist to international communism which is working insidiously and constantly to weaken the anti-Communist solidarity of this hemisphere.

We do not question the sincerity of President Johnson when we say that he has acted capriciously and shortsightedly in his Panama decision. He has listened to advisers who have given him the disastrous counsel of expediency. He has failed to perceive that there are unchanging basic facts in our American foreign policy which bind each changing administration in Washington. To ignore them is to court disaster.

The Panama Canal for two generations has been a glorious chapter in our national heritage. It has been an achievement which two generations of Americans have looked upon with glowing pride. To besmirch it today, as some liberal special pleaders are doing, is the mark of the quitter. It is an insult to America's great past.

PARCEL POST CHANGES NEEDED

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HOWARD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a recent editorial from a well-known weekly newspaper in my district expressing its support of the testimony given by Postmaster O'Brien on behalf of the legislation now under consideration to further improve our postal service. Since I share the views of our distinguished Postmaster General and those expressed by the Ocean County Citizen, I, at this point, insert the editorial in the RECORD:

[From the Lakewood (N.J.) Ocean County Citizen, Mar. 17, 1966]

PARCEL POST CHANGES NEEDED

Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien and Deputy Postmaster General Frederick Belen recently testified before a subcommittee of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee in behalf of a bill which would greatly improve parcel post service.

In brief, the bill would end illogical limitations placed on the Post Office Department's parcel post handling enacted in 1951 (Public Law 199) in an effort to bolster the Railway Express Agency. That law permitted parcel post to continue handling large packages in rural (unprofitable) areas, but it limited shipments between larger post offices to either 20 pounds and 72 inches or 40 pounds and 72 inches.

The law has forced a continuous series of parcel post rate hikes (the Department is required by law to operate within 4 percent of the break-even point) because volume was lost, the profitable part of former volume.

Meanwhile, other shipping firms have taken much business away from Railway Express Agency and Railway Express Agency has diversified, only 18 percent of its business today being parcel service. The law has confused and inconvenienced millions—many not understanding why they can ship one size package to one place and not another. The limitation often changes as post offices grow or decline in volume handled.

It is disappointing to see the railroads, which own Railway Express Agency, fighting this overdue reform, which is in the interest of the consumer, especially when postal authorities feel the railroads will actually benefit from the changes.

It is bad practice to enact special legislation to support inefficient businesses, and in any event conditions have completely changed since 1951. For 15 years citizens have been, in effect, handicapping the Post Office Department and inconveniencing themselves in behalf of the railroad's Railway Express Agency. Such a situation cannot be justified, and should have been remedied years ago.

H.R. 14468, A BILL TO AMEND THE OPEN SPACE PROGRAM TO ELIMINATE AN UNFAIR SITUATION

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, during my years in the Congress, I have always strongly supported legislation in helping to conserve the great outdoors of our country. In recent years the Congress has recognized the need to assist and encourage open space in our great urban areas as well as in the rural and less sparsely settled areas. This great need was first dealt with in title VII of the Housing Act of 1961, Public Law 87–70. This first step was carried forward in the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, which legislation I strongly supported. This act, among other matters, increased the Federal assistance to local communities by providing for 50 percent grants for the acquisition and development of the urban open space lands. This was the first legislation to provide assistance in the developmental costs, which is an essential element in gaining the desirable benefits of an open space program. However, the language of this legislation is such that a community seeking developmental assistance of an open space parcel of land, is limited to assistance for land acquired only under the open space land program. This is an unfair limitation factor in such situations where the local community has acquired the land by other means, such as gifts, purchase, and through governmental agency, such as the General Services Administration, and still desires to develop the land with assistance under the open space program. This limitation serves to defeat the objective of the open space program in developing the maximum amount of open space in our urban areas, and accordingly I am today introducing an amendment to the legislation governing the open space program that would permit the Department of Housing and Urban Development to make developmental grants for open space projects regardless of whether or not the particular parcel of land was acquired under the open space program, so long as it meets the other requirements of the open space program. I am hopeful that this deserving amendment will receive favorable consideration by the Banking and Currency Committee and can be passed by the Congress in the near future.

DEDICATION OF GENERAL VON STEUBEN'S QUARTERS AT VALLEY FORGE, PA.

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. ADDABBO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, in the history of our Nation, we have many heroes who have played a great part in our emergence as a world power who were not native-born. Among these heroes we find many who had their origins in Germany. One of the most outstanding heroes of German origin is Gen. Frederick Wilhelm von Steuben who served us during the Revolutionary War.

During the administration of the late President Kennedy, I recommended to him that we name one of our Polaris submarines for General von Steuben and, upon his recommendation to the Secretary of the Navy, this was done. Through the work of the members of the Steuben Society of America and other German-American organizations in my area, I have developed a very great interest in von Steuben and his association with Gen. George Washington during our fight for independence.

It is my pleasure to call to the attention of my colleagues that a historic landmark, formerly known as the Manson House owned by a Jimmy White, not far from General Washington's headquarters at Valley Forge, has lately been restored. Some of the original hardware and a great deal of the original panelling still remain. A large addition that was of a later period was removed, and happily the old stone wall of the house was still there, in fact, all of the original stonework is intact, adding to the authenticity of the restoration. A replica of an old pump adds to the colonial atmosphere of the building.

Recent research has brought out the fact that von Steuben, his aide-de-camp, Peter S. Duponceau, and his staff were assigned to this house as their quarters during the encampment at Valley Forge on April 20, 1778.

Because, during the encampment, this house had served as a hospital also, as had many neighboring inns, meetinghouses and barns, the Pastorius unit of the Steuben Society of America and the German American societies of Philadelphia are busily engaged in collecting such articles and instruments as were used during the Revolution for the treatment of wounds and illnesses.

The official dedication of the building by the State of Pennsylvania will take place on Saturday afternoon, April 23, 1966.

Gen. Bruce C. Clark, U.S. Army, retired, will be the principal speaker at the dedication banquet following the ceremonies in Valley Forge State Park.

General Clarke, of Second World War fame, was made an honorary senator of the University of Heidelberg, Germany, for "exceptional services benefiting German American relations" after the war's end. There could be no more fitting a choice of a principal speaker for this historic occasion.

A DESCENDANT OF STEUBEN

Col. Herman O. Lane, a now retired inspector general, conducted extensive research on General von Steuben in the archives of the Army and during his tour of duty in Germany and France. He is a student of Steuben and has said of himself and members of the Inspector General's school that: "We are in a sense descendants of Steuben." Following are some enlightening excerpts from an orientation course he prepared for that school for delivery on April 5, 1954, headed "The Von Steuben Story."

He traces Steuben's history from his grandparents to his hero's grave at Remsen, N.Y., and the inscription on a boulder: "Indispensable to the achievement of American independence."

After Inspector General Conway was unceremoniously rejected by one of George Washington's brigade commanders, leading to Conway's resignation, Colonel Lane states:

> While Washington, 4 days later, was worrying as to what to do next or where to turn, there came a possibility of relief from a strange quarter and of a strange kind. Like a message from Mars, there came to him a letter from a most mysterious stranger, a Prussian, named Von Steuben.
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> Unknown to Washington and unknown to most of Congress at this time, there had landed at Portsmouth, N.H., on the first of December in the same year, 1777, a mystic and unheralded figure, * * *. Without this same individual, the history of this country might have been far different, and without him we might now be a commonwealth under the British Empire.

We should not be too concerned with the rank of Von Steuben held in the Prussian Army. He was a captain in the War College of Frederick the Great, outclassing all his fellow officers. After proving his talents here, starting on March 19, 1778, he was made Inspector General, on May 5, 1778, with the rank of major general, by General Washington, that is what counts. And, what is of even greater import, is the fact that he so conditioned and inspired a defeated army that it could lick the enemy at Monmouth only 3 months later. Colonel Lane continues:

> When Baron von Steuben landed in this country, he was cordially received. Nobody knew who he was, but here was a high-ranking, nebulous, and glamorous character. He traveled much. He went to Boston and Lancaster. He visited all the German communities of the colonial days, and finally he forwarded a letter to Congress, in which he said to Congress, in substance, I am over here; I've come to fight for you. I have left opulence and high rank in Germany, and I ask here neither high rank nor riches. I ask merely the right to fight for you. And my greatest reward for my services would be having my name engraved on the list of those who fought for your independence.
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> This letter had quite an appeal to the Congress. They sent for Von Steuben, and he went to Congress which, as I stated earlier, was then sitting in York, Pa. He presented himself and made an impressive appearance; he was a dramatic sort of fellow, * * * and he reiterated to the Congress that he wanted to make only a small bargain with them. He stated that he realized it was a sore subject with the American officers that soldiers of fortune from other countries coming here were being promoted to the higher ranks, and he didn't want any of that, and all he asked for was a chance to fight and prove himself; that he would if necessary fight as a private.
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> Well, that was so different from—I don't play with you. You can't have my experience unless you put the necessary number of stars on my shoulders, Congress accepted his offer and General Washington, who had been "stung before on these foreigners" sent Steuben a "very formal, but courteous letter" to report at Valley Forge, which he did on February 23, 1778.
>
> He was received cordially by Washington—

Colonel Lane states further—

> and Washington realized from initial contact with him that here was a man who had a vast military experience. To Washington's trained eye the Baron looked every inch a soldier. He asked Baron von Steuben to take a look around Valley Forge and then to make recommendations to him, Washington, as to just what steps should be taken to improve the American Army. Baron von Steuben began this task on the 25th of February.
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> It's interesting to look at the Continental Army at Valley Forge. It was licked; it just didn't know it. The lazy British were simply waiting for spring and fair weather to move in on it and finish it off. Our soldiers were practically without clothes, without shoes. On the 23d of February, the day of the Baron's arrival, it had been 11 weeks since there had been even a token issue of meat, and only a scant issue of bread occasionally during that same period.
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> Baron von Steuben was amazed that an army in such deplorable condition would still hang on. Nobody talked about going home, quitting. He was impressed by the sheer grit of the men, the light of defiance in their eyes. He recognized them as the finest soldier material he had ever seen. He realized he was up against it when he found that in all Washington's headquarters there was no manual of drill. He looked in vain to find a form of drill in any element of the troops which might be used as a basis for application to all of them * * *. He was faced with a tremendous problem—how to make a fighting army out of this tatterdemalion aggregation. Finally he drew himself up, looked at himself in the mirror, and began to scream in German, "I'll do it myself; I'll do it myself."
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> The baron could speak no English at that time. He could speak French fluently. Duponceau, the military secretary he brought from France with him, could speak some English, but not enough to translate anything military which Von Steuben might put out. Everything had to be written in longhand. In his trips around Valley Forge, a young lieutenant named Benjamin Walker had volunteered to help him. Walker could speak fluent French and now became aide and more or less adjutant to Von Steuben.
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> Then started our first drill regulations, prepared by Von Steuben and which are now to be found in book form in the National Archives, the originals in the beautiful, flowing penmanship characteristic of Revolutionary times.
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> Baron von Steuben had to write each day's military lesson. He wrote it simply. It was Prussian Army drill without frills. He wrote it in German first, and then he translated it into French. Walter then translated it from French to English, and two other Colonial officers worked on it half the night to get it into form where the command would be in strict military terms, and then they ironed out the English describing the execution of that command. In this form it went out in some two dozen copies from Von Steuben's office—there is one step, however, I skipped. Having been put in its final

English form, whether it was a lesson in how to do right face or left face, or what, the man who had to spend the most time on learning the English version of the exercise was Von Steuben himself.

Now we trace the drill instructions to Washington's headquarters, thence to the brigade inspectors. One copy for each brigade inspector. The brigade inspector made and passed copies down to the regimental sergeant majors, thence to the officers, to the regimental drill sergeants, and so right on down through the lines. That was the beginning of the drill manual. Obviously a lot of tedious copying in the process.

Having gotten the first couple of these lessons started, the grand old Von Steuben, with a wonderfully soldierly appearance, stepped out on the grand parade at Valley Forge on Thursday, the 19th of March 1778, to personally start the American Army at drill. In my opinion, based on all the history I have read of both Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary days, in many respects this was the greatest day which America ever had. I say that without prejudice of my own pride in the Inspector General's Department as it used to be, and in the inspectors general as a whole as they are now.

It should be remembered, that when Von Steuben was traveling around in this country before he came to Valley Forge he had become a legendary figure. The word had gotten around by the grapevine that the god of war was somewhere in the offing. Communication was mostly by word of mouth and rumors had begun to spread. Yes, somewhere in this country there was an omnipotent god of war, the alter ego of Frederick the Great, the world's greatest captain. People swore excitedly they had seen him, had actually touched his uniform. This word had spread like a prairie fire after this fabulous fellow showed up at Valley Forge and began to ride around on a fine-looking blue mare and sporting on his breast the magnificent silver and jeweled star of the Order of Fidelity which had been awarded him on the recommendation of his fairy godmother, Princess Frederika. His arrival had created a sensation, like a giant electric spark bouncing all over the land. It was just as if a high school football team, which had plenty of material but little equipment and no coaching and was getting beaten by every podunk in the county, suddenly had Knute Rockne show up on the campus to take over.

Well, that day when Steuben stepped out on the grand parade at Valley Forge to begin his drill system, the place was jammed with spectators, many of whom had packed blanket rolls and walked from as far away as 90 miles. This was a big day for them. It was a big day, likewise, for the soldiery, who absorbed avidly every move the baron made on this first day of his demonstration, in his halting English and his fascinating pantomime, as to what a man should do to take the position of the soldier.

All of a sudden we have a coach. We have seen him; he's indeed the god of war come to show us the road to victory. From that day the colonies for the first time began to pull together. In my humble opinion, we owe our very existence as an independent republic to that remarkable exhibition which Baron von Steuben put on at Valley Forge on the 19th of March 1778.

We find all during the ensuing history of the Revolution the one man who was here, there, and everywhere—indispensable—was Baron von Steuben. He was tireless in his advice and instruction, tireless in his painstaking efforts otherwise, he taught the soldiers how to march, how to use their rifles. He so instilled them with confidence in their bayonets and a desire to close with the enemy in hand-to-hand conflict that from the time the Army moved from Valley Forge, after the winter of 1777–78, no colonial soldier ever took the bayonet off his rifle until the war was over, except to clean and sharpen it. That's why every time you see an official picture of the Revolutionary soldier, after von Steuben's arrival, his bayonet is fixed on the rifle. In the following years of fighting we find Baron von Steuben taking command in emergency wherever his services were needed.

At the battle of Monmouth after we got out of the hellhole of Valley Forge, it was von Steuben who rushed in and stopped the rout of the troops of the traitorous Charles Lee and saved the day. We follow him all through the war. He conducted maneuvers during every lull of fighting, improving the Army everywhere he could. He took time out as inspecteor general to take over a brigade, or even a division for awhile, and then back to his job as inspector general. It was not easy. The American general officers were jealous and only through Washington's steadfast backing could the Baron's great experience be utilized. It was von Steuben who planned the siege of Yorktown, wrote the orders for its accomplishment, and was actually in the trenches in command of one of the divisions, alongside of Lincoln and Lafayette, when final victory was achieved. He refused to have his division evacuated until Cornwallis' surrender came because it had done its share of the fighting and he held that it was entitled to receive the honors due it. His demand for this recognition was met and it endeared him forever in the hearts of the officers and men.

Although General Washington had said a formal farewell to his staff at Fraunces Tavern in New York City on December 4, 1783, his last official act was to write the following letter to Gen. Fredrich von Steuben on December 23:

> MY DEAR BARON: Altho' I have taken frequent Opportunities both in public and private of Acknowledging your great Zeal, Attention and Abilities in performing the duties of your Office; yet, I wish to make use of this last Moment of my public Life, to Signify in the strongest terms, my intire Approbation of your Conduct, and to express my Sense of the Obligations the public is under to you for your faithful and Meritorious Services.
>
> I beg you will be convinced, my dear Sir, that I should rejoice, if it could ever be in my power, to serve you more essentially, than by expressions of regard and Affection—but in the meantime, I am persuaded you will not be displeased with this farewell token of my Sincere Friendship and Esteem for you.
>
> This is the last letter I shall ever write, while I continue in the Service of my Country—the hour of my Resignation is fixed at twelve this day—after which, I shall become a private Citizen on the Banks of the Potomack, where I shall be glad to embrace you, and testify the great Esteem and Consideration, with which,
>
> I am My Dear Baron,
>
> Your Most Obedt and Affect'n Servt
>
> GO. WASHINGTON.

Inspector General, Colonel Lane, concludes his lecture to the Inspector Generals' School with the following statement:

> If there is an instance in the annals of warfare where any soldier ever received from his chief a nobler recognition, I have yet to find it.

HISTORIAN PINKOWSKI'S RESEARCH

Edward Pinkowski, a Philadelphia historic researcher and author of the book "Washington's Officers Slept Here," found the evidence necessary to authenticate Mansion House as the site of Steuben's quarters during the Valley Forge encampment of the War of the Revolution.

At the Historical Society of Delaware, in Wilmington, he found the journal of Capt. Peter S. Du Ponceau, Steuben's aid. In it he found an entry and maps, which place Steuben and his staff in James White's house on April 20, 1778, as his fourth and last quarters at Valley Forge.

John Pezak, a representative to the Pennsylvania State Legislature, presented the findings to the general assembly on August 18, 1965.

On May 26, 1937, the Valley Forge State Park Commission decided that the property of about 60 acres on which the hotel Mansion House was located should be added to the State Park. It was acquired at a cost of $49,760 by the State of Pennsylvania.

In 1961, the building was deteriorating. The commission received an appropriation of $71,000 for its restoration.

On September 26, 1965, the Valley Forge Park Commission, after all findings were evaluated, named Mansion House Von Steuben's Quarters, with the provision that a part of the house would be furnished as a camp hospital.

A 10-YEAR EFFORT

A communitywide committee was formed in 1956 under the chairmanship of Conrad Linke, a prominent portrait artist of Philadelphia. It was composed of the Pastorius Unit 38 of the Steuben Society of America and the German American societies of the city of Philadelphia.

In 1959, Linke was succeeded by Karl Schumacher, chairman of the Pastorius Unit. He now heads the same group in a drive to aid in the furnishing of the historic house.

All connected with the effort to preserve the history of the War of the Revolution are to be commended.

A GIFT FROM THE SUBMARINE VON STEUBEN

The commanders of the submarine SSB(N)632 have dedicated an autographed large color photo of their ship to Von Steuben's Quarters. It is a reminder that "the spirit of Steuben now also watches our ramparts at sea."

TEAM OF EDUCATORS FROM HAWAII COMPLETES MISSION TO THAILAND UNIVERSITY

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. MATSUNAGA] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, America's need to win the friendship of Pacific and Asian countries is beset with an urgency heretofore unknown in our foreign relations in that part of the world. The demands of our military commitments notwithstanding, thousands of American dollars are being spent to sponsor social, economic, and educational projects in these countries. And the island State of Hawaii, ideally located at the gateway to the Pacific-

Asian areas, has been vigorously meeting this new challenge by helping to supply the resources needed for the successful implementation of these programs.

An outstanding example of Hawaii's technical contribution is reported in an article in the Hawaii Business and Industry magazine. The article summarizes the accomplishments of a team of advisers and consultants from the University of Hawaii, who helped successfully to culminate 13 years of U.S. assistance to Thailand's leading agriculture school.

U.S. aid to Kasetsart University began in 1952, and included large grants for building and equipment as well as for technical aid. A team of six professors and seven consultants from Hawaii was contracted in 1962 under the U.S. Agency for International Development—AID. Headed by an agricultural economist, Prof. C. W. Peters, the distinguished team included such respected authorities as Dr. James H. Koshi, animal science; Dr. Ryoji Namba, entomology; Dr. Wade McCall, agronomy; Dr. Haruyuki Kamemoto, horticulture; and Jesse D. Sinclair, forestry.

With the able assistance of Thailand University's Dean Pantum Thisysmondol, the Hawaiian advisers devoted much of their efforts toward stimulating research in various fields. Research projects included those that would improve Thailand's livestock strains as well as those that would develop higher productive strains of corn.

I am pleased to submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the article which appeared in the February 1966 issue of Hawaii Business and Industry magazine:

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII HELPS TO UPGRADE A THAI UNIVERSITY

(NOTE.—A 3-year visit by a team of University of Hawaii educators culminated 10 years of American assistance which practically created a new university for one of our stanchest southeast Asia allies.)

Thirteen years of U.S. assistance to Kasetsart University, Thailand's leading agriculture school, ended last summer when an advisory team from the University of Hawaii completed its work and departed.

Among the visible accomplishments of the University of Hawaii project financed by the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) are a brand new library opened last June, a new agronomy building, and $125,000 worth of laboratory and teaching equipment. Less obvious, but perhaps even more important, are the new approaches in teaching, the faculty reorganizations, and 28 research projects sponsored and stimulated by the Hawaii advisors.

The 28 projects cover the fields of agricultural economics, agronomy, animal science, entomology, fisheries, forestry and horticulture. They range from an investigation of harmful hexoestrol residues in local market chickens to the establishment of an aquatic museum with contributions from the King of Thailand and the Crown Prince of Japan.

U.S. AID SINCE 1952

Kasetsart University was established in 1943 under the Department of Agriculture, and has been administered since 1958 under the Prime Minister's office. It has six facilities: agriculture and animal husbandry; forestry; economics and cooperative science; fisheries; veterinary science; and irrigation engineering. The main 560-acre campus is located at Bang Khen, 10 miles from the center of Bangkok, and contains farm plots and animal pens as well as academic classrooms. The university also has two branch campuses, one for veterinary science in Bangkok and one for irrigation engineering at Pak Kred, a suburb of the capital. Three experimental farms, one fishery station and three forestry camps are operated elsewhere in the country.

Enrollment at Kasetsart is currently 2,400 with new admission limited to 600 each year. Undergraduate degree programs usually take 5 years, while graduate work is confined mostly to agriculture, economics, agronomy, and animal science. Graduates usually go to work for the Ministry of Agriculture or other government agencies.

U.S. aid to Kasetsart began in 1952. Support included grants for building construction, purchase of equipment, and financial and technical aid to projects of research and agricultural extension. From 1954 to 1960 assistance was given through a contract arrangement with Oregon State University. This was the period of Kasetsart's most rapid physical expansion. Enrollment, which had totaled 317 in 1952, jumped to 1,500 by 1960. U.S. money administered by the contract team added 14 buildings to the campus to minister to this burgeoning student body.

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII TAKES OVER

The final phase of American assistance to Kasetsart began with the signing of the University of Hawaii contract in 1962. Under this contract, six professors, each a respected figure in his field, came to Kasetsart for periods of 21 months to 3 years. In addition, seven short-term consultants studied the Kasetsart curriculum and made recommendations for improvements in their specialties.

Chief of the Hawaii party was Prof. C. W. Peters, an agricultural economist. Dean Pantum Thisysmondol acted as Kasetsart campus coordinator. Overall policy guidance was provided by the U.S. operations mission to Thailand, the local office of AID.

RESEARCH STRESSED

The main thrust of the University of Hawaii effort was to stimulate research. Feeling that a strong research program was Kasetsart's most urgent need, project directors urged the visiting professors to work with their counterparts on the Thai faculty to set up research projects for the study of problems whose solution would benefit Thailand's agricultural economy.

Funds available for research at Kasetsart have increased from $10,000 in 1959 to $179,000 in 1964. Almost half the latter figure was supplied by AID through the Hawaii contract. With the termination of U.S. budget assistance, annual expenditures for research will no doubt fall somewhat, but the university and the Thai Government have already indicated that they will continue to support ongoing projects and be receptive to new ones. Much of the basic tooling-up has now been completed; continuation of projects under way or initiation of new ones will be proportionately less expensive.

WIDE RANGE OF PROJECTS

One set of projects with interesting long-range implications is the development of new livestock strains by crossbreeding and artificial insemination. Three separate projects were set up under the guidance of Dr. James H. Koshi, the University of Hawaii's animal science adviser. The object is to develop breeds of dairy cattle, beef cattle and pigs, all especially adapted to Thailand's semitropical conditions, which will produce enough milk and meat to be of economic value. Once carried to completion this research could revolutionize Thailand's animal products industries, substituting hardy, productive crossbreeds for expensive imported animals—which languish in the climate—and native breeds which thrive but scarcely reward their breeders for their trouble.

A second set of research projects fostered by the Hawaii contract is designed to measure the effects of burning forest land, and the techniques of minimizing or repairing the damage. Shifting cultivation, as practiced in the hills of northern Thailand, entails burning off the ground cover, planting crops on the cleared space for a few years, and then abandoning the exhausted land. Dean Thiem Komkris, of Kasetsart's faculty of forestry, estimates that 60 percent of the forests in the principal catchment areas have been destroyed in this way. In order to plan for proper watershed management in the future, research is urgently needed to determine what kind of vegetative cover will best hold the soil in place, and what effect repeated burnings and plantings will have. These studies not only affect the future productivity of Thailand's upland areas, but also help determine how to preserve dams, reservoirs, and rivers from being rendered useless by silt flowing down from the devastated hills. They are planning to continue into 1972. The watershed management project, as well as other research efforts in the field of forestry, was set up with the advice and guidance of Jesse D. Sinclair, forestry adviser under the Hawaii contract. Sinclair also collaborated with members of the Kasetsart faculty on a study of the growth of teak, Thailand's most important timber export.

FARM CORN TO BEETLE COLLECTION

Research on methods of improving Thai corn were conducted at two of Kasetsart's experimental farms. University of Hawaii Agronomist Wade McCall and AID Agronomy Adviser Charles A. Breitenbach assisted in this investigation, which was partly sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation. The project proposed to develop varieties of corn with higher productive capacity than the Guatemala corn commonly grown in Thailand at present. This Guatemala corn, itself introduced into Thailand by AID technicians in 1950, has become one of the nation's major export crops, and any improvement in yield will directly benefit Thailand's foreign trade account.

The corn experiments are still going on, under teams of Thai scholars who have taken over from the departing Americans. So are the projects to introduce and test forage crops for livestock, and to correlate and calibrate the various soil sample tests to determine the types and quantities of fertilizer that should be used in different parts of the land. The full take-over of these projects by Kasetsart indicates the importance attached by the Thais to this work.

Hawaii contract instructors helped the university to build up essential teaching collections in the fields of entomology and fisheries. Dr. Ryoji Namba was in charge of this work, and under his direction his Thai colleagues and their students collected some 50,000 insect specimens to establish the school's first beetle collection. Specialists are now at work to identify them as to genera and species, mount them, label them properly, and arrange the whole collection in some logical pattern.

Similarly, about 5,000 specimens of aquatic life were collected and set up in the newly established Faculty of Fisheries museum, with financing from the Hawaii contract and technical advice from Dr. Karl F. Lagler, who came to Thailand from the University of Michigan.

Horticultural experiments conducted with the advice of the University of Hawaii's Dr. Haruyuki Kamemoto determined the feasibility of producing native commercial vegetable seeds to obviate the present necessity of importing all seeds from abroad. Results indicate that seeds of such crops as lettuce, kale, Chinese cabbage and sugar peas can be produced in Thailand on a commercial basis. Other horticultural experiments tested the effectiveness of chemical controls on weeds commonly encountered in vegetable, fruit, and ornamental production; the uses of growth regulators to stimulate rooting; and introduction of new and potentially valuable plants to Thailand.

ACTED AS ADVISERS

The Hawaii advisers have strongly encouraged the publication of research results, feeling that only by circulating reports of their work can Kasetsart scholars measure their accomplishments against international standards and gain for their university the reputation of a research institution. These efforts have borne fruit in the regular issuance of several research periodicals.

Hawaii advisers participated in or actually conducted seminars for students and faculty members in several departments, especially fisheries, veterinary science, animal science, economics and business. In each of these departments, too, the respective advisors were active, at the request of their Thai counterparts, in drawing up extensive revisions of course offerings, combining some courses, eliminating others or programing new ones not offered before. In all these cases, with the exception of Dr. Koshi's specialized courses in dairying, Hawaii advisers generally did not take full charge themselves, but stood in the background offering suggestions to the Thai staff.

THAI TEACHERS TO THE UNITED STATES

The upgrading of faculty qualifications by sending Kasetsart staff members to the United States for academic and leadership training has been a major purpose of the Hawaii contract. This effort represents a continuation of the AID-sponsored training that has been in progress for more than 10 years. Kasetsart faculty members are sent to American universities for periods of up to 2 years to do work leading in most cases to the M.S. or Ph. D. degrees. Limited numbers of administrative officials have also visited American universities that offer programs comparable to Kasetsart. A deliberate effort has been made to select candidates for training whose subject matter fields are those considered to have high priority in the Kasetsart Hawaii program. By the end of the contract, approximately 85 members of the Kasetsart staff had undergone AID-financed training in the United States—30 percent of the full-time teaching staff.

WIDER HORIZONS FOR KASETSART?

Although Kasetsart is and will remain primarily an institution for the teaching of agricultural technology, the Hawaii team felt the need for students to be exposed to a broader background in liberal arts in preparation for the larger responsibilities some of them may be expected to assume in later life. A detailed proposal for the creation of an arts and sciences faculty was accordingly drawn up by Dr. John P. Hoshor, assistant dean of arts and sciences at the University of Hawaii, who came to Thailand as a consultant in March 1965.

This proposal, which is under active consideration by the Kasetsart faculty, was incorporated into the voluminous terminal report presented by the team on its departure. Another recommendation was the establishment of a graduate school to coordinate and expand the advanced-level training offered by the various faculties. The team also suggested that Kasetsart take a more active role in extension activities and inservice training for Thai Government personnel. Each of the visiting professors further submitted a meticulous assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the particular department with which he worked, together with guidelines for future improvement.

The work of Professor Peters and his associates, culminating more than a decade of U.S. aid, has opened avenues of progress for agricultural education in Thailand. Not all their recommendations will be adopted nor all their leads followed up, for the future is in the hands of the Thai Government and the Kasetstart faculty who must make the final decisions. But their work has enriched and expanded the training program of one of Thailand's most important universities.

PROPOSED POLICE TRAINING PROGRAM IN INDIANA

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my enthusiastic approval and support of a proposal to create a statewide police training program in Indiana. It could be, I believe, one of the most significant steps in the history of law enforcement in my State.

And, it shows that Hoosiers are more than concerned about the rising crime rate on which you and I receive periodic reports; they are ready to do something about it.

The Department of Police Administration at Indiana University proposes to set up a series of training programs at the university's regional centers around the State. With qualified instructors from the university and law enforcement agencies, the trainees would review such areas of police work as "Law for Police," Basic Criminal Investigation," "Accident Investigation," and "Traffic Law Enforcement."

The program is designed to meet all levels of law enforcement, including basic courses for beginning policemen and refresher courses for experienced policemen and supervisory personnel.

This pilot project, if successful, can serve as a model for the upgrading and improvement of law enforcement agencies in small communities throughout the country.

The program proposed by Indiana University not only promises much needed professional training for the small police departments with limited budgets, but also promises to establish guidelines for a coordinated law enforcement program throughout the State.

To establish and carry out this program for one year, the university is applying for $63,347 from the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance. You will remember that last fall we passed the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, creating this office and authorizing the $7.2 million to improve law enforcement.

The program proposed by Indiana University, I believe, is an excellent example of the intent of Congress in creating this legislation. I have asked the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance to approve Indiana University's proposal.

LET US MAKE ECONOMIC RESTRAINT EQUITABLE: TAX REFORM IS LONG OVERDUE

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, millions of honest American citizens paid their Federal taxes during the past months. In addition, millions of working people in the factories and farms of America and in the numerous small and large business establishments have been affected either directly or indirectly by the numerous recommendations that have come from President Johnson, the Council of Economic Advisors and from Cabinet officers for economic restraint. As I pointed out in an earlier statement on economic policy, the recommended wage and price guidelines are basically very selective in that certain sectors of our economy are affected while others remain unrestrained. Consequently, there is often a strong reaction to statements advising restraint from those groups that have been singled out.

Understandably, many of the hard working agriculture producers of Iowa were disturbed when Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman reportedly expressed pleasure over the decline of farm prices. The working people on the farms, in the factories, and in business establishments of southeast Iowa will respond to appeals for economic restraint as will every dedicated American because they know that the complex problems facing our Nation require such a course of action.

But, these hardworking citizens have the right to expect that recommendations for economic restraint be applied as forcefully to the enormous profits of Texas oil men as it is to them. In many sectors of our economy, the only way that a general policy of economic restraint can be applied equitably is by a long overdue, but much needed, reform of our tax system. I made an initial recommendation to achieve this much needed goal when I introduced H.R.12993 which will lower the oil depletion allowance.

I would like to call to the attention of the Council of Economic Advisers and to my colleagues a very perceptive analysis of other aspects of the tax reform problem which were analyzed by Clayton Fritchey in the April 18 edition of the Washington Star.

Tax reform to eliminate special privileges, is in my estimation, one of the most important remaining areas for constructive action by the 89th Congress.

The following is the text of Mr. Fritchey's very perceptive article:

TAX REFORM ON BACK BURNER, BUT—

(By Clayton Fritchey)

The annual income tax deadline has just come and gone, bringing with it renewed talk of an increase in the rates, but, conspicuously, little talk of any reform of the tax structure itself.

With a few exceptions, hardly anyone now bothers to recall the bright promise of the early Kennedy tax program, when the New Frontiersmen confidently set out to achieve organic tax changes, and the elimination of many inequities.

How innocent they were. Confronted with the facts of congressional life (the staggering power of the vested tax interests) the Kennedy administration finally had to settle for a tax cut, and a few minor reforms, putting the others off to another day.

Politically, this was not difficult to do, for the U.S. tax system is so incredibly complex that only full-time tax lawyers and accountants have any serious grasp of it.

Nevertheless, the stability of a modern Nation depends to a large degree on public confidence in the fairness and integrity of its tax process. Most Americans pay their taxes not too grudgingly, consoling themselves with the thought that the rich have to pay up to 70 percent of their income, and, until 1964, up to 90 percent.

Since this seeming soak-the-rich graduated tax system is substantially a myth, it is also acceptable, or at least bearable, to the affluent. So, in practice, it works well enough to deflate any public clamor for reform.

Yet, many experts believe there are now so many loopholes or preferences that no increase of the income tax would be needed this year if they could be eliminated or even modified. In his popular study of the Federal tax system, "The Great Treasury Raid," Philip Stern estimates that the Government loses $40 billion a year through special provisions in the law that favor certain types of taxpayers.

Although nobody is currently rocking the boat, it is a good bet that this situation will change when Senate Assistant Majority Leader RUSSELL LONG, Democrat, of Louisiana, gets squared away in his powerful new job as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

Even before succeeding the elder Senator Byrd as boss of this key committee, LONG made it clear that he felt the tax system is "unfair" and "does not promote tax equity." A study of returns of individuals in the high income brackets, he says, shows two things: "Some do not pay nearly enough and others pay too much." He adds:

"Studies made prior to the 1964 tax cut show that over 26 percent of the taxpayers with incomes over $5 million paid no Federal income tax whatsoever," and, in general, most taxpayers with gross incomes of more than $500,000 paid well below 50 percent of their income.

His figures are confirmed by the Stern study, which showed that one American had an income of $20 million in a recent year, but paid no tax. In another year, 17 citizens had incomes of $1 million or more, and 35 had $500,000 or more, but none paid a penny. In 1960, there were 37 Americans with total incomes exceeding $5 million each, and they paid not 90 percent but, on the average, less than 25 percent. All this, of course, was perfectly legal.

It is the successful professional man (doctor, lawyer, engineer, editor, manager, etc.) who pays the highest rates. This group, earning from $20,000 to $100,000 a year, paid from 22 to 31 percent, while the super-millionaires averaged 24.6 percent payment.

Each year, LONG says, "Congress finds itself under tremendous pressure to write more and more special interest provisions into law favoring one particular group while ignoring others. If a more equitable system existed, Congress would be able to ignore these pressures more easily."

LONG's remedy is greater "tax simplicity." Specifically, it is a plan calling for three major changes. The first two would benefit the middle and lower income groups by increasing the minimum standard exemption by 100 per family, and raising the limit on 10 percent standard deduction from $1,000 up to $2,000. The third, and most controversial, change would help high-income taxpayers by lowering the present 70 percent ceiling to 50 percent, in return for giving up special provisions and "shelters" which they now exploit to the hilt.

When LONG introduced a bill along these lines in October 1964, it wasn't taken very seriously, but times have changed. Today, as head of the Finance Committee, he is perhaps the most influential man in the Senate on tax matters, and as soon as he became chairman of the committee, he reintroduced his measure.

Because of the Vietnam war, he is not currently pressing his bill, but the time is coming when this Louisiana maverick is going to insist on some new tax thinking, although that good old depletion allowance for oil is probably in no desperate danger.

THE SWANENDAEL PALISADE, 1631, LEWES, DEL.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Delaware [Mr. McDOWELL], is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I include a recent article on the Swanendael Palisade established in 1631 at Lewes, Del. The article was written by professor emeritus of geology, Chesleigh A. Bonine, of Pennsylvania State University, and was published in the Delaware Coast Press, Lewes and Rehoboth Beach, Del.

I hope all who are interested in our Nation's history will come to Delaware this year, for, unlike some other States, Delaware maintains and preserves its great heritage of historic sites and buildings.

Lewes is to Delaware what Plymouth is to Massachusetts, and Jamestown is to Virginia. Lewes has been the seat of Colonial and county government for more than three centuries. I am confident that tourists who visit Lewes will find their trip most rewarding.

[From the Delaware Coast Press, Lewes and Rehoboth Beach, Del.]

THE SWANENDAEL PALISADE, 1631, LEWES, DEL.

(By Chesleigh A. Bonine, professor emeritus of geology, Pennsylvania State University)

This site is probably the only colonial palisade remaining where postmold markings in the subsoil can be used to determine its exact location, design and dimensions. Members of the Sussex Society of Archeology and History have excavated this site and have proven that it is the original palisades, built in 1631, by Dutch colonists. The next year, in 1632, the palisade was mapped by David Pieterson deVries after the Swanendael colonists had been massacred by the local Indians and the brick dwelling house inside destroyed. The palisade was partly burned down also, but its outlines were still visible so that deVries could sketch it accurately.

Palisades or stockades were built in early colonial times by placing timbers vertically, close together, about 10 feet high, above the ground level, with their ends sharpened into points. They were hollow squares with fortified projections (or bastions), at the four corners. Sentries were placed on platforms in these, and often small cannons.

The two illustrations above are presented, side by side, to show how closely the archeological work agrees with the map of the palisade made by deVries; this proves that the palisade was the one built in 1631. Its design is unique in having only two bastions instead of the usual four. The north bastion commanded the Delaware Bay area and the south bastion the area inhabited by the Indians. The location is on a flat hill, nearly 20 feet above sea level, just southeast of the "Great Marsh," a swampy area which extends to the place where Lewes Creek emptied into Delaware Bay at the time of the deVries Settlement. The State of Delaware placed a granite monument here in 1909 to mark this historic site, at the end of Pilot Town Road, Lewes.

On the photograph, taken from an airplane in 1960, the four lines of the palisade square, measuring 233 feet to 256 feet, and the two bastions have been plotted. This represents the archeological work accomplished. The dashed lines indicate where the subsoil had been disturbed by the construction of the monument, Pilot Town Road, and by farm buildings. The granite monument can be seen a short distance from the north bastion, and the U-shaped drive of the cemetery of Saint Peter's Episcopal Church is plainly visible.

The deVries map, placed next to the airplane photograph, shows: (1) The palisade with the brick house inside, (2) a pine woods to the south, where the timbers were probably cut for the palisade, (3) land suitable for cultivation, (4) another European-type house, and (5) three Indian houses near Canary Creek. This European-type house site was excavated, and from the artifacts collected and identified by the Smithsonian Institution's staff, it was concluded that this site was occupied intermittently from 1630 to 1750. Since "trade goods" were found here in the lower part of the excavation, it appears to have been a trading post with the Indians when first occupied. All these five features were included by deVries as the "Swanendael" (Valley of the Swans) area.

Features which are identical in these two illustrations are: (1) The location of the north bastion on the south bank of Lewes Creek, west of the northward bend of the creek. The creek is now called the Lewes and Rehoboth Canal. (2) The two bastions are similar in shape and are in a nearly north-south position, (3) the four palisade lines in both illustrations have the same compass directions, (4) the west corner of the two palisade illustrations shows an "indenture," or recess, instead of a bastion and probably marks the position of a gate, (5) the east corner of the palisade, in the deVries drawing, shows an intersection of two palisade lines with no bastion. Archeological work here was not attempted because the place of intersection now lies down the bank of the canal, due to stream erosion and the straightening of the canal which destroyed this corner.

The Lewes Historical Society is trying to enlist the support of the State and its citizens in a program designed to save the site from destruction by building operations or industrial construction and to build a replica of the palisade as near as possible to the actual site, the monument, and the cemetery, so that all can see and appreciate it. New Castle has already made plans for the restoration of its Fort Casimir blockhouse, as sketched by the Swedish engineer Lindestrom and as near the actual site as possible.

[The illustrations mentioned in the above article are not printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.]

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mrs. DWYER (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD) for today and tomorrow, on account of illness in family.

Mr. ROBERTS (at the request of Mr. GONZALEZ), for the remainder of the week, on account of official business.

Mr. Flynt (at the request of Mr. Stephens), on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. Halpern (at the request of Mr. Morton), for 15 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Halpern (at the request of Mr. Morton), for 15 minutes, on April 20; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Kupferman (at the request of Mr. Morton), for 15 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. McDowell (at the request of Mr. Vivian), for 15 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Pool (at the request of Mr. Vivian), for 60 minutes, on April 20; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Congressional Record, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. Fino and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Conte and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Resnick and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Philbin in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Morton) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Mize.

Mr. Kupferman.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Vivian) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Dingell.

Mr. Callan.

Mr. Rees.

Mr. Rosenthal.

Mr. Downing.

Mr. Roncalio in two instances.

Mr. Rivers of South Carolina.

Mr. Teague of Texas in two instances.

Mr. Pike.

Mr. Schmidhauser.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 1938. An act to amend the Indian Long-Term Leasing Act; and

S. 2729. An act to amend section 4(c) of the Small Business Act, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 45 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, April 20, 1966, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2316. Communication from the President of the United States, transmitting proposed amendments to the budget for the fiscal year 1967 for the legislative branch (H. Doc. No. 423); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2317. A letter from the Chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission, transmitting the 44th Annual Report of the Board of Actuaries of the Civil Service Retirement System for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1964, pursuant to the provisions of section 16 of the Civil Service Retirement Act (H. Doc. No. 425); to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and ordered to be printed.

2318. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting the semiannual consolidated report of balances of foreign currencies acquired without payment of dollars, as of December 31, 1965, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 87–195; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2319. A letter from the Librarian of Congress, transmitting a report on the Library of Congress, including the Copyright Office, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965; to the Committee on House Administration.

2320. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting reports concerning visa petitions which have been approved, according the beneficiaries of such petitions third preference and sixth preference classification, pursuant to the provisions of section 204(d) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. GRIDER: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 7354. A bill for the relief of Norman Morris Rains; without amendment (Rept. No. 1439). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MOORE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 4584. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Anna Michalska Holoweckyj (formerly Mrs. Anna Zalewski); with an amendment (Rept. No. 1440). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BERRY:

H.R. 14450. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to engage in feasibility studies of certain water resource development proposals in South Dakota; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BOGGS:

H.R. 14451. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs and cats intended to be used for purposes of research or experimentation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 14452. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to permit pension and profit-sharing plans to provide contributions or benefits on a nondiscriminatory basis for certain self-employed individuals without special limitations on the amount of contributions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CORBETT:

H.R. 14453. A bill to revise postal rates on certain fourth-class mail, to suspend for an additional 3-year period certain restrictions on the use of postal appropriations, to create a temporary Commission on Parcel Post to study parcel post problems, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. DINGELL:

H.R. 14454. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to require that permits must be obtained for the operation of community antenna television systems; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 14455. A bill to repeal section 9 of the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 14456. A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, to strengthen and improve authority to enforce abatement of pollution, to provide for filing of notice with respect to discharge of matter into interstate or navigable waters and to require permits to regulate such discharge of matter, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ELLSWORTH:

H.R. 14457. A bill to grant the consent of the United States to the Arkansas River Basin compact, Kansas-Oklahoma; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 14458. A bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to increase the funds available for major metropolitan areas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. HATHAWAY:

H.R. 14459. A bill to assist the domestic commercial fishing industry through the construction of three advanced-design factory fishing vessels; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 14460. A bill to amend the National Science Foundation Act of 1950, as amended, so as to authorize the establishment and operation of sea-grant colleges and programs by initiating and supporting programs of education, training, and research in the marine sciences and a program of advisory services relating to activities in the marine sciences, to facilitate the use of the submerged lands of the Outer Continental Shelf by participants carrying out these programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. HOSMER:

H.R. 14461. A bill giving the consent of Congress to a compact between the States of Arizona and California defining a boundary between those States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HUOT:

H.R. 14462. A bill to amend the National Science Foundation Act of 1950, as amended, so as to authorize the establishment and operation of sea-grant colleges and programs by initiating and supporting programs of education, training, and research in the marine sciences and a program of advisory services relating to activities in the marine sciences, to facilitate the use of the submerged lands of the Outer Continental shelf by participants carrying out these programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. KARTH:

H.R. 14463. A bill to assist in the promotion of economic stabilization by requiring the disclosure of finance charges in connection with extensions of credit; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. MAILLIARD:

H.R. 14464. A bill to amend the act of June 19, 1886, relating to coastwise passenger transportation for the purposes of protecting the traveling public, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 14465. A bill to extend the application of the Classification Act of 1949 to certain positions in, and employees of, the executive branch of the Government; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MORRISON:

H.R. 14466. A bill to provide for improved employee-management relations in the Federal service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. OTTINGER:

H.R. 14467. A bill to amend the act of October 19, 1949, entitled "An act to assist States in collecting sales and use taxes on cigarettes," so as to control all types of illegal transportation of cigarettes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 14468. A bill to amend title VII of the Housing Act of 1961 to authorize Federal grants under the open-space land program for the development and redevelopment of existing open-space land; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. QUILLEN:

H.R. 14469. A bill to facilitate the management, use, and public benefits from the Appalachian Trail, a scenic trail designed primarily for foot travel through natural or primitive areas, and extending generally from Maine to Georgia; to facilitate and promote Federal, State, local, and private cooperation and assistance for the promotion of the trail, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. REUSS:

H.R. 14470. A bill to amend the Migratory Bird Hunting Stamp Act of March 16, 1934, to increase by $2 the fee for such stamp; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. ROUDEBUSH:

H.R. 14471. A bill to protect the morale and efficiency of members of the Armed Forces by prohibiting the making of certain threatening and abusive communications to members of such forces or their families, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.R. 14472. A bill to remove the limitation on the amount of claims for activities of the National Guard payable under title 32, United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14473. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 14474. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States to provide that certain forms of copper be admitted free of duty; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. VANIK:

H.R. 14475. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to remove certain limitations on the amount of the deduction for contributions to pension and profit-sharing plans made on behalf of self-employed individuals and to change the definition of "earned income" applicable with respect to such plans; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ASHBROOK:

H.R. 14476. A bill to prohibit desecration of the flag; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BELL:

H.R. 14477. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to allow an additional income exemption of $1,200 for a taxpayer or spouse who is a student at an institution of higher education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ERLENBORN:

H.R. 14478. A bill to amend section 7701 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to clarify the tax status of certain professional associations and corporations formed under State law; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HOSMER:

H.R. 14479. A bill to provide for a weather modification program to be carried out by the Secretary of Commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KING of New York:

H.R. 14480. A bill to provide for adjusting conditions of competition between certain domestic industries and foreign industries with respect to the level of wages and the working conditions in the production of articles imported into the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RHODES of Arizona:

H.R. 14481. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to increase the amount which may be paid on account of the funeral expenses of certain veterans from $250 to $300; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. SCHISLER:

H.R. 14482. A bill to provide for a special milk program for children; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 14483. A bill to amend title I of Public Law 874, 81st Congress, with respect to the method of computing payments thereunder; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. SIKES:

H.R. 14484. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to equalize the retirement pay of members of the uniformed services of equal rank and years of service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. STALBAUM:

H.R. 14485. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to broaden the veterans' educational assistance program under that title to provide for assistance in on-the-job training programs, on-the-farm training programs, and certain flight training; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. TUNNEY:

H.R. 14486. A bill to permit Federal employees to purchase shares of Federal- or States-chartered credit unions through voluntary payroll allotment; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina:

H.R. 14487. A bill to extend the application of the Classification Act of 1949 to certain positions in, and employees of, the executive branch of the Government; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. FEIGHAN:

H.R. 14488. A bill to make provisions for necessary travel controls; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 14489. A bill relating to the Italian-American War Veterans of the United States, Inc., and the status of that organization under certain laws of the United States; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 14490. A bill to amend titles 10 and 37, United States Code, to provide career incentives for certain professionally trained officers of the Armed Forces; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 14491. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 14492. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide payment for chiropodists' services under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MILLS:

H.R. 14493. A bill to allow for income tax purposes a deduction for additions to an account for accrued vacation pay earned by employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. NELSEN:

H.R. 14494. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934, with respect to the hours of operation of certain broadcasting stations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. OLSON of Minnesota:

H.R. 14495. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to prescribe criminal penalties for the illegal importation of depressant and stimulant drugs; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14496. A bill to provide for the appointment of postmasters and rural carriers solely on a merit basis, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. VANIK:

H.R. 14497. A bill to assist in the promotion of economic stabilization by requiring the disclosure of finance charges in connection with extensions of credit; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 14498. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce by preventing the use of unfair or deceptive methods of packaging or labeling of certain consumer commodities distributed in such commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 14499. A bill to expand and improve existing law and to provide for the establishment of regulations for the purpose of controlling pollution from vessels and certain other sources in the Great Lakes and other navigable waters of the United States; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. BOB WILSON:

H.R. 14500. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Army to conduct an engineering study of, and to construct, a second entrance into San Diego Harbor, Calif.; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. CAHILL:

H.R. 14501. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish in the Veterans' Administration a national veterans' cemetery system consisting of all cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are or may be buried; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. DANIELS:

H.R. 14502. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish in the Veterans' Administration a national veterans' cemetery system consisting of all cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are or may be buried; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. GALLAGHER:

H.R. 14503. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish in the Veterans' Administration a national veterans' cemetery system consisting of all cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are or may be buried; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 14504. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish in the Veterans' Administration a national veterans' cemetery system consisting of all cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are or may be buried; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HOWARD:

H.R. 14505: A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish in the Veterans' Administration a national veterans' cemetery system consisting of all cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are or may be buried; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. JOELSON:

H.R. 14506. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish in the Veterans' Administration a national veterans' cemetery system consisting of all cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are or may be buried; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. KREBS:

H.R. 14507. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish in the Veterans' Administration a national veterans' cemetery system consisting of all cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are or may be buried; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. McGRATH:

H.R. 14508. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish in the Veterans' Administration a national veterans' cemetery system consisting of all cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are or may be buried; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MINISH:

H.R. 14509. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish in the Veterans' Administration a national veterans' cemetery system consisting of all cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are or may be buried; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. PATTEN:

H.R. 14510. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish in the Veterans' Administration a national veterans' cemetery system consisting of all cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are or may be buried; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. RODINO:

H.R. 14511. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish in the Veterans' Administration a national veterans' cemetery system consisting of all cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are or may be buried; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. WIDNALL:

H.R. 14512. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish in the Veterans' Administration a national veterans' cemetery system consisting of all cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are or may be buried; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mrs. BOLTON:

H.J. Res. 1067. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim the first week of August of each year as American Youth Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CORMAN:

H.J. Res. 1068. Joint resolution expressing the intent of the Congress with respect to appropriations for watershed planning for fiscal year 1966; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. DOLE:

H.J. Res. 1069. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim the month of April 1967 as National Residence Hall Month; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GRIFFIN:

H.J. Res. 1070. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HOSMER:

H.J. Res. 1071. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to permit voluntary participation in prayer in public schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. IRWIN:

H.J. Res. 1072. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. KUPFERMAN:

H.J. Res. 1073. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MOORHEAD:

H.J. Res. 1074. Joint resolution expressing the intent of the Congress with respect to appropriations for watershed planning for fiscal year 1966; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. OLSON of Minnesota:

H.J. Res. 1075. Joint resolution to request the President to negotiate with the Mexican Government for the purpose of setting up a Joint United States-Mexican Commission to investigate the flow of marihuana, narcotic drugs, and dangerous drugs between the United States and Mexico; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CLEVELAND:

H. Res. 819. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives to create a standing committee to be known as the Committee on Urban Affairs; to the Commitee on Rules.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

460. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to repealing section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 14513. A bill for the relief of Sophie Duca; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ASHMORE:

H.R. 14514. A bill for the relief of Vernon M. Nichols; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURKE:

H.R. 14515. A bill for the relief of the late Albert E. Jameson, Jr.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CLEVENGER:

H.R. 14516. A bill for the relief of Mitsu Blomstrom; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14517. A bill to amend Private Law 86–203 to permit the use of the vessel *John F. Drews* in the coastwise trade while it is owned by a citizen of the United States; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. EDWARDS of California:

H.R. 14518. A bill for the relief of Douglas Fu Yuan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 14519. A bill for the relief of Michele Ponte-Affronti; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14520. A bill for the relief of Leonardo Bullaro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GRAY:

H.R. 14521. A bill for the relief of Girish Kumar Poddar; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAWKINS:

H.R. 14522. A bill for the relief of Wan Do Chang and Ok Chong Lee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H.R. 14523. A bill for the relief of Chin Bak Koon; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. OTTINGER:

H.R. 14524. A bill for the relief of Joseph Paul Lucien Fontaine; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14525. A bill for the relief of Thomas C. Macpherson, Jr.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POLANCO-ABREU:

H.R. 14526. A bill for the relief of Luis Barca Ruiz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POWELL:

H.R. 14527. A bill for the relief of Ingrid Cecilia St. Hilaire; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PUCINSKI:

H.R. 14528. A bill for the relief of Georgia Kapasouris; the the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RACE:

H.R. 14529. A bill for the relief of Elvira Lagat; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHEUER:

H.R. 14530. A bill for the relief of Grace Marie Gadden; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SIKES:

H.R. 14531. A bill for the relief of Bettie J. Miller and Herman Floyd Williams; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMITH of New York:

H.R. 14532. A bill for the relief of Crescenzo Paoliello; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SPRINGER:

H.R. 14533. A bill to provide for the free entry of an ionosonde for the use of the University of Illinois; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 14534. A bill for the relief of Mr. Moshe Gonen and his wife, Ahuva Gonen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

374. The SPEAKER presented a petition of the National Guard Association of California, Sacramento, Calif., relative to retaining National Guard divisions, which was referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Fino Introduces Compromise Mass Transportation Bill To Aid Big Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation which I feel will improve the Mass Transportation Act and make it a better tool for meeting the mass transit needs of our big cities. So far, the Mass Transportation Act has not been able to make a real dent in this problem, and the administration does not seem to be rising to the challenge.

The fiscal 1967 mass transportation budget is a study in woeful inadequacy. Surely the administration must understand that mass transportation in our great cities needs action and not promises.

I am doubly discouraged at administration treatment of mass transportation when I view it alongside of administration tenderness toward the airlines. The airlines are making vast profits—their combined revenues were $2.3 billion in 1965, up 18 percent. Why should the airlines get the gravy from the Government while urban mass transportation operations are forgotten? It is mass transit that cannot break even financially, not the airlines. Aviation subsidies have climbed from $200 million in 1957 to a proposed $900 million in this coming year's budget while annual authorization for mass transit have yet to reach $200 million. This is a sorry state of affairs.

I believe that my proposals would be a great shot in the arm for urban mass transit. In the first place, my bill would repeal the discriminatory 12½-percent limit on the funds that can go to any one State in each fiscal year. This limitation unrealistically restricts the ability of the mass transit program to cope with the needs of New York and a few other States.

Besides stripping the program of this unfair limit, I think we have to increase the Federal financial participation in approved programs. My bill raises the Federal share to a figure between 66⅔ and 90 percent, depending on the local tax burden. Heavily taxed areas like New York would profit.

My bill also increases the yearly authorization for the program to $175 million a year and puts the program on a permanent basis.

The key section of my bill embodies legislatively the very sound suggestion of New York City's Acting Transit Authority Chairman John Gilhooley that the Federal Government can best aid local mass transit programs by providing Federal aid to pay the interest costs of local borrowing. If we give New York City $10 million a year, New York City can service a debt of $400 million with that aid. This is the way to stretch Federal dollars and to encourage local financial initiative. My bill would make this type of thing eligible for mass transit act grants. Under my bill, Federal grants would be payable to underwrite the interest charges on loans floated by States of local agencies to finance projects which are of a type eligible for regular Mass Transportation Act assistance.

My bill also states specifically that commuter subsidy efforts qualify as financial demonstration projects under the act. The bill I am introducing also calls for a $1 million crash research program into the optimum way of restructuring urban mass transportation.

I believe my bill is a solid, workable and realistic proposal. It includes a number of suggestions made by others. I believe that this bill is not pie in the sky. I think it is nothing more than an equitable and workable alternative to the small potatoes mass transit package offered by the administration.

Army and Air Force Specify Fixed-Wing Aircraft Responsibilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, I have been particularly interested in the airlift capabilities of our armed services, especially within southeast Asia. To date, a number of the airlift and tactical support responsibilities have, of necessity, been interservice. It is my pleasure to announce that the Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force, and the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, have formulated a joint decision regarding the responsibilities of their respective services for the control and employment of certain types of fixed and rotary wing aircraft.

The Army will transfer its CV-2—Caribou—and CV-7—Buffalo—aircraft to the Air Force and the Air Force will be responsible for all future intratheater fixed-wing tactical airlift. Other type fixed wing aircraft are not affected.

The Army will be responsible for all rotary wing support for intratheater movement, fire support, supply and resupply of Army forces and those Air Force elements working with Army units to coordinate air support. The Air Force will retain responsibility for rotary wing aircraft involved in Air Force search and rescue and special air warfare missions and Air Force rotary wing administrative support missions.

In cases of operational need the joint or unified commander is authorized to attach the CV-2, CV-7, and C-123 type aircraft to Army corps, division, or subordinate units in the field to perform supply, resupply, or troop lift functions.

The Air Force and the Army will continue to consult on the design of follow-on fixed wing aircraft to assure that the takeoff, landing, and load carrying characteristics meet the needs of the Army for supply, resupply, and troop movement functions. Joint Air Force-Army development of vertical takeoff and landing aircraft—VTOL—will continue and the consideration of methods of employment and control of this type of aircraft will continue as the aircraft evolve.

I feel it is significant that actions required by this agreement will be completed by January 1, 1967.

It is gratifying to see the continuing cooperation of these services in their joint effort to review and establish the most effective means of accomplishing their respective missions.

I strongly feel that this joint decision is in the best interest of the armed services and will greatly enhance the capabilities of both our fixed and rotary wing aircraft.

Survey of Veterans' Attitudes Toward VA Hospital Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

SURVEY OF VETERANS' ATTITUDES TOWARD VA HOSPITAL CARE

In an effort to get a better insight into the quality of hospital care provided by the VA general hospitals, the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House of Representatives, has issued two questionnaires to former VA patients. The first of these questionnaires was mailed on June 25, 1965, to 2,682 veterans, who were discharged from the VA general hospitals during the period June 14 to June 18, 1965, following treatment for a medical or surgical condition. These veterans, randomly selected, constituted 30 percent of the general hospitals' discharges during that period. There were 1,434 replies (a response rate of 53 percent), and the results of the replies were published in Issue 109 (released August 6, 1965) of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

The answers to the first questionnaire indicated that most respondents were satisfied with their hospital treatment. Thus in reply to the question, "What is your overall evaluation of the care you received while a patient?" 83 percent replied "Excellent," 12.8 percent replied "Fair," and only 2 percent replied "Poor." (An additional 2.2 percent made no reply to this question.)

The first questionnaire did not permit analysis on a hospital-by-hospital basis because the number of responses averaged about 11 per hospital, ranging from none at Shreveport, La., to 30 at Hines.

Consequently, a second questionnaire was issued to a larger number of veterans. The second questionnaire was revised and reworded, based on the experience of the first and has been printed as House Committee Print 171, April 19, 1966.

By February 11, 1966, the cutoff date, 84 of the 120 reporting hospitals had distributed questionnaires to 200 discharged patients. The remaining 36 hospitals reported from 51 to 185 discharges to whom questionnaires were issued. All together, 21,687 veterans received questionnaires.

Slightly more than one-third—7,872, or 36.3 percent of the 21,687 veterans—responded by March 7, the committee's cutoff date for receiving replies. Omitting the VA hospital at San Juan, P.R., where language difficulties were encountered to the extent that only three questionnaires were completed, the percentage of response among the individual hospitals ranged from 9.6 percent at Amarillo, Tex., to 60.7 percent at Erie, Pa. The number of questionnaires issued and the number and percent of respondents, by hospital, is shown in table 1.

A summary of the answers from all respondents is contained in table 2. The upper portion of the table contains data showing the number of respondents and answers to each question. Note that although there were 7,872 respondents sending in questionnaires, not all respondents answered all questions. Thus only 7,380 respondents answered question 1(a). Failure to indicate a clear "Yes" or "No" on the questionnaire was considered as a failure to respond, for purposes of these tabulations.

Responses to the individual questions which may be considered as being favorable to the VA are indicated by an asterisk (e.g., a "Yes" answer to question 2 or a "No" answer to question (4(b)). Neutral questions, such as questions 1(a), 1(b), and 15, have no asterisks in either the "Yes" or "No" columns. Thus the asterisk sign makes it convenient for the reader to spot the number and percent of favorable responses to any individual question.

A review of the asterisked percentages in table 2 indicates that the overall responses of the respondents are quite favorable to the VA. The lowest favorable response rate for any question, question 4(a), is 85.7 percent.

In the lower portion of table 2 is shown a summary of (a) all favorable and unfavorable replies to "All questions," and to those combinations of questions which are believed to relate specifically to (b) physician care, (c) nursing care, (d) dietetic service, (e) housekeeping, and (f) general hospital management.

The table below shows the average percent and range of percents of favorable responses among the VA general hospitals.

Question grouping	Average percent all hospitals	Percent range	
		Lowest hospital	Highest hospital
All questions	95.0	81.2	99.2
Physician care (2, 7, 8, and 11(a))	92.9	79.7	99.4
Nursing care (9(a) to 9(c) and 10)	96.3	80.8	100.0
Dietetics, (13(a) to 13(d))	93.4	71.6	100.0
Housekeeping (3(a) to 3(e), 12(a) to 12(c) and 4(b))	96.5	84.0	100.0
General hospital management (4(a), 4(c), 4(d), 4(e) (1), 5(a), 5(b), 6, and 14)	93.5	78.3	98.8

The percents indicate that the majority of respondents at each hospital reported favorably on all facets of their care, and that the minimum favorable response among the individual hospitals for any response grouping did not fall below 71.6 percent.

TABLE 1.—*Number of veterans receiving questionnaires and number and percent of respondents, VA general hospitals*

Hospitals	Number of veterans receiving questionnaires	Number of veterans responding	Percent of veterans responding
Total	21,687	7,872	36.3
Albany, N.Y	200	58	29.0
Albuquerque, N. Mex	200	71	35.5
Alexandria, La	200	95	47.5
Altoona, Pa	74	35	47.3
Amarillo, Tex	156	15	9.6
Ann Arbor, Mich	200	50	25.0
Atlanta, Ga	200	53	26.5
Augusta, Ga	193	77	39.9
Batavia, N.Y	91	48	52.7
Bath, N.Y	126	37	29.4
Bay Pines, Fla	200	51	25.5
Beckley, W. Va	185	37	20.0
Big Spring, Tex	200	49	24.5
Biloxi, Miss	109	44	40.4
Birmingham, Ala	200	77	38.5
Boise, Idaho	156	85	54.5
Bonham, Tex	51	40	78.4
Boston, Mass	200	63	31.5
Bronx, N.Y	200	66	33.0
Brooklyn, N.Y	200	77	38.5
Buffalo, N.Y	200	83	41.5
Butler, Pa	81	37	45.7
Castle Point, N.Y	66	32	48.5
Cheyenne, Wyo	115	47	40.9
Chicago, Ill. (West Side)	200	89	44.5
Chicago, Ill. (research)	200	65	32.5
Cincinnati, Ohio	200	92	46.0
Clarksburg, W. Va	120	48	40.0
Cleveland, Ohio	200	45	22.5
Columbia, S.C	200	78	39.0
Coral Gables, Fla	200	81	40.5
Dallas, Tex	200	49	24.5
Dayton, Ohio	200	60	30.0
Dearborn, Mich	200	43	21.5
Denver, Colo	200	84	42.0
Des Moines, Iowa	200	93	46.5
Dublin, Ga	200	54	27.0
Durham, N.C	200	69	34.5
East Orange, N.J	200	58	29.0
Erie, Pa	84	51	60.7
Fargo, N. Dak	200	85	42.5
Fayetteville, Ark	200	82	41.0
Fayetteville, N.C	200	82	41.0
Fort Harrison, Mont	127	59	46.5
Fort Howard, Md	200	33	16.5
Fort Wayne, Ind	136	24	17.6
Fresno, Calif	200	86	43.0
Grand Island, Nebr	142	74	52.1
Grand Junction, Colo	134	55	41.0
Hines, Ill	200	53	26.5
Hot Springs, S. Dak	53	30	56.6
Houston, Tex	200	79	39.5
Huntington, W. Va	200	48	24.0
Indianapolis, Ind	200	53	26.5
Iowa City, Iowa	200	83	41.5
Iron Mountain, Mich	159	87	54.7
Jackson, Miss	200	58	29.0
Kansas City, Mo	200	79	39.5
Kecoughtan, Va	169	45	26.6
Kerrville, Tex	200	72	36.0
Lake City, Fla	200	83	41.5
Lincoln, Nebr	130	78	60.0
Little Rock, Ark	200	92	46.0
Livermore, Calif	200	86	43.0
Long Beach, Calif	200	56	28.0
Los Angeles, Calif	200	28	14.0
Louisville, Ky	200	93	46.5
Madison, Wis	200	111	55.5
Manchester, N.H	118	66	55.9
Marion, Ill	175	75	42.9
Marlin, Tex	165	89	53.9
Martinez, Calif	200	74	37.0
Martinsburg, W. Va	200	66	33.0
Memphis, Tenn	200	64	32.0
Miles City, Mont	106	22	20.8
Minneapolis, Minn	200	83	41.5
Montgomery, Ala	200	85	42.5
Mountain Home, Tenn	200	108	54.0
Muskogee, Okla	200	78	39.0
Nashville, Tenn	200	77	38.5
Newington, Conn	200	39	19.5
New Orleans, La	200	50	25.0
New York, N.Y	200	46	23.0
Oklahoma City, Okla	200	78	39.0
Omaha, Nebr	200	78	39.0
Oteen, N.C	200	105	52.5
Palo Alto, Calif	200	77	38.5
Philadelphia, Pa	200	67	33.5
Phoenix, Ariz	178	45	25.3
Pittsburgh, Pa	200	87	43.5
Poplar Bluff, Mo	167	79	47.3
Portland, Oreg	200	118	59.0
Providence, R.I	200	43	21.5
Reno, Nev	90	42	46.7
Richmond, Va	200	41	20.5
Saginaw, Mich	144	53	36.8
Salt Lake City, Utah	200	113	56.5
San Fernando, Calif	82	46	56.1
San Francisco, Calif	200	63	31.5
San Juan, P.R	200	3	1.5
Seattle, Wash	200	44	22.0
Shreveport, La	200	69	34.5
Sioux Falls, S. Dak	200	84	42.0
Spokane, Wash	200	96	48.0
St. Louis, Mo	200	84	42.0
Syracuse, N.Y	200	96	48.0
Temple, Tex	200	64	32.0
Tucson, Ariz	200	32	16.0
Vancouver, Wash	200	104	52.0
Wadsworth, Kans	200	77	38.5
Walla Walla, Wash	95	37	38.9
Washington, D.C	200	82	41.0
West Haven, Conn	200	49	24.5
West Roxbury, Mass	197	65	33.0
Whipple, Ariz	141	60	42.6
White River Junction, Vt	200	92	46.0
Wichita, Kans	190	98	51.6
Wilkes-Barre, Pa	200	82	41.0
Wilmington, Del	182	64	35.2
Wood, Wis	200	53	26.5

TABLE 2.—*Total respondents to each question, number and percent of respondents answering "yes" or "no," and number and percent of favorable answers to grouped questions—All VA general hospitals*

[Asterisk (*) denotes favorable response]

All stations—Question	Total respondents	Number of respondents		Percent	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
1. (a) Have you ever been a patient in a VA hospital before?	7,380	5,564	1,816	75.4	24.6
(b) If "yes," in this hospital?	5,412	4,456	956	82.3	17.7
2. Did the admitting doctor interview you in a friendly and understanding manner?	7,641	*7,401	240	*96.9	3.1
3. About your room—					
(a) Was it attractive?	7,251	*6,923	328	*95.5	4.5
(b) Was it clean when you arrived?	7,633	*7,486	147	*98.1	1.9
(c) Was it ventilated?	7,521	*7,098	423	*94.4	5.6
(d) Was it well lighted?	7,593	*7,471	122	*98.4	1.6
(e) Was your bed comfortable?	7,627	*7,385	242	*96.8	3.2
4. About your comfort—					
(a) Were you annoyed by noises?	7,475	1,070	*6,405	14.3	*85.7
If "yes," was this due to—					
(1) Visitors?	2,277	243	2,034		
(2) Roommate?	2,388	605	1,783		
(3) Equipment?	2,277	448	1,829		
(4) Hospital personnel?	2,320	468	1,852		
(5) Radio or TV sets?	2,363	473	1,890		
(b) Were you annoyed by so-called hospital odors?	7,670	283	*7,387	3.7	*96.3
(c) Were you awakened too early in the morning?	7,597	861	*6,736	11.3	*88.7
(d) Were hospital routines arranged so you could generally get sufficient rest?	7,663	*7,130	533	*93.0	7.0
(e) Were there other patients in your room?	7,422	6,776	646	91.3	8.7
If "yes," did they disturb you?	7,014	534	*6,480	7.6	*92.4
5. About your visitors—					
(a) Were you satisfied with visiting hours?	7,665	*7,542	123	*98.4	1.6
(b) Did your visitors receive courteous treatment from hospital personnel?	7,502	*7,336	166	*97.8	2.2
6. Were hospital rules and schedules adequately explained to you?	7,702	*7,261	441	*94.3	5.7
7. Were tests and treatments explained to you so that you understood what was happening?	7,636	6,897	739	*90.3	9.7
8. Before being discharged, were you instructed how to care for yourself at home?	7,668	*6,910	758	*90.1	9.9
9. Do you feel the nurses were—					
(a) Skilled by giving you personal care?	7,662	*7,564	98	*98.7	1.3
(b) Interested in you as a person?	7,166	*6,776	390	*94.6	5.4
(c) Prompt in doing things for you?	7,339	*6,959	380	*94.8	5.2
10. Did you have as much nursing care as needed?	7,642	*7,416	226	*97.0	3.0
11. Did the following give you friendly efficient service?					
(a) Doctors (other than your own)?	7,325	*6,923	402	*94.5	5.5
(b) Dentists?	6,277	*5,828	449	*92.8	7.2
(c) Technicians who drew blood?	7,436	*7,355	81	*98.9	1.1
(d) Technicians who took X-rays?	7,425	*7,335	90	*98.8	1.2
(e) Nursing attendants?	7,410	*7,199	211	*97.2	2.8
12. Housekeeping:					
(a) Was room cleaned daily?	7,678	*7,385	293	*96.2	3.8
(b) Were cleaning persons considerate of you?	7,618	*7,469	149	*98.0	2.0
(c) Was a good cleaning job done?	7,582	*7,204	378	*95.0	5.0
13. In regard to food and considering whether or not you were on special diet—					
(a) Were the servings adequate?	7,658	*7,434	224	*97.1	2.9
(b) Was the hot portion of the meal served hot?	7,494	*6,842	652	*91.3	8.7
(c) Were the meals attractively served?	7,569	*7,326	243	*96.8	3.2
(d) Did you like the coffee?	7,075	*6,232	843	*88.1	11.9
14. In general, do you feel you had good hospital care?	7,526	*7,349	177	*97.6	2.4
15. Did you receive surgery?	7,646	3,411	4,235	44.6	55.4

TABLE 2.—*Total respondents to each question, number and percent of respondents answering "Yes" or "No," and number and percent of favorable answers to grouped questions—All VA general hospitals*—Continued

Total answers to all questions:	
Number of favorable answers	234,444
Number of unfavorable answers	12,296
Percent of favorable answers	95
Physician care questions 2, 7, 8, and 11(a):	
Number of favorable answers	28,131
Number of unfavorable answers	2,139
Percent of favorable answers	92.9
Nursing care questions 9(a) to 9(c) and 10:	
Number of favorable answers	28,715
Number of unfavorable answers	1,094
Percent of favorable answers	96.3
Dietetic service questions 13(a) to 13(d):	
Number of favorable answers	27,834
Number of unfavorable answers	1,962
Percent of favorable answers	93.4
Housekeeping questions 3(a) to 3(e), 12(a) to 12(c), and 4(b):	
Number of favorable answers	65,808
Number of unfavorable answers	2,365
Percent of favorable answers	96.5
General hospital management questions 4(a), 4(c), 4(d), 4(e) (1), 5(a), 5(b), 6, and 14:	
Number of favorable answers	56,239
Number of unfavorable answers	3,905
Percent of favorable answers	93.5

The cooperation of the Veterans' Administration in assisting in the survey is very much appreciated. A special word of gratitude is in order for the Veterans' Administration hospital directors who distributed the questionnaire, and to Daniel I. Rosen, H. J. Doben, Bernard Kaufman, Charles N. Shea, and Michael LoGuirato of the Veterans' Administration Department of Medicine and Surgery, Reports and Statistics Service, who helped in the analysis and compilation of the results.

The Child Nutrition Act of 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, the Child Nutrition Act of 1966 proposes to break new ground in various ways to assure better nutrition for our children. A case in point, and one that interests me particularly, is the pilot breakfast program. I believe there is a particular need for this kind of program in many areas—especially in rural areas and low-income urban areas. Children attending rural schools frequently travel long distances by bus or, in mountain areas with few roads, have a long walk. Even if they have had a fairly decent breakfast, it is a long time until lunch.

In downtown low-income residential areas, it is not uncommon for parents to have to leave for work an hour or more before the children go off to school. This means the children pretty much shift for themselves in terms of getting breakfast and more than a few just will not bother.

I think the importance of this type of program was well stated in a recent publication, "Education: An Answer to Poverty," issued jointly by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Office of Education. The publication states flatly: "Hungry children are nonlearning children," and then goes on to say:

> Scientific studies have shown conclusively that the process of learning virtually ends when a human being becomes uncomfortably hungry. When a child appears at school in the morning having had little or no breakfast, he might just as well have stayed at home. The teacher's effort is wasted. The curriculum, the long hours of professional preparation, the value of textbooks and teaching aids are lost upon him. Similarly, a child without lunch loses most of the value of a school afternoon. A hungry child not only injures himself, but his discomfort may subtly disturb the teaching of a whole class.

That is blunt language but I think few would take exception to it. In our pursuit of excellence in education we have to start with the first essential since time began—good nutrition.

Polish Freedom—World Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the statement of His Excellency, the Polish Prime Minister of the Polish Government-in-exile issued not long ago at London contained much food for thought for lovers of freedom.

The pronouncement of this distinguished freedom fighter and leader related to the struggle for freedom of conscience and of spiritual values in Poland and the independence of that great nation.

Consequently, it is to be deplored that the Communist satellite government in Poland is throwing roadblocks in the way of celebration of the 1,000th year of that great nation's attachment and devotion to its Catholic faith.

It was believed that the Ecumenical Council had produced much commendable change and advancement in the relationship between various religions. It has brought much unity in places where heretofore there has been disunity. It has ushered in an era of good feeling, a tolerance and close friendship and collaboration between various religious faiths that formerly stood more or less aloof from each other.

It is really a pity that Communist nations, like satellite Poland, do not seem to be impressed by the need for bringing spiritual groups together. I suppose in the light of the deep Communist hostility to all religion, this is understandable, but it is nevertheless deplorable that there should be those in the world in this enlightened day to challenge the right of man to his own religious tenets.

Such an attitude and such conduct as the Communist satellite government of Poland is betraying, barring distinguished church visitors from attending the 1000th year celebration, is a very tragic thing, a mockery of human values and a pathetic affirmation of the hatred and abhorrence of religion that is felt and practiced in Communist states.

They resent statements in the press and in periodical magazines that God is dead. They hold He lives and will always live.

How can anything good come out of enmity to religion and belief in God? Literally, billions of people on the earth believe in some kind of God. Only Marxists, Communists, satellite countries, and a relatively limited number of confirmed atheists, agnostics, and other religious skeptics in the world reject the love of and belief in God, and, of course, they are in a vast minority, even though their doctrines have been spread of late by communism, and some brands of Marxist socialism, and by skeptical materialistic philosophers that are tied in with the Marxist materialistic concept of history, evolution, and the origin of the world and the universe.

It seemed kind of strange that people who profess the rather fragmented doctrine of peaceful coexistence should have the temerity to deny very high personages from nations throughout the world of the access they would ordinarily have to attend the 1,000th year celebration of Polish allegiance to the Catholic faith.

From every standpoint, such tactics are silly and deplorable, and are very damaging and injurious to peaceful coexistence among peoples, because they demonstrate that in their heart of hearts the Communists have nothing but ill will, and probably hatred for anything and anybody connected with religious belief.

This being so, and the free world being largely composed of people attached to religious belief, the gulf between the two ways of life, that of Marxist communism and that of human freedom, is widened and the differences existing between them hardened and calcified. It is noted that Americans feel that this kind of exclusionary practice is offensive to basic law, both international and municipal and civil and must be flatly and vigorously repudiated and condemned.

In uttering such repudiation and condemnation, I urge our State Department to exert its best efforts and good offices, for whatever they may mean these days, to Communists, not to bar out religious and other distinguished personages from the 1,000th year celebration, and not to put the damper of oppression and repression upon that great event.

People who do not believe in God have the right to their beliefs, but they should not, as in this case, try to check, distort and suppress the beliefs of others. Such conduct is not only a disservice to amicable international relations but it is a serious reflection upon the good faith, the judgment, the commonsense and intelligence of those who perpetrate such a ghastly piece of mockery.

All the rationalization of the Communist state could never conceal that fact.

Anniversary of Jewish Revolt Against Nazis in Warsaw Ghetto

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, today we commemorate the beginning, 23 years ago, of a revolt by the Jews of the Warsaw ghetto against the Nazis. Though the Jews who revolted fought bravely, they were outnumbered and vastly outgunned, and the Nazis not only put down their uprising but revenged their defiance by utterly decimating the ghetto and killing or capturing all its inhabitants.

The savagery at the heart of nazism was never more clearly revealed than in Warsaw in 1943 when they destroyed any who would stand up to them with dignity and courage. In commemorating this day we recall the barbarism which flourished a few short years ago, not just because of the insanity which was Hitler's, but also because so many millions shared or condoned his fear and hatred of the Jewish minority.

We also can draw a lesson from it: That those who are oppressed will not forever accept their fate without resistance; and that whenever we allow hatred and fear to fester in our midst, we are inviting an eventual horror such as occurred in Warsaw.

On this anniversary let us celebrate the courage which those who fought the Nazis showed and let us rededicate ourselves to a society in which equality and compassion are more than a facade, than platitudes, than a veneer; and where there is no need for the oppressed to rise, because there is no oppression—legal economic, or social.

FPC Apathy on Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, New York City and, for that matter, the entire metropolitan area is fast becoming enveloped in an air pollution problem which seriously affects health and welfare.

One way to assist in the amelioration of air pollution would be to make more natural gas available to the city from the limited pipeline capacity.

This is in the control of the Federal Power Commission, which has heretofore shown little interest in the air pollution needs of New York City.

In that connection I commend to my colleagues for their perusal my letter to the New York Herald Tribune, published in their issue of Thursday, March 31, 1966, which follows:

FPC APATHY ON AIR POLLUTION

To the HERALD TRIBUNE:

Your commendable series, "The World's Dirtiest Air," on the air pollution problem points up one of the areas in which we in Washington, D.C., can be helpful.

As a member of the New York City Council, I introduced a resolution to help cause the inactive previous city administration to take advantage of the Federal Clean Air Act of 1963. Now in Washington, D.C., I find that our Federal Government is also almost oblivious to the needs of our New York City area in the air pollution field.

Contrary to popular belief, Consolidated Edison Co. does take some action to reduce air pollution. It is presently fighting for the right to get more natural gas allocated to the city of New York from the limited pipeline capacity to, among other things, substitute for residual fuel oil and thus reduce sulfur dioxide emissions from the company's generating stations.

After extensive hearings, the matter is now being held for final determination by the Federal Power Commission.

In the meantime, Consolidated Edison asked for temporary authorization and was opposed by the staff of the Federal Power Commission, among other things, on the ground that there was no real evidence of emergency due to air pollution conditions in New York City.

While the Federal Power Commission has just granted the temporary authorization for 1 year commencing April 1, 1966, its decision is based on cost questions in saving a possible construction of a storage facility instead of being helpful on the question of air pollution.

The Commission in its decree stated: "The issuance of this temporary certificate is without prejudice to the ultimate determination of any issue raised in the proceeding and the determination made to issue the temporary certificate has in no way been influenced by the air pollution issue raised by the city of New York and Con Ed."

I have written to the Commission protesting their statement and pointing out that the problem of air pollution is more important than the question of the cost of a storage installation.

THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN,
Member, U.S. House of Representatives.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Memorial Wall to Martyred 6 Million

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday afternoon, April 24, 1966, the day before the Chai—18th—anniversary of Israel Independence, Temple Beth Am of Los Angeles will dedicate its Memorial Wall to the Martyred 6 Million.

The memorial wall is being erected in memory of the 6 million Jewish men, women, and children, blameless victims of Nazi barbarism and terrorism, who perished in the most sadistic ways the world has ever known.

The memorial wall, designed and built by the renowned artist, Perli Pelzig, expresses not merely a mosaic of many fragments of individual camps, but a picture of the concentration camp system as a whole.

Both American and foreign dignitaries, such as former Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, and President Zalman Shazar, of Israel, have agreed to serve as honorary chairmen of the dedication of the memorial wall.

This wall effectively and dramatically depicts the Hitler horror and will stand to remind us that 6 million innocent Jewish people perished. The memorial wall will stand to remind those of us who are today enjoying the precious fruits of life which are the same as the hopes and dreams of those who died, that we should never again allow such an act to occur.

The memorial wall is a living monument to those innocent people, and serves as a means not only to keep the memory of the 6 million alive for the Temple Beth Am Congregation, but it is hoped that the wall will be a constant reminder to all mankind of this great martyrdom, and that universal freedom is our goal.

I ask that the Members of the House of Representatives of the United States join with Mr. Nathan Shapell, president; Rabbi Jacob Pressman; the Congregation of Temple Beth Am, and millions of people throughout the world in the dedication of the "Memorial Wall to the Martyred 6 Million—In Loving Tribute to the Memory of the 6 Million Martyrs—We Shall Not Forget."

Also, I would like to commend the following distinguished citizens of my community who serve on the dedication commission responsible for the erection of the memorial wall:

Edward J. Colman, chairman; Al Berg, cochairman; Eli Rembaum, cochairman; Nathan Shapell, memorial wall chairman; Samuel Weiss, dedication coordinator; Mrs. Edward J. Colman.

Saul H. Curtis, Irving Dubin, Eliot B. Feldman, Esq., Philip D. Finkel, Emanuel Fisch, Irving Footlik, Herbert Friedman, Milton B. Goodman, Col. John Gottlieb, Joseph Harris.

Meyer E. Hersch, George Konheim, Benton E. Krisher, David B. Kuris, M.D., Si Magness, Mrs. Nathan Shapell, Ben D. Silverstein, Mrs. Zola Tisherman, Max Webb, Louis Wolfe, Eugene Wyman.

Robert R. Lorenz, Great Western Artist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, while home for the Easter holiday, Mrs. Roncalio and I had the pleasure of attending a special exhibit of Cheyenne National Bank's annual Easter Art Show—an event of growing significance to the artists of Wyoming.

Of unusual interest this year was a special exhibit of paintings by the late Robert R. Lorenz.

Robert R. (Bob) Lorenz was raised in California and came to Cheyenne to complete his high school education. After his graduation from Cheyenne High School in 1940, and determined to follow in the footsteps of western painters Charlie Russell and Frederick Remington, he spent 2 years working on ranches from Wyoming to Mexico.

In 1942 he joined the Army Air Corps and served 4 years on bomber duty. He then entered Colorado A. & M.—now Colorado State University—where he was graduated with a B.S. degree in animal husbandry and range management.

Bob married the former Georgena Palmer, of Denver, his high school sweetheart, in 1943 and they began their western greeting card company while he was attending the university. During this period Bob sold many cover illustrations to national farm and ranch publications.

In 1953 he was recalled to active duty in the Air Force and served for 6 more years, 2 of which were spent in Paris where he was navigation briefing officer at Orly Field. In his spare time Bob continued his art studies at the same school that instructed the famous French impressionist, Toulouse Lautrec. A partner operated his greeting card business from Boulder, Colo., while he was in the military service.

Bob Lorenz returned to Cheyenne with his family in 1963 because Wyoming exemplified the West he so dearly loved. A year later he moved his greeting card company from Boulder to Cheyenne and entered into partnership with Jimmie L. Garrett, a longtime friend.

During his career he met and became good friends with numerous other well-known western artists, including Fred Harmon, George Phippen, Nick Eggenhofer, Hans Kleiber, and Robert Lougheed. Many of their works are featured on greeting cards published by his company, the Lazy BL Ranch.

Bob Lorenz might easily have remained a cowboy had it not been for an inner need to share with the rest of the world his love for the West, its people, and its animal life. His unique artistic ability to capture on canvas the detailed realism of western America was a gift that could not be denied others. We, as a nation, are fortunate to have received even a limited sampling of his rare talent.

Bob Lorenz passed away on July 1, 1965, at the age of 45.

His paintings are fast becoming as famous as those of the late Charlie Russell and Frederick Remington.

It is my hope that these drawings will always remain in art museums in Wyoming and that his widow and heirs will preserve these originals for posterity by making them available to the western lore museums which are fast becoming a reality in many Wyoming communities.

Veterans' Hospitalization Survey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on February 15, 1966, the House Veterans' Affairs Committee sent a letter and questionnaire to a group of 10,000 veterans on the pension rolls calling attention to veterans the recently enacted Public Law 89-97 which provides medical care for those individuals covered by the social security system.

The question was asked that assuming the veteran was eligible for medicare coverage and should become ill in the future, would he elect to receive care in a

Veterans' Administration hospital, in a community hospital under medicare, or in a community hospital at his own expense.

The veteran was asked to check his preference on a questionnaire card enclosed with the letter and to add any remarks that he cared to make.

The veterans who were included in this study represented a geographic spread which involved all parts of the country. A total of 331, or 5.6 percent, resided in the New England area. A total of 1,055, or 17.8 percent, lived in the Mid-Atlantic States. There were 1,743, or 29.3 percent of the total who lived in the Midwest and 25 percent, or 1,488, were from the South. The Southwest had 461, or 7.8 percent of this study, and 864, or 14.5 percent, resided in the Far West.

Of the 5,942 questionnaires tabulated in this study, 97.6 percent or 5,795 of 5,942, were received from World War I veterans. A total of 2,607 of these World War I veterans are still drawing pension under the old law. A total of 3,188, or 55 percent, are drawing pension under Public Law 86-211 as amended. World War II veterans comprised only 2.4 percent of the study questionnaires. Only 19, or 13 percent, of these World War II veterans are drawing pension under the old law. A total of 128, or 87 percent, are receiving pension under Public Law 86-211.

A total of 3,888 veterans, or 65.5 percent of the 5,942 involved in this study, marked a preference for VA hospitalization. There were 1,704, or 28.7 percent, who indicated "Community hospital under medicare." Only 1 percent or 61 veterans, checked "Community hospital at own expense." A total of 263, or 4.4 percent, checked both "VA hospital" and "Community hospital under medicare" with remarks explaining their dual choice. A total of eight veterans, or 0.1 percent, checked both "VA hospitalization" and "Community hospital under medicare at own expense." There were six veterans who checked all three blocks on the questionnaire.

The text of this survey is printed as Committee Print No. 177, dated April 21, 1966. On behalf of the committee I would like to express our appreciation to all those members of the Veterans' Administration who aided in the survey, and in particular for the tabulations which I believe will be quite interesting and useful to all who are interested in this field.

National Unity and Present Conflict

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the speech, in part, which I delivered before a joint installation of officers of the National Association of Letter Carriers and the Ladies Auxiliary, at Natick, Mass., on March 19, 1966:

REMARKS, IN PART, OF CONGRESSMAN PHILIP J. PHILBIN, THIRD MASSACHUSETTS DISTRICT, SPEAKING AT THE JOINT INSTALLATION OF OFFICERS TO THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS AND THE LADIES AUXILIARY AT NATICK, MASS., MARCH 19, 1966

Speaking at the joint installation of officers of the National Association of Letter Carriers and the Ladies Auxiliary at Natick, Saturday night, Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN highly lauded the postal employees and declared that they were the implementing force of the greatest postal system in the world.

The Congressman called for national unity of all peoples regardless of race, class, or creed in the current crisis to secure maximum security of the Nation and bring about peace in Vietnam and elsewhere in the world, as soon as it can be accomplished.

"The business of the Post Office Department these days is growing in leaps and bounds," said PHILBIN. "Moreover, modern science and new methods have required extensive modernization in the system which has caused some temporary problems. It is important, however, that such programs should not be allowed to impair the mail service, or adversely affect the status of faithful, postal employees who are the heart of this great Government enterprise and must be assured of comparability in pay, fringe benefits, and other high standards that pertain to private industry in the Nation."

PHILBIN stated that "the local postmaster and his employees are entitled to great commendation and credit for their faithful efficient work in a very busy office."

Touching briefly on the situation in Vietnam, PHILBIN declared "that while we earnestly seek peace, we must recognize that this conflict is part of the overall Communist conspiracy which is threatening freedom everywhere, and our policy must be one of strength and firmness, if we hope to avoid escalation and even graver problems affecting freedom and security than those we face today.

"At the same time," said PHILBIN, "let us continue to make it clear to everyone, including Hanoi, Red China, and the Soviet, and every other nation that we seek peace with all our hearts, and are ready to enter into unconditional negotiations at any and every time. Meanwhile," said the Congressman, "let us all join together, resolved to protect our country, its free institutions, its safety and security in this dangerous world."

Bigger Farm Exports Through Government-Industry Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the big changes in American agriculture is the active new role of our farmers in export markets.

We have sold our farm products to the world for many, many years—cotton, grains, tobacco, fruits, mainly. But this selling has not always been done in a determined and organized manner. What our own people could not eat, wear, or otherwise use, we offered to the world market. Under this rather relaxed approach, our agricultural exports were worthwhile but never reached the extremely high volume and high value that we have attained during these 1960's.

Today we have an aggressive agricultural export program in operation that reaches throughout the free world. It is a program with a wide home front for it is backed up by American agriculture, American business, and American government, both Federal and State. It recognizes that dollars earned abroad are as important as dollars earned at home. And it is getting things done. Our agricultural exports this fiscal year will total $6.5 billion or more, by far the largest in our history, a gain of 45 percent in just 5 years. At least $4.8 billion of these exports will be commercial sales that bring back dollars to the United States.

Today, for the first time, we have an export promotion program that rivals that of the other countries that compete with us in the world market. The Danes have long been known for their exports of bacon and eggs; the Dutch, cheese; New Zealand, butter; Australia, wool; Brazil, coffee; and so forth. For years they have successfully placed their products before consumers through worldwide advertising and promotion campaigns. Now we are doing this too, and doing it well as our climbing export statistics show.

One of the chief vehicles being used in this campaign is the foreign market development program sponsored by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and carried out by private business and agricultural organizations through joint Government-industry financing.

This program was authorized when section 104(a) of Public Law 480 placed market development first among the uses to be made of foreign currency acquired in exchange for surplus agricultural commodities. Congress has since gone further and specified that not less than 5 percent of these currencies be reserved for market development and that at least 2 percent of them must be convertible into hard currencies for use in countries where the best dollar markets lie.

In the past few years, this program has risen to a peak of accomplishment.

It now involves some 45 private trade associations, working in 70 countries, operating about 50 overseas offices, and contributing nearly $6 million a year in the form of cash and supervisory services.

Most of these associations are nationwide in scope and are organized on a commodity basis. Many were formed specifically to take part in this program. They do no actual trading; their job is to do promotional work on behalf of their members, who may be producers, processors, traders, or in some cases, all three.

This has proved to be a highly effective combination of public and private talents. It has been a major factor in making Japan our No. 1 agricultural customer and developing soybeans, feed grains, and wheat into billion dollar a year export commodities. It has been responsible for specific export achievements, such as the introduction of U.S. rice into Western Europe and South Africa; the introduction of U.S. frozen poultry into Germany, Italy, and other countries; the promotion of soybean oil in Spain, now our leading cash customer for that product; the use of U.S. turkey to supplement scarce veal supplies in Italy; the development of a quality emblem for U.S. export poultry; a sharp rise in exports of U.S. dairy breeding cattle; and many others.

It is a fine example of what can be accomplished when government and industry pull together to achieve a common goal.

A New Chapter in the History of the Consumer Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the 3-day Consumer Assembly 1966 program April 25–27 at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., will open a new chapter in the history of the consumer movement.

For the first time, consumer-oriented organizations, including women's clubs, social service groups, trade unions, senior citizens' associations, credit unions, and consumer cooperatives have combined to speak with one voice for the rights of the buying public.

Topics to be covered range from air and water pollution to traffic safety.

The program opens with a panel discussion on control of air and water pollution by Senator EDMUND MUSKIE, of Maine, and Representative JOHN BLATNIK, of Minnesota, who have long been in the forefront of the struggle for clean air and water. Also on this panel is Russell Train, president of the Conservation Foundation.

Delegates to Consumer Assembly will hear a progress report on premarket testing of drugs and cosmetics from Representative LEONOR SULLIVAN of Missouri. The need for this was pointed out by no less an authority than Dr. James L. Goddard, Commissioner of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, in a recent speech condemning the drug industry for irresponsibility.

Auto safety will be an important topic. Delegates to Consumer Assembly will hear Ralph Nader, author of "Unsafe at Any Speed," Robert Knoll, researcher for Consumers Union, Alfred Moseley, of Trauma Research Institute, Cambridge, Mass., and Representative JAMES MACKAY of Georgia discuss the need for Federal control over car design to cut down the appalling toll of deaths and injuries on U.S. highways.

General Motors Corp. and the Automobile Manufacturers Association declined to suggest a speaker to present the car makers' views at this discussion.

Senator PHILIP HART of Michigan will discuss truth-in-packaging legislation he has urged for the last 5 years and Senator PAUL DOUGLAS of Illinois will talk on truth-in-lending legislation he has introduced in every Congress since 1960. President Johnson has recommended that Congress pass both these measures this year.

Highlighting the Consumer Assembly meeting will be visits by the delegates with their Senators and Representatives on Capitol Hill.

Discussion of utility rates and medical and hospital costs will conclude Consumer Assembly. Federal Power Commissioner Charles Ross, California Public Utilities Commissioner William Bennett, Charles Robinson, staff engineer, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, and former Assistant Attorney General Nathan Paven of Massachusetts are on the utility panel. Dr. Caldwell Esselstyn, executive director, Community Health Association, Dr. Dean Clark of the University of Pittsburgh's graduate school of public health, and Kenneth McCaffree, University of Washington economist, are on the medical-hospital cost panel.

Concluding speaker will be Sidney Margolius, newspaper columnist specializing in consumer problems.

I welcome this meeting and look for the enthusiasm it generates to help push President Johnson's consumer program through Congress.

The Cornerstone of American Life Rests on a Strong Spiritual Foundation—An Address by Senator Frank Carlson, of Kansas, at the Mayor's Prayer Breakfast in Leavenworth, Kans., Friday, April 8, 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, on Good Friday, the senior Senator from Kansas, the Honorable FRANK CARLSON, was the speaker at the mayor's prayer breakfast in Leavenworth, Kans. All present were impressed with the beauty and inspiration of Senator CARLSON's remarks. They were not only appropriate for this holiday, but can serve as a daily reminder to all who read them that much depends upon prayer and divine guidance in every citizen's life and in the operation of our Government.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this address by Senator CARLSON in the RECORD:

SPEECH BY SENATOR FRANK CARLSON, MAYOR'S PRAYER BREAKFAST, LEAVENWORTH, KANS., APRIL 8, 1966

It is an honor and privilege to meet with this fine group of citizens from Leavenworth and surrounding territory at the fourth annual mayor's prayer breakfast.

As we meet on Good Friday morning, it is well to remember that in Jerusalem, Judea, Friday, March 29, A.D. 33, at approximately 8 o'clock in the morning began the darkest and saddest day for Christendom.

Darkness fell. Those whose lives had been drawn to His in answering faith, into whose lives His life and truth had begun to penetrate, passed through dark fear that all which had come to them from Him was but a lovely mirage. They thought for a time that He and all that He was and embodied had been shut up forever in a tomb.

But just because this brief, fragile, broken human life was so indwelt by the eternal, so penetrated and filled with the eternal truth and life and love of God, the tomb was broken. The life and truth in Him was set free to live and work among men in the power of the spirit.

Men learned that the cross was not the end, but only the beginning.

On Easter morn, the promise that man would live again was fulfilled in the resurrection of Christ. Hope replaced dispair—joy overcame sorrow—and faith ended fear. For man, life had a more glorious meaning—a meaning which would sustain him to the end of time.

If I would choose a text today, it would be the words of St. James, who wrote: "The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much."

Go through the pages of history and you will note that all the really great leaders of the world were praying men and women. They early learned its power of renourishing the spirit and giving to the mind both its courage and its daring—for prayer brushes away so much that is irrelevant and so much that is dross.

One of the most encouraging things that I see in America today is the growing number of people who are coming to associate our cherished freedom with our inherited faith.

The cornerstone of the American life rests on a strong spiritual foundation. I believe we need to be reminded of the debt that we owe to our forefathers and the great obligation we must assume if we are to preserve the great heritage we have received.

Let us not forget that prayer was offered at the landing in Jamestown, Va., in 1607—that Thomas Jefferson made four specific references to our Creator in the Declaration of Independence and who can forget George Washington on his knees at Valley Forge.

Many will recall that in the midst of framing our Federal Constitution, it was Benjamin Franklin who said: "If it be true that not a sparrow can fall to the ground without His notice, how can we hope to see a new empire arise without His aid."

In the Senate of the United States, we have an organization known as the breakfast prayer group, which meets regularly each Wednesday morning at 8:30 for breakfast—after which we have a 30-minute discussion of some religious topic. One of the members is designated each week as a leader. We have from 10 to 25 Senators present at these weekly breakfasts.

These breakfasts are the outgrowth of a movement that was formed 30 years ago in Seattle, Wash., where a group of businessmen met and resolved that some action must be taken to improve the corrupt moral and civic conditions of the community.

From this nucleus breakfast prayer meeting, groups have been organized in every part of the United States and in many foreign lands. They are organized under what is known as the International Council for Christian Leadership. It has been my privilege to serve as president of this organization for the past several years.

On February 17 of this year, we held the 14th annual Presidential prayer breakfast, as a part of the annual meeting of the International Council for Christian Leadership.

As a democracy, our Nation—in its inception—proclaimed to the world its concept of personal liberty under God. Those early fundamental principles have meant much to the growth and development of our Nation.

I think it is important that we indicate our deep concern over the fact that at a time when our great Nation is threatened from without by a deadly foe—she is also threatened by destruction from within by spiritual indifference and moral deterioration.

The conflict of deepest concern is not might against superior might. The major issue which faces us today is this: Will America accept the moral challenge of this hour, as she has accepted the military challenge of past years—or will she allow this glorious opportunity to slip from her grasp forever.

Many years ago Ambassador Harvy to the Court of St. James said, "The real strength of a nation is not in its armies and navies. A schoolhouse at the crossroads is worth more than a dreadnaught by the sea. A church on the hilltop is worth more than a score of regiments. And someday the world will come to realize that there is more power and glory in 'Lead Kindly Light' than in all the fighting anthems of the world."

The greatest things we enjoy today are direct results of our pioneer fathers' great faith—faith in themselves—faith in their fellow men—faith in their country and faith in God.

It is one of the most ironical paradoxes of history that the age which has produced our greatest progress in the material world has also produced at the same time an environment and forces which threaten the complete destruction—not only of all we have created—but of our possibilities of growth for the future. These destructive forces also threaten our very existence upon this planet.

There is a blanket of sin and evil falling steadily over the lives and the powers of modern Americans. It is neither accidental nor incidental. Adoption of personal and group habits in violation of both the spiritual admonitions of God and the moral heritage of our people runs rampant. The evidence is inescapable—and the proof is everywhere.

Faithful believers are caught up in the same wave of hopelessness and frustration as the unbelievers and the undecided. The rude pressure of lawlessness, dishonesty, brutality, and inhuman treatment of fellow men make strange companions among the concerned people of our Nation.

One is just as anxious over the safety and welfare of his family and his person as the other. One is no more disturbed over the lack of regard for moral quality than the other. All are sure something is seriously wrong in our land, but none seem prepared to present a cure.

That is the spiritual and moral tragedy of our age. We are neither ready nor willing to face up squarely to the one avenue of civil and religious sanity open to us. When Paul wrote his famed letter to the Galatians, he had no difficulty in identifying the problems. Americans today should be just as able as he.

In the sixth chapter of Galatians, verses 1 and 2, we read: "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou be tempted. Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ."

With some merit, perhaps, we can explain our present decadence and immorality in terms of social ills and economic failures, but these are but the handy excuses. These are but the means of soothing America's conscience. For the real cause of moral degradation and spiritual downgrading is that Americans—in far too great a number—have abdicated their personal duty to God.

While it is essential that we become fully aware of our physical danger—God grant that we may never become so obsessed with material defenses that we overlook the basic problems with which we are confronted.

Behind all of many multiple problems is man himself and he constitutes his own major problem.

Materialism and atheism are breeding grounds for corruption, anarchy and revolutions. America must be prepared. We will be prepared when God's power—working through us as individuals and a Nation—gives concrete evidence of honesty, purity, unselfishness, and love.

As we enter the concluding days of Holy Week, we approach Easter Sunday with hope, light, and life. This gives us strength and courage to carry on in a world that is fraught with distrust, unrest, and deep trouble.

The heart of the Easter message is a victory out of defeat. Life would have been without hope had it not been for what happened on that first Easter morning. The Resurrection changed everything.

The Master's earthly life was devoted to persuading all men to become one family of brethren.

His pure and lofty lessons were intended to insure the happiness of mankind.

He came to set truth in the place of error, and loving kindness in the place of hatred and persecution.

He taught that every man shall do that only unto his brother which he would wish his brother to do unto him.

He endeavored to deliver his brethren from the bonds of tyranny, to protect the weak and feeble, and to bring back to the paths of duty the oppressors of humanity, but they listened not unto Him and nailed Him to the cross, and as such, He sealed his Gospel of love with His life.

His life was the embodiment of love—self-deniel and self-sacrifice. Truly, "Greater love has no man than this; that he lay down his life for his friends."

At this Easter season, I think it is most fitting to recall the beautifully written poem on the Resurrection by Dr. Phillip Brooks:

"Tomb, thou shalt not hold Him longer;
Death is strong, but life is stronger;
Stronger than the dark, the light;
Stronger than the wrong, the right;
Faith and hope triumphant say,
'Christ will rise on Easter Day.' "

Methinks the Air Force Protesteth Too Much

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OTIS G. PIKE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, in two consecutive issues of the Air Force and Space Digest, a magazine published by the Air Force Association, there have been critical articles entitled: "Pike Subcommittee Report on Tactical Air," and "An Open Letter to Congressman OTIS G. PIKE."

Since they spelled my name right, perhaps I should just let them keep sniping on a monthly basis, but since the name stands almost alone as something they got right, a few further comments may be in order.

The alleged motivation for this little vendetta is a report made by a special subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee entitled "Close Air Support." The subcommittee was appointed on August 17, 1965, by Chairman L. MENDEL RIVERS of the House Armed Services Committee and consisted of nine members: RICHARD H. ICHORD, of Missouri; LUCIEN N. NEDZI, of Michigan; G. ELLIOTT HAGAN, of Georgia; DONALD J. IRWIN, of Connecticut; FRANK E. EVANS, of Colorado; BOB WILSON, of California; CHARLES GUBSER, of California; CHARLES CHAMBERLAIN, of Michigan; and myself as chairman.

Hearings were held in Washington in September and October. Witnesses included Army Special Forces personnel who had seen a great deal of ground combat in Vietnam; Air Force, Marine, and Navy pilots who had flown hundreds of missions in Vietnam; and Army, Air Force, and Defense Department witnesses on the policymaking level in Washington.

The report was filed with Chairman RIVERS on January 27, 1966. It was unanimous. It was critical of both the Air Force and the Army in certain respects. If the Army resented the criticism they shrugged it off. We seem to have struck a nerve with the Air Force brass, however, for they have been screaming more like sick sea gulls than wounded eagles ever since. If it were not for the lives at stake it might be mildly amusing. As it is, the attempt to make a great success out of what has been a slighted, downgraded, underfinanced close air support role in the Air Force is not only pathetic, it is dangerous.

On Friday, February 25, 1966, the Secretary of the Air Force praised the Air Force's close air support performance in a speech to the Executives Club of Chicago. As reported in the Aviation Daily of February 28, the Secretary said:

> Our equipment for close air support, I believe, is the best in the world.

The article listed just four aircraft: the A–1E, the A–7, the COIN, and the F–4.

Not one of those aircraft is a plane developed by the Air Force. Three were developed by the Navy, the fourth by the Marines.

Of the four tactical aircraft requested in the supplemental authorization for the Vietnam war by the Air Force this year, not one was developed by the Air Force; two were Navy planes, one a Marine plane, the fourth privately developed and used by the CIA.

It must be galling to the Air Force to find itself so ill-equipped for close air support in a guerrilla environment that it had to get planes from the Army—O–1 spotter planes—the Navy, and the Marines in order to do its job of close air support in Vietnam. Such has been the fact, however, and the Air Force does itself and the Nation a disservice by trying to conceal the fact.

The official organ of the Air Force Association has gone even further. Before attacking the subcommittee's report they rewrote it to suit their own purposes. The committee's report was limited to the quality of the close air support provided our own troops and our Vietnamese allies. The title of the report was "Close Air Support." It was printed on the cover in large letters. The Air Force Digest made it "Pike Subcommittee Report on Tactical Air." This enabled them to talk about a lot of other things. Usually erroneously.

In the March issue Mr. Witze, the senior editor, tells how the subcommittee visited Vietnam after the hearings were over, and were told by the Army generals how thankful they were for the support they got from the Air Force. Fact: This subcommittee never went to Vietnam. Mr. Witze points out in a magnificently garbled paragraph that there have been political restraints in Vietnam and says that when he landed at Tan Son Nhut airport in mid-1964, "the RF-101's were lined up on the ramp ready to go." Go where and do what? I suspect that the senior editor really knows that RF-101's take pictures, they do not provide close air support.

In the April issue the Air Force Digest contains a story by Sam Butz, giving the Air Force's version of a part of an operation known as Harvest Moon. The story features a picture of Mr. Butz riding in the back seat of an O-1 Bird Dog. This is the plane which the Air Force had to get from the Army. After they got them they painted teeth on them and took Mr. Butz flying around Vietnam. Either they fly better or frighten the Vietcong more with teeth painted on them. In the turgid prose of the Air Force Digest this is described as distinctive marking.

The article, which is in the form of a letter to me, is a supposed testimonial to the proposition that the Air Force system of close air support is better than the Marine Corps system. It contains such delightful pieces of self-praise as this:

> As they came over a ridge they saw a group of about 100 ARVN troops, led by a U.S. adviser, running up a hill. Behind them on the trail were at least 150 VC. One FAC (that's the Air Force man in the Army plane—forward aid controller) swung down and fired his AR-15 automatic rifle at the leading VC group, killing two of them.

Comment: Sure he did.

> The other called in an AC-47, one of the old C-47 transports recently equipped with three rapid firing Gatling guns.

Comment: This latest addition to the Air Force's inventory of close air support aircraft was first flown in 1935.

> However, it has not been possible for a reporter to get any realistic discussion of the operation from official sources in Vietnam.

Comment: Obviously.

It is too bad that the Air Force is so sensitive on this subject. They use the argument that I am prejudiced because 20 years ago I flew with the Marines. The argument loses much of its persuasiveness, however, when used only by people who make their living by buttering up the Air Force. The happy fact is that our close air support in Vietnam is better than it was. By borrowing planes from the other services, and by using Air Force planes for purposes and missions for which they were never intended, and through the unlimited courage, dedication, and skill of American pilots, the job is being done.

The sad fact is, Mr. Speaker, that the report was and is correct. The Air Force has concentrated on missiles, bombers, and interceptors. It has never developed one plane for the primary purpose of providing close support for the foot soldiers on the ground. It is not the fault of the Air Force pilots in Vietnam. With the equipment they have been provided they have done wonders. It is the fault of the same high level Air Force policymakers who still feel obliged to deny that they have ever ignored the vital close air support mission. They count the number of missions flown, and the tons of bombs dropped, and the number of medals awarded, and never, ever, admit that if the ton of bomb which we have dropped for each Vietcong had hit the Vietcong, the Vietcong would have been long gone. As long as they keep their heads buried in the sand, they will continue to present most attractive targets.

Department of Consumers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, today the Executive and Legislative Reorganization Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations held hearings on my proposal, H.R. 7179, which calls for the establishment of a Department of Consumers.

I would like to set forth at this point in the RECORD my statement to the subcommittee in support of this measure, and I would hope that we can generate sufficient interest in this legislation to warrant favorable committee action in the not too distant future.

As I mentioned in my testimony, I am firmly convinced the American consumer is entitled to representation on the Cabinet level, and I feel that my bill will provide him with the necessary voice within the Federal Government:

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, OF NEW YORK, BEFORE THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON APRIL 19, 1966

I am honored to testify today on behalf of my bill, H.R. 7179, to establish a Federal Department of Consumers.

The questions raised by this legislation are not simple ones. Yet they are nonetheless urgent for being complex. The issues which we must explore are broad. An important contribution of these hearings, then, will be the illumination of what is presently a very difficult field to pin down—consumer affairs, and the consumer interest.

I am convinced that we need a Department of Consumers. But that need is less immediately apparent than those which have recently caused us to establish other Cabinet-level departments. Last year we set up the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Our cities are in crisis, and we need do little more than look around for evidence. This year we are considering a Department of Transportation. Once again, this proposal is responsive to a singular and distinctive need. Each of these measures isolates a particular social problem and elevates our institutional recognition of that problem. The principal difficulty in discussing consumer affairs and a Department of Consumers, however, is that the field cannot easily be isolated or particularized.

In his consumer message last month, President Johnson stated this problem in the most simple terms. "The consumer interest", he said, "is the American interest." Four years ago, President Kennedy began his consumer message in the same way: "Consumers, by definition, include us all." Here, then, is the problem in its most fundamental form. How can we represent an interest so broad and so disparate? How is that interest currently represented? And is it effective government to seek to isolate such an interest in a single institutional structure? A discussion of the bill before us today requires answers to such questions.

In general, we think of the consumer interest as that which is promoted by the free exercise of informed choice in a smoothly run competitive economy. In this sense, the consumer interest is indeed the American interest. Yet all of us are acquainted with the problems of this economic model and of our own particular economic institutions. We are aware, for example, of the primary power of the Federal Government. We are affected daily by the political power of big labor and big industry. And we are beginning to learn of the obstacles to consumer education and informed choice caused by the complexity of technology and innovation.

These changes, and others, have resulted in a particular structure of influence among major economic groups. Currently, through no fault of his own, the American consumer is the victim rather than the beneficiary of the distribution of economic and political power. As President Johnson said in his 1964 consumer message, "For far too long, the consumer has had too little voice and too little weight in Government. As a worker, as a lawyer or doctor, the citizen has been well represented. But as a consumer, he has had to take a back seat * * *. We cannot rest content until he is in the front row, not displacing the interest of the producer, yet gaining equal rank and representation with that interest." Mr. Chairman, that goal represents the principal reason for this legislation and, I hope, for these hearings.

The reduced influence of the American consumer has a complex origin. To begin with, we now have, in this country, a disproportionate influence exercised by producer groups over economic policy. It is, of course, natural that such groups should organize and finance powerful lobbies. Equally proper is their representation by Cabinet-level Departments—Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, and perhaps, Transportation. What troubles many of us, however, is the absence of any equivalent and countervailing political power for the consumer. It is no secret that the consumer interest and the producer interest are often in conflict. In the past 10 years, there has been considerable legislative study and documentation of that record. But where each group is assumed to pursue self-interest, and where there is an inequitable distribution of power among these groups, we have reason to start asking basic questions about our economic institutions. Such questions lie at the heart of this legislation.

We all know the effect of special interest groups on policymaking and administration. I am speaking now of pressure we designate as proper or inevitable. But just how well organized is the consumer acting in his own interest? How many consumer groups direct effective communication campaigns to Congress? How many groups do we hear of as being active in the inevitable behind-the-scenes discussions which precede major economic decisions? How often do we get studies of consumer needs under the auspices of the Government? And isn't it usually only in the case of blatant fraud that we get organized initiative and exposure for the consumer point of view?

In traditional terms, the regulatory agencies are intended to be the real agents of the consumer interest in our Government. Yet they too have fallen victim to changes in the distribution of political power exercised by economic groups. Any study of regulatory agencies will reveal their preoccupation with settling the conflicting claims of rival producers. The Interstate Commerce Commission mediates a dispute between railroads and trucks. The Civil Aeronautics Board adjudicates the claims of large certificated carriers and smaller airlines. The Federal Communications Commission referees the battle of the networks or the rivalries of television and radio. The Federal Power Commission is caught between gas producers and public utility companies. And the Tariff Commission must arbitrate free trade and protectionist squabbles.

Where is the consumer in all of this? More often than not, he is the lowest common denominator in a process which has been carried out in his name though not in his presence.

He can, of course, look to the Federal Government for support. And in many cases, he receives it. But there too, representation of the consumer is distributed through something like 33 agencies and departments.

The situation is further complicated by the consumer's difficulty in organizing on his own behalf. The simple fact is that consumers have not, do not, and apparently will not look upon themselves as a distinct group which can either profit or suffer by various economic policies and procedures. In many circumstances this position becomes particularly poignant, as in the case of economically disadvantaged consumers who are often subjected to brutally unfair trade and commercial practices. Their power to react to such practices is reduced by their failure to think of themselves as a distinct bloc. Nor is there any easy outlet for such grievances. This condition is what the legislation before us today is all about. It is in the spirit of the war on poverty and the Great Society in general.

What can we do for the American consumer? The Presidential messages of the last 4 years are an important start. Particular consumer-oriented legislation like truth-in-packaging and truth-in-lending help. So do legislative hearings such as those presently taking place on auto safety. The exciting and aggressive activities of Mrs. Esther Peterson and her organization have been particularly noteworthy.

But I believe two related goals must be served as the basis for strengthening the American consumer. We must seek to promote the consumer's self-awareness. And we must give the self-awareness distinct institutional representation and political power. These two goals are reciprocal. The consumer voice will best be heard if it can be expressed to and amplified by a Federal department. In turn, the existence of such a department itself is the foremost weapon we have to help mobilize the American consumer on his own behalf.

This process, then, represents what I take to be the central purpose of the bill. I believe it underlay the bill when it was initially introduced in 1959 by the late Senator Estes Kefauver. I think it addresses itself to certain realities in our economic life which all of us acknowledge and many of us fear. It was these realities, I believe, which then Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY had in mind when he said, 6 years ago, in hearings similar to these, "I think we need a Department of Consumers. I am not at all sure that this bill has all the features in it that it ought to have, but I am convinced that somebody needs to speak up for the great multitude of the American people who are not organized into a consumers' interest group." My own views are identical with those expressed by our present Vice President.

Certain specific provisions of the bill will merit the subcommittee's attention. One of the most important, I believe, is contained in section 6 of the measure. This section attempts to increase the effectiveness of the regulatory agencies by giving them more power and resources to identify and promote the consumer interest. The Secretary of the proposed new Department, acting through a special consumer counsel, would be authorized to intervene as a party before any U.S. regulatory agency in nonadjudicative matters when the Secretary determines such matters may substantially affect the economic interests of consumers. This purpose may be executed by the filing of a certified copy of the finding made by the Department, or presentation of oral argument before the agency itself. Section 6(c) of the bill also authorizes the Department to appear before any appellate court of the United States as amicus curiae in a proceeding involving the review of any order by any regulatory agency, or any civil judgment, decree, or order entered into by a district court relating to trade and commerce.

The consumer needs representation in such critical matters. Section 6 of H.R. 7179 gives it to him.

Likewise, provision is made to allow the Department to receive and evaluate complaints concerning commercial and trade practices injurious to the consumer interest. The Department would then transmit to the appropriate producer, distributor, or supplier written notification of this complaint and could, of course, take appropriate action within its own authority. Where the complaint came under the authority of another agency or department, the Department of Consumers would transmit the matter, perhaps with its own advisory recommendation.

The Department would also receive, evaluate, act upon, and disseminate information helpful to consumers, including information concerning commercial and trade practices adverse to their economic interest.

The Department would also be responsible for conducting surveys relating to the economic interest of consumers.

Section 9 of H.R. 7179 authorizes the Department to conduct and make public detailed economic surveys and investigations which relate to the economic interests of consumers. The authority extends to surveys and investigations of the market operations of broad sectors of our economy as well as to the operations of specific corporations. Information received by the Department concerning the cost of production or distribution of any product by any corporation may be made public only in a form which does not disclose such information with respect to any particular corporation. This section also prohibits the Department from engaging in any program of testing for the purpose of determining, as among the products of different producers, the relative merits or suitability of products of any class or type.

Section 8 of the bill transfers the consumer responsibilities of certain agencies to the new Department where their activities may be more effectively pursued. These include:

1. Food and Drug Administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare;

2. The Division of Prices and Cost of Living of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor;

3. Home Economics Research Branch and the Human Nutrition Research Branch of the Agricultural Research Service of the Department of Agriculture;

4. Those elements of the National Bureau of Standards which the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine to be engaged primarily in research with respect to, or the testing of, articles intended for use by consumers.

I hope, in the course of these hearings, that we will get a greater sense of the consumer need from organizations which seek to represent that need directly. In opening these hearings, therefore, I have been anxious to put the legislation before us in some general context. What we ought to be discussing is not consumer issues in themselves—packaging, or credit, or insurance, or food standards. Our concern must be broader. Is our present institutional structure adequate to our concern for the consumer? Are there new arrangements which might help mobilize the consumer interest in its own behalf? Have States or localities initiated consumer programs from which the Federal Government can learn?

Congress has a particular interest in consumer affairs. Such matters, after all, are very close to the hearts and purses of our constituents. And, I might point out that a Department of Consumers could help us in our own appreciation and representation of consumer interests.

Let me summarize. Existing consumer programs need vigorous coordination and enforcement. Equitable regulatory agency decisions require more effective presentation of the consumer interest. Disproportionate producer power must be countervailed. And the American consumer should have his own spokesman at the Cabinet level in the Federal Government. These are the principal reasons which argue for the establishment of a Department of Consumers.

Robertson on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, on last Friday the senior Senator from Virginia, the Honorable A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, addressed the Peninsula Chapter of the Association of the U.S. Army at Fort Monroe, Va. He eloquently explained some of the problems that face us in the war in southeast Asia and set forth some of the lessons which we should have learned as a result of our experiences in Vietnam. It was a forceful and interesting speech which I believe will be of great interest to our colleagues, and I include it with my remarks in the RECORD.

Subsequent to the Senator's address, a very splendid editorial appeared in the Daily Press of Newport News, Va., and I also include it in the RECORD.

The address and article follow:

REMARKS OF SENATOR A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, DEMOCRAT OF VIRGINIA, AT THE SPRING MEETING OF THE VIRGINIA PENINSULA CHAPTER OF THE ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S. ARMY, OFFICERS CLUB, FORT MONROE, VA., APRIL 15, 1966

It is an honor and a coveted privilege to address the Virginia Peninsula Chapter of the Association of the U.S. Army, not only because you have made me feel so welcome, but because, as a World War I doughboy, I feel that I am one of you. The principles and ideals which you espouse are the precepts to which I subscribe.

I wish to speak to you tonight about our defense posture and the lessons we can learn from the conflict in Vietnam.

Since April 19, 1775—the day after Paul Revere warned the countryside—the Army has participated in 99 principal wars, campaigns, expeditions, and other disturbances, up to the time of World War II. The Korean war made it an even hundred.

In other words, our Armed Forces can expect to be called upon approximately every 2 years in order to protect our American way of life.

Today we are engaged in another major conflict and under very adverse circumstances. We are fighting in disease-ridden swamps without either the allies or the support of the local people to which we are entitled. In fact, if a new civilian government be established in South Vietnam which is hostile to us and asks us to withdraw, I think we should do so.

I recognize the threat of communism to the entire free world and think we should unite with friends of freedom to resist aggression. But I do not think that South Vietnam was the proper place to make our stand, and in March of 1964 I sent a detailed statement of my reasons to the White House. Since then some 300,000 American fighting men have been committed. Today our issue is: How can we get them home and still honor our commitments?

However, I do not intend to address the uncertainties of the future in that conflict. Rather, I will speak to the certainties of the moment—the clear lessons we can learn from the war in Vietnam.

One of the lessons of Vietnam is the truism that a state of preparedness is the price of liberty. At times, because of seeming relaxation of Communist militancy, we are inclined to hope that they have given up their obsession for ultimate world domination. We tend to dismiss the repeated utterances of Russian leaders epitomized by Khrushchev when he said, "We will bury you."

But because we are a peace-loving nation, we find it hard to accept the fact that we must continually keep our muskets ready and our powder dry.

In World War I, in World War II, and in the Korean war, when we were immediately forced to call on our Reserve components, we found it necessary to prepare ourselves for the needs of the moment after these wars had begun.

There are indications today that, except in obvious matters, we again are being content to minister to the needs of the moment instead of the contingencies of the future.

The budget for the Department of Defense may have suffered because of other national interests. The war on poverty, for example, has been considered by many as great an emergency as the war in Vietnam.

Let me give you an illustration of how the defense budget suffered. Last July, during hearings by the Senate Appropriations Committee, it became obvious to our members that the sums being requested would not be adequate, because the budget had not taken the buildup in Vietnam into consideration.

Defense witnesses were actually testifying on requests for funds which they knew would be utilized, not for the items under discussion, but to replenish moneys drawn off under transfer authority from certain accounts to meet urgent war needs.

The committee urged the Department of Defense to reexamine its requirements and to submit a request for the additional sums required to accelerate preparedness.

Finally, a request for an additional $1.7 billion was presented and quickly approved. Following up this action, the Department, in January, requested an additional $13.1 billion and the Congress provided the full amount. The vote in the Senate was 86 to 2. Thus, the Congress not only supports the defense requests but, on occasion, finds it necessary to prod the Department to provide a more adequate defense.

One such area is in trained manpower. In part, this difficulty arises from the decision on the part of the administration not to call up our Reserve forces, but to rely on enlistments and the draft to fill our increased requirements. I will not argue the wisdom of this, but I will argue that a policy which requires the immediate acceleration of the draft or the callup of the Reserves during practically every international crisis may well limit the flexibility of our forces which may be required at any time.

The Congress, and more particularly the Senate Appropriations Committee, for a number of years opposed the cutback in military personnel. We also urged that the size of our Reserve forces be maintained despite Defense Department opposition. To preserve that strength, we repeatedly placed a floor under the Army Reserve and National Guard to prevent their being reduced. As a matter of fact, were it not for the action taken by our committee only last August, the Army Reserve would have been completely liquidated as paid drill units.

The lesson is obvious. We cannot always hope that Moscow and Peking will give us sufficient opportunity to call up new recruits, train them and deploy them in time to meet these recurring crises.

Another lesson we should have learned in Vietnam deals with the adequacy of equipment, ammunition and materiel. Figures on procurement of these items indicate, as with manpower, that Defense requests are tailored to peacetime needs rather than to potential danger. I find it hard to subscribe to this philosophy in an era of recurring world unrest.

Despite Pentagon statements to the contrary, there are those who assert that our Strategic Reserve Forces are both underequipped and undermanned. It is not enough for this country to maintain just enough equipment and materiel for our immediate needs.

In 1962 I had the privilege of addressing your national meeting in Washington. I urged that attention be given to intratheater airlift in direct support of the ground forces.

Today, the 1st Cavalry Division, known as the Airmobile, has been activated and deployed to Vietnam. In a related action the Army has stepped up its requests for airlift of all types. I applaud these heartening actions and would hope the Department would accelerate plans to establish another airmobile division.

There is yet another lesson we can learn from Vietnam. We can learn to avoid playing the enemy's game. Because we are fighting on his home grounds, it does not necessarily follow that we must use his weapons and only his weapons.

Our self-imposed rules cost us victory in the Korean war. They may well do it again. There are Americans who would have us stop bombing North Vietnam. There are even those who decry our use of tear gas, used in every civilized nation to break up mob disorders. But they are not military experts. What I am concerned about is the official policy of our Government—the treatment of Haiphong as a privilege sanctuary, for example.

In this war it has been the announced policy of the administration to fight a limited war with limited objectives. With this I am in full accord. To invite unnecessary escalation is as repugnant to American thinking as it is dangerous to the very existence of civilization.

Let us retain limited objectives, yes. But let us also fight the war in such a way as to limit American casualties insofar as possible.

As of March 31, 1966, we have suffered a total of 17,663 casualties. Of these, 3,402 were either killed outright or died as a result of participation. To reduce the flow of supplies to the Vietcong would save countless American lives.

There are two obvious methods by which this may be accomplished. One is to cut off the flow down the Ho Chi Minh trail, but this is most difficult to accomplish. The other method gives much greater promise. It would be a relatively simple matter to bomb out the petroleum stores and other supplies in the port of Haiphong. It would also be quite possible to mine effectively the harbor area, or to impose a naval blockade.

Why have we not done this? Principally because such action would entail the risk of escalating the war. It is a political decision entailing the probability or possibility of active Chinese or Russian participation.

But such a decision, to me at least, begs the point. If we are in this war to win, we must fight with the resources at our disposal. To refuse to utilize those weapons in which we are superior is to jeopardize the lives of countless American boys and, in fact, the outcome of the war itself. It must puzzle the enemy that we should employ such a psychology. Certainly no one is no naive as to believe that the Chinese or the Russians would refrain from active participation if they believed it in their interests to intervene.

Before I close I should like to say a word about the role Virginia is playing in our defense posture. This very night there are 72,000 Virginians under arms in all branches of the service. There are 88,811 military personnel stationed in Virginia and 79,582 civilians employed by the services. The Defense Department's capital investment in the State amounts to over a billion and a half dollars, and the annual payroll is nearly a billion dollars.

The picture confronting us in southeast Asia is dark but it has a bright spot—never has the valor of the American fighting man excelled the irrefragable courage of those now fighting for us in South Vietnam. That their sacrifices may not be in vain, let us pray for a just and lasting peace. That their sacrifices may help to deter aggression in the future, let us strengthen our defenses and adjust our objectives so as to limit the cost in American lives.

[From the Newport News (Va.) Daily Press, Apr. 17, 1966]

ROBERTSON ON VIETNAM

Friday's visit of Senator A. Willis Robertson to the peninsula was featured by a well-balanced appraisal of the war in Vietnam and the military posture of the United States. From his remarks before the Peninsula Chapter of the Association of the U.S. Army, it can be readily seen that he is neither a "hawk" nor a "dove," in favor of neither all-out escalation nor precipitant withdrawal.

Senator Robertson is one of many qualified observers who don't think South Vietnam is the proper place to make our stand against communism's threat to the free world. But we are there in force, we have made a commitment, and he wants the job to be done efficiently with a minimum loss of American lives.

He takes issue with the treatment of Haiphong as a privileged sanctuary, favoring bombing out the petroleum stores and other supplies there, and mining the harbor area or imposing a naval blockade. These, the Senator asserts, are limited measures in accord with our limited objectives; he pictures the enemy as puzzled that we fail to take such steps.

Senator Robertson, after discussing the strategy and the uncertainties of the conflict, went on to offer certain lessons that we can learn from it. Because of "seeming relaxation of Communist militancy" our military planning has too much in the past been based on the hope that there was no great need for vigilance, for preparedness. As was the case in Korea, we are now paying the price of that guillibility. And even today, he said, "except in obvious matters, we are again being content to administer to the needs of the moment instead of the contingencies of the future."

We are, indeed, a peace-loving nation, and too inclined to give our foes the credit for similar motivation. Senator ROBERTSON has quoted disturbing, alarming evidence to the effect that Defense Department requests for equipment, ammunition, materiel, and manpower have been "tailored to peacetime needs rather than to potential danger." But historically we have ignored the obvious lesson.

New England's Booming Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, it has been my honor and pleasure on occasion to call the attention of my distinguished colleagues in this body to the recent upsurge in the economy of New England and my State of Massachusetts.

We who are privileged to represent the six States that comprise New England are justly proud of the economic success story currently unfolding in Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. We fancy it is in the tradition for self-reliance, thrift, foresight, and a true pioneering spirit that are so much a part of the heritage of New England.

It is not often these days that we on this side of the aisle are inclined to rely on the Great Society to do our talking for us. Certainly the odds would seem to exclude our turning to the Great Society to extoll the exciting events now taking place in our regional economy.

Nevertheless, I wish to do just that at this time.

On March 15 of this year, Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor addressed the New England Industrial Trade Show in our fine city of Boston. His remarks are fully in line with everything we have been saying all along so I am pleased and proud to not only endorse his views, but to insert them at this point in the RECORD for the information and edification of all my distinguished colleagues. The text is clipped from the pages of the April issue of the SBANE bulletin, the official organ of the Small Business Association of New England.

The address follows:

NEW ENGLAND ECONOMIC CLIMATE FAVORABLE

(Address by Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor for the New England Industrial Trade Show, Boston, Mass., March 15, 1966)

Thank you, Governor Volpe, and good morning. It is an honor to be here with the distinguished Governors and the leaders of business and industry in New England—one part of the Nation which just about every American regards as a bit of his own.

That is not surprising in the light of your tradition, your geography and also your products which are familiar in all the States, and in the international market as well.

I am glad you are holding a great trade show at this time. The economic climate could not be more favorable for presenting your industrial accomplishments.

We are, I enjoy reminding myself, in the 61st month of the current economic expansion. Our gross national product has increased to an annual rate of $697.2 billion and it may soar another $25 to $30 billion by the end of 1966.

One reporter took a look at our national balance sheets very recently and came up with this graphic tribute:

"The prosperity itself is so evident one can almost smell it—unemployment down to 4 percent of the labor force, profits up 20 percent last year, factory workers' earnings up by one quarter in 5 years, records tumbling on every side. Indeed the growth of the American economy last year was so rapid that it exceeded the growth of every other major industrial country."

And even since that was written, the unemployment figure has dropped to 3.7 percent.

Now the New England part of the national picture is something in which you can all take pride. I note, as an indicator of this region's economic health, that since 1960 employment, excluding farms, has grown to nearly 4 million persons—for an increase of 7½ percent in a 5-year period.

Another important milestone is the fact that New England has marked its first $2½ billion year of construction contracts. So is the fact that $200 million of this sum went for industrial building.

No wonder, with so much activity and so many persons engaged in New England industry that it took a racetrack to hold this fair. Matter of fact, I understand that horseracing is no minor business itself in this part of the country, although it is one form of transportation which does not directly concern the Department of Commerce. For that I am thankful.

New England is an especially appropriate setting for trade fairs to display with pride the wares of democracy. Many familiar names come to mind, going back into history: New Haven, Topsfield, Rutland, Concord, and Falmouth.

One of the most ambitious and earliest, according to the history books, was held in Pittsfield in 1810, when a group of merchants and farmers assembled to show and sell their cattle.

This fair attracted exhibitors, buyers, and spectators from surrounding counties, from such distances as were within those days' means of travel. Its success amply justified the advance billing of the farsighted business folk of Pittsfield, who spoke of that "momentous event."

These members of an important New England industry—livestock and agricultural—had no doubts at all that they possessed something very much worth showing. And their successors through the years have carried on in that same spirit.

In fact, the whole Nation is heir to that spirit. I know it animates the Nation's participation in international trade fairs, and the Department of Commerce is in its 13th year of joining with exhibitors in helping them sell their products to a world market. You could say that our part, along with that of the manufacturers themselves, is 100 percent commercial, or "hard sell"—as hard as we know how.

We will participate in 18 international fairs this year. Seven national exhibits also are scheduled for 1966, where we seek to present the American image along with our products. Some of them reach behind the Iron Curtain, where we can tell the American story—and sell American ideals and the philosophy of free enterprise, as well as our quality nonstrategic goods.

The dynamic elements of salesmanship in these exhibits, peculiarly native to the United States, are among the chief factors behind the story of our industrial growth.

One accelerated example of such growth is your 65-mile-long Route 128: Boston's "Golden Industrial Semicircle," it has been aptly termed.

The farms and meadows of yesterday are gone. In just 15 years, industry has taken up permanent residence all the way from the South Shore to the North Shore.

A motorist driving along this highly industrialized highway could count 574 firms—he could, that is, if he has a comptometer kind of mind. And this figure represents an increase of 45 percent in the past 3 years.

In tempo with this growth rate, employment stands at 54,500. The investment in buildings is estimated at close to $200 million.

The products from Route 128, as might be assumed, make up an impressive list of American manfuacturing skill and diversity, from electronics and photography to shoes and foods.

Among the firms, it is interesting to find that 66 are engaged in research and development. Research, as a matter of fact, ranks as a major industry in Massachusetts, with 31,000 scientists, engineers, and technicians employed by 931 industrial research laboratories.

The elements which attract scientists here in the first place tend to keep them here.

As one executive on Route 128 put it, "the prospect of close relations with Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology" have meant much in the migration of scientists to this area of New England.

I think, too, of the many other splendid New England colleges and universities, including schools for women.

The very presence of a wealth of research funds and activity has helped to boost the per capita income in Massachusetts to $2,850, about $400 above the national level.

In the past two decades, government and industry combined have spent more than $100 billion on science and technology. The rate now is some $20 billion a year, with a 1966 increase of $1 billion or more forecast. It's a jack-and-the-Beanstalk growth in the story of science—only this story is for real.

The Federal Government pays the bill for approximately three-fourths of the national research and development effort. Nine percent of this, or $1⅓ billion, is being spent in our universities on research grants and contracts.

There are now about 1¼ million scientists and engineers in the United States. You may be interested to know that the Federal Government employs more scientists today than stenographers.

It would appear that there's a boom in scientists. But still, there aren't nearly enough. The number of scientists and engineers must double by 1970 if all of industry's and Government's needs are to be satisfied, especially in research and development.

We know we are living in a scientific age, but our capacity for awe has been dulled. We assume we can go to the moon—or do anything else that only a couple of decades ago was the exclusive province of science fiction.

We undoubtedly tend to take science too much for granted—especially the cornucopia it has placed upon our doorsteps. If this inclination continues, we will risk the dangers inherent in neglect.

President Johnson, who has given the support of basic science much attention, recently declared:

"It has been my abiding and actively supported conviction that all the policies of this Nation in support of the advance of science would have a decisive role in determining the extent to which we fulfill our potential as a nation—and a free society."

But science, to serve its master, must be harnessed. Industry must take it and put it to practical use.

Last year the President signed into law a measure designed for this very purpose—the State Technical Services Act.

At that time, he declared that Americans would one day think of the act as the "sleeper" of the 89th Congress.

"It will do for the American businessman," Mr. Johnson added, "what the great Agricultural Extension Service has done for the American farmer."

He predicted the act will spark the creation of new industries and the expansion of old ones, that it will speed the development of cheaper and better consumer products and help diversify local industry.

The State Technical Services Act seeks especially to help smaller industry by supplying the technical know-how which it may lack.

Technical proficiency, with its resulting increase in productivity, not only means that business becomes more profitable. It also can pay better wages. It can offer more goods at lower prices. This translates into an increase of real consumer income and a rising standard of living.

In addition, it means more jobs as our increased competitive ability is used to penetrate expanding world markets.

One way to measure the application of science and technology is through the study of productivity in industry. Invariably the studies are highly revealing. The Department of Commerce is among the major organizations engaged in such surveys, basing its studies on the ratio of value added in manufacturing to persons employed.

We have found wide variations in the productivity rate of different plants. In fact, the studies show that only 10 percent of American industry is getting the full benefit from the science and technology we already possess. It has been estimated that if all technical information already in our possession were used effectively in the lagging 90 percent of the Nation's plants, the entire manufacturing productivity level would be increased threefold.

The Department of Commerce's Census of Manufactures shows that in New England, as in other major areas of the Nation, there is too much gray, along with brighter colors, in this productivity picture.

In the Boston area, for instance, the gain in productivity from 1958 to 1963 was an encouraging 26 percent—from $8,050 per employee to $10,150 per employee.

This 26-percent gain precisely matched that of the entire Nation. But the growth in specific manufacturing industries varied widely and in some cases fell far short of the growth in the national averages for these same industries.

Looking at the 10 industries with the largest factory employment in the Boston area—those with over 5,500 workers in 1963—we see changes in efficiency per worker, or value added per employee, ranging from a drop of 20 percent, in the production of rubber footwear, to gains of as high as 43 percent in mechanical measuring devices.

In only one of Boston's largest manufacturing industries did the area's growth in productivity exceed that for the Nation. The improved productivity in manufacturing women's outerwear garments in Boston—40 percent—topped national growth by about 10 percent.

These manufacturers are to be congratulated.

A recent inventory by a business publisher of metalworking machinery perhaps revealed one factor in this picture. It showed that 25 percent of the Boston area's machine tools were more than 20 years old. This compared with an average of 21 percent for the Nation. But if we take Los Angeles as an example only 9 percent of its machine tools averaged over 20 years old.

This would seem to indicate that while New England industry is generally moving forward, expanding and providing increased employment, some segments are driving with their brakes on.

They are held back when they try to improve and speed up because of out-of-date or inefficient machinery or processes.

This is a challenge to industry. But it is one, I am sincerely confident, which will be met with the same determined and vigorous spirit which has always characterized New England when a challenge arises.

I am certain you will have further questions to ask concerning the State Technical Services Act and other matters at 2 o'clock this afternoon. At that time Department of Commerce representatives from the Bureau of Standards, the Patent Office and the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information will be present at a science seminar.

Manufacturing is, of course, but one part of the New England business scene, as important and impressive as it is. Those Americans who see something of their lives and background in New England think of its sea coasts, its mountains, its lakes, and the many reminders of history within its beautiful towns and cities.

Many segments of the Northeast's economy are inextricably alined with these elements, and some where the unemployment rate has been high, have needed help.

The Federal Government has recognized the need here, and is helping in various ways.

In addition to the State Technical Services Act, the President also signed another measure of significance for industry last fall—the Economic Development Act.

This act of far-reaching potential will aid communities, areas, and regions in the United States by providing financial and technical assistance for creation of new jobs.

The Economic Development Administration, an agency within the Department of Commerce, is administering earlier awards to New England industries and business totaling $1,161,000. Thirty-nine individual projects are included in that total, covering widely diverse areas of business and industry. Among them are the scallop and flounder industry of New Bedford and recreation areas in Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire.

I was extremely pleased on March 2 to be able to designate the six New England States as an Economic Development Region under the Economic Development Act.

As the Nation has grown, its regions have tended to group into economic entities with their own special problems, as well as their great opportunities. It has become increasingly evident that to realize their own highest development and to make their full contribution to the Nation, the people of each region must work and plan together, aware of both their own resources and needs, and the country's.

That the U.S. Government has found a way to help in the attainment of new goals is a working example of dynamic federalism. At the same time, each participating State must play the major role in the regional commission which determines the area's needs.

Industry in all regions must continue to grow if our economy is to be maintained on a sound plane. To do so requires not only the utilization of the full spectrum of science and technology, but, as always, the dedication, the daring and the vision of the leaders of business, industry and the professions.

The Federal Government will, I know, continue to play a full and constructive role at industry's side. Indeed, Government and business have in recent years become increasingly aware of the need for mutual understanding and cooperation in the achievement of the broadest goals—in assuring the full utilization of not only our material resources but our national brainpower.

You have plenty of both in New England.

You have so much in your favor, including your great traditions. You have institutions of higher learning that are the envy of the Nation, splendid industrial locations, accessibility and land that Creator obviously smiled upon.

New England, long after the Minutemen, is aroused again. It is on the march. If you keep on at this pace, it may take two race tracks to house your future industrial shows.

The Government is betting on New England. Its faith, and my own, I know, will be rewarded many times over.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20, 1966

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rabbi Edward T. Sandrow, Congregation Beth El, Cedarhurst, N.Y., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, Creator of all men regardless of race, color, or creed, we pray unto Thee with sincere and humble hearts. We find the problems of life difficult and our own wisdom and knowledge insufficient. We need Thee, Almighty, to help us face the challenge of these troubled and mediocre days. Have mercy upon our restless world. Grant all men the vision to strive for human brotherhood, so that peace and justice can be the normal experiences of our world. We pray for our youth, for their homes and schools so that they may be constantly awakened to the great ideas of faith and the worthy causes of our American way of life—the pursuit of liberty and human rights.

Give courage, O Lord, to the President and all the duly constituted authorities of our Nation. May we together press forward against the prejudices, the hatreds, the malices that still exist to the end that dignity, beauty, and love will be the lot of all men. May this be Thy will and let us say amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

PARTICIPATION SALES ACT

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, today the President of the United States is sending a message to the Congress calling for legislation which will establish participation pools of Government assets. This legislation, if enacted, would create a more efficient system to make proper use of Federal Government funds and assets.

I strongly favor such legislation in that it will enable the administration and the Congress to further achieve the goals as set forth in the President's Great Society program.

Your Banking and Currency Committee will hold full and extensive hearings on this important legislation. Hearings shall commence on Thursday, April 21, at which time the Honorable Joseph W. Barr, Under Secretary of the Treasury, will present the administration's views on this matter, along with the Honorable Charles L. Schultze, Director of the Budget.

PARTICIPATION SALES MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to commend the President of the United States for recommending the legislation proposed in his participation sales message.

The participation sales technique is an efficient, flexible, and controlled method for channeling funds from the private credit market into Government lending programs. It is not new. The pooling of mortgages and loans held by Federal credit agencies and the sale of participations in the income and repayments from loans in the pool are techniques which have been used for several years by the Export-Import Bank, the Veterans' Administration, and the Federal National Mortgage Association.

What is new in the Sales Participation Act of 1966 is that President Johnson is recommending that we extend this loan pool technique to lending programs of additional Government agencies.

To those of us who are concerned that adequate congressional control over Government lending programs be maintained, it is important to note that this new legislation would do just that—it would not diminish congressional controls.

This legislation would extend the full participation technique to lending programs of the Farmers Home Administration, the lending programs for college housing, the lending programs for public facilities, and the lending programs of the Small Business Administration.

In order to coordinate the sale of participations, these operations would be centralized in a single agency, the Federal National Mortgage Association, or Fannie Mae as it is commonly called, which has already had substantial experience in participation sales in the mortgage pooling operations.

An important advantage of this program is that it would make possible the sale of participations in loans for which Congress has established an interest rate below the market rate. Yet it would do so in such a way as to fully preserve congressional prerogatives.

This legislation provides that appropriation acts must authorize in advance the amounts of participations which could be sold against those assets carrying relatively low interest rates. That provision assures that the appropriations safeguards of the legislative process would be applied to participation sales.

With the authority provided by this legislation, as President Johnson told us in January, net Government expenditures in fiscal 1967 will be reduced by $4.7 billion through asset sales. This will be four times the total sales of assets we achieved in fiscal 1964.

So far as I am concerned, this measure stacks up as a good bill—one deserving approval by Congress this year.

It extends the efficiency and flexibility already proven by existing sales participation programs.

It takes nothing away from the controls that Congress should properly exercise over the many programs Congress itself originally authorized.

In fact, the legislation adds a new safety catch—action by the Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate prior to the pooling of certain Government loans with below-market interest rates.

I urge its approval.

THE SALES PARTICIPATION ACT OF 1966 SHOULD BE ENACTED

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, a primary objective of the Sales Participation Act of 1966, which President Johnson has transmitted to Congress, is to provide for both an orderly and economic "selloff" of assets of some of our Federal credit programs in the private credit market.

This, of course, is not a new idea.

In fact, it is a tried and tested idea. The sale of participation certificates would be handled through the already established facilities of the Federal National Mortgage Association.

We, in Congress, who are responsible for the creation of these Federal credit programs, now bear the responsibility for assuring the smooth flow of Federal credit loan paper into the private credit market.

This new legislation will, in my opinion, ease the problems which occur with the sales of assets. Otherwise, they could continue to grow and cause new headaches, not only for the competent debt management officials in the executive branch, but also, in time, for us in Congress.

Let me talk about just one of these problems:

We now have as many as half a dozen agencies selling their own paper, sometimes to a very limited market and often in competition with each other. These agencies have greatly different degrees of experience and expertise in this field. Some are very well qualified to carry on these sales, some are less so. We have found that the sale of assets can conflict with the Treasury's debt management operations, and this can have disturbing consequences.

The best technique we have at hand to cope with these problems is to group assets consisting of loan paper into pools and sell shares of participations in the pools. This is proposed in the legislation which we have received from the President.

The pools would gain diversity from the grouping of various kinds of loans. The sales would be centralized, expertly handled, and coordinated with the Treasury. Further, the participations would constitute an excellent and sought-after investment which would command a broad market.

As I stated earlier, the technique is not new. The Export-Import Bank has used it, since 1962, to sell about $1.7 billion of its direct loans which otherwise might not have been marketable. The Federal National Mortgage Association, acting under the Housing Acts of 1964 and 1965, has sold $1.6 billion of participation certificates in its own mortgage holdings and those of the Veterans' Administration.

The basic provisions of the President's proposal are taken directly from the Housing Acts of 1964 and 1965. The earlier act authorized FNMA to act as trustee for the sale of participations in pools of first mortgages. The 1965 act extended this authority.

The President's proposal would further broaden use of the pooling technique by extending it to all agencies of the Federal Government which hold financial assets. Sales of participations would be coordinated by FNMA.

The cost of selling participations through FNMA, judging from past experience, might be about one-fourth of 1 percent more than direct Treasury borrowings for comparable maturities. In time, as the participation certificates gain wider acceptance and marketability, they may command rates closer in line with Treasury issues. And, of course, asset sales through participation certificates will command lower rates than would the direct sale of the underlying loans.

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of the proposed Participation Sales Act of 1966—which President Johnson has just transmitted to Congress.

Explaining the need for this legislation, President Johnson says that direct Federal lending programs neither can nor should carry the entire burden of financing essential activities that otherwise would not get adequate financial support. I agree with that, Mr. Speaker.

And I also agree with the President's statement in his letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate, in transmitting this legislation to Congress:

> Under our system of free enterprise it is far better for the Government to mobilize private capital to these ends.

Further, I agree with the point made by the President that "it is far better for the Government to stimulate and supplement private lending rather than to substitute for it."

The proposed Participation Sales Act of 1966 is—and I would like to emphasize this point—procedural legislation, in all essential respects. It will not, and I repeat not, create a new set of subsidized Government loan programs.

President Johnson says that the substitution of private for public credit—and this is what this legislation is designed to do—means "sound financing for worthwhile projects with a minimum of Federal participation"—and that is convincing to me.

This legislation carries forward the process and policies laid down by three Presidents—Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson over the past 12 years or more. I urge approval of this legislation.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, some of the Members on the other side of the aisle in recent weeks have made statements on the floor of this House and entered material in the RECORD impugning the motives behind the proposed Participation Sales Act which we received from the President today.

The two most frequently heard criticisms of this legislation that we have heard are that it is a piece of budget gimmickry and a means to back-door financing.

Mr. Speaker, this is a partisan charge. I hope when I have finished my remarks you will realize just how partisan it is.

First. The charge of budget gimmickry relates to the treatment of the figures reflecting the sales of assets in the budget. As all of us know, the sales of assets are treated in the budget as negative expenditures rather than as receipts. Those who made the charge of budget gimmickry should be reminded that the procedure is neither new with this bill nor with this administration. It is the conventional budget treatment given the entire program of asset sales since the administration of President Eisenhower in the midfifties.

Second. The charge of back-door financing relates to the supposed possibility of expanding programs and starting new ones without congressional approval or adequate congressional control, using the proceeds from asset sales. Anyone who has read the President's letter of transmittal or who has looked at the legislation or who has listened to the statements made here today by my colleagues knows that this charge has no foundation in fact.

Congressional control over Federal credit programs would be maintained under the provisions of the Participation Sales Act. In some cases—those being the programs in which interest rates to the alternate borrower are below credit market rates—congressional control would be augmented.

That is the fact of the matter—congressional control would be maintained or increased. Backdoor financing is an unfounded accusation.

To show you how partisan these unfounded charges are, let me read you two brief quotations:

> Private capital will be gradually substituted for the Government investment until Government funds are fully repaid and the private owners take over responsibility for the program.

That is not a quotation from President Johnson. That is not a quotation relating to the Participation Sales Act of 1966.

That is a quotation from President Eisenhower's budget message issued in January 1955. It states the goal of his administration in this field, which was to mobilize private capital to the greatest extent feasible in the administration of Federal credit programs. The second quotation is this:

> The administration also can always reduce its borrowing requirements by additional sales of marketable Government assets.

That is not a statement from President Johnson's budget message or economic report. Nor is it from any statement by the majority of this Congress.

It is from the minority report of the House Ways and Means Committee Report of the 88th Congress, 1st session—May 1963—on H.R. 6009, which was to provide temporary increases in the public debt limit. It was signed by these Republican members of the committee, a number of whom are here today; Mr. BYRNES, Mr. Baker, Mr. CURTIS, Mr. Knox, Mr. UTT, Mr. BETTS, Mr. Alger, Mr. Derounian, Mr. SCHNEEBELI, and Mr. COLLIER.

The minority report expressed the view of the Republican members of the committee that the administration should not come to the Congress seeking an increase in the debt limit until it had made every effort to reduce its salable assets, both from its loan portfolio and from its stockpile of strategic materials.

This shows one of two things: Either the minority members of 3 years ago were completely in error, or there has been a remarkable change in their point of view since President Johnson decided to move further in the direction taken under President Eisenhower back in the 1950's.

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, the legislation now advocated by the White House, to facilitate the pooling of direct Government loans, made under a variety of programs previously authorized by Congress, has interesting antecedents.

Twelve years ago, Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower called in his budget message for action designed to encourage the substitution of private financing for Federal outlays in our housing programs which have contributed so much to the growth and well-being of the Nation.

Eleven years ago, President Eisenhower again espoused the gradual substitution of private capital for the Government investment in housing programs.

And this was done.

The Federal National Mortgage Association—known to many as Fannie Mae—has over the past decade or more acquired vast experience in pooling Government loans, with these loans being channeled from the public financing sector to the private credit market through the type of participation pools that are now proposed by the administration for other Government credit programs as well.

There is little logic, Mr. Speaker, in the Federal Government going on and on to build up its portfolio of direct loan paper.

There is, however, a great deal of logic in making use of the experience already built up in the pooling of loans, for sale in the private credit market—to banks, insurance companies, pension plans, and, if it can be done without too great an administrative cost, to individual private investors as well.

This measure—labeled the "Participation Sales Act of 1966"—is good legislation; it is evolutionary legislation, broadening, and improving on what has gone before. I am confident the House Banking Committee will see great merit in this legislation. I hope it will pass.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have permission to extend their remarks on the subject of Sales Participation Act of 1966, following the remarks on that subject.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Appropriations may have until midnight Friday, April 22, 1966, to file a privileged report on the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1967.

Mr. RUMSFELD reserved all points of order on the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

NAVY DID A SPACE AGE JOB WITH STONE AGE TOOLS

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Navy spent some 80 days to recover the H-bomb lost off the coast of Spain this January. The Navy also spent hundreds of thousands of tax dollars on this job. It was an expensive lesson, and if the Navy's undersea technology had been able to keep pace with our phenomenal progress in space technology that bomb could have been recovered immediately and at considerable savings.

In less than 10 years, outer space exploration has produced space vehicles which know no horizon. However, the Navy does not yet produce deep-diving vehicles of the same degree of sophistication found in the space program vehicles.

The H-bomb recovery shows that the Navy was doing a space age job with stone age tools.

For the past 50 years the Navy has sporadically considered diving technology, starting in 1915 with its first lost submarine, and including the *Thresher* disaster in April 1963. Each incident showed that the Navy was unprepared to conduct deep-sea recovery operations. The H-bomb incident demonstrates that more progress is needed. At the present time, Navy programs plan development of undersea vehicles over a 5-year period on a basis amounting to roughly 10 percent of the NASA budget for 1 year alone.

It is clear that insufficient emphasis is being given within the Defense Department to the problem of developing Navy undersea exploration vehicles sufficient to maintain this Nation's defense posture. This situation must be corrected immediately.

GET BACK TO FUNDAMENTALS

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to call to the attention of my colleagues, an article which appears in the current, April 25, issue of the U.S. News & World Report, being the full text of an address by the Honorable Charles E. Whittaker, of Kansas City, who in 1962 retired as an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Previously, I have expressed regret that Justice Whittaker retired from the Supreme Court, at a time when there is a need for men of his caliber to serve. The advice given by Justice Whittaker when he points out the need to "get back to fundamentals—the Ten Commandments and old-fashioned respect for truth and honesty—before it is too late" is a warning that needs to be heeded. It is a real tragedy that more members of our High Court do not embrace the philosophy of Justice Whittaker, who in the address referred to, points out that "defiance of law, falsifying such terms as 'liberal,' 'conservative,' 'civil rights,' 'civil disobedience,' and so forth, are some of the things that are threatening America." Mr. Speaker, I think it is time that we stop, look, and think, while there is still time to "return to simple honesty." Again, I say, Mr. Speaker, if you have not read the address delivered by Justice Whittaker on April 12 at the University of Kansas, you should read it in the current issue of U.S. News & World Report, beginning on page 58.

FREE ELECTIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, the recent agreement of the South Vietnamese Government and the Buddhist leaders to hold elections in August promises the people of South Vietnam an opportunity to deal with their country's problems by peaceful political means. The prospective elections provide an occasion for the establishment of a representative government in South Vietnam. From the beginning, the American commitment has been designed to assure the people of South Vietnam precisely this kind of opportunity. As the history of North Vietnam shows, without an American presence, the people of South Vietnam probably could not have found such means for self-expression. As President Johnson and Secretary Rusk have repeatedly stated, the conflict in Vietnam is both political and military. Therefore political as well as military means are required for its solution.

Now basic American ideals, and the stated aims of our policy in South Vietnam require that U.S. policy in the coming months be directed toward assuring that these elections be conducted in the most free and open manner possible. Our activities in South Vietnam in the coming months should, therefore, be designed to assure the widest possible participation in the entire election process by all elements of the population.

This is an essential precondition for any settlement of the conflict that reflects the interests of all the people of South Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, the Government of the United States should actively encourage and facilitate this process in every possible way.

THE BOSTON CELTICS MAKE CIVIL RIGHTS AS WELL AS BASKETBALL HISTORY

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to congratulate the world's champion Boston Celtics, who for 8 years have been the world's champions in basketball, for their activities in respect to civil rights. In 1950 the Boston Celtics were the first professional team in the National Basketball League ever to hire a Negro. In the year 1966 they were the first professional team that ever fielded as a starting lineup a complete Negro team.

Mr. Speaker, as of Monday this week the Boston Celtics appointed as their coach their superstar big Bill Russell, the first Negro who has ever been appointed as manager and coach of a major basketball team, or of any major sporting team.

The Boston Celtics have acted the part of real champions in the way they have conducted themselves. I hope the pattern will be an example for all other sporting organizations.

My congratulations go to the Boston Celtics, the team, the players, and the management.

"Red" Auerbach is not only the world's greatest coach, but also its greatest sportsman.

BALLYHOO FOR THE FOREIGN AID PROGRAM

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, on the 5th of April the new Deputy Under Secretary of State for Latin America, Mr. Gordon, appeared before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs in ballyhooing the foreign aid program.

Mr. Speaker, at that time I asked the gentleman to provide me with one example of a project which had been sponsored in Latin America, which had been successful. In fact, I said, not to limit it too much, "If you cannot find one in Latin America, find one anywhere in the world and tell me where it is; I would like to go look at it."

He assured me that he would not only find one, but would find one right away. Fifteen days have passed, and I have not heard from the gentleman. I would have thought that if he had a successful project he could have found out about it by this time.

FINO OPPOSES GOVERNMENTWIDE LOAN POOLS

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, the President's message today calling for a governmentwide loan pooling and refinancing program to be run through Fannie Mae represents an unparalleled power grab which strikes at the very root of our congressional process.

If we permit and allow Government agencies to circumvent full congressional scrutiny by refinancing their paper for funds, we will be creating not only a menace to the Congress but a serious threat to private credit. We will be creating an economic and political monster.

Let us make no mistake about it. Socialized lending is the inevitable end-product of a full-scale pooling program. Socialized credit will grow and grow with the pools until most bankers become civil servants in title or fact.

Expansion of Government loan programs beyond complete congressional scrutiny is very attractive to a free-wheeling administration, because it presents a marvelous opportunity for budget gimmickry.

Under this program, the administration can sidestep any budget deficit by a white elephant sale of assets at an attractive rate. Agencies can go to Fannie Mae as indigents go to pawnbrokers and hockshops. Budget deficits can be overcome—on paper—by the sale of a few billion dollars worth of loan participations. The program proposed in this message can be used to make many a budget safe for waste and extravagance which could not otherwise survive the spotlight of a deficit budget.

I believe that this program is a fiscal and monetary monster. It could only have been unleashed by an administration dedicated to economic rule or ruin.

This program is a cruel paradox. It will cost the taxpayers most in high refinancing costs in just those years were inflationary budget deficits have stimulated participation sales budget gimmickry. It will inflate the volume of Government loans in just those budget deficit years where the Government is already spending too much on too many programs. The costs of refinancing in this program will add to the taxpayer's burden so that the Government may, through deceit, spend more tax dollars than otherwise.

This program makes no economic sense because it is a political program. No economist would seek it—only a power-hungry administration.

This message is the message of a would-be economic Caesar. Only a blank-check Congress in every sense of the word would betray future Congresses and generations of citizens and taxpayers by passing it.

I have heard arguments that refinancing of this sort is the private enterprise approach because it brings in private funds. This is hypocrisy, pure and simple. Many of the loans proposed to be pooled in the fiscal 1967 budget were originally made in unfair competition with private credit. The time to bring in private credit was before the Government loan was made, not at some later date as a budget trick. For example, the 1967 budget proposed Farmers' Home Administration loans for pooling and a January 1966 report of the General Accounting Office said that many such loans were made in competition with private credit.'

If this program is enacted, Congress will be crippled, the economy will be twisted and the budget will be warped out of recognition. This program also sows the seeds of socialized banking. All this will be laid at the feet of an economic Caesar in the White House.

FEDERAL HOCKSHOP CAN FINANCE FOREIGN AID

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, under the administration's proposed Participation Sales Act of 1966, the Federal National Mortgage Association—FNMA—is to become a financing agency for other Government lending agencies. The budget for fiscal year 1967 special analyses states:

> Legislation is being proposed to authorize a Government-wide program for sale of participations in outstanding direct loans.

In fact, this will make FNMA a Federal hockshop.

The budget estimates that at the close of June 30, 1966, there will be outstanding $33.1 billion direct loans under various Federal credit programs. The largest and most rapidly growing—from the standpoint of dollar volume—of the Federal loan programs is that of the Department of State through its Agency for International Development. At the close of fiscal year 1965 the volume of direct loans outstanding made by this Agency was $9 billion. At the close of fiscal year 1966 the estimated outstanding volume is $10.5 billion. At the close of fiscal year 1967 the estimated outstanding volume is $12 billion.

FNMA in its new role of Federal hockshop could sell participations in a pool of such loans. It makes no difference that these AID direct loans bear interest in some instances as low as three-fourths percent per year or that in some cases they have maturities as long as 40 years. The legislation proposed authorizes appropriations for any agency pooling its loans with FNMA in an amount sufficient to make up any deficiency between income received on the loans, and interest paid on participations sold on the pooling of such loans. FNMA thus will not suffer any loss so it is painless financing for FNMA.

Obviously these AID loans are nonsalable and participations in a pool of such loans likewise would be nonsalable if FNMA did not guarantee the payment of principal and interest on the participations sold and if that guarantee was not backed up by the unlimited draw of FNMA on the U.S. Treasury for any funds that might be needed to pay such principal and interest.

Clearly, FNMA is selling U.S. Government credit. It is pure fiction that FNMA is indirectly selling foreign aid loans.

Let us explore the budgetary possibilities of such a transaction. As noted above, AID holdings of foreign aid loans are expanding at a rate of $1.5 billion per year. Under the present system, that is a $1.5 billion charge per year against the administrative budget. Under the participation sales device, the only charge against the administrative budget would be the appropriation to make up the deficiency between the income received on the loans pooled and the interest cost of the participations sold. Assume such loss differential to be 3 percent, the budget charge then would be 3 percent of $1.5 billion or only $45 million per year. Financing foreign aid becomes almost painless insofar as the budgetary impact is concerned.

Can the Congress perpetrate such a hoax on itself and the public?

SIX HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-NINE DOLLARS A MONTH TAX FREE FROM TWO FEDERAL POVERTY PROGRAMS

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, the case of the Michigan man who has been drawing $698 a month tax free from two different Federal poverty programs is an example of the unwieldy overlapping operation of the mushrooming Federal bureaucracy.

Writes one of my constituents:

> My wife and I just paid the balance of our income tax on my $76 a week take-home pay the day before I read this article in the newspaper. My wife works part time for $32.50 a week. This man gets $146 more per week tax free from the public trough than we earn working a combined 62 hours a week.

How many more disgraceful cases like this are buried in the Great Society's costly and wasteful programs at the expense of those of us who are struggling to support our families and pay our taxes? He said:

> Let me tell you Congressmen, I'm fed up.

To my constituent I can only say that so are millions of other Americans—and particularly many in my congressional district based upon what I heard back home over the Easter recess.

FEDERAL HOCKSHOP CAN FINANCE THE U.S. TREASURY

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, the administration has submitted today its proposed Participation Sales Act of 1966. Under the proposal the Federal National Mortgage Association—FNMA—would be authorized to sell beneficial interests or participations in loans pooled by Government agencies. The loans pooled would be subject to a trust of which FNMA would be trustee. FNMA would unconditionally guarantee principal and interest of the participations sold and that guarantee would be backed up by the unlimited right of FNMA to borrow funds from the U.S. Treasury in whatever amounts might be necessary to make good on FNMA's guarantee of principal and interest on participations sold.

The pooling arrangement with FNMA would apply to "any obligations in which the United States or any agency or instrumentality thereof may have a financial interest." Such broad language, of course, includes any departments of the Federal Government, including the Department of the Treasury itself. That leads to the ridiculous situation in which FNMA could sell participations in loans held by the U.S. Treasury while, at the same time, the only reason the participations are readily salable is the fact that they enjoy the unlimited indirect guarantee of the U.S. Treasury.

That FNMA could thus finance the U.S. Treasury is more than a hypothetical possibility. In 1945, the U.S. Treasury made a $3¾ billion loan to the United Kingdom. The loan bears 2 percent interest and originally was repayable in 50 installments beginning December 31, 1951. In 1957, an amendment of the terms of the loan permitted the deferral of up to seven payments of principal and/or interest with any deferred principal payments to be added on at the final maturity of the loan. Principal and interest was deferred in the years 1957, 1964, and 1965. The final maturity of the loan is, therefore, 2004. As of the close of 1965 there remained outstanding $3.15 billion of principal. If one were to guess at the market price of such a loan, a generous appraisal would be a price of 60—or 60 cents on the dollar.

Under the administration's proposal, the Treasury Department could pool that loan, subject it to the FNMA trust, and FNMA could sell $2.5 billion of participations. While that would amount to but 80 percent of the face value of the loan, it actually would amount to 133 percent of the probable market value of the loan. Nevertheless, the participations would be readily salable in the market because of the FNMA guarantee which in turn is backed up by an unlimited draw on the U.S. Treasury.

Why might the Treasury want to do this? The reason would be the same as for any other Government agency for which FNMA would sell participations in a pool of loans. Proceeds of the participations sold go to the agency pooling the loans which in turn could use the receipts to make additional loans. The Treasury, the same as any other department or agency has need for funds. Treasury might want to make another British loan to bolster the British balance-of-payments position. Likewise, the Treasury Department might want to use such proceeds to extend billion dollar credits to Latin America or southeast Asia.

Low-interest rates on such new commitments would be no impediment, because the administration proposal would authorize appropriations to make up any difference principal and interest received on loans that were pooled and principal and interest paid on participations sold. The new loans would not even appear in the budget because proceeds from the participations sold would be used to offset such loans. In the absence of participation sales, such expenditures would appear in the budget as an item of expense.

Thus, interest rates paid by the taxpayer would be considerably higher than current Federal debt costs, and the dollar budget figure would be lower. As a result, we the taxpayer are forced to finance our own delusion.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROCK. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. I trust that the gentleman will support this bill. This was originally inaugurated by President Eisenhower at the time rather than have direct appropriations.

Mr. BROCK. The gentleman is partially correct. The Eisenhower proposal was used to reduce the national debt.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. I trust that the gentleman will support this legislation, which is very much needed.

OPENING OF NATIONAL AIRPORT TO SMALL AND MEDIUM JETS

Mr. GRIDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. GRIDER. Mr. Speaker, the opening of National Airport to small and medium jets next Monday is of utmost importance to the citizens of Memphis and the Midsouth.

I would like to commend Gen. William McKee and the others of the Federal Aviation Agency for taking this progressive step in spite of criticism from some sources who take a strictly local view.

In fact, there is a certain irony when some critics loudly proclaim Washington is a national city and not entitled to home rule and then turn around and insist the convenience of travelers from throughout the Nation should not be considered by opening jets to National Airport.

Mr. William C. Mieher, president of the Memphis Area Chamber of Commerce, summed it up well:

> Permission for small and medium jets to land at Washington National will make the transaction of business in Washington infinitely more convenient for Memphians and midsoutherners whose duties lead them there. Neither Dulles nor Friendship Airport can be construed as convenient for our citizens who wish to travel by airline to Washington. Further, with National open to small and medium jets, we can expect more and better service to and from Washington. With propeller planes rapidly being phased out by our commercial airlines, the importance of this decision can readily be seen.

The people of Memphis will now be 20 to 30 minutes closer to the Nation's Capital when Braniff begins flying jets into National Airport. We have been assured by American Airlines that it will begin jet service at an early date.

This is a step forward, and I fully approve.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GRIDER. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I want to associate myself with the gentleman's remarks. I think he is exactly correct, and I think it is important that the FAA took this position.

Mr. GRIDER. I thank the gentleman.

COMMITTEE ON RULES

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have until midnight tonight to file certain privileged reports.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI], I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor may be permitted to sit while the House is in session today during general debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HEALTH OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. JARMAN], I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Public Health and Safety of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce may be permitted to sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I have not been informed that this has been cleared with the ranking minority member. The case was such in the other requests.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I do not ask for these requests unless they are cleared. The note which was sent to me indicated that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER], had cleared this request.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 67]

Abbitt
Anderson, Ill.
Ayres
Burleson
Casey
Colmer
Conyers
Corman
Delaney
Dent
Dowdy
Dwyer
Evans, Colo.
Feighan
Flynt
Fuqua
Giaimo
Green, Oreg.
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Harvey, Ind.
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
Laird
McDowell
McEwen
Mathias
Matthews
Moeller
Multer
Murray
O'Hara, Mich.
Powell
Reifel
Rivers, Alaska
Roberts
Roncalio
Rooney, N.Y.
Roudebush
Staggers
Stubblefield
Sweeney
Teague, Tex.
Toll
Udall
Utt
Walker, Miss.
Weltner
Williams
Willis

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 381 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

AUTHORIZATION FOR THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY TO CONDUCT STUDIES AND INVESTIGATIONS

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 777 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 777

Resolved, That, for the purposes of the studies and investigations specified in clause (1) and clause (7) of H. Res. 19, Eighty-ninth Congress, approved by the House of Representatives on February 16, 1965, the Committee on the Judiciary is hereby authorized to send fifteen of its members and six of its employees, three from the majority staff and three from the minority staff, to be divided into three special subcommittees: to investigate refugee matters, to inspect, study, and observe the overseas operations of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and to attend the fifteenth session of the Executive Committee of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees; to inspect, study, and observe the overseas operations of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration and to attend the twenty-seventh session of the Executive Committee and the twenty-fifth session of the Council of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration; to inspect, study, and observe the overseas operation of the Submerged Lands Act and the Outer Continental Shelf Act. Each subcommittee is authorized to sit and act whether the House has recessed or has adjourned, and to hold such hearings as it deems necessary: *Provided,* That the subcommittee shall not undertake any investigation of any subject which is being investigated by any other committee of the House.

Notwithstanding section 1754 of title 22, United States Code, or any other provision of law, local currencies owned by the United States shall be made available to the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives and employees engaged in carrying out their official duties under section 190(d) of title 2, United States Code: *Provided,* That (1) no member or employee of said committee shall receive or expend local currencies for subsistence in any country at a rate in excess of the maximum per diem rate set forth in section 502(b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended by Public Law 88–633, approved October 7, 1964; (2) no member or employee of said committee shall receive or expend an amount for transportation in excess of actual transportation costs; (3) no appropriated funds shall be expended for the purpose of defraying expenses of members of said committee or its employees in any country where counterpart funds are available for this purpose.

That each member or employee of said committee shall make to the chairman of said committee an itemized report showing the number of days visited in each country whose local currencies were spent, the amount of per diem furnished, and the cost of transportation, if furnished by public carrier; or if such transportation is furnished by an agency of the United States Government, the identification of the agency. All such individual reports shall be filed by the chairman with the Committee on House Administration and shall be open to public inspection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. QUILLEN], and I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this is one of the travel resolutions, which is the ordinary and usual thing that the House grants to the Committee on the Judiciary in order to take such trips as may be necessary in the performance of their duties with respect to certain matters coming under their jurisdiction in connection with the foreign countries, such as immigration, and various and sundry matters.

It is the usual resolution.

Does the gentleman from Tennessee desire to make any statement?

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, as the able gentleman from Virginia, the distinguished chairman of the House Rules Committee, has explained, this is the standard procedure under the rules laid down by the House.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no objection to the resolution, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 777 authorizes funds for the Judiciary Committee to "inspect, study, and observe" the overseas operations of three subjects which are within the committee's jurisdiction: refugee matters, European migration, and the Submerged Lands Act.

While it may be useful for the committee to investigate matters overseas, I think that we should consider the committee's obligation to investigate certain matters here at home.

I am referring, of course, to the operation of the Civil Rights Acts and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

In the view of the Judiciary Committee, submerged lands have continued to warrant a special subcommittee. Are we to tell the people of the United States that the protection of their civil rights warrant less?

In the view of the Judiciary Committee, refugee matters, European migration, and the Submerged Lands Act warrant the expense and time of 3 overseas trips by 15 Members of Congress. Are we to tell the people of the United States that civil rights and voting rights warrant less time and expense?

My admiration for the distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee, my friend and colleague from New York [Mr. CELLER], is immense. His leadership has been instrumental in the enactment of civil rights legislation.

Surely he, and the other distinguished members of his committee, must fully recognize the need to oversee the monumental legislation which they have passed.

The responsibility of this body to scrutinize the operation of the Voting Rights Act was emphasized time and again in the historic debate over the seating of the Mississippi congressional delegation last September. This point was emphasized both by those who supported the challenge and by those who opposed it. Indeed, it was even underlined in the report of the House Administration Committee. The committee report recommended that "the House should make every effort to scrutinize with great care all future elections."

Mr. Speaker, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Acts are not being fully enforced. Members who are concerned with the effective implementation of civil rights legislation often act on an ad hoc basis, as we did 2 weeks ago when members of the civil rights steering committee of the Democratic study group met with the Attorney General to discuss the progress of voter registration in Sunflower County, Miss. Such matters should be under investigation by a properly constituted committee of this House with subpena power and a full staff.

In our meeting with the Attorney General, we brought certain salient facts to his attention, which raise questions which it will take a full-fledged committee investigation to attempt to answer.

For example, at the end of December there were Federal examiners in only 18 of Mississippi's 82 counties. Presumably these counties were the hard core of resistance and voter intimidation. Yet by the end of December a much higher percentage of Negroes were registered in those counties than in counties without Federal examiners.

Mr. Speaker, three-quarters of the counties in Mississippi remain untouched by Federal examiners. And in those counties—which will soon have primaries for the very Congressmen who were challenged in 1965—a very low percentage of the Negroes are registered to vote.

It is the responsibility of this body to understand the reasons for the tardy progress of the Voting Rights Act throughout most of Mississippi. The Attorney General maintains that civil rights groups should carry the burden of getting citizens registered in the South. If this is so, then a committee of this House should ascertain what plans they have and what obstacles they have encountered in voter registration drives.

The Attorney General further maintains that the Voting Rights Act has been mainly successful in urban areas of the South. He suggests that it may take a long time for it to take full root in rural communities. If this is so, then a committee of this House should question citizens and officials of rural counties to find out what retards voter registration in those communities.

The need for a committee to oversee the operation of the Voting Rights Act is distressingly clear. It is no less important to investigate the implementation of other civil rights legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I have raised these questions because I do not believe we should adopt this resolution on investigations abroad without discussing the needs for the Judiciary Committee to conduct investigations and hearings in civil rights in the South and other parts of this Nation. If there is any doubt about the power of the committee to do so, or if there is a need for further congressional authorization, I urge the distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee to take whatever action is necessary to establish a functioning subcommittee to deal with these matters.

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution offered by the gentleman from Virginia.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 1 OF 1966—COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of House Resolution 756, that the House of Representatives does not favor the Reorganization Plan No. 1 transmitted to the Congress by the President on February 10, 1966; and pending that motion, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that debate on this resolution may continue not to exceed 2 hours, the time to be equally divided between the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Erlenborn], and myself.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of House Resolution 756, with Mr. Hechler in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the resolution was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the unanimous-consent agreement, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Reuss], will be recognized for 1 hour, and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Erlenborn] will be recognized for 1 hour.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 7 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, we are considering today House Resolution 756 to disapprove President Johnson's first reorganization plan of 1966. The President's plan and our procedure here are in accord with the Reorganization Act of 1949 which we have repeatedly extended and is now in effect until December 31, 1968. That act gives to the President the authority to submit reorganization plans to the Congress which take effect 60 days after submission unless either House in its wisdom passes a disapproval resolution. The purpose of this act was to expedite action on certain executive reorganizations which would have the following purposes:

First, to promote the better execution of the laws, the more effective management of the executive branch of the Government and of its agencies and functions, and the expeditious administration of the public business; second, to reduce expenditures and promote economy, to the fullest extent consistent with the efficient operation of the Government; third, to increase the efficiency of the operations of the Government to the fullest extent practicable; fourth, to group, coordinate, and consolidate agencies and functions of the Government, as nearly as may be, according to major purposes; fifth, to reduce the number of agencies by consolidating those having similar functions under a single head, and to abolish such agencies or functions thereof as may not be necessary for the efficient conduct of the Government.

Reorganization Plan No. 1 was transmitted to the Congress by President Johnson on February 10, and in accordance with the rules was referred to the Committees on Government Operation of both the House and Senate. Disapproval resolutions were subsequently filed—13 in the House and 1 in the Senate. Hearings were conducted on the plan and the resolutions and in due course the committees acted. In the Senate the committee supported the plan and its action was ratified after debate by the full Senate on April 6. The Committee on Government Operations in the House likewise supported the plan and recommends that the House uphold the President and not agree to the resolutions of disapproval.

The plan provides for the transfer of the Community Relations Service from the Department of Commerce to the Department of Justice and all of its functions are to be transferred to the Attorney General. The Community Relations Service was created by title 10 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 "to provide assistance to communities and persons therein in resolving disputes, disagreements, or difficulties relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin which impair the rights of persons in such communities under the Constitution or laws of the United States or which affect or may affect interstate commerce. The Service may offer its services in cases of such disputes, disagreements, or difficulties whenever, in its judgment, peaceful relations among the citizens of the community involved are threatened thereby, and it may offer its services either upon its own motion or upon the request of an appropriate State or local official or other interested person."

The Service was headed by former Gov. LeRoy Collins, of Florida, who served with distinction until he was appointed Under Secretary of Commerce. It was originally located in the Department of Commerce on the assumption that a primary need would be the conciliation of disputes arising in the area of public accommodations. According to the President, the need is not as great now due to the voluntary progress made by business organizations.

There are 67 persons presently employed by the Service and its fiscal 1966 appropriation is $1 million. The Attorney General has announced that if the transfer is completed its personnel will be increased to 100 and its budget to $2 million.

In his message submitting the plan the President stated that the transfer was "a further step for strengthening the operations and coordination of our civil rights programs." "The Justice Department," he said, "has primary program responsibilities in civil rights matters and deep and broad experience in the conciliation of civil rights disputes." It will insure that "the Federal Government speaks with a unified voice in those tense situations where the good offices of the Federal Government are called upon to assist." The President also pointed out:

> Although the reorganizations provided for in the reorganization plan will not of themselves result in immediate savings, the improvement achieved in administration will permit a fuller and more effective utilization of manpower and will in the future allow the performance of the affected functions at lower costs than would otherwise be possible.

The proposed transfer of the Community Relations Service had its genesis in a Government-wide reorganization of civil rights activities the President has undertaken. These changes were based on a study made for the President by Vice President Humphrey.

In an exchange of memorandums on September 24, 1965, the Vice President recommended and the President concurred in the transfer of the Community Relations Service from its present position in the Department of Commerce to its proposed position in the Department of Justice. To carry out this recommendation, the President transmitted Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1966 to the Congress on February 10, 1966.

In his message, the President recounted the steps taken on September 24, 1965. On that day he issued Executive Order No. 11246 which simplified and clarified executive branch assignments of responsibility for enforcing civil rights policies. The order placed coordination responsibility in the Secretary of Labor with respect to employment by Federal contractors, and in the Civil Service Commission with respect to employment by Federal agencies.

On that same day he issued Executive Order No. 11247, directing the Attorney General to assist Federal agencies in coordinating their enforcement activities with respect to title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which title prohibits discrimination in federally assisted programs.

As the President also emphasized in his message of February 10, Congress had previously recognized and assigned to the Department of Justice a major role in the implementation of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

At the subcommittee hearings, the Attorney General testified at length on the civil rights activities of the Department of Justice. He related that better than 50 percent of his personal time is spent on civil rights matters, making it clear that the nerve center of civil rights activity in the executive branch of the Government is in the Department of Justice. The Director of the Community Relations Service and a number of national civil rights organizations expressed their support for the reorganization plan.

An unbiased reading of the transcript of the subcommittee's hearings compels the conclusion that the transfer should be approved. In addition to the considerations I have previously mentioned, we must not forget that the principal Cabinet officer to whom the President, agencies of Government, and the public look for advice and judgment on civil rights issues is the Attorney General. We must not forget that the Attorney General represents the other Cabinet officers in litigation resulting from their activities and is therefore knowledgeable with respect to housing, employment, school, and other matters and in a position better than any other Cabinet officer to perform the coordinating functions which will be required following the transfer.

The principal objections to the proposed transfer are not persuasive.

Among them is the suggestion that the Community Relations Service should be made an independent agency in the Executive Office of the President or transferred to the Department of Housing and Urban Development. It appears to me, as it did to the majority of the Government Operations Committee, that independent status in the Executive Office of the President would not only continue an undesirable proliferation but would result in the Service having little direct access to the President, dealing primarily with Presidential assistants. Such fragmentation of the Federal civil rights efforts would be directly contrary to present-day thinking with respect to effective organizational structures.

As for transfer to the Deaprtment of Housing and Urban Development, that Department is concerned primarily with housing problems; the interests and activities of the Service are much broader. They cover areas of direct concern not only to HUD but HEW, Labor, Agriculture, and others.

A second major objection is based on the requirement of section 1003(b) of the 1964 Civil Rights Act that the activities of the Community Relations Service "shall be conducted in confidence and without publicity, and the Service shall hold confidential any information acquired in the regular performance of its duties upon the understanding that it would be so held." My recollection of the events of 1964 and my review of the testimony adduced at the current hearings bring me to the conclusion that the proposed transfer is consistent with the statutory requirement of confidentiality. As the Attorney General testified, there is no agency of Government which has occasion to receive more confidential information or has a better reputation for maintaining confidences.

As for the argument that the functions of conciliation and law enforcement are incompatible, I can only say that the daily work of the Department of Justice always requires conciliation, mediation, and negotiation expertise. This is the nature of law work, as every attorney knows.

Further, as was pointed out in our hearings, in 28 States conciliation and enforcement functions in the civil rights field are now lodged in a single agency.

Note should also be taken that the substantive law which governs the Service, title X of the 1964 act, will remain unchanged and the Department of Justice will continue to operate pursuant to its provisions. The Congress has been assured that the Service will retain its separate identity, and will be accorded status equivalent to that of the major divisions of the Department, with the Director having access directly to the Attorney General.

There are no subtleties or hidden motives in this plan. It neither adds to nor detracts from the powers which Congress had already given to the Community Relations Service and to the Attorney General. It is an intensely practical means by which the President is providing more effective coordination for a vital Government program.

I urge the House to uphold President Johnson's Reorganization Plan No. 1 and defeat the disapproval resolution by an overwhelming vote.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 additional minute.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REUSS. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. The gentleman from Wisconsin has hit upon an excellent point about which I would like to ask a question. In the States that the gentleman has mentioned which already have community relations facilities and commissions so that they already are trying to work out peaceably these community relations, none of them is in the prosecutor's office. These agencies on the State and local levels are all independent. So, at the State and community level we do not put this function in a prosecutor's office or attorney general's office generally.

The second point is this: If we should move the agency over to the Department of Justice, might we be emphasizing the disputes that occur in putting the questions in the civil rights areas of reference when as a matter of fact conciliation is broader than that? The questions might be much broader than just the civil rights questions. Where everybody says the conciliation is being well done where it is in the U.S. Department of Commerce, why make the change?

Mr. REUSS. The gentleman's inquiry represents two questions. I shall try to answer them in order.

The first point made is that in most States the enforcement activities of the civil rights agency are not centered in the State attorneys general. This is perfectly correct. But the point I make is this——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has again expired.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

The point I make is that in each of those States the enforcement agency and the conciliation agency is in the same office. For instance, in my State of Wisconsin we have a State industrial commission which is the enforcement agency and which goes into court and obtains injunctions and other extraordinary processes in order to secure fair employment. Also, it is a conciliation agency. In other words, it wears two hats.

There should be not the slightest inconsistency between lodging the enforcement powers and the conciliation powers within the same agency.

The second point made by the gentleman from Pennsylviania is that there is something somehow imperfect about lodging conciliation and enforcement functions in the same agency. This was an argument which the majority of the House Committee on Government Operations duly pondered, after listening to the testimony on this particular point. We came to the considered conclusion that far from being imperfect, it makes abundant administrative sense to lodge all civil rights activities in the same agency. The fact is that increasingly in recent years the Attorney General has found himself in the conciliation business, not just in civil rights actions, but in an entire variety of aspects of his business. We find that it is wholesome and healthy that they be lodged in the same agency.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN].

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, I rise to urge adoption of the pending resolution disproving Reorganization Plan No. 1.

Mr. Chairman, I earnestly believe that at a time when the Congress should be considering pending legislation to provide additional needed reforms in the areas of civil rights—for example, bills pending which would help provide protection of the selection of juries and so forth—it is unfortunate that this action which is about to be taken here today in my opinion is a step backward insofar as the cause of civil rights is concerned.

The Community Relations Service established in 1964 must be an aid and an assistance to the communities and to individuals within communities in the peaceful and voluntary settlement of racial differences and racial disputes.

Many racial disputes are either not subject to legal redress or cannot be resolved effectively through the force of law.

We need and we have in the existing Community Relations Service a voluntary conciliation and mediation agency which has the status to gain and to keep the respect and confidence of the individuals with whom it must deal.

Oftentimes, disputes and differences of this kind can be settled and tensions eased in a peaceful manner—but only if the people with whom the agency deals have this confidence and respect.

I would say on the basis of information that has come to my attention that the existing Community Relations Service has done a rather outstanding job in community after community. Conciliators of the Service have entered strife torn situations and have been able to get people together, talking as equals, and they have been successful in large measure in resolving some of the very difficult situations.

As it was first conceived, to be sure, the Community Relations Service was expected to engage primarily in problems relating to desegregation of places of public accommodation. Actually, the cause of civil rights and the problems in the civil rights area are much broader than that. The Service has been called upon to expand its areas of interest and has been active in a much broader respect.

It has been called upon to resolve disputes in some 205 cities in all parts of the Nation.

It has been required to deal and has dealt ably with the problems of public accommodations, school desegregation, public facilities, housing, law enforcement, and employment and voter registration.

But I should like to emphasize, there is no question that the availability and performance of the Service—and its ability to help safeguard the rights of individuals—has been predicated in large part upon its ability to gain and to keep the confidence of the individuals with whom it must deal.

In creating this Service in 1964, the Congress was convinced that effective conciliation could best be accomplished in an atmosphere free of coercion or even the possibility of fear of coercion.

It is my opinion this important principle will be eroded if the Service is transferred and made a part of the Department of Justice which also directs, for example, the work of the FBI.

The late President Kennedy urged that the functions of the prosecutor be kept separate from the functions of the conciliation service.

Many of the sponsors of the Service in this House and the other body made similar pleas at the time in 1964.

Nothing has occurred, in my opinion, which would justify us now to disregard the wise counsel which President Kennedy and Attorney General KENNEDY gave us with respect to this important principle.

It is argued that the Service should be transferred to the Department of Justice in order to assist better the Attorney General in coordinating civil rights activities within the Federal Government. However, the testimony of the Attorney General and the Director of the Community Relations Service before the committee indicated that effective coordination already exists and, in any event, such coordination as is needed can be accomplished through Executive orders, interagency agreements, or in other ways that do not jeopardize or sacrifice the independence of this Community Relations Service.

It is argued that the proposed transfer is necessary in order to eliminate duplication of duties performed by the Service and the Department of Justice. While it may be true that both agencies deal to some extent with the same general problems in the civil rights area, it ought to be abundantly clear that every one of the functions and the role of the Community Relations Service and the Department of Justice are altogether different in their nature.

The Community Relations Service seeks to achieve voluntary cooperation and agreement without the use or threat of legal coercion. On the other hand, the Department of Justice, no matter how much it might seek on a voluntary basis to conciliate, still has that overriding force of law and the threat of the enforcement power when it deals with individuals in this area. This difference in functions was expressed by the spokesman for the Community Relations Service itself in its first annual report, where it was stated:

> The conciliator makes it clear to everyone with whom he speaks (a) his mandate is to help bring voluntary compliance with Federal laws pertaining to discrimination; (b) he has no power of legal coercion, only the tools of persuasion and reason; (c) he works in confidence as required by title 10.

The important reference in this report to confidentiality brings me to the final reason for opposing this transfer. The 1964 Civil Rights Act requires that information which is received in confidence by the Community Relations Service should be held in confidence, and that employees of the Service are not to engage in investigative or prosecutive functions. However, during the committee hearings there was testimony indicating that this important principle is already being eroded to some extent, and to the extent that this is the case, I think it is altogether unfortunate.

There is a parallel, I would suggest, between the situation we have here and the machinery which exists in the labor-management field for dealing with such disputes. We have the Mediation and Conciliation Service, which is an independent agency of the Government without enforcement powers, which deals on a confidential basis with parties that are involved in labor-management disputes.

When it comes to enforcement in this area, people look to the National Labor Relations Board, or if criminal sanctions are involved, to the Department of Justice. I think the principle has proved to be a sound one in labor-management affairs, and I would suggest in this difficult and important area of civil rights that we should keep these functions separate, and I hope that today the House will not vote to take a step backward in this great cause of civil rights.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 8 minutes to the distinguished and beloved Chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary, the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER].

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, at the outset I wish to note that the Congress has entrusted to the Department of Justice a major responsibility for administration and and enforcement of existing civil rights laws. We have reaffirmed our faith and confidence in the Department of Justice in each successive civil rights enactment. No convincing reason is suggested why, at this time, the jurisdiction of the Department should not be enlarged to encompass the Community Relations Service.

In addition, what do civil rights leaders who are sensitive to effective civil rights enforcement say about this transfer?

They have said publicly that this change is appropriate and proper. The AFL–CIO, who are very much interested in the civil rights movement, have likewise come forward and approved this change.

What is the history of the Community Relations Service? It was originally part of the administration's civil rights proposal in 1963. The Judiciary Committee struck it out.

The civil rights bill in 1964 came before this House without the provision therein. The gentleman from South Carolina, my very distinguished friend, BOB ASHMORE, offered a motion to put the Community Relations Service back into the bill. Both the gentleman from Ohio, the ranking minority member of the Judiciary Committee, and I agreed to accept the amendment of the gentleman from South Carolina, because we believed that it would be appropriate. It became title X of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—Public Law 88-352—which established the Community Relations Service and placed it in the Department of Commerce. A basic assumption of the Congress was that the primary role of the service would be the conciliation of disputes arising out of title II of the act, dealing with public accommodations, such as hotels, motels, restaurants, and the like. It seemed good sense to utilize the good offices of the Department of Commerce headed at that time by the distinguished former Governor of North Carolina, Luther Hodges, to mobilize the business community and others in support of title II. The widespread acceptance of the public accommodations provisions by private businesses, however, exceeded many of the most optimistic predictions and substantially lessened the need for conciliation of disputes in that area. Thereupon, the Community Relations Service undertook a number of other productive efforts in the field of race relations.

The President and the Vice President of the United States, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Director of the Community Relations Service, all are agreed that the transfer of the Service to the Department of Justice will improve administration and will "permit a fuller and more effective utilization of manpower."—President's message of February 10, 1966.

It is also highly significant and should be recognized that leaders of major civil rights groups support the transfer envisioned by the reorganization plan—AFL-CIO.

I need hardly remind my colleagues that changes in circumstances often require changes in the organization of our institutions. The transfer of the Community Relations Service to the Department of Justice will enable the Federal Government more efficiently and effectively to focus on the pressing civil rights problems that require remedy. The transfer will accomplish the centralization of major Federal efforts aimed at voluntary and peaceful elimination of discriminatory practices. The transfer should thereby enlarge the capacities of both the Service and the Department of Justice to fulfill their present responsibilities in the area of civil rights.

Any fear that combining enforcement and conciliation within the same agency will inhibit public confidence or cast a prosecutorial shadow over the Service should be dispelled by the experience of 28 States that presently combine these functions in one agency.

Mr. Chairman, I support the reorganization plan submitted to the Congress and I urge my colleagues to support the report of the Committee on Government Operations disapproving a measure which would disapprove the plan.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL].

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, originally I opposed the transfer of the Community Relations Service from the Commerce Department to the Department of Justice. My opinion was motivated to a large degree by the opinion of the then Attorney General of the United States, ROBERT KENNEDY, and what I understood to be the feelings of the responsible and accredited leaders of the civil rights movement in the United States.

I was certainly persuaded too, by the provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as it related to the Community Relations Service which provided "no officer or employee of the Service shall engage in the performance of investigative or prosecuting functions of any department or agency in any litigation arising out of a dispute in which he acted on behalf of the Service."

It would seem to me, too, that conciliation is separate and a part from prosecution and that these two should as far as possible be separated in order to give freedom of discussion in the conciliating process. I find it difficult to believe that those involved in conciliation can discuss with the same freedom matters in dispute if they recognize that the same Department might at a later date act in the role as prosecutor. Very frankly, however, it does not seem to me vital as to which department of the Government the Community Relations Service is assigned. The important matter is the way it works wherever it is located. The Community Relations Service can indeed perform a most useful service and is in my judgment vitally needed. I have had many dealings with the Department of Justice and have great confidence in the present Attorney General whom I have come to know on a personal basis. I, therefore, respect his opinion when he indicates that experience over the past 2 years is persuasive of the need to transfer the activities of this Service to Justice. I am, also, impressed by the feelings of respected and responsible civil rights leaders, such as Roy Wilkins, who now believe that the transfer will aid better implementation of the civil rights law. These are the people who have had direct contact and actual experience with the realities of the law. I would, however, point out the inherent danger in associating the conciliation service with that arm of the Government authorized to investigate and prosecute and urge upon all who are responsible full compliance with the law and the intent of the Congress in enacting the law.

Even though I have reservations, I shall support the transfer of the Community Relations Service to the Department of Justice and will, therefore, vote against the resolution.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I believe we should start with consideration of the history of the Community Relations Service.

The Community Relations Service was created a mere 2 years ago as part of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. It has been indicated here that there may have been some question at the time as to whether to house it in one agency or in another, but I submit, although I was not a Member of this body at that time, after an examination of the record, it is clear an early determination was made that the Community Relations Service did not belong in the Department of Justice. Then the question was, where should it be housed?

There was some consideration given to putting it in the Executive Office of the President. Also, consideration was given to placing it in the Department of Commerce, because of the public accommodations section of the civil rights bill.

I find myself here today supporting the position of our late beloved President, John Kennedy, and of his brother, ROBERT KENNEDY, who was Attorney General at the time.

I should like to quote their statements concerning the placing of the Community Relations Service, or any similar agency, in the Department of Justice.

President Kennedy, in his message of June 1963, said:

> In some areas, the confidence of all will be greater in an intermediary whose duties are completely separated from department functions of investigation or litigation.

In other words, that is a clear rejection of the idea of housing the Community Relations Service in the Department of Justice.

The then Attorney General, ROBERT KENNEDY, in testifying on this section of the bill, stated:

> But our [Department of Justice's] responsibility really is the enforcement of the law and to see the statutes enforced. We have gotten into this [conciliation] because there has not been any other group to do it. I think it would be better if that responsibility was taken from us and put over into another department.

Clearly he was saying at that time they were engaged in some conciliatory process, but he thought this was the wrong place for this process to be carried on, and urged the Congress at that time to place this in a separate agency apart from the Department of Justice.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. ERLENBORN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Is the gentleman aware that the present Senator from New York, the then Attorney General, voted in support of this reorganization plan in the Senate only a short time ago?

Mr. ERLENBORN. Frankly, I had not taken a reading as to who voted in what fashion there, but I am happy to try to place the former Attorney General, now a Senator, in a position of maintaining consistency, if I can.

In addition, the Department of Justice shortly after the passage of the bill in the House issued an analysis of the bill. I should like to quote from that. The Department of Justice at that time indicated its position, in answer to the question:

> Why not leave these duties (those of the Community Relations Service) up to the Justice Department?

This is the answer given by the Department of Justice:

> Answer. The Department has, in individual cases, attempted to work along this line, as necessary on an emergency basis. But a mediating agency, separate from the Department of Justice, whose duties are chiefly investigation and litigation, would be preferable.

Ladies and gentlemen and Mr. Chairman, this is what we are saying today—exactly what the President and the then Attorney General of the Department of Justice said 2 years ago. In 2 years, a short time, I am not certain there has been anything in the history of the Community Relations Service to prove their judgment wrong.

Now, how about the history of this Reorganization Plan No. 1? The distinguished chairman of the committee on the Judiciary [Mr. CELLER] stated that this reorganization plan is supported by the civil rights groups. He said, who better to make a determination of where this could best be housed or served? Now, let me call your attention to the fact that there was no demand or request made by any civil rights group for this transfer prior to the proposed reorganization plan. Secondly, when the reorganization plan was filed, the immediate reaction of the civil rights groups was opposed to it and not in favor of it. In the hearings the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. REUSS], put in the RECORD an article from, I believe, the

Washington Star for February 10, 1966, and I quote this article from the RECORD:

> Opponents of the reorganization plan, including some civil rights organizations, have expressed concern that the agency would lose much of its effectiveness by being placed in the prosecuting arm of the Justice Department. Wilkins' appointment is believed to have diluted much of the original opposition to the shift.

So the fact is that most of the civil rights groups were opposed until the announcement was made, subsequent to the filing of the reorganization plan, that Mr. Roger Wilkins would be appointed the head of this and made Assistant Attorney General.

At that time the civil rights groups did not switch to being in favor of the plan but merely became silent and acquiescent. Further, when these hearings were held there was not one civil rights group to come before the committee and testify in opposition to our resolution of disapproval. Not one civil rights group came before our subcommittee and testified in favor of the President's reorganization plan. It was interesting, however, that there was one civil rights group that testified in favor of the resolution of disapproval. This was the organization composed of the officers and the employees and the people who work within civil rights groups and community relations groups and so forth. With this lack of support from the civil rights groups, it was interesting, however, some 3 days later that there was a meeting at the White House attended by some of the leaders of these groups and that very night and the next morning telegrams were received by our committee and telegrams were inserted in the RECORD making statements favorable to the President's position on the reorganization plan. So we now find the civil rights groups not on two sides of this question but on three—opposed, neutral, and now in favor.

In the hearings before our committee it was distressing to many of us to learn the interpretation that has been put on the Civil Rights Act as far as the question of confidentiality of the information received by conciliators in the performance of their duties. I submit that had this Congress known at the time the 1964 Civil Rights Act was adopted, the interpretation that would be put upon this section relating to confidentiality, they would not have enacted this section and would not have approved the Community Relations Service.

The present Director of the Community Relations Service, Mr. Wilkins, at my request put into the record the opinion of the chief counsel of that service interpreting the question of confidentiality as set forth in the 1964 act. Here is what they have interpreted this to mean:

Information acquired in the regular performance of the agency's duties, and conciliation activities of the agency in general may be revealed in confidence to members of other Federal agencies, where such disclosure will serve the purpose of coordination with such agencies to accomplish the mission of CRS. The same is true, but with greater necessity for caution, in dealing with State agencies and with private associations.

I submit that under this interpretation the individual who may be a member of a civil rights group, who is engaged in a conciliation procedure, would have a proper fear, if he revealed he was not quite so strong in his feelings for the civil rights movement, that the Community Relations Service could under this interpretation in confidence reveal this to the civil rights group that he belonged to, because the counsel of the Community Relations Service has said that this information, though received in confidence and to be treated as in confidence, may be turned over not only to Federal and State agencies but to private associations.

So, we are not just talking about businessmen who may fear this lack of confidentiality.

Mr. Chairman, anyone dealing with the Community Relations Service, upon reading this interpretation, should have a real fear of revealing anything to the Community Relations Service.

Mr. Chairman, I believe they have done a great deal of harm to the cause of civil rights in seeking and ultimately acquiring an opinion of this sort.

In addition, Mr. Chairman, it might be the so-called red-necked sheriff who is given this information. As a member of the local or State agency who could be given the information acquired by the Community Relations Service, how would a member of a civil rights group or minority group involved in the civil rights movement feel, if he knew any information he revealed to the Community Relations Service could be turned over to the red-necked sheriff who has been wielding the bludgeon in opposition to his fight for civil rights?

Certainly, Mr. Chairman, this could be said to be only speculation. But I submit the opinion sought and acquired by the Community Relations Service and the fact that they now presently turn this information over to the Federal agency, has the result of causing the real fear that these other situations could occur.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. **ERLENBORN**. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 3 additional minutes.

Now, one of the phoniest arguments that has been advanced in support of this transfer to the Department of Justice is that there are some 28 States that already have agencies dealing with the conciliation and the enforcement processes.

Mr. Chairman, at first blush, this represents a pretty good argument. It makes it appear that we are going along with the majority of the States in this reorganization plan.

However, upon examination of those who used this quotation in our hearings, we find that they are not talking about community relations groups within the community, they are not talking about the Governor's commission on human relations, they are not talking about the sort of community relations groups about which President Kennedy talked in the same message in which he recommended the creation of the Community Relations Service to cooperate with the State and local agencies; they, instead, when one digs deeper into this, are talking about fair employment practices commissions. They are talking about fair housing commissions, official commissions of the States and local communities which are charged by law with enforcement of a particular statute.

Mr. Chairman, this is not the purpose of the Community Relations Service. Thus, what we are seeking to accomplish is to keep them divorced from one another so that a comparison between an FEPC and a fair housing commission charged by law, is not a fair comparison with the Community Relations Service. Let us compare it with those other commissions; they are those which President Kennedy said should be working with the citizens groups trying to create good will among groups within their community.

However, we find that none of these are charged with enforcement; none of them are housed within any enforcment agency.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. REUSS], used this argument and will probably agree that the community relations group in Milwaukee, for instance, is not housed within the Attorney General's office or the State's attorney's office. But, perhaps, the Fair Employment Practices Commission does have enforcement procedures. However, this is not a fair comparison.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, we believe, we who have introduced the resolution of disapproval, that the Service would not have been established in 1964 were it to have been located in the Department of Justice, had that proposal been in the bill at that time.

Congress recognized at that time that many problems involving racial disputes were not subject to legal redress and were too subtle and intangible to be handled by legal action.

Congress also recognized in many cases more effective results could be obtained if disputes were settled on a voluntary basis.

In order to accomplish these results, mutual respect and trust must be developed among the races. This cannot be done at the point of a gun. This feeling between the races and between minority groups cannot be accomplished at the point of a gun or by a subpena or with the filing of a legal action.

The Congress believed that an independent conciliation service divorced from law enforcement agencies would have the greatest success in encouraging the races to resolve these problems by voluntary means.

We also believe the Congress would not have established the Service if it thought that all information obtained by the service would be made available to law enforcement agencies or private groups.

The only restraint practiced by the Community Relations Service today in their cases is that they are not published by any newspaper. That is the only restraint they impose upon themselves.

These decisions as to who should get it are not even made by the head of the department, or by the Secretary of Commerce. They are not made by the head of the agency, Mr. Wilkins. They are made at a lower level as Mr. Wilkins testified before our committee.

By undermining its influence and effectiveness, we sadly predict that some day in the future we are going to have the majority party coming back here with a proposal to create another agency like the Community Relations Service independent of the law enforcement agency. We predict this is going to destroy whatever effectiveness the Community Relations Service has left, and we are going to have to seek another agency of like kind divorced from the Department of Justice some time in the future.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] 2 minutes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of Reorganization Plan No. 1 and in opposition to the motion which would disapprove it.

I would like to congratulate and commend the chairman of the Committee on Government Operations, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DAWSON], the dean of the Illinois delegation for bringing this reorganization plan to the House.

This plan is so completely logical that I am at a complete loss to understand why anybody would oppose it.

The gentleman speaking earlier had made mention of statements made by President Kennedy and others when this agency was created, which would indicate the agency should remain in Commerce. I think an answer has been adequately made by the committee report where on page 9, it clearly states "the need for conciliation in this area has not been as great as anticipated because voluntary progress has been made by businessmen and business organizations."

Placing this agency under the Department of Justice is logical. The department now is charged with responsibility of enforcing all of title VI of the civil rights act and various other provisions of the act. In proposing this transfer to Justice, the committee says it will result in considerable savings to the Government. What greater incentive do we need to support this transfer to Justice?

Mr. Chairman, I said I wanted to commend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DAWSON], the dean of the Illinois delegation, for bringing this legislation to the floor of the House. This is another milestone in Congressman DAWSON's long and illustrious record of fighting for the dignity of man.

In his quiet but persuasive manner, BILL DAWSON has played a greater role in giving living meaning to the great promise of America—the promise that every American is entitled to equality—than perhaps any other Member of the Congress of the United States.

In every single step we have made in the great revolution of the sixties to give all Americans equal opportunities and human dignity. Congressman DAWSON has played a major and key role.

I believe this legislation reflects again his deep concern to make sure that every single American has an opportunity to share in the great promise of our land.

This legislation will give greater meaning to the work and the service that has been done so far, and because of this, Mr. Chairman, it seems to me the House should approve this reorganization plan.

I am sure that when history dispassionately records the great progress made in the 1960's in bringing human dignity and respect to all Americans, the name of BILL DAWSON will be indelibly inscribed on those history pages for the great work and the great effort he has made in the field of civil rights. He has won the respect of the entire Congress on both sides of the aisle because of his deep and abiding dedication to the principle of human freedom and dignity. He has given the entire Congress a new sense of direction and urgency in breaking down bigotry and discrimination. Yes, Mr. Chairman, Congressman DAWSON has written his name in indelible letters across the pages of American history in his stubborn defense of civil rights. Time will record BILL DAWSON's magnificent contribution as one of the landmarks of democracy's struggle toward the fulfillment of our dreams as free Americans. BILL DAWSON's epitaph shall read: He has charted the freedom and equality of man.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN].

Mr. CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR. Mr. Chairman, the relocation of the Community Relations Service to the Department of Justice will be a sharp step backward in the cause of human rights. I respectfully urge my colleagues not to permit the President to take that step. I urge you to vote "aye" on the resolution of disapproval of Reorganization Plan No. 1.

In the past dozen years since the historic decision by our Nation's chief legal body, much progress has been made in the extension of civil rights to all Americans—although slowly and often painfully. The conscience of the Nation has been stirred and a large body of law has been passed which is being implemented—also more slowly and painfully than many of us like to see.

The Department of Justice has properly pressed for the enforcement of these new laws and suggested other laws which may be helpful in stimulating progress in the civil rights field. Wisely, it has frequently chosen to negotiate with violators of civil rights laws to bring about voluntary compliance in order to avoid expensive, slow, and bitter legal action. Such voluntary compliance often makes a resister into an advocate. As in other fields of human relations, converts frequently become more militant advocates than birthright believers.

The opportunity for the Justice Department to negotiate law violations in civil rights disputes has in no way been limited by the current separation of the Community Relations Service from Justice, and Justice's ability to enforce civil rights laws will in no way be enhanced by this proposed transfer. On the contrary, the work done so effectively in the past by the Community Relations Service stands to be adversely affected and the opportunities for it to act and make breakthroughs in the future will be severely reduced, if not eliminated entirely.

The civil rights law enforcement division of the Department of Justice can now negotiate a matter of law before the ultimate legal steps are taken. So can the Community Relations Service.

But, the Community Relations Service can now conciliate nonillegal violations of human rights in the areas of personal relationship and human understanding in ways in which the Department of Justice never can.

The Community Relations Service can now deal with matters of human rights, subtle discrimination, nonillegal denial of civil or human rights and the many other aspects of this deep-rooted human problem which are not covered by law and which no law, Congress can write may ever be able to reach.

The voluntary associations and groups in our Nation which have been leaders in the civil or human rights movement in recent years were quick to recognize this subtle but important distinction when the move of Community Relations Service out of Commerce and into Justice was initially proposed, and they quickly argued against it. One by one, these voices of opposition to the President's proposal have been stilled, however. Many individual civil rights leaders still oppose it privately, even after the administration has used its most eloquent and telling arguments to win them to its view.

One reason for my opposition to the move of the Community Relations Service from Commerce to Justice lies in concern over the provision for confidentiality which was written into title 10 of the original law establishing the Community Relations Service. This provision allowed that information gathered by Community Relations Service conciliators should not, could not, and would not be revealed to the public or to other agencies, and thus could not form the basis for future legal actions by the Department of Justice or recriminations from elsewhere in the community.

Thus, a civil rights worker and an opponent of civil rights could each feel free to talk to the Community Relations Service conciliator without fear of some future legal or extra-legal retribution at the hands of Government or any other agency. The Community Relations Service was to be a friend, an understanding listener, a father-confessor to both sides. Each side of a dispute over illegal or nonillegal denials of human rights could feel free to tell all to the Community Relations Service worker in confidence—and confidently in confidence—knowing that this free and open discussion of their deepest feelings and most secret actions would not be revealed either to the public or to some public prosecutor.

And from this base of mutual confidence in the Community Relations Service worker, that worker and the two antagonists could start building some kind of mutual understanding and confidence which would see the hate, or mistrust, or disagreement, or confusion ultimately rooted out, and mutually satisfactory progress made toward an ultimate solution.

If you were a civil rights militant who had broken some Federal law in the process of relieving your frustrations, would you feel free in telling all to some representative of the Department of Justice—the very agency charged with the prosecution of Federal crimes? Not if you had read pages 102 to 105 of the hearings of this proposed transfer, you would not. Or if you were an opponent of progress in the civil rights field and thought you might be violating an existing law, would you feel confident in discussing your feelings and actions freely with a Community Relations Service worker whose boss was the Attorney General of the United States? Not if you had heard the testimony of the new Director of the Community Relations Service, you would not. He said:

> Where we were given information about the commission of a crime, or the prospective commission of a crime, what our duty would be, as officers of the Government, would be pretty clear * * * to disclose such information to the Attorney General of the United States.

If we dispose of the Community Relations Service by submerging it in the Justice Department, how can nonillegal violations of human rights be resolved in the future? Is there any Federal agency which can resolve the problems of both sides in such nonillegal disputes with the complete confidence of both sides, such as the Community Relations Service operating in the Department of Commerce is now designed to do?

And what of another very important area—progress in the field of economic opportunity? The prospect for making progress in this area by a Community Relations Service operating in the Department where business and industry feel most comfortable is self-evident. And this economic area, vital as it is to the progress of members of the minority groups in the field of human rights, is not the only area where the Community Relations Service can encourage giant strides in nonillegal violations of human rights. Just by encouraging recognition of the vast accomplishments of persons in minority groups much progress can be made in the destruction of old biases. There is a great undeveloped potential in this area—a potential which will never be brought about by enforcement of any law.

There are many areas where civil rights or human rights can be denied by subtleties of many different kinds. Real progress in the civil rights or human rights field can be made if minority groups can make progress in economic, social, and other fields of public recognition. These are the very areas where rights can be easily denied with greatest subtlety. They are also areas where it is most difficult to legislate effectively. There are tremendous possibilities on the horizon in such areas for an expanded Community Relations Service if it is not inhibited by the onus of the billy club of a Federal enforcer.

In the past few years we have as a nation taken many legislative steps toward assuring civil rights to all our citizens by legal means, but we still face many areas which are untouched by legal methods and which could forever defy solution by purely legal action. Anyone who has had any interest in the problems of minority groups in the human rights field is aware that it is not always or only a matter of legal action or even negotiation in the light of potential legal action. There are many areas where civil rights can be denied by subtleties of many different kinds. It is these very areas to which a Community Relations Service outside the Department of Justice can be, and should be, the most effective.

The late President Kennedy and others apparently foresaw this when they called for the establishment of the Community Relations Service outside of the Justice Department. Instead of speaking to the past, he spoke to the future where minority groups might still be denied their human rights after all legal means had been exhausted. Even the present Attorney General alluded to this likelihood during our hearings on this reorganization plan. This is the point which concerns many of us on both sides of the aisle in the House of Representatives today and many members of the Senate with impeccable records of support for civil rights progress. It concerns both Republicans and Democrats—Americans here in Congress and across the country. What we have heard on the proposal to remove the Community Relations Service from Commerce and put it under the Justice Department is a clear and essentially sincere difference of opinion over how civil rights or human rights problems can best be resolved in our Nation. To keep the Community Relations Service in Commerce and out of Justice in no way weakens the opportunity for the Justice Department to do the job within its area of responsibility. The Community Relations Service under Commerce gives the Federal Government an additional arm to approach this problem. Civil rights and human rights in our Nation can be advanced through Federal interest—not without legal means, not in preference to legal means, not in spite of legal means, but in addition to legal means.

For this reason, Mr. Chairman, I urge my colleagues to vote to maintain the Community Relations Service as a separate agency from the law-enforcement agencies of the Department of Justice and vote "aye" on the resolution of disapproval so that the present separate and unique Community Relations Service can be kept in the Department of Commerce where it belongs.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to be associated with the remarks of the gentleman from the Seventh Congressional District of Ohio. If his father were in the gallery today, he would be pleased and proud, indeed, of his able son.

The gentleman's father was a leader in the field of civil rights legislation, going far back, into the 1940's. But for the actions of his father, it is well known there probably would have been no rule in the matter of civil rights legislation, as there was in 1957, in 1960, in 1964, and in 1965.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT].

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, first I wish to congratulate the distinguished gentleman from Ohio on what I believe is one of his first speeches. I regret that he happens to be on the wrong side in his first major effort.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the President's Reorganization Plan No. 1 and in opposition to the pending resolution. I am convinced Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1966 should be approved and I urge my colleagues to vote nay on the pending resolution of disapproval.

As I see it, after listening to the debate and after reading the President's message of February 10, the plan, the hearings, and the committee report, the case for the transfer has been made overwhelmingly while only conjecture is offered by the opposition.

The President has centered the responsibility for civil rights matters in the Attorney General. I understand the Attorney General, in carrying out this responsibility, spends better than half of his working time on civil rights matters. He is the Cabinet officer to whom the President, the other agencies of Government, and the people of the United States turn for advice and action on civil rights matters. The Attorney General's responsibilities cross many such areas—schools, public facilities, housing, employment, and a host of others. The conciliation responsibilities of the Service cover these same areas.

The transfer has been recommended by the President, the Vice President, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Director of the Community Relations Service and various civil rights organizations. In the light of such support and in the light of the accomplishments of the administration in the implementation of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Acts of the last several years, I believe the transfer of the Community Relations Service to the Department of Justice is right and proper. In its new home the Community Relations Service will play an expanded role, a more vital and a more effective role.

I urge that we show our overwhelming support of the plan by defeating the resolution on which we are about to vote.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RUMSFELD].

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Chairman, the Committee is considering a resolution recommending disapproval of a Presidential reorganization plan. I supported the Civil Rights Act that created the Community Relations Service, as I have supported all other civil rights legislation since coming to the Congress. The measure before us, however, it seems to me, is a step backward, rather than a step forward. This Service was established in 1964 to assist individuals within communities in resolving racial differences and disputes in a peaceful and voluntary manner. Congress believed that effective conciliation could be hindered if the Service were to be attached to the chief prosecution arm of Government. The late President Kennedy, then Attorney General KENNEDY, and the present Vice President at that time testified that it should be in the Department of Commerce and should definitely not be a part of the Department of Justice. This is the important issue, I think, to be considered.

My good friend the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. REUSS], who opened the discussion on this important matter, gave three reasons favoring the transfer. He emphasized the importance of coordination within Justice of the activities in civil rights. The question, of course, could come up, why not merge the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, and why not merge the Civil Rights Commission with the Department of Justice? Certainly he gave nothing in the way of reasons to offset the compelling arguments against placing the Conciliation Service in the prosecution arm of the Government.

The second point which he raised was the possibility that the Conciliation Service would be considered an orphan in the Department of Commerce. I think this is really no argument at all. Even if it is true—and there is no evidence that this is the case—I think it is better to have it an orphan in the Department of Commerce than to have it merged with the legal arm of the Government.

He also talked about the upgrading of the Conciliation Service. I would suggest that it might better be called a downgrading. Clearly it can be increased in its staff regardless of whether it remains in the Department of Commerce or is placed in the Department of Justice. The size of the staff anticipated has no bearing, I do not believe, on where it will be located. I, too, favor the increase in staff.

I have a great deal of respect for my good friend the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. REUSS] and I know if it were possible to make a case for this transfer, he would clearly be the man who could have made it. That the case has not been made I think testifies to the fact that it cannot be made.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ERLENBORN] mentioned a meeting at the White House, which I think is significant.

Mr. Chairman, I have an article from the New York Times of Thursday, March 24, 1966, which reports on a meeting at the White House between some civil rights leaders and the President, stating that after a general discussion of matters relating to the civil rights question the group was standing preparatory to leaving when the President brought up the Community Relations Service and asked for help in bringing about the transfer. The article states:

> After a general discussion on matters relating to civil rights, the group was standing to leave when the President brought up the Community Relations Service and asked for help in effecting the transfer. One source said the civil rights leaders had been somewhat surprised at the request, but all had agreed to back the administration.
>
> Civil rights organizations were against the transfer when it was proposed last fall, but active opposition faded after the President appointed Roger W. Wilkins, a Negro, as Director of the Service in December.

Mr. Chairman, I was not at the civil rights meeting at the White House. But, after reading this report, I certainly do not feel that this article gives any clue as to the reasons why these civil rights leaders favor this transfer.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the fact that a relative of a prominent civil rights leader is appointed to head up the Commission is certainly no argument favoring the transfer, and, certainly so, in view of the report of the way in which it was handled at the White House, and the manner in which the civil rights leadership has flip-flopped their position, first in opposition, then a neutral position, and then to a position of support for the transfer.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, in addition to the lack of argument favoring the transfer, I believe there are some compelling arguments against such transfer.

Mr. Chairman, I have a letter here from Dean Erwin N. Griswold, dean of the Harvard University Law School. He is also a Commissioner of the Commission on Civil Rights of the U.S. Government.

In the letter he sets forth his support for civil rights. He sets forth his respect for the Attorney General. But he goes on to say clearly that he opposes it not as a Commissioner, but simply as a citizen concerned with the problems of civil rights and human relations in this country.

He states:

> The difficulty is that the Department of Justice is, and rightly so, an investigating, enforcement, and prosecuting agency.

Dean Griswold further states:

> In many ways, though, it is a task which is inconsistent with the approach through conciliation, negotiations, and adjustment which has been the function of the Community Relations Service.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 4 additional minutes.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Chairman, Dean Griswold goes on to say:

> But, we need an agency, too, which can help to keep the fires from starting, and which can take steps which will prevent heated, smoldering situation from bursting into flames. Such an activity requires quiet work behind the scenes. It also requires extensive negotiation under conditions where people can speak freely, and where they will have no thought of eventual prosecution or court proceedings.

Then, Mr. Chairman, Dean Griswold states:

> If the Community Relations Service is transferred to the Department of Justice, its effectiveness will be impaired, not because of any lack of interest or capacity on the part of the Department of Justice, but because the work which the Community Relations Service should be doing is inherently inconsistent with the impression which is bound to be created on people when they deal with the Department of Justice.

Dean Griswold further states:

> Lawyers deal with the Department of Justice on a basis of understanding. They know its functions, and they are familiar with the way its people talk. But the Community Relations Service should be dealing largely with people who are not lawyers. Many of them will be apprehensive and restrained if they are asked to deal with an agency in the Department of Justice.

Mr. Chairman, Dean Griswold concludes by saying:

> My own thought would be that the Community Relations Service could perform its function better if it were not transferred to the Department of Justice.

Mr. Chairman, this letter is dated April 14, 1966.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RUMSFELD. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ERLENBORN. I notice the gentleman in reading the letter from Dean Griswold stated in Dean Griswold's words that he was quoting that he was making this statement as an individual and he was not committing the Commission on Civil Rights of which he was a member. Obviously, this is proper because there is no action by the Civil Rights Commission and he was not speaking for them.

I notice that the news article that the gentleman read quoted men who are heads of civil rights organizations. Was there any indication that they made a like disclaimer of speaking for their organizations without formal action; or was there any indication that in these news articles these civil rights leaders did go to their organizational groups to get authority to speak for their organizations?

Mr. RUMSFELD. I know of no indication that the individual civil rights leaders who have expressed support of the transfer have in fact gone through the process of seeking the advice and counsel of their members. I have no knowledge whether they have or have not.

Mr. ERLENBORN. The fact is, if they did not go through that process, then their statements should be considered no more than the statement of an individual who is involved in the civil rights movement; is that not correct?

Mr. RUMSFELD. I would certainly think that is an accurate statement.

Mr. Chairman, to conclude, the gentleman from Wisconsin attempted to wave away the very difficult questions involved in combining legal and conciliation activities by an anecdote about an Aunt Mabel and something about what a first-year law student ought or ought not to know. I think the anecdote is interesting. I certainly see the point of it in the specific framework in which it was told. But I do not think it is quite this easy. I think there is a more important question here than simply that.

Had there not been an important question, I question whether President Kennedy in his message of June 1963 would have said that:

> In some areas, the confidence of all will be greater in an intermediary whose duties are completely separated from department functions of investigation or litigation.

Who else referred to this problem of combining them?

Attorney General KENNEDY did.

So did Vice President HUMPHREY when he said, as a Senator:

> It would preserve the confidentiality of information it receives, as such, in the course of its duties.

I question whether the anecdote or the arguments given here by those opposing the resolution sufficiently offset the combined knowledge and background of the people who set the stage for raising this question concerning combining the conciliation and legal activities.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the Members to oppose the transfer by supporting the resolution of disapproval.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL].

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the disapproval resolution and in support of Reorganization Plan No. 1.

Mr. Chairman, on February 10, 1966, the President transmitted to the Congress Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1966, which transfers the Community Relations Service, created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, from the Commerce Department to the Justice Department. A number of disapproval resolutions have been filed in the House of Representatives which seek to prevent this plan from becoming effective.

Recognizing that the changing times demand invention and innovation, the Congress, in the Reorganization Act of 1946, directed the President to examine, periodically, the organization of all agencies of government so that efficiency might be increased and to reduce the number of executive agencies when necessary "by consolidating those having similar functions under a single head." Recently, I joined a majority of the members of the House Committee on Government Operations in voting to approve Reorganization Plan No. 1, thereby giving effect not only to the objectives of the Reorganization Act but to the basic objective of the Government Operations Committee, which is to oversee the efficiency of Government operations at all levels.

Reorganization Plan No. 1, which provides for the transfer of the Community Relations Service to the Department of Justice, does have the effect of consolidating "under a single head," the Attorney General of the United States, two Government agencies "having similar functions": The establishment of compliance with the civil rights laws of the United States.

There is an adage among lawyers that the true success of an attorney is measured not by the number of courtrooms he can victoriously walk out of, but rather, by how many courtrooms he can keep his client from walking into. Similarly, the true success of the Department of Justice in the field of civil rights is measured not by the number of court actions won, but by the number of hearts and minds won.

The Department of Justice now has primary program responsibilities in civil rights matters. Minority groups and the public look to the Attorney General for legal assistance and moral support.

The Attorney General now has responsibility and great experience in the conciliation of civil rights disputes. Under Executive Order 11247, he coordinates the governmentwide enforcement of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which relies heavily upon the achievement of compliance through persuasion and negotiation. As the President has said:

> Placing the Community Relations Service within the Justice Department will enhance the ability of the Justice Department to mediate and conciliate and will insure that the Federal Government speaks with a unified voice in those tense situations where the good offices of the Federal Government are called upon to assist.

The Community Relations Service was placed in the Department of Commerce in 1964 because it was believed, at that time, that it would deal primarily with problems of public accommodations and that being in the Commerce Department it would be in a better position to conciliate with the public on this matter. This expectation is not now being realized. Since there has been far better compliance on public accommodations than had been anticipated, this function has not been the major concern of the Service. Instead, the Service has been spending a great deal more time on other civil rights matters—matters of concern to and within the special knowledge of the Justice Department, such as racial tensions, voting problems, school problems, and other forms of discrimination.

Far from weakening the purposes of the Community Relations Service and confusing the functions of the Department of Justice, the transfer will strengthen immeasurably the resources of the Service and enrich the conciliation efforts of Justice's Civil Rights Division. It is anticipated that the number of personnel in the Service will be increased from about 67 to 100 and the budget raised from $1.3 million to $2 million. Moreover, the Attorney General has announced that when the transfer is accomplished the Service will be afforded a status equal to any other branch of the Department of Justice with the Director having the title of Assistant Attorney General, reporting directly to the President's chief adviser and confidant on civil rights matters—the Attorney General.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, to those opponents of the plan who contend that the public will neither trust nor conciliate with a Community Relations Service that is part of a law enforcement agency, I make two points: First, that 28 States have agencies dealing with civil rights in which the enforcement and conciliations functions are combined; second, that the arrows in one talon of the eagle of the United States have never prevented the peaceloving people of the world from respecting the sincerity of and embracing the other talon which holds the olive branch.

The reorganization plan is a tool which Congress gave the Executive—a managerial tool under a recommendation of independent studies carried out by some of the most eminent Americans of our time, some of whom from both sides of this aisle served on the Hoover Commission.

The minority argument impresses me by its confusion. It has been suggested that there should be an independent agency in the Executive Office of the President.

It has been suggested that maybe the Community Relations Service ought to be transferred to the Housing and Urban Development. Thus some of the minority concede that the CRS ought to be transferred from the Department of Commerce.

Some of the minority are of the opinion that the CRS should not be transferred.

Others in the minority have reservations and doubts about effectiveness of the CRS if it is transferred.

If there is any doubt, it seems to me, in the implementation of the managerial tool which the Congress by law has given to the administration, that doubt should be resolved in favor of the Executive who has requested the use of that tool. Otherwise the work of the Hoover Commission would be meaningless and the words of the Reorganization Act of 1946 would have little meaning when it provided that the President should examine periodically the organization of all agencies of Government so that efficiency may be increased and to reduce the number of executive agencies when necessary "by consolidating those having similar functions under a single head."

It is admitted even by some of the minority that these two Government agencies, the CRS and the Department of Justice, do have similar functions. Basically and fundamentally, the function of both Government departments is the establishment of compliance with the civil rights laws of the United States.

So I reiterate that in order to carry out the objectives of the Hoover Commission reports and the Reorganization Act of 1946, that if there is any doubt in anyone's mind, it ought to be resolved in favor of the Executive who is requesting the use of the managerial tool. The statutory duty of each agency remains unchanged.

It may be interesting from the standpoint of history, to report the feelings, the actions, the deeds, the facts and the basis for acting several years ago by the Executive, President Kennedy. The fact is that we are acting on what is the situation today, and the situation today is that which has been presented by this administration, and President Johnson

Those of the minority who are opposed to transfer of the CRS from the Department of Commerce attempt to rebut the Presidential request for better administration and efficiency in carrying out the fundamental responsibilities under civil rights laws, and maintain that present procedures are adequate. I quote now from page 33 of the committee report:

> From the testimony presented, however, it appeared that effective coordination already existed and any needed improvements could be accomplished by Executive orders, interagency agreements, or memorandums of understanding.

This kind of management chaos is exactly what the Hoover Commission in one of its principal recommendations was opposed to; the very reason why the Reorganization Act was enacted; the very reason why we have reorganization plans; and the very reason why we in the Congress have acted on so many of them—to get away from this kind of interagency action, especially where we have the reasonable opportunity to consolidate a fundamental function within a department, and the Chief Executive charged with responsibility for the administration of both agencies makes the request of the Congress, and where there is no change in the substantative law.

So what happened 2 years ago is fine, but I am more concerned with the request that is pending today.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FASCELL. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ERLENBORN. The gentleman makes the point that from those on this side of the aisle there have come various suggestions as to where this agency should be housed. But will the gentleman admit that that same question was before the Congress at the time of the adoption of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and at that time—and this time there seems to be unanimity on this side of the aisle—but in 1964 there was unanimity on both sides of the aisle that the function did not belong in the Department of Justice, and that is the question that is before us today, and not where to house it.

Mr. FASCELL. I will agree that the issue today is whether or not the reorganization plan should take effect and whether the Community Relations Service should be transferred from the Department of Commerce to the Department of Justice. The only fact I pointed out is the difference of opinion that exists on the minority side with respect to what should be done today.

Mr. CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FASCELL. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR. The gentleman cites the Hoover Commission Reorganization Plan for the executive branch of the Government in 1946 as a reason for the Congress supinely acquiescing in the President's request to place the Community Relations Service concerning civil rights in the Department of Justice. Will the gentleman advise me what the status of civil rights in this country was in 1946?

Mr. FASCELL. The only point I was attempting to make is with respect to good management practices; the whole purpose of the Hoover Commission report and the Reorganization Act was to ask the President to submit reorganization plans to the Congress from time to time if he thought it was necessary to improve administration of laws. And we are not being supine today. You are certainly not being supine; and I am not. We are both evaluating this request and will independently act on it.

With respect to confidentiality, I believe the point has been made that the present law has not been changed by the reorganization plan. If anyone has any question about the administration of the confidentiality section of the present law, I would ask him to submit an appropriate legislative act to change that law. But the evidence is clear that there has been no abuse under the present law. So I leave it to anyone's judgment.

On June 4, 1964, when the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was being debated, then Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, acting as floor manager of the legislation, referred to the confidentiality provision, section 1003(b), as "a prohibition on publicizing and not on such disclosure as is necessary to discharge the obligations of the Service. What is forbidden in general is the public disclosure of confidential information and disclosure of other information for reasons other than the furtherance of the work of the Service."

In the message with which the President transmitted Reorganization Plan No 1 to the Congress on February 10, he stated that the functions of the Service would continue to be carried out with full regard to this confidentiality provision. Since the plan cannot and does not alter the 1964 act, section 1003(b) will continue in effect in the same manner and to the same degree as it has since its enactment.

The extensive hearings conducted by the Executive and Legislative Reorganization Subcommittee elicited information from the Attorney General and the Director of the Community Relations Service on how this provision has been implemented in the past and will be in the future.

Both of these officials made it clear that, as Vice President HUMPHREY said in 1964, this provision of law was never meant to preclude communication between the Community Relations Service and other agencies of Government having reason to know on a confidential basis what the Community Relations Service was doing.

The Attorney General expressed the view that section 1003(b) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 had been a suggestion of his and that it was never intended to preclude the passage of information from the Community Relations Service about law violations. As a matter of fact, the Attorney General expressed the view that it would be contrary to other provisions of the Criminal Code to act otherwise.

I might point out that there was introduced in our hearings an intra-Community Relations Service memorandum dated March 2, 1965—a year before the transfer was proposed by the President—in which the staff of the Community Relations Service was advised at length with respect to the confidentiality provision here in question. That memorandum, printed at pages 91 to 95 of the hearings, stated explicitly that disclosure of confidential information is permitted whenever such disclosure would aid in the accomplishment of the agency's mission. In no uncertain terms the memorandum expressed the view that the greatest latitude should be exercised in communicating with other Federal agencies with whom the Community Relations Service is collaborating to achieve compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The memorandum continued, the "need to know" principle should be followed. The memorandum made clear the interpretation of the Service that the prohibition of section 1003(b) was directed against making information public.

I should also point out that the Director of the Community Relations Service testified that the confidentiality restriction is applied to only that information which is received in confidence and an extremely limited amount of the total information which comes to the attention of the Community Relations Service does so in confidence.

With relation to the question as to whether conciliation and enforcement can be in the same agency, I am from one of the districts in the country that had to deal with the problem of civil rights and the enforcement of civil rights under the Department of Justice. I am here to testify from personal knowledge that the Department of Justice acted wisely, well, with full confidentiality, and did an amazingly fine job in the field of conciliation, negotiation, and in carrying out what was their duty and their primary function under the law with respect to enforcement of civil rights. I have no doubt of their continuing ability to act, and I ask the Congress to give them the full responsibility for that portion of the Civil Rights Act represented by the CRS now in the Department of Commerce.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Florida has expired.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCCULLOCH].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Chairman, will the distinguished gentleman yield for a brief comment in connection with the statement made by the gentleman from Florida?

Mr. McCULLOCH. I will yield for a brief comment, Mr. Chairman; the time is limited.

Mr. RUMSFELD. The point, I think, is not whether the Department of Justice, as the gentleman from Florida suggested, is going to try to exercise its authority responsibly and thoughtfully. The question is whether or not, as Dean Griswold suggested, there would be a basic reluctance on the part of others to deal with the Community Relations Service and enter into conciliation if it became meshed and merged with the Department of Justice.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCULLOCH. I will yield, if the time will come from the other side. Our time is very limited.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman one-half of 1 minute.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman is a hard negotiator. I accept.

The only point is that from experience we had in my own district, I must say there was no lack of willingness on the part of the people to submit themselves to the conciliation and negotiations carried on by the Department of Justice. They did it willingly, knowingly. They welcomed the opportunity to sit down with the law enforcement agency of this country to work out in conciliation and negotiation a very difficult problem in race relations. That problem was worked out without any legal action or court action.

I am confident that this kind of experience could be corroborated from all parts of our country.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Chairman, I support the resolution of disapproval. At the time—1963-64—the Committee on the Judiciary worked on the omnibus civil rights legislation there was general agreement as to the design of and the role the Community Relations Service would play in the great national effort to secure freedom, to all of our citizens, from discrimination on account of race or color or national origin.

The late, great President Kennedy—as we heard before, today—proposed the Service, as an expression of the Federal preference for conciliation over litigation. The then Attorney General made the same recommendation that conciliatory services outside the prosecuting arm of the Federal Government would axiomatically be more readily accessible and effective. When title X became a part of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it was abundantly clear that its design was to enlist and encourage good faith compliance at the local level. It was a Federal Government service which could be freely called upon by either—or both—sides of a community racial dispute, without adding a third party to the controversy. The basic difference between its conciliatory services and those of the Justice Department was contemplated as the difference between calling in a neutral arbitrator and calling in the law enforcement authorities, which could and would later represent an adversary party on the issue. Nowhere is this intent more clear than in title II where it is provided that a district court may refer a civil action—in which the Justice Department may be a party or become one—to the Service to achieve voluntary compliance.

Now, after only a year and a half, we are told by the President that the transfer is "a further step for strengthening the operation and coordination of our civil rights programs."

In other words, the change is designed to help the Department of Justice enforce existing civil rights programs. This is a worthy goal. Most of us have strongly supported the Attorney General in enforcing these laws. My objection to the proposed reorganization is that more effective enforcement need not be done at the expense of what we contemplated as independent efforts to assist communities in working out their own problems without active Federal intervention, or the threat of it. The Community Relations Service was put into the Department of Commerce as much to keep it separate from the Department of Justice as to assist in implementing the public accommodations law.

Mr. Chairman, I hope my disappointment is understandable, at the argument advanced in support of the reorganization plan that the Attorney General is already relying on information he secures from the Service. He testified he wishes to make increased use of the Service to supply information he does not now have and apparently has some trouble in securing by means presently available—minority views, page 22. This was not the concept of the Service that was such an enlightened part of the 1964 legislation when I voted for it, and it is not the concept I would wish for it now.

In this connection, I must say I am further disappointed in the position belatedly and suddenly taken by the leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and by the NAACP. I can well understand the pressures brought to bear upon them, though their position in the matter is very considerably weakened, in my judgment, by the manner and the time in which they chose to make their views known.

In his message to the Congress this year, President Johnson forecast several new civil rights measures that unfortunately have not yet come to the Congress. Since I regard Reorganization Plan No. 1 as an abandonment of the concept for the Community Relations Service which was intended by the legislation enacted by the Congress, I would have preferred that the President incorporate the changes in his omnibus legislative proposals, rather than approach the matter piecemeal in asking for what I consider to be a basic change in the philosophy of Federal civil rights law.

Because I prefer conciliation to litigation, and because I hope the Federal Government never turns its back or closes the door on individual compliance efforts, I will this afternoon vote to disapprove Reorganization Plan No. 1.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL].

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Chairman, the question before the House of Representatives today is whether the Community Relations Service shall remain a frail orphan within the Department of Commerce or whether it shall be adopted by the Department of Justice where, through utilization of that Department's resources of coordination it can fulfill the functions now required of it. It is my view that the functions of the Community Relations Service should be transferred to that Department of Government which now exercises primary responsibility in the civil rights field and whose head is primarily responsible for the peaceful resolution of civil rights disputes. Accordingly, I rise in support of Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1966.

Those who opposed this plan are of the mistaken belief that the objectives of the Service and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, and the means for achieving those objectives, are somehow incompatible. Nothing could be further from the truth. The principal objective of the Community Relations Service and the Department of Justice in the civil rights field is to establish compliance with the civil rights laws. What the Justice Department seeks through effective prosecution, the Community Relations Service seeks through persuasion. We want these approaches to be complementary. And we want our civil rights activities to be coordinated and systematic. Those who have a legal responsibility to bring about compliance with the civil rights laws, and a moral obligation to "bind up the Nation's wounds," understand that conciliation must precede and supplement prosecution and that voluntary community acceptance is superior to court action.

Accordingly a vote against Reorganization Plan No. 1 is a vote against a more effective use of mediation and moderation by that agency of Government primarily responsible for the peaceful resolution of civil rights disputes. A vote for Reorganization Plan No. 1 is a vote to strengthen the rule of reason and conciliation in a department which already has responsibility with respect to a major portion of Federal conciliation efforts in the civil rights field. Let us not force the Department of Justice into the role of prosecutor only.

Mr. Chairman, all of us are concerned about social justice and racial harmony. But it should be noted that those who are daily concerned with promoting justice and harmony, and those who have most to gain or lose by the transfer envisaged by this plan—the civil rights groups themselves—have endorsed Reorganization Plan No. 1.

I submit that those champions of civil rights in the administration—the President, who has been the most active and creative 20th century Chief Executive in this field, the Vice President, the Attorney General, and the Director of Community Relations Service—would not propose, and those civil rights leaders would not support, a plan which did not serve well all Americans and America.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I will be happy to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. RUMSFELD. To my knowledge only some civil rights leaders have taken a position, not their organizations. Has a single civil rights group endorsed the reorganization plan, or have the leaders endorsed it? Has there been a single indication to that effect here today or anywhere in the testimony? Not one organization you are referring to as endorsing it came before the Government Operations Subcommittee considering it to submit to cross-examination and give their reasons. There has been some casual reference and maybe some private communications but certainly no organization, to my knowledge, has it been demonstrated, has had a vote by the members as a whole. The members have not had a chance to express themselves—just a few leaders.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Let me say in response to the statement made by the gentleman from Illinois that where the President acts in a managerial role he is solely responsible to make the kind of decisions necessary in the day-to-day operations of the Federal Government. Equally so, I think the leaders of the civil rights groups cannot and probably should not put to a referendum of their groups decisions as to which agencies of the Government should be responsible within jurisdictional areas that the President has the sole responsibility for.

All of the leaders of the major civil rights groups support the plan and they have not only indicated that they look with approval upon the plan, but most importantly, they look with approval to a plan of our President in exercising his constitutional responsibility.

I do not believe it would be appropriate to submit such a matter to the membership of individual groups.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Of course, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RUMSFELD] brings up a challenge of a sort. Of course, the gentleman cannot produce any civil rights organization of any moment at all which has appeared to contest the plan.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 additional minutes to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, no civil rights organization has appeared to contest this plan, and they had ample opportunity to do so. No organization on civil rights has come forward and endorsed the resolution of disapproval.

Mr. Chairman, I have never felt that the civil rights organizations were timid. If they had any strong feelings upon this matter and if they wanted to provide this particular department of service, like the Commerce Department, certainly they had access to our committee to state their position against this transfer, and they did not.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I believe the gentleman's argument is of no importance.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, since my name was mentioned, it is my understanding that the gentleman from California is incorrect; that, in fact, there was an organization, according to the testimony of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ERLENBORN], who served on the subcommittee, which appeared in opposition to this transfer. And at least one civil rights group testified against it in the Senate hearings. I know of no civil rights group which testified before the House subcommittee in favor of the transfer.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to yield further.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Chairman, if I yield the gentleman from New York an additional minute, would the gentleman yield to me so that I might answer this question within the context of the present debate?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I will be happy to do so, in view of the gentleman's usual generosity.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I wanted to answer at this time so that this could be put in context.

Mr. Chairman, the National Association of Intergroup Relations officials testified before our subcommittee.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Would the gentlerepeat the name of that organization? I did not get it. Would the gentleman repeat the name of the organization slowly?

Mr. ERLENBORN. The National Association of Intergroup Relations officials appeared before our committee in the person of Mr. Fred Routh.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Is it not a fact that they are the only organization?

Mr. ERLENBORN. Is this to be taken from my time or your time?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. It is to be taken from the time of both of us.

Mr. ERLENBORN. I would like the opportunity to complete this answer.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Is it not a fact that it is the only organization which testified in opposition to this plan? Furthermore, I understand that they appeared as a representative of involved employees and did not direct their testimony to the principles involved.

Mr. ERLENBORN. This one group did testify before our subcommittee. Its membership is composed of staff members of governmental and private agencies, at Federal and State and local governmental levels, national and private groups, the Urban League, the American Jewish organization, the national Catholic group, the Southern Regional Conference, and so on. This group and its members met in convention and passed a resolution in opposition to this transfer.

This is the only civil rights organization to take action among its members. This group is opposed to this transfer and in effect favors the resolution of disapproval which I think is contrary to what the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD] stated.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Had the gentleman from Illinois ever heard of that group prior to their testifying before our committee? This does not suggest that they are not important. Had the gentleman ever heard of them?

Mr. ERLENBORN. Frankly, I personally had not, but the counsel of the committee had.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the members of the committee to vote "no" on the disapproval resolution.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. McCLORY].

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Chairman, I certainly want to commend the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DAWSON] and concur in the view that he has been a stanch supporter of civil rights legislation in the course of his service here in the House of Representatives. I have been proud to support the civil rights legislation of which he has been a principal proponent. I had the privilege of serving on the House Government Operations Committee of which he is chairman during the last session of the Congress.

But I want to suggest to my colleagues that perhaps we are doing a disservice to the cause of civil rights by the proposal that we have before us now. In the first place, I find a great many stanch supporters of civil rights legislation who have been consistent in their support of civil rights measures in this body in the past who now find themselves on the other side of the issue. I think this is extremely unfortunate. We should work to get our civil rights proponents to stand together in implementing and enforcing the program that we now have. When we find the divergence of views that we have encountered today, I think it is a disservice to the cause of civil rights and a setback for the cause of civil rights.

I agree that we must have coercion in any meaningful civil rights legislation. As one who sponsored equal opportunity legislation in the State legislature of the State of Illinois, I supported the enforcement provisions of that bill because coercion is a necessary part of the process of bringing education and reason to the community and to the Nation in trying to secure equal opportunity to people of all races and colors and creeds. But I think it is unfortunate to put the coercion and the enforcement and the prosecutor right in the same department and in the same agency as the conciliatory department or agency such as the Community Relations Service.

I think we have to approach this civil rights problem in many ways. The Community Relations Service is one approach which we ought to retain. We ought to retain it independent of the enforcement provisions. It seems to me the proposal that we now are considering goes in the opposite direction and I think it is unfortunate.

Now you have a great many people who volunteer to do this type of service. There are people in the business community who volunteer. They are doing this kind of job voluntarily as public service, but do they want to be in partnership with the law enforcement agencies, the police, and with prosecuting officers of the civil rights movement? I do not think so. I think we are going to find that there will be an unwillingness on their part to participate as actively as they have in the past.

I find and I understand that the Community Relations Service has been doing a pretty good job. They are entitled to a great deal of credit for the work they have done. We can see from their own report and by the testimony before this committee and by arguments made in the other body about the fine work they have done.

On the other hand, I hear and I understand that so far as the enforcement of civil rights violations are concerned, there is a lot to be asked for. There are a great many cases which are not receiving adequate attention, and a great many opportunities for prosecution and enforcement where such prosecution and enforcement is not being carried out. Is this reorganization proposal offered as an excuse? Or is this a way to avoid the responsibility that we have in the enforcement of this act? The proposal we have before us now seems to me to be a pretty poor way of trying to cover up for the lack of enforcement of such an important measure as the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

It was suggested by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] that this reorganization proposal is a management responsibility and that the 1946 Reorganization Act vested authority for this kind of interagency transfer in the President and that we should recognize that. But I say to the gentleman that we have not abandoned our responsibilities as a legislative body and I hope and I expect that we will continue to assume our responsibilities to review and to disagree, where we do disagree, with some action that the Executive may choose to take under this extraordinary authority which was granted to him.

I think the pending proposal goes not only to the form of the problem—I think this gets to the very substance of civil rights and we should consider it in that respect and in that light. We should recognize that we are here considering an important aspect of civil rights legislation whereby individuals throughout the Nation may give effect and meaning to the provisions of the law which we have enacted. I think it is going to take a lot of determination and a lot of understanding and a lot of patience. We are not going to find any shortcuts to achieving this goal and this ideal which I hope all of us are seeking. Indeed, although this proposal may be supported by good intentions, it seems to me we are taking a backward step in this respect.

Mr. Chairman, I urge that this resolution of disapproval be supported by the Members of the House of Representatives and that this House refuse to concur in this proposed transfer. I urge the House to exercise its veto, which is all we have in this type of a legislative proposal—and to disapprove the transfer of the Community Relations Service from the Department of Commerce to the Justice Department.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN].

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Chairman, it is difficult to predict the effect of this reorganization plan. I do not believe that either the hearings or the committee report are particularly helpful in anticipating how this will work out.

Our purpose should be to make the Community Relations Service as effective a force as possible in our struggle to cast off the last chains of racial discrimination. The purpose is more than to bring about compliance with civil rights laws. There is a much broader responsibility to anticipate situations which give rise to racial tensions, to help communities to deal with all aspects of civil rights—jobs, housing, education, the antipoverty program—and to work with the communities of our Nation is achieving racial justice for all of our citizens.

There are some caveats which have been raised about this plan which do trouble me. They concern the advantages of having an independent agency and the disadvantages of mixing conciliators and mediators with litigators and law enforcers.

The first point relates to confidence. Will the aura of impartiality be affected if the Service is under the Department of Justice?

The second point relates to the question of the confidential nature of the process of mediation and conciliation. It is only logical that people may be less frank and as open with an agency which is under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice rather than independent.

The officials of the Community Relations Service believe that neither of these points are valid. They assure us that the shift will not impair the effectiveness of the Service. They are satisfied that under the Department of Justice their jurisdiction will be expanded. As far as confidentiality is concerned, they say that they rarely gather information which would incriminate their sources and that they would not release or turn over any more information to the Department of Justice than they do now.

There is also another point which is raised, and that is whether or not it is possible to conciliate parties while litigation is in process. Here the officials of the Community Relations Service maintain that only rarely would the Service attempt conciliation while litigation is in progress.

The administration argues that this plan will focus greater attention on civil rights activity and coordinate it under the Attorney General. Since the Attorney General is the President's closest advisor on civil rights, it is said the Service will be strengthened by being in the Justice Department. However, there may be an advantage in having the Community Relations Service be an independent agency.

In my judgment, the Attorney General could have been much more effective in enforcing civil rights laws which are on the books. Today we know that there are counties in Mississippi—for instance, Sunflower County—where no Federal examiners have been appointed by the Attorney General, and where the registration of Negro citizens has not been what we hoped it would be after the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

I believe very strongly that a great deal more must be done on the part of the Attorney General if we are to have an effective registration drive in the South. This requires the Attorney General to use the power which he now has under the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to assign examiners in those counties in the South where registration is still dismally low. In Sunflower County, Miss., only 14 percent of the Negro population is registered, while some 83 percent of the white population is registered. This is important for us to remember when we talk about moving this agency over to the Department of Justice.

Mr. Chairman, I think there are serious questions about the efficacy of keeping this under the Commerce Department. It might well have been placed under the Civil Rights Commission or perhaps, as has been suggested by a number of people, including Calvin Kytle, former Acting Director of the Community Relations Service, under the new Department of Housing and Urban Development. There the Service would have an opportunity to expand with a new and expanding governmental department. It would have an opportunity to deal with many of the urban problems which will come more and more before the Community Relations Service.

According to the New York Times of October 17, 1965, Calvin Kytle, who was then Acting Director of the CRS, "would have liked the Service to be a part of the new Department of Urban Affairs." The article goes on to explain that this idea was "rejected as premature." Nevertheless, if it was a good idea for the future, it might have been a good reason not to make any transfer at all this year. Once located in the Department of Justice, it is not likely to change homes soon again.

Foggy as the issues seem, there are some rays of hope. The administration has promised that it will encourage the expansion and optimum use of the Service. It was on this basis that civil rights groups agreed to support the transfer.

"We are further advised that the administration hopes to expand the staff and duties that the Service is called upon to perform," Clarence Mitchell, of the NAACP, wrote to the Government Operations Committee of the House, "Therefore we respectfully urge that your committee give a favorable report." In a similar statement, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., told the committee that "it is our hope that this effectiveness will be enhanced by the transfer."

I am impressed with the fact that the administration has said it will extend the operations of this agency, if this reorganization plan goes through. I am impressed with the fact that it will increase the budget from $1 to $2 million, and the staff from 62 persons to 108 persons.

Mr. Chairman, we are asked to rely on the good faith of the administration, on its promises to expand and to enlarge the jurisdiction of this agency and to make it more effective. If we are to do so, I earnestly urge the Attorney General to make sure that the Community Relations Service is an effective instrument, and to act as its accelerator, not as its brake.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as is remaining to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Reid].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Chairman and Members, I think we have a significant question before us today.

The first point, which I do not think has been clearly touched on, is the legislative history of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and proposals prior thereto. It was entirely clear at that time that President Kennedy believed that the functions of conciliation and mediation should be placed in an entity separate and apart from the Department of Justice. Lest there be any doubt on this point, permit me to quote the late President Kennedy, whose commitment to civil rights was clear beyond question. He said in his message of June 1963:

> The problem has grown beyond the time and energies which a few otherwise burdened officials can make available—and, in some areas, the confidence of all will be greater in an intermediary whose duties are completely separated from departmental functions of investigation or litigation.

Then, just to buttress the point, he went on as follows:

> It is my intention, therefore, to establish by Executive order (until such time as it can be created by statute) an independent Community Relations Service.

The then Attorney General, and now Senator Kennedy, also was quite clear on this point. He urged the formation of an independent entity in the Executive Office of the White House. He said:

> The administration's efforts will continue. But they cannot adequately substitute for the work of a regularly constituted organization which could devote its full energies to mediation in seriously troubled areas.

He has also said, and I believe it is still his view, that the responsibility of the Department of Justice really is the enforcement of the law and to see that the statutes are enforced. He said in testimony before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee in June 1963:

> We have gotten into this (conciliation) because there has not been any other group to do it. I think it would be better if that responsibility was taken from us and put over into another department.

While it is true that he has not publicly opposed this reorganization plan, I think those who know him would say he has some serious doubts about it.

I would like to ask the ranking and distinguished minority member of the Judiciary Committee whether the legislative history at the time of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was not crystal clear that the Community Relations Service should be an independent mediation and conciliation service, and, further, that both President Kennedy and the Attorney General were entirely clear in that view?

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Chairman, I think the legislative history is very clear in the affirmative, in reply to that question.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask my distinguished colleague [Mr. McCulloch], whether he was called down to the White House on this point, in the light of the distinguished contribution he made to the Civil Rights Act of 1964?

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Chairman, I was, on both occasions, both in 1963 and 1964.

Mr. REID of New York. But was the gentleman called down on this reorganization plan?

Mr. McCULLOCH. I was not called down there, and was therefore not consulted.

Mr. REID of New York. I think that is unfortunate, because this legislation deserves the broadest bipartisan support.

Mr. Chairman, what is at issue here is the future of the Community Relations Service. The Service must be strengthened to aid it in carrying out its task of voluntary mediation and conciliation.

In my judgment there are serious doubts as to the wisdom of transferring the Service to the Department of Justice. The Service was created and designed to deal in communities with patterns of conflict, not with individual cases of law violation. The latter is the primary function of the Justice Department, within its manifold responsibilities of investigation and prosecution.

Increasingly in the future, the Service will be working in northern cities, where the multiplying problems of urban life have already created areas of conflict. I can see no particular expertise in the Department of Justice for dealing with problems of substandard housing, job training and placement, and inferior education. These are matters which involve far more than enforcement of the law.

More important, I question whether many individuals in the South and in the tragic ghettoes of the North will feel free to seek the aid of the Service if it is an integral component of the Department of Justice. The Service must inspire confidence in its own neutrality among those it seeks to serve. That this confidence would be difficult even to establish is made clear by the Attorney General's own testimony this March before the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. Senator Javits asked him as follows:

> Senator Javits. Mr. Attorney General, if you were a business executive and a man sent his card in and said, "I am from the Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice. Tell me everything you know in confidence," how would you feel about it?
>
> Attorney General Katzenbach. I would think they had employed an idiot in that Service. I would think anybody that came in and said, "Tell me everything you know in confidence" would not be a very sensible way to approach it.

Mr. Chairman, this is a matter of principle and priorities. In my judgment, the Community Relations Service, with its broad functions of conciliation and mediation, would best be served—and would best serve the Nation—as an agency independent of the Department of Justice. I am not persuaded that the Justice Department offers the best opportunity for strengthening the Service and coordinating its activities with other Government programs in the field of civil rights. In the Executive Office of the President, with Roger Wilkins, whom we are fortunate to have as Director of the Service, in direct—and if need be daily—contact with the President, the Service I believe would gain the greatest possible stature and strength which it needs. The White House should be on the frontline of civil-rights activities, coordinating all programs including that of the Service. The Service deserves the highest Presidential priority.

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Horton] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1966 because I am convinced that to transfer the Community Relations Service to the Justice Department would jeopardize, to a significant degree, the effectuation of our civil rights laws.

Our civil rights laws have issued from the moral consensus of the vast majority of the American people. At the same time, our civil rights laws require of all Americans an unusual degree of moral perception and response. The Community Relations Service, as a conciliation agency forbidden by law to perform any investigative or prosecuting functions in furtherance of any legal prosecution by the Federal Government, is best able to elicit such a response in communities throughout the country.

It is especially true of our civil rights laws that they will bear most enduring effect only if the rights which they guarantee are morally recognized. Members of minority groups which have suffered discrimination will never receive the respect and equal opportunities owed them unless others in the community comply with our civil rights laws not because of fear of legal penalties but because they recognize what belongs to every person as a person.

The Community Relations Service can appeal most effectively to people's reason and conscience and to their desire for the peace and prosperity of their communities because its services are divorced from the prosecuting functions of the Justice Department.

It was in order to insure that the Service would not be used as an investigative agency to further the prosecution of cases that section 1003(b) of the 1964 Civil Rights Act requires that the Service keep confidential any information which it obtains in the process of conciliation if that information was volunteered on the understanding that it would be so kept.

The appeal to reason and conscience which the Service is best capable of making means persuasion. Persuasion can be most effective only if others are willing to confide in Federal conciliators.

Nothing could destroy such confidence more swiftly than fear that any information given to conciliators might be used as evidence by a Federal prosecuting attorney.

We learned from the Attorney General's testimony before the Government Operations Committee that the Justice Department interprets section 1003(b) to mean only that the Service will not give information obtained in the conciliation process to the public. In the Justice Department's view, the conciliator is not only free to transmit information about law violations to the Justice Department, but has the duty to do so.

Section 1003(b) may seem to refer only to the public in the minds of Justice Department lawyers. But I believe it means much more than that to people who volunteer information to the Service. To them it means that such information will never be cast back at them in court.

It appears that the Service has been transmitting confidential information to the Justice Department already. Should the Service be made part of the Justice Department, such communication would probably become a more established practice.

I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the whole purpose of section 1003(b) is to encourage confidence in our Federal conciliators so that their attempt to bring about voluntary compliance by means of persuasion will be more effective.

It is easy enough to see why a determined segregationist would be unwilling to disclose self-incriminating information to a Federal conciliator if he feared that this information would reach the Justice Department. But the civil rights leader also might fear that any violations of local law which he mentioned would be transmitted through the Justice Department to State and local authorities. And the representative of a State or local government, knowing that the Justice Department is to enforce nondiscrimination in programs of Federal assistance, might fear a cutting off of Federal funds by consequence of candid disclosures to Federal conciliators.

If such transmittal of confidential information should become an established practice by consequence of transfer of the Service to the Justice Department, the confidence in the Service of parties to civil rights disputes would surely be weakened. The whole attempt to achieve voluntary compliance by persuasion would be to some degree, at least, frustrated. Indeed, this practice would mean that conciliators of the Service would actually be performing an investigative function in furtherance of prosecution by the Justice Department, so that the very purpose of section 1003(b) would be disregarded.

I should like to propose, Mr. Chairman, that the Community Relations Service be transferred instead to the Executive Office of the President. Located there, the Service would be clearly separated from the enforcement duties of the Justice Department. At the same time, it would be invested with the tremendous moral authority of the President of the United States. The principle of government by consent in preference to government by force of threatened penalties would be institutionalized in a unique and admirable way if conciliation services were offered to communities throughout the country in the name of the President.

Moreover, transfer of the Service to the White House Office would remove any alleged difficulties in contacting the Service because of interdepartmental channels of authority. No other Federal department or agency would have to make its way inside the Commerce Department or the Justice Department in order to get help from the Service. The Service would be accessible to all departments and agencies and in a position to intervene where it is most needed with the fewest and the least of bureaucratic complications.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. CORMAN].

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Chairman, my very respected colleague, the ranking minority member on our committee pointed out a while ago that the President is analogous to a quarterback and that there would be a tendency for people on the team to follow the quarterback. I certainly concur in that analogy.

I suggest that if we review the fight which the President of the United States has made for racial justice in this country since the day he assumed that great office, we will all decide he is a fine quarterback to follow—and I hope the majority of the House will do that today.

In looking at the team Members, I am struck by the fact that Martin Luther King supports the transfer of the Community Relations Service to the Justice Department, but the Honorable WILLIAM L. DICKINSON, of Alabama, is opposed to the transfer. I believe that is somewhat persuasive.

Beyond that I would suggest that the Attorney General has done a magnificent job in tearing down barriers which have faced the Negro throughout this country. The President wants to give the Attorney General an additional tool to carry on this extremely complex and difficult undertaking. I sincerely urge that the resolution be defeated and that the transfer go forward.

Mr. Chairman, when Congress established the Community Relations Service by means of title X of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, we were especially concerned with the problem of discrimination in public accommodations throughout the South.

The administration had had some earlier success in working with business leaders to ease racial tensions. You may remember, for example, that Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall had been able to moderate tensions in Birmingham by bringing business groups of that city into the work of conciliation.

The administration believed it would be desirable to approach and mobilize businessmen on a systematic basis and believed that this task could be carried out best through the Commerce Department. Congress agreed and established the Community Relations Service in that Department.

Once the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed, however, the situation changed. A great number of places of public accommodation quickly proved willing to abandon discriminatory practices and to meet the requirements of the new law. Voluntary compliance fortunately has gone far beyond anything expected when the act came into effect. As a result, the function of the Community Relations Service as a catalyst in the business community of the South has never reached the level of importance originally anticipated, and less and less of the work of the Service is related to the main interests of the Commerce Department. Since that Department has only incidental responsibilities in the civil rights field, there seems to me to be no persuasive reason for keeping the Service under the Secretary of Commerce.

The main work of the Service is now related to discrimination in voting, employment, education, and publicly owned facilities and to the betterment of law enforcement in connection with civil rights. These are all areas in which the Department of Justice is heavily engaged.

As we all know, the Department of Justice has the main responsibility among the departments and agencies for shaping the Government's efforts to bring an end to racial discrimination in the Nation. That Department through the years has gained a degree of experience and knowledge in the civil rights field which is unequaled anywhere else in the Government.

It seems to me natural that the Community Relations Service should work closely with the Department of Justice. They have the same goals and frequently are involved in the very same matters. The Department of Justice, like any sound practitioner of the law, is interested in arriving at fair settlements of disputes, and disputes arising out of civil rights statutes are no exception.

I believe therefore that the functions of the Community Relations Service should be directly joined with those of the Department. I feel strongly that the experience and know-how of the Service can best be utilized under the direction of the Attorney General, with substantial benefit to the Government's programs against discrimination.

I urge the rejection of the pending resolution.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Chairman, for the purpose of concluding the debate I yield the remainder of time allotted to this side to the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD].

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, as I look around this vast chamber, which is sometimes crowded with Members, I express the hope that my weighty words of logic will cause many Members to change their minds and vote "nay" on this disapproval resolution.

This is one of those resolutions, of course, which is in the negative, and those who favor the President's Plan of Reorganization, No. 1, must vote "nay" in order to approve the plan. This is sometimes confusing, so I thought I would bring the matter up.

A few minutes ago there was a colloquy which rested, at least, upon something I had said. I believe if those who commented on my remarks will consult the RECORD they will see I said "no important" organization on civil rights appeared to contest this particular reorganization plan.

I note the reference to the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. Frankly, I had never heard of the group, when they appeared before us. I asked the gentleman who testified, Mr. Routh, if he had testified on the civil rights bill when it was before the various committees of the Congress, and he said, "No." I supposed, if he were not interested enough to testify on the civil rights bill, that probably he was not too much interested in the civil rights problem.

I would note that there was an article in the Washington Post of March 19, in which there was a reference to a meeting of the civil rights leaders who are prominent civil rights leaders and who are recognized by all in this chamber as being civil rights leaders, at the White House.

The following people were present: Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP; Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League; Floyd McKessick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality; John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women; A. Philip Randolph, vice president of the AFL–CIO; Andrew Biemiller, AFL–CIO legislative director; Joseph Rauh, Washington lawyer; Clarence Mitchell, Washington director of NAACP; and David Brodie, Washington director of the Anti-Defamation League.

A paragraph of that news release says:

> An informant said the group unanimously approved the administration proposal to transfer the Community Relations Service from Commerce to the Justice Department.

However, I do not hang my case upon that particular occasion, as important as it may be. It certainly shows that these leaders, who have never been timid in their assertion of the civil rights of their members, were in favor of this plan. I would like to reason for a moment on this matter. I want to say this much: This is not a matter of who is for civil rights or who is against civil rights. I would not want to bring that question into it. There is no man in this House that I have any more respect for in this field than the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCCULLOCH] who in my opinion is one of the great lawyers of this House. I will never forget his contribution to the civil rights acts that we passed in this House.

Now let us turn to the Community Relations Service. This Service was created by title 10 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to do what? "To provide assistance to communities and persons therein in resolving disputes, disagreements, or difficulties relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin which impair the rights of persons in such communities under the Constitution or laws of the United States, or which affect or may affect interstate commerce. The Service may offer its services in cases of such disputes, disagreements, or difficulties whenever, in its judgment, peaceful relations among the citizens of the community involved are threatened thereby, and it may offer its services either upon its own motion or upon the request of an appropriate State or local official or other interested person."

Now, let me make this point real clear. This is a transfer of the Community Relations Service to the Department of Justice from the Department of Commerce. It does not affect the statutory duties and responsibilities of the Community Relations Service. They are going to be the same, exactly the same, as they were in the Department of Commerce. They are going to be the same in the Department of Justice. The Department of Justice, we all know, under the Civil Rights Acts we have passed, has been given the responsibility and the duty of enforcing the civil rights laws. Under the Hoover Commission's recommendations, which were to bring related services together under one head, and not scattered throughout the agencies and departments of the Government but to bring them together, we are in perfect harmony with the Hoover Commission's recommendation in doing this, because the Community Relations Service in the Department of Commerce was an isolated agency in respect to the other functions in that agency.

The Secretary of the Department of Commerce was not primarily concerned with the whole civil rights field. We put it there from the standpoint of convenience at that time and because we were resting it at that time upon the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution. Now conditions have changed.

We have had quotations from President Kennedy and from others today. I do not know what President Kennedy would do if he were here today and occupying the position of the Presidency. Mr. Johnson succeeded to his responsibilities and duties, and he is the man under our Constitution who is charged with implementing the laws which the Congress passes. I assume he would do the same thing, although that assumption is merely a personal assumption. But perhaps more to the point, if we are going to quote people, what was the action of the then Attorney General, now the junior Senator from New York? He voted to approve this reorganization plan, as did his brother, when it was passed in the Senate a few days ago by a vote of 42 to 32.

Mr. Chairman, I do not believe that they would have voted in that manner if they felt they were violating the principle which their brother, President Kennedy, approved.

But, Mr. Chairman, that is not the case here. We are not quoting people. We are saying that the President, the Vice President, and the Attorney General, the Director of Community Relations Service, are charged directly under the statutes involved, with the implementation of a civil rights program in our Nation, and to insure justice for all, when they come before us and ask us for a proper tool, something which they believe will help them do their job, I say that the burden of the responsibility which rests upon them is very weighty, in my eyes.

Mr. Chairman, if they ask for the tool to do the job, and if it violates no statute, and it does not even change the statutes involved, why should we say that they are doing the wrong thing? Is it because we suspect them of bad faith? Of course not. We differ with them in judgment, and we have a right to differ with them in judgment. But, certainly, they are charged with the responsibility and they ask that the tool be placed in the Department of Justice in order that they can do the job.

Mr. Chairman, this is an independent agency within the Department of Justice, because its Director—the young man who has been asked to be the Director—testified before our committee that he would to the best of his ability use the statutes that now exist in the same way that he uses them now.

Mr. Chairman, there is no doubt in the mind of anyone that the Department of Justice stands very high among the departments, Cabinet-level departments, of our Government. Certainly there is more dignity and prestige to that Department in the field of the liberties of citizens than there is in the Department of Commerce, which is interested mostly in business matters.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I ask the gentleman from Missouri not to interrupt my statement. I shall yield later to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. All right.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Certainly they are the Department charged with this responsibility. The independent function of the Community Relations Service will remain the same. There will be an Assistant Attorney General put in charge of it, which responsibility will give him a level higher in the hierarchy of Government than the present Director of the small agency.

Mr. Chairman, we know that conciliation and mediation and discussion precede any litigation, and this would represent no more power to litigate than it has at the present time. If a problem arises at the point of litigation, that will be handled by the enforcement arm of our Government, which is the Department of Justice, and it would have been handled by them if the Community Relations Service agency remained in the Department of Commerce.

So, Mr. Chairman, about what are we talking here today? Frankly, I am surprised that my friends on the Republican side of the aisle have taken a party policy position on this matter. I grant them, the complete right to do so, but I cannot understand why they took a party position on a matter of this kind. Certainly in my humble opinion there has been no argument raised of any importance. There have been fears, there has been concern and apprehension, but the people who are responsible for the implementation of this act asked us for this tool.

Mr. Chairman, I hope we will give it to them and vote "no" on this resolution of disapproval.

Mr. Chairman, Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1966, transferring the Community Relations Service from the Department of Commerce to the Department of Justice, should be approved by the House. The pending resolution of disapproval should be voted down.

The most persuasive reason, to my mind, to support this reorganization plan is that it puts the Community Relations Service on a higher plane of Government endeavor in working for equality and justice for all Americans. It moves the service from the Commerce Department to the Justice Department, and those department names alone signify an ascent from the concerns of the marketplace to the concerns of human dignity and justice.

When the Community Relations Service was first established by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 there was, as the testimony before our committee shows, a certain rationale for putting it in the Commerce Department. A major issue at the outset was the constitutional justification for civil rights legislation in the commerce clause and the expectation that the largest initial gains in civil rights progress were to be made in public accommodations, in enterprises serving the public in interstate travel and commerce, and in the good will and cooperation of business owners of hotels and inns and restaurants opening their doors to all who sought service.

We have made good progress in that phase of civil rights, and now we must prepare ourselves for the longer run and the more difficult and continuing problems which arise in so complex and sensitive a field of human relationships. It is fitting, therefore, that we look to the Attorney General as the chief legal officer of the Federal Government and to the great historic Department of Justice to carry on the difficult and continuing tasks of insuring civil rights to all, and that we give to the Attorney General every reasonable and effective resource that the Congress can devise in enabling him to carry out his awesome responsibilities and duties.

The Attorney General, as the chief law officer, speaks for the whole Government and stands in the eyes of the general public as the symbol of justice for all. In this respect, the Attorney General has decided advantages in discharging civil rights responsibilities as compared with other heads of Government departments or agencies. He is not so narrowly mission-oriented as, say, the Secretary of Commerce or the Secretary of Housing and Urban Affairs, and he has stature and influence which would outweigh that of the administrator of an independent agency.

There are those who see some rationale for transferring the Community Relations Service to the Department of Urban and Housing Affairs or to an independent agency, but it is hardly necessary to say that those alternatives are not before us today in this reorganization plan. The only alternative before us is to let the Community Relations Service "stay put" by disapproving the plan or to enable it to "go forward" by approving its transfer to the Department of Justice.

To permit it to go forward—and on a higher plane as I have said—will demonstrate our serious concern for civil rights and our wish to make progress in that field. For the Department of Justice is the best organizational setting for growth potential in civil rights. The Department of Commerce offers no growth potential, only a dead end, for civil rights. The Attorney General spends more working hours personally on civil rights than any other single department or agency head, and the dimensions of this task promise no letup in the need for his personal attention and energies. The Community Relations Service is an important resource in doing the civil rights job and we should make it available to the Attorney General.

When the Community Relations Service was created, it was provided in the enabling act that officers and employees of the Service, in doing their work of conciliation and other assistance, should avoid publicity, maintain the confidence of information received, and refrain from engaging in investigative or prosecuting functions. There are those who say that transferring of the Community Relations Service to the Department of Justice will vitiate these statutory requirements. That will not be the case. The statutory obligations and responsibilities of officers and employees of the Service will not be changed by this reorganization plan. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1949 as amended, which is the basic enabling legislation for all reorganization plans carefully circumscribes their limits.

Several other points should be made here. One is that in many State jurisdictions—some 28 I believe—enforcement and conciliation are combined in the same commission, agency or bureau. Therefore, the fact that the Attorney General will have both conciliation and enforcement responsibilities in civil rights by this transfer is not something unprecedented or unworkable. However, these functions will be organizationally distinct and separate within the Department of Justice. The Civil Rights Division which now is responsible for civil rights litigation will not absorb the Community Relations Service. The Attorney General, by overseeing both, will give them the necessary coordination and impetus to carry out their respective responsibilities under the law.

Of course, discussion and negotiation is a feature associated with all litigation, and issues can be compromised or suits settled before getting into court. These pretrial kinds of activities will remain with the Civil Rights Division. The Community Relations Service, by helping to adjust difficult community situations, to conciliate conflicts and controversies, and to give assistance to all affected parties in the community, works farther afield from litigation. Its work is not an adjunct of litigation but systematic and directed effort to dampen the fires of civil discord, to get civic leaders to meet and cooperate in solving common problems—in short, to bring about those conditions which minimize the need for litigation and formal law enforcement.

The officers and employees of the service will not engage in litigation or prosecution, and the law enjoins them from doing so. This is not to say that in rare instances, when information of law violation comes to their notice they are to refrain from reporting to the proper authorities. Every citizen has this obligation, and Congress did not intend, in requiring confidence in its activities, that the service close its eyes to violations of the laws that Congress enacted.

We will get perspective on this problem, I believe, by considering that the Department of Justice is not exclusively a law enforcement agency. It has many duties and responsibilities and performs many functions which cannot be identified with law enforcement as such. Many of its legal activities are in the nature of advisory opinions to Government agencies, the President and the Cabinet, the preparation of executive orders and proclamations, liaison work in the Council of State Governments, and the coordination of agency activities with respect to administrative procedures. Indeed, a large part of its litigation work cannot be characterized as enforcement activity. The Civil Division of the Department, the Lands Division, the Office of Alien Property, and other units have many legal and administrative responsibilities which cannot properly be characterized as enforcement.

Perhaps one recent illustration should be added to make the point. The past session of Congress enacted the Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965. That act set up a grant program to provide assistance in the training of State and local personnel to improve their capabilities, techniques, and practices in the prevention of crime. Although it may sound anomalous, the Law Enforcement Assistance Act functions performed by the Department are not enforcement functions. Rather, they involve working with people on the State and local level to arrive at programs of the greatest national impact which warrant an allocation of the limited funds available for functions within the scope of the statute.

As we move toward a vote on this important reorganization plan, I believe we should bear in mind finally that the basic theory and law of Congress under which the plan is presented places in the Chief Executive the initiative and responsibility for proper organization of the executive branch. This plan has been carefully drafted, following a recommendation by Vice President HUMPHREY which was endorsed by President Johnson. The Attorney General and the Budget Bureau Director support this plan. Testifying in its favor also was the Director of the Community Relations Service. Unless there is some great and compelling reason why we should oppose the plan, we must give the President the reorganization opportunity contemplated by the law and the benefit of the doubt, if any of us have reservations on one point or another. Having listened to the testimony, having reflected upon the issues, I wholeheartedly favor the plan, and I urge the Members to support Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1966 by voting against the disapproving resolution.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Chairman, I strongly favor the President's plan to transfer the Community Relations Service to the Department of Justice.

I hasten to add that my view does not reflect any lack of confidence in the Community Relations Service or in the record it has made. I am impressed by the accomplishments of the Service in the less than 2 years that have passed since its establishment. It has opened lines of communications in racially troubled communities where none existed. It has dealt fairly with the representatives of both races in those communities. It has done a great deal to make it easier for people of good will to act reasonably and to comply with the requirements of the law.

However, I believe that the work of the Service can be carried on more effectively within the Department of Justice. The Attorney General is charged by law with the enforcement of civil rights legislation and the President has further charged him with coordinating the civil rights activities of the executive branch. This centralization of responsibility is plainly desirable to prevent a diffusion of effort.

Placing the Service in the Department of Justice will further increase the effectiveness of the Government in the civil rights field by combining under common leadership the experience and resources of the two agencies best able to bring about the settlement of racial disputes.

I am aware of the concern on the part of some Members of Congress that the statutory requirements of confidentiality that are applicable to the Service might be compromised if it becomes an agency in the Department of Justice. As a matter of law, of course, those requirements will not be changed in the slightest degree by the reorganization plan. Similarly, the plan will not weaken the statutory provisions that prevent employees of the Service from carrying on "investigative or prosecuting functions."

I have no doubt, furthermore, that the Attorney General will do whatever is necessary to insure that these requirements of the law are met. And I am sure that everyone in the Congress agrees he will do so.

I suppose, therefore, that the question being asked is not really whether the Department of Justice will be unprincipled in the use of the information obtained by the Community Relations Service in the course of its conciliation activities but, rather, whether the public will believe that the Department is acting unscrupulously. I am convinced that the people of the country will not take that view and that they will not be inhibited from dealing frankly and honestly with the Service.

Public confidence in a governmental unit with mediation functions in the area of civil rights is not necessarily destroyed by the existence of powers of enforcement in the same agency. Twenty-eight States have antidiscrimination laws of one kind or another which are administered by an agency charged with both conciliation and enforcement responsibilities. Some of these laws, moreover, do not contain the prohibitions against publicity and disclosure of information that are imposed on the Community Relations Service. The experience of so many States is strong evidence that there is no inherent impropriety or obstacle to joining conciliation and enforcement functions in one organization.

In my opinion whether the public will continue to place its trust in the Community Relations Service will depend not upon the location of the Service in the Government but upon the way the Service honors that trust.

I have every confidence that it will be as faithfully observed in the Department of Justice as in the Department of Commerce.

Mr. DAWSON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of President Johnson's Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1966 which would transfer the Community Relations Service from the Department of Commerce to the Department of Justice. I urge that House Resolution 756, which would put this House on record as disapproving the plan, be defeated.

Two weeks ago the reorganization plan was approved in the other body when a similar disapproval resolution was defeated. The final decision is squarely up to us here today.

The Executive and Legislative Reorganization Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations heard all witnesses who wished to testify both for and against the plan; the full committee also heard extensive arguments pro and con. Both the subcommittee and the full committee voted to recommend to the House that the plan be allowed to go into effect and that the disapproval resolution be defeated. As chairman of the committee, I have reported our recommendation to the House. I strongly support the committee's considered recommendation and I believe that the House will serve the country best by adopting the committee's view.

The committee believes that the transfer of the Community Relations Service from the Commerce Department, an agency primarily concerned with promoting business interests, to the Department of Justice, the agency given the primary responsibility for achieving the ideal of equal treatment of all our citizens will bring about a more effective administration of the Federal Government's programs for securing such true equality. The President has given the Attorney General the major responsibility in this field. Having this responsibility he needs the tools of conciliation as well as law enforcement to bring about the objectives of our legislation. The Community Relations Service will be stronger under the Attorney General and he will be stronger with it.

As I reviewed the testimony and the arguments for and against the plan in the committee's record, I was struck by the fact that almost all the arguments against the plan, and, for that matter, some of those for the plan, are based upon abstract, theoretical considerations. For example, would placing the Service in the Justice Department inhibit people from dealing with the Community Relations Service or would it encourage them to do so? Should a conciliation function be placed in an agency which also has law enforcement functions? Many States have combined these functions but some people argue that there is something vaguely wrong about this.

It is extremely important in my view that those Federal officials who must deal with the hard practical day-to-day problems of bringing about a true recognition of the rights of all our citizens unanimously recommend that this plan be adopted. No one in our Government is more dedicated to achieving full recognition of our basic rights and true equality in the treatment of all our citizens than are President Johnson, Vice President HUMPHREY, Attorney General Katzenbach, and the Director of the Community Relations Service, Roger Wilkins. After heading up this program under the President's direction, Vice President HUMPHREY recommended this transfer and President Johnson, after considering all the facts, approved this recommendation. The Attorney General and the Director of the Service who have dealt daily and continually with the practical aspects of the problems involved, strongly support the move. Leaders of organizations which are also deeply involved, support the change.

We certainly should not ignore the considered judgment and the collective experience of these men who are thoroughly dedicated to achieving the ideals of true equality and who have first-hand experience with the problems involved.

I urge, therefore, that we give these men the organization which they sincerely believe will serve the country best. Let us cut through theoretical abstractions and instead let us deal with practical reality. Let us support the President by upholding the plan and defeating the disapproval resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired.

The Clerk will read the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 756

Resolved, That the House of Representatives does not favor the Reorganization Plan Numbered 1 transmitted to Congress by the President on February 10, 1966.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise and report the resolution back to the House with the recommendation that it be not agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. HECHLER, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the resolution (H.Res. 756) expressing the disapproval of the House of Representatives of Reorganization Plan Numbered 1 of 1966, had directed him to report the resolution back to the House with the recommendation that it not be agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 756

Resolved, That the House of Representatives does not favor the Reorganization Plan Numbered 1 transmitted to Congress by the President on February 10, 1966.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the "noes" appeared to have it.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Missouri rise?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently, a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 163, nays 220, not voting 49, as follows:

[Roll No. 68]

YEAS—163

Abernethy
Adair
Andrews, George W.
Andrews, Glenn
Andrews, N. Dak.
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Baring
Bates
Belcher
Berry
Betts
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brock
Brown, Clarence J., Jr.
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burton, Utah
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Callaway
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Collier
Conable
Cooley
Corbett
Cramer
Curtin
Curtis
Dague
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Dorn
Downing
Duncan, Tenn.
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Ellsworth
Erlenborn
Everett
Findley
Fisher
Ford, Gerald R.
Fountain
Fulton, Pa.
Gathings
Gettys
Gilligan
Goodell
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hagan, Ga.
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Hansen, Idaho
Hardy
Harsha
Harvey, Mich.
Hébert
Henderson
Horton
Hosmer
Hungate
Hutchinson
Ichord
Jarman
Jennings
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Kastenmeier
Keith
King, N.Y.
Kornegay
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Long, La.
McClory
McCulloch
McEwen
McMillan
MacGregor
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin, Ala.
Martin, Mass.
Martin, Nebr.
May
Michel
Mills
Minshall
Mize
Moore
Morton
Mosher
Nelsen
O'Neal, Ga.
Ottinger
Passman
Pelly
Pirnie
Poff
Pool
Quie
Quillen
Randall
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rivers, S.C.
Robison
Rumsfeld
Satterfield
Schneebeli
Scott
Selden
Shriver
Sikes
Skubitz
Smith, Calif.
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Va.
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Stephens
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Thomson, Wis.
Trimble
Tuck
Tuten
Watkins
Whalley
Whitener
Whitten
Wilson, Bob
Wyatt
Wydler
Younger

NAYS—220

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Tenn.
Annunzio
Aspinall
Bandstra
Barrett
Beckworth
Bell
Bennett
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brooks
Broomfield
Brown, Calif.
Burke
Burton, Calif.
Byrne, Pa.
Cahill
Callan
Cameron
Carey
Celler
Chelf
Clark
Cleveland
Clevenger
Cohelan
Conte
Conyers
Corman
Craley
Culver
Cunningham
Daddario
Daniels
Dawson
de la Garza
Denton
Diggs
Donohue
Dow
Dulski
Duncan, Oreg.
Dyal
Edmondson
Evans, Colo.
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Farbstein
Farnsley
Farnum
Fascell
Fino
Flood
Fogarty
Foley
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Grabowski
Gray
Green, Pa.
Greigg
Grider
Griffiths
Hagen, Calif.
Halpern
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Iowa
Hansen, Wash.
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Howard
Hull
Huot
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Okla.
Karsten
Karth
Kee
Keogh
King, Utah
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Krebs
Kunkel
Kupferman
Leggett
Long, Md.
Love
McCarthy
McDade
McDowell
McFall
McGrath
McVicker
Macdonald
Machen
Mackay
Mackie
Madden
Mahon
Matsunaga
Meeds
Miller
Minish
Mink
Moeller
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris
Morrison
Morse
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nix
O'Brien
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Olsen, Mont.
Olson, Minn.
O'Neill, Mass.
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Poage
Powell
Price
Pucinski
Purcell
Race
Redlin
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes, Pa.
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rogers, Tex.
Ronan
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Saylor
Scheuer
Schisler
Schmidhauser
Schweiker
Secrest
Senner
Shipley
Sickles
Sisk
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Stalbaum
Stratton
Sullivan
Tenzer
Thomas
Thompson, N.J.
Thompson, Tex.
Todd
Tunney
Tupper
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Vivian
Walker, N. Mex.
Watts
White, Tex.
Widnall
Wilson, Charles H.
Wolff
Wright
Yates
Young
Zablocki

NOT VOTING—49

Abbitt
Anderson, Ill.
Ashley
Ayres
Battin
Burleson
Casey
Colmer
Delaney
Dent
Dingell
Dowdy
Dwyer
Edwards, Calif.
Feighan
Flynt
Fuqua
Green, Oreg.
Griffin
Harvey, Ind.
Herlong
Kelly
King, Calif.
Laird
Mathias
Matthews
Multer
Murray
Reifel
Rivers, Alaska
Roberts
Roncalio
Rooney, N.Y.
Roudebush
Staggers
Steed
Stubblefield
Sweeney
Teague, Tex.
Toll
Udall
Utt
Waggonner
Walker, Miss.
Watson
Weltner
White, Idaho
Williams
Willis

So the resolution was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Flynt for, with Mr. Rooney of New York against.

Mr. Williams for, with Mr. King of California against.

Mr. Waggonner for, with Mr. Delaney against.

Mr. Abbitt for, with Mrs. Kelly against.

Mr. Roudebush for, with Mr. Multer against.

Mr. Colmer for, with Mr. Feighan against.

Mr. Watson for, with Mr. White of Idaho against.

Mr. Laird for, with Mr. Staggers against.

Mr. Walker of Mississippi for, with Mr. Ashley against.

Mr. Utt for, with Mr. Dent against.

Mr. Battin for, with Mr. Dingell against.

Mr. Herlong for, with Mr. Toll against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Roberts with Mr. Casey.

Mr. Sweeney with Mr. Burleson.

Mr. Edwards of California with Mr. Dowdy.

Mr. Udall with Mr. Teague of Texas.

Mr. Steed with Mr. Roncalio.

Mr. Matthews with Mr. Willis.

Mr. Fuqua with Mrs. Green of Oregon.

Mr. Stubblefield with Mr. Weltner.

Mr. PASSMAN changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND REMARKS

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks in connection with House Resolution 756.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

WHY WE SHOULD ENACT LEGISLATION TO POOL LOANS

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the American economy benefits immensely from the fruitful partnership between public and private initiative. Nowhere is this more evident than in the varied Federal programs to assist and stimulate the flow of private credit.

The home mortgage insurance and guarantee programs of the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans' Administration, the many programs of agricultural credit assistance, the lending assistance rendered by the Small Business Administration, and more recently the credit aids embodied in the college housing program and the student loan program—all these bear witness to our Nation's success in blending public and private efforts to achieve common goals.

Frequently, in this partnership, we start out with a program that is relatively dependent on Federal lending. Then in time, the program evolves into a form in which the private sector gradually takes up more of the burden.

Over the years, we have devised means to use the great resources of the private credit market to accomplish the same necessary and highly desirable social purposes which we originally set out to accomplish through direct Government lending. When private capital takes up part or all of the burden of a lending program, the resources of the public sector are freed to turn to other equally worthwhile purposes.

Broadly speaking, this process has been operating ever since we turned to guaranteed and insured loans in place of some of the direct lending programs. We might single out home ownership, which is not only almost a universal individual American aspiration but also one of our most widely accepted social goals. We could never have achieved our high degree of home ownership without using the resources of the private market under guaranty and insurance arrangements. This is true for at least three reasons:

First. The capital resources of the private market are far greater than those of the Government;

Second. We could not have increased the Federal budget and, indeed, few if any of us would have wanted to increase the Federal budget to the degree required to provide the necessary funds through Government loans; and,

Third. While Government assistance was required to get the necessary programs underway, we needed the flexibility and ingenuity of the private market to carry them out successfully.

Federal credit programs, working through the private market, help to make the market stronger, more competitive, and better able to serve the economy's needs over the long term.

The substitution of private for public credit has received great impetus since the mid-1950's under a program of asset sales. This consists of selling loans—selling the loan paper—which is generated under various Federal lending programs.

The policy of asset sales, begun under the administration of President Eisenhower, has been endorsed by the distinguished private Commission on Money and Credit, of which Secretary of the Treasury Fowler was a member and which issued its authoritative report in 1961, and President Kennedy's Committee on Federal Credit Programs, of which former Secretary of the Treasury Dillon was Chairman.

Despite major efforts to draw on private credit, the volume of direct Federal loans outstanding has increased in recent years. The total outstanding was $25.1 billion on June 30, 1961, and $33.1 billion June 30, 1965.

These loans have direct consequences on the Federal budget—and, thus, on the policies followed by any administration. Money for lending programs must be budgeted, even though it will be repaid with little or no ultimate net costs to the Federal Treasury.

This means that it must be matched by tax revenue or by additional Treasury debt—or else that it must take the place of some other program, which then must be postponed or dropped. It should not require much soul searching to decide which is preferable—higher taxes, a larger deficit, postponement or elimination of some other Government activity, or greater involvement of private capital in the public lending programs.

Therefore, I strongly favor the enactment this year of the Participation Sales Act of 1966 which President Johnson has proposed, to broaden and make available on a Government-wide basis the authority for the sale of participations in pools of financial assets now owned by Federal credit agencies.

ARE THERE DEFICIENCIES IN CLOTHING AND MILITARY SUPPLIES IN VIETNAM?

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, for all the sudden prominence given the bomb shortage, it would seem excusable for the Pentagon to attempt to cover up any such matter of military significance. What is not clear is how the Nation's supply of ammunition was allowed to deteriorate while U.S. forces were being plunged deeper and deeper into military involvement and conflict, but this and other related matters will hopefully be resolved as soon as possible if only to preclude recurrences of this serious nature.

If there is justification for withholding information on lack of ammunition necessary to lend full support to the military effort, similar restrictions would hardly hold true so far as any deficiencies in clothing or other material affecting the comfort of U.S. fighting personnel are concerned. On the contrary, shortages of such equipment should be publicized as widely as possible if only to give all America an opportunity to join in overcoming the deficiency.

Mr. Speaker, if full gear is not available to all servicemen stationed in combat areas, manufacturing capacity not now engaged in military production should be turned forthwith to getting out whatever is needed on the frontlines. Letters to parents in Pennsylvania's 22d District from men in Vietnam appeal for such items as combat boots and fatigue clothes. While these cases may be isolated and not indicative of the Defense Department's general supply situation, it is a national duty to assure full equipment to every serviceman. If the Pentagon lacks the necessary gear, our people should be so informed immediately so that all hands can turn to in every way we know how to meet the demand.

Another matter which I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues comes from a hospital corpsman who urged that his family provide him with a pistol as soon as possible. A Navy man assigned to the Marines, he makes frequent rescue missions into territory infested with Vietcong and is in need of a weapon small enough to be accessible on a moment's notice in the event of enemy attack. Thus far he has not been able to obtain a pistol of any sort from military officials, and there is suspicion that not enough are available for all the men who must expose themselves to jungle sorties. His parents purchased one for his use, however, the Post Office Department has refused to mail it. If there are not enough side arms for men who need them, then I see no reason why the postal rules cannot be relaxed to provide our military men in the front lines with adequate equipment.

For weeks it was an open secret that Defense Department agents were scouring Europe in search of bombs at whatever price they could get them, yet the shortage was continually denied here at home.

If indeed firearms essential to the protection of our fighting men are in short supply, I am confident that a call to manufacturers, dealers, and individuals would quickly close the gap—even without having to pay premium prices.

Everyone wants to help in every way possible to make certain that combat forces have the finest equipment possible, but maximum effort will not be attained unless we are given the full truth about the supply story.

WELCOMES INVESTIGATION OF LEFTIST STUDENT GROUP

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, in October of last year, I introduced a House resolution calling for an investigation of the Students for a Democratic Society, a motley collection of unbathed leftwing students, heavily infiltrated and guided by Communist elements.

I was pleased to read in yesterday's New York Times that the national secretary of the society is squirming in protest over probes into their activities by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I welcome the FBI into the picture for I have every confidence in that agency. I have equal confidence that they will find that this collection of human garbage calling themselves a "society" is made up of more than just SWINE, as Cartoonist Al Capp calls them, but of blood-red Communist provocateurs. It is one thing to be a SWINE, students wildly indignant about nearly everything; it is another to be a dupe of Communist agents and their tool in their efforts to undermine our opposition to the hammer and sickle in Vietnam and elsewhere.

Freedom of speech is not at stake here, despite what the ivory tower professors would have us believe. Again, freedom of speech and association are one thing; giving aid and comfort to the enemy in time of war is quite another. No one has that right, not while American servicemen are dying on battlefields to preserve that right of free speech and association.

This investigation is long overdue and I hope there will be no foot dragging until it is concluded.

The Times story makes interesting reading and I insert it here in the RECORD for all to see.

FBI Said To Be Investigating Student Group Opposed to War—Organization Says Chapters at Yale and Wesleyan Are Under Scrutiny

(By Peter Kihss)

The national secretary of Students for a Democratic Society asserted yesterday that there "seems to be a national investigation" of his group by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Paul Booth, the 22-year-old secretary, said the 4-year-old organization had attacked the U.S. role in the Vietnam war and had sold 15,000 copies since September of a guide on how to claim conscientious objector status in the draft.

The only places Mr. Booth would identify as areas in which inquiries had been made were Wesleyan College in Middletown, Conn., and Yale University. He said the organization, with a "democratic radical program," had 175 to 200 chapters and 5,000 members, up from 3,000 last fall. Most of the members are college students, he said, but some are in high schools and young adult groups.

At Wesleyan, Stanley Idzerda, dean of the college, said an FBI agent had asked him about 2 weeks ago for names of all students in the college's Students for a Democratic Society chapter, and had been refused such data.

Mr. Idzerda said the college kept no such lists, and "we consider the student's activity his own affair."

DANGERS CITED

"It's unfortunate," he added, "that a climate of suspicion can be created by such activities that might lead some students to be more circumspect than the situation requires. Things like this can be a danger to a free and open community if men change their behavior because of it."

The college's semiweekly newspaper, the Wesleyan Argus, headlined the incident last Friday, and Mr. Idzerda said he then received another FBI visit Saturday. That time, he said, an agent contended there had been a "misunderstanding," and asserted there was no investigation of the society, but rather an inquiry into "possible infiltration of the SDS chapter by Communist influence."

A spokesman for the FBI office at New Haven said last night that the Bureau "makes inquiries every day on campuses throughout the country—we investigate 175 types of violations, security as well as criminal."

The spokesman said FBI files were "confidential," but, he added, "with respect to the statement that we questioned roommates of SDS members at Yale, this is not true."

METHODS ASSAILED

Eight members of the society's Wesleyan chapter had decried such alleged questioning at Yale in an article in the Argus. The article asserted that if the FBI wished information about member's beliefs, "it should have its agents directly question the individuals concerned."

Reached at the society's national office in Chicago, Mr. Booth, who has been the organization's full-time secretary since Nicholas deB. Katzenbach had told a Chicago news conference last October that the society was among groups figuring in a Justice Department inquiry into the antidraft movement.

Mr. Booth asserted, however, that his group's activity had been legal—"counseling and giving information on conscientious objection"—and there was apparently no investigation at that time.

He suggested that the FBI inquiries began last month partly because of some "totally false statements" about the society. Also, he said, individual chapters took part in demonstrations against the Vietnam war last month, including fasts at Wesleyan and other places.

Sarah Murphy, 20-year-old coordinator of the society's New York region, said last night that she knew of no member or school official involved with 28 to 30 chapters who had been directly contacted by the FBI about society activities.

CALIFORNIA STATE ASSEMBLY PRAISES REPRESENTATIVE MOSS

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include a resolution by the California State Legislature regarding Mr. John E. Moss, of California.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, the California State Assembly recently adopted a resolution, coauthored by 57 assemblymen, commending our colleague, John Moss, for his "continuous battle to keep open the channels of information for free access by the public and the press."

The resolution, which was approved unanimously, states that John Moss is "regarded nationwide by members of the press corps as the country's most active official exponent of the people's right to know about their Government."

I commend this resolution to the attention of my colleagues:

"H. Res. 136

"Resolution relative to Representative John E. Moss by Assemblyman Z'Berg, March 22, 1966

"Whereas Congressman John E. Moss, of the House of Representatives from California's Third Congressional District, a former member of the California State Assembly, has been untiring in his role as a guardian of the people's right to free access of information and to know about their Government; and

"Whereas Representative John E. Moss has been chairman of the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Government Information since its creation on June 9, 1955; and

"Whereas Representative Moss has stated that 'information is a major resource in a democracy, for government by the people must rest upon the premise that the people and their elected representatives are well informed about the activities of their government'; and

"Whereas Representative Moss maintains a long active record in behalf of an open-door policy for news media and against restrictions on press freedom, and is regarded nationwide by members of the press corps as the country's most active official exponent of the people's right to know about their Government; and

"Whereas Representative Moss is dedicated to the principle that freedom of the press is a foundation stone of American liberty, and he believes 'the rights to information are inherent in the rights of speech and press'; and

"Whereas Representative Moss has a deep conviction that the public has a right to be informed about government inaction, a right to have maximum information about government officials' stewardship of the public trust: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Assembly of the State of California*, That the members commend Representative John E. Moss for his continuous battle to keep open the channels of information for free access by the public and the press; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the chief clerk of the assembly is directed to transmit suitably prepared copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Representative John E. Moss."

REQUEST FOR UNANIMOUS CONSENT

Mr. Z'berg was granted unanimous consent to take up House Resolution 136 without reference to committee or file.

Resolution read.

MEMBERS MADE COAUTHORS OF HOUSE RESOLUTION 136

Mr. Z'berg was granted unanimous consent that all members so desiring be placed upon House Resolution 136 as coauthors.

ROLLCALL

The following members indicated a desire to become coauthors: Assemblymen Allen, Alquist, Ashcraft, Badham, Barnes, Bee, Beilenson, Biddle, Burgener, Burton, Carrell, Chapel, Collier, Conrad, Cusanovich, Danielson, Dannemeyer, Davis, Deukmejian, Dills, Dymally, Elliott, Fenton, Flournoy, Foran, Garrigus, Gonsalves, Greene, Harvey Johnson, Ray E. Johnson, Kennick, Knox, Lanterman, McMillan, Meyers, Mills, Monagan, Moretti, Pattee, Porter, Quimby, Ryan, Shoemaker, Soto, Stanton, Stevens, Thomas, Unruh, Veneman, Veysey, Waldie, Warren, Whetmore, Williamson, Winton, and Young.

Resolution read, as amended, and adopted unanimously.

WELDON JAMES RESIGNS POSITION AS ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF LOUISVILLE, KY., COURIER-JOURNAL, TO ENTER MARINE CORPS

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, one newspaperman has let us know where he stands on Vietnam. Weldon James, associate editor of the Louisville, Ky., Courier-Journal, has resigned his job to enter the Marine Corps to show his support for our policy in southeast Asia. In doing so he has written a remarkable farewell address, one that bears reading by all Americans, regardless of their feeling on our policy.

The article, published April 14, 1966, is preceded by a note from Mr. James' editor, Barry Bingham.

The note and article follow:

Note From the Editor

Weldon James, in the statement which appears below, is clearly acting on principle in a cause which commands his deep conviction.

He is one of the fortunate people who can see the issue of Vietnam in clear, sharp outlines of black and white. I share with millions of Americans the unhappy necessity of viewing it in infinitely varying shades of gray.

I cannot in good conscience support every aspect of the official American position. I cannot, on the other hand, find the release of condemning our whole policy and demanding American withdrawal.

The man who is owner and editor of a newspaper must shoulder the burden of editorial policy decisions. I listen to my valued associates, such as Weldon James, with respect as well as affection. But the final responsibility for the editorial page cannot be divided. I can only act on my conscience, as Weldon James is acting on his.

—BARRY BINGHAM.

STATEMENT BY WELDON JAMES

This is one editorial only a great newspaper could invite anyone to write and to sign.

I quit. I resign as an associate editor of the Courier-Journal. I am going on active duty in the Marine Corps to testify to my belief that U.S. policy in Vietnam is right—and that the quicker more newspapers and more people give the President solid support, the shorter and less dangerously complicated the war there will be.

The Courier-Journal, as its readers know, is no appeaser on Vietnam, no advocate of U.S. withdrawal. But it does not speak with the sharpness I believe the continuing crisis demands.

I believe that the United States was right about Vietnam in 1954, right when President Kennedy increased our involvement, right when President Johnson did likewise, and right to commit, in the President's words, "whatever it takes" to deny the Communists a military triumph there.

I believe Lyndon Johnson is as right as Roosevelt, as timely as Truman, as cautiously correct as Kennedy, and as entitled to Eisenhower's and the Nation's support as the Courier-Journal used to say in editorials I wrote.

But the Courier-Journal, like some other great newspapers, no longer takes a forthright stand on this paramount issue. I respect the conscientiousness of its reasoning, but I am not convinced.

NO TIME TO PLAY HAMLET

This is no time for the press of a great nation to play Hamlet—or Lippmann. Walter Lippmann's gloom about the Truman doctrine was 100 percent wrong. That doctrine played a decisive role in converting the Soviet Union to a belief in peaceful coexistence. Its great dividend is the historic rift between Peking and Moscow today.

Mr. Lippmann's China-doorstep arguments about southeast Asia today are identical with his Russia-doorstep arguments about Greece and Turkey in 1947—and I believe identically fallacious about what the United States should do and can do.

The Courier-Journal has not endorsed the Lippmann line, nor has it been guilty of the vacillation or the silence or the yes-buts of a good part of the American press that have misled both Hanoi and Peking. But in recent months it has been something less than decisive. And all this across the Nation has nurtured honest confusion of the minority in this country—and unintentionally encouraged the sit-ins, the draft-card burners, the neoisolationist belief that if only the United States were to withdraw from southeast Asia (or any other trouble spot), the world would have instant peace.

No one can deny that the issues in southeast Asia are terribly complex, or contend that we have not made mistakes there. It would be a miracle if we had not. And I fully respect the honest doubts and anxieties of some of my colleagues and of other thoughtful Americans who differ with my views. But I believe it is past time they resolved them and invoked positive support for the President. This could, in my emphatic belief, keep the war limited—and help to shorten it.

Diversity of critical opinion is not only a right but the great strength of a democracy, and no American I know would limit it. But there is enough evidence at hand for the American jury to reach a verdict on Vietnam. The evidence is not just two decades of history but the exposition of that history and of the facts today by the President, the Vice President, the Secretaries of State and Defense, Averell Harriman, McGeorge Bundy, and a host of others.

At moments in history when their declarations had a powerful and useful impact on public opinion, the Courier-Journal's Henry Watterson said "to hell with the Hohenzollerns" and Mark Ethridge and Barry Bingham said in effect "to hell with Hitler"—and Bingham went into the Navy before Pearl Harbor to show where he stood. I hold it is past time to say to hell with Ho—and to speed him toward that destination until he sees the virtues of the conference table.

That solution manifestly is impossible as long as Ho believes that the American people will indeed, as he long ago boasted, weary, waver, and withdraw.

If we don't get the message to Ho now, the need to get it to Mao Tse-tung will be upon us in time. He's told us what he plans. It is as foolish to laugh at his boasts and Red China's "weakness" now as it was to laugh at "that clown Hitler" and Nazi Germany's "weakness" in the 1930's.

Some of my good but regrettably misinformed friends have attributed the positiveness of my views to my long ties with the Marine Corps, instead of to reason, logic, and a lifelong study of history.

This is nonsense, of course. The Marine Corps has no foreign policy. It has no politics. Sound out six marine sergeants—or six marine generals, for that matter—and you'll find as many differing "experts" on foreign affairs and politics as you'll find in the corner tavern.

The Marine Corps, as a long succession of its Commandants have made plain, has but one job. That is, to obey the orders of the civilian Commander in Chief, the President.

But the Marine Corps does teach the uses of disciplined rage and the application of "measured strength"—exactly what the United States is employing in Vietnam today. And it has been asking for Reserves to volunteer. I am proud it believes I can be of some use to it now, thanks in great part to the generosity with which the Courier-Journal over the years has enabled me to advance my training in Marine Corps schools, the National War College, and with Navy and Marine forces on the job in Europe and the Orient.

A few comments on the national scene:

It is well-nigh incredible to me that some self-styled liberal Democrats should be ignoring the posthumous revelation by his son of Adlai Stevenson's true position on Vietnam (the Courier-Journal, of course, took sensible editorial notice of this). It is even more shocking that they should be seeking to explain away Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY's vigorous and persuasive support of the President's policies as the calculated insincerity of "a White House captive." They owe it to their label—and to the country—to go back and ponder what John F. Kennedy said and did about Vietnam.

DE GAULLE'S ABSURD EQUATION

I believe that the worst bit of mischief-making about southeast Asia has been perpetrated by the President of France. NATO aside, it is appalling that De Gaulle can induce anyone anywhere to accept his absurd equation of U.S. aid to South Vietnam with France's vain attempt, against Anglo-American advice and warning to hold on to her colonial empire in Indochina after World War II. But when I discussed Vietnam with some hundreds of the Nation's college student editors in New York recently, I discovered that some—a thin minority, fortunately—have indeed accepted this absurdity as "fact."

The Courier-Journal, to its credit, has not encouraged the absurdities of the super-liberal Democrats or the French equationists. But it has not yet attacked them with the vigor I think they demand.

To longtime readers of the Courier-Journal I must observe that I came to Louisville some 17 years ago on handsome promises, handsomely kept—that I would have time for foreign travel and lecturing and other writing, and would wear no man's collar, and be paid to argue and to criticize the newspaper from front page to back, and be expected to write nothing if I "lost the argument."

Well, I have lost the big one now, and so I am leaving. But the grief is purely professional. I leave with regret for my lack of persuasiveness, and with my high regard and liking for my editorial colleagues intact.

That goes especially for Molly Clowes—no difference of opinion could ever diminish the professional admiration and the deep affection I have for her—and for Barry Bingham, a comrade in arms in Europe and the Pacific, a close friend since 1942, whose example of 1941 I am now following.

ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE MEMBER CHARGES DEFENSE DEPARTMENT WITH EVASION—REPRESENTATIVE DURWARD HALL SAYS BOMB PURCHASE CONTRADICTS "POLICY"

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the continued mismanagement of our Defense Establishment by Secretary McNamara gives me great worry and concern as a member of this body's Committee on Armed Services. Within the past few days, we have learned of a large acquisition of 750 pound bombs from a West German firm, and the Republic. According to the news reports, our Government paid almost 15 times the amount the bombs were sold for.

Mr. Speaker, in January of this year, I initiated an inquiry with the Department of Defense concerning our policy in regard to reacquisition of various categories of ammunition from European sources.

I want to quote from a reply I received dated March 31, and signed by Assistant Secretary of Defense, John McNaughton, referring to shells and bombs being reacquired from the Federal Republic of Germany.

The letter says, in part:

> The price of this material cannot be given precisely at this time. Some of it was given originally as grant-in-aid, and some of it was sold to Germany. The guiding principle on reacquisition is, of course, that we will pay no more for the material than was paid to us when it was sold.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I realize that this administration has never been too bothered by principles, or at least there are some strong differences as to what constitutes principle. But when the Department of Defense says on March 31 that the guiding principle on reacquisition is that we will pay no more for the material than was paid to us when it was sold, something is wrong, not in Denmark, but right here in Washington, right down at the Pentagon, and right in the office of the Secretary of Defense. Who can the American people believe? What can they believe? How much more mismanagement of our Defense organization can we stand?

Who, I ask, is stretching the "credibility gap"?

I realize that the Secretary has left a small loophole by making no direct reference in his letter to me, about reacquisition from private firms, rather than from the West German Republic. But the nature of my inquiry was such that it covered all possibilities.

Indeed, my initial inquiry states as follows:

> I would like to know if there has been a sizable purchase of small arms ammunition by the United States from any West German or other foreign firm.

The Secretary specifically referred to bombs and shells, so it is obvious his answer covered more than just small arms ammunition.

Furthermore, in an earlier reply dated January 28, 1965, Mr. McNaughton said:

> It should be noted that no private firm is involved; this is a transaction between governments.

In answer to my second letter of inquiry, much was evaded and left unanswered as perusal of the correspondence would reveal.

It now becomes clear that the Department of Defense was evasive in their reply to my inquiry, and furthermore that, when they did provide additional information, they not only ignored the acquisition of bombs at a much higher price than we sold them for originally, but that they also pretended to be following a firm policy, which events now prove to have been nonexistent.

Just how far does the right to lie have to be extended to protect the image of Secretary McNamara?

PRESERVING THE POLITICAL INDEPENDENT STATUS OF OUR FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE SYSTEM

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include a newspaper article.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise once again, as I often have in the past, to bring to the attention of this House a matter of concern to those of us who are interested in preserving the political independent status of our Federal civil service system. Time after time I have addressed myself to such transgressions as fund solicitations from employees in the classified service, political arm twisting, and lax enforcement of the Corrupt Practices Act.

The incident to which I have reference today, however, can possibly be of greater significance to the degradation of the civil service than any to which I have discussed before. This has to do with the appearance of the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission itself as the principal speaker at a $50-a-plate campaign fund raising affair on Monday night of this week. Truly this must be a case of the fox being the guard of the chickens.

In his "Federal Spotlight" column of the Washington Star this Monday, Joseph Young observes:

> It is the first time in memory that a member of the Civil Service Commission, which is supposed to stay completely out of political matters, has spoken at a political fund-raising affair.

Now we find that the Chairman himself, who in the past has also played the role of a political lobbyist for the administration, incidentally, has gone a step further by violating the unwritten law and tradition which guided those before him assigned as protectors of the almost century-old civil service system.

The enactment of the Pendleton Act in 1883 grew out of the fetid, sordid spoils system of the post-Civil War period which culminated in the assassination of President Garfield by a disappointed officeseeker. Are we to return to the old spoils system with John Macy leading the retreat?

What did Mr. Macy have to say about his indulging in an evening of partisan political activity at a fundraising dinner? He is reported to have seen no wrong in his being the star attraction at this political affair since his speech would be nonpolitical.

I daresay the tragedy of all this is compounded by the Chairman's apparently not realizing the significance of his action. He—of all people—should be the first to recognize the rank impropriety of his action. If the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission has no greater appreciation for the responsibilities of his position than this would indicate, then he certainly by his own admission disqualifies himself from further service on the Commission.

Mr. Young's article is as follows:

[From Washington (D.C.) Star, Apr. 19, 1966]

Campaign Dinner Speech Tonight Not a Bit Political, Macy Says

(By Joseph Young)

A lot of eyebrows are being raised over the fact that Civil Service Commission Chairman John Macy is going to be the principal speaker tonight at the $50 a plate campaign fund-raising dinner for Representative Clarence Long, Democrat, of Maryland.

It is the first time in memory that a member of the Civil Service Commission, which is supposed to stay completely out of political matters, has spoken at a political fund-raising affair. Maryland's two Democratic Senators—Daniel Brewster and Joseph Tydings—will also attend, Brewster as the toastmaster and Tydings as official greeter.

Macy says his speech will be completely nonpolitical, that it will deal with the Government's manpower problems. He says that Long is a longtime friend and was one of his teachers at Wesleyan University.

"There is nothing in my speech that can be interpreted in any way as a political endorsement," Macy said.

However, the speech recalls the uproar among Republicans in Congress last year when Macy acted as a congressional liaison man for President Johnson in trying to line up support for several key administration bills not in the least connected with civil service.

MORE ABOUT NATO

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Halpern] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to expand somewhat on my earlier remarks of April 6 relative to the evolving NATO dilemma.

While I am not privy to the inner deliberations of our Government, and so must depend upon traditional news sources and transcripts, these do not in truth give me much confidence that the United States is handling this problem maturely and realistically.

Certainly, along with most Americans, I profoundly regret the recent decisions of the French nation, our historic ally. In my view her withdrawal from the NATO command structure, as distinct from the alliance, is not in the best military and political interests of either France or the other allies.

Much of the soul searching which is now going on, however helpful in restoring some emotional balance, is irrelevant. To be sure, we are not blameless; American attitudes and policies have in several instances crystallized De Gaulle's suspicions of American motives, and thus have emboldened him. Perhaps this was inevitable, given the realization that our diplomatic instincts on the world scene, as a global power, are necessarily different from and maybe irreconcilable with those of General de Gaulle. The French decisions may have come regardless of any past American endeavors to attune our policy more closely with French interests.

However, what concerns me most is our official approach to this unalterable fact of French disengagement. Are the 14 members, spurred on by the United States, to adopt an attitude of complete intransigence? Are we to consume our mental faculties in a restless search for wordy, meaningless communiques in order to cement a wall against French policy? Does our interest lie in an attempt, however unrewarding and illusory, to punish the mutineer? To isolate him through outraged opinion?

Such posturing, self-defeating and narrow in terms of long-range American interests, is being espoused by well-meaning but embittered people. Struggling daily with unseemly events they cannot control, aggravated by the widening gap between their dreams and unpleasant facts, many of our Atlanticists, in and out of the State Department, are propelling policy in a deliberate anti-French direction. High officials of our Government imply that the United States simply cannot accept the immoral, childish behavior of this ungrateful upstart, tearing agreements to pieces, placing demands, disrupting what are thought to be essential security arrangements.

The tenor of the American response thus far indicates that we may be prepared to totally ignore France in recasting the NATO structure. It would be a serious error, in reshaping the organization, if the 14 allies resurrected their military relationship in such a way that the French Government could not give some practical application to the mutual defense pledge.

Instead, there seems to be an inclination on the part of the United States to handle the French Government as if it were a renegade.

Recent pronouncements and actions by our Government give cause for the greatest anxiety. We have engaged in hasty attempts to mobilize European opinion against French policy, showing an utter lack of diplomatic tact and perspective. In addition to giving voice to hurt feelings, we have reiterated in dreary fashion our traditional belief in integration, amounting to a sort of Monday morning rehash of spent ideas, unimpressive because it all comes too late.

The bankruptcy of this initial position may succeed eventually in dividing Europe against itself. Indeed, we have already contributed measurably toward undermining that crucial Franco-German rapprochement which is elementary to the future peace of Europe.

As far as France is concerned, we are assured that in wartime the French forces will necessarily be united with our own in any common conflict. The Foreign Minister has reaffirmed the NATO pledge, to the effect that if any member is subject to an unprovoked attack, then all the members are bound to go to its defense. He has denied, publicly, that France will in the future withdraw from the alliance. Furthermore, I believe the French Government is receptive to discussing with its allies the assumption of some prearrangements which are essential to give effect to the NATO commitment.

French policy distinguishes between the integrated organization and the alliance as such. And second, it rejects the possibility of a European ground war without recourse to nuclear weapons, which remain under national control. Hence the British, the Russians, and the Americans have a unilateral option here, and it may come into play on French soil without French say-so.

If, as the French believe, any European conflict is to be resolved on the basis of nuclear weaponry, under other than French control, then I would admit that France lacks leverage over her own ultimate preservation. Objectively, this is not disadvantageous to France; our nuclear umbrella is credible; but this dependence, which causes the French Government discomfort, should be comprehensible if not wholly valid.

It is possible that President de Gaulle wishes to open the way toward a singular political rapprochement with Soviet Russia, thereby freeing the French Government to play in central Europe a predominant role in the settlement of all outstanding continental problems. These relate not only to Germany but to the evolvement of the East European satellites. At the same time, this prescription would effectively remove French fears that America could itself deal bilaterally with Russia, without consultation with France on issues which affect her status and security in Europe.

While not discounting this eventuality, it is incumbent upon the United States to move tactfully and calmly at this point to reformulate this NATO organization as I suggested on April 6. It must be done in a fashion which suits our allies and accommodates the special relationship which France insists upon for herself. Differences have already emerged among the allies as to how this alliance is to be sustained. The United States could lose everything by enforcing the adoption of unpopular methods, or by simply redressing tired and doctrinaire policies.

I hope very much that we will have the good sense to cast hypocrisy and pretense aside, and mutually effect a system which is both practicable and takes account of the existing realities.

NOW WE ARE APOLOGIZING FOR FIGHTING IN VIETNAM

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WAGGONNER] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, in recent months, as the doves and the chickens have continued to flutter around Washington urging on the President a policy of retreat, negotiation, and appeasement in Vietnam, it seems to me that the administration has had to spend unnecessary time assuring the people of this country and the enemy as well, that we are in Vietnam to stay and to win.

If anyone within the administration has any wonder why the people are uncertain of our intentions, confused about our aims or unconvinced about our determination, they need look no further than the front page of the Washington Post. In a story in yesterday's Post, the headline stated that "U.S. Denies Escalating Vietnam War." An unidentified Pentagon spokesman went to great pains to apologize for our strikes against two antiaircraft missile sites on the outskirts of Hanoi and to assure everyone, friend and enemy alike, that these strikes were defensive in nature only.

Instead of speaking positively and firmly about our efforts to win that dreadful war, we are now apologizing for our strikes.

What a ludicrous position this puts us in. On the one hand, we are trying to convince the Communists that we are not going to turn tail from our commitment and on the other we go out of the way to assure the doves and the appeasers that we are not really escalating or going all out.

As dreadful as it is, it is apparent to me that statements such as this are the source of the juice the administration has to stew in when they wonder why the people are not convinced that ours is a dedicated effort.

The story from the Post, as appalling as it is, needs to be read by every Member and I would like to insert it here in the RECORD.

UNITED STATES DENIES ESCALATING VIETNAM WAR

(By John G. Norris)

Pentagon spokesmen denied yesterday that American bomb strikes against two antiaircraft missile sites on the outskirts of Hanoi represented any planned escalation of the war, as claimed by North Vietnam.

The U.S. officials said the destruction of the missile bases 15 and 17 miles from Hanoi—closer to the North Vietnam capital than U.S. aircraft ever had struck previously—was defensive in nature.

The SAM surface-to-air missile sites were not on Sunday's target list, it was said, and their destruction did not represent any change in longstanding Washington restrictions on bombing in the north.

Rather, the Air Force F–100 and F–105 fighter bombers which blasted the missile bases were flying "CAP"—combat air patrol—over other U.S. planes attacking a targeted strategic bridge 33 miles south of Hanoi, when they sighted the SAM sites. One fired at the U.S. planes and the American fighters then attacked them.

American pilots have standing orders to attack any North Vietnam missile site they sight, if it could interfere with their mission.

But while this particular attack does not represent any deliberate escalation of the war ordered by Washington, there is growing belief at the Pentagon that such orders may come soon.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have recommended that American planes knock out North Vietnam's major petroleum reserves, located in the Hanoi-Haiphong area, as a more effective means of slowing down the movement of troops and supplies to the Vietcong from North Vietnam via the Ho Chi Minh trail.

The bridge 33 miles south of Hanoi hit by American planes Sunday was described here as "knocked out of service" but as none of the spans were actually severed it may be soon repaired.

Sunday's attack also put out of action a highway bridge at Haiduong, on the main road between Hanoi and Haiphong, about 21 miles from Hanoi. It was bombed last fall but repaired since then.

U.S. Navy carrier pilots also reported the probable destruction of another missile site 160 miles south of Hanoi. The attacks bring to seven the total of SAM installations reported destroyed since July 27. Eight or nine others have been damaged.

Aircraft from the aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* also struck Sunday at other points around Vinh, the major junction on the Communist supply line south. The Associated Press in Saigon said the Navy planes apparently hit liquid fuel used in the SAM missiles and most likely destroyed the site.

Russia is believed to have shipped 86 SAM installations—some mobile and some fixed—to North Vietnam. Some 160 missiles have been fired at U.S. planes, downing 10 planes.

American spokesmen in Saigon said no American plane was lost in the attacks near Hanoi. But five aircraft were knocked down by antiaircraft guns Saturday through Monday. Two airmen are listed as missing, the others were rescued.

There were few reports of ground action yesterday. However, a Vietcong suicide squad attacked U.S. Marine positions 375 miles north of Saigon Monday behind a barrage of Communist mortar shells. The marines lowered the barrels of their 155-millimeter, self-propelled guns and blasted the mortars. Then as the Vietcong attacked, the marines hit them with small arms fire. The action was 7 miles from Da Nang.

News services reported from Saigon that Vietcong terror continued against progovernment officials. A marine patrol found the mutilated body of a village chief of Kyxuam Island, near Chulai. It was reported that two young Vietnamese girls had lured the young man into a house where he was killed by Vietcong agents.

PARTICIPATION SALES ACT OF 1966

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I support the Participation Sales Act of 1966 because I am sure it is sound legislation, it is in the interests of the people of the United States, and it will contribute to the more realistic sensible financing of Federal Government programs.

This legislation is nothing more than a proposal to authorize the pooling of certain Government loans for sale on the private market. This pooling technique has been proved highly effective in the last several years. It was pioneered by the Export-Import Bank and since then other agencies including the Veterans' Administration and the Federal National Mortgage Association have used this technique with excellent results.

All this legislation proposes to do is to extend this technique to other Federal credit programs, such as those of the Office of Education, the Farmers Home Administration, and the Small Business Administration.

Substituting private for public credit is not a new idea—in fact, it has been a cardinal principal of Federal financing for more than 10 years.

It carries the wholehearted endorsement of such groups as the Commission on Money and Credit—a blue-ribbon panel of economic and financial experts set up by the Committee on Economic Development to study our national needs; the Committee on Federal Credit Programs—set up by President Kennedy to examine principles of Federal financing and many other outstanding groups and individuals on both sides of the political fence.

The present Secretary of the Treasury, Henry H. Fowler, was a member of the Commission on Money and Credit. He supports the policy of substituting private for public credit today as he did in 1961 when the Commission handed in its report. In that report the Commission said, and I quote:

> Where it can be effective, a loan guarantee type of program should take preference over the direct lending type of program.

President Kennedy's Committee was headed by then Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon and among the members were David Bell, Walter Heller, and William McChesney Martin, the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. That Committee had this to say about the substitution of private for public credit and I quote:

> The Committee believes that Federal credit programs should, in the main and whenever consistent with essential program goals, encourage and supplement, rather than displace private credit.

Let me give you one final sample of the bipartisan support which this important policy has had in the past and which it deserves now. I quote from a minority report of the House Ways and Means Committee report on legislation to provide temporary increases in the public debt limit. This report, delivered in May 1963 had this to say on the subject:

> The administration also can always reduce its borrowing requirements by additional sales of marketable Government assets.

The point I am trying to make is simple. The point is that this is a sound measure for Government finance, that the policy under which it was framed has the clear and unequivocal support of both parties, of President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, President Johnson, and many, many others who have had an opportunity to deal at first hand with the realities of Federal finance.

The proposed legislation in no way dilutes the authority or control of the Congress over Federal spending or lending programs.

For all these reasons, I am proud to number myself among the many distinguished leaders who have supported this policy. On that basis, I now support this legislation.

A CITIZEN'S EFFORT CHANGES BOSTON RENEWAL PROJECT

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, on August 19, 1965, I related to this Chamber the efforts by the Boston Redevelopment Authority to oust low- and moderate-income families from their homes to make way for a high-rise, high-income apartment project which nobody except the developers apparently wanted. A month later, on September 21, I spoke to this body on the North Harvard Street project, as it is called, indicating that the Federal urban renewal authorities had made only a cursory study of the matter after appeals from the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. O'NEIL] and the State's two Senators had halted activity at the project site.

I am happy to report, at this time, that despite the indifference of Federal regional officials, the hard fight by the residents of the North Harvard Street area to maintain their homes and work through rehabilitation rather than clearance has apparently achieved a reasonable solution. A blue-ribbon panel of citizens appointed by Boston's Mayor Collins has gone beyond the mayor's directives and, as I suggested when it was formed, has worked out a plan in conjunction with the residents of the area. Boston Redevelopment Authority Administrator, Edward Logue, has proved very cooperative in this regard.

As the attorney for the residents, William P. Homans, Jr., has observed it will take tact and understanding on both sides to work out the individual details of rehabilitation and compliance to standards, but I am sure that both sides are willing to work together toward a solution that is responsive to human needs. The rehabilitation loan program provided in the 1964 and 1965 Housing Acts at the request of the Republican minority on the House Banking and Currency Committee should prove very helpful if Federal officials will now cooperate.

The following newspaper articles and letter from Mr. Logue detail the story:

[From the Boston Herald, Dec. 17, 1965]

PANEL PLAN SAVES 16 HOMES: ALLSTON RESIDENTS VICTORS OVER BRA

(By Stanley Eames)

Embattled residents of the Boston Redevelopment Authority's North Harvard Street, Allston, renewal project, have won the battle to save their homes, the Herald learned last night.

A blue-ribbon panel chosen last September by Mayor Collins to determine the kind of development to be erected by the BRA is preparing to submit to them a plan which would save the 16 buildings which can be rehabilitated. A meeting with the residents is expected to be held Sunday.

The plan, drawn up by the BRA at the panel's request, provides that seven of the homes be relocated near their present sites, and that the other nine be rehabilitated.

They would be blended into a 200-unit project over which a 14-story apartment building would tower, and which would include 78 four-story walk-up apartment units and 1 two-story single family units.

Although nothing of an official nature has occurred, or will occur when residents meet to discuss the plan, the blue-ribbon panel headed by Gilbert Hood, Jr., president of H. P. Hood & Sons Co., is expected to recommend it to the BRA and Mayor Collins if the North Harvard Street area residents approve it.

* * * * *

Most of the 90-odd families originally affected have moved away, and much of the 6½-acre triangle has been razed by BRA bulldozers. The handful remaining have resisted to the last the BRA's attempts to move them out and level their homes, which were slated to make way for a luxury apartment complex.

No cost or engineering details have been provided the panel by the BRA, and the price of rehabilitation to the remaining residents remains unknown at present.

DEMANDED PLAN

It was understood that if the North Harvard Street residents do not favor the plan—although it would appear extremely unlikely, since this is what they have been battling for over many months—the panel will drop it. Agreement on the broad principle of the proposition would be an initial step toward bringing it to pass.

The BRA, when the panel asked for various plans which could be used in the triangle, did not submit one calling for rehabilitation. Mayor Collins and BRA Chief Edward Logue made it clear publicly that they considered none of the structures existing there susceptible to repair in the shadow of a spanking new development.

The panel demanded the present plan on its own initiative, and it was produced, after some delay, by the BRA.

* * * * *

The development occurred at a time when legislation filed by Senator Beryl Cohen, Democrat, Brookline, to save existing buildings in the area had bogged down in the legislative process, through the efforts of solons friendly to Mayor Collins.

WILL PICK DEVELOPER

The panel is not scheduled to meet again until after Christmas, and at that time the decisive vote may be taken. Mayor Collins threw the whole issue in the panel's lap when he named its members, in effect abrogating his and Logue's powers in the matter.

The panel also is charged with the selection of a developer when a plan is agreed upon.

The proposed renewal project would have its 14-story apartment tower at the corner of North Harvard Street and Western Avenue. The structures which would need to be moved are located principally now in that corner. They would be scattered along North Harvard Street, Stadium, Harvium, and Heffernan Places.

The existing structures to be moved or rehabilitated on-site would be clustered, in general, along North Harvard Street.

The 10 two-story single family units, and the 78-unit, four-story walk-up apartments would be built to front on Western Avenue.

There would be malls, walks, and tot-lots, and adequate parking space. At the apartment tower, it would be under a single-level deck.

FIVE-YEAR FIGHT

But all of this is of less importance to the people of the area than the fact that their homes—mostly small, wooden structures in need of some repair—may be saved.

Seldom in the stormy history of urban renewal have so few fought so tenaciously, almost obsessively, to keep their houses.

The fight has lasted for 5 years, for those who stayed to the end.

They refused to pay rent on houses taken from them by eminent domain by the BRA. Last summer, when the agency began evicting families, there were violent demonstrations, with babes in arms caught up in the middle of melees, and residents hauled away in the arms of policemen.

Last August, householders took a bus to Washington to demand relief from U.S. Urban Renewal Commissioner William Slayton, and from Massachusetts congressional delegation. Federal housing officials sidestepped the problem, terming it a purely local matter.

U.S. Representative William Widnall, Republican, of New Jersey, ranking minority member of the House Subcommittee on Housing, scored Mayor Collins' nomination of the blue-ribbon panel as a cruel obituary of the hopes and desires of low- and moderate-income citizens.

The controversy was particularly bitter because it had been proposed early in 1960, not by BRA planners, but by the P & P Realty Co., and it received speedy and favorable action by the administration.

The first public hearing, held on June 27, 1962, brought a wild eruption of fury from the residents, the first sign of the long and emotional battle to come. They hired William Homans, Jr., as their counsel, and Homans has pursued the matter vigorously.

Logue, who did not personally favor the project from the outset—and who inherited it—nevertheless stood his ground, once committed to it. He condemned the residents' resistance as "mob rule."

Meanwhile, the plight of North Harvard Street attracted sympathy and support from some segments of the Harvard community nearby, from private architects who believed existing buildings could be saved, and from a group of Cambridge residents.

Eventually, the pressures grew so great, with the 1966 election season approaching, that the mayor tossed the ball to the panel.

The BRA's report to the panel on the potential for rehabilitation agreed largely with another submitted in October to representatives of the Allston group.

INSPECTS AREA

John A. DeLoria of Boston, a veteran architect, inspected the project area and found "the majority of these structures to be structurally sound with perfectly plumb walls and no sign of settling in either the framing of the buildings or their foundations * * * some are in excellent condition, requiring no work, while others are in a condition of deferred maintenance for reasons which are understandable."

In most cases, DeLoria found, rehabilitation could be done without excessive cost.

"Certainly," he said, "a house that is in need of general cleaning and repair should not be abandoned as unfit for human habitation.

"On the contrary, it is my opinion that 90 percent of the 35 structures in the area can and should be rehabilitated, or their owners given the opportunity to rehabilitate."

A BRA report to Logue from his engineers, along with the new plan, said that 14 buildings containing 18 dwelling units had been identified in BRA surveys as in "fair" or "good" condition, and "to be considered for rehabilitation." One building owned by a leader in the battle to keep the homes was found in "poor" condition, but the engineers recommended it be saved because the owner was so determined to remain.

SEVEN ABSENTEE OWNERS

The report said it could be anticipated that a large percentage of the 16 buildings considered salvageable "will not * * * be rehabilitated. Seven of the 16 were in absentee ownership at the time of taking (by the BRA). Payment has been refused on only 4 of the 16."

Acceptance of the plan presumably would result in the buildings being reconveyed to their owners by the BRA, probably with a stipulation that they be improved. The legal implications to urban renewal, not only locally but nationally, remain to be seen.

But one fact emerged last night as the plan was being readied for presentation to the Allston holdouts:

The people of North Harvard Street are giant killers.

Boston Redevelopment Authority,
Boston, Mass., March 4, 1966.

Congressman William B. Widnall,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Widnall: It was a pleasure to see you and chat with you briefly at the hearings the other day.

For your interest, I am enclosing the latest story on the Allston project.

The Boston Redevelopment Authority Board today accepted the report in principle, and I hope this will lead to a satisfactory, peaceful conclusion to this problem.

I hope to have the opportunity to review with you the demonstration cities program which might apply to New York in the relatively near future.

Sincerely,

Edward Logue,
Redevelopment Administrator.

[From the Boston Herald, Mar. 3, 1966]

Panel Favors Owners Keep Allston Homes

(By Michael J. Bennett)

After years of fighting with the Boston Redevelopment Authority, the residents of North Harvard Street, Allston, have got a favorable decision from a blue ribbon panel, but no one has any immediate plans for a victory celebration.

The panel headed by industrialist Gilbert H. Hood, has recommended almost every inhabited home on the street be returned to their owners and rehabilitated.

In addition, the panel has turned thumbs down on a BRA proposal to construct a 14-story high rise apartment at the apex of the triangle of land formed by North Harvard Street, Western Avenue and New Smith Street.

The luxury high rise eventually may be built, but if the panel has its way it will go up at the back of the lot near the Harvard Business School.

The final decision must be made by Mayor Collins, however, and an aid said Monday, "That's one of a whole bundle of things he's got to do. I don't know when he'll make an announcement."

Although members of the panel are basically confident their plan will be accepted, North Harvard Street residents kept their hopes under careful guard Monday.

WAITS FOR DEED

"I won't feel secure until I've got the deed back safe in my hands," said Mrs. Marjorie Redgate, a resolute leader of her determined neighbors, "We still have to see what kind of rehabilitation agreements can be worked out. They might be too much for us, too expensive."

Attorney William P. Homans, Jr., who has acted as a negotiator for the 17 families in the neighborhood, noted Monday the panel had gone beyond its mandate from Mayor Collins.

He quoted a statement made by the mayor when he established the panel in August 1965, after tenants and homeowners had been evicted amid violent demonstrations:

"I would like to make it clear," Homans quoted Collins as saying, "that if this blue ribbon panel is to do an effective job, it must be free of the controversy which now surrounds the project, and I would therefore propose that they not begin their work until substantially all of the site occupants have been relocated and most of the buildings demolished."

A member of the panel said, "there had been a fear that the panel would start from a patch of dirt and forget the people."

"But if this was meant to be a whitewash, that's not what it turned out to be," added Joseph Smith, a local representative on the panel as the chairman of the Allston Civic Association.

PRAISES LOGUE

Smith also had some kind words for Edward J. Logue, BRA administrator and the target for most of the verbal brickbats hurled by the residents and their supporters.

"If Ed Logue is against those people out there, he didn't show it," Smith said. "He cooperated 100 percent, was more than cooperative, more than you could expect."

The panel considered several choices before settling on the final proposal. In December, the Herald exclusively revealed the plans for the high rise at the junction of North Harvard Street and Western Avenue. The scheme also envisioned moving 7 of the 16 houses on North Harvard Street.

The proposal was immediately denounced, with Mrs. Redgate saying "it would squeeze us out and put us in a corner." Householders contended it would be far too expensive to move the houses and several are too worn with age to stand the trip.

TICKLISH PROBLEM

The plan now on Collins' desk would keep the houses on their foundations, and also give preference to former residents who want to move into the new apartments to be built on the site.

Assuming Collins approves the proposal, Homans foresees only one possible problem, and that could be ticklish.

"There'll have to be individual negotiations with each homeowner and tenant," he said. "Many of the tenants want to buy, and all will have to agree to rehabilitate their homes

> to conform with the established city health and building codes.
>
> "If they don't, the BRA can take the land again," he said. "So, it's going to take tact and understanding on both sides to work it all out."

U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION SCORES CLEVELAND ON URBAN RENEWAL

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, recent newspaper reports that the U.S. Civil Rights Commission had found Cleveland's urban renewal programs a major cause of the breakdown in code enforcement and the decay in Cleveland's Negro ghettos seem to have surprised a number of people, including Federal officials. Having outlined the failures of the Cleveland urban renewal program, and detailed the code enforcement and delay in the Hough area as far back as April 23, 1964, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I am not surprised at all.

The remarks of the Federal urban renewal director from Chicago, Dean Swartzell, however, do come as a surprise. In fact, I find them incredible. Mr. Swartzell, according to the Washington Post story of April 5, 1966, says that he would have taken action against Cleveland had he known about the conditions prevailing in Cleveland. Where in the world have Mr. Swartzell and his staff been the last 3 years?

The Hough area is part of a long-delayed urban renewal project in Cleveland known as University-Euclid. As long ago as the fall of 1963 it was the scene of a major rent strike by low-income tenants against the conditions they were forced to live in. In my own remarks in April of 1964, I included a list of citizen demands published in the Ohio Forum, a newspaper serving the Negro community of Cleveland. The citizens stated:

> 1. All city codes (including the housing code) should be enforced throughout the entire Hough area. Additional inspectors should be hired to do the job. A record of progress should be available to the public.
>
> * * * * *
>
> 3. We understand that both staff and money are available to do the job in University-Euclid. Why isn't it being speeded up? What are the standards for rehabilitation? How are the staff trained? We understand that only 17 buildings in the past year are completed in phase I. Only 2 of these are multiple dwellings.

In February of 1965, the Cleveland Plain Dealer ran a series of articles on the University-Euclid area. One was entitled "University-Euclid Job Is Renewal at Its Worst." In another, pictures showed the reason for the caption, "Urban Renewal in Reverse." A Cleveland city councilman, Leo A. Jackson, was quoted as saying that the urban renewal program in the Hough area was causing mass migration into other areas of the city, creating new slums elsewhere. "We have to stop somewhere," he said, "or the whole city will be in urban renewal projects." The Cleveland Press ran a similar series of articles entitled "Crisis in Hough," ending with suggestions for positive steps to stop further decay, including code inspection.

Another article in the Cleveland Plain Dealer dated February 15, 1965, indicates that the Federal regional office in Chicago knew quite well what was happening in the Hough area. It states that a survey of the project by an outside firm early last year was the result of Federal prodding when it was realized that Cleveland's urban renewal forces simply could not cope with the situation. Among other suggestions, the outside consultants recommended rehabilitation of 2,200, mostly in the Hough area, to bring them up to code standards. I am proud to say that the outside consultant pointed specifically to the new rehabilitation loan program of the 1964 Housing Act which I authored as a means to accomplish this goal.

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission hearings in Cleveland brought out the fact that the city had deliberately failed to enforce its housing code in the Hough area. This is not a practice confined to Cleveland. It should not be news to the Chicago regional office of the Federal Urban Renewal Agency. A story in the Cleveland Press of August 30, 1965, detailed a suit against the city of Cleveland on the grounds that the city was deliberately letting the University-Euclid urban renewal project, containing the Hough area, deteriorate in order to lower the land values for acquisition in the future.

Last fall, there were so many stories on Cleveland's housing problems in the papers it is unbelievable that the Chicago Federal Urban Renewal regional office could have missed it. A prominent Negro politician ran as an independent Democrat against the incumbent mayor, with the problems in the Hough area playing an important role in the campaign, and nearly beat the incumbent.

Nor have these stories stopped flowing. When the mayor of Cleveland appeared before our Housing Subcommittee earlier this year, I called his attention to a series of articles in the Cleveland Press on urban renewal, one of which was entitled "Circle, Hough Area Renewal Failing." I asked the mayor what had been accomplished. The mayor could only point to the Longwood project, which started with planning in 1950, and the Garden Valley project, which after a number of false starts since 1955, has finally come around.

The mayor also mentioned Erieview, but when I asked how many low- and middle-income housing units that project involved he had to admit that none were planned for it. When I said that I had heard that the University-Euclid project containing the Hough area had deteriorated to a point where an outside consultant had to be called in, the mayor replied that things were not really that bad, but he did not offer to talk about it. A few weeks later, a U.S. Civil Rights Commission member, the Reverend Theodore Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University, remarked:

> I'd like to say for the record, based on what I saw in the Hough area, I've seen better pigpens.

Not only has the Chicago office of the Federal Urban Renewal Agency been derelict in its duties, not only is the explanation that no one knew what was going on unacceptable, but the Chicago office apparently does not even know what the law and the intent of Congress is regarding code enforcement. One of the seven elements of the workable program requirement, which I authored in 1954, deals with adequate code enforcement. It has been completely ignored by the Chicago office, apparently, because the mayor of Cleveland told me in testimony before our Housing Subcommittee that the city's workable program had never been disapproved or even held up for approval by the Chicago office.

Now the Chicago regional office head, Mr. Swartzell, is quoted as telling Father Hesburgh that:

> We are not entertaining any more projects for Cleveland but we are not going to cut off. We've got to go ahead.

Go ahead to what? Another 5 years of delay in Hough while industrial projects and high rise commercial and apartment projects are pushed to completion? Is the Chicago regional office really expected by Congress to go ahead under any conditions, even the worst possible? At least part of the answer can be found in the House Banking and Currency Committee report of August 5, 1964 on the Housing Act of 1964, a bill passed with the widest bipartisan support of any major housing bill in recent years.

A new provision, which I authored, provides that no community's workable program can be recertified, beginning 3 years after the date of the enactment of the 1964 act, unless the locality is carrying out an effective program of enforcement to achieve compliance with the code. After citing new assistance to localities for code enforcement, provisions which were expanded in the 1965 act to include areas of intensive code enforcement rather than only regular urban renewal projects, the House Banking and Currency Committee went on to state:

> On the other hand, in the case of a community which has an established workable program, the committee expects that each time that community applies for recertification of its workable program, the Administrator must be satisfied that effective progress has been made during that year toward the goal of achieving compliance with the housing code.
>
> It is understood that some communities would be denied recertification until such time as the Administrator is satisfied that the community has fully complied with the new requirements for the workable program.
>
> The committee wishes to emphasize that these new provisions are in addition to existing requirements relating to housing codes and code enforcement. The committee expects that the additional assistance for code enforcement activities made possible by this section will permit the Administrator to require immediately more effective implementation of the workable program requirements.

If, therefore, the urban renewal program in Cleveland "has done only harm," as U.S. Civil Rights Commission member Erwin N. Griswold, dean of the Harvard Law School put it, then Federal urban renewal officials must share the blame. In fairness to Cleveland, it should be noted that Mayor Locher testified in answer to my questioning that the city is exploring the use of the new code enforcement and rehabilitation tools in the recent housing acts. Whether this effort follows through or not will depend in large part on the willingness of Federal officials to act instead of talk.

Nor can we in Congress simply dismiss this as another bureaucratic failure. The Housing Subcommittee is specially set up to investigate and study the housing and urban renewal programs. For the past 3 years we have sat in Washington passing housing legislation and considering important housing legislation bills without ever looking at the slum areas themselves to see what is needed and what is being done or left undone. I have called for such investigations, particularly in Cleveland, for years. The time has never been more appropriate than now.

I include at this point the press articles I have mentioned:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 5, 1966]

Urban Renewal Plans Scored as Cause of Decay: U.S. Rights Panel Charges Programs Impound Slums—Administration of Law Seen as "Immoral" by Hesburgh

(By John Herbers)

Cleveland, April 4.—Members of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights charged today that urban renewal and other Federal programs were major causes of the despondency and decay that exist in acute form in Hough, a Cleveland ghetto.

One member, Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University, said all Federal rebuilding programs as administered here and in other cities were immoral.

The commissioner spoke out after questioning State and Federal officials who conceded that combined rebuilding efforts could have contributed to impounding the ghetto.

FOCUSING ON HOUGH

The commission, an independent research and advisory agency, is conducting 5 days of public hearings here to find out how Negroes and other minority groups are faring in northern slums.

One purpose is to gage the effectiveness of Federal laws on the lives of slum dwellers.

The chief area under investigation is Hough, a rat-infested neighborhood of almost 60,000 in the center of the city.

In 1962, the worst part of Hough was placed in an urban renewal program, whereby the Federal Government was to provide most of the funds for buying rundown property, clearing it and making it available for new developments.

In the last 3 years Hough has undergone steady decline. Its streets and alleys are littered with garbage and debris. Most of the buildings are in poor repair and many are vacant and foreboding.

Stores have gone out of business. Gangs roam through the abandoned property and use the great empty houses as vantage points for rape and robbery.

Many of the vacant buildings reflect the signs of urban renewal. Some have been torn down but there is no sign of new development.

As to the remaining buildings, a series of witnesses painted for the commission a picture of falling plaster, broken plumbing, basements filled with sewage, inadequate wiring, rats, and roaches.

Charles Sheboy, housing commissioner for the city of Cleveland, testified that complaints of violation of the city code were turned over to the Department of Urban Renewal, when they come under that agency's jurisdiction.

"Urban renewal then will work with the property owners," Mr. Sheboy said.

However, James P. Friedman, commissioner of urban renewal, testified that his agency had made no effort to enforce the code because of a policy that had been established in city hall before he assumed the job.

Erwin N. Griswold, dean of the Harvard Law School and a commission member, asked if the purpose of this was "to keep down the costs" of property later to be bought by urban renewal.

Mr. Friedman replied that he was not clear as to the purpose of the policy but he said costs were involved. He added that the policy had recently been changed and said the code would be enforced.

The commissioners were indignant at what they called official neglect of people living in the area.

Eugene Patterson, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, said apartment dwellers had "been kept in a limbo" between the city and the urban renewal agency.

"So far urban renewal has done only harm," Mr. Griswold said.

Testimony indicated that persons relocated by urban renewal and highway programs were frequently moved to worse surroundings. The commission study also showed that a great majority of Negroes were relocated in Negro areas.

"In these Federal programs to rebuild the cities," Father Hesburgh said, "what has happened is that people in the worst condition find their houses bulldozed from under them. The total program is immoral."

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 5, 1966]

Housing Code Failure Admitted in Cleveland

Cleveland, April 4.—City officials admitted to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission today that housing codes were not enforced in a Negro slum area and that public housing followed a "separate but equal" racial policy.

The disclosures came during the second day of a 5-day hearing scheduled here by the Commission to study racial problems in the Nation's big cities.

City Housing Commissioner Charles Sheboy said a city hall policy ignoring code enforcement was in effect in the High area of Negro slums before he was appointed to office.

Notices of violations went to the city's urban renewal division, rather than to landlords, Sheboy said. If that division judged landlords recalcitrant, he said, violation notices were not sent out.

Sheboy said landlords were fined $9,605 for violations last year but the city collected only $6,030.

Remarked the Reverend Theodore Hesburgh, Civil Rights Commission member: "I'd like to say for the record, based on what I saw in the Hough area, I've seen better pig pens."

James P. Friedman, the city's urban renewal commissioner, said the no-enforcement policy existed to avoid a rise in land acquisition costs if property were improved.

And Dean Swartzell of Chicago, regional director of the Federal urban renewal program, said he would have taken action against the Cleveland no-enforcement policy if he had known about it.

Father Hesburgh asked if Swartzell will cut off Federal funds because of the Cleveland policy. Replied Swartzell: "We are not entertaining any more projects for Cleveland but we are not going to cut off. We've got to go ahead."

Ernest Bohn, director of the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority, denied that he operated segregated public housing projects in the city. Instead, he said, he followed "the Federal Government's equal-but-separate policy."

[From the Cleveland Press, Apr. 5, 1966]

Shameful, Somber Facts

Some somber facts are emerging from the sessions of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission here. They are shameful and discomforting; they make it clear that hearings by the Commission serve a valid community purpose.

Facts such as this: testimony by the city housing commissioner that he can't remember ever closing up a rental unit solely on the ground that it is no longer fit for human habitation.

Facts such as this: that housing code enforcement in University-Euclid has been stopped—so the city wouldn't have to pay for high-priced buildings in urban renewal acquisitions. Cynical, eh?

Facts such as this: testimony by a U.S. public health official who counted the rats here in 1961 and again last February—and found the situation "seriously deteriorating."

Facts such as this: that one commission member finds "things down at city hall seem to just get shuffled from one division to another, from one public official to another."

All these facts point up the distressing lack of—and urgent need for—a determined, continued city hall effort to clean up Cleveland's ghetto.

It means better garbage collection. It means attacks on rats. It means building code enforcement, complete with arrests, fines, and jail sentences.

The Civil Rights Commission just may awaken the conscience—and the muscle—of the city.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Feb. 6, 1965]

Jackson Charges Renewal Hurts More Stable Areas

(By Donald Sabath)

Urban renewal in the Hough area is creating a "crowded" and "undesirable" housing condition in the Glenville area, Councilman Leo A. Jackson, Democrat, ward 24, charged yesterday.

Unless some action is taken by city officials, said Jackson, chairman of city council's urban renewal committee, he would be forced to call a halt to further land purchases in the University-Euclid urban renewal area.

Jackson said urban renewal in Hough, in effect, is just shifting Hough problems to the Glenville area.

"Urban renewal is causing extreme problems both for police and school officials in my area," said Jackson. "The crowded housing conditions will produce a jam of students in the new Lakeview school next week."

The councilman said relay classes would have to be continued even after the new Glenville area schools were occupied.

"When you jam people together in single-family homes, you create problems, and this jamming is commonplace in Glenville," he asserted. "This summer you sometimes thought the children were sprouting out of the ground."

Jackson said he has talked with Council President James V. Stanton and Urban Renewal Director James M. Lister, and both are "extremely concerned."

He added that a top-level meeting would be held as soon as council reconvenes to discuss the problem.

Some changes in the housing code may be needed to stop the mass migration from

Hough or any other urban renewal area to stable communities, Jackson said.

"This is not just a problem for East Side wards. It could develop in all the wards in the city," he said.

As an example, Jackson told of four families, all related, who had moved into a single-family home in his ward.

Jackson asked the city housing division to check the home on Elgin Avenue NE., after he received numerous complaints from neighbors.

The home is occupied by a husband and wife; a daughter and her 5 children; a sister-in-law and 3 children and 3 grandchildren whose parents reside in Hough.

"This is a fantastic example of jamming families into one home," the councilman said. "And for all we know, this may be occurring all over Glenville."

Jackson blamed absentee landlords for creating the new problem. He said they have received money from homes purchased for urban renewal in Hough and now use it to purchase homes in Glenville.

"What the city is approving is the creation of new slums in another area of Cleveland," Jackson went on. "We have to stop somewhere, or the whole city will be in urban renewal projects."

The same new crowded situations exist in wards 27 and 25 and a part of ward 21, Jackson added.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Feb. 15, 1965]

STAFF IS LACKING: UNIVERSITY-EUCLID RENEWAL IS SLOW

(By Donald Sabath)

Almost a year ago, Cleveland's urban renewal department realized that its staff could never handle the growing complexity of the University-Euclid urban renewal project.

The realization became apparent after numerous warnings from the U.S. Urban Renewal Administration and from area Congressmen.

The program is moving too slowly, they said. Unless something was done soon to expedite the program, Federal funds might be cut off.

It was determined that Cleveland simply did not have the staff even to scratch the surface of the proposed $16.6 million face lifting of a large portion of the city's East Side.

The plan to redevelop the 837-acre area was greeted with high hopes in February 1962, when the Federal grant was announced.

Anthony J. Celebrezze, then the mayor, said: "This is a great thing for the city and the local urban renewal agency will take immediate steps to put the program into the action stage."

Urban Renewal Director James M. Lister announced the city would immediately set up a project office, begin neighborhood rehabilitation and start appraising property in the clearance areas.

In the 3-year period since the announcement, a project office was set up at Crawford Road and Hough Avenue NE. and a slight beginning was made on rehabilitation.

There has not been much progress in clearing land or renovating homes that are to stay.

Under Federal prodding, Lister determined the best way to get the job done was to hire outside consultants. With approval of city council, the firm of Walker Murray & Associates, Inc., of Philadelphia was hired last year for an 18-month period. The cost: $170,000.

With the help of the consultants, Lister views the following as priority areas of phase 1 in the project:

Rehabilitation of the 2,200 homes in the area, mostly in the Hough section.

Development of a 65-acre tract at Fairhill and Stearns Road SE. for a research park. Eventually the park will total $100 million in new construction.

A high-rise apartment for faculty and students at the various University Circle institutions, to be located at Mayfield Road and Euclid Avenue.

High-rise public housing at Crawford Road and Wade Park Avenue NE.

Expansion of Mount Sinai Hospital to the west from its present site at East 105th Street.

Expansion of play areas and parks around Daniel E. Morgan, Hough, Mary B. Martin, and Charles Orr elementary schools, Addison Junior High School and East High School.

Continued progress of the University Circle Development Foundation in its $174 million construction program.

Work should continue in the University Circle area without too much assistance from the city's urban renewal department. This is an expansion of major medical and educational facilities.

Since the project began, no Federal renewal funds have been used by the foundation, said Lister, to purchase property for institutional expansion.

But the city has spent nearly $2 million for additions to parking lots and for street expansion.

Private money used for construction by the foundation and money spent by the city in site improvements are then used as "credits," or matching funds, to pay the city's share of the renewal projects. The Federal Government pays two-thirds of the project's costs. The city pays the rest.

The big job is rehabilitation.

Moving in sections, during the past 2 months, the city has purchased almost 70 abandoned homes. They will be coming down soon as part of a $141,000 demolition contract awarded late in December.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Feb. 15, 1965]

UNIVERSITY-EUCLID RENEWAL IS SHOWING SLOW PROGRESS

The big questions for the city and its consultants, then, is what to do with the 2,200 homes set for rehabilitation.

Neal S. Bellos, a former welfare worker here and now a representative of Walker Murray, said a specific plan of attack would be announced by the firm in 2 weeks.

Since last October, the consultant's task force has been compiling information which should have been collected by the city during the past 36 months.

The consultants have had a firsthand view of exteriors of all the homes in the project. They know now which homes can be saved and which must come down.

A survey has also been completed concerning the residents of the homes in the project. All the information is being placed on data processing cards.

But, according to Bellos, preliminary data reveals there will be a need for greater acquisition of homes than first planned by the city.

"These homes are vacant and are vandalized," said Bellos. "This is a cancer and must be removed."

Original plans called for 632 homes to be acquired for demolition. At present the city has purchased 265 pieces of property at a cost of $5.1 million.

Bellos said preliminary results showed the city may have to purchase some of the 2,200 homes set for rehabilitation and then fix them up and offer them for sale. He said the homes could also be sold to developers, who would repair them and bring them back to housing code standards.

David Walker, former national head of the Urban Renewal Administration, heads the consulting firm.

When Walker arrived here last fall he brought no magic wand with him. Maybe one would have helped. But he did promise action.

"Rehabilitation of the kind in University-Euclid has not been tried anywhere else in the Nation," he explained. "We don't know if it will work. We hope it does. If it does, Cleveland will then be a model for this type of urban renewal."

Walker explained that under rehabilitation, people, an almost forgotten commodity in urban renewal, will not be forced to move into any other section of the city.

"We will propose a pilot project to move residents out of the homes for a short period of time, then we will repair them," Walker told a city hall meeting recently. "Then the residents can move back to the homes."

"You can build all the playgrounds you want—but until kids have decent homes, you can't accomplish a decent job," said Walker.

The Cleveland lending institutions must play a vital part in the program in lending homeowners money for repairs, Walker explained. His associates have had many conferences with banks, and savings and loan institutions.

Low-cost government loans were approved for rehabilitation last year by Congress. No funds, however, were allocated for the loans. Walker believes Congress this session will provide the funds.

Because of the scope of the project, the Walker firm probably will recommend starting a "model" rehabilitation area where financing is available and residents are willing to go into debt with home loans.

Federal officials have suggested a block-by-block "attack" to overcome the creeping urban decay. Walker agrees with this plan.

Lister reported that appraisal prices on 515 structures needed in the project, from the 632 scheduled for demolition, have been approved by the regional office of urban renewal in Chicago.

All the homes needed for the project, should be purchased before council adjourns this summer, Lister predicted.

This then is the timetable for University-Euclid. The original 5-year completion date must be scrapped.

Phase 1 may now take 10 years. And there are three other phases in the plan.

Some say University-Euclid is too large. Some say the city should bring in the bulldozers and do a "complete" job. Some say rehabilitation will not work. Only the months ahead will tell.

Councilman Leo A. Jackson, D-24, says the success in University-Euclid will stop the spread of slums into the Glenville area, which is part of his ward, and into other sections of the city.

"With adequate housing inspections, police protection and adequate city services, we can stop this spread of urban decay," he said. "With help from the administration, we won't need urban renewal in Glenville."

But he warned: "We must start to be realistic with urban renewal. We are now one large region. Erieview is not the whole city. It takes more than a few new buildings to make a city * * * it needs people."

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Feb. 14, 1965]

UNIVERSITY-EUCLID JOB IS RENEWAL AT ITS WORST

(By Donald Sabath)

Only 4 short miles from Erieview Plaza, Cleveland's newest skyscraper, stands a perfect example of urban renewal at its worst. Its name is University-Euclid.

It is the name given to the plan to convert an 837-acre area of the East Side into a model community with wide, tree-shaded streets, green park land near schools, new multifamily homes, and restoration of old homes to fit into the new, pretty picture.

But a drive through this section today reveals deserted cars, some jacked up on blocks, littered and dirty streets and yards and deteriorating buildings and homes. Urban decay is its name.

University-Euclid is the nightmare of Cleveland's multimillion-dollar urban renewal program.

After 3 years and more than $6 million spent in University-Euclid what has been accomplished? The city has:

Purchased or has options on 265 pieces of property ready for demolition. This is 42 percent of the total of 632 homes needed.

Cleared 124 parcels.

Rehabilitated 137 homes, or 6 percent of the total of 2,020 homes set for rehabilitation.

One resident called sections of the area a ghost town.

The streets could be cleaner. The trash could be carted away from the yards and the cars could be towed to junkyards. But the houses offer more resistance.

A stranger gets the feeling that the area has nothing to offer anyone. So why stay?

And people have left.

By the thousands they have moved into the Mount Pleasant and Glenville areas, creating overcrowded conditions there in schools and in homes.

Left behind is an incubating process which breeds all sorts of crime and violence.

In recent days roving gangs of thugs, with no respect for the law or the age of victims, have run wild. The gangs have terrorized children and golden agers, for no reason at all, or for a small sum of money or for the thrill.

The victims are those who must for financial reasons or others, stay behind the migration.

The trouble lies in the Hough area, which is in the core of the University-Euclid urban renewal area.

It has been 3 years since Cleveland received a $16 million Federal grant to begin the 5-year renewal project.

In this period, the city has spent $5,170,000 for land and property acquisition and nearly $1 million more for planning, site improvement, salaries, and a token rehabilitation program.

A drive through the Hough area reveals monumental work must be done even to begin approaching what the planners envisioned in January 1961, when the city planning commission approved the plan.

Part of the blame must fall on Cleveland's urban renewal department. Some on the inhabitants of the area. Some on the community as a whole.

The University-Euclid plan, one of the largest ever approved by Federal authorities, is broken up into four phases.

The first section to be redeveloped, or phase 1 in planning jargon, include the vast University Circle where new medical, educational and cultural buildings are going up, which like downtown Erieview, is a growing success.

The north boundary is Wade Park and Superior Avenue NE. On the west is East 86th Street. Chestnut Avenue NE., is the southern boundary.

Phase 2 will include the area bounded by East 89th Street, Chester Avenue NE., Stearns Road SE., and Carnegie and Cedar Avenues SE. This section will include the East 105th Street and Euclid Avenue business complex.

Later stages will expand phase one to East 79th Street on the west and to Carnegie Avenue SE. on the south. The last phase will include all land bounded by Chester Avenue, westward to East 55th Street and the extension of Carnegie Avenue SE.

There is talk in the city's urban renewal department that the project is just "too damn large."

But the city has designated the boundaries. "We are now stuck with it," said one official.

Being stuck is one excuse for the apparent lack of progress, even though $6.6 million has been spent.

The big problem the city must tackle is the Hough area and what to do with it.

When you mention Hough in any conversation you immediately think of slums. This is a far cry from the 1930's, when the neighborhood saw its brightest days as residential area for white-collar workers.

During the 1950's, the Hough area attracted Appalachian whites and an ever-increasing number of Negroes.

As congestion grew, the housing market opened in other areas and the residents began to move out. Now "For Rent" signs blossoms on every street and in every apartment house.

City hall records show that more than 70 percent of the present day Hough inhabitants are Negro. Most of the remainder are Appalachian whites. The average family consists of 4.2 persons.

About 25 percent of the people receive some sort of welfare aid. The others have annual incomes of $3,500 to $3,800.

The 632 properties still to be acquired are almost entirely in the Hough area, an area of 70 acres. In all, 2,200 homes in this same area will be rehabilitated.

The city knows that rehabilitation will be the main project problem. The problem will be to obtain financing for families with low incomes, so that they can make the necessary repairs to bring homes back to housing code standards.

An additional problem results because much of the property is owned by absentee landlords. Many refuse to put any additional money into their wornout buildings.

And the city has also determined that 25 percent of the homeowners are buying homes in University-Euclid under land contracts. This percentage is much higher than in other cities in the Nation working on rehabilitation in urban renewal.

Urban Renewal Director James M. Lister has described University-Euclid as "simply a problem of financing."

Lister denies that the city has been slow in University-Euclid.

"I think we are on time there," he explained. "We are acquiring homes and clearing sites and providing the open spaces needed for parks and playground expansion. This all takes time."

But the lack of any significant progress can be told in the street after street of abandoned homes.

Some are boarded up. Some have had fires in them, started by vagrants trying to keep warm at night. Others are used for playspots by youngsters.

"We know where the homes are and we can give anyone a list of them," said Councilman M. Morris Jackson, D–20. "We just want some action. We want them down."

Lister said some of the abandoned homes were not originally set for demolition. But tenants moved out and the vandals moved in, stripping the homes to the walls.

In some cases, all that remains are shells.

"We realize it is a shame to leave these homes up right between two other, well-kept homes," said Lister. "But we are now trying to move as fast as we can get them down."

Two months ago, at the urging of Representative CHARLES A. VANIK, D–21, William L. Slayton, Federal Urban Renewal Administrator, came to Cleveland to look at University-Euclid.

And he did not like what he saw.

"I know Cleveland has had problems, but work on University-Euclid has taken longer than it should have," said Slayton.

Slayton gave the city permission to tear down some abandoned homes, waiting later to acquire the titles to them.

"The Federal Government must move to protect the investments of the residents remaining in any urban renewal area," said Slayton.

Meanwhile, the children have left the streets and use the abandoned homes as playgrounds. Members of street clubs complain. Area councilmen complain.

[From the Cleveland Press, Feb. 15, 1965]

Urban Renewal Director James M. Lister has, according to the Plain Dealer, spent $5,170,000 in the University-Euclid project on 265 real estate parcels. That's an average of $19,509 per parcel. He has also spent $1,430,000 on planning, site improvement, and token rehabilitation. The visible results are 124 parcels cleared and 137 structures rehabilitated at an average cost of $5,480 per parcel.

Few, if any, property owners actually received $19,509 for their titles, and no single clearing or rehabilitation jobs actually cost $5,480 in public funds. The extra money, a large sum indeed, simply went into the pockets of Lister and members of his urban renewal organization in the form of salaries, and to their consultants in fees. In effect, these public funds were paid out for delaying as long, and doing as little, as the recipients could get away with over a period of 3 years. During the next 2 years, Lister will have $9,400,000 in Federal funds alone to spend.

In any other major city in the world, Lister's performance, tolerated by the mayor and council year after year, would be worthy of eventual punishment—but not in Cleveland. Lister continues as a civic leader and Cleveland's authority on urban renewal. He is believed and heeded as if he were a competent public official by everybody who counts.

Lister will quite likely expend the next $9,400,000 chiefly on organizational salaries and fees. He may retire, years hence, laden with honors, like Alfred A. Benesch. Depriving generations of Cleveland schoolchildren an adequate public education was worse than anything Lister has done to date, but Lister could match the Benesch public school board performance before he's through.

Incompetence in Cleveland public life is safe, profitable, and honored. It is good that the Plain Dealer is exposing incompetent officials in the Locher administration, but not enough. Incompetence must be rendered unsafe, unprofitable, and permanently dishonorable. Only Clevelanders themselves can do that. They can do it with long memories, fresh candidates, and short shrift for major incumbents at election times. The Plain Dealer could help then, too, and I hope it will.

JOHN BARDEN.

CLEVELAND.

[From the Cleveland Press, Feb. 18, 1965]

CRISIS IN HOUGH: POSITIVE STEPS MUST BE TAKEN TO STOP FURTHER DECAY IN AREA

(By Paul Lilley)

(Last of a series)

Solutions to the Hough area's persistent troubles, both human and physical, will not come easily or quickly.

In fact, solutions will not come at all, in the opinion of many who have been closest to the area's problems, unless:

The city takes positive steps immediately to halt further human and physical decay of the deteriorated neighborhood.

These steps are programs that could be started while the city administration is waiting for the report from experts who are forming a master plan of action. The report is due later this month.

Following are suggestions from councilmen in the area and in neighboring wards, from social workers, and from staff members of various assistance projects in Hough:

Additional police, including experts on juvenile crime, should be stationed in the area to make streets safe.

More inspectors should make regular checks of occupied houses and buildings and compel strict building code compliance.

City health officials should start an immediate sanitation campaign against rats, vermin, filth, garbage and rubbish that plague and overflow congested backyards.

Street sweepers and flushers of the service department should visit the area regularly. Retail store owners should be made to sweep sidewalks in front of their establishments.

A mass attack should be leveled at the area's welfare problems and all agencies, private and public, should be asked to pool their efforts and talents for an intensified people renewal program. A start on this has been made in the Community Action for Youth Program.

Board of zoning appeals should halt further building variances unless such proposals are in conformity with the overall renewal plan.

Municipal court judges should be more severe with violators and end long periods of legal delay.

Relief payments for rent might be paid directly to the landlord, instead of the recipient. This would assure the owner of some income for maintenance of his property.

Only last week Councilman George L. Forbes, a court-appointed receiver, asked the court's permission to board windows and close a 28-suite apartment building on the East Side because the tenants, all on relief, were behind in rent payments.

He said the income from the property was not enough to meet current tax, heat, and water bills.

These are but some of the general housekeeping steps that could be taken now to lend hope and encouragement in an area that needs more than promises.

[From the Cleveland Press, Feb. 18, 1965]

LOCHER ORDERS ATTACK ON FILTH, VANDALIZED BUILDINGS IN HOUGH

Mayor Locher today ordered an immediate attack on filth and vandalized buildings in the Hough area to restore residents' confidence that the city wants to better that community.

In a morning-long session with urban renewal and other city officials, Locher generally reviewed the deterioration in Hough.

He ordered Urban Renewal Director James Lister to proceed rapidly with demolition of abandoned, vandalized buildings that pockmark the area.

He ordered Safety Director John McCormick to increase police in Hough and to use sanitary police to attack the accumulations of refuse in backyards.

And he ordered Service Director Louis Drasler to clean up the area with streetsweepers and, if necessary, to recruit relief clients and arm them with shovels to do the job.

Urban Renewal Commissioner James Friedman, meantime, promised a full review of the city's slum clearance program especially the Hough and University-Euclid projects—would be held soon by council's urban renewal committee.

Committee members told Friedman they are concerned because the same blighting conditions that have inundated the Hough area are now starting to show in their congested wards.

They demanded to know what steps were being taken by the city administration to expedite the Hough renewal program and what is being done to prevent the spread of blight.

The plea for a review of the program followed Friedman's request for authority to demolish 11 properties which had been scheduled for rehabilitation.

When he was unable to say how many more structures, intended for rehabilitation, must now be destroyed because of rapid deterioration, the committee withheld action on his request until the review meeting.

Friedman said he hopes the meeting can be held next week.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Feb. 18, 1965]

URBAN RENEWAL IS A MESS

(By Philip W. Porter)

One of these days, not far off either, the phrase "urban renewal," which sounded so bright, beautiful and hopeful, is going to be a dirty word. Nationally, there are growing doubts about it. Here in Cleveland—let's face it—it's a mess.

It's a mess because the energy of the city urban renewal office has been directed primarily on Erieview, a downtown showplace whose urgent necessity was in doubt, and hence neglected the much more socially urgent University-Euclid project.

After 3 years, University-Euclid is now still only 42 percent cleared, and property supposed to be rehabilitated is only 6 percent done. The Hough area, a big part of it, has deteriorated so fast that it's doubtful even full speed ahead can catch it before it becomes as bad a slum as the worst of Harlem. It's already a disgrace.

"Slum clearance" is a fine phrase and represents a desirable objective. But "slum manufacture" better describes what incompetent and dopey urban renewal has done to the Hough area, which 30 years ago was one of the finest residential sections of Cleveland. Today it's a grim wasteland of abandoned houses, gradually being torn down for firewood, lived in by bums and played in by kids with no better place to play. The streets are littered with junk and abandoned autos.

Owners who wish to rehabilitate their property hesitate, because the decay next door becomes contagious.

I hope you've been reading Reporter Don Sabath's articles about how urban renewal hasn't got to first base in the Hough area. The University Circle part of the area is beginning to come along, although it, too, has been dragging. Recently, outside consultants and expenditures were brought in to do what Jim Lister's office should have done 2 years ago.

Hough has been deteriorating so fast in recent weeks that roving gangs of tough kids have been robbing elderly residents who are too ill or too poor to move. At night, no one in his right mind would walk through there, and increasingly, driving through there at night without locked doors is hazardous.

If full speed ahead had bought up the property and cleaned out the fast growing decay, perhaps some developer of apartment housing would have come along to take advantage of the deal whereby Government funds are used to confiscate private property, then offer it to others to be built on privately. It should have been full speed ahead, instead it's been a slow crawl.

The first target date to improve this Godforsaken area was 5 years. Don't bet that it will get done in 15. By that time, Hough will have become a political issue, and when the roof falls in, the mayor and the urban renewal director of that day are going to catch it in the neck. Maybe even sooner.

University-Euclid is today one of the worst flops in the whole national program. But there are others around the country. People are beginning to question why the program, which sounded so good, turned out so sour. Congressmen are reading "The Federal Bulldozer" a plain-speaking book by Martin Anderson, a young Columbia professor. They're wondering if the idea is really good, or just a disastrous waste of money.

[From the Cleveland Press, Aug. 30, 1965]

SUIT SAYS STALLING CUTS UNIVERSITY-EUCLID VALUES

(By Julian Krawcheck)

A suit filed in common pleas court today charged the city with deliberately stalling University-Euclid urban renewal in order to lower property values before acquisition by the city.

The suit, asking damages of $2,060,000, was filed by Milt Schulman, attorney for and president of Doan Properties Inc., in the form of a cross-petition to a foreclosure action brought against Doan and other defendants a year ago.

That action was instituted by Leonard J. Cowan and DeWitt Harvey, trustees for a group of mortgagees. Today's petition alleges that the city's policies have so reduced Doan's income that it cannot meet its mortgage obligations.

As a result, the suit states Doan faces loss of its equity in a group of properties in the Euclid Avenue-East 105th Street area including the Alhambra Theater, Euclid-105th Street market, a bowling lane, apartment house, parking lot, and several stores.

The value of these properties has dropped from $1,400,000 to $600,000 and the gross annual income from $225,000 to $160,000 by reason of the city's tactics, it is alleged.

Schulman's suit, which names Mayor Locher, Urban Renewal Director James M. Lister, and all members of city council as codefendants, notes that 5 years have passed since inception of Phase 1 of University Euclid, and says:

"It does not appear that the city of Cleveland intends to complete Phase 1 within a reasonably determinable future date. Furthermore, the city is as far from initiating phase 2, phase 3, and phase 4 as it was when the first general neighborhood renewal plan project was made.

The city * * * announced to the public that the area in question was and is a blighted area; that certain properties (including Doan's) would be purchased by the city and demolished immediately * * * thereby making same totally undesirable to sound, existing tenants and causing them to seek other quarters * * * all of which has greatly accelerated the decline in value of the property."

Schulman's petition says the Federal Government has provided means by which municipalities can acquire funds for early land acquisition in urban redevelopment areas and states:

The refusal of the city to acquire the property now is due to the fact that they have full knowledge that all properties affected are losing value by reason of their acts of omission and commission, and that the longer they delay purchasing the property the more it will decline in value, enabling the city to purchase at a value far less than the properties were worth prior to the announcement of the University-Euclid plan."

The suit seeks $800,000 for alleged depreciation of value of the property, $260,000 for alleged loss of rental income and $1,000,000 punitive damages.

Commenting on his legal action, Schulman said:

"This is the pattern Lister has practiced all through his acquisition of land for urban renewal—destroying land values by delaying the program and then buying up at a lower value.

"It happened in the Gladstone, St. Vincent and Woodland-East 79th Street areas, and it is a fraud.

The irony of the thing is that the city did not have to announce its plans, to declare the area blighted, in order to obtain Federal money for land acquisition.

"The Housing Act authorizes temporary and provisional loans to municipalities regardless of the stage of development of urban renewal plans and before or after the approval of such plans. The city used this procedure for land acquisitions in Erieview 2."

[From the Cleveland Press, Mar. 2, 1966]

Cleveland's Growing Pains: Circle, Hough Area Renewal Failing

(By Paul Lilley)

The East Side's trouble-riddled Hough and University-Euclid renewal project has shattered the hopes of the city's most ardent slum clearance supporters.

It is here in these 850 acres of misery—bounded by Chester and Superior Avenues, east of East 86th Street—that the city's 12-year slum clearance fight is at the crossroad.

It is here on this testing ground that the city's entire $57 million slum clearance program will be declared a success—or a bust.

The project (which to date has cost $14,500,000) is a failure in the view of unbiased observers.

Residents of the area know it. The Federal Government which is sharing in two-thirds of the cost, knows it. Some city officials reluctantly admit.

The project was started almost 4 years ago as the biggest and boldest neighborhood rehabilitation program in the country. It was to have spearheaded the rehabilitation of thousands of decaying dwelling units.

A handful of small property owners have fixed up their properties. The big job has not got off the ground. Even the city has not been able to show the area's residents what must be done.

Lending institutions have walked away. Fire insurance protection has been canceled. Property owners have abandoned their homes to vandals and the elements. Crime, filth, dilapidation and poverty haunt the area. Hundreds of stable homeowners have fled.

Last fall the city installed new street lighting, trees, sodded tree lawns and curbs on 11 demonstration streets to offer some hope to the area. Another 33 streets will get the same treatment this year. Construction of a 12-acre playfield at Crawford Road and Hough Avenue will start this spring.

But the big job—the thing that is needed the most—replacement housing for hundreds of large, low-income families is at a standstill.

Now, it is believed, rent subsidies with Uncle Sam paying the bill, would encourage the return of lending institutions and start the long-awaited housing rehabilitation program. Everyone seems to be marking time—waiting for Congress to act.

University-Euclid is the most glaring example of unresolved problems. There are other minuses in Cleveland's urban renewal story.

Gladstone—wracked by city hall indecision for more than a dozen years—is still rotting away while the city attempts to determine its final use.

More than $4 million has been spent to acquire and demolish 245 tumbling structures. Hundreds of families have been displaced. More than 145 others are awaiting city acquisition of their properties.

The frustrations of the area are summed up by Mrs. Josie Davis, a 68-year-old widow, who lives alone in her hovel at 4305 Mason Court. Her only friends and neighbors are stray mongrels left to roam the rat-infested wasteland.

She said: "Back in 1953 the city told us to do nothing to fix up our houses, that they were going to be purchased. I've waited. Nothing has happended. Looks like the city is waiting until my house falls down so it can be had for nothing."

East Woodland—started 7 years ago for residential rehabilitation and changed last year to industrial reuse. Council now is considering another switch—back to residential.

All but 60 of its homes have been acquired by the city. More than $2,308,000 has been spent. Nothing but demolition has been accomplished.

The 12-year, $57 million result:

More than 4,200 dwelling units have been demolished but only 1,912 new ones constructed.

Hundreds of property owners claim they have watched their life investment rot away and their neighborhood decay while awaiting promised help.

Scores of small businessmen complain their businesses have either failed or have been hopelessly crippled by long delays and broken promises.

Lawsuits are being filed, almost weekly, contesting the city's right to wreck neighborhoods, destroy property values and deprive owners of rightful income.

Irate councilmen, increasing in numbers, suggest calling a halt to the entire program arguing new slums are being created faster than old ones can be eliminated.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Mar. 16, 1966]

Locher Says City Needs $1 Billion U.S. Housing Aid

(By Sanford Watzman)

Washington.—Mayor Ralph S. Locher said yesterday Cleveland would need about $1 billion in Federal funds to become an effective "demonstration city" for the Nation.

Locher reluctantly gave this "very rough guess" at a hearing of the House Subcommittee on Housing, which is considering President Johnson's proposal to spark a rebuilding of cities.

The mayor said he was in accord with the President. But Locher doubted the $2.3 billion provided in the bill would be enough for the seven "demonstration cities" yet to be named.

Locher said Cleveland required $1 billion because Detroit had said it would need $2.5 billion. Until guidelines are established, no better estimate can be made, the mayor said.

Representative Paul A. Fino, Republican, of New York, asked Locher whether the Government should proceed with so expensive a program at a time of war in Vietnam. The mayor replied that both efforts were important.

"We're about to shoot a man to the moon," Locher said at one point, "but we'll be standing ankle-deep in sewage when we do it."

He ducked Fino's next question, which was: "Would you still favor this bill if it increased your income tax?"

Locher got into a heated exchange with Representative William B. Widnall, Republican of New Jersey, whose study of urban renewal in Cleveland has convinced him that it benefits business more than it benefits people.

The mayor denied that Cleveland's housing needs have been subordinated to the Erieview project. He cited the Longwood and Garden Valley projects, even East Ninth Street, as examples of "human renewal" in Cleveland.

But, he agreed with Widnall later that the city needs more new housing for slum residents.

Action by Vice President Humphrey and Thomas Vail, the publisher and editor of the Plain Dealer, has given Cleveland a headstart, Locher said.

He explained to the Congressmen that Vail had suggested a Federal official be designated in Cleveland to coordinate Federal programs in the city. Humphrey gave this assignment to John W. Lehman of the Labor Department in Cleveland.

At the same time, the mayor appointed Irwin L. Silbert to a new post as city hall representative in Washington.

[From the Cleveland Press, Apr. 2, 1966]

Renew Thinking on Urban Renewal

The front page article in the Press of March 24 on low-rent housing is the first article I have read which seemed to indicate that Cleveland is finally approaching seriously the long-neglected problem of the acute housing needs of her low-income residents, and especially of those living in her most blighted area, Hough.

With Bart Clausen in the driver's seat of urban renewal, there is belief that this will turn out to be more than just more unfulfilled hopes.

While we are suddenly concentrating our attention on the housing crises in our city's Negro ghettos, let us stop to ponder one of the very things which has caused it: urban renewal, better known to some as Negro removal, which has shunted the Negro from one area to another already overcrowded area, without his being allowed to remain or return to the "renewed" area.

Two such areas are the Wade-Springbrook and the Riverview Terrace public housing projects. Both stand on land that most recently was occupied predominantly by Negro residents. Both now are occupied predominantly by white families and white golden-agers.

If we are going to renew our city, we first need to renew our thinking. And we can begin by making Wade-Springbrook and Riverview Terrace more equitably available to those living in blighted ever-bulging Negro ghettos.

Mitsuko Marsh.

NATIONAL CEMETERY SYSTEM

Mr WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Bob Wilson] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a House joint resolution to establish a national cemeteries site selection advisory board to govern further development of the national cemetery system.

The Johnson administration has adopted the policy that there will be no further expansion of existing cemeteries at any location in the United States.

The Johnson administration takes the position that burial benefits such as those now payable by the Veterans' Administration and the social security system are preferable to the furnishing of burial facilities by the Government because the burial allowance programs are more equally available to all eligible persons. The Johnson administration estimates that some 40 million persons would be eligible for burial in national cemeteries under present regulations and the administration considers that the cost would be exorbitant.

I concur with the action taken by the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Disabled American Veterans in calling for immediate steps to provide adequate Government cemeteries to meet current needs and make provision to increase cemetery space as the demand requires.

I applaud the action of those who insist upon Government action to care for the deceased veterans who have served their country in time of war. The cost projections submitted by the Government agencies have been distorted and do not represent a true picture insofar as veteran burials are concerned. Statistics show that only about 40 percent of those eligible for burial in national cemeteries take advantage of the privilege, thereby lowering to a considerable degree the projection costs that have been made by Government officials.

Veterans are concerned, and justly so, over the fact that our national cemeteries have practically reached the saturation point and in a very few years there will be no areas where veterans can be buried in national cemeteries. I sincerely hope that my colleagues will insist upon passage of my joint resolution to carry on the time-honored custom of allowing veterans who have fought side by side to be interred side by side.

The text of my joint resolution is as follows:

H.J. Res. 1080

Joint resolution to establish a National Cemeteries Site Selection Advisory Board to govern further development of the national cemetery system

Whereas it is the policy and intent of Congress that a grateful Government of the United States in recognition of the loyalty, patriotism, and zeal of American servicemen in war and peace, maintain, enlarge, and expand a system of national cemeteries and continue the historic tradition, honor, and privilege of interment in a part of our beloved country so specifically dedicated: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "National Cemeteries Act of 1966."

Sec. 2. No new national cemetery shall be established, and no existing national cemetery shall be enlarged, except in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

Sec. 3. (a) There is hereby established a National Cemeteries Site Selection Advisory Board, the members of which shall be two Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House, two Members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate, and five members appointed by the President of the United States. Of the members appointed by the President, at least one member must be a veteran (as that status is defined in section 101(2) of title 38, United States Code) who is active in veterans affairs, and, at any one time, not more than two members may be officers or employees of an executive department or agency of the Federal Government.

(b) Members of the Board appointed by the President who are officers or employees of an executive department or agency of the Federal Government shall hold office at the pleasure of the President. The other members of the Board appointed by the President shall hold office for a term of five years, except that the President shall designate shorter terms of office for such other members first appointed so that no more than one term of office will terminate in the same year.

(c) Five members of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

(d) The members of the Board shall elect a Chairman from among their number and employ an Executive Secretary whose salary shall be such amount (but not to exceed the maximum rate provided by the Classification Act of 1949, as amended) as may be fixed by the Board. The Board may employ such other persons as it finds necessary for the conduct of its business and procure contract services in accordance with section 15 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a).

(e) Each member of the Board appointed by the President who is not an officer or employee of an executive department or agency of the United States shall receive $50 per diem when engaged in the performance of the duties vested in the Board. All other members of the Board shall serve without compensation in addition to that received from their services in the executive branch of the Federal Government or as Members of Congress, as the case may be. Each member of the Board while engaged away from his home or regular place of business in the performance of the duties vested in the Board may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73b–2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

(f) The Secretary of the Army shall assign, on a reimbursable or nonreimbursable basis, such personnel of the Department of the Army to assist the Board, and shall aid it in such other manner, as the Board requests and as is compatible with the other duties of such Department.

Sec. 4. (a) The Board shall advise and report to the Congress on the suitability of any site proposed for use as a national cemetery. In so doing, it shall make an estimate of the cost of establishing or enlarging, as the case may be, the national cemetery, and it shall take into account the location of the proposed site, the number of people residing within a convenient distance from the proposed site who are eligible for burial in a national cemetery, the proximity and accessibility of other national cemeteries, the need for the establishment of additional national cemeteries or the enlargement of existing ones, and other pertinent factors.

(b) A copy of the Board's report on each proposal for the establishment or enlargement of a national cemetery shall be furnished to the Secretary of the Army. The Board shall not recommend the establishment or enlargement of a national cemetery if the estimated cost to the United States for land acquisition and development is more than $1,000,000. If the Board's report recommends the establishment or enlargement of a national cemetery, the Secretary of the Army shall report to the Congress his concurrence or nonconcurrence in the Board's recommendations within sixty days of his receipt of the Board's report. If the Secretary reports nonconcurrence in the recommendations of the Board, he shall state his reasons therefor.

(c) If the Secretary of the Army concurs in the recommendations of the Board, he may acquire the site and proceed with its development as a national cemetery, as soon as the necessary funds become available for that purpose.

Sec. 5. (a) The Secretary of the Army may accept, on behalf of the United States, donations of land and of funds for the development, operation, and maintenance of national cemeteries, in accordance with this Act, expend such funds for the purposes for which they are donated, and return unexpended and uncommitted portions thereof to the donors if those purposes cannot be carried out. He may also accept transfers of jurisdiction over land (including public land) owned by the United States and useful for national cemetery purposes, and the head of any executive department or agency of the Federal Government having jurisdiction over such land is authorized to transfer it to the Secretary of the Army for this purpose.

(b) The Secretary of the Army shall, whenever an offer of donation of land or of money for the purchase of land for a national cemetery is made to him, or whenever land owned by the United States becomes available for this purpose, notify the National Cemeteries Site Selection Advisory Board.

Sec. 6. The following provisions of law are hereby repealed: Sections 4870, 4871, and 4872 of the Revised Statutes (24 U.S.C. 271, 272, 273); the Act of June 29, 1938 (24 U.S.C. 271a); the Act of August 4, 1947 (24 U.S.C. 281a–c); the Act of March 10, 1950 (24 U.S.C. 281d–f); and the Act of August 10, 1950 (24 U.S.C. 281g).

Sec. 7. Nothing contained in this Act shall affect the development of lands which were acquired or designated for national cemetery purposes before the date of enactment of this Act.

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE AT PUBLIC HEARINGS

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Ellsworth] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, the recent action of the Department of Commerce, slapping export controls on cattle hides, is of continuing concern to me. I include, as part of my remarks, testimony before the Secretary of Commerce at public hearings on April 19.

Statement of Hon. Robert Ellsworth, Member of Congress From Kansas, at a Public Hearing to the Secretary of Commerce, April 19, 1966

I commend the Secretary of Commerce for scheduling public hearings today, to give all interested parties an opportunity to present their views on the critically important matter of export controls of cattle hides. My statement is very brief, and to the point:

1. The control program has not been effective in fighting inflation—3 weeks after the export quotas were imposed, manufacturers participating in the National Shoe Fair announced increases that will add an estimated $1 to $2 a pair to the retail prices of men's and women's shoes.

2. While shoe prices increase, hide prices (and cattle prices) have fallen at home and at the same time gone up in the overseas markets that rely on American exports.

3. The export control program cuts down U.S. exports and adds unmistakably to the deterioration of our balance of payments—this at a time when the prestige and strength of the dollar as the free world's key currency are of crucial importance.

To sum up:

1. Shoe manufacturers are profiting by the export control order.

2. Domestic cattle producers are suffering.

3. Our Nation's balance of payments has been given an unnecessary kick in the teeth.

I urge the Secretary of Commerce to reconsider and remove export controls on cattle hides.

COMPLETE REVIEW OF THE DRAFT NEEDED NOW: A BILL FOR A JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN MANPOWER AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Curtis] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the system used by the United States to obtain manpower for its armed services is inequitable and undemocratic, a patchwork of special exemptions and requirements which neither serve the best interest and needs of the Nation's Armed Forces nor the best overall usage of our human resources.

Responsible congressional committees have consistently ignored their obligation to review the Selective Service System in terms of its impact on the Nation's resources of skilled manpower as well as in terms of supplying the military with able men and women. But this has not been the fault of Republicans, who have urged such a review periodically during the last few years.

On April 21, 1964, 15 Republican Members took the floor of the House to demand a full investigation and review of the military manpower procurement system based on the draft. These Congressmen were Messrs. Gerald R. Ford, Lindsay, Bray, Ostertag, Findley, Morse, Halpern, Quie, Taft, Ellsworth, Schwengel, Wilson of California, Cleveland, Del Clawson, and myself. At the same time I introduced a bill to create a Joint Congressional Committee on American Manpower and National Security. This committee would have been composed of 12 Members, 6 from the House and 6 from the Senate. The Members would have been chosen from the House and Senate Armed Services Committees, and the House Labor and Education Committee and Senate Labor and Public Works Committee.

It is important to note that the emphasis of this proposal for a joint committee is that the problem of military manpower is intimately linked with problems of manpower training and availability in the private sector.

Catching wind of this Republican initiative in the House, President Johnson on April 18, 1964, called a sudden press conference to announce that he had "today drafted and approved the plans for a very comprehensive study of the draft system and of related manpower policies submitted to me by the Secretary of Defense. This study will consider alternatives to the present draft selection system." From his comments the President clearly understood that the need for a draft was being criticized, and that proposals among others for an alternative system, such as a professional army, were being formulated and discussed.

The President ordered at his April 18, 1964, press conference that the review of the draft "be completed in 1 year." This study is now fully a year overdue.

In March 1965, Jack Raymond, reporter for the New York Times, wrote that the study had been completed. It is reported that it has been shown confidentially to the chairmen of the House and Senate Armed Services Committees, Congressman Rivers and Senator Russell. But the Secretary of Defense has refused to make his study public, as I and others have requested.

On March 2, 1966, 30 Republican Members of the House, myself included, urged the Armed Services Committee to move ahead quickly to fulfill its promise that it would hold public hearings to examine into the draft. As an April 8 editorial in the New York Herald Tribune stated:

> Republicans very generously offered to withhold demands for a full-scale investigation of the draft until General Hershey had had a chance to testify before the Rivers committee. But so far there has not even been an appearance by General Hershey. The Republicans and other critics, and the public, are waiting.

It is time to stop waiting and to act. The Universal Military Training Act, which is the nondescriptive label for what is essentially a draft law, pure and simple, is neither universal, military, nor training. There is little question that the high incidence of personnel turnover in the Military Establishment results in higher costs and inferior personnel quality. It has been clear for some time that the inequities in the present law and the great increase in the draft age population, plus technological changes in the Armed Forces, require a major reexamination of how to select, recruit, and retain the numbers of men that are needed annually.

It may be argued that the Vietnam war has so changed circumstances since April 1964, that the United States is bound to adhere to the present draft system unchanged. Certainly the options for change have been somewhat narrowed. It is foolhardy that successive administrations have refused to repair the leaks in the barn roof during sunny weather. Now, the storms of war are claimed to prevent real action to mend the wrongs, and a psychology of standpat has taken hold in official minds.

I argue that the exigencies of war and the continually growing demand for able manpower both for war and domestic production is even greater reason for a review of the present system now.

The practice of giving deferrals from service based on scholastic ability is just as undemocratic as allowing deferrals based on an individual's wealth. It would be far more equitable to use a lottery system of choice, as was done in World War I. At least under that system every man had an equal chance. An editorial in the April 15 Forbes magazine argues that lottery system is still the "only one truly fair way to select those eligible." With consent a copy of this editorial follows my remarks. The present system is not only undemocratic and discriminatory but it denies to the armed services our most able men—the men whose abilities we need most in any war effort. The present system creates other obvious distortions—such as promoting early marriage, and giving an incentive for couples to have children in order to evade the draft. The evasion mentality takes deep root in such circumstances.

Thus, today, I am reintroducing with some changes my bill introduced in the 88th Congress to create a Joint Congressional Committee on American Manpower and National Security.

Such Joint Committee is instructed by the bill to "make a comprehensive study and investigation of the present and future importance of American manpower to national security and the American Military Establishment," including the following:

First. The number of skills of persons in the United States qualified for gainful employment, in relation to the Nation's military and civilian manpower needs.

Second. Present methods of military manpower procurement, their administration, and the equitability of their application to the youth of the Nation, and possible alternative methods of military manpower procurement for the Nation.

Third. The cost of present and alternative methods of procurement, training, and employment of members of the Military Establishment, and the amount, nature and effectiveness of training now offered by the armed services.

Fourth. The contribution, if any, made by the present system of military manpower procurement and by the present utilization of human resources within the Military Establishment to the growth of practices to evade military service among the Nation's youth. This provision would be an effort to assess the psychological impact of the present selective system on youths.

Fifth. The use of the Universal Military Training and Service Act to impose sanctions on individuals, without the protections of the judicial process. This provision would insure that the serious problem of the use of the selective service system to punish at will those who defy it by reclassification would be examined into by the Joint Committee.

The Joint Committee would be bipartisan, composed of 12 members appointed equally from the House and Senate by the Speaker of the House and the President pro tempore of the Senate. Two members from both the House and Senate Armed Services Committees, two members from the House Education and Labor Committee, and two members from the Senate Labor and Public Works Committee would be appointed. The remaining four members would be appointed, two from each House.

The problem of the theory and operation of the Selective Service System is of urgent national concern. It must be examined with the greatest intensity. For too long inequities in the present system have been allowed to exist. In peacetime there was less pressure to reevaluate the system because servicemen were not dying. Today large numbers of men are required daily to risk their lives for their country. There can be no discrimination among those with greater or less scholastic ability when it comes to an obligation to risk life. All able Americans should be called on equally to share this burden and equally to take this risk.

[From the Forbes magazine, Apr. 15, 1966]

DO IT BY LOT

Young men in college today are under intense scholastic pressure without having more, totally iniquitous heat from the Selective Service System.

I quite agree that in a democratic society it is unfair to exempt from the draft those who can afford college.

But I think it is as unfair as it is inhuman to take into the service only those collegians who are in the lower half or quarter of their class. Do we as a Nation really think that only the less bright should serve in uniform and safeguard our country?

Of course not.

Yet that is exactly what the present plan for expanding the draft to include collegians implies.

There is only one truly fair way to select those eligible physically and mentally—by lot.

The luck of the draw—and not a young man's luck in the apportioning of brains and means—should determine who gets drafted.

CEREMONY AT PARIS NATIONAL SHRINE

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I received, today, a cable from Jacques Chastenet and Edmond Giscard d'Estaing, president and former president respectively of the France-America Committee in Paris, stating they will seek a meeting with Pierre Messmer, French Minister of the Armies, in order to urge reconsideration of the French Government decision to bar from Les Invalides, a French national shrine, ceremonies honoring the memory of Sgt. Russell Kelly, of Altoona, Pa., the first American fatally wounded in the liberation of Paris.

In a cable a few days before to M. Giscard d'Estaing, I had urged the France-America Committee to use its influence to persuade the French Government to reconsider its reported decision to bar this ceremony. Expressing great concern with the rising tide of anti-French feelings in this country and being aware of the impact of today's press, radio, and TV, I noted that the good will between France and America built up over centuries could be destroyed very quickly. I suggested that by reversing this decision France could set a tone of magnanimity and friendship which hopefully will inspire our Government to follow suit.

Here is a translation of the cable received today:

> We are asking a meeting with Mr. Messmer, Minister of the Armies, in order to urge the action you advocate.
>
> JACQUES CHASTENET,
> *President.*
> EDMOND GISCARD D'ESTAING,
> *Former President, France-America Committee.*

At this same ceremony last year I had helped to place at the Kelly Memorial in Paris a wreath presented by the Paris-American Legion Post No. 1. I was in Paris as chairman of the four-member factfinding mission sent by the Republican conference of the U.S. House of Representatives to study NATO problems and the reasons for the widening rift between France and the United States.

The mission was entertained by the 50-year-old France-America Committee at a luncheon in Paris and also had a lengthy cordial and helpful conference with Mr. Messmer.

COMMUNISM IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, Allan C. Brownfeld has written an excellent article which appears in Christian Economics. It deals with the Communist efforts to infiltrate the peace movement.

It is distressing to see the propaganda barrage of those like Staughton Lynd who profess to the "new left" in American politics. There is nothing new about him. His parents were at the front of the pro-Communist ranks in the past decades and their son is nothing more than a second generation of the old radical pro-Communist left.

Mr. Brownfeld puts this matter in proper perspective and I call this article to the attention of all Members of this body. The article follows:

COMMUNISM IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT

(By Allan C. Brownfeld)

The peace movement, one critic stated, has become little more than an institutionalized defense of Communist aims in Asia.

The spokesman was not a Senate investigator or an employee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It was, instead, Philip Altbach, a Ford Foundation Fellow at the University of Chicago, and president from 1959 to 1964 of the Student Peace Union, a pacifist group.

Writing in the New America, official publication of the Socialist Party, Altbach stated: "* * * while the protest movement has succeeded in attracting fairly substantial support, much of its success has been gained by appealing to the miniscule left, while ignoring rather strong dissenting trends in the liberal community * * * there is a strong undercurrent in the protest movement which tends to view a Vietcong victory as a positive aim. There has been little criticism of the terror of the Vietcong and very few have pointed out that the National Liberation Front imposes high taxes on the peasants and despite substantial popular support it is by no means a democratic movement. The strident chorus of anti-Americanism has had the effect of presenting a one-sided view of the situation * * * a substantial part of the Vietnam protest movement is not a peace movement at all, but rather supports the Communist side in the conflict."

This assessment marks the beginning of a realization by old-line pacifists that the current antiwar movement is not one which opposes force, but is one which merely opposes the use of force against communism. The new pro-Communist groups came to the leadership of the antiwar movement with the march on Washington on April 17, 1965, and ever since then Communists have been welcomed and included in their ranks of opposition.

The Students for a Democratic Society, largest of the protest groups, included in their Port Huron statement of 1962 a denunciation of "colonialism, communism, and anticommunism." This past summer SDS, meeting in convention, eliminated from its constitution clauses barring "advocates and apologists of totalitarianism" and opposing "authoritarianism both of communism and of the domestic right" because they felt that such provisions were "negative and exclusionary" and smacked of "Red baiting." Thus, SDS, which claims a membership of 3,000 in 90 chapters around the country, and a national staff of 12 people with an annual budget of $80,000, welcomes Communists as members and participants.

Paul Booth, the group's national secretary, makes clear the view of SDS with regard to communism: "It's not very descriptive to say that the Vietcong are Communists and therefore we have to kill them. The Communist nations are not a threat to us. The United States is more of a threat to the sovereignty of the peoples of the world than Communist China."

The pre-April 1965 peace movement is as much a subject of attacks as are those who support the administration's policy in Vietnam. Such groups have been labeled "* * * organizations whose peace activities are confined within the bounds of cold war policies and anticommunism, and who have been trying for years to convince various sections of the power structure and the administration that the best way to fight the holy war for U.S. hegemony in the world is with a little less blood and nuclear danger. That is the line which dominated the old peace movement for years * * *." This statement appeared in an article by Fred Halstead in the pro-Communist newspaper, the Militant. It marks a clear admission that the current dominating forces in the antiwar coalition are joined together not by a love for peace, and moral objection to force, but by an affirmative belief that the triumph of communism is a worthy goal.

Many leading liberals who are not pacifists, but who respect a genuine pacifism which condemns all who use force equally, have risen to attack those who parade as lovers of peace while at the same time refraining from any call for peace from world communism.

Such an individual is Prof. John Roche of Brandeis University, a former national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action. Attacking what he termed "part-time pacifism" Professor Roche stated: "What particularly disturbs me is the growth of part-time pacifism, or liberal isolationism. Fine liberals, who would storm Congress to aid a beleaguered Israel, suddenly shift gears when Asia is involved and start talking about 'the inevitability of Chinese domination' and the 'immorality' of bombing North Vietnam. Let me make it perfectly clear that a pacifist can on principle argue that the use of force in international affairs is immoral. Though I do not hold this position, I recognize its principled foundation. But a pacifist is thus forbidden by his moral imperatives from having any favorite wars."

A special interview with President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam by British correspondent James Cameron evidenced the fact that Communist leaders feel that the American peace movement is representative of majority sentiment in this country. The North Vietnamese leader said: "* * * The whole democratic-thinking faction of the Western World is behind us. There is Norman Morrison, who burned himself to death for us. There is Bertrand Russell. How can you deny these people?" Cameron points out that the immolation of Morrison, the young Quaker who burned himself to death in front of the Pentagon November 2 in a protest against the war, was so electrifying to the North Vietnamese that even weeks after his death demonstrations were being held in his honor.

Despite the clear fact that the overwhelming majority of Americans do support the policy of resistance to aggression, many have been given the impression that opposition is widespread, and that the protestors represent a large number of citizen. In addition, many honest citizens who desire peace have mistakenly associated themselves with organizations which do not seek peace but which, by their own admission, support the efforts of the Vietcong to assume power in South Vietnam.

TROUBLES OF THE OEO

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Derwinski] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there is not a program which is subject to more controversy than the so-called war on poverty or, as it is officially known, the Office of Economic Opportunity.

In south Cook County, Ill., the area basically within my congressional district, the poverty program has been especially ineffective. However, it is not my purpose to offer personal criticism of the program but merely to report to the House the comments of knowledgeable observers. I therefore submit for the Record as part of my remarks an editorial which appeared in the Saturday, April 9, edition of the Suburban Eagle, a newspaper substantially devoted to the Negro residents of south suburban Cook County:

Troubles of the OEO

The manner south Cook County's Office of Economic Opportunity is losing its directors brings to mind the method rats use to save their worthless hides when the ship they're riding on begins to sink.

This paper has exhausted its resources in an attempt to arouse the indigent and to bring focus on the discouraging manner a group of power-seeking, middle-class do-gooders have completely frustrated the poor people seeking opportunity to participate in the community action program.

The present condition of the Harvey office of south Cook County's OEO is a clear indication of Mr. Frederick McClendon's inability as executive director.

While it is not our intent to indicate how the Cook County Office of Economic Opportunity should conduct its business, the people of this area are wondering if the south Cook County Office is really necessary.

We have observed proposals ripped apart at the regional level—proposals that were drawn up and processed by staff directors of Cook County of Economic Opportunity adhering to guidelines of that Office, which at the regional level don't mean a hill of beans.

Mr. McClendon is not entirely to blame for "fiddling while Rome burns." The directors he so carefully handpicked, share equally. Mr. John Rackauskas, director of research, a young lad in his twenties, was first fiddler, Ted Fleming, community developer, who plays the bull fiddle, Alonzo Davis, coordinator, who replaced our own dear Mary Inger who came back to south Cook to do the job free that she felt she couldn't do when on south Cook's payroll.

The whole situation of Mr. McClendon's Office is a joke—the governing board, the executive board, the steering committee, and the task force—all who seem to care little for the well-being of the people they serve—or whether or not this community is receiving its money's worth.

These matters are important and we are anxiously awaiting some explanation of the nature of the activities of South Cook's office.

Mr. Speaker, in addition, there is other editorial comment worthy of attention which is somewhat different but equally penetrating in its observations. I submit for the Record as part of my remarks an editorial which appeared on Sunday, April 17, in the Harvey Tribune, one of the major suburban newspapers in south Cook County, having extensive circulation in numerous communities where the poverty program has been floundering:

No One Is Winning the War on Poverty

No one is winning the war on poverty and no one knows that better than the poor. Over a hundred representatives of poverty neighborhoods crowded into a borrowed office next door to the South Cook County Office of Economic Opportunity in Harvey Wednesday morning to complain to the poverty generals on that very point.

The top general, Executive Director Frederick E. McClendon, admitted to the angry group that his aids weren't doing their job and that there were many things going wrong with the war. He admitted that no attacks had been made on poverty fronts and stated that he needed a bigger staff to help turn the tide against poverty.

There are several reasons behind the lack of accomplishment in this battle and most of them were revealed by the publication of a report last Tuesday by a private consulting firm.

The report contended that the country's antiproverty office has developed no effective programs, that its operations are rife with internal confusion and floundering, and that there is a lack of leadership both within the staff and in the policymaking citizen's governing board.

It appears to us that OEO is conducting a war on poverty without two essential ingredients for winning any battle: foot soldiers and a knowledge of the enemy.

Any military leader will tell you that it is impossible to conquer an enemy without foot soldiers and the first subject the Army teaches its recruits is know the enemy.

According to the critical report and McClendon's admissions at the Wednesday meeting, the OEO is conducting its war with a lot of highly-salaried generals from a Chicago command post full of proposals, battle plans and maps. Yet, nothing shows out in the poverty areas.

Many of the reasons for this failure cannot be found in a written report. They must be lived with to be understood.

The problems that the OEO faces in ridding the south suburban area of poverty are almost insurmountable and it may well be that the entire program is too idealistic to work. It may be impossible to eradicate the conditions which have existed for so long with a program of this type.

There are entire areas in Cook County without adequate water, sewage, and electrical facilities. There are 2-room apartments with 10 people living in them. Disease, drug addiction, ignorance, and low moral standards are prevalent.

The people in these areas are angry, skeptical, and discouraged. They have heard about others in similar situations receiving benefits and they want their share. It may even be stated that they want more than their share, or to put it another way they want everything they can get without charge.

As one woman put it: "I don't want your proposals or your ideas or your big words—I want your money." And that is a large part of the problem. Who is to say that if they get this money, it won't be floundered away and wasted?

There are many people who advocate turning the war on poverty funds over to the poor for management. We wonder what sort of reasoning has been used to arrive at this philosophy because we find it hard to believe that these people are capable of handling this money any more than they have handled their own budgets.

It is true that they know what they need better than the generals downtown, but if they are capable of assuming posts on poverty councils set up to aline funds, they should also be capable of pulling themselves out of their own poverty situation.

The war on poverty program needs professional leadership if it is going to succeed and that leadership is needed in the field, not in an office in downtown Chicago.

You can't win a war unless you send foot soldiers into the territory who know the enemy.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, I submit an article for inclusion in the Record as part of my remarks which was included in the Harvey Tribune on April 17 and which was based on a report ordered by the Cook County Office of Economic Opportunity and made by A. L. Nellum & Associates of Chicago:

Nellum Report: The OEO History in South Cook Suburbs

The Cook County antipoverty program was created by Cook County board president, Seymour Simon, in January 1965. Prior to that time, starting in the fall of 1964, a number of meetings had been held, mainly through the initiative of the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago and interested citizen groups and individuals from south Cook County who saw the need for an antipoverty program in suburban Cook County.

The welfare council felt that a countywide metropolitan program covering both Chicago and the suburban areas would be most advantageous. However, following discussions with city officials, it was decided that it would be too difficult to coordinate the Chicago program with that of the suburbs. The creation of the Cook County economic opportunity program established a unified suburban program to operate outside of Chicago.

Because of the wide variety and large geographical area, it was felt that suburban Cook County could not be planned for as a single community, and that the south, west, and north represented three distinct geographic areas for planning purposes. South Cook, with the greatest concentration of obvious poverty, was viewed as the place to start the antipoverty program. In addition, most of the planning for the suburban antipoverty efforts had taken place in south Cook, and this region led the rest of the county in the development of a program.

Beginning January 1965, Seymour Simon appointed Patrick O'Block interim director of the countywide program. O'Block was mayor of south suburban Hazel Crest and also civil defense director for the county. Mrs. Mary Inger, a former president of the Migrant Workers Council in southern Cook County and former staff assistant to State Representative Anthony Scariano, was also appointed as coordinator of the south Cook office. Mrs. Inger's appointment was made at the recommendation of the welfare council.

In March 1965, the county board of commissioners officially established the Cook County Office of Economic Opportunity. The March resolution provided for a 15-member governing board and three steering committees, one in the south, north and west. Three members of the governing board were to be appointed by the county board president and four to be appointed by each of the three steering committees. (The establishment of steering committees in the north and west was not to be undertaken without the approval of the county commissioners.)

In order, to start the program, a planning and development grant was requested from the Federal Government to cover 6 months of operation. The Washington grant was approved May 25, 1965.

The receipt of funds was delayed, however, until a legal opinion could be obtained from the State's attorney's office as to the legality of the creation of the Cook County Office of Economic Opportunity. The decision establishing the legality of the office was not rendered until September 1965. The actual letter of credit for the issuance of funds was not established until October 1965.

In all, Washington supplied $111,351 in Federal funds; and the Cook County board appropriated $15,000 for matching funds.

The grant provided for a planning staff to work initially in south Cook County, with the provision that such staff would be freed to work countywide as the needs developed in north and west. The planning staff consisted of the following positions:

One educational services planning director.

One employment services planning director.

One community services director.

One social services planning director.

One research director.

Additional staff positions included a coordinator, 4 community service workers, 16 part-time neighborhood workers, and clerical and maintenance staff for the south Cook office.

Included in the original application was a program component for the recruitment of volunteers to assist in antipoverty programs in south Cook County. This program, known as Vision, was under the auspices of the South Cook County Human Relations Council.

A press release from the Washington OEO office announcing the grant on May 13, 1965, said in part: "a development grant under the community action program can be used to hire, if necessary, a director and minimum staff to survey a community's problems and needs; to study existing programs affecting the poor, to form a community action group if one does not exist, to develop programs that meet the most pressing needs first, to involve the poor as active planners and advisers, and to survey local resources that might finance poverty projects."

The original notion of beginning work in south Cook County before planning for the other two regions was a realistic one. However, antipoverty councils and local community groups had already been formed in the north and west to determine poverty needs in their areas. Thus, developments in the north and west crystallized before staff was hired and put to work in south Cook.

The newly organized north steering committee formally petitioned the county commissioners for recognition and approval in August 1965. A similar citizen development took place in west Cook County, and the temporary steering committee for the west Cook petitioned for recognition at the same time.

The county board of commissioners formally recognized the west Cook and north Cook steering committees in September 1965.

In the meantime, Patrick O'Block resigned as interim director of the program and Frederick McClendon, former assistant chief of the civil division in the U.S. attorney's office in Chicago, was hired as executive director in July 1965.

In effect, the new executive director inherited a situation which included:

(1) A funded planning grant with none of the funds having been released through the county controller's office;

(2) A structure which he did not create, including:

(a) A governing board with three public representatives and four members appointed from the south Cook steering committee;

(b) A steering committee, four task force groups, and antipoverty councils in south Cook;

(c) Temporary steering committees and antipoverty councils and local groups in the north and west; and

(3) A summer Headstart program, processed directly through the OEO regional office, which was operating in several communities throughout the county.

Although the planning grant provided for six professional staff members, the only position filled at the time that the new director was hired was that of the coordinator of south Cook.

The executive director subsequently hired two professional persons to fill the positions of educational services planning director and research director.

There was much floundering and confusion on the part of staff. The coordinator resigned in November 1965, citing as her reasons the lack of activity and accomplishments in the program. The educational services planning director was dismissed in January 1966 for unsatisfactory job performance.

Although a community director was hired in December 1965, the research director was the only professional person who had been on the job more than 3 months during the time of the investigation.

The executive director requested an extension of the original program development grant to February 28. With virtually no programs developed and with an approaching deadline for the application of a conduct and administration grant for the Cook County OEO office; and in the face of mounting complaints and criticism, the Midwest regional office of OEO suggested that the executive director hire an independent consulting firm to make an objective appraisal of the structure, planning, program priorities, and planning process of the agency.

Under the terms of a contract signed on January 28, 1966, with the Cook County Office of Economic Opportunity, A. L. Nellum and Associates agreed to make such an analysis, including recommendations which would strengthen the organizational structure and facilitate planning. The Nellum report will be presented in the next edition of the Tribune.

Mr. Speaker, our colleagues serving on the Education and Labor Committee have repeatedly asked the chairman for a thorough, objective review of the poverty program throughout the country. From this brief commentary I have supplied you on the situation in south suburban Cook County, if it is at all typical of the nationwide situation, a thorough review of the program and a housecleaning of the agency appears in order.

HIS EMINENCE, JOSEPH CARDINAL BERAN, S.T.D., ARCHBISHOP OF PRAGUE

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Derwinski] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Beran, Archbishop of Prague, is currently touring the United States. Cardinal Beran is, in effect, exiled from his native country by the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia. His visit to the United States has special significance in that the freedom of speech and freedom of religion that have been denied his flock in Czechoslovakia are available here in our land where the Americans of Czech and Slovak descent courageously fight for the traditions of their homeland against its present Communist tyrants. I submit as part of my remarks a biographic sketch of Cardinal Beran which contains additional information concerning his career as well as his present visit in the United States:

His Eminence, Joseph Cardinal Beran, S.T.D., Archbishop of Prague

Joseph Beran, son of a teacher, was born in Pilsen (western Bohemia), Czechoslovakia on December 29, 1888. He spent his youth in Pilsen, and was an ardent Sokol (a gymnastic organization). In his school and college years he showed great admiration for art, music, and song. His seminary years were spent in Rome and on March 10, 1911, was ordained to the priesthood. One year later, in Rome, he received his doctor's degree in theology. After World War I, as a professor of theology, he taught at various schools at Prague. In the year of 1929, he became an assistant professor and in 1939 he became professor of theology at the Charles University of Prague. In 1932 he was appointed rector of the Archdiocesan Seminary of Prague, which position he held until he was elevated as archbishop.

During World War II, as an opposer of Nazism, he was arrested by the Gestapo June 6, 1942, and was imprisoned for 3 months at Fort Terezin (Theresienstadt) and then was transferred to the famous concentration camp of Dachau, Bavaria. On April 29, 1945, he was liberated by the American Army. Garbed in prison clothes, he received an old uniform from an American GI, in which he returned to Prague and immediately reopened his seminary.

On November 5, 1946, Pope Pius XII elevated Joseph Beran as archbishop of Prague. The Archepiscopate of Prague is over 600 years old. Joseph Beran is the 33d archbishop of Prague and 50th descendant of the See of St. Adalbert; a Czech bishop and great apostle of the Hungarians and Poles. (The Episcopate of Prague had been established over 1,000 years ago.)

Edward Benes, President of the Czechoslovak Republic, decorated Archbishop Beran on November 14, 1946, with the highest orders of the Republic (Cross of War and Military Medal, 1st class)—as a merit for his struggles for liberty and national independence.

On December 8, 1946, at the Cathedral of St. Vitus in Prague, the Papal Nuncio Saverio Ritter consecrated Joseph Beran as archbishop. Archbishop Beran has taken for his motto "Eucharistia et Labor." The new archbishop became a very popular and beloved person in Czechoslovakia. He was a pioneer of ecumenism and two decades before the opening of the Second Vatican Council, he practiced some of the ideas of the council.

During the Communist coup d'etat in February of 1948 in Czechoslovakia, Archbishop Beran was the only important person who publicly warned the people of future events.

On February 25, 1948, the archbishop delivered a proclamation; "Archbishop, do not remain silent," in which he reminded the people of the terrible consequences by the liquidation of democracy and oppression of liberty. He pleaded with the people not to destroy the works of the president, liberator, T. G. Masaryk and President Benes, founders of the Czechoslovak Republic.

But to no avail * * * the Iron Curtain came down over Czechoslovakia. In May of 1948, due to illness, President Benes abdicated and the following September in Sezimovo Usti, Archbishop Beran with Joseph Hlouch, bishop of Budejovice, laid President Benes to his final rest.

Communists increased in their persecution of the Catholic Church and meddled in the church affairs. They also introduced new laws in order to curtail the rights of the bishops, and attempted to separate the Catholics of Czechoslovakia from the Holy See. Archbishop Beran as the head and speaker of the Czechoslovakia hierarchy tried to avoid the conflict with the new regime as long as it would not interfere with the principles and rights of the church, but the good will of the archbishop was in vain. Within a year these controversies have changed into a fearful fight in which the Communists used the worst tactics of terror against priests and laymen. June 1949, Archbishop Beran and all the bishops of Czechoslovakia were summoned to swear loyalty to the Communist regime and put the church under control of the administration of the state, but the bishops refused. June 14, 1949, the police occupied the residence and the office of Archbishop Beran and seized the archepiscopate seal.

June 18, 1949, the archbishop preached to his flock for the last time at the ancient monastery Strahov. In his sermon he stated: I solemnly proclaim before God and the nation that I will never underwrite anything that would violate the liberty and rights of the church. No matter what happens, and what ever they tell you, do not believe that I have capitulated. After the sermon, the people of Prague, resisting the police, gave him an enormous ovation. The following day (Sunday) the Communists commanded hordes, and with the support of the police forced their way into St. Vitus Cathedral during his services, with jeers, stamping their feet, and using amplifiers to drown out the sermon of Archbishop Beran. In spite of the jeering and horrible chaos, Beran's words were heard: I will never sign anything that will violate the rights of the church and the basic human rights. The congregation sang the national anthem and the Medieval Choral of St. Wenceslaus (patron of the Czech nation) * * * Archbishop Beran on returning to his residence was surrounded by the police. At that moment, the people of Prague have seen their archbishop for the last time * * * and for the last time were shouting with tears in their eyes: Long live our hero shepherd. We believe in you. We love you. We will never betray you.

Then the following events could be called the Calvary of the Czechoslovak Catholics. The archbishop was held in custody at his residence and all contacts with the outside world were abolished. The bishop's chanceries of all dioceses in Czechoslovakia were occupied by the police and government commissars, ousting all the bishops and taking over the duties of the diocesan administration. More than one-third of the priests were gradually imprisoned, all the monasteries were liquidated and all the monks were confined into jails and concentration camps. The nuns were ousted from the schools, orphanages, and hospitals and sent to farms, factories, quarries, and brickyards.

Important priests and representatives of religious orders were sentenced at the monster trials as the worst criminals. The Communists expected that under this pressure Archbishop Beran would capitulate. After a year and a half of fruitless waiting the Communist Government ousted Archbishop Beran from Prague on March 10, 1951, to an unknown place. The other bishops were also transported by force and interned.

The Communists held Beran captive for 14 years, transferring him from place to place. They never ventured to put this national hero before the tribunal. Between the years of 1960 and 1962 there were rumors of his death in prison.

John F. Kennedy, the late President of the United States emphatically intervened in favor of Archbishop Beran to Khrushchev, and as a result in the year of 1963, Moscow ordered the government of Prague to release the archbishop. "Release" was as follows: He was brought to a cottage near Prague, which was surrounded by a fence, where he was not allowed to leave the premises. The people in crowds pilgrimed to get a glimpse of their shepherd, so the Communists transferred him in 1964 to a remote spot to cut off all contacts. On January 25, 1965, His Holines Pope Paul VI elevated Archbishop Beran to the College of Cardinals.

For the Communists, the case of Cardinal Beran became unbearable, because the foreign journalists and tourists wanted to visit and speak to the legendary cardinal.

In February of last year, the Holy Father invited the new cardinal to Rome and it was not known to the last day whether he would be permitted to undertake this trip. The government finally approved and Cardinal Beran thought he would return in a few weeks to his homeland, even if it meant another prison. After being seated in the airplane, a government official entered the plane and announced to the cardinal that he cannot return to his beloved Czechoslovakia for which he sacrificed so much, and where all the good people loved and venerated him.

In the fall of last year, the name of Cardinal Beran appeared in the headlines of newspapers of the whole world who brought information of his declaration at the Second Vatican Council in favor of religious freedom.

The late Cardinal Meyer of Chicago was also one of the leading supporters of religious freedom.

His Eminence Cardinal Beran visited some countries of Western Europe. He was welcomed by his compatriots; the people of all nations, and also greeted by the Catholic bishops and dignitaries of other Christian churches. In the near future, the cardinal will visit the United States. He is a great historical person who belongs to the great four defenders of the faith, in central Europe: Beran, Wyszynski, Mindszenty, Stepinac.

His Eminence will arrive in Chicago on April 23, 1966. The public will be able to hear and see him Sunday, April 24, at the testimonial dinner at the Conrad Hilton Hotel at 6:30 p.m., given by the Alliance of Czech Catholics; Monday, April 25, at 7:30 p.m., at the Morton West Auditorium at 2400 South Home Avenue, Berwyn, Ill., where His Eminence will honor us with his presence at the Czch Passion Play given in his honor by "Club Domov," and on Tuesday, April 26, at 7:30 p.m., at the Blessed Agnes Auditorium, 27th and Central Park Avenue, Chicago.

Loyola University of Chicago and St. Procopius College of Lisle, Ill., will present the cardinal with an honorary doctor's degree.

REGULATION OF OUTDOOR ADVERTISING

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I supported the passage of the Highway Beautification Act during the 1st session of the 89th Congress. Although I felt that States should have a good deal more discretion in determining their own zoning regulations, I concurred with a purpose of the legislation to effect a policy of reason control in the highway advertising industry.

On January 28, 1966, the Department of Commerce issued so-called draft standards for the regulation of outdoor advertising under the act. Much consternation was aroused when the guidelines were published in the Federal Register and took on the aura of final standards by which the industry would be guided. Certain concerned Members of Congress who were most familiar with the legislation immediately and validly reacted to the seeming encroachment by the Commerce Department when the legislative intent was so clearly contrary to such action. I was happy to find that the Department only intends these guidelines as a working draft of regulations that will inevitably be altered as thorough and comprehensive hearings are carried out by the Bureau of Public Roads. The Bureau will conduct hearings throughout the country with the draft standards merely serving as a focus for the study.

I regret to say that the fears of many in the outdoor advertising industry have not been alleviated by this explanation. I continue to receive correspondence from respected leaders in the advertising field who are deeply disturbed by the action of the Department of Commerce.

It is my purpose here today to emphasize that Congress never intended the Department of Commerce to have arbitrary authority in setting down regulations to bind each advertizer in every State uniformly.

Not only is it unfounded to have the Department of Commerce finalize regulations under the act, but it seems to me impossible to conceive that it could, at this early stage, formulate regulations governing outdoor advertising uniformly in every State. Clearly, each State has its own unique set of circumstances regarding advertising and to think that a single body of inflexible regulations would equitably apply to all circumstances, is simply not realistic.

From my conversations with those closest to this problem, it is my understanding that the Department of Commerce will act with caution in this matter and report its revised regulations recommendation after hearings are conducted among the States. Congress will then have an opportunity to review them for further modification. I concur with this approach and will follow with great interest the progress that is made.

ENTRANCE FEES FOR PUBLIC ACCESS TO FEDERAL LAKES AND RESERVOIRS

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. FULTON] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. **FULTON** of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under provisions of the Land and Water Conservation Act of 1964 the Corps of Engineers will soon be collecting entrance fees for public access on some 95 Federal lakes and reservoirs.

Included in this number are four in my State of Tennessee, Old Hickory Reservoir, Cheatham dam and lock, and Dale Hollow Reservoir.

These fees are designed to provide funds for the land and water conservation trust fund which is, in turn, designed to meet the growing need to provide adequate outdoor recreation facilities in the future.

The purpose of the act is commendable. But the method of financing is unacceptable because it is contrary to the long-established understanding between this Government and our people that lands taken by the Federal Government for impounding waters would be freely accessible to the public without Federal interference.

Under the fee system to be administered by the corps a variety of charges have been established. They include:

A $7 annual permit for one vehicle and all occupants.

A $3 30-day permit for one vehicle and all occupants.

A $1.50 30-day permit for one individual with or without vehicle.

A $1 1-day permit for vehicle and all occupants.

A 50 cent 1-day individual permit with or without vehicle.

These access fees, as I understand it, are to go into effect on Memorial Day, May 30, 1966. The $7 annual permit sticker was to have gone on sale on April 1, 1966.

Mr. Speaker, I am very much opposed to this fee system. I opposed it when the bill was before the House and nothing has transpired in the interim to alter my opinion that this is not the way to raise the revenues required by this very necessary act.

Therefore I am joining today with my colleague, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Edmondson], in offering a bill which would repeal the authority to charge Federal entrance and admission fees at virtually all Federal lakes and reservoirs. I think we made a mistake 2 years ago but it is not too late to correct the error.

THE WOMEN'S JOB CORPS CENTER IN CHARLESTON, W. VA.

The **SPEAKER**. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Quie], is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. **QUIE**. Mr. Speaker, on April 5 of this year, in connection with the Women's Job Corps Center in Charleston, W. Va., I reported information pertaining to a number of figures which were in dispute at the hearings on the war on poverty. Additional information has come to my attention regarding the matter.

During the hearings on the war on poverty, Mr. Bernard L. Boutin, Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, was one of three OEO officials questioned about the feasibility study of the Kanawha Hotel. Mr. Boutin replied:

> Survey for this was done by GSA for us. The facilities that were carefully looked at were the Ruffner Hotel, the Holley Hotel, the hotel in question, the Daniel Boone Hotel and the Holiday Inn Hotel.

Dr. Benetta B. Washington, of OEO's Women's Job Corps Division, was asked who had conducted the study. She said it was OEO's own engineers. I asked Milton Fogelman, contracting officer, Office of Economic Opportunity, who had conducted the feasibility study and he said it was Consolidated American Services.

In order to determine what, if any, alternatives were considered for the location of the Charleston Women's Job Corps Center, I had the minority investigator of the ad hoc subcommittee make a check with the following results:

On March 28, 1966, Mrs. Mary Lee Crowley, owner of the Holley Hotel on Quarrier Street in Charleston, said that at no time did she consider leasing the Holley Hotel to the Office of Economic Opportunity or its contractor, Packard Bell Electronics Corp. She recalled that early in 1965 a representative of Packard Bell called on her and asked if she would be interested in leasing the hotel as a Women's Job Corps Center. Mrs. Crowley told this man that she was interested in selling the hotel, but not in leasing it. She remembered that his manner was abrupt and her conversation with him was less than 5 minutes. To her knowledge, no surveys or studies of the Holley Hotel were made by Packard Bell, OEO, or General Services Administration, which Boutin claimed made some studies for the OEO program.

Also on March 28, 1966, Mr. Joe Reiser, assistant manager of the Daniel Boone Hotel at Washington and Capitol Streets in Charleston, said that to his knowledge no studies or surveys of the Daniel Boone Hotel were made by Packard Bell, GSA, or OEO in contemplation of a Women's Job Corps site. He said no approach or offer had been made to the Daniel Boone management by any representative of these organizations. On April 6, 1966, Mr. Reiser said he had been in contact with Mr. Roger S. Creel, general manager of the Daniel Boone, who had been vacationing in Miami, Fla. Mr. Creel confirmed that at no time was any offer made to the Daniel Boone management regarding the Women's Job Corps Center and to his knowledge no studies or surveys of the hotel had been made for that purpose.

On April 6, 1966, Mr. Lyman Stanton, president and general manager of the Holiday Inn Hotel on Kanawha Boulevard in Charleston, told the same story. He said that no approach or offer had been made in regard to the Women's Job Corps Center site and to his knowledge no studies or surveys of that facility had been made.

On March 30, 1966, Mr. Vincent Chaney, Charleston attorney who had represented the Ruffner Hotel for years prior to the sale of the building on February 1, 1966, said that to his knowledge no action had been taken in any way by Packard Bell or OEO in consideration of the Ruffner Hotel as a Job Corps site. His statement was affirmed by Mr. R. G. Lilly, Sr., Charleston attorney and principal stockholder of the family-owned Ruffner Hotel prior to its sale.

Mr. Lilly said, however, that in 1965, when he learned that a Women's Job Corps Center had been planned for Charleston, he was interested but was never approached.

Had he been approached, Mr. Lilly said, he would have been very interested in leasing the Ruffner Hotel as a Women's Job Corps Center for much less than the $94,800 annual rental on the Kanawha Hotel.

Mr. Lilly described the Ruffner Hotel as a six-story building with basement and penthouse which includes about 170 bedrooms. He said the hotel has been leased to the Milner Co. of Detroit, Mich., during the past 3 years under an arrangement where the hotel owners receive 17 percent of the gross income. This resulted in the following approximate incomes to the hotel: 1965, $21,000; 1964, $18,000; and 1963, $14,000. Under the terms of the lease, the Ruffner Hotel paid taxes and insurance on the building and its furniture.

Under the Kanawha Hotel-Packard Bell lease, the Office of Economic Opportunity pays taxes and insurance on the hotel and its funiture, as well as furniture storage.

It seems apparent from these figures that Mr. Lilly would have been glad, as he has said, to lease the Ruffner Hotel for much less than $94,800 a year. Based on information furnished by responsible Charleston hotel representatives, it is apparent to me that Kanawha Hotel was the only site considered.

This is in addition to the errors I pointed out previously in Mr. Boutin's testimony before the ad hoc subcommittee. As far as I am concerned, so many errors of such a basic and grave nature are enough to discredit Mr. Boutin's entire testimony. This is another example of the chaotic and make it up as you go administration that seems to be so much a part of everyday operations at the Office of Economic Opportunity.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY PROVIDES PROFITS TO DEMOCRATIC OFFICEHOLDER

The **SPEAKER**. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Goodell] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. **GOODELL**. Mr. Speaker, I refer to the hearings recently held on the proposed amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act:

> Congressman Quie, the figures that were given to you * * * were inaccurate.

Thus, in testimony on March 23, Bernard L. Boutin, of the Office of Economic Opportunity, began a point-by-point denial of facts presented by ALBERT H. QUIE, Republican of Minnesota, 4 days earlier with reference to the Charleston, W. Va., Women's Job Corps Center. The same day Congressman SAM GIBBONS, of Florida, took the floor defending OEO and declaring that Congressman QUIE, inadvertently, was wrong.

Further investigation in Charleston not only showed that Congressman QUIE was right but that he conservatively understated the established facts that add up to scandalous poverty profits to a leading Democrat officeholder in West Virginia. Congressman QUIE said the Hotel Kanawha was owned by a corporation whose president was Angus Peyton, a prominent Democrat and the present commerce commissioner in West Virginia. This is undenied. Congressman QUIE said that the Kanawha Hotel lease provides for payment of $94,800 a year net profit, after the Federal Government reimburses for taxes, insurance, utilities, and repairs. Mr. Boutin said the rent was $90,000. The fact is that the rent is $94,800 and the Federal Government pays, in addition, $4,800 a year for the storage of old hotel property.

Congressman QUIE said assessments in West Virga were by law 50 percent of market value. Mr. Boutin said they were 40 percent. Chapter 18, article 9(a), section 4 of the West Virginia Code provides that assessed valuation shall not be less than 50 percent nor more than 100 percent of appraised valuation.

Mr. QUIE said that the Federal Government has spent at least $225,000 renovating the rundown Kanawha Hotel. Mr. Boutin said they have spent only $187,000. The fact is the Federal Government has spent $345,000 to renovate the hotel into a Job Corps Center. This includes $290,026.60 spent on repairs and installation of equipment, $24,936.77 for electric, heating and plumbing items which they call "maintenance" and $30,586.14 for outstanding mechanics' liens.

Mr. QUIE said that the Kanawha Hotel was worth about $250,000 at the time it was chosen for a Job Corps Center. Mr. Boutin claimed it was worth $438,000 in 1965 and $508,250 in 1966—perhaps slyly including in its value $345,000 worth of renovations at taxpayers' expense. The fact is that reliable real estate brokers in Charleston indicated the Hotel Kanawha was worth about $250,000 prior to renovation. A somewhat older but comparable hotel in Charleston, the Milner-Ruffner, with more land and a more valuable location, sold on February 1 this year for $200,000.

Mr. Boutin defended the Kanawha Hotel expenditures with the claim that annual square foot rental cost is less than $1. The figure must have been computed by dividing the erroneous $90,000 per year rental by 100,000 square feet. This becomes an entirely meaningless computation when it is understood that it ignores $4,800 being paid annually for storage of the old hotel furniture, $7,500 paid annually for taxes—including taxes on the furniture in storage and the hotel's accounts receivable—$5,740 paid annually for insurance and $4,800 paid annually for rent in addition to the $90,000 reported by OEO. Certainly a meaningful annual square-foot cost figure should include all annual expenditures, not to mention $16,000 to settle leases of former tenants and some annual amortizing of the $345,549.51 renovations. Who does Mr. Boutin think he fools by citing such glib and misleading figures?

In summary, the poverty program has spent $345,549.51 renovating a rundown hotel worth about $250,000. A corporation, whose then president is a leading West Virginia Democrat, receives $94,800 per year profit on property worth $250,000. That is a poverty profit of 38 percent a year. An OEO official described the Charleston Women's Job Corps arrangement as "the very best deal that could be gotten." The taxpayers might be justified in asking "the best deal for whom?"

PRESS AND PEOPLE ARE NOT FOOLED BY L.B.J.

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, there is increasing evidence that the American press and the American people are not going to be taken in by the phony "inflation fighting" of the Johnson administration. Everyone in fields of business and labor as well as the housewife are blamed, cautioned, cajoled, and intimidated but the real culprit, Federal spending, is overlooked. The Wall Street Journal, a national organ, said in a recent editorial:

> Hard-working Americans don't deserve to be slapped with a tax boost just because their Government refuses to prune its political extravagances.

At the local level, one of the 17th District's leading newspapers, the Mansfield News-Journal, carried an editorial entitled "It's Not Soap Flakes That Cause Inflation." The editor summed up the situation by saying:

> If you want to root out inflation, right in Washington is the place to start digging.

One of our fine weekly newspapers, the Loudonville Times, hit the same theme in an editorial letter by writing "Dear Mr. President" and saying among other things:

> We are tired of supporting the professional bum or "job dodger" and we are fed up with the flood of money (ours) that you are pouring into other countries with glee. Many times, these countries are Communist controlled and after they receive our money they say "Yankee, go home," or burn down our embassies.

This spirit is reflected everywhere. After 10 days with the people back home, I can tell you Mr. President, that the old Lincoln statement of "you can fool some of the people some of the time" and so forth, is beginning to apply. Few were fooled by the L.B.J. request that the housewife buy cheaper food items. None were fooled by his statement that more people are employed than ever before in peacetime. People are restless. They sense the drift, the indecision, the terrible price they are going to have to pay for low-priority political programs like rent supplements and the Job Corps. Time to take stock, Mr. President, the people are catching on.

The three editorials referred to are inserted at this point, Mr. Speaker, and I commend them to the Members of this body as a good example of thought at the national, city, and village level:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Mar. 30, 1966]

THE UNCUTTABLE GROWTH

It is symptomatic of today's economic sickness that politicians should even be arguing whether to treat inflation with higher taxes or reduced Government spending; commonsense plainly calls for the latter.

As it is, though, the administration would almost certainly increase taxes before it cut domestic outlays. To the credit of the Republicans in Congress, and especially those on the Joint Economic Committee, they are challenging that ill-considered approach.

The minority members warn that present economic policy is bringing inflation in 1966 and risks recession in 1967. The aim of policy should be a Federal budget surplus in fiscal 1967, instead of the projected $1.8 billion deficit—a smaller batch of red ink, it should be emphasized, than is likely to emerge in the event.

"If the administration is unwilling to reduce spending," the GOP committee report says, "an increase in taxes will be necessary, which would cause economic damage itself. Increasing taxes is a less desirable way to moderate the boom than by deferring expenditures."

To which we would add that it is not only less desirable but also not sure to be effective in countering inflation. As we have had occasion to remark previously, raising taxes may merely mean the Government will spend more; in that case the budget deficit is not necessarily wiped out, nor is total demand necessarily reduced. Conversely, Federal spending cutbacks are bound to lessen the inflationary pressures of demand.

So what is thought to be so terrible about taking the sensible course?

In the first place, it's a question of attitude. This administration is carrying the political handout obsession to truly impressive lengths. A dazzling assortment of domestic programs has been inaugurated or proposed, and for most of them the initial cost is practically nothing compared with what will come.

According to one estimate, outlays for so-called Great Society programs—in health, education, welfare, manpower training, area and regional development and the rest—will be five times bigger in fiscal 1970 than they were in 1965. Although Vietnam has deterred the Federal officials from asking for as much domestic money in the new budget as they would have liked, they evidently suffer from an almost congenital incapacity for actual retrenchment.

And, sure enough, there is a school of thought, if that is the word, which contends that any serious curtailment of Federal expenditures is politically impossible. Once you start something like the antipoverty campaign, it's suggested, so many politicians and administrators (if not the poor themselves) get involved that the whole thing quickly becomes an enormous uncuttable octopus.

We would certainly not deny the political pressures, but it is a pretty frightening day for this country if it is really true that literally nothing can be done about the Federal Government's extreme bout of obesity, and we don't believe it is true. It would mean, at the very best, more and more of these incredibly mismanaged and wasteful undertakings like the poverty business and urban renewal that customarily destroys without renewing.

In addition, an endless proliferation of projects would promise continuing inflationary pressure, making what the Republicans regard as the risk of an ensuing recession all the more acute. Not to mention that a central government growing by such leaps must press uncomfortably close on traditional political liberties.

For all these reasons, we find the case for lowering spending instead of raising taxes an eminently sound one; it would be the healthier choice, and in more than economic ways. As for its alleged impossibility, all that is required is a modicum of political courage in Congress.

Hard-working Americans don't deserve to be slapped with a tax boost just because their Government refuses to prune its political extravagance. But whatever the upshot, the GOP is doing a public service by exposing the diseased state of official policy.

[From the Mansfield (Ohio) News Journal, Apr. 3, 1966]

IT'S NOT SOAP FLAKES THAT CAUSE INFLATION

Now that President Johnson has taken it upon himself to advise American housewives to buy lower priced soap flakes to help fight inflation, perhaps it would not be amiss for the President to hear some fiscal advice from ordinary citizens.

There is a shortage of food in many countries, Mr. President. Americans can sell all the excess food they produce on the world market.

Why not put an end to the farm subsidy program and save many millions of dollars?

There is a manpower shortage in the United States. Why not release from Federal employment the many thousands of people employed in the agricultural control program?

The free market will now take care of prices, provide profit to the farmers, and dictate how much acreage to plant.

If the housewife should save a few cents on soap flakes, Mr. President, why shouldn't you save a few millions by ending an obsolete farm program?

Also, Mr. President, the United States is now paying about 40 percent of the total cost of the United Nations.

Why not cut down our expenditures there to match our voting strength. The 120 United Nations all have equal voting power, why shouldn't they have equal paying responsibility?

Of course, the U.N. budget would have to be reduced but wouldn't that be good? Most of the money is spent in the United States and, as you have explained, there is too much money around to buy what is available.

The State Department and a lot of other executive departments are overstaffed. Employees spend much of their time postponing decisions so they will have something to do later.

Why not cut the budgets of these departments and release some of the employees into the cramped labor market, Mr. President? That would surely help as much as buying cheaper soap flakes.

Then there is foreign aid. How much this year, Mr. Johnson? About $6 billion? Why not cut that back to about $3 billion, which is all we have been able to spend in 1 year's foreign aid anyhow, and apply the balance on the national debt.

That will not only cut our spending, it will reduce our interest payments which feed inflation.

Soap flakes, Mr. Johnson? Some of them might be used to wash out the dirty financial linen in the antipoverty boondoggle.

If you want to root out inflation, right in Washington is the place to start digging.

[From the Loudonville (Ohio) Times]

TAKE IT EASY

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We all know that you are trying to produce a "prosperous America," and we know that you give this idea serious thought as you barbeque those filet mignons at your Texas ranch.

However, try to let us prosper in a more economical way—please.

At the present time, you have so many anti-this and anti-that programs going, that it would require a 500-page book to list them all. We certainly want our fellow man to prosper—but not on our hard-earned dollars.

You and your administration are spending money like it is going out of style (our money)—be assured that it will go "out of style" if you continue along the present lines.

We are tired of supporting the professional bum or "job dodger," and we are fed up with the flood of money (ours) that you are pouring into other countries with glee. Many times these countries are Communist-controlled, and after they receive our money they say, "Yankee go home," or burn down our embassies.

In short, Mr. President, residents of Loudonville, Ohio, are "up to here" with your flagrant misuse of our tax dollars both in this country and abroad.

A suggestion to Ladybird: Start packing—your hubby will never make it again.

THE COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY AND OUR AMERICAN YOUTH

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, time and time again the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, has warned of the concerted effort being made by the Communist Party, USA, and other subversive groups to entice and commit uninformed American youth to their programs of sedition. It is indeed unfortunate that every one of the more than 3 million full-time college students in the United States cannot read and ponder Mr. Hoover's message in the February issue of the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin for this year. Now more than ever the allegiance of this Nation's younger citizens is prized by alien designing forces.

To help give Mr. Hoover's words the widest possible dissemination, I have requested that his message be inserted in the RECORD at this point:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,
February 1, 1966.

To All Law Enforcement Officials:

The American college student today is being subjected to a bewildering and dangerous conspiracy perhaps unlike any social challenge ever before encountered by our youth. On many campuses he faces a turbulence built on unrestrained individualism, repulsive dress and speech, outright obscenity, disdain for moral and spiritual values, and disrespect for law and order. This movement, commonly referred to as the "New Left," is complex in its deceitful absurdity and characterized by its lack of commonsense.

Fortunately, a high percentage of the more than 3 million full-time college students are dedicated, hardworking, and serious-minded young people; however, their good deeds and achievements are greatly overshadowed by those who are doing a tremendous amount of talking but very little thinking.

Much of this turmoil has been connected with a feigned concern for the vital rights of free speech, dissent, and petition. Hardcore fanatics have used these basic rights of our democratic society to distort the issues and betray the public. However, millions of Americans, who know from experience that freedom and rights also mean duties and responsibilities, are becoming alarmed over the anarchistic and seditious ring of these campus disturbances. They know liberty and justice are not possible without law and order.

The Communist Party, U.S.A. as well as other subversive groups, is jubilant over these new rebellious activities. The unvarnished truth is that the Communist conspiracy is seizing this insurrectionary climate to captivate the thinking of rebellious-minded youth and coax them into the Communist movement itself or at least agitate them into serving the Communist cause. This is being accomplished primarily by a two-pronged offensive—a much-publicized college speaking program and the campus-oriented Communist W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America. Therefore, the Communist influence is cleverly injected into civil disobedience and reprisals against our economic, political, and social system.

There are those who scoff at the significance of these student flare-ups, but let us make no mistake: the Communist Party does not consider them insignificant. The participants of the New Left are part of the 100,000 "state of mind" members Gus Hall, the party's general secretary, refers to when he talks of party strength. He recently stated the party is experiencing the greatest upsurge in its history with a "1,000 to 2,000" increase in membership in the last year.

For the first time since 1959, the party plans a national convention this spring. We can be sure that high on the agenda will be strategy and plans to win the New Left and other new members. A Communist student, writing in an official party organ, recently stated. "There is no question but that the New Left will be won."

Thus, the Communists' intentions are abundantly clear. We have already seen the effects of some of their stepped-up activities, and I firmly believe a vast majority of the American public is disgusted and sickened by such social orgies. One recourse is to support and encourage the millions of youth who refuse to swallow the Communist bait. Another is to let it be known far and wide that we do not intend to stand idly by and let demagogues make a mockery of our laws and demolish the foundation of our Republic.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER,
Director.

SPECIAL SALUTE TO PADRE THORNING—PRIEST, AUTHOR, AND DIPLOMAT

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. BLATNIK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, in my 20 years in Congress, countless credentials cross my desk but few match those of my cherished citizen-clergyman friend, Rev. Dr. Joseph Thorning. The good doctor of the cloth has accolades that include such honors as being the first priest ever to be appointed by the White House and the State Department to serve on special diplomatic missions in South America. The New York Times Book Review heralded Dr. Thorning's book, "Miranda: World Citizen" as "one of the outstanding books of 1952." This priest author is hailed by both Americas affectionately as Padre Thorning. No man has done more to promote good will between the Americas than this most thoughtful, gracious, and scholarly priest diplomat.

We, in Congress, are indeed proud of the rich and full record that Father Thorning has produced as he celebrates his golden anniversary as a priest of God. Certainly, his is an example that all of us need emulate as we daily face the lack of good will and neighborliness. As a special tribute to the good will that Padre Thorning has fostered over the years, Speaker JOHN McCORMACK has invited him to offer the prayer to open Congress for the last 22 consecutive years on Pan American Day. My wish and prayer today is that Padre Thorning is with us for many more Pan American Days, that we continue to be the beneficiaries of his scholarly pen and that we can long count on his wise counsel.

STOP THE MIDDLE EAST ARMS RACE

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. OTTINGER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, in recent months there has been an ominous speedup in the arms race taking place in the Middle East. Some of the most sophisticated weapons of modern warfare are flowing into that troubled area. These new weapons could easily combine with the ancient emnities and modern day frictions that exist in that part of the world to touch off a war, perhaps even a world war involving nuclear holocaust.

Saudi Arabia announced in February that it was acquiring a $400 million air defense system, including Mark-53 Lightning fighter planes from Britain, and Hawk missiles from the United States.

Earlier, Egypt concluded a $300 million arms deal with the Soviet Union. Egypt and her ally, Syria, already have about 30 squadrons of Soviet-built Mig jets armed with air-to-air missiles.

Jordan has purchased between 50 and 100 M-48 Patton tanks from the United States, as well as 2 squadrons of F-104 jets. Lebanon has contracted with France for modern fighter-bomber planes of the Mystere type.

The Arabs are building up their arms according to a definite timetable, and under a unified military command established within the last 18 months. The buildup is planned, coordinated, and well financed. At the last summit meeting of Arab leaders, the arms budget was raised, according to Cairo, from $420 to $560 million.

In response to these moves on the part of the Arab nations, which still consider themselves in a state of war with Israel, that nation has also increased her supply of modern military hardware. She has purchased Patton tanks from the United States, and is now receiving from France medium range ballistic missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads.

It is very probable that the Middle East arms race may soon take on a nuclear aspect. Both Israel and Egypt have been hard at work developing a nuclear capability—Israel on her own, Egypt with the help of former Nazi scientists and material from the Soviet Union.

Israel will probably be able to explode an atomic device within 6 months. She could have nuclear missiles in a few years. Egypt is now soliciting bids on an atomic reactor. While Egypt is behind Israel in its nuclear timetable, it is quite possible, based on the way the arms race has worked recently, that if Israel began to produce nuclear weapons, a Communist country would then supply them to Egypt to "redress" the arms imbalance. The Communists have been trying to promote tension and increase their influence in the Middle East for many years, and this would be a way to continue that effort.

A nuclear confrontation between the Arab States and Israel would pose a serious threat to world peace. We must make every effort to avoid such a confrontation and in this respect I would make the following proposals:

First. The United States should immediately take steps to call a conference which would bring together the leaders of Israel and the Arab States to discuss steps to end the arms race. The Soviet Union should be invited to participate in such a conference.

Second. We should bring strong pressure to bear on both Egypt and Israel to permit international inspection of their nuclear plants under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Third. We should also instruct our disarmament negotiators in Geneva to press ahead with a treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, by which the nuclear powers agree not to transfer nuclear weapons, nuclear materials, or the know-how for manufacturing such weapons to any other nation. These proposals could prevent the next degree of escalation in the Middle East before it begins.

If we take the initiative to bring the adversaries together, and if we ourselves avoid increasing the tempo of the arms race, we could lead the way not just to a moderation of the military buildup but to a more peaceful and productive climate of relations between these countries. The Middle East needs water, not war. It needs bread more than bombs. It needs tractors more than tanks.

I think both Israel and the Arab nations would benefit greatly if all agreed to let their neighbors live in peace and diverted the vast sums now spent on arms to economic development for the betterment of all the people of the area. With enlightened and patient leadership exerted on our part, there is still a chance this can be done.

A MESSAGE OF PEACE

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. OTTINGER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, on a number of occasions I have been privileged to call to the attention of our colleagues the outstanding work which is being done by the Peace Corps in the world's developing nations. I have also had the honor to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in support of the nomination of Jack Hood Vaughn to be Director of the Peace Corps.

It is now my pleasure to present one of Mr. Vaughn's first speeches as the Corps' director. But this is more than just a speech designed to stimulate interest among college students—it reflects Jack Vaughn's basic philosophy on the work of the Corps and its future goals. In a sense, this speech, delivered at the University of California at Los Angeles, is Jack Vaughn himself, as it is based on his many years of service overseas. It clearly demonstrates his deep and profound understanding of the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of the developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and the great role which he envisions for the United States in, as it has been termed by President Johnson, "the revolution of peaceful change."

Mr. Speaker, I now present to this distinguished body the text of Mr. Vaughn's speech—"To Peace, With Love:"

TO PEACE, WITH LOVE

(An address by Peace Corps Director Jack Vaughn, at the Student Union, University of California at Los Angeles, March 15, 1966)

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a pleasure to be here.

When I accepted the suggestion that I speak with you today, I did so with more than just a passing glance at the calendar. I knew that by this date, I might have a few things on my mind, generated by my own understanding of the Peace Corps, heightened by reflection during our fifth anniversary this month, and sharpened during my first 2 weeks as the new boy on the block.

Moreover, I knew that by the time I reached you, I would have flown some 20,000 miles, seeing students elsewhere; meeting old Peace Corps friends, many of them returned volunteers; meeting many friends of the Peace Corps; speaking; listening; and thinking.

One thing I've rediscovered is that airplane rides are great times to collect one's thoughts—although I've noticed that the rougher the ride, the deeper the philosophy.

Thoughts about the Peace Corps really ought to come easily here in California—and they do.

This State leads all others in numbers of Peace Corps volunteers. Nearly 2,700 Californians are either in training, or in service overseas, or at home after completing their Peace Corps service.

Two hundred eighty-two volunteers have entered the Peace Corps from this campus, ranking the university high among the hundreds of schools and colleges from which volunteers have come. Moreover, UCLA is second in the Nation, in terms of the number of volunteers trained on campus, and since so many of those volunteers who have passed through the leading campus—Hawaii—did so en route from other training sites, I really score it as a moral victory for Los Angeles.

So I feel very much at home here, and I'm grateful for this chance to share with you some of my thoughts about where we go from here.

For me, this noon meeting with you marks the end of the beginning. I consider myself as having been in training since Vice President HUMPHREY swore me in just 2 weeks ago—almost to the hour. Less than a week from now I shall be overseas attending meetings in Kenya. In Peace Corps terms, you might say I've passed final selection, and am on the way—although one member of the Selection Board certainly had his doubts.

So I shall begin my summing up with a confession: After 2 weeks, I still feel "grossly incompetent." I've come all this way, and I still haven't figured out what a Uniroyal is.

And as if my own incompetence were not enough of a burden, I follow in the shoes of a truly remarkable leader. No more exciting man ever drove an organization into being with deeper devotion, greater selfless conviction, more generous understanding of his own fallibility, more mature compassion for anyone willing to work half as hard as he.

Following Sarge Shriver around the Peace Corps was bracing. Following him as its leader is a bit shattering. Worse—judging from our looks, you might say it's like being Robin all alone, with Batman gone from Gotham.

Yet I feel today as I did when we began 5 years ago—anxious to begin work in earnest. In the spirit which surrounds the Peace Corps, and which has been preserved in its entirety through the first 5 years, there is a feeling of confidence in a worthwhile job to be done.

Some words of the late President Kennedy speak best my own feelings at this hour. I have always thought he meant them to be shared by all who would become part of the New Frontier. He said,

"I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world."

I tell you now that the task from which this hour is the working start is not a task of administration in a bureaucracy.

Nor is it a major experiment in education, nor a novel phase in international relations, nor even a special kind of foreign aid.

It is not nursing, nor community development, nor agricultural development, nor a host of other services to which Peace Corps volunteers turn when they arrive overseas.

All of the energy, the faith, the devotion which we in the Peace Corps bring to our service, serves a single cause. That cause is peace.

Yet if you hear any note of triumph and beauty in that word—peace—then open your eyes and listen again, for you shall hear of a few things we are beginning to understand about peace. They are not very pleasant. But I think we had better begin to examine thoroughly what we have learned—and do so right now—lest significant opportunity for lasting peace go on escaping us into the future, as tragically as it has in the past.

We have paid a bitter tuition—in death, in the destruction of property, and worse, in the denigration of the human spirit. The price has been high enough to entitle us to some clear thinking, and to a glimpse at remedies, if remedies exist, for if mankind has already thought its way clear of gravity, certainly we can begin to think our way clear of untimely graves.

I believe it was Rochfoucauld who said that "peace is war conducted by other means."

Cynical? Perhaps. Cynicism is a crisis of intellect, no less than despair is a crisis of the spirit. Yet who is to deny that there is crisis enough about us to excuse both cynicism and despair of peace.

You who are 21 this year—what is your understanding of peace? You were born when World War II came to an end. Let's examine some of the meaning of peace in the time your generation has come of age:

In your time of peace, nation has battled nation in Haiti, India, Israel, Korea, Malaysia, Panama, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Syria, Tibet, and the United Arab Republic.

In your time of peace, people have slain foreign nationals during colonial uprisings in Algeria, Angola, Burma, Cameroon, the Congo, Indonesia, Kashmir, and the Malagasy Republic.

In your time of peace, neighbor has slaughtered neighbor, and brother fought brother, in Burma, China, Colombia, the Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Gabon, Germany, Ghana, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Malaya, Nigeria, the Philippines, Portuguese Guinea, South Africa, the Sudan, Thailand, Togo, Venezuela, Vietnam, Yemen, Zanzibar, and the United States of America.

In your time of peace, the lands I know best, in Latin America, have witnessed nearly 2,000 riots, demonstrations, and assassinations; and men have tried no less than 80 times, sometimes successfully, sometimes not, to come to power by other than constitutional means.

In your time of peace, the equivalent of all the student bodies of the University of California—some 60,000 Americans, have died in battle; the toll of lives in other lands numbers in the millions.

"War," said Clemenceau, "is too serious a matter to be left entirely in the hands of the generals." Surely then, peace has proven too dangerous a matter to be left entirely in the hands of the diplomats.

Let's take a sterner look at what has been palmed off as peace in your time. We seem able to spot "phony war" fast enough. What about "phony peace?"

I think we might start by admitting that peace can indeed be war conducted by other means—that peace can be a weapon. It is a weapon when it is just a state of mind which is an alternative to war—a kind of "no-man's years between the wars"; a cessation of violence; a significant pause. In such case peace is a method, part of an arsenal, and instrument of war.

We tend to safeguard such peace.

Yet I submit that to safeguard peace is to admit its peril.

Peace needs no safeguard when it needs no spokesmen. Real peace needs little vigil. Moreover, I suggest that peace has no lasting value, little promise, and hardly any unity, if it attracts any attention at all.

I believe that real peace is the freedom to be totally unconcerned about war. Peace should encourage genuine freedom of action: freedom to be restless without fear; freedom to be adventurous, to take risks, to grow, to stir, to match wits with nature and with our fellow man; freedom, if you will, to become civilized.

What tragedy, then, when the politics of peace bring violence itself, for when the dead are buried, the living have gained nothing.

What irony, moreover, when even without violence, peace bears bitter fruit—when a mass of people find they have no alternatives to better their lives; nor any hope of security from their own government, while they learn enough of self-improvement to create new alternatives; when a small, entrenched class clings to every advantage.

What larceny, finally, when people resign the struggle, to follow the man with the system, neatly buttoned up and ready to go with a new order—even though that order steals freedom in freedom's name.

For people who cannot share abundance, peace has no value—no utility.

Not for the peasant and the slum dweller locked out of wealth, society or mobility, in Latin America;

Not for the men and women freshly come to new freedom all too easily turned to anarchy for want of trained leadership, in Africa;

Not for the peasant and the worker striving to produce more than the bare subsistence, in the Far East;

For such people there is no note of triumph or of beauty in that word—"Peace."

Make no mistake—those people are independent. Yet they guard their Nation's freedom with deeper conviction than they guard their own.

They have learned all about sovereignty, and nationalism, and even chauvinism. They have learned all the slogans of national power. But they have learned nearly nothing of personal liberty—and hence, of freedom.

Peace has concerned them as nations. It has given them nothing as human beings.

Then what has been the record of peace in these times?

It has been illusion.

Peace has served war, by breeding war afresh.

Peace has served diplomacy, by affording pause to maneuver.

But peace has not served man.

Seven million Indians have lived in the mountains and jungles of Peru, hardly moving out of the 18th century—in times of peace.

Millions of human beings of so-called lower caste have starved to death or died of dread disease in India and Pakistan—in times of peace.

Nine hundred million adult men and women alive today will pass through this life, never having written or read a word in their own or any other tongue—in times of peace.

And how many countless millions will not so much as lift a finger to change their lot, because they have no comprehension of even the gentlest revolution—in times of peace?

I have said that in the Peace Corps we serve a single cause—the cause of peace.

Yet now surely you must see that there is a modern dilemma inherent in our service. For we have been brought up, you and I, taught to believe that peace is virtuous in itself—and that because it is virtuous, it deserves guardians.

I suggest that peace, in and of itself, is anything but virtuous; and the most profound demand of this day and age is the service of men and women who will lend virtue to peace itself.

Truly made virtuous—it will need less guardians.

Yet when the first shots ring out—how quickly we spend ink, wind, and shoeleather, bemoaning injustice done to peace—as in the Dominican Republic, that tragic caricature of a society choked off from freedom—whose first dictator was Christopher Columbus, and whose last dictator called all the shots, including those which ended 30,000 lives in his ugly reign of terror. When Trujillo died, power passed so swiftly that the seething hate of 30 years never had a chance to explode upon the surface—until a later time which found me on the spot. I tell you here and now that I am proud to have had a hand in stopping a bloody massacre among the Dominican people—for I have known and served those people far longer than the instant experts have known either the Dominican Republic or Jack Vaughn's politics. I stood against the bloodletting then, and I would do so again today.

But I am prouder still to have sent the first Peace Corps volunteers to the Dominican people—for they, and they alone, went between the lines and among the wounded on both sides, trusted, believed in, respected and loved by those who came near them during battle, just as they were trusted and respected by those whom they came near before the battle ever started.

Peace Corps volunteers served the Dominican people when President Bosch was in office; they served when he was deposed; they served during military rule and civilian juntas; they are still serving on the job; and they will stay on the job whatever the outcome of the free elections to be held this June.

For as with Peace Corps volunteers everywhere, their concern has precious little to do with politics and power. They are concerned with serving people—not as guardians of peace, but by imparting utility and virtue to peace itself.

And the peace they serve without illusion is the peace of which President Kennedy spoke when he said,

"Not the peace of the grave or the security of the slave. I am talking about genuine peace—the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living—and the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children—not merely peace for Americans, but peace for all men and women—not merely peace in our time, but peace in all time."

You ask our policy, then? I will say: It is to wage peace, by dedicating ourselves to the task of lending virtue to peace for years to come.

You ask, What is our aim? I can answer in one word: Survival. Nobody could dare predict a winner in an arms race. Nobody could care to be winner in World War III.

You ask, What is our enemy? I would answer: Illusion. The mighty issues which raise the placards, print the pamphlets and bring men to the barricades are illusions themselves, for we have learned in Ghana, in the Dominican Republic, and a dozen Vietnams that progress for mankind can never really be measured in causes and coups, but in precious inches of human understanding and enlightenment, scantly noticed, grudgingly surrendered from indifference and despair, toiled after, lost, missed, and sought after again.

These are the unseen battles and the silent victories of peace.

They are won by quiet heroes whose politics is people, whose nationality is mankind.

These are the men and women who serve the cause of peace by grappling at the very level where results count: where people live and must survive.

These are the Peace Corps volunteers.

No better description of their service can be found, than in words President Johnson spoke last month at Freedom House: Indeed, I commend them to the attention of every Peace Corps volunteer now in service, to men and women thinking of Peace Corps service and to every person and organization associated with us now and in the years ahead. The President said:

"You have known, too, that men who believe they can change their destinies, will change them.

"Armed with that belief, they will be willing—yes, eager—to make the sacrifices that freedom demands. They will be anxious to shoulder the responsibilities that are inseparably bound to freedom.

"They will be able to look beyond the four essential freedoms.

"To the freedom to learn, to master new skills, to acquaint themselves with the lore of man and nature.

"To the freedom to grow, to become the best that is within them to become, to cast off the yoke of discrimination and disease.

"To the freedom to hope, and to build on that hope, lives of integrity and well-being."

Such has been the essence and object of Peace Corps service during the last 5 years. I pledge here and now that it will continue to be so, for the next 5 years—and I am convinced that it will continue to be so, for many, many years to come.

The remarkable people who are the Peace Corps volunteers are our best assurance that such will be the case. Indeed, our faith in them has shifted more and more leadership into their hands. There are more than 320 returned volunteers on the Peace Corps staff right now. It is no secret that I want my own successor to be among them.

Right from the outset—it was they who led us.

We thought we would be building some kind of junior foreign service. They taught us their business was human service.

We thought we had to defer our judgment to all sorts of experts in deciding who should serve overseas. They taught us to pay less attention to the heartbeat, and more to the offbeat.

We thought we had to teach them of politics and history. They taught us that they would be writing their own history, thank you, and although politics was of passing interest from the point of view of national development, they were far more concerned with human development.

We thought we had to train them to a fair-thee-well in their professional skills. They taught us, as one volunteer said recently, that "their skill was their attitude."

Eighteen thousand men and women have served in the Peace Corps. Twelve thousand are overseas right now. They have served in 46 different lands—and with the addition of Chad and Bechuanaland announced this week, the number soon will bee 48. They have brought over 325 different arts and skills to the people of those lands—and they have served those people in 60 different languages.

Yet however diverse their station or their service, Peace Corps volunteers have discovered that their worst enemies were everywhere the same: Not ignorance, but indifference; not poverty, but apathy; not hunger, but despair.

I pride myself on having visited more Peace Corps volunteers at their jobs overseas than any other man alive. I believe I have seen almost 3,500 volunteers at work. I have shared their floor mats and their dysentery in almost 500 villages and towns in Latin America. I think I can offer some observations:

Volunteers have learned that above all their other arts, they have had to practice and master the art of the possible. For as Aristotle said, "They can, because they think they can."

Moreover, volunteers have learned that they are becoming involved in useful social reform—for successful volunteers cannot help but teach that change is possible, and what is more, that change is not a fearsome unknown, but a responsibility to be shared and encouraged by the governments of lands in which they serve.

Thus volunteers are surely spreading the word—whether by design, accident, or example—that peace invites adventure, mobility, and self-expression.

In our time, such is the highest possible service to true social revolution.

In any time, it is the highest possible service to the cause of lasting peace.

But responsibility for such service cannot be lightly given, nor should it be summarily withdrawn. Peace Corps volunteers deal in terms of critical human values. They must enjoy the broadest possible leeway in judgment and in personal communication. We impose upon them neither political nor policy guidelines. A volunteer is on his own, and we won't have it any other way. He is not an instrument of American foreign policy. Rather he is a living token of the human aspirations and good wishes of the American people. What we are about in the Peace Corps is not to assure the future, our way; it is to assure a future, any way at all.

Thus we have tried to choose our volunteers with utmost care. As a result, today the Peace Corps is America's most selective service.

And I pledge that it will continue to be so. We shall persist in seeking people who are not afraid of what they are, yet who are curious about what they will become. And we shall not fear to invite "protesters," for what is the Peace Corps idea, if not a form of serviceable protest in behalf of human beings for whom protest has yet to be of any service at all.

I want to add, however, that I am not very excited about what I believe to be the momentary issue of the draft. If we begin to see Peace Corps service as nothing but a substitute for military service, we may well lose sight of the idea that in time the Peace Corps should become a substitute for all military service.

Thus, for the moment, we shall have to risk the inroads which the draft may cause, acknowledging the paradox that could we but have at any single time, the number of young men who have to serve in battle, we would surely be a long way home toward an end to all battles.

For that very reason it will be my purpose in the coming years to multiply by many times, the number of volunteers in service overseas. We should never fear to see the Peace Corps grow. Back in Washington, we have at times sought to attach the label, "numbers game" to the idea of growth in the Peace Corps.

I think that's a "red herring" and a vanity. It is not for us to say, in the long run, how great the number—for it should not be for us to judge how great the need. The people we serve will make that decision for us. Perhaps it might indeed be a numbers game, were we to "hypo" the figures at home.

But it is no game—in fact, it is a deadly serious matter—when numbers must grow to meet desperate need abroad. As far as I'm concerned, we must be willing to do anything in our power, move anything in our way, rise to any challenge, demand any assistance, to get the job done.

Life ought to be more than a fatal ailment. For two-thirds of the people of this planet, it is barely more than that.

So long as such is the case, this earth is not at peace.

You say, peace at any price? I say, peace has no price.

In terms that ought to have any meaning for all of us, the cost of peace is no more than the cost of love itself.

And here and now, I suppose, is as good a time as any to break down some embarrassments and inhibitions and give this game a name—for of what have we been speaking—toward, what have we been groping, if not toward love? I shall not quarrel if it is your style to mask that word with others, like "understanding," or "giving," or "generosity," or even that half-way mystery, "enlightened self-interest."

But if our task is serving the cause of lasting peace, then we are trying to deliver a coded message without the key—unless we admit that the key is love, and the message is man's belief that he can make himself and every other man, higher than the animals.

In Kenya, where I am going soon, anthropologists are learning that man may not be quite so nobly born as he has thought—that man's ancestor came out of the trees with a bludgeon in his hand, a killer not only for survival, but for territory as well.

I think they are trying to tell us that we are not programed in innocence.

If that is so, I think we ought to welcome the news. It might offer some explanation of where we have been.

But no excuse.

Better still, it is the kind of understandable warning with which this generation has come to grips—for better or for worse—far more readily than when they are written in the mysteries of philosophy or the parables of religion.

If we are not programed in innocence, that is a fact to be reckoned with.

But man has love. That is another fact to be reckoned with.

So let us learn in full of our guilt.

In terms of the dialectic, we shall at least know the fullest extent of the pressure which, consciously or unconsciously, dissuades us from lasting peace.

In terms even I can understand—we are fighters, but we are lovers just the same. And knowing we are fighters makes our love the stronger, for it is our love which we must nourish and enrich, if peace is to withstand the onslaught of our nature.

This is a challenge worth the taking, and I commend it to you as earnestly as I dedicate myself to it today.

Come join us—and we shall finish the words Robert Frost struggled so hard to repeat that bright, shining day 5 years ago:

"It makes the prophet in us all presage
The glory of a next Augustan age
Of a power leading from its strength and pride,
Of young ambition eager to be tried,
Firm in our free beliefs without dismay,
In any game the nations want to play.
A golden age of poetry and power
Of which this noonday's the beginning hour."

Thank you.

SOUND APPROACH

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARBSTEIN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, Newsday of Long Island is one of the countless newspapers which favors the reply President Johnson made to General de Gaulle's plan to banish NATO from French soil.

The paper declares:

> The President's approach was sound, tactful, and sensible. NATO, as he carefully pointed out, is here to stay.

Because this editorial is indicative of many I have seen, I include it in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Long Island Newsday, Mar. 25, 1966]

NATO: HERE TO STAY

President Johnson, with overwhelming backing from 13 of the 15 NATO allies, has made it politely clear that the alliance is going to continue even without the participation of France. He may not have known, at the time of his speech, that Portugal might also pull back from its formerly cooperative role. But he did speak with a good deal of muscle behind his remarks—the muscle of the United States, which founded NATO and remains its most powerful partner; the support of Great Britain, the Low Countries, West Germany, and virtually all the others who joined in an association that forestalled a Russian takeover of France and Western Europe.

The President's talk to foreign service officers of the State Department was a marvel of control and subtlety—including a quotation from Robert Schuman, France's foreign minister in 1949, who used the phrase, "Liberation is not enough." What was meant, as the President pointed out, was that Europe needed not only help in resisting attack but in preventing attack. Subsequently, President de Gaulle has dreamed great dreams for France, and takes great pleasure in frustrating NATO. He proposes not only to pull out French troops but also to banish NATO from French soil.

That, in view of the united attitude of other West European countries, means expense and inconvenience for NATO but not extinction. If Premier Salazar of Portugal—angry because of our lack of support for his colonial policy—chooses also to pull out of NATO, or to deny us bases on Portuguese soil—well, too bad. Where's he to go for allies? Portugal traditionally has relied upon Britain, a prime member of NATO. With Salazar as with De Gaulle, our attitude should be a long-range one. Both gentlemen won't hold office forever. The President's approach was sound, tactful and sensible. NATO, as he carefully pointed out, is here to stay.

RÉSUMÉ OF THE 1964 AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION PROGRAM IN FLORIDA

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. MATTHEWS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to include the résumé of the 1964 agricultural conservation program in Florida, and a résumé of the program in my congressional district—the Eighth District of Florida—for the same year.

The President's budget calls for a reduction in the money to be appropriated for the agricultural conservation program. I am opposed to this reduction and have requested our Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations to provide the same amount we had last year for soil conservation programs. Every American has a stake in soil conservation, and I am opposed to taking from this program to embark on new Federal spending ventures. This "robbing Peter to pay Paul" policy is unwise and unsound.

The résumés of the programs follow:

THE 1964 AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION PROGRAM IN FLORIDA

Under the 1966 agricultural conservation program, 11,086 farmers in Florida have earned $3,148,056 for installing conservation practices. This program which effectively increases the application of needed conservation work on the land has been used by 21,449 farmers in the State in the past 5 years.

Since the beginning of the agricultural conservation program in 1936, farmers have been contributing their time and money toward the achievement of conservation goals for their farms, but the economic situation of many farmers has not permitted the desired rate of progress and much work remains. However, the combined results of many years of conservation activity under the Agricultural Conservation Program have provided immense benefits to both urban and rural population in terms of protected and increased water supplies, recreational areas, assured soil resources, and new and improved wildlife habitat.

A wide variety of conservation practices is performed under the agricultural conservation program. Among the principal measures performed in the State under the 1964 agricultural conservation program, are the following:

CONSERVATION PRACTICE

Livestock water dams to improve grassland management: 25 structures.

Dams for irrigation water: 45 structures.

Ponds for wildlife: 100 structures.

Tree planting for forestry or erosion control: 10,300 acres.

Improvement of a stand of forest trees: 3,000 acres.

Sod waterways to dispose of excess runoff: 100 miles.

Structural protection of outlets or inlets to control erosion: 300 structures.

Permanent cover for erosion control or needed land-use adjustment: 65,000 acres.

Improvement of established cover for soil or watershed protection: 73,000 acres.

Interim cover and green manure crops for erosion control and land-use adjustment: 172,000 acres.

Permanent cover for wildlife feed or habitat: 70 acres.

Annual cover for wildlife feed or habitat: 400 acres.

Shallow water areas for wildlife habitat: 75 acres.

Control of competitive shrubs on range or pasture to permit growth of adequate desirable cover: 3,700 acres.

Wells for livestock water to improve grassland management: 80 wells.

Firelanes or firebreaks to protect woodland cover: 330 miles.

Drainage of farmland normally devoted to crops to permit conservation farming: 17,000 acres drained.

Leveling irrigable land to control erosion and conserve irrigation water: 950 acres.

Flooding organic land to reduce soil loss by oxidation: 4,400 acres.

Application of liming materials to permit the use of conserving crops: 192,000 acres.

THE 1964 AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION PROGRAM IN THE EIGHTH DISTRICT OF FLORIDA

In the Eighth District 1,785 farmers have earned $490,100 for installing conservation practices under the 1964 agricultural conservation program. This program which effectively increases the application of needed conservation work on the land has been used by 3,210 farmers in this district in the past 5 years.

Since the beginning of the agricultural conservation program in 1936, farmers have been contributing their time and money toward the achievement of conservation goals for their farms, but the economic situation of many farmers has not permitted the desired rate of progress and much work remains. However, the combined results of many years of conservation activity under the agricultural conservation program have provided immense benefits to both urban and rural population in terms of protected and increased water supplies, recreational areas, assured soil resources, and new and improved wildlife habitat.

A wide variety of conservation practices is performed under the agricultural conservation program. Among the principal measures performed in this district under the 1964 agricultural conservation program, are the following:

CONSERVATION PRACTICE

Tree planting for forestry erosion control: 1,900 acres.

Permanent cover for erosion control or needed land-use adjustment: 13,000 acres.

Improvement of established cover for soil or watershed protection: 10,000 acres.

Interim cover and green manure crops for erosion control and land-use adjustment: 44,000 acres.

Application of liming materials to permit the use of conserving crops: 29,000 acres.

TRI-CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on many previous occasions in addresses to this House of the Congress, I have stressed the use by the World Revolutionary Movement of Castro's Cuba as a base for the training of activists to be sent to other countries of Latin America to overthrow their governments through the processes of infiltration and subversion, and force and violence. As should be well understood by those who have read my addresses, these subversive activities include the Republic of Panama.

During January 3–15, 1966, in Havana, there was held what was designated as the "First Conference of the Solidarity of Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America" of some 600 delegates and observers from 82 countries in 3 continents, popularly known as the "Tri-Continental Conference." One of the main purposes of this Conference was to accelerate the pace of terror and subversion in Latin America, which program has grave implications for those charged with heavy responsibilities in the maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of the Panama Canal.

Mr. Speaker, in this connection, I would invite the attention of the Congress to the action of the House of Representatives, on September 20, 1965, when it adopted, after the fullest consideration by the Committee on Foreign Affairs and considerable debate, House Resolution No. 560 by a vote of 312 to 52.

This measure, originally introduced by myself and sponsored by the chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin America [Mr. SELDEN], was in the interest of reaffirming and extending the Monroe Doctrine to meet the latest dangers to hemispheric security.

In order that the Congress and all other agencies of our Government may have the benefit of an extensive account of the Tri-Continental Conference by Paul D. Bethel as reprinted from the Reporter, of March 24, 1966, in the April 4, 1966, issue of Latin America Report and the sense of the House of Representatives as to the responsibility of the United States and other signatories to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, I include the indicated article and accompanying editorial notes, together with the text of the September 20, 1965, Monroe Doctrine resolution as part of my remarks:

[From the Latin America Report, Apr. 4, 1966]

THE HAVANA CONFERENCE

(By Paul D. Bethel)

During the first 2 weeks of January while President Johnson was still conducting his "peace offensive," a tricontinental Communist conference was in progress in Havana whose overriding purpose was to organize worldwide subversion against the United States. With Fidel Castro as host and officially designated as the First Conference of the Solidarity of Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the assembly brought together some 600 delegates and observers from 82 countries in the three continents. From January 3 to January 15, the delegates debated, plotted, harangued, and egged each other on to even greater militancy against the United States and its "imperialist stooges." Hanoi and the Vietcong were duly represented. So were China and the Soviet Union, with large delegations whose rivalry—and eventual adjustment—provided one of the high spots of the conference. More immediately important was the high-pitched determination, repeated in scores of speeches and resolutions, to step up the pace of terror and subversion in Latin America.

Although the Havana Conference received little or no coverage in the major U.S. newspapers, it was followed closely in Europe, where Le Monde of Paris, for example, published a series of detailed articles. In Latin America it caused profound dismay and was promptly denounced by an extraordinary session of the Organization of American States. Ambassador Ilmar Penna Marinho of Brazil, chairman of the OAS Council, said of the Havana Conference that, "Except for the placing of nuclear weapons in Cuba in October 1962, no event threatens more dangerously the territorial and political integrity of our continent."

Penna's alarm was echoed by most other members of the OAS Council and by the Latin American press generally. In Panama, a commentator of Radio Mia, noting the huge U.S. effort to contain communism in Vietnam, observed that "communism exists next door to Florida, and there they do nothing. * * * It may be that they are afraid of it, or are keeping promises made to the Russians, while that insane bearded man raves daily about invading Latin America." El Universo in Ecuador underscored the importance which the Soviet leaders attach to the conference, and that "while the Russians continue to seek compromises with the United States, they are not disposed to pay any price" to this end.

THE SOVIET HAND

There was not much question that Moscow was the chief planner as well as omnipresent manager of the conference. Last December 9, a month before the delegates gathered in Havana, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko rose in the chambers of the Supreme Soviet and briefed its members on the tricontinental conference. "The Soviet Union," Tass quoted him, "in taking part in the Havana Conference * * * will do everything to help consolidate the front of struggle against imperialist aggression." On January 2, the two Soviet supreme leaders, Leonid I. Brezhnev and Alexei N. Kosygin, followed up with a message of greeting to the conference. As reported by Tass, the message read in part: "Today, Havana attracts the attention of all fighters against the forces of imperialist aggression and colonialism, and for the national and social liberation of peoples. * * * The U.S. imperialists are challenging all progressive forces."

The head of the 34-man Soviet delegation was Sharaf R. Rashidov, a candidate member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and First Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee of Uzbekistan. Speaking before the Conference in Havana on January 6, he paid lipservice to Russia's avowed struggle for peace. But, foreshadowing one of the final resolutions of the Conference, he made a sharp and significant qualification "We believe," he said, "that relations among sovereign states with different public systems should be based on peaceful coexistence * * * it is clear that there is not, nor can there be, any peaceful coexistence between the oppressed peoples and their oppressors."

Rashidov then told the Conference what was expected of it. "The Soviet delegation," he said, according to the Tass dispatch, "came to this Conference to promote in every conceivable way the unity of anti-imperialist forces of the three continents, so as to unfold on a still greater scale our common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, headed by the U.S. capitalists." Specifically, he pledged "fraternal solidarity with the armed struggle being waged by the Venezuelan, Peruvian, Colombian, and Guatemalan patriots for freedom against the stooges of imperialism."

The day-to-day work of the Conference was carried out by numerous committees on social, political, and economic affairs, as well as a special Tricontinental Committee To Aid Vietnam. These provided the temporary machinery of the Conference. What emerged by way of a permanent setup is more to the point. According to the chief of the Venezuelan delegation, Pedro Medina, "Only two organizations came out of the Conference and they will rule—a general secretariat which will receive all information concerning the three continents, make plans on the basis of the needs of each continent, and deliver its recommendations to an executive organ * * * named the Committee of Assistance and Aid for the Peoples Fighting for Their Liberation." This committee, which emerged as the central policy and strategy body for wars of subversion, included Soviet, Chinese, and Cuban members along with representatives of nine other participating nations. As for the General Secretariat, Havana was designated its headquarters, for the next 2 years at least, and Capt. Osmany Cienfuegos, the chairman of Cuba's three-man Foreign Relations Committee, was named Secretary General. The question of its permanent headquarters was scheduled to be reviewed at the Second Tricontinental Conference, to be held in 1968 in Cairo at the invitation of President Nasser.

The 12-nation Secretariat also has equal representation from the three continents. Asia is represented by South Vietnam (Vietcong), North Korea, Syria, and Pakistan; Africa is represented by the United Arab Republic, Guinea, one member to be chosen from the Portuguese colonies, which the delegates have decided are to be "freed," and the Léopoldville Congo; Latin America by Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Chile. One of the jobs of the Secretariat, as laid down at Havana, is to establish in each continent an action group to carry out the resolutions of the conference. The first of these was established 4 days after the conference adjourned, when the Secretariat announced the creation of a

Latin-American Solidarity Organization, with Havana as its permanent headquarters. It immediately began to issue calls to action.

THE NEW BREED

One of the major Soviet aims of the Havana Conference was to give direct support to guerrilla leaders rather than to the established Communist Parties of their countries. This became clear with the list of delegates, many of whom were little known or had never been heard of before. Absent was Fabricio Ojeda of Venezuela; in his place came Pedro Medina, leader of the Venezuelan National Liberation Front. Luis Corvalán, Secretary General of the Chilean Communist Party, and many other old-line Communist politicos were also missing. Senator Salvador Allende, the defeated Marxist candidate in Chile's presidential elections of 1964, headed the Chilean delegation, but he played only a minor role.

"The real stars," according to the correspondent of Le Monde, "were the lean, bronzed men who had arrived, after so many detours, from the guerrilla camps of the four fighting zones of the hemisphere: Guatemala, Venezuela, Colombia, and Peru. * * *" Népszabadság of Budapest also commented on the makeup of the delegations, emphasizing that the conference was not in the "hands of catastrophic politicians," but in the firm grip of Castro-type revolutionaries. The reason why Moscow had chosen at Havana to throw its weight behind the guerrillas, rather than the Communist parties, was underscored by Le Monde's conclusion that the conference was clearly aimed at obtaining results "in direct action, and more precisely in armed action." It observed correctly that "with the exception of those in Venezuela and Colombia, the orthodox Communist parties in Latin America up to now have shown no great enthusiasm for guerrilla wars."

The special publicity given to guerrilla spokesmen obviously reflected Soviet determination to capture control of the conference by giving the lie to China's familiar hard-line attack against Moscow's appeasement of the United States and its failure to lend all-out support to militant "wars of liberation." Throughout the conference, the Chinese delegates, as reported by Radio Peking, kept up a drumfire of criticism on this well-worn theme. In the end, the apparent contradiction between Russia's avowed policy of peaceful coexistence and the support it gave at Havana to the principle of "armed struggle" was resolved by typical Soviet logic. A special resolution on "Peaceful Coexistence" which was passed at the closing session of the conference on January 15 declared: "Peaceful coexistence applies only to relations between states with different social and political systems. It cannot apply to relations between social classes, between the exploited and the exploiters within separate countries, or between the oppressed peoples and their oppressors." This simply restated the Soviet line put forward a few days earlier by Rashidov.

The final declaration of the conference fully endorsed the thesis of "armed struggle." According to Tass, it "calls for expressions of militant, active, dynamic solidarity * * * for intensifying the anti-imperialist nature of the national liberation movements." The Chinese, it would seem, had reason to be satisfied. Even Castro's public and bitter denunciation of Peking the day before the conference opened, for backing down on its sugar-for-rice deal with Cuba, did not discourage them. On January 19, after the close of the conference, the New China News Agency reported: "The Tricontinental Peoples' Solidarity Movement ran into various difficulties at the outset. However, in accordance with the will of the people of the three continents, the movement is sweeping forward with irresistible momentum. * * *"

To many observers, however, the most substantial success of the Chinese at Havana—and probably their major reason for being present—was to prevent the Russians and their Cuban allies from gaining exclusive control not only of the movement in Latin America but above all of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization. This group grew out of the Bandung Conference of 1955 and the Chinese have long regarded it as their own special charge, even to the point of attempting to exclude the Soviets from membership. Although the point was left somewhat cloudy, it appeared that AAPSO, while participating fully in the new tricontinental organization, would maintain its separate identity. For example, it was announced at Havana that AAPSO will hold its own conference next year in Peking.

THE JOBS TO BE DONE

The final declaration of the Havana Conference is global indeed. The most significant of its general resolutions "proclaims the peoples' inalienable right to complete independence and the use of every form of struggle necessary, including armed battle, to win that right." It hailed the Vietnam war as "an inspiring example for the national liberation movement of the peoples of three continents." It urged a concerted campaign directed at the "governments of all peace-loving countries to recognize, de facto and de jure, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as the sole genuine and legal representative of the South Vietnamese people." It urged "the most powerful support" for American Negroes and the civil rights movement, and stated that "In the uprisings in Watts Los Angeles and Chicago, the Afro-Americans openly declared that they were fighting against racism and U.S. imperialism in a common cause with their Vietnamese brothers."

As to Latin America, it called for maximum militancy by those "who are fighting with arms in their hands against the forces of domestic oligarchy which are in the service of the United States, as in Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, and Guatemala, or are being subjected to brutal persecution under military tyranny, as in Brazil, Ecuador, Bolivia, and other countries."

"Latin America," the document said, "is the rear of the most powerful and barbarous imperialism in the world and the mainstay of colonialism and neocolonialism." It went on to map efforts to sabotage U.S. investments abroad: "Every blow dealt the United States and domestic oppressors by the Latin-American peoples has decisive effect in weakening U.S. imperialism." There are sections that deal with the "liberation" of Puerto Rico, which it classified as "under U.S. occupation," and the Dominican Republic, which, it said, has "set a valiant example of resistance to U.S. aggression." Puerto Rico's chief delegate, Norman Pietri, in addressing the conference on January 10, cited "the imperative need to win national independence in order to promote * * * total eradication of yankee military installations in Puerto Rico and the threat they pose to the rest of Latin America."

Finally, the inspirational theme was summarized with a peroration: "Faced with the criminal alliance of the reactionary forces, the people of various countries in the three continents have reacted with active, vigorous, and militant solidarity, and with their readiness to reply to every act of imperialist aggression by revolutionary action, carrying on this battle until the complete liquidation of all forms of imperialist, colonial, and neocolonial oppression."

As already noted, the Latin-American Solidarity Organization, created on January 19, was the first of the three continental action groups to emerge from the Havana Conference. According to Agence France-Presse, the 27 Latin-American delegations met with Fidel Castro and Pedro Medina of Venezuela. Cuban President Osvaldo Dórticos, the Cuban chiefs of staff of the army, and the principal Communist leaders were also present. In the course of the meeting it was decided that the organization would be permanently established in Cuba and that it would include representatives from all the Latin-American countries, as well as Puerto Rico and Trinidad-Tobago. With Medina as its Secretary General, it will presumably come under the general control of Captain Cienfuegos and his tricontinental secretariat.

Its operations are already underway. On February 12, the Latin-American Solidary Organization backed a call to action by the Tricontinental Committee To Aid Vietnam, another permanent organization that emerged from the conference. This appeal urged the recently departed delegates to launch "a wave of sabotage against Yankee interests throughout the world." It also called for "demonstrations, sitins, protests, meetings, and denunciations in front of U.S. embassies all over the world." A call also went out from Havana to "boycott production and refuse to load ships, or to transport arms or any kind of war material bound for North American troops."

Once again Puerto Rico came in for special attention. On February 10, according to El Imparcial, Puerto Rican "freedom fighters" established a "Free Puerto Rico" embassy in Havana, and on the same day signed a "pact of solidarity" with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam at its Havana headquarters. The Puerto Ricans claimed that they were "recognized as the only legitimate representative of the Puerto Rican people." Shortly thereafter, 26 Latin-American Communist delegations agreed to establish National committees of solidarity with Free Puerto Rico in their countries.

All members of the tricontinental organization must contribute funds to the Aid Vietnam Committee. One way to raise money was described by Pedro Medina in an interview broadcast by Radio Havana. The Vietcong delegation had presented the helmet of a U.S. pilot shot down over North Vietnam to the Venezuelans. In turn, he said, "The Venezuelan NFL gave the helmet to the Tricontinental Committee to Aid Vietnam." He continued, " We will wage a campaign with it, on the island of Cuba and in Latin America, and we will carry it to every continent to give more impact and more brilliance to the week of solidarity with Vietnam which is scheduled for March on all three continents." Similar "solidarity" demonstrations are planned for the United States mainland and Puerto Rico.

THE CUBAN SPEARHEAD

Havana was a natural choice as the operational headquarters for worldwide subversion and wars of national liberation, for it is dedicatedly anti-American and pro-Soviet, and has a well-developed apparatus of subversion already active in the hemisphere. Following the Cuban missile crisis in October 1962, many of the obsolete Soviet military establishments in Cuba were converted into guerrilla training camps, and new camps have also been constructed. The U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee listed 10 such installations as early as 1963. Today, according to some intelligence estimates, there are 43 camps equipped to train as many as 10,000 activists a year—guerrillas, terrorists, propagandists, experts in sabotage and espionage, and specialists in sophisticated radio equipment. The basic training period lasts 4 months, with longer period for certain categories.

When the guerrilla candidate arrives in Havana by a clandestine route, he is given a questionnaire on areas and personalities vulnerable to subversion techniques. He is asked, for example, about targets for sabotage and the terrain surrounding those targets, about homosexual tendencies among members of his hometown police force, army units, and politicians, and about tax irregularities condoned by local bureaucrats. This information, checked and rechecked by contacts in the country in question, provides a starting point for campaigns of subversion.

Castro's Soviet-financed fishing fleet is especially useful in bringing guerrilla recruits to Cuba and reinfiltrating them into their homelands. According to a defecting crew member of one of the ships, "Cuban patrol boats and fishing vessels are continually introducing arms and men into Mexican territory."

The Cuban training program is coordinated with international Communist subversion. Vietcong, Soviet, Red Chinese, and Spanish Communist instructors teach recruits from Africa as well as from Latin America. Cuban Negro instructors have been used to train African recruits in special camps established in the Provinces of Las Villas and Oriente. One, identified as Sádez Gómez Garcia. was killed while operating with guerrillas in the eastern Congolese district of Maniema. A diary found on his body indicated that he had arrived in the Congo from Cuba via Moscow, Prague, and the Tanzanian capital, Dar-es-Salaam. Defected Castro officers state that 200 Africans have returned to Dar-es-Salaam following 8 months of "leadership training" in the Minas del Frio guerrilla camp in Cuba. On September 17, Congolese government forces patrolling Lake Tanganyika intercepted and sank a troop and supply boat, the *Ajax*, which had been running Cuban-trained Congolese guerrillas from Tanzania into the eastern Congo. Last June, 27 Senegalese were tried in Dakar and found guilty of subversion. All 27, it was brought out at the trial, also had completed 8 months of training in Cuba.

Lumumba University in Moscow, according to a broadcast from the Soviet capital, is training thousands of Latin-American students. The broadcast beamed to Latin America in the Quechua language of the Indians of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, said that when these students return to their homelands, "They will teach their brothers the modern techniques they have learned. But they will do more than teach. * * * They will fight alongside peasants and humble people to ensure that their countries have freedom."

The collaboration between Cuba and Soviet-bloc embassies in Latin-American subversion is exemplified in Ecuador, which broke relations with Cuba, Czechoslovakia, and Poland in April 1962. After an uprising launched by a youth organization that took its inspiration from Castro, the government found that the Czech legation had been handing over funds to the Ecuadorian Communist Party obtained through the sale of Skoda trucks and other Communist-bloc products. Poland was also involved. Bolivia broke with Czechoslovakia in October 1964, when the embassy in La Paz was shown to have delivered 500,000 Bolivian pesos to rebellious tin miners that were used to buy Czech weapons.

Venezuela, under almost constant attack for years from Cuban-supported guerrillas and terrorists, discovered last October that the Communists had set up an efficient underground arms factory on the outskirts of Caracas. There were "enough explosives to blow up Caracas," according to a Cabinet Minister, and the Director General of the Interior Ministry declared that "specialists from Havana, Moscow, and Peking are trying to get into Venezuela to execute terrorist operations" planned for 1966—what they called "The Year of the Explosives."

Castro-trained men have also infiltrated the notorious bandit groups of Colombia that have extorted more than a million dollars ransom from relatives of 148 Colombian ranchers kidnaped over the past few years. Kidnaping has been used to raise funds by guerrillas in Guatemala, as well as to create an atmosphere of terror to disrupt the recent elections there. And in the remote valleys and mountains of Peru, Venezuela, Colombia, and Guatemala, minor government officials and progovernment peasants are sometimes murdered, Vietcong style. Che Guevara's Guerrilla Warfare is the handbook for Latin-American rebel leaders: it preaches the same tactics urged by the Tricontinental Conference "to sow seeds of discord everywhere and keep the oligarchs busy putting out the fires."

The Soviet Union has backed up its investment in direct support for subversion by diplomatic maneuvers in the United Nations. It has striven constantly to divert OAS complaints against Cuban subversion from the OAS to the Security Council, where the Soviet veto could block any punitive measures. It has also succeeded in heading off in the world body any definition of aggression that would include "wars of liberation."

At the same time, Moscow has pursued its double-track policy of "peaceful coexistence," attempting to maintain friendly diplomatic relations with the very governments its agents are working to destroy. In Uruguay, on the verge of bankruptcy and beset with social problems as a result of a disastrously overextended welfare state, the Soviets found one of the hemisphere's weakest points. The oversized embassy in Montevideo has long been the center of a clandestine network extending throughout Latin America. In December Soviet agents were accused by the Government of having engineered a strike that paralyzed the country for days. This intervention, according to one Latin-American expert in Washington, was an "act of supreme contempt" for Uruguay's weakness.

The Uruguayan Foreign Minister asked the Soviet Ambassador for an explanation of his Government's role at the Havana Conference and was not impressed by the answer that Sharaf Rashidov was speaking "privately." National Council President-elect Alberto Heber Usher called the reply "insulting." Heber has now vowed to muster the votes in Uruguay's ruling nine-man National Council to break relations with Moscow as a first step toward diplomatic rupture with the Communist powers.

In other Latin American countries, particularly those most exposed to subversion, the leaders did not mince words either. Peruvian Premier Daniel Becarra de la Flor said that the Soviet Union was involved in "tacit aggression," and that delegate Rashidov's statements in Havana now made Soviet activities in Peru official. Minister of the Interior Gonzalo Barrios Bustillos, of Venezuela recommended the use of force to combat the subversion planned at the conference, which he told Agence France-Presse "is nothing more or less than a consequence of the blind struggle the Communists are waging against the United States, particularly in southeast Asia." In 1964, the Cuban newspaper Revolución had made more or less the same point, declaring that "Colombia and Venezuela form the embryo of a vast Latin American Vietnam."

The resolution which the OAS passed on February 2 "emphatically" condemned the policy of aggression and intervention adopted at Havana. Chile and Mexico abstained, saying that while they deplored intervention from whatever source, they considered the resolution exceeded the Council's powers. The U.S. alternate delegate, Ward Allen, voted in favor, but was less fiery than some of his Latin-American colleagues. The resolution denounced in particular "the open participation * * * of official or officially sponsored delegations of member states of the United Nations" which on December 21 had voted in the General Assembly in favor of a nonintervention and self-determination resolution. Among those voting in favor was the Soviet Union, which a few days later sent its delegation to Havana.

The central issue was stated before the OAS by Colombian Ambassador Alfredo Vázquez Carrizosa, who said, "If there is to be war and no peace, let it at least be known who declared it."

EDITOR'S NOTES

"The Havana Conference" elicited the following editorial comment on March 21 in Barron's business and financial weekly, which is quoted in part:

"One publication rarely quotes from the pages of another, let along from its publicity blurbs. Herewith, however, Barron's is pleased to reproduce the first paragraph of the release summarizing the contents of the current issue of the Reporter. Though open to the world press, as the magazine quietly observed, and followed closely in Europe, the Havana Conference 'received little or no coverage in the major U.S. newspapers'. Thus, the New York Times considered only one short, unilluminating dispatch from Reuter's fit to print. * * * Unlike the Iron Curtain, which supposedly isn't soundproof, a wall of silence has kept most Americans from learning the truth about Havana. Yet, despite the remarkable lack of interest shown by so many great media of communication, the tricontinental conference was momentous news."

The editorial ended with a quote from a press conference on September 13, 1962, "the late President Kennedy flatly stated: 'If Cuba should ever attempt to export its aggressive purposes by force or the threat of force against any nation in this hemisphere, or become an offensive military base of significant capacity for the Soviet Union, then this country will do whatever must be done to protect our security and that of its allies'."

Barron's concludes: "To judge by all the foregoing, that time has come. The United States is at war not only with the Vietcong and North Vietnam, but also with a new Communist Internationale. Until it learns to recognize the enemy it cannot hope to win."

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Whereas the subversive forces known as international communism, operating secretly and openly, directly and indirectly, threaten the sovereignty and political independence of all the Western Hemisphere nations; and

Whereas the American Continents, by the free and independent positions which they have assumed and maintained, are not subject to colonization or domination by any power; and

Whereas the intervention of international communism, directly or indirectly, however disguised, in any American state, conflicts with the established policy of the American Republics for the protection of the sovereignty of the peoples of such states and the political independence of their governments; and

Whereas such a situation extended to any portion of the Western Hemisphere is dangerous to the peace and safety of the whole of it, including the United States; and

Whereas the ninth meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance recognized that acts possessing characteristics of aggression and intervention carried out against one or more of the member States of the Organization of American States may be responded to in either individual or collective form, which could go as far as resort to armed force, until such time as the Organ of Consultation takes measures to guarantee the peace and security of the hemisphere: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that (1) any such subversive domination or threat of it violates the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, and of collective security as set forth in the acts and resolutions heretofore adopted by the American Republics; and

(2) In any such situation any one or more of the high contracting parties to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance may, in the exercise of individual or collective self-defense, which could go so far as resort to armed force, and in accordance with the declarations and principles above stated, take steps to forestall or combat intervention, domination, control, and colonization in whatever form, by the subversive forces known as international communism and its agencies in the Western Hemisphere.

POLICY IS PRAISED

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. KELLY] may extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, Secretary Rusk's policy statement on China is noted editorially by the Washington Daily News, which states that it would give Peking a clear understanding of the U.S. position in Asia—if the Chinese want to listen.

It is the opinion of the News that this country must continue urgent efforts to persuade the leaders tof China to a more peaceful course "on the chance that new younger leaders someday may shift to other policies."

The paper's forthright appraisal illuminates an issue of grave concern, and I include the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

POLICY ON RED CHINA

Secretary Rusk's policy statement on Red China to a House subcommittee, made public over the weekend, would give Peking a clear understanding of the U.S. position in Asia—if the Chinese Communists wanted to listen. Obviously, they don't.

Even the suggestion that scientists and scholars from Red China would be welcome at some of our universities was officially rejected as nothing but a fraud. Mao Tse-tung and company are pathologically committed, as the Secretary described their attitude, to a combination of violent arrogance and obsessions of their own making.

The crux is Taiwan. The Chinese Foreign Ministry repeated its militant position on this issue as recently as Saturday—so long as the United States stands in the way of Communist seizure of the 13 million Chinese who fled the mainland because of Communists, the aging men of Peking will have no truck with us. But yielding on this issue would be impossible for the United States.

We cannot read the minds of Red China's leaders, but it is plain they are intent on worldwide subversion as a means of making China not merely a world power, but the world power. All who show friendship, or even arm's length relations with the United States, are targets for Chinese hostility.

The policy enunciated by Mr. Rusk, then, is the only policy which offers any hope at all:

1. To resist Chinese aggression wherever possible, because "if Peking reaps success from its current policies not only its present leaders but those who follow will be emboldened to continue them."

2. To continue to make plain that if the Red Chinese give up their strategy of violence, we would be prepared for an era of good relations. We do not intend to disturb the regime in Red China, but neither will we yield to its designs on others.

While there is little hope of any softening on the part of the old men now bossing China, we must continue urgent efforts to persuade them to a more peaceful course, on the chance that new and younger leaders someday may shift to other policies.

We cannot be sure, as Mr. Rusk said, of what Peking intends to do. So, most of all, our policy has to be based on readiness for anything. As the Secretary put it:

"We do not expect the worst, but we must be prepared for it."

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FOUNTAIN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, it is with genuine pleasure and admittedly a sense of pride that I invite the attention of Members to an article by Daniel J. Elazar, of Temple University, in the March 1966 issue of Public Administration Review, dealing with the publications of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Along with my distinguished colleague from New Jersey [Mrs. DWYER], I sponsored legislation in the 86th Congress to create the Advisory Commission. It was a new experiment in federalism. During the first session of this Congress, in cooperation with the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee of the Senate, joint hearings were held on the 5-year record of the Commission. A record of the hearings was published last year, and a report of the House subcommittee will be forthcoming in the next few weeks.

Dr. Elazar has prepared a rather penetrating analysis of the Commission's reports taken as a whole over the last 5 years, and he provides some useful summaries of the major findings of the Commission on a host of problems of Federal-State-local relations. Dr. Elazar submits a number of suggestions as to ways in which intergovernmental relations may be better appreciated and understood by the American people.

The text of Dr. Elazar's article follows:

THE CONTINUING STUDY OF THE PARTNERSHIP—THE PUBLICATION OF THE ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

(By Daniel J. Elazar)

On May 25, 1965, the House and Senate Subcommittees on Intergovernmental Relations held 5 days of joint hearings on the 5-year record of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.[1] The week was dominated by a procession of witnesses who testified as to their general satisfaction with the work of the Commission and their firm belief in its continued utility. The only serious questions raised about the Commission's functioning to date were in regard to its effectiveness in securing the improvements which it has recommended. It was generally agreed that an assessment of its effectiveness is a difficult matter, involving as it does immediate achievements such as the passage of Federal and State legislation implementing Commission recommendations, and longer range considerations such as the provision of vital information that will guide officials at all levels in future decisionmaking and the molding of a climate of opinion favorable to its larger concerns. It was also agreed that, whatever the conclusions in regard to the former question, the Commission had succeeded in producing a large number of useful and timely publications that have provided important and previously unavailable data for legislators, administrators, lobbyists, and scholars concerned with federalism, intergovernmental relations, and metropolitan problems and whose impact was beginning to be felt at every level of government.

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations speaks through many channels. Its influence is felt in congressional committees, in the halls of State legislatures, at conferences of elected officials and higher civil servants, and before citizens' groups. But the permanent record of its voice is made through—or at least reflected in—its publications. These publications not only provide information but the recommendations included within them offer a clear view of the Commission's general outlook, its own perception of its role. Moreover, because of the representative composition of the Commission, its reports also offer important insights into the attitudes of contemporary American policymakers toward the basic propositions of federalism, most particularly the ideas of noncentralized government and local control.

In the September 1965 issue of this Review, Dell S. Wright presented an extensive discussion of the origins and operations of the ACIR.[2] Here, the focus is upon an analysis of the Commission's image and emphasis as portrayed in its own publications over the first 5 years of its existence.

THE SOURCES OF THE COMMISSION'S MANDATE

The very existence of the Advisory Commission on Intergovermental Relations is a clear reflection of the times. The Congressional enabling act states the case succinctly: [3]

"Because the complexity of modern life intensifies the need in a federal form of government for the fullest cooperation and coordination of activities between the levels of government, and because population growth and scientific developments portend an increasingly complex society in future years, it is essential that an appropriate agency be established to give continuing attention to intergovernmental problems."

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[1] Hereafter referred to as the Commission or the ACIR. The published record of the hearings is available as "5-Year Record of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and Its Future Role," joint hearings before the Subcommittees on Intergovernmental Relations of the Senate and House Committees on Government Operations, Congress of the United States, 89th Cong., 1st sess., May 25–27, 1965.

[2] Dell S. Wright, "The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations: Unique Features and Policy Orientation", Public Administration Review, vol. XXV (September 1965), pp. 193–202.

[3] Public Law 86–380, 86th Cong., H.R. 6904, Sept. 24, 1959, sec. 2.

The creation of a permanent body with an exclusive concern for intergovernmental relations is the culmination of 20th century America's growing awareness of the need to institutionalize governmental consideration of the complexities of American federalism. Until Theodore Roosevelt convened the first Governors' conference in 1907, Federal-State-local relations were allowed to grow "like Topsy." Later generations mistakenly assumed that there had been no earlier recognition of the problem of intergovernmental relations because of their erroneous assumption that intergovernmental collaboration was new to our century. The fact is that the relations did exist, long before the first years of the present century, but within a political order whose velocity was so low that they led to few complexities and fewer difficulties.

Theodore Roosevelt had wisely envisaged a continuing "summit" level concern with relationships between the Federal and State Governments, expressed through the elected Chief Executives of the two levels. The course of events, however, led to the development of new cooperative relationships along functional lines, on the same piecemeal basis as had always been the case, but with accelerated tendencies toward fragmentation of general-purpose governments because of the greater functional specialization and greater complexity of each program.

After it had become apparent that government action on a wide variety of fronts was here to stay and that the responsibility for such action would, for the most part, be shared by the various levels of government rather than divided among them, the men responsible for living with the new arrangements began to try to rationalize the sharing process. The first studies, in the nature of quasi-private affairs conducted by scholars under private auspices or for internal consumption within government, simply assumed the existence of intergovernmental cooperation in certain fields without inquiring as to its desirability or the desirability of extending or contracting cooperative relations in the interest of any overall Federal balance.[4]

Interest in these larger questions came after World War II. In a historically significant task force study appended to the main report of the first Hoover Commission in 1949, at Herbert Hoover's own request, the intellectual groundwork was laid for the great studies of federalism of the 1950's.[5] The entire episode was a curious one because of the clear dichotomy between the analytical report of the task force, written in the main by Morton Grodzins under the auspices of the Council of State Governments, and the recommendations themselves, written by the Hoover Commission staff. The former traced the existence of cooperative federalism back to the early days of the Republic, showing how collaboration among governments had been essential at every stage of national development; the latter stated flatly that the survival of American federalism demanded a restoration of the erstwhile classic system of dual federalism whereby the Federal and State Governments functioned separately within their respective spheres. For the next decade, these two contradictory themes appeared side by side: In the studies of the Kestnbaum Commission, in the Fountain subcommittee hearings, and finally in the reports of the Joint Federal State Action Committee.[6]

Yet, clearly, there was a growing conviction that—whatever the past had held—cooperative federalism was a fact of life that had to be reckoned with. This conviction was the basis for a search for means to institutionalize the study of intergovernmental relations, a search formally inaugurated by the Hoover Commission and joined in both by those who wished to "unwind the system," to restore the State's erstwhile autonomy, and by those who wished to preserve the States' integrity within the cooperative framework.

The Advisory Commission was the outgrowth of these efforts. Its creation marked significant changes in the direction of informed thought on the subject. First, the notion of unwinding the cooperative system was abandoned in favor of learning how to live within its framework. Second, the idea that an improvement in the Federal balance must come from retrenchment in Washington was modified, to incorporate the notion that States had a primary role to play by assuming new responsibilities. At the same time, demands for new forms of Government action to meet the needs of the postwar period were about to bear fruit in the return of an activist Democratic administration to national power.

The mandate given the Commission by Congress reflected the changes in thinking and made it possible for the Commission to anticipate at least partially the programs of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Because of its importance in setting the framework for the ACIR's work, that mandate, cited in all Commission reports, is quoted here in full:[7]

"It is intended that the Commission, in the performance of its duties, will—

"1. Bring together representatives of the Federal, State, and local governments for the consideration of common problems;

"2. Provide a forum for discussing the administration and coordination of Federal grant and other programs requiring intergovernmental cooperation;

"3. Give critical attention to the conditions and controls involved in the administration of Federal grant programs;

"4. Make available technical assistance to the executive and legislative branches of the Federal Government in the review of proposed legislation to determine its overall effect on the Federal system;

"5. Encourage discussion and study at an early stage of emerging public problems that are likely to require intergovernmental cooperation;

"6. Recommend, within the framework of the Constitution, the most desirable allocation of governmental functions, responsibilities, and revenues among the several levels of government; and

"7. Recommend methods of coordinating and simplifying tax laws and administrative practices to achieve a more orderly and less competitive fiscal relationship between the levels of government and to reduce the burden of compliance for taxpayers."

It is important to note that the ACIR is not a Federal body, or instrumentality of the National Government, but a Federal one, an instrumentality representing all levels of government equally. Its 26 members include 3 members representing the Federal executive, 6 from Congress, 7 representing the States, 7 representing local governments, and 3 representing the general public. They are chosen with the formal assistance of the associations most concerned with State and local affairs: The Council of State Governments, the Governors' conference, the American Municipal Association, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, and the National Association of County Officials. These agencies and others of similar orientation have become the major constituency of the ACIR. The Commission has generally been composed of persons concerned with the problems of intergovernmental relations, whether from the point of view that State and local governments are put upon by a concentration of power in Washington, or from the view of those who believe that important public purposes are being frustrated by the complexities of sharing responsibilities.

THE SCOPE OF THE PUBLICATIONS PROGRAM

The ACIR issued its first publications in January 1961. In the 5 years of its existence, it has issued over 50 items, enough to fill a library shelf. Twenty-six of these have been Commission reports setting forth policies formally advocated by ACIR members, with recommendations for implementation by Federal, State, and local governmental bodies. Nine have been information reports or supplements to Commission reports, designed to provide basic data for the assistance of public officials. The rest have been staff statements, including the annual reports required by law, descriptions of the ACIR and its activities, and summaries of the Commission's legislative program.

The scope of these publications, and the kinds of problems they deal with, are of utmost significance. For example, of the commission reports, 11 deal with perennial intergovernmental tax and fiscal problems: 6 with intergovernmental tax overlapping, and 5 with State-local fiscal relations. Eleven are directed at metropolitan area problems: eight cover interlocal relations and metropolitan reorganization, two being primarily concerned with the Federal role, and three describe and analyze Federal aids to metropolitan areas. Ten (including three already counted because they deal with tax questions) cover State and State-local relations; six, the States' role in local affairs, and one, legislative reapportionment.

Despite the popular tendency to associate cooperative federalism with grants-in-aid, only four reports deal with grants as such, either raising general questions about termination and equalization, or evaluating specific grants programs. A major purpose of all four studies is to provide detailed information about the grant programs presently in operation. One report, entitled "Transferability of Public Employee Retirement Credits Among Units of Government," deals with a general problem of intergovernmental relations.

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[4] The first of the early studies was that of Austin F. Macdonald, "Federal Aid: A Study of the American Subsidy System" (New York: T. Y. Crowell, 1928). This was followed by the 1 Government-assisted study of the period, Carroll H. Wooddy's "The Growth of the Federal Government, 1915–32" in Recent Social Trends (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933) prepared for the President's Research Committee on Social Trends.

[5] The task force report was published as Council of State Governments, "Federal-State Relations," S. Doc. No. 81, 81st Cong., 1st sess. The Commission's recommendations were presented in its report on "Overseas Administration, Federal-State Relations, and Federal Research" (Washington: 1959).

[6] See Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, "A Report to the President for Transmittal to the Congress" (Washington: 1955).

U.S. Congress 30th report by the Committee on Government Operations, Federal-State-Local Relations, "Federal Grants-in-Aid," 85th Cong., 2d sess., Rept. No. 2533, Aug. 8, 1958. Pp. 72–73 detail activities and reports of the Fountain subcommittee. "Final Report of the Joint Federal-State Action Committee to the President of the U.S. and to the Chairman of the Governors' Conference" (Washington, GPO: February 1960). This document contains progress reports and working papers of the Joint Federal-State Action Committee.

[7] Public Law 86–380, sec. 2, op. cit.

The stress on tax and fiscal matters reflects the explicit instructions in point seven of the statutory mandate. The Commission's other choices, however, were not dictated by statutory provisions, but, rather, may be used to reflect the preferences and interests of the Commission's leadership in choosing among the many pressing problems of intergovernmental relations. The emphasis on metropolitan problems, for example, reflects the Commission's conviction that the complex problems of metropolitanization offer the greatest potential domestic threat to the continuation of the Federal system. The very first Commission Report on the subject opens with the statement: [8]

"At no point in the structure of the American Federal system of government are problems of intergovernmental relations so marked, varied, and difficult as in the large metropolitan areas, where the activities of all three levels of government function in close proximity. Within such areas, Federal, State, county, and municipal agencies, often supplemented by a small host of special purpose units of local government, must carry on their functions in close juxtaposition, subject to an extremely complicated framework of Federal, State, and local laws and administrative regulations.

And closes with a warning that indicates the direction of the Commission's recommendations in this and subsequent metropolitan studies: [9]

"The Commission believes that the problems of governmental structure, organization, planning, and cooperation in the metropolitan areas are so urgent and critical as to require the ushering in of an 'era of reciprocal forbearances' among the units of government concerned. For example, unless counties and cities are willing to yield some autonomy to each other and unless the States take necessary, though controversial action along a number of fronts, the final result can only be a much wider assertion of direct Federal action and control than either States or local government officials or the people themselves would be willing to accept under normal circumstances. The Commission would point out that moderate Federal action now, designed to stimulate more effective State and local action, is much to be preferred to a more unitary approach at a later date."

Similar concerns motivate the Commission's substantial interest in State government and State-local relations, as shown below: [10]

"The best assurance of a balanced set of relationships among National, State, and local governments in the metropolitan areas is not through inveighing by the State against Federal encroachment but rather through such assertive and vigorous action at the State level that the State automatically becomes a full partner in these future undertakings."

One would be hard put to find a single ACIR publication that does not refer to this interest in stimulating greater State effort and consequently greater State strength in the Federal system.

The general pattern of the ACIR's work was visible in the 10 Commission reports issued in 1961. The very first report, "Coordination of State and Federal Inheritance, Estate, and Gift Taxes," was labeled a study of a model cooperative tax program, formally designed as a sharing arrangement as early as 1924. Other tax studies that year included "State and Local Taxation of Privately Owned Property Located in Federal Areas" and "Intergovernmental Cooperation in Tax Administration" while the fiscal studies emphasized State-local relations; i.e., "Investment of Idle Cash Balances by State and Local Governments, Local Nonproperty Taxes and the Coordinating Role of the State," and "State Constitutional and Statutory Restrictions on Local Government Debt." The grant-in-aid studies covered both specific and general concerns: "Modification of Federal Grants-in-Aid for Public Health Services" and "Periodic Congressional Reassessment of Federal Grants-in-Aid to State and Local Governments." Finally, the Commission's metropolitan interests were expressed in two equally practical ways, in reports on "Intergovernmental Responsibilities for Mass Transportation Facilities and Services in Metropolitan Areas" and "Governmental Structure, Organization, and Planning in Metropolitan Areas."

All the themes set forth in the first reports can be traced through those that have followed. For the most part, subsequent studies have also concentrated on timely and even controversial issues where careful preparation and prudent language, coupled with the provision of useful data, have made possible expression of a clear point of view and specific recommendations for proper courses of action without evoking explosive responses. Stylistically prosaic, the reports have a rhetoric particularly their own. The style reflects the efforts of the Commission staff to fulfill its different functions: To provide basic data for those who must make the vital decisions affecting intergovernmental relations, and, at the same time, to make a substantial case for the recommendations adopted by the Commission members. On the whole, the presentations successfully accomplish both tasks. The reports are designed to be working political documents—highly pragmatic in tone, phrased in practical terminology, confined to the clearly marked purposes at hand. They are sober and, in the highest sense, conservative documents, offering a careful analysis of each subject based on clear and reliable information. The Commission staff must be commended for its demonstrated ability to deal with issues, particularly in the realm of metropolitan governmental organization, without becoming embroiled in specific controversies that would only serve to weaken its overall effectiveness.

Beginning in 1964, the Commission has shown an increased inclination to tackle more difficult and controversial questions. The most significant reports reflecting this new trend are those dealing with the role of equalization in Federal grants, the problem of unequal treatment of persons and businesses displaced by Government-sponsored projects, and the very touchy issue of social and economic disparities in the Nation's metropolitan complexes.

THE SUBSTANCE OF THE REPORTS

The substantive contents of the reports are best considered within the context of the general topics outlined in the previous section, three of which will be reviewed here.

Fiscal and tax matters

The commission is constantly seeking ways to increase State and local tax revenues, enlarge the tax options available to local governments, reduce the jurisdictional and policy conflicts in areas where different levels of government levy overlapping taxes, and promote intergovernmental cooperation in the collection of taxes. Studies in the first two categories have emphasized State restrictions on local debt and taxing powers, the possibilities for investing idle cash balances to increase State and local revenues, and the necessity for States to provide technical assistance and coordinating services to the local governments in their tax efforts. The question of overlapping taxes has been examined in regard to documentary and cigarette taxes specifically, plus two general studies of tax overlapping, 1961 and 1964, the latter an information report to serve, in the commission's words, as "an almanac of the principal taxes involved in local, State, and Federal fiscal relations." With these multiple interests in mind, the commission's policy recommendations follow no easy line of consistency, here advocating greater coordination, there the reallocation of taxing authority.

The commission faces a basic conflict in the revenue area which affects its recommendations. While wishing to preserve the discretionary powers of the States, it is bound by business-bureaucratic ideals of maximizing "efficiency and economy"; these ideals could lead to conclusions that, if implemented, would do much to limit the States' discretionary powers. The rhetoric of the reports, though guarded, indicates the dilemma: [11]

"Political considerations, in turn, are enmeshed in the enduring issues surrounding the role of the States in the Federal system, their sovereign right to shape their own tax systems and to engage in experimentation within the wide latitude afforded by the Constitution, their corollary obligation to assume political responsibility, and to satisfy a democratic society's compulsion to keep decisionmaking close to the people.

'Yet, as the economy grows more truly national * * * the utilization of markets, raw materials, labor and managerial skills * * * recognizes no State lines."

Since the commission affirms the need to have "rational market decisions respecting the location of economic activity," it sees valid grounds for encouraging "a minimum of interstate diversity" in tax matters and often in other matters as well.[13] Here the commission reveals its tendency to rely upon the conventional wisdom. Who is to say but that in a case like this, where public attitudes are preponderantly on the side of "rational market decisions," discretion is not the better part of valor?

One may, however, reasonably ask whether a developed economy such as ours cannot now be directed toward rational decisions based on factors other than the market, if we have a serious interest in preserving our States and localities as meaningful communities and if it should become clear that only such a course would do the job. These questions and others like them are never asked by the Commission; perhaps they can only be raised by scholars working outside of official bodies.

Still, the Commission does its utmost to develop rational political criteria within the confines of the situation as given. In its very first report, it sets forth certain criteria for the evaluation of proposals for coordinating State and National taxes: [12]

"1. Will the proposal help to strengthen State government:

"(a) By preserving freedom of tax action for the States and by affording them full latitude to exercise political responsibility?

"(b) By increasing State tax revenues and their year-to-year stability?

"(c) By increasing the States' share of total tax collections?

"(d) By helping to safeguard the States against destructive tax competition?

"(e) By reducing jurisdictional conflicts between States?

"2. Will it preserve the freedom of Congress to shape and reshape the Federal taxes to accord with requirements of national policy as they emerge?

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[8] "Governmental Structure, Organization, and Planning in Metropolitan Areas," July 1961, p. 1.

[9] Ibid., pp. 57–58.

[10] Ibid., p. 38.

[11] Coordination of States and Federal Inheritance, Estate, and Gift Taxes, January 1961, p. 7.

[12] Ibid., p. 6.

[13] Ibid., p. 8.

"3. Will it preserve the combined contribution of these taxes to Federal, State, and local revenue requirements?

. "4. Will it ease the task of taxpayer compliance and State tax administration by reducing interstate and Federal-State tax diversity and complexity?

"5. Will it facilitate a fair distribution of tax revenues among the States?

"6. Is it compatible with established and familiar institutions?

"7. Will it avoid undesirable economic or social effects?"

With a few modifications, these criteria appear to be used as the basis for the Commission's work in other fields as well.

It would be difficult to argue that these words alone can mask the basic contradiction between striving for objective efficiencies from a nationwide perspective and the emphasis on freedom of tax action for the States. The Commission recognizes the contradiction in its 1964 report on tax overlapping: [14]

"This term carries an odium to which we do not subscribe. The use of the same tax by two or more levels of government is not poor public policy in and of itself. It becomes poor policy only when one level * * * uses a particular tax without regard for the use made of it by another and in such a way that (a) the cumulative tax take of all governments does gross violence to an acceptable pattern of tax burden distribution, and (b) the overlapping is accompanied by inefficient use of tax enforcement resources and needless taxpayer compliance burdens."

The report continues: [15]

"Out of the aversion to overlapping taxes the citizen has evolved an image of a utopia in which each level of government is assigned its own private tax domain and governments are enjoined to keep out of one another's fish ponds. This kind of tax utopia is pleasant to contemplate. It caters to man's love of symmetry and simplicity. Unhappily an idle dream is all that it can ever be."

I dwell on this matter because it points up a basic conflict in the ACIR's outlook on other issues as well. Perhaps this is an irrepressible conflict in a complex Federal system. Perhaps the conflict is the principal reason that the ACIR was called into existence. The inevitable consequence of the conflict is that the commission approaches its work on an issue by issue basis, as pragmatically as possible. Invariably, decisions are based on the particular alinement of interests among its membership at any given moment. Only rarely do decisions represent an effort on the part of commission members to rise above sheer representativeness and view the Federal system as a whole.

Metropolitan affairs

The Commission's studies in this field have ranged from expression of a clear, if cautious, concern for creating some kind of overarching governmental structure for the larger metropolitan areas, to efforts to promote interlocal cooperation on an ad hoc basis in specific problem areas. In the first category is the 1961 report dealing with governmental structure organizations, and planning cited earlier, and such others as "Alternative Approaches to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas" (1962), "Factors Affecting Voter Reactions to Government Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas" (1962), "Performance of Urban Functions: Local and Areawide" (1963), and "The Problem of Special Districts in American Government" (1964). The latest report issued by the Commission bearing on this question was "Metropolitan Social and Economic Disparities: Implications for Intergovernmental Relations" (1965).

The pattern here may be significant. The first report came close to advocating areawide metropolitan government as the preferred organizational form for dealing with metropolitan problems. This writer would guess that the Commission stopped short of an explicit recommendation to this effect for practical political reasons. The two reports issued in 1962 reflected much the same outlook, but with less confidence in the possibilities for creating anything approaching metropolitan government. The following year, the emphasis of the Commission's publication shifted to the development of rational criteria for determining the proper allocation of specific public functions within the complex of local governments in the metropolitan area, probably in recognition that overarching metropolitan governments were not emerging, and that the case for even limited governments of this kind would have to be made, repeatedly and in closely reasoned fashion. The 1963 study was followed by one dealing with the proliferation of special districts, treating that proliferation as an unhappy, if very real, attempt to meet urban needs in a fragmented way.[16] Finally, the 1965 study of social and economic disparities recognizes that serious efforts at metropolitan area coordination and equalization must come from the outside, particularly from the States.

The 1965 study is the most ambitious one published by the Commission to date, not so much for the data it provides, but because of the analysis of that data and the implications of its recommendations. First, the study clearly points out that generalizations about metropolitan areas based on the situation in the Northeastern megalopolis are not accurate for most of the Nation's SMSA's, or even for a majority of those living in SMSA's, thus adding a healthy dose of sectional perspective to the consideration of metropolitan problems. Second, the erstwhile disparities between central cities and suburbs are shown, on the basis of the statistical evidence, to be much less important than heretofore imagined. Beyond that, the Commission builds a series of recommendations for Government action to reduce the very real social disparities that do exist. The recommendations must be taken as expressions of a conviction that the role of Government as equalizer transcends questions of intergovernmental relations. The cautious presentation in the report leads one to the conclusion that the Commission was quite aware of this.

The emphasis in other reports dealing with metropolitan problems is designed to stimulate the States and the Federal Government in their efforts to strengthen local government, to encourage areawide actions to meet metropolitan problems, and to enlarge the sphere in which general-purpose local governments may act. Overall, the Commission's recommendations are conventional ones, supported by solid data but offering few new points of departure to excite opposition or, for that matter, to capture the imagination. The only deviations from conventionality come where the Commission's own research forces it to modify conventional views. In its report on mass transportation, for example, it accepts and repeats a highly conventional statement that "the typical grid arrangement of streets tends to limit vehicular flows at best to a halting, stop-and-go rhythm," only to continue its analysis by showing that no other pattern has proved to be any different in securing improved traffic flow.[17]

The ACIR and the States

The concern of the Commission for strengthening the States is clear in almost every one of its reports. This in good part reflects the ACIR staff's sound empirical understanding of the central role of the States as the keystones in the Federal arch. In addition to the conventional recommendations for administrative reorganization for more effective State government and tax reform to increase State revenues, the Commission strongly urges greater State involvement in such metropolitan problems as mass transit, interlocal cooperation, urban redevelopment, and even local zoning where the police power is being used for discrimination.

In all this the Commission at least hints that current Federal policies of bypassing the States to deal directly with the big cities fall short of the best course of action, even where it accepts such policies as the inevitable result of the States' failure to assert themselves in the urban field.[18] Overall, the Commission has consistently advanced the still radical notion that the States and the cities are strengthened through the development of programs involving them both.

ACIR concern for the States is by no means doctrinaire. In the controversy regarding categorical versus block grams in the public health and welfare fields, for example, the Commission has sought to find a middle ground that would leave intact the Federal power to set national goals while allowing State Governors to transfer funds, under prescribed conditions, to meet particular needs. Such a middle ground solution, which would use Federal grants to strengthen the elected chief executive of the State's general government, and would thus reduce the tendency of grants to fragment State government along functional lines, is typical of ACIR.

Similarly, the Commission attacked the question of State legislative apportionment as soon as *Baker* v. *Carr* was decided (timeliness is one of the ACIR's working goals). "Apportionment of State Legislatures," the December 1962 report, is notable for its concern with the historical patterns of apportionment in the States and for its recommendations that the States apportion both houses of their legislatures on a population basis even before the U.S. Supreme Court decided that they must.[19]

The annual report

Under its basic legislation, the Commission is required to submit an annual report to the President every January 31 in the manner of other permanent boards, commissions, and councils. There is good reason to believe that the drafters of the legislation intended this report to be a major public statement comparable to that of the Council of Economic Advisers. Perhaps because the Commission was particularly a congressional creation and has never enjoyed significant Presidential support, its report has not developed past that of an ordinary annual accounting of its activities.[20] For the first 3 years, the annual reports were confined to such things, as budget, staff changes, and summaries of Commission actions during the preceding year. Beginning with the fourth annual report in 1963, a brief summary of no more than a page or two outlining the significant events affecting intergovernmental relations in the previous year has been included.

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[14] "Tax Overlapping in the United States 1964," July 1964, p. 3.

[15] Ibid.

[16] See Wright, op. cit., pp. 200–201 for discussion of the Commission's commitment to strengthening general purpose local governments headed by elected officials in opposition to the perpetuation and expansion of functionally oriented officials and agencies.

[17] "Intergovernmental Responsibilities for Mass Transportation Facilities and Services in Metropolitan Areas," p. 6 ff.

[18] See, for example, the statement describing the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 in the ACIR's Sixth Annual Report, Jan. 31, 1965, p. 2.

[19] *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 374 U.S. 802 (1963).

[20] See Wright, op. cit. for an account of the Commission's creation and its relations with the White House.

The author strongly believes that the educative role of the Commission would be enhanced if its annual report could be developed into an important State paper. Considering the difficulties in attracting public attention to the problems of intergovernmental relations, the public presentation of a comprehensive report to the President each year, one that would analyze the current problems of intergovernmental relations and predict trends could be the best way to secure a wider audience for the Commission's work. Properly done, it might even earn a few minutes on the network newscasts that blanket the Nation every evening and which are notably reluctant to discuss such problems unless they involve riots in the streets. Should a report of this scope evolve, the Commission might find it appropriate to transmit it formally to the Governors as well as to the President, a gesture entirely possible under the terms of its enabling act.

GENERAL TENDENCIES AND LARGER QUESTIONS

The thrust of the ACIR's work has followed along the lines set out for it by earlier efforts to come to grips with the problems of intergovernmental collaboration. Inconspicuously and without fanfare, it has sought to clarify the historical record as to the perennial necessity for intergovernmental collaboration. Returning to the spirit of the first Governors' conference, it has sought to stimulate elected officials to take an active concern in the problems of intergovernmental relations so as to overcome some of the functional fragmentation that has developed from piecemeal programming in order to strengthen general-purpose governments at all levels.

In its publications, as in its deliberations, the ACIR adheres closely to the mandate to consider practical problems of intergovernmental relations "within the framework of the Constitution." Its members and staff avoid contact with larger theoretical questions and couch their ideas in solid terms of conventional wisdom. Yet the Commission has a viewpoint which can be abstracted from its publications by any who care to make the effort.

This viewpoint is traditional in its honest appreciation of the existing federal structure and deep concern for the federal system, but it is also radical in its equally honest and open commitment to pervasive, permanent, and institutionalized intergovernmental collaboration. To the Commission, cooperative federalism is real and good. Its concern is to make the cooperative system work for the benefit of all levels of government:[21]

"The Commission believes that the years ahead present serious challenges to all levels of government, and that if our governmental system is to prove equal to these tasks, the resources of each level must be utilized to the highest degree of effectiveness. The Commission is therefore dedicated to strengthening this 'cooperative federalism' by enabling local and State governments to play their full part, alongside the National Government, especially now when international tension, rapid population growth, and marked technological change are increasing the tasks and responsibilities of government at all levels."

In this respect, the Commission's work reflects the new thought about American federalism. Accepting the validity of the compact that established the Federal sharing of power in the first place, it is willing to embrace the principles of partnership that inevitably flow from a compact relationship. It consistently argues that, properly implemented, intergovernmental sharing strengthens all levels of government and the democratic process generally.

As the foregoing quotation indicates, the Commission takes an activist attitude toward the role of government in American society. This is clearly reflected in its reports, which not only support the greater involvement of all governments in each other's affairs but greater governmental involvement in heretofore private activities. Urban mass transit is a case in point, but the Commission's recent concern with social and economic disparities in metropolitan areas is even more far reaching in this regard.

The Commission accepts the idea that there is a delicate balance between the division of powers and responsibilities among the constituent governments in the Federal system which must be preserved in the face of growing governmental responsibilities and an uneven distribution of governmental resources. Within the context of cooperative federalism, the Commission holds that "civil government in the United States is primarily a State and local responsibility." Hence, its recommendations are designed to strengthen the States and localities in their discharge of that responsibility. The Federal role in the system is vital, primarily as supporter and stimulator of State and local activities. The power of the Federal Government assures that its presence will be strongly felt wherever it is active. The Commission further believes that it is possible to use Federal power to achieve nationwide reforms which can strengthen State and local governments by increasing their capacity to act.

On reviewing the printed works of the Commission, the author was struck by the way in which the attitudes reflected in those works were reminiscent of the outlook of the old Progressives. Activist in its orientation toward government, positive in its commitment to social welfare programs, seriously interested in designing governmental institutions that are politically responsible to the people, and vitally concerned with the maintenance of non-centralized government as a means to promote and preserve free popular government, the Commission appears to be an important heir to a tradition that has virtually disappeared from public view in face of the more exciting arguments between quasi-collectivists and neo-individualists. The Progressive tradition is a decent one that deserves better treatment. Thus it is doubly unfortunate that so much of what the Commission has to say is necessarily bottled up in technical reports.

During its first 5 years, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has successfully established itself as an intelligent and important voice, concerned with timely questions, and predisposed to applying the best analytical techniques to examine them. Practitioners and scholars alike are finding its publications sound and useful. Though it is still heard by all too few, even among those who should be listening, the quality of its work is attracting more attention and—more important—is beginning to get results in National and State legislative halls.

AN OUTLINE OF THE NEW ECONOMICS

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GILLIGAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. GILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, the term "new economics" is receiving increased attention by our people. An article which describes it has been written for the Christian Science Monitor by Saville R. Davis. I think the article is very informative and recommend it to my colleagues.

The new economics centers on the concept that our National Government should provide private business with conditions that favor a rising and well-distributed prosperity but should be prepared to do something to protect people from the excesses of boom and crash in our modern industrial system.

As Mr. Davis puts it, the new economics describes for the National Government a task of not accepting tragedy but of adjusting to do something about it. It seeks a balance of the entire economy during steady growth.

His article follows:

AN OUTLINE OF THE NEW ECONOMICS

(By Saville R. Davis)

WASHINGTON.—Talks around Washington with friends, doubters, and foes of the new economic order produce reasons for hope and reasons for concern. They begin with an explanation of the new economics—a composite that will satisfy no one group. But for the interested citizen, it may suffice.

ITS ORIGIN

It begins with the obvious breakdown of the old theory that the economic system was best left alone. That it had built-in economic stabilizers. That in a market economy, any excess would soon right itself.

It turned out that the modern industrial system righted itself only by extremely painful boom and crash, with human and social costs that became unbearable.

ITS REASONING

That these "wide, self-aggravating swings in total demand" could be corrected, without going over into Socialist planning. When demand and spending threatened to collapse, enough new buying power could be introduced into the system to offset it. And later, when the stimulated system threatened to spill over into inflation, the total demand could be contracted by opposite means.

A small correction up or down, at the right time in advance of trouble, could have a big effect on the whole system—just as a small turn of the steering wheel of a truck could avert what otherwise would grow into a big and damaging skid.

ITS TOOLS

One is supposed to be voluntary but isn't—the use of Government guideposts for new wage contracts and for prices. They should be kept in line with increases in productivity—3.2 percent at the moment, says the Government.

Another is traditional, but still of the utmost importance: the ability to loosen or tighten credit through the banks.

The last is the most powerful and the key to the new system. It is the Federal Government's ability to have either a positive or negative net effect on the economy. It does this by adjusting what it puts into the economy through spending, so that it's either greater or less than what it takes out of the economy through taxes. This is called fiscal policy.

NEW TACK FAVORED

This much seems reasonable at first hearing. But then come the two shockers.

First, it had always been considered good morality, in time of economic trouble, for the Government to tighten its belt, cut its spending, balance its budget. This is what an individual has to do, unless he has money in the bank or other resources to tide him over.

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[21] ACIR, third annual report, Jan. 31, 1962, pp. 1–2.

But, said the new economics, a national government ought to do precisely the opposite. Its task is not to accept tragedy and adjust to it but to do something.

If the body economic is acutely malnourished, it should not be further starved but fed, so as to regain its strength. And the National Government—so the economists say—is not helpless like a bankrupt individual. It has the resources to tide the country over.

Resources from where?

This leads to the second shocker. When the Government runs a deficit deliberately, in time of expected recession, in order to feed an undernourished economy, it adds to the national debt.

If this were carried to excess, the economists concede, the result could be bad. But short of excess, the long-term credit of the National Government is good. It has the resources of the Nation behind it. It should be able to borrow against its future, in time of great need, to help the present. Provided it isn't being overdone.

LESS OF A BURDEN

Here comes the surprise for those who haven't studied the subject.

It isn't being overdone, the economists say. By any measurement that counts, the national debt has steadily become less of a burden on the country during the postwar era. Much less.

This is one of those surprises to the general public—like the fact that the huge postwar farm surpluses, piled up in storage at public expense, have largely evaporated without people's noticing it.

The national debt, at the end of World War II, was more than 1 year's national income. That was about 20 years ago.

Today it is less than half of 1 year's national income.

It's as if an individual did a good deal better than double his income, while the mortgage on his house went up by less than one-fifth. And the burden of the debt on his income diminished by more than half.

Or compare the debt of the U.S. Government with that of industry. Businessmen use debt and borrowing like capital—as part of their investment in doing business. Corporate debt multiplied by more than five times since the war—and profits rose by three and one-half times. That's very good business.

U.S. DEBTS LOOKS CONSERVATIVE

But while corporate debt was multiplying by five, the national debt of the United States went up by only 19 percent. That's at a rate of 20 times slower. The two kinds of debt are not strictly comparable. But the striking conservatism of the national debt by comparison with the private is considered significant.

Why has the national debt of the United States gone up by less than 1 percent a year, in the postwar period, while the general public thought the increase was relatively huge? Because the Government keeps its books by three methods, and the public emphasizes one which make the deficit always seem larger than in fact it turns out to be.

These answers, given by the economists to the chief points of criticism raised by the old economics, are now widely understood by insiders, and by students. The general public is only beginning to hear them now.

But to state the case for the new economics fairly, a much broader view and a different vocabulary is necessary.

The real issue, the economists say, is not the narrow one of national budget deficit or balance. It is the balance of the entire economy. The aim of businessmen as well as of the White House should be to keep the economy in what might be called a dynamic equilibrium, moving ahead with a lively but stable growth rate which does not spill over into the excess kind of boom that makes for crash.

And to provide jobs and careers for the people.

GROWTH IS THE KEY

This is the whole economic picture, of which the Federal budget is only one part, the argument goes. At its core are incentive and enterprise, which beget growth.

The only way to keep these peculiarly American virtues thoroughly alive and kicking is to keep as much of a market economy as possible, under modern conditions, and always to have an enticing outlook for stability and profit. This means leaving the private sector as much alone as the Government can—so it can push ahead and take risks and iron out mistakes and correct itself as needed.

Looked at in this way, the function of the Federal Government in the new economic order is to give private business favorable conditions for a rising and well-diffused prosperity, and then stand by to make corrections if this properly unplanned economy begins to get out of kilter, either going too slow or too fast.

This puts Government budgetmaking (apart from the question of controlling waste expenditure which is always with us) in a much larger context. It is one of a number of tools for adjusting the carburetor and arranging for the intelligent use of throttle and brakes.

These tools include (1) lesser maneuvers like price and wage guideposts, (2) loosening or tightening credit, and (3) most powerful of all, adding to the total level of private and public expenditure, or subtracting from it, in order to keep total demand in good relation to total supply.

The last of these, the newest blockbuster weapon added to the national armory for averting boom or crash, includes the raising or lowering of taxes (what the Government takes out of the economy) and expenditures (what the Government plows back into the economy).

CONTROLS PROVOKE CAUTION

Critics call these Government controls and are wary of them. The defending economists are wary of them too, but they define them differently:

If the vast private sector of the economy (seven times larger than the Government sector) is to be left as free as possible under a system of incentive and enterprise, then somebody has to be ready—obviously the Government—to do some steering when the uncontrolled chariot starts to careen to right or left. The past has proved, the economists say, that the chariot cannot otherwise right itself without first going through an accident with heavy cost, drastic repairs, and loss of distance traveled.

If the argument stopped here, the new economics would have it easy. It sounds like a kind of engineering.

But it so happens that the economists need a flexible system, a fluid situation, if they are to give the economy a nudge here and a restraint there, and expect it to respond.

They don't have this kind of flexibility.

First, there is always the rigidity of the balance-of-payments problem. As everyone knows, the United States has been steadily losing gold. This is partly due to many overseas commitments, partly because important reforms are overdue in the world trade and currency system.

The President has to keep one eye on the gold outflow—which calls for cooling down that part of the economy that deals with exporting and foreign investment—whenever he wants to heat up and stimulate the domestic part of the economy.

These are mutually contradictory controls, much of the time. Each one tends to spoil the other. And neither can be ignored.

Then there is the so-called cost-push inflation. This is a recent, spontaneous invention within the American system. Big industry and big labor, which had been kept in conflict through the early part of the century, changed their tune as high prosperity set in. They suddenly discovered they could agree on continuously rising wage and price levels—as long as consumers in the United States were unorganized and could not stop it.

So wage contracts and prices have steadily gone up. The ancient glory and dynamic of the American competitive system—by which prices were constantly lowered in order to create new customers and expand markets—seem to have been forgotten by much of the economy. This created a massive inflexibility at the heart of the American system.

WAR HEATS THE ECONOMY

It was chiefly to deal with this expedient that the wage-price guideposts were invented by the economists and the Government. Otherwise, if the Government merely applied overall measures of credit and budget and tax policy in time of inflation, to drain off the excess demand, these measures might never penetrate into this thick-walled citadel that parts of industry and labor had built in the center of the economy to insulate themselves so they could do as they pleased on the inside.

Another factor beyond the control of economists or Government is war. Everyone understands that Vietnam is one of the big factors heating up the American economy today.

But so, too, in a semiwartime atmosphere at home, is another factor. Other sectors of labor and industry, including small businesses and retail traders and huge supermarket chains, have suddenly caught onto the cost-push idea, lured as they are by the seemingly endless supplies of money in the consumer's pocket in this age of rapidly expanding prosperity, and the almost carelessness with which much of it is flung into the tills.

A whole new area of updraft has increased the pressure on prices. Is this a rigidity, or will it respond to the moves of the new economics?

Then comes the most baffling of the problems afflicting the economists: politics. It opens up a wilderness of conflicting interests, personalities, political myths, and maneuvers of vote getting, the conflict of competing empires within the Federal Government, which ought not to concern the economists who advise the President.

But it does and must.

The moment the President's Council of Economic Advisers turns from analysis to policymaking, it finds itself inextricably deep in politics.

CONGRESS DEEPLY INVOLVED

Congress, for example, doesn't want to yield up any of its prorogative in taxing. This is a profoundly political matter. Yet it also is the most powerful tool of the new economics.

What to do? President Kennedy asked for a tax reduction and it came a year and a half later. President Johnson got a lesser cut, to be sure, but more quickly.

The economists need to act in advance of crisis, if the swings of maladjustment are to be kept narrow, How can the politicians arrange to move fast enough? Will Congress let go, even partly? Should it?

As for the wage-price guideposts, they are half buried in a sea of politics, and the waves are getting higher.

Nobody really like these guideposts. There is no precedent or constitutional base for them.

They involve headlong and often nasty clashes between Presidents of the United States, big corporations, and big labor unions, which are bad business and bad politics by any reckoning.

They produce maneuver and deception and strong-arm tactics concealed in sheep's clothing, in a matter which ought to be technical and imparital and ought not to put such strains on the White House-business-labor relationship.

They annoy labor, which sees them as a weapon to maintain the status quo: Wages are bolted onto an escalator that moves upward at an average speed of 3.2 percent (or whatever the average productivity increase is in any year) and can never come nearer to a big increase in profits.

AN IMPOVISED COURSE

They annoy business, because any Government interference with prices is an interference with the "free market."

The guideposts smack of controls by indirection, in a society which abhors economic controls. They are an improvised course between the twin shoals of doing nothing and of using stronger measures and doing too much. There is nothing nice about them, except that they are the only way yet devised of doing a necessary job.

Unless there is some such way of coping with cost-push inflation, unless there is some semivoluntary way to restrain the coiled steel of inflation now, before it leaps out of control, then much more unpleasant and drastic steps will have to be taken later.

As one economist here said, "What would you do, if you were one of the President's advisers? You'd try to make the guideposts work." Or find something else to do the job.

Then there are political problems directly affecting the community of economists themselves. They often don't agree on what should be done.

To be sure, the President's Council of Economic Advisers has a record of acting as a unit in its brief postwar orbit, and the strains between it and the Treasury and Federal Reserve Board have probably been less than what was publicized.

POLICIES NOT ECONOMICS

Also, Representative Wilbur D. Mills, Democrat, of Arkansas, the most powerful figure in the field of tax legislation as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, has a record of deep devotion and statesmanship in reconciling political forces and helping the new economic experiment to be made. He had had to put off his great desire, reform of the many inequitable tax laws, to get the other, still bigger show on the road.

Nevertheless, despite much statesmanship and willingness to change opinions on the part of Congress and the Government departments, they have been disconcerted when the economists argued among themselves over steps to be taken at one point or another. And the economists have been similarly thrown off base as they recognized the importance of the many political resistances, inertias, limits on the President's ability to act, and the like.

Because they were forced to take these noneconomic forces into account, this has transformed their own job of advising what to do, and when, into an awkward mixture of things they understand and things they don't.

Of course, the disputes between economists deal with the smaller advance decisions of how to guide the economy, and what the timing should be. If big trouble came, the economists would unite and speak as a man: "In inflation, pull money and credit out of the system. In recession, pour them in."

AGREEMENT WIDELY BASED

This has been described as the triumph, belatedly, of the theories of the British Economist John Maynard Keynes. His basic ideas are, in fact, the starting point of today's economic thinking. From the twenties through the fifties, they steadily gained the support of more theoretical and practical economists. Today there are few dissenters on the major lines of his argument among economists.

Time magazine recently quoted presidential candidate Barry Goldwater's chief economic adviser, Prof. Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago as saying, "We are all Keynesians now."

The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson economic advisers broadly agree. And Congress, for several years now, has accepted the main outlines of the new economics. But it has done so quietly, not wishing to arouse citizens who have been told that Keyes was an exponent of socialism. Said Time magazine, typical of the large circulation periodicals which are beginning to discuss this subject:

"Contrary to the Marxist and the Socialists, Keynes opposed government ownership of industry and fought those centralists who would plan everything. ('They wish to serve not God but the devil.') While he called for conscious and calculated state intervention, he argued just as passionately that the government has no right to tamper with individual freedoms to choose or change jobs, to buy or sell goods, or to earn respectable profits. He had tremendous faith that private men could change, improve, and expand capitalism."

POLICIES GREATLY MODIFIED

The debate is by no means over on the public level or in the business community, and may be prematurely considered to be largely past business here in Washington.

Today's new economics is greatly changed in many respects from the policies of Keynes: The American economic system has itself developed new phases. The economists have produced a modern "neo-Keynesian" approach (in the phrase of economist Paul Samuelson). All sorts of practical and political problems have emerged as this approach was accepted in Washington and put to work.

Especially there are today's great questions: Will the new economics cool down the boom it has heated up? Conversely, can President Johnson heat up the good relations he earlier had with the business community, which have since cooled down? And can the political leaders of the government bring themselves to apply brakes as effectively as they earlier stepped on the gas at the debut of the new economics?

To quote the present chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Gardner Ackley, "We're learning to live with prosperity. And frankly, we don't know as much about managing prosperity as getting there."

GOVERNMENT IN ACTION

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Farnsley] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. FARNSLEY. Mr. Speaker, the steps this administration and this Congress are taking to give the people a better chance to live so they can enjoy liberty and pursue happiness are recalled most effectively in an editorial that appeared in the Louisville Times of April 11, 1966.

The paper points out that throughout all ages it has been easy to say unkind things about government—no matter whose, no matter what kind.

The paper mentions the fact that "Congress, through the Senate Commerce Committee, is seeking ways to make the Nation's automobiles safer." Notes that in another area, the Federal Food and Drug Administration is working hard to assure that the drug industry gives the public products that are adequately tested and honestly labeled.

Since others will want to see this timely reminder of Government in action, I make the editorial a part of the Record:

[From the Louisville (Ky.) Times, Apr. 11, 1966]

A Kind Word for Government That Does Things for People

Through all the ages, including this one, a good many unkind things have been said about government, no matter whose, no matter what kind. Government has been regarded almost universally as being, at best, a necessary evil.

Evil it may be, but necessary it certainly is. In recent days our own Government has been giving a useful demonstration of the fact that it is necessary; that it is, to put a more affirmative face on it, more than a mechanism for collecting taxes and putting men in the Army and enacting and enforcing laws, not all of which are of unquestioned wisdom and justice.

In its best moments, government does things for people, not just to them. It fulfills the role of doing for people what they cannot as individuals do for themselves.

At present the Federal Government is, among other things, taking very active and thoroughly justified steps to try to give the people a greater degree of protection, a better chance to live so they can enjoy liberty and pursue happiness. In one area, Congress, through the Senate Commerce Committee, is seeking ways to make the Nation's automobiles safer. In another, the Federal Food and Drug Administration is working hard (maybe harder than even before) to make the drug industry give the public products that are adequately tested and honestly labeled.

These, clearly, are two fields in which the average person usually is unable to protect himself. How many motorists are equipped by training or experience to recognize a manufacturing defect that might kill them? Even if a few motorists do suspect something about their car, what can they as individuals do about a gigantic industry which had displayed no burning passion to make the safest possible car?

The average man is even more helpless when it comes to assessing the efficacy and safety of the drugs he takes. He must rely on the knowledge of his doctor and the integrity of the drug manufacturer. Even his doctor must trust the drug companies; he cannot possibly test every drug himself.

Government, of course, consists of a multitude of men of differing philosophies and interests. Not every Member of Congress is an ardent crusader for greater automobile safety. Not every person in the Food and Drug Administration is wholly dedicated to giving the public utmost protection. In fact, sometimes the original impetus for such campaigns as these comes from individuals and organizations outside government.

Nevertheless, it finally is the Government which must act if effective action is to be taken. In the drug and automobile cases, we are seeing the Government—or segments of the Government—take that kind of action.

PRESIDENT APPEARS TO REVEL IN RESPONSIBILITY

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. FARNSLEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. FARNSLEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD an article by J. A. Livingston that appeared in the Washington Post on April 4, 1966:

PRESIDENT APPEARS TO REVEL IN RESPONSIBILITY

(By J. A. Livingston)

"Mr. President, you're trying to do something no President has ever done before, you're trying to create an environment that * * *."

Lyndon Baines Johnson waved his hand in an emphatic negative and said:

"I don't agree. Every President has to provide leadership. I'm trustee for 190 million people. I was selected. I was not appointed. It's up to me to keep the most-advanced, the most-rewarding economy moving forward.

"The kind of economy we have today is the kind I've dreamed about since I was a boy. More than 73 million jobs. The unemployment rate is the lowest in 12 years. We're going in the right direction—where a man who wants work can get work and with decent pay.

"For the progress we've made I'm grateful. That we can go further, I'm hopeful. But remember, 3 million are unemployed. We have 3 million to go."

The conversation—it wasn't exactly an interview—took place in the President's cozy, personal office in the White House. The President was immaculate—blue suit with vest, light blue shirt with a blue, soft collar, and dark tie. His smoothly ironed French cuffs edged out under his jacket sleeves to show modest blue cuff links with the State seal of Texas.

Surely, he is one of the world's best dressed men and one of the most vigorous. That he ever had a heart attack is difficult to credit. His mind roves actively, alertly, and comprehensively. His voice is loud and confident. And he's at ease with—you get the feeling that he revels in—responsibility.

He has no doubt where he stands and where the economy stands. He wants further gains in employment without inflation. He doesn't want to sacrifice social progress.

By persuasion, by putting price advances and economic trends in perspective, he hopes to tone down demand and overexpectation. In that sense, he's strictly a conservative—trying to keep what has been gained without losing out to a boom.

Nobody is being shanghaied. The Government does not tell businessmen or labor leaders what to do. It is, however, his duty and that of his Council of Economic Advisers to put at the disposal of persons who make wage and price decisions the statistical findings and judgment of the Government. The wage-price-productivity guideposts at 3.2 percent aren't law. They're like a sign: "New Grass Planted."

The businessman, the labor leader, and you and I—all of us—must decide whether we want to destroy what has been planted. Profits must be put in perspective so that the businessman can decide whether a price increase is necessary at a time when American sons are giving up lives in Vietnam.

Similarly, the individual worker ought to be able to measure whether union leaders are asking too much and thus adding to living costs. Is a big wage increase fitting when men are on the battlefield?

Again, I came back to the beginning: "But you're trying to develop a mood, you're trying to influence decisions * * *."

Again the President broke in. He is only trying to lay facts before men who make decisions so that they can make good decisions. Labor leaders and businessmen should be helped to see the economy in its entirety.

At a time such as this, businessmen should ask themselves: Is this the best time to expand? Will money be as high priced and as hard to borrow later as now? What will be the status, the usefulness of plants built now if Vietnam spending, if war orders decline? Might it not be less costly and less risky to postpone construction?

The Government is setting an example. The President has issued orders to all Cabinet officials to review construction plans with a view to postponing or stretching out Federal or federally supported projects. Such reviews will be made at the beginning of each quarter.

The guideposts have been applied to pay increases in the Government and the armed services.

And the President is pleased that the New Jersey Operating Engineers Union finally agreed to submit its recently negotiated contract to the arbitration of Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz. Undoubtedly, the contract, calling for wage and fringe benefits more than double the 3.2-percent guidepost, will be rolled back. This should set at rest the idea that the administration only operates against corporations on price increases.

Here is the economic shape up: The Vietnam budget is up about $6 billion from last year. The total output of goods and services—the gross national product—will increase this year by about $50 billion. And Federal outlays aside from Vietnam will remain approximately stable. Consequently, there will be $44 billion more in goods and services for the civilian economy.

For the economy to overheat, the consumer, the businessman and State and local governments will have to buy more than $44 billion above last year; they will have to scramble for more than the economy can produce.

To keep demand in line with growth of output available for civilians, an increase in the Federal income tax on individuals might be effective. But how many votes would such a proposal get in Congress? It would have to be accompanied by an increase in corporate tax rate, too.

As for the 7-percent investment tax credit: Many persons who originally opposed it now want it to stay. And Secretary of the Treasury Fowler is disinclined to take it off.

The President is waiting for the April returns, even as, on an election night, he'll wait for the reports from critical counties. What effect will the $6 billion a year increase in social security taxes have on consumer demand?

Will the increase in excise taxes and the speedup in corporate tax payments skim off some demand? And will the tighter money policy of the Federal Reserve System—higher interest rates—slow down plans for expansion?

He is looking ahead—beyond April, beyond May and beyond the November election. And if I understand the President, economics is to him a social tool. He's not interested in dollar aggregates, but in human needs—in jobs. He doesn't want to take some of the heat out of the economic bloodstream by taxing off buying power only to discover that he has to put the buying power back. He can't afford, as President, an on-and-off policy.

He's like the physician before examining a patient. He still hasn't taken the thermometer out of the black bag. He still has to put the thermometer under the patient's tongue, count to 60, and see how much the fever is and whether the fever is accompanied by chills. Then, and only then, will he decide what kind of pills to use—red, white or blue. As yet, he has made no diagnosis. In his public life, he has met too many persons who talk first and think afterward. He'd rather think and then act.

And he's extremely wary of the regional or local viewpoint. He tries to avail himself of all the views he can—from that of George Meany, head of the AFL–CIO, to that of Frederick Kappel, head of American Telephone & Telegraph; from Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK, Democrat, of Massachusetts, to that of Gov. Richard Hughes, New Jersey; from that of Mayor John V. Lindsay, of New York, to an official of Johnson City.

Yes, and he likes to get the views of men on his farm, who have time to reflect and ponder and are not riding around in Cadillacs preoccupied with hour-to-hour business decisions.

You feel with the President as he says: "When a decision has been made on taxes, you can be sure it will be right for the economy and not dictated by political considerations." You know he's a politician. You know he's interested in votes. But he's experienced enough to know that votes depend on being right, not wrong. He is conscious that success brings many partners, but failure is his responsibility—alone.

The problem—the dilemma: The signs point both up and down. The reading is not absolutely positive for the President.

Foremost in the President's mind are the Kennedy-Johnson achievements. He does not want to give up 5 years of steady progress to a recession or to inflation. He hopes to flatten out the boom and so prolong prosperity. He notes that industrial production is up 9 percent over a year ago. Retail sales are also up 9 percent in a year. And the average pay of a worker in manufacturing is $110 a week. Further, corporate profits in relation to capital are the highest on record over a sustained interval. And this is after taxes.

After that, the President smiles, but it's a grim smile, reflecting the accomplishments to date and the difficult task ahead. "This is the kind of economy we need to produce the goods the boys out in Vietnam must have and that we all want. We have to provide jobs for 1,500,000 new workers every year. We've got to avoid explosions like Watts. We've got to demonstrate to the world the abundant fruitfulness of free men operating in a free society.

"I know from my Economics 101, 102 and 103 that this is the kind of economy in which the seeds of speculation and overexpansion take root. I've had enough experience with inflation to want no part of it. Our economic policy must be to balance the gains of prosperity against the dangers of overheating."

That epitomizes the strength and aspirations of the man whose hand is on the economic throttle. His eyes and mind and thoughts are circumambient. On Vietnam, on Watts, on illiteracy, on joblessness, on price indexes, Government spending, private planning and politics—the art of the possible.

He is temporizing from day to day and week to week—seeking to avoid a tax rise, which subsequent events might indicate was premature and unnecessary. He is hoping that the good sense of the American people—labor leaders, businessmen, State and local government officials, and consumers—will help him.

He wants no part of rigid wage-price-and-profits controls. He doesn't want to repress Great Society programs. He may be overstaying his market. Price advances may accelerate. But he knows what he's doing. He calculates all risks.

For the President, this is a two-front war: A struggle to contain communism in Vietnam and a continuous battle against "discrimination, despair, poverty, disease and illiteracy" at home. He's determined to succeed on both fronts.

WORKS OF PEACE

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Farnsley] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. FARNSLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Louisville Courier-Journal on April 4, 1966, called attention to the fact that humanitarian aid in an emergency is one thing, sustained multinational aid for the economic and social development of all Asia another.

The paper thinks:

> One of the happiest developments during Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Washington visit was Eugene Black's report of progress in this area through the Asian Development Bank and the Mekong River power and dam project.

An "inspired" work of peace, the paper adds, is "the proposed creation of a permanent binational educational institution in India."

Because many will want to read of these positive efforts for economic and social development, I suggest that this editorial be made a part of the Record.

[From the Louisville (Ky.) Courier Journal, Apr. 4, 1966]

Heartening Indications That Others Will Aid, Too

Canada's decision to join the United States in helping to feed India, stricken by the worst drought of the century, is heartening indication that other "have" nations will accept President Johnson's challenge to a multilateral aid effort not only in India but in all Asia.

If famine is to be averted in the world's largest democracy, such aid must be forthcoming. The Indian Government estimates that 6 to 7 million tons of food grain will be needed between now and December to avert mass hunger. Canada will provide 1 million tons. The United States, once Congress gives the President the emergency authority he asks, will ship 3½ million tons.

For the rest, the United States must, as the President put it, "expect and press for the most energetic and compassionate action by all countries of all political faiths"—an invitation to Communist-bloc nations, too, to participate. Surely most Americans will agree with the President's next remark: "If their response is insufficient, and if we must provide more before we stand by and watch children starve, we will do so."

But humanitarian aid in an emergency is one thing, sustained multinational aid for the economic and social development of all Asia another. One of the happiest developments during Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Washington visit was Eugene Black's report of progress in this area through the Asian Development Bank and the Mekong River power and dam project.

The Asian Bank stems from Asian initiative, with Mr. Black, the former World Bank president, helping to inspire more. Some 31 nations have already signed the Bank charter. It is expected that by September 15 more will have ratified the charter and the Bank will begin functioning in its new Manila headquarters. The United States has offered $200 million toward the Bank's capitalization, $100 million more in a trust fund to be administered by the Bank if other nations match that amount.

And behind this challenge to international cooperation, already accepted by 31 nations, is President Johnson's pledge of last April of an American investment totaling $1 billion—with the first step already taken on what he sensibly conceives to be "a very long journey." That first step was his signing of legislation authorizing U.S. participation in the Asian Bank.

Equally impressive is the record of international cooperation which brought the United States and seven other countries to pledge $21.4 million for construction of the largest Mekong River project so far scheduled, that on the river near Vientiane, capital of Laos. The other contributors are Japan, the Netherlands, Canada, Thailand, Denmark, Australia, and New Zealand.

Even more significant, perhaps, is the achievement of agreement between four frequently squabbling nations affected by the lower basin of the 2,600-mile-long river—Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam. Agreement for the exchange of power between Laos and Thailand was signed also by Cambodia and South Vietnam.

Mr. Black sensibly counsels patience—"you cannot run out and develop a country overnight." But as the President's special adviser on southeast Asia, he manifestly is in optimistic agreement with the Presidential dictum: "Neither independence nor human dignity will ever be won by arms alone. It also requires the works of peace."

Among such works, one of the most inspired, surely, is the proposed creation of a permanent binational educational institution in India to be financed with $300 million in U.S. counterpart funds—20 per cent of the rupee credits for grain shipments set aside to the account of the United States and spendable by it only in India. Half of the administrators of this binational "foundation" will be Indians, half Americans—drawn mostly from private life.

Congress surely will never negate the vision and generosity of this proposal, or deny our self-interest in it. For as Ambassador Chester Bowles once pinpointed the basic reason for international aid: "Unless the poverty, malnutrition and illiteracy of countries such as India are met and mastered, there can be no hope for security and prosperity in the more privileged countries of the world."

OUR BANKING BUSINESS

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashley] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, much has been said recently concerning the Comptroller of the Currency, James J. Saxon, the soundness of the banking business, and the possibility that the the criminal element has infiltrated our national banks.

The following excerpts from the Monday, April 18, 1966, editorial in the Washington Post seems to pinpoint this issue with particular clarity:

> To be sure, James J. Saxon, the Comptroller of the Currency, is one of the more controversial luminaries of the Federal firmament. He is a stubborn, proud man and his aggressive thrusts on more than one occasion have outraged sensibilities by disturbing the equilibrium within the bureaucracy that regulates the banking industry. But compatibility with the establishment is not the sole criterion by which a civil servant should be judged. By urging innovations and pointing to new opportunities for profit and growth, Mr. Saxon has shaken the federally chartered national banks out of a lethargy that was induced by the trauma of the 1929 crash and the stagnation of the 1930's.
>
> Since 1961, Mr. Saxon has chartered 500 new national banks and acquired many enemies in the process. In some localities his new institutions are a threat to local banking monopolies. In others hackles were raised because charters were granted to groups which by virtue of religion, color, or national origin have seldom enjoyed the privilege of creating credit.
>
> The fact is that only one of the new national banks has failed, and a very small one at that. Moreover, if there is in fact a drive by racketeers to enter the banking industry, they are more likely to succeed by taking over existing State-chartered institutions than by applying for new national bank charters which are granted only after exhaustive investigations.
>
> There is no place in banking for unscrupulous men. But concern for the depositor—actually they are amply protected by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation—must not be used as a mask to perpetuate privilege.

SOCIETY HILL WEEK IN PHILADELPHIA

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Byrne] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, since I have the honor and privilege of representing the Third Congressional District of Pennsylvania, in which the Independence National Historical Park is located, I am delighted to announce to the Members of the House of Representatives the following program for Society Hill Week, in the city of Philadelphia, during the period June 5 to 12, and to invite any and all to participate in these events:

Society Hill Week, June 5–12, 1966

The many varied events of the week, still incomplete, are:

June 5, opening day: There will be a display of old police and fire equipment, antique cars, horse-drawn carriages, an antique flea market (also on June 4), open house at the historic churches in the area, as well as the dedication of Delancey Square by the Philadelphia Recreation Department, at which Mayor James H. J. Tate will be principal speaker.

June 6, business and industry day: A nationally known speaker will talk to Philadelphia's business leaders at a luncheon at Gimbel's. Dr. F. Bruce Baldwin, Jr., president of Abbott's Dairies, is chairman of the day. The oldest companies in Philadelphia, which date back to post-Revolutionary War days, will be honored.

June 7, beautification day: A replica of an 18th century garden in the heart of Philadelphia, at Third and Walnut Streets, will be dedicated by Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, who will then receive the second annual Society Hill Medal. The garden, adjacent to the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society headquarters, is part of the National Independence Park that is operated by the National Park Service.

June 8, Pennsylvania Hospital day: A colorful fair in Washington Square Park.

June 10: Children's event at Independence Hall in a.m., tying in with salute to Flag Week. A band concert, swim show by the famed Vespers Club, and fireworks at Society Hill Towers, in the evening.

June 11, Colonial Fair day: Children are invited to participate in playing colonial games for prizes, ride on the *Good Ship Lollipop,* along the historic Delaware River.

DISSENTING VIEWS OF HON. JAMES G. FULTON ON SPACE PROGRAM

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FULTON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I recommend that NASA authorization be reduced by $66 million. I further urge that management procedures, both in NASA and NASA contractors, be substantially revised for efficiency and economy.

LUNAR RECEIVING LABORATORY

I strongly oppose the decision of the Science and Astronautics Committee to approve the construction of a lunar receiving laboratory at the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston, Tex., at this time. I believe that this proposal, with an initial construction cost of $9.1 million, is poorly conceived and has not been given an adequate amount of study and analysis.

We must have, for the processing and analyses of lunar samples, existing laboratory facilities, be they Government, university or college, corporate, foundation, or private. We will also need vacuum chamber facilities, combined with specialized laboratory equipment and instruments to make a thorough study of the spacecraft and astronauts returning from the moon.

I do not agree with the NASA arguments that there should be one facility, that it should be centralized, that it should be located at the Manned Spacecraft Center, or that it should be started at this time.

We do not have at this point any of the results of the planned unmanned lunar research missions, such as the Surveyor and lunar orbitor programs. These are to provide the very directions that our future programs are to take. Making a decision at this time could as well be based on the "green cheese" theory of the moon.

Nobody has now any knowledge other than surmise or guess as to what the crust of the moon is. Let us face it, we simply have no facts at this time on which to build a practical foundation for a laboratory. Hence, no considered judgment can be formed.

The ideal location for analyzing lunar samples is in the lunar environment on the moon; namely, a lunar-based laboratory. Under the circumstances, possibly and probably, temporary interim earth facilities or installations should be planned. For this, we should use as many of our existing facilities as are available, with such modifications as may be necessary in the light of the results of the coming unmanned lunar exploratory flights.

It would make more sense to have a small delay at this time rather than guess 3 to 4 years into the future, before the unmanned lunar exploratory programs are completed, so that the finally constructed facilities can really meet the actual needs when the lunar samples are actually returned from the moon.

Considering the vast distances involved in our galaxy and the very close proximity of our satellite, the moon, as well as its close identity to the earth in mass, density, color, and surface variations and other factors, we should not proceed on the bare assumption that the moon's composition varies greatly from that of the earth. This will certainly be an expensive and costly guess.

The question of contamination of the earth from lunar samples is at best a debatable one. High NASA officials have stated that the chances of such contamination are no lower than one in a million. This "number" is pure fantasy.

I would like to add that the earth now receives hundreds of millions, really uncounted numbers, of micrometeorites, many of which are not dissipated in the upper atmosphere but reach the earth relatively unchanged from their original state. Many of these are so small that they become entrapped in the moisture of our upper atmosphere and fall to earth slowly rather than in a fiery descent as is the case with the larger "shooting stars" or sizable meteors. We have yet to know of any contamination occurring as a result of these particles of matter reaching the earth from outer space. Or are we contaminated already?

In the NASA site selection survey, I enjoy pointing out the method of selection of the NASA site selection committee.

From the point of view of an intelligent person, the appointment by NASA of five out of nine members on this committee from the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston, is charmingly innocent. It is really disarming to learn that, to insure a majority of five members working as a team, two additional members were appointed from NASA headquarters to the committee.

It is enchanting to learn that the Manned Spacecraft Center at Houston was the very site finally chosen, as there seems to have been some slight predisposition in that direction. Entirely by accident, as top officials of NASA have so adequately pointed out in their testimony to our Science and Astronautics Committee.

Needless to say, such predisposition does cause a few wry smiles and rather knowing chuckles, particularly in the complete absence of any doubt or disagreement by any member of the site selection committee, as evidenced in testimony, either before or after the final choice, on any factor, or on other installations. When everybody on a committee thinks alike, some people are not thinking very much—or at all.

A reading of the site selection survey reports does not convince me that an adequate and thorough survey was made. For example, NASA gives an order of consideration in site selection as: (1) availability of utilities; (2) accommodations for visitors; (3) scientific investigation capabilities; and, lastly, (4) construction, operation, and maintenance costs. I believe the last two factors shown, namely (3) and (4), should properly be (1) and (2) in the order of consideration.

NASA officially predicts that the proposed laboratory will have to be expanded as samples are obtained from other planetary bodies. Hence, the decision to locate the basic foundation of all extraterrestrial sample processing only at the Manned Spacecraft Center at Houston is tantamount to locating all such future activity at the same location.

I believe this is wrong, particularly in view of the many existing facilities in the country which are capable of being used with but minor modifications and which already possess pools of scientific talent trained in biological quarantine and processing of metals and mineral samples. Many also have vacuum chamber facilities.

Considering only selected Government facilities, these include: (1) the Communicable Disease Center of the U.S. Public Health Service at Atlanta, Ga., with facilities for radiation counting, and laboratory work as well as trained personnel; (2) the U.S. Army Biological Center at Fort Detrick, Frederick, Md., with facilities for radiation counting, quarantine, biological research and development, as well as trained personnel; (3) the National Institutes of Health at Bethesda, Md., with facilities for radiation counting, quarantine and laboratory support, with trained personnel; (4) the Oak Ridge National Laboratory at Oak Ridge, Tenn., with facilities for vacuum chamber support, radiation counting, quarantine and laboratory support, as well as trained personnel; (5) the U.S. Air Force School of Aerospace Medicine at Brooks Air Force Base, Tex., with facilities for radiation counting and trained personnel; (6) the Ames Research Center at Moffett Field, Calif., with facilities for vacuum chamber support, radiation counting and laboratory support, as well as trained personnel; (7) the Naval Biological Laboratories at Oakland, Calif., with facilities for quarantine and laboratory support as well as trained personnel; and (8) the Los Alamos Laboratories at

Los Alamos, N. Mex., with facilities for vacuum chamber support, radiation counting, and laboratory support as well as trained personnel.

In addition to these facilities with capabilities, there are numerous other Government installations with capabilities as well as numerous industrial corporations with the ability and plant to perform analyses on all types of metals and minerals.

I believe existing facilities can easily perform the required tasks. This would eliminate a further concentration of still more research and development dollars at one NASA center.

Should none of the existing facilities be used, separately or in combination, the best location for a lunar receiving laboratory would be in an area as close to the splash down point in the Pacific Ocean as is possible and where power and utilities exist, such as Honolulu or some other Pacific island.

I oppose strongly the thesis advanced by NASA that the returning spacecraft, astronauts and lunar samples be kept together from the time of splash down to the time they reach a lunar receiving facility. I advocate the exact opposite, that they be kept separate to prevent any losses or contamination in the event of an accident while being transported across the oceans and the country.

I see no reason why the facility proposed must be constructed at this time with a crash program. NASA states that the facility must be started now if the United States is successful in achieving a lunar landing in early 1969. Why did they take so long to make up their mind? Why was it necessary to ask for approval of a project with inadequately prepared presentations and with such a sense of urgency and rush?

NASA claims it needs 15 Saturn V-Apollo systems to insure a successful lunar landing mission. If most optimistically the lunar landing mission is successful in early 1969, then some lunar receiving facilities must be considered.

If this early triumph and success occurs, then NASA will not need at least half of the expensive systems which they have already ordered.

NASA programs cannot be presented in opposite and contradictory ways.

Either the laboratory could be started now or NASA should eliminate about half of the 15 Saturn V-Apollo systems and return the funds saved to the taxpayers.

Let us face it, the original NASA presentation on the lunar receiving laboratory was completely inadequate. Everybody, but everybody on the Science and Astronautics Committee agrees to that. Their second presentation took place less than 1 month later without adequate preparation.

I must point out that the Subcommittee on Manned Space Flight which examined this matter and on which I am the ranking minority member, unanimously and on a nonpartisan basis, deferred the NASA proposal for the laboratory in its report of March 24, 1966, to the full Committee on Science and Astronautics.

My position against the proposed construction project is based on inadequate jutsification for a central, major facility, improper consideration of the many alternative facilities available, and insufficient time for the conduct of a meaningful field study, with outside expert help, of these alternative facilities.

I criticize the proposed project specifically because the Science and Astronautics Committee could not conduct a full and detailed field examination of the problem and its possible solution. No effort was made to make the necessary field investigations, to contact various competent industrial and construction contractors, to discuss the problem with members of the scientific community, or to examine the inadequate estimates presented on the costs of modifying existing facilities.

Over my strong objections, the full Committee on Science and Astronautics approved reinstatement of the lunar receiving laboratory based on a further hearing of several hours on one day. I believe the decision to start the laboratory on a centralized basis, at this time, at the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston, is a shot in the dark rather than a decision made on an adequate development of area of reference and basic facts upon which to base sound business judgment.

APOLLO APPLICATIONS AND ADVANCED MISSION PROGRAMS

I strongly and firmly oppose the NASA request for $41.9 million for the Apollo Applications program and recommend it be deleted for purposes of economy and efficiency.

The Apollo Applications program has not—repeat not—been approved by the administration, according to testimony presented to the Science and Astronautics Committee. In fact, the administration saw fit substantially to reduce the original request of NASA for this program. It must be remembered that this Apollo Applications program follows the completion of the Apollo lunar landing program in this decade. This is at least 3 or 4 years from now.

NASA witnesses stated that the entire $41.9 million would be used in fiscal year 1967 to buy long leadtime hardware for additional Saturn 1B vehicles and additional Apollo spacecraft. This hardware is beyond the needs of the Apollo program. We do not even know and cannot possibly, at this time, estimate how much and how many surplus boosters, spacecraft and hardware will be available from the Apollo program after the lunar landing is completed.

NASA has not determined how many additional boosters, spacecraft and hardware will be needed for post-Apollo programs. Nobody can even guess at the programs. NASA has not presented to the Science and Astronautics Committee any information on the number of Apollo Applications flights, their purposes, missions or destinations—absolutely nothing.

NASA witnesses during the hearings stress that the funds requested for Apollo Applications programs are merely to maintain the current production capability. I would point out that this program capability is to be maintained without a set program or purpose, and no use has been planned for the hardware.

It is impossible to hold "open options," as claimed by NASA, for decisions on the Apollo Applications programs to be made, hopefully, in fiscal year 1968. This is an expensive, really expensive, theory. Businessmen would laugh at such "bone yard" production.

NASA indicates that the delay in approving the Apollo Applications programs already has increased its estimated program cost by as much as 20 percent. This is pure poppycock. No reasonable person can make such estimates at this time.

It is my opinion that NASA's plans for the Apollo Applications program are so indefinite that any estimates as to cost increases are purely speculative. They cannot be considered as substantive factors by the Congress in reaching a decision on this matter.

The hardware planned to be purchased by NASA will surely be obsolete by 1970, which is the earliest date for any flights under the Apollo Applications programs. The present generation of boosters, spacecraft and hardware, as well as fuels, will look like 1914 Fords by 1970. What are we to have: "Army and Navy and Space" surplus sales stores on every town corner?

The leadtime on the Saturn 1B vehicle and the Apollo spacecraft and current manufacturing lines are such that the proposed hardware will not be available until late 1969. We know that the tempo of launch activity will increase in the next few years. It is certain that the facts that will be learned from coming Apollo flights will require major changes and developments in the current generation of boosters, spacecraft, and hardware.

On my insistence, along with others, the Science and Astronautics Committee has voted additional funds for work—above administration requests—on high energy propellants, large solid rockets, and nuclear propulsion. This research will lead to propulsion breakthroughs, automation and control equipment, that will make the current launch vehicles obsolete elephants with rabbit-size payloads.

It is, therefore, premature to procure launch vehicles, at this time, that cannot be used until 1970 at the earliest, when known purposes cannot be determined for such vehicles.

I have always supported and continue to support the manned lunar landing programs. I have always stated that man's exploration of space will not end with the first landing on the moon. We should continue to take advantage of the almost limitless possibilities of space exploration and benefits to mankind.

The discovery of the relations of the 9 planets with their 37 moons of our solar system will be the work of generations. It staggers the imagination to realize there are over 30,000 objects in the area between Mars and Jupiter alone, the largest known to us being Ceres with a diameter of about 500 miles—and consider the tremendous size of Jupiter.

Future U.S. space programs beyond the manned lunar landing must be undertaken in a realistic, efficient, and orderly manner. I strongly recommend the requirement that NASA submit definite plans for Apollo Applications programs to Congress prior to the Science and Astronautics Committee's consideration of the fiscal year 1968 NASA authorization request. This is a must.

I state my firm conviction that NASA should delay the procurement of any hardware of additional launch vehicles and spacecraft until its plans for Apollo Applications programs have been more thoughtfully and thoroughly defined. This definition must take into account the results of the coming Apollo research flights on an integrated basis. It must include plans and specific projects and outline future research programs.

These plans and projects should be submitted through appropriate channels to Congress for prompt approval when the necessary justification and base for decisionmaking has been provided.

Consequently, I strongly recommend the deletion of the $41.9 million requested for the Apollo Applications programs at this time. NASA should be encouraged to continue project definition but I strongly oppose the purchase of any "shelf-type" unnecessary hardware at this time of Government deficits, war, and inflation.

The U.S. Government is advising U.S. business at present to forgo unnecessary inventory purchases and to defer capital expenditures, to assist the war efforts, prevent inflation, and ease pressure on the economy because of the shortage of skilled personnel. The U.S. Government certainly should not now buy this large amount of useless, expensive, technical inventory that has no definite use or program.

I also recommend the deletion of $5 million from the $8 million request by NASA for its advanced missions program. NASA has failed to provide any justification, plans, projects, or results in its presentation regarding this program.

In my opinion, the advanced missions program is purely "blue sky," and should be reduced by at least $5 million. I therefore recommend $3 million as the budget level for this "no purpose" think department.

FACILITY PLANNING AND DESIGN

As a senior member of this committee, I joined with other committee members in placing heavy and firm emphasis on the efficient use of facility planning and design funds. The purpose of this emphasis has been to bring about improved construction planning and management procedures within NASA. I have strongly supported this element of NASA's program since I am a firm believer in sound, long-range planning.

NASA has not used or programed a substantial part of the authorization granted for these purposes in past years. At present, the records show a balance of $11.9 million in unfunded and unprogramed authorization for facility planning and design. In addition to prior years' authorization remaining unfunded, testimony received from NASA witnesses indicated that $5 million in funds appropriated in past years for facility planning and design remain unobligated at the present time.

NASA requested $7 million for facility planning and design in fiscal year 1967. The committee wisely reduced the amount of the request to $5.5 million. There seems to be no reason why NASA should continue to request from $7 million to $10 million annually for advance facility planning in view of the large unfunded and unobligated balances available. There is no doubt in my mind that amounts available and to be made available for these purposes in fiscal year 1967 are not justified.

In my opinion, this element of the space program should be tightened in order to insure careful use of the funds authorized. The theory behind advance facility planning is sound and serves a good purpose, but the Congress must insist upon better use of the authority in order that the full benefit may be obtained.

Under these circumstances, I recommend that $10 million of prior years' unfunded authorization now available to NASA be rescinded.

CHANGING NASA OBJECTIVES

My criticism of the development of NASA is that its original objective was to be the research and development agency of the Federal Government in the fields of space and aeronautics. But primarily, research and development jurisdiction was to include research and development, wherever it occurred, be it in the Government, private or public sectors, civilian or military sectors.

NASA is now settling down to become primarily a manufacturing, production and engineering operation. Frankly, the research effort in every field is being crowded out and held to a bare minimum by the demands of the Apollo lunar landing mission. This started to become true in the original Mercury era, advanced greatly in the Gemini era to the point where science, research, and development are now being forced into total eclipse in the $5.012 billion presently requested by NASA.

In fact, I consider that only about 5 percent of the total current NASA budget request is to be devoted to science, research, and development.

NASA's claim that the construction of boosters, the development of hardware, flight training and navigation missions, the production of spacecraft, the operation of tracking networks, and so forth, constitute research and development is a far cry from the scientific meaning of the term.

My view of the present Apollo program is that its proponents are afraid at this point to try anything new or integrate new boosters or high energy fuels into the complex.

It is safer to proceed with the same old fuels, the same old generation of boosters, and the same old type of hardware, as the demand is for immediate success, and not for the best type of performance nor for the scientifically most productive and advantageous. It is better not to risk any new developments but to make do with what NASA has at present, simply performing engineering, plumbing, and construction chores.

The race with Russia is hurting NASA scientific and research programs.

URGENT NEED FOR MANPOWER SURVEY OF NASA

I believe that the continuing mushrooming of NASA personnel strength, particularly in the area of scientific and engineering personnel, has reached the point where it requires a detailed review by the Congress.

As an example, I point out the situation at the only recently approved Electronics Research Center at Boston, where personnel requirements have increased from 250 in fiscal year 1965 to 550 in fiscal year 1966 to an estimated need of 1,000 in fiscal year 1967. All this increase happens while the Center itself has yet to build one building for its activities.

If the large amounts of personnel used by NASA were blue-collar workers rather than technicians, there might not be such need for caution. But the fact of the matter is that the great bulk of NASA personnel are scientists, engineers and technicians, all of whom are in critical shortage in the U.S. economy.

Aside from the question of determining the actual needs of NASA, there is the major question of management. Is NASA using these critically-scarce personnel in the best possible fashion? Is NASA management responding to the sudden changes in our space program as projects phase out and others expand or reach their peak effort?

The impact of reserving to our space activities, both in Government and contractor plants, a large percentage of our scientific and technical personnel can only be judged serious and critical, in view of the war in Vietnam, the current inflation in the economy, and the need to maintain a healthy scientific pool of talent in our scientific and academic communities, as well as for defense industries and business in general.

I strongly recommend that a management survey be conducted by an outside firm of experts of the management and utilization aspects of scientific and technical manpower in NASA. I further recommend that the report of this survey be provided to the Congress before final action on the fiscal year 1967 NASA authorization bill takes place.

I recommend a study in depth of NASA manpower utilization by the appropriate committee of the Congress—either the Manpower Utilization Subcommittee of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, or by the House Government Operations Committee.

INADEQUATE FIELD MONITORING OF NASA ACTIVITIES

I am seriously concerned over the lack of field monitoring of NASA activities by the Bureau of the Budget, the General Accounting Office, and the Science and Astronautics Committee.

For example, the Bureau of the Budget has far too few people with far too much control over the NASA budget. I understand that there are only two or three people in the Bureau of the Budget who have the responsibility to make all types of major decisions concerning the $5 billion NASA budget, and this over a period of less than a week. This type of control can only be superficial.

The General Accounting Office has yet to provide Congress with any meaningful management surveys or audits of one of the largest agencies in the Government. I feel that this agency is far too bound with its past history and is emphasizing accounting and bookkeeping practices at the expense of scientific management surveys.

On a $5 billion annual budget, we need to move far beyond the limitations of accountancy and bookkeeping so that we have available for congressional purposes, personnel with adequate judgment and experience in research and development activities. These are needed in the General Accounting Office as well as on the Science and Astronautics Committee so that Congress can make decisions of choice among the various programs presented by NASA in the light of the potential research and development gains, all based on an adequate base of reference.

The days of monitoring and supervising large technical programs on the basis of accountancy and bookkeeping are gone forever. We must have technically qualified people to oversee technical programs. Real current and continuing program evaluation is badly needed, and sorely lacking.

For several years I have been urging the Science and Astronautics Committee to increase its technical staff by at least five scientists, engineers, and accountants, for continuous field investigatory duties. I repeat my recommendation, particularly in view of the fact that the committee has not used all of its present allocated funds.

For the Congress to be fully responsive to the U.S. taxpayers on a highly technical program involving about $5 billion a year, it must have research and development, construction, and technical management personnel assigned exclusively for field duties.

OFFICE OF INSPECTOR GENERAL

An Inspector General, with necessary staff and facilities, should be established in the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The current NASA program is replete with a myriad of complex and sophisticated projects designed to meet a wide variety of objectives of importance to the Nation.

Management problems are bound to arise as a result of the various programs and objectives, involving an annual Federal expenditure of over $5 billion and the future of the national space program. I believe it is necessary that the Administrator of NASA be provided with the capability of obtaining independent evaluations and examinations of management actions by personnel other than those involved in formulating or implementing management policies.

It is significant to note that numerous other agencies of the Federal Government have recognized the importance of utilizing Inspector General offices to effectuate internal and periodic examinations, evaluations, and corrective measures. Among these agencies are the Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, the Department of State, and, more recently, the Department of Agriculture.

The Cost Reduction Directorate within the NASA headquarters, supposedly established for investigative purposes, is only a bug on the surface of the problem. It is a superficial device which centers attention on minor cost accounting matters to determine if eggs are cheaper on another counter. There is insufficient depth of investigation in the cost reduction activities of this Directorate, and it does not provide the across-the-board analysis of NASA activities at all levels of management that an Inspector General type of organization would provide.

This Directorate, established in 1964, consists only of three professional persons, none of whom have any engineering, scientific, or technical background in the space and aeronautics field. Assigning three nontechnical people to oversee a $5 billion program from a management analysis point of view is like a canary pecking at the mountain. This Directorate was established after the introduction of my H.R. 7770, in July 1963, for an independent NASA Inspector General and does not solve the problem.

Therefore, I strongly recommend that NASA establish and maintain an Inspector General to insure that the space program and objectives of this Nation are carried out and met with both economy and efficiency.

POOR GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF NASA CONTRACTS

NASA continues to place the bulk of its contracts on a noncompetitive basis in areas of the country which have been the recipients of major prior year contracts. The provision by the Science and Astronautics Committee in the fiscal year 1966 NASA authorization act, that NASA take measures to promote a more equitable distribution of its contracts has had, in my opinion, no effect whatsoever. NASA has simply ignored this provision.

I have yet to see any reports from NASA as to what, if any, measures they have taken to carry out this congressional mandate. Nor have I seen any practical results since the inclusion of the provision in last year's authorization act. The plain fact is that NASA displayed its complete lack of interest in the subject by excluding this provision in the administration bill sent to the Science and Astronautics Committee for fiscal year 1967.

The NASA program which appears to be distributed on an equitable basis is the NASA sustaining university program of research, facilities, and training grants. But this is not to be considered to be a solution to the problem of securing a reasonable and equitable distribution of NASA contracts throughout the Nation and the various States. NASA is to be complimented on its efforts in distributing this $40 million annual program on broad geographical basis. But the overwhelming portion of the remaining $5 billion continues to be awarded or expended annually in specific, almost fixed locations, with no known efforts to spread new work, or diversify to neglected regions.

This causes an unhealthy concentration of science, research, and engineering talent and drains the taxpayers of the rest of the country of their most valued asset, "brains." Technical competence in this country is an asset to which every State and section of the country is entitled to its just share, and as a step in the opportunity for progress.

I recommend that NASA be required to report to the Congress, not later than January 26, 1967, the specific measures NASA has undertaken to correct the current distortion and unbalance in the geographical distribution of NASA contract awards. This report should also include the most current distribution of all NASA expenditures by State, region, congressional district, or metropolitan area.

Congress should take specific action to correct this situation and prevent the continuation of the current "brain-drain" of outstanding engineers, scientists, teachers, and students to certain concentrated areas. The problem of trained students should be faced directly and handled by Congress to protect the local taxpayers who finance the local education and specialized training of outstanding students who are immediately lost to local communities, through actions of NASA roving recruiting teams for technical, scientific, and engineering personnel.

JET PROPULSION LABORATORY, CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

I believe that the "reform" of the management of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory has gone too far.

I remain strongly opposed to the industrial-type management structure that has been imposed upon the organization of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory by the current NASA contract. I believe that the Laboratory, devoted to science, research, and development, should not be severely limited to carrying out programs under specific contracts of NASA.

The Laboratory should be organized so as to permit maximum flexibility in the employment of expertise. It should also be organized to bring about the greatest amount of interchange of knowledge in the various scientific disciplines, both on a horizontal basis as well as on a perpendicular basis.

I believe that the present type of industrial organization heavily emphasizing completion of programs under NASA's contracts does not at present allow the degree of flexibility necessary in a high level research laboratory such as Jet Propulsion Laboratory.

The rigid channel of communication imposed by this type organization structure tend to limit and put a real constraint upon the creativity of the scientific and research personnel of the Laboratory. This prevents the optimum use of the scientific talent of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory process.

There are two extremes in organization applicable to the Laboratory: First, a purely industrial-type operation where all tasks are specifically defined; or second, an academic or university-type operation where the initiative in formulating tasks comes from the faculty.

What is required at the Laboratory is a "formula" or "middle of the road" organization and relationship with NASA which permits responsible NASA control and at the same time does not inhibit the creativity and initiative of the Laboratory scientists.

The important thing is not manpower or money but rather flexibility in operations. The interchange of indisciplinary information remains an internal problem within the Laboratory. Working level scientists must have the initiative to effect such an interchange.

JPL should have an "in-between" type organization compared to a solely industrial-type or academic-type organization. It would not be proper for NASA to completely freewheel. There must be a middle ground to permit initiative on scientific research and development. There is "room for improvement" at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory.

The present NASA contract spells out broad areas of scientific research to be undertaken by the Laboratory concerning the moon and planets. NASA must not, in its zeal to maintain control, restrict the Laboratory from exercising its initiative in proposing the specific tasks and methods to achieve the broad goals specified in the basic contract.

Let us face it: the imposition of an industrial-type organization on a research laboratory such as Jet Propulsion Laboratory can well smother creative activity and reduce the quality of the output and make the facility a manufacturing and plumbing concern.

There is room for improvement in the management and relations of the NASA under the contracts at JPL.

It is my belief that NASA has tightened the management control of the Laboratory, as was necessary in the test phase of the Ranger and Mariner programs. The technical and managerial performance of the Laboratory has certainly improved and is now on a high level. Now there is no need for maintaining rigid, tight managerial control and close program supervision and direction, which in reality is useful only in spacecraft and hardware manufacturing activities and scientific payload construction.

There is no doubt that the purely industrial-type organization clearly specifies what programs are to be done, when they are to be done, and how they are to be done. But we need a compromise management and organizational form at JPL which is between the industrial-type organization and the university type.

There is no doubt that many of the scientists and research people at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory feel that they are constrained under NASA contracts at the working level. There is therefore a real necessity for compromise in order to be able to restore initiative and provide flexibility so that initiative is given to the scientists at the working level.

I recommend that an early meeting be held between NASA, Dr. Pickering, of Jet Propulsion Laboratory, and Dr. DuBridge, of California Institute of Technology, on measures to improve the management and structure.

MANNED ORBITING LABORATORY PROGRAM

I strongly oppose the administration's placing the manned orbiting laboratory program under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Air Force.

MOL should be placed under the jurisdiction of NASA, the research and development agency of the Federal Government for space and aeronautics. Or at best, MOL should be placed under the joint jurisdiction of NASA and the U.S. Air Force, for development.

I believe the action is a serious mistake both in organization and philosophy as well as for public relations purposes.

I strongly oppose the action of Secretary of Defense McNamara when, in his December 10, 1963, news conference, Mr. McNamara announced without prior notice of any kind, that the manned orbiting laboratory program would be assigned to the Air Force. Neither Congress nor the scientific community of the country had any prior notice or inkling that this was to be the case until Mr. McNamara made his bland announcement.

I also oppose the announcement by the President on August 25, 1964, at a news conference that the MOL program would be worked upon by certain major contractors. This is certainly not the way to do business nor is it appropriate to ignore the existing science and research facilities of the Federal Government without any consultation or authorization by Congress whatever. It is complete fiction to state, as Secretary of Defense McNamara has assumed, that MOL is completely a military task and therefore can be handled by him as Secretary of Defense, as if he and that Department are the only people concerned in this tremendous development.

The announcement by Secretary McNamara makes a fiction and is in direct violation of the expressed intent of the Congress in section 102(a) of the original Space Act, Public Law 85–568, dated July 28, 1958, wherein it was expressed that:

> The Congress hereby declares that it is the policy of the United States that activities in space should be devoted to peaceful purposes for the benefit of all mankind.

The action of Secretary of Defense McNamara is also in direct violation of the provisions of Resolution 1472, International Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, adopted by the United Nations at the 856th plenary meeting of the 14th General Assembly on December 12, 1959. Under this resolution, the United States, along with other countries including the U.S.S.R., agreed to, among other things, foster international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space. It was a privilege and a real responsibility for me to be able to work as one of the delegates on the U.S. mission to the United Nations for this purpose, under the leadership of Henry Cabot Lodge, chief U.S. delegate.

Is the Presidential order the beginning of a new military era in space? This basic national policy the Congress of the United States should decide, according to the will of the American people after thorough study and due deliberation.

Being first in space for scientific and prestige purposes is one thing. Being first in space to better deliver weapons of destruction or nuclear and atomic weapons is quite another field entirely.

Do the American people want the administration to have the first Manned Orbiting Laboratory solely dedicated for military purposes, and by so doing, to exclude all research and development which could be done by NASA for the benefit and progress of the American people?

THE MILLENNIUM OF CHRISTIANITY IN POLAND, MAY 3, 1966

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Dow] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, I rise to comment on a matter that should be of the gravest concern to every American regardless of creed or national origin who shares my deep and abiding belief in the necessity for more and broader international communications. If we are to see the reemergence in our time of a world free from anxiety, rid of the specter of war, swept clean of misunderstanding, and delivered from the plight of spiritual rootlessness, we must be willing to accept every opportunity for peaceful and meaningful dialog; whether as individuals, in groups, communities, institutions, and even nations and families of nations. When such opportunities arise only to be thwarted, whether from fear, political expediency, or any of a host of reasons, then all men must rise to speak out.

I call to your attention, Mr. Speaker, and to yours, my distinguished colleagues, items in recent newspapers reporting the refusal of the Government of Poland to grant visas to the supreme pontiff and to prelates from around the world so that they may participate in celebrating the millennium of Christianity in Poland this May 3.

I can hardly find words to express my profound sorrow as an individual and as an American that the people of Poland are to be denied this opportunity to meet with these great spiritual leaders in a spirit of communion and celebration.

I have this day sent the following telegram to the cardinal primate of Poland. I feel certain, Mr. Speaker, that all men of good will share the sentiments I am about to read:

His Eminence, STEFAN CARDINAL WYSZINSKI,
Archiepiscopal Palace
Warsaw, Poland

YOUR EMINENCE: In my own behalf and in behalf of those of my constituents who proudly claim your great nation as their ancestral home I extend to you sincerest good wishes on the millennium of Christianity in Poland.

Let me also express my profoundest regrets that you will be unable to celebrate this joyous occasion in the company of the supreme pontiff and your princely brethren in the church.

Yours most sincerely,
JOHN G. DOW,
U.S. Congressman.

TO MAKE FREEDOM A LIVING REALITY

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. WOLFF] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I stand here proud to be an American. I share the national warmth that grips each of us when we continually take our giant steps toward that great society in the sciences, in outer space, and when we go to maximum lengths to secure freedom for a tiny nation half a world away. This makes me proud as an American and as a legislator.

I am proud too that as an American and as a legislator I can stand and tell this assemblage and the world where we have failed and where we are failing. While we defeat maladies that have plagued the world for centuries, perform miracles in outer space and sweep totalitarian forces for the villages and jungles of southeast Asia, we still turn a deaf ear to the fact that one-tenth of our Nation still finds it necessary to take to the streets with picket signs, chants, and slogans to try to gain the most elemental freedoms—guaranteed by a host of laws dating back for centuries.

Our newspapers show daily that in many parts of America you cannot be black and choose to work for freedom for black men—the penalty for such activity has too often been death.

We have a civil rights bill. We have a voting rights bill and also antipoverty legislation. Each of these are landmarks along the road toward meaningful equality and I am proud to have helped with their passage. But neither of these, nor the combination of all three, has yet lifted the Negro and other minorities meeting discrimination in our Nation, to the level of first-class citizenship enjoyed by their white, fellow Americans.

When I remember our civil rights bill, our voting rights bill, and our antipoverty legislation, I cannot help but remember also our 14th amendment of some years ago, the century-old Emancipation Proclamation, the Bill of Rights, and the Magna Carta. Each of these recognized that some men were not free—that there was a universal need for all men to be free.

I am not saying that we have made no progress. The truth is we have made much progress. We have come a long way—from a long, long way—and I cannot forget that life still in these United States, from Natchez, to Tuskegee, to Los Angeles and to Long Island, can be separate, unequal, and hell for most Americans who are Negro.

What I am saying is that we now come to the hardest part of our long fight for racial justice. It is now time to translate the high sounds of the legislator's language into humanity, dignity, and a vote for that gnarled-handed Negro sharecropper in the Black Belt; into the right of the Negro family traveling across this Nation—seeing America first—to eat, sleep, and go to the bathroom in places of public accommodation. It is time to implement the training programs that would point to a better future for our minority youngster than that of the day laborer at best and wino or drug addict at worst.

Our recent summers have pointed to still another future for the Negro youngster—that future filled with the angry, naked, violent defiance of the society that he believes has failed him and that he must, in turn, fail every day of his life. Some like to say that the screaming, unreasonable youths who fought society's guns, billy clubs, and troops with far fewer guns and mostly bricks, sticks, and fists, from Los Angeles to Harlem were hoodlums and not a part of the "responsible" Negro community. I cannot fully accept this because this is the easy answer. This implies that conditions are not really so bad in our Negro communities because only hoodlums have objected violently and it lets us off the hook. It leaves us comfortable while we procrastinate a little longer with the lives and aspirations of our different fellow Americans.

It says that we do not really need to change things because our riots were not by those we like to regard—mostly for convenience—as our Negro spokesmen. We repeat the old bromide that most Negroes are content with their place in America. The truth is they are not.

Three young Negroes were arrested last year and convicted on charges of plotting to blow up the Statue of Liberty and other national monuments. This was one of the most bizarre and irony-tinged stories to come out of the American scene. Americans were surprised, shocked, and frightened that three young men, Americans, could even consider the destruction of such purely American symbols.

Many a good white liberal, I am sure, grew warm inside to learn that a Negro policeman was the hero in the capture of the three young men.

But let us look closer than the volumes of newspaper copy that painted the three young men as far-left radicals. Let us remember, of course, that to many Americans, this light held high in New York harbor signaled freedom, dignity, and a real opportunity to follow the American dream, for European migrants since 1886. And let us not forget, let us never forget, that by 1886 the ancestors of our Negro citizens had already given their tears, their sweat, and their lives for this Nation.

And we still must fight and plead and pass laws to grant the Negro the basics of human needs. The sons and daughters of the European migrants have long left the slums, the initial poverty, and the second-class citizenship behind them while the Negro—with his physical difference and because of our national hypocrisy—has not.

The point that cannot be overlooked is that these three young men should have had this dedication for the building of American symbols and not their destruction. We should have seen to it. Since we did not, we certainly must see to the future of aspirations of the rest of our Negro youths. We must make certain that they share in the making of America in practice what she is in concept. We must make them even more welcome in General Motors, on Wall Street, in Government service, and our many national mainstreams.

We must ask ourselves—and the answer has to be a loud clear, "none,"—just how many young Negroes do we want to lose to our prisons, to our walking-death addictions, and to foreign ideologies.

Every day, and the evidences are quite clear and all around us, we sacrifice other young Negroes to the same disaffiliating frustrations because some are too timid to act, some too much involved in making a profit off Negro miseries to act or too anxious to address ourselves to other national problems and rationalizing that "the Negro problem takes time."

It cannot take endless time—it has taken too much time already. It takes effort now. It takes national integrity now instead of national expediency. President Johnson said last spring at Howard University that we must give the Negro "not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact." Vice President HUMPHREY said later that "if we can spend $25 or $30 billion to put a man on the moon, we ought to be able to spend enough to provide an environment here on earth that will let him stand on his feet."

And I add to this that we commit one of the greatest crimes imaginable, we continue to wallow in the filth of our national hypocrisy, when we continue to force our Negro youngsters into outlaw activity because we are not willing to share with them the Horatio Alger dream that we demand for ourselves.

This is our challenge and this is our responsibility—to make the freedom men of all races are dying for in Vietnam, a living reality in the United States. Our national battle cry must be that we stop being expedient when expediency will so horribly misshape men's lives. We must do what is right now, not what is convenient. Let us not pretend that all is well because no bottles are presently flying or because that Negro you know says he would not be caught dead on a picket line.

Let us give our minorities what everyone else enjoys and let us do it because it is right to do it, and not because we want to head off racial violence. Let us rise to our centuries-old challenge, accept our responsibility, for by doing so we are indeed making a most meaningful investment in the growth in greatness of our Nation.

HARMONY NOTED

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Delaware [Mr. McDOWELL] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, in dedicating the Lincoln statue in Mexico, Presidents Johnson and Diaz reaffirmed to the world that two nations can live side by side in harmony, respecting one another's past and present, the Newark Evening News states.

The article, which like many others points up the value of the informal visit by President Johnson to Mexico, will be read with much interest, and I therefore include it in the Record:

[From the Newark (N.J.) Evening News, April 14, 1966]

Symbolic Visit

In Mexico, Abraham Lincoln is revered to a degree surpassed only by that Nation's own heroes in the struggle for freedom. The statute of the Great Emancipator which will be unveiled in Mexico City tomorrow is a symbol of that affection.

But United States-Mexican links are more than symbolic. President Johnson's last-minute decision to attend the ceremonies is proof of that. No drawn-out diplomatic exchanges were needed to pave the way for Mr. Johnson's informal visit. Rather, President Gustavo Riaz Ordaz simply made a cordial suggestion that Mr. Johnson accompany the U.S. delegation. Mr. Johnson promptly agreed.

The fact is that Mexico and the United States have no pressing problems. True, the two nations diverge in their attitudes toward Castro's Cuba and on the Inter-American Peace Force in the Dominican Republic. But they are situations that Washington and Mexico have learned to live with while maintaining their essential friendship.

Accordingly, in dedicating the Lincoln statute, Presidents Johnson and Diaz will be reaffirming to the world that two nations can live side by side in harmony, respecting one another's past and present.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. Flynt (at the request of Mr. Landrum), on account of official business in district.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. Waggonner, for 10 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks.

Mr. Pucinski, for 1 hour, on Thursday, April 21.

Mr. Frazier, for 1 hour, on Thursday, April 28.

Mr. Quie (at the request of Mr. Wyatt), for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Goodell (at the request of Mr. Wyatt), for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Ashbrook (at the request of Mr. Wyatt), for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Wolff (at the request of Mr. Edwards of Louisiana), for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. McDowell (at the request of Mr. Edwards of Louisiana), for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Farbstein (at the request of Mr. Edwards of Louisiana), for 20 minutes, on April 21, 1966; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Congressional Record, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Fino and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Collier.

(The following Member (at the request of Mr. Wyatt) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Whalley.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Edwards of Louisiana) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Tenzer in two instances.

Mr. Kornegay.

Mr. Vanik.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 1746. An act to define the term "child" for lump-sum payment purposes under the Civil Service Retirement Act.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 59 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, April 21, 1966, at 12 o'clock noon.

OATH OF OFFICE

The oath of office required by the sixth article of the Constitution of the United States, and as provided by section 2 of the act of May 13, 1884 (23 Stat. 22), to be administered to Members and Delegates of the House of Representatives, the text of which is carried in section 1757 of title XIX of the Revised Statutes of the United States and being as follows:

"I A B, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God."

has been subscribed to in person and filed in duplicate with the Clerk of the House of Representatives by the following Member of the 89th Congress, pursuant to Public Law 412 of the 80th Congress entitled "An act to amend section 30 of the Revised Statutes of the United States" (U.S.C., title 2, sec. 25), approved February 18, 1948; Lera (Mrs. Albert) Thomas, Eighth District, Texas.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2321. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to promote private financing of credit needs and to provide for an efficient and orderly method of liquidating financial assets held by Federal credit agencies and for other purposes (H. Doc. No. 426); to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and ordered to be printed.

2322. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics), transmitting a report on Department of Defense procurement from small and other business firms for July 1965 to February 1966, pursuant to the provisions of section 10(d) of the Small Business Act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

2323. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the annual report of the Governor of Guam, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1965, pursuant to the provisions of section 6(b) of the Organic Act of Guam; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

2324. A letter from the Director, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, transmitting the Annual Report of the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts for the fiscal year 1965, pursuant to section 604(a)(4) of title 28, United States Code; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2325. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting two drafts of proposed legislation, as follows: (1) to establish minimum standards for passenger vessel and to require disclosure of construction details on passengers vessels, and (2) to repeal the laws authorizing limitation of shipowners' liability for personal injury and death, to require evidence of adequate financial responsibility to pay judgment for personal injury or death, or to repay fares in the event of nonperformance of voyages, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. MILLER: Committee on Science and Astronautics. H.R. 14324. A bill to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and administrative operations, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1441). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MADDEN: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 820. Resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 12617, a bill to amend the act providing for the economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands; without amendment (Rept. No. 1442). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. PEPPER: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 821. Resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 13881. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs, cats, and other animals intended to be used for purposes of research or experimentation, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1443). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. BOLLING: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 822. Resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 14088, a bill to amend chapter 55 of title 10, United States Code, to authorize an improved health benefits program for retired members and members of the uniformed services and their dependents, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1444). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. GARMATZ: Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Report on the *Yarmouth Castle* disaster; without amendment (Rept. No. 1445). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BATTIN:

H.R. 14535. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to treat sintering or burning as a mining process in the case of shale, clay, and slate used or sold for use, as lightweight concrete aggregates; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CARTER:

H.R. 14536. A bill to extend and amend the Library Services and Construction Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 14537. A bill to authorize a 3-year program of grants for construction of veterinary medical education facilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CELLER:

H.R. 14538. A bill to amend section 709 of title 18, United States Code, so as to protect the name of the Central Intelligence Agency from exploitation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CURTIS:

H.R. 14539. A bill to establish a Joint Congressional Committee on American Manpower and National Security; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 14540. A bill to require the Secretary of the Treasury to study and report on an alternative coinage; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. JONES of Alabama:

H.R. 14541. A bill for the relief of the Colbert County Board of Education; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McDADE:

H.R. 14542. A bill to amend chapter 207, title 18, United States Code, to prescribe procedure for the return of persons who have fled, in violation of the conditions of bail given in any State or judicial district of the United States, to another State or judicial district, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MORGAN:

H.R. 14543. A bill to provide compensation for damages to certain facilities rendered inoperative or otherwise adversely affected as a result of the modernization of the Monongahela River navigation project; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H.R. 14544. A bill to promote private financing of credit needs and to provide for an efficient and orderly method of liquidating financial assets held by Federal credit agencies and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. RODINO:

H.R. 14545. A bill to amend section 319 of the Immigration and Nationality Act to permit naturalization for certain employees of U.S. nonprofit organizations engaged in disseminating information which significantly promotes U.S. interest, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ST. ONGE:

H.R. 14546. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to study the feasibility and desirability of a Connecticut River National Recreation Area, in the States of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. SCHWEIKER:

H.R. 14547. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a taxpayer a deduction from gross income for expenses incurred for the higher education of himself, his spouse, and his dependents; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. OLSEN of Montana:

H.R. 14548. A bill to extend the authority of the Postmaster General to enter into leases of real property for periods not exceeding 30 years, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MORRISON:

H.R. 14549. A bill to extend the authority of the Postmaster General to enter into leases of real property for periods not exceeding 30 years, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. BATES:

H.R. 14550. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encourage the construction of treatment works to control water pollution by permitting the deduction of expenditures for the construction, erection, installation, or acquisition of such treatment works; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CORMAN:

H.R. 14551. A bill to amend the Older Americans Act of 1965 in order to provide for a National Community Senior Service Corps; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. FOGARTY:

H.R. 14552. A bill to amend section 312 of the Immigration and Nationality Act to exempt certain additional persons from the literacy requirements thereof in connection with their naturalization; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FULTON of Tennessee:

H.R. 14553. A bill to amend the River and Harbor Act of 1965 to prohibit certain fees being charged in connection with projects for navigation, flood control, and other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. GILBERT:

H.R. 14554. A bill to establish a National Commission on Older Workers; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 14555. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for a loan service of captioned films for the deaf," approved September 2, 1958, as amended, in order to further provide for a loan service of educational media for the deaf, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HÉBERT:

H.R. 14556. A bill to amend title 32, United States Code, to clarify the status of National Guard technicians, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. McCARTHY:

H.R. 14557. A bill to protect children and others from accidental death or injury by amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act with respect to aspirin intended for children, safety closures on drug containers, and cautionary labeling of containers of articles subject to the act where necessary to that end, and by amending the Federal Hazardous Substances Labeling Act to ban hazardous toys and articles intended for children, and other articles so hazardous as to be dangerous in the household regardless of labeling, and to apply to unpackaged articles intended for household use, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RACE:

H.R. 14558. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by limiting the hours of service of employees thereon," approved March 4, 1907; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mrs. REID of Illinois:

H.R. 14559. A bill proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to permit voluntary participation in prayer in public schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROGERS of Colorado:

H.R. 14560. A bill to amend the act of June 10, 1938, relating to the participation of the United States in the International Criminal Police Organization; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SAYLOR:

H.R. 14561. A bill to amend the Migratory Bird Hunting Stamp Act of March 16, 1934, to increase by $2 the fee for such stamp; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. SCHEUER:

H.R. 14562. A bill to extend and amend the Library Services and Construction Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey:

H.R. 14563. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide assistance to certain non-Federal institutions, agencies, and organizations for the establishment and operation of community programs for patients with kidney disease and for conduct of training related to such program, and other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. COLLIER:

H.J. Res. 1076. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to permit voluntary participation in prayer in public schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GARMATZ:

H.J. Res. 1077. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to permit voluntary participation in prayer in public schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCARTHY:

H.J. Res. 1078. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. McDADE:

H.J. Res. 1079. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BOB WILSON:

H.J. Res. 1080. Joint resolution to establish a National Cemeteries Site Selection Advisory Board to govern further development of the national cemetery system; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H. Con. Res. 628. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing for the use of the Joint Economic Committee of additional copies of its hearings entitled "20th Anniversary of the Employment Act of 1946: An Economic Symposium"; to the Committee on House Administration.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

461. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to restoring in the Federal budget the cut in the

school lunch and milk programs, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 14564. A bill for the relief of Angelo Duca; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRADEMAS:

H.R. 14565. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey the Argos National Fish Hatchery in Indiana to the Izaak Walton League; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. KUPFERMAN:

H.R. 14566. A bill for the relief of Menachem Joseph Hershowitz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 14567. A bill for the relief of Pedro Luiz DeMelo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POWELL:

H.R. 14568. A bill for the relief of Vincenzo Figliomeni; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14569. A bill for the relief of Domicela Listowska; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14570. A bill for the relief of Melbourne Murray; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14571. A bill for the relief of John White; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14572. A bill for the relief of Chief Yen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROSENTHAL:

H.R. 14573. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Namur, and their two children, Joseph and Marie; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILLIAMS:

H.R. 14574. A bill for the relief of Dr. Esfandiar Safayan and his son, Masood Safayan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WOLFF:

H.R. 14575. A bill for the relief of Jakub Waldemar Ladosz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

375. The SPEAKER presented a petition of the Common Council of the City of Buffalo, N.Y., relative to extension of time to file for medicare benefits, which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20, 1966

(Legislative day of Tuesday, April 19, 1966)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the Vice President.

Dr. P. Edward Rickenbaker, minister, First Baptist Church, Denmark, S.C., offered the following prayer:

Many have often prayed, O God, that wisdom might be the measure of these to whom in Thy name we have entrusted the legislative authority of government. We pray today, however, that Thou would help the leadership of our Nation also to have equal wisdom in Thy moral and spiritual legislation. Confound the paralysis of fruitless and weakening fears. Allay the phobia of confusion and dismay in these trying times. Instill the moral integrity and courage in these our leaders to stand for the hard right against any easy or expedient wrong that might seem attractive. Give to all who are called into positions of authority and government in our Nation not only wisdom in judgment, but also purity in motive and discernment in administration.

We confess our need for Thee. The problems which confront us loom so large and the loneliness which inflicts so often those in positions of authority teach us our dependence upon Thee in all things.

O God, Thou hast given this Nation great responsibilities. In our day when we seek mastery in nature and conquest in outer space, make us ready to acknowledge Thy right in us and in all we control. In our day of wars and rumors of wars, lead us in the paths of peace.

Enable us to stand for righteousness and truth against their enemies. Recall to us the unfailing truth that righteousness exalteth a nation but sin is a reproach to any people. Grant unto our leaders the grace and courage to seek first the Kingdom of God that we may be enriched in our Nation with a great spiritual heritage. Then make us humble in the acceptance of that heritage. Give us Thy healing forgiveness and Thy grace which can transform our lives and our purposes.

In the Saviour's name we lift our prayer. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, April 19, 1966, was dispensed with.

COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Air and Water Pollution Subcommittee of the Committee on Public Works was authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

On request of Mr. JORDAN of Idaho, and by unanimous consent, the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly Legislation of the Committee on the Judiciary was authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

APPORTIONMENT OF STATE LEGISLATURES

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 103) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to preserve to the people of each State power to determine the composition of its legislature and the apportionment of the membership thereof in accordance with law and the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under the unanimous-consent agreement, the Senate will vote at 2 o'clock today, and the time between now and then is under the control of and to be equally divided between the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS] and the minority leader [Mr. DIRKSEN].

Who yields time?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I yield 15 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Idaho [Mr. JORDAN].

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Idaho is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, the outcome of this debate regarding the reapportionment of our State legislatures will determine the course of representative government in the United States for many years to come.

With this fact in mind, I am sure that all Members of the Senate on both sides of this issue recognize the gravity of our responsibility. This debate over the reapportionment amendment is one of truly historic proportions. Rarely must Congress face the task of amending the basic blueprint of our freedom, the U.S. Constitution. Rarer still do such amendments go to the very heart of our system of government.

The Supreme Court decisions in the apportionment cases, culminating in the case of Reynolds against Sims, have severely strained what Justice Harlan has aptly termed "the fabric of our federalism."

First, the Court has invalidated our traditional system of balanced representation.

Second, by the very act of ruling that State legislatures must be apportioned in a certain manner, the Court has denied the underlying principle of our entire system of government—the right of the people, themselves and through their elected representatives, to determine the structure of their political institutions.

The unique American system of balanced representation has been the genius—the true key—to our Nation's political stability. It has achieved its ultimate end by successfully balancing majority rule and minority rights. We speak with the voice of the majority—but only after we have assured that the minority has been heard and is fairly represented in our councils of state. This is the essence of the system devised by the Founding Fathers.

For can any of us truly deny that there is a direct cause-and-effect relationship between our concern and protection of minority interests and our history of 178 years of political stability and continuity?

The Founding Fathers saw in the system of balanced representation the best protection for minority rights in our legislative branch of the Government. Thus, they adopted it for the U.S. Congress. They established a National House of Representatives which would reflect and represent the population of the United States through equivalent congressional districts. The U.S. Senate was designed to take into account the rights and interests of the individual States, which differed in size, geography, and political and economic orientation.

This system permitted two important results.

First, the rights of the States to govern at the local level—close to the people—

could be protected from the incursions of the National Government.

Second, by representing States, viewed as political entities in themselves, the U.S. Senate was placed in a position to take a broader view of the problems of the young Republic. Thus developed the tradition that, in general, the House of Representatives would primarily represent the interests of their constituents at the local level, while the Senate would look to the broader interest of the States and the Nation as a whole.

This balanced representative system was not, as some have suggested, irrationally adopted by the States, simply following the model of the National Legislature. In fact, it was the National Congress which borrowed the system from the States. It had been for many years prior to the adoption of the Constitution the system practiced in the colonial legislatures. At no time had the Colonies used a system of representation based solely on population. As Justice Frankfurter pointed out in his dissent in Baker against Carr, speaking of population proportioned representation:

> However desirable and however desired by some among the great political thinkers and framers of our Government, it has never been generally practiced, today or in the past. It was not the English system, it was not the colonial system, it was not the system chosen for the National Government by the Constitution, it was not the system exclusively or even predominantly practiced by the States at the time of adoption of the 14th amendment, it is not predominantly practiced by the States today.

Justice Frankfurter therefore concluded that the notion that representation of population alone is "the basic principle of representative government is, to put it bluntly, not true."

However, history alone would not be sufficient justification for retaining a system of representation which has no intrinsic value. What we must determine is whether such a system is in the best interests of the States and their citizens today.

Let us look at what a former Governor of our most populous State, California, once said on this subject:

> Many California counties are far more important in the life of the State than their population bears to the entire population of the State. It is for this reason that I have never been in favor of restricting the representation in the senate to a strictly population basis.
>
> It is the same reason that the Founding Fathers of our country gave balanced representation to the State of the Union—equal representation in one house and proportional representation based on population in the other.
>
> Moves have been made to upset the balanced representation in our State, even though it served us well and is strictly in accord with American tradition and the pattern of our National Government.
>
> There was a time when California was completely dominated by boss rule. The liberal election laws and legislative reapportionment of the system have liberated us from such domination. Any weakening of the laws would invite a return to boss rule which we are now happily rid of.
>
> Our State has made almost unbelievable progress under our present system of legislative representation. I believe we should keep it.

However, speaking 16 years later as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, the former Governor said:

> Neither history alone, nor economic or other sorts of group interests, are permissible factors in attempting to justify disparities from population-based representation. Citizens, not history or economic interests, cast votes. Considerations of area alone provide an insufficient justification for deviation from the equal-population principle. Again, people, not land or trees or pastures, vote. Modern developments and improvements in transportation and communications make rather hollow, in the mid-1960's, most claims that deviations from population-based representation can validly be based solely on geographical considerations. Arguments for allowing such deviations in order to insure effective representation for sparsely settled areas and to prevent legislative districts from becoming so large that the availability of access of citizens to their representatives is impaired are today, for the most part, unconvincing. *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 84 S. Ct. 1391.

There is, of course, no reason why Chief Justice Warren could not have changed positions ideologically as well as politically in 16 years. But it is also fair to suggest that Governor Warren was a great deal closer to the needs of his State than is the Chief Justice.

Governor Warren did pinpoint one of the most disturbing aspects of the invalidation of our traditional system of balanced representation. If this time-tested system is denied to the States it can be expected that most of them will be completely controlled by the large cities. If these central urban areas are to be left with the only effective voice in State legislatures—if those outside the biggest cities are to be denied an effective franchise—then we can only expect a revival of those self-perpetuating political machines which in the past were ruthless in their abuse of the democratic process—and in their abuse of minority interests.

Without balance, check, or restraint by the people, we are going to see a rebirth of political leadership by a few arbitrary political leaders who are completely unresponsive to the true popular will. Big city bosses who can control or manipulate large blocks of urban votes will have complete domination over the affairs of our States. Then, indeed, the world of our State governments will be for the few—and for the very few.

And if these bosses—these selfish political interests—succeed in controlling State legislatures, let us consider what it is going to do to the rest of our political process.

They will control the drawing of lines for congressional districts, and thus the whole process of American Government will be in their grasp.

The application of the population-only criteria to State legislatures may be only the first step to the total abandonment of our system of balanced representation in the United States. Already the trend is becoming apparent. In every part of the country our structure of representative government is undergoing radical attack. We are not just drawing new lines for State legislative districts. County boards of supervisors and city councils are being challenged in the courts. School districts and water districts and mosquito abatement districts are being challenged. Indeed, even the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois has been challenged on the ground that it was not selected on a population-apportioned basis.

It has been pointed out—and the possibility is not to be dismissed lightly—that the next step might well be a challenge to the composition of the U.S. Senate itself. And if it should come to pass that this last bastion of balanced representation should fall, then truly our federal system of government would disappear. All functions of local and State governments would slowly, but most surely, be absorbed by the centralized bureaucracy of Washington.

But even if the result of this debate is to further the abandonment of our traditional system of balanced representation with all the consequences I have noted, we will still not have felt the most critical effect of the apportionment rulings. We can survive as a nation even if we abandon a vital element in the framework of our Government. But our survival will truly be jeopardized if we turn our backs on the most fundamental principles which are the foundation of our constitutional system. One of these principles—perhaps the most important—is as George Washington phrased it in his Farewell Address:

> The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.

But the Supreme Court is now telling the people that they shall no longer have this right. The Court is taking it on itself to tell the people how their State legislatures shall be apportioned.

It is to this aspect of the apportionment controversy that the reapportionment amendment we debate today is directed. The amendment seeks to restore to the people this right denied to them by the decisions of the Court. It is as simple as that. It does not prescribe how State legislatures are to be apportioned, it does not demand any particular basis for the election of State houses or senates. It simply says that this is a decision which rightfully belongs to the people and that no body, whether State or Federal, whether executive, legislative, or judicial, has a right to take it away from them.

Now, let us make clear that those of us who support this amendment are not attacking the Supreme Court of the United States. We are not. Nor is the amendment directed against the Supreme Court. It neither detracts from nor adds to the powers of the Court.

It does, however, have the effect of overruling the Court in a particular instance. But there is nothing sinister or malevolent in this. This is part of our political process. The right of the people to amend the Constitution is guaranteed in article V of that document.

Constitutional amendment is not an easy process, and it is not intended to be. We do not believe in lightly altering the basic guarantee of our liberties. But there are times when conflicts develop within our political framework which can only be resolved by constitutional amendment. And there are times when decisions of the highest court in the land are viewed by the majority of Americans as being out of step with the prevailing conditions. Then too, constitutional amendment becomes the only way to truly reflect the convictions of the American people, and at the same time protect the integrity of the Supreme Court and its responsibility for interpreting the Constitution.

In the past we have seen unfortunate attempts to apply extraconstitutional methods to overrule the Supreme Court when its decisions have not met with favor. One strong President refused to enforce decisions of the Court, another sought to ram through the ill-fated "Court packing" scheme to make that body more amenable to his will. It is indeed fortunate that both of these efforts were unsuccessful.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** (Mr. Harris in the chair). The time of the Senator from Idaho has expired.

Mr. **JORDAN** of Idaho. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The Senator from Idaho is recognized for 5 additional minutes.

Mr. **JORDAN** of Idaho. Mr. President, the only way that the people can express their will in opposition to that of the Supreme Court without rupturing the very fabric of our constitutional system is through constitutional amendment.

That this process is inherently part of our system was recognized by a member of the present Supreme Court. Justice William O. Douglas recently said:

> Many Supreme Court decisions over the history of our country have caused a lot of discussion and disagreement among the people. We are dealing with clauses of the Constitution written in broad generalities that are applied to situations where people have differences of opinion. The Court has always since the very beginning—since Marshall's time—1801—undertaken to sit in judgment on the constitutionality of Federal laws and State laws and State action of various kinds and we don't operate necessarily on the basis of the consensus. We operate upon the basis of what is the meaning of the document—what is the history of it. What is the spirit of it, and what does it mean applied to conditions, say, in the 1960's? Sometimes the decisions of this Court are not approved in the long run and constitutional amendments are made. For example, our Court held that the graduated income tax was unconstitutional. And we got the 16th amendment—we changed that. Our Court held that a State could lay a poll tax as a condition of voting, and that was changed with respect to Federal elections. Our Court held that a State could keep women from voting and that was changed by the 19th amendment.
>
> This is part of the process. People can have such constitutions—such provisions—as they want. It's the duty of the Court to construe the Constitution as it exists to the best of their knowledge.

That there is a great confusion between means and ends on the part of the opponents of the reapportionment amendment is the most charitable way of putting it. They march under the banner of one man, one vote. And to achieve this noble end, they will deny to the people the right to vote on the most fundamental and important kind of issue the franchise should cover.

The Supreme Court itself demonstrates the same type of confusion. In the Colorado cases, the Court ruled that an apportionment plan adopted by the people of the State through a referendum was unconstitutional as not truly reflecting population. Chief Justice Warren, speaking for the majority, said:

> A citizen's constitutional rights can hardly be infringed simply because a majority of the people choose to do so.

What a remarkable statement to make in view of the fact that the result of the Supreme Court's "population only" formula will be to turn State government entirely over to pure majority rule with absolutely no protection for the rights of minority interests—or, for that matter, the rights of individual citizens.

The Supreme Court apparently takes the view that if a citizen's procedural rights under the Constitution are protected, there is no responsibility to protect the substantive rights of the American people, which they exercise daily.

Indeed, here is the danger of allowing the Supreme Court to enter the "political thicket."

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The additional time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. **JORDAN** of Idaho. Mr. President, I ask for 1 additional minute.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Is there objection? Without objection, the Senator is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. **JORDAN** of Idaho. It will be up to Congress now to consider whether our Republic can long maintain its principles and traditional freedoms under a political framework which fails to protect all of our citizens and denies the people the right to select for themselves the form of government under which we shall live.

Let us remember that we have expended vast amounts of our resources—natural, economic, and human—in this century, assisting friends and allies around the world in protecting their freedom. We are doing it today in Vietnam. How tragic it would be if we lost at home through indifference and inertia what we have strived so hard to protect, at the cost of American lives, in many places throughout the world.

Congress must make the choice now. Are we to adopt a new system of representative government which protects, not the rights of our citizens, but the rights of special interest groups? Or will we retain our time-tested system of balanced representation which guarantees to all citizens and all interests a chance to have their voices heard? I believe that we must and will do the latter by adopting the reapportionment amendment.

Mr. **DOUGLAS**. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. **BURDICK**. Mr. President, in the current debate over whether State legislatures should be apportioned according to the one-man, one-vote decree of the Supreme Court or under formulas derived from Senator Dirksen's reapportionment amendment, the misconception has arisen that this is essentially a struggle between rural and urban interests. Coming from perhaps the most rural State in the Union, I cannot agree.

North Dakota has been relatively successful in adjusting its legislative apportionment to the one-man, one-vote formula. I believe it to be in the best interest of our State to do so. One man, one vote has had the support of two of the State's leading newspapers, the Fargo Forum and the Minot Daily News.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial dated March 2, 1966, from the Fargo Forum and another dated April 16, 1966, from the Minot Daily News be inserted at this point in the Record. Both editorials I believe are indicative of what progressive minded North Dakotans believe in regard to the apportionment of State legislatures.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Fargo (N. Dak.) Forum, Mar 2, 1966]

Malapportionment of State Legislatures Provided in Constitutional Amendment

Under the banner of "States rights," the political forces which want to stop fair reapportionment of State legislatures are seeking congressional approval of a constitutional amendment that would, in effect, nullify the one-man, one-vote guideline established by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Having successfully filibustered against the Federal repeal of State right-to-work laws, Senator Everett Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, promises to "ride against the infidel" in behalf of his constitutional amendment to permit malapportionment of legislatures.

He won the right-to-work fight this session, but lost the first battle on legislative apportionment last year. To help him in the reapportionment battle, he is following the same strategy that brought the victory against repeal of 14(b). A public relations firm is lining up citizens committees in each State, and the personnel is predictable.

Most of the members are easily identifiable as members of the National Association of Manufacturers, the Farm Bureau, the National Grange or as legislators who stand to lose status or even lose their jobs under a fair reapportionment system.

The gimmick which the national committee is using to enlist help for the effort to get the malapportionment amendment through Congress is simple. Dirksen and friends say that everything will work out all right because any apportionment based on other than population would have to be approved by the people every 10 years.

Here's how the vote of the people worked in North Dakota:

In 1959, with the 1960 census just around the corner, the North Dakota Legislature knew it would have to take some action to conform to the State constitutional requirement that seats on both the house and senate be based on population. So the 1959 session averted the crisis by proposing a constitutional amendment which froze the senate district boundaries as they had been fixed 30 years earlier. It also guaranteed continued geographical rather than popular control of the house.

The amendment provided that house seats be allocated on the basis of population, except that each county, regardless of how few people lived there, was allocated a house member. This system actually made geography at least as important as voters.

With the rural areas absolutely in control of the North Dakota electorate, the amendment sailed to popular approval in 1960. The few protests against it were hardly heard, even by urban residents.

With a constitutional guarantee of everlasting senate control, the 1961 legislature didn't even make a serious attempt to reapportion the house but left it to a special commission. This unit came up with a system weighted so heavily in favor of the rural areas that the North Dakota Supreme Court threw it out as unconstitutional.

The 1963 session did a little better in reapportioning the house, but couldn't avoid the temptation to give the rural areas a better than even break. So it was back to the courts for the urban citizens who had taken up the fight for equal representation. This time they challenged the 1960 amendment freezing the senate district boundaries as well as the 1963 house reapportionment. They were successful on both counts, and the U.S. three-judge Federal district court ordered into effect the plan on which the 1966 elections are based.

This brief history may be old to some, but the point is that the majority in North Dakota is rural oriented. When the legislators from these areas realized that they would have to surrender some of their legislative seats to the fast-growing cities, they changed the law. And even under their own law, in three successive sessions, they did not come up with an acceptable plan.

So now the malapportionment diehards in Washington claim their proposed amendment will solve all unfairness with a vote of the people. Why don't they suggest that they solve the problems of civil rights for the Negroes in Southern States with a vote of the people? If they did, you know just how quickly the white majority would take the right to vote away from the blacks.

A majority seeks to protect itself, whether it be composed of legislators or voters at large. North Dakota's own history shows that fair reapportionment of both houses would not be automatic if the majority were given the right to alter the one-man, one-vote guideline.

The sponsors of this amendment come to States like North Dakota and say what a shame it is that the one-man, one-vote rule means that population centers like New York and Chicago will control the legislatures of those two States. That may be so, but why should residents of Fargo, and Grand Forks, Bismarck and Minot, Jamestown, Mandan, Dickinson and Williston put their hard-won gains on the block to save the job of some New York or Illinois legislator?

[From the Minot (N. Dak.) Daily News, Apr. 16, 1966]

A PROPOSAL OF DOUBTFUL MERIT

Scheduled for a vote next week in the U.S. Senate is the Dirksen proposal to overturn the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote ruling, so far as State legislatures are concerned.

Quite a lot of steam has been generated behind the proposal, as is evidenced by the roster of those in North Dakota who are supporting it.

We remain unconvinced that the Dirksen plan has merit.

It is common knowledge that not only North Dakota, but virtually every other State was long overdue for legislative reapportionment under which people would be more fairly represented by lawmakers.

Regardless of how the ball bounces on the Dirksen proposal, it will be quite awhile before the Supreme Court edict is overturned, if it ever is.

First, both Houses of Congress by a two-thirds vote must give approval before the plan is sent to the States for ratification or rejection.

Three-fourths of the States—38—must ratify before the constitutional amendment would go into effect.

Then the voters of a State with a bicameral legislature would decide whether one house would decide whether one house should be apportioned on a geographical or other nonpopulation basis.

Perhaps by the time the sand has run out in the hourglass, an overwhelming number of people will have discovered that the world hasn't come to an end, merely because justice was done by the Supreme Court ruling.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE].

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from Ohio is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I am a cosponsor of the joint resolution. I joined in the cosponsorship of it because I believed deeply that in order to insure good government within the States, it was necessary to change the impact of what the Supreme Court did when it declared that the State legislatures had to be chosen on the basis of population, and not on the basis of geographical representation at all.

Unless this joint resolution is passed, enabling the States to determine for themselves, by referendum, whether they want one house of their legislatures chosen on the basis of geography, in my judgment, bad government will result.

Under the pronouncement of the Supreme Court, it has been declared that in every State the legislative members shall be chosen, in effect, by the populous metropolitan areas. The voice of the minority people, not living in the great metropolitan centers, shall be disregarded by the effect of the Supreme Court's pronouncement.

When I view this matter from the site of a person who was the chief executive of a State, an industrial State, I can only foresee legislative activities that will be dominated by the political forces of the large cities.

I do not want to speak disparagingly, but the fact is that the political organizations, the labor leaders, and other groups will dominate the legislative bodies. The staid, sound thinking of many people working in fields within the State, the thinking of a minority of the people, will be completely cast aside.

The question might be raised, Is it not better that we shall choose on the basis of one man, one vote than on the basis of geography? My answer to that is that the President of the United States, under the Constitution, is not chosen on the basis of one man, one vote.

It is possible now that the candidate for President receiving a minority of the votes can be elected as President.

The distinguished men who wrote the Constitution concluded that each State should have something to say about who the President shall be. They did not want the populous States along the Atlantic border solely to determine who the President shall be.

We now come to the second phase of the question. How many of the Senators on this floor, if it were decided that one man, one vote shall prevail in the States, would have to put on their hats and coats and go back home? I have not calculated the number, but the number would be large.

Has not our system of selecting Senators, giving two to each State, worked out to the benefit of the people as a whole?

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE. May I have 2 additional minutes?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Ohio.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from Ohio is recognized for an additonal 5 minutes.

Mr. LAUSCHE. In the Senate we have geographical representation. Rhode Island, with about 700,000 or 800,000 people, has two votes. Would someone suggest that we change the Constitution for the purpose of eliminating the representation of Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, and Maryland? That is what logically should follow.

Those who are opposing this resolution should propose that the Constitution of the United States be changed so as to make it a one-man vote throughout in the selection of Members of Congress.

I wonder if there would be the courage to tell the Senator from Rhode Island, the Senator from Idaho, and other Senators from small States, that they had better look forward to a change in the Constitution and the final elimination of their representation.

In conclusion, Mr. President, the issue here is good government in the States. If we want good government in the States give the minorities who live in the rural areas a chance to be represented in the legislature.

What will metropolitan representation alone produce? It will produce, in my judgment, a complete indifference to financial responsibility. As I said a moment ago, the labor leaders, the political bosses, and others unmindful of the need of balancing budgets will be in control, the person who has some concern about stability will have no voice at all.

If we want good government, constitute the State legislatures with a representation that blends the metropolitan thinking of the metropolitan areas and the conservative thinking of the rural areas. Good government requires a mixture of thought. Destroy the influence of the conservative farmer and, in my judgment, there will be destroyed good government.

Finally, if a State does not want this geographical method of representation in the State legislatures, it need not adopt it. The proponents of this measure are only asking that the people of the States be permitted to decide what they want. It would seem to me that the great proponents of the peoples' cause would be on the floor of the Senate saying, "I have no fear of what the people of a State will decide." It is for these reasons that I am supporting the pending measure.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Who yields time?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Wisconsin.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, there are many reasons for opposing this measure, but it seems to me that the most significant and vital reason of all was developed yesterday in colloquy with the distinguished and very able Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], that is, that the purpose of this resolution, as the Senator from Nebraska said so well, is to eliminate judicial review in determining the makeup of one house of the State legislature.

This point is so important I wish to stress it by reading it into the RECORD again.

Yesterday I said:

> The point I am making is that under the Dirksen amendment the Supreme Court is not in a position to impose a reasonable rule, as under the Bayh amendment.
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> Mr. HRUSKA. The purpose of the amendment is to remove this step from the purview of the Supreme Court.
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> Mr. PROXMIRE. Exactly. I am glad the Senator has made that statement. That is the outstanding statement made by either side. When he says the purpose of the amendment is to remove it from the purview of the Supreme Court, I would agree with him 100 percent. He is dead right.
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> Mr. HRUSKA. But one house being apportioned on population——
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> Mr. PROXMIRE. The other house can be apportioned——
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> Mr. HRUSKA. On another basis. It is on that basis that we established the Constitution. It is for the people of the United States to decide. It is not for the Supreme Court to be the last guesser on this question. There is an authority higher than the Supreme Court, and that is the people of the States, and collectively, the people of the United States, to decide. If they want one chamber of their State legislature based on population and area, it is for them to say. It is the purpose of the amendment to say that the Supreme Court has no business in this question, if the people follow the strict procedures under this amendment and then decide to have that kind of legislature.

Those are the words of a man who, in my judgment, is as able a lawyer as there is in the Senate, a man who is as thoroughly familiar with this amendment as any Senator, as an active member of the Constitutional Subcommittee, who heard most of the testimony.

It seems to me that this is the issue. It also seems to me if the American people expect to have any real recourse, and real meaning in the protection of their rights, they have to look to the Supreme Court. Of course, at times we disagree with the Court, but if we do not look to them, to whom do we look?

The Dirksen amendment would remove the branch of our Government which historically, in theory and in fact, has been the real protector of our rights, from a very vital and significant area.

Mr. President, this amendment should also be rejected because its rejection will unshackle the States, and will enable the States to act in concert, with both houses organized and represented on the same basis.

This is not a matter of theory. It is a matter of fact. We have seen it in Michigan, in my State of Wisconsin, and in many other States.

After apportionment is based on population the States will move ahead in a way they have not been able to do before. What does this mean? It means that instead of turning to the Federal Government on vital State issues, the States will be able to decide their own problems.

Furthermore, the argument has been made that we should leave this matter to the people. I would say that we should leave as much to the people of the United States as we possibly can, but after all, this is a technical issue. It is something that does not touch the lives of people as directly as an increase in taxes or a referendum on schools.

This is a referendum peculiarly easy to shape in a way which will get the kind of answers the shapers wish. Who will shape the referendum question? It will be done by the legislatures, who have a vested interest in securing the kind of answer they want.

As the senior Senator from Illinois said yesterday, and this is a very basic argument against the Dirksen amendment, there are certain rights—such as the right of worship, the right of free speech, the right of a free press—certain fundamental rights no referendum should destroy; and no referendum should destroy the Supreme Court's appellate jurisdiction. That is the purpose of this amendment: To eliminate Supreme Court consideration of reapportionment decisions.

The argument to let the people decide is an argument in favor of the Reynolds against Sims decision of the Supreme Court, since the Supreme Court said legislatures should be organized on a one-man, one-vote principle. I submit if State legislatures are on a one-man, one-vote principle, the people will decide legislative issues, because they will be equally represented.

A great many bogeymen have been raised in connection with this proposed amendment, and reference has been made to many adverse and terrible consequences that it is said would follow, as the Senator from Ohio and the Senator from Idaho have discussed this morning. One argument is that we would have boss rule.

We have had experience with the one-man, one-vote standard for many years in Wisconsin; as a matter of fact, for 118 years we have had one-man, one-vote rule. I do not know of any political scientists who have pointed to Wisconsin as a State which has been characterized for any significant period of time by boss rule. We have had experience in Michigan of the one-man, one-vote principle, and all observers agree that the last session was fair and not characterized by boss rule. The Farm Bureau Association commends the legislature for its farm legislation.

The argument has been raised that if we proceed on this basis the Supreme Court might require county boards on a one-man, one-vote basis. What is wrong with that? In Wisconsin it was decided that county boards should be on a one-man, one-vote basis. They have been working on that basis for the last several months throughout our State and have worked exceedingly well. This arrangement is satisfactory throughout Wisconsin. I have received virtually no complaints in this connection.

So, Mr. President, I challenge those people who theorize that there may be abuses, and that the farm interests and other interests may be forgotten if State legislatures are organized on this basis, to show any harmful consequences that have resulted in the many years of experience that we have had throughout the country with the principle of one man, one vote.

The distinguished Senator from Idaho [Mr. JORDAN] and the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE] raised the so-called Federal analogy. They asked if today State legislatures were organized on this basis, tomorrow would not the U.S. Senate be organized on this basis? The answer to that is a flat "No" because the Constitution is clear that a State cannot be deprived of its two seats in the Senate without the consent of the State. Of course, no State is going to give that consent.

Furthermore, there is a good reason in principle why the Senate should be organized as it is. Under the Federal system the States are recognized as having a degree of sovereignty as well as a degree of equality. The 10th amendment reserves to them all the powers not delegated to the Federal Government by the Constitution. There is no similarity between that situation and the counties vis-a-vis the States. Counties are creatures of the States. They can be abolished or created by the States.

Finally, Mr. President, the opposition at this time has been extremely well financed. They have hired the outstanding political and public relations experts in the country—Whitaker and Baxter; they have spent a great deal of money; they have propagandized newspapers throughout the country; they have worked very hard on this proposal, and they have yet to come up with a single new argument, they have yet to come up with a single new principle, they have yet to come up with any real justification.

On the other hand, if there is any organization in this country that has no ax to grind, it is the League of Women Voters. The League of Women Voters has come down foursquare in support of the position of those of us who oppose the Dirksen amendment.

Only two days ago, the head of the Political Science Department, Bowling Green State University, in Ohio, revealed that political scientists in this country who specialize in State and local government, plus virtually all the political scientists in this country who have written on reapportionment, had been polled and had decided by a 4-to-1 vote that the Dirksen amendment, in their judgment, is bad and that the Supreme Court position in Reynolds against Sims should be supported.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield an additional 2 minutes to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, as we vote, on this historic day, on this historic amendment to the Constitution, let us recall that never in history has the franchise been limited by an amendment to the Constitution until now. The whole history, the great history, of this country has been one of extending the franchise, perfecting the franchise, equalizing the franchise, bringing more people in, giving Negroes an opportunity to vote, giving women an opportunity to vote. Today, for the first time, the Senate would, if it followed the proposal of the minority leader, reverse that great tradition, shrink the franchise, deny an equal vote to many Americans, and create a situation in which the Supreme Court would not be in a position to defend that basic and fundamental right.

Before I take my seat, I shall quote the distinguished minority leader himself, when he asked a question on another occasion, which deserves an answer on this occasion.

> Why beat this old bag of bones? Why thresh this old straw?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Maryland.

EXPLODING THE MYTH OF "CITY BOSS" DOMINATION IN FAIRLY APPORTIONED LEGISLATURES

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, supporters of the Dirksen amendment have frequently played on fear of "big city political boss" control of fairly apportioned State legislatures to argue in favor of the rotten borough reapportionment amendment.

The only thing wrong with this "city domination" argument is that it just does not hold water.

All the evidence indicates that the usually independent, frequently rather conservative suburbs have been the real gainers in the 40 States which have already reapportioned on the one-man, one-vote principle.

Two highly respected, independent, and conservative news publications have recently reported that their own studies show the suburbs, not the cities, and the suburbanites, not "city bosses," gain the most political influence in fair apportionment.

The Wall Street Journal of January 31 reported that:

> The great gain of the suburbs is already evident and can only become more obvious. The metropolitan areas may in time come to dominate the State legislatures, but the domination will be by a combination of city and suburb—not by the central city.

The U.S. News & World Report, another publication which can hardly be accused of "a liberal bias," confirms the Wall Street Journal's debunking of the big city boss myth urged against equal representation. In an article entitled, "One Person, One Vote—Suburbs the Real Gainers," the U.S. News & World Report of February 14, 1966, flatly states:

> First results are beginning to show up around the country from application of the Supreme Court's one-person, one-vote principle to State lawmaking bodies. The claim had been made that adoption of the change would put big city political bosses, labor leaders, Negroes, and other minority blocs in command of State legislatures. It is not working out that way.

Reports from State after State show that the suburbs, not the cities, are the principal beneficiaries of reapportionment. In the Michigan Senate, for example, Detroit has gained four seats, but its suburbs have gained five and a half. In the Michigan House, Detroit has lost five seats, while the suburbs have gained those five and nine besides.

Chicago will have three more senate seats in the next Illinois Legislature, but the Chicago suburbs will have six more seats, and a similar pattern will prevail in the House.

In the Maryland Legislature to be elected this fall, Baltimore will have 12 senate seats, double the present number, but the Baltimore suburbs and the suburban Washington counties of Montgomery and Prince Georges will have 17 senators instead of 3, and 55 representatives in the house of delegates instead of 18.

In the Maryland Legislature before reapportionment, Baltimore city had unfair representation vis-a-vis the suburbs. Baltimore city was overrepresented. The situation was such that when I was a member of the house of delegates, the number of delegates from Baltimore city and the Eastern Shore, which comprised not 40 percent of the population, were always able to organize the house because they had a majority of the seats. It is no more fair to have overrepresentation for a city than it is for any other area.

Over and over the pattern of additional representation for the suburbs is being repeated as the States reapportion themselves fairly to represent their populations in compliance with the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote mandate. Almost uniformly in the large northern areas, and in a number of others, too, the major gainers so far have not been the central, core cities, but the rapidly growing, independent minded and, I might add, frequently Republican suburbs.

Suburbia's great benefit from reapportionment comes as no surprise.

The more than two-thirds of the American population who now live in metropolitan areas are divided relatively evenly between the central city and the suburbs.

Moreover, some central city areas are actually shrinking in population. Most others are gaining at a much slower rate than the exploding suburbs, and, therefore, are shrinking as a percentage of the total State population. In 15 of the 23 largest metropolitan areas, the central city population dropped during the 1950–60 decade both as a proportion of the total population and in actual numbers.

Viewed in the light of the population growth in the suburbs, the central city population decline becomes even more significant. Thus, in the decade between 1950 and 1960, New York City's population dropped from 53.2 percent of the State's total to 46.4 percent, Chicago's population dropped from 41.6 to 32.5 percent, Detroit's from 29 to 21.3 percent, and Baltimore's from 40.5 to 30.3 percent.

Experts expect these city-suburban population trends not only to continue but to snowball. In fact, the suburbs are growing so rapidly that New York, Baltimore, and other cities which are gaining seats today may lose these gains and possibly more after the next census.

The National Municipal League's reapportionment expert, William Boyd, predicts that "the suburbs, and in the long run only the suburbs, will gain in the upheaval resulting from reapportionment of State legislatures on the basis of population."

According to Mr. Boyd:

> Rather than being dominated by the big cities, the new legislatures will see suburban representatives increase the most in number.

The pattern of suburban gain under plans of fair apportionment is particularly observable in most of the established industrial areas, where the old cities were powerful enough decades ago to achieve a degree of fair representation. In most cases the cities in these big States have been somewhat underrepresented and are now achieving a greater voice. But the old underrepresentations and current and future apportionment gains of the big cities are small compared to those of the faster growing suburbs.

What are the political effects of this shift of political power under fair apportionment to the populous suburbs? The U.S. News & World Report article notes that in many States legislators representing suburban areas "are joining with rural members to hold the line against tax and spending programs."

And the Wall Street Journal questions whether either political party can be said to have really "gained" through fair apportionment.

The Journal notes:

> The early popular predictions in the wake of the Supreme Court decision assumed the central cities would be the big geographic winners and thus assumed Democrats would be the big political winners. Actually, though, with the suburbs the big gainers in the large industrial States and with the Republicans showing considerable strength in the cities of the South and Southwest, it is hard to tell which party will benefit more.

That quotation is from the conservative U.S. News & World Report.

What these two articles and all the rest of the growing wave of evidence on reapportionment point to is the simple fact that we have nothing to fear from our basic traditional governmental principle of majority rule. This evidence proves that this Nation, and its States, have nothing to fear from fair legislative representation based on individual political equality.

This evidence proves that equal representation is not only good political theory, but also the best government.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the Wall Street Journal and the U.S. News & World Report articles to which I have referred be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 31, 1966]

THE VOICE OF SUBURBIA: ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE EDICT HELPS ENVIRONS MORE THAN CITIES

(By Alan L. Otten)

WASHINGTON.—In the Michigan Senate, Detroit has gained four seats but its suburbs have gained five and a half. In the house, where Detroit has lost five seats, the suburbs have gained those five and nine besides.

In the next Illinois Legislature, Mayor Richard Daley's Chicago will have three more Senate seats but its suburbs will have six more, and a similar pattern will prevail in the House.

In the Maryland Legislature to be elected this fall, Baltimore will have 12 Senate seats, double the present number, and 42 delegates compared to the present 36. But the Baltimore suburbs and the suburban Washington counties of Montgomery and Prince Georges will have 17 senators instead of only 3, and 55 delegates instead of 18.

Over and over this pattern is being repeated as the States, striving to comply with the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote mandate, take legislative seats away from the sparsely settled rural areas. Almost uniformly in the large northern areas and in a number of others, too, the major gainers so far have not been the central core cities and the old Democratic machines but the rapidly growing, independent-minded suburbs.

What does this mean? Surely it will result in more sympathetic consideration of the needs of sprawling metropolitan areas— more State aid for schools and sewer plants, mass transit and antipollution facilities, parks and playgrounds. But, significantly, there is no trend toward domination by corrupt old city machines.

The new suburban legislators will probably be "liberal" on some issues and "conservative" on others. In many cases they will go very different ways from the representatives of the cities—even within the same party. For example, Democrats from central Detroit have long argued for a State income tax, applying some of the revenue to ease the State sales tax on food and drugs; suburban Democrats are not that enthusiastic about the income tax, and if there is one they'd like some of the revenue to go for property tax relief.

AN ERRONEOUS IMPRESSION

Many politicians and political scientists suspected from the start that the Supreme Court decision would benefit the suburbs more than the central cities, but certainly the popular impression was otherwise. And today, despite the considerable evidence of actual experience, this erroneous impression remains.

It is, in fact, a major talking point in the current drive in Congress and around the Nation for a constitutional amendment to overturn the Supreme Court decision and give the States the right to constitute at least one house of the legislature on a standard other than strict population. Thus, Illinois Republican, Everett Dirksen, who'll again lead the fight in the U.S. Senate for exceptions to the High Court ruling, warns of opposition from a coalition of big city bosses and labor leaders who, of course, would expect to control legislatures in State after State, with big-city political machines calling the shots.

Now there may be perfectly good reasons for wanting to permit one house to be apportioned on the basis of geography or some standard other than population, but the facts do not support the forecast of big-city political machines calling the shots.

Suburbia's big benefit from reapportionment should come as no surprise. True, census figures show metropolitan areas now accounting for close to two-thirds of the American population, but this is divided evenly between central city and suburbs. Moreover, some central city areas are actually shrinking in population, while most others are gaining at a much slower rate than the exploding suburbs, and therefore shrinking as a percentage of the total State population.

In 15 of the 23 largest metropolitan areas, the central city population dropped during the 1950–60 decade—not just as a proportion of the total but in actual numbers. Taken together with suburban growth, the central city decline as a part of the State total becomes even more significant. Thus in the decade between 1950 and 1960, New York City's population dropped from 53.2 percent of the State's total to 46.4 percent, Chicago's from 41.6 to 35.2 percent, Detroit's from 29 to 21.3 percent, Baltimore's from 40.5 to 30.3 percent.

Experts expect these city-suburban population trends not only to continue but to snowball. In fact, the suburbs seem to be growing so quickly that the average apportionment plan is out of date the day it's drawn. New York, Baltimore, and other cities that are gaining seats today will probably lose these gains and possibly more after the next census.

"The suburbs, and in the long run only the suburbs, will gain in the upheaval resulting from reapportionment of State legislatures on the basis of population," declares the National Municipal League's reapportionment expert, William Boyd. "Rather than being dominated by the big cities, the new legislatures will see suburban representatives increase the most in number."

This pattern of suburban gain is particularly true in most of the established industrial areas, where the old cities were powerful enough decades ago to achieve some degree of fair representation. In most cases the cities in these big States have been underrepresented somewhat, and are achieving a greater voice now, but their recent underrepresentations and current and future gains are small compared to those of the faster-growing suburbs.

In New York State, for example, exact reapportionment details are still up in the air, but whatever plan emerges will almost surely give New York City only minimal gains, while suburban Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester Counties will show striking growth in legislative power. Even within the city, this power is shifting from older "machine type" areas like Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx, which have been losing residents, to the more suburban boroughs of Richmond and Queens, which have been gaining population fast.

BEDROOM COUNTIES BOOM

In New Jersey, the southern and northwestern areas will lose strength to the New York bedroom counties of Essex, Bergen, and Middlesex—but Jersey City, the former fiefdom of Boss Hague, may also find itself losing representation. In Pennsylvania, rural areas and the northeastern hard coal region will lose strength, with central Philadelphia a minor beneficiary and suburban Philadelphia a major one.

In the South, Southwest, and more rural Midwestern States, the pattern is somewhat different. Rural areas there have long held down the city voice in State legislatures, and the cities are gaining heavily in current reapportionment drives. But these certainly are not the machine-dominated or union-dominated cities of the older industrial States.

Moreover, the suburbs of these cities—like those of the more populous States—are starting to grow, and to acquire legislative authority. In Colorado, for example, rural areas recently lost 7 seats in the 35-seat senate; Denver and Colorado Springs each picked up 1 of these seats, but Denver suburbs gained the other 5. In the 65-member house, Denver gained 1 seat, Colorado Springs 2, the Denver suburbs 6. More and more, this will be the pattern in other Midwestern, Southwestern, and Southern States, too.

Which political party is the big reapportionment gainer? The early popular predictions in the wake of the Supreme Court decision assumed the central cities would be the big geographic winners and thus assumed Democrats would be the big political winners. Actually, though, with the suburbs the big gainers in the large industrial States and with the Republicans showing considerable strength in the cities of the South and Southwest, it's hard to tell which party will benefit more.

A MIXED PARTY RECORD

In most of the Northern and Midwestern States, conservative Republicans from the country are being supplanted by Democratic liberals from the cities and suburbs or by somewhat liberal suburban Republicans. But sometimes the ones being supplanted by this combination are conservative rural Democrats (as on Maryland's Eastern Shore) and sometimes they're even liberal Democrats (as in the hard-coal fields of northeastern Pennsylvania, or in the central cities when, in the near future, they start losing ground). In some Southern and Southwestern areas, relatively conservative Democrats from rural areas are being replaced by liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans from the cities and suburbs.

Other factors, too, make it hard to generalize about the political-party impact of reapportionment. The sweep of President Johnson's 1964 victory carried into the State legislatures many Democratic candidates from normally Republican areas, and it may take another two or three elections to see whether traditional patterns are restored.

Deliberate gerrymandering by incumbent legislatures, though sure to be overturned within a few years, temporarily distorts some pictures. The Texas Legislature, dominated by conservative Democrats, has skillfully gerrymandered new legislative districts to minimize the gains of liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans in Dallas, Houston, and other metropolitan areas.

Legislatures and courts will reapportion still further over the next few years, and another wave of change will roll in behind the 1970 census. Many experts believe it will be another decade before the partisan impact of the Supreme Court's 1962 decision becomes completely clear.

But the great gain of the suburbs is already evident and can only become more obvious. The metropolitan areas may in time come to dominate the State legislatures, but the domination will be by a combination of city and suburb—not by the central city.

[From the U.S. News & World Report, Feb. 14, 1966]

One Person, One Vote—Suburbs the Real Gainers

Wealthy suburbs of cities suddenly are teaming up with farming areas to produce a new source in U.S. politics.

It's an unexpected byproduct of changes in State legislatures forced by the Supreme Court. Effects can be highly important.

First results are beginning to show up around the country from application of the Supreme Court's one-person, one-vote principle to State lawmaking bodies.

The claim had been made that adoption of the change would put big-city political bosses, labor leaders, Negroes and other minority blocs in command of State legislatures.

It is not working out that way.

Although rural areas are losing power to cities, the suburbs around big cities are important gainers, too. And the suburbs are wielding a vast influence in shaping new State laws. A survey by U.S. News & World Report discloses that a new coalition of suburban and rural forces is developing in many States. It tends to put a brake on many "liberal" plans.

Up to now, 33 States have adopted remapping plans for their legislative districts.

Most of the other States have changes somewhere in the works.

HOLDING THE LINE

In many States, observers report, legislators representing suburban areas—now far more numerous than before the changes—are joining with rural members to hold the line against tax and spending programs.

Many suburban areas have a history of voting Republican. Although this is less true now than it once was, party lines in State legislatures are tending to disappear in a union between suburban and rural members.

In the Oregon Senate, for example, a coalition of suburban Democrats and rural Republicans has had a working arrangement for several years. The group has managed to control much State legislation, often blocking measures that the Republican Governor, Mark O. Hatfield, wanted enacted.

California, now experiencing a major shift of power from north to south, provides an example of differences between suburban and big-city voters.

Los Angeles politicians are not too happy about the growth in suburban power. A labor leader had this to say:

"As Barry Goldwater proved in southern California, the suburbs can be potholes of conservatism. Often, they are against everything, especially taxes. These people don't fool around with very liberal ideas."

It is in southern California suburbs that Republicans show their largest growth in voter registration. The only important area in the State in which Republicans have made big gains, as compared with 4 years ago, is in the Orange County suburbs of Los Angeles.

Big fear of many rural legislators has been that the weight of big city members, especially from southern California, will be placed behind heavy welfare programs. Both houses of the legislature now clearly are controlled by southern California. But the new power of suburban voters is a check against any drastic swing, observers report.

Georgia provides another illustration of the cooperation between suburban and rural legislators.

Fulton County, which holds the city of Atlanta, had one State senator and three members of the house of representatives before redistricting. The change gave Fulton County 7 senators and 24 house members.

Surrounding counties of De Kalb and Cobb, into which Atlanta's suburbs have spread, each had only a fraction of a senator—each being part of a senatorial district—and six house members. Now they have 5 senators and 17 house members. Delegations from these counties often vote with rural members.

WIDESPREAD PATTERN

Many reports from around the Nation suggest similar patterns. In Wisconsin, city dwellers thought redistricting would make it easy to repeal laws that make it virtually impossible to sell colored oleomargarine in the State. These laws were enacted years ago to protect the dairy farmers.

The legislature was redistricted on a population basis in 1954 and again, by decree of the State supreme court, in 1964. Milwaukee County has 8 of the 33 State senators, 25 of the 100 house members.

But the Milwaukee delegation is split between suburban and inner city members. Some suburban members are called anticity.

This division, observers report, has helped to keep oleomargarine laws on the books. In addition, rural members, returning to the legislature year after year, have moved into key spots. When the showdown comes on legislation, city members—virtual newcomers to the legislature—find they have to deal with rural legislators holding the control points.

Illinois exemplifies both the growth of the suburbs and cooperation between suburban and rural members.

Mayor Richard Daley's big political operation in Chicago gets three more senate seats in the next legislature, but the suburbs around Chicago get six more seats. Corresponding changes are being made in house representation.

Through the years, suburban members from the Chicago area have worked closely with downstate Republicans. This has enabled the legislature to keep such firm control on Chicago that Mayor Daley cannot change the color of city police cars without an act of the legislature.

FORECASTS REVISED

The growth of suburbia, marked by new types of members showing up in State legislatures with remapping of districts, is causing politicians to reshape earlier forecasts of what would happen under the Supreme Court decision.

A few illustrations:

In Colorado, rural areas lost seven seats in the senate. Denver and Colorado Springs gained one seat each. The Denver suburbs got the remaining five. In the house, Denver picked up one seat, Colorado Springs two, and the Denver suburbs six.

In Massachusetts, a fresh alinement of seats in the State house of representatives is due again in 1966 under a new census. On the basis of population changes, it now is figured that Boston will lose about 10 seats. These will go to the suburban counties of Middlesex, Norfolk and Plymouth.

SOME SUDDEN CHANGES, TOO

Political changes have been prompted by remapping in several States. More of these party shifts may happen in the future. In some instances, redistricting and changes in party control have produced new laws that long had been blocked.

When Michigan realined its legislative districts, this resulted in taking some members away from Detroit and giving them to the suburbs. But remapping of senate district lines made it possible for Democrats to sweep both houses of the legislature, something virtually impossible before.

The new legislature boosted benefits for workmen's compensation, liberalized rules for unemployment compensation and exempted elderly citizens from a property tax.

It ignored requests from Republican Governor George Romney that the entire fiscal system be revised.

New Jersey shifted seats from southern and northwestern parts of the State to the bulging suburbs of Essex, Bergen, and Middlesex. Jersey City lost some members.

The changes were enough to take the control of the legislature away from Republicans and put it in the hands of Democrats for the first time in more than 50 years.

In Texas, it is figured that, within a few years, about half of the 150 members of the house of representatives will come from Dallas, Houston, Fort Worth, and San Antonio—doubling their present representation. Many say that "conservative" Democrats will continue to control the legislature after the 1966 elections, but that the margin will be close.

Here, too, suburban influence will be strong. A study by researchers at the University of Texas reported that only 3 of 65 rollcall votes in the legislature since 1961 would have been reversed if the legislature had been made up along the lines of one person, one vote.

"Urban legislators tend to vote with, rather than against, rural legislators," reported Mrs. Clarice M. Davis, who made the study.

AFFLUENT SUBURBIA

If population analysts are correct, the suburban influence is likely to increase this tendency. They report that suburbanites have better jobs, make more money, own more and better homes than either city or rural dwellers. And only 8 percent of all Negroes live in the suburbs.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, there has come to my attention an editorial from the Concord, N.H., Daily Monitor in which the editors provide cogent reasons for the defeat of the pending amendment. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Concord (N.H.) Daily Monitor, Apr. 14, 1966]

Taking the Wrong Tack

Senator Dirksen's proposed constitutional amendment to permit apportionment of one branch of State legislatures on some other basis than the one-man one-vote method is being debated again in the Senate. To send it on its way to consideration by the States requires a two-thirds Senate vote, which it lacked when considered at a previous session.

Most of the States have reapportioned since the Supreme Court issued its one-man one-vote opinion. They did so reluctantly in many instances, but most nevertheless have done a reasonably good job of redistricting membership in their legislative bodies.

The size of larger houses of representatives has been cut in the process (New Hampshire excepted) and in many States fears that political power would shift from rural areas to urban voters have not been borne out.

Changes in the persons who represented certain areas have occurred (and may in New Hampshire) but such experience as has been had indicates the principal change has been the reduction of obstacles to improved parliamentary performance by the reconstituted bodies.

Dirksen's amendment does not say on what basis other than the one-man one-vote principle the second branch of legislatures should be organized. Each State would decide for itself, by a referendum of its people. That would result, presumably, in giving the biggest element in the population an advantage, as it would have the power to vote a formula which favored it.

Principal objection to old practices invalidated by the Court was the power held by minorities. The Dirksen amendment, if adopted, would invite the reverse, disproportionate power for some majority. Either way the individual loses and it is his rights which are most important to a country whose greatest claim to fame is its bill of (individual) rights.

Senator Dirksen has enjoyed those rights. He not only lives in a country in which he can introduce an undesirable amendment to the Constitution, but he also lives in one in which he can enjoy unlimited debate (filibuster) in the Chamber of which he is a Member. He exercised this right only recently in opposing section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law, for example.

He is wrong in his whole thesis on the problem of apportionment. The one-man one-vote formula alone makes sense.

If there is anything to be concerned about it is whether all who should have the vote have the vote. Even the one-man, one-vote formula can be meaningless if there is discrimination in the registration of voters.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished senior Senator from New York.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, after giving very much thought and considerable reflection to the question as to what to do upon this particular measure, I have come to a conclusion, based upon two factors—the time in which we act, and certain substantive objections to its provisions.

When Reynolds against Sims was first decided, and until quite recently, many people in the country, including people in my own State, set up a storm of protest and urged us to act quickly to preserve existing apportionment systems affecting State legislatures. In fact, I offered a proposal of my own which—while it differed in some specific respects from that of the minority leader, whom I admire and respect greatly—was designed to allow the States to preserve their own systems while offering some protection against the abuses cited in Reynolds against Sims.

Since these measures were offered, however, the entire character of the problem has been altered drastically. Forty State legislatures have already been reapportioned or will complete reapportionment by the next election. Seven States are under court order and the remaining three are in the courts now. Indeed, the amendment to the pending measure which was agreed to yesterday provides that no State could ratify the proposed constitutional amendment unless it had reapportioned both houses of its legislature.

If enacted and ratified now, the measure before us would permit a return to the old system, instead of providing, as we intended earlier, for the preservation of the existing system. A year ago this amendment would have preserved. At this point today it could well disrupt.

I believe that since new reapportionment formulas have been adopted by the great majority of States, they should be given an opportunity to work before we decide to scrap them. A single year, or a single legislative session is not time enough, in my judgment, to come to this conclusion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I yield 1 additional minute to the Senator from New York.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, recent Court decisions have shown some flexibility in adjusting to the needs of the States, and, indeed, the percentage of deviation from exact population standards which have been allowed by the courts varies from State to State.

It may be that such adjustment will be all that is needed. Or, if it develops that a population standard for both houses of a State legislature is absolutely unworkable—and I do not think that will be the case—then we must study the reasons for this failure so that we can decide, based on experience, what other factors must be represented.

Another aspect of this problem—and which worries the people of my State—is the basis of representation in units of local government such as county boards of supervisors.

The courts are divided on whether Reynolds against Sims requires reapportionment of these bodies, and the pending amendment does not deal with the problem at all. In my view, it would be best to wait for an authoritative opinion in this area, and some experience with the problem on the local level before we send an amendment to the States.

As for my substantive objections to the amendment, they are set forth in my additional views in the committee report on Senate Joint Resolution 103. Briefly they are the fact that the amendment exacts no standard of "reasonableness" in formulating the new reapportionment plans, thus precluding any meaningful judicial review of their provisions, and the fact that the amendment is disturbingly vague with respect to the nature of the "various groups and interests making up the electorate" which could be accorded representation in the new plans and this, too, is subject to no judicial review except under fairly limited circumstances.

Mr. President, I shall vote "no" at this time, but I do not in any way commit myself to vote "no" on another occasion if the situation in my honest judgment requires revision in order to give the people of each State the flexibility which Senator DIRKSEN is seeking to give them now. I must say that it is a very necessary effort. I reserve my right to vote differently on another occasion and perhaps on another amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Indiana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I thank my colleague, the distinguished senior Senator from Illinois, for relinquishing some time to me during this debate. It can be said fairly that this entire subject has been debated at some length on previous occasions in this body. The record will indicate that I have previously explained my position fully on this rather controversial and complex issue.

I find myself taking some issue with those who believe that there is no room for variance of the strict one-man, one-vote formula and with those who pursue the course suggested by the distinguished minority leader.

As I have said before, it is like coming down the center of the road and getting bombarded from both sides. Nevertheless, I have been extremely concerned that the States should be permitted to exercise some leeway in apportionment.

In the final analysis, I am more concerned about the rights of individuals than about so-called States rights. For this reason, at a rather early stage in this debate, I did suggest certain ground rules which I felt were important.

The distinguished Senator from Nebraska yesterday very kindly read these into the record, so I shall not take further time to discuss them. The only reason that I take the time of the Senate at this moment is to convey my belief that, contrary to the thoughts of some—since we always have different interpretations, and I hope there will always be room for different interpretations—the present measure submitted by the distinguished minority leader does meet the test of compliance.

We have discussed this question at some length. One very educational and rewarding experience from the debate has been the opportunity to exchange and share opinions with the minority leader. I have highly valued that opportunity.

But I am convinced that the language change which was made yesterday merely by modifying a few words of the preamble, does not meet the standards which I stressed some time ago.

First of all, while it is a technical matter, I think it is unwise to put this type of important provision in the preamble. We know that when an amendment is adopted, the preamble no longer has any binding effect.

Second, I am very much concerned about the fact that once three-fourths of the States have reapportioned, and have adopted the amendment, there would not be any requirement for the remaining 12 States to comply in any way, shape, or form. That fact would have the effect, it seems to me, of negating the whole body of the law on this subject which has been written by the Supreme Court; namely, that people constitute the primary factor to be considered for reapportionment purposes.

What I have advocated—and I think in vain—is that people are the primary element but that factors such as geography and political subdivisions may be recognized when they have a direct bearing on proper representation of individuals.

This has been debated back and forth, but let me point out the one main example, the best example, which has compelled me to seek some variance from the strict population formula. That is the case of Colorado, where there are people spread over vast areas which are isolated from the mass media sources of communication originating within the State. It is necessary to use communication facilities in other States to reach adequately the west side of the Great Divide in Colorado.

It seems to me that 10,000 people living under those circumstances do not receive the same equal representation as do 10,000 people living in downtown Denver. So I have tried to seek some way of remedying that situation.

But the reason I have insisted on prior compliance of all States and not only of the necessary three-fourths is this: Suppose none of the remaining 12 do accept this amendment. The reason I think prior compliance is important is that all of us who have had experience with legislatures and with referendums know that the final decision on the issue, the final outcome in the voting, can often be determined in the legislative caucus room where the referendum is drafted. I should like to put the onus, the burden, on the legislature. If it seeks to vary from the one-man, one-vote criterion, the burden of substantiating the factors that necessitate the deviations should be upon the members.

I have tried to make a suggestion that I feel would conform to this requirement. The minority leader, in his wisdom, has decided that it is not a good recommendation. He is within his rights to do so, and I see very little reason to pursue it at greater length.

I should like to comment on one other point that has been made previously—the aspect of judicial review. This, as the Senator from Nebraska very correctly pointed out, has been a subject of some concern.

We may criticize the Supreme Court, we may disagree with what it says, and, indeed, I have on occasion. In this one specific case the Court may have gone too far.

But it is the Supreme Court. The Justices do not base their decisions on political reasons.

I think that when we look at the situations which have existed, as for example in the State of Tennessee, which for the best part of a century did not reapportion, or of the State of California, where we found that 8 percent of the people were controlling the State senate, we can recognize the need for somebody to review, some agency to look after the individual citizen. Some agency that will insure that he is adequately represented in the State legislatures.

It seems to me that Congress should have the ability to propose somewhat different criteria than strictly a one-man, one-vote legislature; but I should not like to get us into the position where such criteria suggested by this body were not subject to some policing by the court system throughout the land.

I thank my very good friend the Senator from Nebraska and the minority leader for their tolerance. I think, despite disagreements, it cannot be said that this matter has not been fairly debated either in the subcommittee or on the floor. I thank them for their tolerance and their understanding; but again I say, in my estimation we still do not have the type of amendment that can adequately protect the best interests of the people of our States.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, the Senate is again considering one of the most important issues that has come before this body in many years. It concerns each State's right and authority to apportion its legislature as it considers proper and just.

It is unfortunate that the Supreme Court has entered this field, because in some instances the results have been less than fair and have been disruptive to the political order of the States affected.

The State of Wyoming has been subjected to the dictates of the Supreme Court's ruling, by a three-man Federal court which reapportioned our State.

I intend to discuss briefly that ruling which, on its face, is inconsistent with the dictates of the Supreme Court ruling that requires that every legislative district be equal in population so that each voter would have a vote which is equal to every other vote cast in the State.

Senate Joint Resolution 103, the Dirksen amendment which I have cosponsored, would amend the Constitution of the United States and provide for the reapportionment of a State every 10 years. The proposed amendment requires that in a bicameral legislature, members of one house shall be apportioned solely on the basis of population, and that the other house may be apportioned on the basis of population, geography, or political subdivisions, in order to insure effective representation in the State legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate.

The Dirksen amendment provides that a plan of apportionment for the State legislature shall become effective only after a majority of the people has approved the plan in a statewide election. In such an election, the people shall always have a choice of at least two plans—one plan apportioning both houses of the State legislature solely on the basis of population, and other plans whereby one house would be apportioned on a basis other than the one factor of population. It should be noted that the amendment also requires that before a bicameral legislature can submit a reapportionment plan, the legislature submitting it must be apportioned on the basis of substantial equality of population, as the Supreme Court has required.

The resolution is not concerned whether a State legislature is apportioned on the basis of population in both houses or only in one house. It does no violence to any existing body of State government. It is solely a vehicle by which the people of a State may meet their own legislative needs without injury to the rights of any. Its concern is with the future as well as with the present.

In my opinion, many safeguards are built into this proposed constitutional amendment which protect the people of the respective States and give to the people the right to determine how their State legislature shall be apportioned. If we have faith in and respect for the people of this Republic, we should allow them, rather than the Federal courts, to apportion their State legislatures.

As a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 103, I want to make it clear that I support the measure 100 percent, as does the Governor of the great State of Wyoming and, I am confident, the great majority of the Wyoming people.

I do not mean to be unduly critical of the U.S. Supreme Court or of the three-man Federal court; but I do feel that both courts are in error, and that the Congress and the States must take corrective action at this time. It is unfortunate that in June of 1964, the Supreme Court ruled, "that as a Federal constitutional requisite, both houses of a State legislature must be apportioned on a population basis." That is to say that "the equal protection clause requires that a State make an honest and good faith effort to construct districts in both houses of its legislature as nearly of equal population as is practicable."

Wyoming's State legislature was created in conformity with our State constitution, which was approved by the U.S. Congress when Wyoming was admitted to the Union in 1890. Our State constitution provides for a republican form of government, as is required by article 4, section IV, of the U.S. Constitution. It seems odd to me that after 75 years of statehood, the Supreme Court would rule that the legislative branch of our State government is unconstitutional, and direct us to conform to new and different standards.

But the standards were established by the Supreme Court, and a three-man Federal court, in October of 1965, reapportioned the Wyoming State Senate. That three-man court stated:

> Due to the failure of the Wyoming Legislature to redistrict the State and to provide nearly equal representation in the State senate on the basis of population, it is now incumbent upon this court to reapportion the State senate by judicial decree.

The court went on to state that the Wyoming Reapportionment Act of 1963 did properly apportion the State house of representatives, but because the Reapportionment Act of 1963 followed those provisions set forth in the Wyoming constitution, there was a violation of the 14th amendment to the U.S. Constitution, and that the reapportionment act was an invidious discrimination against the voters of the State.

The court apportioned the senatorial districts in an effort to comply with the one-man, one-vote constitutional standard. The court tried to establish senatorial districts along county lines; but in one instance it deviated from that policy and split one county into two parts.

I have objected to the court's intervention in State matters. But once the court intervened, I felt it was imperative that the court follow the instructions set forth by the U.S. Supreme Court and redistrict the senatorial districts in such a manner that each voter would, as nearly as practicable, have an equal vote. But unfortunately, the court did not see fit to subdistrict the counties in the State of Wyoming. So we now find in Wyoming that the Federal Court has reapportioned the State and has, for example, established one county as a legislative district which has five Senators. In that instance, each voter in that senatorial district would have five votes and five State senators, while a voter in a less populated senatorial district would have only one vote and one State senator. I do not see where that is consistent with the Supreme Court's decree that each voter is to have an equal vote, the so-called one-man, one-vote doctrine.

The Wyoming situation, unfortunately, is not unique. We see across the Nation these inconsistencies that have come about through the Federal courts' intervention. I am hopeful, that there can be a remedy, and that the solution can come from the people, as proposed in Senate Joint Resolution 103. I am confident that if the people of Wyoming were given an opportunity to apportion the State senate, on a solely population basis or on a basis considering population, geographic location, and other political interests, they would choose a manner of representation which would permit the Senate to be composed of men representing more than just mere numbers.

This proposed constitutional amendment is well thought out; it meets the legal arguments; and it would return to the people the right and the responsibility of apportioning the State legislatures so that they would be responsive to the needs of the people. If we believe in the republican form of Government and if we are to have faith in our people, it is imperative that we vote for this constitutional amendment so that the people can make the decisions.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the Senator from California.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, the reapportionment amendment is probably the most important question Congress nas faced in 50 years.

It concerns a very basic and fundamental issue. It will decide whether our Government will be run by and for the people—through their elected Representatives—or whether it will be run by political appointees such as Cabinet members, bureaucrats and members of the Supreme Court.

The whole issue involves how the makeup of our individual State legislatures will be decided and whether the people of a State shall have the right to make this determination. The Dirksen amendment will leave this decision up to the people themselves.

The wording of the legislation sums up the fundamental simplicity of the issue:

> An amendment to the Constitution of the United States to preserve to the people of each State power to determine the composition of its legislature and the apportionment of the membership thereof in accordance with law and the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

I cannot understand how anybody who supports and believes in our Constitution could possibly oppose passage of this legislation.

I am supporting the amendment because I feel our Government still belongs to the people—and that the people themselves have the right to decide such important and far-reaching questions concerning their government and their country.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, in yesterday's discussion of this issue, a colloquy occurred between the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE] and myself which was referred to earlier today. It had to do with the elimination of judicial review—the point which was just commented upon by the Senator from Indiana, the very able chairman of the subcommittee which had jurisdiction over the proposed legislation in the original instance.

Mr. President, the reason this amendment is so highly meritorious is that it will carve out a part of the present jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, denying it the opportunity to take away from the people of a State what they want, provided the conditions set out in the amendment are met. That is its purpose, mission, and meaning. It does not mean that there are no safeguards in that process.

Consider that the legislature, first of all, must act. In the original instance, both houses of a bicameral legislature must have been apportioned on the basis of substantial equality of population. It is not a matter of rotten borough legislatures, because they cannot exist under the present rule of Reynolds against Sims.

So safeguard No. 1 is that the legislature which submits the subject to a vote of the people will be apportioned on the basis of substantial equality of population.

The second safeguard is that the plan, after approval by the legislature, must be submitted to the people.

The third safeguard is that there must be periodic submission of the issue to a vote of the people.

The Senator from Indiana calls attention to the fact that for 100 years, in some instances, there has not been reapportionment of some State legislatures. That is one of the things that is taken care of by the amendment. There is an explicit provision that once every 10 years the matter must be voted upon by the people.

That is one instance where the Supreme Court will have jurisdiction. If the States fail to place the issue on the ballot, the Court can compel the State authorities to put it on the ballot. There is no absolute elimination of Supreme Court jurisdiction. The Supreme Court will still have jurisdiction to see that the conditions spelled out in the amendment are complied with.

Is there anything so horrendous about depriving the Supreme Court of the jurisdiction to say whether a State can have the kind of legislature the people want?

I call attention to the fact that when the 19th amendment was passed, and women were given the right to vote, the Supreme Court was deprived of jurisdiction over that subject. That was the purpose of the amendment. The Supreme Court had said earlier that a State could deprive women of the right to vote.

The same was true in the case of the income tax. The Supreme Court had said that the Federal Government may not enact a graduated income tax.

An amendment was approved and the Supreme Court was forbidden to assume jurisdiction over the proposition of whether the Federal Government could enact an income tax law.

The same thing occurred when the people undertook to repeal the 18th amendment, which refers to the manufacture and the sale of alcoholic liquors. That subject was taken out of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

There is nothing horrendous about it. That is the purpose of this amendment. I have previously made reference to Justice Douglas' statement that if decisions of the Court are not approved in the long run the people can adopt such a constitutional change as they may wish.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska is recognized for 3 additional minutes.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the discussion of inalienable rights is a difficult one to understand.

Who is it that determines what rights are inalienable?

Unless this amendment is adopted and the people of the 50 States get the opportunity to say whether they want to be ruled by Reynolds against Sims, or whether they wish to modify that decision in part, who will be determining the so-called inalienable rights? It will be six members of the Supreme Court. That is where the determination of inalienable rights will rest if the pending amendment is not approved.

Those of us who favor the amendment say that we have had such a fundamental reversal of what existed in this country prior to Baker against Carr and Reynolds against Sims, that the people should be allowed to speak out on what are inalienable rights in this area.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield?

Mr. HRUSKA. That is why we are pressing for the adoption of the pending amendment.

Again, I submit that there a very strong case has been made to show that there is substantial sentiment in favor of this amendment. Is it dominant, or is opposition to it dominant?

That is beside the point here. The point is that for almost 175 years the Constitution has been considered to mean something different from what the Supreme Court held in Reynolds against Sims.

The States have been denied something which they had enjoyed, wanted, and preferred. The situation facing us is like that of a trial judge in a court of law, who must pass upon the sufficiency of evidence to find out whether a case has been made so that the jury may decide.

In this instance, it is the people of the United States who are the jury. We should let them decide the issue.

There is sufficient evidence in the record to show that substantial sentiment exists favoring the pending amendment. That having been established, it seems to me the duty now devolves upon the Senate, and the other body, to submit this issue to the legislatures, and through them, to the people.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Nebraska has expired. Who yields time?

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes to ask a question of the Senator from Nebraska.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The Senator from Maryland is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. **HRUSKA**. I will be happy to answer it.

Mr. **TYDINGS**. Would the Senator from Nebraska concede that the most basic right of a free nation, of a democracy, is the right of the citizens to vote for their elected representatives; and that all the other rights, such as freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom of the press, are illusory if we undermine the citizen's right to vote?

Mr. **HRUSKA**. In the form which the question has been asked, and if we presume that the right of a citizen is undermined, yes, that is true; but I say that if the people themselves vote to be represented according to what they want, that is the most precious right.

Mr. **TYDINGS**. To propound a second question, would the Senator agree that the right to vote can just as effectively be denied by debasement or dilution of the weight of a citizen's vote as by actually taking away the right to vote, or robbing the ballot box itself?

Mr. **HRUSKA**. No; I cannot agree with that at all. Under this amendment, there will be no debasement, no enslavement of any voter. Each State will be given the opportunity to qualify the fashion in which it provides representation in its legislature.

I could not agree for example, that when a jury is called upon to return a unanimous verdict, there is debasement of the right to vote.

Think of it. The opinions of 11 men will be held up by the opinion of 1 man. Is that debasement? No. It is not, because the people have asserted that the right to a trial by jury is inviolate and that the jury must reach a unanimous verdict. That is not debasement. That is one of the disciplines which the people have imposed upon themselves. They are competent to do it.

Mr. **TYDINGS**. I thank the distinguished Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. President, does the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH] wish me to yield him 4 minutes?

Mr. **GORE**. Mr. President, will the Senator from Maryland yield me 10 minutes at this time?

Mr. **TYDINGS**. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Tennessee.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The Senator from Tennessee is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. **GORE**. Mr. President, no legislative step should be approached with greater caution and with greater deliberation than that of amending the Constitution of the United States. This great document of individual liberty and freedom has served the Nation well. It has done so, first, because it was well conceived in the light of history and the struggle for human rights and dignity. But, also, this fundamental charter has served us well because of resistance to changing it except in cases of clear and compelling need.

In my view, there has been a tendency in recent years to regard a constitutional amendment as a proper means of resolving problems in far too many cases, and, in some instances, to act on proposals containing language subject to varying interpretation. Specifically, I considered the proposed amendment approved by the Congress last year and now pending ratification by the States, as lacking the degree of clarity required to withstand the pressures of time and changing circumstances.

In discussing the pending resolution and the amendment it proposes, it is important to emphasize that a change in the Constitution is proposed. We are not here concerned with what some regard as an effort to "restore" to the Constitution what, according to their interpretation, it has said all along. Nor is this simply an exercise to reverse a decision of the Supreme Court found disagreeable by many of the proponents of the proposed amendment. The fact is that the Supreme Court, in the exercise of its constitutional function has asserted one of the basic underlying concepts of the Constitution and the effect of the proposed amendment, should it be ratified, would be to make the Constitution provide something else.

The decisions of the Court in the apportionment cases have been popularly characterized as upholding the principle of one man, one vote. Perhaps, from a technical standpoint, this is an oversimplification. Yet, in essence, it is that principle with which we are dealing here today. For myself, I support the concept of one man, one vote, both in principle and in practice. If there is any underlying element in our Constitution it is the equality of citizenship and the equality of the franchise.

Mr. President, if it is felt that the vote of one man should count for more than the vote of another, upon what basis should we measure their relative weight? In this country, from its very beginning, we have rejected the concept that the vote of a rich man should count for more than the vote of a poor man—in principle if not in practice in all cases. We have not yet reached the point at which all citizens exert equal influence upon society, or upon Government, and we likely never will. But we certainly should not charge off in the other direction by proposing constitutional sanction of the premise that one vote should count for more than another vote. In the ballot box, all possible criteria for measuring the relative weight of an indivdual vote should be rejected, whether it be on the basis of wealth, education, social status, race, religion—or geography.

We have in recent years, in the Halls of Congress and in the public generally, spent a great deal of time discussing and debating the subject of civil rights. And it is good that we have. The key civil right in our Constitution is the right of franchise, the equal right of franchise. It is through the ballot box that the rights and privileges of citizenship are obtained and secured in large measure. But if the right of franchise is to be effective, more is required than protection of the right to cast a ballot. If this right is to be meaningful, it must include the right to have each vote counted on an equal basis. If we do not secure and preserve this right, we simply will not have truly representative government.

Over the years the Congress has considered and approved many measures designed to secure the rights of the minority and to guard against tyrannical oppression of individual rights by a majority. Some who have had strong reservations about the wisdom of those measures have extolled the virtues of majority rule.

The proposed amendment is supported, in part, by those who, in the measures to which I have referred, objected to what they regarded as giving too many rights to those holding views not supported by the majority of their fellow citizens. Yet, if the proposed amendment is to have any effect at all, its effect would be to restrain the rights of the majority in favor of the rights of a minority.

In my view, we should zealously safeguard the individual rights of all citizens—whether they be in the minority or majority, whether they be in one category or another, whether they be in one classification or another—but we should not undertake to do so by giving to any citizen a disproportionate voice in the ballot box as is here proposed.

Mr. President, it is argued, and quite strongly, that the proposed amendment would merely authorize within a State an electoral process specifically provided for in the Constitution with respect to the Federal Congress. It is beyond question that the voters in some States do, in fact, have a disproportionately stronger voice in the proceedings of the Senate than do the voters in other States with larger populations. It is said that it is only fair and just that the States be permitted to apportion the seats in one house of their legislature on the basis of the same or a similar principle as that provided in the Constitution for the U.S. Senate.

On the surface this appears to be a plausible argument. But it is not an apt analogy. The United States is a federal union of States. In recognition of the nature of our Federal Government the Constitution specifically provides for this type of representation in the national legislative body—whether wisely, or unwisely, this was the compromise reached in the Constitutional Convention—and it sets forth the responsibilities and authority of the Federal Government.

But the several States are not "unions" of "sovereign" counties. They are States, political entities of the Federal Government, encompassing a given geographical area and its people. In my opinion, it was never intended that State legislative bodies must follow the pattern prescribed for the Congress. And I do not think that the Constitution should provide as proposed in the pending amendment.

Mr. President, I previously referred to the need for clarity of language and intent with respect to proposed amendments to the Constitution. I am not sure just what is intended by some of the language of the pending proposal. It would sanction the apportionment of one house of a State legislature "on the basis of population, geography, and political subdivisions in order to insure effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate."

As far as I am concerned, only people make up an electorate. I do not know what is meant by "effective representation" of various groups and "interests."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield 1 additional minute to the Senator from Tennessee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, presumably the word "interests" is intended to describe groups of people who have an interest that may not be compatible with the overall public interest. It seems to me that those who have or who comprise what are sometimes called "special interests" do not need such protection. It is the public interest that needs protection.

In any event, the language is susceptible to varying interpretations, to say the least.

It is no answer to say that under the proposed amendment, the people will decide at a special election to determine each 10 years how their legislature will be apportioned. If we are to safeguard the principle of majority rule in representative government, the time to do so is now, by rejecting the proposed amendment.

Mr. President, the principle of one man, one vote merits the constitutional protection now provided. I hope the proposed amendment will be rejected.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I oppose adoption of the pending resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 103, for a number of reasons.

It is my conviction that the Congress should be very hesitant to propose any amendment to the Constitution.

The Constitution is a broad statement of powers and principles. It should not be weighed down by details and procedures. On the whole it leaves to the Congress the power to act by statute and to the courts questions of interpretation. The strength of the Constitution rests not only on the substance of its provisions but also on its brevity and freedom from rigidity.

The Constitution should not be amended without good and serious reasons.

It should not be amended unless time and history have made clear a necessity for change as the only solution.

It should not be amended without some certainty and assurance that the amendment will stand the test of time.

It should not be amended as a petulant and irresponsible protest.

It should not be amended when the same objectives can be secured as effectively or nearly as effectively by statute.

Too frequent amendment of the Constitution, or any disposition on the part of Members of Congress to meet problems by proposing constitutional amendments, is likely to result in diminishing the respect for the Constitution and in a careless approach to the inherent and implied powers and processes in the Constitution.

The proposed amendment deals with a substantive matter, but it is my view that it does not meet several other tests justifying a constitutional amendment.

First. The trend of U.S. history is not on the side of the Dirksen amendment but rather on the side of the Court decisions which have directed that the vote of each citizen for State legislators be essentially equal. This has been the direction of democratic government in the United States since 1778, reflecting the principle of popular representation. Previous amendments to the Constitution have been to expand suffrage. Now it is being proposed to lock in a system in which citizens on the basis of population, geography, and political subdivision in order to insure effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate, will have an unequal weight in voting.

In my judgment there is no good reason to insure representation of the various groups and interests in any American legislative body. Of course, in every State there are a number of groups and interests. They can and should have a right to make their views known. They can do so through the right to petition. They can do so by working through political parties. They can do so by use of the press. Under the American democratic system, they do not have claim to representation in a legislature.

Second. The proposed amendment is not the result of abuses or evils which have developed as a result of change; it is, rather, an attempt to prevent change. Instead of waiting to see the effects of the court decisions on democratic government, instead of waiting to see whether the changes required by the court decisions will result in more effective or less effective State legislatures, we are urged today to stop change.

I am sympathetic to the views of those who are worried by the court decisions. No one of us can give an absolute assurance that some of their fears will not be justified, nonetheless we should not act to amend the Constitution until there is clear evidence that abuse and discrimination have taken place.

By rejecting the proposed amendment today we are not placing an obstacle to another study of the situation next year or 5 years from now or any time in the future. On the other hand, if we approve this amendment, we are making any change in the future most difficult.

The Court decisions on reapportionment resulted from clear and long existing abuses. They applied to States in which the legislature had ignored their own State constitutions. They came as a result of cases in which not only one body but both houses of the State legislature had not been apportioned on the basis of numbers. The Court decisions do not require mathematically equal districts but apportionment "based substantially on population." We have no evidence at this time of abuses resulting from redistricting on the basis of population, and we have therefore no basis for taking the most serious step of approving this amendment. There is no need to settle this question at this time.

We should not act at this time to place this matter entirely outside the review of the courts. By voting against the proposed amendment we are not closing the question but rather leaving it open to future review if the need arises.

Third. I have serious reservations about the propriety of Congress proposing amendments which affect the structure of State legislatures. Previous amendments to the U.S. Constitution have dealt principally with the powers of Congress, with procedural questions regarding the Federal Government, and with prohibitions against the congressional and the State influence with certain rights of citizens of the United States.

The question of reapportionment is clearly a State rather than a Federal question. It does not involve procedures of the Federal Government. It does not involve prohibitions which affect the actions of all citizens of the United States. It is not even a mandatory amendment. It is permissive. It provides that one house "may be apportioned among the people" on a basis other than numbers.

A question of this kind, a permissive amendment, should clearly reflect the wishes of the States. The U.S. Constitution provides two ways of amending: either through initiation by Congress by a two-thirds vote of each House, or on application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States for a convention to propose amendments.

We do not have petitions before the Congress from two-thirds of the States. There have been petitions from 27 or 28 States, extending over the 88th and 89th Congresses, for a constitutional convention to consider the subject of apportionment. The constitutional requirement today would necessitate petitions from 34 States.

Under these circumstances, it is my view that the Congress should withhold consideration until a constitutional two-thirds of the States have petitioned for action. I suggest that the proponents of the resolution would have a stronger case if they came before us today and said: "Look, two-thirds of the States have petitioned for this option. This is the kind of expression of need for change which the Founding Fathers provided to the States in article V of the Constitution. Let us take some action."

Fourth. Beyond the questions and reservations I have already expressed in opposition to the pending resolution, there remains the basic consideration of the meaning of voting in a democracy.

The majority rule principle is central to political democracy; and when this principle is extended to representation, it means that the vote of each citizen should be equal in weight to that of every other citizen.

Majority rule is not an absolute in itself, of course. It is a procedure based on principle and it can admit of exceptions. The Constitution itself requires a majority of two-thirds and of three-fourths on some questions. On the other hand, a majority no matter how large, is not a justification for denial of basic human rights to any individual.

The Constitution contains one guarantee which the combined wishes of all the other 49 States are not sufficient to change. Article IV, section 3, provides that:

> * * * no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

These examples are exceptions to the general principle of simple majority rule. The case for any exception of this kind must be strongly based on a clear need to protect defined rights or to contribute to the general welfare. It is at this point that the analogy between State legislatures and the U.S. Senate fails.

The U.S. Government is a federal union. It was established by the people of existing States, each of which had its area of sovereignty, and each of which was guaranteed the same representation in the U.S. Senate—and this guarantee has been extended to each new State admitted to the Union.

The counties and legislative districts of the State legislatures are not the original governmental units of their respective States. They did not have original power. Their representatives did not gather as the authorized spokesmen of original governments in order to write their State constitution. No individual State is a federal union, as is the United States of America. The legislative districts of each State are the creation of that State. State legislators do not have the same historic or constitutional claim to represent a region regardless of population as do Members of the U.S. Senate.

The proponents of this amendment ask us to approve it in order that the Members of the other house may be apportioned among the people on the basis of population, geography, and political subdivisions in order to insure effective representation in the State's legislature to the various groups and interests making up the electorate.

The Members of the U.S. Senate are not here to provide "effective representation" of "various groups and interests." We are here to represent individual States, each with its own historic reason for existence tested by long debate, and sometimes by the blood of its citizens, and by the vote of the people.

There is no persuasive parallel between the announced purpose of the pending amendment and the purpose and responsibility of Members of the U.S. Senate.

For these reasons, Mr. President, I oppose Senate Joint Resolution 103, and urge its rejection.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Maryland.

ORGANIZED LABOR PREDICTS DEFEAT OF DIRKSEN AMENDMENT AGAIN

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, on March 20, Mr. Jack Beidler, legislative director of the AFL–CIO's Industrial Union Department was interviewed on the subject of Senator Dirksen's reapportionment amendment. Mr. Beidler skillfully explained why organized labor opposes the Dirksen amendment and predicted that the amendment will be rejected by an even larger margin this year than last.

I ask unanimous consent that the interview be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the interview was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Labor News Conference—Mutual Broadcasting System

Subject: "One man, one vote"—basic rule of democracy.

Guest: Jack Beidler, legislative director of the AFL–CIO's Industrial Union Department.

Panel: John Averill of the Los Angeles Times, Julius Duscha of the Washington Post.

Moderator: Harry W. Flannery.

Flannery. Labor News Conference. Welcome to another edition of Labor News Conference, a public affairs program brought to you by the AFL–CIO. Labor News Conference brings together leading AFL–CIO representatives and ranking members of the press. Today's guest is Jack Beidler, legislative director of the AFL–CIO's Industrial Union Department.

Should the principle of "one man, one vote"—the right of every citizen to equal representation in his State's legislature—be preserved? Or, should the Constitution be amended to let States apportion legislative seats on some basis other than people—acres of land, cows, horses, for instance? These issues are now before the U.S. Senate as it considers the much-publicized Dirksen amendment. Here to question Mr. Beidler about the AFL–CIO's position on "one man, one vote" and the efforts to strike down this constitutional guarantee, are Julius Duscha of the Washington Post and John Averill, congressional correspondent for the Los Angeles Times. Your moderator, Harry W. Flannery.

And now, Mr. Duscha, I believe you have the first question?

Duscha. Mr. Beidler, is the Senate going to vote again this year on the Dirksen amendment? It is my recollection that the Dirksen amendment and its predecessors were defeated last year, and, also in 1964. Why is it necessary to vote on the issue again?

Beidler. Well, Mr. Duscha, whether or not the Senate votes again this year is, of course, a question that only the Senate can answer. There seems to be a great deal of effort to get the Senate to take another vote on the Dirksen amendment again. There is a new, big public relations campaign to bring this about, now going on throughout the country—and it seems to be rather well-financed.

The Senate Judiciary Committee has reported the Dirksen amendment. It is now on the Senate Calendar. And, Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, Republican, of Illinois, has indicated that he wants another vote on it. So, I can only assume that there will again be a vote this year.

Averill. Mr. Beidler, as you recall, last year, the Senate vote on the Dirksen amendment was 57 to 39 in favor—which was a majority—but, that was seven votes shy of the two-thirds majority needed for a constitutional amendment. Senator Dirksen says that he now has the necessary two-thirds. Do you agree with his assessment?

Beidler. No. I hesitate to say that against such a great legislative strategist, but I have no such indication. Those Senators who disagree with Senator Dirksen—who opposed him last year and the year before, very vigorously—have seen no indication that Senator Dirksen has been gaining strength. In fact, from all the evidence we now have before us, I would say that the Dirksen amendment will be rejected by an even larger margin than in the past.

Averill. Have you taken an actual "nose count" on this?

Beidler. Well, I can't say that we have a full-fledged "nose count." But, those who seemed to be sliding a bit were checked. There is every indication that we have more votes against the Dirksen amendment this year than we had last year, Mr. Averill.

Duscha. Mr. Beidler, as I understand the Dirksen amendment, all it would really do is give the citizens of a State the opportunity to vote on whether they want one body of their legislature apportioned in some way other than population. What is the AFL–CIO's objection to this?

Beidler. Well, that is a very good question. We hold, as a great many others in our society do—many well-informed lawyers and a great many political leaders—that the democratic principle of equal representation is something that ought not to be voted away. I don't think the citizens of a State—any State—should be granted the power, for example, to do away with the right to trial by jury. I don't think they should be allowed to vote away—even in a referendum—the right to equal representation now held by all citizens.

Duscha. Do you think that in some States, there may be special cases—some of the less densely populated States—where an area ought to be represented because of the terrain, or other factors?

Beidler. Yes. I think it is quite clear. For example, Mr. Duscha—the great bulk of the population of Alaska is concentrated in a few coastal towns. Obviously, it is almost impossible for a legislator to reach all the people he represents in the vast geographic expanse of Alaska. But, I think that the Supreme Court's decision in *Reynolds* v. *Sims* which says that both branches of the State legislature must be based on "one man, one vote," left enough room to handle problems like Alaska's satisfactorily and still meet the constitutional requirements so that people in sparsely settled or isolated areas can be fairly and reasonably represented.

Flannery. What is wrong with the situation now, Mr. Beidler? Can you give me some examples of what's wrong with it?

Beidler. In what sense?

Flannery. I mean the present representation in the State legislatures.

Beidler. Well, let me say that more and more, there is less and less wrong with it. Senator Paul Douglas, Democrat, of Illinois, has cited several cases. For example: 250 voters in one Connecticut town had as much representation in their State senate as did 250,000 voters in another community. That doesn't produce what we think are democratic results. More and more, however, since the decisions of the Supreme Court, we have proceeded to the point where now, most States have acted in keeping with the decisions in such a way that the one-man, one-vote principle will be in effect. Fifteen States started their legislative sessions this year with a legislature that had been reapportioned and elected on a one-man, one-vote principle. And 24 other States—for a total of 39—have reapportioned, so that, at some future point, the principle will begin to operate.

Averill. Mr. Beidler, after Senator Dirksen's amendment was defeated last year, as you know, he completely revised it, in an effort to meet the objections of some opponents—such as those who said that his previous proposal could have been used by Southern States to discriminate against Negroes. Do you feel that the new version is any improvement at all?

Beidler. No, I don't feel it is any improvement at all. It would be an improvement in the case of States that have unicameral legislatures, because then, reapportionment would be subject to Federal court adjustment, as it is now. In the case of States that have two houses in their State legislatures, this doesn't apply. The Dirksen amendment specifically states that one house of those legislatures may be apportioned on a basis other than population—which means, simply, that those who want to frustrate the one-man, one-vote principle would have a veto over any one-man, one-vote reapportionment.

Averill. Could I pursue that a bit further? As I read the new amendment, it would require every State to submit an apportionment plan to the voters every 10 years, regardless of whether or not there is a tendency to get away from one man, one vote. Now, what do you think of this provision?

Beidler. Well, I have no particular objection to it except the single one I mentioned earlier—that people ought not vote away fundamental democratic rights. And, one man, one vote is a fundamental democratic right.

Duscha. Mr. Beidler, which political party has the most to gain from population-based reapportionment?

Beidler. Mr. Duscha, that, I think, is something that perhaps escapes many of the people who are interested in this. Reapportionment, basically—state legislative reapportionment—will benefit the suburban areas. Suburban areas tend to be, at least now, Republican.

Duscha. Are suburban areas more underrepresented than cities?

Beidler. Suburban areas are more underrepresented than cities—and have been more underrepresented than cities. The increase in strength in all of the States I mentioned earlier as being reapportioned is dramatically in favor of suburban areas—not city areas.

Averill. Mr. Biedler, you mentioned a moment ago that the campaign for the new Dirksen amendment seems to be very well financed. You have heard, I'm sure, of this new organization called the "Committee for Government of the People," which is directed by the well-known San Francisco public relations firm of Whittaker & Baxter. Reporters who have talked to Mr. Whittaker, head of the firm, have been unable to get any breakdown on contributions to the committee or how much is being spent by the committee. In fact, Mr. Whittaker said that the committee doesn't intend to file any report on this with the Clerk of the House. And when reporters have asked Senator Dirksen, "How much is being received and how much is being spent?" he always replies by asking how much the AFL–CIO is spending to oppose him. Could you tell us?

Beidler. As you probably know, last week, Senators William Proxmire, Democrat, of Wisconsin and Joseph Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland engaged in a colloquy on the Senate floor with Senator Dirksen, trying to find out from him what the source of the committee's funds is. Senator Dirksen flatly refused to divulge the information. What the AFL–CIO is spending to defeat the Dirksen amendment, I can't tell you exactly. Unlike Senator Dirksen's committee, the AFL–CIO and the Industrial Union Department of the AFL–CIO, file full and complete financial reports on their lobbying activities—you, or any reporter can have them at any time.

Averill. Well, are you spending anything in specific opposition to the Dirksen amendment?

Beidler. We have no lobbying expenditures other than what we spend on lobbying activities for minimum wage, unemployment compensation, the war on poverty, education, and the other things we work for. The Dirksen amendment is one of many things we are working on.

Duscha. Are there any other organizations, Mr. Beidler, that are as interested in defeating the Dirksen amendment as the AFL–CIO is?

Beidler. There is the Committee for Fair Representation, which was established about a year ago. It includes a number of prominent community leaders from all parts of the country.

Also, it is interesting to note that the League of Women Voters has taken a position against the Dirksen amendment. Now, that is a very difficult thing to do. My wife is president of a local league, and I can tell you, that almost every State organization has to arrive at a consensus before the League of Women Voters takes a legislative position. So, this means, generally speaking, that most of the members of the League of Women Voters oppose the Dirksen amendment. I think that is significant. The League of Women Voters is, you know, a very large and highly respected organization, and nonpartisan—interested only in the best possible government.

Averill. Mr. Beidler, many people say that this year is the last chance for the Dirksen amendment. They argue that so many States have now reapportioned, that even if the Dirksen amendment were approved by Congress, it would be impossible to get the necessary number of State legislatures to ratify it in order for it to become effective. Do you agree with that contention?

Beidler. Yes; I do agree with it. I think there may well have been considerable question as to whether or not there would have been enough State legislatures ratify it, even before Senator Dirksen started. But, with something as important as this—something that deals with fundamental democratic rights—we don't take chances.

Duscha. Mr. Beidler, Senator Dirksen and the proponents of his amendment point out that the U.S. Congress is apportioned, one house on the basis of population, and the other, the Senate, giving each State two Senators, regardless of the State's population. They argue that it was the intention of most States to carry out this same sort of division in the State legislatures—that State legislatures have never been considered representative only of population. What is your feeling on this? Does that argument have merit?

Beidler. Well, I disagree with the basis of the argument. The fact is, that the States were established—rather, their representation in the U.S. Senate was established as a result of a compromise in the Constitutional Convention. Article V of the Constitution states specifically that no State may be deprived of its equal representation, except by its own consent. That means that the only way you could modify representation in the U.S. Senate would be by unanimous consent of the States—each State would have to consent. It was obviously a political decision that was made during the Constitutional Convention in order to establish the United States as a political entity.

Duscha. Which probably wouldn't have been established without the compromise?

Beidler. Which probably would not have been established otherwise. Now, on the other hand, the counties—the geographical subdivisions—were not established by the counties themselves—they were established by the States. No, the analogy does not hold.

Duscha. But, is it not true that in some States—in many State constitutions—a provision was included to make certain that both houses would not be represented strictly on the basis of population?

Beidler. Actually, I think you will find, Mr. Duscha, that in a great many States, including some of the States involved in recent court decisions, the principle of "one man, one vote" held, until about the turn of the century. It wasn't until around 1900 that the great shift of population away from the rural areas to the urban areas began. That is when the States began to abandon the principle of one man, one vote.

Averill. Mr. Beidler, the opponents of the Dirksen amendment argued last year that a legislature apportioned by geography is not giving a fair shake to the large cities. Now, where reapportionment has occurred along the one-man, one-vote principle, have you noticed any improvement in the legislation enacted by such legislatures?

Beidler. Mr. Averill, I think the first two States that were so reapportioned and their legislatures elected on a reapportioned basis, were Colorado and Michigan. I am not a resident of either State, but my understanding is that in both cases, the rural areas have done as well—or better—in the reapportioned legislatures, as they did before. In other words, the urban areas—the representatives of the urban areas—have not punished them in any way—have not slighted them in any way. They have, in fact, given them what they needed—without regard for the fact that they were rural areas. I think it has worked very well.

Averill. What I meant was, do you feel that cities have done any better with the reapportioned legislatures?

Beidler. Oh, yes. I am a resident of Virginia, which has a reapportioned legislature, almost precisely on a "one man, one vote" basis. This has added much strength to the Northern Virginia area and the Norfolk-Portsmouth area—the more highly populated sections of the State. The interests of people in those areas, which tend to center on issues of education, kindergartens, child development centers, mental health, college facilities and so forth, have been considerably boosted. And, indeed, the whole State government has changed dramatically under this new legislature. I believe the change has all been for the better—for the best interest of Virginia and Virginians.

Averill. You mentioned the colloquy between Senator Tydings and Proxmire last week. They made the charge that the promoters of the Dirksen amendment have been conducting a misleading campaign. Now, could you comment on that? Misleading in what way—if, in fact, it has been misleading?

Beidler. Well, I think that it certainly is true, Mr. Averill, that their campaign has been misleading. I have in my possession, some materials that were sent out by a consultant to the Committee for Government of the People—sent out to 150 Democratic State Chairmen, Democratic National Committeemen, and Democratic National Committeewomen. This material is thoroughly misleading. For instance, in the memorandum, he says that the Dirksen amendment does not derogate the one-man, one-vote principle in any way. Of course, that is what this whole game is all about. The Dirksen amendment does deny the one-man, one-vote principle. This consultant says it was approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee. This simply is not true. It was not approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee. It was referred by the Senate Judiciary Committee, Mr. Averill, but not with any mark of approval. It was reported without recommendation. It was reported solely because the junior Senator from Illinois (Everett McKinley Dirksen), threatened to filibuster the immigration reform bill unless his amendment was reported.

Duscha. Mr. Beidler, if this amendment is so important—this whole issue—why do you think President Johnson has refrained from taking a stand on it?

Beidler. He has no constitutional authority relating to this; and, of course, on the point of proposing constitutional amendments, the President is not given any constitutional authority, as he is with other legislation. Constitutional amendments are proposed by Congress and submitted directly to the States—without any role for the President.

Duscha. Do you think if the Dirksen amendment is defeated, and all of the States are apportioned according to population, the next effort will be to try to change the U.S. Senate—take Senate seats away from smaller States—give more seats to large States?

Beidler. Well, as I said earlier, the Constitution itself says that this cannot be done, except with the consent of the States. I see no possibility of that occurring—States approving a dilution of their relative strength in the U.S. Senate.

Duscha. The AFL–CIO does not support any such move or effort?

Beidler. We have never taken a position on that—I don't see any reason why we should. There is no viable way of doing this, even if it were proposed.

Averill. Mr. Beidler, the discussion so far has been on the prospects of the Dirksen amendment in the Senate. What do you feel are its prospects in the House, should it be approved by the Senate?

Beidler. Well, of course, since all the activity so far has taken place in the Senate, Mr. Averill, we haven't spent as much time looking at the House. However, on the basis of the soundings that I have personally taken, I would think that the House would reject it also. That's the way it looks to me.

Flannery. Why do you think, Mr. Beidler—I know you can't read Mr. Dirksen's mind—but since you say he going to lose this again—why, do you think, he is bringing it up again? Why waste the time and effort?

Beidler. I wish I could answer that question—I can't. But, I do welcome the opportunity to bring it out again for public discussion. I think the whole trend of public opinion in the last 3 years has been against the Dirksen amendment.

If he wants to have another go at it, fine—let's show that more people than ever before reject his theories. I think that's exactly what is going to happen.

Duscha. Mr. Beidler, a lot of people think that the States may be revitalized when the "one-man, one-vote" principle goes into effect—that State legislatures will, at last, do the things that we all wish they had done before. Do you think this is true?

Beidler. Yes, Mr. Duscha; I think that is true. There are a number of social problems that I think the legislatures, because of rural domination, have ignored, and there have been a number of indications that with readjustment, the legislatures will begin to meet the problems of their people. And, I think this is very good, because I am, fundamentally, a State's righter. It would be helpful for States to meet their problems and keep the State legislatures responsive to the people. It makes them strong. With malapportionment, the States didn't meet their responsibilities and more and more power went to the Federal Government—it had to go to the Federal Government. The States weren't using it to meet the needs of the people.

Duscha. Yet, the State's righters in Congress oppose the one-man, one-vote principle. Why is that?

Beidler. I think it is because they have no strong belief in the federal system.

Flannery. Thank you, gentlemen. Today's Labor News Conference guest was Jack Beidler, legislative director of the AFL–CIO's Industrial Union Departemnt. Representing the press were John Averill of the Los Angeles Times and Julius Duscha of the Washington Post. This is your moderator, Harry W. Flannery, who invites you to listen again next week. Labor News Conference is a public affairs production of the AFL–CIO, in cooperation with the Mutual Radio Network.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I yield two minutes to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I shall support the resolution of the junior Senator from Illinois because I believe the people of the various States should have the opportunity to determine for themselves how they are to be represented in at least one branch of their State legislatures. I have confidence in their ability to make a wise choice.

We in Massachusetts were not affected by the Supreme Court decisions because we place the representation in our house and senate on a population basis, and have made the districts as fairly representative of the population as possible. But I believe States should retain the option to consider other factors if the people in a statewide referendum decide they wish to do so. An important point of this resolution is that it will not require States such as Massachusetts to change their present population-based apportionment system unless it is modified in the future; it permits rather than forces a State to reapportion according to the standards set forth in the proposal.

As one who, either as Speaker of the Massachusetts House or as Governor, had the responsibility of carrying out a reapportionment of the legislature on three different occasions, I realize the difficulties involved in providing fair representation due to the pulling and hauling caused by partisan politics. These difficulties are inevitable under any system of apportionment—one based on population, as in Massachusetts, or one which takes other factors into consideration. Discrimination against minority groups and unequal representation can result just as easily under one system as under another. I am opposed to discrimination regardless of what system is used to achieve it.

The Senator from Illinois has also made clear his position on this particular point, and strengthened his original resolution by clarifying the language to specify that the "factors other than population" will be "population, geography, and political subdivisions." This insures that factors such as race, color, religion, or wealth would still be in violation of the Constitution. To meet objections that racial discrimination might be practiced under the Dirksen proposal, a key phrase has been added to make it clear that the purpose of providing that factors other than population could be used in determining the apportionment of State legislatures is "in order to insure effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate."

The proposed amendment, Senate Joint Resolution 103, a revised version of Senate Joint Resolution 2 which received 57 votes in this body last year, contains many other desirable safeguards. Some of these were contained in the original resolution; others were added as a result of further study. Senate Joint Resolution 103:

First. Requires that State legislatures be apportioned after each 10-year census, and that people of the State must approve any plan submitted to them by majority vote.

Second. Requires that, in addition to other plans of apportionment submitted to people at the election following the census, an alternative plan of apportionment based on population must be put before them.

Third. Requires that bicameral legislatures must have one house based on population; the other house may take other factors into consideration as noted above.

Fourth. Requires that if a plan is submitted by a bicameral legislature, it must have already been approved by both houses, one of which must have been apportioned on a population basis.

Fifth. Requires that if the apportionment plan is otherwise submitted—by a bicameral legislature without one house based on population or by unicameral legislature not based on population—it must be approved by the courts before going to the people for a vote.

Sixth. Requires that for the purposes of ratification of the proposed amendment, both houses of the State legislature must be apportioned on basis of population.

Wide differences exist between States with respect to the distribution of population. I believe, therefore, it is essential to permit representation in areas that are not as thickly populated as urban districts so that States with particular situations can work out the system that suits them best. If we put the States on a one-man, one-vote basis, in some States people in large areas will have practically no representation. This resolution makes it possible to avoid going from one extreme to the other.

Hawaii, as the distinguished Senator from that State, Mr. Fong, has pointed out, with its eight widely separated islands and with Honolulu, the one metropolitan urban center in the midst of a rural and agricultural State, provides a clear example of the unique and diverse factors present in each State which are not considered by the one-man, one-vote ruling. This resolution takes account of this situation and permits the people of Hawaii to do so. Mr. Justice Stewart stated this problem well when he said in his dissenting opinion in the apportionment decisions of the Supreme Court:

> I do know enough to be aware that a system of legislative apportionment which might be best for South Dakota, might be unwise for Hawaii with its many islands * * *. I do know enough to realize that Montana with its vast distances is not Rhode Island with its heavy concentrations of people.

I think we should consider, too, the argument that Mr. Justice Harlan makes in his comprehensive dissenting opinion to the Court's decision, where he points out that the 14th amendment must be considered as a whole and that the "equal protection of the laws" phrase should not be considered apart from the 2d section of the amendment relating to apportionment. He also indicates that when the 14th amendment was approved by the Congress, it was felt that neither the 1st nor the 2d section interfered with the right of the States to regulate the elective franchise. I quote briefly from his opinion:

> The history of the adoption of the 14th amendment provides conclusive evidence that neither those who proposed nor those who ratified the amendment believed that the equal protection clause limited the power of the States to apportion their legislatures as they saw fit. Moreover, the history demonstrates that the intention to leave this power undisturbed was deliberate and was widely believed to be essential to the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. President, the issue before us is of fundamental importance. I am supporting Senate Joint Resolution 103 because I think it is a fair proposal which, while carefully providing for safeguards, allows for State differences and permits the people of a State to determine how one house of their State legislature shall be apportioned. In our government of, by, and for the people, this is one of the most fundamental principles.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, yesterday two members of the National Legislative Program Committee of the American Association of University Women came to my office to remind me of association action and of its position on the one-man, one-vote issue, and of the letter written by the president of the AAUW expressing opposition to Senate Joint Resolution 103 that I, as a member of the Judiciary Committee, received. The issue of reapportionment was the subject of prolonged discussion at the association's most recent biennial convention held in Portland, Oreg., in June 1965. A vote following this discussion showed great support for the position adopted earlier by the association's legislative program committee in opposition to Senate Joint Resolution 2, defeated last August 4.

At the last two meetings of the association's legislative program committee, held here in Washington in November 1965 and February of this year, Senate Joint Resolution 103 was discussed. As a result of these discussions, a letter was written by the AAUW president to all members of the Judiciary Committee.

I would like to include that letter in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF
UNIVERSITY WOMEN,
Washington, D.C., March 8, 1966.

The Hon. PHILIP A. HART,
Committee on the Judiciary,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HART: The American Association of University Women is an organization with a membership of over 168,000 organized into 1,579 branches in the 50 States, Guam, and the District of Columbia.

When the Dirksen amendment was brought to the floor for discussion at the biennial convention of the association held in Portland, Oreg., in June 1965, opposition was authorized by an affirmative vote of a very large majority of the delegates in attendance.

Therefore, the legislative program committee of the association wishes to express its opposition to Senate Joint Resolution 103 on the grounds that the Constitution provides "equal protection of the laws" to each citizen of the country. In the opinion of the legislative program committee, this proposed amendment would limit or modify this right of the individual to equality of representation.

Sincerely yours,
DR. BLANCHE H. DOW, *President.*

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Who yields time?

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 3 or 4 minutes?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. BAYH. May I have 3 or 4 minutes? I may not take that long.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield 4 minutes to the Senator from Indiana.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from Indiana is recognized for 4 minutes.

Mr. BAYH. I should like to clarify one or two points. One was very adequately commented on by the distinguished Senator from Tennessee. The Senator from Nebraska pointed out two safeguards in the joint resolution. However, the language of the joint resolution as presently drafted still concerns me. He pointed out that the legislature will act and serve as a protection against the possible abuse of this amendment.

What worries me, and the reason why I have been rather vocal in my conviction that we should have prior compliance, is the type of legislature which will act. It is rather clear that the legislature will be composed of one body which has not been apportioned according to population and may be extremely malapportioned.

I am well aware, having served for 8 years in such a body, that State legislatures require both houses to pass any plan. We know there must be give and take, and that it inevitably goes on. When one house is completely malapportioned, that house is not going to serve as a protection against malapportionment.

I wish to reemphasize what the Senator from Tennessee said about the language referring to the weight that is to be given to geography, and political subdivisions which will insure effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate.

I think providing for the various groups and interests opens up a Pandora's box, which has been well pointed out by the Senator from Tennessee.

I had hoped we would incorporate, along with provision for political subdivisions and geography, the further word "reasonable." If we could have incorporated the one word "reasonable" and required prior compliance, I would have been willing to support those who believe the Supreme Court interpretation has gone too far.

Without some guidelines, without some restriction on how the geographic and political subdivisions could be used, there would be opened a Pandora's box.

I thank the Senator from Illinois for permitting me to make a second speech on this matter.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, as a Senator from a small State and one who strongly believes in the historical integrity of communities, I find this a difficult amendment against which to vote. However, more than 40 States have already complied with the Supreme Court decision and my own is in the process of doing so.

Moreover, even with the inclusion of the Church amendment, this process of reapportionment on the basis of population will have to be completed.

Accordingly, I submit that the time to consider the Dirksen amendment, particularly with the inclusion of its prior compliance feature, would be in several years, when we have seen whether, in fact, any abuses have occurred under the one-man, one-vote feature.

Then, if abuses have occurred and if prior compliance together with a submission to the courts for a determination as to the reasonableness are included, I might well find it hard to vote against it.

On balance and at this time, though, I find I cannot support the Dirksen amendment.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, how much time is remaining?

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The junior Senator from Illinois has 17 remaining minutes and the senior Senator from Illinois has 12 remaining minutes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, when General MacArthur stood before a joint session to deliver his farewell address he said:

> Old soldiers never die; they just fade away.

This issue will do neither. I can assure the Members of the Senate that so long as I am a Member of Congress this issue is not going to die and it is not going to fade away. We intend to continue it as an issue and we intend to do what we have been trying to do, and that is to go to the people of the country and let them manifest a voice in this matter of whether or not the Supreme Court can build a Berlin wall beyond which there is no escape.

Justice Douglas said it so well that, notwithstanding the fiat of the Court, there are many occasions when the people have not accepted it, but there was a way out. Today there is no way out if the people are unhappy over the one-man, one-vote principle.

The people have indicated that before in connection with the 11th amendment, the amendment dealing with the use of judicial power; the 13th amendment abolishing slavery; the 16th amendment dealing with income tax; the 19th amendment dealing with women's suffrage; and the 24th amendment dealing with the poll tax.

This country still belongs to the people, and no group of Senators is going to change that right, I can assure the Senate. The only time that the Constitution was ever amended to interdict the right of the people was the 18th amendment. It lasted 14 or 15 years, and it was repealed. You can bet all the tea in China that notwithstanding the arguments that have been made on the floor, the people will have something to say in due course.

Now, we have heard all the legalisms. We have heard the numbers game played. I am not sure whether to be happy or unhappy that the Founding Fathers did not know anything about the numbers game. We would be better off, perhaps, if they had, because today the whole philosophy of numbers is going to be demonstrated in this rollcall.

We have to supply two votes for every vote the opponents bring up, that is what is meant when the numbers game is mentioned. What a lot of nonsense and what a lot of droll.

It was said yesterday by my colleague from Illinois that this was an attack upon the Court. Lincoln did not regard it as an attack upon the Court when he disagreed with Chief Justice Taney and he said, "I accept it but I do not agree." It took the 13th amendment and a lot of blood to wash it out.

You are not going to gainsay the power of the people. The Supreme Court did not create the people; the people created the Supreme Court, because the Preamble to the Constitution begins with those solemn words:

> We, the people of the United States * * * do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Now, it has been said that this is moot; that 40 States have already been reapportioned. So what? That is not the residual problem. That is not the issue. Suppose they want to do otherwise in any State; they cannot do otherwise unless this amendment is adopted because there is the fiat of the Supreme Court in Reynolds against Sims. The people of the respective States have no choice.

It has been argued that legislatures will not ratify. We have 500 members of different legislatures who are members of this committee that we set up on the Government of the people. It is just a lot of airy speculation—and I was going to say sheer nonsense—to speculate here that in due time the legislatures, if they had the authority under this amendment, might not change their whole reapportionment system and strike down the one-man, one-vote principle in the interest of fair representation.

That is where nearly every argument has missed the boat, constantly talking about numbers. Justice Harlan said that an individual was something more than a cipher. He certainly is. He has some interests.

When one mentions the Colorado decision, those people beyond the Continental Divide are left out there with just a handful of representation. But look at the cattle, look at the land, look at the minerals, look at the timber and look at all the interests with which those individuals are identified.

An individual is not a goose egg. He is not just a cipher. There is an interest that is involved and among other things we have contended for fair representation for all interests. That is where the numbers game falls into the sink.

It has been said we degrade the Court. Did Lincoln degrade the Court? Did labor degrade the Court with its attempt to repeal section 14(b)? Eighteen years ago the Taft-Hartley Act was found constitutional, and every part in it was. Did that stop George Meany and his cohorts from trying to take it out of the law even though it was constitutional? No, it did not. It might be said he was trying to degrade it since it found the act constitutional. Nobody lifted his voice but we stopped it, and we will stop it again.

This reapportionment problem will not die, and unlike an old soldier, it will not fade away. It will be here, and Senators can take my word for it.

Now, it has been said, that the Court is going into the political thicket. Frankfurter said it, Harlan said it, other Justices said it. They said the Court has no business there and it was arrogating to itself the power to amend the Constitution.

Does that not degrade the Congress? Does that not degrade the people? Who can amend that Constitution save the people, operating through their chosen representatives at the ballot box? There is no other way to do it. It is not the Court. They are only appointed for life. But they have walked into the political thicket. They have demeaned and downgraded the Congress in doing so.

When we talk about demeaning the Court on this issue, that is just plain nonsense and nothing more.

An amazing thing is that they leaned upon a slender reed, a single clause in the 14th amendment, and completely ignored the second section. They said nothing about one man, one vote. All of the historical argument was presented in the dissent. It was not, however, ever presented to the Court itself, nor by the law clerks over there. It received no attention.

I went back and I read every stitch of it, even as Justice Harlan read every nickel's worth of debate in the Congress. There was no intention in the mind of the Congress not to include in that clause equal protection.

They ignored section 2 because section 2 said that if they do not properly handle their suffrage in the State, the State can lose members in the House of Representatives by diminishing the number by which the valid, legal number of voters is denied in that State.

The 14th amendment cannot be read one section apart from another. That, in my judgment, was a rare fallacy on the part of the Court. Where would we be in the Senate if we had one man, one vote in 1787 when they sat in that hot room from May until September in Philadelphia, without the benefit of air conditioning or anything else? They worked out the Constitution of the United States to provide for two Senators from each State and representation in the other body on the basis of population. Oh, what a great thing it would be if the Senate were picked on the basis of one man, one vote. I say to my colleague [Mr. DOUGLAS] that it would be wonderful. Illinois would have six Senators, four besides him and me. Would that be fair?

Mr. DOUGLAS. It cannot be done.

Mr. DIRKSEN. You do not know that it cannot be done.

Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wyoming, and Montana together would have two Senators. Idaho, Oregon, and Hawaii together would have two Senators. New York is on the top of the heap. Is not that great? In addition to the distinguished Senator JAVITS and the distinguished Senator KENNEDY, New York could pick seven more Senators.

Talk about the validity of this numbers game. I never heard any such nonsense on the Senate floor in my life. It was carried on a moment ago by the distinguished Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE]. Let us not kid ourselves. We are not going to stop the people. They are too articulate; they are too smart. To me, it is amazing that the opponents are afraid of the people. Most of the opponents are on the other side of the aisle. Is that not singular? They are afraid to go back to the people. The country belongs to the people. Without them, it is nothing.

Mr. President, you can destroy every tangible in this country; but so long as you have people, they will reconstruct every bit of it. It is their government. That is the way it was set up. It was the first great experiment in that field in the history of the whole wide world.

The opponents are afraid of the people. We are going to tell the voters that you are afraid of the people. Make no mistake about it. You are not going to get off so easily on this issue. We mean to carry the ball on it.

I agree with the Georgetown professor of law that this is the greatest constitutional crisis in the last 100 years, because the opponents are attempting to remake the structure of government.

I think of the late Senator O'Mahoney, at the time I went out to Cheyenne, Wyo., to help to defeat him. I called him up.

I said, "Joe, I am in town."

He said, "EVERETT, I know you are."

I said, "I am having the Devil's own time thinking up a text to use at the rodeo grounds tonight," where thousands of people would be in attendance. Suddenly I remembered I had read, as I was leaving Omaha, an article he had written for the Reader's Digest. There it was, seared in my memory: "They Are Remaking America, and You Won't Like It."

He said, "EVERETT, if I were not a member of the Holy Name Society, I probably would call you a vile name."

I said, "Joe, that is the text for tonight. We are going to leave you at home."

We did leave him at home, and we brought Gov. Frank Barrett to this Chamber.

I am no Johnny-come-lately. When I start, I play for keeps. The one-man, one-vote decision, which is so at variance and so alien, in my judgment, to the whole concept of our Government, is going to have to be modified, so that when people are unhappy about the inequities that will begin to develop under the apportionment plan, under the fiat of the Federal court system, there will be some place to go and no Berlin wall to stop them. The Senate will have an opportunity today to make the first endeavor to eliminate that Berlin wall. Whether it will do so or not, I do not know. I do know that when I start something; I stay with it; and this is a matter of principle.

So I end where I started: Just as old soldiers never die, but fade away, this issue will not die. Neither will it fade away, believe me. I give you, Mr. President, my pledge that we are not going to stop, and none of the red herrings about where we got the money to run this educational program are going to stop it. We have not asked about the money spent by the League of Women Voters or by the labor group from New York that was in the Capitol yesterday, going through these corridors, putting the "bite" upon Senators.

I know what is going on. I know where the arms have been twisted; and we will tell that story, believe me. We have pressured, too, and we are proud to pressure, because we are pressuring for the people of the United States.

That is the story.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the aim of the Dirksen amendment is to make it possible for one branch of a State legislature to be apportioned on a basis other than population. It therefore aims to introduce other elements than the people into the composition of the second branch of the legislature.

We believe that legislatures should represent people; not acres, not cattle, not minerals, not timber, but people. We believe that in a democracy there is no other proper basis than that all people shall stand equal before the law; equal before the courts, and equal before the legislatures which make the laws. We believe that when disproportionate influence is given to groups as groups the way is opened to have government by special interests, not by the people.

My colleague [Mr. DIRKSEN] has spoken with scorn about the 14th amendment to the Constitution, especially about the last clause of the 14th amendment; namely, that "no State shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

What does the phrase "equal protection of the laws" mean? Can people be said to have equal protection when they are grossly unequally represented in the legislatures which make the laws?

I do not believe that that can be said to be true. I think the Supreme Court in both the Tennessee case and the Alabama case was completely correct in holding that the equal protection of the laws should require substantially equal representation of people in the legislatures which make the laws.

If democracy and representative government are to be more than a mere sham, people must stand equal before the legislatures. We know quite well what happened prior to the decisions of the Supreme Court. We know that, in legislature after legislature, a small minority of the voters elected a majority of the members of one or, indeed in some cases, of both houses; and we know that those who could control those small districts were able to impose their will upon the States and upon the populations of the cities and of the suburbs.

We have called the roll time and time again of those States—Florida, Maryland, California, and virtually every State in the Union.

We had the horrible examples in which 1 vote in the Sierra Mountains was equal to 475 votes in the county of Los Angeles and in which 1 vote in a Vermont hamlet was equal to 1,000 votes in the city of Burlington.

That was the evil. And the State legislators did nothing to do away with it because to do so would have meant that they would have apportioned themselves out of their seats in the legislature.

It required the Supreme Court to strike off these shackles which it did in a series of decisions beginning with the Tennessee case and most notably in the Alabama decision which applied the rule of one man, one vote for both houses.

My colleague, the junior Senator from Illinois, and those who support him, are now attempting in a desperate effort to turn back the tide and to keep the people from deciding the issues in a meaningful sense. They do not want the people to decide. They want to perpetuate rotten borough government in which a small group of people elect a majority of the legislators and narrow interests control those legislators so that a minority rules. It is the decision of the Supreme Court to enforce basic equality of citizenship which will let the people decide.

We know who were behind those rotten boroughs, the big private utility corporations and the big corporate interests which did not want labor organized and did not want protective legislation for labor. They were the groups which wanted to evade and avoid the paying of their just share of taxation. These were the vital forces behind malapportionment. These are the vital forces behind the movement for the Dirksen amendment. These are the forces operating through Whittaker and Baxter, who have tried to carry on this campaign in every State.

My friend and colleague has now made a plea about referendums. At one time in my life I thought popular referendums were excellent. However, now we have had almost 50 years of experience with this, and while I do not wish to deny that referendums can be useful, I find that even in general elections—not in special elections—referendum proposals are carried or defeated on the average by the votes of only 27 percent of those of voting age. In the special elections, it is a much smaller percentage.

The Senator from Indiana has touched on another deficiency in referendums. It is possible to get almost any result if a referendum question is phrased ambiguously and obscurely and if a great deal of money is put into the campaign to confuse and bewilder the voters.

Last year I had put into the RECORD the wording of referendum 14 in California. The campaign for that was also carried out by a well financed, high powered public relations campaign.

I defy anyone to tell from reading it what that amendment meant. However, a powerful campaign was launched in its support. This confused and bewildered the voters, and the referendum was carried. Referendums simply are not adequate democratic techniques for deciding whether one house shall be malapportioned or not, or, in effect, whether the right of equality of citizenship shall be abridged.

Legislatures at least permit a full and free discussion and a sifting of the issues. In a republican form of government it properly puts the burden of studied decision where it belongs—on the elected representatives.

If the people do not like what we do, they can retire us.

People have raised the objection that one man, one vote would mean the domination of State governments by the people of the big cities. I was surprised to hear an attack made upon city populations by my friend, the senior Senator from Ohio, once the mayor of Cleveland. It is an extraordinary attack upon the good sense of the people of the city who showed their faith and confidence in him by electing him as their mayor. Indeed, they showed good sense when they chose him.

City people are no worse than people anywhere else. I am not going to join in this denigration of city populations. Those who live in the cities are just as good as those in the country. They should be equal in their citizenship, not greater, but equal.

As the Senator from Maryland has shown, the people who are going to gain in this are primarily those in the suburbs, not the cities. The central cities, with the exception of those which are blessed with sunshine, have either been losing their populations or have been standing still.

From 1950 to 1960 the suburban areas around 23 of our bigger cities rapidly increased in population while 15 of these cities actually lost population, and 11 of these 23 cities are now smaller than their suburbs. No city, moreover, contains as much as 50 percent of the people of its State, and all cities are being reduced in their proportion of the State population.

In my own metropolitan area of Chicago, the suburban population between 1930 and 1960 increased by 72 percent, while the population in Chicago decreased by 2 percent.

The Dirksen amendment is not only a blow against the cities, but it is also a blow against the suburbs. It is a move which is aimed at returning special selfish interests to the control of the State legislatures which they have dominated for so long under the existing rotten borough systems.

Make no mistake about this. That is what this vote is about. The Dirksen amendment must be defeated so that we shall have representative and effective State government, and so that equality of citizenship is not abridged.

I now yield the floor and suggest that there be a preliminary quorum and that at 2 o'clock the roll be called.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is 1 minute remaining on the other side.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 2 minutes remaining.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished Senator from Iowa.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I supported the Dirksen amendment last year when it was voted for by a majority of the Senate, 57 to 39, 7 votes less than the two-thirds vote required on proposed constitutional amendments.

I am supporting the amendment again today.

As I said last year, the issue between the proponents and the opponents turns on the composition of one house of a bicameral State legislature. Both proponents and opponents agree that one house should be apportioned on a basis of the one-man, one-vote doctrine. With respect to the second house, the opponents say that it, too, must be apportioned on the basis of the one-man, one-vote doctrine; whereas the proponents wish to let the people of a State, in a general referendum, have a choice. The choice must include the proposition that the second house shall be apportioned on a basis of one man, one vote. But the people would have a choice to have the second house so apportioned, or to have the second house apportioned on the basis of population, geography, and political subdivisions "to insure effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate." If the latter choice is not responsive to the effective representation of the various groups and interests making up the electorate, one could be quite sure that the electorate would choose, instead, to have the second house apportioned strictly according to the one-man, one-vote doctrine. And even then, the electorate might well decide to have the second house so apportioned.

Those who insist that no such choice be given the people with respect to the second house, and that the second house must also be apportioned on a strict population basis, place themselves, it seems to me, in a very indefensive position. In effect, they are saying that they want the people to control the second house, but they do not wish to let the people, in a general referendum, make that decision.

As I brought out in my colloquy with the Senator from Wisconsin last week, the underlying difference seems to be over one's philosophy of the democratic process. I, for one, happen to believe very strongly in the initiative and referendum for the people of a State—as long as the requirements for the initiative are strong enough to preclude putting on the ballot all kinds of propositions, many of which may well have little real grassroots support. When I served in the Iowa State Legislature, I introduced a proposed amendment to our State constitution which would have provided for the initiative and referendum for the people of the State of Iowa; but it would have required signatures of 25 percent of the people voting for Governor in the last previous election to place a proposition on the ballot.

Under the Dirksen amendment, a proposition regarding reapportionment would be placed on the ballot only once every 10 years, after each decennial census. Under such circumstances, I see no valid reason why the people of a State should not be entitled to vote on the proposition. If they wish to have the second house apportioned on a one-man, one-vote basis, that is the way it will be. If they wish to see the second house apportioned on some other basis, for example to give extra weight to mining areas, industrial areas, agricultural areas, or recreational areas, for example, which have a great importance to the future economic growth of the State and the job opportunities to be afforded the people, then, that is the way it will be.

In the present state of Supreme Court decisions, the one-man, one-vote doctrine is still far from being clear with respect to its meaning. Does this mean, for example, that legislators must be apportioned to legislative districts on the basis of total population? Or does it mean on the basis of total voting population? The answer has not yet been provided. And even if the Dirksen amendment should pass and be ratified by three-fourths of the State legislatures, it will still be up to the Supreme Court to determine this question.

Another point which has not, until very recently, been clarified is whether or not the one-man, one-vote doctrine permits election at large of several legislators from the same county, for example; or under what circumstances may such at large elections be held. One can imagine a situation where a State legislature establishes an apportionment plan under which legislators in multimember districts are elected at large, with a result that minority groups—political, racial, or religious—are deprived of a voice in the legislature. Where this is a natural result of such a plan, it would seem that the plan could be attacked under the 14th amendment to the Federal Constitution as depriving citizens of equal protection of the laws. The Dirksen amendment would not preclude such an attack—not only with respect to the second house of the State legislature, but with respect to the other house as well.

On April 15 of this year, the Iowa Supreme Court handed down an historical decision involving the question of whether election at large of legislators in multimember districts deprives citizens of equal protection of the laws under both the State and Federal constitutions. The court unanimously decided that in the case of Polk County, equal protection of the laws was, in fact, denied. In Polk County, 11 State representatives and 5 State senators have been elected at large. Thus, the court found that a citizen of Polk County votes for one-twelfth of the State house of representatives; whereas a citizen from a county having only one representative votes for only one one-hundred-twentieth of the State house of representatives. Although a majority of the court pointed out that it was not holding that there could never be, under any circumstances, election at large of legislators from multimember districts, it made it clear that counties in Iowa having more than one State legislator must elect each from a separate legislative district in order to satisfy the one-man, one-vote doctrine.

I believe the decision is both a fair and a wise decision. There is some intimation that it may be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. I would hope that if this happens, the U.S. Supreme Court would uphold the decision. But if it does not do so, I can assure my colleagues that I will propose an amendment to the Constitution which will require that legislators be elected from separate districts, of approximately equal population, in meeting the one-man, one-vote test.

Meanwhile, I would hope that people in other States which now permit elections at large would follow the example of the interested citizens of Iowa in bringing appropriate court actions to require separate legislative districts for each State legislator.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time and suggest that there be a brief quorum call to alert the membership and that at 2 o'clock we proceed to vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

All time having expired, the question is on the passage of Senate Joint Resolution 103, a proposal to amend the Constitution of the United States, which requires, for passage, an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the Senators present and voting.

The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana (when his name was called). On this vote, I have a pair with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNamara]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." Therefore, I withhold my vote.

Mr. SYMINGTON (when his name was called). On this vote, I have a pair with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNamara]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." Therefore, I withhold my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING] is absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], and the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] and the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER] would each vote "nay."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING] would vote "yea."

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 55, nays 38, as follows:

[No. 63 Leg.]

YEAS—55

Aiken
Allott
Bartlett
Bennett
Bible
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Church
Cooper
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dominick
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Fulbright
Harris
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kuchel
Lausche
Mansfield
McClellan
Miller
Monroney
Morton
Moss
Mundt
Murphy
Pearson
Prouty
Russell, S.C.
Russell, Ga.
Saltonstall
Scott
Simpson
Smathers
Smith
Sparkman
Stennis
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—38

Anderson
Bass
Bayh
Boggs
Brewster
Burdick
Case
Clark
Douglas
Gore
Hart
Hartke
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Long, Mo.
Magnuson
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Montoya
Morse
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pell
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—7

Dodd
Gruening
Long, La.
McNamara
Neuberger
Robertson
Symington

The VICE PRESIDENT. Two-thirds of the Senators present and voting not having voted in the affirmative, the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 103) is rejected.

TRIBUTE TO LEADERSHIP WHICH FOUGHT AGAINST THE DIRKSEN AMENDMENT

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I should like to take a moment to express my great admiration for the leadership in opposition to Senate Joint Resolution 103 which has just been defeated by the Senate; namely, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS].

Mr. President, those of us who were soldiers in their legislative ranks will always appreciate the statesmanship and the leadership which they displayed in this battle.

I want the RECORD to show that I have never served more willingly and with greater pride than I have under the leadership of this great trio of statesmen in the Senate.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a morning hour for the transaction of routine business, with statements therein limited to 3 minutes, before we take up Senate Resolution 224.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I did not hear the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I was asking for a brief morning hour.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection it is so ordered.

RETURN OF SENATOR KUCHEL, OF CALIFORNIA, TO THE SENATE

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I invite the attention of all Senators to the fact that the distinguished minority whip, the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], who underwent surgery a short time ago, has been completely restored to health and vigor. I am delighted that he is with us once again.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILL

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on April 19, 1966, the President had approved and signed the act (S. 22) to promote a more adequate national program of water research.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 1761) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain a third powerplant at the Grand Coulee Dam, Columbia Basin project, Washington, and for other purposes, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 18) to provide for the designation of the fourth week in April of each year as "Youth Temperance Education Week," with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 1233. An act for the relief of Lee Chung Woo;

H.R. 2290. An act for the relief of Charlotte Schulz;

H.R. 3774. An act for the relief of Wanda Olszowa;

H.R. 4075. An act for the relief of John F. Reagan, Jr.;

H.R. 6305. An act for the relief of lessees of a certain tract of land in Logtown, Miss.;

H.R. 7524. An act to establish the Oregon Dunes National Seashore in the State of Oregon, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8793. An act for the relief of Eugene J. Bennett;

H.R. 9213. An act for the relief of William A. Buzbee;

H.R. 92217. An act for the relief of certain civilian employees of the Department of the Army at Fort Sam Houston, Tex.;

H.R. 10133. An act for the relief of Fritz A. Frerichs;

H.R. 10838. An act for the relief of certain employees of the Post Office Department at Eau Gallie, Fla.;

H.R. 10990. An act for the relief of Maj. Alan DeYoung, U.S. Army;

H.R. 11035. An act for the relief of Eleanore W. Ward;

H.R. 11038. An act for the relief of Mrs. Edna S. Bettendorf;

H.R. 12237. An act for the relief of Tri-States Construction Co., Inc.; and

H.R. 12396. An act for the relief of Elton P. Johnson.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (H.R. 1746) to define the term "child" for lump-sum payment purposes under the Civil Service Retirement Act, and it was signed by the Vice President.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred, as indicated:

H.R. 1233. An act for the relief of Lee Chung Woo;

H.R. 2290. An act for the relief of Charlotte Schulz;

H.R. 3774. An act for the relief of Wanda Olszowa;

H.R. 4075. An act for the relief of John F. Reagan, Jr.;

H.R. 6305. An act for the relief of lessees of a certain tract of land in Logtown, Miss.;

H.R. 8793. An act for the relief of Eugene J. Bennett;

H.R. 9213. An act for the relief of William A. Buzbee;

H.R. 9217. An act for the relief of certain civilian employees of the Department of the Army at Fort Sam Houston, Tex.;

H.R. 10133. An act for the relief of Fritz A. Frerichs;

H.R. 10838. An act for the relief of certain employees of the Post Office Department at Eau Gallie, Fla.;

H.R. 10990. An act for the relief of Maj. Alan DeYoung, U.S. Army;

H.R. 11035. An act for the relief of Eleanore W. Ward;

H.R. 11038. An act for the relief of Mrs. Edna S. Bettendorf;

H.R. 12237. An act for the relief of Tri-States Construction Co., Inc.; and

H.R. 12396. An act for the relief of Elton P. Johnson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 7524. An act to establish the Oregon Dunes National Seashore in the State of Oregon, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The VICE PRESIDENT announced that on today, April 20, 1966, he signed the following enrolled bills, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

S. 1938. An act to amend the Indian Long-Term Leasing Act; and

S. 2729. An act to amend section 4(c) of the Small Business Act, and for other purposes.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following communications, which were referred as indicated:

Proposed Supplemental Appropriation To Pay Claims and Judgments Rendered Against the United States (S. Doc. No. 87)

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a proposed supplemental appropriation to pay claims and judgments rendered against the United States, as provided by various laws, in the amount of $576,885, together with such amounts as may be necessary to pay indefinite interest and costs (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

Proposed Transfers Between Existing Appropriations of Departments of Justice and Interior (S. Doc. No. 88)

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting proposed transfers between existing appropriations of the Department of Justice and the Department of the Interior, and a proposed increase in the amount appropriated from current postal revenues for the Post Office Department, for the fiscal year 1966 (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

RESOLUTION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COURT

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, on behalf of the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] and myself, I send to the desk a certified copy of a resolution from the Massachusetts General Court memorializing the Congress of the United States to restore in the Federal budget the cut in the school lunch and milk programs as recommended by the President.

I ask that this resolution be appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, as follows:

Resolution Memorializing the Congress of the United States To Restore in the Federal Budget the Cut in the School Lunch and Milk Programs as Recommended by the President

Whereas the present Federal budget presented to Congress by the President of the United States calls for a cutback of $50 million or more in the school milk program; and $19 million or more in the school lunch program; and

Whereas these programs have brought nutrition to many needy children, who otherwise would be without; and

Whereas, in a land of plenty, a sharing of a small part of the wealth of the Nation through the milk and lunch programs is both commendable and worthwhile: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts House of Representatives respectively urges the Congress of the United States to put back into the Federal budget the cuts as requested by the President and respectively requests that the members thereof from this Commonwealth actively support and work for this restoration of money for these programs; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, the Presiding Officer of each branch of Congress, and to the Members thereof from this Commonwealth.

House of representatives, adopted, March 30, 1966.

William C. Maiers, *Clerk.*

Attest:

Kevin H. White,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

S. 696. A bill for the relief of Sheung Wan Ng (Rept. No. 1104);

S. 1187. A bill for the relief of Victor Abadi (Rept. No. 1105);

S. 2063. A bill for the relief of Sixto M. Pagaran (Rept. No. 1106);

S. 2164. A bill for the relief of Jose E. de la Torriente (Rept. No. 1108);

S. 2348. A bill for the relief of Dr. Jorge G. Echenique (Rept. No. 1109);

S. 2376. A bill for the relief of Dr. Mario Presman (Rept. No. 1110);

S. 2377. A bill for the relief of Dr. Cesar A. Mena (Rept. No. 1111);

S. 2446. A bill for the relief of Carlos J. Arboleya (Rept. No. 1112);

S. 2447. A bill for the relief of Dr. Arturo Victor Fajardo-Carpio (Rept. No. 1113); and

S. 2626. A bill for the relief of Dr. Argyrios A. Tsifutis (Rept. No. 1114).

By Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment:

S. 776. A bill for the relief of Eileen Iris Punnett (Rept. No. 1116);

S. 1663. A bill for the relief of Maria Kryjanovskaja (Rept. No. 1117);

S. 2106. A bill for the relief of Dr. Jose Joaquin Diaz Franquiz (Rept. No. 1118);

S. 2107. A bill for the relief of Andrew Loriz (Rept. No. 1119);

S. 2109. A bill for the relief of Dr. Olibio S. Rodriguez-Eiras (Rept. No. 1120);

S. 2450. A bill for the relief of Elsian Thomas (Rept. No. 1121);

S. 2451. A bill for the relief of Margaret Lee Weil (Rept. No. 1122);

S. 2519. A bill for the relief of Sister Mary Cecilia (Leonie Esquivel) (Rept. No. 1123);

S. 2738. A bill for the relief of Dr. Ezzat N. Asaad (Rept. No. 1124);

S. 2739. A bill for the relief of Dr. Blanche L. Asaad; (Rept. No. 1125);

S. 2750. A bill for the relief of You I Souk (Rept. No. 1126); and

S. 2789. A bill for the relief of Dr. Alberto Oteiza (Rept. No. 1127).

By Mr. EASTLAND from the Committee on the Judiciary, with amendments:

S. 2457. A bill for the relief of George A. Volsky (Rept. No. 1128).

S. 2497. A bill for the relief of Dr. Guillermo Anido y Franguio (Rept. No. 1129); and

S. 2555. A bill for the relief of Kim Kin Soon (Rept. No. 1130).

By Mr. BURDICK, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

H.R. 1903. An act for the relief of Mrs. Sadie Y. Simmons and James R. Simmons (Rept. No. 1115).

By Mr. BURDICK, from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment:

S. 2163. A bill for the relief of Seaman Eugene Sidney Markowitz, U.S. Navy (Rept. No. 1132).

By Mr. DIRKSEN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

S.J. Res. 130. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the week of May 8 to May 14, 1966, as "National School Safety Patrol Week" (Rept. No. 1131).

By Mr. ELLENDER, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, with amendments:

S. 2934. A bill to provide needed additional means for the residents of rural America to achieve equality of opportunity by authorizing the making of grants for comprehensive planning for public services and development in community development districts designated by the Secretary of Agriculture (Rept. No. 1107).

INVESTIGATION OF THE TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. DIRKSEN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported the following original resolution (S. Res. 251); which, under the rule, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. Res. 251

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdiction specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to conduct a further examination and review of the administration of the Trading With the Enemy Act, as amended, and the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended, and consider proposed legislation affecting said Acts.

Sec. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1966, to January 31, 1967, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided,* That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than $2,200 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1967.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed $35,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

George E. O'Brien, of California, to be U.S. marshal for the southern district of California;

William N. Goodwin, of Washington, to be U.S. district judge for the eastern and western districts of Washington;

Harry M. Miller, of Kentucky, to be U.S. marshal for the western district of Kentucky;

Alexander Greenfeld, of Delaware, to be U.S. attorney for the district of Delaware;

Arthur C. Elliott, of Ohio, to be U.S. marshal for the southern district of Ohio; and

Smithmoore P. Myers, of Washington, to be U.S. attorney for the eastern district of Washington.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. PROUTY:

S. 3246. A bill for the relief of Massoud Philip Sissi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FULBRIGHT (by request):

S. 3247. A bill to provide certain increases in annuities payable from the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(See the remarks of Mr. Fulbright when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. RIBICOFF:

S. 3248. A bill to amend section 404(b) of the Housing Act of 1950 relating to the definition of educational institution; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. Ribicoff when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. HAYDEN (for himself, Mr. Fannin, Mr. Kuchel, and Mr. Murphy):

S. 3249. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MAGNUSON (by request):

S. 3250. A bill to establish minimum standards for passenger vessels and to require disclosure of construction details on passenger vessels; and

S. 3251. A bill to repeal the laws authorizing limitation of shipowners' liability for personal injury or death, to require evidence of adequate financial responsibility to pay judgments for personal injury or death, or to repay fares in the event of nonperformance of voyages, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. Magnuson when he introduced the above bills, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey:

S. 3252. A bill for the relief of Micaela Misiego-Llagostera; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BREWSTER:

S. 3253. A bill to amend section 33 of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act so as to provide for the establishment of a Federal employee accident prevention program; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. Brewster when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 3254. A bill to amend sections 2072 and 2112 of title 28, United States Code, with respect to the scope of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and to repeal inconsistent legislation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. Tydings when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JAVITS (for himself and Mr. Prouty):

S.J. Res. 155. Joint resolution to provide for the establishment of an Office of Deputy Superintendent of the Arts within the Recreation Board for the District of Columbia to develop and conduct a program of the arts for the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

(See the remarks of Mr. Javits when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL COPIES OF HEARINGS ENTITLED "TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1946: AN ECONOMIC SYMPOSIUM"

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, on behalf of the Joint Economic Committee, I submit, for appropriate reference, a concurrent resolution authorizing the printing of 5,000 additional copies of its hearings entitled "Twentieth Anniversary of the Employment Act of 1946: An Economic Symposium."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 86) was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

S. Con. Res. 86

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed for the use of the Joint Economic Committee five thousand additional copies of its hearings of the Eighty-ninth Congress, second session, entitled "Twentieth Anniversary of the Employment Act of 1946: An Economic Symposium."

RESOLUTION

INVESTIGATION OF THE TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT

Mr. DIRKSEN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 251) to investigate the Trading With The Enemy Act, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. Dirksen, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

INCREASES IN ANNUITIES FROM FOREIGN SERVICE RETIREMENT AND DISABILITY FUND

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, by request, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to provide certain increases in annuities payable from the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund, and for other purposes.

The proposed legislation has been requested by the Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations for the Secretary of State, and I am introducing it in order that there may be a specific bill to which Members of the Senate and the public may direct their attention and comments.

I reserve my right to support or oppose this bill, as well as any suggested amendments to it, when the matter is considered by the Committee on Foreign Relatitons.

I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be printed in the Record at this point, together with the letter from the Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations to the Vice President in regard to it, as well as with the section-by-section analysis and the explanation of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill, letter, section-by-section analysis, and explanation will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 3247) to provide certain increases in annuities payable from the foreign service retirement and disability fund, and for other purposes introduced by Mr. Fulbright, by request, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 3247

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 804(b) of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended (22 U.S.C. 1064(b)), is amended by adding the following:

"4. The term 'price index' shall mean the Consumer Price Index (all items—United States city average) published monthly by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The term 'base month' shall mean the month for which the price index showed a per centum rise forming the basis for a cost-of-living increase."

(b) Section 882 of such Act, as amended (22 U.S.C.—), is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 882 (a) Subject to the provisions of paragraph (b), each annuity payable from the Fund on April 1, 1966 shall be increased by 6.1 per centum. Each annuity payable from the Fund (other than the immediate annuity of an annuitant's survivor or of a child under section 821(c)) which has a commencing date after April 1, 1966 and not later than the first day of the sixth month which begins after the date of enactment of this amendment shall be increased by 6.1 per centum.

"(b) Those annuities increased by the cost-of-living provisions of the Foreign Service Annuity Adjustment Act of 1965 shall be adjusted to reflect the percentage increase under paragraph (a) had it been applied to the annuity on April 1, 1966 or its subsequent commencing date.

"(c) Each month after April 1966 the Secretary shall determine the per centum change in the price index. Effective the first day of the third month which begins after the price index shall have equaled a rise of at least 3 per centum for three consecutive months over the price index for the base month, each annuity payable from the Fund which has a commencing date not later than such effective date shall be increased by the per centum rise in the price index (calculated on the highest level of the price index during the three consecutive months) adjusted to the nearest one-tenth of 1 per centum. The month of July 1965 shall be the base month for determining the per centum change in the price index until the next succeeding increase occurs.

"(d) Eligibility for an annuity increase under this section shall be governed by the commencing date of each annuity payable from the Fund as of the effective date of an increase, except as follows:

"(1) Effective from its commencing date, an annuity payable from the Fund to an annuitant's survivor (other than a child under section 821(c)), which annuity commences after April 1, 1966, shall be increased by the total per centum increase the annuitant was receiving under this section at death; or if death occurred between April 1, 1966, and date of enactment, the per centum increase the annuitant would have received;

"(2) For purposes of computing an annuity which commences after April 1, 1966, to a child under section 821(c), the items $600, $720, $1,800, and $2,160 appearing in section 821(c) shall be increased by the total per centum increase allowed and in force under this section, and in case of a deceased annuitant, the items 40 per centum and 50 per centum appearing in section 821(c) (1) and (2) shall be increased by the total per centum increase allowed and in force under this section to the annuitant at death.

"(e) No increase in annuity provided by this section shall be computed on any additional annuity purchased at retirement by voluntary contributions.

"(f) The monthly installment of annuity after adjustment under this section shall be fixed at the nearest dollar, except that such installment shall after adjustment reflect an increase of at least $1."

The letter, section-by-section analysis, and explanation presented by Mr. **Fulbright**, are as follows:

Department of State,
Washington.

The Vice President,
U.S. Senate.

Dear Mr. Vice President: Enclosed is draft legislation to provide cost-of-living increases in annuities payable from the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund that will match, as nearly as possible, benefits recently granted civil service annuitants.

A recommendation to this end made by the Cabinet Committee on Federal Staff Retirement Systems has been endorsed by the President.

It was intended that Public Law 89–308, the Foreign Service Annuity Adjustment Act of 1965, provide a formula for cost-of-living increases to Foreign Service annuitants identical with those authorized for civil service annuitants. However, Public Law 89–308 was in the process of action by the Senate and House committees before Public Law 89–205 containing an improved cost-of-living formula for civil service annuitants was drafted and ultimately approved. As a consequence the improved formula applicable to civil service annuitants is not applicable to Foreign Service annuitants.

It is hoped that this legislation may be given consideration during the 2d session of the 89th Congress and that it may receive the support of the Senate Foreign Relations and the House Foreign Affairs Committees.

The Department has been informed by the Bureau of the Budget that there would be no objection, from the standpoint of the administration's program, to the presentation of this draft legislation to the Congress for its consideration.

Sincerely yours,
For the Secretary of State:
Douglas MacArthur II,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Section-by-Section Analysis

Section 1(a) redefines the Consumer Price Index to mean the monthly price average instead of the average over a full calendar year. It also defines a new term "base month" to mean the month referred to for determining an increase in annuities after the first increase granted by this act.

Section 1(b) provides that on April 1, 1966, each annuity payable from the fund on that date shall be increased by 6.1 percent, and further that each annuity which begins after April 1, 1966, and not later than the first day of the sixth month after enactment will also be increased by the same percentage.

Any cost-of-living increase which may be effected under the provisions of the Foreign Service Annuity Adjustment Act of 1965 will be absorbed by the 6.1-percent increase. Under existing law, a percentage increase is due April 1, 1966, of 4.3 and if this proposed amendment is not enacted before that date, such increase will be adjusted to 6.1, but will not be added to the 4.3-percent increase.

Section 1(b) guarantees a cost-of-living increase whenever the price index shall have equaled a rise of at least 3 percent for 3 consecutive months over the price index for the base month. The base month, as a take-off point, is established as July 1965, from which to determine the next increase after April 1, 1966, to coincide with the formula established by Public Law 89–205 for the cost-of-living increases now applicable to civil service annuities.

Provision is made for the passing on to survivors of annuitants the total percent being received by the annuitant at death, or if the annuitant dies between April 1, 1966, and date of enactment, the survivor would receive 6.1 percent in lieu of 4.3 percent, and in the case of children the total percent increase allowed and in force under this section will be added to annuities which begin after April 1, 1966, whether the child's annuity results from a death in service case, or the death of an annuitant.

Section 1(b) also prohibits inclusion of annuity purchase by voluntary contributions from the annuity upon which the increases are calculated.

The adjusted monthly annuity rate would be fixed at the nearest dollar, but the monthly rate would be increased by at least $1. The last clause would apply in a case involving a number of children. One family of 10 children annuitants now receives $180 annually for each child. If an increase is only 3 percent, this would be only 45 cents per month except for this proviso, which would make it $1 per month.

Draft Bill To Increase Foreign Service Annuities

PURPOSE

1. To authorize a 6.1 percent annuity increase effective April 1, 1966, to all annuities payable as of that date.
2. To extend this 6.1 percent increase to all annuities commencing after April 1, 1966, and not later than the first day of the sixth month which begins after enactment of this amendment.
3. To substitute 6.1 percent increase effective April 1, 1966, for the increase of 4.3 percent due April 1, 1966, under existing law.
4. To provide future cost-of-living annuity increases based on the same formula now applicable to civil service annuities.

EXPLANATION

Under existing law, section 9 of Public Law 89–308, Foreign Service annuities which commenced prior to January 2, 1965, will be increased on April 1, 1966, by 4.3 percent. Certain survivor annuities which commenced after January 2, 1965, will also be increased by this percentage.

Similar law, applicable to civil service annuities, was enacted in 1962 but never became operative since it was superseded in 1965. The proposed amendment seeks to adopt the same type of formula for Foreign Service annuities, as is now applicable to civil service annuities, and to grant the same percentage increase effective April 1, 1966, as was granted to certain civil service annuitants on December 1, 1965.

Those annuities which under existing law will be increased on April 1, 1966, would be adjusted to reflect the 6.1 percent increase in lieu of the 4.3 increase. In other words, the new percentage rate of 6.1 would be substituted for, but not added to, the 4.3 percent.

In order that persons desiring to retire in the near future have the advantage of the 6.1 increase, it is proposed to extend it to those annuities which commence not later than the first day of the sixth month which begins after enactment. Thus, if the bill should be enacted during the month of June 1966, those annuities which commence on or before December 1, 1966, would be increased. This period is proposed because of employees being located abroad and the time necessary to plan ahead.

The month of July 1965 is designated as the base month for the next increase after April 1, 1966, to coincide with the base month indicated in Public Law 89–205, which authorized a 6.1 percent increase to certain civil service annuitants. The figure of 6.1 percent is derived from the price index change from 1962 to July 1965 of 4.6 percent, plus an additional 1.5 percent.

The remaining sections of the proposed amendment parallel the provisions applicable to civil service annuities.

AMENDMENT OF SECTION 404(b) OF HOUSING ACT OF 1950, RELATING TO THE DEFINITION OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference, a bill to make clear that State agencies and authorities established to provide or finance housing or other educational facilities for public or private institutions of higher education may borrow under the college housing loan program for private as well as public institutions.

Section 404(b) of the Housing Act of 1950 defines the term "educational institution" and thereby determines what institutions are qualified to borrow funds under the college housing loan program. The first clause of this subsection makes qualified borrowers of substantially all private and public institutions of higher education.

The second clause makes qualified borrowers of private and public hospitals operating a school of nursing.

The third clause makes qualified borrowers of nonprofit corporations established to provide housing or other educational facilities for any institution, private or public, which is included in the first clause.

The fourth clause makes qualified borrowers of State agencies and authorities established to provide or finance housing or other educational facilities for any public institution which is included in clause 1. Herein lies the trouble. This is the category of qualified borrowers which may be restricted to public institutions of higher education and does not include private institutions.

An examination of the legislative history of section 404(b) makes clear that the inclusion of the word "public" was not designed to prevent State authorities from borrowing under the college housing loan program for construction of facilities of private institutions. The use of the word was merely descriptive. It reflected the fact that the State authorities in existence in 1957 were engaged in providing or financing facilities only for public institutions—primarily State university systems. The word "public" was not intended to disqualify an authority established to provide or finance facilities for private institutions from borrowing on behalf of these institutions under the college housing loan program.

Now, the State of Connecticut Educational Facilities Authority, established in 1965, is authorized to provide and finance facilities for all institutions of higher education in Connecticut, both private and public. Similar authorities exist in New York and Vermont. Therefore, it is important that the eligibility of these authorities as qualified borrowers under the college housing loan program be clarified. Although private institutions may qualify as borrowers directly, in many cases it will be necessary to obtain part of the financing for their construction from the authority. It will be more efficient, less costly, and simpler for the authority to provide all of their financing, obtaining the needed funds in part by selling its bonds to the investing public and in part by borrowing from the college housing loan program.

In brief, my bill would:

First. Clearly qualify State agencies and authorities to obtain college housing program loans for both public and private colleges and universities;

Second. Permit private colleges and universities to obtain all the debt financing for facilities construction through a single source;

Third. Make private college and university borrowing for facilities construction more efficient and less costly;

Fourth. Eliminate an unintended difference in treatment of public and private colleges and universities in their access to the college housing loan program.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3248) to amend section 404(b) of the Housing Act of 1950 relating to the definition of "educational institution," introduced by Mr. RIBICOFF, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION RELATING TO SAFETY OF LIFE AT SEA

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference two bills relating to safety of life at sea at the request of the administration.

Last November 13, the Nation was shocked to learn that 90 lives had been lost in a fire aboard the Panamanian-flag *Yarmouth Castle* while en route from Miami to Nassau. Then on Good Friday of this month fire struck the Norwegian *Viking Princess* and all passengers had to abandon ship. The first of these passenger vessels was built in 1927, the second in 1950. Yet, both have proved to be vulnerable to disastrous fires.

Until the *Yarmouth Castle* tragedy, most people in the United States had assumed that the great fear of seamen, a fire at sea, was a thing of the past. The last time that a number of American lives were lost by fire was in 1934 when the *Morro Castle* burned off the coast of New Jersey with the loss of 118 lives. Not even the *Lakonia* fire in 1963 with a death toll of 125 alerted us to the potential dangers since that was a British loss of life.

But the *Yarmouth Castle* holocaust of last November and the more recent *Viking Princess* fire has finally awakened this Nation to the fact that all is not well with many of today's passenger vessels.

One of these bills requires disclosure to every person who purchases a ticket on a passenger ship the fire safety standards with which the vessel does or does not apply. In addition, this bill will eliminate those few U.S. vessels built before 1936 that do not conform to modern standards. The other bill is related to vessel safety by requiring a financial responsibility of shipowners and altering the presently very low limitation of liability on shipowners.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bills will be received and appropriately referred.

The bills, introduced by Mr. MAGNUSON, by request, were received, read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Commerce, as follows:

S. 3250. A bill to establish minimum standards for passenger vessels and to require disclosure of construction details on passenger vessels; and

S. 3251. A bill to repeal the laws authorizing limitation of shipowners' liability for personal injury or death, to require evidence of adequate financial responsibility to pay judgments for personal injury or death, or to repay fares in the event of nonperformance of voyages, and for other purposes.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES' SAFETY ACT

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to amend section 33 of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act so as to provide for the establishment of a Federal employee accident prevention program.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3253) to amend section 33 of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act so as to provide for the establishment of a Federal employee accident prevention program, introduced by Mr. BREWSTER, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, President Johnson's inauguration of mission "Safety-70" on February 16, 1965, is an evidence of his personal concern about the suffering and cost involved in injuries to Federal employees. I commend the President for his initiative in developing this plan to reduce accidents by 30 percent in the next 5 years.

The fundamental purpose of my bill is twofold:

First. To vest in the Department of Labor authority to develop and enforce the application of safety standards by Federal agencies;

Second. To provide a statutory basis for the participation of employee unions in developing the Federal Government's safety program.

With the exception of general language in section 33(c) of the Compensation Act, there is no specific statutory charter governing the activities of the Secretary of Labor in the Federal safety field. There is no general statute describing objectives for Federal agencies in developing their safety programs.

Mr. President, my bill remedies this situation by outlining the responsibilities of the Secretary of Labor and Federal agencies in providing minimum safety standards and safe working conditions.

It reconstitutes the Federal Safety Council and authorizes union membership on it and a Federal Safety Advisory Committee to assist the Secretary of Labor in attaining the objectives of the bill. I firmly believe my bill is not the remedy or cure-all for all the safety problems existing in Federal agencies. However, I strongly feel that it provides the mechanism for achieving a much more satisfactory rate of progress in reducing worker injuries, material and property losses and the large expenditures involved.

It offers a highly effective tool in President Johnson's mission "Safety-70" campaign to reduce substantially the suffering of employees and loss of money resulting from job-related accidents.

I respectfully urge my colleagues to give this legislation their strongest support.

UNIFORM APPELLATE CIVIL RULES FOR FEDERAL COURTS

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to correct an apparent oversight in the statutes authorizing the promulgation of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure. Under current statutory law, the Supreme Court has the power to prescribe rules for the trial and appeal of criminal cases, 18 United States Code, sections 3771–3772, the trial and appeal of admiralty and maritime cases, 28 United States Code, section 2073, and the review of decisions of the Tax Court of the United States, 28 United States Code, section 2074. Yet, the statute which provides for the promulgation of civil rules of procedure, 28 United States Code, section 2072, extends only to the practice and procedure of the district courts of the United States, making no provision for governing the practice and procedure in the courts of appeals. Thus, uniform rules for the prosecution of civil appeals cannot be prescribed in the same manner as can rules for the conduct of criminal appeals, admiralty appeals, and appeals from decisions of the Tax Court.

The Judicial Conference of the United States has had an advisory committee, under the able chairmanship of Senior Judge E. Barrett Prettyman of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, working for some time to develop uniform rules for the appeal of civil cases. Proposed uniform appellate rules have been circulated to the bench and bar, and the advisory committee is now reconsidering its work in light of comments made on the proposed rules.

The present lack of power to promulgate uniform appellate rules is the only gap in the Supreme Court's rulemaking power. If the bill I am introducing today becomes law, uniform appellate rules will soon govern civil as well as criminal appeals in all eleven of the Federal Circuits. Of course, before they become law, any proposed appellate rules promulgated under the bill will have to be referred to the Congress, which will have the same veto power with respect to civil appellate rules as it now has with respect to the existing Federal Rules of Criminal and Civil Procedure.

Finally, the bill will also do some housekeeping in the United States Code by codifying in one section the rulemaking power with respect to noncriminal procedure in the Federal courts.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3254) to amend sections 2072 and 2112 of title 28, United States Code, with respect to the scope of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and to repeal inconsistent legislation, introduced by Mr. Tydings, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ESTABLISHING A DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OFFICE OF DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ARTS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I introduce, for myself and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty], a joint resolution for the establishment of an Office of Deputy Superintendent of the Arts within the District of Columbia Recreation Board to develop and conduct a program of the arts for Washington and its environs.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 155) to provide for the establishment of an Office of Deputy Superintendent of the Arts within the Recreation Board for the District of Columbia to develop and conduct a program of the arts for the District of Columbia, introduced by Mr. Javits (for himself and Mr. Prouty), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, this measure will enable the District of Columbia to fully participate in the programs made possible by the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965 and to develop the potential for participation in the cultural life of this city by all the citizens of Washington. It will foster the blossoming of Washington as a world cultural center, a role well befitting the Nation's Capital which is already very much a world political center but has yet to catch up on the cultural front.

The District of Columbia Recreation Board is now the official arts agency for the District of Columbia; this resolution designates a single office within that agency to handle present programs and develop new ones. Among present District of Columbia government arts activities are support for the National Symphony Orchestra and sponsorship of the annual Art Fair at the Ellipse, the Shakespeare Summer Festival at the Sylvan Theater, the Children's Theater, the Washington Civic Opera, the One-Act Play Tournament, and music programs at the Watergate, the Carter Barron Amphitheater, Constitution Hall, and the Smithsonian. This resolution will serve to enhance these activities and to encourage the development of others.

The measure authorizes $100,000 for the next fiscal year and $100,000 for fiscal year 1968 with authorizations for subsequent years to be determined by the Congress. These sums are in keeping with previous budgets earmarked for the arts in the District of Columbia Recreation Board.

TRAFFIC SAFETY ACT OF 1966—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 548

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I submit for myself, and Senators Nelson and Mondale, for appropriate reference, an amendment to S. 3005, the Traffic Safety Act of 1966.

This amendment would make certain that some kinds of information on highway traffic accidents collected by the Department of Transportation will be available to the public and admissible in evidence in actions for damages or criminal prosecutions.

As presently drafted, S. 3005 prohibits the use of highway accident reports in damage or criminal suits in the courts. This evidently means that information collected by a Federal investigator would not be available to the family of a man who had died in an accident or to a person who had been injured. It means that although public funds will be used to pay for these investigations, the results will not be available in any legal action that those involved may wish to take.

It is my belief that the public should share information that is collected by Federal investigators and that S. 3005 should be amended to accomplish this result.

I am, therefore, offering an amendment that changes the wording of section 307 of S. 3005. My amendment states that "no part of any report containing expressions of opinion, recommendations, judgments, and conclusions going beyond the collection of factual material of any Federal agency, or officers, employee, or agent thereof, relating to any highway traffic accident or the investigation thereof * * * shall be admitted as evidence" rather than "no part of any report or reports of any Federal agency."

This amendment also states that "all other parts of such report or reports shall be public records and be open to inspection at reasonable times by any persons."

This amendment would prohibit the use of opinions, recommendations, judgments, and conclusions as evidence while the factual material that has been collected by the Federal Government or its agents is made available to the public. This material is invaluable because in most cases an individual would not have the resources to collect it. And the investigator also has an opportunity to express his opinions and recommendations freely without inhibition.

Federal agencies have already had experience in the use of information from investigations in the courts. The Coast Guard, for example, investigates almost every accident involving American boats and ships. Officers examine more than 4,000 motorboat accidents each year. In these cases, one officer usually talks to the parties involved and prepares a narrative report. And this report is then usually released to the public.

The Coast Guard also investigates the more serious marine accidents and disasters. A district investigation or a marine board of investigation holds hearings, subpenas witnesses, and puts together reports on their findings. These reports are divided into three categories: findings of fact, conclusions, and recommendations.

Findings of fact cover the points on which there is clear evidence. If a master of a vessel is seen drinking, this is included in the findings of fact. And these findings are available to the public after final action on the investigation is taken. A passenger on a vessel that goes aground or sinks at sea can use these findings for purposes of litigation.

Investigators also report conclusions. These conclusions are not necessarily based on concrete proof, but may involve a judgment that a pilot had not used proper caution in docking his ship. And they are not available to the public because in general, they are not held to be sufficiently probative. They are invaluable, however in pointing up problems connected with accidents and pinpointing areas for future study.

Investigation boards also make a recommendation, either clearing the individuals involved of any responsibility or recommending a penalty. These recommendations go to the senior Coast Guard officer in the district or to the Commandant who then takes the action that is warranted. These recommendations are not made available to the public.

Similarly, the Civil Aeronautics Board's final accident investigation report is inadmissible in evidence in any liability suit. But the findings of fact that their various investigation committees prepare, including documents, photographs, diagrams, maps, charts, personnel training, and proficiency records of the crew, maintenance records of the airplane and testimony of the investigation's witnesses are all admissible as evidence to the courts.

I believe that we should take advantage of this Coast Guard and CAB experience and insure that similar procedures are followed in Federal or federally sponsored traffic accident investigations.

I agree, however, that not all the material prepared by Federal accident investigators should be used in the courts. Matters of opinion, judgments, and conclusions that go beyond the facts in a case, should be excluded from evidence. For example, an investigator may be able to guess what caused an accident. He may know that the brakes on a car were defective but he may not be able to prove that better brakes would have prevented an accident. He may suspect that the particular steering mechanism was defective because of his experience with other cars of the same model, but he may not be able to prove this suspicion. And each one of these opinions and guesses may provide an invaluable lead to the future solution of this type of accident.

It is important, therefore, not to limit the investigator to recording only those points which can stand up in the courts. A distinction must be drawn between his findings and his opinions and recommendations. And this amendment is drawn to preserve this distinction.

The Federal traffic accident investigator should also be protected from having to appear in court to testify on each accident that he has studied. It is conceivable that a major portion of his time might be taken up in testifying before the courts, not only on matters on fact but on matters of opinion and as an expert witness.

As I understand S. 3005 as currently drafted, the Department of Transportation can exercise its discretion in authorizing its investigators to appear in court. I believe that the practices presently followed by other Government agencies on this matter should be adopted and that traffic accident investigators should be permitted to testify on matters of fact in those cases where the records of the investigation did not make the facts completely clear.

It has been suggested, however, that the Traffic Safety Act should require that investigators be available to testify in any cases where their reports are introduced in evidence. This would mean that the lawyers for the defendant would have an opportunity to confront the investigator. I hope that the Commerce Committee will consider the merits of this suggestion in reviewing the bill.

I also wish to emphasize that this amendment is not designed to change the rules of evidence for the State courts. They, of course, have the choice as to what they permit to be introduced as evidence. This amendment is rather designed to insure that all factual material from traffic accident investigations is made available for such use as the State agencies and courts wish to make of it.

I believe that this amendment would improve the Traffic Safety Act. For it insures that the information collected by the Federal Government is generally available to every individual.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred.

The amendment (No. 548) was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES SALARY ACT OF 1966—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENTS NOS. 549 AND 550

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, last week the House passed H.R. 14122—the 1966 salary increase bill. Today I wish to discuss two sections of this bill, both of which in my opinion should be eliminated.

These two sections are in reality private bills designed for the special benefit of two members of the Great Society, both former Members of Congress. If any others are affected I have so far been unable to find them.

Under this bill as it passed the House one man will have the effective date of his retirement payments advanced 5 years and 9 months, thereby giving him an additional retirement benefit of $90,528, while under another section of the bill one man will have his retirement benefits boosted from $19,212 to $27,648, representing an annual increase of $8,436 per year.

Section 6(f) as far as I can determine would affect but one man in the United States, a former Member of Congress, the Honorable Frank E. Smith, presently serving as the Director of the TVA.

The present law limits Mr. Smith's eligibility to deferred annuity benefits until February 21, 1978, when he reaches the age of 60. Under present law at that time he will be eligible for annual retirement benefits of $15,672 per year.

Section 6(f) of H.R. 14122 advances the date of his eligibility for retirement by 5 years and 9 months, to May 19, 1972, the date following expiration of his term of office, and at the same time raises his annual retirement benefits by $72 per year, or to $15,744 annually.

The 5 years and 9 months of extra retirement benefits which Mr. Smith will collect as the result of this advanced effective date total $90,528.

The second section which I am discussing is section 505(a) which likewise affects but one man—another member of the Great Society and a former Member of Congress, the Honorable Paul J. Kilday, presently serving as a judge of the Court of the U.S. Military Appeals.

Under the present law Judge Kilday upon retirement would be eligible to receive a pension totaling $19,212 annually. Assuming he completes his term, which expires on May 1, 1976, section 505(a) as it passed the House would boost his annual retirement benefits from $19,212 as provided under present law to a grand total of $27,648 annually, or an increase of $8,436 per year.

H.R. 14122 has already passed the House by an overwhelming majority and has been hailed by the Johnson administration as a great forward step under the Great Society, and much ballyhoo has been heard as to how this bill fits the President's guidelines of 3.2 percent.

What guidelines, and who does the Great Society think it is kidding? Who said that this Great Society is not fighting its war against poverty—at least as far as some of its own hierarchy are concerned?

While I am advised that both of these amendments as drafted would apply to any other former Member of Congress meeting the requirements; nevertheless, as far as I have been able to determine these are the only two men who are in any way affected. Should it later develop that others may be affected, it is still wrong.

Here we find nearly two pages of an administration bill designed for the specific benefit of two members of the Great Society whose average increase in benefits is approximately 40 percent.

At this time I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the body of the RECORD a letter dated April 15, 1966, signed by Mr. Andrew E. Ruddock, Director of the Bureau of Retirement and Insurance, Civil Service Commission, confirming the statistics of my statement.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
BUREAU OF RETIREMENT AND INSURANCE,
Washington, D.C., April 15, 1966.

Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 7 inquiring about the effect of certain provisions of H.R. 14122 on the retirement rights of former Congressmen Frank E. Smith and Paul J. Kilday. The information in this letter is in response to your specific request and is for your official use as a Member of Congress.

The proposed amendment to section 6(f) of the Civil Service Retirement Act would have the effect of conferring title to an immediate annuity computed under the Member of Congress formula on the Honorable Frank E. Smith upon expiration of his term of office as Director of TVA. Current law limits his eligibility to a deferred annuity benefit commencing at age 60. Under current law he will receive about $1,306 a month commencing February 21, 1978. The proposed amendment would provide him with a monthly benefit of about $1,312 commencing May 19, 1972 (the day following expiration of his term of office).

Present law limits Judge Kilday's annuity benefit to 80 percent of the $22,500 yearly salary in effect when he left Congress. Section 505(a) of H.R. 14122 amends the law to limit the basic annuity benefit to 80 percent of final pay received—now $33,000—for his service performed after leaving Congress, as a judge of the U.S. Court of Military Appeals.

If Judge Kilday completes his term which expires on May 1, 1976, his rate of annuity under present law will be about $1,601 a month. Section 505(a) of H.R. 14122 would provide him an annuity of about $2,304 a month.

Both amendments will also apply to any other former Members of Congress meeting the requirements provided therein.

Sincerely yours,
ANDREW E. RUDDOCK,
Director.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I now send to the desk two amendments, the purpose of which is to delete both of these sections from the bill, and I ask that they be referred to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, which is handling this legislation. I hope the Senate committee will adopt both of these amendments before reporting the bill; however, if not, the amendments will be resubmitted when this measure is before the Senate for its consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendments will be received and printed, and will be appropriately referred.

The amendments (Nos. 549 and 550) were referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS, RESOLUTION, AND JOINT RESOLUTION

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the junior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Ribicoff] be listed as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 2402) to promote the detection of phenylketonuria and other inborn errors of metabolism leading to mental retardation or physical defects, at the next printing of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the next printing of S. 1592, the bill to regulate the mail order sale of firearms, the names of the distinguished Senators from Hawaii [Mr. Fong] and New York [Mr. Javits] be added as cosponsors.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, on April 5 I introduced a resolution, Senate Resolution 247, dealing with the possible preparation of a movie dealing with the history and operations of the Senate, which could be shown to visitors.

Before the resolution was taken from the desk last Friday, there were 11 cosponsors listed. I would like to ask unanimous consent that the names of Senator Tower and Senator Murphy may be added to that list at the next printing.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Ribicoff], I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Case] be added as a cosponsor of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 130) to provide for the designation of the week of May 8 to May 14, 1966, as "National School Safety Patrol Week," when it is next printed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

NOTICE CONCERNING NOMINATIONS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, the following nominations have been referred to and are now pending before the Committee on the Judiciary:

Cecil F. Poole, of California, to be U.S. attorney, northern district of California, for a term of 4 years. (Reappointment.)

Joseph F. Novak, of Delaware, to be U.S. marshal, district of Delaware, for a term of 4 years, vice Edward J. Hussey, deceased.

On behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, notice is hereby given to all persons interested in these nominations to file with the committee, in writing, on or before Wednesday, April 27, 1966, any representations or objections they may wish to present concerning the above nominations, with a further statement whether it is their intention to appear at any hearings which may be scheduled.

NOTICE CONCERNING NOMINATIONS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, the following nominations have been referred to and are now pending before the Committee on the Judiciary:

Dan M. Douglas, of Arkansas, to be U.S. marshal, western district of Arkansas, term of 4 years. (Reappointment.)

Alfred P. Henderson, of Arkansas, to be U.S. marshal, eastern district of Arkansas, term of 4 years. (Reappointment.)

On behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, notice is hereby given to all persons interested in these nominations to file with the committee, in writing, on or before Wednesday, April 27, 1966, any representations or objections they may wish to present concerning the above nominations, with a further statement whether it is their intention to appear at any hearing which may be scheduled.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON RETIRING AND DISCIPLINING UNFIT FEDERAL JUDGES

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery, I wish to announce that the subcommittee's second day of hearings on procedures for the removal, retirement, and disciplining of unfit Federal judges will be held on Monday, May 9, 1966, at 10 a.m., in courtroom No. 36, U.S. Courthouse, Foley Square, New York City.

The purpose of this hearing is to determine what removal and disciplining procedures are in effect in the judicial system of the State of New York, and to ascertain how effective these procedures are and whether they might be adapted for use in the Federal system. This hearing is the first of several that will focus on the removal, retirement, and disciplining system of a number of the States.

Any person who wishes to testify in New York City on May 9, or who desires to submit a statement for inclusion in the record, should communicate with the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery, room 6306, New Senate Office Building.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, April 20, 1966, he presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 1938. An act to amend the Indian Long-Term Leasing Act; and

S. 2729. An act to amend section 4(c) of the Small Business Act, and for other purposes.

AUTHORIZATION, DURING ADJOURNMENT, FOR RECEIPT OF MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT AND THE HOUSE, THE SIGNING OF ENROLLED BILLS, AND THE FILING OF COMMITTEE REPORTS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that during the adjournment of the Senate today until noon, Thursday, April 21, 1966, the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to receive messages from the President of the United States and from the House of Representatives; that the Vice President or the President pro tempore be authorized to sign duly enrolled bills; that committees of the Senate be authorized to file reports.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL THURSDAY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow, Thursday.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

ANOTHER BREAKTHROUGH—BILL RUSSELL

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a major event in the fight for civil rights, and in the life of a man, took place on Monday, April 18—Bill Russell, a great competitor, an outstanding individual, and a Negro, was named as coach of the Boston Celtics basketball team.

Mr. Russell becomes the first Negro to be appointed head coach of a major professional athletic team in any sport. The Russell coaching breakthrough is as significant for professional athletics and for the American ethos as the day in 1947, when Jackie Robinson became the first Negro in major league baseball.

Mr. Russell's appointment is, above all, a tribute to himself as a man. He has not only been a leader on the basketball court, but an active participant in civil rights as well. It is my hope that his new position will open yet another door to the American Negro.

There have been many tributes to Mr. Russell in the news media. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record two outstanding tributes which were published in the New York Times of April 19 and April 20.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 19, 1966]

The Breakthrough

(By Arthur Daley)

Red Auerbach interrupted a conversation with a visiting reporter as Bill Russell ambled past in the Boston Celtics dressing room the winter before last.

"Why don't you get in condition?" growled Auerbach. "All you're able to do now is play a lousy 48 minutes."

Since pro basketball games are 48 minutes in duration, the artificiality of the redhead's pseudo complaint was obvious. Russell merely grunted and grinned admiringly at Auerbach. And Auerbach grinned admiringly at Russell. There was no mistaking the deep rapport between the men.

That rapport took on new significance yesterday. The dynamic Red had announced some time ago that he was retiring as Celtic coach after a fantastically successful reign. Hence speculation was widespread about the identity of the man who would inherit his mantle. Auerbach ended it in stunning fashion by naming Russell as the next Celtic coach. What gives this move such extra impact is the fact that Big Bill is a Negro.

THE PIONEER

This makes him a pioneer because this is the first breakthrough of the color line. No major professional team in any sport had ever elevated a Negro to the top directional job. But Russell will not be the last. In many respects, it was a logical advancement because the tall master of defense had already earned the profound respect of everyone connected with the game, especially his teammates and Auerbach.

Although their relationship embraced mutual understanding and appreciation, Russell and Auerbach enjoy a strictly professional rapport. Big Bill said as much in his recent autobiography, "Go Up for Glory," as he frankly appraised his boss as the greatest of all coaches, the only one he'd ever play for. Then he added:

"Yet, we are not particularly friends. No man who ever has played for Auerbach has ever been close to him, with the possible exception of Bob Cousy."

When Cousy retired and Russell became the captain of the team, he moved so easily and gracefully into the role that his promotion probably will be just an extension of what he has been doing. Since Auerbach will stay on as general manager to handle player procurement, and the manifold other jobs the position calls for, the new player-coach need concern himself only with floor direction. He is fully familiar with the assignment.

The other players look up to him and this isn't only because he's 6 feet 10 inches tall. He embodies the Celtic spirit just as Cousy did before him, a fierce pride in the team whereby self-interest is always subordinated for the good of the team as a whole.

Militant on the subject of civil rights and occasionally abrasive because of his outspoken characteristics, Russell has made outsiders mad at him. But, in the tightly knit family of a pro basketball squad—this is the tightest knit unit of any sport—he is extremely well liked. He can be bright and witty off the court. On it, though, he is the type of player that the other Celtics cannot help but admire.

Only K. C. Jones, a teammate at the University of San Francisco, has been a Celtic as long as Bill has. So, he was one of the game's dominating performers when the others enlisted in the ranks. Even at the age of 32, he still is a dominating performer.

DEFENSIVE WONDER

In a way, he is a self-made star. His forte was defense and he developed the art to a peak such as no one else has come close to attaining. He has been such a terror at disrupting enemy offensive surges with his rebounding and blocking of shots that the Celtic attack has been geared around him. Russell gets the rebound or missed shot. Zing. And the Celtics are flashing downcourt in the quick break that has been the cornerstone of their success.

It is possible that disintegration has begun to reach into the great machine Auerbach drove with such intensity to success after success. Some of the parts are getting worn by age, and the Celtics, like the old Yankees they once resembled, no longer generate fear in the opposition. That will be the heaviest burden Russell will be asked to assume.

Bill once said that he never wanted to be a coach. But he became so fascinated by the idea of becoming the first Negro coach in a major professional sport, that he could not resist the challenge. Maybe, it's part of the pride that lifted him—and the Celtics—to greatness, an overwhelming urge to be best. It even is reflected in his salary as a player. It's $100,001 per annum. Why the extra buck? Wilt Chamberlain, his foremost rival, is paid $100,000.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 20, 1966]

THE COACH

For nearly a decade Bill Russell of the Boston Celtics has been recognized as one of the greatest players in professional basketball. His brilliant defensive play and his gifts as a natural team leader have helped the Celtics to win eight straight championships.

Against this background, Russell's appointment as coach would be a routine promotion were it not for the fact that he is also a Negro. He is the first of his race to serve as head coach of a major athletic team in this country. But he will not be unique for long. In the near future, professional football and baseball teams seem certain to appoint star Negro players as managers.

Without the skills of Negro athletes, the quality of play in professional athletics would have sharply declined over the last generation; Negroes make up half the players in big-league basketball and one-quarter of those in baseball. For them, as for the sons of European immigrants in the past, sports have proved an open road to success and personal achievement when other paths were blocked. The success of Negroes in sports today foreshadows their greater triumphs in business and the professions tomorrow as the color line crumbles everywhere.

For Bill Russell, this appointment is both an expression of confidence in demonstrated leadership abilities and an exciting opportunity. Basketball fans long ago ceased to think of his race and instead marveled at his talents and quick judgment. The same kind of disinterested admiration will not attend his performance as coach.

FOUR OUT OF FIVE NEEDY CHILDREN LEFT OUT OF ADMINISTRATION'S SCHOOL MILK PROGRAM

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I have received hundreds of letters over the past few weeks objecting to the administration's plans to redirect the school lunch and special milk programs to the needy. As I have indicated many times before on this floor the school milk cut of 80 percent would limit the benefits of the program to a mere 3 million children—1 million of whom would receive free milk after qualifying under some sort of a means test. This doesn't begin to take care of the approximately 5 million children in our Nation's schools whose parents have incomes of less than $2,000 a year.

Many of these letters from my constituents as well as teachers and parents in other States raise one question that is extremely difficult to answer in my estimation. The basic question is "why must we economize here at the expense of our children's health. There are so many other areas where we could practice economy."

Coupled with this reaction to the proposed cut is a growing resentment against the administration for emphasizing assistance to the poor at the expense of children from families that are a little more fortunate. I regret this resentment. I feel that it is most disturbing. However, I am afraid that it will become more widespread if the new program is implemented.

There is no doubt that a line will have to be drawn between those who receive free milk and those who have to pay the full cost of a half pint. There will be no shades of grey. The child will receive full Federal support or no Federal support. Many families will feel that they are being discriminated against because they happen to make just a bit more a year than families whose children qualify for free milk. In other words by reorienting the program to the poor alone we run the very serious risk of emphasizing class differences and antagonisms. This could literally destroy the program.

In closing I would like to quote from two letters from constituents which raise interesting points I have not touched upon during my daily talks on the school milk program. The writer of the first letter asks:

> While a typical businessman may take a customer to lunch, share a cocktail with him, then feast on exotic food, deductible as a business expense, and therefore redeductible from company profits which are federally taxed, don't you think it's rather picayunish to jeopardize the quantity and quality of food for kids who need it much more than you or I?

The second letter states:

> We simply cannot understand how our Government could even consider anything of this nature. In one breath they implore people to be interested in the physical development of our children, the future citizens and protectors of our country and way of life, and in the next breath they propose this cutback which affects health and nutrition of our children.

Mr. President, these two letters illustrate the articulate and deeply felt concern my constitutents are expressing over the school lunch and school milk cutback proposals. I hope with all my heart that Congress will heed this concern.

UNFAIR CONDEMNATION OF NORTH CAROLINA COUNTIES UNDER 1965 VOTING RIGHTS ACT

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, in the last 4 months, 14 North Carolina counties have been added to the list of North Carolina counties which have been arbitrarily condemned by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Since August of last year, literacy tests have been suspended in 40 counties in North Carolina by the artificial provisions of that act of Congress.

These counties were added after a special census was conducted by the Director of the Census in so-called borderline counties.

The proponents of this legislation led the majority of the Senate to believe that the intended purpose of this act was to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution. Instead it has become a weapon to penalize counties by manipulating statistics which have heretofore proved to be unreliable in reaching any conclusion with respect to the question of voter discrimination. In recent months, I have remained silent on this matter pending an opportunity to observe the action taken by the Justice Department in North Carolina. No Federal examiners have been sent to North Carolina because it is clear there is no need for them. But an unjustified stigma has attached to almost half of our counties.

In past weeks, I have been in communication with the North Carolina county boards of election chairmen. I have received evidence from them that the registration and voting laws of North Carolina are administered fairly and without regard to race or color. I have learned that in many counties the number of persons registered and voting fell below the 50-percent mark not because they were unconstitutionally denied the right to vote, but merely because they were military personnel, college students or inmates of mental or penal institutions who would be ineligible to vote in these counties under any circumstances. A further analysis of the evidence reveals that there were large numbers of people in these counties who were dissatisfied with both Presidential candidates and elected not to vote for either of them.

I make reference to the following comments by some of the county chairmen which are representative:

Chairman G. D. Elliott, Jr., Beaufort County, wrote:

> It is well known that being able to vote is a privilege of citizenship, and equally well known that no one is required to register and vote. While our county has never attempted to force anyone to register and vote, there have been no known incidents of anyone having been denied the right to register and vote where eligible, certainly not for a considerable number of years. It is a grave injustice that the Voting Rights Act of 1965 has penalized Beaufort County because an arbitrary percentage of the adult population has not availed itself to the privilege of voting in elections.

In those counties in which the provisions of the Voting Rights Act have applied, evidence of good faith and cooperation is indicated in a letter from Chairman L. B. Hollowell, Jr., Gaston County, when he said:

> Since it has been determined that Gaston County falls within the Voting Rights Act, Gaston County will comply in every respect with the act.

In reference to the erroneous inclusion of various groups of people, Chairman O. T. Marshburn, Onslow County, pointed out:

> Included in our population are many thousands of military personnel and other persons of a similar transient status who are residing within Onslow County by reason of military orders or otherwise, and do not qualify as bona fide citizens for the purpose of registering to vote.

I would like to remind Senators that Camp Lejeune, the world's largest Marine base, is located in Onslow County.

Many county chairmen hastened to add that during recent years they had not received a single complaint concerning registration or voting by anyone residing within their respective counties. They assured me that if an incident of this nature did occur, the necessary action to correct the condition would be instigated immediately.

Notwithstanding the suspension of the literacy tests, which is a very simple test consisting of the writing of a few lines selected from the constitution of the State of North Carolina, the number of persons seeking to register since suspension has been relatively small.

I have been gratified to learn more of the interest of the people of North Carolina in their constitutional privilege to vote. I was extremely impressed by the comments of Chairman West W. Byrum in this respect. He said:

> People in our county and all other counties have the privilege and the duty to vote, but if this privilege is not exercised because of indifference, then I think that we are being misjudged. I have always thought that this great country of ours is judged on fact and not presumptions. The ballot box is a symbol of democracy and its use or nonuse rests solely with the individuals who have the right to exercise this privilege.

Many county chairmen indicated surprise and dismay that their county should be considered as one which practices discrimination in the use or the application of literacy tests. I share their surprise and consternation—particularly, for example, in the case of Vance County. I would like Senators to pay particular attention to the response of Chairman George T. Blackburn. Aside from an excellent explanation of the philosophy of the entire electoral process, he illustrates quite clearly the artificiality of the Voting Rights Act. He stated that the percentage of voters in the 1965 general election "was only slightly less than the required 50 percent—the actual percentage being 49.29. It appears that we are only seven-tenths of 1 percent in violation of the Federal Government's formula and by this measurement I suppose we are regarded as only slightly discriminatory."

An absence of discrimination and a spirit of cooperation were best illustrated in the report fo Chairman F. E. Wallace, Jr., of the Lenoir County Board of Elections. He included affidavits of Mrs. Alice P. Hannibal and Mr. George B. Lane, who he described as "two of our best known, most active, and respected Negro citizens." Each gave a brief statement of their views on the registration procedures in Lenoir County. Mrs. Hannibal stated "that she has taken an active part in local politics and has served as an elected member of the City Council for the City of Kinston; that she takes an active part in working with the citizens of the community in becoming registered to vote and has personally observed the registration of voters during all the registration periods in Lenoir County for at least the past 6 years; and that the registration officials of Lenoir County, N.C., have, in her opinion, administered the registration requirements in a fair and impartial manner and have not discriminated against any person or group because of race or other cause." Accordingly, Mr. George B. Lane stated "that he has never heard of any attempt by registration officials to refuse, delay or discriminate in the registration of voters due to race or creed or for any other cause; that, in his opinion, the registration of voters and the conduct of elections have been openly and clearly administered."

Mr. President, notwithstanding the uncontrovertible evidence I have just cited, the head count of those whose "usual place of residence" is one of these 40 counties shows that there is "discrimination" within the statutory definition. I think it is interesting to note that in several of these counties civil rights leaders have unequivocally stated that there is no discrimination whatsoever. Two such counties are Guilford and Wake.

In Guilford County, now covered by the act, more than 50 percent of the adult population actually voted on November 3, 1964. Simply because some of these voters elected not to vote for either of the two presidential candidates, Guilford County is now designated as practicing discrimination on the basis of race.

A second county, Wake, is also now included as a result of the special census because in the tabulation of these persons whose "usual place of residence" is Wake County, inmates of the State prison and patients of Dorothea Dix Memorial Hospital, a hospital for the mentally ill, were also included.

The rationale of these inclusions continues to amaze me. Furthermore, I think it is important that the Congress, the administration and the American people be made more aware of the facts concerning our voting practices than is evident from the condemnation of these 40 counties. I have come to understand that it is not the suspension of the literacy tests which has troubled the State and county officials who would ordinarily administer them. On the contrary, the stigma, which attends the penalties of the Voting Rights Act, has been received by the people of North Carolina as an unwarranted insult to their integrity and their loyalty to the Constitution of the United States.

For this reason, I have written to the Attorney General in this matter apprising him of my position and soliciting his careful consideration to the evidence submitted to me by the county chairmen and forwarded to him.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of my recent letter to Attorney General Katzenbach and the responses to my inquiries to the county board of elections chairman be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

U.S. Senate, Committee on the
Judiciary, Subcommittee on
Constitutional Rights,
April 20, 1966.

Hon. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach,
Attorney General of the United States Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Attorney General: On March 29, there was published in the Federal Register a list of 10 North Carolina counties which were designated by the Director of the Bureau of the Census as falling within the sanctions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. These additions brought the number of North Carolina counties in which literacy tests are now suspended to 40.

Believing these inclusions were unwarranted in light of my understanding of voting procedures in North Carolina, I have asked the chairmen of the North Carolina County Boards of Election in each of these 40 counties for information pertaining to voting practices in their respective counties.

The initial responses to my letter have convinced me that the application of the Voting Rights Act to these counties is arbitrary, artificial, and contrary to the purpose of that act. Public Law 89-110 is intended to "enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution" by insuring an absence of discrimination in voting procedures. It is not intended to penalize counties by manipulating statistics which have heretofore proved to be unreliable in reaching any conclusion in this matter.

I am enclosing copies of those letters I have received from the county chairmen and trust you will give careful consideration to their statements as well as those of civil rights leaders in the respective communities. In the event that one or more of these counties seeks to remove the stigma imposed upon it by this recent condemnation, and after you have examined the evidence, I anticipate that you will consent to the entry of judgment pursuant to section 4(a) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

With all kind wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

SAM J. ERVIN, JR.,
Chairman.

VANCE COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS,
Henderson, N.C. April 14, 1966.

Hon. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.,
U.S. Senator,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR ERVIN: I sincerely appreciate your letter of March 31, 1966, regarding the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and fully share the thoughts and opinions you expressed. To regard the question of racial discrimination as it might relate to voters' rights in North Carolina or any county in this State from a purely statistical standpoint is totally unrealistic. Our board of elections, of which I have been chairman since March 1958, has never used the literacy test for the purpose of denying any citizen the right to vote because of race, color, or otherwise. In administering this test, we have used reasonable standards applied equally and impartially to all races. The philosophy of our election board is that the entire electoral process belongs to the people and within the scope of our election laws should express the people's will in a full and ample manner as possible. During my tenure of office, no one of any race has ever complained to my board of either the use or the application of literacy tests during the time it was being administered.

In fact, we have always enjoyed harmonious relations with the colored leaders and citizens of Vance County from every walk of life regardless of the strife and turmoil engendered in other parts of our Nation, which, for the most part has been a source of embarrassment to us all. We were, therefore, both surprised and dismayed in view of what we considered to be an excellent record in this area of our operations, to be statistically proscribed by the Federal Government without notice, hearing, or initial means of equitable process, except for a letter from our U.S. Attorney General advising us of our present lowly status.

My personal belief on the point of the desirability of literacy tests is that the political issues of the day are of such complexity and magnitude, that only an informed, advised, intellectually curious and literate electorate can possibly cast votes of any value in guiding and shaping the destiny of our great Nation.

Here in Vance County just before the 1964 general election, we had a new countywide registration. The 1960 Federal Census showed 11,005 white citizens and 6,520 colored citizens for a total of 17,525 persons to be of voting age. Of that number, we registered 10,171 voters as of November 2, 1965, or 73 percent of the white electorate and 34 percent of the Negro. Our total registration of all persons of voting age being well over 50 percent. In the 1964 general election 8,638 registered voters went to the polls and cast their votes. As you will observe, this was only slightly less than the required 50 percent, the actual percentage being 49.29. It appears that we are only 7/10 of 1 percent (.0071) in violation of the Federal Government's formula and by this measurement I suppose we are regarded as only slightly discriminatory.

During our registration period preceding the 1964 election, all qualified voters had ample opportunity to register and the traffic was never more than could be comfortably handled by our registrars. Further, in the 1964 election more than 80 percent of our registered voters went to the polls which, I believe, is well above our national average.

It is difficult for me to see how a county board of elections can in any way be held responsible for the size of the vote in any given election. The problem of voter apathy would seem to lie within the province of the respective Democratic and Republican Executive Committees and the usual citizens' voter groups. We do not feel that it is the legitimate function of our board to actively solicit our citizens to either register or vote since this would most assuredly violate the existing nonpartisan concepts under which our board operates and would probably result in political chaos destroying public confidence in the election process which I feel should be avoided at all costs. All we can actually do is to make these privileges available.

We understand, and have been advised by our State board of elections of the methods to be followed in attempting to remove ourselves from the arbitrary ruling of the Attorney General. However, this would, at best, be burdensome and time consuming to our board and of considerable expense for Vance County to undertake. Further, those making the decisions on this question are so remote geographically, and perhaps philosophically, from Vance County that the prospects of success appear to be unlikely; especially when one considers the number of Northern States prominent in civil rights affairs also on the roll. I, therefore, have hesitated to recommend to our county commissioners that we follow this tenuous path.

We all applaud the strenuous and unfailing efforts which you have made to remedy what you have very accurately characterized as the "artificial and arbitrary provisions of the Voters Rights Act of 1965." I would appreciate having whatever recommendations you might make to our board on this matter, and assure you that if it lies within our means to do so, we will act upon your advice which I have always found to be sound and in the best interests of all concerned.

You, of course, have my permission to insert this letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD or to make such other use of it as in your judgment you may desire.

With higher personal regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

GEORGE T. BLACKBURN,
Chairman, Vance County Board of Elections.

U.S. Census

County	Votes cast for President, 1964	Population of voting age, 1960			Votes cast for President, 1960	
		Total	Nonwhite		Number	Percent of population of voting age
			Number	Percent		
65. New Hanover	24,724	42,210	10,569	25.0	22,957	54.4
66. Northampton	6,233	13,482	7,304	54.2	5,434	40.3
67. Onslow	9,726	39,003	5,015	12.9	8,376	21.5
68. Orange	14,991	24,363	4,978	20.4	12,411	50.9
69. Pamlico	2,900	5,301	1,593	30.1	2,758	52.0
70. Pasquotank	6,649	14,345	4,936	34.4	6,357	44.3
71. Pender	5,166	9,716	4,085	42.0	4,018	41.4
72. Perquimans	2,399	5,110	2,027	39.7	2,097	41.0
73. Person	6,902	14,221	4,227	29.7	6,231	43.8
74. Pitt	16,466	36,196	13,575	37.5	15,984	44.2
75. Polk	5,782	6,870	766	11.1	5,618	81.8
76. Randolph	24,377	36,068	2,591	7.2	25,561	70.9
77. Richmond	11,639	21,533	5,514	25.6	11,578	53.8
78. Robeson	17,887	42,275	21,424	50.7	15,203	36.0
79. Rockingham	20,495	40,836	7,398	18.1	20,663	50.6
80. Rowan	29,738	50,075	7,209	14.4	30,645	61.2
81. Rutherford	16,656	26,592	2,572	9.7	17,547	66.0
82. Sampson	15,701	25,581	8,203	32.1	14,970	58.5
83. Scotland	5,073	12,498	4,686	37.5	4,922	39.4
84. Stanly	16,855	24,220	2,164	8.9	19,339	79.8
85. Stokes	9,562	12,811	1,025	8.0	9,359	73.1
86. Surry	17,780	28,219	1,423	5.0	18,220	64.6
87. Swain	3,828	4,634	756	16.3	4,283	92.4
88. Transylvania	8,030	9,092	405	4.5	7,609	83.7
89. Tyrrell	1,370	2,446	849	34.7	1,275	52.1
90. Union	11,437	24,467	4,423	18.1	11,423	46.7
91. Vance	8,638	17,525	6,520	37.2	7,706	44.0
92. Wake	54,195	99,655	22,856	22.9	44,486	44.6
93. Warren	4,758	9,929	5,490	55.3	3,714	37.4
94. Washington	3,649	7,008	2,643	37.7	3,442	49.1
95. Watauga	7,963	9,765	126	1.3	8,460	86.6
96. Wayne	17,346	45,103	15,754	34.9	13,330	29.6
97. Wilkes	20,190	25,223	1,444	5.7	21,002	83.3

COUNTY OF WAYNE,
BOARD OF ELECTIONS,
Goldsboro, N.C., April 7, 1966.

Hon. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.,
U.S. Senate,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am in complete agreement with your feeling about the "artificial and arbitrary provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965."

In the 14 years during which I have been chairman, no person has been denied the right to register because of race or color. Over the years, we have probably denied 14 people the right to register because of their inability to read and write. I would say that this number has been on a fairly equal basis between white and colored. I have gone to the trouble to consult with secretaries who served in this office in the past, and they agree that the above is true.

As to the reasons why less than 50 percent of the persons of voting age failed to vote in the presidential election of 1964; Wayne County has a branch of the State mental health hospitals in which, at the time of the 1960 census, 2,985 patients were in residence, it also has Seymour Johnson Air Force Base, at the time of the 1960 census, 4,414 people lived in Capehart housing, and 2,475 men lived in barracks, as well as 6,371 service or service connected people who were living off the Base, all of whom were included in the population count. Then, too, there were people who voted but would not vote for either Presidential candidate.

For your further information, I would like you to have the following figures: 1964 white registered, 19,228; 1964 colored registered, 6,112; and total registered, 25,340.

Of this number, 17,914 votes were cast in the general election of 1964, or 70.6 percent of the registration. Of the votes cast in this election, 13,927 were cast by whites or 72.9 percent of the registration, 3,987 were cast by colored or 60.5 percent of the registration.

Full permission is granted to use this letter in any way you see fit.

The board of elections and, we feel sure, the people of Wayne County are grateful for your interest.

Very truly yours,
J. B. HOOKS, Jr.,
Chairman, Wayne County Board of Elections.

HOLLOWELL & STOTT,
ATTORNEYS AT LAW,
Gastonia, N.C., April 13, 1966.

Senator SAM J. ERVIN, Jr.,
U.S. Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR ERVIN: As chairman of the Gaston County, North Carolina Board of Elections, I acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 31, 1966, concerning the fact that Gaston County has been adjudged to have fallen within the provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act because less than 50 percent of persons of voting age residing in Gaston County did not vote in the presidential election of November 1964.

The fact that Gaston County has fallen within the provisions of this act is a great surprise and shock to me as well as to many other citizens of Gaston County. I do not presume to know the reason as to why less than 50 percent of the persons of voting age failed to vote in the 1964 presidential election, but I can assure you that this was not because of any discrimination of any type or kind. Gaston County, N.C., is presently under the looseleaf system of registration whereby the registration books are continually open on a year round basis. Any resident of Gaston County may apply for registration with the county election board in Gastonia from 8:30 a.m. until 5 p.m., Monday through Friday of each week in the year, except 21 days prior to an election as provided by State law. Furthermore, any resident of Gaston County can register at any time during the year except 21 days prior to an election with the duly appointed registrar for the precinct within which that resident resides. In addition to providing this continuous registration system, Gaston County has always done everything within its power to encourage registration to all of its residents. Before every major election, the registrars are required to be in attendance at their respective polling places on designated Saturdays for the sole purpose of registering voters. This service is in addition to the regular registration at the election board office and with the registrars, and is done solely for the convenience of any person wishing to register.

In the 1964 presidential election there were 46,134 persons registered to vote in Gaston County. Of that total, 37,326 persons actually voted. This is, of course, a very high percentage of voting among those persons registered, which, in itself indicates that the citizens of Gaston County take a very active interest in our elections. As I have stated, I do not presume to know the reason why less than 50 percent of the persons of voting age failed to vote in the 1964 presidential election. Perhaps that election did not generate as much interest among the citizens of Gaston County as did the 1960 presidential election between John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon.

Of course, prior to the decision that Gaston County had fallen within the provisions of the Voting Rights Act, a very simple literacy test was required of applicants for registration. This test was administered in accordance with the laws of the State of North Carolina. However, as of April 1, 1966, any type of literacy test has been suspended in Gaston County, N.C., pursuant to the provisions of the Voting Rights Act. Since it has been determined that Gaston County falls within the Voting Rights Act, Gaston County will comply in every respect with the act even though I, along with many other citizens of our county, do not feel that the act should apply to this county.

To my knowledge, there has never been any charge made by any person or persons to the effect that Gaston County has discriminated in any way or manner against any person or persons insofar as registration and voting is concerned. I can assure you that there has been absolutely no discrimination whatsoever in Gaston County against any one nor will there be any discrimination of any kind against any one for the purpose of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race, color, religion, party affiliation, or for any other reason.

I certainly appreciate your interest in this matter and advise that you have my permission to use this letter in such way as you may deem best to show that Gaston County has not been denying its citizens the right to vote on account of race or color or for any other reason in violation of the provisions of the 15th amendment.

Yours very truly,
L. B. HOLLOWELL, Jr.,
Chairman, Gaston County, N.C. Board of Elections.

ONSLOW COUNTY
BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS,
Jacksonville, N.C., April 14, 1966.

Hon. SAM J. ERVIN, Jr.,
U.S. Senator, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR ERVIN: Thank you for your letter of March 31, 1966. This is to advise that within the past 5 years, to my knowledge, not more than 5 to 10 people prior to the enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were denied the right to register. This was for failure of the literacy test which included both white and colored applicants.

The literacy test has not been used in any manner for the purpose of denying or abridging the right of citizens to vote on account of their race or color.

Further, it is my opinion that the reason less than 50 percent of the persons of voting age residing in Onslow County failed to vote in the presidential election of November 1964, is that included in our population are many thousands of military personnel and other persons of a somewhat transient status who are residing within Onslow County by reason of military orders or otherwise, and do not qualify as bona fide citizens for the purpose of registering to vote.

You certainly have my permission to insert this letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and if further information is desired, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

With kindest regards, I am,
Very truly yours,
O. T. MARSHBURN,
Chairman, Board of Elections of Onslow County.

GATESVILLE, N.C.,
April 16, 1966.

Hon. SAM J. ERVIN, Jr.,
Committee on the Judiciary,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR ERVIN: I have been chairman of the Gates County Board of Elections for 12 years and during this length of time the literacy test has never been used for the purpose of denying or abridging the right to vote to anyone regardless of race or color. During this 12-year period we have had not a single complaint concerning registration or voting by anyone. I assure you that if an incident of this nature did occur the necessary action to correct the condition would be instigated immediately.

I believe the reason for our poor voting record in Gates County in the general elections is that we have no contest on the local level. Our Democratic primaries are tantamount to election. We have only 47 registered Republicans on the registration books and no Republican primary at the local level. Once the primary is over, interest in candidates for county offices disappears, leaving the State and National issues to be decided by the general election. The rank-and-file voters apparently do not have enough interest to go to the polls and vote.

This letter may be used in any manner you see fit.

Very truly yours,
W. P. TAYLOR,
Chairman, Gates County Board of Elections.

COUNTY OF HOKE,
Raeford, N.C., April 14, 1966.

Hon. SAM J. ERVIN, Jr.,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SENATOR: Thank you very much for yours of March 31, 1966.

Since receiving your letter I have asked around the communities of the county to find why there are some 50 percent of our population that seem to not want to be registered to vote. The general opinion seems to be that these unregistered people simply are not interested enough in the operation of our Government to want the right to vote.

I fully agree with your views on this matter and would like to point out that since the literacy test has been abolished in this county that we had only 13 Negroes to register in 2 registration periods. I find that this is normal for a registration period with the literacy test being used. Therefore, I feel that this proves that we have never discriminated against anyone in Hoke County.

I would further like to state that we have not received a single complaint from any citizen for being refused the right to vote in at least the last 15 years.

Sincerely yours,
J. SCOTT POOLE,
Chairman, Hoke County Board of Elections.

GREENE COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS,
Snow Hill, N.C., April 12, 1966.

Hon. SAM J. ERVIN, Jr.,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR ERVIN: Reference is made to your letter regarding the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The fact that Greene County was one of the counties to come under this act because, according to the census, less than 50 percent of the persons of voting age did not vote in the presidential election of November 1964. We do not feel that the census figures are correct by any means, in terms of the number of persons of voting age. The small vote was due to a lack of interest in view of the fact that there was a split opinion among the Democratic voters in this county.

The literacy test has never been used in this county for the purpose of denying any citizen the right to vote, regardless of their race or color. In my 14 years as chairman of the board we have always treated all persons desiring to register and vote the same. No partiality has been shown regardless of color or race.

You have my permission to use this letter in any way to set the record straight about Greene County.

If I can be of further help please let me know.

Very sincerely,

JAMES H. POTTER,
Chairman.

HERTFORD COUNTY BOARD
OF ELECTIONS,
Ahoskie, N.C., April 13, 1966.

Hon. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR ERVIN: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter dated March 31, 1966, relative to the artificial and arbitrary provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

I have been a native of Hertford County all of my life, and I have never heard of anyone being denied the right to vote because of color. Since I have been connected with the board of elections, I am sure that there has been no discrimination whatsoever. However prior to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, we did have a literacy test in accordance with article VI, section 4 of the North Carolina constitution and section 163–28 of the General Statutes of North Carolina. This was a very simple test that consisted of a phrase of six to eight words, selected from the constitution of the State of North Carolina. Each registrar used the same phrase on the same day. The same phrase was given to each applicant for registration regardless of color. If the registrar, through the wildest use of his imagination, could read what the applicant wrote, and if the applicant could read most of the words in the phrase, he was allowed to register. This same leniency was applied to every individual that took the test, regardless of color. To further support this statement, our records indicate that during the year preceding April 1, 1965, the board had 1,572 applications for registration. From this number 1,537 were registered. Our records do not indicate what percentage of this number were Negro or white, nor do they indicate the percentage as to color of the 35 that were refused registration. However the registrars tell me that of those refused registration, approximately 50 percent would be in each race.

During the calendar year 1965, our registration books were open on four separate occasions, for 3 weeks each time. These dates were well publicized by advertising in the local newspaper, numerous news articles in the newspaper and public service announcements over the local radio stations. As a result of this effort 714 additional people were registered. Of course after the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, all literacy tests were discontinued.

According to the 1960 census, Hertford County had 11,708 people 21 years of age and over. In the presidential election of November 1964 we had 6,118 people eligible to vote. This represents 43 percent of the adult population, and of this number 5,014 or 82 percent voted in the presidential election. I have no opinion as to why less than 50 percent of the people of voting age residing in our county failed to vote in this election, unless it was due to apathy and complacency. I assure you that to my knowledge during the last couple of decades there has been no discrimination in applicants due to color or race.

You have my permission to insert this letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD or to make such other use of it as you may wish, to show that our county has not been denying its citizens the right to vote on account of race or color, in violation of the provisions of the 15th amendment.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE L. WILLOUGHBY,
Chairman,
Hertford County Board of Elections.

HARNETT COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS,
Lillington, N.C., April 7, 1966.

Senator SAM J. ERVIN, JR.,
U.S. Senator,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: With reference to your letter of March 31, 1966, I am enclosing copies, taken at random, from my files with reference to the literacy test that has been used in this county for a number of years. I have served as the chairman of the Board of Elections of Harnett County for the last 12 years and during this time no complaint has ever been filed with the county board of elections indicating that anyone has ever been denied the right to vote because of race. I know of my own personal knowledge that our registration officials have denied both Negro and white citizens the right to register because of their failure to qualify under the literacy test. I have known of registrars in this county to take a great deal of time and to allow the applicant more than one chance to try to qualify.

We enjoy excellent racial relations in this county.

We were one of the unusual counties in which the presidential vote and the gubernatorial vote were almost identical. Harnett County voted 13,360 for President and 13,390 for Governor. This does not reflect the pattern of eastern North Carolina. This is about an average vote for Harnett County, and I would assume that at least half of the people of voting age participated in this election.

The people of Harnett County have been extremely proud of their record in race relations and at no time has there been any indication from the Negro leaders of this county that they felt that they had in any way been discriminated against in connection with voting.

I understand that Neill Ross has already sent you copies of correspondence that he had with the U.S. Department of Commerce and in that connection, I am enclosing an answer that he received this morning from the Director of the Census Bureau.

With best wishes from Neill and myself, I am,

Sincerely,

DOUGALD MCRAE,
Chairman, Harnett County Board of Elections.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS,
Washington, D.C., April 5, 1966.

Mr. NEIL MCK. ROSS,
Office of County Attorney,
Lillington, N.C.

DEAR MR. ROSS: This is in reply to your letter of March 28 concerning my determination for Harnett County under the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The determination which I am required to make relates only to the percentage of the population of voting age which voted in November 1964. We are not concerned with potential voters nor with the number of "eligible" voters in Harnett County. The determination is based entirely on the number of votes cast for President in the presidential election of 1964 and the population of voting age residing in the county at that time.

I am sending a copy of your letter and of this reply to the Department of Justice.

Sincerely yours,

A. ROSS ECKLER,
Director, Bureau of the Census.

Name: Mrs. Betty W. McLean.

Date: October 19, 1964.

Every person so offering to vote shall be at the time a legally registered voter as herein prescribed, and in the manner hereafter provided by law, and the General Assembly of North Carolina shall enact general registration laws to carry into effect the provisions of this article.

Every person so offering to vote shall be at the time a legally registered voter as herein prescribed and in the manner hereafter provided by law and the General Assembly of North Carolina shall enact general registration laws to carry into effect the provisions of this article.

Approved or disapproved: approved.

Signature of registrar:

INEZ C. HOWARD.

Signature of registrant:

BETTY W. MCLEAN.

Name: Mrs. Hattie Robinson.

Date: October 17, 1964.

No person who has been convicted, or who has confessed his guilt in open court upon indictment, of any crime the punishment of which now is, or may hereafter be, imprisonment in the State's Prison, shall be permitted to vote, unless the said person shall first be restored to citizenship in the manner prescribed by law.

No person who has been convicted, or who has confessed his guilt in open court upon indictment, of any crime the punishment of which now is, or may hereafter be, imprisonment in the State's prison, shall be permitted to vote, unless the said person shall first be restored to citizenship in the manner prescribed by law.

Approved or disapproved: approved.

Signature of registrar:

MRS. SEA WILLIAMS.

Signature of registrant:

MRS. HATTIE ROBINSON.

Name: Mary McPhail.

Date: October 24, 1964.

Any person who shall have resided in the State of North Carolina for one year, and in the precinct, ward, or other election district in in which such person offers to vote for thirty days next preceding an election, and possessing the other qualifications set out in this Article.

Any person who shall have resided in the State of North Carolina for one year, and in the precinct, ward, or other election district in in which such person offers to vote for thirty days next preceding an election, and possessing the other qualifications set out in this Article.

Approved or disapproved: approved.

Signature of registrar:

——— ———.

Signature of registrant:

MARY MCPHAIL.

FRANKLIN COUNTY,
BOARD OF ELECTIONS,
Louisburg, N.C., April 7, 1966.

Hon. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR ERVIN: I have received your letter of March 31 concerning Franklin County and the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

I have been chairman of the Franklin County Board of Elections for the past 10 years and to my knowledge, the literacy test that we used before the 1965 Voting Rights Act was always used fairly and discreetly and was used only to determine whether or not an applicant had the intelligence to allow him to vote. The literacy test was always used fairly and impartially regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin and I know of no case in Franklin County where the literacy test was unfairly administered and I am satisfied that Federal examiners or anyone else would be unable to find a citizen of Franklin County who can truthfully say that the literacy test has been unfairly administered in our county.

Since the 1965 Voting Rights Act went into effect, we have had one registration period and according to the information I have received from the various registrars throughout our county, numerous illiterate people, both white and Negro have been added to the voting list. These people who are unable to read and write and understand the issues involved in elections will now be allowed to cast their vote in electing the officials and leaders of our county, State, and Nation. In my way of thinking, this is a deplorable situation and I think that the whole United States is the loser.

As you know and as the records will bear out, Franklin County has been one of the strongest supporters of the Democratic Party of any county in North Carolina. The people in Franklin County have always worked diligently and voted for the Democratic Party and they have always believed in the principals on which the Democratic Party was founded—the principle of individual liberties. Under the administration of Lyndon Johnson, the people of Franklin County and the United States no longer enjoy individual freedom, but instead the individual freedoms once enjoyed have been infringed upon and the people are sick of it. In my opinion, the reason that less than 50 percent of the persons of voting age residing in Franklin County failed to vote in the presidential election of 1964 was because they had always worked and supported the Democratic Party, but the people of Franklin County did not feel that Lyndon Johnson, HUBERT HUMPHREY and their strong supporters, believe in and support the principles of the Democratic Party and instead of voting a Republican ticket on the national level, they refused to exercise their right to vote at all.

If you feel that the incorporation of this letter into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will be of any use to you, I give you my permission to do so, or to use this letter in any way that you see fit.

On behalf of the people of Franklin County, I want to take this opportunity to thank you for the manner in which you have defended the rights of the individual and the manner in which you have fought the administration in its attempt to take away from one group of people in order to give to another.

I trust that the information included in this letter is sufficient for your needs.

With kindest regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

TAYLOR W. BOONE,
Chairman, Franklin County Board of Elections.

AULANDER, N.C.,
April 9, 1966.

Hon. SAM J. ERVIN, Jr.,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C

DEAR MR. ERVIN: In reply to your letter of March 31, 1966, under the artificial and arbitrary provisions of the Voting Rights Act of October 4, 1965.

The use of the literacy test has never been used for the purpose of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color, and there is no reasonable probability that it would be used now if we were permitted to use it.

And why less than 50 percent of the voting age failed to vote in the presidential election of November 1964. My opinion is, just the lack of interest to use their constitutional rights to get out and vote. Furthermore I share your views on this subject in every respect.

Sincerely yours,

ROY L. POWELL,
Chairman, Bertie County Board of Elections.

CHOWAN COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS,
Edenton, N.C., April 5, 1966.

Senator SAM J. ERVIN, Jr.,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR ERVIN: Thank you for your letter dated March 31, 1966, concerning the Voting Rights Act of 1965. It is evident that the Attorney General has found our country of Chowan guilty of denying people the right to vote because of race or color. His verdict is based solely on the fact that less than 50 percent of the persons of voting age residing here voted in the presidential election of November 1964.

I think this is a direct personal insult to the integrity of the persons in charge of our election process. This county has not in the past, and as long as I am chairman of the board of elections, will never deny any person his or her constitutional right to vote regardless of race or color.

People in our county and all other counties have the privilege and a duty to vote, but if this privilege is not exercised because of indifference, then I think that we are being misjudged. I have always thought that this great country of ours judged on fact and not presumptions.

The ballot box is a symbol of democracy and its use or nonuse rests solely with the individuals who have the right to exercise this privilege.

You have my permission to use this letter in any manner that you desire in order to show that our county has not and will not deny any citizen the right to vote because of race or color.

Sincerely,

WEST W. BYRUM,
Chairman.

COUNTY OF HARNETT,
Lillington, N.C., April 4, 1966.

Hon. SAM J. ERVIN, Jr.,
U.S. Senator,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: You will find enclosed a copy of a letter that I wrote to the Chief of the Census Bureau. It is my understanding that Hartnett County is in the same position that Wake County is in. There were 140 men confined to a prison unit here in Harnett County at the time of the census and this number was included in our overall figure. In view of the fact that Harnett was on the border and we, like other counties, had a larger vote for Governor than we did for President, I am satisfied that this difference of 440 would bring us under the Civil Rights Voting Act and that without it, we would still be exempt from the operation of the Federal law.

I do not know in which direction to go, but I had planned to try to file some type of objection so that in the event it was determined by the powers that be that the prison population incorporated in Wake census should not have been counted, then we would be in the same position in Harnett County. If your office has any information that would be of assistance to us, it would be greatly appreciated.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

NEILL McK. ROSS.

LILLINGTON, N.C.,
March 28, 1966.

Mr. A. ROSS ECKLER,
Director of Bureau of Census,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ECKLER: I note from a letter over your signature addressed to Mr. Dougald McRae, chairman of the Harnett County Board of Elections, dated March 25, 1966, that you have determined that less than 50 percent of the persons of voting age residing in the county on November 24 voted in the election. You have determined, based on a census of March 1966, that there were 49,189 people residing in Harnett County as of that date. I write to inquire on what basis you determined the number of eligible voters as of the close of the registration books for the November 1964 election. I note by your letter that you expect to make this determination and publish it in the Federal Register on March 29, and I would, therefore, assume that there is no opportunity for question of your determination. We in Harnett County have never had any trouble with any minority group, we have had no demonstrations, we have never had a report from any Negro citizen that he has ever been refused registration and as a matter of fact we enjoy a very cordial relationship between the races.

I am chairman of the Democratic executive committee and have served in this capacity for several years, and I know that the election laws in this county have been fairly and impartially administered. I would, therefore, appreciate the information above requested.

Very truly yours,

NEILL McK. ROSS.

ANSON COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS,
Wadesboro, N.C., April 6, 1966.

Mr. SAM J. ERVIN, Jr.,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ERVIN: In reply to your recent letter I wish to say:

Anson County has had no problems with the voter registration as we have tried to be fair about it. I don't believe you could find any citizen who would say he has been discriminated against. This applies to Anson County.

Why the people didn't vote in 1964 I can't really say but one thing. The voters weren't too enthused about the two candidates running for President.

We had a bond election in the fall of 1965, after all literacy tests had been stopped. We had no Negro to apply for registration. That showed us they weren't interested in voting.

You have my permission to use this letter in any way you see fit.

With kindest regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

H. C. GRAY,
Chairman, Anson County Board of Elections.

BEAUFORT COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS,
Washington, N.C., April 12, 1966.

Hon. Senator ERVIN,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR ERVIN: We appreciate your letter of March 31, 1966, to Mrs. Carolyn Taylor, the previous chairman of the Beaufort County Board of Elections, concerning the fact that our county has been placed under the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The Beaufort County Board of Elections feels that the Voting Rights Act has worked an injustice in causing our county to be placed under its provisions with respect to the literacy test. We have no knowledge of the literacy test or of any other means having been used to deny any qualified citizen the right to register and vote in any election conducted in Beaufort County in the past 5 years. During the past 5 years no formal complaints have been filed with the Board of Elections of Beaufort County concerning denying or abridging of the rights of any qualified citizen to register and vote in any election conducted in the county. Furthermore, neither the present election board nor the two previous election boards has any knowledge of such violations.

It is difficult to explain why fewer than 50 percent of the number of adult citizens of voting age voted in the November 1964 election. We have had a number of Negro citizens who have been registered and who have voted in Beaufort County for a long time. Over the years, there have been many citizens, both white and Negro, who have been ineligible to vote because they were unable to read and write, however, in recent years, fewer of our citizens are illiterate and therefore more are eligible to register and vote.

The population of Beaufort County is approximately 60 percent white and 40 percent Negro, however, the ratio of registration between whites and Negroes does not correspond. A much smaller percentage of Negroes have registered than whites. In recent years, however, Negroes have been registering in increasing numbers with each election.

It is well known that being able to vote is a privilege of citizenship, and equally well known that no one is required to register and vote. While our county has never attempted to force anyone to register and vote, there have been no known incidents of anyone having been denied the right to register and vote where eligible, certainly not for a considerable number of years. It is a grave injustice that the Voting Rights Act of 1965 has penalized Beaufort County because an arbitrary percentage of the adult population has not availed itself to the privilege of voting in elections.

The Beaufort County Board of Elections has given training to all the registrars of the county concerning election laws and at each training session the registrars were carefully instructed to follow the law in registering every qualified citizen.

We will appreciate any support you may be able to give us in our effort to be removed from the stigma of being covered by the unjust provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Sincerely yours,

G. D. ELLIOTT, JR.
Chairman.

LENOIR COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS,
Kinston, N.C., April 7, 1966.

Hon. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR ERVIN: We reply to your letter dated March 31, 1966.

It is agreed that law, if you can call it law, based on pure presumption is insufferable.

This county through its election officials, on all levels, have always registered without discrimination of any type.

There is only one reason why less than 50 percent of our persons of voting age may have failed to vote in the presidential election of November 1964. That reason is simply apathy.

On January 31, 1966 we wrote Mr. Nicholas Katzenbach, Attorney General. Copy of this letter together with its supporting affidavits is attached and further describes our local situation. So far we have not had the courtesy of a reply or acknowledgement from Mr. Katzenbach.

If you require any further information please advise.

Respectfully,

F. E. WALLACE, Jr.,
Chairman.

LENOIR COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS,
Kinston, N.C., January 31, 1966.

Hon. NICHOLAS KATZENBACH,
Attorney General,
Office of the Attorney General,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We respond to your letter of January 8, 1966.

The detailed information sent is helpful and we will reply briefly stating that this board and others in our county stand ready to respond at any time in more detail or to answer any specific questions that may be asked.

We are sincerely proud of our record in this county. Our policy has always been one of uniform application of the voting laws of our State. The writer has been chairman of this board since 1956 and can assure you that every person, regardless of race, who has presented themselves to our registrars have always taken the same registration procedures and test and these have been uniformly applied.

If any disparity in the ratio of white and nonwhite registration exist here it is due solely to apathy and not to any form of violation of the 15th amendment.

During 1958 when a new registration was accomplished and since that date we have taken every possible step to assure that persons attempting to register received a brief and uniform test of ability to write a section of our Constitution. Applicants were given a brief and simple section of the Constitution not exceeding 3 or 4 lines and ample time to write this. The sample was in large print and gradings was not based on errors or spelling and every applicant, regardless of race, who evidenced even the most basic ability to write the section was passed. The tests have been retained and can be reviewed.

Since 1958 we have had less than a dozen apply to our board on appeals from registrars.

Since passage of the Voting Rights Act and notice from your office all tests have been suspended.

On page 3 of your letter four questions are asked; we reply to them by number.

1. We have never had a practice which delayed or discouraged registration and our registration process has been continually improved by extra help and hours to assist applicants.
2. The answer is "No."
3. The answer is "Yes."
4. Every opportunity has been given. We call your attention to the affidavits attached and made a part of this letter.

Our board has employed clerical help and used them to assist registrars at the registration place. We open the polls for registration at other than regular hours and the registrars have from time to time made special arrangements with Negro groups to bring their people to the registrar at extra hour times when needed or when it would assist those working hours made it difficult to register on regular days.

Our county is divided into 20 precincts and a registrar is appointed for each precinct; the polling places which are the places of registration are centrally located in each precinct. For example, in the city of Kinston with approximately 28,000 people we have 7 precincts. It is here that we have the heaviest concentration of nonwhite citizens. During our regular registration days our registrars are busy less than 25 percent of the time. Even on days of large registration interest we rapidly move electors through the process by extra clerical help. There is no difficulty in registering in this county. Our city and county have adopted a uniform and permanent registration. This prevents a person from having to go through periodic new registrations. The city elections do not coincide with the county and State elections, therefore this gives our people extra opportunity to register and a person registering for one election is registered for all.

It is with pleasure that we are able to attach to this letter our exhibits an affidavit from Mrs. Alice P. Hannibal and Mr. George B. Lane attesting to the fairness and efficiency of our registration. These affidavits were made at the time the Voting Rights Act was being considered. Also we attach an affidavit from Mrs. Vivian D. Beech regarding the registration during our last election and since the passage of the act. Incidentally, we point out no test of any type was used in our last registration period.

These three affiants are distinguished and reliable members of our Negro community and among our most respected citizens. Mrs. Hannibal, a former member of our city council, and Mrs. Beech have been local leaders and tireless workers in the efforts to register their people. They have had and will continue to have this board's cooperation.

In the next to the last paragraph of your letter you ask what steps have been taken to correct the effects of past discrimination. We answer by stating first that there has been no discrimination in this county. Second, we simply say that our efforts toward registration have all been directed to making registration simple, uniform, and speedy procedure for all races. Our polls and registration have been and are open to all of our people.

Respectfully,

FITZHUGH E. WALLACE, JR.,
Chairman.

AFFIDAVIT

NORTH CAROLINA,
Lenoir County:

F. E. Wallace, Jr., being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. That he is the chairman of the Lenoir County, N.C., Board of Elections, and has held that position since the 7th day of April, 1956. That the board has direct control of all elections conducted in the county of Lenoir and appoints and supervises all registrars of elections.

2. That in the spring of 1958, a new looseleaf and permanent registration system was installed in Lenoir County and has been kept current and is today used as the registration system for all elections in the county, including city elections. That during the new registration in 1958, the new books then showed 12,363 registered in Lenoir County. The heaviest concentration of Negro population is located within the city of Kinston, which city is within the county of Lenoir. During the 1958 registration 1,168 Negro registrations went into the books and 4,368 of all other races. Of these figures votes were cast by 931 Negro electors and 3,534 electors of all other races in the 1958 election. During October 1962 a purge of the registration was conducted under the State law and names of those who had removed from the County or deceased were, after notice, challenged and removed. This reduced our registration by 3,178 names and only a few were later found to be erroneously removed, and they were allowed to vote upon appearance at the polling place and proper presentation to the election officials. By this method the Lenoir County registration has been kept up to date and we substantially eliminated the possibility of illegal voting of deceased or absent persons. During the entire registration from 1958 to date, we estimate that less than 25 persons have been turned down on the basis of literacy although many who are illiterate undoubtedly have not applied. By the end

of registration for the November 1964 election, our books showed 18,469 persons registered in the county. Of this number 3,492 were Negro and 14,977 were of other races. In the November 1964 election, 13,353 persons voted in this county. The county of Lenoir has a potential voting population of 29,533 who are over 21 years of age (including persons confined to institutions). These figures show that we have 62.5 percent of the voting age registered and that 72.3 percent of the registered voters went to the polls and voted in November 1964. A reasonable purge at any given time could reduce the percentage of persons registered, but would be necessary to keep the registration books current.

3. We welcome any investigation of the foregoing facts. In view of our record and the record of many other counties of this State, it will be unjust to impose on our election officials and people any Federal controls, and especially those based on presumptions derived from some arbitrary formula and without even the fundamental requirements of factfinding.

4. This county administers a brief and completely fair literacy test. This test is applied to every person presenting themselves for registration. The same basis for passage is used for all persons and to my knowledge there has been no attempt at any time to discriminate against anyone because of race, color, creed, or any cause. All tests are administered with the sole aim of determining only the basic requirements of literacy. Registration is not refused for errors in spelling or for poor handwriting, and each applicant is passed if he or she displays to the registrar the basic ability to write a simple and short section of the State constitution in the English language. There is attached to this affidavit and made a part hereof a sample of the test form used in Lenoir County. The only variance from this form is a change from time to time in the section of the constitution utilized.

5. I have asked Mrs. Alice P. Hannibal and Mr. George B. Lane, two of our best known, most active, and respected Negro citizens to give a brief statement of their views on the registration procedures in our county. Their affidavits speak for themselves and are attached hereto and made a part hereof by reference.

6. The right to vote is truly a privilege to be carefully guarded. Of equal importance is the integrity of the ballot itself. To open the ballot to complete illiteracy and to allow registration without any requirement of moral character will destroy public confidence and ultimately our Democratic process.

Neither the Federal nor the State government has any need or right to enact laws relating to whether or not a man or a percentage of men vote so long as the equal and free opportunity to register and vote exists.

The proposed Federal bill will open the door to election abuse. It will encourage the retaining and use of deceased and disqualified voters on the registration books. Under the guise of illiteracy votes will be sold and controlled.

This proposed Federal bill constitutes a revolution in American law. If passed and upheld it will have far-reaching consequences in our rights as citizens, and collectively as States. Thereafter, Government can, for any cause or presumption, reach deeper into the fundamental privileges of individuals and the historical rights of the States and their subdivisions until its fingers reach and still the heart of individual liberty and endeavor. Then the dignity and initiative of the individual will be destroyed and with it this Nation.

It is hoped that Congress will not adopt this proposed legislation. The bill is purely punitive and inspired by emotion and unjustified drama. It should shock the conscience of Congress. It would and it will enrage the greater American public when they have time to realize its ramifications.

7. The information and facts contained in this affidavit are true to the best of the affiant's knowledge, and the affiant would state the same if under oath and testifying.

This 1st day of April 1965.

F. E. Wallace, Jr.,

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of April 1965.

Nell B. Carter,
Notary Public.

My commission expires June 5, 1965.

Affidavit

North Carolina,
Lenoir County:

Alice P. Hannibal, being first duly sworn, desposes and says:

1. That she is a resident of Lenoir County, N.C., and is the wife of Dr. John J. Hannibal, M.D.

2. That during the past 10 years or more, she has taken an active part in local politics and has served as an elected member of the city council of the city of Kinston.

3. That she takes an active part in working with the citizens of the community in becoming registered to vote and has personally observed the registration of voters during all of the registration periods in Lenoir County for at least the past 6 years.

4. That the registration officials of Lenoir County, N.C., have, in her opinion, administered the registration requirements in a fair and impartial manner and have not discriminated against any person or group because of race or other cause.

5. That in administering the literacy test used, the Lenoir County registration officials have applied a very simple requirement of writing a short and easy section of the State constitution in the English language. To take the test each applicant is furnished with the section of the constitution to be written. This section furnished is printed in large type for easy reading. That the registration officials have allowed those taking the test to use sufficient time and have not disqualified applicants because of minor errors.

This 1st day of April, 1965.

Alice P. Hannibal.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of April, 1965.

Thelma Noe Rains,
Notary Public.

My commission expires September 16, 1966.

Affidavit

North Carolina,
Lenoir County:

George B. Lane, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. That he has been a lifetime resident of Lenoir County, N.C., and lives within the city of Kinston within that county.

2. That he is president of Lane's Funeral Home, Inc., and has held that position for more than 15 years.

3. That he is familiar with the registration and voting procedures used in Lenoir County, N.C., having been interested in elections and having observed these procedures from time to time.

4. That he has never heard of any attempt by registration officials to refuse, delay or discriminate in the registration of voters due to race or creed, or for any other cause. That in his opinion the registration of voters and conduct of elections have been openly and fairly administered.

This 1st day of April 1965.

George B. Lane.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of April 1965.

Thelma Noe Rains,
Notary Public.

My commission expires September 16, 1966.

Affidavit

North Carolina,
Lenoir County:

Vivian D. Beech, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. That she is a resident of Lenoir County, N.C., and is the wife of William M. Beech, Jr.

2. That I have for several years worked with the League of Women Voters of Lenoir County and have taken an active part in getting our Negro population to the polls to register and vote.

3. That during the last registration period of Lenoir County I personally called on Mrs. Rains, clerk of the board of elections and asked that the polls of the two predominantly Negro population have extra time in which to register. This was granted by the board of elections and more time than was asked for was given. I personally escorted persons to the polls and waited while they registered. They were all registered without delay. The registration was handled in a proper and rapid manner. I also made appointments with the registrars of these precincts for other times and took those who could not attend on regular registration days to the home of the registrars to register. The registrars and the election board were cooperative. It was a pleasure to help my people with this important civic duty.

This 13th day of January 1966.

Mrs. V. D. Beech, Jr.
Vivian D. Beech.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 13th day of January 1966.

Thelma Noe Rains,
Notary Public.

My commission expires September 16, 1966.

U.S. POLICY TOWARD COMMUNIST CHINA

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has properly brought up the question of our China policy. Broad interest has developed around the country concerning this important field.

I made some remarks on the subject at the University of Louisville on Monday, April 18, and I ask unanimous consent that those remarks be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Remarks by Senator Thruston B. Morton, at the University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky., April 18, 1966

If we are to discuss our policies toward Communist China reasonably in this country, we have to ask ourselves first what that policy actually is. And this involves putting the question in proper context. What we really want to know is what our policy, overall, has been toward communism and Communist aggression.

Basically, our policy has been to protect freemen everywhere who are threatened by any aggression—and most particularly, those who are threatened by the malignant hand of Communist tyranny. Unfortunately for millions now behind the Iron Curtain, we came to this stand a little late in the day. But once we accepted this as our national policy, this country has done remarkably well at it.

Right now we have our attention focused on the 680-million people of China who are dominated by the Communist Government in Peiping. This, the colossus of Asia, is what we are discussing here. This, and our attitude toward the colossus, and our policy with regard to it. The questions before the American people today are just the same as they were 16 years ago: Should we change our policy toward the Communists in China? Should we recognize them? Should we help them into the United Nations?

Those who raise these questions publicly have already evolved their own answers. The answers are, "Yes." Yes, we should change our attitude toward Red China. Yes; we should recognize the Communist Government. Yes; we should help them into the United Nations.

And they back up this positive position with a set of broad arguments which, if not fully logical, have emotional appeal. There's a certain amount of sweetness and light and gentility about their arguments in favor of recognizing the Communist regime and, as they say, helping them to become responsible members of the community of nations.

First of all, they tell us we are inflexible, almost monolithic, in our attitudes toward the Chinese Communist Government. We want to isolate the Communists regime and, in turn, want to isolate ourselves from the Chinese Communists—almost as if they were a disease.

This isolation, they tell us, has caused the Communist government to strike out in frustration. The frustration has made the Communists react in a most unpleasant way—and they're taking it out on their neighbors. Actually, they tell us, the Chinese aren't really aggressors; they're merely frustrated and trying to work out their frustrations.

We are also told the Chinese Communists aren't really Communists at all. They are really Chinese, reverting to the old, established policies of China. Under these policies for many centuries the Chinese attempted to establish themselves as the principal force in Asia. They did this by establishing satellite governments around them or by making sure that the governments nearby were subservient to them. The Communist government is only following the old China policy.

These advocates of a new look in our policy toward Communist China tell us the Communist government is weak. They say that China is the paper tiger, not the United States. And because China is weak there is no chance the Communist government would launch an attack against us. They don't want to tangle with the United States, we are told, and won't tangle with us unless we venture too close to their borders.

We are told our policy is monolithic because we are ignorant. We don't know enough about the Chinese Communists. We don't understand them. The implication here is that to know Mao Tse-tung is to love him.

And then we are told, with a sort of wistfulness, that all of this could be so different. All we have to do is recognize the Communist government and everything will change.

We would smarten up and recognize the Chinese Communists for what they really are—agrarian reformers with just a touch of the revolutionary idealism in them.

The Chinese Communists would stop pushing and hauling and would become self-centered and dedicate themselves only to developing their own land. Asia would be at peace.

By recognizing the Communist Chinese, their frustrations would end and they'd become friendly, confiding, sweet characters.

By recognizing them, the Chinese Communists would stop being revolutionaries and would become, instead, the happy warlords of days gone by.

All of this, simply by recognizing Communist China? They must be kidding.

But they're not. They're serious about this. Those who advocate a change now—as they were in years past—are completely dedicated to the idea. There's a sort of mysticism about them, and I think it stems from the fact that every one of these "old China hands" truly and deeply loves the Chinese people and is devoted to China itself. They are earnest and sincere in their desire to see the best for the Chinese people. And they know the Chinese people are not getting the best right now.

It is time, though, to examine some of these arguments. It is time to check into the record, and to determine just who is right, and just what is right.

RECOGNITION NOT A RIGHT

Before examining these arguments, however, I'd like to clear up one thing. From the first day I entered the State Department during the Eisenhower administration as an Assistant Secretary of State, one thing was impressed on me. Recognition of any government by any other government is not a right. It is a privilege. It is a favor extended by one government to another.

There is nothing automatic about recognizing a new government just because it happens to be there. There is nothing automatic about recognizing a people just because they happen to inhabit a certain geographic area. The people who inhabit that area have no right to be recognized; nor does their government.

For example, there is a de facto government in Rhodesia. But the United States does not recognize the Smith government just because it does, in fact, exist. We aren't compelled to recognize that government. And at this point we would be extremely foolish if we did.

By the same token, we do not have to recognize the Chinese Communist regime. And we would be extremely foolish if we did.

AMERICAN IGNORANCE

We are told that we don't know much about Communist China. I would be the first to agree that we don't know as much as we would like to know, but our store of knowledge is a great deal bigger than most people think it is.

There are more scholars in the United States devoted to culling information on Communist China than in all of the non-Communist world put together.

There are a dozen major universities in this country with whole libraries devoted to the Chinese Communists. The Chinese language is studied in a hundred universities and colleges, and along with it, its various disciplines. We print more material about the Chinese Communists than all of the 41 non-Communist nations which recognize China put together. Our Government supplies scholars and those interested with daily translations of all major Chinese periodicals. Special writings are also translated and are made available to those who need the specialized information.

Prof. George E. Taylor, of Washington University in Seattle, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that our economic studies of Communist China are probably better than those by the Chinese themselves. With our U–2 overflights we probably have better maps of much of China than the Chinese Government does.

And we were able to predict the development of a Chinese Communist nuclear device even before the Communist world was fully aware of what was happening. We are, indeed, far from ignorant of what is going on in China today. American scholars and technicians are probably far better informed than Chinese scholars and technicians.

WOULD RECOGNITION HELP?

But, we are told, if we recognized Communist China we would have access to much more information than we have now. And with added knowledge would come understanding. And with understanding would come peace and love.

Is that true?

Frankly, no. The British recognize Communist China and yet have far fewer scholars and far less information about the country than we do. They have to come to our people for the kind of information they need.

Journalists who work and live in Peiping these days tell us of the frustrations of trying to report on what is going on in that land. They just don't know—any more than the Chinese people themselves know. Even without recognition our scholars could travel to the China mainland—if the Communists would let them. And there is no indication anywhere on the horizon that the Communists are inclined to change their policy.

The fact is that the basic reason we don't know as much as we want to know is that the Chinese Government wants to keep the information secret—secret from the world—and secret from its own people. Until there is a change in policy within China we won't ever be able to get as much information as we'd like. Just as we don't get nearly as much factual information about Russia as we would like to have.

HISTORY OF AGGRESSION

The Communist Chinese regime has an 18-year history of aggression. They had not even consolidated control of mainland China when they launched their first attack against a neighbor. The war in Malaya started in 1948 and it has been clearly documented that it was not only financed by Communist China but the Chinese Communist soldiers actually took part in many of the campaigns over many of the next 12 years.

Chinese troops intervened in North Korea in December of 1950 and caused enormous loss of life both to the United Nations forces—primarily American and South Koreans—as well as to themselves. The Chinese Communists prolonged the Korean war by 3 years.

The Chinese Communists immediately shifted their attention from Korea to Indochina. They supplied the weapons and the training cadres for the Vietminh in the attack on the French at Dienbienphu, the great battle that shaped the future of southeast Asia.

In Laos, 250,000 Chinese troops were massed on the border in 1961 and 1962 and the threat was so obvious that it was apparent to all. Chinese Communists trained and equipped the Pathet Lao in what they called the war of liberation in Laos. The Chinese Communists were able to force a settlement at Geneva which was to their liking.

India, a stanch supporter of the Communist Chinese regime in its efforts to enter the United Nations has been another target of this same aggressive force. Along the Himalayan border in both northeast and northwest India the Chinese have been probing and pushing and chewing up Indian territory.

Part of this attack on India was launched from Tibet, once an autonomous country which the Chinese Communists had swallowed up.

Communist China threatened to intervene in the Indo-Pakistan war last year and was set to move had it not been brought to an indecisive conclusion.

There is clear evidence that the Chinese Communists were directly involved in the efforts last fall to overthrow the Government of Indonesia. Had they succeeded, it is inevitable that Malaysia would have been next followed by Singapore and Thailand. Our position in Vietnam would have become impossible—much worse than it is even today.

So far I have mentioned only the Chinese Communist aggression against their near neighbors. But they have not confined themselves to this. There is the Zanzibar affair in Africa where we have documentation that the Chinese Communists were involved in the overthrow of a free government.

Their agents were in Ghana, in the Congo, and in any number of other sovereign and independent African nations and their subversion is widespread and deadly.

Asia and Africa are not enough for the voracious appetite of this Chinese Communist regime. They have plans for Latin America as well. There has been documented evidence of Chinese Communist activity in Cuba and in a number of other South American countries. The aim in all instances has been a Communist takeover. The regime in Peiping doesn't care how—it just wants action.

This is not merely anti-imperialist. Nor is it merely anti-American. It is a step toward the ultimate goal of communism.

CAN RECOGNITION HALT AGGRESSION?

Those who advocate recognition of Communist China say that by ending its isolation we will end its aggression. Well, some 40 years ago there was another Communist Gargantua which was largely isolated and which the United States insisted on keeping isolated. But in 1933 the United States recognized the Soviet Union. Until that point Communist Russia had been contained. Only 6 years later Russia had gobbled up the Baltic countries, part of Poland, and a part of Rumania. The next year Russia attacked Finland. Advancing beyond recognition we welcomed the Soviet Union into the community of nations during World War II and, in fact, supplied Russia with masses of equipment, arms, and munitions. They promptly used our donated materials to conquer Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania. They have never been delodged. In 1948 they took over Czechoslovakia.

Historically then, it would hardly seem logical to assume that recognition would mean an automatic end to Communist aggression anywhere. Nor does recognition mean an end to attempted subversion anywhere. We have experienced that with the Soviet Union and many of the non-Communist countries who have recognized Communist China have found themselves riddled with Chinese Communist agents agitating and encouraging new "national wars of liberation."

IS MAO REALLY RED?

Among the most frequent arguments proposed by those who want us to change our policy toward Communist China is the one that Chinese Communists aren't really Communists at all. This is not a new argument. We heard it in the 1930's and in the 1940's when they were called agrarian reformers. Now, I guess, we are supposed to think of them as a bunch of senile paranoids who would benefit from group therapy.

The argument is specious. Let's face it, Mao Tse-tung is as much a Communist as Joseph Stalin or Leonid Brezhnev. And so is Lin Pao. They are Marxists-Leninists. They have lifted their philosophy straight from the Communist Manifesto and the writings of Lenin.

They are as brutal as Stalin and as coarse as Khrushchev. They have all of the evil apparatus of the Communist movement everywhere in the world. They are as willing to subvert the people of other nations as are the Soviet Communists. They are as opposed to freedom and free institutions as any totalitarian government in all the history of mankind. They are expansionists as is any Communist movement. They are as willing to use force to overthrow free governments as any Communist ever was.

In short they are Communists. And I do not subscribe to the theory that there has been any major falling out within the Communist camp. While Mao and the Soviet leaders may not speak kindly to or about each other, they all still hold the same objectives. They are both as intent now on a worldwide Communist revolution as Lenin or Stalin were.

If you don't believe me, look at the cooperation that exists between Soviet style and Chinese style guerrillas fighting in Latin America. Their methods are the same, their techniques are the same. Only their language differs.

The Chinese Communist efforts to subvert and overthrow independent Nations in Africa are perhaps a little more subtle than their open aggression in Tibet or Malaya, but the ultimate goal is the same.

Those who maintain that the leadership of the Chinese Communist regime is not really Communist are attempting to hoodwink the American people whether knowingly or not.

IS COMMUNIST CHINA WEAK?

Most of the witnesses who appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee a few weeks ago to expostulate on Communist China agreed on one set of apparent facts. They agreed that China today is weak. There is political unrest and its military strength is far less than many people had previously thought, including some of our own military experts. Economic conditions within China today are at best chaotic. It is not becoming as industrialized as the "great leap forward" proponents wish. Its agriculture is crumbling and its transportation system is completely inadequate to meet the needs of its 680 million people. In many areas of China famine is an ever present fact.

Most of the experts seem to agree that Communist China is a paper tiger.

But, let me point out one thing: The Communist Chinese regime was even weaker in 1948 than it is now and still they were able to supply troops and munitions for the guerrilla warfare in Malaya.

They were weak in 1950 but were able to flood North Korea with military manpower.

They are weak now but they are able to support fighting forces on Indian territory and they are able to support and help train the Vietcong today.

They may be weak today but they are able to support a vast apparatus of subversionists throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America. They may be weak but they have developed nuclear devices and are proceeding with efforts to develop vehicles with which to place their nuclear devices on foreign soil.

While they are weak now it's impossible to say with any certainty that they will not be strong enough to pose a direct and present danger to the United States 5 or 10 years from now.

When that point is reached, will it not be possible for the Chinese Communists to proceed with small wars of liberation throughout Asia and Africa with impunity? Will they not then feel they are immune from attack and then really start trouble everywhere along their perimeter?

WILL RECOGNITION CHANGE THINGS?

Those who promote the idea that a weak Communist China poses no threat to the free world seem to think recognition of Communist China will in some way make this threat even less than it is now. This reasoning is hard to follow.

I cannot see how any recognition of Communist China would do anything but strengthen the Communist regime both at home and in the community of nations. Free trade with Communist China will provide that regime with materials and equipment it cannot produce itself. It will provide the regime with the kind of economic stability it has not been able to produce. It will provide the Communist regime with political stability it cannot produce by itself.

The Communist regime, by winning recognition from the United States and their admission to the United Nations, will have demonstrated to its people and to the shaken neutrals of the world that its policy is the right one and the successful one.

This can be the only ultimate effect of the idea of "contain but do not isolate" Communist China. By ending the isolation we can do nothing but weaken ourselves and our position in Asia and we can do nothing but strengthen the position of the Communist Chinese Government throughout the world.

A side effect of such recognition would be the disastrous undercutting of the Republic of China Government on Taiwan. I am prepared to admit that had Chiang Kai-shek remained in control on mainland China it is entirely possible he would have caused trouble for the United States.

But he would not be exporting communism.

As matters stand today the most stable economy in Asia is that of the people of Taiwan. It is developing in a dramatic and dynamic manner.

And, strangely perhaps, the real agrarian reform in Asia has been in Taiwan. In fact, delegations from most of the emerging nations of the world are being sent to Taiwan to see how that reform has worked and how it was started.

While mainland China is exporting communism and tyranny, Taiwan is exporting ideas to help develop democratic governments throughout Asia and Africa.

By a stroke of the pen—by recognizing the Communist regime—we could do a lot toward destroying all of that.

FLEXIBILITY

Those who criticize U.S. policy toward Communist China complain that we are and have been inflexible. They use the word monolithic to describe our policy.

The fact is that our policy toward the Communist world has been remarkably flexible. For instance, the quick recognition of the situation which developed in Yugoslavia when Tito broke with Stalin was a remarkable demonstration of how flexible our policy can be.

The quick reaction of this Nation to threats against Turkey and Greece was notable.

The speedy reaction of the Eisenhower administration to the disastrous war in Indochina demonstrated our flexibility and our willingness to negotiate whenever necessary and with whomever necessary.

The speech by President Johnson in Baltimore in which he outlined the willingness of the American people to sit down anywhere anytime with anybody to negotiate a reasonable and peaceful solution in Vietnam is a demonstration of complete flexibility in our attitudes toward communism and the Communists.

Our policy toward the Chinese people—as contrasted with our policy toward the present tyranny in Peiping—has been pretty much the same for the past 125 years. With one or two notable exceptions such as the shameful departure from this policy involved in the Boxer Rebellion—our policy toward the Chinese people has always been one designed to foster individual liberty and freedom.

During the 19th century this country stood solidly for an open door policy in China and opposed vigorously any effort toward imperialism in the part of Western nations. We were not always successful but we made serious and concerted efforts continuously in this direction.

At the end of World War I we successfully opposed the attempted grab of Chinese territories by the imperial Government of Japan.

In the 1920's we vigorously supported the revolutionary movement which overthrew the imperial Government in Peking and which could have launched China on the road to progress and true democracy.

We vigorously supported Chiang Kai-shek when he broke with the Communists in the late 1920's and attempted to establish a really democratic government for China. I am convinced that had it not been for the invasion of China by Japan he would have been successful.

We opposed morally—and through the knowledge of hindsight we know not strongly enough—the takeover of Manchuria by the Japanese and the later invasion of China proper by Japan.

At the end of World War II we again supported the faltering Nationalist regime in its efforts to maintain stability, peace, and order. Again it was not enough, but the effort was there.

For 125 years this Nation has supported freedom, economic progress, and political stability for the Chinese people. This is still our policy.

Within the framework of this policy, however, our Nation has been and is completely flexible in its attitudes as demonstrated repeatedly by our willingness to negotiate with the Chinese over Vietnam and with the Chinese over the Indo-Pakistani dispute and with the Communist world in general.

Actually, through our embassies in Warsaw we have better direct diplomatic contacts with the Chinese than the British do. And the British have recognized them.

CONCLUSION

The most effective argument for the recognition of Communist China is an extremely pragmatic one. It is that the government does exist. It is there. It is in control of a vast area and the destinies of 680 million people.

The government which controls mainland China is brutal, tyrannical and barbaric.

It is an expansionist government—one dedicated to domination of all of Asia by any means available. Through aggression where that seems necessary, or through subversion where that is possible.

The Communist regime in China is not interested only in Asia but has sent scores of thousands of agents out over the world to subvert and destroy freedom in Africa and Latin America.

The Chinese Communist government supports Communist movements throughout the world and is therefore an ever-present danger to free men and free institutions everywhere.

Recognition of the Chinese Communist regime would not alter this. In fact, it would make this subversion, this aggression easier for the Communists.

Recognition could and would do great damage to the best interest of the United States.

It would be a costly mistake for this country to change its policy now—to allow the bandits of Peiping to shoot their way into respectability.

THE FOSTER PARENTS' CREED

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, Mrs. Ethel Marr Dunson, of Columbus, Ohio, has written the foster parents' creed, which has been adopted for use by the Foster Parents' Association.

I believe it is fitting that national recognition be accorded to the important value of the principles embodied in the foster parents' creed. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the creed was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOSTER PARENTS' CREED

I will be conscientious at all times of the trust bestowed upon my family; open-minded and observing in my habits; teach love, kindness, obedience, and be fair at all times; silent when angry; reserved in judgment; tolerant of shortcomings. Encourage a child's confidence; praise accomplishments. I will be sincere in purpose, reverent to God.

THE NEW JERSEY COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, today's New York Times carries an account of the organization in New Jersey of a new group, widely representative of the community at large, to combat extremism and to strengthen democratic processes.

The organization is tentatively called the New Jersey Committee To Preserve the Democratic Process. As the Times account indicates, its leadership will include outstanding New Jerseyans in such fields as labor, education, business, and industry, the professions, religion, welfare, and politics.

I am honored to serve as one of the trustees.

The new organization is the outgrowth of a conference held last June at the Newark State College in Union, N.J. The purpose of the conference was threefold: Exposure of the dangers of the radical right and left, study of methods to combat these threats to the democratic process, and consideration of measures to strengthen the democratic fabric of our society.

The participants agreed that a continuing State organization was both necessary and desirable to combat the growth and effects of extremist activity and this, in essence, is the purpose of the organization. Specifically, the committee will endeavor to strengthen local community organizations who must deal with extremist activity most frequently. In a sense, it is regrettable that such an organization is necessary. On the other hand, to the extent that the committee can and will stimulate our citizens to more active participation in community matters, it will serve an affirmative purpose in strengthening the fabric of our democratic society.

I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point the account contained in the New York Times of Wednesday, April 20, 1966.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOES OF RISING BIRCH SOCIETY ORGANIZE IN JERSEY

(By Ronald Sullivan)

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J., April 19.—New Jersey membership in the John Birch Society was reported here today to have quadrupled in the last 12 months, with the State now ranking second only to California in membership growth.

The Birchers add up to only a tiny fraction of New Jersey's nearly 7 million residents. But because they are a highly organized group, their publicity impact is generally much greater than their numerical strength would suggest.

This impact has been strong enough recently to cause the formation of a new civic group to combat the Birchers.

Tentatively called the New Jersey Committee To Preserve the Democratic Processes, the group met here today for the first time. Its leadership, which will include New Jersey's most prominent figures in labor, education, politics, business and industry and the professions, religion and welfare, will attempt to rally community defenses against extremist attacks.

There is an estimated total of 4,000 to 5,000 Birchers in New Jersey. They belong to about 400 to 500 local chapters, or cells. All told, there are said to be nearly 100,000 society members across the country, 12,000 to 15,000 of them in California, which has nearly three times the population of New Jersey.

Despite the furor that has marked Birch growth here, the organization has a long record of unattained goals. Most New Jerseyans live quietly in neat suburbs or desperately in the slums of its decaying factory cities, unconcerned and untouched by radical ideology. They tend to elect liberals over conservatives in statewide elections.

Up to now, much of the fight against radical right organizations and against the John Birch Society in particular has been led primarily by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and other Jewish service agencies, such as the American Jewish Committee. This is because radical right extremism and anti-Semitism traditionally have tended to keep each other company.

But Jewish leaders in the State now agree that a broad based attack against the Birch Society is needed. They feel that continued Jewish attacks upon Birchers and their sympathizers will accelerate a manifestation of latent anti-Semitism that they believe is in many Birch members.

"Scratch a Bircher hard enough and you'll find a bigot," one Jewish leader remarked here today.

Several leaders of the new committee met this afternoon in the restored comfortable rooms of Wood Lawn, the white columned colonial mansion that now houses the Eagleton Institute of Politics, a graduate facility of Rutgers, the State university.

They envisioned an organization that would act as a clearing house for intelligence reports on the radical right and left in the State. It would also provide speakers and offer guidance to communities and organizations on how to combat Birch harassment, infiltration, and propaganda.

Donald G. Herzberg, the 40-year-old Eagleton director, said after the meeting:

"I have become deeply concerned by the rising trend of all extremism—right and left—in New Jersey. Alienated and irrational activity has already produced an erosion that if carried too far can destroy our system of government."

FIGHT ON LOCAL LEVEL

Rather than fight the radical right on its own terms, the new group would attempt, through extensive educational efforts, to gird what was referred to at a State conference on extremism last June as the "soft underbelly of democracy—American government at the local level."

Thus the increasing tempo of radical right attacks on local government, libraries, school boards, parent-teachers associations, mental health programs, the Republican Party and, most recently, the ecumenical movement, has caused more and more persons to take a closer look at recent Birch recruitment in New Jersey.

The Birch Society is by far the most successful and "respectable" radical right organization in the country. It operates alone or in support of other extremist organizations whose major preoccupation, like that of the Birchers, is the internal Communist conspiracy in the United States.

New Jersey Birchers support such enterprises as Let Freedom Ring, a nationwide network of recorded telephone messages. And some of them are minutemen, a small paramilitary force that is preparing to lead guerrilla warfare once the Communists take over.

Despite its recent recruitment gains, particularly among Irish and Italian Roman

Catholics in Hudson County, and the publicity it has enjoyed in the State, the John Birch Society in New Jersey cannot document a single major example of unqualified Birch success.

Robert H. W. Welch, the founder and undisputed leader of the society, advised Birchers in 1960 to "join your local PTA at the beginning of the school year, get your conservative friends to do likewise, and go to work to take it over."

FAIL TO SEIZE SCHOOL BOARDS

That was 6 years ago. Today, Dr. Frederick L. Hipp, head of the New Jersey Education Association, reported that not one of the State's PTA's was dominated by Birchers.

And despite incessant attempts at infiltration and repeated harassment, Birchers have also failed to dominate any of the State's nearly 600 school boards.

Nevertheless, Birchers have succeeded in dividing communities, polarizing issues, and turning neighbors against one another. This devisiveness, according to political scientists, is what they consider the seedbed for future Birch success and this is why they consider the Birch Society a major threat in New Jersey.

With this in mind, New Jersey leaders are extremely concerned about mushrooming Birch membership in the State and by the society's current efforts to achieve "civic respectability."

There are 15 Birch LVIBRAR meeting rooms in the State and more on the way. A freshly painted sign on the glass door at 376 Central Avenue, a drab, four-story building in Jersey City, says "American Opinion Library, Hours 1–9 p.m., Public Welcome." Up a narrow flight of stairs is the society's main meeting place in Hudson County.

It is there that Birchers attend their particular brand of "Sunday Night at the Movies," a relentless diet of radical-right documentary films.

U.N. SELLOUT OF KATANGA

A recent Sunday night show featured the United Nations sellout of Katanga to the Communists. For Miss Lois Rosensweig, a petite, 18-year-old senior at Ferris High School in Jersey City, the film was her introduction to the society. She said afterward: "Wasn't the U.N. just awful?"

A few nights ago Welch warned in a long film that the United States was a vast insane asylum over which the worst inmates were in charge.

Along with this film, James Fitzgerald, 31, a former Newark detective and for the last year a full-time coordinator in central New Jersey for the society, had given about his 300th presentation to a handful of prospective members.

He is a prototype of some of the 75 Birch field coordinators across the country. He works nonstop, 7 days a week, signing up new members and smoothly pushing Birch material, very little of which is free.

In fact, one of the more obvious things about the society is that nearly every bit of its literature and paraphernalia has a price tag. Things that move slowly are marked down for sale. Back issues are half-priced. There are gimmicks too.

One of the society's major goals is the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren of the United States. To hasten that day, the society sells a "Warren Impeachment Packet," which is a $2.45 collection of Birch material, but which sells as a bundle as a $1 bargain.

Although Birchers angrily deny they are anti-Negro, their libraries are generally full of segregationist literature. On one table there was a pile of magazines entitled "Anarchy in Los Angeles, Shocking Photos of the Most Terrifying Race Riot in History."

FUND TRUE FRIENDSHIP

After a recent Sunday movie, several members sat around, drank coffee, and talked about why they liked being Birchers.

"I never knew what true friendship was until I joined," Mr. Fitzgerald said, and the others agreed. More and more, they said, they have dropped their non-Birch friends and have stopped going to non-Birch affairs.

Movies and television usually are not allowed Birch children unless the theme is strictly American and patriotic. In a typical critique, a Birch housewife sneered: "Ugh, Batman."

How do Birchers recognize each other? No one would say for sure but cards are issued to them when they join ($2 initially, $24 a year). They are also kept isolated in chapters with as little contact as possible with cells in adjoining neighborhoods and communities.

This cell segregation is aimed at preventing infiltration by the Communists or other groups seeking inside information about the society.

Ernest Brosang, the New Jersey regional coordinator, contends that it is virtually impossible for opponents of the society to penetrate its policymaking levels. He readily attributes most of the society's rapid growth in the last year to the presence of himself and two other fulltime Birch coordinators in the State.

Some Birchers can laugh at themselves—but only a little. Some Birch housewives in Jersey City, when calling Birch friends, hiss into the telephone to announce they're Birchers.

GAINS AMONG CATHOLICS

Most of the new members in Hudson County are Roman Catholics. Six priests from the county are members, with a statewide total of more than a dozen and about 300 nationally. Even one Catholic nun is reported to be a member in New Jersey but no one would say where, or if she got out of the convent at night to attend chapter meetings.

Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Brosang and Tom Davis, eastern publicity manager for the society, agree that recruitment is way up among Catholics in the cities.

"You can no longer call the society Wasp, white collar and suburban," one of them said.

An increasing number of Birchers, apparently with the tacit approval of pastors, have been handing out pamphlets to Catholics attending Sunday masses. Many identify themselves as members of Truth Against Civil Turmoil, an official Birch front organization.

Some Catholic Birchers in Hudson now want to impeach Pope Paul as well as Chief Justice Warren. They call the Ecumenical Council a Communist sellout.

Authorities in the Archdiocese of Newark refused to comment about Birch growth. One official at the diocesan chancery, who would identify himself only as "one of the priests," said "there is simply no concern about that kind of thing here."

Birch recruitment is enjoying major success in the Camden area despite the opposition of Catholic diocesan officials there. An editorial in the diocesan newspaper, the Catholic Star-Herald, called the society a refuge for both hate and distortion.

Msgr. Salvatore F. Adamo, the newspaper's editor, said that recent Birch success among Catholics was "traceable to the fact that the society provided a logical extension for their piety."

For Catholics, he said, the worst conceivable crime is a denial of God. Join this crime with an attack on Americanism and you give Catholics an excuse to become "zealots yearning for the old time crusades," he said.

Birch officials are making a special effort to enroll large numbers of New Jersey policemen. As a means to encourage this, the society, has established other front groups called Support Your Local Police. Stickers, posters, and bumper signs from these groups are appearing throughout the State.

Mr. Brosang, a burly, friendly ex-school teacher, said the society's strongest counties were Burlington, Camden, and Monmouth. With a wistful smile, he said that he wished that Birch success in the northernmost counties was as good as it was reported in the newspapers.

Although Birch activities seem to be more and more open, society leaders persist in keeping every meaningful fact about the organization a secret as they have in the past. To escape detection, some city Birchers belong to suburban chapters while suburban Birchers join city cells.

NEWARK SESSION DREW 1,000

The biggest night thus far for New Jersey Birchers was F4, when nearly 1,000 members and sympathizers crowded into the Robert Treat Hotel in Newark to hear Tom Anderson, a top national Birch official, attack race mongrelization, the Methodist Church, gun legislation, attempt to place brotherhood ahead of Americanism in the schools, and, of course, Mr. Warren.

In a long corridor outside, Birch merchants had set up a long line of tables where they busily hustled Birch products.

Birch material also is getting plugged these days in Let Freedom Ring recorded messages emanating from the basement Birch headquarters in the handsome home of Dr. F. G. Forster Ruhl, a 40-year-old obstetrician in Summit.

AN INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR FULBRIGHT

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, Eric Sevareid introduces an article he has written in the current issue of Look with these words from President Kennedy:

> The men who create power make an indispensable contribution to the Nation's greatness, but the men who question power make a contribution just as indispensable * * * for they determine whether we use power or power uses us.

These words are most appropriate because they introduce an interview with Senator Fulbright entitled "Why Our Foreign Policy Is Failing."

The Nation is healthier and wiser when its leaders speak with candor. This Senator Fulbright has done consistently, but never more than in this absorbing interview.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the interview was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Why Our Foreign Policy Is Failing

(An exclusive interview with Senator Fulbright by Eric Sevareid)

President John F. Kennedy: "The men who create power make an indispensable contribution to the Nation's greatness, but the men who question power make a contribution just as indispensable * * * for they determine whether we use power or power uses us."

Late in the afternoon of a Friday in February, several million Americans snapped off their television sets and rubbed their eyes. It was the end of several days of a public inquiry into the Vietnam war conducted by the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate, which has the constitutional right and duty of advising the President as well as consenting to his foreign actions. Throughout the 16 years of America's involvement with Vietnam, the Senate had automatically consented. Now, very late in the day, with their country enmeshed in a major war, leading Senators were advising the administration.

Their advice did not consist of concrete and acceptable plans for winning the war or settling the war—a legislative body cannot make a peace any more than it can wage a war. Their advice amounted to this: "Be careful. Our people do not understand this cruel war. They are divided and confused. Persuade us that this war does involve America's vital interests, does involve the freedom of mankind and the peace of the world. Give us better reasons to believe it will not lead to war with Communist China. Give us some hope that a negotiated peace that we can live with, that South Vietnam can live with, is possible, and that you are really trying to get it."

It was an astonishing phenomenon. It has only minor precedents in American history, chiefly, the Mexican War of 1846. Some 300,000 young Americans were fighting in and around the scallop of Asia called Vietnam, a place most Americans had never heard of until recently; scores were dying every week; the financial cost was leaping into the billions by geometric progression. Communist China was rousing its people, by daily demonstrations, to believe that the United States was about to attack it. And at this stage of the business, many American legislators were asking, in effect: "How and why did we get into this? Is it worth it?" Whatever one's views about the ultimate justification of it, this is an appalling way for a great and peaceable nation to go to war.

The most articulately appalled of all is the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, the generally soft-spoken ex-Rhodes scholar, the gentleman from Arkansas, JAMES WILLIAM FULBRIGHT. The late Senate Joseph R. McCarthy once called him "Mr. Halfbright." Former President Harry S. Truman, in a flash of anger, once called him "that overeducated SOB." His former history don at Oxford, thinking of the Fulbright scholarships that have made him a world figure, said to him once, "You are responsible for the largest and most significant movement of scholars across the face of the earth since the fall of Constantinople in 1453."

On that Friday afternoon, a few moments before they snapped off their television sets, those several million fascinated Americans had heard Senator FULBRIGHT digging persistently at the Secretary of State. FULBRIGHT was still trying to persuade Dean Rusk that peace negotiations with Hanoi are possible. The audience saw the Senator lean forward in his chair, peer through his dark glasses and say, "There must be something wrong with our diplomacy."

They saw Rusk, his monumental patience nearly gone, flush slightly. His aching eyes, glistened in the glare of the camera lights, and he said, "Senator, is it just possible that there is something wrong with them?"

A world of meaning lay in this exchange, this impasse. These two men of undoubted patriotism, equally anxious that the dismal succession of world wars be broken, equally desirous that men be free to work out their own destinies, draw different lessons from the history of this century.

Rusk equates the current world problem with the problem of Hitler's time, and later, Stalin's time; he believes that unless this aggression in Vietnam is halted, Communist victory there will lead to other Communist victories in Asia and eventually to a last-ditch struggle in the form of disastrous world war.

FULBRIGHT believes that our very resistance to this aggression—and he wonders if it is a true aggression—is just as likely, if not more likely, in itself, to lead to endless disturbances in Asia and eventually world war, beginning with an American-Chinese showdown.

Rusk, who must enforce policy, reserves the benefits of the doubts to his own country; FULBRIGHT, who can, as scrutinizer of policies, afford the luxury of public uncertainty, grants the benefits of some doubts to the enemy. He does not believe communism is a world, monolithic force, successfully spreading its tentacles.

Rusk thinks of America as the last, best hope of civilized man; FULBRIGHT thinks of America as the best but not the only hope, and certainly not the last that history will see.

On the morning after the Nation had witnessed this direct clash of two strong wills, I walked into the New Senate Office Building. The second door on the left is that of the gentleman from Arkansas. On this morning after, it was as quiet as the eye of a hurricane. Three secretaries were at their desks in the outer office, each desk stacked with mail. Up to that hour, the Fulbright office had received about 10,000 letters, post cards, and telegrams. They were running about 17 to 1 in favor of the Senator and his effort.

The Senator's private office is simply furnished with green-leather chairs and a couch. Low bookshelves line the walls. One abstract painting is on the wall. The Senator's college degrees. The framed original of the Fulbright resolution of 1943, which the freshman Representative had got through the House and which, 2 years before the United Nations was founded, put the American Congress on record as favoring an international organization to preserve the peace of the world.

There are framed photographs showing FULBRIGHT with L.B.J. One is inscribed by the President to the Senator this way: "Than whom there is no better." Another shows Mr. Johnson leaning forward, earnestly talking to the Senator, who wears a worried scowl. This one bears, in the President's scrawl, the words: "To BILL. I can see I haven't been very persuasive."

FULBRIGHT opened the door in full movement, tossed a book on his desk and turned around to shake hands, all with the casual grace of a third baseman dropping into the dugout and shedding his glove. It is this casualness, I think, that gave rise to the Washington myth that FULBRIGHT is a lazy man. In the congressional world of activists, of declaimers, of scurriers, he is always under inner control. He refuses to be a major champion of minor issues. Like the trained athlete on the field or the trained actor on the stage, he gives each move its physical and emotional due—no more.

His Arkansas contemporaries remember his style as a halfback at the State university. No lost motion, no frantic sweat. He would often take the ball, then for a moment stand relaxed, almost like a man lost in thought, until he saw an opening. Then he would go for it hard. He plays politics in the same manner today.

His written speeches are the works of a craftsman of English. They flow from premise through argument to conclusion with logic and precision. But in private conversation, like many men whose minds work faster than their tongues, he will double back and around and back again.

With people with whom he feels comfortable, he loves to talk. We talked, a long time, of the world as his mind encompasses it, of this public, naked exposure of the American soul that he had deliberately brought about in full understanding of its inherent dangers to the war itself and to FULBRIGHT himself as man and Senator.

I told him that he has become stamped as the leading American critic of America in the world, and I wondered about the core of his unease.

"Well, Eric, I'm the poorest person in the world to say what others think of me. They may think I'm just a congenital sorehead for all I know. I hope not. It's not because I think we're no good that I criticize our country. It's because I think it's so very good and has an opportunity to do so much more than any country in history."

He fiddled with a package of those charcoal-tipped cigarettes—his adversary, Secretary Rusk, smokes the same brand—and regarded me with that raised-eyebrow expression when I reminded him of his public ruminations about the disintegration of the Greek democracy when it extended its power commitments to Syracuse; about the Germanic obsession with power in this century, just when Germany was flourishing as a culture. FULBRIGHT had said once: "Neither God nor nature has preordained the triumph of our free society, and it would be a tragic mistake to assume the inevitability of our survival."

Now, he leaned abruptly back in his chair, in a gesture reminiscent of the halfback squaring up with the ball in his arms. "Here we are, the most powerful and richest country in the world, a great continent under one government. I think of the advances we've made—there's my own State, which had a per capita income of $250 only 25 years ago. Now, it's about $1,700. If we'll just not follow the same arrogant, egotistical policies of so many powerful nations, particularly in foreign affairs. We could really break the cycle that has so drearily involved the world in silly and destructive wars.

"Take the Dominican Republic. This perhaps spurred on my feelings about Vietnam. I know you don't agree with me, but this seemed to me an utterly inexcusable interference in the affairs of a small country. These peoples want to do something for themselves. As those Africans at the conference in New Zealand said, 'We want to make our own mistakes.' You see, it gives them assurance; then they move on and create whatever kind of political and social fabric that best suits them. They're not a great danger to the security of the world. It offends me that because we're so powerful, we butt in on other people's business.

"Great countries have done this time after time. I was just reading this book 'Foreign Mud', about the way Britain got into the war with China over the opium trade. In the long run, this contributes to the destruction of the big countries."

I suggested that he had a sense of personal embarrassment about some of America's actions.

"I'm just embarrassed in front of the world. This vague thing called world opinion. I mean they expect so much of us. We've been such a fortunate country. We are drawn from so many different cultures, we were lucky in our material resources. The idea of democracy, as our great men from Washington through Lincoln have said it—not just a specialized form of government, but the people participating with all their dignity. This is a great ideal. We don't live up to it—nobody can, absolutely—but we've approached it, closer than any other great country."

I told the Senator he confused me a bit, that throughout the hearings, he had argued against the "hawks," who feared that withdrawal or compromise or switching to a defensive military position in Vietnam would damage our prestige in the world. Now, it seemed to me, he was himself emphasizing America's prestige. He sat bolt upright.

"Maybe I—you're quite right, perhaps it is our prestige I'm concerned with, but we differ in the way we would support that prestige. I think that asserting our military power against a little country destroys that prestige. I think our prestige requires that we be magnanimous in refraining from imposing our will on a country that is obviously at our mercy.

"This war—I just cannot bring myself to believe that how the Vietnamese work out their internal problems is worth a major war or even gives us the right to intervene. You see, part of this grows from a great apprehension about communism. It grew out of Stalin's barbaric use of his position as a Communist leader. But communism as a philosophy, or as a system, is not really a matter that we ought to go to war about. It's the actions of the particular people who practice it. I would support anybody who would restrain the kind of imperialism that Stalin represented. But at the other extreme is the communism of Yugoslavia. They are so much better off than they were under the Turks or under the monarchy. It is peaceful, it doesn't threaten people. So I think we get all mixed up about communism. And the reiteration by the administration of 'Communist aggression' offends me. If they would put it the other way, that this is an aggression by a people—I think they have the Chinese in the back of their minds. If this is just Chinese imperialism, that's a different question. But they use these terms to inflame the emotions, people's fears. It's like talking about the atrocities, as if only these people were guilty of atrocities. Every people, at some time in their history, have engaged in the same kind of cruelties in relation to whatever weapons they may have had. This type of thing inhibits rational consideration of what's really involved, and that's why it offends me."

FULBRIGHT is certain that the nationalist instinct is stronger than communism as an ideology and that Vietnam is a classic instance of this. The Vietnamese were a nation, they had a national identity, they were taken by force by a Western country (France), and he thinks they were trying to reassert their national independence. He finds it really hard to see the difference between this and what the Americans did in 1776.

The world moves on. FULBRIGHT thinks the world and the nature of the threat from Communists have greatly altered since Stalin's time. The balance of power has changed to a highly unstable nuclear stalemate; Western Europe has recovered; the former colonial and semicolonial nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America are on the rise, caught up in an emotional fever of nationalism. And Soviet foreign policies have changed. Khrushchev's tactics were far more subtle and varied than Stalin's, more challenging to the nerves and the patience of the West. But Khrushchev made a terrible blunder when he put the missiles into Cuba, and that successful confrontation, the Senator thinks, was the most visible milestone on the road to a different East-West relationship.

FULBRIGHT has recently been accused of inconsistency because, his critics say, he was a hawk at the time of the missile crisis and recommended we invade Cuba and have done with both the missile threat and Fidel Castro. But he explains that when President Kennedy asked him to break off his campaigning trip in Arkansas and come to the White House, FULBRIGHT knew none of the background. He knew nothing of the exchanges of letters between Kennedy and Khrushchev. He had no chance to think about the chances of the naval quarantine succeeding.

In any case, he told me, President Kennedy "wasn't asking us for consultation. He had already made up his mind. He had his speech written, and 10 minutes after the meeting, he went out and gave it. We were told that they were going to put in the quarantine and that if the Russians didn't turn back and didn't respect it, that the administration itself was prepared to take Cuba."

He is deeply perturbed by the apparent paradox that the United States leaves alone a Communist tyranny 90 miles from our shores, but sends our forces 10,000 miles away to fight Communists. "If we can live with Cuba, what difference does it make about Vietnam?" he said. He is not sure that the enemy in Vietnam wants the kind of communism practiced in Russia or would have that kind of communism if they ran the country. He inclines to believe that nationalism would be the dominant spirit in a land that has historically been anti-Chinese. Even if the regime bore the label "Communist," it would amount to a kind of buffer state against China. A Vietnam regime set up by us with the outward trappings of democracy, in close connection with us, would actually be weaker in the sense that it would be more tempting to China, when and if China does become really aggressive in the military sense.

"I think if we had never stuck our nose in this business, it would have long since been settled in accordance with whatever the major forces within Vietnam were. I think we have delayed that settlement, and I think we have a good deal on our consciences for having intervened there in the first instance in 1950 (when we aided the French)."

Secretary of State Rusk talks about the things that are wrong with "them." He talks about "the other fellow." I ask FULBRIGHT who this enemy precisely is—the Vietcong? North Vietnam? China? FULBRIGHT replied, "'I don't know. He says Hanoi, but I cannot free my own mind from the belief that he means China."

It is a fair inference that FULBRIGHT does not think there is enough evidence to conclude that China is bent on conquest in the Hitler manner or that she can work her will very far through external subversion. The world-encompassing goals as stated by the Chinese defense minister, Lin Piao, have been cited by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara to justify the apocalyptic view that China is determined to become the dominant influence in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But China has been suffering setbacks—in Indonesia, in several African nations and in Cuba.

FULBRIGHT, as a student of history and its unpredictability, would find such fears childish. He is more inclined to interpret China's thunderous propaganda challenges as Secretary General U Thant of the United Nations does—as the natural behavior of a regime that is overwhelmed with difficulties at home and feels increasingly "encircled" by the power of Russia and the United States. FULBRIGHT's mental processes are such that he would try to imagine the reaction of his own country if a Chinese army were fighting, say, in lower Mexico, and their planes were dropping bombs within 40 miles of the Rio Grande.

He tries to turn an international problem around, not only to understand an adversary's basic interests, but to try to imagine how the adversary feels in his heart. He thinks the world is too dangerous to do otherwise. For this reason, he is perhaps more popular in Europe that he is in his own country—much like the late Adlai E. Stevenson, a comparison FULBRIGHT by no means objects to.

The Vietnam war seems to appall him in its every aspect. He doesn't think we are even improving the Vietnamese economy, but destroying it, as of now. "I have a letter from a friend in a hospital in Bangkok," he told me, "and there's beginning this same distortion in Thailand's economy. We end up creating an awful situation we're not able to control, and if we should suddenly pull out tomorrow, they'd be in much worse shape than they were when we got there."

The Senator straightened and stretched and moved aside a sheaf of letters on his desk. One was a copy of a petition from some people in California who were demanding his recall on grounds of treason. FULBRIGHT chuckled—he has a genuine chuckle and a genuine belly laugh.

"I get all kinds of stuff like that. I used to in the days of McCarthy. That doesn't bother me very much."

I mentioned a remark by his secretary that the current mail was running heavier than any in her experience. "That's Pallie Sims," he said. "She's my stalwart. She gets here early and leaves late. I called her on the phone yesterday and said, 'Is Lee there?' and she said, 'Could I tell him who is calling?' I said, 'Now, Pallie, if you don't recognize me'—oh, she nearly died. She said, 'I'll tell you Senator, we're nearly frantic. These phones have been ringing nearly all afternoon. I don't even recognize my own voice.'

"Oh, I don't know. In a month or two, it will all be forgotten. The only thing I hope for out of this is that it may create a greater degree of caution, provoke more thoughtfulness. Not that I don't think the President is a cautious man, but I think he'll give much more careful consideration before an enlargement of the war."

If, I asked FULBRIGHT, he considers the whole thing in Vietnam a series of mistakes, where was the critical error made? He said the first mistake was made in 1950 when we supported the French. "Then, we had a second opportunity to leave them alone in 1954 (after the fall of Dienbienphu). Then, it gradually grew, like Topsy. I think it was a mistake for us to support Diem. He was calling the shots, and we were taking the blame and the responsibility. Then Diem was killed. Perhaps that would have been a time to say let's have a conference and see if we can't settle it by negotiation."

After the Gulf of Tonkin incident in the summer of 1964, FULBRIGHT was floor manager for the resolution that gave congressional endorsement to the President to take any and all necessary measures to repeal aggression. Today, he regrets his role in granting this bank check, though he observed at the time of its passage that Congress did not have in mind the use of American ground armies in this war. He objected to a limiting amendment proposed by Senator GAYLORD NELSON of Wisconsin, because the administration said it was an emergency, and quick, sharp response was needed to deter North Vietnam.

"But this Gulf of Tonkin incident, if I may say so, was a very vague one. We were briefed on it, but we have no way of knowing, even to this day, what actually happened. I don't know whether we provoked that attack in connection with supervising or helping a raid by South Vietnamese or not. Our evidence was sketchy as to whether those PT boats, or some kind of boats, that were approaching were coming to investigate or whether they actually attacked. I have been told there was no physical damage. They weren't hit by anything. I heard one man say there was one bullet hole in one of those ships. One bullet hole."

President Johnson, who FULBRIGHT feels did not want this war any more than he did himself, used to cite that congressional resolution as his authority for what he has done in Vietnam. Before that, he cited the Eisenhower and Kennedy commitments. Recently, he and Secretary Rusk have put the emphasis on the SEATO Treaty. The Fulbright school of critics argues that the treaty did not oblige us to fight in Vietnam any more than it obliges the other signatories, nearly all of whom are not fighting with us.

Senator FULBRIGHT thinks our policy toward China has gone wrong since the great war ended. He is appalled that the most powerful nation in the world and the most populous nation in the world, both now nuclear powers, are not even on speaking terms, with nothing like the avenues of communications that existed between Russia and the United States during their times of dangerous tensions.

"One of the most disgraceful periods of all in our foreign policy," he said, "was our persistence in the support of Chiang Kai-shek after he collapsed. I don't think there was anything we could have done. I regretted very much they were Communists who won. But we should have stopped, and cut our losses." Still, changing the status of Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa, FULBRIGHT thinks, is out of the question at the moment.

He wonders if it would not have been better to have supported Ho Chi Minh at the outset, in what some regard as his struggle for Vietnamese independence, Communist though he is. He doubts that the Vietcong is no more than a puppet of North Vietnam, as the administration argues. He thinks they may very well have an identity and purpose of their own and that we ought to be working to split them off from Hanoi.

He wonders just how much expert knowledge about China is operating inside the administration. "There are only five in the China section of the State Department. Think of it—the biggest country in the world, and we've got five fellows. We've got a few in Hong Kong, trying to interpret China from there. And then we have the professors."

The Senator takes pains to point out that he claims no expertise on Asia himself, that he's been to Asia only twice and never to Vietnam, and that his foreign policy energies for years have been concentrated on Europe. For this reason, he has been teaching himself Asian history—he usually has a book under his arm when he moves about Washington. He has been in contact with one or two of the "old China hands," driven out of their careers in the hysteria of the McCarthy period. He invites Asian authorities, occasionally Chinese, to his handsome house just off Embassy Row for tea and talk. In order to get some long-range perspective on China for himself and his senatorial colleagues, he extended the committee hearings to invite testimony by scholars of Asia. He is determined to get at the roots of the whole, vast, dangerous confrontation with China and, teacher that he is by instinct and early training, determined to share this understanding with the American people.

FULBRIGHT is not at all sure that he agrees with the current intellectual fashion of regarding spheres of influence as an outmoded concept. He has acquired a high regard for Asian culture, but reminds himself that we are the children of Europe, sharing common concepts of law and politics, existing in the same cultural fabric. Part of the fashionable argument is that missiles and jets have shrunk the world in time and space, if not yet in cultures and casts of mind, and that our power can reach anywhere in minutes or hours. This argument says, in effect, that every place on the globe is essentially equidistant from America, and that we should adjust our foreign policies accordingly. Though he did not put it this way himself, I think the Senator would regard this notion as a variant for the technological age of what psychologists call "the illusion of the central position," which begins with the child in the crib and continues to affect the psyche of whole peoples.

He finds degrees of illusion in the American sense of historic time. We built a continent in a hurry, by a combination of good fortune in our people, soil and climate, a phenomenon without parallel. So we instinctively believe human problems are to be solved, not alleviated, as Europeans instinctively feel. What we accomplished at home, we seem to think we can accomplish in alien societies and with the same speed. And so our governmental semantics has outrun the realities, and we have talked about "unleashing Chiang Kai-shek," about "liberating" East Europe, about resuscitating Latin American economies in a decade's time, and about exporting democracy, American style, which is scarcely possible.

BILL FULBRIGHT comes from Arkansas, which "made no progress at all from 1865 until about 1940. We were really an underdeveloped society, an exploited society, a colony of the Northeast, whose great corporations sucked out whatever natural wealth we had." All this helps explain why FULBRIGHT's time sense is different and why he has an instinctive sympathy for the poor lands of the earth, including Vietnam. His famous student-exchange program may one day prove to have been our most enlightened foreign policy, the strongest of the new threads holding peoples together in understanding, but the father of the project would emphasize "one day." It is part of his whole vision of foreign policy, which he sees not as construction but as a process, not as the building of an edifice but as the cultivation of natural things in a given direction. Time is life. He wants no rash actions to abolish the gift of time.

And it is his Arkansas roots and his Arkansas political base that explain the painful, public paradox of FULBRIGHT, the humanitarian, the man of enlightenment, who has voted the straight southern line on Negro rights, the overwhelming moral issue of modern America. He would flush with anger if anyone called him a bigot or a Negro hater. Clearly, he is neither. But he lives with this "inner discomfort" and does not disguise the fact. His soul must exist in different divided worlds: Fayetteville and Oxford, England; the Ozark back country and Philadelphia's Main Line, where he found his charming, enlightened bride. If he hates to talk about this, it is not only because the painful paradox unavoidably exists, but because he fears people will think he is making excuses for himself.

So he has been a constant target of the slide rule liberals, in spite of all he has done for Negro education and health, where he thinks the foundation stones of Negro progress lie; in spite of his lonely courage in opposing Senator McCarthy to his face when the liberals' bête noire was at the peak of his terrifying power; in spite of his early support for the United Nations and foreign aid, and at a time when the Arkansas majority was against these innovations. But on the bills for civil rights per se—no. And for the same simple, candid reason that he would never oppose the Arkansas agricultural council on cotton policy—he did not wish to be retired from public life.

It is an ancient story and dilemma for men in politics. They must survive, first of all, if they are to accomplish anything. This is why, for example, the liberal Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY never dreamt of opposing Minnesota's dairy industry. It is why young Congressman John F. Kennedy voted fresh appropriations for the House Un-American Activities Committee when he thought the committee's methods an abomination. (" I would be dead in my district, otherwise," he told me at the time.)

As President, incidentally, Kennedy seriously considered FULBRIGHT for Secretary of State because he liked "the play of his mind." But FULBRIGHT's name was crossed off the list because of the certainty of opposition by Negro and other civil rights groups. Did the Senator himself want to be Secretary of State? "I certainly did not," he said to me. Some of his friends think otherwise.

It is not generally known, but FULBRIGHT was also seriously considered for the presidency of Columbia University before General Eisenhower was given the post. (In his thirties, FULBRIGHT had been president of the University of Arkansas.) Trustees of Columbia asked him if he would consider the job. But this query came too soon—or too late. He had recently been elected to the Senate, in a bitter campaign, with the help of many friends, and, "I thought it immoral to just leave because of what looked like a better job."

Is this his final term as a Senator?

"Eric, you know a politician can't say that. I'll say I've given it no thought."

At a trim and fit 61, the gentleman from Arkansas has become the most arresting figure in the U.S. Senate. He has proved the Senate can advise as well as consent, and by a thousand signs, it is clear that President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense all take his advice very, very seriously, whether they admit it or not. It may be that he is working a slow change in American Far Eastern policy. He has done this with no power save his position as foreign relations chairman and the power of intellect. His vision of America's role in the world may not prevail in our practices. But he will have said what he had to say, and the people have listened. He does not know what more a legislator can do for his country. Having done it, he appears to stand now at the high point of his life, the apogee of his career. In any chapter on the year 1966 in any future history book, the name FULBRIGHT will appear, writ large and often.

The nature and the use of the great American power haunt his thoughts. He is no dreamer. He knows that in the world politics of this brilliant and frightening century, purity will precede paralysis; but he also knows that pride still precedes a fall. He knows that good will without power behind it is merely an attitude; but he also knows that power without good will can mean calamity.

It was past noon on that Saturday morning in February when the Senator and I got out of our chairs. Another contingent of TV cameramen had arrived in the outer office.

I said, "Senator, I think you want to believe that rationality and order are stronger forces than irrationality and disorder in this world."

"Now, you remind me of something, Eric. Here's a little essay sent me by an old fellow who lives back in the Ozarks, a mountaineer without much formal education."

FULBRIGHT read the essay, which said, in part: "With all man's limitations, he yet has one advantage over animals—the power of reason, but history shows that he often discards that for superstition * * * he is the only animal that will build homes, towns, and cities at such a cost in sacrifice and suffering and then turn around and destroy them in war * * * where he came from, or when, or how, or where he is going after death he does not know, but he hopes to live again in ease and idleness where he can worship his gods and enjoy himself, watching his fellow creatures wriggle and writhe in eternal flames down in Hell."

FULBRIGHT chuckled and said he didn't believe the world was a rational place, he just hoped we could move it in that direction. "I'm not sure I'm very optimistic about the human race. But if you are to function at all in this business or nearly any other, you have to believe it's possible."

Like his friend, Adlai Stevenson, Senator FULBRIGHT lives, not with indecisiveness, as so many think, but with the courage of his doubts. He knows the great secret. Sophocles expressed it: "This law shall ever be true: Nothing that is vast enters into the life of mortals without a curse."

Twentieth century communism is a vast thing. So is the American power.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE ELDERLY

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, the Senate Special Committee on Aging, of which I am chairman, constantly works on increasing employment opportunities for our Nation's elderly. We find that older Americans who seek employment frequently need advice regarding effective techniques for doing so. An excellent series of articles on this subject, entitled "Best Steps to Better Jobs," appeared in the January 1966 issue of the magazine Harvest Years, published by a subsidiary of Parade Publications as a magazine for senior citizens. Its address is 681 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif. With the permission of Mr. John J. Smith, president of Harvest Years Publishing Co., which corporation holds the copyright to these articles, I am offering them for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I ask unanimous consent that they appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the series of articles was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BEST STEPS TO BETTER JOBS

(EDITOR'S NOTE: If you want a part-time job, check your State employment service. Each State has an older worker department, and most cities have an older worker specialist who can give you helpful information on the local job picture and potential, as well as job training programs.

(For example, in San Francisco the State employment service runs several projects:

(Job training and retraining programs operate under MDTA, the Federal Manpower Development Training Act established in 1962. [Last July this act was amended to cover single persons.]

(Job clinics assist mature workers with current information on the local labor market and how to get into it.

("Experience Unlimited" teaches displaced management-level men new job-hunting techniques.

(In addition, "Careers Unlimited" holds weekly forums where job seekers try their techniques on management representatives and get helpful tips. The San Francisco Junior Chamber of Commerce sponsors this project.

(The most recent development in San Francisco is Project 60, an interagency group doing a pilot study on job needs and capabilities of 1,626 men and women over 60.

(To find out what's going on in your city, call or visit the older worker specialist at your State employment service office. Ask for any helpful literature on job-hunting published by your State. Other free job aids you can write for include:

(Jobs and You, State Supervisor, Older Worker Program, 800 Capitol Mall, Sacramento, Calif. [Reprinted from the California Senior Citizens News, 1963.]

(Tips on Getting a Job, California Department of Employment, Sacramento, Calif.

(How to Write a Resumé, California Department of Employment, Sacramento, Calif.

([Note: Your own State employment service may also have these booklets available.]

(Do's and Dont's for Mature Job Seekers, National Association of Manufacturers, Industrial Relations Division, 277 Park Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.)

I. YOU CAN ALWAYS LEARN SOMETHING NEW

(By Ethel Bangert)

My husband was buying a suit. When the tailor marking alterations left the room, I asked the salesman, "Isn't that man old for this kind of work?"

The salesman laughed. "Lem retired years ago, but it's so hard to get good tailors we beg him to work at least 3 days a week."

"Don't younger fellows take to this work anymore?" my husband asked.

"Very few are going into it, so we draw on retired men. Job for job, they earn as much as their younger colleagues," the salesman replied.

After we left the shop I started wondering how many jobs were open to retired people, what kind of work people could do to supplement retirement checks. I'd heard only dull, monotonous jobs were open to them, that unless they enjoyed repetitive work such jobs could be harmful.

I decided to learn what chance mature persons do have in today's labor market. That meant visiting a number of private and State employment agencies. I also contacted senior citizen centers, the American Association of Retired Persons (Suite 419, Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D.C., 20006), U.S. Department of Labor (Washington, D.C. 20025), and the associate director, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley.

Here's what I discovered:

Diversity

First, it's a myth to believe men and women must do the same work all their days.

Lem enjoyed using his old skills, but he was an exception. Most people like to try new things and are usually successful in them because ability to achieve is ageless.

The only question is what are your motives and ends in picking a postretirement vocation * * * no job should be drudgery whatever the age of the worker. Your motive for working should be to gain psychological and spiritual as well as material benefits.

Certain jobs offer brighter rewards because they're tailor made for the older worker. For these, good judgment, experience, persistence, and patience are worth top pay.

"Isn't it wiser for a man to stay in his old field, even if he's tired of it?" I asked the head of one employment agency.

"Not at all," he replied, "Ben Franklin was successful as a printer, physicist, inventor, diplomat, historian, and journalist. Theodore Roosevelt was a cowboy, historian, politician, journalist, diplomat, hunter, and naturalist. Most older workers are every bit as flexible as many younger ones."

"Then a man who can repair his own car, garden, and build things with his hands can fill many jobs providing his strength permits him to do so?" I asked.

"Right. For women we find that the ability to sew, cook, arrange flowers, and keep family accounts can lead to good paying jobs."

"Can you give me an example?"

"A former professional dancer thought she might do clerical work, but when tested, she showed high verbal aptitude. We discovered she'd once been a lecturer, and now she lectures on personality improvement at the YWCA. Another knew only one thing she really liked to do * * * fold men's freshly ironed handkerchiefs. We found her a job folding diapers in a baby laundry. We also have three great-grandmothers working in another laundry's production department on big machines."

"Isn't that unusual?"

"Yes, but the owner always asks for older people in his job orders He says they're prepared to work, headache or no headache."

Steps to getting a job

What steps should you take to get a job? Obviously you have to see people who have positions to fill. Go about it by realizing that looking for a job is a business.

Register and work closely with your State employment service (which is affiliated with the U.S. Employment Service). These offices have "Older Worker Specialists" trained to work with and for you. Once you're registered, keep in touch with your representative, otherwise your card may be "closed out."

Check your union or professional association for job leads. The local Chambers of Commerce, employer groups, the YWCA and YMCA, religious groups, some fraternal orders, and certain welfare agencies can help you.

Consult family, friends, and acquaintances for possible leads. Visit private employment agencies. Read the want ads. List firms that employ older workers for the type of work you want. Check the classified telephone directory for other possibilities.

Secure information about the firms on your prospect list. Before you apply for a job, learn as much as you can about the firm.

Spend regular working hours job hunting, possibly 5 hours a day, 5 days a week. Work just as hard for yourself as you will for your future employer. This will help you become businesslike, poised, and employable.

A realistic look

Take a good look at yourself and your plans. Use a self-inventory sheet and write down all you know about yourself. You'll waste your time and that of the personnel office if you don't know what you can offer the company.

To do this: List your experience and abilities, education and training, any physical capabilities and limitations. Decide what kinds of work would best fit your interests and personal qualifications.

Prepare for an interview

Take a summary of your past experiences and education, with names, places, and dates to the interview. Give your interviewer a list of three to six references with addresses and telephone numbers. Take your social security card with you. Go alone to the interview and be on time.

Dress well in neat, clean clothes. If a woman, avoid excessive jewelry, colored shoes, flashy make-up. If a man, don't wear sport clothes unless the work requires them. Sit up and look alert even if you feel tired. Don't slouch or show signs of nervousness. Try to answer all of the employer's questions briefly, frankly, and honestly. Don't boast, but speak with confidence.

If asked to take tests or fill out forms, do so cheerfully and as well as you can. When asked to point out past experiences, offer as much information as possible. Never argue with the person interviewing you, even if you know he's wrong.

Don't criticize your past employers or associates. Don't mention domestic, personal, or financial problems. This man wants to know what you can do and how well you can do it * * * he's not interested in your troubles. Be polite. Show courtesy and respect for the person interviewing you. Even if he doesn't hire you, listen to him. He may offer suggestions that'll help you secure an even better job than the one he hoped to offer you.

Even if you feel you "muffed" on your first interview because of nervousness or other reasons, don't despair. The unsuccessful interview gives you valuable experience for the next one.

After talking to experts in the "older worker" training program, I decided that all too frequently the mature jobseeker is his own stumbling block. Instead of accenting his ability and skills, he magnifies his age problem or blames age for his rejection rather than a lack of ability to fill the job requirements.

One man in the State employment service told me, "So often when we find work for older persons, they back out. Sometimes I think they don't want to work at all."

Too, most people going back into the working world after years of absence—or after retirement has lost its sparkle—need morale building. They need confidence, encouragement, a feeling of personal worth, and new ideas.

Several places dispense these qualities along with new training to help you plan for new job goals.

The older worker program is proving psychologically sound, interesting, and effective. It's a counseling and placement approach called by various names throughout the country: Job Clinic, Job Preparation, New Employment Horizons, How To Get and Hold the Right Job After 40, Endeavor Together, Experience Unlimited.

You can participate in sessions that lead to jobs or needed training by contacting your local State employment service agency.

If you're retired but still need or want to work—look for a part- or full-time job. You may have the time of your life.

II. DON'T TALK YOURSELF OUT OF A JOB

(By Veronica Taylor)

Do you talk too much in a job interview and at the wrong time?

Most of us tend to become more garrulous as we get older. We yearn to share our opinions, experiences. We may even become nonstop talkers—an almost sure deterrent to getting a job.

When being interviewed for a job, we're usually anxious about our age. We forget that personality, skills, and years of experience are great assets. In other words, we accentuate the negative. Many of us will try to cover up this anxiety by compulsive chatter that leaves a potential employer annoyed and frustrated. When we don't get the job, we decide it was because we're too old. This was brought home to me as an employment counselor when I failed several times to place older applicants in jobs for which they were well qualified.

One of my clients—Mrs. Wallace, young looking at 59—was a fine secretary, educated, well dressed, and in good health. She had everything going for her.

I sent her to be interviewed by a man in immediate need of a competent secretary. Age didn't matter if she could handle the job.

Mrs. Wallace approached the interview apprehensively. The employer threw out a few questions, then suddenly asked, "When could you report for work?"

This relieved Mrs. Wallace so completely that she sat back in her chair and began to talk. She asked about fringe benefits, promotion chances, and further detailed her work experience. It was practically a monolog.

Finally, the employer stood up. This talkative woman, he concluded, could be a nuisance in his small office.

"Mrs. Wallace," he said, "I'll have to consult my partner before making a final decision. I'll call you in a day or so."

Mrs. Wallace didn't get that job. I explained to her that she'd talked herself out of it after the employer decided to hire her. When I sent her out again, she was hired immediately.

Compulsive talking

With today's emphasis on youth, we tolerate aimless chatter in a young person. But in the older person we consider it a compulsion due to age or loneliness.

So when you're on a job interview, you'd do well to remain agreeably silent, with a glow of interest. Answer questions without going into a lot of detail. Give the prospective employer the last word so he feels in control of his interview.

One older woman spent a sizable fee learning to be a switchboard operator after her husband's death. I placed her in an elegant new apartment building. She was fired within a week because the resident manager couldn't stand her ceaseless chatter.

A retail store manager confided that talking salespeople were a problem. Most of his older saleswomen, he said, were dependable hard workers. However, there were a few who let customers wait while they discussed personal affairs.

Sometimes even the older man will drift into this bad habit. He retires from an active job and is a loose ends—friends or relatives are dead or far away and he wants to talk to someone. He buttonholes any chance acquaintance who'll listen. If he becomes reminiscent, he may telescope one story into another and leave his listener exhausted.

One brilliant man in his mid-60's asked me to help him get a job. He had health, energy, and vast administrative experience. However, he talked compulsively. He was fanatical on controversial subjects and often antagonized his friends.

I sent him on one interview after another. Invariably he was back again, unhired. One employer told me frankly, "We'd give a lot to have the benefit of this man's experience, but we don't have time to listen to his opinions on subjects of no interest to our business."

Unhappily, I never convinced him that he obstructed his own progress. He was sure employers were prejudiced because of his age. For this man, constant talking lessened a sense of loneliness and isolation primarily of his own making.

Silence is golden

Mrs. Logan was 60, attractive, with exceptional work experience. I sent her to be interviewed for a top administrative-secretarial position.

The employer, a stocky, voluble, self-made man, had already interviewed six men and women. He spent considerable time showing Mrs. Logan the plant while he recited his own achievements with the company.

Though Mrs. Logan had little chance to talk, she did ask a pertinent question from time to time. This left the voluble man in control of the interview and set him off again on his favorite subject.

Finally he asked Mrs. Logan how soon she could start work. Later he told me this was the smartest woman he'd ever interviewed. By remaining silent at the right time and letting him talk, Mrs. Logan landed the best job she ever had.

Almost any employment manager can give you instances of older workers who've failed to get jobs, or have been let out of jobs, not because of age but because of some personality defect which could easily be corrected.

For the older jobseeker such defects can mean great deprivation, especially if he must supplement his income, or fill social security requirements, or even if he just needs a new horizon in his harvest years.

Appearance, attitude, skills, personality, experience all play a role in obtaining a job at any age. But for the older jobseeker, the art of listening may be a deciding factor.

The adage "silence is golden" still holds true today. Practice it and you'll hear the employment manager say those magic words, "when can you start?"

Remember, if the employer needs competent, dependable help, he'll consider age a secondary requisite.

III. PUT YOUR BEST FOOT FORWARD

(By Louise Berthold)

Can an older woman secure and hold a good job if she's had no training or experience? Doubtfully I asked myself this question when I decided to enter the business world.

My three children were grown, and the house seemed unbearably lonely during the day. So when a new real estate firm in our neighborhood advertised for a secretary, I applied for the job.

The manager, an older man, asked questions concerning my qualifications. When I said apologetically, "I realize I'm a little old to be applying for my first job," he smiled and answered, "Age has nothing to do with it. It's ability and willingness to work that counts. This job is one that'll require tact in speaking to prospective buyers over the phone and in everyday association with the salesmen. I really prefer a responsible, settled person, which you seem to be."

My spirits went up a notch. When he asked how soon I could report for work, I took off my hat and answered, "right now."

I might still be working for that real estate firm if a bout with pneumonia hadn't forced me to leave.

When my husband retired, he took a job as account executive at an advertising agency. I sometimes substituted for the regular secretary there, so when she left to have a baby I was offered her job.

Although luck was a factor in our securing good jobs in our sixties, we still believe that age need be no barrier if you're healthy and the desire to work is strong enough.

Through my experience I've gleaned a few pointers of value to the older woman applying for a job.

Put your best foot forward for a job interview. Treat yourself, if possible, to a new dress and hat—neat and youthful (but not conspicuously so). Have your hair styled becomingly at a beauty salon. Just knowing you look your best boosts your morale.

Enumerate your qualifications modestly but confidently. Assure your prospective boss you'll work hard and willingly to learn and grow with your job.

After you get the job make it a habit to arrive a few moments early. Then you can relax briefly before starting your workday, which will promote alertness and efficiency, or you can catch up on work left over from the day before.

Never engage your boss in small talk unless he takes the lead. He's busy and you should be.

Remember a smile begets a smile, so always be pleasant with your boss and fellow workers. People who continually complain about the heat, cold, government, small physical discomforts, become bores and don't last long on a job.

Don't underestimate yourself because you're a few years older than your fellow workers. You have the advantage of long years of dealing with people, and you've probably developed tolerance and understanding many young persons don't have. In regard to your age it's significant that when a Florida employer advertised for a secretary recently he specified no one under 50 need apply. His reason? Mature women are better spellers.

Develop initiative. Without being officious, if you have an idea you believe would better your firm, suggest it. Even if not adopted, it will show your boss you're interested in your work and the firm.

Lastly, if you feel your education isn't as varied as you wish, enroll in a local college or night school and brush up on any subjects that may interest you or could advance you in your job. Many older women who work days complete their education with night classes or take music, art, or journalism courses as a hobby.

I've never regretted my decision to dive into the business world as a mature woman. I may not have made much of a splash, but I had a good swim and I'd do it again.

DISRESPECT FOR LAW AND ORDER

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, former Supreme Court Justice Charles E. Whittaker, delivered a forceful and eloquent address on April 12 at the University of Kansas on the growing disrespect for law and order in the United States which is indeed one of the most pressing and mounting problems confronting our country today.

Justice Whittaker called for "a return to an orderly society by requiring respect for and obedience to our laws by the prompt, impartial, even-handed, certain, and substantial punishment of all persons whose willful conduct violates these laws and that we do so promptly." I wholeheartedly join Justice Whittaker, both in his concern for what we have seen developing in our country in recent years and in his plea that this trend be reversed.

Many millions of American citizens are concerned about the problem which Justice Whittaker discussed in his address, and I commend it to the attention of the Senate and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There also appeared in yesterday's Washington Evening Star a fine editorial which addresses itself to some of the very same points made by Justice Whittaker, and I ask unanimous consent that it also be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A FORMER JUSTICE WARNS: RETURN TO LAW, OR FACE ANARCHY

It seems clear that most of our people have now come to understand that we are all involved in unusual ferment, and many of us are confused and bewildered. Many are asking the reasons for this, what it means and where it leads and ends. Seldom is any effort made responsibly to answer. Possibly because no one really can.

But it seems reasonable to believe that, until we are able to isolate and define the underlying causes, we will not be able intelligently to grapple with them.

I cannot assume to delineate all of the underlying causes, but my rather extensive readings, observations and meditations have convinced me that a major one is that in some way our anchors have been torn from their moorings to unchangeable fundamental principles—among others, a decent respect for truth and honesty, for the teachings of history, for the 10 Commandments, and for the Golden Rule—and, without those anchors, we lost our way.

In that distress, we tended to divide into ideological groups, and then one group began to blame another for our plight. And this brought retaliatory responses in kind. That conduct continued to accelerate in pace and tempo until the pitch of tensions ran so high as to produce a running, acrimonious and recriminatory dialogue that has dissipated mutual respect, engendered hatreds, and made nearly impossible any calm and conciliatory discussion of differences, and hence has precluded return and reanchor to the changeless fundamentals.

As we have seen, that dialogue has largely sacrificed honest appeals to reason for other techniques. One has been the intentional and repeated misuse and distortion of generic words and phrases in our language with the obvious design of giving them a gloss of meaning that casts their inherent odious implications from themselves to their opponents—a pretty slick trick to confuse unsuspecting people.

Another has been to use catchwords of dubious meaning, and sometimes of odious implications. And still another has been the use of meaningless but often aspersionistic cliches.

When we realize that such preachments have been nearly endlessly made, printed and circulated as matters of truth, we can hardly wonder that the people, who must largely rely upon what they hear and read for their information, have been misled and are now confused and bewildered and at a loss to know whom or what to believe and support.

Illustrative of the technique used in glossing and distorting generic words and phrases, let me give you an example or two: Frequently, in this dialog, some participants while advocating—sometimes quite covertly—"changes" in our forms of government, refer to their opposing "conservatives" as "mossbacks" and often in the same breath as "radicals" or "extremists." Although Webster says that "a conservative" means one who "favors retention of existing institutions and forms of government," the term has been, by intentional misuse, glossed to mean not one who would "retain," but one who would change our "existing institutions and forms of government"—just the opposite of the dictionary sense of the term.

Again, Webster says that the term "a leftist" means "a member of the radical or revolutionary party, a radical," and that the term "a rightist" means "a conservative." Yet, by the intentional and repeated misuse of those terms, "a leftist" has been glossed to mean "a conservative," one who would "retain," not change, our existing institutions and forms of government, and that a "rightist" is a "radical," one who would change, not "retain" our existing institutions and forms of government—again just the opposite of the dictionary sense of these terms.

These two simple examples are enough to reveal the technique—doubtless already familiar to most of you—that is being commonly used not to inform the people, but to confuse and bewilder them.

I turn now to the technique of arguing by catchwords. Some of those that are commonly heard are of fairly definite meaning, but even they are often used with little fidelity to their true meanings. Others are advanced as terms of definite meaning or of art when, in fact, as often used, they are meaningless.

We hear much confused argument revolving around the terms "discrimination," "segregation," "desegregation," and "integration." So I think it may be well briefly to consider what they really mean.

The dictionary sense of the term "discrimination" is also, in the abstract, its legal sense. In its constitutional sense, it is one of the things prohibited to the States by the 14th amendment's guarantee of "the equal protection of the laws."

The term "segregation" is, in legal effect, only a synonym for constitutionally prohibited "discrimination." The term "desegregation" is a coined one of awkward and dubious meaning.

But the term "integration," a term of no constitutional significance, though commonly used as a synonym of "antidiscrimination" or "antisegregation," literally has a very different meaning and embraces the concept of amalgamation, well illustrated by the transfer of schoolchildren from their home district to a distant district for the purpose not of avoiding unconstitutional "discrimination," but of affirmatively "mixing" or "integrating" the races when indeed no provision of the Constitution so requires.

But, in recent times, we have seen obvious attempts—largely through the repeated use of the coined and meaningless phrase "de facto segregation"—to torture the word "integration" into a meaning synonymous with constitutionally prohibited "segregation," when in truth they speak entirely different concepts. There is, of course, a clear basis in the fundamental law of our land, particularly in the 14th amendment, for striking down State acts of "discrimination," and hence also of "segregation" in all public institutions, including State public schools, as violative of that amendment's guarantee of the equal protection of the laws.

But, as stated, there is no provision in the Constitution which, in terms of reasonable intendment, compels "integration" of the races.

We also hear much confused argument about "civil rights." What does the term mean in the abstract? It is often used as one of definite meaning or of art. But the truth is, the term "civil rights" is not a term of art, and, when abstractly used, really has no concrete meaning. Webster says that "civil rights" are "nonpolitical rights," and that in the United States the term means "rights secured by the 13th and 14th amendments to the Constitution, and by certain acts of Congress abolishing the incidence and involuntary servitude."

Thus, the only meaning of the term in the abstract that even approaches concreteness is that civil rights are the rights of all men in the United States to be free from the "incidence of involuntary servitude."

Similarly, we hear much discussion in these days on the subject of "public accommodations." Most of us appear to be confused in our understanding, and hence unclear in our use, of the phrase. Just what does the phrase mean? Surely the term "public" accommodation does not include "private" accommodation. "Public" things are those that are owned or controlled by government—State or Federal—and in which, therefore, every citizen has the same right of use and enjoyment.

But, by the same token, property that is privately owned and operated is "private" property, to which only those who are expressly or impliedly invited by the owner may of right come and enter and surely this implies that any such invitation may be revoked by the owner at any time for any reason satisfactory to him. Yet almost daily we see efforts, some of them successful, to expand the concept of "public" to include that which is "private"—such as a citizen's privately owned and operated store, shop, restaurant, motel, farm, medical or law office—and to make those "private" facilities subject, as of right, to use and enjoyment by the public.

I do not readily think of a better example of what is happening to our language and to our ability to communicate with certainty than is illustrated by our difficulties in maintaining the generic and basic distinction between what is "public," and therefore subject to use by the public, and what is "private," and therefore subject to use only by the owner or with his consent.

Another facet of current discussions revolves around the word "equality." We proudly say that our Government is founded upon the concept that "all men are created equal." But we seem to be unclear as to whether that phrase means that all men must be accepted by all other men as social equals, and as to whether it means that all men must be made and kept "economically equal" as an obligation of Government.

Some doubtless well-intentioned people have been arguing that it should be made the legal obligation of every man to socially accept every other man. However laudable may be the underlying objective, it is abundantly clear from experience and the nature of man that this cannot be done by law, and that such an attempt is not a proper function of government. Such an attempt can only agitate prejudices, stiffen resistance and serve to impede and delay social acceptance.

ENFORCED EQUALITY WOULD BE A STEP IN THE WRONG DIRECTION

Social acceptance is a matter of developmental mutual respect and liking, and this cannot be brought about by force. These are matters of the heart, and it cannot be controlled by force. No minority group that has settled in our land has obtained, or likely ever will obtain, general acceptance and amalgamation here until, by long years of exemplary conduct, a majority of its members have earned the respect and liking of the people generally. Any effort to compel social acceptance would be a step in the wrong direction and self-defeating.

There are also well-meaning persons among us who argue that the proper concept of equality is that all men are entitled to be assured, by and at the expense of the Government, which means by their brothers, of permanent economic equality. To argue that all men are entitled at the expense of their brothers to permanent economic equality is to argue for the adoption of "communism," which, Webster says, means "a system of social organization in which all goods are held in common" and, hence, in which all men are by law made and kept economically equal.

Do those who so advocate understand this? I doubt that they do, and for obvious reasons I prefer to believe that they do not. But the Government established here by our forefathers, and early said to be the finest government ever conceived by the minds of men, is not of that kind. It is instead a democratic republic guaranteeing free enterprise and the right to earn and possess private capital. It is not, and was never intended to be, a leveler of men.

Quite the contrary: It was intended to permit, and permits, the ambitious, energetic, creative and thrifty men to, by honest effort, improve their lot as much as they can even if others choose not to try.

It does not intend to destroy initiative and ambition by holding accomplishments down to the level of the least ambitious. While individuals have their legal right to discriminate between our people, the Government does not. Hence, under our Government, the term "equality" must mean essentially that government, State and Federal, cannot and must not deny to any citizen: (a) the right to obtain equal learning, (b) the right to equal governmental treatment, (c) the right to equal justice, (d) the equal right of suffrage and (e) the consequent right to equal opportunity.

But the right to equal opportunity, if indeed it is to be equal, must include the opportunity to develop and prove unequal talents. Any other concept would destroy the natural incentive of every man to improve his lot by holding him down to the unambitious level of the mediocre or below, which inevitably would result in the society's decadence.

In the same connection we hear much discussion of public welfare. Some seem to feel that it is the legal obligation of the Government to finance the needs of every citizen. Some even suggest that our National Constitution so contemplates, but nothing could be further from the truth.

In the preamble of our Constitution, our Founding Fathers, in describing one of the purposes of their efforts, used the term "to promote the general welfare." But this was to be done, as they said, in the ways and by the means set forth in the body of the document, and one will search it in vain for any evidence of any delegation by the States or the people of any power to the National Government to dip into the Federal Treasury for the support of private citizens.

Thus, the privilege and the moral obligation to determine when and how much aid should be given to the deserving needy among them was, like all other privileges and powers that were not delegated to the National Government by the Constitution, reserved to the States and to the people.

I now turn to the misleading, and therefore dangerous, technique of some current argument by clichés. Some would-be leaders have been voicing slogans and clichés which, in instances, appear on the surface to be logical, and some even religious, but which, in truth, are neither. Instead, they are dangerously deceptive and destructive.

DEMAND FOR PUBLIC HANDOUTS: THE FALSE CRY OF THE PRIDELESS LAZY

One is "Government owes every citizen a living." This is the false cry of the prideless lazy, inasmuch as the food, shelter, and clothing necessary for his "living" can only be produced by the labors of someone. This is a cry for support by the sweat of another man's brow.

A second is "human rights, not property rights." Are these rights in any way inconsistent or mutually destructive? Is not the right to have and be protected in property a valuable "human right"? Are not those rights mutually consistent and even dependent? Any thoughtful observation of history will reveal that, where private-property rights have not been respected and protected, there has not been what we call "human rights." Private-property rights are the soil in which our concept of human rights grows and matures. As long as private-property rights are secure, human rights will be respected and will endure and evolve.

A third is the Russian-coined phrase that "production is for use, not for profits." Must it be wholly for the one or the other? Is it not truly for both? Is there any inconsistency or immorality in producing useful things at a profit? If production is not to yield a profit, there will be no incentive to produce. And if there is no incentive to produce, there will be no production for use. It is the incentive of profits that has produced the plentiful blessings of our Nation and that has enabled it to grow, progress, and develop as it has. Reasonable profits are essential to the survival of free enterprise and, hence, of our society. If the state were to take over under the slogan of "use, not profits," initiative would be destroyed, progress would be halted, and soon stagnation would set in and destroy our society.

A fourth, and of which we hear much these days, is "obey the good laws but not the bad ones."

And a fifth one that should be considered with the fourth is "action now, not the delays of the law."

CLAIMING RIGHT TO VIOLATE LAWS IS A CALL FOR ANARCHY

Is not each of these clichés a call for anarchy? Does not the fourth invite men to violate the laws they do not like? And does not the fifth invite men to spurn the courts and all constituted authority and to take the law into their own hands?

If we allow men to disobey with impunity the laws they do not like, or to spurn the courts in all constituted authority by taking the law, or what they think ought to be the law, into their own hands, will we not be inviting anarchy and chaos? Yet, this is precisely what some self-appointed radical leaders, and more recently many others, have been advocating, and it is precisely what their followers have been doing. Aroused by these techniques, those followers frequently have assembled from far and wide, often, unfortunately, with the encouragement and even at the expense of well-meaning but legally uninformed and misguided church organizations, into large and loosely assembled groups or mobs to wage what they have called demonstrations to force the grant of what they call rights in defiance of the law, the courts, and all constituted authority.

At the beginning, these demonstrations consisted of episodic group invasions and appropriations of private stores, first by sitting down and later by lying down therein, and eventually by blocking the entrances thereto with their bodies. Seeing that those trespassers were often applauded in high places, were generally not stopped or punished, but rather were compelled to be appeased and rewarded, these racial leaders and their groups quickly enlarged the scope of their activity by massing and marching followers on the sidewalks, streets, and highways, frequently blocking and appropriating them to a degree that precluded their intended public uses.

And that conduct, too, being nearly always appeased, the process spread areawise, as might have been expected, from one Southern city to another, and then into one Northern city after another, and eventually pretty generally throughout the land. These demonstrations were conducted under the banner of peaceable civil disobedience, and under the claim of protection by the peaceable-assembly and petition provisions of the first amendment to the U.S. Constitution. But, in fact, most of these claims were and are untrue. Let me demonstrate this:

"Crime," says Webster, means "an act or omission forbidden by law and punishable upon conviction." It cannot be denied that many of those trespasses violated at least the criminal-trespass laws of the local jurisdictions involved, nor that those laws impose criminal penalties for their violation, nor, hence, that those trespasses constituted "crimes."

Now, in the first place, that conduct cannot honestly be termed peaceable, for we all know that the assembly and incitement of a large group or mob for the avowed purpose of forcing direct action outside the law amounts to the creation of a mob bent on lawlessness, and inherently disturbs the peace of others.

In the second place, that conduct cannot honestly be termed civil disobedience for the simple reason which anyone should be able to understand: that willful violation of the criminal laws is criminal disobedience, not civil disobedience.

And lastly, those criminal trespasses were not protected by the peaceable-assembly and petition provisions of the first amendment. That provision says: "Congress shall make no law * * * abridging * * * the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." Obviously, nothing in that language grants a license to any man or group of men to violate our criminal laws, including those which prohibit trespass upon, and appropriation of, private property, and those prohibiting the willful obstruction of public walks, streets and highways.

Rather, as Mr. Justice Roberts wrote upon the subject in 1939, "The privilege of a citizen of the United States to use the streets and parks for communication of views on national questions must be regulated in the interest of all. It is not absolute, but is relative and must be exercised in subordination to the general comfort and convenience, and in consonance with peace and good order."

Surely no thoughtful person will disagree with that statement, nor with the one recently made by the president of Yale University in a speech at Detroit, that the current rash of demonstrations make a ludicrous mockery of the democratic debating process.

DEMONSTRATIONS ARE TAILORMADE FOR INFILTRATION BY RADICALS

The philosophy of "obeying only the laws you like," and of attempting to rule by force, has given rise to mobs and mob actions that have proven, as certainly we should have expected, to be tailormade for infiltration, takeover and use by rabble-rousers and radicals who are avowedly bent on the breakdown of law, order, and morality in our society, and hence on its destruction. And we now see that virtually all of such "demonstrations" are being infiltrated by rabble-rousers and radicals and, not infrequently, break into open violence.

Even though those results may not have been contemplated, and surely weren't wished, by those Americans who advocated disobedience of our laws, nevertheless they did advocate that philosophy and they did put its proceses into action, and cannot now escape responsibility for the results.

Seeing the appeasements and successes of that process in racial strife, other would-be leaders have now adopted and spread it into many other areas. It has now spread into the campuses of most of our great universities where, as in Berkeley, it has been used to commit assault, kidnapings, imprisonment of police officers, and commandeering of public-address systems; and their use in spewing over the campus the most filthy four-letter words, and for general breakdown of law and order.

The process is also now progressively employed by radical leftists and those who would give aid and comfort to our enemies, to hinder and impede our Nation's efforts to conscript military personnel, as witness the recent rash of draft card business, and to move and supply its troops and generally to weaken its ability to execute its military efforts in this time of war.

The process has now been extended even to efforts to thwart governmental, legislative, and executive action. Indeed, it would be hard to name a field that has escaped or is not vulnerable to the process.

These are but recent examples of history's teachings that the toleration of some crime encourages all crime, and that it can hardly be denied that our toleration of these crimes of trespass has been at least a contributing factor to the recent spread of common violence which Mr. J. Edgar Hoover says makes it impossible "for the citizens of this country to * * * walk the streets of our cities without (danger of) being mugged, raped, and robbed." He continued: "We can't do that today." And he added: "All through the country, almost without exception, this condition prevails."

HOW MINORITIES HURT THEMSELVES IN PREACHING DEFIANCE OF LAW

The great pity is that these minority groups, in preaching and practicing defiance of the law, are in fact eroding our legal structure, which alone can ever assure to them due process of law and the equal protection of the laws, and that can, thus, protect them from discriminations and abuses by majorities.

We have all been often told, and many of us have preached, that crime does not pay. But the recent rash and spread of law defiance—and the successes, however tenuous and temporary, of that philosophy in attaining goals—seems to compel a reappraisal of that concept. For, from what we see currently happening, one could reasonably believe that certain types of crimes are being permitted to pay.

Indeed, official encouragement often has been given, even at times in some high places, to conduct these "demonstrations" which have led to the commission of these criminal trespasses, and it can hardly be denied that they have been rather widely tolerated. It is undoubtedly true, as recited in the theme of the Presidentially proclaimed Law Day, 1965, that "a citizen's first duty is to uphold the law," but it is also the first duty of government to enforce the law.

As said in an article in the April 10, 1965 issue of the magazine America, "[Government] has no right to turn the cheek of its citizens. Instead it is gravely obligated by the very purpose of its existence to see to their protection."

Surely the great majority of Americans agree with the May 1965, public statement of Mr. Lewis F. Powell, then president of the American Bar Association, that "America needs a genuine revival of respect for law and orderly processes, a reawakening of individual responsibility, a new impatience with those who violate and circumvent laws, and a determined insistence that laws be enforced, courts respected and due process followed."

I would like to conclude, as I began, with a plea for a return to simple honesty, responsibility and forthrightness in our public speakings and writings, that they may honestly inform and not misinform the people, and for a return to an orderly society by requiring respect for and obedience to our laws by the prompt, impartial, even handed, certain and substantial punishment of all persons whose willful conduct violates these laws, and that we do so promptly, and I would hope, before mass crime gets, as it surely can, so far out of hand as to be beyond the curbing capacities of our peacekeeping agencies and authorities.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Apr. 19, 1966]

Time To Draw the Line

John Doar's credentials as a battler for the legitimate civil rights of Negroes are impeccable. Consequently, he should be listened to when he says the time has come to "draw the line" against those who think they have an unlimited right to protect, at any time or place, in any way, and in any numbers.

The Assistant Attorney General in charge of the civil rights division was making a distinction between lawful and peaceful demonstrations and such things as the Watts riots and other so-called demonstrations which are neither peaceful nor lawful.

With respect to the latter, we think the time is long overdue for drawing the line. And, while it is helpful to have a man in Mr. Doar's position urge public officials to speak out against unlawful activities which masquerade as civil rights demonstrations, this, of itself, is hardly enough.

There should also be some soul searching by those who, wittingly or otherwise, have encouraged violence and who have stimulated expectations which cannot possibly be satisfied except over an extended period of time.

The list is long. It includes many Negro civil rights leaders who are reaping the harvest of their own recklessness, and who are at a loss to know how to tame the tiger which has been released in the streets. It includes vote-seeking politicians who have fed the fires, and who now face the prospect that their hoped-for political gains may be consumed in the flames. It also includes some of our courts, and especially the Supreme Court. The dissents were biting when five of the Justices in 1964 overturned the convictions of thousands of persons who had been found guilty of illegal sit-ins on the specious ground that the 1964 Civil Rights Act was intended to have a retroactive effect. The dissents were equally biting in a 5-to-4 ruling last February which upset other sit-in convictions. Justice Black summed it up when he denounced encouragement of civil rights demonstrators who think "they will be automatically turned loose so long as whatever they do has something to do with race."

Yes, it is indeed time to draw the line—a line which should have been drawn long before the inciters were forced to realize that, in preaching disrespect for law and order, they were undermining the one force which could protect the civil rights of all.

TORNADO DAMAGE IN KANSAS

Mr. PEARSON. Last evening a tornado struck in Johnson County, Kans., destroying 15 or more homes and demolishing a part of the Kathryn Carpenter School which is within the Valley View School District No. 49. The damage is estimated to exceed $1 million, but a greater tragedy could have resulted had it not been for the wise, prompt, and courageous actions of the authorities in charge.

Under a well-conceived program devised by Dr. Jack Bell, superintendent of the district, and carried out by Mr. Henry Morse, principal of the Kathryn Carpenter School, the lives of many children were saved. It was Mr. Henry Morse who called back the kindergarten class and other students who would have been released early so that they might be led to safety in the basement of the school.

Although a factual account of what actually happened may not be available at this time I understand that the actions taken and the precautions followed with the utmost cooperation of the school teachers, custodians, and other persons were carried out without adequate tornado warning.

Mr. President, it seems to me that Dr. Jack Bell and Mr. Henry Morse and all those other unnamed but courageous people should understand that their contribution to the Johnson County community, by example and by deed, is known and appreciated by all. I add my small words to what must be a rising chorus of approbation for the wise things done by these good people.

REENACTMENT OF THE BATTLE OF FORT SULLIVAN, S.C.

Mr. RUSSELL of South Carolina. Mr. President, may I call to the attention of the Members of the Senate a significant historical celebration which will take place in Charleston County, S.C., on June 11.

A full-dress reenactment of the Revolutionary War Battle of Fort Sullivan will be held on Sullivan's Island in Charleston County on that date.

I am confident that it will be a colorful spectacle, one worthy of the historical area in which it will occur.

South Carolina is proud of her history, and particularly the heroic part which her citizens played in the Revolutionary War. I am pleased that the people of Charleston County will join hands with others throughout our State and other States to commemorate this famous struggle which occurred within the borders of our State.

The reenactment occurs nearly 190 years after the actual engagement off the installation known, in 1776, as Fort Sullivan.

The celebration will be sponsored by Historical Charleston Reenactment, Inc., with the endorsement of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce, and the National Park Service.

Units from a number of other States, including New York, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, and Tennessee have been invited to attend, and we look forward to having members of those ceremonial units in our State to enjoy the famous hospitality of our low-country area.

I bring this matter to the attention of the Senate, for it is another of the fine attractions for which South Carolina has become well known throughout the Nation. We welcome the citizens of many States and many lands to our historic and scenic areas, and I hope that many will come to Sullivan's Island for this event.

I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD two articles about the forthcoming reenactment from the Charleston News & Courier, distinguished daily newspaper of Charleston, S.C.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PLANS MADE TO REENACT BATTLE OF FORT SULLIVAN

(By M. Kathy Dix)

"It'll definitely be a fixed fight," commented Charleston author J. Percival Petit yesterday, referring to the coming reenactment of the 1776 battle of Fort Sullivan.

Officials of Historic Charleston Reenactment, Inc., local sponsoring group, announced that "battle plans" will begin to form this weekend with the visit of seven "governor-generals" and other officials of the Colonial and British Armies of America, Inc.

But, added Petit, who is writing the script, "there is no question how the battle will come out."

Gen. Mark W. Clark, president emeritus of The Citadel, is honorary chairman of the event, scheduled for June 11, commemorating the decisive battle of June 28, 1776, when the 2d South Carolina Regiment drove a British fleet out of the harbor.

Simultaneous, attempted British landing and crossing of what is now Breach Inlet, foiled when waters proved too deep to cross, will also be reenacted.

Visiting officials will gather for a 9 a.m. breakfast at the Hotel Fort Sumter followed by a trip to Fort Moultrie. There they will outline on maps and on the ground just what various troops will be doing. Participating units, representing a number of States, can then practice maneuvers on their home ground, said J. Francis Brenner, executive director of the sponsoring group.

Headquartered in Orangeburg, the Colonial and British Armies of America, Inc., promotes Revolutionary War reenactments throughout the country.

Preliminary plans indicate that between 500 and 1,000 members of the organization will participate in the approximately 2-hour reenactment here. They are expected to arrive June 10 and stay on the Isle of Palms, Brenner said.

He added that spectator stands will be built on top of Fort Moultrie and Battery Jasper and that the Sullivan's Island Township Commission will make ample parking space available for the event.

SULLIVAN'S ISLAND BATTLE TO BE REENACTED JUNE 11

A full-dress reenactment of the Revolutionary War battle of Fort Sullivan will be held on Sullivan's Island June 11, it was announced here yesterday.

Boom of cannon, rattle of Colonial musketry, regiments of uniformed British and Continental Army soldiers, the sound of fife and drums—all these will be a part of the pageantry.

The reenactment will be held almost 190 years after the actual engagement off the island and its palmetto log fort, at that time known as Fort Sullivan, on June 28, 1776.

It will be sponsored by a local organization, Historic Charleston Reenactment, Inc., with endorsement of the Charleston Trident Chamber of Commerce and the National Park Service, custodians of the present Fort Moultrie, located near where the original palmetto log fort stood.

Several hundred members of the Colonial and British Armies of America, Inc., will arrive here from New York, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, and Tennessee to stage the reenactment. They will be housed while here at a trailer camp on the Isle of Palms.

The organization, which has Orangeburg headquarters, promotes reenactments in various parts of the country of Revolutionary War battles and skirmishes. It gives as its purpose the fostering of patriotism, a renewed appreciation of the American Revolution and the broad concept of freedom.

It was in June 1776, that the British sent a fleet of 14 ships under command of Sir Peter Parker into Charleston harbor with intention of seizing the port and opening a troop beachhead for a southern front.

The half-finished palmetto log Fort Sullivan, under command of Col. William Moultrie, had 31 guns against the 270 pieces aboard the British ship. But the British rounds sank for the most part harmlessly into the soft palmetto logs and sand. Three British ships ran aground on sandbars and were raked by the fort's guns along with several of the remaining 11 ships.

Later, trying to put a landing force across what is now Breach Inlet, the British once again were stopped when their troops stepped into deep holes in the inlet.

After the battle, the British withdrew with 64 dead and 131 wounded while the South Carolinians suffered only 17 dead.

For the reenactment, a palmetto log fort will be built on Sullivan's Island beach front between Fort Moultrie and Battery Jasper.

The event has been endorsed by the State Development Board and the Sullivan's Island Township Commission chairman Dr. George G. Durst who is a former president of the Charleston chamber.

Dr. Durst expressed hope the reenactment might become an annual event and be expanded.

Assisting in planning are George Campsen, Charleston lawyer, and J. Francis Breender, local businessman. They have called a meeting for 9 a.m. next Wednesday at the Trident chamber office for organizing the historic corporation as an eleemosynary group.

FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AWARD TO COL. RALPH McMAHON

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, each year the Valley Forge Freedoms Foundation has presented awards to those citizens or groups which have, by their words or actions, made a contribution to explaining, understanding, and perpetuating the American way of life. These awards are presented to schools, organizations, and individuals who believe in the American system and who devote some of their efforts and talents to promoting their beliefs.

An Honor Certificate Award, which is given in the National and School Award category, was presented to Col. Ralph "Mac" McMahon, U.S. Army, retired, for his comments on the meaning of being an American. Colonel Mac was at one time a division commander at the Aberdeen Proving Ground, not far from my home in Maryland. I feel that his words have a meaning for all of us because they are a clear expression of heartfelt patriotism.

I ask unanimous consent to insert Colonel McMahon's award-winning address in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am an American. What a golden opportunity is enjoyed by anyone who can say that. About 85 percent of the earth's population cannot. I wonder if each American fully and truly appreciates his privileged position—unique among the nations. Because of his privilege I wonder, too, if he recognizes and accepts his responsibilities. They are many but are less by far than the privileges of the privileged. Does each of us fully appreciate the almost measureless bounty that this Nation, under God, enjoys? Or are we too busy with our own minute problems to raise our heads and view the glories above us? As an American I am free to breathe the unfettered air.

I am free to travel the length and breadth of an unbordered land.

I am free within my limit of skill to work where I please. I am free to speak of my beliefs without concern for fear or favor.

I am free to help my brother, to regard him as the inscription reads on the statue's base in Boys Town: "He ain't heavy, Father, he's m' brother."

I am free to be a man, dependable and foursquare.

I am free to govern, if my talents allow.

I am free to be governed by the laws of those I've chosen for the task.

I am free to espouse the right and to defend it against attack.

I am free to raise my children with faith and trust in those truths our Nation holds sacred.

I am free to be free, to be steadfast in my strength for freedom.

I am free to be humble as Junius said "Stay with me God. The night is dark. The night is cold. My little spark of courage dies. The night is long; be with me, God, and make me strong." For proudest of my proudest boasts—I am an American.

SENATOR MANSFIELD'S EXCELLENT SUGGESTION CONCERNING VIETNAM

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I rise to support the excellent suggestion made by the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] to the effect that those representing the opposing forces in Vietnam should sit around a conference table as soon as possible. If that conference table is not to be under U.N. or Geneva power auspices, then by all means let it be in Asia and under Asian auspices.

That is where the fire is. Perhaps the fire, being hotter there, may more quickly produce a conference there than elsewhere.

Moreover, conditions are certainly in flux in Vietnam. I realize that all sorts of conditions and contingency plans are being considered. But, if conditions should arise that a government comes to power which asks us to leave, let us have the good sense to follow that advice. I hope that we would not have the poor sense to prop up a government, or organize a counter coup in order to avoid just such a contingency.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY OUR MOST EFFECTIVE SPOKESMAN

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, the Vice President is always one of the most effective spokesman in the Nation for any point of view which he favors. This is certainly true for his speeches on behalf of our position on the Vietnam war, which have driven his critics to look for grounds on which to attack him, whether true or not. Recently, they have been charging that he is a turncoat against his earlier views, and that the President is standing behind him twisting his arm when he argues so persuasively for the rightness of our actions in Vietnam.

It is with much pleasure, therefore, that I have recently seen the result of a good research job completed by the Minneapolis Tribune, and printed under the byline of one of their staff correspondents, Charles W. Bailey, in the issue for Sunday, April 10. I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MUSKIE in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, the article reveals clearly that HUBERT HUMPHREY was one of the Nation's leaders who recognized very early both the importance of Vietnam, and the dangers for the United States—and indeed all of the free world—if we failed to meet the Communist challenge there.

As early as 1950, he was speaking frequently of the crucial nature of southeast Asia in the struggle for world peace, and he has continued to sound the same theme for the 16 years which have intervened since that date. In 1956, he reminded us that it was one of Lenin's maxims that—

> For world communism the road to Paris lies through Peking and Calcutta.

In 1955, Vice President HUMPHREY said:

> If free Vietnam falls, or if the Communist elements take over, then every country in the corridor of southeast Asia will be in more difficulty, and we shall not be able to stop it.

There is much more evidence of the Vice President's wisdom and prescience in this article, Mr. President, that is worth reading, quite aside from providing an answer to his critics. As is often the case, he is being attacked in this fashion because his opponents cannot answer the arguments he makes, nor match his eloquence in presenting them.

We are in Vietnam because the struggle going on there is of great importance to the American people, and cannot be just ignored, or swept under the rug, as some people would have us do.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune, Apr. 10, 1966]

IS HUMPHREY CONSISTENT ON ASIA? A LOOK AT THE RECORD INDICATES HE IS

(By Charles W. Bailey)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—HUBERT HUMPHREY, once the darling of Democratic liberals, has in recent weeks come under heavy and sometimes bitter attack from some of his oldest political allies.

The criticism is aimed almost entirely at his support of Johnson administration policies in Vietnam—support which was given wide publicity during and after his midwinter tour of southeast Asia and the Pacific.

The liberal unhappiness has produced some startling, if perhaps transitory, turnabouts. At a February convention of the California Democratic Clubs—the State party's ultraliberal wing—HUMPHREY was roundly denounced while Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, Democrat, of New York, once a CDC archfoe won ringing praise for his support of a Vietnam "coalition government" that would include Communist elements.

Throughout the liberal complaints about HUMPHREY runs one consistent theme: that the Vice President has "changed his views," has "compromised principle," to get in line with President Johnson's policy.

To test this proposition, the Minneapolis Tribune's Washington bureau checked back through HUMPHREY's comments on Asia as far back as 1950, as recorded in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the years in which he served—and spoke with great frequency—on the Senate floor.

The results suggest that HUMPHREY's new critics have overlooked or forgotten what he has been saying for the past 16 years about Asia and Asian communism.

An observer is also led to suspect that part of HUMPHREY's current problem with his old liberal pals lies in the very qualities which have in the past endeared him to them: his enthusiasm, his vivid rhetoric, his ability to deal with the subject at hand as though it were all that mattered in the world.

It was these personal qualities that gave so much bite to HUMPHREY's comments from Asia and after his return, rather than the newness of his ideas or his convictions.

Those who criticized his backing for the stay-and-fight policies of the President in Vietnam, for example, probably did not remember that it was HUMPHREY who said—in January of 1950—that "if we lose the south part of Asia * * * we shall have lost every hope that we ever had of being able to maintain free institutions in any part of the Eastern World."

And those who were displeased with his exhortation of Asian and Pacific governments to take the lead in opposing Red Chinese expansionism might not have recalled a Senate speech in September 1950 when HUMPHREY said:

"Our only hope is to work with the free powers, to give them the chance to remain free and the opportunity to stand with us as participating partners in the great area of the world where conflict between the forces of freedom and slavery is now in its crucial stage.

"If we fail in this effort, we shall have lost everything for which we have worked."

In 1954, he told the Senate that "There is no hope whatsoever of the United States doing the job alone in any area of the world such as Asia * * * the only possible hope of peace and stability in southeast Asia is for the Asiatics themselves to lead the great movement for stability and security in their own area, with our support and with the full support and under the auspices of the United Nations."

HUMPHREY also drew a good deal of scolding when he came home this winter and lectured Americans—including some prominent Senators and foreign-affairs scholars—for failing to recognize the importance of Asia.

To observers who traveled with him, there was no doubt that HUMPHREY had succumbed to one of his old weaknesses—the capacity to be so exhilarated by direct personal exposure to a subject that he tends to forget that others may well have discovered it sooner.

But again a search of the record suggests that intellectually, at least, his position has not changed a great deal.

"The peace of the world will be decided in the Far East, where we are least prepared, where we are the least understood, where we are the most unwelcome," he said—in 1950.

In 1953, he told the Senate: "The threat of international Communist aggression is most acute in southeast Asia." In 1955, again speaking of Asia, he said: "If the rest of the world becomes a Communist satellite area, our gold standard will not be worth anything * * * we had better make up our minds that we are playing for keeps."

The theme was heard again in 1956, when he made a speech saying that "The danger to American objectives and interests is as great today in Asia as it was in Europe in 1947," and reminding listeners of Lenin's maxim that "For world communism the road to Paris lies through Peking and Calcutta."

HUMPHREY in 1955 argued that "if we abandon free Vietnam we shall have abandoned all of southeast Asia. Half of Vietnam is already gone; it is very possible that free Vietnam may not be able to be saved, even with our help.

"But surely we ought not to add to the difficulty * * * if free Vietnam falls, or if the Communist elements take over, then every country in the corridor of southeast Asia will be in more difficulty, and we shall not be able to stop it."

And by 1960, the HUMPHREY tone was still more ominous: "I happen to believe that the most dangerous, aggressive force in the world today is Communist China * * * it is from the Chinese Communists that the free world faces danger."

It must be said that the record is not one of total consistency on every point. Thus in March of 1962, HUMPHREY told the Senate that "it is to be hoped that American participation in this area (Vietnam) can be limited to military assistance, to supplies, and to military training, and it is my view, I state so there will be no doubt about it, that it should be so limited."

But in the next sentence, he added: "In all of this activity, there is a grave risk; but I say most sincerely that the greatest risk is Communist aggression, Communist conquest, and Communist advance. That we cannot permit, if it is humanly possible to stop it."

There are many more statements in the 16-year record, both before and after that 1962 speech. But the sum and substance of them, whether the immediate focus was Formosa or Korea or India or Vietnam, is the same as HUMPHREY's 1966 arguments: that Communist aggression in Asia is "the greatest risk" of all.

THE CENTRAL ARIZONA PROJECT—TRIBUTE TO HELENE C. MONBERG

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, those of us from Western States, and especially those who serve on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, are well acquainted with the reportorial zeal of Miss Helene C. Monberg, who represents a number of western papers in Washington.

We also know that when another reporter uses his own valuable column space to pay tribute to a member of the competition, that is high praise, indeed.

The Washington correspondent for the Phoenix, Ariz., Republic, Mr. Ben Cole, is a veteran observer of the Congress and a newsman of competence and integrity. In his column of Sunday, April 10, Mr. Cole paid handsome tribute to his colleague and competitor in the press corps, and I believe other Members of the Senate may find it of interest.

I ask unanimous consent to have the column printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Phoenix (Ariz.) Republic, Apr. 10, 1966]

Newswoman Attacks Digest for Antireclamation Stand

(By Ben Cole)

Washington.—Make room for a new western heroine whose deadeye aim with a blazing epithet matches Annie Oakley's legendary skill with rifle or six-shooter.

She is Helene C. Monberg, a hard-toiling blond newspaperwoman from Colorado who tramps through Federal offices here calling the bureaucrats honey or unabbreviated SOB's as the occasion requires.

Recently she turned her wrathful scorn on the Reader's Digest in consequence of its tawdry circulation promotion on the rim of the Grand Canyon. If the smug old Digest thinks it can shrug off the fair Helene, it would be well advised to reconsider.

The Digest has Miss Monberg's fuse sputtering even before it hauled a planeload of newspaper types to the south rim for its antireclamation workshop and the publicity attendant thereon.

It seems the computers that crank out the Digest's interminable "reminders" got a quaint idea that Helene owed an unpaid $5.

Since Miss Monberg avoids debt with the same devotion that she shuns rattlesnakes and liars, she was well primed to explode over the Grand Canyon gambit.

Injustice is something that causes Miss Monberg to roar with ladylike anger matching the vehemence of the thunder that rolls across her Rocky Mountain homeland.

And Miss Monberg decided that the Digest article on the central Arizona project dams, together with the posh junket to the canyon, was a matter of injustice.

So she delivered a review of her opinion to DeWitt Wallace, who runs the Reader's Digest, in a letter that is cherished by all so fortunate as to acquire copies.

Not only did Miss Monberg cancel her own, she also stopped the subscriptions she gave all her relatives.

"If you think that you can crucify the western reclamation program with my own money, you are nuttier than a fruitcake," said Helene on her sizzling typewriter. "You'll do it over my dead body."

She went on, "I know who my Republican relatives and Republican friends are to whom I sent the Digest; and you don't have to tell me.

"And believe me, they will gulp when I tell them that the Reader's Digest, that great monument to God, motherhood, and the free enterprise system, is publishing an article about the Government building steam plants to replace its hydroelectric dams in reclamation projects. What a cesspool of socialism you at the Digest have become. Next month you might embrace sin at this rate."

Miss Monberg noted in her inimitable style that the Digest, of course, never prints answers to its diatribes since it regards itself as the gospel. Then she capped the whole job with a paragraph that deserves a place in American letters along with Sheridan's ride and the winning of Barbara Worth.

She said, "And, finally, I have a prediction to make to you. A hundred years from now the name of Carl Hayden will be emblazoned throughout the west and honored by every school child as a mighty western builder—and the Reader's Digest will be as extinct as the dodo."

THE SITUATION IN VIETNAM

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Russell], has prepared an able and thoughtful address which he will deliver tonight to the Chamber of Commerce of Myrtle Beach, S.C., concerning the grave and ominous events that have unfolded in recent days in South Vietnam.

The Senator from South Carolina is deeply disturbed, as is every Member of this body, over the civil strife and turmoil that has wracked South Vietnam and threatened to engulf that unhappy land in a civil war. The Senator raises the critical and unavoidable question about the effect this turmoil could have on the safety and welfare of the 200,000 American men who are there attempting to help the South Vietnamese resist Communist enslavement.

As the Senator points out, we are not attempting to intervene in the internal political affairs of South Vietnam and we are not attempting to dictate their government. But we do ask, as the Senator so ably puts it:

> That whatever government they have share with us a wholehearted determination to fight this war to win.

Senator Russell concludes his remarks with this significant statement:

> If the leaders of Vietnam will place patriotism above personal ambition—if they join wholeheartedly together with us to bring this war promptly to a successful end with the proper use of the forces we both have on land, on sea and in the air employing our ample arsenal of power upon the enemy—freedom may be made secure for the people of South Vietnam. Then Saigon, like Berlin, could become a symbol of courage and resolution both for Vietnam and for America.

Mr. President, I believe the Senator from South Carolina has voiced the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country in his excellent address, and I ask unanimous consent to have the text published in the Congressional Record at this point in my remarks:

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Remarks of Senator Donald Russell, Democrat, of South Carolina, Myrtle Beach Chamber of Commerce, Myrtle Beach, S.C., Wednesday, April 20, 1966

We are in a period of unexcelled prosperity. Our gross national product is breaking all records. National income is pushing to new heights. More prosperity is promised the farmer. So great is this economic surge that the danger appears to be inflation and not deflation. The great task is to cool the steam of economic activity in this country, not to stimulate a sluggish economy.

And we can take pride in the fact that South Carolina has participated fully in this surge forward. Between 1962 and 1965 personal income in South Carolina jumped over 26 percent, from $3,745 million to $4,731 million, practically a billion dollars in 3 years. Between these dates too, there was an increase of about 12½ percent in nonagricultural employment, while realized net income per farm was snowballing forward 33 percent, from $2,338 per year to $3,126. In the last 3 years, well over $1 billion have been invested in new and expanded industry in South Carolina.

South Carolina is catching up, it is surging forward economically, bringing new opportunities for all our people. Contrary to the statistics in many other fields, we are moving forward economically faster than the national averages. A few weeks ago Business Week published comparative income figures for the Nation, expressed by States. Personal income for the Nation increased by 8.8 percent in 1965. But in this same year of 1965, personal income in South Carolina increased approximately 12 percent. Our rate of increase—and this is the encouraging fact—exceeded that of any other Southern State and was the fifth highest in the Nation.

This increase in personal income was matched by the increase in our industrial output. For the year ending June 30, 1965, more than 2,400 manufacturing establishments in this State produced goods with combined value approximating $5 billion, an increase of about $425 million.

Nor have we overlooked the value to the economy of South Carolina of its great tourist and recreational facilities such as your magnificent strand here at Myrtle Beach, the finest on the Atlantic and rapidly becoming recognized as such throughout this continent. I was pleased that, while I was Governor, our State development board, with the enthusiastic backing of your splendid legislative delegation, sought and obtained greater financial support for a program stimulating tourism in this State. I believe that everywhere in our State the value of increased tourism is recognized and Myrtle Beach is more and more appreciated as one of our greatest natural assets, one that contributes to our economic growth and one that offers to us, readily accessible, the finest recreation area in the East.

It is always like a tonic to come to Myrtle Beach, to be stimulated by the spirit of growth and development, to feel the confidence of its people and to be amazed by the growth that takes place each year. Nor can I fail to compliment you upon the appearance of your city. Your vitality and vigor as a progressive community is well expressed in the bright colors and in the paint and polish of your hotels, motels, and business establishments. You well reflect the new spirit of optimism that is rapidly becoming the hallmark of the South Carolina of the sixties. For this your chamber of commerce can take its due share of credit.

Heartening as this progress of our own State and of your area has been, it cannot erase from our minds or shield from our hearts at this moment the bitter anxiety about momentous events 10,000 miles from our shore. There, 235,000 American fighting men are committed in a war to safeguard the freedom of the embattled people of South Vietnam.

I think it is a tribute to the unselfish patriotism of the American people that today we—you and I—are more troubled about the safety of those distant soldiers of ours than we are about any proposals here at home. They are our sons and our husbands, fighting under our flag and under our command. We are not merely willing but anxious to make any sacrifice to see that they have everything they need to do their job and to do it as quickly as possible. I think it may be said with confidence and with pride that when we ask our finest young men to risk their lives on the field of combat under their country's flag 10,000 miles from home, we—the American people—all demand that these men be supplied with the best weapons and materiel that money and technology can supply. We will accept no excuses for any failure to discharge this duty to our fighting forces. For this reason, I am supporting enthusiastically the work of Senator Stennis and his subcommittee in its searching inquiry into the adequacy of the planning both in supplies and in manpower of the Department of Defense. We do not intend that one single American life shall be needlessly sacrificed because of want of adequate supplies or the best of equipment. And we expect such equipment and supplies to be used where they will bring an end to this war as promptly as possible, whether in South or in North Vietnam.

Furthermore, the American people generally will not countenance, and I shall certainly not support, any new domestic programs that may interfere with the priority of this war or its most effective prosecution. There can be no proposal for new domestic programs as important as the safety and well-being of the 235,000 Americans fighting under our flag in Vietnam. I question, as I know you do, whether we can expand Government at home and finance the war in Vietnam at the same time. Under such circumstances, the choice is simple: Our first responsibility, as I have said, must be the war. And, as long as we are in it, we must fight it with the best we have and without stinting—with the best in weapons, hitting where it will hurt the enemy the most, and seeking vigorously the earliest possible end to the war.

I am not sure, though, that it is quite that simple. I am not sure that will and resolve on our part alone are enough. There is much about this war in Vietnam that is beyond our control and that cannot be resolved by any show of will or force on our part.

It must be remembered that this war is not primarily our war. We are in South Vietnam to support the people of that nation in maintaining their freedom against the attacks of the Communists from without and, to some extent, from within. It is their war and we are there to back them up, to give them the necessary military and economic support in their effort to maintain their freedom.

Of course, we have a stake in their war. Unquestionably it is in the national interest to stem the advance of communism in Asia as well as in Europe. But in this war, we are fighting on the soil of South Vietnam, at the invitation of the Government of that nation, and in direct support of its own military effort to uphold its freedom from communism.

Within recent days, the Government of South Vietnam has been riven apart by a power struggle which has to a disturbing extent immobilized the fighting forces of that nation. Petty personal rivalries and factionalism have taken priority over the war. Civil war has been threatened and has been prevented only with great difficulty and considerable skill. Even more serious for us, several of the street demonstrations organized during this period of internal unrest have had unmistakable anti-American overtones. In some areas Americans have been threatened and even attacked. One Buddhist leader a few days ago voiced the demand for a civilian government "which cannot be controlled from Washington."

All of this—disheartening as it is—imperils the war effort but, more importantly for us, it imperils the lives of our soldiers, those very soldiers who, thousands of miles from home and family, are there, fighting, sacrificing, and in some instances, giving their lives in the cause of South Vietnamese freedom. It is an intolerable situation for the future freedom of South Vietnam; it is intolerable for our brave and courageous fighting men.

Further, all this unrest among the South Vietnamese comes when we are beginning to make progress in the war, when we are beginning to strike at the vitals of North Vietnam, when we are using our air power to strike at the missile bases and the military installations about both Hanoi and Haiphong. The demand of the American people to fight to win is seemingly ready to be answered. At least, that was and is our hope and our wish.

But all this is now jeopardized by the action of those we seek to protect and to aid. The South Vietnamese cannot leave the burden of the bitter fighting to us, while they squabble to no point among themselves.

Wars cannot be fought successfully this way. They permit of no half-hearted efforts. They are not "on-again and off-again" affairs. If fought, they must be fought to win and they must be fought without cease. That must be our resolve and it must be the resolve of the South Vietnamese.

We cannot, though, support effectively and successfully people who prize their own liberty so little that they are unwilling to subordinate petty political ambitions to the demands of a war with an implacable enemy. It occurs to me that the time has arrived when the generals, the monks, the priests, and the people generally of South Vietnam must recognize that they must close ranks, abandon their jealousies and jockeying for personal power, and give priority to the war itself.

This does not mean any weakening in our commitment to aid the South Vietnamese in maintaining their freedom. We respect that commitment. But it carries with it a correlative obligation on the part of the responsible leaders of South Vietnam to be equally committed and as resolutely dedicated to the common cause. We cannot carry on this fight for them and for their freedom alone.

Nor does this mean that we seek to intervene in their own government or to tell them who must head or compose their government. They may resolve their differencs as they determine. We seek neither a military nor a civilian government. We ask merely that whatever government they have share with us a wholehearted determination to fight this war to win.

We can be encouraged that no responsible leader in South Vietnam has suggested abandoning the war or treating with the Vietcong. I believe they recognize that communism can bring them only tyranny. But factionalism among them, which impairs their own war effort, is no way to fight communism or to uphold their liberty. And they must be made to realize that such dissention among them simply aids the Communists and makes increasingly difficult, if not untenable, our own position in Vietnam.

I know there is a tendency, not merely in Vietnam, but throughout the free world, to adopt the slogan, "Let Uncle Sam do it." This goes for both economic and military aid. But there is a limit to the resources, both of material and of manpower, of our Nation. However anxious we may be to help, we cannot shoulder singlehandedly the economic and military burdens of the world. After all, we have only 6 percent of the world's population. Already, we have substantial forces committed in Western Europe, in Japan,, in Korea, in Santo Domingo, and now in Vietnam. Never in history has any nation undertaken such massive programs of aid to other nations. We cannot carry such burdens indefinitely. Certainly, we cannot do it if the nations we are supporting do not do their own full part in helping themselves—do not cooperate fully with our fighting forces who hazard their lives in a cause that should be as real to them as it is to us.

It is my hope that the leaders of South Vietnam will quickly recognize this. It would be a tragedy for South Vietnam and for freedom in southeast Asia if we should be forced to undertake, as the distinguished and respected chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Senator RICHARD RUSSELL has called it, an "agonizing reappraisal" of our involvement in South Vietnam.

If the leaders of Vietnam will place patriotism above personal ambition—if they join wholeheartedly together with us to bring this war promptly to a successful end with the proper use of the forces we both have on land, on sea and in the air employing our ample arsenal of power upon the enemy—freedom may be made secure for the people of South Vietnam. Then Saigon, like Berlin, could become a symbol of courage and resolution both for South Vietnam and for America.

THE SUGARBEET INDUSTRY IN KANSAS

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, over the past few years sugarbeet production and processing has become a significant industry in Kansas. The growth of the sugarbeet industry has made major contributions to the economy of the State of Kansas and has been particularly valuable in serving to broaden the economic base of western Kansas.

Mr. President, two major factors threaten the present economic position of that industry as well as its future growth.

One of these adverse factors is the Department of Labor's severe restriction on the Mexican bracero program. In 1965 Kansas sugarbeet growers suffered considerable economic loss because of the elimination of Mexican nationals. Western Kansas beet growers need about 1,500 workers from May to August. Far removed from any major center of surplus labor, Kansas beet growers have been unable to secure an adequate supply of domestic labor.

In order to protect the present economic postion of the sugarbeet industry, it is absolutely essential that the mutually beneficial bracero program be renewed. Gov. William H. Avery, of Kansas, acting on behalf of the Governors' Sugarbeet Advisory Committee, has informed the Honorable Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor, of this necessity in a letter of April 5, 1966. I have strongly endorsed this request by Governor Avery in a letter to Secretary Wirtz of April 20, 1966.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these two letters be inserted into the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

Mr. President, the other adverse factor to which I refer is the current policy of the Department of Agriculture prohibiting the transfer of unused beet acreage allotments across State lines. Our sugar production area is unique in that it embraces acreages and economic units on both sides of the Colorado-Kansas State line. Western Kansas and eastern Colorado constitute an integrated beet producing area and the imaginary State line can be an adverse factor. In recent years a considerable quantity of acreage allotments in Colorado have gone unused. Kansas farmers are anxious and willing to expand their production and believe that it would be wholly reasonable and proper that unused allotments in Colorado be transferred to Kansas rather than to see this production lost through default.

Governor Avery, again acting on behalf of the Governors' Sugarbeet Advisory Committee, has requested, in a letter to the Honorable Orville Freeman of April 5, 1966, that the Department reconsider its policy on this matter. In a letter to Secretary Freeman of April 20, 1966, I have expressed the belief that this is an entirely reasonable and fair request.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these two letters be inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE STATE OF KANSAS,
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
Topeka, April 5, 1966.

Hon. WILLARD WIRTZ,
Secretary of Labor,
Department of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Members of the Governor's Sugarbeet Advisory Committee at their meeting in Topeka on March 24 voted unanimously to ask my assistance in appealing to you to relax the bracero embargo. Kansas sugarbeet producers are asking that Mexican citizens again be permitted to enter the United States for temporary work in the beet fields, as well as fruit and vegetable harvests.

It is the opinion of these growers that domestic workers are not available in sufficient quantity to handle the seasonal farm jobs. It is also pointed out that the needs of domestic workers and the needs of sugarbeet growers are completely incompatible. American citizens need year-round employment that will provide sufficient money for a high standard of living. The growers, however, need labor only for a short time each year, and then massive quantities of it. In western Kansas there is a need for 1,500 workers from the middle of May to the first of August. Domestic workers cannot afford to develop the skills and the stamina for a mere 10 weeks of work.

To the sugarbeet grower, foreign labor is an intelligent answer to the problem. Under the former bracero program the growers got a skilled, dependable supply of labor that matched the seasonal needs of the crop.

The 1965 sugarbeet crop in Kansas was victim of the labor shortage brought about by elimination of Mexican nationals. Productivity of workers was reduced; costs were increased and Kansas found itself in stiff competition for field labor. The Kansas beetgrowers express the opinion that raising the cost of field labor is inflationary. Labor costs increase, production costs increase while actual production decreases. If there is, in fact, sincere effort to stem the rising costs of food, then western farmers should be permitted to use braceros.

Farmers in western Kansas will continue to face this dilemma as long as the stalemate exists in Washington with agriculture claiming that temporary foreign labor is necessary, and the Department of Labor maintaining that domestic labor is sufficient for the growers needs.

The Kansas sugarbeet growers have attempted to cooperate with the Department of Labor. Yet they have lost heavily through no fault of their own. The committee asks that I relay this report with the conclusion that the program to use domestic labor in field work has proved to be a dismal failure.

I would like to add that approximately 100 Kansas businessmen embarked on a trade mission to Mexico City last November. After the agenda of the trade mission had been completed, I joined a number of other Governors as guests of President Ordaz for a tour of the beautiful country of Mexico. I had the privilege of visiting several states and personally meeting the Governors of these states. In every instance disappointment was expressed by the Governors because of the termination of the very successful and mutually beneficial bracero program. They reported that this had a perceptible adverse effect on the Mexican economy, and they hoped that it could be restored at an early date.

During a period such as this when the resources of the United States are being strained and the friendship of Mexico becomes more important than ever, it would seem to me that a renewal of the bracero program would be definitely in the national interest of the United States, and a favorable factor in improving relations between the United States and Mexico.

May I hear from you in this regard.

Yours very truly,
WM. H. AVERY,
Governor.

APRIL 20, 1966.

Hon. W. WILLARD WIRTZ,
Secretary, Department of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: A letter to you of April 5 from Gov. William H. Avery of Kansas requested, on behalf of the "Governor's Sugarbeet Advisory Committee," that Mexican citizens again be permitted to enter the United States for temporary work in the beet fields, as well as fruit and vegetable harvest.

I strongly endorse this request.

As Governor Avery explains, Kansas sugarbeet growers suffered economic losses in 1965 because of the labor shortage brought about by the elimination of Mexican nationals. Because of this and in view of the very low rate of unemployment now existing in this country, and because of the fact that Kansas beet growers are far removed in distance from any significant labor surplus area, it would seem more desirable that the mutually beneficial bracero program be renewed. Indeed, I believe that its renewal is imperative in order to prevent a major economic loss to Kansas sugarbeet growers.

Very truly yours,
JAMES B. PEARSON,
U.S. Senator.

THE STATE OF KANSAS,
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
Topeka, April 5, 1966.

Hon. ORVILLE FREEMAN,
Secretary of Agriculture,
Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Members of the Governor's Sugarbeet Advisory Committee at their meeting on March 24 discussed at length the need for an increase in sugarbeet acreage in Kansas.

Although the committee entertains little hope that Congress will provide legislation favorable to the growth of the beet sugar industry, there is, in the opinion of the committee, another method in which Kansas acreage can be gradually expanded. This will involve a change in philosophy and administrative procedure on the part of the Department of Agriculture.

The Department of Agriculture permits the transfer of unused beet acreage from one area to another. However, the Department has been quite adamant in their refusal to permit such transfers to cross State lines.

Our sugar production area is unique in that it embraces acreage on either side of the Colorado-Kansas State line, all of which is far removed from other beet-producing areas. Many of our farms include fields in both States.

Under the existing Department policy, beet acreage allotments unused in Colorado cannot be transferred across the State line. In many instances the allotment to a factory has been lost from production because of this ruling. Colorado growers did not plant the acreage; Kansas farmers were not permitted to use the allotment on their side of this imaginary line.

The Kansas farmers are just as willing, able, and desirous of growing beets as their fine neighbors on the Colorado side of the line. They feel that a change in Department policy should be requested enabling a factory district acreage allotment to be used on either side of the State line, rather than see this production lost through default.

The Governor's Sugarbeet Advisory Committee is convinced that the importance of State lines should not be emphasized or dramatized to the extent that it interferes, unfavorably, with the proper growth and development of rural communities.

Instead of the Department having the final jurisdiction in this regard, it might be prudent to allow the sugar factories some judgment in the use of acreage allotments assigned to them.

Yours very truly,
WM. H. AVERY,
Governor.

APRIL 20, 1966.

Hon. ORVILLE L. FREEMAN,
Secretary, Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: A letter to you of April 5 from Gov. William H. Avery of Kansas requested that provisions be made whereby sugarbeet acreage allotments could be transferred across State lines. It would seem to me that this is an extremely reasonable and fair request and I strongly endorse it.

Could you advise me as to why acreage allotment transfers under conditions that prevail in eastern Colorado and western Kansas cannot be made? Is this prohibited by administration ruling or by legislative authority? Also I would like to know what steps if any have been taken relative to Governor Avery's request.

Very truly yours,
JAMES B. PEARSON,
U.S. Senator.

THE IRISH AND THE JEWS

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, America is a nation of immigrants. And the sons and grandsons of immigrants have not forgotten the nation from which they came. We are rightly proud of all the "old countries"—and proud that our Nation can help them achieve goals of freedom and justice we all share.

Still, from time to time, there are those who say that Polish-Americans should be unconcerned with Poland, or that Irish-Americans should be unconcerned with Ireland, or Jewish-Americans unconcerned with Israel. Harry Golden, the editor of the Carolina Israelite, has answered one such contention in an excellent article. I ask unanimous consent that it be inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE IRISH AND THE JEWS: ISRAEL—THE IRISH FREE STATE

(By Harry Golden)

Up in Montreal, City Councilman Frank Hanley created quite a stir in a speech before the Balfour lodge of B'nai B'rith.

A transcript of Councilor Hanley's remarks includes this statement; "I am Irish, ladies and gentlemen, yet I have never sent a dollar to help build that impoverished country." Mr. Hanley's main point was that it is wrong for Canadian (American) Jews to send money to Israel (United Jewish Appeal, Bonds for Israel, etc.). Said the Councilor, "I would much rather use that dollar to improve the lot of a needy person in Montreal."

The only important question impresses itself at once. Do individual members of the Jewish community neglect their local charitable and humane responsibilities? Based on fairly competent evidence at hand in every city, town, and hamlet in the United States, the answer would be a resounding "no." The Jewish response in the matter of local "giving" compares favorably with the response of the non-Jewish community. Indeed (and this is not a particular source of pride), the Jews often go overboard, above their means and "give" to communal and purely Christian causes far beyond that which would be expected of them.

I am not entirely unfamiliar with the Canadian communities, and I am willing to stake my argument on the fact that the same condition obtains there.

But, Mr. Hanley knows nothing of modern Irish history. "I have never sent a dollar to help build Ireland," says he, to which I say, "Up Sligo, and the back of me hand to ye." As a matter of fact, the Irish of Boston and New York had as much to do with the establishment of the Irish free state as the Sinn Feiners themselves. De Valera has often acknowledged this. Indeed, I remember the fund-raising campaigns all over New York, and please note, Mr. Hanley, when a Jewish businessman contributes a thousand dollars to the United Jewish Appeal, or buys a thousand dollar bond of Israel, it is nothing more than a bit of cigarette ash compared to what the Irish-American women gave to Ireland. I saw them with these very eyes, by the hundreds, black shawls wrapped tightly around their heads, and they threw pennies, nickels, and dimes, often a wedding ring, into a big Irish flag, and these women, bless them, with their husbands earning all of $17 a week for a 60-hour week, 1914–17.

And the Irish in their efforts on behalf of a free Ireland had a tremendous advantage over the American Jews who wanted to help the new state of Israel. For one thing, the Irish had already achieved full status within the American open society and it was possible for a prominent group of Irishmen headed by Judge Jeremiah T. Mahoney, to publicly berate the President of the United States for "not bringing home a free Ireland from Versailles." The Jews have had to be far more restrained in their efforts.

The American Irish were almost completely uninhibited. William Hale Thompson, mayor of Chicago, won the Irish vote of his city by promising to punch King George V in the nose. And the Irish mayor of New York, Mr. Hylan, was a bit flustered by the visit of the Prince of Wales, now the Duke of Windsor. Diplomatic protocol required Hylan to accept the Prince's invitation for lunch on the battleship *Renown* to return the Prince's visit to city hall. Old Hylan added up the Irish vote in New York and told the royal visitor, "Prince, I never eat lunch."

Another advantage the Irish had was that there was no cold war with all its problems of keeping the Arabs and their oil out of Communist hands, with all the political inhibitions and heartaches this policy implies.

But, why does Mr. Hanley think there should be different rules for the Jews? The Poles in America tithed for a free Poland in the days of the czars; the Czechs literally created the Czech Republic in Pittsburgh, Pa.; the Swedes in the Northwest toast the Swedish king once a year; the American-Dutch have tulip festivals in Michigan and Delaware; and, in my State of North Carolina they have the bagpipe-playing contests out of love for Scotland.

Indeed, our own Mr. Jefferson said, "A man should have two countries, his own and France." Mr. Jefferson, speaking for himself, was stating a philosophical truth of what makes the civilized man. To America (or Canada), we owe our political loyalty and willing to die for our country, and for Israel (or France, or Scotland, or Ireland, or Poland, or Sweden, or England), we owe our sentimental affection; our help in time of their need; we owe an obligation to maintain the cultural tie—we are all like the salmon that always swim upstream—to the place of their earliest beginnings.

NOTE.—They paint a green stripe down New York's Fifth Avenue every year on St. Patrick's Day. Let us hope that one day soon they'll begin the annual custom of painting a blue and white stripe down the great street, in honor of Israel's anniversary.

BIG BROTHERISM

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, recently, the American Orthopsychiatric Association held its 43d annual meeting in San Francisco. Several sessions were held on the topics of surveillance, testing and the right to privacy. The behavioral scientists concluded that the age of big brotherism is fast approaching with possibly disastrous consequences. I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD an article from the April 15, 1966, edition of the New York Times which discusses the conclusions of these scientists.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOCIOLOGIST WARNS THAT BIG BROTHERISM IS COMING

(By Natalie Jaffe)

SAN FRANCISCO, April 14.—In a benevolent, scientific disguise, the age of big brotherism is fast approaching with possibly disastrous consequences only dimly recognized by researchers and the public, a mental health meeting here was told today.

Apparently in the interests of social welfare and scientific knowledge, "an ugly alliance may be developing between legal-electronic surveillance, scientific research and Government dossiers," according to Dr. Orville G. Brim Jr., a prominent sociologist who is president of the Russell Sage Foundation of New York.

Dr. Brim participated in one of several sessions on surveillance, testing and the right of privacy that were held today during the American Orthopsychiatric Association's 43d annual meeting.

At the various sessions, behavioral scientists from different fields agreed independently that the growth of psychological tests, personality questionnaires, electronic surveillance and social research presented dangers that fell into these categories:

The control of an individual's future by the existence of a "Government dossier bank" that would contain test and questionnaire results, possibly erroneous personal references and out-of-date health, police, and welfare records.

The emotional damage that might be done by forcing an individual to reveal or to learn things about himself that he would rather keep hidden.

The distortion of values among a whole generation of scientists who pride themselves on using deceit in experiments with human beings who are considered merely experimental objects.

The creation of a central agency that would pool all the public records on each citizen—Dr. Brim dubbed it the "government dossier bank"—may be only 2 years away, he said. A Government commission recently recommended the formation of a data pool, which would be operated either by a separate agency or the Bureau of the Census.

"There is no doubt that we can run the society better with this information," Dr. Brim said, "but doing this must be in conflict with all our fears of having privacy invaded."

Alan F. Westin, a professor of law at Columbia University, predicted even greater growth for "surveillance technology." In addition to wiretapping and closed-circuit television, he mentioned personality testing, "truth serums," brain wave analysis, voice recording and the increasing exchange of information between public agencies.

The existence of a "dossier bank" could unfairly affect a person's life chances, several speakers noted, both because an individual changes throughout his life and because the original material might be faulty.

A professor of law in the audience at one session recalls the hundreds of detailed questionnaires he had been asked to fill out on former students.

"My verdict on the emotional adjustment of a student I saw only in class may affect him for the rest of his life," he said. "It's dammed unfair."

Dr. Brim noted a contradiction in the attitudes of research scientists.

"The very same psychologists who say we should withhold testing information from a client for fear of shaming him are the same ones who are engaged in the most deceitful research and are not studying the consequences," he said.

Dr. Brim and Dr. Westin agreed that the best method of controlling surveillance and testing would be not to ban it entirely, but to decide carefully on the basis of each case. "A rule of thumb," Dr. Brim said "would be whether the invasion of privacy is unreasonable on the part of the invader or intolerable for the subject."

THE SKIN GAME GOES ON

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, on Monday, April 18, and Tuesday, April 19, Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor and Under Secretary of Agriculture John Schnittker opened hearings on export controls on cattle hides, calf and kip skins and bovine leather export limitations which the Secretary of Commerce had previously announced.

The hearings will be resumed next Monday, April 25.

I was amazed to find on my desk this morning—in the midst of hearings on revision or recision of the order—an announcement from the Secretary of Commerce indicative that his mind is made up and that the hearings are nothing but window dressing.

At the time witnesses were appearing, an announcement was apparently in preparation—indeed, prepared and released to the press—which states flatly, among other things:

> The total number of whole cattle hides to be exported to countries other than Canada, in the first 6 months of the year is 5,208,000. In the second half of the year, a level of 4,712,000 is planned. The total for the entire year will be 9,920,000 based upon the objective of holding 1966 while hide exports levels to an amount equivalent to that reached in 1964.
>
> Export licensing quotas for other categories of hides, skins, and leather commodities have not yet been determined for the first half of the year. The Department said that quotas for these additional commodities will be announced shortly.
>
> The quota announced today implements Current Export Bulletin No. 930 dated March 11 which imposed export controls over hides, skins, and bovine leathers. It is hoped that provision of this information will allow exporters to plan their activities under current policy guidelines.

Barron's magazine has labeled the export limitation on hides—which did not avert an increase in shoe prices when the new lines were announced in March—a "skin game."

I would like to know, Mr. President, what sort of a game the hearings now being conducted by the Secretary of Commerce and the Under Secretary of Agriculture constitute when the decision is written, and the trade is advised to make their plans on the basis of that decision, before the witnesses have been heard.

Apparently statements filed by Members of the House and the Senate—and I had intended to file one—were not even read when the flat declaration was being promulgated, and I quote the release:

> The total for the entire year will be 9,920,000.

Livestock raisers, feeders, slaughterers and processors have traveled from across the Nation to testify in good faith at the Commerce Department hearings, at great expense, believing that the order was under review. But before they could get all of their testimony into the record, the original order has been affirmed and new steps taken in implementation of it.

The succession of events gives every indication that the hearings are nothing but an expensive diversionary tactic—expensive to the participants who believed that they were participating in a bona fide review of the propriety of the order.

I shall not, of course, take further time preparing a statement to file at the hearing, when the decision has already been made and announced. I shall today discuss with the chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee hearings on S. 3175—meaningful congressional hearings at which the report will be left unwritten until the evidence is all before the committee and given full consideration.

I would like to raise one additional question about not just the propriety, but the legality, of this whole series of actions taken recently to freeze or roll back farm prices which are below parity.

Mr. President, the Congress of the United States has enacted laws again and again, declaring that it is the policy of Congress to achieve parity prices for farmers.

Price support levels are supposed to be minimums, not ceilings.

In an act passed in 1948 amending and supplementing the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, section 2 read:

> It is hereby declared to be the policy of the Congress—
>
> (1) Through the exercise of the powers conferred upon the Secretary of Agriculture under this title, to establish and maintain such orderly marketing conditions for agricultural commodities in interstate commerce as will establish, as the prices to farmers, parity prices as defined in section 301 (a)(1) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938.

Section 301(a) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 says that—

> The parity price for any agricultural commodity, as of any date, shall be determined by multiplying the adjusted base price of such commodity as of such date by the parity index as of such date.

The Department of Agriculture determines the parity prices of agricultural commodities every month. They appear in the monthly publication Agricultural Prices. The last issue available, released March 30 on prices as of March 15, shows that farmers are not receiving the parity goal set by law, but only 82 percent of parity. It shows that only two commodities—limes and hogs—were at or above parity on March 15. I might add that hog prices have dipped considerably since March 15 and I was advised by telephone only yesterday that they were considerably below parity—and still sinking—in South Dakota markets this week.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, which is still basic farm law carried in the Department of Agriculture's Compilation of Statutes Relating to Agriculture and it states in Section 2: Declaration of Policy:

> It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress * * * to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in cotton, wheat, corn, tobacco, and rice to the extent necessary to provide an orderly, adequate, and balanced flow of such commodities in interstate and foreign commerce through storage of reserve supplies, loans, marketing quotas, assisting farmers to obtain, insofar as practicable, parity prices for such commodities and parity of income, and assisting consumers to obtain an adequate and steady supply of such commodities at fair prices.

That quotation leaves no question of the objective which is embodied in law, nor any question that Congress and the President who signed the law regarded parity prices as fair prices to the consumers. They still are.

In the Agricultural Act of 1961, section 2, we enacted and the President approved language which reads:

> In order more fully and effectively to improve, maintain, and protect the prices and incomes of farmers, to enlarge rural purchasing power, to achieve a better balance between supplies of agricultural commodities and the requirements of consumers therefor, to preserve and strengthen the structure of agriculture and to revitalize and stabilize the overall economy at reasonable costs to the Government, it is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress to—
>
> (a) afford farmers the opportunity to achieve parity of income with other economic groups by providing them with the means to develop and strengthen their bargaining power in the Nation's economy.

It is certainly not affording farmers an opportunity to achieve parity of income, Mr. President, to issue orders which are intended—as has been publicly stated, to put a ceiling on, or even roll back, prices already well under parity.

Nor is it a fulfillment of congressional intent to get 500,000 farmers, out of nearly 3.5 million, up to a level of income equal to what might be earned with the same skills in another calling. That is about 15 percent of the congressional goal, not the goal.

In the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962, section 402, we enacted a provision which said:

> Congress hereby confirms its longstanding policy * * * to obtain maximum returns in the marketplace for producers and for the Commodity Credit Corporation.

If congressional enactments of policy—approved by the President and written into the law of the land—have any meaning, then there is, in my opinion, a serious legal question about the propriety of the current efforts to roll back subparity farm prices which are still, overall, 18 percent below the enacted congressional objective.

I do not want to be misinterpreted as relying on a legalism, Mr. President, as the sole basis of my objection to the moves against farm prices.

My basic point is that Congress enacted laws from 1932 to 1965, making parity prices and parity of income for farmers—not yet achieved—the goal of all of its enactments.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman has done a wonderful job of building up farm income in accordance with the congressional mandate—the mandate of the farm laws. The farm situation has been greatly improved in the past 5 years under his leadership.

I deplore the fact that the Council of Economic Advisers, the Commerce Department and others unfamiliar with agriculture, and apparently uninformed about the content of the law of the land affecting agriculture, are being permitted to interfere in farm policy in the name of inflation control and to thwart the achievement of the goal this Nation has had in the law for the past quarter century.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD the Commerce Department's midhearing announcement of what they intend to do.

There being no objection, the announcement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> The first 2 days of public hearings concerning export controls on cattle hides, calf and kip skins and bovine leather were completed today at the U.S. Department of Commerce. The hearings, opened on April 18 by Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor and Under Secretary of Agriculture John Schnittker, will be continued on Monday, April 25.
>
> During the first 2 days, written and oral statements were presented by Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, as well as spokesmen for many national organizations and individual companies who are affected by the Government's imposition of export controls on March 7.
>
> "Arguments both for and against the Government's decision have been forcefully and skillfully presented," Secretary Connor said. "All of us who have responsibilities here will study the transcript of the proceedings most carefully, and we will give this matter full consideration."
>
> As previously announced on March 11, exporters of cattle hides and skins were asked to submit statements of past export activity to the Department of Commerce by April 4, with licensing scheduled to begin on April 18. In keeping with this schedule, the Department announced that exporters of whole cattle hides may ship 52.5 percent of their 1966 quota prior to June 30.
>
> The total number of whole cattle hides to be exported to countries other than Canada, in the first 6 months of the year is 5,208,000. In the second half of the year, a level of 4,712,000 is planned.
>
> The Department has provided exporters with their individual export quotas and country allocations for whole cattle hides. Export licensing applications for shipments during the first half of 1966 will be accepted through May 31, the Department said.
>
> Export licensing quotas for other categories of hides, skins, and leather commodities have not yet been determined for the first half of the year. The Department said

that quotas for these additional commodities will be announced shortly.

The quota announced today implements Current Export Bulletin No. 930 dated March 11 which imposed export controls over hides, skins, and bovine leathers. It is hoped that provision of this information will allow exporters to plan their activities under current policy guidelines.

OREGON'S STATEWIDE EXTENSION SYSTEM

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the Oregon State System of Higher Education has many unique characteristics, one aspect of which I should like to discuss today, and that is the way in which the Oregon statewide extension system operates.

I have a great interest in the higher educational system of my State because I served in it for a number of years before coming to the Senate. Our present system was established with much travail and difficulty but as it is now organized, I feel it is well equipped to bring within the reach of every citizen of my State educational courses of high quality. Not only can Oregon's citizens be served on the many campus facilities of the State system, through the division of continuing education literally every town within the State can become a campus.

Instructors from each of our public units and instructors from many of our private institutions through the medium of the division of continuing education are enabled to impart their knowledge and their skills to the students. The way in which this is done is set forth comprehensively and lucidly in an article by Dr. James W. Sherburne, vice chancellor of the Oregon State System of Higher Education for Continuing Education, which appeared in the February–March 1966 issue of the NUEA Spectator, the bulletin of the National University Extension Association.

Mr. President I commend Dr. Sherburne's analysis to my colleagues and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the analysis was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OREGON'S STATEWIDE EXTENSION SYSTEM

(By James W. Sherburne, vice chancellor, Division of Continuing Education, Oregon State System of Higher Education)

The complex world of today has developed to the point where men may improve their society only with the capacity given them by educated people. Higher education faces a situation in which it is being asked to supply the competence to unravel and answer every major unsolved social problem, as well as continuing its traditional role of providing technological skills. From training for civil defense through raising the educational level to obliterate the causes of poverty and urban ills, the rising pressures of a changing age are flowing over the doorstep of the university.

With the well-known knowledge exploration placing new and unprecedented instructional demands upon the university, some way must be found to increase the capacity of institutions of higher education to perform the great public tasks which are their responsibility and ultimate reason for being. Many people will be taught these new and necessary skills while attending colleges and universities, but many more must learn them after their formal education period of life. Continuing education will be this chief mechanism for enabling the university to perform these tasks. Continuing education must, as it is now attempting to do in Oregon, create the type of organization and finance, plus personnel, to help the university reach the demanded new heights of public service. A most effective method, developed early in Oregon, is to provide a cooperative, coordinated system for all the public institutions of higher education in which their efforts are administered by a single agency.

Oregonians, as well as those from other States and countries who come to Oregon to study or work and study, are fortunate that over 30 years ago it became apparent to the State legislature that a coordinated system of continuing education was necessary. Oregon remains somewhat unique even today in that its seven public universities and colleges offer "lifelong study" through one administrative body—the Division of Continuing Education of the Oregon State System of Higher Education.

Despite Oregon's modest population of approximately 1.8 million, the division of continuing education annually serves more than 75,000 adults enrolled in extension classes, evening and summer sessions, independent (correspondence) study, short courses, and other educational programs. Thousands of others have access to the division's television networks, radio stations and other audiovisual services, which include the largest collection of educational films in a rental library west of the Rocky Mountains.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYSTEM

While would-be adult students in other States may wonder which of several institutions to choose for extension study, Oregonians need consult with only one unit of higher education. This has been made possible because an early State legislature had foresight to authorize a "survey of higher education in Oregon" which resulted in a 1931 report that turned up examples of costly duplication of services in extension activities similar to those that then existed in the regular campus programs of this State.

The Office of Education of the Department of Interior conducted that 1931 study, and part of its printed publication contained this commentary:

"The survey commission had called to its attention while in Oregon the fact that in one city, in one school building, upon the same day, and in two different rooms, representatives of two State institutions were holding entirely independent extension meetings, each for a relatively small group, upon the same subject or upon subjects so closely related in content and purpose that one representative could have probably carried on the work more effectively than two."

Following the recommendations of this survey commission, the State board of higher education, which had been legislatively created to head up the unified State system of higher education, established in 1932 the general extension division, which has since become the division of continuing education. From that date, the division has represented the State's collegiate institutions in off-campus services throughout the State, and in services to part-time adult students at the colleges and universities. These institutions include Oregon State University, University of Oregon, Portland State College, Oregon College of Education, Southern Oregon College, Eastern Oregon College, Oregon Technical Institute, and the Medical, Dental, and Nursing Schools of the University of Oregon.

As an administrative unit of the office of the chancellor of the Oregon State System of Higher Education, the division is responsible for the extension of the instructional programs, research facilities and consultative services of all the State institutions. It is responsible for fulfilling the State system's commitment for the development, presentation and management of programs in continuing education for adults.

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION MERGER CONSIDERED

When the original general extension division was formed in 1932, the State board of higher education considered combining it with the Federal Cooperative Extension Service under a single administration but discarded the idea as impractical. Since that date, however, both the State and Federal extension services have undergone many changes, and once again consideration is being given to some type of a unified organization. Additional study and considerable planning will be necessary before this develops further.

Heading the division of continuing education operations is the vice chancellor of the State system of higher education. His principal assistants are the individual directors of research and development, divisional relations, business affairs, educational media, statewide services and campus centers for continuing education. There are eight campus centers for continuing education, one at each of the seven colleges and universities plus one in Salem, the State capital. In addition, two separate offices concentrate on extending services to centers for continuing education located throughout the State for individuals who find it impossible to travel to the campus centers.

The central concern of the division is to facilitate the dissemination of knowledge to both rural and urban areas of Oregon. Through its administrative structure, the division identifies public needs and problems, interprets these concerns to colleges and universities, and then translates higher education resources and skills into related educational programs.

These extension methods include evening classes, correspondence study, televised courses, conferences, institutes, workshops, discussion groups and audiovisual instruction through films, slides, audio tapes, and other electronic facilities. During the year ending June 30, 1965, Oregon had 45,325 registrations in degree credit courses; 1,023 registrations in noncredit collegiate courses; 3,456 in correspondence courses; 539 in televised college (off campus) credit courses; 12,264 in both credit and noncredit conferences, institutes and workshops; 1,713 in civil defense training and 3,737 in discussion groups. In addition, 3,430,237 persons, in Oregon and out-of-State, viewed the film offerings of audiovisual instruction.

ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

The division of continuing education, by itself, offers no college credit courses, for it is not an institution. The division is the administrative organization for extending the resources of Oregon's seven public institutions. Consequently, the college credit courses offered through the division are extended from one of the campuses of the State system. The program coordinator for the division must first request the college or university to approve the offering of the course and the location where it is to be organized.

In most instances, the campus closest to the particular center for continuing education where the course is to be offered will assume responsibility for approving or disapproving the course. If the major allocation for this subject is on another campus, the college or university offering this instruction receives the request to offer the course and approve the instructor. The division is thus able to promote the academic programs of all of the State colleges and universities throughout the whole State while meeting the needs of individuals continuing their education.

The college or university which approves the course is also asked to name the instructor. If none is available, the institution permits another State system campus to supply the instructor. Should an instructor not be available from State colleges or universities, an instructor may be employed from a private institution or a community agency. The instructor must be approved by the originating institution, and thus he is sponsored by this institution although he may be regularly employed by another agency.

Although, as stated earlier, the division of continuing education is not an institution, it does have a campus. The campus consists of the 96,981 square miles which make up the large State of Oregon. Greater efficiency and economy of a unified extension service are the obvious and often-cited chief advantages over the alternative of an extension service provided by each of the campuses. A closer examination, however, reveals that much more than efficiency and economy were achieved in 1932 by unifying the general extension activities of the various colleges. Each of the seven colleges and universities of the State system has unique academic potentialities and carefully delineated responsibilities. Thus, the special competence of each college or university is a note in the chord sounded by the division of continuing education on behalf of Oregon's adult population.

NATO

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, in our concern about Vietnam, some of us fail to realize the importance of NATO, and the threatened disarray in NATO.

I made some comments on that subject recently at the University of Kentucky Law Alumni Day program, and I ask unanimous consent that my remarks there be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY SENATOR THRUSTON B. MORTON AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY, LEXINGTON, KY., LAW ALUMNI DAY PROGRAM, APRIL 2, 1966

The crisis in the Western alliance precipitated by President de Gaulle's decision to withdraw France from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization presents the United States with an opportunity as well as with a challenge. The challenge, quite obviously, as President Johnson has pointed out, is to hold the alliance together, not by means of an array of bilateral arrangements, but through NATO. In such cases as withdrawal—the case of France, and noninclusion, the case of Spain—bilateral arrangements should be made with the objective of tying such non-NATO nations de facto into the NATO infrastructure. This will be difficult to accomplish in the case of France in view of President de Gaulle's expressed desire that we evacuate our forces from French territory and his declared intention to withdraw French ground forces from NATO. French naval forces have already been withdrawn. President de Gaulle's action presents the United States with a problem now. Later, after NATO has been realined, regrouped and reoriented, it will be a problem for President de Gaulle.

An effective bilateral arrangement will be easier to accomplish in the case of Spain. Indeed essentially it already exists, although in the light of President de Gaulle's policy some revisions are in order. Spain's attitude toward the United States over the past 15 years or so has been friendly and cooperative. In fact, the Spaniards have shown remarkable patience, maturity, and understanding regarding our inability to persuade Norway to agree to Spain's inclusion in NATO.

In our determination to compensate for France's withdrawal, we can be inspired by the knowledge that the creation of NATO in 1949, following the inauguration of the Marshall plan, was decisive in repulsing the Red onslaught in Western Europe. We know, beyond peradventure of doubt, that a principal objective of Soviet foreign policy has been the destruction of the Western alliance; that this alliance has been the sharpest thorn in their side. The dissolution of the Western alliance while our military forces are heavily engaged in Vietnam would constitute a victory of incalculable importance for our enemies.

Stimulated by the urgency and significance of the crisis, let us then seize this opportunity to do the things which should have been done some time ago to accommodate the NATO purpose and structure to the changes which have occurred in the world during the past few years.

However great the danger really is, the feeling of immediate danger which existed in 1949 no longer exists. This lack has diminished the sense of interdependence, the sense of being partners in a common enterprise which has been the greatest factor in holding the NATO nations together. The continued existence of the alliance, its strength and its effectiveness, are directly related to the evolution of the Communist threat. The problems which affect NATO today, in a sense flow from the success which it has achieved in increasing the security of the Western World.

Ted Achilles, former Deputy Chief of Mission in Paris, former Ambassador to Peru and now Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Atlantic Council of the United States, states in an interesting article in the Foreign Service Journal of July 1965 that in spite of apparent improvement in United State-Soviet relations, there is no dependable evidence of any substantial change in the basic Communist objective of worldwide Communist domination. Certainly there is no justification for the West to let down its guard. For Soviet Russia the doctine of peaceful coexistence is a tactic, not an objective. The need for a collective integrated defense remains.

The recognition in article 5 of the treaty, that an armed attack on any one party shall be considered an attack on all is even more important, more relevant today than it was in 1949.

Nevertheless collective unified defense today far transcends the purely military field. It requires the development of greater unity in all fields. Ultimately it must flow from a common political will.

In 1949, during the Senate debate on ratification of the treaty, Senator Arthur Vandenberg declared:

"Unless the treaty becomes far more than a military alliance, it will be at the mercy of the first Soviet peace offensive."

In this connection Ted Achilles declares: "The prophetic truth of his words has been demonstrated by the discord among the allies which has increased every time there was an apparent slight reduction in East-West relations. A real improvement in East-West relations might kill the treaty and with it, unless it had previously been replaced or supplemented by some arrangement providing for greater unity, all present hopes of a free world adequately organized to meet the political, military, and economic challenges of this era.

"As a military alliance the treaty provides a tight commitment and flexible framework for collective defense as valuable today as in 1949. No changes in it are necessary or desirable."

President de Gaulle has raised some legitimate questions about the alliance. Understandably, De Gaulle seeks to obtain for France a position of greater influence in international politics. He looks upon our statements and movements as little more than devices to insure the perpetuation of American domination of the alliance. Unfortunately, he has raised some appropriate questions without providing the appropriate answers. The best strategy for countering De Gaulle's appeals to nationalist particularism and popular anti-American sentiments, is to reject his arguments by meeting the real security needs of our European allies. Only a constructive American proposal for the restructuring of Atlantic defense can blunt De Gaulle's political offensive and restore the cohesiveness of the alliance. The partnership between the United States and the 13 European nations must be between equals.

Let us remember that "Mr. Big" is always unpopular. The British Empire provided peaceful leadership during most of the 19th century, yet they were hated throughout most of the world. It is our obligation to provide that leadership today. Consequently we are greeted with signs and banners saying "Yankee Go Home." This, perhaps, is the price of leadership. Actually, we didn't seek it. We don't want it. But we have to assume the responsibility whether or not.

NATO, in its existing form, does not fully conform to the needs of its members. U.S. leadership has not been altogether sensitive to the wish of the peoples of Western Europe to participate more fully in common efforts to preserve the heritage of Western civilization. The U.S. inability to recognize European aspirations for changes within the Atlantic Alliance has been enhanced by the almost exclusive U.S. monopoly, within the West, of the means of modern defense, matched by a disdain for the European capacity to contribute to the nuclear portion of Western defense. Hence, the United States must bear part of the burden for the impasse in which NATO finds itself as a result of events of recent weeks. The United States, as the leader of the alliance, must grasp the few opportunities which remain for constructive action if the Atlantic Alliance is not to suffer the fate which historically has befallen alliance systems. It should be the task of U.S. diplomacy to suggest answers in response to the questions which President de Gaulle has posed. In particular, the United States should address itself, as a matter of priority, to the resolution of the problem of command and control of nuclear weapons, and collaboration in science and technology with its European allies. Thus far the resolution of the issue of the command and control of nuclear weapons has proven impossible within the existing NATO framework. This question, symbolic of U.S. predominance in the alliance, has contributed in no small measure to European dissatisfaction with NATO.

Neither the MLF (multilateral force) nor the so-called select committee proposals put forward by the United States is likely to evoke a favorable response from all major European NATO countries, and especially from France. Nor have French authorities shown marked enthusiasm for the British proposal for an Atlantic nuclear force. Yet the MLF concept if modified to take account of major U.S. policy objectives, together with European interests, might furnish a device for restructuring the alliance so as to conform with changes in the West since the founding of NATO in 1949.

The MLF, as proposed by the United States, was flawed by several deficiencies. It did not take sufficient account of European desires to obtain more than a voice in the command and control of nuclear weapons which would remain in practice under the jurisdiction of the United States. Nevertheless, the Europeans would gain psychologically a measure of influence in the Atlantic Alliance, together with a feeling of control over their destinies, which they have not known within NATO in its present form.

The building of a NATO nuclear force might be linked to a program for technological collaboration within the alliance. The United States could make available certain advanced weapons systems to the NATO force. A program of technological collaboration might provide for equitable procedures for the NATO force, giving European firms a share in arms contracts. Programs for the design of new weapons might be planned in such a manner as to accord Europeans an important role in research and development.

In the building of a NATO deterrent the United States might furnish advanced safety devices and other aids designed to prevent war by accident or miscalculation. Systems of electronic locks and other devices might be provided to prevent the unauthorized use of the proposed force. Safeguards similar to those which are designed to retain the centralized command and control of U.S. nuclear capabilities could be built into a NATO force.

Technological collaboration within a restructured NATO might provide for equitable procedures for the allocation of contracts in the design and production of non-nuclear weapons systems. Europeans might be given a greater share in contracts in the alliance for small arms, tanks and certain kinds of aircraft. The United States might collaborate with its European allies, for example, in the creation of an antiballistic missile defense system around key cities in Europe.

It may be desirable, and even necessary, for the United States to seek greater support from Western Europe in the resolution of onerous problems outside the North Atlantic area. The restructuring of NATO might lead to a buildup of European military capabilities sufficient to permit the United States, if necessary, to redeploy a portion of its forces elsewhere to respond to Communist "wars of national liberation." Alternatively, in a restructuring of NATO, the United States might obtain greater European support outside the North Atlantic area than has been forthcoming in recent years.

In additon to the above areas for useful change, there are other avenues of approach which would immeasurably strengthen the North Atlantic Treaty Organizaton.

1. Seize this opportunity to bring Spain into NATO. In the light of France's withdrawal, Norway might be persuaded to relent in her stubborn opposition to Spain's admission. Spain has never really indicated that she desires to be included in NATO. Nevertheless, there is ground for hope that she would accept. As a nonmember of NATO, she contributes more to the strength of the alliance than does Norway as a NATO member. Moreover, Spain is, after all, an Atlantic nation.

2. Use every effort to compose the Greek-Turkish quarrel which has threatened to undermine the foundation of collective security in that part of the world. Success in this difficult area would bolster the Alliance politically as well as militarily.

3. Improve our relations with Portugal by abandoning an anticolonialist posture which is as doctrinaire as it is callow. Our mission should be not to judge, not to reform our friends and allies, but to cope successfully with our enemies. Portugal's interests in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea are vital in maintaining her importance as a nation. A more mature attitude on our part would not only strengthen the Alliance, it would help to bring about a new and favorable agreement regarding our Azores bases. Prime Minister Salazar plainly stated his position a few days ago when he said:

"We collaborate with those who are disposed to collaborate with us."

He went on to state:

"And those who are hostile to us should not expect our cooperation even when they allege that this would benefit the defense of what they call the free world."

This last remark is quite obviously intended for us. In spite of the resourceful efforts of our talented and distinguished Ambassador, Adm. George W. Anderson, former Chief of Naval Operations, it is naturally difficult for the Portuguese to forget how unsympathetic toward their problems our policies have been. I might point out that Portugal enjoys good relations with Germany and France. France has been granted a missile tracking station in the Azores.

4. West Germany, the last nation to be admitted to NATO is now the largest in terms of manpower contributions. They want a nuclear voice.

It seems likely that De Gaulle is counting on our apprehension regarding a resurgent Germany to contain Germany's dynamic forward thrust. Yet, surely, France, with a history of three wars with Germany in a span of 75 years has more to fear from a revitalized Germany than we. Moreover, the German people desire a union between West and East Germany. If De Gaulle pursues a policy of increasing rapprochement between France and Russia, the Franco-German friendship which is after all, De Gaulle's greatest accomplishment will be jeopardized.

We have many cards to play. Let's play them.

Surely we are aware of the prejudices which characterize the attitude of certain people toward Generalissimo Franco and the Spain which has evolved since the Spanish Civil War.

I know that a dogmatic, rather sanctimonious anticolonial attitude often has its source in domestic politics. It has affected our foreign policy toward Portugal.

I know that the tendency of certain Americans is to continue fighting World War II instead of striving to avoid world war III by a frank recognition that the enemy today is the worldwide Communist conspiracy. This self-defeating posture colors our relations with our friends in Germany.

President de Gaulle has put us up against the gun. His moves present us with a choice: We can keep a cautious ear to the ground in a shrewd effort to appeal to certain misguided views; or we can emphasize our concern with our national security by recognizing the continuing nature of the Communist threat. The hour is late. These problems will not wait.

The above suggestions are, of course, by no means exhaustive of the possibilities for constructive action in the present emergency. They constitute, however, a framework within which the Western Alliance can be strengthened in spite of France's withdrawal.

Perhaps the best way to preserve NATO is through a person-to-person contact. I know that President Johnson is overburdened with the problems of Vietnam, the problems of inflation, and the problems of the entire world. Nevertheless, I would hope that he could find the time to go to Paris, and only Paris, to sit down with President de Gaulle and talk over the problems of NATO. President de Gaulle, rightly or wrongly, feels that he was mistreated by Winston Churchill, by Franklin Roosevelt, and even by General Eisenhower. It seems to me that the President of the United States who has a great reputation for salesmanship and persuasion, could indeed convince the President of France that the NATO Alliance is imperative not only from a military standpoint but culturally and economically as well.

PROMOTING THE INTERESTS OF CONSUMERS—THE CONSUMER ASSEMBLY

Mr. HART. Mr. President, a meeting of historic significance will be held next Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in this city.

Thirty-four organizations, working to promote the interest of consumers are holding the first nationwide Consumer Assembly. Represented will be church groups, women's clubs, social service organizations, trade unions, senior citizens' associations, credit unions, and consumer cooperatives. In all they represent 50 million consumers.

Scheduled for discussion are some of the most pressing consumer questions of our day, including highway safety, the cost of consumer credit, the cost of medical and hospital care, the price of electricity and truth-in-lending and truth-in-packaging bills.

As one who has a great interest in consumer affairs, I welcome this Consumer Assembly. As the sponsor of the truth-in-packaging bill, I am pleased by the prominent position it has been given on the program.

As elected representatives of the people—consumers all—I am sure my colleagues will want to welcome this group to Washington and wish them a fruitful meeting.

INFLATION AND TAX INCREASES

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, we hear talk these days about inflation and the possibility of a tax increase as an anti-inflationary measure. The Joint Economic Committee in its report this year recognized the danger of inflation. However, the minority views in this report held that a tax increase could be avoided if Federal expenditure controls were pursued with sufficient vigor. The Wall Street Journal on March 30 published an editorial discussing the relative merits of increasing taxes or cutting Government spending as effective methods for combating inflation. The article presents a strong argument for lowering spending. It says that commonsense calls for this approach. I, too, feel that it is time we gave commonsense a try in Government economic activity. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial entitled "The Uncuttable Growth" be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Uncuttable Growth

It is symptomatic of today's economic sickness that politicians should even be arguing whether to treat inflation with higher taxes or reduced Government spending; commonsense plainly calls for the latter.

As it is, though, the administration would almost certainly increase taxes before it cut domestic outlays. To the credit of the Republicans in Congress, and especially those on the Joint Economic Committee, they are challenging that ill-considered approach.

The minority Members warn that present economic policy is bringing inflation in 1966 and risks recession in 1967. The aim of policy should be a Federal budget surplus in fiscal 1967, instead of the projected $1.8 billion deficit—a smaller batch of red ink, it should be emphasized, than is likely to emerge in the event.

"If the administration is unwilling to reduce spending," the GOP committee report says, "an increase in taxes will be necessary, which would cause economic damage itself. Increasing taxes is a less desirable way to moderate the boom than by deferring expenditures."

To which we would add that it is not only less desirable but also not sure to be effective in countering inflation. As we have had occasion to remark previously, raising taxes may merely mean the Government will spend more; in that case the budget deficit is not necessarily wiped out, nor is total demand necessarily reduced. Conversely, Federal spending cutbacks are bound to lessen the inflationary pressures of demand.

So what is thought to be so terrible about taking the sensible course?

In the first place, it's a question of attitude. This administration is carrying the political handout obsession to truly impressive lengths. A dazzling assortment of domestic programs has been inaugurated or proposed, and for most of them the initial cost is practically nothing compared with what will come.

According to one estimate, outlays for so-called Great Society programs—in health, education, welfare, manpower training, area and regional development, and the rest—will be five times bigger in fiscal 1970 than they were in 1965. Although Vietnam has deterred the Federal officials from asking for as much domestic money in the new budget as they would have liked, they evidently suffer from an almost congenital incapacity for actual retrenchment.

And, sure enough, there is a school of thought, if that is the word, which contends that any serious curtailment of Federal expenditures is politically impossible. Once you start something like the antipoverty campaign, it's suggested, so many politicians and administrators (if not the poor themselves) get involved that the whole thing quickly becomes an enormous uncuttable octopus.

We would certainly not deny the political pressures, but it is a pretty frightening day for this country if it is really true that literally nothing can be done about the Federal Government's extreme bout of obesity, and we don't believe it is true. It would mean, at the very best, more and more of these incredibly mismanaged and wasteful undertakings like the poverty business and urban renewal that customarily destroys without renewing.

In addition, an endless proliferation of projects would promise continuing inflationary pressure, making what the Republicans regard as the risk of an ensuing recession all the more acute. Not to mention that a Central Government growing by such leaps must press uncomfortably close on traditional political liberties.

For all these reasons, we find the case for lowering spending instead of raising taxes an eminently sound one; it would be the healthier choice, and in more than economic ways. As for its alleged impossibility, all that is required is a modicum of political courage in Congress.

Hard-working Americans don't deserve to be slapped with a tax boost just because their Government refuses to prune its political extravagance. But whatever the upshot, the GOP is doing a public service by exposing the diseased state of official policy.

NEBRASKA HOUSEWIVES WONDER WHY PRESIDENT IGNORES OWN ADVICE

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, few White House statements of recent weeks, including those on Vietnam, have provoked more reaction than the President's advice to the Nation's homemakers that they should become better shoppers.

My mail has been heavy with indignant letters from Nebraska housewives who demand to know when the President is going to practice his own preaching by reducing Government expenditures.

Similarly, I have heard from a number of farmers who resent the suggestion that they are principally to blame for the current inflation in our economy, a charge made not only by the Persident, but even more astonishingly by Secretary Freeman, to whom the farmers look as their representative in the President's Cabinet.

The facts, of course, Mr. President, do not substantiate this charge. By Mr. Freeman's own figures, the farmer is not receiving his fair share of the benefits of a booming economy. To quote the Secretary directly:

> The average income of persons of farms is less than two-thirds the per capita income of our nonfarm population. For agriculture as a whole, incomes are still lagging badly behind those in other occupations.

Against that background, it is incredible that Secretary Freedman should call a press conference in which he expressed great pleasure at announcing further drops in farm prices. It is my intention, Mr. President, to discuss this matter at some length in this Chamber within the next several days.

Today, I make these remarks by way of introduction to an excellent editorial by Mr. Phil Gottschalk, publisher of the Sidney, Nebr., Telegraph. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Sidney Telegraph, Apr. 8, 1966]

L.B.J. ADVISES HOUSEWIVES

After refusing to admit for several months there was any danger of price inflation, President Johnson in a recent interview on television tried to shift the blame for inflation to the Nation's farmers.

Always a clever man with figures, L.B.J. said that 80 percent of the price rises were concentrated in meat, vegetables, and dairy products and said housewives should shift their buying from these products to other foods.

Right off hand it is a little hard to think how the housewife is going to whip up a very appetizing meal without using meat, vegetables, or dairy products but that is really beside the point because the farmers should not be made the whipping boy for inflation.

Here are a few items in the inflation picture which the President did not mention:

Instead of cutting back on nonmilitary expenditures, his administration has raised them to the point where there are more Federal programs than ever before in history.

Instead of presenting Congress an honest budget, he overestimated revenues, underestimated expenses, and threw in several one-shot accounting gimmicks (such as accelerated tax payments by corporations) to disguise a $9 billion budget deficit as a surplus.

Instead of using time-tested ways to battle inflation, he first refused to admit it existed and then tried to use "jawbone controls" and "voluntary" guidelines. His action against the steel, copper, aluminum, and cigarette manufacturers are well known, but we have heard little, if anything, about the many, many union wage settlements that have exceeded his voluntary guidelines.

Instead of supporting the Federal Reserve Board for their courageous, far-sighted action in raising the discount rate, he, at first, condemned them. (Now the tune has changed and even L.B.J. and his economists seem to realize that inflation is a real threat.)

The best "guideline" the Government could use would be to set a good example. Instead it has demanded business slam on the price brakes while Government steps on the spending accelerator with billions for nonessential spending.

The President, in his determination to salvage his war on poverty and Great Society programs and to prove his contention we can have both guns and butter, says he will not "sacrifice the poor."

This would be funny if it were not so tragic. The poor are exactly the people who are hurt the most by Johnson inflation, the rich can hedge against its effects. Also hurt badly by inflation are the 20 million retired Americans trying to live on social security payments, millions more in the armed service and working for Federal, State, and local governments and private employers who have no clauses in their contracts to compensate them for rising prices.

We know there are many causes for inflation—but it has been well established that one of the greatest causes is excessive Government spending, unbalanced budgets, and a labor policy that refuses to do anything about wage demands that exceed increases in productivity.

These are all items about which the President could really do something—and this newspaper feels his action in those fields could be a lot more effective than his advice to housewives.

JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS URGES SWIFT ACTION TO PROTECT THE BIG THICKET AREA IN EAST TEXAS

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, one of the leading conservationists in this Nation, Justice William O. Douglas, recently visited the Big Thicket area in southeast Texas, northeast of Houston, and urged that this beautiful natural area be preserved for future generations.

Supreme Court Justice Douglas, who is gathering material for a book on the wildernesses of Texas, stated:

> The need is for a crash program where redtape can be ignored and the job done.

As an advocate of this program for the last few years, I am extremely delighted at the judgment and enthusiasm of such a distinguished American and conservationist as Justice Douglas.

To illustrate the importance of immediate action to preserving the Big Thicket, I ask unanimous consent that

articles describing Justice Douglas' trip from the Monday, April 4, 1966, Houston Post entitled "Douglas Goes Into Big Thicket," from the Tuesday, April 5, 1966, Houston Chronicle entitled "Douglas Urges Crash Program in Big Thicket," from the Wednesday, April 6, 1966, Houston Chronicle entitled "Justice Douglas Tramps the Big Thicket," as well as editorials from the Wednesday, April 6, 1966, Houston Chronicle entitled "Dignitaries Tramp Texas Trails," and the Thursday, April 7, 1966, Houston Post entitled "Texas Scenic Areas Spotlighted," be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Houston Post, Apr. 4, 1966]

Gathering Book Material: Douglas Goes Into Big Thicket

(By Cleveland Grammer)

LIBERTY.—The U.S. Supreme Court's writing Justice, William O. Douglas, came to Texas and went into the Big Thicket Sunday to gather material for a new book.

Justice Douglas, who has spent 26 of his 67 years on the bench of this Nation's highest court, spends much of his spare time at his avocation of naturalist. He has written six books on wildlife.

He said he plans to write a chapter about east Texas' vast pine and hardwood forest known as the Big Thicket, in his latest book entitled, "The Wildernesses of Texas." The book, to be published by McGraw-Hill, will come off the presses next spring.

After arriving at Houston's International Airport from New York Sunday, Douglas came to Liberty as guest of the Big Thicket Association, an organization dedicated to preserving the forest as a national park or wilderness area.

At a reception at the Liberty City Hall, Douglas said "Texas is unique in having wonderful recreation lands," and that "lots needs to be done to set them aside."

At the Liberty reception, Douglas was greeted by Mayor Dempsie Henley, president of the Big Thicket Association, and former Texas Gov. Price Daniel, whose ranch is at the edge of the Big Thicket.

The reception was sponsored by the Liberty Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

After the reception, Douglas was taken to Mayor Henley's ranch in the Big Thicket for a barbecue supper and briefing on the forest.

Monday morning Douglas will be taken on a Jeep tour of the forest. The tour will end at the Alabama-Coushatta Indian Reservation near Livingston.

During a 6 p.m. program at the reservation Monday, Douglas will be invested with an honorary lifetime membership in the Indian tribes by Chief Cooper Sylestine.

On Tuesday, Douglas will be taken on a tour of the Lufkin National Forest by the forest's director, Jack McElroy.

This was his first trip to the east Texas area.

[From the Houston Chronicle, Apr. 5, 1966]

Douglas Urges Crash Program in Big Thicket

A "Manhattan project approach" to conservation, under which the Government could move swiftly to protect endangered wildlife areas, was suggested by U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas during a tour of the east Texas Big Thicket.

"Manhattan project" was the designation given the program for development of the atom bomb during World War II. Much of its success has been credited to a policy of "take what you need and debate the price later."

"The need is for a crash program where red tape can be ignored and the job done," Douglas commented. "Trees such as those of the Big Thicket can be destroyed while endless arguments go on concerning the best way to save them."

He did not explain how he thought a crash conservation program should be carried out.

Douglas' comment was made as he stood beside a gigantic dead magnolia at the common corner of Liberty, Hardin, and Polk Counties northeast of Fuqua. It was discovered only a month ago that this tree, known for generations as the 1,000-year-old magnolia, had died during the last year.

Conservationists say the tree might have been saved if the thicket was part of a national park or wilderness area.

Justice Douglas spent Monday on an all-day inspection trip of the Big Thicket. Tuesday he flew over the area by helicopter and visited special scenic areas. Wednesday he was to conclude his 3-day tour of the four national forests.

Monday night the Justice was made an honorary member of the Alabama-Coushatta Indian tribes in a ceremony at Indian Village east of Livingston.

Justice Douglas said his Big Thicket tour was to gather material for the concluding chapter of a book he is now writing on the wilderness areas of Texas. It is due for publication early next year.

[From the Houston Chronicle, Apr. 1, 1966]

Justice Douglas Tramps the Big Thicket

(By Louis Hofferbert)

Men stand in awe of a Supreme Court Justice; wood ticks do not.

U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas' visit this week to the east Texas Big Thicket also has shown he can get his feet as muddy, his pants as scratched, and his nose as sunburned as any other man.

And it has posed a peculiar problem for those who are uncertain how an "off duty" Justice of the Supreme Court should be addressed.

On Monday during the first day of his three-day Texas tour Justice Douglas was called everything from "Mr. Justice" to "Doug."

If any of the informal salutations displeased him, Douglas didn't show it. He was quietly affable, asking many questions and making constant entries in a small pocket notebook.

And he joined heartily in the general laughter at the broadest prank of the tour.

ME BIG BODYGUARD

This was at the Indian Village in Polk County for a ceremony inducting Douglas as an honorary member of the Alabama-Coushatta tribes. Before the ceremony members of the Douglas party were asked to fill out cards with information needed for introduction to the audience.

One wag listed his occupation as "bodyguard for Justice Douglas" and added, "I can't fight, but I make menacing gestures."

Douglas was delighted by the horseplay.

The Justice is no stranger to the informalities and inconveniences of a wilderness. He is an ardent conservationist and an experienced outdoorsman who has hiked or mountain-climbed through some of the most rugged terrain of the world.

VETERAN HIKER

He has made many trips to Texas for treks into the roughest and most inaccessible places. He is familiar with the Big Bend, knows the dangers and the beauties of such canyons as Mariscal, Bouquillas and McKittrick, has hiked through the Davis Mountains and the Guadalupes, and through every remote section of the hill country.

He has, in fact, become familiar with every section of Texas except the Big Thicket. His present trip is to remedy that, and his knowledge of the wilderness areas of the State will be included in a book he is now writing.

Douglas' knowledge of wildlife is extensive. He is familiar with most trees, flowers, birds and insects he found in the Big Thicket. Those not familiar to him he studied with intense interest. He discussed technical points with such authorities as Dr. Don Correll of the Texas Research Foundation and Dr. Lawrence Walker of Sam Houston College.

TOUGH ON OTHERS

Despite his 67 years, the Justice is as tough as a cowboy's boot.

While less vigorous companions huffed and puffed, Douglas plowed through heavy underbrush without a pause and scaled steep banks or leaped fallen logs with nimble ease.

When, as happened three times during the first day, one of the party's four-wheel-drive cars bogged down in the heavy going, Douglas cheerfully helped with tow lines or strode briskly through the bog in search of some special plant or tree.

And, at the end of the rugged day, he summed up his feeling as a conservationist.

Commenting that the Army Corps of Engineers has become "an all-powerful outfit dedicated to the idea that dams must be built on every stream," Douglas smiled and said:

"We pay farmers not to grow crops. Why can't we pay the Corps of Engineers not to build dams?"

[From the Houston Chronicle, Apr. 6, 1966]

Dignitaries Tramp Texas Trails

Two areas of Texas with vast natural beauty drew visitors of national prominence this week. Their interest and presence should help to attract other tourists—less prominent, possibly, but equally welcome.

It is quite possible that if a history of Texas tourism is ever compiled, the treks of Mrs. Lyndon Johnson and Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas might be considered a significant point in the development of tourism in the State by people from other States as well as Texans. Too often natives of an area or State are unaware of the natural beauty which is only hours away from their homes.

Mrs. Johnson's visit to Big Bend National Park, in the company of Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, rated national coverage by newspapers, magazines, radio, and television. Last year there were 175,000 visitors to the park, often described as one of the last great wilderness areas of Texas. It's predicted that her visit will raise the number of visitors to 350,000 in 2 years.

Justice Douglas tramped trails in the Big Thicket of East Texas to gather material for a book on wilderness areas of the State. During the tour he joined others who have urged that steps be taken to preserve what remains of the heavily wooded area. "The need is for a crash program where redtape can be ignored and the job done," he said.

The Chronicle agrees that it is past time to stop the process of encroachment which has already whittled the thicket area from some 3.5 million acres to about 300,000 acres. There are obstacles but this does not mean that the job is impossible or that efforts to accomplish the task should be lessened.

Hopefully, the visits this week will not only stimulate tourist traffic but will also provide the stimulus needed to save the Big Thicket.

[From the Houston Post, Apr. 7, 1966]

Texas Scenic Areas Spotlighted

Texas tourism received a needed and welcome boost as the result of simultaneous visits to "wilderness areas" in the State by

the Nation's First Lady, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, and U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas.

While Mrs. Johnson led an entourage that included Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall on a trek through the rugged country of the Big Bend National Park and southwest Texas, with stops at San Antonio and Fort Davis, the Supreme Court Justice, who is an ardent conservationist and outdoorsman, roamed the primitive, heavily wooded area deep in the heart of east Texas known as the Big Thicket.

Between them, the two visitors focused statewide and national attention upon the great variety of scenic, historical, and other attractions that Texas has to offer residents and visitors, especially those who love the outdoors and cherish the relatively few remaining areas of the country that have not been despoiled by civilization.

At San Antonio, Mrs. Johnson, whose work in behalf of a beautiful America, will be long remembered, directed attention to one of the country's outstanding urban beautification projects, along the San Antonio River, which flows through the heart of the city. To help plug the national park on the Texas-Mexico border, she led a canoe caravan through one of the impressively beautiful canyons of the Rio Grande.

The colorful history of the area was emphasized both at San Antonio and at Fort Davis, where she dedicated a restoration of the West Texas frontier outpost and Secretary Udall announced that a State park is being developed with Federal and State funds.

Justice Douglas, on his tour of the Big Thicket, was the guest of Mayor Dempsie Henley, of Liberty, and others who hope to preserve at least part of the area as a State or national park. The Justice is expected to include a description of the flora and fauna of the Big Thicket in a book he is writing about Texas.

It is hoped that the attention the two tours received will arouse the interest of others and cause them to want to see the areas themselves. But a broader purpose was to stimulate and encourage interest in preserving and protecting these areas for the enjoyment of present and future generations. At Fort Davis, it was said that the First Lady's trip was intended to point up a new conservation program of renewal, restoration, and use of natural resources and facilities.

Quite apart from any out-of-State visitors who may be attracted as a result of the publicity, there are large numbers of Texans who have not visited the spotlighted areas, and who are unfamiliar with their beauty and charm. There is no better season of the year than spring in which to roam the State. Now is an excellent time for every Texan who loves the outdoors or who is stimulated and refreshed by personal contact with nature to familiarize himself with the varied beauties of his State. Distances are great, but the exploration is well worth the time and effort.

A FRESH LOOK AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, in the short span of a little over 20 years, the United Nations has become well established as the foremost organization devoted to international peace and understanding. It is an organization through which most member States are conducting an increasing volume of their foreign affairs, and as such it has been of inestimable value to the whole world. The Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, Joseph Sisco, recently spoke of a fresh look at the U.N. to a Regional Foreign Policy Conference in Atlanta, Ga. His speech deserves attention, because in it he points out one of the paradoxes of our approach to the United Nations; that although we pride ourselves for our pragmatic approach to organizations, we tend to forget that the United Nations must inevitably reflect the divergent views of its members.

I ask unanimous concert that Mr. Sisco's speech be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A Fresh Look at the U.N.

(Address by the Honorable Joseph J. Sisco, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs before the Regional Foreign Policy Conference, Atlanta, Ga., April 2, 1966)

It is a privilege to be here in Atlanta. The aim of these regional foreign policy conferences is an excellent one, embodying a basic democratic idea—a direct discussion of public policy between interested citizens and those charged with formulating it.

A generation or two ago most of the major problems of Government could be understood by almost every citizen. Today, even many well-informed people do not feel fully competent to judge many public issues. Too many persons simply shy away from their consideration altogether. Let the expert, the man with specialized knowledge, decide them. Yet these decisions, the complex no less than the simple, determine the future of our Nation.

The need for an informed, educated citizenry is, therefore, greater than ever. And as the issues grow more intricate, our obligation to explain and discuss them becomes correspondingly more important.

The institution I want to talk with you about today—the United Nations—is as complex as any around—as complex, in fact, as the 117 widely varied nations comprising it.

We Americans are pragmatic in our approach to most institutions. We pride ourselves on our flexibility and lack of dogmatism. Yet for some reason our view of the United Nations has often been somewhat simplistic. We have tended to forget that the United Nations must inevitably reflect the great diversity of views, interests, and goals of the members represented in the world body. We sometimes forget when we do not always get our way that the United States is not the only country developing the scenario in world affairs today. We have at times asked too much of the U.N., and on other occasions have expected too little.

Polls show that the American people strongly support the U.N.: 80 percent believe the U.N. important and want the U.S. Government to "use it more." Of course, the U.N. is an important instrument of foreign policy, one way among others for advancing our causes and for cooperating with other countries in the myriad tasks of political conciliation, social progress, economic development, and technical cooperation.

But we must avoid extravagant expectations about the U.N. Those who start out by seeing the U.N. as a panacea for all our ills often end in disillusionment. And they sometimes go to the opposite extreme of pessimism—regarding the U.N. merely as a decorative feature on the international landscape. For example, a distinguished correspondent, concerned over some irresponsible actions by some members of the General Assembly, recently advised his readers that "the only way to preserve the organization so that in some distant future it may play the role for which it was created is to spare it as much as possible." A few weeks later, another distinguished correspondent for a great U.S. newspaper entitled an article, "The U.N. Tries Hard, But—."

Now, I have been engaged in wrestling with the sometimes exhilarating and sometimes frustrating problems that have faced us in the U.N. for the past 15 years. I try not to overexaggerate but, to quote a friend of mine, I try not to underexaggerate either. I believe the beginning of wisdom lies in being neither a pessimist nor an optimist but in being a possibilist. I am a possibilist.

In fact, I would venture to say that all practitioners of foreign policy must be possibilists, for politics, whether in our own legislature or in an international forum, is the art of the possible.

How does a possibilist approach foreign policy problems and, more specifically, how does he operate in the U.N.?

First, he keeps in mind the real options that are open to him. He is problem oriented and does not grasp for utopian solutions.

In the words of Winston Churchill: "Do not let spacious plans for a new world divert your energies from saving what is left of the old."

He knows, in the words of President Franklin Roosevelt, that the structure of world peace "cannot be a peace of large nations or of small nations [but] * * * a peace which rests on the cooperative efforts of the whole world."

He knows he must deal with factional disputes in Cyprus and disorder in the Congo and the effect of the price of cocoa on Ghana's future—not about some amorphous scheme for world order.

He knows that when weighing the question of Red China's admission to the U.N. or recognition that not only is our view relevant but also the adversaries' continued insistence that the Republic of China be eliminated or cast aside.

He is concerned with how to recruit observers for Kashmir, as well as how to achieve a more fundamental and lasting political solution.

Second, he adapts to changing circumstances. One of the cliches about practitioners of foreign policy is that we are unaware that the world is changing. We are either asleep like Rip van Winkle or are romantically playing the old familiar tunes from our boyhood. I assure you that if you sat at my desk in Washington for 1 day you would soon be disabused of this cliche. In dealing with U.N. affairs we are constantly aware that we cannot escape the dramatic changes of the 20 years since the charter was signed, and especially the changes in the composition and pressures in the U.N. during the decade of the sixties. It is a commonplace that change is taking place at a revolutionary and ever-accelerating pace. The tough assignment is to know how to design and adapt machinery to provide for peaceful change while preserving the underlying values—justice, economic, and social advancement, human rights—for which the U.N. was created and to which our foreign policy is devoted.

Third, a possibilist does not start out with extravagant expectations. He is not disillusioned when he encounters setbacks. He seeks limited goals. He is patient. He keeps probing for possibilities. The history of our efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem illustrates this dramatically.

The task of the United Nations has been encumbered almost from the start by great-power conflicts. Its efforts to promote social progress have been hampered by discord and strife. It has been called upon to keep peace where there has been no peace in the hearts of men. It has been buffeted by the winds of racism and nationalism as the peoples of colonial lands have moved to rule themselves in freedom and to assert their right to speak, and vote, as equals in the forum of the nations.

But through it all the U.N. has survived and continues to serve the cause of peace. That the United Nations has come this far is a tribute to the vision of those who drew the founding plans, a testimonial to the resiliency and relevance of the charter itself. The measure of the importance which President Johnson attaches to the U.N. is demonstrated by the fact that for the first time in our history, a Supreme Court Justice was asked to leave the bench to lead us in the U.N. forum. Justice Arthur Goldberg has done this brilliantly.

CHANGE IN THE U.N. ITSELF

One question being asked is where is the U.N. going? This issue concerns us not only because of the present financial and constitutional difficulties the U.N. faces. In deeper perspective, we are grappling with the question of how to make sure that the U.N. structure keeps up with the times. For in the words of Lord Halifax at the concluding session of the San Francisco Conference: "We cannot claim that our work is perfect or that we have created an unbreakable guarantee of peace. For ours is no enchanted palace to 'spring into sight at once' by magic touch or hidden power. But we have, I am convinced, forged an instrument by which, if men are serious in wanting peace and are ready to make sacrifices for it, they may find means to win it."

Changes in the world are inevitably reflected in changes in the U.N. To be sure, the U.N. must be representative of the new membership, as it tried to do by enlarging the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

The U.N. is based on the one-nation, one-vote principle. Of the present 117 members, nearly half did not exist as independent states when the U.N. was formed. Of the 67 new members to enter the organization since 1945, 34 are African states, most small and with limited resources. A significant shift in relative voting strength to small members has occurred in most important U.N. organs.

If the U.N. is to be vital and viable, it must reflect not only the sovereign equality of states but the realities of power and responsibility as they exist in the real world today. For if it does not do so, the U.N. will speak but no one will listen, and its findings will lose their value.

The 20th General Assembly witnessed several examples of excesses by the majority, in some cases overriding the charter provision for a two-thirds vote on an important question on issues affecting peace and security. As Ambassador Goldberg stated at the close of the 20th Assembly: Where action is taken by the Assembly by derogation of the charter requirements for a two-thirds vote on important questions "that action is a complete nullity. It is null and void." The discrepancies between voting power and real power will not be solved by formal abandonment of the one-nation, one-vote system. The charter on this subject is unlikely to be changed, and an agreement on a formula for weighting votes is unlikely. Rather, informal influence, mutual adjustment procedures, composition of subgroups, and the weight of political and financial contributions should help redress the balance. Above all, patience and understanding will be required, particularly by the advanced countries with greater experience in international affairs. It is our hope that all members will see that in the long run orderly procedures will serve their interests and help move all of us toward a more stable world order in which the rule of law prevails.

A HARD LOOK AT U.N. PROGRAMS AND BUDGETS

We have also been taking a hard look at programs and budgets throughout the entire U.N. system. We supported the establishment of a General Assembly Committee to review budgetary problems in the U.N. system. The United States has been the main supporter of these programs in the past, and we can expect to do our full share in the future. We have supported U.N. programs because they help the developing countries to help themselves, because they sometimes avoid some of the political difficulties which are involved in bilateral aid, they help share the burden, and they provide a worldwide pool of technical help which is not available to any single country. But our support cannot and must not be taken for granted.

We realize the needs are great, and the developing countries understandably want to better their lot today—not in the distant future.

But we are convinced that more of the needs can be met by assuring that the U.N. and its family of agencies are operating at maximum efficiency, that sound and systematic budgetary procedures are followed, that program priorities are clearly established, marginal and duplicative activities eliminated, that undue increases in staff are avoided, and that reasonable and not excessive budget target levels are established.

We are working hard to this end. As President Johnson stated in a memorandum of March 15 to the Secretary of State directing him to undertake certain measures to improve our participation in international organizations: "No nation has been a greater supporter of the United Nations, its specialized agencies, and other international organizations than the United States * * *. The United States shall continue to meet its fair share of the financial requirements of these organizations. If we are to be a constructive influence in helping to strengthen the international agencies so that they can meet essential new needs, we must apply to them the same rigorous standards of program performance and budget review that we do, to our own Federal programs." Ambassador Goldberg and I have just returned from Geneva where we met with the other major contributors to the U.N. in an effort to give reality to this directive.

PEACEKEEPING

We consider U.N. peacekeeping an important security option in U.S. foreign policy. The U.N. has undertaken some dozen peacekeeping operations—all of which have served the national interests of the United States and the cause of peace. We would like to see the U.N. capacity to keep the peace strengthened. A U.N. Committee of 33 is examining various facets of this problem—including whether new arrangements are needed regarding authorization of peacekeeping and their management, and how these should be financed in the most equitable and reliable manner.

However, as long as there are fundamental differences between the U.S.S.R. and the United States about the role of the U.N. in the peacekeeping field, it will be difficult to make real progress toward a more reliable system of financing or authorizing future peacekeeping operations.

The Soviets still want to subject all future peacekeeping operations to their total veto. We favor the Security Council playing the primary role provided in the charter. But subjecting peacekeeping operations entirely to the Soviet veto is a prescription for future total paralysis.

For our part, we will support desirable future peacekeeping operations. We recognize that where a major power has fundamental objections, those who favor a particular peacekeeping operation may have to carry a heavier financial burden. We recognize that the unwillingness of the General Assembly to apply the loss of vote sanction against those who refused to pay their peacekeeping assessments has weakened the principle of collective financing. But we will continue our efforts to preserve this concept wherever possible. We favor the broadest possible sharing of the burden by those who support U.N. peacekeeping.

A system based essentially on a voluntary means of financing is not as reliable as we would like. But this need not be fatal if the preponderant majority of likeminded States who support a peacekeeping operation band together and make reasonable contributions.

This ad hoc improvised system is working today. Blue bereted U.N. soldiers or observers are helping to keep the peace in Cyprus, in Kashmir, in the Middle East, and you and I as a result can sleep more restfully tonight. This is the U.N. at its best.

Let me close with this thought.

The key to successful U.S. policy in the U.N. arena, as in other arenas of our foreign policy, lies in joining with other nations in common institutions. We are coming to see that the capacity to act through the U.N. and to fulfill the purposes of the charter means building the joint executive machinery for that end.

Yet in the last analysis, Macaulay was right: "It is the spirit we are of, not the machinery we employ, which binds us to others."

It is the spirit and vision of the charter to which we must be dedicated if we are to carry out what President Johnson called the assignment of the century—the pursuit of peace.

A great American poet said that America is promises. We are dedicated in our domestic society to narrowing the gap between promise and performance in American life. This is now equally true for the societies beyond our shores. The charter of the U.N. is promises, too. It is the promise of collective measures for peace; it is the promise of constant search for friendly relations among nations based on respect for equal rights and self-determination; it is the promise of international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, and cultural character; and it is the promise of encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

It is no longer our national community alone, but a whole generation of mankind for whom these promises must be kept.

They must be kept if we are to preserve this planet—this fragile spaceship we share—from the ever-brooding threat of annihilation.

They must be kept if our kind of world, the world of free choice, of diversity, and of the truths in the Declaration of Independence are to have a chance to prosper.

Let us stretch the possibilities in the charter. The U.N. can achieve the vision in the charter, but only with our help. The U.N. needs American commitment and participation and leadership if it is to fulfill the great promises of the charter.

IDAHO'S SENATOR JORDAN—A LEADER IN FOREST ROAD DEVELOPMENT

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, with his usual thoroughness and foresight, our distinguished colleague, the junior Senator from Idaho [Mr. JORDAN], has called to the attention of the Congress and the Nation the necessity for the Federal Government to fulfill its obligations as its largest landowner in several of our Western States. In particular, Senator JORDAN is urging a step-up of Federal funds for forest access roads.

Senator JORDAN began his work on this project 2 years ago by urging all forest users in his State to begin work on needed forest roads. He advised it would not be enough to speak in generalities, but that specifics were needed to identify access roads and to justify increased forest road funds to provide access to new recreation, grazing, timber, and mining areas. Forest users in Idaho, including sportsmen, recreationists, ranchers, miners and loggers, responded with well-prepared material and suggestions on the need for such roads. Caution was urged to make sure that the roads serve as multipurpose conservation roads and that they be built without undue damage to streams or other natural or esthetic values of the forest areas.

Soon other members of Idaho's congressional delegation, together with State and county government leaders, joined with Senator JORDAN in his cause. As a result I understand people of his State are now prepared to offer a blueprint on the need for the Federal Government, the largest landowner in the State, to join in economic and cultural development of western areas. I am certain that others will join with Idaho in this crusade begun by our distinguished colleague, Senator JORDAN.

With hearings underway this week in the House on the Federal Highway Act of 1966, I would like to call attention to Senator JORDAN's responsible program of Federal road development. When hearings begin in the Senate, I know Senator JORDAN's amendment to increase funds for forest road development will receive careful attention of the Public Works Committee, on which I serve. Materials presented by individuals from his State should be very informative, and I am certain they will make an excellent case following the leadership of Senator JORDAN.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial broadcast by Dave Ainsworth over his station, KSRA in Salmon, Idaho, showing how this area—typical of Idaho—is backing Senator JORDAN's proposal.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IT SEEMS TO ME

Good afternoon, friends, this must be coincidence. Just a year ago, April 4, 1965, to be exact, we were involved in a lengthy discussion of the new management plan for the Salmon National Forest. The announcement revealed that under the just completed forest inventory and under the new Forest Service concept of "economic feasibility," the allowable cut for timber operators in the Salmon River area had been established at 27,700,000 board feet per year for an 8-year period, with a revision scheduled after 8 years.

It was also revealed at that time, that sustained yield in the Salmon National Forest would actually support an annual cut of something more than 70 million board feet of all species, but that more than 40 million came in the category of not being "economically feasible"—that is, so located that it could not be harvested at a profit to the timber operator.

The plight of the timber industry, not only here, but in many other sections of the country has come to the attention of Members of the Congress, and a couple of weeks ago, Idaho's Republican Senator LEN B. JORDAN, recognizing this fact, proposed an amendment to the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1966, which would increase the funds proposed for forest road construction for fiscal 1968 from $85 million to $170 million and for 1969 from $110 million to $170 million.

Senator JORDAN first started talking about the subject when on March 4, he presented a memorial from the Idaho State Legislature calling for speeded up construction of forest roads and trails. In that presentation Senator JORDAN called attention to the program proposed to the Congress in 1962 by the late President Kennedy—a 10-year program for roads in the national forests. JORDAN pointed out that "unfortunately, the roads authorization for the fiscal years 1963 to 1967 lag behind the planned program by $169 million."

He went on to say, "With a continuing rise in construction costs it is conservatively estimated that at the current rate of appropriations several decades will pass before an adequate transportation system can be built in our national forests."

He also said, "An expanded system of mainline, multipurpose conservation roads would enlarge recreational opportunities fulfilling a need which is difficult to measure in dollars."

On March 29, Senator JORDAN introduced in the Senate his amendment to the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1966. And in his speech of introduction, he again called attention to the fact that "An adequate transportation system is the key to full multiple-use management of our national forests." He also made this statement—and truer words were never spoken, "New forest roads are avenues to new production, new employment, new tax revenues, new conservation applications and new recreational opportunities."

Following the Senator's original statement to the Congress, and at his request for further information, the Salmon River area timber industries prepared a comprehensive look at the Salmon National Forest—its needs, and the needs of the community so far as forest developments are concerned.

Before we go into it, for our own benefit and for the benefit of many not acquainted with our local situation, it might be well to look at Lemhi County a bit. It's not particularly amazing that few people in the Middle West and East have any concept of this area. All too often, you run into people who don't even know where Idaho is, much less where Salmon and Lemhi County may be.

About a week ago I was in Washington, D.C., for a meeting. I sat at a table with people whom I considered to be a bit above average in intelligence and knowledge. And yet, the first question was, and I wasn't surprised, Just where is Salmon, what do you do out there, what are you near? And they were completely astounded at some of the things I had to tell them—for instance that Lemhi County is larger than the State of Connecticut, but has a population of less than 6,000 people. That Lemhi is more than 100 miles long from one end to the other. That there is no railroad in the county. That there is a Y of primary road starting at the Montana line, splitting at Salmon, winding up more than 70 miles south of Salmon at the Clark County line and better than 40 miles south of Salmon at the Custer County line. That a State highway patrolman at the south end of his district up in the Stanley Basin at the Blaine County line would have to travel all the way to Salmon, in canyon road most of the way—about 130 miles—then head southeast out of Salmon on 28 almost 80 miles, to get from one end of his patrol area to the other. And, for the point to be made here perhaps most important, that about 90 percent of the land in the county is owned by the National Government. That's right—about 90 percent of Lemhi County is owned by the National Government, administered by the Forest Service or the Bureau of Land Management.

The proposal made to Senator JORDAN is not a plea for national aid. It is not a petition of poverty. It is not a request for a handout. It is a simple statement of fact, that if the economy of the Salmon River Area is to develop as it should in the areas of timber production, mining, livestock production and recreation—and that's about all that's open to us—the only way it can be done is for the National Government to develop the areas it owns in the county.

We must admit that Lemhi County doesn't seem to have reacted to the national boom we hear so much about. But that's hardly the question here. The main question is, can Lemhi County even continue with a normal economic growth if the National Government, the largest landowner in the county, and of course not a taxpayer, sits on its hands and does nothing about the development of its property. We here in Lemhi County could have millions of dollars to spend on the development of the county, but we could do nothing about it because the lands involved are national lands, and only national agencies can build the roads and undertake the basic development that must be done.

This is not critical of the local offices of the agencies involved. They have done as well as can be expected with the funds with which they have been provided. But, it's much more spectacular for the National Government, Congress, and the administration, to spend billions, spelled with a "B," for the economic development of Ghana, Vietnam, Laos, and so many more than it is to spend a few millions (spelled with an "M") to get Lehmi County and a few other similar areas inside the national boundaries off the dead center at which many of them seemed to have arrived.

Lemhi County for instance. There is no lack of desire here to expand the timber industry but unless the National Government does something about developing roads to make more timber available—the expansion isn't possible. There's no dearth of desire to develop a great tourist and recreational industry but until more of the forest is made available to the more or less casual tourist they're not going to come here.

There's no lack of interest in the vast deposits of mineral in the nearby mountains. But until they are accessible, they sit in mountain fastness.

The figures provided by the local forest industries to Senator JORDAN are most interesting. They suggest the immediate construction of slightly more than 200 miles of new forest access roads, and the hard topping of another hundred miles of road already in existence. The suggested cost of this program, and spelled with an "M"—is slightly more than $4 million.

The figures sent to Senator JORDAN included a map which indicates the specific areas into which the roads should be built, roads which would open to the timber industry an area containing 424 million board feet of timber not now considered economically feasible for harvest. It would be possible to increase the allowable cut in the Salmon National Forest from 27.7 million board feet annually to 69 million board feet. It is estimated that this increase in allowable cut would provide an additional annual 418,000 man-hours of labor, which on the basis of average wages in the forest and at the mills, would amount to an increase of around a million dollars in payroll.

But that's only the beginning.

It is also pointed out that the annual loss and destruction of merchantable timber from overage, insect damage, and fire loss would probably be reduced by nearly $2 million per year.

And listen to some of the other plus values in the summarization.

Such a new road system would open up another 159 miles of streams for easy access for fishermen.

The new roads would make another 300,000 acres more easily available to hunters. It would provide access to 43 camp and picnic areas which could be developed. It would open up at least two sites particularly adaptable to resort development. It would open up an area near Salmon which has been suggested as an excellent ski development. It would provide a paved scenic loop route of approximately 65 miles which would be attractive to tourists. The report points out that the total tourist visits to the Salmon National Forest in 1965—approximately 250,000—were mainly concentrated on the paved sections of highway.

The road development would provide transportation routes to 15 known major ore deposits with estimated potential jobs for 1,050 men, with the possibility of many more in small mining operations which might start up as a result of the better transportation.

In cattle grazing, the additional and improved roads would improve the administration of areas allotted for 1,100 cattle.

And the new roads would improve the ability of the Forest Service to administer and protect the entire Salmon National Forest.

Lemhi County needs this kind of a job done in the area. And it is not an appeal for aid. It is simply an appeal to National Government to take a good look at its responsibility in the economic development of an area which can only occur as the owner of the land—and that is the Nation—undertakes to do its share. When that is done, at least some of the economy of the Salmon River Area will be a long way on the road to the rapid rise that is evident in the rest of the Nation.

And that's the way it seems to me today. Join us at this same time next Sunday when we will have some more ideas to discuss as it seems to me. This is Dave Ainsworth, wishing you a very good afternoon on a fine Easter Sunday in America's beauty spot—the Salmon River area.

DEDICATION OF THE FRANCIS CASE MEMORIAL BRIDGE

Mr. McGOVERN. South Dakotans gathered this morning, Mr. President, near the end of the Washington Channel Bridge on Hains Point to dedicate that structure as a memorial to the late Senator Francis Case, my predecessor in the Senate. Senator Case made great contributions to this Nation as a Congressman, a Senator, chairman of the Senate District of Columbia Committee, and as ranking member for several years of the Senate Public Works Committee.

The dedication this morning was an impressive ceremonial attended by the Senator's gracious widow, his daughter Jane, his brother Leland, and his sisters Mrs. Joyce Wilson and Mrs. Carol Goddard of Hot Springs, S. Dak., and Mrs. Esther Sunderman of Le Sueur, Minn., as well as such old family friends as Mr. and Mrs. Harold Dudley.

The dedication was arranged by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia in compliance with Public Law 89-203, approved September 25, 1965—a resolution which I first introduced in the Senate in 1963.

I ask unanimous consent that a copy of my dedicatory remarks and the program be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address and program were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR GEORGE MCGOVERN AT THE DEDICATION OF THE FRANCIS CASE MEMORIAL BRIDGE, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 20, 1966

Ladies and gentlemen, we meet in our Nation's Capital today in the shadow of the Nation's most meaningful shrines—the Washington Monument, and the Lincoln, and Jefferson Memorials—to honor a distinguished American and South Dakotan the late, beloved Francis Case.

Francis Case was a South Dakotan, a newspaperman, a rancher, a Congressman, a U.S. Senator, an American patriot—but most important of all, he was a good man. He was a man of quick intelligence, a man of public spirit and he was a man with that rarest of qualities—absolute personal integrity.

Another distinguished American, the minority leader of the U.S. Senate, EVERETT DIRKSEN, once said of Francis Case: "He was a hewer of wood and a carrier of water." I have always thought this was a particularly appropriate description of the man who quietly did so much for our country in the fields of water resources, highway construction, and conservation.

South Dakotans know of the admirable work which Francis Case did in the wise development of the Missouri River and our State's water resources.

He was a pioneer in the promising new field of weather modification. I owe my own original interest in this important field to Senator Case—a field in which he began work 15 years ago.

Although members of different political parties, Senator Case and I had much in common. We both grew up in Methodist parsonages. We both did our undergraduate college work at Dakota Wesleyan University in Mitchell, S. Dak. And we both did graduate work at Northwestern University.

At the time of his death in 1962, Francis Case had completed nearly 26 years of service in South Dakota in the U.S. Congress—at that time the longest congressional service ever achieved by a South Dakotan. Since then, Senator MUNDT has set a new record in compiling the greatest congressional seniority of any South Dakotan—nearly 28 years. Knowing that a sparsely populated State such as South Dakota has the same strength in the U.S. Senate as large States such as New York or California, Senator Case used his valuable seniority wisely and untiringly on behalf of the citizens of the United States as well as his South Dakota constituents. He was admired by both Republicans and Democrats with whom he worked in the Congress.

As the author of the joint resolution of the Congress which provided for the designation of this important Washington Channel Bridge as the Francis Case Memorial Bridge, I am especially pleased by today's ceremony. I first offered this legislation in 1963 and it was signed into law by President Johnson on September 25 of last year. Its enactment was due in large part to the efforts and the cooperation of the South Dakota congressional delegation.

It is fitting that Francis Case should be honored in the District of Columbia. It may truly be said that he had two constituencies: South Dakota and the Nation's Capital. During his many years in the Congress our late colleague worked unstintingly on behalf of Washington and its residents. To quote from the joint congressional resolution, he was "* * * one of the District's most dedicated and resourceful friends * * * and helped fashion firm policies that will guide the District for decades."

One of my colleagues in the Senate who has also given unselfishly of himself on behalf of our Nation's Capital and its residents—Senator MORSE—said in a memorial address: "* * * the District of Columbia is a better city in which to live because Francis Case lived."

During seven terms in U.S. House of Representatives, he was one of the original architects of the 23d amendment to the Constitution which gave the residents of the District of Columbia the right to vote in 1964 for the first time for President and Vice President.

For many years our late friend championed the cause of self-government for those living in the District. If that dream becomes a reality, it will serve as yet another memorial to this distinguished South Dakotan.

Francis was the two terms a constructive and diligent Senator who performed his duties as a U.S. Senator with great zeal. He was known as a legislative craftsman of unique skill. As a member of the Senate District of Columbia Committee, he sponsored many measures for improvements in our Capital City. He joined the committee originally in 1951, served as chairman in 1953–54, and returned voluntarily to the committee in 1959 and 1960.

One of the Senator's significant contributions was his leadership in the enactment of the District of Columbia public works program of 1954, bringing about a major expansion of highway and bridge construction. He paralleled this work for the District with his efforts as a member of the Senate Public Works Committee to bring about the enactment of the Federal Aid to Highways Act of 1962, which made possible this magnificent bridge across the Potomac, located as it is on Interstate 95 as it enters the city of Washington.

Francis Case was a strong advocate of economic development throughout the Nation. In addition to highways, he pushed for a better inland waterway system and improved western reclamation efforts. He was an untiring student of the measures before his committees, sincere and modest about the contributions he made to District, regional, State, and National advancement.

The gracious widow of Senator Case who is here today, pointed out to me how uniquely appropriate it is to name this bridge over the Potomac in honor of his memory. For this bridge links the city to which he contributed so much with the Interstate Highway System that he aided so significantly.

I can think of no finer memorial for this distinguished Senator than this key link in our national transportation system, crossing navigable waters, and lying within the traffic pattern of Washington National Airport—all parts of the transportation system which bind our Nation together and to which my distinguished predecessor dedicated so much of his energy and abilities.

It is, therefore, a high honor for me now to dedicate this magnificent bridge as the Francis Case Memorial Bridge.

DEDICATION CEREMONIES OF THE FRANCIS CASE MEMORIAL BRIDGE

(Sponsored by the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia and the Department of Highways and Traffic, District of Columbia, April 20, 1966)

PROGRAM

Master of ceremonies: Brig. Gen. C. M. Duke, Engineer Commissioner, District of Columbia.

Music by the U.S. Army Band, Lt. Col. Samuel Loboda, leader and commanding officer.

Armed Forces joint color team.

National anthem.

Invocation: The Reverend Dr. Edward G. Latch, minister, Metropolitan Memorial, the National Methodist Church.

Greeting by master of ceremonies.

Introduction of distinguished guests.

Remarks:

The Honorable E. Y. Berry, U.S. House of Representatives (South Dakota).

The Honorable Benjamin Reifel, U.S. House of Representatives (South Dakota).

Address: The Honorable Karl E. Mundt, U.S. Senate, South Dakota.

Musical selections: U.S. Army band, Sp. Michael Ryan, vocalist.

Dedicatory address: The Honorable George McGovern, U.S. Senate, South Dakota.

Unveiling of plaque.

Consulting engineer: Sverdrup & Parcel, St. Louis, Mo.

Contractors: Blount Bros. Construction Co., John F. Casey Co., Curtin & Johnson, Inc., Diamond Construction Co.

Project notes

The Francis Case Memorial Bridge, a part of the Interstate Highway System, crosses the Washington Channel in the vicinity of Maine Avenue and East Potomac Park. It carries Virginia traffic to and from the District via the Potomac River Bridges at 14th Street. The bridge, 1,312 feet long, is 6 lanes wide and supported on 39 piers and 4 abutments. It provides a connection to the 12th Street Expressway and to the Southwest Freeway. Motorists using this structure are afforded a magnificent view of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial and the skyline of the Southwest section of the city, with the Washington Monument in the background.

Construction began on July 6, 1959, and the bridge was completed on July 31, 1962. This facility, costing $9.2 million, was conceived and built by the Department of Highways and Traffic, District of Columbia, in cooperation with the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads.

Public Law 89-203, approved September 25, 1965, officially named this bridge in honor of the late Senator Francis Case of South Dakota in recognition of his long and distinguished career in the U.S. House of Representatives and in the U.S. Senate, and for his remarkable dedication to duty that helped bring about major highway and bridge construction in the District of Columbia.

VIETNAMESE PRIESTS CALL FOR PEACE

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, amidst Vietnam's political confusion it is perhaps impossible to say that the Vietnamese people are of any one mind, but there can be no denying the widespread yearning for peace. A letter from 11 Vietnamese Catholic priests, published in the April 1 Commonweal, is witness to this fact.

The priests wrote:

> In their march toward victory by force of arms, both the north and the south are progressively giving up more and more of our country's autonomy, thereby leading the Vietnamese problem into more and more of an impasse, where its solution is no longer the free decision of the Vietnamese people.

In these time when peace seems so far off, it is still worthwhile to remember how this yearning for peace leaps ideological barriers. It is with this in mind that I draw attention to this letter and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the open letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Stop the Killing—An Open Letter From 11 Vietnamese Priests

(Note.—This appeal to end the war in Vietnam is translated from the French. It appeared in the February 2, 1966, issue of Informations Catholiques Internationales.)

Confronted by the present situation in our country, and following upon the increasingly urgent appeals of Pope Paul VI, we Catholic priests, motivated by neither political nor religious partisanship, desire to express the profound anguish of men who refuse to betray their fellow-men, of Vietnamese who share the sufferings of their compatriots as well as the anguish of servants of Jesus Christ, Who died to bring to all men love and salvation.

The blood of men has already flowed too abundantly over this Vietnamese land; this fratricidal war is in a paroxysm of its cruelty.

In their march toward victory by force of arms, both the north and south are progressively giving up more and more of our country's autonomy, thereby leading the Vietnamese problem into more and more of an impasse, where its solution is no longer the free decision of the Vietnamese people.

The disorder created by the war, the presence of foreign soldiers, forces upon the masses of people economic, social and moral conditions which are an affront to human dignity.

With all men of good will, we wish to be mindful of man's sacred destiny, his dignity, his right to freedom, and the fraternity of each and every one of these men, our brothers, who in the north as in the south are today victims of the ravages of bombardment, the oppression of ideologies, misery, suffering, the degrading corruption of money, divided and torn by prejudice, self-interest and politics.

In the name of these men, we wish to proclaim from the housetops the aspirations of all those who suffer so much and who hardly have a voice anymore: we seek peace through the freedom of the human person and the justice of society, for the well-being of all.

We cannot tolerate this absurd drama of brothers of the same country, sharing the same sincere love for their country and their people, the same determination to dedicate themselves to a great cause, the same thirst for peace, attacking and killing each other in hatred.

We cannot accept the fact that the objective of unifying the country, or of building some better future, can serve as a pretext for continuing this fratricidal war.

That is why we urgently implore the authorities of the north and south to take all appropriate steps to bring the war to an end immediately.

Let them not wait for some sort of guarantee before deciding in all sincerity to respect the life and liberty of the Vietnamese of the north and south and the brotherhood that binds them together.

Let these authorities renounce the claim that they seek through armed victory a guarantee for negotiations and the ending of hostilities—let them also renounce their ambitions of implanting or suppressing ideologies through subversion and bombardment, for that can only lead to genocide and prolong the tragedy of underdevelopment and the country's alienation.

May the authorities on both sides undertake negotiations in justice and honesty to arrive at peace, for only genuine peace will enable them both to devote themselves to the creation of the material and moral conditions necessary for the Vietnamese people's free and democratic choice of their future.

May the great powers respect the autonomy and self-determination of the people and not contribute to making the war in Vietnam more and more murderous, creating in this way such an impasse that the only outcome can be a world war.

Since effectively the north and the south, as well as the great powers that support them, have demonstrated that they cannot by themselves bring the war to an end through the illusory attempt to obtain victory for one side and capitulation by the other, virtually the only way that leads to the cessation of hostilities, to negotiations and to peace (which would at least stop the shedding of more blood) is to acknowledge both the mediation and arbitration of the United Nations, to have recourse to, and to collaborate sincerely with, that organization.

With all our hearts we invite men of good will of both the north and the south to surmount every form of oppression, and to express openly and bravely the will of the Vietnamese people for peace. By such action the responsible authorities can no longer pretend to ignore that will or to enjoy clear consciences, not until they have engaged in negotiations toward peace and utilized every means of negotiation, not until they have seized every occasion for doing so.

But peace can come and be maintained only insofar as the Vietnamese masses become aware of the peril that threatens both man and country, and the well-being of the community and the survival of the people are set above the interests of individuals and groups.

The survival of the country, the interests of the people and of peace itself, have nothing to fear from the diversities of ideologies and of beliefs. On the contrary, truly to be feared are those who, in the name of one side or the other, go so far as to no longer respect free choice and its exercise on the part of their fellow citizens. Also to be feared are those who in actuality have no other ideology or religion than themselves, their money, their passions, and their own interests.

The moment has come to mobilize all that remains of the faith and spiritual energy of the people—not to intensify hatred but to extinguish so many discords, so much jealously, to restore the bonds of unity which, from this moment, before it is too late, will permit the imparting from all hearts, all families, all groups to the structures of society: truth, justice, liberty, and love as solid foundations for authentic peace and happiness. In this experience, little by little, man will no longer need to oppose his brother for the right to subsist and to think, etc., but all in common will put forth their efforts to exploit the resources of nature, sharing equitably the conditions and means of material and spiritual progress necessary for personal and community achievement.

Up to this point, we have been echoing in the name of man the voices of those who are about to have voices no longer. In concluding, it is also in the name of man that we speak out for those who have decided not to be subjugated in misery, for those who do not accept defeatism, for those who demand victory but not victory through arms and through exploitation and hatred, a victory in which men continue to suppress men and men continue to be held inferior to other men. We demand a victory of truth, justice, liberty, and love, the unique victory which can bring peace for the true honor of man.

Do Xuan Que, Nguyen Noc Lan, Tran Viet Tho, Truong Dinh Hoa, Vu Van Thien, Ho Dinh, Nguyen Thank Cao, Truong Ba Can, Hoang Kim, Dinh Khac Tieu, Huyen The My.

THE F-5 FREEDOM FIGHTER

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, the March issue of Popular Science monthly contains a well documented story on the F-5 Freedom Fighter, high-performance, low-cost jet airplane evaluated in Vietnam combat by the U.S. Air Force and now permanently assigned in South Vietnam to fly strike missions against the Vietcong.

I feel the article points out many important facts about this versatile new airplane that should be brought to the attention of all Members of Congress and I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR BANTAM SUPERSONIC JET—NEGLECTED BY THE AIR FORCE FOR YEARS, THE RUGGED FREEDOM FIGHTER HAS FINALLY GOTTEN ITS CHANCE AT COMBAT

(By Herbert O. Johansen)

Our newest tactical guerrilla warfare weapon is a pint-size, supersonic, twin-jet fighter-bomber that was born more than 10 years ago—and prophetically named the Freedom Fighter.

It's the Northrop F-5—a tough little scrapper with extraordinary combat performance: high rate of climb, quick acceleration to supersonic speed, extreme maneuverability at altitudes to 40,000 feet, and bantam weight. The basic reason for this prowess is its twin powerplants—GE J-85 turbojets. Each produces 4,080 pounds of thrust, yet weighs only 585 pounds—a prodigious thrust-to-weight ratio of 7 to 1.

Low in weight, high in performance, the Freedom Fighter is also low in cost. The F-105 Thunderchief, for instance, costs $2,067,000. The F-5 is off the shelf at $669,175. On electronic equipment, the difference is even more amazing. On the F-105, it costs $233,143; on the Freedom Fighter, only $12,000.

The F-5 was designed as a supersonic tactical aircraft to replace obsolescent F-84's and F-86's in the aerial arsenals of selected allied countries under our military assistance program; nine nations are getting them.

In the United States, however, the F-5 was considered an underdog. We already had in Vietnam such supersophisticated fighter-bombers as the multi-million-dollar F-105 Thunderchief, the F-104 Starfighter, the F-100 Super Sabrejet, the F-4 Phantom.

THE UNDERDOG HAS ITS DAY

While scorning the F-5 for combat, the Air Force did order tandem versions as supersonic trainers. More than 800 of these T-38 Talons have trained thousands of pilots to fly in a combat-plane environment. This kept the F-5 design alive. More important, it ironed out the mechanical, electronic, and maintenance bugs that plague most new planes when they first go into combat.

Then, about a year ago, the Air Force decided to try out the F-5 in Vietnam and organized a squadron of 12 planes to train for combat at Williams Air Force Base, Ariz.

Proud of the small size of their planes, they named their squadron the Skoshi Tigers—Skoshi is the phonetic spelling of the Japanese word "sukoshi," meaning "little."

In October of last year, the Shoshi squadron took off for combat. Although they have a range of only about 1,500 miles, the pilots flew their F-5's to their destination target, 8,500 miles away, stopping at Hawaii and Guam. They were accompanied by KC-135 jet tankers—and en route each plane took more than a dozen gulps of fuel from the mother planes.

Within 6 hours after touchdown at Bien Hoa Air Base, near Saigon, on October 23, two F-5's were off on a combat mission. They bombed and strafed suspected battalion-size Vietcong jungle concentrations. Since then, they have run up an impressive record of hundreds of "missions accomplished."

"When we parked our F-5's alongside some of their bigger brothers at Bien Hoa," said one Skoshi pilot, "they looked like toys. We ground maneuvered like Volkswagens."

The F-5's built-in ease of maintenance already has proved a boon in its trial operations. "Aside from its versatility," says Col. Edward Johnson, head of a team of experts that is evaluating the trim little fighter's combat performance, "what the airmen like most about the plane is its simplicity.

"That's the beauty of it. The F-5 is so simply constructed that it takes 50 percent less maintenance than some of the big jet fighter-bombers. Two men can lift off the tail. Three men have removed an engine in 20 minutes."

KEEPING REPAIRS AT GROUND LEVEL

This ease of maintenance is due largely to Northrop design foresight. Parts needing frequent replacement or repair were put low to the ground and made readily available through access doors.

One great advantage of the F-5 has as an antiguerrilla air weapon is that it can really give ground support to troops by following them into combat. It needs no prepared runways—it can take off from sod fields in forward areas.

For their combat missions in Vietnam, the F-5's were camouflaged—painted a mottled green and brown on the top and sides, a pale blue on the bottom. This is to blend in with the jungle when seen from above by enemy aircraft, with the sky when flying low and vulnerable to ground fire.

In aerial combat, the 1,000-mile-an-hour F-5 is able to outfight aircraft of greater speed. That is what its pilots proudly say they learned during their training at Williams Air Force Base, prior to being shipped to Vietnam to prove it.

LOADED FOR BEAR

The fighting package of the F-5 is also outstanding for a midget that weighs only 12,000 pounds in its "bare feet." In addition to two 20-millimeter rapid-firing cannons in the nose (and their ammo), the Freedom Fighter can carry 6,200 pounds of armament externally, slung under its belly and wings. In various combinations it can mount: supersonic aid-to-air missiles, air-to-ground rockets, anti-radar missiles, general-purpose bombs, and phosphorous and napalm incendiaries.

For extra range, fuel-tip tanks can be carried, although this naturally cuts down the armament load. For aerial reconnaissance, the F-5 can be fitted with a camera nose—at the factory or in combat areas—with a kit that replaces the nose cone.

Still another advantage of the tactical Freedom Fighter is its exceptional single-engine performance. If an F-5 pilot runs low on fuel while he is still needed to hang around in support of ground troops, he simply shuts off one engine and extends his loiter time.

F-5 men readily admit that it is unsophisticated. It does not have the capability of blind radar bombing. It does not have the all-weather capability provided by the radar equipment of its big brothers. It has a simple gunsight instead of a complex electronic one.

Fully armed and fueled, takeoff weight of the F-5 is about 20,000 pounds; of the F-105, more than 50,000 pounds. This, in guerrilla warfare, means the difference between long, paved runways and sod-field operation in forward areas.

THE CHALLENGE

The question is, can the F-5 do close-in-support and air-fighting jobs as well, or better, in jungle warfare, than its bigger, costlier, more complex brothers? The answer will come when the F-5's have completed their combat trial in Vietnam, and the evaluation team of experts reports to the Department of Defense.

THE PARTICIPATION SALES ACT OF 1966

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, we have just received along with a message from the President the Participation Sales Act of 1966. This proposed legislation would authorize the head of any executive department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States to set aside a part of all of any financial assets held by him, subject them to a trust or trusts, and to guarantee to the trustee timely payment of principal and interest on the assets so set aside.

Under the trust instrument, FNMA would act as trustee and the title to the obligations would be deemed to have passed to FNMA in trust. FNMA would have authority to issue participation certificates based on these obligations for sale on the private money market.

Subsection (b) of section 2 of the bill gives a blank check to the Treasury to pick up the deficiencies that may occur in the payment on the obligations. Indefinite appropriations would be established on the books of the Treasury in the amounts necessary to enable the executive department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States to effect timely payment to the FNMA of any insufficiencies on account of outstanding participations.

Just over a month ago, the subject of discussion in this Chamber was a bill to permit the sale of Small Business Administration loan participation certificates through the facilities of the Federal National Mortgage Association. I made the point at that time, that it was not just a one-shot affair, but that we should consider the principle of the proposed legislation and the precedent that it would set. I suggested that we consider the long run instead of an isolated single agency.

At the time I said that, it was no secret that the administration was drafting legislation that would extend the same principle to several other agencies. The President in his budget message indicated that an attempt would be made to secure legislation that would permit the sale of a total of $3.3 billion of direct Government loans and participations in these loans.

The budget statement requested legislation to expand this authority to the Department of Agriculture, Farmers Home Administration, which it is estimated would market $600 million worth of participation certificates in the next fiscal year; the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, which would sell $100 million worth; the Federal National Mortgage Association, which it is estimated could sell an additional $400 million; college housing loans which would add $80 million, and SBA loans estimated at $850 million in participation certificates in fiscal 1967.

These listed programs added a total of $2.8 billion to the sales of Federal loans and participations in the next fiscal year.

It should be made clear just what the purpose of such sales is. It was claimed when the SBA bill was before us that it would permit a significant increase in the ability of the SBA to make loans. Perhaps this screen caused many to vote for the procedure. The fact is that it did not increase the authorized program of the SBA by a single dollar. What it did do was to make it possible for the SBA to sell off, in effect, some of its obligations and, thus, increase funds in its revolving fund. There is a legislative limit on the amounts that can be outstanding in SBA programs and the bill which we passed did not have any effect on that limit.

It did make it possible for the SBA to make loans up to that limit without seeking appropriations for such loans above the amount already appropriated for. In other words, the appropriations process was bypassed.

It did make it possible for the money received from the sale of participations that could not be used for increasing SBA loans, to be returned to the Treasury. And, this is the real purpose of these legislative proposals.

What we are really being asked to do is to circumvent the ordinary budgetary channels in Federal spending. The procedure is one which makes it possible to conceal the cost of operating the Federal Government by providing funds outside of the appropriations process.

It can appropriately be questioned as to whether this new fiscal scheme perverts the basic elements of honesty in the cost of Government and imposes on the financial structures of the country a concealed burden of public debt.

We hear much about the tendency for the power to gravitate away from congressional bodies or other bodies elected by the people and toward a central bureaucracy. This legislation is a large step in that direction.

The agencies, departments, or Federal instrumentalities are not even listed. This proposal includes them all. I ask unanimous consent that a list of such agencies provided for the Senate Banking and Currency Committee be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Collateral held by banks for cooperatives.

Collateral held by Bureau of Reclamation on project and system loans.

Collateral held by Farm Credit Administration functions.

Collateral held by Farmers Home Administration.

Collateral held by Federal Crop Insurance Corporation (policies).

Collateral held by Federal intermediate credit banks (farm loans).

Collateral held by Federal land banks.

Collateral held by Rural Electrification Administration.

Collateral held by Federal Credit Unions.

Collateral held by Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

Collateral held by Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation.

Collateral held by U.S. Post Office Department.

Collateral held by ARA.

Collateral held by Civil Aeronautics Board.

Collateral held by Defense Department (loan guarantee program).

Collateral held by District of Columbia Fiscal Service (public works loans).

Collateral held by General Services Administration (surplus property sales).

Collateral held by Interstate Commerce Commission (railroad loan guarantee).

Collateral held by Maritime Administration (ship loan and mortgage insurance).

Collateral held by Office of Defense Lending (production loans).

Collateral held by Under Secretary for Transportation (aircraft loans).

Collateral held by Small Business Administration.

Collateral held by Office of Education (Cuban loans) (loans to institutions) (nonprofit school loans) (student loans).

Collateral held by Bureau of Commercial Fisheries (upgrade loans) (shipbuilding).

Collateral held by Public Health Service (Hill-Burton loans).

Collateral held by Housing—community facilities (college housing) (elderly) (public works) (public facility).

Collateral held by Federal Home Loan Bank System.

Collateral held by Federal Housing Administration (insurance program).

Collateral held by HHFA (voluntary home mortgage credit) (mass transportation) (low-income demonstrations).

Collateral held by Public Housing Administration (public housing).

Collateral held by Urban Renewal Administration (urban renewal).

Collateral held by Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Collateral held by Agency for International Development (dollar development) (local currency loans).

Collateral held by Export-Import Bank.

Collateral held by Inter-American Development Bank.

Collateral held by International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Collateral held by international development program.

Collateral held by International Finance Corporation.

Collateral held by International Monetary Fund.

Collateral held by International Affairs.

Collateral held by Office of Territories (Micronesian trade loans).

Collateral held by Pan American Sanitary Bureau (advance purchases).

Collateral held by Office of Minerals Exploration.

Collateral held by Veterans' Administration (home, farm, busines).

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, it has been argued that this type of financing is replacing Federal funds with private funds. Quoting from the Budget Bureau statement accompanying the bill, we find:

> The basic purpose of the proposed legislation, as indicated, is to encourage the substitution of private for public credit in various major Federal credit programs.

It continues:

> Given the desirability of drawing in greater private participation in the Federal credit programs, the sale of interests in pools of assets is the most satisfactory and economical means that has been devised to meet this end. The program of asset sales also facilitates the efficient use of budgetary funds.

I suppose that if one uses the assumptions that he desires, one could come to most any conclusion to support his own ends. I do not agree that this measure will in any way increase the amount of money coming from private sources.

It is a fact that any money now used in these programs totaling more than $33 billion originally came from the private money market either in the form of taxes or in the form of debt securities purchased from the Federal Government by private individuals, business corporations, and financial institutions. These are the same individuals, businesses, and financial institutions which will purchase the participations which the Federal Government now desires to sell in order to avoid showing the $33 billion as part of the Federal debt.

In addition to the other reasons for opposing the sale of participations, it is a much more expensive method of financing. The Treasury can borrow funds at a rate lower than these participation certificates demand on the market.

It has been estimated that the additional cost of the proposed sales of participations for the fiscal years 1966 and 1967 would amount to more than $380 million. This is the premium that the administration is willing to pay to avoid showing $8 billion as an increase in Federal expenditures or as part of the Federal debt.

According to the Budget Bureau, there are over $33 billion worth of loans outstanding, and this bill would allow not only the sale of participations in the programs listed in the message presented in January which totaled $3.3 billion in 1966 and $4.7 billion in 1967, but it would open the way for the sale of the whole $33 billion of Federal assets. Based on the SBA figures submitted, sale of participations on this whole amount could result in an additional cost of between $1.5 and $2 billion to the Federal Government.

Quoting from the Treasury Department statement accompanying the bill:

> Participation certificates carry somewhat higher rates than Treasury obligations of comparable maturity. But this is a small price for the advantage of attracting private investors to Federal credit programs, and avoiding the large budgetary drain that would result if means were not developed to move Federal financial assets back into the private sector.

What is wrong with showing Federal programs and expenditures as a budgetary drain? This is exactly what they should be shown as.

This is the whole nub of this proposal. The administration desires to avoid the showing of these Federal loan programs as part of the Federal budget. It is a budgetary measure to avoid indicating to the general public the increase in public programs and increase in Federal debt.

It seems to me that it is much to be preferred that the Federal Government take the responsibility for its actions. If the lending programs are supported by the citizenry of this Nation, they should be willing to fund them through the ordinary Treasury channels of either tax increases or Federal borrowing. If it is necessary to use subterfuge to increase Federal spending, I think it is about time that Members of Congress take it upon themselves to be sure that their constituency at least know what the total cost of Federal programs is.

HIDE EXPORT CONTROLS UNFAIR TO THE AMERICAN FARMER

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, early last month, the Secretary of Commerce invoked the drastic provisions of the Export Control Act for the purpose of imposing strict limitations on the export of hides to foreign markets.

The action was taken hurriedly, without an opportunity for the full consultation that might ordinarily be expected before such an important action. No public hearings were held prior to the issuance of those orders. Now, to his credit, the Secretary this week is holding public hearings, even though after the fact, for the purpose of reconsidering the order.

In a statement filed by Don F. Magdanz and B. H. Jones, representing the National Livestock Feeders Association with headquarters in Omaha, it is argued that Congress never intended the authority used by the Secretary, dealing with situations of domestic scarcity and inflationary impact, to be applied to agricultural commodities. They point out that this use of the act constitutes a deliberate rollback of the price of a farm product, and that it means a reduction of about $4 per head in the price received for fed steers.

Their statement also points out that the foreign market for hides was developed in cooperation with various agencies of the Federal Government, and, further, that the export of farm products has been declared by the President to be essential to the welfare of American agriculture and to the correction of our adverse balance of payments.

I ask unanimous consent for the insertion at this point in the Record of the statement submitted by the National Livestock Feeders Association, and also of the statement submitted by me at the hearing held by the Secretary.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Statement of the National Livestock Feeders Association to the U.S. Department of Commerce Relative to Export Restrictions on Cattle Hides, Calf and Kip Skins, and Bovine Leathers, Public Hearing, April 18 and 19, 1966, Washington, D.C.

(By Don F. Magdanz, executive secretary-treasurer, and B. H. Jones, associate secretary-treasurer)

In preparing the statement of the National Livestock Feeders Association relative to the problem under consideration, we have presumed that various other witnesses would adequately cover areas such as supply and price patterns of hides and skins, available supplies for the coming months and the needs of the domestic industry, as well as consideration of price relationships.

Therefore, out of respect for the members of the hearing panel, we have sought to avoid repetitious testimony by addressing ourselves primarily to the following: (1) the intent of the Congress as embodied in the Export Control Act of 1949, as extended and amended; (2) the paradox in the action taken by the Department of Commerce and the overall policy of this Nation with respect to expanding exports and improving its balance of payments, and specifically, the conscientious work and the expenditures on the part of the Department of Agriculture in promoting and developing foreign markets for hides and skins; and (3) the injury to domestic livestock producers as a direct result of the sudden action taken to restrict exports.

ACTION CONTRARY TO THE INTENT OF CONGRESS

We seriously question that the Export Control Act can be properly invoked in circumstances of this kind. The language throughout the law points to materials which continue in short supply in relation to the needs of the domestic industry, and emphasizes the use of controls for security reasons or for reasons relating to foreign policy. Control authority under provisions of scarce materials are now in force on only one other commodity; namely, copper and certain copper products. The hide situation is in no way comparable to the copper problem.

In fact, we view the action taken by the Department of Commerce, acting as the President's delegate, as being contrary to the intent of the Congress embodied in the act. The Department has stated that it based its action on the provisions of the act included under "Declaration of Policy," section 2(1) (A), which provide for preventing an excessive drain of scarce materials and reducing inflationary impact. In proceeding under the policy provisions, the Department apparently failed to give due consideration to the intent of Congress with respect to agricultural commodities as set forth under the "Authority" provision. By inserting the language contained in paragraph (c) of section 3, it seems clear to us that the Congress did not intend for the provisions of section 2(1)(A) to be applied to agricultural commodities, the production of which exceeds domestic requirements.

Said paragraph makes a specific distinction, with respect to agricultural commodities, between the application of the provisions of section 2(1)(A), dealing with excessive drain of scarce materials and inflationary considerations, and the other two policy criteria set down by Congress under section 2(1) (B) and (C), the latter having to do with the consideration of U.S. foreign policy and the national security of the United States respectively. We interpret the intent of Congress as set out in section 3(c) to specifically prohibit exercising the authority contained in section 3 with respect to any agricultural commodity the production of which is in excess of the requirements of the domestic economy, except to effectuate the policies set forth in considerations of foreign policy and national security.

We further interpret the intent of Congress to make it incumbent on the President, or his delegate, to seek the determination provided for in section 3(c), unless one has already been made, before taking any export control action on agricultural commodities under the policy provisions of section 2 (1)(A).

Surely it was not, and is not, the intent of Congress that the provisions of the Export Control Act be used to deliberately roll back prices of farm products.

Evidence of congressional concern over the Department's action to restrict exports of hides and skins has been emphatically demonstrated by the many statements made on the floor of both the Senate and the House; and by the resolution issued by the House Committee on Agriculture, following the conduct of a public hearing on the problem, calling for reconsideration of the action.

RESTRICTION CONTRARY TO LONGSTANDING GOVERNMENT POLICY

This Nation has followed, for many years, the policy of encouraging foreign trade through increased exports and market development programs. Also, it has struggled with a balance-of-payments problem and asked U.S. industries and firms to assist in its solution. The action to restrict the exportation of hides and skins is contrary to both long-standing trade policy and to solving the balance-of-payments problem.

In his agricultural message of February 1965, President Johnson acknowledged the importance of agricultural trade, as witnessed by the following excerpts from his official statements: "The welfare of American agriculture is closely linked to foreign trade. * * *

"These exports have strengthened farm prices, brought additional business income, reduced our surpluses and storage costs, and have helped out international balance of payments. * * *

"We are not content with the gains we have made in world markets. We expect to make additional gains by improving the means by which we can be competitive in price, in quality, in service to our customers. We will merchandise our products actively."

Also, in the President's Message on Food For Freedom (February 10, 1966), he proposed continued expansion of markets for American agricultural commodities.

Not long ago, the former Secretary of this Department chastised livestock producers in public statements by telling them to "quit whining" and advised them to go out and look for new foreign markets for their products. The industry took this advice seriously and now has been forced by the same Department to turn the other cheek.

THE PARADOX OF FOREIGN MARKET DEVELOPMENT AND EXPORT RESTRICTIONS

The restrictive action on hides and skins is directly contrary to the promotion and market development activities carired on, and encouraged, by another Department of our Government under the sanction of the Congress and Government trade policy.

Beginning in 1959, there has been at least $1 million expended in promoting hides and skins, and leathers, abroad. The U.S. Department of Agriculture has participated in two specific projects to the extent of one-half million dollars, exclusive of certain staff expenses. These funds have been matched by cooperators (industry interests, United States, and foreign), in the form of matching funds and/or goods and services.

One of the projects has involved the promotion of hides and skins in Japan. It was initiated in 1959 and continued through 1965. The expenditure of Federal funds amounted to $307,000.

The other project has been carried on for the purpose of promoting leather in foreign countries. It was started in 1963 and has not been officially terminated. The expenditure of Federal funds to date has been $188,000.

Since the Federal funds have been matched by industry interests, and since undoubtedly the figures do not include all expenses, such as certain staff time, it is obvious that the promotion and market development expenditure for hides and skins and leathers, since 1959, has been over $1 million.

EXPORT RESTRICTIONS CONTRARY TO GOAL OF IMPROVING FARM INCOME

The goal of improving farm income and the well-being of rural America has been expressed in an unequivocal manner on many occasions by the Government, in connection with farm programs, agricultural trade, and assistance programs.

President Johnson made such official declarations in the agricultural message of February 1965. He stated that one of the objectives of farm policy was, "Opportunity for the efficient family farmer to earn parity of income from farming operations."

Quoting further from the same message, the President said: "The gains which we have made in the past 4 years—in raising farm income, in reducing surplus stocks, in promoting new economic opportunity in rural areas—point the direction we should continue to follow. * * *

"The farm people of this Nation have made, and are continuing to make, a lasting contribution to our national prosperity. As a matter of simple justice they should share equitably in this prosperity. * * *

"I am determined that farmers who have been efficient and successful in agriculture shall be fairly rewarded for their success. * * *

"Today they (meaning farm programs) should be focused more precisely on the opportunity for parity of income for America's family farmers."

Under the specific heading of livestock, the President continued: "We will continue to cooperate with livestock farmers and ranchers so as to maintain a fair price in the marketplace. We will help them to build markets here and abroad."

In his message on food for freedom (February 10, 1966) the President again speaks of "a continuing prospect for rising incomes for American farmers."

According to the figures published in the March 1966 issue of Economic Indicators (prepared for the Joint Economic Committee by the Council of Economic Advisers), the month of February of this year finally found the index of prices received by farmers pulling up even with the index of prices paid by farmers, for the first time since 1958. The equating for livestock and livestock products came a couple months earlier, December of 1965. Parity, however, for all farm products remained at only 83.

Can farmers take the cue, then, that whenever their prices do reach a level comparable to the prices they must pay for goods and services, for even a month or two, that the Federal Government will immediately step in with some type of restrictive action like the hide control order?—this in the face of continual expressions, from the same source, pledging the improving of farm income as an all-important goal?

INJURY TO FARMERS

The real cost and lasting injurious effect resulting from the order to restrict hide exports will come out of the "hides" of farmers; and this includes those with cattle located and operating in areas where special assistance programs have been put into effect, such as the Appalachians.

The adverse repercussions from the roll back in the prices of hides reach every cattle feeder, every cattle grower, every dairyman, and every other farmer who has a head of cattle or a calf to sell.

The action by the Department of Commerce was especially injurious because of the lack of advance notice and no allowance of a reasonable period for the industry to adjust to the control order. We submit to the Department that this kind of shooting-from-the-hip procedure constitutes seriously unfair treatment of the domestic industry.

The prices of heavy native steer hides dropped $2.50 the day after the export restrictions were announced as a direct result of said announcement and had declined $4.50 by the middle of the following week. These losses are calculated on the basis of reported prices and make no allowance for the hides that moved at undisclosed prices, which, judging from comments to us from the trade, were much lower in some cases.

In terms of live animal values, these price drops constitute a loss of around $4 per head for fed steers. Furthermore, this measure does not tell the full story of the pressure exerted on the live cattle market, in the form of lower offering prices as a result of the uncertainty of the situation. The hide market, at every level, was thrown into a state of sudden confusion and indecision because of being confronted by such a restrictive order for which no adjustment time had been allowed.

The situation with respect to hides has been a serious problem of long standing for the cattle industry. As late as 1963 and 1964, many packers and hide dealers reported throwing hides of No. 3 grade into the rendering tanks. This action is documented for 1963 in the Livestock and Meat Situation of January 1964. Prices during these years declined to their lowest levels since the depression days of the early 1930's. In fact, the average price for heavy native steer hides for 1964 was only $10.32 per hundredweight.

Even for 1965, the average price figure for heavy native steer hides was only a little over $14, a level below that of all but 9 years out of the last 25, according to figures reported by the USDA in "Livestock and Meat Statistics." Prior to 1920, prices for this class of hides showed a relationship to the average price of steers of around 227 percent to 256 percent; for the next 25 years, the relationship ranged from 111 percent to 194 percent; and in 1965, the hide prices of this class were only 55 percent of the average price paid for all steers, according to figures calculated by the American Meat Institute.

Substantial increases in exports are the only salvation for the hide dilemma, in view of increased cattle slaughter and the increased use of substitute products for leather.

SUMMARY

This association submits that the action taken by the Department of Commerce last month to restrict the exports of cattle hides, calf and kip skins, and bovine leathers is contrary to the intent of Congress as to the administration of the Export Control Act, to the longstanding policy of this Nation to encourage the expansion of exports and the development of foreign markets, to the goal of improving farm income and the well-being of rural America, and has inflicted serious injury on farmers, injury which will have a lasting effect beyond the termination date of said order.

In addition, attention is called to the fact that it is already apparent that the action to roll back the prices of hides will not accomplish the goal of holding the prices of shoes in check.

Therefore, we respectfully request the Department to rescind the control order imposed on March 7, 1966, and the supplemental quota controls imposed on March 11, 1966.

REMOVAL OF EXPORT CONTROLS ON CATTLE HIDES

(Statement by Senator ROMAN L. HRUSKA, of Nebraska, Apr. 18, 1966)

On the basis of deliberate second thought, it must be conceded that the decision made last month to impose licensing requirements and quota limitations on the export of cattle hides was a mistake. It is urged that this mistake be corrected, and the regulations be rescinded.

The purpose behind imposition of these regulations was to check the rise in the cost of living. It was thought and argued that the regulations would prevent the price of shoes from advancing by holding down the price of the raw material. But the price of shoes has advanced further, even since the controls on hides were imposed. The controls having failed of their purpose, it is appropriate that they be removed.

Such an action would be all the more appropriate in view of the fact that these regulations undoubtedly inflict serious injury upon the farmer. The regulations did not react on the price of shoes, but they did affect directly the price of the hides.

These regulations operate to impose the equivalent of a price ceiling on the hide market. Furthermore, that ceiling is at a level well below even the price permitted under the direct price control system of the Korean war period.

There is no authority in law today to permit the imposition of price ceilings generally upon the products of the American farm and factory. Although informal pressures—so-called guidelines—have been used to set somewhat ineffective limits to the extent of price increases for other products, it is conceded that no case can be made at this time for a general system of price controls.

Yet, this one product—hides—has been singled out for direct and drastic executive action to break the price.

There is no moral justification for such discriminatory treatment of a single product. The reduction in the price of hides has a direct effect on the price of livestock. It is the farmer who suffers, while the rest of the country continues to enjoy boomtime prosperity.

It is argued that hide prices have advanced rapidly during the past 2 or 3 years. That is true, but until comparatively recently, hide prices have been at giveaway levels. Until a little over 2 years ago, hide prices were at the lowest levels since before the war.

The last few months have seen hide prices rise from those punishingly low levels, but even after such increases hide prices have not been high. They had reached about the level of 1959 when the boom was lowered. As a result of these regulations, the price to the farmer was reduced by $4 per head or more.

When making comparison of hide prices with the price levels of recent years, it must be realized that there has been a steadily declining market for hides over a long period of time. The development of synthetic materials as a substitute for real leather has been proceeding apace for a number of years. The per capita consumption of beef has increased, but each beef animal has a hide, and the per capita production of shoes made from leather has declined from 3.4 pairs per capita in 1952 to 3.2 in 1963. The result has been a growing imbalance in the hide market between supply and demand.

To rid ourselves of that surplus, American producers, meatpackers, and others have worked to develop an export market for hides, which has been highly beneficial to our industry. In that effort, we have had the support and cooperation of the Federal Government. Now the sudden cutback in hide exports has severely damaged the work of years in developing these foreign markets.

It is my urgent hope that this order will be reconsidered, and the discriminatory restrictions on hide exports be removed.

HOME RULE AND THE POWER STRUCTURE—SERMON BY REV. DR. DUNCAN HOWLETT, ALL SOULS UNITARIAN CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, some time ago I received, from Bishop Smallwood Williams, a letter enclosing a sermon preached by Rev. Dr. Duncan Howlett, minister of the All Souls Unitarian Church, Washington, D.C.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the letter from Bishop Williams and the sermon by Dr. Howlett.

There being no objection, the letter and sermon were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BIBLE WAY CHURCH OF OUR
LORD JESUS CHRIST WORLD WIDE,
INC.,
Washington, D.C., February 11, 1966.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am sending you a copy of what I believe is a great sermon preached by a great clergyman, the Reverend Dr. Duncan Howlett, minister of the All Souls Unitarian Church of this city.

The chief opposition to home rule for the District of Columbia, for which you have always been a mighty champion, seems to be the Washington Board of Trade, with its powerful financial influence, effective well-financed lobby, and conservative friends in the House of Representatives. It has been able to defeat the will of the majority of the people of the District of Columbia to date.

I am personally requesting you, if you find it possible, to please insert this sermon in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It should be helpful to the cause.

Mrs. Williams and I extend our warmest greetings to Mrs. Morse.

Very truly yours,

SMALLWOOD E. WILLIAMS.

HOME RULE AND THE POWER STRUCTURE

(A sermon by the Reverend Duncan Howlett, D.D., All Souls Church (Unitarian), Washington, D.C., Sunday, Jan. 23, 1966)

Last Monday a group of District of Columbia clergymen picketed the Board of Trade Building on K Street during the noon hour. On Tuesday, precinct workers of the Democratic Central Committee paraded; Wednesday, civil rights workers were in the line; Thursday, the churchmen (lay groups) demonstrated; Friday, civil and social groups. Asked to join the line I demurred: not because I have any doubt about the need for home rule here in the District and not because I have any doubt about the citizens' right to demonstrate against social wrong, but because I had never talked with the board of trade people, and always prefer talking before acting. The Coalition of Conscience which arranged the picketing had talked with the board of trade however, and had gotten nowhere. But we all thought it was worth another try. My sermon this morning is a result of that effort.

My conversation with the executive head of the organization, Col. William Press, was very enlightening. He received me with the utmost courtesy and answered all my questions without hesitation. The point of view he expressed will not surprise you. He and his organization are opposed to home rule for the District of Columbia and always have been. They favored the 23d amendment, which enables us to vote for the President and Vice President. They now favor our having representatives in Congress, but not local self-government. They are quite sure their position has nothing to do with race since they were opposed to home rule when Negroes were in the minority in this city. They believe that they have special competence to speak on these matters since most of their leaders are long-time residents of the area, though not necessarily of the city itself. They are also its business leaders. They have concluded that most of the civic leaders of the community stand with them in opposing home rule. Lastly, they do not feel that they have any more power in these matters than anyone else.

In the light of what we commonly hear about the board of trade, this is a very remarkable set of views. In the more than 7 years I have lived in this city, I have heard such opinions expressed by almost no one else. Indeed, from the beginning, I have heard nothing but the opposite.

I

Let us examine these opinions and discover if we can why the board of trade stands almost alone in holding them. First, as to the question of who supports and who opposes local self-government for the District of Columbia with full recognition of its status as the Nation's Capital—in short, on the question of who favors and who opposes President Johnson's bill as adopted by the Senate last summer. Last November the board of trade sent a letter to 28 of the leading newspapers in the country containing an attack on the proposal for local self-government in the District of Columbia. In it appeared this statement: "the fact is that a great many Washingtonians—including the overwhelming majority of local, civic, professional, and business leaders—are opposed to pending home rule legislation."

This statement is false. According to the Congressional Quarterly,[1] only three groups in the city are on record as opposed to home rule: the board of trade, the Federation of Citizens Associations, and the District of Columbia branch of the Federation of Women's Clubs. Standing against them, in favor of home rule, are 17 national organizations, such as the AFL–CIO; American Association of University Women; American Civil Liberties Union; American Federation of Teachers (AFL–CIO); Americans for Democratic Action; League of Women Voters; National Association of College Women; National Association of Social Workers; National Council of Jewish Women; Unitarian Universalist Association.

The number of local organizations that support home rule is far larger, numbering more than 50. To gain some notion of their size and status, let me list a few of the more outstanding: Catholic Archdiocese of Washington; Council of Churches of Greater Washington; District of Columbia Chamber of Commerce; District of Columbia Congress of Parents and Teachers; District of Columbia Federation of Civic Associations; Greater Washington Association of Unitarian Universalist Churches; Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington.

There is a weasel word in that statement that might be supposed to get the board off the hook. The word is "pending." Of course, all sorts of home rule legislation is pending, including that sponsored by the board of trade itself. Obviously, the board does not mean that legislation. It means the 1965 administration bill. Now, they may think what they like, but I deny their right to state it as a fact that "the overwhelming majority of local, civic, professional, and business leaders oppose home rule."

The damage done by such a letter is incalculable, because the issue of home rule, will be decided in the communities where the letter is being printed on the editorial page of the newspapers, not here in the District of Columbia. Most observers agree that the basic reason the House failed to pass the administration bill, was lack of interest and information across the country. Most people might favor home rule theoretically, but they really do not care enough one way or the other to influence their Congressman's vote. The purpose of the board of trade's letter is to influence the vote where it counts—among the constituency of the Congress in the country as a whole.

The letter concluded: "Congress will bear a heavy responsibility if it should ever succumb to pressures to turn the reins of this community over to any group not responsive to the larger interests of the Nation's Federal City. This statement too is false, but by what it implies rather than what it actually says. No one who favors home rule advocates a form of government "not responsive to the larger interests of the Nation's Federal City." The administration bill takes this need fully into account. In his message accompanying the bill, President Johnson said:

"There is a fundamental Federal interest in the National Capital. The Constitution wisely delegates to the Congress supreme legislative power over 'the seat of the Government of the United States.' The Congress can, however, delegate to a municipal legislature all the powers necessary for local self-government, and at the same time preserve fully its ultimate power and the interests of the Federal Government."

Asked to repudiate these statements, the board of trade has steadfastly refused. They have, however, provided us with a list of the papers to which their letters were sent and replies are now in the process of preparation.

That is why the board of trade is being picketed. That is why churchmen have joined with civic and community leaders from all walks of life—to show the Nation by their physical presence, as well as their verbal protests, that the board of trade has misrepresented the attitude of people here on home rule. There are varying opinions on the wisdom of the picketing effort. There always are. Certainly it is true that the oftener such demonstrations are staged, the less effective they become. But there can be no doubt of the need to set the record straight. I myself asked them this question: In the light of the number of organizations on record favoring home rule, how can you state it as a fact that the overwhelming majority of civic leaders oppose it?

"That is what we believe," was the only answer I, or anyone else, has been able to get to that question. In the face of the picketing carried on through a cold January wind this week, they still say they believe it. That takes some believing. It sounds more like religious faith.

The board of trade letter closes by inviting "those desiring additional information regarding District home rule legislation to contact the Metropolitan Board of Trade, 1616 K Street NW., Washington, D.C., for copies of the board's statement to the House District Committee."

In my mind, this invitation is as damaging as any part of the letter. I have read with great care the board of trade's statement to the House District Committee. It does not contain information so much as argument. The information it does contain is only to back up their argument which in turn is surprisingly flimsy. As an example, in support of their belief that the District of Columbia will run out of funds under home rule, the opinion of an Arizona Congressman is cited. He said: "I doubt very much whether the Congress would be inclined to pay annually to the District of Columbia $22 million, $25 million or $30 million or whatever figure it might be, any more than it would be inclined to pay the city of New York, for instance, payments in lieu of property taxes for the Federal installations."

If the Washington Board of Trade, as myopic as the Arizona Congressman, can see no difference between a Federal payment to the Nation's Capital and one to New York City, then we have the blind leading the blind, when the board of trade advises the rest of the country on home rule in the District of Columbia.

II

Secondly, the board of trade says piously that its position on home rule has nothing to do with race, nothing to do with the fear that we shall have a Negro government in the city of Washington. I hope this is true. But, the Congressional Quarterly in its roundup of opinion, says:[2]

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[1] Congressional Quarterly Fact Sheet: Oct. 28, 1965, p. 3.

[2] Ibid., p. 4.

"A number of Negro organizations and many others charged that much of the opposition to home rule in Congress and among some citizens of the District was based on fears 'that it might result in the domination of the city government by Negroes,' as District of Columbia Commissioner Walter N. Tobriner put it in testimony in March before the Senate District Committee. Tobriner, testifying for the home rule proposals, said the fear of Negro domination, while unexpressed, was among the major reasons for opposition to home rule on the part of its critics."

I wholly agree. It is to this complex of opinion that the board of trade belongs.

Here let me cite U.S. News & World Report,[3] an excellent authority on this issue since it continually makes so much of the rising Negro population in Washington. It is generally recognized that one of the major obstacles to congressional passage of home rule is the large number of Negroes in Washington and the expectation that they would give the Nation's Capital a Negro government." The meaning of this statement is clear: that under home rule, these people do not expect Negroes to govern the city for its own benefit and that of the Nation. They expect such a government to be of, by, and for Negroes.

Perhaps the most revealing comment in the board of trade statement to our House District Committee is this: "Our basic objective is to make of the Nation's Capital the finest community in the world in which to live, work, and raise our families." Do you see the unconscious emphasis the grammar they have used gives that sentence? They want Washington to be a fine place for them to live in. But the vast majority of our citizens would wish the board of trade wanted to make the Nation's Capital the finest community in the world in which all of its citizens could live, work, and raise their families. It is not now, and that is the chief reason for the demand for home rule.

We, the citizens of the District of Columbia, want home rule because it is our right but we want it yet more in order that we may help the downtrodden and neglected. We are not afraid that such a government will be Negro. We know it will be, and we are glad. Those who will be elected to office will undoubtedly have been identified with the civil rights movement. What is their standard of morality? If you fear for the government of the Nation's Capital under Negro leadership, ask yourself this question: How do the morals of the civil rights movement compare with those of municipal government in our American cities under white leadership?

III

But here I am slipping inevitably into the arguments for and against home rule itself. You can recite them all and there is no need for me to repeat them now. Let us rather return to the board of trade and its altogether remarkable view of the facts in the case.

The board of trade says in the third place that it has no particular power or influence in the matter of home rule. This view is not only contrary to the one that prevails in the city generally, it seems also to be contrary to the board's own view of itself. In its statement to the House District Committee, the board said:

"Most business and professional civic leaders of Washington since 1889 have been members of the board of trade. A large number of community leaders in the Federal City today are members, and have served as chairmen of its committees. Our board of directors and officers, a list of which is attached, is certainly composed of men of proven ability and judgment, as well as men whom you will recognize as having been leaders in many important civic enterprises * * * the presidents, directors, and leaders in the board of trade have always been men whose lives have been intimately identified with this community. A large majority of the men who have served as presidents of the board of trade have been natives of Washington. We believe this is important in that it demonstrates that the board of trade may speak from a leadership experience which is preeminent in this city."

What this statement describes is what is known in most communities as the power structure. In the District of Columbia it is compounded by an intimate association with Congressmen on the House District Committee. The Congressional Quarterly, which thoroughly reviewed the matter last October, said: [4]

"Several supporters of home rule said that the board's real reason for opposing home rule was the fact that the board 'presently has control of the city' through its influence and working relations with the House District Committee, and did not wish to lose it." If this were just an idle opinion, the Congressional Quarterly would not have bothered to state it.

Gentlemen of the board of trade, yours is the power. Yours can be the glory. It may be possible to get home rule without you. With you, we know we shall. Then we can tackle our social problems in the District together, full scale, beginning with the schools; tackle together the social ills all of us want to see cured. Our problems are grave but they are not insoluable. The right to govern ourselves is also the opportunity to do what you and all of us want to do—make the Nation's Capital a showplace: make this city the finest in the land, in which all of our citizens may live and raise our families. But home rule is the key, and you are the key to home rule.

IV

No small part of the problem is the attitude of sneering superiority and human insensitivity taken by the House District Committee. Nearly 7 years ago, on July 28, 1959, they scheduled a hearing on home rule. Nothing daunted by the summer heat, and the fact that many people were away on vacation, more than 800 residents of the District of Columbia turned out. The meeting was scheduled for a tiny room in the House of Representatives that held perhaps 60 people. As the crowd increased in size, Congressman DAVIS, of Georgia, chairman of the committee holding the hearings, was asked to move the session to the nearby House caucus room which was not in use at the time. The request was peremptorily refused and for no reason whatever.

As soon as the little room was full, the doors were barred. The remainder of the crowd packed the hallway, hoping in vain to get in, or that traditional southern courtesy might prevail. But it did not. It was quite forgotten on that occasion, as it often has been on this issue, and the crowd remained outside in the corridors, sweltering in the summer's heat. This went on for several days. It was an inexcusable indignity visited upon a group of American citizens by a high officeholder in the National Government—a man who had given his oath to serve with honor the Government of a free people.

It was this attitude of the Congress, expressed through the House District Committee, that converted me to home rule. I came to this city a devout believer in its appointive system of government under Congress. Firsthand contact with municipal affairs in the city of Boston persuaded me that any system of government was better than that. As a citizen of the United States, I was proud of the broad tree-lined streets, the parks, and beautiful white landscaped buildings of the capital of my country. I attributed these to congressional control of the city.

But living here, I soon discovered that there was another Washington I had not seen on my previous visits—one for which the Congress was far more directly responsible. That Washington was a city ridden by poverty, disease, crime, and cultural deprivation, all bound up in a self-perpetuating downward vortex, growing larger every year. A part of that Washington, I soon discovered, was creeping up to the back door of this church. Its existence and character was well documented by the League of Women Voters in their pamphlet, "A Tale of Two Cities," issued in 1962. Few if any members of the board of trade live there, and neither they nor their children are penalized by its squalor.

This other Washington exists by reason of a number of factors, but living and working here has convinced me as it has convinced thousands upon thousands of others, that chief among them is the white power structure linked to the House District Committee under Chairman JOHN L. MCMILLAN, of South Carolina. It became clear to me very early that the reforms needed to break the downward vortex centering primarily in the Negro community in this city could not come without home rule, which was blocked by the board of trade, and stopped at the door of the Congress.

The board of trade boasts that it has not changed its position on home rule in 50 years. It is true: they have not, and that is the problem. When the board of trade took its position on home rule, Washington was a small town. It was known as a Southern city because its pattern of life was much more like that of the South than the North. Today it is neither a small town nor southern. It is one of the Nation's fastest growing cities and will soon be among the largest.

But most important of all, in those intervening years, the conscience of America has been stabbed awake. Now we know the economic and social subjugation under which the Negro has lived, and increasingly the people of this country are resolved to set him free and make him a part of the body politic at last.

Gentlemen of the board of trade, the 19th century has passed. Two-thirds of the 20th century is already behind us. We fought the Civil War and freed the slaves a hundred years ago. We are now in the second phase of that war. Our purpose is to give the Negro full-fledged citizenship and full-fledged economic, social, and political acceptance as an American. We carried on the first phase of this struggle by force of arms. The second, so far, has been carried on by moral force; not by an appeal to the sword, but by an appeal to the conscience. The day when the good Negro was an obsequious menial is dead. The day has come when the good Negro is a man who meets his white brother eye to eye and hand to hand, as equals are accustomed to meet each other.

How much longer will the white power structure seek to hold back the tide of history? How soon will its members learn that any attempt to do so will produce riots far greater than that at Watts? How soon will they learn that the day they dream of is dead: that a new day has come, a day that holds within it a dream far lovelier than theirs? The new dream is of democracy that ranks Negro and white Americans together. It is a dream that replaces Negro subservience with Negro self-respect. It is a dream that moves from white supremacy through white chagrin, shame, and remorse to white acceptance of the ideal of brotherhood across racial lines.

The real problem is ignorance. Does the white community really know what it has been doing to the Negro? Let me put this question in the classic language of George Bernard Shaw. In his play, "St. Joan," the priest who led in the demand for Joan of Arc's death comes on the stage after she has been burned at the stake.

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[3] Jan. 18, 1965, p. 44.

[4] Op. cit. p. 4.

"I meant no harm," he cries piteously, recognizing his own guilt for the first time. 'I did not know what it would be like. If I had known."

Then he turns upon his fellow accomplices, who had not seen the execution, shouting hysterically, "You don't know. You haven't seen. It is so easy to talk when you don't know. But when it is brought home to you: when you have seen the thing you have done, stifling your nostrils, tearing your heart, then O God, take this sight from me."

A large part of well-to-do America stands with that priest today. They have not seen: they do not know what the power structure to which they belong does to other men. They must be made to know. They can turn away no longer. And when they see, if they are men of conscience, they too will cry "O God, take away this sight from me." Then they will move to mend the wrong they have done, for unlike the priest in the play, they have in their hands the power to undo it. In this long, long process, self-government for the District of Columbia is a step we must take.

Prayer: O God, uncover our eyes that we may see ourselves as we are.

VIETNAM POLICY ANALYSIS

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I am one who supports the administration's policy in Vietnam, but I also support, with equal firmness, the concept that there is no policy which a democratic nation can adopt which should not be analyzed in thoughtful debate, in the forums of elected representatives of the people and among the people generally.

One American who has been a leader in the current debate on Vietnam is the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator WILLIAM FULBRIGHT. While I disagree in many aspects with his analysis of this situation in that war-torn land, I believe he has acted responsibly in putting forward alternative opinions and suggestions to our present foreign relations policies.

In the current issue of Look magazine, appears an excellent article on my good friend from Arkansas by the noted correspondent, Eric Sevareid.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Look magazine, May 3, 1966]

WHY OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS FAILING—AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR FULBRIGHT

(By Eric Sevareid)

"The men who create power make an indispensable contribution to the Nation's greatness, but the men who question power make a contribution just as indispensable * * * for they determine whether we use power or power uses us."—President JOHN F. KENNEDY.

Late in the afternoon of a Friday in February, several million Americans snapped off their television sets and rubbed their eyes. It was the end of several days of a public inquiry into the Vietnam war conducted by the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate, which has the constitutional right and duty of advising the President as well as consenting to his foreign actions. Throughout the 16 years of America's involvement with Vietnam, the Senate had automatically consented. Now, very late in the day, with their country enmeshed in a major war, leading Senators were advising the administration.

Their advice did not consist of concrete and acceptable plans for winning the war or settling the war—a legislative body cannot make a peace any more than it can wage a war. Their advice amounted to this: "Be careful. Our people do not understand this cruel war. They are divided and confused. Persuade us that this war does involve America's vital interests, does involve the freedom of mankind and the peace of the world. Give us better reasons to believe it will not lead to war with Communist China. Give us some hope that a negotiated peace that we can live with, that South Vietnam can live with, is possible, and that you are really trying to get it."

It was an astonishing phenomenon. It has only minor precedents in American history, chiefly, the Mexican War of 1846. Some 300,000 young Americans were fighting in and around the scallop of Asia called Vietnam, a place most Americans had never heard of until recently; scores were dying every week; the financial cost was leaping into the billions by geometric progression: Communist China was rousing its people, by daily demonstrations, to believe that the United States was about to attack it. And at this stage of the business, many American legislators were asking, in effect: "How and why did we get into this? Is it worth it?" Whatever one's views about the ultimate justification of it, this is an appalling way for a great and peaceable nation to go to war.

The most articulately appalled of all is the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, the generally soft-spoken ex-Rhodes scholar, the gentleman from Arkansas, JAMES WILLIAM FULBRIGHT. The late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy once call him "Mr. Halfbright." Former President Harry S. Truman, in a flash of anger, once called him "that overeducated * * *." His former history don at Oxford, thinking of the Fulbright scholarships that have made him a world figure, said to him once, "You are responsible for the largest and most significant movement of scholars across the face of the earth since the fall of Constantinople in 1453."

On that Friday afternoon, a few moments before they snapped off their television sets, those several million fascinated Americans had heard Senator FULBRIGHT digging persistently at the Secretary of State. FULBRIGHT was still trying to persuade Dean Rusk that peace negotiations with Hanoi are possible. The audience saw the Senator lean forward in his chair, peer through his dark glasses and say, "There must be something wrong with our diplomacy."

They saw Rusk, his monumental patience nearly gone, flush slightly. His aching eyes glistened in the glare of the camera lights, and he said, "Senator, is it just possible that there is something wrong with them?"

A world of meaning lay in this exchange, this impasse. These two men of undoubted patriotism, equally anxious that the dismal succession of world wars be broken, equally desirous that men be free to work out their own destinies, draw different lessons from the history of this century.

Rusk equates the current world problem with the problem of Hitler's time, and later, Stalin's time; he believes that unless this aggression in Vietnam is halted, Communist victory there will lead to other Communist victories in Asia and eventually to a last-ditch struggle in the form of disastrous world war.

FULBRIGHT believes that our very resistance to this aggression—and he wonders if it is a true aggression—is just as likely, if not more likely, in itself, to lead to endless disturbances in Asia and eventually world war, beginning with an American-Chinese showdown.

Rusk, who must enforce policy, reserves the benefits of the doubts to his own country; FULBRIGHT, who can, as scrutinizer of policies, afford the luxury of public uncertainty, grants the benefits of some doubts to the enemy. He does not believe communism is a world, monolithic force, successfully spreading its tentacles.

Rusk thinks of America as the last, best hope of civilized man; FULBRIGHT thinks of America as the best but not the only hope, and certainly not the last that history will see.

On the morning after the Nation had witnessed this direct clash of two strong wills, I walked into the New Senate Office Building. The second door on the left is that of the gentleman from Arkansas. On this morning-after, it was as quiet as the eye of a hurricane. Three secretaries were at their desks in the outer office, each desk stacked with mail. Up to that hour, the Fulbright office had received about 10,000 letters, postcards, and telegrams. They were running about 17 to one in favor of the Senator and his effort.

The Senator's private office is simply furnished with green-leather chairs and a couch. Low bookshelves line the walls. One abstract painting is on the wall. The Senator's college degrees. The framed original of the Fulbright resolution of 1943, which the freshman Representative had got through the House and which, 2 years before the United Nations was founded, put the American Congress on record as favoring an international organization to preserve the peace of the world.

There are framed photographs showing FULBRIGHT with L.B.J. One is incribed by the President to the Senator this way: "Than whom there is no better." Another shows Mr. Johnson leaning forward, earnestly talking to the Senator, who wears a worried scowl. This one bears, in the President's scrawl, the words: "To BILL. I can see I haven't been very persuasive."

FULBRIGHT opened the door in full movement, tossed a book on his desk and turned around to shake hands, all with the casual grace of a third baseman dropping into the dugout and shedding his glove. It is this casualness, I think, that gave rise to the Washington myth that FULBRIGHT is a lazy man. In the congressional world of activists, of declaimers, of scurriers, he is always under inner control. He refuses to be a major champion of minor issues. Like the trained athlete on the field or the trained actor on stage, he gives each move its physical and emotional due—no more.

His Arkansas contemporaries remember his style as a halfback at the State university. No lost motion, no frantic sweat. He would often take the ball, then for a moment stand relaxed, almost like a man lost in thought, until he saw an opening. Then he would go for it hard. He plays politics in the same manner today.

His written speeches are the works of a craftsman of English. They flow from premise through argument to conclusion with logic and precision. But in private conversation, like many men whose minds work faster than their tongues, he will double back and around and back again. With people with whom he feels comfortable, he loves to talk. We talked, a long time, of the world as his mind encompasses it, of this public, naked exposure of the American soul that he had deliberately brought about in full understanding of its inherent dangers to the war itself and to FULBRIGHT himself as man and Senator.

I told him that he has become stamped as the leading American critic of America in the world, and I wondered about the core of his unease.

"Well, Eric, I'm the poorest person in the world to say what others think of me. They may think I'm just a congenital sorehead for all I know. I hope not. It's not because I think we're no good that I criticize our country. It's because I think it's so very good and has an opportunity to do so much more than any country in history."

He fiddled with a package of those charcoal-tipped cigarettes—his adversary, Secretary Rusk, smokes the same brand—and regarded me with that raised-eyebrow expression when I reminded him of his public ruminations about the disintegration of the Greek democracy when it extended its power commitments to Syracuse; about the Germanic obsession with power in this century, just when Germany was flourishing as a culture. Fulbright had said once: "Neither God nor nature has preordained the triumph of our free society, and it would be a tragic mistake to assume the inevitability of our survival."

Now, he leaned abruptly back in his chair, in a gesture reminiscent of the halfback squaring up with the ball in his arms. "Here we are, the most powerful and richest country in the world, a great continent under one government. I think of the advances we've made—there's my own State, which had a per capita income of $250 only 25 years ago. Now, it's about $1,700. If we'll just not follow the same arrogant, egotistical policies of so many powerful nations, particularly in foreign affairs, we could really break the cycle that has so drearily involved the world in silly and destructive wars.

"Take the Dominican Republic. This perhaps spurred on my feelings about Vietnam. I know you don't agree with me, but this seemed to me an utterly inexcusable interference in the affairs of a small country. These people want to do something for themselves. As those Africans at the conference in New Zealand said. 'We want to make our own mistakes.' You see, it gives them assurance; then they move on and create whatever kind of political and social fabric that best suits them. They're not a great danger to the security of the world. It offends me that because we're so powerful, we butt in on other people's business.

"Great countries have done this time after time. I was just reading this book called 'Foreign Mud,' about the way Britain got into the war with China over the opium trade. In the long run, this contributes to the destruction of the big countries."

I suggested that he had a sense of personal embarrassment about some of America's actions.

"I'm just embarrassed in front of the world. This vague thing called world opinion. I mean they expect so much of us. We've been such a fortunate country. We are drawn from so many different cultures, we were lucky in our material resources. The idea of democracy, as our great men from Washington through Lincoln have said it—not just a specialized form of government, but the people participating with all their dignity. This is a great ideal. We don't live up to it—nobody can, absolutely—but we've approached it, closer than any other great country."

I told the Senator he confused me a bit, that throughout the hearings he had argued against the "hawks," who feared that withdrawal or compromise or switching to a defensive military position in Vietnam would damage our prestige in the world. Now, it seemed to me, he was himself emphasizing America's prestige. He sat bolt upright.

"Maybe I—you're quite right, perhaps it is our prestige I'm concerned with, but we differ in the way we would support that prestige. I think that asserting our military power against a little country destroys that prestige. I think our prestige requires that we be magnanimous in refraining from imposing our will on a country that is obviously at our mercy.

"This war—I just cannot bring myself to believe that how the Vietnamese work out their internal problems is worth a major war or even gives us the right to intervene. You see, part of this grows from a great apprehension about communism. It grew out of Stalin's barbaric use of his position as a Communist leader. But communism as a philosophy, or as a system, is not really a matter that we ought to go to war about. It's the actions of the particular people who practice it. I would support anybody who would restrain the kind of imperialism that Stalin represented. But at the other extreme is the communism of Yugoslavia. They are so much better off than they were under the Turks or under the monarchy. It is peaceful, it doesn't threaten people. So I think we get all mixed up about communism. And the reiteration by the administration of Communist aggression offends me. If they would put it the other way, that this is an aggression by a people—I think they have the Chinese in the back of their minds. If this is just Chinese imperialism, that's a different question. But they use these terms in inflame the emotions, people's fears. It's like talking about the atrocities, as if only these people were guilty of atrocities. Every people, at some time in their history, have engaged in the same kind of cruelties in relation to whatever weapons they may have had. This type of thing inhibits rational consideration of what's really involved, and that's why it offends me."

Fulbright is certain that the nationalist instinct is stronger than communism as an ideology and that Vietnam is a classic instance of this. The Vietnamese were a nation, they had a national identity, they were taken by force by a Western country (France), and he thinks they were trying to reassert their national independence. He finds it "really hard" to see the difference between this and what the Americans did in 1776.

The world moves on. Fulbright thinks the world and the nature of the threat from Communists have greatly altered since Stalin's time. The balance of power has changed to a highly unstable nuclear stalemate; Western Europe has recovered; the former colonial and semicolonial nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America are on the rise, caught up in an emotional fever of nationalism. And Soviet foreign policies have changed. Khrushchev's tactics were far more subtle and varied than Stalin's, more challenging to the nerves and the patience of the West. But Khrushchev made a terrible blunder when he put the missiles into Cuba, and that successful confrontation, the Senator thinks, was the most visible milestone on the road to a different East-West relationship.

Fulbright has recently been accused of inconsistency because, his critics say, he was a hawk at the time of the missile crisis and recommended we invade Cuba and have done with both the missile threat and Fidel Castro. But he explains that when President Kennedy asked him to break off his campaigning trip in Arkansas and come to the White House, Fulbright knew none of the background. He knew nothing of the exchanges of letters between Kennedy and Khrushchev. He had no chance to think about the chances of the naval quarantine succeeding.

In any case, he told me, President Kennedy "wasn't asking us for consultation. He had already made up his mind. He had his speech written, and 10 minutes after the meeting, he went out and gave it. We were told that they were going to put in the quarantine and that if the Russians didn't turn back and didn't respect it, that the administration itself was prepared to take Cuba."

He is deeply perturbed by the apparent paradox that the United States leaves alone a Communist tyranny 90 miles from our shores, but sends our forces 10,000 miles away to fight Communists. "If we can live with Cuba, what difference does it make about Vietnam?" he said. He is not sure that the enemy in Vietnam wants the kind of communism practiced in Russia or would have that kind of communism if they ran the country. He inclines to believe that nationalism would be the dominant spirit in a land that has historically been anti-Chinese. Even if the regime bore the label "Communist," it would amount to a kind of buffer state against China. A Vietnam regime set up by us with the outward trappings of democracy, in close connection with us, would actually be weaker in the sense that it would be more tempting to China, when and if China does become really aggressive in the military sense.

"I think if we had never stuck our nose in this business, it would have long since been settled in accordance with whatever the major forces within Vietnam were. I think we have delayed that settlement, and I think we have a good deal on our consciences for having intervened there in the first instance in 1950 [when we aided the French]."

Secretary of State Rusk talks about the things that are wrong with "them." He talks about "the other fellow." I asked Fulbright who this enemy precisely is—the Vietcong? North Vietnam? China? Fulbright replied, "I don't know. He says Hanoi, but I cannot free my own mind from the belief that he means China."

It is a fair inference that Fulbright does not think there is enough evidence to conclude that China is bent on conquest in the Hitler manner or that she can work her will very far through external subversion. The world-encompassing goals as stated by the Chinese defense minister, Lin Piao, have been cited by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara to justify the apocalyptic view that China is determined to become the dominant influence in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. But China has been suffering setbacks—in Indonesia, in several African nations, and in China.

Fulbright, as a student of history and its unpredictability, would find such fears childish. He is more inclined to interpret China's thunderous propaganda challenges as Secretary-General U Thant of the United Nations does—as the natural behavior of a regime that is overwhelmed with difficulties at home and feels increasingly "encircled" by the power of Russia and the United States. Fulbright's mental processes are such that he would try to imagine the reaction of his own country if a Chinese Army were fighting, say, in lower Mexico, and their planes were dropping bombs within 40 miles of the Rio Grande.

He tries to turn an international problem around, not only to understand an adversary's basic interests, but to try to imagine how the adversary feels in his heart. He thinks the world is too dangerous to do otherwise. For this reason, he is perhaps more popular in Europe than he is in his own country—much like the late Adlai E. Stevenson, a comparison Fulbright by no means objects to.

The Vietnam war seems to appall him in its every aspect. He doesn't think we are even improving the Vietnamese economy, but destroying it, as of now. "I have a letter from a friend in a hospital in Bangkok," he told me, "and there's beginning this same distortion in Thailand's economy. We end up creating an awful situation we're not able to control, and if we should suddenly pull out tomorrow, they'd be in much worse shape than they were when we got there."

The Senator straightened and stretched and moved aside a sheaf of letters on his desk. One was a copy of a "petition" from some people in California who were demanding his recall on grounds of treason. FULBRIGHT chuckled—he has a genuine chuckle and a genuine belly laugh.

"I get all kinds of stuff like that. I used to in the days of McCarthy. That doesn't bother me very much."

I mentioned a remark by his secretary that the current mail was running heavier than any in her experience. "That's Pallie Sims," he said. "She's my stalwart. She gets here early and leaves late. I called her on the phone yesterday and said, 'Is Lee there?' and she said, "Could I tell him who is calling?' I said, 'Now, Pallie, if you don't recognize me'—oh, she nearly died. She said, 'I'll tell you, Senator, we're nearly frantic. These phones have been ringing nearly all afternoon. I don't even recognize my own voice.'

"Oh, I don't know. In a month or two, it will all be forgotten. The only thing I hope for out of this is that it may create a greater degree of caution, provoke more thoughtfulness. Not that I don't think the President is a cautious man, but I think he'll give much more careful consideration before an enlargement of the war."

If, I asked FULBRIGHT, he considers the whole thing in Vietnam a series of mistakes, where was the critical error made? He said the first mistake was made in 1950 when we supported the French. "Then, we had a second opportunity to leave them alone in 1954 (after the fall of Dienbienphu. Then, it gradually grew, like Topsy. I think it was a mistake for us to support Diem. He was calling the shots, and we were taking the blame and the responsibility. Then Diem was killed. Perhaps that would have been a time to say let's have a conference and see if we can't settle it by negotiation."

After the Gulf of Tonkin incident in the summer of 1964, FULBRIGHT was floor manager for the resolution that gave congressional endorsement to the President to take any and all necessary measures to repel aggression. Today, he regrets his role in granting this blank check, though he observed at the time of its passage that Congress did not have in mind the use of American ground armies in this war. He objected to a limiting amendment proposed by Senator GAYLORD NELSON, of Wisconsin, because the administration said it was an emergency, and quick, sharp response was needed to deter North Vietnam.

"But this Gulf of Tonkin incident, if I may say so, was a very vague one. We were briefed on it, but we have no way of knowing, even to this day, what actually happened. I don't know whether we provoked that attack in connection with supervising or helping a raid by South Vietnamese or not. Our evidence was sketchy as to whether those PT boats, or some kind of boats, that were approaching were coming to investigate or whether they actually attacked. I have been told there was no physical damage. They weren't hit by anything. I heard one man say there was one bullet hole in one of those ships. One bullet hole."

President Johnson, who FULBRIGHT feels did not want this war any more than he did himself, used to cite that congressional resolution as his authority for what he has done in Vietnam. Before that, he cited the Eisenhower and Kennedy "commitments." Recently, he and Secretary Rusk have put the emphasis on the SEATO treaty. The FULBRIGHT school of critics argues that the treaty did not oblige us to fight in Vietnam any more than it obliges the other signatories, nearly all of whom are not fighting with us.

Senator FULBRIGHT thinks our policy toward China has gone wrong since the great war ended. He is appalled that the most powerful nation in the world and the most populous nation in the world, both now nuclear powers, are not even on speaking terms, with nothing like the avenues of communication that existed between Russia and the United States during their times of dangerous tensions.

"One of the most disgraceful periods of all in our foreign policy," he said, "was our persistence in the support of Chiang Kai-shek after he collapsed. I don't think there was anything we could have done. I regretted very much they were Communists who won. But we should have stopped, and cut our losses." Still, changing the status of Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa, FULBRIGHT thinks, is out of the question at the moment.

He wonders if it would not have been better to have supported Ho Chi Minh at the outset, in what some regard as his struggle for Vietnamese independence, Communist though he is. He doubts that the Vietcong is no more than a puppet of North Vietnam, as the administration argues. He thinks they may very well have an identity and purpose of their own and that we ought to be working to split them off from Hanoi.

He wonders just how much expert knowledge about China is operating inside the administration "There are only five in the China section of the State Department. Think of it—the biggest country in the world, and we've got five fellows. We've got a few in Hong Kong, trying to interpret China from there. And then we have the professors."

The Senator takes pains to point out that he claims no expertise on Asia himself, that he's been to Asia only twice and never to Vietnam, and that his foreign policy energies for years have been concentrated on Europe. For this reason, he has been teaching himself Asian history—he usually has a book under his arm when he moves about Washington. He has been in contact with one or two of the "old China hands," driven out of their careers in the hysteria of the McCarthy period. He invites Asian authorities, occasionally Chinese, to his handsome house just off Embassy Row for tea and talk. In order to get some long-range perspective on China for himself and his senatorial colleagues, he extended the committee hearings to invite testimony by scholars of Asia. He is determined to get at the roots of the whole, vast, dangerous confrontation with China and, teacher that he is by instinct and early training, determined to share this understanding with the American people.

FULBRIGHT is not at all sure that he agrees with the current intellectual fashion of regarding "spheres of influence" as an outmoded concept. He has acquired a high regard for Asian culture, but reminds himself that we are the children of Europe, sharing common concepts of law and politics, existing in the same cultural fabric. Part of the fashionable argument is that missiles and jets have shrunk the world in time and space, if not yet in cultures and casts of mind, and that our power can reach anywhere in minutes or hours. This argument says, in effect, that every place on the globe is essentially equidistance from America, and that we should adjust our foreign policies accordingly. Though he did not put it this way himself, I think the Senator would regard this notion as a variant for the technological age of what psychologists call "the illusion of the central position," which begins with the child in the crib and continues to affect the psyche of whole peoples.

He finds degrees of illusion in the American sense of historic time. We built a continent in a hurry, by a combination of good fortune in our people, soil and climate, a phenomenon without parallel. So we instinctively believe human problems are to be solved, not alleviated, as Europeans instinctively feel. What we accomplish at home, we seem to think we can accomplish in alien societies and with the same speed. And so our governmental semantics has outrun the realities, and we have talked about "unleashing Chiang Kai-shek," about "liberating" East Europe, about resuscitating Latin American economies in a decade's time, and about exporting democracy, American-style, which is scarcely possible.

BILL FULBRIGHT comes from Arkansas, which "made no progress at all from 1865 until about 1940. We were really an underdeveloped society, an exploited society, a colony of the Northeast, whose great corporations sucked out whatever natural wealth we had." All this helps explain why FULBRIGHT's time sense is different and why he has an instinctive sympathy for the poor lands of the earth, including Vietnam. His famous student exchange program may one day prove to have been our most enlightened foreign policy, the strongest of the new threads holding peoples together in understanding, but the father of the project would emphasize "one day." It is part of his whole vision of foreign policy, which he sees not as construction but as a process, not as the building of an edifice but as the cultivation of natural things in a given direction. Time is life. He wants no rash actions to abolish the gift of time.

And it is his Arkansas roots and his Arkansas political base that explain the painful, public paradox of FULBRIGHT, the humanitarian, the man of enlightenment, who has voted the straight Southern line on Negro rights, the overwhelming moral issue of modern America. He would flush with anger if anyone called him a bigot or a Negro hater. Clearly, he is neither. But he lives with this "inner discomfort" and does not disguise the fact. His soul must exist in different divided worlds: Fayetteville and Oxford, England; the Ozark back country and Philadelphia's main line, where he found his charming, enlightened bride. If he hates to talk about this, it is not only because the painful paradox unavoidably exists, but because he fears people will think he is making excuses for himself.

So he has been a constant target of the sliderule liberals, in spite of all he has done for Negro education and health, where he thinks the foundation stones of Negro progress lie; in spite of his lonely courage in opposing Senator McCarthy to his face when the liberals bête noire was at the peak of his terrifying power; in spite of his early support for the United Nations and foreign aid, and at a time when the Arkansas majority was against these innovations. But on the bills for civil rights per se—no. And for the same simple, candid reason that he would never oppose the Arkansas agricultural council on cotton policy—he did not wish to be retired from public life.

It is an ancient story and dilemma for men in politics. They must survive, first of all, if they are to accomplish anything. This is why, for example, the liberal Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY never dreamt of opposing Minnesota's dairy industry. It is why young Congressman John F. Kennedy voted fresh appropriations for the House Un-American Activities Committee when he thought the committee's methods an abomination. ("I would be dead in my district, otherwise," he told me at the time.)

As President, incidentally, Kennedy seriously considered FULBRIGHT for Secretary of State because he liked "the play of his mind." But FULBRIGHT's name was crossed off the list because of the certainty of opposition by Negro and other civil rights groups. Did the Senator himself want to be Secretary of State? "I certainly did not," he said to me. Some of his friends think otherwise.

It is not generally known, but FULBRIGHT was also seriously considered for the presidency of Columbia University before General Eisenhower was given the post. (In his thirties, FULBRIGHT had been president of the University of Arkansas.) Trustees of Columbia asked him if he would consider the job. But this query came too soon—or too late. He had recently been elected to the Senate, in a bitter campaign, with the help of many friends, and, "I thought it immoral to just leave because of what looked like a better job."

Is this his final term as a Senator?

"Eric, you know a politician can't say that. I'll say I've given it no thought."

At a trim and fit 61, the gentleman from Arkansas has become the most arresting figure in the U.S. Senate. He has proved the Senate can advise as well as consent, and by a thousand signs, it is clear that President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense all take his advice very, very seriously, whether they admit it or not. It may be that he is working a slow change in American Far Eastern policy. He has done this with no power save his position as foreign relations chairman and the power of intellect. His vision of America's role in the world may not prevail in our practices. But he will have said what he had to say, and the people have listened. He does not know what more a legislator can do for his country. Having done it, he appears to stand now at the high point of his life, the apogee of his career. In any chapter on the year 1966 in any future history book, the name FULBRIGHT will appear, writ large and often.

The nature and the use of the great American power haunt his thoughts. He is no dreamer. He knows that in the world politics of this brilliant and frightening century, purity will precede paralysis; but he also knows that pride still precedes a fall. He knows that good will without power behind it is merely an attitude; but he also knows that power without good will can mean calamity.

It was past noon on that Saturday morning in February when the Senator and I got out of our chairs. Another contingent of TV cameramen had arrived in the outer office.

SENATE REVOLT: A HEATED SEARCH FOR A VIETNAM POLICY

I said, "Senator, I think you want to believe that rationality and order are stronger forces than irrationality and disorder in this world."

"Now, you remind me of something, Eric. Here's a little essay sent me by an old fellow who lives back in the Ozarks, a mountaineer without much formal education."

FULBRIGHT read the essay, which said, in part: "With all man's limitations, he yet has one advantage over animals—the power of reason, but history shows that he often discards that for superstition * * * he is the only animal that will build homes, towns, and cities at such a cost in sacrifice and suffering and then turn around and destroy them in war * * * where he came from, or when, or how, or where he is going after death he does not know, but he hopes to live again in ease and idleness where he can worship his gods and enjoy himself, watching his fellow creatures wriggle and writhe in eternal flames down in hell."

FULBRIGHT chuckled and said he didn't believe the world was a rational place, he just hoped we could move it in that direction. "I'm not sure I'm very optimistic about the human race. But if you are to function at all in this business or nearly any other, you have to believe it's possible."

Like his friend, Adlai Stevenson, Senator FULBRIGHT lives, not with indecisiveness, as so many think, but with the courage of his doubts. He knows the great secret, Sophocles expressed it: "This law shall ever be true: Nothing that is vast enters into the life of mortals without a curse."

Twentieth century communism is a vast thing. So is the American power.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, as an example of an analysis which is many degrees removed from that of the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, I would call the attention of the Senate to an editorial written by Mr. Weldon James, of the Louisville Courier-Journal, who resigned his post on that illustrious newspaper to return to active duty in the Marine Corps to "testify to my belief that the U.S. policy in Vietnam is right."

Mr. James points out that "diversity of critical opinion is not only the right, but the great strength, of a democracy" and he exercises his critical opinion to good effect in the signed editorial which marked his departure from the Courier-Journal.

Mr. President, I would ask unanimous consent that his editorial of April 14, also be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal, Apr. 14 1966]

A SIGNED EDITORIAL: IT'S PAST TIME TO SAY, "TO HELL WITH HO"

(By Weldon James)

This is one editorial only a great newspaper could invite anyone to write and to sign.

I quit. I resign as an associate editor of the Courier-Journal. I am going on active duty in the Marine Corps to testify to my belief that U.S. policy in Vietnam is right—and that the quicker more newspapers and more people give the President solid support, the shorter and less dangerously complicated the war there will be.

The Courier-Journal, as its readers know, is no appeaser on Vietnam, no advocate of U.S. withdrawal. But it does not speak with the sharpness I believe the continuing crisis demands.

I believe that the United States was right about Vietnam in 1954, right when President Kennedy increased our involvement, right when President Johnson did likewise, and right to commit, in the President's words, "whatever it takes" to deny the Communists a military triumph there.

I believe Lyndon Johnson is as right as Roosevelt, as timely as Truman, as cautiously correct as Kennedy, and as entitled to Eisenhower's and the Nation's support as the Courier-Journal used to say in editorials I wrote.

But the Courier-Journal, like some other great newspapers, no longer takes a forthright stand on this paramount issue. I respect the conscientiousness of its reasoning, but I am not convinced.

NO TIME TO PLAY HAMLET

This is no time for the press of a great nation to play Hamlet—or Lippmann. Walter Lippmann's gloom about the Truman doctrine was 100 percent wrong. That doctrine played a decisive role in converting the Soviet Union to a belief in peaceful coexistence. Its great dividend is the historic rift between Peking and Moscow today.

Mr. Lippmann's China-doorstep arguments about southeast Asia today are identical with his Russia-doorstep arguments about Greece and Turkey in 1947—and I believe identically fallacious about what the United States should do and can do.

The Courier-Journal has not endorsed the Lippmann line, nor has it been guilty of the vacillation or the silence or the yes-buts of a good part of the American press that have misled both Hanoi and Peking. But in recent months it has been something less than decisive. And all this across the Nation has nurtured honest confusion of the minority in this country—and unintentionally encouraged the sit-ins, the draft-card burners, the neoisolationist belief that if only the United States were to withdraw from southeast Asia (or any other trouble-spot), the world would have instant peace.

No one can deny that the issues in southeast Asia are terribly complex, or contend that we have not made mistakes there. It would be a miracle if we had not. And I fully respect the honest doubts and anxieties of some of my colleagues and of other thoughtful Americans who differ from my views. But I believe it is past time they resolved them and invoked positive support for the President. This could, in my emphatic belief, keep the war limited—and help to shorten it.

Diversity of critical opinion is not only a right but the great strength of a democracy, and no American I know would limit it. But there is enough evidence at hand for the American jury to reach a verdict on Vietnam. The evidence is not just two decades of history but the exposition of that history and of the facts today by the President, the Vice President, the Secretaries of State and Defense, Averell Harriman, McGeorge Bundy, and a host of others.

At moments in history when their declarations had a powerful and useful impact on public opinion, the Courier-Journal's Henry Watterson said "to hell with the Hohenzollerns" and Mark Ethridge and Barry Bingham said in effect "to hell with Hitler"—and Bingham went into the Navy before Pearl Harbor to show where he stood. I hold it is past time to say to hell with Ho—and to speed him toward that destination until he sees the virtues of the conference table.

That solution manifestly is impossible as long as Ho believes that the American people will indeed, as he long ago boasted, weary, waver, and withdraw.

If we don't get the message to Ho now, the need to get it to Mao Tse-tung will be upon us in time. He's told us what he plans. It is as foolish to laugh at his boasts and Red China's "weakness" now as it was to laugh at "that clown Hitler" and Nazi Germany's "weakness" in the 1930's.

Some of my good but regrettably misinformed friends have attributed the positiveness of my views to my long ties with the Marine Corps, instead of to reason, logic, and a lifelong study of history.

This is nonsense, of course. The Marine Corps has no foreign policy. It has no politics. Sound out six marine sergeants—or six marine generals, for that matter—and you'll find as many differing "experts" on foreign affairs and politics as you'll find in the corner tavern.

The Marine Corps, as a long succession of its Commandants have made plain, has but one job. That is to obey the orders of the civilian Commander in Chief, the President.

But the Marine Corps does teach the uses of disciplined rage and the application of "measured strength"—exactly what the United States is employing in Vietnam today. And it has been asking for Reserves to volunteer. I am proud it believes I can be of some use to it now, thanks in great part to the generosity with which the Courier-Journal over the years has enabled me to advance my training in Marine Corps schools, the National War College, and with Navy and Marine forces on the job in Europe and the Orient.

A few comments on the national scene:

It is well-nigh incredible to me that some self-styled liberal Democrats should be ignoring the posthumous revelation by his son of Adlai Stevenson's true position on Vietnam (the Courier-Journal, of course, took sensible editorial notice of this). It is even more shocking that they should be seeking to explain away Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY's vigorous and persuasive support of the President's policies as the calculated insincerity of "a White House captive." They owe it to their label—and to the country—to go back and ponder what John F. Kennedy said and did about Vietnam.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

ADDITIONAL EMPLOYEES FOR COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1067, Senate Resolution 224.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 224) to provide six additional professional staff members and six additional clerical assistants for the Committee on Finance which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment, to strike out all after the word "*Resolved*" and insert:

That the Committee on Finance is authorized—

(1) until otherwise provided by law, to employ six additional professional staff members, and

(2) through January 31, 1967, to employ six additional clerical assistants,

to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at rates of compensation to be fixed by the chairman in accordance with section 202(e), as amended, of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, and the provisions of Public Law 4, Eightieth Congress, approved February 19, 1947, as amended.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Those of us on the Committee on Finance—my impression is that it was about 14 to 3, even though it was not a recorded vote—thought we should have an adequate staff to carry on the work of the committee. At the present time this committee has the responsibility for all revenue to finance the Federal Government, which this year will be approximately $111 billion. We have the responsibility for all the terms and conditions under which the Government raises money.

We deal with all the controversial provisions which are from time to time described as loopholes but which some of us may think are justified deductions.

In addition to having the responsibility of raising all the money to finance the Government of the United States, we also have the responsibility of spending much of the money. For example, the social security program is running about $24 billion a year. That is entirely within the jurisdicton of this committee.

In addition to that, this committee has the responsibility for all tariff and trade legislation. The total amount of our international trade—imports and exports—was about $48 billion last year.

In addition to that, the committee has the responsibility for the national debt and the fiscal and monetary policies involved in connection with it. The national debt at this time is about $321 billion.

In addition to that, this committee has the responsibility for veteran legislation, such as pensions and compensation, which amounts to about $4.8 billion a year. We also have the responsibility for the GI insurance program with about $39 billion of policies in force.

In addition to that, the responsibility for the sugar program lies with the Finance Committee. That also runs into a very large amount of money. Sugar that can be sold under last year's bill is valued at roughly $8.6 billion.

In addition to that, we have the responsibility for the renegotiation of Government procurement contracts and last year $34.8 billion of contracts were examined for excess profits.

We have responsibility for most of Federal income and expenditures. If one looks at it overall, this committee handles more money than any committee in the entire Congress.

With this fantastic burden on the committee, which is a committee of very fine and able Senators, we have had only one professional staff member. Other committees have large numbers of professional staff members to help them with their duties. We are not asking that we have any more than we think we need.

We have hired one additional professional staff member. We think we can do a much better job if we have a very modest staff—one about the size of the staff of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, which has substantially less responsibilities than this committee has.

Therefore, we ask that we have six professionals and six additional secretaries to help do the job.

I will demonstrate what other committees have available to them which have important responsibilities.

The Committee on Appropriations has 41 employees. The Committee on the Judiciary has 179 employees. As a matter of fact there is one subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary that has more employees than our entire committee would have.

The Committee on Government Operations has 76 employees. The Committee on Banking and Currency has 21 employees. The Committee on Foreign Relations has 26 employees. The Committee on Commerce has 41 employees. The Armed Services Committee has 18 employees. The Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has 34 employees. The Committee on Public Works has 22 employees.

Mr. President, if one thinks in terms of the responsibility that the Finance Committee has, it seems only proper that it should have sufficient staff to do its job.

As a member of the committee, I have complained that it was impossible for my staff to reach me when I was in one of those committee meetings. If the committee were not meeting it was impossible for me or my staff to reach the Committee on Finance. We would place a telephone call but there were only two lines to the committee. They were always busy and they simply could not be reached.

I became chairman and I learned that there was an additional line for the chairman to reach the committee in case of dire emergency. That was all that was available to the committee.

It was a matter of great complaint to me, and I suppose for others who served on the committee, that their staff and administrative assistants—those who handled committee work for them—could not get a telephone line to that committee. I was successful in obtaining authorization to put an additional telephone line through to the committee. Now, one can get a telephone call through but it does not do much good because there was only one person there competent to answer the questions, and there are often calls on three lines waiting for this one person.

Mr. President, this is what we would like to do. We would like to be able to organize a very modest staff with regard to social security and the public welfare program.

This program involves about $25 billion now. Looking down through the years, as medicare becomes more and more expensive, and the program builds up, it would involve considerably more than the present $24 billion a year. The President has just announced he is going to increase that program.

We would hope to have the responsibility of having the magnificent number of two people. When I become chairman we had none. We hope to have two people on the staff who could advise and help us with regard to the social security program.

As I have said, it is a great tribute to hard-working Senators that we have been able to do as fine a job as we have on social security. I think that on my committee we have the finest members in the Senate. How did we manage to do this job? We had not a single staff professional and we had the responsibility for the entire social security program.

We would call on the executive department to tell us what they wanted and then we would borrow Fred Arner or Helen Livingston from the Library of Congress to undertake to tell us how we could do our job. We would borrow somebody.

Here we are, the Senate of the United States, the greatest nation on earth, and we are the committee that handles more money than any committee in the Senate. If we want to get information we have to borrow somebody. Where do we borrow somebody? We borrow people from the executive branch. That violates a cardinal principle of this Government. Under our Government the legislative branch is not supposed to be a lackey or the tool of the executive and is not to take the word of the executive on matters but should be able to acquire information itself.

We found ourselves in this position time and again. We had no one to rely upon for information. The executive has been called upon to tell us what they thought about a matter. Everybody knows that the President has the right to tell the executive departments not to tell us anything if he is not satisfied with what they are telling us.

We have seen the power of the Executive privilege used in the past to deny us information, which, so far as the Senate was concerned, we needed to know. Beyond that point we would perhaps borrow someone from the Library of Congress to help us do our job.

Now, we have one man and I must say he is a fine and able man. Where does he come from? The Committee on Aging. That is a committee established to help to do a job that the Finance Committee did not have enough time and did not have enough staff to work on. The Senate saw fit to establish the Committee on Aging to make a study of these problems.

The Committee on Aging has a staff to study, and to make suggestions and proposals. Over a period of time suggestions have been pressed upon us that we should do something to help the aging; that we should do something about this, that, and the other, because the Special Committee on Aging does not have legislative jurisdiction. But it has undertaken to study the problems and it has acquired a staff to study the problems that properly belong within the jurisdiction of the legislative Committee on Finance.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I yield.

Mr. ANDERSON. It is important that the membership of the staff be increased. Because I had some connection with the medicare program, I have received many letters asking, "Why don't you drop the age limit to 62 years?"

What would that cost. Where would I find out? I have had to turn to the social security board. No one on our staff could answer the question. It is an important question.

We changed the disability provision. The first step was to 50 years. Then we dropped the age limit. I am trying to find out what the cost would be. We had no one on our staff who could find out at all. We had to turn to the executive agency. I believe that is the wrong procedure. We are now developing a fine staff, as I think we ought to. I am glad the Senator from Louisiana is asking for an increase in the staff.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I thank the Senator from New Mexico. I would not by any means wish to hire one person more than was needed. I hope that we may have a staff of the size we need. We have only one man available to us.

The Senator is familiar with a young man who was hired to help us with medicare. He is doing fine work and is making excellent suggestions as to how we can better protect the public purse.

Also, we have someone on the staff now whom we can send to professional meetings of doctors and insurance people. We can now send a man to listen to what private business thinks, what doctors think, or what people in all walks of life think about the medicare program, what is being deveolped, what the Department says. So we do not have to rely upon departmental witnesses, who may very well be prejudiced from a departmental point of view.

So I would hope we could have two professional assistants to help us with the entire social security program. We now have one. We hope we can make it two.

In the field of veterans' legislation, it has been proposed that there should be a separate committee on veterans' affairs. If we are to have a committee on veterans' affairs, that will necessitate a staff of at least 10 persons. The Committee on Finance has been handling that work, but veterans' organizations are bitterly complaining that we have not been giving adequate attention to them. They have pointed out that we do not have a staff which qualifies as expert on veterans' legislation.

When the Senate considers veterans' legislation, such bills have usually been initiated in the House, and Members of the House suggest this procedure. Then we ask the Veterans' Administration to send someone to us from their Administration, which is in the executive branch, to advise us about the measure. He will tell us what the executive branch thinks, and he might have the breadth to know what veterans' organizations think about it. But again, he could very well be a prejudiced spokesman when he advises our committee, because he represents the executive branch.

We would like to have on our committee one person who knows something about veterans' legislation, because the Committee on Finance handles most of it. So we propose to have one member on our staff who would deal with the Veterans' Administration.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield on that point?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. I thank the Senator from Louisiana. While I do not agree with the resolution, I am not unaware that it probably will pass. I rise not to draw the distinguished chairman of the committee into an argument, but to bring out a few facts to set the record straight.

Is it the feeling of the distinguished chairman that the work that has been performed by the Committee on Finance in the past has been deficient? Has any tax bill been invalidated in court, or has any problem arisen that would point to a failure of legal performance in the work of the Committee on Finance?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Does the Senator mean staff work?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I am talking about Senators. Senators, on the whole, are most attentive. I am proud of our committee. I hope the Senator from Nebraska will pardon me for thinking that we have the best committee in the Senate. I am chairman of the committee and have been a member of it for many years.

From the staff point, I think our work has been defective from two points of view.

First, we have a very meager staff, which works long hours, sometimes almost around the clock. Sometimes they work over weekends. Sometimes they work Saturdays and Sundays, and more than an 8-hour day on a Sunday. They work long hours to try to keep up with the decisions made in the committee.

In addition, even with the help we could borrow, Senators who are members of the committee are entitled to advice from the staff, whether they support the majority view or the minority view.

It is my intention to make the professional staff available to both the majority and the minority. I can recall when the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] offered a medicare amendment which prevailed on the floor of the Senate. I spoke against it. I controlled the time against the amendment, but the Senate heard the Senator's argument, and he prevailed. He was named one of the conferees, and when the bill went to conference, members of the House Committee on Ways and Means shot our amendment through with technical defects. That could have been prevented had we had a staff parallel to the staff of the House.

But we had no experts whatever to advise the Senator from Tennessee. He had to act with no experts on social security, especially those on the technical side, to help him. He had to do the best he could, and we had to go to conference and say, "Please consider this matter on its merits. If you are willing to agree that the amendment has merits, help us with your own staff to cure the obvious defects in the amendment."

That is one example. I have had the members of the conference committee from the other body read the riot act to me on other bills. But they had the benefit of a staff adequate to advise them, and we did not.

Mr. CURTIS. Returning to the medicare bill, that bill finally became law and was a bill that had the support of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, was it not?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. When it finally became law. It also had this advantage: It had had the benefit of the research of the House Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. CURTIS. It is still full of holes.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Not holes that can be found on the surface. It does not have holes the way the staff of the Committee on Ways and Means worked on it, because that committee worked on the bill before it came to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I yield.

Mr. ANDERSON. Was the Senator from Nebraska referring to the welfare or hospital bill?

Mr. CURTIS. To the medicare bill.

Mr. ANDERSON. That was not a Health, Education, and Welfare bill. Part of the bill was actually written by the Committee on Ways and Means; was it not?

Mr. CURTIS. The distinguished Senator from New Mexico is correct. The medicare bill was not written by the Department. The point I wish to make is that the Department favored it and that the experts in the Department were available to the proponents. Is the Senator suggesting that the bill was free from imperfections?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. No. I merely say that if they had not had any experts at all, as we had none, the bill would have had many more imperfections than it did.

Mr. CURTIS. The Senator has high praise for the performance of the Committee on Finance. I agree. What, in the Senator's opinion, causes him to believe that?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The Senator refers—to give a single example—to the fact that I have high praise for our committee.

Mr. CURTIS. The Senator is correct.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I think we are a fine committee. I think we have fine Senators on our committee, and that we are above the average.

In my judgment, we do as fine a job as can be done with borrowed talent. I think we could do a better job if we had some staff talent of our own. We only have one man to help us with social security. The Senator said that there are some bugs in the bill that we passed. Our staff has found a lot more bugs in the bill already.

Mr. CURTIS. The entire Department of Health, Education, and Welfare backed the bill that was passed. They were not reluctant to furnish technical advice.

The Senator said that the House Ways and Means Committee had a staff. That still did not prevent Congress from passing a bill, which in the opinion of many was not a well planned bill. It did not result in a law that will be easily administered.

The reason that the Finance Committee has such an outstanding record is the result of several things. One is the high attendance of the members. We have had a high attendance.

It is a fine committee—and it is one of the finest committees on which I have ever served. It has been a committee that has performed excellently because the Senators have been present. They have directed their attention to the principal policy decisions to be made.

I feel that if we change the pattern of the committee, add employees to the staff, it may be the beginning of a different type of operation for the committee. Personally, I do not favor dividing the committee into subcommittees.

I believe the past practice of operating as a full committee has made the committee a good one.

How many staff members are on the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. There are about 30 members on that joint committee.

Mr. CURTIS. That is correct.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. It is a good joint committee, in my judgment, and I am chairman of it.

Mr. CURTIS. That entire committee of 30 is available any time the committee has a matter before it and wants them. Is that correct?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. They are available if they are not being used by the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. CURTIS. That is correct, but the individuals whom they have sent have been highly qualified people. I certainly do not speak disparagingly of any other committee or any other Senator, but I have observed Senate committees that have so much staff that one has to have more staff in his office to find out what the staff is doing, and then has to have some more staff to analyze what some other staff is going to do.

I do not believe that is government by the people. I do not believe that is government through the elected representatives. The basic decisions in legislation should be made by elected individuals responsible to the electorate.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I do not propose to change a single good thing about the committee. I have not proposed that. My mind is not closed on the matter of subcommittees.

If some Senator feels that we should look into something and the committee feels that it does not have the time to look into it, I should be willing to consider that procedure. I have not closed my mind on that matter. However, I do not propose to change our rule that Senators must be present to do their jobs. They cannot have someone present in the committee room to do their jobs for them.

I do not propose to change any of the fine things about the Committee on Finance which make it superior to other committees. I do propose to change some of the things that make other committees superior to our committee.

One thing I propose to do is to arrange it so that we can get a telephone call through and find out what is going on. I believe that I have achieved that much at this point. I should like to go beyond that and have someone to answer the telephone and be able to give an answer to any inquiry.

We are getting to the point where we can get an answer concerning a tax bill. We cannot get an answer about other legislation, but we have made some headway.

On one occasion when I was on the committee, I was trying to find out what happened to my bill. I could not find out from the Committee on Finance. The only information they could furnish is that the matter is pending. Our capable staff is doing the best they can. They are working long hours. They are overworked and underpaid.

I wanted to find out about the Long bill and they told me it was pending. If one wants to find out about the Young bill, he would be told that it is pending. If one wants to find out about the Anderson bill, the Curtis bill, or the Williams bill, he would be told that it is pending.

Mr. CURTIS. Sometimes Curtis bills pass.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I have voted for a number of Curtis bills and helped to pass them. However, on occasion when members of my staff would want to know about the progress of the Long bill, they would call the House Ways and Means Committee to see if that committee could tell us what the Senate Finance Committee was doing about the Long bill. We either could not reach the Finance Committee or they did not have anyone to answer questions.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Could the Senator not have told his own staff what happened to the Long bill? If we put 14 extra staff members on the committee the telephone lines will be jammed worse than they are.

The Senator keeps repeating that we do not have an adequate committee staff now. There are two vacancies today, and there were four vacancies some time back. If we fill the vacancies which we can under the existing law we could do the work.

The Senator from Louisiana has been on this committee nearly as long as I have. The two of us have been on that committee longer than any other member.

I should like to ask the Senator, based on his experience on the committee under the able chairmanship of the former Senator Milliken from Colorado, the former Senator George of Georgia, and the former Senator Byrd of Virginia what it is that those chairmen failed to do.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I am not going to get into an argument with the Senator.

I think that we have a great committee. I think that we could do a better job with a larger staff. That is all that I am talking about.

The Senator knows what his idea was. He was willing to increase the staff. His judgment was that I should come to him every time I wanted to hire someone and we should go to the Committee on Rules and Administration on a one-by-one basis and say that we need one more employee.

The Senator would say, "You go along with this, and I will go to the Committee on Rules and Administration and see if that committee will approve this." I would say, "We have not enough people. We ought to have somebody to help with the sugar legislation." Or "I think this fellow needs a secretary." We would have to ask to have that request approved. I would not ask this of the Senator if he were chairman. I would say, "All right. If you think that is necessary, you go ahead and hire him. If you think you need a man to help work on the sugar legislation, hire him." That is the way that I think we should do it. That is the way I would do it. That is the way that the minority leader suggested.

The minority leader said, "It appears to me that we will need about six professionals and secretarial help for these professionals. That being the case, I suggest that you ask for 12 people. Do not hire them unless you need them, but if you need them go ahead and hire them. Get authority to hire all the people that you think you need to do the job.

Then, if you need somebody to do a job, hire him."

That is the way I would think of doing it. I do not like the idea of going back to the Committee on Rules and Administration 12 different times.

That is the reason that I would like the authority to have a staff comparable in size to that of the House Ways and Means Committee. I would like to have the authority to have a committee staff of about one-eighth the size of the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The Senator has said that my objection was because I said I wanted veto power on each employee. There are five members of the Finance Committee on the floor at present; I ask any of them to stand up and say that that is true. That is not true. That was not the basis of my objection. I said I did not want a minority staff.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The Senator is not quoting me correctly. He is quoting himself correctly when he said he did not want a minority staff. I suggested to him that someone had said, "How about some minority staff members, somebody for the Republican side of the aisle to appoint?"

My reaction was, "Well, all right, how would you like to do it?"

The ranking minority member, the Senator from Delaware, said, "I don't want any minority staff. I would like to have it in such a way that the staff works for all the Senators."

That was all right with the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. President, I wish to talk about the staff proposed by the Committee on Finance, because it will not duplicate the functions performed by the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue and Taxation. The existence of that group does not mean that the staff needs of the Committee on Finance are now being met. Our jurisdiction is far broader than the joint committee's limited function.

A staff of our own will aid us in the nontax work of the committee, which is fully as time consuming as our tax work.

This nontax work includes medicare, social security, and welfare, which is a program of $24 billion.

It includes tariff and foreign trade legislation. Last year our international trade, imports and exports, totaled $48 billion.

Our nontax work includes a public debt, currently, of $321 billion. It includes veterans' pensions, compensation, and insurance. Last year such benefits amounted to $4.8 billion, and the face amount of the insurance totals $39.3 billion.

Our jurisdiction also includes sugar legislation. Not a single pound of sugar can be sold in this country beyond that authorized in the sugar bill. The estimated value of the raw sugar that can be marketed under last year's major bill is $8,600 million.

Our nontax jurisdiction includes the renegotiation of Government contracts. Last year the Renegotiation Board examined completed projects involving more than $34.8 billion in defense and space contracts.

The Committee on Finance shares jurisdiction in the Senate over the balance of payments problem. In 1965, the flow of dollars into and from this country totaled $41.5 billion. There was a deficit of about $1.3 billion, despite a number of programs like the interest equalization tax and the voluntary controls on overseas investments, designed to halt our unfavorable showing.

The joint committee professional staff is not qualified to give us the staff assistance we need in these important areas of our responsibility. Based on the staff practices of many other Senate committees, the 10-man professional staff we need will be pitifully small to cope with even our nontax needs; but our 10-man staff is going to help us with our tax work as well.

It will be a lean, hard-working staff which will dedicate its entire energies to the work of the committee. This is an important point, because it spotlights the great difference between the work of the Finance Committee staff and that of the joint committe staff—and let me add, I am also chairman of the joint committee.

We will be able to depend on a staff of our own to do the tax work we want done at the time we want it done. At present, we must recognize that the joint committee staff must devote much of its time and energy to the Committee on Ways and Means in the House of Representatives. When they are working for that committee, they are not working for us.

The joint committee staff does work which our proposed committee staff would not do. For instance, the joint committee is charged by law with the responsibility of reviewing individual refunds of more than $100,000 proposed to be made by the Internal Revenue Service. At least five joint committee people are assigned solely to that function.

Another five or six people in the joint committee spend their entire time studying statistics reported from the tax returns, and converting the knowledge thus gained into estimates of revenue impact of various proposals coming before Congress.

Neither of those functions would be duplicated by our committee staff. The functions we wish our staff to perform are functions which the joint committee staff does not perform now, and which it should not be asked to perform. This involves what might be called the routine work of the committee. I feel very strongly that whenever a Senator or Representative calls a committee of Congress to discuss any matter within the jurisdiction of that committee, he has a right to expect that there will be someone there competent to discuss it with him. At present, there is no one who can fill that void. Why should we have to say to a Senator, "We do not know what we are doing in our committee, call the joint committee," or "Call the Ways and Means Committee," or "Call the House Veterans' Committee"?

A Senator has a right to be able to get staff help in working out amendments he might want to offer. Many junior members on the committee have complained that this service is not available from the Finance Committee staff. Approval of this resolution will make it available.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I will want a record vote on this proposal. In order to ask for the yeas and nays, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GORE in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 64 Leg.]

Aiken
Anderson
Bartlett
Bass
Boggs
Burdick
Clark
Curtis
Ervin
Gore
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Mansfield
McCarthy
McIntyre
Metcalf
Montoya
Morse
Saltonstall
Simpson
Smathers
Stennis
Talmadge
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Young, Ohio

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURDICK in the chair). A quorum is not present.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I move that the Sergeant at Arms be directed to request the attendance of absent Senators.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Georgia.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Sergeant at Arms will execute the order of the Senate.

After a little delay, the following Senators entered the Chamber and answered to their names:

Allott
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Brewster
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Case
Church
Cooper
Cotton
Dirksen
Dominick
Douglas
Eastland
Ellender
Fannin
Fong
Fulbright
Harris
Hart
Hartke
Hayden
Inouye
Jackson
Kennedy, Mass.
Lausche
Magnuson
McGee
McGovern
Miller
Mondale
Monroney
Morton
Moss
Mundt
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Prouty
Randolph
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Symington
Thurmond
Tydings
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, on the resolution, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, Senate Resolution 224 authorizes the Committee on Finance to employ six additional professional staff members on a permanent basis and six additional secretaries on a temporary basis, or through January 31, 1967. This represents a 200-percent increase and an extra cost of around $200,000 annually.

I am opposing the resolution because, based on my 16 years of experience as a member of the Senate Finance Committee, this additional staff is not needed.

Under the existing law, the Committee on Finance is already authorized to employ 10 staff members composed of the chief clerk, a position presently held by Tom Vail; the assistant clerk, presently held by Mrs. Evelyn Thompson; four professional staff members; and four clerical assistants, or secretaries. Every member of this staff is exceptionally well qualified for the position he holds.

Over the 16 years which I have served on this committee seldom, if ever, have we found it necessary to fill all of these positions, and even today there are two existing vacancies for professional staff members; these could be added to this committee without the enactment of the pending resolution. Now the plan is to add 14 extra employees by filling these 2 vacancies and adding 12 more. Where are they going to put them? It will mean that more office space will be needed. Facilities are not available in the existing office space of the Committee on Finance to accommodate the proposed additional staff.

I will state, however, that the secretaries are overworked, and it would be useless to fill the two vacancies with professionals unless some addition was made to the secretarial staff, but this resolution does not do that; quite the contrary, it adds the six professional staff members on a permanent basis, but it only authorizes the six additional clerical or secretarial positions on a temporary basis until next January.

I have served on the Senate Finance Committee longer than any other present member of that committee, and during this 16 years I have served under three of the most able chairmen that have ever presided over any Senate committee. My first service was under the chairmanship of Senator Eugene Millikin, of Colorado, followed by Senator Walter George, of Georgia, and he was succeeded by Senator Harry F. Byrd, of Virginia.

No man has ever raised a question as to the ability of those men or the work which was performed by the committee under their jurisdictions, and they did it without asking for more staff. They used the staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation on those occasions when additional assistance was necessary.

One point which is not mentioned in the committee report before us today and was not mentioned, at first, by the chairman of the committee, is that in addition to the professional staff of the Committee on Finance we have at our disposal the 30-member staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. The Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation has 18 professional staff members and 12 clerical assistants, and every member of that staff is at the service of any member of the Senate Finance Committee or any Member of the Senate who wishes to call on him.

The membership of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation is composed of the five top members—three majority and two minority—of the Committee on Finance and a comparable representation from the House Committee on Ways and Means.

The staff of this joint committee is one of the most efficient and competent committee staffs of the Congress. It has never been selected on the basis of partisan politics.

When I came to Washington Mr. Colin F. Stam was the chief of staff of the joint committee, and as Congress changed from Democratic to Republican control and back to Democratic control no one suggested that there be any change in the staff. Mr. Stam, whose ability was recognized by all, remained as chief of staff until he retired.

He was succeeded by Mr. Larry Woodworth, another competent official, well-qualified to follow in Mr. Stam's footsteps.

The remaining professional members of that staff are selected on the basis of their qualifications, each man being assigned to a particular department of the revenue field. One may be a specialist in corporate tax law, another in debt management, another in individual income taxes, inheritance taxes, and so forth.

To expand the Finance Committee with a group of 10 professionals is an unnecesary duplication, and to fill the vacancies with routine patronage appointees would lower the effectiveness of this committee.

The argument is used that we need these extra employees because of the heavy workload confronting the Committee on Finance. Last year the Finance Committee did have a heavy workload. We had extensive hearings on a proposed tax cut, a cut which later developed to be unnecessary since the administration recommended the reinstatement of the taxes 12 days after they became effective. Last year we reported the medicare program, an entirely new program, along with the many other routine proposals which came before our committee.

This year we are confronted with no such workload. Medicare has been enacted; the 1965 tax cut has already been rescinded; and while every Senator knows that, based on the current rate of spending by the Great Society, taxes will be increased again, nevertheless every Senator also knows that the Johnson administration will try to wait until after the 1966 congressional elections before it admits this point and asks Congress to take action.

Why, at a time when everybody is talking economy in Government, at a time when every Member of the Senate is telling his constituents that he is hoping to avoid a tax increase, at a time when the administration from the President down through every Member of Congress is at least giving lipservice to economy, at a time when our Government is operating at a deficit exceeding $500 million per month with every indication that it will be substantially worse next year—why at such a time as this should the Senate Finance Committee, the one committee which should be setting an example for economy in Government, be advocating a 200-percent increase in the cost of operating its own staff?

The enactment of this resolution will boost the annual payroll for the staff by an extra $175,000 to $200,000 annually—or an increase of over 200 percent.

One argument is made that the Finance Committee staff should be doubled or tripled because it is so much smaller than some of the other committee staffs. On page 2 of the committee report this spurious argument is outlined:

> For instance, the Committee on Appropriations has 41; Judiciary has 179; Government Operations has 76; Banking and Currency has 21; Foreign Relations has 26; Commerce has 41; Armed Services has 18; Labor and Public Welfare has 34; and Public Works has 22.

Apparently some think the prestige of a committee is based on the size of its staff, so now the Finance Committee wants to add another 14 staff members and increase its prestige.

I repeat, the entire 30-member staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation is at the disposal of every member of our committee.

Over the past 16 years our committee has handled many important pieces of legislation. In 1954 our committee handled a complete revision of the Revenue Code. This was done without filling all of the vacancies on the committee staff.

Last year we handled the medicare program. Other important measures were handled under the able chairmanship of three great men, Senator Millikin, Senator George, and Senator Byrd.

We are now told that in order to keep up with the pace that these men set we need a staff three times as large as that which was utilized during their 20 or 30 years of service.

The suggestion is made that our committee should devote more time to the study of debt management and interest rates. I wish the members of this committee and the Members of the Senate would give greater consideration to debt management. Our debt is getting out of hand.

The reason that our debt is getting out of hand and pyramiding year after year is that every department and agency of the Government insists on increasing its own expenditures while at the same time asking every other department to cut back.

Instead of setting an example the Finance Committee now proposes to join the parade and triple its own staff so that it can tell other agencies to cut back. I do not think that we need an increased staff. What we need is for the Treasury Department to send its bills concerning increases in the national debt ceiling, and so forth—measures which they know have a deadline—to Congress earlier in the year. Congress could consider these measures early rather than waiting and jamming them through in the last 2 days before the deadline.

If the administration would cooperate and get these proposals before Congress we could handle them without enlarging the staff.

We are already authorized to add two additional professional staff members on this committee without the enactment of this legislation. I insist that we do not need the additional 12 patronage positions.

I base that statement upon my 16 years of experience on this committee. My experience antedates that of every other committee member. As to the argument that we need majority and minority staff members, it has always been the policy of this committee that there be no majority and minority staff members but that the vacancies be filled on the basis of the experience of the applicant. We need men who are qualified for the job, not patronage appointees.

I am proud to say that over the years of my service on the committee we have adhered to this practice and have had professional staff assistants when needed.

We could add 100 members to the staff, all topflight professional men, the best qualified men in the United States, but unless the individual members of the committee do their homework and absorb some of this information, the work of the staff is wasted.

We are not a government of staffs, and no matter how much we enlarge the staff the Members of the Senate will have to do some work. If they do not do it, the enlargement of the staff would only further show up the ignorance of a lazy Member. I hope that the resolution will be rejected.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment in the notice of a substitute.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. **MORSE** subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD, prior to the vote on the resolution, certain excerpts from the report of the Committee on Rules and Administration on Senate Resolution 224.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Committee on Rules and Administration, to which was referred the resolution (S. Res. 224) authorizing the Committee on Finance to employ additional professional staff members and clerical assistants, having considered the same, reports favorably thereon with an amendment and recommends that the resolution, as amended, be agreed to.

Senate Resolution 224 as referred would authorize the Committee on Finance, until otherwise provided by law, to employ six additional professional staff members and six clerical assistants to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at rates of compensation to be fixed by the chairman in accordance with section 202(e), as amended, of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, and the provisions of Public Law 4, 80th Congress, approved February 19, 1947, as amended.

The amendment by the Committee on Rules and Administration (an amendment in the nature of a substitute) would limit the continuing authority of the Finance Committee to the employment of the six additional professional staff members. The authority of that committee to employ six additional clerical assistants would expire on January 31, 1967.

The prepared statement in support of Senate Resolution 224 submitted by Senator RUSSELL B. LONG, chairman of the Committee on Finance, is as follows:

"STATEMENT OF SENATOR RUSSELL B. LONG, CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

"Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee on Rules and Administration, on behalf of the Committee on Finance, I urge your approval of Senate Resolution 224. This resolution was reported to the Senate on February 16 at the direction of the committee. It would permit the Committee on Finance to hire up to six additional professional staff members and up to six additional clerical assistants.

"The authority to be provided by Senate Resolution 224 would continue until changed by law. It would enable the Committee on Finance to organize a 10-man professional staff to aid in the discharge of its important duties.

"Mr. Chairman, you all know of the important work of the Committee on Finance. Its legislative jurisdiction encompasses work performed by four separate committees in the House of Representatives. Those committees are far better staffed than our own. Let me demonstrate:

"Our most important legislation, in terms of people affected and revenue involved, concerns taxes, tariffs, social security, and medicare. In the House, these measures are handled by the Committee on Ways and Means with a staff of 22.

"Our committee also has broad responsibilities in the important field of veterans legislation. This work on the House side is performed by the Veterans' Affairs Committee, which has a staff of eight.

"Our work on sugar legislation, without which the beet growers in the West, the cane growers in three States, and the east coast refineries could not exist, is duplicated in the House of Representatives by the Agriculture Committee with a staff of 14.

"The Committee on Finance also has important duties with respect to State taxation of income of corporations operating in interstate commerce and with respect to the power of States to impose their use taxes on out-of-State manufacturers or wholesalers. The House Judiciary Committee created a special subcommittee to do this work on its side of the Hill. The subcommittee staff numbers 6 at present; not long ago, it numbered 15.

"The combined staffs of these committees, or subcommittees, total 53. In sharp contrast, the Committee on Finance for many years has had a staff of six. Of these, only one was a professional. At present, we have a staff of eight including two professionals.

"Senate Resolution 224 would enable the Committee on Finance to build a staff of 22. This is the same size as the staff of the Committee on Ways and Means, our principal counterpart on the House side. Compared to other important committees of the Senate, this proposed 22-man staff would still be inordinately small. For instance, the Committee on Appropriations has 41, Judiciary has 179; Government Operations has 76; Banking and Currency has 21; Foreign Relations has 26; Commerce has 41; Armed Services has 18; Labor and Public Welfare has 34; and Public Works has 22. With 22 positions, our proposed staff would be only slightly larger than the staff of your own great committee.

"The Committee on Finance has discussed its staffing problems several times. As a result of these discussions, several things have become clear:

"First, since the Committee on Finance does not operate through subcommittees, as do many committees of the Senate, our staffing needs are different from those of other committees.

"Second, the committee determined it did not desire duplicate staffs to serve its majority and minority party members.

"Third, what the committee does want is to organize a closely knit staff of highly qualified experts who will be available to any member of the committee, or the Senate, for professional help with respect to any subject within our broad legislative jurisdiction.

"Our ranking Republican member, Senator WILLIAMS of Delaware, stressed this last point most emphatically when he stated in committee that the staff should be one to which he, or any Senator, could come and get the same answer as would be given to any other Senator. With majority-minority staffs, he felt there could well be different answers to identical questions.

"Fourth, if the staff we propose is going to be made up of solid professionals, rather than be politically oriented, we should be able to offer job tenure as an inducement to attract qualified persons to our service. That is why Senate Resolution 224 would provide continuing rather than temporary authority.

"While there is nothing unique or unusual about the continuing authority we urge in this resolution—several committees, including Foreign Relations, Commerce, Judiciary, Post Office and Civil Service, even your own Rules Committee, have such authority already—I understand the number of permanent positions we request may be somewhat higher than you typically have approved. In recognition of this, if your committee concludes the resolution should be amended, let me suggest that you consider limiting the continuing authority to the professional staff members and providing for clerical assistants on a temporary basis only. Under this suggestion, the Finance Committee would have 6 positions—not 12—under continuing authority. This is not out of line with the authority you have already approved for the Judiciary Committee and for the Foreign Relations Committee. Yet it would be consistent with our committee's objective of forming a professional staff of highly qualified experts.

"Mr. Chairman, for years the Committee on Finance has been inadequately staffed. I do not believe there is any controversy in this point. We handle tax legislation—including income taxes, excise taxes, estate taxes, interest equalization taxes, as well as unemployment compensation taxes and social security taxes. We handle veterans' legislation. We handle sugar legislation. We handle tariff legislation and reciprocal trade legislation. We handle the public debt. We handle social security, medicare, welfare, and unemployment compensation legislation. Our jurisdiction extends in one way or another into the pocketbook of every man, woman, and child in this great country.

"Until now, the Finance Committee has had a professional staff of one man. Until now we have had to rely on borrowed help to do our staff work. We've used the staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation to do much of our tax work. We've borrowed from the Library of Congress for staff aid on social security. We've borrowed from the Veterans' Administration, the Tariff Commission, the Treasury Department, the Labor Department, the State Department, and the Agriculture Department.

"But whenever we went to these Departments for help we could never be sure their assistance was unbiased and impartial. To the contrary, they often quite understandably had departmental interest in the legislation before us that colored their help. They tend to advocate rather than advise. Because of this, the demarcation between the legislative function of Government and the executive function becomes more clouded as our committee becomes still more dependent on the executive branch for our staff work.

"The committee believes that it should begin now to organize a staff which will enable it to consider and evaluate its legislative work independently of the executive branch. There would be no 'special pleaders' on our staff. It would prepare or obtain desired information for all members of the committee, and of the Senate. Staff members would not be 'assigned' to particular Senators but would serve the entire committee.

"Our staff would be made up principally of lawyers, although we would seek to add economic, accounting, and statistical strength to it. By broad categories, our staff work would be distributed among the professional members substantially as follows:

	"Professionals
Social security, public welfare, medicare, hospitalization for needy aged	2
Veterans' legislation	1
Tariffs and customs, sugar, trade negotiations	2
Internal Revenue taxation, State taxation of interstate commerce	2
Public debt, budget, balance of payments, general economic matters	2
Special projects, unemployment compensation, renegotiation, general jurisdiction	1

"Mr. Chairman, a well-qualified staff, organized along the broad functional lines I have described, would enable Senators both on and off the committee to get prompt responses to their inquiries regarding legislative as well as constituency problems. It would also enable us to undertake research and other groundwork on more of the legislation referred to our committee, thus facilitating consideration of a broader range of legislation. At the end of each Congress, many meritorious bills die for the very simple reason that we had insufficient time and inadequate staff to dig into the problems and thrash out solutions. No doubt some of you here on this Rules Committee have watched your own important measures die in Finance Committee for this very reason. I am hopeful that with an adequate staff we can improve our batting average and get more Senators' measures up for a vote.

"I urge your approval of Senate Resolution 224. It could be a great first step forward."

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The question is on agreeing to the resolution as amended.

On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. **LONG** of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MCCLELLAN], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. RUSSELL] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE], would each vote "yea."

Mr. **KUCHEL**. I announce that the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] are detained on official business.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] would each vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 63, nays 21, as follows:

[No. 65 Leg.]

YEAS—63

Anderson
Bartlett
Bass
Bayh
Bible
Brewster
Burdick
Byrd, W. Va.
Case
Church
Clark
Cooper
Cotton
Douglas
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fulbright
Gore
Harris
Hart
Hartke
Hayden
Hill
Holland
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Prouty
Randolph
Scott
Smathers
Sparkman
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NAYS—21

Aiken
Allott
Bennett
Boggs
Curtis
Dominick
Ellender
Fong
Hickenlooper
Hruska
Jordan, Idaho
Kuchel
Lausche
Miller
Mundt
Saltonstall
Simpson
Smith
Thurmond
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NOT VOTING—16

Byrd, Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Dirksen
Dodd
Gruening
McClellan
McNamara
Murphy
Neuberger
Proxmire
Ribicoff
Robertson
Russell, S.C.
Russell, Ga.
Tower

So the resolution (S. Res. 224), as amended, was agreed to.

Mr. **LONG** of Louisiana. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the resolution was agreed to be reconsidered.

Mr. **ANDERSON**. Mr. President, I move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

CHINA

Mr. **YOUNG** of Ohio. Mr. President, today in Vietnam, the most powerful nation in the world and the most populous nation in the world are dangerously close to direct military confrontation. Approximately 300,000 U.S. GI's, sailors, and airmen are in a country only 400 miles from the Red Chinese border. Furthermore, our war planes have dropped bombs within 30 miles of that border.

The recent hearings conducted by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations have revealed that there are wide differences of opinion among experts as to whether or not the Communist Chinese leaders would risk a military confrontation with the United States. Nevertheless, as the hearings so clearly indicated, the need for better communication between Government leaders of the United States and China has never been more apparent and of greater importance to us.

In order to find a way out of the Vietnam impasse and to resolve many other problems facing us in Asia and particularly in southeast Asia, we must have a better means of dealing with mainland China. In fact, the establishment of a workable relationship with the Red Chinese Government is probably the most important problem facing our Nation today.

The Peking government has for 17 years been the duly constituted and apparently stable and permanent Government of mainland China. It has governing authority over some 740 million men, women, and children—nearly one-fourth of the world's population. Red China unquestionably exists and just as unquestionably it will exist, immensely more powerful, 5 years from now. In spite of this fact, we continue to pretend that Red China is not there and that perchance some miracle will happen to solve this perplexing problem. Furthermore, it is folly to believe that mainland China is ever going to be conquered by Chiang Kai-shek's little army of many generals and no combat experience, in virtual exile on Formosa, protected by our air power and 7th Fleet.

More than 16 years ago, Chiang Kai-shek was driven from the Chinese mainland. He sought a haven in Formosa. His armed Chinese troops massacred some 17,000 unarmed civilians of Formosa—men, women, and children. In fact, probably many more. With our help he then established himself in power. His government is a puppet government of the United States. Despite the boasts of Dr. Walter Judd and others back in 1956, about unleashing Chiang Kai-shek to reconquer the mainland, it has been and is our 7th Fleet and air power and more than $8 billion of American taxpayers' money that has maintained this Nationalist China Government on the island of Formosa—or Taiwan. Ardent supporters of Chiang Kai-shek remind one of Mississippi extremists who are still waving the Confederate flag a century after the Civil War ended. Chiang is a tiger without any teeth. He has an over-age army of 600,000 at Taiwan. Over the years he has boasted of invading the Chinese mainland. This, of course, with the proviso, and he does not mention this, that the United States furnish all-out support from our Air Force and 7th Fleet, and that our warships and warplanes protect the convoy of American transports carrying this invasion force.

China, with her 740 million disciplined, hard-working and dedicated people will be incapable for many years of developing the weapons necessary to challenge our security. Mao Tse-tung has stated his nation needs 30 years of peace and development. Nonetheless, it is the most powerful nation in Asia. Notwithstanding recent economic setbacks, China is a formidable fighting opponent for any nation. We should face reality. As her industrial economy advances, more and more nations will expand trading relations with her. In 1964 China's trade with non-Communist countries exceeded $2 billion. It will be more than double that during the present year.

In spite of recent serious reverses, due in large part to drought, her agricultural economy is progressing and all reports indicate that she has managed to overcome widespread starvation, heretofore so common in China and India and other hugely populated countries in the Far East in times of crop failure and national disasters.

Illiteracy in China will soon be a thing of the past and education, however biased, is progressing at an unprecedented rate. The Communist Chinese Government is more strongly entrenched today than at any time since it seized power in 1949, and its leaders are doing more toward industrializing this agrarian country.

The reality of China in 1966 is that, having survived the fires of adversity, it is an awakened giant that for better or worse will have a profound influence upon the kind of world in which we and our children's children will be living.

Since 1950 the United States and the government of mainland China have adopted policies which stand like a great wall between the two nations preventing all normal contacts. We do not speak to one another, except occasionally at the ambassadorial level at Warsaw. In the meantime, the world moves on and there are tremendous changes everywhere.

Mr. President, a mature society, like a mature man, faces its problems squarely. It does not bury its head in the sand and dream that its problems will disappear when it lifts its head. Such fantasy fools no one, and all the while precious time is lost that could be devoted to solving these problems.

There is probably no more greater threat to world peace today than the threat posed by the Red Chinese dictators. They are arrogant, hostile, and apparently devoid of mercy or desire for cooperation. They are violently Communist in the Stalin pattern. Time and time alone will lessen the bitterness they feel toward the nations of the Western World that oppressed China during the 18th, 19th, and around the turn of the 20th century. The European powers in particular humiliated the Chinese and helped themselves by merciless military action to parcels of Chinese territory under the guise of 99-year leases.

Has not the time come for the United States to recognize the Red Chinese Government? Nations, like individuals, should not ignore the facts of life. Recognition of one nation by another never means approval of the ruling regime of that country, nor has it ever implied approval of the political structure of another nation. The acknowledgment of the United States that the Red Chinese Government is, in fact, the Government of China is only a matter of stating the obvious. Offering diplomatic recognition and permitting a Chinese embassy in the United States and reestablishing our Embassy in Peking would surely be a step forward toward world peace and could not possibly bring harm to our country.

Throughout the cold war period that followed World War II, we maintained diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. In the first term of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, nearly 16 years after the end of World War I, we opened diplomatic relations with Communist Russia despite the howls of America Firsters, isolationists, and self-appointed superduper patriots. We found it desirable to have our own contacts with that nation and not to have to rely upon third parties to transmit information and messages. Very definitely, a U.S. Embassy in Red China would give us an important and needed listening post in the Far East.

Our Embassy in the Soviet Union proved a valuable listening post and furnished us with much information during the Stalin regime when Russia was a closed society. Yet there were, and are, rightwing extremists who have all along denounced our recognition of the Soviet Union. We are, and have been over recent years, greatly handicapped in acquiring information about and in dealing with Communist China, being dependent upon our consul general in Hong Kong for intelligence reports. With Red China exploding crude nuclear weapons and maintaining huge armies near the border of India, and also along her 6,000 mile border with the Soviet Union, a U.S. Embassy in Red China would undoubtedly be helpful to the cause of freedom.

Today, we must rely on Great Britain, France, Canada, and others of the 48 nations that recognize Red China to relay to us information about that government. At the same time there are many vital problems facing mankind that cannot be resolved without direct communication with the Peking regime. For example, in October 1965, the distinguished junior Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY] called for negotiations, or at least talks, with Communist China covering proliferation of atomic weapons. In January 1966, the distinguished senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] introduced Senate Resolution 179, supporting the administration's effort to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and called for unconditional disarmament talks with Communist China.

In a world populated by nearly 3 billion people, there are obvious shortcomings in the search for world peace and coexistence if a nation containing one-fourth of that population is completely ignored.

Our allies, including neighbors such as Canada, have recognized Red China and are prospering by their trade with that country for which the Chinese are paying in gold at the world price. The Canadian Government recently announced the sale of another $550 million worth of Canadian wheat for gold, cash on the barrelhead, to Red China. This, while American taxpayers are paying storage charges on our surplus wheat.

Very definitely, American producers and manufacturers should be permitted to sell to Red China at world prices whatever the nationals of that nation may wear, eat, drink, or smoke, and, in turn, buy the products and handicrafts of the Chinese. It is a stupid policy that we make no complaint when West Germany and England sell machinery and strategic materials behind the Iron Curtain.

Apparently because of the fulminations of rightwing extremists, we Americans are losing billions of dollars worth of trade and suffering a drain on our gold while our allies are profiting. During the past years West Germany has bought wheat from us and then converted this into flour, then sold to Communist countries at huge profits which we deny ourselves. It was also announced in March that a West German-French cartel plans to build a $140 million steel complex for Communist China; and the West German Government has given the green light to the $75 million German end of the deal. Yet, some rightwing extremists scream at the very suggestion we engage in trade with the Chinese.

We have farmers and industrialists who would like to sell their surplus products in the markets of the world. Obviously, also, this would be a step toward world peace. Nations, like individuals, are unlikely to fight with their customers. Furthermore, accomplishing this might well be a prelude to disarmament and a halt in the production and proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Frankly, it may well be that the arrogant rulers of Communist China would disdainfully refuse our offer to open diplomatic relations with that nation. Were they to do this, or seek to attach any conditions to their acceptance such as our withdrawal of recognition to the Government of Taiwan under Chiang Kai-shek, we would, of course, just as abruptly reject any such stipulations. In my judgment it is important that our President, with the support of Congress, offer this recognition.

Granting that Communist dictators of China contemptuously denounce and refuse the suggestion that officials of our Government are willing to enter into diplomatic relations with them, in the capitals of the free world their denunciatory propaganda and scorn would result in a propaganda victory for the United States.

Mr. President, there is no assurance nor certainty that were we to recognize Red China the attitude of its leaders toward us would become any less intransigent or more cooperative than at present. However, it seems highly advisable that we face up to the problem of recognition if we hope to restrain the expansion of Red China without war and if we are to have a direct assessment and judgment of Chinese interests and intentions, so vital in this grim period of international anarchy.

The facts are that from a military standpoint Red China today is a paper dragon if and when the ability to wage a prolonged offensive war on land, at sea, and in the air is considered. It is overrated as a great military power. It has crude nuclear capability, that is true. However, it will take at least 5 or 10 years before it will have the know-how to deliver any nuclear warheads on targets. Its air force is inferior. It has no surface navy except a few torpedo boats and gunboats—no modern transports—nothing except thousands of junks. It is an agrarian nation, with 85 percent of its population engaged in agriculture. On the Pacific, under the Pacific, and in the air, we have a more powerful navy, submarine fleet, and air force than all the nations of the world combined.

Red Chinese leaders are boastful but do very little, even to help the Vietcong. However, there is no question but that as China becomes more powerful in the years to come, she could readily become a threat to the peace and stability of the world and that we must be prepared to support a policy of containment against her expansion by militant aggression. Recognition of Red China will in no way diminish our capability of doing so. On the contrary, it will make this task easier for us.

It is a fact that recognizing Red China and perhaps admitting it to the United Nations may raise many new problems. However, it is better to face these problems than to wait until a nuclear holocaust makes the whole question academic.

Incidentally, the United Nations is not an honor society, membership in which is a reward for "being good." It appears sometimes to be a debating society. If so, a forum where representatives of nations keep talking rather than start bombing has a definite advantage. Every peace document, every disarmament treaty painfully achieved has the same weakness. As matters now stand China, with her many millions who solidly support their government, is excluded. Being outside the U.N., Red China is not constrained to keep its actions in harmony with any web of collective agreements. It can keep on ignoring, insulting, and defying world opinion.

U.N. Secretary General U Thant has advocated that Communist China should be admitted to the U.N. Right now were the government of mainland China a member of the United Nations there would be a greater likelihood of accomplishing a cease-fire and armistice in Vietnam with an agreement to neutralize that country as Laos was neutralized by the Geneva Conference of 1954. This would bring peace to Vietnam. How extremely difficult it is to accomplish independence and neutralization of Vietnam and a nonalinement of that nation unless the governments of mainland China and the United States are able to sit at a conference table together and then become cosigners in this guarantee.

Our decision years ago not to accord diplomatic recognition to the Red Chinese was posed in part on the belief that failure to do so would somehow inhibit the success of that regime. Actually, the reverse has proven to be the case. Our refusal to recognize China and our attempt to exclude it from the world community has relieved it from the responsibilities of United Nations participation, has deepened our ignorance of Chinese internal development, and has allowed Red China's nuclear weapons capacity to emerge unchallenged and unfettered by international obligations. It has allowed us to become a convenient hate symbol in a period of dynamic Chinese growth and development. It has impaired the United Nation's ability to deal effectively with problems affecting world peace.

Mr. President, there is nothing to indicate that recognition at this time would either change Red China's attitude toward the United States or her dedication to the promotion of world revolution and the ultimate destruction of the capitalistic system. However, time is a great healer.

There should be a basic rethinking by our citizens, the Congress, and among officials of the executive branch of our Government regarding Asia in general, and China in particular, and in the process of doing so we must give serious consideration to extending diplomatic recognition to the Government which effectively holds sway over one-fourth of mankind.

I urge that a proper policy for our country would be to offer the olive branch of coexistence and peace in the future to China but in the other hand bear the shield of containment. The time has passed when this Nation could afford to adhere to that rigid idea that it is unthinkable to permit the very thought of the Peking government being considered for entry into the United Nations. China has a great history, tradition, and culture going back thousands of years. Nevertheless, by reason of technological superiority and weapons of war, the European nations throughout the 19th century seized vast areas of China, oppressed the Chinese, contemptuously regarded them as inferior and humiliated them. England fought a war and killed many Chinese in the 1840's because the Chinese governing authorities tried to suppress opium traffic which was extremely lucrative to English merchants. This is known to the shame of the British as the Opium War. It resulted in the seizure of the island of Hong Kong and other areas that had been Chinese for thousands of years.

Over the years since the 19th century leaders of European governments treated Chinese scholars and statesmen with contempt. Even now Secretary of State Dean Rusk invariably shows his contempt for the Chinese. For example, he calls the capital of that nation "Peiping" instead of "Peking," its historic and proper name. Why does our Secretary of State who is supposed to be a diplomat and to speak with some tact in dealing with other nations, use the term "Peiping" instead of "Peking"? Peking, meaning "northern capital" was the recognized capital of the Manchu dynasty and preceding dynasties. Following the time of the Boxer Rebellion where the United States, Germany, Great Britain and other powers crushed the Chinese and the subsequent overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, there was a period of anarchy with various warlords. In 1928 Chiang Kai-shek overcame opposition and to downgrade those Chinese he had beaten he moved his capital to Nanking. He changed the name "Peking" to "Peiping," meaning "pacified capital." After the Communists seized power in 1949 they reestablished the capital at Peking and again called it by its historic and proper name.

How would American officials back in 1831 have felt had a British Prime Minister, speaking about the Capital of our country where the President's house was burned during the War of 1812 by the English under General Ross, continually referred to Washington as "pacified capital"?

Parenthetically, I was pleased to note that our President recently discarded the scornful name "Peiping" and used the word, "Peking."

Claiming that our puppet Chiang Kai-shek and that Taiwan, formerly called Formosa, is the only legitimate government of China is sophistry. The proper policy would be to continue the recognition of the government of Taiwan and to drop the fakery of terming it the only legitimate government of China. Then we Americans can go ahead with a more flexible trade policy toward China, continuing, of course, a ban on strategic goods but permitting trade in products that the Chinese may eat, drink, smoke and wear. Following such recognition we would then be in a position to deal in diplomatic conferences with representatives of China if their leaders are willing to return to membership in the family of nations.

The facts are that China, though able to lose millions of men as cannon fodder, has only an obsolescent air force, lacks any surface navy whatever other than some torpedo boats and gunboats and has an inferior submarine fleet. At the present time and for 8 or 10 years to come it has only crude nuclear capacity and its nuclear installations could readily be destroyed by our air strikes as could its industrial complex in Manchuria. Why should any American be in fear of this agrarian nation? In comparison to the might of the United States in the air, on the ocean and under the ocean, China is indeed a paper dragon or paper tiger. Furthermore, its leaders know their inferiority. Mao Tse-tung stated that his nation needed 30 years to become a great power.

In speaking out for diplomatic recognition of China, I recognize the facts of international life. In fact, I speak today for that generation of Americans who did not participate in framing our present China policy. We all condemn the outrageous actions and aggressions of Chinese Communist leaders, but here is a de facto government stronger than ever before. We would do well to consider actions that would encourage more responsible behavior rather than to seek to crush a people as the British empire did in the Opium War.

Mr. President, I make these remarks today because I am thinking of tomorrow and of many tomorrows. I am thinking of generations of Americans yet to come. In fact, I am thinking of my four young granddaughters and of other children and grandchildren of today who in a comparatively few years will become the guardians, keepers, and trustees of this Nation. I shall not be here then. We want them to have a Nation that is the last best hope for permanent peace in this world, a Nation not only supreme in power but one that is solvent, whose citizens, fully protected in all their civil rights and civil liberties, enjoy contentment and comfort in a peaceful world free from hardship, aggression, and the sorrows of war. I am thinking of our great Nation in a peaceful world. Let us strive to do our utmost that future generations in our United States of America may live in peace and happiness in a peaceful world instead of in fear and terror and then eye hath not witnessed nor finite mind conceived the future grandeur, glory, contentment, and happiness of our people.

Mr. MORSE. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I am glad to yield to the distinguished Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. I say to the distinguished Senator from Ohio that I heartily endorse the thesis of his speech this afternoon. It is another outstanding contribution that the Senator has made to the historic debate that is taking place in the Senate and in the country with regard to U.S. Asian policy.

I invite the attention of the Senator to the situation that existed in October 1962 between the United States and Russia and the fortunate position that we were in because diplomatic channels were open between the United States and Russia and between the United Nations and Russia.

As the Senator knows, in October 1962, a very great President of the United States by the name of John Fitzgerald Kennedy had to make a decision as to the position this Government was to take when the evidence was irrefutable that Khrushchev and Castro were jointly responsible for placing in position ground-to-ground missiles pointed toward the United States. I am sure the Senator from Ohio will agree with the Senator from Oregon that that amounted to an act of constructive aggression and was recognized by our allies, as well as by the United States, as a threat to the security of this Republic.

I know something about the agonies that the President went through, because of my capacity as chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs. I was campaigning for reelection when I was called back to Washington at that critical time. Other factors were involved, but a major factor was the fact that the channels of diplomatic communication were open between the United States and Russia, and President Kennedy used them. Also because the channels of diplomatic communication were open between the United Nations and Russia and our allies in the United Nations which were used, in my judgment, a nuclear war was averted.

We cannot ignore the importance of communication and the availability of communication in an hour of great crisis such as existed in October 1962.

The distinguished Senator from Ohio has pointed out that China is becoming a more powerful nation year by year. In the absence of a third world war, I have no doubt that in not too many years China will be recognized as one of the great powers of the world.

She will then be a powerful nuclear power. Of course, the answer is not to try to destroy her now, although we have warhawks in this country that would advocate and are advocating that.

There are those who seem to think that we ought to go to war against China, but, of course, if we do that I think it is inevitable that such action would be the beginning of the third world war.

I think it is so important that we develop, as the Senator from Ohio has recommended this afternoon, a diplomatic intercourse with China. To do that we need to establish a line of communication between the United Nations and China and between the United States and China by way of diplomatic recognition. It will not be easy. After all, China is not asking for it. China is not asking to get into the United Nations.

What is our responsibility? It seems to me that if we have in mind the best interest of the destiny of this Republic, we should proceed without delay to obtain some cooperative action from our allies in the world in an effort to see what can be done to work out a program of coexistence consonant with our security. We should work out a cooperative program of coexistence with China consonant with making a sensible approach to maintaining peace in the world by following the rule of law instead of the rule of America's military might which we are now following. May I say, after listening to the testimony of the Secretary of Defense this morning before our committee, that if we continue to follow our present policy, it will not be long until we will be in a war with China.

The American people will then find themselves bogged down in a massive and major war in Asia from which no victor will come. We will win the military victories and lose the peace, and we will have to occupy China for decades to come until they finally throw us out.

We had better face up to the ugly reality that Asia is not going to let any Western power, including the United States, maintain a foothold and military domination anywhere in Asia. Would we, if we were Asians? Asia has paid a ghastly price for exploitation by Western Powers for hundreds of years gone by. They have thrown them all out in the past. Read the roll—Great Britain, France, the Dutch, and the Belgians.

No colonial power can maintain a posture in Asia, and we Americans had also better get it out of our heads that we are not following a colonial policy in Asia. It is not a territorial policy of colonialism but a policy of American military colonialism.

That is the reason that a few of us have spoken on this floor, and I have been proud to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] as we have tried to perform what I think is our patriotic duty and our constitutional trust, to warn the American people before it is too late that millions of people in the world do not think as well of us as we think of ourselves. Unfortunately they have every reason not to think as well of us as we think of ourselves.

The time has come not only for a reappraisal but also for a great change and, in my judgment, for a repudiation of the foreign policy that the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense sought to defend before our committee.

I was aghast to sit there this morning and listen to the Secretary of Defense of the United States express his elation over the military power and the destruction that we are exercising in South and North Vietnam.

The Senator from Ohio has heard me say many times, and the Secretary of Defense proved this morning what I have been saying for 2½ years, that we are shooting fish in a barrel. But they happen to be human beings and they happen to be God's human beings, and as much the children of God as any American.

We have them in a position in which we can butcher them and slaughter them and kill them, forgetting about whom we are supposed to bow our heads to on Sundays in our church pews. One cannot reconcile the immorality of the policy of the Secretary of Defense as enunciated before the Committee on Foreign Relations this morning with what ought to be the spiritual standards of the United States.

Once again I say on the floor of the Senate to the American people, "What is happening to us? By what right, moral or legal, can we justify the slaughtering of Asians and Americans in Asia in this awful war?"

I am glad to associate myself once again with the Senator from Ohio as he pleads this afternoon for the adoption of a policy that would take us back inside the framework of the rules of international law, that would take us back inside the framework of our Constitution, and that would take us back inside the framework of our ideals.

That is what is needed. We need a reappraisal and reorganization of American foreign policy. That is the reason that I intend to continue to plead with the American people to make known their will, for I am satisfied that at the grassroots of America this is the will of the majority of our people, once they come to understand the facts as they are coming to understand them in increasing numbers, by the tens of thousands, week by week.

I am sorry that I have taken so long. I want to turn to another matter when the Senator yields the floor.

I thank the Senator for his speech. I think we must continue to make this record until more and more people recognize that there are more and more of us that do not intend to politically rubberstamp a Democratic President that is following a course of action of warmaking that, in our judgment, is not in the best interest of our generation and future generations of Americans.

I thank the Senator for his speech.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I express my gratitude to the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon, and wish to associate myself with the views he has just expressed.

It was very heartening to me that the Senator asked me to yield so that he might make his remarks. It was very heartening to all of us when the Senator referred to our late President John F. Kennedy confronting Khrushchev and making him turn tail and withdraw his offensive missiles from Cuba.

The Senator is correct in his statement that, had there not been direct communication between our President at that time, in October 1962, and the Premier of the Soviet Union, and had there not been a channel of communication by reason of joint membership in the United Nations, that action might not have been possible.

I thank the senior Senator from Oregon and I am glad to be associated with him.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I am glad of our teamwork together.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OMNIBUS CRIME BILLS

(Mr. LONG of Louisiana assumed the chair at this point.)

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, before I proceed with my speech, I should like the present Presiding Officer of the Senate to know how greatly honored I am to have him presiding over the Senate while I make this speech. I have a speech, to relieve his anxiety, if he has any, which is relatively brief, for me at least, but I do have a matter which deals with District of Columbia affairs upon which I wish to comment today.

First, however, I shall ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record two editorials which appeared in the Washington Post under date of April 20, 1966, one entitled "From Bad to Worse," which sets forth the Washington Post's criticism of the omnibus crime bills, one passed by the Senate and one passed by the House, the two being in conference at the present time.

The Washington Post, in this editorial, as it has in several past editorials, has set forth some of the very same criticisms that the senior Senator from Oregon has raised in opposition to these two crime bills, criticisms which caused me to vote against the Senate bill in the Senate, and will cause me not to sign the conference report, if, as, and when one is finally brought forth, because understandings have already been entered into that would make it impossible for me to approve of a bill containing those understandings, to say nothing about my suspicions as to what further compromises will be made. I shall, of course, not sign such a conference report, and I shall not vote for such a conference report if, as, and when it reaches the floor.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial on the omnibus crime bills be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 20, 1966]

From Bad to Worse

As though legislating for the aborigines of some remote colonial possession, conferees of the House and Senate District Committees are now concocting an omnibus crime bill to maintain their concept of order among the restless natives here. During the 1st session of the 89th Congress, the Senate passed a crime bill which can be characterized, somewhat euphemistically, as merely a misfortune. The House passed a bill which is an outright monstrosity. Its basic premise appears to be that the Constitution of the United States does not cover the Capital. How far the Senate will go in compromise is not yet clear; but it can only go from bad to worse.

Instead of attacking the District's crime problem constructively by strengthening the police and preventing easy access to pistols, the most common tool of the criminal, the crime bills aim mainly at imposing more ferocious punishments and weakening the ability of courts to protect the constitutional rights of accused persons. For example, the House bill would authorize a return to the system of arrests for investigation abandoned by order of the District Commissioners a couple of years ago after the Horsky committee branded them as plainly unconstitutional.

The Senate bill, not quite so baldly indifferent to the Constitution, would let the police arrest suspects on their own assessment of probable cause and interrogate them in police stations for as long as 3 hours without taking them before a magistrate to determine whether the arrest was justified in the first place. This would fly directly in the face of the Supreme Court's unanimous ruling in the Mallory case that confessions obtained by such means are inadmissible in Federal courts.

The Supreme Court currently has under consideration several cases concerning the rights of persons in police custody. Congress, having sat on crime legislation for the District of Columbia for several years past, might sensibly wait just a little longer to find out what the Court has to say on this subject. We think it will discover that what its District Committees are proposing is absolutely impermissible.

The House bill would junk the Durham rule, perhaps the most significant and progressive step toward the determination of criminal responsibility in 20th century jurisprudence; and it would insist on a return to the outmoded "right and wrong" standard of the McNaghten rule. We can only hope that the Senate will not yield on this vital point or accede to the hysterical, bluenose forms of censorship which the House bill would impose on the District of Columbia.

The best hope for the District of Columbia, to tell the truth, lies in a stalemate among the House-Senate conferees. There is really nothing in this mishmash of legislation but mischief. If a bill is agreed upon by the conferees, it is likely to run directly counter to all that the President has proposed and espoused in his crime messages to Congress; and it is likely to wholly ignore the work of the national and local crime commissions appointed by the President. Such a measure would demand the strongest opposition from the White House.

Mr. MORSE. The second editorial, Mr. President, sets forth the editorial views of the Washington Post on the "forgotten" minimum wage bill, which has been referred to by many in the Senate as my minimum wage bill, but which is really the minimum wage bill of my subcommittee.

I was very proud to bring that minimum wage bill to the floor of the Senate with the support of my subcommittee, and subsequently the support of the full District of Columbia Committee. We have been ready, willing, and waiting for a conference with the House on that bill. I am ready to have a conference with the House on the minimum wage bill now. I hope that we can see enacted a long overdue minimum wage bill without any further delay.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial entitled "Forgotten Minimum Wage" from this morning's Washington Post be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Forgotten Minimum Wage

Last January when the District minimum-wage bill finally came up for debate, Senator Robert F. Kennedy told his colleagues: "It is a disgrace that we in Congress did not enact this legislation long ago." The Senate seemed to agree. At least it passed the bill. On February 7 the Senate got around to agreeing to a conference with the House, which had passed a less favorable bill in the previous session. Thereupon action was once more suspended. No meeting of conferees has even been scheduled.

Many believe that the $1.25 an hour minimum wage that the bill would require in the District is already obsolete. While Congress has procrastinated over a period of years, some wage rates have crept up. The minimum wage that is proposed for the Nation's Capital is very substantially below the poverty line proclaimed by the President. But still Congress procrastinates.

The wisest course would have been for the House to have accepted the vastly superior Senate bill. Even now the conferees can meet and approve the Senate version with relatively little difficulty if they are interested in relieving the community from the dire consequences of starvation wages. It is about time for the sense of shame that finally stimulated the Senate to action to envelop both wings of the Capitol.

POLICE ADMINISTRATION IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, late last year a very responsible and civic-minded citizen of the District of Columbia advised me that he had seen members of the Metropolitan Police Department obtain gasoline from the Circle Paving Co., located at 657 A Street SE. This civic-minded citizen observed that on August 28, 1965, a police officer in uniform, with car registration No. 1120, backed up across the sidewalk and had an employee of the Circle Paving Co. pump gasoline into his private car and then drive away.

I asked the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Department, John Layton, to cause an investigation to be made immediately into the case. Chief Layton cooperated by ordering the investigation to be made. I now have the results of that police investigation. I am not pleased with the police report, nor am I pleased with the action taken against the police sergeant who obtained gasoline on August 28, 1965, for his private use, without paying for it, from the Circle Paving Co.

Upon questioning him, Desk Sergeant Cuozzo readily admits that he obtains gasoline free of charge from the Circle Paving Co. He also freely admits that he did favors in return. The most shocking part of the report is that the Chief of Police, who constantly—and as late as yesterday—preaches the need for citizen support of the Police Department, merely filed a reprimand in Sergeant Cuozzo's personnel file jacket.

The Chief of Police did not even transfer this sergeant from the fifth precinct, where he has been employed for 22 years, even though the investigators who conducted the investigation strongly recommended to the Chief of Police that consideration be given to a possible reassignment of Desk Sergeant Cuozzo's duties, in order that he might establish new work habits. I think that is an understatement, Mr. President. The man should be fired.

The Police Department report further states:

> He [Cuozzo] has served in one precinct during his entire police career—subject no doubt in the past to be in a position to see the relationship between now-retired police officers and businessmen, which no doubt was much more liberal in the past than the present restrictions now in force relative to the receipt of gifts and services.

I cannot, for the life of me, understand the action taken by Chief Layton in this case. If the Chief of Police wants public support for his Police Department—and he needs it—I would suggest that he clean up such practices, which I am convinced are widespread. When citizens see police officers "on the take," so to speak, it breeds ill will for any police department. If there is ever a time when this Police Department needs public support, Mr. President, it is now. But, in my judgment, the Department is going to have to earn public respect; otherwise, it will not be forthcoming. Citizen cooperation with the Police Department must work both ways.

Mr. President, I receive complaints from time to time from civic-minded citizens throughout the city of Washington about the conduct of police officers. I should like to add—good-naturedly—that I receive much information and numerous complaints from local citizens about the conduct of officials in some other major departments in the District of Columbia. I shall discuss some of those matters within the next few days.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the report on the Cuozzo case printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT, INTERNAL INVESTIGATIONS UNIT,

November 10, 1965.

To: Chief of Police.

Subject: Complaint of * * * as to the alleged receipt of gasoline, without apparent payment for same, on the part of Desk Sgt. Anthony A. Cuozzo, of the fifth precinct, on Saturday, August 28, 1965.

On August 31, 1965, the undersigned received a call from Lieutenant Garner, Chief of Police's Office, instructing me to contact * * * at his office * * * complaint was to the effect that on Saturday, August 28, 1965, at about 1 p.m., he observed a blue Chevrolet, bearing District of Columbia registration No. 1120, and operated by a Metropolitan Police Department sergeant in uniform, back up across the sidewalk, so as to block same, to a gas pump which is located just inside a brick wall that encloses the premises of the Circle Paving Co., located at 657 A Street SE., and while so parked at the gas pump, gasoline was pumped into the tank of the sergeant's vehicle by an employee of the Circle Paving Co. * * * further stated that the sergeant ignored several cars that were parked in violation adjacent to the gas pump (cars parked on public space between the sidewalk and the building line, in this instance the brick wall that enclosed the premises of the Circle Paving Co.).

[He] further stated that there have been repeated complaints over a period of the past several years by citizens of the immediate area adjacent to the Circle Paving Co., as follows:

1. That the type of operation conducted by the Circle Paving Co. is detrimental to the peace and well-being of the citizens who live in the nearby area, due to:

(a) That the numerous heavy-duty trucks used in the paving business tend to downgrade the efforts of the citizens to upgrade this residential area which is in the immediate area of Capitol Hill.

(b) That the early morning operation of trucks causes an early morning confusion due to the departure of trucks loaded with men and materials from the paving company.

(c) That the employees of this company congregate in the nearby streets in large numbers while waiting to go to work and while so doing, they disturb the neighborhood by loud talking, drinking in public from time to time, throwing trash in public streets in the immediate area, and occasionally using public space for a toilet.

My investigation disclosed that there have been complaints, as alluded to by * * *, but that conditions have improved due to the fact that most of the activities of the Circle Paving Co. have been transferred to 1504 48th Street, Beaver Heights, Md. The physical plant of the paving company still remains at 657 A Street SE., and, in the eyes of the local residents, it should be removed. Several of the reasons why the paving company remains in this area are as follows:

1. The owner of the Circle Paving Co., Mr. Holmes, says that the prospective purchasers have not met his price as yet.

2. The paving company, although located in a residential neighborhood, is properly zoned due to the great length of time it has been established at this location, prior to any recently imposed zoning restrictions.

Basically, this is an unfortunate situation, and my present conclusions are that, with time, the owner of the Circle Paving Co. will probably get his price for the ground and building located at 657 A Street SE.

Investigation disclosed that the sergeant in question was one Desk Sgt. Anthony A. Cuozzo, a station clerk assigned to the Fifth Precinct. In his statement of August 31, 1965, Desk Sergeant Cuozzo admits that he gets gas from the yard foreman of the Circle Paving Co., Daniel Cioffi. Mr. Holmes, owner of the Circle Paving Co., says that this, in his opinion, was an outright gift to Desk Sergeant Cuozzo and that there was no obligations attached to it for past or any future expectations of service from Desk Sergeant Cuozzo.

[He] was contacted in person by the undersigned on Monday, September 20, 1965, in his office and, after being informed as to the previously noted phases of the investigation; namely, the receipt of gasoline by Desk Sergeant Cuozzo and the results of my interview with Mr. Holmes, owner of the Circle Paving Co., * * * stated that he was only interested in bringing this matter to the attention of this department and did not wish to proceed further in any disciplinary action that might be instituted against Desk Sergeant Cuozzo.

The enclosed statements of Desk Sgt. Anthony A. Cuozzo and * * * were submitted to Mr. Timothy Murphy, chief, assistant U.S. attorney, court of general sessions, on September 22, 1965. Mr. Murphy subsequently assigned Assistant U.S. Attorney Arthur L. Burnett, of his staff, to review this file. Mr. Burnett, as the result of an initial examination of the Cuozzo complaint, submitted a memorandum, dated October 19, 1965, to Mr. Murphy. In this memorandum, Mr. Burnett makes a factual résumé of the various aspects of the complaint against Desk Sergeant Cuozzo by * * * and supported to a degree by * * * and then Mr. Burnett applies the law as he sees it from section 201(g), title 18, United States Code, and section 203, title 18, United States Code. At this time, Mr. Burnett also requested that a statement be obtained from Daniel Cioffi, the alleged giver of the gasoline to Desk Sergeant Cuozzo.

In the last paragraph of his memorandum of October 19, 1965, to Mr. Murphy, Mr. Burnett stated the following:

"In conclusion, if Sergeant Cuozzo has only received free gasoline on a dozen occasions as he represents, I do not think that criminal prosecution is warranted, because the nature of the transactions are petty rather than substantial. However, I do feel rather strongly, that some disciplinary administrative action should be taken by the Metropolitan Police Department."

The requested statement from Mr. Daniel Thomas Cioffi was submitted to Mr. Burnett on October 27, 1965. Mr. Murphy, in turn, forwarded a letter, dated November 5, 1965, to the undersigned which is quoted, in part, as follows:

"After careful examination of the file in the above-captioned matter, our office is declining to prosecute. Although a technical violation is involved in view of the amount involved and the sergeant's long tenure as a policeman, it is doubtful that a jury conviction could ever be sustained.

"I do recommend, however, that serious consideration be given to Police Department action against Cuozzo."

In conclusion, we have here a veteran desk sergeant-station clerk who has served in one precinct during his entire police career—subject no doubt in the past to be in a position to see the relationship between now retired police officers and businessmen, which no doubt was much more liberal in the past than the present restrictions now in force relative to the receipt of gifts and services.

With the foregoing in mind, plus the fact that * * * the complainant does not want to be a party to any further proceedings in this instance, the undersigned recommends that:

1. Desk Sergeant Anthony A. Cuozzo, Fifth Precinct, be officially reprimanded for the unauthorized receipt of gasoline, as attested to by the statements of * * * Mr. Cioffi, and Desk Sergeant Cuozzo himself.

2. Consideration be given to a possible reassignment of Desk Sergeant Cuozzo's duties, in order that he might establish new work habits.

It is pointed out that Mr. Richard Judd, as a professional staff member on the U.S. Senate District Committee, has indicated an interest in this investigation and wishes to be apprised of the results of this investigation.

JOHN J. BOYD,
Inspector, Internal Investigations Unit.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the Internal Investigations Unit of the Metropolitan Police Department asked Cuozzo how long he had been in his present assignment as station clerk in the Fifth Precinct. According to Cuozzo's testimony, he has served there 22 years. He was asked what his duties are. Sergeant Cuozzo replied:

> I'm day station clerk assigned mostly to doing a lot of the captain's work.

Later in the investigation, Sergeant Cuozzo was asked exactly what happened when he visited his friend on the date he was seen obtaining gasoline from the Circle Paving Co. He replied:

> Well, it wasn't a friend. It's the Circle Paving Co. that I get my gas from.

Sergeant Cuozzo was then asked to explain why he gets his gasoline there. He replied:

> This man called me and asked me—he said they had gas there and he asked me to drop by occasionally and he would give me some gas, for no favors whatsoever, for friendship more than anything else.

He was then asked:

> You don't pay for the gasoline?

He replied:

> No. The few times I go there he gives it to me.

Later, Sergeant Cuozzo was asked whether he thought it peculiar that the Circle Paving Co. should offer him free gasoline. The sergeant replied:

> Well, at the time I didn't think that because he's called me up and asked me for different tag numbers or to contact different people that sometimes his men have been arrested for traffic violations and he calls and asks me to get them released so the work could continue and he comes around and pays the ticket and for those little favors he asked me to come by whenever I get the chance.

At that point, he was asked by the investigating officers whether he had any knowledge of other policemen in the fifth precinct having extended these favors, to which he replied:

> I know he has asked others to drop by and has given them gas.

When asked to identify other police officers, the sergeant had a lapse of memory and relied upon the threadbare alibi that it was "just hearsay." He was then asked whether he had ever adjusted traffic tickets for employees of the Circle Paving Co. He replied:

> I have had several of them adjusted for him, yes; when there were good, legitimate reasons.

The sergeant was then asked what, in his opinion, are good, legitimate reasons. He replied:

> Well, they have had trucks parked in violation of signs when they were working. The officers give them tickets and I felt they were working there and that an adjustment was in favor.

The sergeant apparently fixed many traffic tickets for the Circle Paving Co. because, under questioning, he just could not remember how many. Probably one of the most honest statements the sergeant made during the interview was one he made in response to a question as to whether he would like to make any clarification in what he had testified to date. He replied:

> The only thing I can say is that the man, whenever he gave me gas he would call and I would go around to get it and I felt then that everyone had knowledge that I was getting it.

It is obvious that the people in the community knew it, and I do not know how the captain could avoid knowing it.

According to the police report, local citizens complained to the District Commissioners of continual noise from the Circle Paving Co.'s trucks, truckdrivers, and laborers in the area. People also complained about trash and debris around the Circle Paving Co. office and back in the alley. Complaints were also made that crap games were being played on payday by employees of the Circle Paving Co. In reading the sergeant's testimony in regard to the complaints, it is obvious, I believe, that he sided with the Circle Paving Co.

Sergeant Cuozzo was then asked whether he ever investigated any complaints by anyone living in the area of the Circle Paving Co. He replied, "No, sir, I did not."

At one point, he admits that the Circle Paving Co. has brought gifts to the fifth precinct stationhouse to the captain, and he also admits he received a turkey from the firm.

The sergeant then admits:

> I have put up collateral for some of their men that have been arrested. Of course I have gotten my money back on it. I've made arrangements to have one of the clerks put up the collateral for several of their men at various times when I was home and I reimbursed them when I came in the station and I got my money back from them.

Mr. President, this is a classic example of graft and corruption. Those are the words it spells out. Those are the words that these events define in action. Again, I say, I am shocked that the Chief of Police would take the action he did in this case. I strongly recommended to Chief Layton that he once again review the case and impose sanctions which are warranted under the circumstances. If the District Commissioners want to clear the stench permeating the environs of the District Building, they can begin here.

I cannot understand why police investigators only investigated this one complaint. When the police sergeant stated that other police officials in the precinct were doing substantially the same thing, why did they not expand the investigation? I urge the Chief of Police to do this at once.

Within the next few days, I shall discuss a police report which was supplied to me by Commissioner Duke, regarding the Department of Licenses and Inspections. I shall also discuss recent developments in the Department of Motor Vehicles.

Now, Mr. President, let me say in closing that there are more pleasant performances of duty a Senator has in carrying out the trust he owes to his position than that of looking into graft and corruption, when attention is called to examples of graft and corruption falling within the jurisdiction of his committee responsibilities.

There are more pleasant duties to perform that I perform as chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Health, Education, Welfare, and Safety, as I have sought to bring to an end, during the last 2 years, what was developing into a rather scandalous situation in connection with the fixing of traffic tickets.

My course of action has not won me any popularity contest in certain areas, but the record speaks for itself.

I was advised by a staff member that, to date, my insistence upon stopping the fixing of traffic tickets—that is, letting people off when there was really no justification for doing so—has probably saved the taxpayers of the District of Columbia in the neighborhood of $750,000.

I have not done this, Mr. President, primarily to enrich the treasury of the District of Columbia, although I do not believe there is any justification for denying the taxpayers of the District the funds they should receive into their treasury from any traffic ticket in regard to which a fine should be imposed. I do not believe that there is any justification for following a course of action which would cause the taxpayers of the District of Columbia to lose that source of revenue. That has not been my primary reason. That has been one of the ancillary or corollary results of my course of action on the matter of traffic tickets.

I have followed this course of action because. unless we maintain a system of government of laws at every level of government—local, State, and Federal—then we will weaken the fabric of this system of self-government of ours.

Unless we follow a course of administration in Government that earns at all times the respect and confidence of the citizens in the enforcement of law without favor, without graft, without corruption, without special benefits accruing to those who have, as is sometimes said, the "inside track," then we cannot expect to have very much respect on the part of the citizens for the administration of their Government, we cannot make pleas to support the Police Department—whether it is done by the Chief of Police or by anyone else connected with the District government—unless those connected with the District government intend to keep the District government as pure as Caesar's wife.

So it pains me to call attention to this incident which is one of many of what I think is a clear malfeasance in performing a public trust on the part of a public official.

I shall from time to time, as I obtain evidence dealing with such examples of malfeasance continue to call attention to them on the floor of the Senate.

Let me also make it clear, as I close, that I shall continue, as I have for many years here in the Senate, to give to the District of Columbia Police Department, to give to the Chief of Police, to give to the Commissioners, my complete support in carrying out their trust when they ask for support in connection with the legitimate needs of the government of the District of Columbia.

There is nothing I will not do in order to strengthen their hand. I have stood on the floor of the Senate, as a member of the District of Columbia Committee, for many years, urging funds, urging increases in appropriations for the Police Department and other departments of the District of Columbia government. I have pleaded in the Senate to give the people of the District of Columbia the rights of full citizenship, the right to govern themselves.

I stand ready to continue to do that at all times, for I yield to no one in the Senate or in the District of Columbia when it comes to proven friendly support for the rights of the citizens of this city to have a good, clean government, and from the standpoint of insisting that the Congress of the United States adequately support such a government.

I also have a corollary duty, as a member of the District of Columbia Committee, never to hesitate, unpleasant as it may be, to call attention to acts of malfeasance, instances of miscarriage of justice, and examples of graft and corruption when they arise.

It is in the spirit of carrying out that trust that I presented this very unpleasant matter on the floor of the Senate this afternoon.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, in accordance with the order previously entered, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock tomorrow noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 25 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, April 21, 1966, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 20 (legislative day of April 19), 1966:

U.S. ATTORNEY

Alfred W. Moellering, of Indiana, to be U.S. attorney for the northern district of Indiana for the term of 4 years. (Reappointment.)

U.S. MARSHALS

Alfred P. Henderson, of Arkansas, to be U.S. marshal for the eastern district of Arkansas for the term of 4 years. (Reappointment.)

Dan M. Douglas, of Arkansas, to be U.S. marshal for the western district of Arkansas for the term of 4 years. (Reappointment.)

POSTMASTERS

The following-named persons to be postmasters:

ALABAMA

Margaret H. Dassinger, Coosada, Ala., in place of E. H. Smith, retired.

Imogene P. Jones, Cottondale, Ala., in place of O. A. Lindbergh, retired.

Olene H. Tate, Forkland, Ala., in place of L. B. Mundy, deceased.

Robert C. Greene, Phenix City, Ala., in place of W. B. Mims, retired.

Russell H. Fischer, Valley Head, Ala., in place of R. N. White, retired.

ALASKA

Carl Cleveland, Quinhagak, Alaska, in place of C. B. Michael, retired.

ARKANSAS

Loyce Anderson, Prescott, Ark., in place of J. H. Bemis, resigned.

CALIFORNIA

Audrey E. Mull, Downieville, Calif., in place of H. M. Lowey, resigned.

Clarence R. Tryon, Oakdale, Calif., in place of J. W. Milam, deceased.

Marvin Arbuckle, Palo Alto, Calif., in place of R. W. Evans, retired.

June M. Daniels, Shingle Springs, Calif., in place of D. P. Murphy, deceased.

William H. Fitzpatrick, Spring Valley, Calif., in place of M. H. Morgan, retired.

COLORADO

Norman H. Ely, Golden, Colo., in place of Z. M. Pike, retired.

Gerald F. Dickman, Meeker, Colo., in place of R. D. Woolley, retired.

CONNECTICUT

Thomas F. Henry, Andover, Conn., in place of R. T. Lathrop, retired.

William R. Kowalsky, Glastonbury, Conn., in place of B. O. Bailey, retired.

Elton F. Deckelman, Old Saybrook, Conn., in place of T. J. Curran, Jr., retired.

FLORIDA

Doris M. Medders, Highland City, Fla., in place of J. C. Womble, retired.

Lois M. Green, Nichols, Fla., in place of R. M. O'Brien, Jr., resigned.

GEORGIA

Ralph J. Williams, Moultrie, Ga., in place of A. D. McKee, retired.

Bashie R. Raulerson, Statenville, Ga., in place of J. W. Pafford, retired.

ILLINOIS

Roger V. Crosman, Braidwood, Ill., in place of Alice Dillon, retired.

Robert E. Wurmnest, Deer Creek, Ill., in place of J. E. Parker, resigned.

Marvin S. Bloomer, Maquon, Ill., in place of Maxine Loy, retired.

INDIANA

Louis F. Grandenstein, Cynthiana, Ind., in place of M. I. Stevens, retired.

IOWA

Eugene W. Street, Center Point, Iowa, in place of W. L. Street, retired.

Phillip L. Fassler, Cherokee, Iowa, in place of P. F. Hoyt, deceased.

Edmund M. Hucker, Hopkinson, Iowa, in place of H. I. Stanger, resigned.

Joseph L. Cooney, Marengo, Iowa, in place of G. G. Brauch, retired.

KANSAS

Elmer L. Feldkamp, Baileyville, Kans., in place of A. M. Schulte, retired.

Ralph J. Crow, Bennington, Kans., in place of Z. A. Kissinger, retired.

Lewis L. Jones, Plains, Kans., in place of M. B. Lawson, retired.

KENTUCKY

William H. Pence, Owensboro, Ky., in place of J. H. Weller, retired.

LOUISIANA

Robert E. Yancey, Boyce, La., in place of C. E. Johnson, retired.

Calvin P. Rice, Glenmora, La., in place of O. R. Phillips, retired.

Joseph E. Morein, Ville Platte, La., in place of M. A. Thompson, deceased.

Pat G. Harrell, Winnfield, La., in place of E. H. Bozeman, retired.

MAINE

Alfred E. Lewis, Boothbay, Maine, in place of W. M. Lewis, retired.

Vernard R. Harding, East Newport, Maine, in place of C. W. Graves, resigned.

MARYLAND

George L. Kennedy, Kennedyville, Md., in place of K. M. Hurlock, retired.

MASSACHUSETTS

John J. O'Donnell, Harwich Port, Mass., in place of C. L. Bevans, retired.

Helen L. Buckley, North Abington, Mass., in place of R. F. McKeown, retired.

Edward W. Irla, North Wilbraham, Mass., in place of W. R. Richmond, Jr., deceased.

Richard E. Brown, Reading, Mass., in place of J. F. Desmond, deceased.

MICHIGAN

Lloyd G. Kolhoff, Berrien Springs, Mich., in place of L. E. Lucas, retired.

Grant O. Glaspie, Cass City, Mich., in place of L. H. Bishop, retired.

Arie H. Bomgaars, Coral, Mich., in place of Gertrude Hansen, retired.

Richard F. Haver, Fostoria, Mich., in place of C. B. Jenkins, retired.

Harold E. Joy, Haslett, Mich., in place of M. M. Schlichting, retired.

William A. Green, Onekama, Mich., in place of E. L. Kenny, retired.

Newton G. Aspenleiter, Pearl Beach, Mich., in place of G. A. Gulette, deceased.

MINNESOTA

William P. Sorenson, Champlin, Minn., in place of C. E. Allen, retired.

Charles K. DesRochers, Glenwood, Minn., in place of C. P. Femrite, retired.

Walter J. Hogan, Minneapolis, Minn., in place of C. R. Austin, retired.

Floyd B. Olson, Roseau, Minn., in place of L. C. Waag, retired.

Betty J. Peterson, Walters, Minn., in place of K. Y. Koetke, removed.

MISSISSIPPI

James J. Luter, Canton, Miss., in place of L. L. Evans, retired.

MISSOURI

Arthur J. Fiene, Alma, Mo., in place of F. T. McClure, deceased.

Elmer J. Taute, Amoret, Mo., in place of E. M. Word, deceased.

Everett R. Putnam, Jr., Charleston, Mo., in place of A. B. Cooper, deceased.

Catherine L. Shelton, Edgar Springs, Mo., in place of W. L. Shelton, retired.

Dwight W. Jacobs, Green City, Mo., in place of W. L. Anderson, retired.

Glenn W. Holloway, Laclede, Mo., in place of G. G. Simmons, retired.

Kenneth L. Payne, Leadwood, Mo., in place of E. J. Vinyard, retired.

Elvin N. Meredith, Weaubleau, Mo., in place of D. G. Hammond, transferred.

MONTANA

Della T. Hough, Kevin, Mont., in place of M. P. McCrory, transferred.

NEBRASKA

George E. Martin, Genoa, Nebr., in place of A. D. Irish, transferred.

Marvin R. Holz, Paxton, Nebr., in place of I. H. Roberts, retired.

Ellwood R. Meek, Ravenna, Nebr., in place of L. V. Kozel, retired.

H. Robert Meyer, St. Libory, Nebr., in place of E. J. O'Neill, transferred.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Ralph L. Hoyt, Jr., Rindge, N.H., in place of H. R. Burt, retired.

NEW MEXICO

Howard W. Johnson, Eagle Nest, N. Mex., in place of A. L. Haddow, retired.

Orba L. Ray, Tularosa, N. Mex., in place of E. W. Myers, transferred.

NEW YORK

Frank J. Graber, Cherry Creek, N.Y., in place of C. O. Lincoln, deceased.

Harvey L. Osborne, Cincinnatus, N.Y., in place of I. M. Hopkins, retired.

William M. Fleckenstein, Colden, N.Y., in place of G. W. Miller, retired.

Robert J. Riell, Copake Falls, N.Y., in place of L. W. Riell, retired.

William J. Divitto, Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y., in place of J. DelGiudice, retired.

Gordon E. Doling, Dolgeville, N.Y., in place of R. A. Youker, retired.

Lawrence N. Dodge, Minetto, N.Y., in place of J. L. Barrett, retired.

Sister Thomas T. Fink, St. Josephs, N.Y., in place of M. M. Ostermayr, retired.

Richard T. Kerwin, Spencerport, N.Y., in place of J. L. Kincaid, retired.

Arthur P. Rockefeller, Tivoli, N.Y., in place of E. S. Navins, retired.

Emily F. Blass, West Copake, N.Y., in place of I. E. Siebert, retired.

Joseph J. Neratko, Westfield, N.Y., in place of F. S. Richardson, retired.

NORTH CAROLINA

Blanche P. Nowell, Creedmoor, N.C., in place of J. C. Peed, retired.

Sadie L. Odom, Gibson, N.C., in place of H. B. McColman, retired.

Roy R. Ludvigsen, Grantsboro, N.C., in place of A. L. Bennett, retired.

Jerry H. Bunch, Lewiston, N.C., in place of Audrew Hoggard, retired.

William K. Taylor, Walstonburg, N.C., in place of Tryphenia McKeel, retired.

Henry F. Lee, Warsaw, N.C., in place of F. J. Baars, retired.

NORTH DAKOTA

Albin O. Haugen, Kloten, N. Dak., in place of W. A Krogh, retired.

Michael L. Voller, Strasburg, N. Dak., in place of J. M. Klein, retired.

Daniel Klein, Zeeland, N. Dak., in place of Adolf Dockter, deceased.

OHIO

Lewis E. Wiggins, Milford, Ohio, in place of E. A. Molitor, deceased.

James M. Soulsby, Pomeroy, Ohio, in place of E. E. Arnold, deceased.

OKLAHOMA

James A. Pulliam, Dewar, Okla., in place of M. P. Toffler, deceased.

Charles V. Gilmore, Holdenville, Okla., in place of M. L. Clow, retired.

Alva E. Stinson, Mangum, Okla., in place of J. M. Givens, transferred.

PENNSYLVANIA

Richard E. Sweigart, Ephrata, Pa., in place of H. M. Showalter, retired.

Ellsworth J. Conway, Mill Hall, Pa., in place of E. G. Corter, retired.

Robert H. Stoner, Washington, Pa., in place of J. M. Braden, retired.

PUERTO RICO

Luisa M. Arana de Salas, Hatillo, P.R., in place of Esther Lacomba, retired.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Carlisle E. Hammett, Converse, S.C., in place of E. S. Drake, retired.

Vivion H. Ingle, Moncks Corner, S.C., in place of J. E. Powell, retired.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Frank C. Scheda, Fairfax, S. Dak., in place of L. E. Jackson, deceased.

TENNESSEE

W. Clay Avant, Alexandria, Tenn., in place of M. B. Goodner, retired.

Robie T. Hensley, Chuckey, Tenn., in place of M. E. Birdwell, retired.

Paulyne D. Lee, Dixon Springs, Tenn., in place of A. J. Lee, Jr., retired.

Albert E. Whitson, Harriman, Tenn., in place of R. B. Gilliland, retired.

Vernon G. Cox, Hornsby, Tenn., in place of W. B. Milstead, deceased.

TEXAS

Weldon E. Kaddatz, Bynum, Tex., in place of A. B. Daniels, transferred.

Wilbert A. Shanks, Combes, Tex., in place of V. A. Payne, deceased.

James W. McMillan, Kingsville, Tex., in place of P. D. Cauley, Sr., retired.

W. Freeman Philpott, Sherman, Tex., in place of K. C. Stone, retired.

UTAH

Frank J. Petty, Cedar City, Utah, in place of R. S. Wood, retired.

Donna M. McKinnon, Hiawatha, Utah, in place of Michael Kolovich, Jr., transferred.

VERMONT

Rita M. Frechette, Gilman, Vt., in place of H. M. Boyle, retired.

VIRGINIA

Robert C. Dawson, Salem, Va., in place of G. A. Scruggs, retired.

WASHINGTON

J. Thomas Coupe, Greenbank, Wash., in place of A. W. Bratsberg, retired.

Jack R. Lee, Sprague, Wash., in place of R. R. Nottage, deceased.

WEST VIRGINIA

Louis F. Williams, Cameron, W. Va., in place of L. E. Crow, retired.

WISCONSIN

Leland T. Lowe, Friendship, Wis., in place of J. F. Horan, Jr., deceased.

Merle L. Sollars, Palmyra, Wis., in place of H. S. Cory, retired.

Iral W. Schreiber, Randolph, Wis., in place of E. P. Jamieson, retired.

Bernard J. Fox, Sarona, Wis., in place of E. W. Hill, retired.

WYOMING

Mary F. Wheatley, Encampment, Wyo., in place of H. E. Wheatley, retired.

Una M. Heap, Thayne, Wyo., in place of Lucy Moser, retired.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Fino Blasts New Coinage as Sleazy and Inflationary—Introduces Bill To Require Study of Alternative Coins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 20, 1966

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, the bill I am introducing today instructs the Secretary of the Treasury to submit to the Congress by January 1, 1967, a report on how we can change our coinage to avoid a number of the problems inherent in the new clad coinage beginning to circulate.

Among the problems to be considered is the fact that the clad coins contain two metals—copper and silver—important to our war effort and now in short supply. The national copper stockpile is shrinking and the President is casting about for ways to encourage copper production. I think cutting out unnecessary use of copper makes sense, and there is the additional factor that copper prices are rising, making copper coinage increasingly expensive.

One sensible step would be to stop minting half dollars. Our copper and silver is too precious to waste on a meaningless prestige coin—the intrinsically almost worthless clad dimes and quarters set the tone of the coinage. I think we should stop minting half dollars until we decide on a long-range plan for handling the 50-cent currency denomination.

A second problem of the clad coins is more technical. Recently one split apart, but that is probably a fluke. More serious is the fact that the cladding process, or the minting process, somehow results in the copper core being much nearer one side of the coin than the other. These coins are going to wear out unevenly in many cases. One side will be rusty while one side will be tinny. These coins are ugly enough now, but they will be even more ugly after a few years' wear.

I think the appearance of the coinage is very important. The rusty rimmed, tinny-sounding clad coins look inferior. No other nation has rusty rimmed coins with a potential of being rusty on one side and tinny on the other in a few years. These coins somehow typify the economics and dignity of the Great Society.

Like so much of the Great Society the new coinage involves a budget gimmick. The administration is counting the saved silver on the receipts side of the budget, using it as camouflage for inflationary spending.

It is unfortunate that lack of economic foresight has necessitated the changeover to sleazy coins during an inflationary period. The ugly clad coins are encouraging hoarding and a loss of confidence in our money and in our Government's economic policy.

I believe that it is imperative that we change our coins in order to get a coinage the American people respect. The new clad coins, coinciding with rising inflation and the declining international prestige of the dollar, are stimulating popular doubts about the solidity of our currency. These shoddy new coins, rusty and ugly as they are—nicknamed "funny money" or "Johnson money" throughout the land—are part and parcel of the decline of the dollar under the slapdash economic policies of the Johnson administration. The cheap-looking "funny money" is both a product of past inflation and a stimulus to further inflation. Obviously we cannot return to silver coins. We have only a little more silver. What we can do is have an attractive currency in a sensible economy. European nations can, so why cannot we?

I believe that the metals shortage, coupled with the technical deficiencies of the cladding and aggravated by the interaction of inflation with a sleazy-looking coinage, states an overwhelming case against the clad coinage. I hope that the Congress will pass my bill to require the Secretary of the Treasury to draw up a report on the alternatives that might be used to achieve a better and more attractive coinage.

Jack Magee Named Basketball Coach at Georgetown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 20, 1966

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, Georgetown University has announced the appointment of Jack Magee as varsity basketball coach. Jack Magee has, for the last few years, been the top assistant to Bob Cousy at Boston College. Jack is an outstanding young man who takes great ability and dedication to Georgetown. He was an outstanding player at Boston College, one who proved how important a good little man is to the game. I take this time to congratulate John Magee and to compliment Georgetown on selecting this fine young man, who, I am certain, will be a credit to this great university. As a fellow graduate of Boston College, I welcome Jack to the Capital of the Nation.

Dr. Edward T. Sandrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT TENZER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 20, 1966

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, today we had the honor of hearing Dr. Edward T. Sandrow, rabbi of Temple Beth El, Cedarhurst, Long Island, N.Y., deliver the opening prayer in the House of Representatives.

Our distinguished guest is president of the New York Board of Rabbis and his record of service is an outstanding one. Rabbi Sandrow served as a chaplain in World War II, rising from the rank of lieutenant to major. During the campaign he served in the Aleutian Islands for 1½ years. Dr. Sandrow received the Army Commendation Medal and was retired to the Reserves.

Ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1933, Rabbi Sandrow is also a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and received higher degrees at Columbia University and his doctorate at the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Rabbi Sandrow was president of the Rabbinical Assembly, the national organization of conservative rabbis in the United States and Canada. He is now president of the New York Board of Rabbis, representing over 900 rabbis of the orthodox, conservative, and reform branches of Judaism, a visiting professor at the Jewish Theological Seminary, and a teaching fellow at New York University.

Dr. Sandrow is chairman of the board of Hadoar, the only weekly Hebrew journal published in America; chairman of the executive committee of the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy, which supplies chaplains to the Army, Navy, Air Force, and the Veterans' Administration.

Rabbi Sandrow has served in his present pulpit for 29 years, and serves as a member of the board of governors of the American Association for Jewish Education and the National Jewish Welfare Board. He was a participant in the White House Conference on Youth and Children in 1960.

He will be one of the speakers at the New York State Conference on Human Rights, April 27 and 28, 1966. He is a member of the executive committee of the Zionist Organization of America and the American Council of the United Jewish Appeal. He serves on the functional committee of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of Greater New York. He was the first rabbi in New York to receive the award for having done most for the health and welfare agencies of the federation. He also was the first rabbi to receive the Commendable Service Award of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

He is coauthor of a prayer book for children called "Young Faith." He was one of the founders of the group relations of the five towns covering all members of all religions and all races. He is listed in "Who's Who of America," and "Who's Who in World Judaism."

Invites Critics of U.S. Naval Academy To View Record of Excellence in Quality of Education and Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 20, 1966

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, April 6, there appeared in the Congressional Record a letter directed to Senator Randolph written by a plebe at the U.S. Naval Academy who is supercritical of the indoctrination system. Recently I received a letter from a midshipman who was obviously as annoyed with the talebearer as was the young man who resigned with the system itself. While I would like to insert this letter verbatim, it is suffice to summarize this young midshipman's views on the subject because it needs to be said in defense of a system which has turned out the best naval officers in the world since its beginning.

He directs his comments to the quality of education at the U.S. Naval Academy and points out that there have been 13 Fulbright scholarships awarded to members of the class of 1966 as well as 3 National Science Foundation scholarships and 3 Atomic Energy Commission scholarships. He further points out that in 1965 a Rhodes scholarship was awarded to a member of the graduating class and properly concludes that if the education is as inadequate as claimed, it defies the record of academic achievement attained by midshipmen.

As for the alleged atrocities, indignities, and inhuman infringements suffered by members of the plebe class, my correspondent suggests that it reflects ignorance of the situation as it exists here, and a complete void of understanding of the Academy as a military establishment.

Since I have been a Member of Congress, I have had the high honor and privilege to appoint 10 young men to the Naval Academy. None dropped out nor complained. Quite the contrary; I have had only the highest praise and reflection of pride in the Academy and its program from these young men. Those who have graduated have continued on in the performance of their military responsibilities in the highest tradition.

Northeast Airlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 20, 1966

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the following is the statement which I gave before the Civil Aeronautics Board this morning in behalf of Northeast Airlines:

> My constituency embraces East Boston which is the home of Northeast Airlines, and I appear here today to urge that Northeast, our New England airline and one of the major employers of persons in my district, receive a permanent certificate to operate south of New York City on the east coast Florida route, a route awarded to it, on a temporary basis, nearly 10 years ago.
>
> During this period, as the railroads have played a less and less influential role in our overall transportation life, New England has come to rely very heavily on these services provided by Northeast. Throughout this time, Northeast has constantly striven to offer the best service possible to New England. The original authorization to serve on the east coast Florida route enabled Northeast to introduce, for the first time, four-engine aircraft to service in New England. Now Northeast has proposed a further advance in the modernization of air services in New England—the introduction in all of its New England operations, of FH–227 turbo-jet aircraft. Additionally, on a seasonal basis, cities such as Bangor and Portland, and the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard will receive service with the most advanced pure jet aircraft available—the DC–9 and the Boeing 727.
>
> Moreover, Northeast proposes to provide New England with direct, same-plane service to the major centers on the middle Atlantic seaboard. The availability of such service is vital, not only for the stimulation and further development of the New England tourist industry, but also to enhance New England's attractiveness to new and expanding industries generally. New England's great success in developing tourism and attracting new industry in recent years has been due in no small measure to the availability of air services provided by Northeast. To deprive Northeast of the opportunity to maintain and improve these services—and I feel this would be the inevitable result of a failure to grant the certificate here sought—would be to deny New England air service comparable to that enjoyed by other regions of the country, to downgrade New England to a sort of second-class citizenship, and to place it at a severe disadvantage in competing with other areas for vacation business and new industry.
>
> Beyond this, the impact upon Northeast employees, and their families, of denial of a permanent certificate would be disastrous. The entire Boston metropolitan area would suffer—in the loss of substantial revenues from Northeast and in a deterioration of air service at Boston, particularly of Boston-Florida service which was once badly neglected, but which, through Northeast's pioneering efforts, now stands at a level commensurate with the significant community of interest between these two locales.

For Northeast, its stockholders and employees, for Boston and New England travelers generally, I urge that Northeast be awarded the permanent certificate it seeks in this proceeding.

Cigarette Smuggling—Support for Federal Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 20, 1966

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on March 30, 1966, I introduced H.R. 14153, a bill to amend the Jenkins Act to assist States in collecting sales and use taxes on cigarettes. My remarks in support of the legislation appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 30, 1966, on page 7307.

I am pleased to report that our colleagues, the Honorable SEYMOUR HALPERN, and the Honorable RICHARD OTTINGER, of New York, have introduced identical bills and that the Baltimore conference of the taxing authorities of 13 States, New York City, and the District of Columbia unanimously endorsed H.R. 14153 on April 15, 1966.

The practice of cigarette bootlegging results in the loss of approximately $50 million annually to the city and State of New York and affects other States as well as retail and wholesale tobacco dealers.

H.R. 14153 will not only put a stop to cigarette bootlegging and protect the revenue of States and cities but also put a speedy end to the efforts of the bootleggers to enlist high school students as salesmen of this contraband.

I have permission to insert in the RECORD at this point the exchange of correspondence with our former colleague, the distinguished mayor of the city of New York, the Honorable John V. Lindsay:

THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR,
New York, N.Y., April 14, 1966.

Hon. HERBERT TENZER,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR HERB: I was pleased to receive your letter of March 30, 1966, concerning the cigarette smuggling racket and wish to congratulate you on taking the initiative to close the loophole in the Jenkins Act which is costing the city and State of New York a total of $50 million annually. This is also a matter of great concern to other States, and every legitimate tobacco dealer, retail, and wholesale.

I realize from the material accompanying your letter that you are well versed on the problem. However, in case you have not seen it, I am enclosing an interesting and comprehensive report on bootlegging prepared by the Wholesale Tobacco Distributors of New York, Inc. It is the best summary available on the subject.

Your memorandum indicates that any person or firm selling or transferring in excess of 5,000 cigarettes would be required to file a report with the taxing authorities of the State into which the cigarettes are being transported. We are not sure whether the precise language of the bill will cover the following situation: A bootlegger purchases a quantity in excess of 5,000 cigarettes in North Carolina without indicating to the vendor the destination. He then transports them to New York State. Does he have to file a report with the taxing authorities of the State into which he transports the cigarettes? It would be helpful if the person transporting cigarettes into a State or causing them to be transported into a State be required to file a report under the Jenkins Act of (1) his intention to transport cigarettes into a State and (2) on not later than the 10th day of each month file reports of the number of cigarettes transported into the State during the preceding calendar month. It should be a violation to transport in excess of 5,000 cigarettes at any time prior to filing a notice of intention. The exceptions now set forth in the Jenkins Act covering licensed distributors would take care of legitimate transactions and keep them unencumbered.

We are grateful for your welcome interest in this problem and are anxious to provide you with whatever assistance you feel appropriate. We will help in anyway possible to assist you in bringing about the early enactment of critically needed legislation. We have every appropriate agency of the city working on the problem, but Federal legislation is a must if we are to be effective.

Regards.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN V. LINDSAY, *Mayor.*

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., April 20, 1966.

Hon. JOHN V. LINDSAY,
Mayor, City of New York,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR JOHN: Thank you for your reply to my letter relating to cigarette smuggling and for your kind comments about my bill, H.R. 14153, to amend the Jenkins Act to assist States in collecting sales and use taxes on cigarettes.

I believe that sections 2(a) and 3 cover the points raised in connection with requiring the cigarette bootlegger as well as the seller, to file a report with the taxing authorities of the State into which the cigarettes are transported. I would welcome any suggestions you may have for clarifying or strengthening the provisions of the bill.

You will be pleased to learn that Representatives RICHARD OTTINGER (25th District) and SEYMOUR HALPERN (6th District) of New York, have already introduced identical measures in the House, and I expect other Members will likewise express their interest in the legislation. I have urged the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee to schedule hearings on the bill during this session of Congress.

Your recognition that Federal legislation as well as effective State legislation is required to control the practice of cigarette smuggling is a realistic approach to the problem and I look forward to working with you to that end.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely,

HERBERT TENZER,
Member of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I am hopeful that my colleagues will review the situation with respect to the collection of sales and use taxes on cigarettes in their respective States and cities so that the loss in tax revenues resulting from cigarette smuggling may be minimized through the enactment of effective Federal legislation.

Address by Basil L. Whitener Member of Congress at Iredell County Democratic Rally

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 20, 1966

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, last weekend our colleague and good friend, the gentleman from North Carolina, the Honorable BASIL L. WHITENER, delivered the keynote address at the Iredell County, N.C., Democratic rally.

A contributor to and servant of the Democratic Party for most of his adult life, BASIL WHITENER is an appropriate and competent spokesman for the world's greatest political organization.

I know that other Members would be interested in his remarks to his fellow North Carolina Democrats last Saturday and I would like, at this point, to include the text of his speech in the RECORD.

ADDRESS BY BASIL L. WHITENER, MEMBER OF CONGRESS AT IREDELL COUNTY DEMOCRATIC RALLY, APRIL 16, 1966

It is a great pleasure for me to be here tonight and to have the honor and privilege to speak to such a splendid gathering of Iredell County Democrats. It is always a pleasure for me to be with those who share my pride in the many outstanding accomplishments of our great party and who work to retain Democratic leadership in our domestic and international affairs.

Democrats are friendly, aggressive, forward-looking people with a positive approach to the problems of their Nation and the events which have a profound effect upon our American way of life. Our party was founded upon the principles of democracy, constitutional government, and progress for every segment of our society.

Our first great Democratic President, Thomas Jefferson, was the first American President to give the average American a voice in the operation of his government. In so doing he kept our system from becoming a class society. He looms large in history as the foremost exponent of the rights and dignity of every American, regardless of race, color, creed, or station in life.

Twenty years after Thomas Jefferson left the White House another great leader of our party, Andrew Jackson, assumed the Office of the President. He extended and strengthened the people's control of Government.

Since the days of Andrew Jackson the right and power of the American people to control the economic, political, and social history of their Nation has not been questioned. Jefferson and Jackson were Democrats. If our party had made no other contribution to the Nation than Jefferson and Jackson, it has a brilliant record to endure for all time.

We are a party of progress within the framework of the Constitution of our forefathers. We were the first political party to realize that a dynamic and vigorous system cannot stand still. In the face of opposition and carping criticism from those who would like to return our country to the days of Grant, McKinley, and Harding, Democrats have dared to make a better America. We have been successful far beyond the dreams of Jefferson and Jackson.

We have not accepted poverty, hunger, sickness, fear, and the social, political, and economic conditions which these evils breed as the standard American way of life. We have not been afraid of the criticism of the party of stagnation; nor have we been intolerant of disagreement with the policies of our party from loyal Democrats.

As the party of all the people dedicated to the good of every American we cannot hope for unanimity in views and political philosophy on the part of every Democrat, whether a private citizen or an officeholder.

We have always debated among ourselves and from these debates and disagreements have come a stronger party, better equipped to cope with the problems of a nation whose people represent nearly every race, color, creed, national origin, and political philosophy.

The key to the strength of our party and to the success it has met down through the years has been that it is the political organization wherein every American can retain his individuality and yet exercise his rights of citizenship to the fullest extent.

For a few minutes tonight I want to talk about what the Democratic Party means to every American. We have a record of accomplishment in behalf of the American people which has stood the test of time. It is one of which each of us can be proud. It is a record that has been forged in the face of Republican criticism and obstructionism.

We do not need to manufacture issues to mislead the American people; nor must we resort to inflammatory statements containing half-truths, innuendoes, and the discussion of personalities. Our record speaks for itself.

It was the Democratic Party that served the United States under the great Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Under his leadership the American people were lifted out of the gloom and despair of the greatest depression the world has ever known. That depression was brought on by the mismanagement of the Nation's fiscal affairs during the administrations of Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert C. Hoover.

All of us who went through those dark days realize how close the United States came to economic collapse. I need not repeat the record of bank failures, the bankruptcies, the foreclosures on farms and homes, the default in the payment of private and public debts, the closing of plants, and the unemployment of millions which took place as a result of Republican mismanagement.

Let us instead turn to what a Democratic President did to give new hope to our people.

Roosevelt and a Democratic Congress enacted laws to protect the bank deposits of our people, to revive our farm economy, to bring electricity to the rural areas of our Nation, to provide loans to get the wheels of industry humming, to establish a minimum wage for our people, to set up social security for the wage earner and his dependents, and countless other laws of far-reaching significance to the future of our Nation.

I know of no Republican today who advocates the repeal of the Social Security Act, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Act, the Rural Electrification Act, the Small Business Act, the Farmers Home Loan Act, the Securities and Exchange Act, and the many other laws which form the bedrock of our prosperous and stable economy.

After Roosevelt came Harry S. Truman, who said that the record of the Democratic Party is blazed across the face of the Nation in a story of a better, healthier, happier life for the common people of America. Truman was criticized and vilified during his administration by those who did not understand his greatness and his dedication to his beloved America. His stand against communism in Greece, Italy, Turkey, and Korea will make him shine in the pages of American history as one of our great Presidents.

Republican candidates like to point with pride to the administration of Harry S. Truman's successor. They should examine the record of the Eisenhower administration, however, before becoming so enamored of it. Republican candidates say they represent the party of fiscal responsibility, a party of individualists. They say we are the spending party and the party whose officials are rubber stamps.

As the late Gov. Alfred E. Smith said, "Let us look at the record." The fiscal record of the administration of Harry S. Truman is a model of fiscal responsibility in contrast to the spending which took place under the 8 years of the Eisenhower administration. In 1947 Harry S. Truman had a budget surplus of $8,419 million.

In 1953, the first year of the Eisenhower administration, there was a deficit of $9,449 million. Federal Government receipts in that year were $64,671 million, and budget expenditures were $74,120 million. The first year, therefore, the Eisenhower administration produced a budget deficit unequaled in any peacetime year since 1789 to 1953.

More fiscal irresponsibility, however, was to follow. In 1959 Eisenhower's budget receipts were $67,915 million, and his budget expenditures were $80,342 million, or a staggering deficit of $12,427 million.

Nothing like this deficit has ever occurred in peacetime in the history of our Nation up to the present time. In fact, the 1953 deficit of $9,449 million was only excelled in peacetime by the Eisenhower deficit of $12,427 million in 1959. The "party of fiscal responsibility" produced the two greatest peacetime deficits in history.

The national debt under the last year of Harry S. Truman's administration was $259,151 million. Due to the fiscal irresponsibility of the Eisenhower administration the debt rose to $284,817 million in 1959. My friends, what does the Nation have to show for the Eisenhower spending? It is a question which baffles fiscal experts.

We have heard so much during the past several weeks from Republican candidates concerning the fiscal policies of the Nation that I think we should set the record straight regarding some of the things which these candidates have said about the national debt.

The United States has the greatest public debt in its history. I do not believe in the principle of a large national debt as I feel that it is a cause of inflation and tends to promote fiscal irresponsibility, regardless of what political party is in power.

I have supported the principle of a sound economy during my service in the Congress. I feel, however, that the American people should have the facts concerning the Eisenhower administration's position on the national debt and the relation of the debt during the Eisenhower years to our gross national product.

Our gross national product is our most effective barometer of economic progress. In the first year of the Eisenhower administration in 1953 we had a gross national product of $358.9 billion. Our Federal debt was $266.1 billion, or 74.1 percent of our gross national product for 1953.

In 1965 we had a gross national product of $648.7 billion and our public debt was only 49 percent of our gross national product for 1965.

It will be clearly seen, therefore, that the relation of our public debt to our gross national product has reversed itself from an unfavorable position under the Eisenhower administration to a favorable position under Democratic leadership.

Now, Republican candidates say that we Democrats load the Federal payroll with excessive Government employees. Let us look at the record in this respect. In 1953, an Eisenhower year, 16 out of every 1,000 Americans were on the Federal payroll. In 1965 only 13 Americans out of every 1,000 were employed by the Federal Government.

These figures indicate that with all of the various Federal Government programs now in existence we Democrats have placed less people on the Federal payroll per 1,000 population than was the case during the Eisenhower administration. At no time during the Eisenhower administration did Federal employment drop to less than 13 persons of every 1,000 Americans. Here again, my friends, the cold, hard, statistical facts debunk Republican half-truths.

Republican candidates for public office like to picture Democratic candidates and officeholders as rubber stamps. They would have the Amerian people believe that Democrats immediately give their stamp of approval to anything recommended by party leadership. This, of course, does not bear the light of impartial examination.

Let us examine the Republican record in the House of Representatives. In 1962, 99 percent of the Republican Members voted against the Food and Agriculture Act. The same year 81 percent of the Republican membership voted against college aid loans; 99 percent of the Republican membership voted against tax revision legislation; 89 percent of the Republican membership voted against aid to elderly, blind, and disabled persons.

In 1961, 90 percent of the Republican membership voted against the feed grains bill; 81 percent voted against raising the minimum wage; and 84 percent voted against the Housing Act. I ask you, is this indicative of independent voting by Republican Members of the House of Representatives?

Let us look at the record in the Senate. In 1962, 100 percent of the Republican Senators voted against the compromise farm bill; 97 percent of the Republican Senators voted against the Food and Agriculture Act; 85 percent of the Republican Senators voted against the Housing Act; and 86 percent of the Republican Senators voted against medical care for the aged. Again I ask you, are these examples of independent voting? Before Republican candidates talk about rubber stamps they should examine the voting records of their own Representatives and Senators in the Congress of the United States.

I know that the war in Vietnam occupies the attention of all Americans. It is a struggle to preserve the freedom and dignity of the people of southeast Asia from Communist enslavement and terrorism. The war in Vietnam should not be a political issue. I deplore the effort that the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives is making to inject the war into the political arena. The United States and the world have too much at stake to reduce our involvement in the struggle against communism to the arena of political debate.

Let me point out those candidates, however, who would attempt to label American efforts in southeast Asia as a Democratic venture, that it was President Eisenhower who first committed our country to the Vietnamese struggle. It is to General Eisenhower's credit that he still supports the American position in Vietnam.

Our Republican friends tell us how much they are interested in the welfare of North Carolina. They say that they can improve upon the magnificent record of stable and progressive government we have had under Democratic Governors since 1900.

I want to bring to your attention, however, one incident which I believe illustrates very vividly the fact that the Republican leadership has not been concerned with the economic well-being of North Carolina or, for that matter, the South. During my service in the Congress I have consistently supported action to protect the jobs and livelihood of our people from the effect that excessive foreign imports have on the industries in which they are employed.

The textile industry has been particularly hard hit through excessive imports. We were able to bring before the Congress a bill to eliminate the disastrous two-price cotton program under which American textile mills were at a competitive disadvantage by reason of cheap foreign textile imports. We had high hopes that this measure would be spared partisan politics.

When it came up in the House of Representatives, however, it was a source of great disappointment to all of our people, regardless of their political affiliation, to find that only 10 Republicans were willing to help solve the problem of excessive textile imports which had its origin during the Eisenhower administration.

I know many other instances where the Republican membership of the House of Representatives has deserted those of us who have labored for increased economic opportunity for our people and for the principle of constitutional government. I do not believe the American people will be fooled by the half-truths, innuendoes, and misstatements of fact to be made this year by Republican candidates.

Our party has given the Nation the highest standard of living of any country in the world. It has enabled us to overcome the shortcomings of space research in the Eisenhower administration and to become the leader in the science of astronautics.

Our party has stood firm in the face of Communist efforts to enslave the world. It has extended a helping hand to nations beset by famine, hunger, and disease.

The American people are aware of these facts, and I know that a majority of them will continue to give our party their support. Our people will examine the issues and will learn the facts. They will not be misled by Republican propaganda.

In conclusion, let me say that it has been a pleasure to be with you this evening. You have a great Democratic organization in Iredell County. I look forward to working with you in the election of Democrats for township, county, State, and national offices. You have a great Democratic team in Iredell County, and I know that the people of this great area of the State will give our Democratic candidates their support in November. Best wishes for every possible success.

Altoona Senior High School Band Wins Honors in Cherry Blossom Festival Parade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. IRVING WHALLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 20, 1966

Mr. WHALLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Altoona Senior High School Band of Altoona, Pa., has been awarded the first prize in band competition with bands of 75 and over in the 1966 Cherry Blossom Festival parade, held in Washington on Saturday, April 16.

It is a significant achievement to be selected as the No. 1 band since Altoona competed with top bands from all over the country.

The Altoona High School Band also won top honors in 1963, the last previous time they competed in the Cherry Blossom Festival parade.

We are very proud of the outstanding record of the Altoona Senior High School Band and want to commend Mr. John Monti, their very able director, the band members, the school administration and faculty, the parents, and all of the citizens of Altoona, who helped make the success possible.

We are honored to have the distinguished Altoona band in our 12th Congressional District and were pleased to help with the arrangements for the band's trip to Washington.

Old Problems, New Solutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 20, 1966

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, April 16, 1966, Secretary Robert C. Weaver of the Department of Housing and Urban Development delivered an inspiring address before the Cleveland chapter of the Americans for Democratic Action in which he outlined the demonstration cities program and its application to a large urban community like Cleveland. The remarks of Secretary Weaver were timely and set in motion vigorous local efforts to prepare for this vital program.

Following are the remarks of Secretary Weaver:

OLD PROBLEMS, NEW SOLUTIONS

(Address by Robert C. Weaver, Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, before the Cleveland chapter, Americans for Democratic Action, Cleveland, Ohio, Apr. 16, 1966)

Our urban society today is the most dynamic, diverse, and affluent that has yet been developed. Yet this same society is plagued with concentrations of poverty, deprivation, and denial for millions of its people.

Our cities are the source of unprecedented abundance and production. And they are also the centers of human, social, and economic waste. They can produce all that is needed for an unprecedented high standard of living for this Nation and others as well. Yet, behind the national records, millions of our own population do not have the basic essentials of life.

Something is amiss where plenty and poverty thrive side by side, where growth of culture is paralleled by growth of crime, where rising scholastic levels are matched by the rising numbers of dropouts.

This something must be corrected, lest our abundance be overwhelmed by waste, and lest poverty and denial devour or urban bounty.

We know the problems. We know the causes. We have the resources to correct them. We need the force of organized action to use them on a scale large enough, and in a manner inclusive enough, to rectify and reconcile these contradictions in our urban society. We need, too, a series of experiments and demonstrations to perfect approaches which will effectively combine resources and produce methods to achieve our aims.

President Johnson put the issue pointedly, when he said: "What is at stake is whether a free democratic society can attain well-being for the less fortunate as well as the more fortunate of its people—and whether it can make population growth and technological advance fruitful for all."

This is the issue. On its resolution rests the hope for a Great Society.

To create a truly democratic urban society, to bring its opportunities to all the people, we must have a far more encompassing approach to urban problems than any conceived in the past.

Up to now, we have dealt with our urban ills separately, one at a time. We have treated housing. We have treated disease. We have treated physical blight, crime, and so on. These have been largely one-shot actions to cope with special conditions.

They have not added up to full-scale war on the total urban situation, of which the war on poverty, the war on blight, and the war on crime are only parts. All of these are interrelated, and each feeds on the others.

Despite our efforts to improve our urban life, we still find families and individuals denied and deprived, living in substandard housing, unlettered and untrained, unable to find regular employment, or physically and mentally ill and uncared for. Many of them, in addition, are blocked from better opportunities and better areas by the castemark of color.

The President, a few months ago, spoke of the problems still unsolved, and of the inadequacy of the Federal response. He said, "The goals of major Federal programs have often lacked cohesiveness. Some work for the revitalization of the central city. Some accelerate suburban growth. Some unite urban communities. Some disrupt them."

We cannot afford any further disruptions. And while some of our programs have fallen short of our expectations, our sights for the city have also been raised. It is no longer enough to beef up a city's tax base, or to build architectural monuments, if this is all a city proposes to do. Unless we can honestly say that our programs have expanded opportunities for housing, for jobs, for recreation and education, unless we can honestly say that our programs are creating neighborhoods of which we can all be proud, then I say we are not doing our job.

And we are making it clear that old approaches, that stale thinking, and that mismanagement can no longer be tolerated. The goals we have set have evaded us for too long. It is simply not reasonable to assume, any longer, that the people trapped in the Harlems and the South Sides and the Houghs are going to be content with halfway measures. Nor can the Nation be contend with these glaring exceptions to general affluence.

If, at this point in time, you say we have a lot to learn, I can only agree. If you say progress toward our goals is too slow, I can only agree. But if you contend that we are not now prepared to move faster, and with momentum, then I disagree most heartily.

What we must now have, and what the President has offered us in his demonstration cities proposal, is the design for a full-scale war on urban problems across a broad front.

The demonstration cities idea is not merely an extension of something we have done before, it is a completely new strategy.

It is new in its magnitude. It is a broad-gage move against the manifold causes of urban blight and social failures. Its aim is the total improvement in the lives of 10 percent or more of the total community population, and a basic change in the whole community.

It is not just another kind of "project." The program would not be restricted to a limited area carved out of a large expanse of blight. It would take the whole areas of the city.

It is new in its inclusiveness. It begins with people, not structures. Physical improvement would support solutions to human problems.

These demonstrations would be aimed primarily at revitalizing residential areas. Most of the people who live there would remain. Their basic community institutions would be strengthened, not uprooted.

Social renewal—training the untrained, providing higher standards of health, education, and community living—would accompany physical improvement and rebuilding.

The demonstration program would be new in its effect on the whole community. It would avoid solutions for the selected area that merely create problems elsewhere. The community's total supply of good housing for low- and moderate-income families would have to be substantially increased. Health, education, and social assistance in the area would be vastly augmented and expanded. Innovation and new approaches to social problems would be encouraged.

The program would be new in achieving coordinated handling of local, State, and Federal aids used in the area. It would require unified direction by the locality in executing the plan. A Federal officer would be assigned, after the locality had completed its plan for action, to expedite Federal aids according to locally determined planning and scheduling.

Federal funds would finance 90 percent of the initial planning costs of these demonstration programs, but the planning would be done locally. To carry out these plans, the whole array of Federal assistance for human and physical improvement, as well as those of the State and locality, would be combined in concentrated form.

In addition to regular Federal program funds, special Federal grants, equal to 80 percent of the local share of the Federal programs involved, would be extended to demonstration areas. These grants would supplement normal grant-in-aid funds, and could be used for any purposes within the framework of the development plan.

What would such a demonstration undertaking involve?

It would involve housing. The housing would largely be geared to the income levels and needs of the people in the area. Most of this would be provided through improvement of existing housing, using rehabilitation loans and grants where needed. Also there would be write downs of property values to facilitate rehabilitation. It could also provide for low-income needs through locally owned public housing, new or rehabilitated, and private low-rent housing whose tenants would be aided by Federal rent supplements. Private housing at low rents could be provided under FHA's moderate-income housing program, and under programs for housing the elderly. Such housing could be built outside, as well as within the area, to offset the effects of any demolition or relocation needs in the community.

Here in Cleveland, you have already launched two programs which indicate that there are citizens willing to take the leadership for better communities. In Project Hope and the work of the Mount Pleasant Community Council, you can see something of the shape of the future. These programs were generated through close cooperation of Federal officials and local citizens, with the stanch support of Representative VANIK.

These housing programs are essential if the demonstration cities approach is to be successful. But the burden of the responsibility rests right here, not in Washington. We are willing to throw our full support into these vitally needed efforts, but we cannot initiate them at the local level.

The plan could also involve urban renewal, ranging from clearance, where necessary, to rehabilitation, code enforcement, and demolition assistance. It could include write downs of properties to be rehabilitated. Rehabilitation and conservation of housing and structures would predominate, reducing costs and keeping displacement of people to a minimum.

Schools, hospitals, neighborhood facilities for community health, and recreational centers, parks and open space, would be part of the plan. Public facilities—sewer, water, streets, and mass transportation—and public services, such as better police and fire protection could all be part of the program.

These activities deal largely with major physical facilities and services. Equally as basic, however, would be the programs for social and human betterment, designed to raise aspirations and help provide the skills and drive to realize those aspirations.

Today these programs for rebuilding lives have been greatly expanded, particularly under the recently enacted Great Society legislation. They cover a wide range of Federal grants-in-aid, relating to housing, health, education, welfare, antipoverty, employment, and environmental betterment.

They include manpower training, vocational education and rehabilitation and employment assistance. They embrace education for deprived children and supplementary educational assistance under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and the antipoverty community action programs, including the Job Corps and Headstart.

Multipurpose neighborhood centers would provide home management and family counseling, legal assistance, services for youth and the aging. Neighborhood health centers could provide diagnostic services and treatment, mental health programs, and programs to deal with drug addiction and alcoholism.

Finally, there is another critical aspect to rebuilding human aspirations. That is, the complete involvement of a neighborhood's citizens in the whole process. In the demonstration cities program, we are asking cities to insure that citizens participate fully in the development of the plan, so that they can be working usefully toward objectives of their own choosing. Of course there will have to be compromises between neighborhood objectives and citywide objectives, but that is what democracy is all about.

There will also have to be as full an involvement as possible of residents in the target area in the rebuilding itself. We have already learned that it is possible for people, once considered a drain upon society, to realize new and useful roles within the context of neighborhood renewal. This will be a major goal of the demonstration cities program.

It takes more than an investment of money alonge to infuse pride and hope into old, beaten neighborhoods. It takes an investment of time, and sweat and caring. But the potential returns are immense. I hope we will all see them soon, in the eyes of city children, happy and proud of their neighborhood, their school, and their city.

Here's how such a demonstration program might shape up in dollars and cents. The figures, though based on expenditure experience, are theoretical, since they do not apply to actual conditions in any specific community.

Let us assume we are dealing with a large city of 1.7 million population.

A demonstration target area in such a city might include about one-tenth of the population—175,000 people. The undertaking would be carried out over 5 years.

A large part of the area is one of neglect. Its housing, buildings, and facilities are run down and overcrowded. It has received only the minimum of municipal investment. Schools are old and inadequate. Park and recreational areas are few. Many of its residents are at or near the poverty level. Social service facilities are overburdened. Those who are better off and the businesses in the area find their own values and future declining.

Into this area a wide varied range of federally assisted activities are to be brought, matched by local and State services and assistance, under a basic plan.

Five-year total cost estimates in this example for federally assisted programs are set at $525 million. Of this, $237 million would go for capital improvements—housing, public works, renewal—in the area. Another $59 million would go for capital improvements outside the area—a hospital, mass transit, relocation housing—needed to support the area. The remaining $229 million would be used for public and social services for the people living in the target area.

The regular Federal share of this $525 million is estimated at $325 million under present programs. This leaves $200 million as the local share.

Under the demonstration cities program, however, the Federal Government would contribute an additional grant of 80 percent of this local share—amounting to $160 million.

This special grant would release $160 million in local funds that could then be used for any improvements and activities that contribute to the plan for reclaiming and improving the target area. These might be public improvements for which funds would not otherwise be available, subsidies to finance the rehabilitation of housing, and improved and increased municipal services for the area, such as garbage collection, police and fire protection, etc.

The local community would continue to spend at least as much in local funds, and in most cases more, than it would without the demonstration area. The special grant would make it possible to do much more in improving the area and helping the people that funds would otherwise permit.

The demonstration program is so-called because it is a new approach—something not yet tried. And it, in turn, demands new approaches, calling forth the full ingenuity of local municipal management. The communities of varying sizes, in many different locations would become a working laboratory for all of urban America. And as the experiment progresses and more lessons are learned, more such programs can be undertaken by the Nation's urban communities.

The demonstration cities program will offer what I think is an unprecedented opportunity to eliminate urban ghettoes.

For one thing, the blighted area itself will, through concerted and coordinated action, become a more desirable place in which to live. But obviously we cannot be content with reclaiming such areas without other actions. Such programs must proceed in tandem with simultaneous moves to open up housing occupancy to all potential customers throughout the whole metropolitan area. Housing choices must be maximized and this means not only making central city areas more attractive for any who wish to live there, but also insuring that suburban housing is available for those who can afford it, or, with subsidy, wish to live there.

We have done a great deal of physical renewal and rebuilding in our cities. We have done little toward large-scale human renewal. On that front we are only just beginning.

We must do both. And we must do them together, on a large scale. Our problem is not just one of wornout structures. It is also one of left-out people.

Rehabilitating structures and rehabilitating people are, of course, two different things. Five years can make a great physical change in a target area. The inner change in people is more gradual. But in this period, a demonstration undertaking can bring hope, opportunity, and a changed future outlook to most of the people who have been blocked off from the rest of the urban community. This is the turning point, and their road from then on is up, not down.

Most of the means to be used in carrying out a demonstration cities program are already known, and individually tested. But we have never yet tried to link them together in a massive effort to change the whole of a large segment of urban life.

There is no question that we can do it. The real question is whether we will do it. And this is the question that must be answered when the Congress acts on the demonstration cities bill of 1966.

SENATE

Thursday, April 21, 1966

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by Hon. Daniel K. Inouye, a Senator from the State of Hawaii.

Rev. Roger L. Fredrikson, pastor, First Baptist Church, Sioux Falls, S. Dak., offered the following prayer:

Our Father, we thank Thee for the mystery and grace of another day. Let us not despise the joys and sorrows, the love and laughter, the strength and weakness which may come to us in our labors. Help us to lay hold on every opportunity and responsibility during this day with gladness of heart.

Give us the faith and daring to trust Thee—the Eternal God of all our years—that we may neither stumble nor falter in these tragic yet wondrous times.

Bless these men and women who have been chosen to serve all our people in guiding our Nation. Grant them wisdom and courage in all the decisions that must be faced. Let them not hold back from the difficult or the right.

Loving Father, be near all those on land and sea and in the air who will face death on our behalf this day. Save us all from arrogance, indifference, weak resignation, and merely doing business as usual. Cleanse our motives and renew within us a right heart. By Thy Holy Spirit, make us sensitive and responsive to hungry, needy, and despairing folks who are at our mercy.

Most Holy Father, forgive us our sins and make us instruments of Thy mighty will that Thy kingdom may come in the hearts of men. In the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. Senate,
President pro tempore,
Washington, D.C., April 21, 1966.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. Daniel K. Inouye, a Senator from the State of Hawaii, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

Carl Hayden,
President pro tempore.

Mr. INOUYE thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Mansfield, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, April 20, 1966, was dispensed with.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consider executive business, for action on nominations.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

SUPPLEMENTAL PROTOCOL AMENDING CONVENTION WITH GREAT BRITAIN RELATING TO DOUBLE TAXATION—REMOVAL OF INJUNCTION OF SECRECY

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the injunction of secrecy be removed from Executive C, 89th Congress, 2d session, the supplementary protocol amending the convention with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, relating to double taxation, transmitted to the Senate today by the President of the United States; that the letter of transmittal and the protocol be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and that the President's message be printed in the Record.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The message from the President is as follows:

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the supplementary protocol, signed at London on March 17, 1966, between the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, amending the Convention for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion With Respect to Taxes on Income, signed at Washington on April 16, 1945, as modified by supplementary protocols signed at Washington on June 6, 1946, May 25, 1954, and August 9, 1957.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Secretary of State with respect to the supplementary protocol.

The existing income tax convention with the United Kingdom, like those with numerous other countries, is designed to eliminate as far as possible double taxation with respect to income, either by exemption in one or the other of the countries or by the application of the credit principle, or both. These conventions have been important elements in stabilizing business relations between the United States and various other countries. From time to time, it is necessary to consider amendments in existing tax conventions. The special need for amending the convention with the United Kingdom at this time arises from the fact that a corporation tax has been instituted as a major element of the British tax system by the United Kingdom Finance Act of 1965, applicable with respect to profits earned on or after April 6, 1964.

Except with respect to the general nondiscrimination provisions in article XXI of the convention with the United Kingdom, the convention does not affect the imposition or collection of taxes by the several States or the District of Columbia. As prescribed in article I, the U.S. taxes which are the subject of the convention are the Federal income taxes, including surtaxes.

The new supplementary protocol would effect substantive changes in the existing convention, the major changes being those in regard to the taxation of dividends, interest, royalties, and capital gains. In addition, improvements are made in the provisions relating to credits to be allowed by one of the countries for tax paid to the other country, mutual assistance in collection to prevent the relief granted by the convention from enuring to the benefit of persons not entitled thereto, reciprocal exchange of information necessary for carrying out the provisions of the convention and for the prevention of fraud, consultations for the purpose of avoiding double taxation in the event of taxpayer claims of taxation contrary to the provisions of the convention, and assurances of national treatment—nondiscrimination—to prevent a national of one of the countries resident in the other from being subjected to more burdensome taxes than a national of that other country resident therein.

The supplementary protocol, formulated as a result of technical discussions between representatives of this Government and representatives of the British Government, is approved by the Department of State and the Department of the Treasury.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the supplementary protocol.

Lyndon B. Johnson.

The White House, *April 21, 1966.*

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. MAGNUSON, from the Committee on Commerce:

James P. Brown, Jr., and sundry other persons, for permanent appointment in the Environmental Science Services Administration.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, from the Committee on Armed Services, I report favorably the nominations of 125 flag and general officers in the Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force.

I also report favorably 1,186 nominations in the Army in the grade of lieutenant colonel and below, and 1,658 nominations in the Air Force in the grade of captain and below.

I ask unanimous consent that these nominations be considered immediately and en bloc.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nominations will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Ralph S. Garrison, and sundry other officers, for temporary promotion in the Naval Reserve;

Maj. Gen. Richard L. Bohannon, Regular Air Force, for appointment as Surgeon General of the Air Force, in the grade of lieutenant general;

Brig. Gen. Philip H. Greasley, Regular Air Force, and sundry other officers, for temporary appointment in the U.S. Air Force;

Rear Adm. Rufus L. Taylor, U.S. Navy, for commands and other duties determined by the President;

Louis B. Robertshaw, and sundry other officers, for permanent appointment in the Marine Corps;

Franklin D. Besecker, for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States, in the grade of second lieutenant;

Arlo E. Abbott, and sundry other officers, for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States;

Harvey E. Cooper, and sundry other persons, for appointment in the Regular Air Force; and

Donald L. Coleman, and sundry other persons, for appointment in the Regular Air Force.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the nominations? The Chair hears none, and the nominations are confirmed en bloc.

If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will state the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Department of Justice.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

On request of Mr. Mansfield, and by unanimous consent, the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. Mansfield, and by unanimous consent, all Senate committees were authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of measures on the calendar, beginning with Calendar No. 1070, and that the succeeding items on the calendar be considered in sequence, with the exception of Calendar No. 1097.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SADIE Y. SIMMONS AND JAMES R. SIMMONS

The bill (H.R. 1903) for the relief of Mrs. Sadie Y. Simmons and James R. Simmons was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 1115), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of the proposed legislation is to pay $1,236.66 to Mrs. Sadie Y. Simmons and James R. Simmons in settlement of their claims against the United States for reimbursement of the amounts paid for hospital and medical costs incurred in connection with the last illness of their husband and father when, through delay and a failure by the Veterans' Administration to recognize the emergency involved in the veteran's illness, he had to be taken to a private hospital rather than a Veterans' Administration facility.

NATIONAL SCHOOL SAFETY PATROL WEEK

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 130) to provide for the designation of the week of May 8 to May 14, 1966, as "National School Safety Patrol Week" was announced as next in order.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I wish to express my gratitude to the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary and the minority leader for bringing Senate Joint Resolution 130 to the floor for consideration by the Senate. As author of the resolution I know I speak for its many cosponsors in urging its enactment and in this way provide appropriate recognition to the efforts of those who have been a part of the School Safety Patrol program.

The School Safety Patrol was conceived around 1916 and formally established by the Chicago Motor Club. It was then pioneered on a national scale in 1922 by the American Automobile Association. Since the inception of this program the traffic death rate of schoolchildren has dropped nearly one-half, while the death rate of other age groups has doubled.

What started as a local idea in Chicago has spread throughout the world. In the United States today over 900,000 boys and girls are serving in 40,000 schools protecting 19 million children, and some 156,000 patrol members are serving in 20 foreign countries. Since 1922 more than 16 million children have served as School Safety Patrol members safeguarding the lives of their fellow students. The School Safety Patrol program is an outstanding example of cooperation by school authorities, police departments and motor clubs affiliated with the American Automobile Association.

The lifesaving results of this program are worthy of great tribute. Each year the AAA presents gold lifesaver medals to those young patrol heroes who have actually saved the life of a schoolmate in traffic danger. Last year these awards were presented by President Johnson at a White House ceremony, and I point with great pride to one young citizen so honored. 13-year-old David Hrdlicka, of Bridgeport, Conn. David incurred injury to himself by pushing a group of children from the path of a skidding automobile—this type of courage and devotion to duty is typical of the youth who are members of the schoolboy patrol.

It is appropriate, Mr. President, that young David Hrdlicka and his thousands of school patrol companions be recognized by designating the week of May 8 to May 14, 1966, as "National School Safety Patrol Week." I urge the adoption of Senate Joint Resolution 130.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 1131), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of the joint resolution is to designate the week of May 8 through 14, 1966, as "National School Safety Patrol Week."

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of

America in Congress assembled, That the week of May 8 to May 14, 1966, is hereby designated as "National School Safety Patrol Week" and the President is requested to issue a proclamation calling upon all people of the United States for the observance of such a week with appropriate proceedings and ceremonies.

The preamble was agreed to.

SHEUNG WAN NG

The bill (S. 696) for the relief of Sheung Wan Ng was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 696

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Sheung Wan Ng shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of the date of the enactment of this Act, upon payment of the required visa fee. Upon the granting of permanent residence to such alien as provided for in this Act, the Secretary of State shall instruct the proper quota-control officer to deduct one number from the appropriate quota for the first year that such quota is available.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1104), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Sheung Wan Ng. The bill provides for an appropriate quota deduction and for the payment of the required visa fee.

VICTOR ABADI

The bill (S. 1187) for the relief of Victor Abadi was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 1187

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Victor Abadi may be naturalized upon compliance with all of the requirements of title III of the Immigration and Nationality Act, except that no period of residence or physical presence within the United States or any State shall be required, in addition to his residence and physical presence within the United States since October 1, 1960.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1105), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization.

SIXTO M. PAGARAN

The bill (S. 2063) for the relief of Sixto M. Pagaran was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 2063

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Sixto M. Pagaran shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of the date of the enactment of this Act, upon payment of the required visa fee. Upon the granting of permanent residence to such alien as provided for in this Act, the Secretary of State shall instruct the proper quota-control officer to deduct one number from the appropriate quota for the first year that such quota is available.

SEC. 2. The period of honorable service in the United States Army by the said Sixto M. Pagaran from May 22, 1946, to April 30, 1949, shall be held and considered to meet the requirements of section 328 of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1106), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Sixto M. Pagaran. The bill provides for an appropriate quota deduction and for the payment of the required visa fee.

JOSE E. DE LA TORRIENTE

The bill (S. 2164) for the relief of Jose E. de la Torriente was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Jose E. de la Torriente shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of February 3, 1960.

SEC. 2. The periods of time the said Jose E. de la Torriente has resided in the United States since February 3, 1960, shall be held and considered to meet the residence and physical presence requirements of section 316 of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1108), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. JORGE G. ECHENIQUE

The bill (S. 2348) for the relief of Dr. Jorge G. Echenique was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Jorge G. Echenique shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of April 1, 1961.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. MARIO PRESMAN

The bill (S. 2376) for the relief of Dr. Mario Presman was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Mario Presman shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of January 7, 1961.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. CESAR A. MENA

The bill (S. 2377) for the relief of Dr. Cesar A. Mena was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Cesar A. Mena shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of September 11, 1960.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1111), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. Cesar A. Mena as of September 11, 1960, the date on which he was previously admitted as a nonimmigrant. The beneficiary has been lawfully admitted for permanent residence, and therefore the bill makes no provision for payment of the required visa fee.

CARLOS J. ARBOLEYA

The bill (S. 2446) for the relief of Carlos J. Arboleya was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Carlos J. Arboleya shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of October 31, 1960.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. ARTURO VICTOR FAJARDO-CARPIO

The bill (S. 2447) for the relief of Dr. Arturo Victor Fajardo-Carpio was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Arturo Victor Fajardo-Carpio shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of December 7, 1960.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record, an excerpt from the report (No. 1113), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization.

DR. ARGYRIOS A. TSIFUTIS

The bill (S. 2626) for the relief of Dr. Argyrios A. Tsifutis was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Argyrios A. Tsifutis shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of June 25, 1956, and the periods of time that the said Doctor Argyrios A. Tsifutis has resided in the United States since that time shall be held and considered to meet the residence and physical presence requirements of section 316 of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 1114), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. Argyrios A. Tsifutis, and to provide that his residence and physical presence in the United States since that time shall meet the requirements of section 316 of the Immigration and Nationality Act. Inasmuch as the beneficiary has been lawfully admitted for permanent residence, no provision is made for the payment of the required visa fee or for the deduction of a quota number.

EILEEN IRIS PUNNETT

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 776) for the relief of Eileen Iris Punnett which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment, in line 7, after the word "fee:", to strike out "Upon the granting of permanent residence to such alien as provided for in this Act, the Secretary of State shall instruct the proper quota control officer to deduct one number from the appropriate quota for the first year that such quota is available" and, in lieu thereof to insert "*Provided,* That a suitable and proper bond or undertaking, approved by the Attorney General, be deposited as prescribed by section 213 of the said Act"; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Eileen Iris Punnett shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of the date of the enactment of this Act, upon payment of the required visa fee: *Provided,* That a suitable and proper bond or undertaking, approved by the Attorney General, be deposited as prescribed by section 213 of the said Act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 1116), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Eileen Iris Punnett. The bill provides for the payment of the required visa fee. The bill has been amended at the suggestion of the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization to delete the quota charge and to provide for the posting of a bond as a guarantee that the beneficiary will not become a public charge, since she had suffered several attacks of insanity.

MARIA KRYJANOVSKAJA

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1663) for the relief of Maria Kryjanovskaja which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment in line 4, after the word "of", where it appears the first time, to strike out "section 312" and insert "section 312(1)"; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, the provisions of section 312(1) of such Act shall be deemed not to be applicable in the case of Maria Kryjanovskaja.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 1117), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to provide for an exemption of the literacy requirements of section 312(1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act in behalf of Maria Kryjanovskaja, thus enabling her to proceed to naturalization. The bill has been amended to limit the exemption to paragraph 1, since the beneficiary has acquired a sufficient knowledge and understanding of the fundamentals of the history and of the principles and the form of government of the United States.

DR. JOSE JOAQUIN DIAZ FRANQUIZ

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2106) for the relief of Dr. Jose Joaquin Diaz Franquiz, which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Jose Joaquin Diaz Franquiz shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of September 7, 1961.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 1118), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization. The bill has been amended to date the beneficiary's residence back to the time when he, his wife, and two children were paroled into the United States.

ANDREW LORIZ

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2107) which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Andrew Loriz shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of November 16, 1961.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1119), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Andrew Loriz as of November 16, 1961. The bill does not provide for the deduction of a quota number or for the payment of the required visa fee, inasmuch as the beneficiary is a native of Cuba and has previously been lawfully admitted for permanent residence. The bill has been amended in accordance with established precedents.

DR. OLIBIO S. RODRIGUEZ-EIRAS

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2109) for the relief of Dr. Olibio S. Rodriguez-Eiras which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Olibio S. Rodriguez-Eiras shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of September 6, 1961.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1120), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. Olibio S. Rodriguez-Eiras as of September 6, 1961, the date on which he was paroled into the United States. The bill does not provide for a quota charge or for payment of the required visa fee, inasmuch as the beneficiary was admitted to the United States for permanent residence as a nonquota immigrant. The bill has been amended in accordance with established precedents.

ELSIAN THOMAS

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2450) for the relief of Elsian Thomas which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with an amendment in line 7, after the word "fee.", to strike out "Upon the granting of permanent residence to such alien as provided for in this Act, the Secretary of State shall instruct the proper quota control officer to deduct one number from the appropriate quota for the first year that such quota is available."; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Elsian Thomas shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of the date of the enactment of this Act, upon payment of the required visa fee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1121), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Elsian Thomas. The bill provides for the payment of the required visa fee. The bill has been amended to delete reference to a quota charge, inasmuch as the beneficiary is not subject to a numerical limitation as a native of Jamaica as provided for in Public Law 89-236.

MARGARET LEE WEIL

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2451) for the relief of Margaret Lee Weil which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended, the provisions of section 101(b)(1)(F) and section 204 shall be available to Margaret Lee Weil for a period of three years from the effective date of this Act, notwithstanding the fact that the said Margaret Lee Weil is a single person.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to place Margaret Lee Weil, who is unmarried, within the purview of section 101(b)(1)(F) and section 204 of the Immigration and Nationality Act for a period of 3 years from the date of its enactment, thereby enabling her to file petitions in behalf of two orphans. The purpose of the amendment is to perfect the language of the bill.

SISTER MARY CECILIA

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2519) for the relief of Sister Mary Cecilia (Leonie Esquivel) which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with an amendment at the beginning of line 8, to insert "Upon the granting of permanent residence to such alien as provided for in this Act, the Secretary of State shall instruct the proper quota-control officer to deduct one number from the appropriate quota for the first year that such quota is available."; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Sister Mary Cecilia (Leonie Esquivel) shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of the date of the enactment of this Act, upon payment of the required visa fee. Upon the granting of permanent residence to such alien as provided for in this Act, the Secretary of State shall instruct the proper quota-control officer to deduct one number from the appropriate quota for the first year that such quota is available.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1123), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Sister Mary Cecilia (Leonie Esquivel). The bill has been amended to provide for an appropriate quota deduction.

DR. EZZAT N. ASAAD

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2738) for the relief of Dr. Ezzat N. Asaad which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with an amendment in line 6, after the word "March", to strike out "13" and insert "11"; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Ezzat N. Asaad shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of March 11, 1958, and the periods of time he has resided in the United States since that date shall be held and considered to meet the residence and physical presence requirements of section 316 of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1124), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. Ezzat N. Asaad as of March 11, 1958, and to provide that his residence and physical presence in the United States since that date shall meet the requirements of section 316 of the Immigration and

Nationality Act. The purpose of the amendment is to correct the beneficary's date of admission.

DR. BLANCHE L. ASAAD

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2739) for the relief of Dr. Blanche L. Asaad which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with an amendment in line 6, after the word "October", to strike out "18" and insert "16"; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Blanche L. Asaad shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of October 16, 1958, and the periods of time she has resided in the United States since that date shall be held and considered to meet the residence and physical presence requirements of section 316 of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Dr. Blanche L. Asaad as of October 16, 1958, and to provide that her residence and physical presence in the United States since that date shall meet the requirements of section 316 of the Immigration and Nationality Act. The purpose of the amendment is to correct the beneficiary's date of admission.

YOU I SOUK

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2750) for the relief of You I Souk which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended, section 204(c) relating to the number of petitions which may be approved in behalf of orphans, shall be inapplicable in the case of a petition filed in behalf of You I Souk by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Busalacchi, citizens of the United States.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to facilitate the entry into the United States in an immediate relative status of an orphan to be adopted by citizens of the United States, notwithstanding the fact that the prospective adoptive parents have previously had two petitions approved in behalf of orphans. The bill has been amended in accordance with established precedents and to conform the language to the new provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

DR. ALBERTO OTEIZA

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2789) for the relief of Dr. Alberto Oteiza which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with an amendment in line 6, after "October 1,", to strike out "1960, upon payment of the required visa fee" and insert "1960"; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Alberto Oteiza shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of October 1, 1960.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1127), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization. The bill has been amended to delete reference to a visa fee, inasmuch as the beneficiary was admitted to the United States for permanent residence on January 12, 1966, at which time he paid the required visa fee.

GEORGE A. VOLSKY

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2457) which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with an amendment in line 4, after the word "Act", to strike out "George A. Volsky" and insert "Jorge Ajbuszyc Volsky"; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Jorge Ajbuszyc Volsky shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of May 22, 1961.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended, so as to read: "A bill for the relief of Jorge Ajbuszyc Volsky."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1128), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization. The bill has been amended in accordance with the suggestion made by the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization to reflect the beneficiary's correct name.

DR. GUILLERMO ANIDO Y FRAGUIO

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2497) which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Guillermo Anido y Fraguio shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residences as of May 22, 1961.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended, so as to read: "A bill for the relief of Doctor Guillermo Anido y Fraguio."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to enable the beneficiary to file a petition for naturalization. The bill has been amended in accordance with established precedents.

KIM KIN SOON

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2555) which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with amendments in line 4, after the word "section", to strike out "205(c)" and insert "204(c)", and in line 5, after the word "of", to strike out "eligible"; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, section 204(c), relating to the number of petitions which may be approved in behalf of orphans, shall be inapplicable in the case of a petition filed in behalf of Kim Kin Soon by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Johnstone, citizens of the United States.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to facilitate the entry into the United States in an immediate relative status of an orphan to be adopted by citizens of the United States, notwithstanding the fact that the prospective adoptive parents have previously had the maximum number of petitions approved. The bill has been amended to conform the language to the new provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

EUGENE SIDNEY MARKOVITZ

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2163) for the relief of Seaman Eugene Sidney Markovitz, U.S. Navy, which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with an amendment on page 1, line 6, after the word "of", to strike out "$4,452.13" and insert "$3,067.63"; so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Seaman Eugene Sidney Markovitz the sum of $3,067.63 representing compensation for the loss of his household goods and personal effects which were destroyed by fire while stored at the Guardian Van and Storage Company, San Diego, California, following the expiration of his authorized period of temporary storage at Government expense, but during a period the said Seaman Eugene Sidney Markovitz was entitled to additional storage at Government expense, although he was unable to make arrangements for such storage because of frequent movements in connection with his military service: *Provided,* That no part of the amount appropriated in this Act in excess of 10 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1132), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to direct and authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Seaman Eugene Sidney Markovitz, U.S. Navy, the sum of $3,067.63, representing compensation for the loss of his household goods and personal effects which were destroyed by fire while stored at the Guardian Van & Storage Co., San Diego, Calif., following the expiration of his authorized period of temporary storage at Government expense.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, that concludes the call of the calendar.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT ACT OF 1966

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. 2934, and that it be laid before the Senate and made the pending business.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 2934) to provide needed additional means for the residents of rural America to achieve equality of opportunity by authorizing the making of grants for comprehensive planning for public services and development in community development districts designated by the Secretary of Agriculture.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That this Act may be cited as the "Community Development District Act of 1966".

SEC. 2. It is the purpose of this Act (1) to provide the means for more equitable participation by rural residents in coordinated planning activities and decisions; (2) to increase efficiency in the use of resources; (3) to provide full representation of smaller governmental units in the planning activities and decisions which affect their residents, so that existing and future programs can be made more effective in providing in rural America equality of opportunity; (4) to improve the relationships between and the welfare of both urban and rural people; and (5) to facilitate the cooperation among all Federal, State, and local agencies in establishing community development districts to better coordinate the planning of programs to improve rural life.

SEC. 3. The Secretary of Agriculture, after consulting with the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, may approve as a community development district (hereafter called "district") for the purpose of this Act any area that has been so designated by the State agency specified by the Governor or legislature of the State, or in the absence of such designation any other area: *Provided,* That no district shall be approved under this section unless (1) local units of government participating in such district have requested the Secretary of Agriculture to approve the area as a community development district; (2) the State agency having supervisory responsibility under State law has received forty-five days notice of the intention to approve such district, and has not disfavored such approval; (3) except in the case of a district designated by the State agency specified by the Governor or legislature of the State or in the case of a district in existence on the date of enactment of this Act, the district does not include any area of any county unless the entire area of the county is included. Such district shall encompass as nearly as feasible the area which includes at least one service center and the surrounding territory within convenient commuting distance thereof, and any additional territory from which the residents beyond convenient commuting distance depend on such center as their central source of goods and services. "Convenient commuting distance" means the distance and direction within which residents carry on their day-to-day commercial, vocational, public service, social, and cultural pursuits.

SEC. 4. (a) In order to qualify for approval by the Secretary of Agriculture, a community development district board (hereafter called "board") shall have been organized in the district and empowered to establish and direct a community development district planning agency (hereafter called "planning agency"). Members of the board shall be elected by the governing bodies of the particpating governments, and shall be responsible to the respective governing bodies by which they are elected. Representation on the board shall be so established that all citizens residing within the district can be represented on the board through action of a government in which jurisdiction they reside.

(b) "Participating" governments as used in this Act means those counties and municipalities which have authorized by official action of their governing bodies representation on the board and participation in the functions of the board. If such participating governments see fit to include in the charter or bylaws of the district provision for participation by additional public bodies, such additional public bodies shall be participating governments for all purposes of this Act after their governing bodies have by official action authorized representation on the board and participation in the function of the board.

SEC. 5. Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954, as amended, is amended by adding thereto the following:

"(h) Notwithstanding any other provisions of this section, grants may be made by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development with the concurrence of the State within which the district is located to the planning agency of any community development district when such grants are approved by the Secretary of Agriculture under the Community Development District Act of 1966 for comprehensive planning as defined in this section, but including planning for all needs of the district in accordance with said Community Development District Act. Such grants shall be in the amounts certified by the Secretary of Agriculture, as follows:

"(1) not to exceed 75 per centum of the cost of salaries and expenses of the professional staff required for community development, district program development planning, and for other planning of public services and other functions of the participating governments for which Federal planning grants are not otherwise available; but in no event shall any grant under this paragraph be based on costs serving as a basis for any other Federal planning grant.

"(2) planning incentive grants in an amount not to exceed 10 per centum of the amount of other Federal grants for planning purposes extended within the district.

"Grants provided under this subsection to the planning agency may be paid in whole or in part to participating governments or to States for the use of the State or, the planning agency or both where this will facilitate the planning for the district.

"For purposes of this subsection comprehensive planning may also include the undertaking of coordinated planning for public services and for all other local governmental functions."

SEC. 6. The Administrator of any Federal assistance program having a requirement for planning as a condition of loan or grant assistance shall, before approval of such assistance, give consideration to the plans for the applicable district.

SEC. 7. The Secretary of Agriculture shall require, as a condition of extending planning assistance, that the Board agree to give consideration to all other plans prepared under other federally assisted programs affecting the district.

SEC. 8. Any agencies of the United States authorized to make grants, loans, or other assistance shall accord due and appropriate consideration to requests for assistance to carry out plans of districts. Upon request of a board, the Secretary of Agriculture may provide technical advice to applicants for such assistance in the development and implementation of plans provided for in this Act.

SEC. 9. (a) The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to delegate to the heads of other departments and agencies of the Federal Government such of his functions, powers, and duties under this Act as he may deem appropriate, and to authorize the redelegation of such functions, powers, and duties by the heads of such departments and agencies.

(b) Departments and agencies of the Federal Government shall exercise their powers, duties, and functions in such manner as will, to the maximum extent permitted by other applicable laws, assist in carrying out the objectives of this Act.

SEC. 10. The planning staff employed by the district shall prepare or revise annually a detailed study for the district describing the Federal programs of aid or assistance in economic or social development that the district is eligible for, together with the criteria, standards, or other conditions that the district must meet to avail itself of such Federal programs.

SEC. 11. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, there will be no action taken on the bill today, but it will be the pending business when the Senate reconvenes on Monday, April 25, 1966.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY, APRIL 25, 1966

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Monday, April 25, 1966.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AUTHORIZATION FOR SECRETARY OF THE SENATE TO RECEIVE MESSAGES, FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT OR PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE TO SIGN BILLS, AND FOR COMMITTEES TO FILE REPORTS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that during the adjournment of the Senate, from today until noon on Monday next, that the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to receive messages from the President of the United States and from the House of Representatives, and that the Vice President or the President pro tempore be authorized to sign duly enrolled bills, and that committees of the Senate be authorized to file reports.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING THE TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, statements during the transaction of routine morning business were ordered limited to 3 minutes.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following communication and letters, which were referred as indicated:

PARTICIPATION SALES ACT OF 1966

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to promote private financing of credit needs and to provide for an efficient and orderly method of liquidating financial assets held by Federal credit agencies, and for other purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

REPORT ON OFFICERS ASSIGNED OR DETAILED TO PERMANENT DUTY AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT

A letter from the Secretary of the Air Force, reporting, pursuant to law, that as of March 31, 1966, there was an aggregate of 2,231 officers assigned or detailed to permanent duty in the executive part of the Department of the Air Force at the seat of Government; to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT ON DEFENSE PROCUREMENT FROM SMALL AND OTHER BUSINESS FIRMS

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics), transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on defense procurement from small and other business firms, for the period July 1965–February 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

DRAFTS OF PROPOSED LEGISLATION FROM SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting two drafts of proposed legislation, as follows:

A bill to establish minimum standards for passenger vessels and to require disclosure of construction details on passenger vessels; and

A bill to repeal the laws authorizing limitation of shipowners' liability for personal injury or death, to require evidence of adequate financial responsibility to pay judgments for personal injury or death, or to repay fares in the event of nonperformance of voyages, and for other purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Commerce.

REPORTS ON FOREIGN CURRENCIES IN THE CUSTODY OF THE UNITED STATES AND BALANCES OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES ACQUIRED WITHOUT PAYMENT OF DOLLARS

A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on foreign currencies in the custody of the United States, for the period July 1, 1965, through December 31, 1965, and a semiannual consolidated report of balances of foreign currencies acquired without payment of dollars, as of December 31, 1965 (with accompanying reports); to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR OF GUAM

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the Governor of Guam, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1965 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE OF THE U.S. COURTS

A letter from the Director, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, his report, for the fiscal year 1965 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORT OF BOARD OF ACTUARIES OF THE CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT SYSTEM

A letter from the Chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the Board of Actuaries of the Civil Service Retirement System, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1964 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

DESECRATION OF THE FLAG—PETITION

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the petition of Alice M. Mahoney and Joseph Mahoney, of Yonkers, N.Y., praying for the enactment of Senate bill 3207, to prohibit the desecration of the flag of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. SYMINGTON, from the Committee on Armed Services, without amendment:

H.R. 13369. An act to authorize the disposal of molybdenum from the national stockpile (Rept. No. 1133).

By Mr. JACKSON, from the Committee on Armed Services, with amendments:

S. 2421. A bill to make retrocession to the State of Washington of jurisdiction over lands comprising the Fort Canby-Cape Disappointment area near the mouth of the Columbia River (Rept. No. 1134).

INCREASE IN ANNUITIES PAYABLE FROM DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA TEACHERS' RETIREMENT AND ANNUITY FUND—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE—ADDITIONAL VIEWS (S. REPT. NO. 1135)

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, I report favorably, with amendments, the bill—H.R. 11439—to provide for an increase in the annuities payable from the District of Columbia teachers' retirement and annuity fund, to revise the method of determining the cost-of-living increases in such annuities, and for other purposes, and I submit a report thereon. I ask unanimous consent that the report be printed together with the additional views of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK].

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The report will be received, and the bill will be placed on the calendar; and, without objection, the report will be printed, as requested by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE].

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. BARTLETT:

S. 3255. A bill to provide needed additional means for the residents of communities and rural areas of Alaska to achieve equality of opportunity by authorizing the provision of technical services and the making of grants and loans for comprehensive plannnig for, and aid in the provision of, public services, public facilities, and housing; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. YOUNG of Ohio (by request):

S. 3256. A bill to authorize the Postmaster General to construct buildings for postal purposes, to acquire title to real property therefor, to repair, alter, preserve, renovate, improve, extend, and equip such buildings; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. MAGNUSON (for himself and Mr. JACKSON):

S. 3257. A bill for the relief of certain employees of the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SYMINGTON:

S. 3258. A bill for the relief of Deniz Hikmet Sen Manes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TALMADGE:

S. 3259. A bill for the relief of Capt. Walker C. McGraw, U.S. Army; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 3260. A bill to amend section 101(b)(2)(A) of the Internal Revenue Code to exclude from the limitation imposed on amounts of death benefits those benefits paid pursuant to a State or municipal death benefit program; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. MUSKIE:

S. 3261. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands in the State of Maine to the Mount Desert Island Regional School District; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. MUSKIE when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 3262. A bill to amend section 110(e) of the Housing Act of 1949; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. TYDINGS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. EASTLAND:

S. 3263. A bill to authorize an additional 41,000 miles for the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways; to the Committee on Public Works.

(See the remarks of Mr. EASTLAND when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BREWSTER:

S. 3264. A bill to provide that the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency shall not undertake certain projects to improve or expand Federal airports without specific authorization for such projects; and

S. 3265. A bill to transfer certain administrative responsibility for the operation of Washington National Airport and Dulles International Airport from the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency to a Washington Airports Board, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. BREWSTER when he introduced the above bills, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. FONG:

S. 3266. A bill for the relief of Naomi Kabua (also known as Naomi Jerues); and

S. 3267. A bill for the relief of Chiu Ping Soong; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOUGLAS:

S.J. Res. 156. Joint resolution to authorize the President of the United States to proclaim August 28, 1966, as Polish Millennium Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. DOUGLAS when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

REQUEST FOR SUBMISSION OF NEW BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 1967

Mr. DIRKSEN submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 87); which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That in view of the clear and present danger represented by the mounting inflationary forces active in the Nation's economy, the administration be and hereby is requested to prepare and submit promptly to the Congress a new budget for fiscal 1967 which reflects a valid surplus achieved by postponing or eliminating nondefense expenditures.

CONVEYANCE OF CERTAIN LAND TO MOUNT DESERT ISLAND REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT, MAINE

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands in the State of Maine to the Mount Desert Island Regional School District.

Some years prior to his death Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., offered to the four towns of Mount Desert Island certain property which he owned on Mount Desert Island provided the towns would use the property for the site of a central high school. Unsuccessful attempts were made to bring about a consolidation of the schools on Mount Desert. It was only in 1965 that a favorable majority of the annual town meetings of the four towns voted to incorporate as a school district. However, the land previously offered by Mr. Rockefeller to the towns had been bequeathed in 1960 to the National Park Service.

I believe it is only fitting that the parcel of land originally intended for a consolidated high school be transferred to the Mount Desert Island Regional School District at this time.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3261) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands in the State of Maine to the Mount Desert Island Regional School District, introduced by Mr. MUSKIE, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

AMENDMENT OF SECTION 110(e) OF HOUSING ACT OF 1949

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, on behalf of my colleague, the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER] and myself, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to encourage the rebuilding of our cities by providing a more equitable apportionment between the Federal and State governments of the costs of certain urban renewal projects.

The bill provides that cities not now eligible to do so can include as part of their share of urban renewal costs some of the taxes temporarily lost through urban renewal and certain costs directly attributable to providing site management and relocation services to families, businesses, and nonprofit corporations which must be relocated as part of an urban renewal program.

The Housing Act now provides alternative formulas for financing urban renewal projects. Under the regular financing formula, a city receives Federal reimbursement for two-thirds of all costs related to the renewal project, including indirect and overhead expenses. Under the alternate financing formula, a city receives reimbursement for three-fourths of project expenses in the nature of land acquisition, demolition, and project improvements, but does not receive any reimbursement from the Federal Government for the planning, salary, administrative, relocation, and other costs, even though they are directly attributable to the urban renewal project.

The alternate three-fourths financing formula is advantageous to the Federal Government and to the cities, because the simplified Federal audit and review procedure it requires results in substantial time and cost savings to the Federal Government and to the cities in carrying out an urban renewal project.

A number of cities, including Baltimore, have elected the three-fourths financing formula for one or more urban renewal programs. I am informed that some of the other cities are St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn.; Springfield, Mass.; Covington and Louisville, Ky.; New Orleans, La.; Hartford, Meriden, and Bridgeport, Conn.; Honolulu, Hawaii; Columbus, Cincinnati, and Cleveland, Ohio; Portland, Maine; South Bend, Ind.; Harrisburg and York, Pa.; Rochester, White Plains, and Buffalo, N.Y.; Alexandria, Va.; and Chicago and Springfield, Ill.

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 made certain adjustments to the three-fourths reimbursement formula to accommodate cities which had rehabilitation, rather than demolition, of existing structures as their primary renewal thrust. The 1965 act provides that staff services connected with programs of building code enforcement and voluntary rehabilitation and repair are includible in the three-fourths financing formula.

However, certain costs incurred by a city using the three-fourths financing formula still are not reimbursable items under the Housing Act, even though they represent direct costs attributable to urban renewal projects. One of these is the cost of taxes lost in clearance projects from the time of the renewal authority's acquisition of the property until it is sold as cleared land.

Most cities are increasingly dependent on real estate taxes. Any loss in the tax base hurts, even if it is temporary. Even cities which are making the strongest efforts to shorten the time period between acquisition of the land and its resale are nonetheless unable to eliminate the tax loss entirely. The great importance of real tax as a revenue source to most of our cities argues strongly for a credit for the temporary loss of such taxes in carrying out renewal projects under the three-fourths formula as well as under the regular financing formula. The bill I introduce today would accomplish this purpose.

The second major unreimbursed cost being incurred by localities which elect the three-fourths financing formula, but which is reimbursable in the case of cities electing the regular financing formula, is the direct project cost of relocation and site management services to families, businesses, and nonprofit corporations which must be relocated as a result of urban renewal programs. These are costs the city incurs once it condemns property for urban renewal. Condemnation, of course, is not immediately followed by demolition and reconstruction. There is an interim period during which the city must manage the property, collect its rents, and help relocate the business or family occupying the property.

In addition, growing recognition of the hardships persons often face as the result of displacement in urban renewal projects highlights the need for the provision of adequate relocation services. This responsibility is particularly crucial in the relocation of residents of low income, who often have problems of unemployment, education, poverty, and the many other problems related to dependency and economic deprivation. Rehousing these persons is a difficult and trying chore in any case. However, failure to resolve these social problems spreads the conditions of physical blight to the areas where these people are relocated and weakens efforts to prevent the recurrence of blight in the project area itself. The costs of these relocation services are not presently reimbursable under the three-fourths formula.

Moreover, the processing of moving expense claims has become more complicated. Relocation adjustment payments and small business displacement payments were included in the Housing Act of 1964. Processing these additional payments to eligible relocatees costs local public renewal agencies considerable staff expense. Such costs are not presently reimbursable under the three-fourths financing formula.

In light of the benefits to both city and the Federal Government in cases where the three-fourths financing formula is adopted, I think that the costs incurred by such cities in relocation and site management expenses directly attributable to urban renewal projects should be reimbursable under both formulas of the Housing Act. The bill I introduce today provides for such reimbursement.

To Baltimore, enactment of this bill would mean a saving of $87,500 at the current annual level of relocation services and substantial savings on tax losses in future renewal projects.

I am confident that the Housing Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee of the Senate will give appropriate consideration to this bill, and hope that it will include it in the Omnibus Housing Act of 1966.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3262) to amend section 110(e) of the Housing Act of 1949, introduced by Mr. TYDINGS, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

INTERSTATE HIGHWAY SYSTEM EXTENSION ACT OF 1966

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference, a new highway construction bill that is designed to double the present Interstate System. The first 41,000-mile system is scheduled to be completed in 1972. Its financing is taken care of by the highway trust fund which is created by tax on contemporary highway users.

What the bill introduced today contemplates is another system of 41,000 miles, to be started immediately, and to be paid for through the issuance of bonds. Therefore, we would have two systems; one being paid for out of current revenues and another of equal size to be financed through the bonding process.

Mr. President, I think it is evident that the United States cannot get the highways that it needs completely out of current revenues. We have found that the States have been unable to finance highways on a pay-as-you-go basis, with few exceptions.

Moreover, Mr. President, highways of a permanent type are the one item in which I think bond financing is justified. A highway built to last 50 years should be paid for by the users over a 50-year period. When we pass this debt on to the younger generation we are giving them something for their money. It is not deficit financing. The present generation and the future generation will share the use and comforts and convenience of these highways in equal measure and bond financing in this area is amply justified.

Mr. President, in connection with the argument for bond financing, I want to point out that if we can take the last 15 or 20 years as an indication of what the future holds, then inflation will take care of all interest charges. The present highway program was designed to cost $41 billion. Since it was inaugurated 5 years ago, the costs have ballooned to nearly $47 billion. In short, there is an inflation of approximately $6 billion in costs charged to inflation. It would be infinitely cheaper to build permanent highways now than to await the waste and extravagance of the inflationary spiral.

Mr. President, I am conscious of the fact that the Highway Study Committee is now making a study of future highway needs and is scheduled to report within the next 12 months.

Mr. President, I think that as soon as the current squeeze on materials, labor, and supplies occasioned by the Vietnam war is over, a crash program of expanding our highways should be undertaken to complete the new system in less than 10 years as occasioned by the first program. This is feasible, because many of the urban problems will have been largely solved in the program now underway. Acquisition of rights-of-way should not be as complicated as in the first program even though the urban situation is not by any means saturated and there will be great demands for increased access and bypasses of urban areas, but we already have the know-how and it would seem that financing is the major obstacle. Following the conclusion of the Vietnam struggle there will be a normal letdown in our economy and I know of nothing that would fill the gap to greater advantage to the American people than a stern determination to complete a highway system to serve all America.

Mr. President, I am likewise conscious of the fact that the Bureau of Public Roads, taking advantage of the experience of the first system, may want a number of changes, and one of them is a highway system not quite so deluxe as the first one, but equally as safe, equally as fast, and equally as permanent, but many frills could be eliminated. The dual lanes would, of course, be maintained, but there should be more access in rural areas which can be provided under the new know-how with equal safety as the more limited access through interchanges as obtains at the present time. Highways should be built to accommodate both the user and the area through which they pass and some changes need to be made in our future planning of interstate highways with due regard to highway safety, and as far as safety is concerned, Mr. President, this is another argument for expanding the system and doing it now. Thousands of lives will be saved; money will be saved; the national defense will be promoted; convenience will be served; tourism expanded; and it all should be done now.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3263) to authorize an additional 41,000 miles for the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, introduced by Mr. EASTLAND, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Works.

IMPROVEMENT OR EXPANSION OF WASHINGTON NATIONAL OR DULLES AIRPORTS WITHOUT CONGRESSIONAL AUTHORIZATION

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, on January 11, the Federal Aviation Agency announced its decision to permit the inauguration of jet service at Washington National Airport. Following that announcement and in view of the fact that it was made without prior consultation, many groups and individuals concerned with the problem of aircraft in the community sought an opportunity to be heard. I therefore requested FAA Administrator McKee to hold a public hearing. This request was refused and finally rejected in a letter which concluded:

> A public hearing would only duplicate factors which have been taken into account.

This statement was totally unacceptable in view of the fact that not even the duly constituted planning groups had ever been consulted.

The unwillingness of the FAA to provide a forum for the public was an example of administrative arrogance and bungling without parallel in my experience with the executive branch of the Government.

I believed that the question deserved public discussion. I therefore arranged to hold a meeting here in the Capitol to discuss the problem. I requested General McKee, FAA Administrator, to attend to respond to the public's questions.

General McKee refused to attend this meeting. He refused to accept the clear responsibility of a Government official in a democracy—the responsibility to subject his personal decision to the public and reply to questions and criticisms in person.

Mr. President, on Wednesday, April 13, 1966, I sponsored a meeting to discuss the Federal Aviation Agency's recently announced decision to permit the inauguration of jet service at Washington National Airport.

Joining with me in conducting this meeting were two of my Maryland colleagues, Congressman CLARENCE LONG, and Congressman HERVEY MACHEN.

Attending the meeting were representatives of the Federal Aviation Agency, the Department of Interior, the National Capital Planning Commission, the Washington Metropolitan Council of Governments, the National Capital Regional Planning Council, the State of Maryland, District of Columbia General Hospital, and numerous citizens' associations of Metropolitan Washington.

I think it would be useful at this time to clarify the issues to which the meeting addressed itself. They were: First, convenience to the air-traveling public; second, safety as it affects the air traveler and the area citizen; third, noise as it affects the area citizen; and fourth, cost in moneys provided by the taxpayers.

I believe that we can dismiss the first of these issues quickly. The existence of Washington National Airport in the heart of this city is an almost unparalleled convenience to the air traveler. I think it is important to understand, however, that from this simple statement of fact flow at least two other conclusions.

One. The air-traveling public, for whom National Airport is a convenience, is only a small portion of the public. It is simply not correct to imply that the opening of Washington National Airport for jet service is necessarily in the interest of the general public.

Two. The unusual convenience of Washington National Airport makes it certain that the demand for air service from this facility is unlimited. No one will travel to Dulles or Friendship airports if he can get a similar flight from Washington National. It follows that the only restriction on the infinite expansion of traffic at Washington National Airport, in a period of rapid population growth, will be a restriction imposed in the public interest.

It is important to note that the decision of the FAA in this particular matter is a capitulation to the increased demand for service at Washington National, and lays the groundwork for ever-increasing demand, since jet service and the improved terminal facilities will surely attract an increased number of passengers who will, in turn, demand increased service and better facilities.

I think we can dispose of the safety question almost as quickly as we have disposed of the convenience question, but for somewhat different reasons. It has been impossible to discuss the safety aspects of the FAA decision because there is no information available beyond the assurances of FAA officials that the decision is within prescribed safety standards.

While we must presumably take their word for it, I am distressed at the contrary views so thoroughly spread on the record in the days when every effort was being made to justify the construction of Dulles International Airport. During that period the record is full of references to the dangerous overcrowding at National Airport and its inability to handle jets or accommodate increased traffic on the ground and passengers in the terminal.

In the hearing before the special subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations in January 1957, Mr. Stuart Tipton, president of the Air Transport Association, representing the airlines, said:

> The fine installation at Washington National Airport is now being used to capacity. If any of you gentlemen are air travelers—and I know that you are—you have sensed the fact not only through statistics, but through your own experience. There is a limit to the capacity of Washington National Airport, and that capacity has just about been reached.

Another statement from the same record reads:

> The runways are so limited and the airport is so close to major governmental offices and highly developed business and residential areas that its use for the new type of aircraft makes it highly undesirable.

We come now to the matter of noise. This is probably the principal issue. It is one requiring no unusual expertise. It is one which affects all of the public living in the Washington Metropolitan area. It is one about which there has been a great deal of confusion. It is one which has received the very serious attention of other communities throughout the Nation, but which is shrouded in mystery and confusion here.

The $90,000 study authorized by the FAA is economic justification for their decision and makes only a passing reference to the noise. Based on the assumption that the introduction of the larger capacity jets will reduce the number of landings and takeoffs, the report suggests an actual overall noise reduction between now and 1970. Between 1970 and 1980, air traffic landings and takeoffs will increase, according to the study, and throughout the entire period the population affected will increase as the density of population in this area increases.

I think that we can have no argument with the latter two conclusions, but I believe that the first assumption is entirely erroneous. There are currently 627 landings and takeoffs per day at Washington National Airport. I am informed that the projected daily figure after April 24 is 624 flight operations, two fewer takeoffs and one less landing, or some such combination. This is hardly surprising. What we are doing by introducing jets at Washington National Airport is to make this airport more attractive to the air public.

I think we can safely predict a sudden jump in the number of passengers seeking service at Washington National, and consequently an increase in the number of flight movements. As I have said before, we are involved here in a spiraling situation. As the air service and terminal facilities at Washington National are expanded, Washington National becomes a more attractive facility and the demand on it increases. As the demand on it increases, it becomes necessary to further expand the air service and terminal facilities. In a period of rapid population growth in the metropolitan area, there is no limit to this progression short of an administrative decision.

The community concern about increased noise resulting from the inauguration of jet service at Washington National Airport has produced FAA responses as follows: They have established a carefully regulated approach pattern. Anyone who is a resident of the Washington area knows very well the deviations from this on-paper pattern which occur each and every day and which carry aircraft over Georgetown, Southwest Washington, Alexandria, and so forth.

The response by the FAA to the noise issue indicates that the areas affected by noise will be reduced by virtue of the fast climb of jet aircraft. On this point, the FAA's own booklet, entitled "A Citizen's Guide to Aircraft Noise," is instructive. On page 17 it states:

> Propeller airliners make less noise in takeoff than do jets, by 10 to 15 PNDB, and thus their noise contours do not encompass so much area.

On page 19 we read:

> Propeller airliners make 5 to 10 PNDB less noise during landings because of their quieter powerplants. Further, the propeller airliners can descend more steeply when they are not making instrument approaches.

To understand the significance of these 5, 10, and 15 decibel increases, we must be guided by the rule of thumb which the FAA provides. On page 11 of this booklet, we are told that laboratory research over the years has produced several subjective rating methods for loudness and noisiness; and that one of these is perceived noise level; and that this has come into widespread use in rating aircraft noises. This perceived noise is the noise as judged by people on the ground. On the same page, the FAA indicates the perceived noise level for a jet landing is 114 PNDB. This means the jet landing will produce noise level approximately 12 decibels greater than current propeller takeoff. This difference may seem insignificant until we read the following paragraph on the same page:

> An increase of five PNDB in the sound is a 50-percent increase in its noisiness as judged by people, and an increase of 10 PNDB is a 100-percent, or doubling of noisiness.

According to the FAA's own analysis, therefore, the noise effect on the public of a jet landing will be more than double the present noise effect on a propeller takeoff.

The charts of noise effect which the FAA has provided indicate that Washington can expect to experience noise level between 100 to 115 decibels in an area extending along the Potomac from the Woodrow Wilson Bridge in the south to Key Bridge in the north. This area of intense noise extends east up the Anacostia River to the Sousa Bridge and thence northwesterly to include the Mall, the Washington Monument, the Lincoln Memorial, the proposed Kennedy Center, and the Tidal Basin.

The area of 100 decibels extends beyond these limits to include northwest and southwest Washington, Georgetown, Arlington Cemetery, and parts of Arlington and Alexandria.

It is important to note that in discussions and litigation surrounding jet noise, noise levels in excess of 95 decibels are being considered intolerable to citizen and community. There are now about 200 lawsuits pending across the country claiming damages in the neighborhood of $20 million from the effect of jet noise.

If 95 decibels is taken as the upper limit of citizen endurance, and if, as the FAA indicates, an increase of 5 decibels is equal to a 50-percent increase in the noise effect on the citizen, then it is clear that noise effects will not be moderate, as characterized by the FAA, but excessive.

Mr. Arvin Saunders, Director of the FAA's Bureau of National Capital Airports, has provided another response to the noise issue by indicating that noise abatement procedures would be instituted to provide for full takeoff power from brake release to 1,500 feet and reduced throttle between 1,500 feet and 3,000 feet. This procedure would minimize the noise effect on certain areas. However, on Tuesday, March 29, the Airline Pilots Association served notice on the FAA in a letter to Saunders that it would fight this plan and that such a plan was in conflict with its policies precluding marginal safe-flying techniques. The Airline Pilots Association said pilots would refuse to reduce power earlier or to a greater extent than is done in normal takeoff.

Let me come now to the final issue—to the issue which affects every citizen who pays taxes to the Federal Government. In 1950, Friendship International Airport was dedicated as a regional facility strategically located between Baltimore and Washington, capable of providing jet service for both. At the present time, $25 million has been invested at Friendship—and more than $5 million of that is Federal money.

In 1957, it was proposed to construct a jet terminal for Washington in nearby Virginia at an estimated cost of $40 million. When completed, this facility cost more than $110 million. It is currently costing the national airport system more than $6.3 million in annual deficits. The Operations Research report indicates that, with the inauguration of jet service at Washington National Airport, Dulles cannot be expected to reach the break-even point until 1972 or later.

The table on page 69 of that report further indicates that the net revenue derived from Washington and Dulles Airports without jet service at Washington National would be twice that which would accrue if the intermediate jets were permitted at Washington National Airport. Therefore, on the basis of the tables developed by ORI, the American taxpayer could expect savings, between now and 1980, totaling $85 million if no jet operations were permitted at Washington National Airport.

The Operations Research report, which itself cost $90,000, is a study of the economic feasibility of jet operations and facility expansion at Washington National Airport. The report, which bases its calculations on several questionable assumptions about the air-traveling public, concludes that the convenience to that segment of the public is sufficient to justify a $150 million investment in Washington National Airport to modernize and expand its facilities for jet service.

Taking the $85 million in lost revenue and adding $150 million for expansion and a continuing deficit at Dulles, we can forecast a total cost to the taxpayer in the FAA decision approximating a staggering $300 million.

It is important to note that this $300 million figure does not include, because no effort has ever been made to place a value on it, the cost to the general public resulting from increased noise levels.

The decision to open Washington National Airport to jet traffic will necessarily involve expenditures of this order, since the ORI report estimates that the present terminal, built to safely accommodate 3 million passengers would be required to accommodate 16½ million passengers by 1980.

I cannot accept the argument that it is justifiable to spend $300 million of the taxpayers' money to duplicate facilities by providing a third jet terminal in the Washington area for the exclusive convenience of that segment of the public which utilizes air service.

Mr. President, these are the issues. Unfortunately, the regional airport scene has been characterized by a history of doubletalk.

First. Friendship was to provide jet service for both cities.

Second. Jets could not land safely at Washington National Airport; so, Washington must have Dulles.

Third. Dulles was to cost $40 million, but actually cost $110 million.

Fourth. FAA spent $90,000 on a study of the feasibility of jet service at Washington National Airport, but announced its decision without consultation before the study was completed.

Fifth. Safety and noise statements are contradictory and inconclusive.

Sixth. In connection with the decision to open Washington National Airport to jets, the airlines were requested to sign letters of agreement not to withdraw any flights from Dulles. On March 31, American Airlines announced that when Washington National Airport is opened to jets, it will immediately transfer from Dulles to Washington National its daily round-trip service between Washington and Oklahoma City.

Seventh. It should be clear that Oklahoma City is considerably beyond the original limits of short-range jet service from Washington National Airport, which was pegged at 650 miles in the original FAA announcement.

Eighth. Finally, at a recent meeting in my office, Mr. Arvin Saunders stressed to Congressman FRIEDEL that Washington National Airport would be opened to jets on April 24, without the expenditure of a single dime; but, shortly thereafter admitted that the FAA is currently negotiating an architectural and engineering contract for modification at Washington National Airport.

This sorry record has created a credibility gap between the FAA and the public. It is increasingly hard to know what to believe. The meeting over which I presided last week clarified certain points and raised some important questions.

I would like briefly to summarize our most significant findings:

First. The FAA failed to consult with other Federal agencies, State and local government concerned, or responsible metropolitan planning groups prior to announcing its decision to allow jets into National Airport.

Second. Although the FAA has briefed interested groups on its current plans since the January 11 announcement, at no time has it indicated any willingness to reconsider its decision. The agency refused all requests to hold a public hearing on the matter.

Third. The FAA's decision to open National Airport to jets was based upon the benefits that would accrue to the airlines and the air-traveling public without regard to the cost to the taxpayers or adequate concern for the interests of the general public in the Washington metropolitan area. It was admitted that congressional pressure played a major role in influencing the FAA to open the airport to jet traffic.

Fourth. There is widespread citizen opposition to the landing of jets at National Airport and the noise currently being generated by propeller aircraft. Representatives of many local citizen groups pointed out that the FAA has done nothing in the past to abate aircraft noise. They pointed out that the introduction of jets at National will lead to possible declines in property values; will affect civic and cultural events such as outdoor concerts and plays; will disturb dramatic programs at the Arena Stage and the new Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts; and will continue to plague services for Arlington National Cemetery.

Fifth. It was pointed out that excessive noise is as detrimental to the environment as air and water pollution. The use of the Potomac River as a flyway will impede the President's dream for a model River.

Sixth. The FAA indicated that a noise monitoring system will be placed in operation starting April 24. However, at the meeting, FAA officials were unable to inform us as to what would constitute an unacceptable noise or how the noise abatement procedure would be effectively enforced.

Seventh. It was made clear that the FAA's proposed noise abatement procedure would be inconsistant with the Airline Pilots Association's safety standards.

Eighth. The Washington metropolitan area is currently served by two modern jet facilities operating far below their designed capacity.

Ninth. The decision to open National Airport to commercial jet traffic is in effect a decision to spend millions of dollars within the next several years in order to rebuild that airport to accommodate a substantial increase in passenger volume. It was disclosed that an architectural-engineering contract costing up to $300,000 is currently being negotiated to plan for the future expansion of National.

Tenth. It was ascertained that an expansion of National Airport would result in increased congestion on the George Washington Parkway in Virginia and the bridges across the Potomac.

Eleventh. Detailed discussion brought out the fact that the FAA can spend an unlimited amount of money on improvements to National and Dulles airports without any specific congressional authorization.

Twelfth. The introduction of jets at National Airport will seriously retard the growth of Dulles International. Dulles is currently costing the American taxpayers $7 million annually. In addition, the introduction of jets at National will directly result in an $85 million loss of revenue at Dulles between now and 1980.

Thirteenth. The operation of two major airports by the FAA, an important regulatory agency, is a basic conflict of interest. The two roles are clearly incompatible. Despite this fact, the FAA steadfastly refuses to completely divest itself of the airports by supporting the creation of an independent airport board.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks the statements and resolutions of the various witnesses and groups who appeared at the meeting as well as certain other pertinent correspondence.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL AVIATION AGENCY STATEMENT ON JET DECISION FOR WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT, APRIL 13, 1966

I am Arven H. Saunders, Director of the FAA's Bureau of National Capital Airports. Since the operation of Washington National and Dulles International is under my direct supervision, the Administrator felt it appropriate for me to represent the Agency at this meeting. With me today are the following officials of FAA to answer your questions: Mr. Nathaniel Goodrich, General Counsel; Mr. George Moore, Director of Flight Standards Service; Mr. Joe Ferrarese, Chief, Technical Projects Staff, an expert jet pilot and the man who has flown and evaluated the Agency's noise abatement surveys; and Mr. Charles Newpol, assistant manager for the Washington area office, under whose jurisdiction comes the Washington National Tower, navigational aids, radar approach control, etc.

We appreciate the opportunity to meet with you today on jet service at Washington National Airport. With your permission we would like to review the factors which led to the decision to open WNA to jets. Following this, we will be glad to answer any questions you may have and amplify any points, as you desire. We will do our best to be responsive to your questions.

On January 11, 1966, the Federal Aviation Agency, in its capacity as the Agency designated by Congress to operate Washington National Airport, announced that the airport will accept scheduled airline service employing two- and three-engine jet aircraft, operating under certain restrictions, as follows:

Nonstop flights will be limited to a radius of 650 statute miles, with the exception that eight cities previously being served nonstop from Washington National Airport could continue to receive this service. These airports located less than 1,000 miles from Washington, D.C., are: Bermuda, Memphis, Minneapolis, Miami, Orlando (Fla.), St. Louis, Tampa, and West Palm Beach (Fla.).

The airport will continue to be open to all types of general aviation, including jet aircraft. The prohibition against usage by four-engine air carrier jets will remain in effect.

The Federal Aviation Agency has carefully evaluated the flight characteristics of the new family of small and medium jets and has determined that they can be operated safely at Washington National Airport. Having established beyond doubt that the aircraft can be operated safely, and without an overall increase in the sound levels created by current usage, and that the continued services afforded by this airport were very much in the public interest, a decision to this effect was made.

The future of the airport as a major air carrier airport was in jeopardy, in view of the intentions of the Nation's airlines to convert their fleet of aircraft to an all-jet configuration, and to eliminate service at those airports unable to accept jet service.

According to the latest projections for the Nation's air carrier fleet, by 1970 only one aircraft in five will be a piston aircraft. Therefore it was incumbent upon the Agency, as operator of Washington National Airport, to clarify as soon as possible the availability of the airport to jet service.

The piston fleet will drop from 563 to 373. The turboprop fleet will number about the same. The jet fleet, on the other hand, will rise from the present total, 564 aircraft to 1,545 aircraft in 1970. More than half of these will be the light to medium jets. One major airline now serving Washington National will be all-jet by the end of this year. Another will be all-jet about a year from now. Several others will be all-jet by 1968. Most will have completed conversion to jets by 1969.

Although airline jet service is not yet 10 years old, it has proved to be one of the great transportation advances of all times. Jet service is, of course, incomparably better than the piston service preceding it. Speed has been almost doubled and travel times cut sharply. Vibration has been virtually eliminated, and passenger comfort has increased. Air safety has continued to improve. Passenger acceptance of jets has been enthusiastic.

On April 24, 1966, the new schedules for the airline service at Washington National Airport will show that approximately 100 piston or turboprop flights have been replaced by light or medium jets, including the Boeing 727, the BAC 111, and the Douglas DC–9. This means that about one out of every six flights will be made in a jet. The ratio of jets to nonjets will gradually increase, and by 1970 the airport will have at least a 90-percent jet operation. Nearly all of the major cities east of the Mississippi River will have direct service by jet to Washington National. The number of daily flights in and out of the airport, now averaging about 600, will remain fairly constant for the present.

No immediate changes in the airport facilities are anticipated, although several airlines are planning to modernize and expand their passenger-handling facilities. The FAA has not been obliged to expend a single penny of the taxpayers' money on airport improvements, for the purpose of introducing the new light jets on April 24.

All airlines have been advised by the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency of his intention to prevent an increase in the sound levels created by aircraft engines in the Washington area, and specific departure and approach procedures for Washington National Airport, incorporating the most effective noise abatement planning possible, are being published.

Beginning on April 24, all jet aircraft departing Washington National Airport will be instructed to follow the Potomac or Anacostia Rivers. After initial climb out to 1,500 feet, they will be told to reduce power settings to maintain a climb rate of approximately 500 feet per minute, until reaching an altitude of 3,000, and to hold course over the river until achieving this altitude. Airspeed will be restricted to 210 knots until released by air traffic control.

Arriving aircraft will be instructed to follow the rivers and to maintain an altitude of at least 2,500 feet until starting final approach. If a landing aircraft is obliged to go around again under VFR conditions (in good flying weather), it will be instructed to climb to 2,500 feet before circling to land.

These and other detail of the noise abatement procedures are spelled out and diagramed in such a manner as to clearly inform the pilot of every arriving and departing aircraft and the flight path he must follow in order to utilize this airport.

The sound of jet engines will probably attract some attention at first, because it is a different kind of sound to many people, but the overall sound level of aircraft engines is expected to be about the same as at present. The Agency will monitor the performance of jet aircraft, and is prepared to enforce compliance with approved procedures. As a result of extensive noise studies, the FAA has developed flight operations techniques for arrival and departure, a preferential runway system, and adjusted the approach paths.

We believe that there will be less public annoyance associated with the introduction of jet service at Washington National than in many of the more than 70 cities in this country that already have such service. We are benefited by the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers, which provide broad natural flight paths, free of residential habitation. In this respect, Washington is indeed extremely fortunate. We are also fortunate in having three airports in the area, so that our air service can be designed to meet the needs of the entire community.

At the beginning of this decade, the first air carrier jets came into general use. These first jets were large, four-engine, long-haul aircraft and it was the considered judgment of the FAA that Washington National was not suitable for their use.

The second generation of jets is just now coming into general usage. However, instead of being larger than their parent generation, these new jets are smaller, lighter, quieter, and far more maneuverable. They can take off and land quite handily on the existing runways at Washington National, without any modification either for length or strength.

They have either two engines, such as the DC–9 or the BAC–111, or three engines, such as the Boeing 727. Their engines are louder than piston or turboprop engines on the ground, but their rate of climb, on takeoff, is approximately double the average climb rate of nonjet aircraft. A careful study of the flight characteristics of these new jets has convinced the Federal Aviation Agency that with their use, as replacements for the older, propeller-driven aircraft at Washington National, the sound levels created by aircraft engines will be about the same as they have been, and in some cases they may be lower.

In considering the question of whether Washington should continue to have the services of a close-in airport with major air carrier service, the Federal Aviation Agency took heed of the economic aspects. One of the major industries of the area is tourism. The Washington Board of Trade reported that in 1965 about 9 million visitors came to Washington and spent approximately $400 million—about $44 per person. The airport itself represents a $38 million investment of the taxpayers' money and provides an annual payroll of about $60 million. The total value of goods and services sold by the airlines and the various concessions at the airport is in the order of $90 million annually. Any decision which eliminated scheduled service from Washington National would have a serious effect on the livelihood of many thousands of persons who live or work in the area.

But the economic aspect is probably of secondary importance. Washington, D.C., is the political heart of the Nation, and the major transportation arteries which connect it with other cities in all sections of the country are those provided by air service. The importance of being able to transport Members of Congress, Governors, mayors, civic and business leaders and key civilian and military personnel commercially to and from the capital in a matter of hours, or even minutes, is evident. For the traveler who is going across the country, or around the world, 45 minutes of ground time en route to an outlying airport may be of little moment. But the traveler who is speeding to Washington by plane from New York, or Boston, or Chicago, or Atlanta, must not be obliged to spend as much time in ground travel as he does in the air. This is the very real alternative to the continuation of Washington National as a major air carrier airport.

The only change to be made on April 24 is the inauguration of jet service by commercial airlines. I say this because, as you know, since 1960, Washington National Airport has been used continually for a variety of smaller type two- and four-engine jet aircraft on operations other than those of commercial airlines. During the past 12 months, Washington National Airport has had more than 3,600 jet operations. Despite the operation of these jets for several years, very few complaints have been received.

The Federal Aviation Agency was informed, by an independent economic analysis, that the use of light and medium jets at Washington National Airport would save travelers an estimated 1½ million hours of travel time, over the next 15 years. Given its lawful mission as the Agency designated by Congress to foster civil aviation, no other decision than one which would insure the future of this airport was possible. As public servants, we have an obligation to allow the airport to give the most effective and modern service available to the public as a whole.

Congress has specifically provided the Nation's Capital with two airports, Washington National and Dulles International, designating the latter as the additional Washington airport. When Congress authorized the construction of Dulles, it decided not to eliminate Washington National.

We do not see the use of Washington National as interfering with the fulfillment of Dulles' role as a modern jetport for long-range traffic. Very soon now the third generation of jets will be upon us—these will be the mass-transportation giants, carrying from 250 and more passengers in a single flight. The present growth rate of Dulles—steady, but not spectacular—will seem as nothing compared with the enormous expansion we can expect in the not very distant era of mass air transportation. Having both a short-haul, commuter-type airport like Washington National, and a long-haul airport like Dulles in our area will enable us to gain the maximum advantages for the public which are offered by the aviation industry.

Friendship International Airport at Baltimore is also assured of a steadily increasing market for its air traffic. Under the Federal-aid airports program, the Federal Aviation Agency has awarded $6,641,565 in matching grants to Friendship for airport improvements and expansion. Such grants would not have been made if the Agency were not convinced that this airport would serve a continuing, growing need for air service.

The Federal Aviation Agency has been continuously attentive to public groups and private citizens who have expressed an opinion on the use of Washington National Airport. The present policy is one which reflects the interests of the great majority of persons who live in the Metropolitan Washington area. In deference to those citizens who are sensitive to aircraft noise, the Administrator has enunciated a noise abatement procedure for all aircraft using Washington National which will be both effective and enforceable.

Only last week, the Federal Aviation Agency's noise abatement staff was established to participate in the nationwide program directed by President Johnson to study problems created by aircraft engine noise in urban areas. Washington National, like other urban airports, will undoubtedly benefit by the work of this staff of specialists.

An architect-engineering contract is now being drawn up to produce designs for a modernization program which will solve some of the problems of inadequate passenger-handling and automobile-parking facilities at Washington National. Although several airlines are planning and already proceeding with modernization plans of their own, which may lessen the responsibility of the Federal Aviation Agency in this regard, at least for the present, the Agency feels that eventually a comprehensive plan will have to be developed to update many of the facilities of this 25-year-old airport. Such a plan will bear in mind the limitations of the role which this airport is intended to play—namely, that of a short-haul, commuter-type airport, with operations limited to the aircraft in the light-to-medium weight category.

Please understand that we are well aware of the provisions of Public Law 592 and we fully intend to live up to the spirit as well as the letter of the law. At appropriate points in the planning, presentations will be made to the National Capital Planning Commission, as well as to other Government agencies involved, and to the airlines and various concessionaires who are our tenants. We will choose the most desirable concept developed by the architect-engineering study as a basis for a master plan leading to modernization.

Washington National Airport is an integral part of the national transportation system. The benefits of this service reach many communities and affect millions of travelers. The strong support of this decision is reflected in the many letters which I have received from Members of Congress, Governors, mayors, businessmen, and travelers. I would be glad to submit these for the record.

I would also like to distribute to you at this time copies of our poster announcing the new noise abatement procedures at Washington National Airport.

Thank you.

Statement by Kenneth Holum, Assistant Secretary of the Interior—Water and Power Development, Regarding the Future Use of the National Airport, April 13, 1966

The Department of the Interior is a resource agency with wide ranging conservation responsibilities. We share the growing national concern over preserving the total quality of the American environment. Within the last few years, we believe the American public has become convinced that our growing population can and must have clean rivers and lakes, fresh pure air in the center of our largest cities, and adequate opportunities for wholesome outdoor recreation. But conservation implies more than this. In the broadest sense, conservation can be defined as a state of harmony between man and his environment.

The Department of the Interior is very conscious of the special responsibilities we have to protect the unique urban environment in the Nation's Capital. In many ways, we are directly responsible for a metropolitan area which should be a model for the Nation and a showcase for the world.

President Johnson repeatedly has urged that the Potomac River Basin be made "a conservation model for our metropolitan areas." The President's directive to Secretary Udall necessarily involves his Department in a wide range of activities that involve the river, its tributaries, the land of the basin, and the National Capital.

Interior's concern, which is related to both the existing and proposed parks and parkways in the Capital area, is compounded by the special responsibility which President Johnson has assigned to Interior in relationship to the Potomac and its valley. To meet this broader responsibility, we must be and are concerned with every activity that increases or diminishes the quality of the environment in the city and its valley.

The community itself must decide whether or not the convenience of an airport close to the center of the city is worth the detrimental effects this convenience will have on other facilities of community-wide importance.

Within this context Interior is pleased to report that an excellent and understanding relationship exists between our Department and the Federal Aviation Agency. Both agencies recognize that noise is a factor that diminishes the quality of the environment. Interior is specifically concerned with the affect of aircraft noise on public use of parks and public gathering places under the Department's jurisdiction.

We appreciate the effort that has been made to reduce the noise nuisance from short- to medium-range jet service at National. We hope that developmental efforts underway and proposed will diminish this nuisance at all metropolitan airports. FAA has adopted a program to diminish the noise problem at National and established a continuing program for monitoring the success of this effort. We have been assured of a continuing opportunity to participate in these efforts.

Interior's land-use responsibilities are of major importance. They relate to access, parking and the facilities at the airport itself. FAA recognizes the Department's legitimate interest and concern over these items.

It is understood by both agencies that any plans for modification of physical plant will be subjected to careful evaluation by Interior as well as by the National Capital Planning Commission. The community can expect our Department to exercise vigorously and forthrightly its responsibilities for land use in the national capital area.

U.S. Department of the Interior,
National Park Service,
Washington, D.C., January 21, 1966.

A8227–NCR(CNCP).

Hon. Daniel B. Brewster,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Brewster: We are pleased to reply to your letter of January 12 to the Director of the National Park Service, concerning the effect of aircraft operating into and from National Airport.

The adverse influence of aircraft noise on formal outdoor cultural programs and special events has been a matter of deep concern and public irritation for many years. The following brief comments outline some of the more important events held in areas administered by the National Park Service that are profoundly affected by aircraft operating to and from National Airport.

The Watergate, which features concerts by the four service bands, and the District of Columbia Recreation Department have a season audience of over 300,000 people. Disturbances by aircraft to these concerts has been most noticeable because of the close proximity of the airport to the Watergate and traffic patterns which route low-flying aircraft over this area.

In addition to the Watergate, activities on the Washington Monument grounds have also been increasingly plagued in recent years by disturbances from aircraft. For example, the Sylvan Theater Shakespearean programs which attract each summer approximately 200,000 are constantly disrupted by overriding aircraft noises that completely drown out the actors. Other activities on the Monument grounds disturbed by aircraft noises include the annual Cherry Blossom Festival, which draws approximately 50,000 at the Sylvan Theater programs, not to mention the some 45,000 persons who watch the parade and attempt to hear the bands above the noise of the aircraft. Also, the annual Fourth of July Independence Day celebration, which is attended by 200,000 who try to hear a program of speeches and music.

A brief listing of activities conducted in the vicinity of the National Airport which are constantly subjected to aircraft disturbance are: the President's Cup Regatta; birthday celebrations at the Washington Monument, the Lincoln and the Jefferson Memorials; Carillon concerts at the Netherlands Carillon; White House functions held outdoors; arrival and departure of foreign dignitaries; programs conducted by military organizations such as the Retreat Parades and the Torchlight Tattoo presented by the Military District of Washington at the Jefferson Memorial; athletic events; and numerous wreath-laying programs conducted by various groups. All of which, in the above listed examples, conduct presentations where speakers, musicians, or announcers, as well as the audience, constantly suffer immeasurably from disturbing noises that overpower and drown out all amplification.

Although Meridian Hill Park and the Carter Barron Amphitheater are farther away from the airport proper, approaching aircraft, although more greatly disbursed, regularly disturb musical programs in these areas. The Meridian Hill concerts usually draw about 20,000 people through the season, and the Carter Barron programs, where visitors have paid for admission, usually draw 300,000 or more patrons.

It is, therefore, obvious that any increase in the volume or degree of aircraft noises could not but help escalate the feeling of frustration experienced by the thousands of visitors who attend the outdoor programs presented at the various parks.

Recently, outdoor concerts held on the Mall have been sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution. These concerts take place in the heaviest and most densely populated area of the Mall, where emphasis on cultural activity is being stressed.

Any decision regarding the operation of aircraft from National Airport should, we feel, take into consideration the resulting influence upon the millions of visitors who visit the Nation's Capital, many of whom will do so only once in their lifetime.

Sincerely yours,

MONTE E. FITCH,
Superintendent.

STATEMENT OF WALTER C. LOUCHHEIM, JR. AT MEETING ON JET OPERATIONS AT WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT, APRIL 13, 1966

My name is Walter C. Louchheim, Jr. I am Vice Chairman of National Capital Planning Commission. I am appearing today as Chairman of the Commission's Special Committee on the Washington National Airport. There is attached to this statement a copy of our letter of March 25, 1966, to the Honorable William F. McKee, Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, transmitting an outline of a proposed Washington National Airport study on the effects which jet operations at the airport may have on planning for the metropolitan area. As you will note from our letter to the Administrator, proposed plans and projects relating to the airport are required to be reviewed by the Commission under the provisions of section 5 of the National Capital Planning Act of 1952. In his reply on behalf of the Administrator to our letter, a copy of which is also attached, Mr. Arven H. Saunders, Director, Bureau of National Capital Airports, FAA, has indicated FAA's willingness to cooperate in the study and its recognition of its obligations under section 5 of the Planning Act.

The Commission is responsible for planning the orderly growth and development of the Nation's Capital. It is now engaged in the preparation of a new comprehensive plan, in which will be identified suitable locations for residential areas, parks and other open spaces, schools and playgrounds, Federal Government facilities, college dormitories and classrooms, hospitals, centers of cultural activities, and many other uses and facilities which will be vitally affected by the flight patterns and the takeoffs and landings of jet aircraft at the airport.

We do not know at present what impact the intended limited jet operations will have upon nearby residential areas, upon the livability and amenities of the Nation's Capital, and upon the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts nor do we know what additional access to and parking and other facilities at the airport will be required. Perhaps we will have to wait until jet flights have been operating for a few months before we get the complete answers. However, we sincerely regret that we were not given the opportunity at least to raise some of the questions included in the proposed study outline prior to the Federal Aviation Agency's decision to commence jet operations at Washington National Airport.

NATIONAL CAPITAL
PLANNING COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., March 25, 1966.

Hon. WILLIAM F. MCKEE,
Administrator, Federal Aviation Agency,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR GENERAL MCKEE: On behalf of Mrs. Rowe and the other members of the National Capital Planning Commission, may I express our appreciation to you for the presentation made by Mr. Saunders at the March 3 meeting of the Commission with respect to the opening of Washington National Airport to short-haul air carrier jet aircraft as announced by the Federal Aviation Agency on January 11.

As a result of Mr. Saunders' presentation and the subsequent discussion, the Commission established a Special Committee on the Washington National Airport and instructed the Committee to study and report to the Commission on the land use, ground transportation, access, terminal, and parking, and "livability" (including noise and air pollution) implications of the introduction of jet operations at the airport. The Committee consists of Brig. Gen. Charles M. Duke, Engineer Commissioner of the District of Columbia, G. Franklin Edwards, George B. Hartzog, Director, National Park Service, Mrs. Rowe (ex officio) and the undersigned as Chairman.

At its initial meeting yesterday, the Committee received an outline of a proposed study of the Washington National Airport which, if undertaken and completed, could provide the basis for recommendations by the Committee to the Commission with respect to proposed plans and projects relating to the airport which are required to be reviewed by the Commission pursuant to section 5 of the National Capital Planning Act of 1952. The Committee directed that I transmit a copy of the outline of the proposed study to you for comment and with the request that you and members of your staff may desire to meet with the Committee at the earliest convenient date to discuss the proposed study and other matters respecting the introduction of jet operations at the airport.

Please be assured of our desire to cooperate with the Federal Aviation Agency in examining carefully the needs of the National Capital area for adequate and appropriate air terminal facilities.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER C. LOUCHHEIM, Jr.,
Chairman, Special Committee on the Washington National Airport.

NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION OUTLINE: PROPOSED WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT STUDY

I. Historical background.
A. Incremental growth and development.
1. Physical development
(a) Land areas.
(b) Buildings.
(c) Runways.
(d) Access facilities, parking.
2. Usage of facilities.
(a) Passenger movements
(b) Aircraft movements
(c) Ground transportation
(d) Employment
II. Alternative usage studies.
A. Continue "no-jet" operations at WNA.
1. Usage of facilities.
(a) At Washington National Airport.
(i) Passenger movements.
(ii) Aircraft movements.
(iii) Ground transportation—parking.
(iv) Employment.
(b) At other airports.
(i) Passenger movements.
(ii) Aircraft movements.
(iii) Ground transportation—parking.
(iv) Employment.
2. Development requirements
(a) At WNA
(i) Land area
(ii) Buildings, runways
(iii) Ground transportation facilities
(b) At other airports
(i) Land area
(ii) Buildings, runways
(iii) Ground transportation facilities
3. Internal economics
(a) Development costs at WNA
(b) Profit and loss at WNA
(i) Aircraft operations
(ii) Concessions
(c) Development costs at other airports.
(d) Profit and loss at other airports.
(i) Aircraft operations.
(ii) Concessions.
4. External socioeconomic effects.
(a) Economic effect on community land use.
(b) Ground transportation traffic.
(c) Aircraft noise.
(d) Esthetics.
(e) Air pollution.
B. Limited jet (2- or 3-engine) operation at WNA.
1. Usage of facilities.
(a) At WNA.
(i) Passenger movements.
(ii) Aircraft movements.
(iii) Ground transportation—parking.

(iv) Employment.
(b) At other airports.
(i) Passenger movements.
(ii) Aircraft movements.
(iii) Ground transportation—parking.
(iv) Employment.
2. Development requirements.
(a) At WNA.
(i) Land area.
(ii) Buildings, runways.
(iii) Ground transportation facilities.
(b) At other airports.
(i) Land area.
(ii) Buildings, runways.
(iii) Ground transportation facilities.
3. Internal economics.
(a) Development costs at WNA.
(b) Profit and loss at WNA.
(i) Aircraft operations.
(ii) Concessions.
(c) Development costs at other airports.
(d) Profit and loss at other airports.
(i) Aircraft operations.
(ii) Concessions.
4. External socioeconomic effects.
(a) Economic effect on community land use.
(b) Ground transportation traffic.
(c) Esthetics.
(d) Aircraft noise.
(e) Air pollution.
C. Unlimited jet operation at WNA.
1. Usage of facilities.
(a) At WNA.
(i) Passenger movements.
(ii) Aircraft movements.
(iii) Ground transportation—parking.
(iv) Employment.
(b) At other airports.
(i) Passenger movements.
(ii) Aircraft movements.
(iii) Ground transportation—parking.
(iv) Employment.
2. Development requirements.
(a) At WNA.
(i) Land area.
(ii) Buildings, runways.
(iii) Ground transportation facilities.
(b) At other airports.
(i) Land area.
(ii) Buildings, runways.
(iii) Ground transportation facilities.
3. Internal economics.
(a) Development costs at WNA.
(b) Profit and loss at WNA.
(i) Aircraft operations.
(ii) Concessions.
(c) Development costs at other airports.
(d) Profit and loss at other airports.
(i) Aircraft operations.
(ii) Concessions.
4. External socioeconomic effects.
(a) Economic effect on community land use.
(b) Ground transportation traffic.
(c) Aircraft noise.
(d) Esthetics.
(e) Air pollution.
D. Abandonment of WNA for aircraft operations.
1. Reuse as employment or industrial/commercial land use.
(a) Development requirements.
(i) Buildings.
(ii) Utilities.
(iii) Access facilities.
(b) Usage of facilities.
(i) Number of employees.
(ii) Access traffic of employees.
(iii) Materials-supplies access.
(c) External socioeconomic effects.
(i) Community tax base.
(ii) Access traffic.
(iii) Esthetics.
(iv) Air pollution—noise.
2. Reuse for housing.
(a) Development requirements.
(i) Buildings.
(ii) Utilities.
(iii) Access facilities.
(iv) Schools.
(v) Commercial.
(vi) Recreation—open space.
(b) Usage of facilities.
(i) Population.
(ii) Access traffic.
(c) External socioeconomic effects.
(i) Community tax base.
(ii) Access traffic.
(iii) Esthetics.
3. Reuse as recreation open space.
(a) Development requirements.
(i) Land clearance.
(ii) Buildings.
(iii) Access facilities.
(b) Usage of facilities.
(i) Access traffic for recreation.
(c) External socioeconomic effects.
(i) Community tax base.
(ii) Access traffic.
(iii) Esthetics.
4. Effect on other airports.
(a) Usage of facilities.
(i) Passenger movements.
(ii) Aircraft movements.
(iii) Ground transportation—parking.
(iv) Employment.
(b) Development requirements.
(i) Land area.
(ii) Buildings, runways.
(iii) Ground transportation facilities.
(c) Internal economics.
(i) Development costs.
(ii) Profit and loss from operations.
(d) External socioeconomic effects.
(i) Economic effect on community land use.
(ii) Ground transportation traffic.
(iii) Aircraft noise.
(iv) Esthetics.
(v) Air pollution.

FEDERAL AVIATION AGENCY,
Washington, D.C.

Mr. WALTER C. LOUCHHEIM, Jr.,
Chairman, Special Committee on the Washington National Airport, National Capital Planning Commission, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. LOUCHHEIM: Administrator William F. McKee has asked me to respond to your letter of March 25 regarding the outline of a proposed study for Washington National Airport.

First, I would like to thank Mrs. Rowe and the other members of the National Capital Planning Commission for the opportunity afforded me on March 3 to discuss the Federal Aviation Agency's plans for the introduction of small jet service at Washington National Airport on April 24.

The establishment of a Special Committee on Washington National Airport under your chairmanship with such a distinguished cross-section of public officials and private citizens will be most helpful as we progress through our proposed modernization of Washington National Airport.

As you know, the FAA will in the near future, award a contract to an architect and engineering firm for several designs for a sensible and reasonable modernization of the airport. There are no plans for any major realinement of the landing area itself, which is considered adequate for jet operations as it now stands. Emphasis will be on providing more adequate and functional terminal and parking facilities, now inadequate even for the 7 million passengers that used the airport in 1965. It should be noted, however, that any modernization to Washington National will have to have the approval of the Congress through an appropriation.

My staff now is studying the outline you forwarded with your letter. Information on many of the items in the outline, would, of course, depend on what the architect and engineering firm produces in the way of proposed design. This information would not be available for approximately 6 months after the award of the contract.

In the meantime, however, members of my staff and I will be most happy to meet with your Committee within the next 10 days to discuss any of the items on which information is available.

Please be assured of our complete cooperation in this matter and in keeping your Committee and the National Capital Planning Commission informed of each step toward making Washington National Airport a modern jet facility for the Nation's Capital. As I indicated at the March 3 meeting, the Federal Aviation Agency has every intention of living up to the extent and spirit of section 5 of the National Capital Planning Act of 1952.

Your interest and that of your Committee and the Commission is most appreciated.

Sincerely,

ARVEN H. SAUNDERS,
Director, Bureau of National Capital Airports.

STATEMENT OF ACHILLES M. TUCHTAN, CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENTS, AT A HEARING ON THE FAA DECISION TO ALLOW JET SERVICE AT WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT, APRIL 13, 1966, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Senator Brewster, I am honored to have the opportunity today to share with you some of the thoughts that the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments has had about the FAA decision to allow jet service at Washington National Airport.

Our board of directors has discussed the FAA decision at its February and March meetings, but we have no special knowledge of why FAA made its decision before consulting responsible local governing bodies of the local governments and planning agencies in the metropolitan area. We feel, as you do, that such consultations should have preceded any FAA decisions of this magnitude which would affect the airports in the Washington-Baltimore area. We have informed FAA of the desire of the Council of Governments, as the representative of the local governments of the region, to be consulted before any decisions of this magnitude are made in the future. In an appearance before the board at its March meeting, Arven H. Saunders, the director of the Bureau of National Capital Airports, expressed a willingness to cooperate with us.

In order to be effective, the cooperation between FAA and the Council of Governments should be based on comprehensive, long-range planning, rather than isolated reactions to individual decisions. The Council of Governments has recently become deeply involved in comprehensive transportation planning for the Washington area, and its consultant has recommended that airport planning should be an integral part of such planning. Thus, we anticipate undertaking a major project of airport planning, coordinated with other transportation and land use planning projects in the metropolitan area. Metropolitan planning and airport planning in the Washington area will, of course, be coordinated with similar planning in the Baltimore area. FAA has been requested to participate in this long-range planning.

Airplane noise around Washington National Airport is a problem even now, with propeller planes. It will be an increasing problem if jet planes and increasing traffic are allowed at National. FAA assures us that they have established regulations to promote the best known noise abatement practices on the part of the airlines and their pilots, but up until now no effective method of monitoring adherence to these regulations has been devised. At its meeting on March 10, the board of directors unanimously adopted a motion requesting FAA to install noise monitoring equipment and triangulated cameras at appropriate places near the flight paths at National Airport in order to have continuing surveillance of aircraft using the facility. This would help to assure that all aircraft adhere to the FAA regulated flight patterns and noise abatement procedures, and it would establish a factual basis for remedial action in cases of violations. The Council of Governments and the immediately affected local governments will cooperate with FAA in establishing such a monitoring system.

For the record, I would like to present a copy of the letter which Mr. Walter Scheiber, executive director of the Council of Governments, sent to Mr. Saunders to officially inform FAA of the positions I have outlined for you today.

Again, let me thank you for the opportunity of appearing today to share the Council's thoughts with you.

METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON,
COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENTS,
Washington, D.C., March 22, 1966.

Mr. ARVEN H. SAUNDERS,
Director, Bureau of National Capital Airports, Federal Aviation Agency, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SAUNDERS: Your appearance before the board of directors was most helpful. I am sure that it served to clear up a number of questions the board of directors had. It is our hope that this will be only the first of a continuing series of such appearances.

As Chairman Tuchtan stated, the board has been concerned that major decisions regarding airports in the Washington-Baltimore area are made without the advice and counsel of the local governments in the affected area. Such decisions have major impact on related subjects such as ground transportation, land use, noise levels, and consumer convenience, all of which the citizens of the area expect their elected representatives to control.

It is requested, therefore, that before future actions are taken by FAA, you bring to the board's attention any and all proposals which may have a major impact on the surrounding community. The study of facilities expansion at National, which is now being undertaken, would certainly be one proposal of prime interest to the Council of Governments.

Another prime interest of the Council of Governments is, of course, the noise problem. The motion on this subject which the board adopted unanimously reads as follows: "Mr. Fisher moved that the Council of Governments request the Federal Aviation Agency to install noise monitoring equipment and triangulated cameras at appropriate places near the flight paths used at National Airport in order to have continuing surveillance of aircraft using the facility to assure that they follow FAA regulated flight patterns and noise abatement procedures." Mr. Fisher also suggested that the Council of Governments and the immediately affected local governments cooperate in establishing such a monitoring system. In making his motion, Mr. Fisher observed that much of the controversy now raging about airplane noise cannot be documented, and, therefore, cannot be settled rationally.

The Council of Governments has recently formed a close relationship with the National Capital Region Transportation Planning Board, and will be deeply involved in comprehensive transportation planning. It has been recommended by COG's consultant that airport planning should be included as an integral part of comprehensive transportation planning. Since the advantages of doing so are obvious, it is highly likely that it will be done. I am sure that you and Mr. Henzroth will both want to be involved in such planning. We are certainly anxious that you participate.

Again, let me thank you for your appearance before the board and your willingness to cooperate with us.

Sincerely,

WALTER A. SCHEIBER,
Executive Director.

CITY OF ALEXANDRIA, VA.,
March 30, 1966.

Hon. DANIEL B. BREWSTER,
U.S. Senate,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BREWSTER: The city of Alexandria is in receipt of both the written documents and the verbal statements issued by the FAA regarding that Agency's intentions to insure a minimum of hazard and nuisance to residents and property in the proximity of National Airport as a result of permitting commercial jet aircraft to use the airport facilities. If the assurances of the FAA can be maintained, it is my opinion that the metropolitan area will be well served by this improved service.

Despite the assurances of FAA, however, the city would have preferred to have been given the opportunity to ask questions and to be heard before the decision was made by FAA. We would have preferred to have heard the comments and suggestions of our own citizens prior to making representation to the FAA. The failure of FAA to provide a public hearing prior to its decision was, in our opinion, unwise and causes us concern over the responsibility of FAA to the voice of the public on such matters.

In addition to the assurances given by FAA, which are impressive, we would like to know that this decision will be reviewed after a reasonable length of time so that if ill effects not anticipated at this time do indeed result from the admission of jet traffic, then the public may have an opportunity to effectively insist on a change or modification of the decision.

Sincerely,

FRANK E. MANN,
Mayor.

ARLINGTON COUNTY, VA.,
OFFICE OF THE COUNTY BOARD,
Arlington, Va., March 30, 1966.

Hon. DANIEL B. BREWSTER,
U.S. Senate,
Committee on Commerce,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BREWSTER: This is in response to your invitation to state views and suggestions of the Arlington County Board concerning the Federal Aviation Agency's decision to allow jet service at Washington National Airport.

We, as the most affected jurisdiction, are vitally concerned about the element of noise. We are very much in favor of the proposal made before the Council of Governments that a system of monitoring be set up in order that data may be collected with respect to the noise of these planes at specific locations.

Thank you for inviting our comments.

Sincerely yours,

LEO URBANSKE, Jr.,
Chairman, County Board of Arlington County, Va.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE OBERLANDER, DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CAPITAL REGIONAL PLANNING COUNCIL, AT CONFERENCE ON JET SERVICE AT WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT, NEW SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 13, 1966

Senator BREWSTER and Representative FRIEDEL, the National Capital Regional Planning Council welcomes the opportunity to be heard on the Federal Aviation Agency's decision to allow jet service at Washington National Airport starting April 24, 1966.

We consider that this decision has considerable regional planning implications both from a transportation and land use point of view. Under the provisions of the National Capital Planning Act of 1952, the National Capital Regional Planning Council has the responsibility to review and refer for local comment all major changes in character or intensity of Federal facilities located in the National Capital Region outside of the District of Columbia. In this role the Council normally receives referrals from the National Capital Planning Commission of master plans and major construction or improvement programs. However, upon receiving Senator BREWSTER's letter of January 14, 1966, drawing attention to the recent announcement by FAA of the introduction of jet service at Washington National Airport, the Council agreed to explore, as thoroughly as possible without having the usual documentary submission material, the regional planning implications of that announcement.

The Council staff was instructed to work with staff from the National Capital Planning Commission and the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments in efforts to consider possible alternatives to the selected choice of accommodating jets and analyzing the effects of each. Lacking the submission of material showing specific contemplated physical improvements, we obtained the Operations Research Incorporated report entitled "Economic Feasibility of Alternative Programs for Washington National Airport" and studied the situation in order to draw conclusions. Although the terms of the contract for the consultants study may well have specified the alternatives to be explored, it appears significant that somewhere along the way it was decided not to explore the possibility of abandoning operations at Washington National Airport. The omission of this alternative makes it impossible to properly weigh all the solutions one against the other and come up with a definitive recommendation or conclusion.

The decision of the future role of National Airport in the Washington area should be in the general public interest. Unfortunately, the general public interest is not clear cut in this instance. There is understandable concern over the problems of noise and air safety which would accompany the introduction of jet service at National Airport. On the other hand, if the technological changeover from prop planes to jets is accomplished in the next 2 years or less, as claimed by FAA and substantiated in the ORI report, National Airport is going to have to adapt itself to the accommodation of jet traffic or become obsolete. The replacement of Washington National by flights to Dulles and Friendship Airports will not, at the present time, and based on present means of ground connections to the center city, satisfactorily service the airtraffic needs of Washington, particularly since such a large share of the air travel to and from Washington is via shuttle service to New York, Boston, and other relatively short distanced points.

The National Capital Regional Planning Council, in a statement adopted at its March 31 meeting (submitted herewith), expressed concern for the livability of the National Capital region.

I have brought along a land use map of the area surrounding National Airport and an overlay indicating the zone of noise level at a decibel rating of 115. A noise level supposedly tolerable.

The inner black line is the limit of zone 2 at the present time, 1966, with prop planes. The outer black line is the outer limit of zone 2 by 1980.

Now, between these two lines, according to ORI, there will be a diminishing amount of noise up until about 1970 when again it will approximate the existing noise level and then will increase to the outer back line by 1980.

I am showing you this to indicate that there is a larger area which will be affected by noise in 1980. There is no denial of this fact.

As a matter of fact, this particular presentation does show the best conditions. It shows conditions which are using the best available noise abatement techniques which FAA is aware of now and by 1980 possibly they will be able to improve on this.

In addition to the noise factor, the increase in passengers being handled at National Airport according to ORI estimates will necessarily generate needs for more efficient road access to the airport, more parking facilities, more terminal facilities and more aviation maintenance facilities. The effects of a large anticipated increase in activity at National Airport, resulting from the decision to allow jets there, is going to be carefully scrutinized when expansion plans are submitted for review by NCPC and the Regional Planning Council. In the meantime, the staff of the Council will continue working with staff of NCPC and COG to better anticipate the effects of the introduction of jet service at National Airport and to better prepare for answers or solutions to the inevitable expansion and construction programs resulting therefrom.

STATEMENT BY CHARLES B. ALLEN, CHAIRMAN, STATE AVIATION COMMISSION OF MARYLAND, RE THE MATTER OF JET OPERATIONS AT WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT

My name is Charles B. Allen and I am chairman of the State Aviation Commission of Maryland. In regard to the matter of permitting jet operations at the Washington National Airport, I wish to state that the Maryland State Aviation Commission is absolutely opposed to this procedure on the basis that it is not needed and will create a situation which will jeopardize the safety and welfare of the citizens of Maryland. The following information will outline the basis for this position.

AS TO NEED

The Federal Aviation Agency completed the initial phase of the development of Dulles International Airport 3 years ago at a cost greatly in excess of $100 million on the sole premise that it was needed to accommodate jet aircraft which could not be accommodated at Washington National Airport. The engineering report which recommended the site for Dulles was prepared in 1957 at which time Washington National was overloaded to a point of exceeding the planning criteria prepared by the Federal Aviation Agency itself.

Certainly, during the period of 9 years since 1957, the conditions at Washington National have not improved; to the contrary, they have become more critical. Yet, there has been no apparent effort to utilize Dulles to relieve this condition. Nor has there been any concerted effort to utilize Friendship International Airport in Maryland which is capable of adequately serving a large segment of Washington traffic.

At the present time there are three airports capable of adequately and safely fulfilling the air traffic demand for the Washington-Baltimore region. Two of these—Friendship International and Dulles International—are constructed to meet jet aircraft requirements; whereas, Washington National is not. Neither Dulles nor Friendship are operating at anywhere near capacity and, particularly, Friendship is suffering from inadequate service and schedules.

From an air traffic service point of view, there can be no need for putting jet service into Washington National wtihout utilizing the existing two jet-designed airports.

AS TO SAFETY

At the time the site was selected for Dulles, a major consideration was the airspace requirements for jet aircraft. The model which was used in this determination was the airspace requirement for jet aircraft at Dulles, Andrews Air Force Base, and Friendship. Nonjet airspace was established for Washington National. To our knowledge, there has been no development which has altered this basic consideration. If jets are permitted to utilize Washington National, certainly an unsafe airspace condition will be created, endangering the lives of the air traveler.

The intermingling of aircraft by types has long been a serious concern for the aviation industry. The Federal Aviation Agency, itself, has devoted much time and money to this problem. Yet, here this Agency is asking that jet operations be permitted at an airport which is not designed to their own jet criteria and to create an unsafe condition by intermingling jets with slower piston aircraft on an airport which they, themselves, considered over safe capacity as far back as 1957. It is most difficult to reconcile this or to think that anything but an unsafe condition fo the highest degree will exist.

AS TO WELFARE

A recent study prepared by the Federal Aviation Agency does not answer the question with regard to the problem of increased noise level which will be caused if jets are permitted to utilize Washington National. Aircraft noise is a definite factor concerning the welfare of the population located near an airport. Certainly, the Federal Aviation Agency is more aware of this problem than any other single agency. Case after case concerning aircraft noise have been taken to court and courts are ruling that the property owner is entitled to damages. The citizens of Maryland located within the traffic patterns of Washington National will be affected and will require relief from this element or byproduct of the proposal. Property investments on the Maryland side of the Potomac River are in the multimillions of dollars and will be in jeopardy. To even think of jeopardizing these citizens with an unneeded, uncalled-for action, must be considered a breach of public responsibility.

OTHER

The continuation of the convenience of location of Washington National by permitting jet operations at the expense of continued inadequate service to Friendship and the logical use of Dulles, is an exploitation of the citizens and air traveler from Maryland and must not be permitted.

It is plain to see that, if this condition is allowed to continue, the Federal Aviation Agency will, and must, invest millions of dollars in improvements to the physical facilities at Washington National—all at the expense of the taxpayer and, further, to the detriment of the citizens of Maryland.

Conditions at Washington National are inadequate in every regard. This includes access roads, parking facilities, terminal facilities, airfield facilities, and all other appurtenances. The advent of jet operations at this airport will dictate its continued use at an unsafe level and will require a major modernization program at great expense. This should not—and must not—be permitted.

Senator BREWSTER, Congressman LONG, Congressman MACHEN, ladies and gentlemen, my name is Harry F. Clark. I have been a pilot since 1938 and have been employed as a pilot for a major airline since December 1944. I am presently flying the Boeing 727 and have approximately 1,000 hours in this type of equipment. I appear before you today as a representative of the Airline Pilots Association. Since 1962, by delegation from my fellow pilots, I have been charged with heading ALPA's aircraft noise study programs. I have been intimately associated with the aircraft noise problems at Los Angeles, Chicago and New York, as well as Washington. I will attempt to provide you with information which will enable you to have a clear understanding of our noise abatement policy and related safety factors.

After the introduction of jet aircraft into scheduled airline service the board of directors of the Airline Pilots Association concluded that certain noise abatement procedures in use did not permit the pilot to provide the public with the highest possible degree of safety and accordingly, unanimously adopted a noise abatement policy. You may be aware of our noise abatement program; however, I would like to take this opportunity to quote our policy at this time:

"The association maintains the position that aircraft noise should be reduced by engineering and design and not by marginally safe flying techniques. ALPA shall refuse to endorse or accept noise abatement procedures which require:

1. Clearances or communication designed to change headings at low altitudes for noise abatement purposes.
2. Turns below 600 feet for noise abatement purposes.
3. Reduction of power, earlier or to a greater extent than is done on a normal takeoff.
4. Climbs at airspeeds less than maneuvering speeds for the existing flap configuration.
5. Procedures when weather is below 1,000 feet—3 miles.
6. Preferential runway for noise abatement purposes when:
   (a) Runways are wet.
   (b) A wind of greater than 10 knots velocity or a wind angle which exceeds 80° from the runway heading exits.
   (c) A tailwind greater than 5 knots for takeoff or landing.
7. Requirement that approaches be conducted above glide slope for noise abatement purposes.
8. Communication other than those required for standard traffic separation during takeoff and approach. (Board 1962)

The Air Line Pilots Association opposes any deviation from this policy. It is our understanding that the takeoff procedures as prescribed for the use of jet aircraft at National Airport call for normal takeoff and climb to 1,500 feet. From 1,500 to 3,000 feet the pilot is to reduce thrust on his engines.

We are opposed to the reduction of thrust during this critical portion of the takeoff since this directly reduces the level of safety available. This is not to imply that reduced thrust will create a safety hazard in every instance, but we can conceive of situations under which a hazardous condition is created. From a noise abatement point of view and having given this subject much consideration, it is my considered opinion that fewer people would be adversely affected if the pilot were to climb to 3,000 feet using best climb performance while maintaining maneuvering capability.

The Air Line Pilots Association has maintained for several years that marginally safe operating procedures or regulations are not the solution to this problem. It is our considered opinion that the best long-range solution to this problem is:

1. Engineering and design of:
   (a) Engines.
   (b) Aircraft.
2. Proper land use in close proximity to the airport.
3. Proper design of buildings located in close proximity to the airport, including sound treatment.

We have cooperated in the past and we will continue to do so in the future—in the development of programs and procedures which will abate aircraft noise to the lowest practical level—so long as they are compatible with our responsibility for the safety of the flight.

Statement of George W. Brady at the Informal Hearing Arranged by Senator Brewster on Jet Noise

I am George W. Brady, a resident of the District of Columbia, living at 3023 44th Street NW. I am interested in the noise problem that the introduction of scheduled air transport service with small and medium jet aircraft at Washington National Airport may cause for two reasons. First, I am chairman of the city planning and zoning committee of the Federation of Citizens Associations of the District of Columbia and have, therefore, considered the question of the potential hazard and nuisance from a citywide standpoint; and second, my home is not far, approximately one and one-tenth miles from the center of the flight corridor upstream along the Potomac River.

In endeavoring to obtain sufficient information to permit a reasonable judgment on this problem, I have met with the FAA, ATA, and several airline and aircraft manufacturers' representatives. Also, a member of the organization with which I am connected has made an analysis of the problem using results of a Bolt-Beranek study of aircraft noise made for the FAA and the Air Force (which was supplied to us by the FAA). Also, I have observed a number of jet takeoffs from Washington National Airport, and also landings of jet aircraft including the Boeing 727 at Dulles.

My conclusions from the available data and from discussions are as follows:

1. Noise during takeoff of small or medium jet turbofan aircraft, such as the Boeing 727 or Douglas DC–9 when loaded for the ranges of 650 to 1,000 miles, will be a few PN db's higher than the average piston engined aircraft during takeoff and early climbout from the airport. The BAC III and Caravelle will be about 5 PN db's noiser than the other jets.

2. Turboprop aircraft, such as Electra and Viscount are about 5 PN db's quieter than the pistons and 7 to 10 PN db's quieter than 727 or DC–9's during takeoff.

3. Noise level during landing approach is 8 to 10 PN db higher for the jet aircraft than for propeller aircraft for locations along the flight path. Absolute values are also high. For example, at the location at Foxhall and MacArthur for landings on runway 180 at WNA the Bolt-Beranek data shows 97 PN db for 727-DC–9's compared to only 89 for propeller aircraft.

4. The effect of the noise abatement procedures recently described by the Director of National Capital Airports may assist in reducing takeoff noise in some areas but will not affect landing approach noise.

5. The frequency of takeoff or landings is also a major factor in the noise problem. For example, a recent article in Science magazine states that 100 daily repetitions of an aircraft noise at about 95 PN db's during daylight hours would be rated unacceptable by about 50 percent of the people in a residential community. This article also states that during evening hours aircraft noise must be about 10 PN db's less than during the day and 20 PN db's less during the hours of 1 a.m. to 7 a.m. to cause equal complaint activity per aircraft operation.

6. The above data contradicts the statements of the FAA that "jet engine noise levels at Washington National are expected to be about the same * * * piston aircraft." When this analysis was discussed with FAA personnel the reaction was completely neutral; the figures were not disputed nor did there appear to be any concern at the discrepancy.

7. From a safety standpoint there does not appear to be any significant difference between the types of aircraft.

8. Research into engine and aircraft noise carried out or sponsored by the FAA, NACA, and the manufacturers is in the right direction, but does not now offer hope for any early significant improvements.

9. To summarize my conclusions it seems probable that: (a) Noise level during takeoffs will not be significantly worse for DC–9's and 727's than for the Constellation and DC–7 aircraft. It will be appreciably worse when compared with Electras and Viscounts. Hence, since present propeller aircraft are tolerated now, jet aircraft will probably be tolerated also even though lower noise levels are highly desirable.

(b) Noise level during landings will be about 10 PN db's higher for the jet aircraft this is high enough to be cause for alarm at all seasons of the year, but particularly during the summertime when many people are outside or have their windows open. During heavy airport traffic hours landings will occur every 1½ to 2 minutes, and since the noise level is high enough to cause speech interference for 10 to 20 seconds while an aircraft passes overhead this could result in serious objections in areas along the flight corridors out to distances of 5 miles or so from the airport. Whereas reaction to an occasional aircraft making an excessive racket may not be serious a steady succession of such aircraft may very well arouse the community.

So much for conclusions of technical nature. From the public relations standpoint I have been very disappointed that the FAA did not see fit to hold a hearing or to arrange for demonstration flight tests at announced times. The airline people to whom I have talked have been polite but very short on data and in error on some of what they did provide.

I would also like to mention that the federation has pointed out to the agencies concerned, at several times in the last year, that the introduction of jet operations for WNA would create a very difficult noise situation for the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts with PN db levels of 97 to 104 during takeoff and landing. It was recommended that a location away from the flight corridors, possibly incorporated as part of the Pennsylvania Avenue plan, would avoid this serious problem.

I will conclude my statement by quoting from the motions passed by the Federation of Citizens Association of the District of Columbia at its meetings on February 24 and March 24, 1966:

From the February 24 motion:

1. "The federation desires that Washington be served by the finest air transportations available and does not object in principle to the introduction of scheduled jet operation for WNA to achieve this purpose," but that "the initiation of * * * jet operation to and from WNA may result in a noise level which is unacceptable to residents of the District of Columbia."

The motion also stated that information available was insufficient and requested "the administration of the FAA—to provide information to permit an informed judgment which may include the conduct of flight tests under typical and extreme operating conditions."

2. Adequate information was not received from the FAA and therefore the following resolution was passed on March 24:

"(a) The federation renews its request to the FAA to substantiate its position that jet operation at WNA will not create a nuisance due to noise.

"(b) In the absence of such assurance the federation requests that the FAA amend the announced plan at WNA preferably to defer initiation of jet operation until such assurance is provided or alternatively to limit jet operation to not to exceed 10 percent of the scheduled airlines flights per day until community acceptance or lack thereof has been determined.

"(c) If FAA refuses to take either action as outlined in (1) and (2) above, then the federation will take such action as may be necessary to oppose jet operation at WNA.

"(d) Regardless of the action taken under (1), (2), and (3) above, the federation requests that the FAA install suitable noise-monitoring systems along the landing and takeoff corridors from WNA, continue effort to improve noise abatement procedures (flight corridors, optimum climb paths on takeoff and glide on landing, etc.), and for the long run accelerate research into engine and aircraft design improvements to reduce aircraft noise and when such means are available to require their retrofit into existing jet aircraft."

Statement by Nicholas Tomasulo, Chairman, Special Task Force, Southwest Neighborhood Assembly, Washington, D.C.

My name is Nicholas Tomasulo. I live at 707 Third Street, SW. I am chairman of the special task force of the Southwest Neighborhood Assembly of this city and I appear to set forth the views of the residents of Southwest. However, I am sure that all the other residents of Washington who are threatened by the FAA's decision will join in the sentiments expressed.

If the FAA had considered the general public as well as the airlines, it could and would have seen that we are dealing here basically with a metropolitan problem—the problem of making Washington a decent, pleasant, civilized place to live. Certainly the bloodcurdling scream of the jets will tend to turn even the best section into a new type of jet-age slum.

Admittedly, there is a possible conflict here between transportation interests and metropolitan interests. The FAA solved the problem of conflicting interests by simply disregarding all the interests on one side of the question. No hearings were held for local residents. The decision was not discussed with local public officers. No architects, city planners, real estate men or other urban experts were consulted. Only the assumed advantage to air travelers was taken into account.

However, even accepting the report on the advantage to the air traveler prepared for the FAA, this advantage is very marginal. An average time saving of 9 minutes or less is predicted for each air traveler. One-half the travelers will save less than this amount of time and no traveler will save more than the extra time required to reach Dulles or Friendship. By using the "expense account" figure of $10 an hour and applying this figure even to the smallest time intervals involved, the report predicts a total saving to all air travelers of about $5 million in 1966 and about $6 million in 1967. These figures are certainly "peanuts" when compared to the huge public and private urban investment in the area threatened. That area includes Foxhall, Georgetown, Foggy Bottom, nearly the entire monument area, Southwest, and Southeast. Across the river, Rosslyn, Ridge Road, the Pentagon and Alexandria will be within the area. We have not had any real estate man or other expert making a study of the real property values involved. However, as is common knowledge, the present public and private investment in Southwest alone is now over $200 million and will be twice that figure when the redevelopment plans are completed. Since this is only a fraction of the area, it is easy to see that the total public and private investment for all of it must, as a very minimum, be well over a billion dollars. It is sheer lunacy to damage a public and private investment of this size to give air travelers a very marginal advantage.

It is important to note that under a number of recent decisions the landowners can and will collect compensation to the extent of the shrinkage of the value of their property due to the noise. (See, for example, *Port of Seattle* v. *Martin* in which the Supreme Court of the United States refused to review a decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Washington awarding damages to 196 landowners near the Seattle-Tacoma Airport.) Of course, if the United States is viewed as owner of the airport, it must pay the same price as a private person would have to, in view of the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

However, the fact that the landowners may be compensated is by no means a reasonable answer. What compensation will there be for the destruction of the value of a large part of Washington as an attraction to the tourist? What compensation will there be for the people who feel compelled to move? What compensation will there be to the people of the United States for the irreparable damage to the historic monument area of which the entire country is so proud? All these human values are, indeed, without price. I cannot believe that there are many airline travelers who would sacrifice them, to save a trip to Dulles or to save 9 minutes of flying time. Accordingly, I appeal to Congress to save our homes and our beautiful Capital City.

It certainly should not be forgotten that the existing Washington and Old Dominion right-of-way runs to Dulles. Also, there are Pennsylvania railroad tracks to Friendship.

Thus, rapid-rail links to both of these airports from Washington terminal could be constructed at a reasonable cost. In this way, the jet traveler can be properly served while the values of the Capital City are preserved.

In closing, let me make a single proposal which everyone will admit is modest and fair. Let us delay the use of National by the jets at least until the National Capital Planning Commission can study the effects on the city and give Congress and the public an appropriate report.

Thank you.

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF SOUTHWEST CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY BY N. TOMASULO

The question of whether to let jets use National involves a possible conflict between a transportation interest and a metropolitan interest. The decision of the FAA was reached solely on the basis of the very marginal advantage to the air traveler (an average saving of 9 minutes). No account was taken of the important real property, urban, cultural, and human values involved. The land-owners probably can and will get money compensation in court, but there is no way to either replace or pay for the cultural and human values which will be destroyed. Without damage to our beautiful Capital City or to the general public, the service to the air traveler can be greatly improved at a reasonable cost by operating rapid rail lines to Friendship and to Dulles. The use of the jets should not be permitted, at least until the National Capital Planning Commission has had an opportunity to study the matter and prepare a report.

[Certiorari denied by U.S. Supreme Court, Jan. 25, 1966]

GLENN A. MARTIN AND CLARESTA L. MARTIN, HIS WIFE, ET AL., RESPONDENTS *v.* THE PORT OF SEATTLE, A MUNICIPAL CORPORATION, APPELLANT; VERN AARHUS ET AL., RESPONDENTS *v.* THE PORT OF SEATTLE, A MUNICIPAL CORPORATION, APPELLANT

(No. 36996—Supreme Court of Washington, En Banc, April 23, 1964)

Inverse condemnation action by property owners against the Port of Seattle, a municipal corporation, as owner of the Seattle-Tacoma International Airport. The property owners sought damages for an alleged taking or damaging of their property for public use caused by nearby low altitude flights of jet aircraft landing and taking off from the airport. The Superior Court, King County, Henry Clay Agnew, J., determined that the plaintiffs had stated a claim for relief. The defendant appealed. The Supreme Court, Finley, J., held that the plaintiffs, in pleading the interference with the use and enjoyment of their land, with a subsequent decline in market value, stated a claim upon which relief could be granted.

Affirmed.

1. EMINENT DOMAIN 🔑266

"Inverse condemnation" is popular description of action brought against governmental entity having power of eminent domain to recover value of property which has been appropriated in fact, but with no formal exercise of the power.

See publication "Words and Phrases" for other judicial constructions and definitions.

2. EMINENT DOMAIN 🔑104

The noise of jet aircraft in process of landing or taking off can amount to a "taking" or "damaging" of property for which the constitution requires that compensation be made. (Const. art. 1, sec. 16 as amended, amend. 9.)

See publication "Words and Phrases" for other judicial constructions and definitions.

3. EMINENT DOMAIN 🔑85

The term "property" in constitutional amendment requiring that compensation be made for taking or damaging of property includes the unrestricted right to use, enjoy and dispose of the land. (Const. art. 1, 16 as amended, amend. 9.)

See publication "Words and Phrases" for other judicial constructions and definitions.

4. EMINENT DOMAIN 🔑104

When the noise and intense vibration produced by low-flying jet aircraft deprive owner of land of an essential element in his relationship to that land, the result would be the same whether the airport operator himself brings the action to "condemn" the right to so interfere with the land, or the landowner is forced to be the moving party.

5. AVIATION 🔑3

Aircraft are permitted to use air space which has been placed in the public domain subject only to federal regulation of their routes and operating procedure. Federal Aviation Act of 1958, section 101, 49 U.S.C.A. section 1301.

6. EMINENT DOMAIN 🔑266

Recovery for landowner in respect to noise of jet aircraft in process of landing or taking off is supported upon reasoning akin to eminent domain, and taking of private property or rights for public benefit, and not upon any consideration of whether the taking should be classed as "wrongful" or tortious under any common-law theory. (Const. art. 1, section 16 as amended, amend. 9.)

7. EMINENT DOMAIN 🔑271

The inability of landowner to enjoin use of navigable air space does not prevent him from recovering for decline in market value of his land which was brought about or inflicted for public benefit. (Const. art. 1, section 16 as amended, amend. 9; Federal Aviation Act of 1958, section 101, 49 U.S.C.A. section 1301.)

8. AVIATION 🔑145

The privilege to use the navigable air space does not automatically mean freedom from liability for damage or demonstratable pecuniary loss to property owners below; flights are not immune from private litigation, whether in process of takoff or landing. (Const. art. 1, section 16 as amended, amend. 9; Federal Aviation Act of 1958, section 101, 49 U.S.C.A. section 1301.)

9. EMINENT DOMAIN 🔑104

No overflight or direct physical invasion of air space over land is necessary in order to maintain an action under the "taking or damaging" provisions of the state constitution. (Const. art. 1, section 16 as amended, amend. 9.)

10. EMINENT DOMAIN 🔑90

The specific purpose of the word "damaging" in the constitutional requirement that compensation be made for taking or damaging of property is to avoid the distinctions attached to the word "taking" appropriate to a bygone era. (Const. art. 1, sec. 16 as amended, amend. 9.)

11. EMINENT DOMAIN 🔑266

Terms "substantial" and "incidental" in inverse condemnation context are not pertinent in that when there is only an injury which is incidental there is no measurable or provable decline in market value.

12. EMINENT DOMAIN 🔑266

"Inverse condemnation" is strongly analogous to eminent domain; it differs from eminent domain only in that the landowner institutes the action, rather than the entity possessing the condemnation power; in the inverse condemnation case the plaintiff landowner is usually claiming a partial taking or damaging rather than a total loss of the land itself.

13. EMINENT DOMAIN 🔑271

In inverse condemnation the measure of recovery is injury to market value, and that alone.

14. EMINENT DOMAIN 🔑293(1)

Complaint by landowners alleging taking or damaging of their property for public use caused by nearby low altitude flights of jet aircraft landing and taking off from an airport owned by the defendant Port of Seattle, a municipal corporation, with a subsequent decline in market value, stated a claim upon which relief could be granted. (Const. art. 1, sec. 16 as amended, amend. 9; U.S.C.A. Const. amend 14.)

Bogle, Bogle & Gates, Robert W. Graham, Thomas L. Morrow, Richard L. Young, Seattle, for appellant.

Riddell, Williams, Voorhees, Ivie & Bullitt, R. H. Riddell, S. E. DeForest, Seattle, for Martin, et al.

Short, Cressman & Cable, Paul R. Cressman, Mm. L. Hintze, Seattle, for Aarhus, et al.

Lyman M. Tondel, Jr., Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton, New York City, John E. Stephen, Gen. Counsel, Air Transport Ass'n of America, Washington, D.C., amici curiae.

FINLEY, *Judge*.

[1] This is an "inverse condemnation"[1] action brought by 196 property owners against the Port of Seattle, a municipal corporation, as owner of the Seattle-Tacoma International Airport. The respondent property owners seek damages for an alleged taking or damaging of their property for public use caused by nearby low altitude flights of jet aircraft landing and taking off from the airport. The sole question on this appeal is whether the property owners have stated a claim for relief due to such jet aircraft flights. The question of actual individual monetary damage is by stipulation reserved for later separate trial.

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[1] Inverse condemnation is the popular description of an action brought against a governmental entity having the power of eminent domain to recover the value of property which has been appropriated in fact, but with no formal exercise of the power. *Thornburg* v. *Port of Portland* (1962) 233 Or. 178, 376 P. 2d 100.

The property in question is located directly south of the primary north-south runway of the Seattle-Tacoma Airport, in a rectangular area roughly one mile long and one-half mile wide, bounded by South 200th Street on the north, South 216th Street on the south, 16th Avenue South on the west, and 24th Avenue South on the east. The litigated area of approximately one-half square mile has been somewhat arbitrarily defined for the purposes of suit in such a manner that it is bisected by an imaginary flight line extended south along the direction of the runway. The northernmost edge of the litigated area is approximately 9/10ths of a mile from the end of the runway, and jet aircraft in the process of landing pass over this imaginary centerline of the area at altitudes of less than 500 feet.

The plaintiffs contend, in general, that the use of appellant's airport by jet aircraft [2] has unreasonably interfered with the use and enjoyment of their properties and caused substantial depreciation in the value of those properties. While the parties have been segregated for the purpose of suit in such a manner as stresses the presence or absence of an actual physical invasion of airspace,[3] the contentions of the plaintiffs make it clear that the gravamen of the complaint is the noise and vibration created by the aircraft rather than physical invasion,[4] making it apparent that any differentiation on this basis would be of little practical significance.

The plaintiffs make extensive claims of interference and damage flowing from the flights in close proximity to their land, some summary of which should be made here to indicate the extent of the growing societal problem of which the present action may be only a harbinger. The plaintiffs claim that, when jet aircraft pass over or in close proximity, conversation is halted, radio and television reception is disrupted, and the sound obliterated. The jets cause vibrations in the houses and of their contents, rendering it necessary to hammer the nails back into the siding of some of the homes at about six-month intervals, and to tighten light fixtures periodically. Sleep is disrupted, outdoor entertainment almost impossible, and the noise painful to many. The noise also causes fear, particularly in small children. It is asserted that the respondents cannot sell their homes, and that the property values are substantially reduced.

The trial court held that the plaintiffs had stated a claim for relief. The theory which forms the basis of this holding may be set out as follows. The property owners were conceptually divided into two groups, one group comprising those having land which was subjected to direct overflights by the jet aircraft, the second, those as to which no overflights were shown. Respecting the first group, the trial court held that the overflights amounted to a taking of an air easement without just compensation in violation of article I, section 16, amendment 9, of the Washington Constitution and amendment XIV of the United States Constitution. As to the second group, the trial court held that the regular low flights near by amounted to a damaging of the properties without payment of just compensation in violation of article I, section 16, amendment 9, of the Washington Constitution. According to stipulation, judgment was entered only as to potential liability, leaving the matter of damages to proof on an individual plot-by-plot basis in subsequent proceedings.

We are substantially in agreement with the trial court. However, this court will not in this case stress any of the proposed distinctions between the "taking" and the "damaging" of a property right respecting the use and enjoyment of the land. As the Washington Constitution affords or provides a basis for compensation in either instance, subtle efforts at legal refinement to characterize and describe a particular interference can be expected to be more difficult and treacherous than convincing or utilitarian.

[2, 3] There seems little doubt that the noise of jet aircraft in the process of landing or taking off can amount to a taking or damaging of property for which Amendment 9 of the Washington Constitution requires that compensation be made. The term "property," as used in that provision, was defined in *Ackerman* v. *Port of Seattle* (1960), 55 Wash. 2d 400, 348, P. 2d 664, 77 A.L.R. 2d 1344, to include the unrestricted right to use, enjoy, and dispose of the land. It was there held that the frequent flights over the land of the plaintiffs amounted to a taking for which compensation in terms of the decline in market value of the land was required. The defendant in Ackerman was the same entity here involved.

[4] An identical result follows in the instant case from the clear direction of the Constitution that just compensation be made for the taking or damaging of "property," as defined in Ackerman. The only remaining obstacle to the plaintiff's recovery under this approach is the problem of proving measurable detriment to the market value of their land under the traditional rules of proof. Whether the "cause of action" for the recovery of compensation is viewed as resulting from the due process provisions of the Constitution, or as resulting from an adaptation of older ideas of eminent domain and the condemnation of private property for public use, is of little significance. When the noise and intense vibration produced by low-flying jet aircraft deprives the owner of land of an essential element in his relationship to that land, the result should be the same whether the airport operator himself brings the action to "condemn" the right to so interfere with the land, or the landowner is forced to be the moving party. It should be noted that the Federal Government has developed the practice of affirmatively moving to condemn so-called "air easements" in connection with the operation of their air bases. See *United States* v. *15,909 Acres,* 176 F. Supp. 447 (S.D. Cal. 1958). It also appears that the right of a property owner to proceed against the federal government on a theory that the noise of jet aircraft have "taken" his right to use and enjoyment of land is well established, recognized, and accepted. *Aaron* v. *United States,* 311 F. 2d 798) Ct. Cl. 1963); *Batten* v. *United States,* 306 F. 2d. 580 (10th Cir. 1962); *Jensen* v. *United States,* 305 F. 2d 444 (Ct. Cl. 1962); *Davis* v. *United States,* 295 F. 2d 931 (Ct. Cl. 1961); *Bacon* v. *United States,* 295 F. 2d 936 (Ct. Cl. 1961). Some state courts recognize that the noise of jet aircraft, and its interference with the use of land not included in a condemnation begun by the state, are additional elements of compensable damage includible in the payments required for the land or airspace actually physically taken in the action. *Bowling Green-Warren County Airport Board* v. *Long* (Ky. 1962), 364 S.W. 2d 167; *Johnson* v. *Airport Authority of the City of Omaha* (1962), 173 Neb. 801, 115 N.W. 2d 426.

The appellants resist the conclusions that would seem to flow from the above reasoning with a series of arguments which may be roughly grouped within three broad contentions: (1) That the Congress of the United States has placed all navigable airspace within the public domain, with the result that no use of such airspace by the public can result in liability; (2) that there can be no "taking or damaging" in the constitutional sense in the absence of a direct overflight of the plaintiff's land; and (3) that recovery based upon an alleged interference with the exercise or enjoyment of property rights must be limited to those instances where a substantial interference is shown, as opposed to a mere "incidental" damaging. These contentions will be considered in the above sequence.

[5–7] The Congress has placed certain airspace in the public domain. Consequently, aircraft are permitted to use such airspace subject only to federal regulation of their routes and operating procedures. In the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, the "navigable airspace" of the United States was expressly extended to include any and all airspace "needed to insure safety in take-off and landing of aircraft."[5] It is the position of the appellant that such legislation creates such an unrestricted right of use as to prevent any action for trespass or for nuisance, or based on any other theory that would place a burden upon interstate commerce.[6] This approach however, overlooks the fact that recovery for the landowner is supported upon reasoning akin to eminent domain, and the taking of private property or rights for the public benefit, and not upon any consideration of whether that taking should be classed as "wrongful" or tortious under any common-law theory. It does not follow from the inability of the landowner to enjoin the use of the navigable airspace, semantic difficulties aside, that he should be unable also to recover for a decline in the market value of his land which was brought about or inflicted for the public benefit.

In *Griggs* v. *County of Allegheny* (1962), 369 U.S. 84, 82 S. Ct. 531, 7 L. Ed. 2d 585, the Supreme Court of the United States took specific notice of the 1958 Act:

"Following the decision in the Causby case, [*United States* v. *Causby,* 328 U.S. 256, 66 S. Ct. 1062, 90 L. Ed. 1206], Congress redefined 'navigable airspace' to mean 'airspace above the minimum altitudes of flight prescribed by regulations issued under this chapter, and shall include airspace needed to insure safety in take-off and landing of aircraft.' * * * By the present regulations the 'minimum safe altitudes' within the meaning of the statute are defined, so far as relevant here, as heights of 500 to 1,000 feet, '[e]xcept where necessary for takeoff or landing.' But as we said in the Causby case, the use of land presupposes the use of some of the airspace above it."

[8] We are here in agreement with the Supreme Court, and find no merit in the argument that the privilege to use the navigable airspace automatically means freedom from liability for damages or demonstratable pecuniary loss to property owners below. Flights are not immune from private litigation, whether in the process of take-off or landing; *Matson* v. *United States* (1959), 171

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[2] The record shows that the first regularly scheduled commercial jet flight was made on Oct. 2, 1959, and the number of jet landings per month thereafter increased from 12 in January 1960 to 1,302 in August 1962.

[3] The property owners are, for the purposes of suit, divided into three groups. The "A" group is comprised of owners subjected to direct overflights, the "B" group of owners for which it is disputed whether or not there are any overflights, and the "C" group of owners which suffer no overflights.

[4] This distinction accepts the perhaps unwarranted assumption commonly found in the Federal cases that sound and vibration waves cannot be considered a "physical invasion," thereby also avoiding the sterile arguments sometimes directed along those definitional lines.

[5] 72 Stat. 737, 49 U.S.C.A. 1301(24) (Supp. 1961).

[6] It might also be noted here that the present lawsuit seeks just compensation not from the airlines or the Federal Government, but from the port of Seattle, an entity subject to State law as well as Federal regulation.

F. Supp. 283, 145 Ct. Cl. 225, or above 500 feet, *Thornburg* v. *Port of Portland* (1962), 233 Or. 178, 376 P. 2d 100.

[9] The appellants next contend that the terms "taking and damaging" of the Washington Constitution provide recovery in only those instances where a property right is taken by the passage of the aircraft directly over the land of the plaintiff. This requirement, that a landowner show a direct overflight as a condition precedent to recovery of the damages to his land, is presently stressed by some federal courts in construing the "taking" as contemplated by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. *Batten* v. *United States* (10th Cir. 1962), 306 F. 2d 580. We are unable to accept the premise that recovery for interference with the use of land should depend upon anything as irrelevant as whether the wing tip of the aircraft passes through some fraction of an inch of the airspace directly above the plaintiff's land. The plaintiffs are not seeking recovery for a technical trespass, but for a combination of circumstances engendered by the nearby flights which interfere with the use and enjoyment of their land.

Both *United States* v. *Causby* (1946), 328 U.S. 256, 66 S.Ct. 1062, 90 L.Ed. 1206, and *Griggs* v. *Allegheny County* (1962), 369 U.S. 84, 82 S.Ct. 531, 7 L.Ed.2d 585, allowed recovery for repeated low-level flights over private land. While a direct overflight or invasion in airspace is in fact involved in each case, it is not clear that the reasoning and approach of those cases is so limited. Realistically it must be conceded that a major part of the damage in either case was engendered by noise and vibration, whether or not accompanied by a physical displacement of air above the property. Thus, in Causby, the noise which frightened the chickens to a point where that type of ranching became impossible would presumably be equally inimical to the use of the land whether it came from directly overhead or obliquely from flights through the adjoining airspace of a neighbor. Again in Griggs, the loss of sleep due to noise and vibration was stressed as an important factor in allowing recovery, in addition to the fears engendered by the physical passage of the aircraft above or in close proximity to the home. The reliance placed upon the high noise level by the Supreme Court in both decisions, without detectable preoccupation with its angle of incidence, strongly indicates that the holdings are not limited to those instances where the aircraft passes directly over the land.

A careful reading of the above considered cases leads this court to the conclusion that the limitations inherent in the common-law concepts of trespass and ouster of possession, while highly useful in some contexts, can rapidly become outmoded in dealing with current and evolving space-age sonic and supersonic phenomena. It is more likely that the view of Chief Judge Murrah, dissenting in Batten, represents the position of the United States Supreme Court. Finding it unnecessary to adhere to a strict trespass rule, he suggests compensation whenever the interference with the use of land is of sufficient directness, peculiarity, and magnitude "that fairness and justice, as between the State and the citizen, requires the burden imposed to be borne by the public and not by the individual alone." We must agree that the problem of balancing the interests involved, public and private, seems much the same whether a physical trespass is or is not involved.

[10] In addition to the above, further reason exists in Washington for refusing to adopt the overly strict interpretation of "taking" pressed by the appellant. The language of the Ninth Amendment of the Washington Constitution provides for just compensation of not only a "taking," but also a "damaging." The specific purpose of the addition of language beyond that of the United States Constitution is to avoid the distinctions attached to the word "taking" appropriate to a bygone era. It is unnecessary to become embroiled in the technical differences between a taking and a damaging in order to accord the broader conceptual scope intended by the additional language. See *Ackerman* v. *Port of Seattle*, supra; 47 Minn.L.Rev. 889 (1963).

We hold that no overflight or direct physical invasion of the airspace over the land is necessary in order to maintain an action under the "taking or damaging" provisions of the state constitution.

[11-13] Lastly, the appellant directs his arguments to the showing of damage and interference with use and enjoyment which was made at the trial by the plaintiff-respondent landowners. It is argued that the interference with private property rights must be shown to be a "substantial" interference before it can amount to a "taking" or a "taking or damaging" within the purview of the constitutional language, and that any lesser showing must be considered a mere noncompensable "incidental" damaging. The terms "substantial injury" and "substantial interference" appear commonly in the decided cases, sometimes as if it were the sine qua non of recovery. The terms are not pertinent, however, in the "inverse condemnation" context, where the action is strongly analogous to the eminent domain proceeding. It differs from eminent domain only in that the landowner institutes the action, rather than the entity possessing the condemnation power. Also, the plaintiff landowner in the inverse condemnation setting is usually claiming a partial taking or damaging rather than a total loss of the land itself.

When this action is analyzed in this manner, the term "substantial" is of dubious relevancy or utility. It connotes a balancing of the interests of the public in general against those of the individual. Inherent is the idea that the individual must bear a certain amount of inconvenience and loss of peace and quiet as the cost of living in a modern, progressing society. In eminent domain, and in inverse condemnation, such a balancing does not have to be accomplished as a distinct process, simply because the individual seeks no recovery for his individual suffering, damage, loss of quiet, or other disturbance. These elements of damage are cognizable in a tort action, and such a balancing would thus be necessary. But in inverse condemnation the measure of recovery is injury to market value, and that alone.[7]

Therefore, the balance of interest inherently struck in this type of action comes about in the following manner. If the individual is unusually sensitive, and sustains a greater injury than might be suffered by the general public from such interference, the public interest in maintaining the flights leaves him to one remedy—to sell his property and move. This is no different than it would be had his land been condemned for forced sale to the State. But whichever way the State exacts such a "sale," it must pay the individual the amount he suffers in the diminishment of the value of his land, as reflected by the decrease in the amount he can receive in a sale to a willing buyer. Such lowering of market value reflects not the personal injury to the individual, but the lesser desirability of the land to the general public; i.e., to a ready, able, and willing buyer. When the land of an individual is diminished in value for the public benefit, then justice, and the constitution, require that the public pay.

In the above manner, the interests which would otherwise be protected by the requirement of a "substantial" injury are vindicated in two distinct ways. First, where there is only an injury of the extent such that it should be called or labeled "incidental," no measurable or provable decline in market value could be expected traceable to the flights. Recovery would not be forthcoming, but not because of some arbitrary rule set for convenience in administration of justice, but because of an inability to prove damages according to the common and well understood rules of suit. Second, and even more significant to the balancing problem, the smaller the provable decline in market value, the slighter the burden cast upon the public in paying for it. Surely the protection of the public interest does not entail the refusal of small claims on the ground that the burden to the public is not great enough to pay for.

[14] Upon the reasoning hereinbefore set out, we therefore hold that the plaintiffs, in pleading the interference with the use and enjoyment of their land, with a subsequent decline in market value, have stated a claim upon which relief can be granted. The judgment should be affirmed in conformity with the conclusions reached herein. It is so ordered.

Ott, C. J., and Hill, Rosellini, Weaver, Donworth, Hunter, Hamilton, and Hale, JJ., concur.

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[7] *Ackerman* v. *Port of Seattle* (1960), 55 Wash. 2d 400, 348 P. 2d 664, 77 A.L.R. 2d 1344.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED ON BEHALF OF ARLINGTONIANS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE POTOMAC PALISADES IN RESPONSE TO NOTICE OF U.S. SENATOR DANIEL B. BREWSTER IN RESPECT OF A PUBLIC HEARING CONCERNED WITH THE USE OF JET AIRPLANES AT NATIONAL AIRPORT SCHEDULED TO BEGIN ON APRIL 13, 1966

Arlingtonians for the preservation of the Potomac Palisades stand by the resolution adopted by that organization on March 15, 1966, copies of which have heretofore been supplied to Senator BREWSTER. While we greatly appreciate the opportunity to submit this statement at this time and in connection with the scheduled hearing of April 13, 1966, and wish to thank Senator BREWSTER for keeping us so thoroughly and promptly posted in respect thereto, we are constrained to note that this scheduled hearing is not precisely the type of hearing which we had in mind and which was proposed in paragraph 2 of our March 15, 1966 resolution. It was the purpose of that resolution to suggest a public hearing with at least two attributes not applicable to the present hearing. First, such a hearing would be held only after certain recommended tests involving jet planes flying into and out of National had been performed and the results and consequences of these tests made available to interested citizens and citizen organizations. And second, such a hearing was to occur only after due and appropriate notice to all affected citizens and citizen associations sufficiently in advance of the holding of the hearing to accord such interested parties an opportunity properly and adequately to prepare for such a hearing. As an association representing citizens and citizen associations, we strongly urge that adequate and appropriate opportunities be accorded these individuals and organizations to prepare and submit meaningful information for the consideration of appropriate legislative committees of Congress and the affected public administrative officials.

Even though it may be determined that the public hearing scheduled for April 13, 1966, may be deemed adequate to satisfy any public need therefor, a conclusion with which we have already indicated we do not agree, it would seem desirable that the matters recommended in paragraph 1 and 3 of our resolution of March 15, 1966, should still be satisfied. To accomplish this end, we recommend that the record of the hearing of April 13, 1966, remain open in order that adequate data developed as a result of the tests recommended in paragraph 1 be received as part of the record. Finally, the recommendation in paragraph 3 to delay the availability of National Airport to jets until a full and adequate record has been developed in respect of the probable consequence thereof appears necessary and appropriate. This is necessary, to avoid the confusion and the apparent infeasibility of reversing the program for the use of National Airport by jet airplanes once it has in fact been inaugurated.

It is not without significance to note in passing that as early as July 28, 1965, the then chairman of the county board of Arlington raised similar problems with the Administrator of FAA. At no time since that date has any meaningful effort been made, or an adequate opportunity been given, for the citizens affected by this proposal to express themselves in respect thereto.

LESLIE LOGAN,
President.
ROBERT N. HISLOP,
Secretary.

STATEMENT CONCERNING JETS AT NATIONAL AIRPORT BY THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY PARK CITIZENS ASSOCIATION, APRIL 13, 1966

In explaining its refusal to hold hearings on the introduction of jet aircraft at Washington National Airport, the Federal Aviation Agency stated that opening National Airport to jets was a technical decision to allow the airlines to upgrade their planes to permit more efficient operation. It chose to favor the convenience to air travelers and advantage to the airlines and disregard the interests of those on the ground except to promise noise abatement procedures. After years of turning a deaf ear to protests on low-flying planes and planes off the flight path, it seems too much to expect that the FAA will suddenly be able to exercise effective control.

However, even if the planes strictly follow the river path, they still will adversely affect a considerable area, including the very portions now heavily relied on as a tourist attraction. The right of the public to quiet enjoyment of its homes, historic sites and recreational areas should not be unreasonably tampered with for purely commercial considerations and the convenience of a very small segment of the intercity traveling public.

An authoritative professional journal, the Military Engineer, stated (January-February) that noise from jet engines must be recognized and considered in airbase planning. Obviously, it is equally important in planning airports. It is also obvious that such higher noise levels were not considered in the initial planning which led to the selection of the site for National Airport.

Most cities do not allow jet operation practically on their front doorstep; for example, Chicago's Midway is 12 miles from the center of the city, and New York's La Guardia, 8 miles as compared with Washington National's 4 miles.

The higher noise level is excused by an FAA spokesman on the ground that it is "a different kind of noise," as if that would make it acceptable. The proposed use is an unwarranted extension of the original grant.

If keeping jets out of Washington National Airport would eventually threaten the field with extinction, this possibility offers the compensation of making the area more livable for its million residents and millions of visitors. Certainly there are better uses for this prime land.

However, it does not follow that jets are essential to attract customers. Eastern had not originally planned to use jets in the shuttle, but was preparing to replace its "fully depreciated" piston planes with turboprop Electras when the jet authorization came through. The authorization to use jets was, to say the least, premature.

The problems of general aviation seem to be disregarded in the rush for scheduled jets. National now has wing-to-wing congestion in general aviation. The anticipated increase in airline business, if allowed to further crowd National, would greatly impede general aviation facilities.

Jet use of National will still further diminish traffic at Dulles, which stands as a ghostly white elephant (1 million passengers per year to National's 7). This disuse, of course, could be corrected by turning Washington's air traffic over to Dulles and Friendship, eliminating the extravagant wastage of scarce urban land represented by National.

Either Dulles or Friendship could be developed to a high degree of utility by construction of a high-speed rail transit line. The money necessary to enlarge National facilities for jet service could better be spent toward promoting ground accessibility of the two major airports which should handle the bulk of Washington's commercial air traffic. Of course, this would not be self-supporting, but proper surface access is important enough to warrant substantial outlay as an alternative to enlarging National.

RAPID TRANSIT

The quest for beauty is of no significance if it permits offending the ear while pleasing the eye. What is the use of planting trees on the Monument grounds if, a few blocks away, Potomac Park and the entire river area are grossly impaired as a recreational area?

The Potomac and Anacostia Rivers constitute a highly developed recreational and historic area almost at the center of Washington's metropolitan area. The attractiveness of this land to thousands of area residents as well as uncounted visitors is a matter of complete indifference to the FAA in its efforts to continually expend the scope of its operations here.

Much is made of the fact that some jets came in the other day and there were no protests. Tests made in the winter months when windows are closed and recreational areas out of use are meaningless. Protests have been minimal because people do not realize what is about to happen to them.

We note with serious concern the report in Aviation Week and Space Technology (January 24) that "Airlines will hold jet familiarization flights to a minimum to avoid noise complaints before the official opening of the airport to jets on April 24." It appears that the companies, anticipating well-founded objections, decided to minimize jet noises until they are safely past their deadline. The opening on April 24 neatly misses the Cherry Blossom Festival by 1 week.

Another thing about tests made in cool weather is that engine performance is better. In hot weather, performance is affected and the rate of climb is less. It is argued that jets climb faster and therefore a shorter distance is involved. However, it still takes 3 miles before a satisfactory altitude is attained and that extends up to Georgetown and Key Bridge from the end of the runway. The noise problem on approach is even greater than on takeoff because the angle of approach is severely limited (3°) and the planes must come under power.

For our part, we equate jets at National with railroad tracks on the Mall which, as everyone knows, were eliminated years ago as incompatible with the public interest. We regard jets as equally incompatible.

We object to a policy which places benefits to the airlines and convenience to air travelers above the public interest. Commercial air carriers account for less than 6 percent of total intercity travel and much of this is business travel. The tail is wagging the dog.

The Congress or the administration can and should direct the FAA to withdraw a ruling so inimical to the attractiveness and livability of our Nation's Capital.

ALFRED S. TRASK,
Chairman, Transportation Committee.

STATEMENT AT APRIL 13, 1966, MEETING BETWEEN FEDERAL AVIATION AGENCY OFFICIALS AND CITIZENS GROUPS, COORDINATED BY SENATOR DANIEL BREWSTER

Parkway Citizens Association is one of Arlington's oldest and largest community groups. Our membership includes over 800 families owning homes in an area of Northwest Arlington roughly bounded by the Potomac River, Spout Run Parkway, Lee Highway, Military Road.

I have come not to present a blanket antijet aircraft resolution, but rather to ask on behalf of Parkway for a full public hearing.

Parkway Citizen's Association is concerned of course with noise level; any severe increase in aircraft noise, whether in terms of repetition rate or in terms of volume would be an invasion of the property and tranquility of our 800 families.

We are concerned primarily, however, with safety—that is, passenger safety and the safety of those whom the aircraft overfly.

While noise and vibration is not our first concern, we recognize that in attempting to avoid excessive noise in residential areas surrounding close-in airports, jet noise considerations have necessitated tight turns which have caused take-off accidents near Kennedy Airport.

We in the Parkway area seem to be in the low ceiling, bad weather flight path. It is during bad weather that we are most disturbed by airplane noise and low level flying. And it disturbs us to think that we will be in the low ceiling, bad weather jet flight path.

I have come to ask these questions:

Is there a prescribed flight path in a direction Northwest from National Airport? What is the path? Does it follow the river? Are aircraft required to rigidly adhere to this path? Is there a ground controlled approach system alined along this path? Is a ground controlled approach system used during low ceiling? Is there a minimum ground clearance in the area of Spout Run Parkway? Is there a minimum clearance over the Arlington Courthouse? Do landing characteristics of jets differ from landing characteristics of propeller aircraft?

Shifting passengers to our best airport—Dulles—may cause inconvenience, but we believe that when safety and convenience confront each other so that one must be subordinated to the other, safety must be the supreme consideration. Safety must be first when alternatives to maximum convenience are reasonable and obvious.

When Dulles Airport was planned and built, what residual amount and type of traffic was planned for National Airport? Do the present plans to expand facilities and to increase traffic at National agree with earlier Dulles planning? Have methods of improved transportation to and from Dulles Airport been considered? Surface, rail, helicopter? Are Government subsidies available for helicopter ways? Are Government funds available for constructing high speed rail transportation to outlying transportation facilities? Do FAA rules permit airlines to provide ground transportation between population centers and outlying airport? Here, it seems to me is an important consideration—do excessive limousine transportation charges create an inconvenience which make travelers use a close-in airport?

Finally, is Dulles a safer airport than National?

It is said to take 15 minutes from downtown Washington to arrive at National;

Dulles takes 35. The subject we should be discussing today is how that time differential can be reduced or how the cost of that additional ground transportation may be provided. We should not be discussing whether the population will stand increased jet traffic at National.

In summation, it appears that we have three variables, safety, convenience, and noise. It may be all right to weigh and adjust convenience and noise, but we cannot mitigate safety.

PARKWAY CITIZENS ASSOCIATION,
JAMES C. WRAY, *President*.

STATEMENT OF THE CITIZENS ASSOCIATION OF GEORGETOWN

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, ladies and gentlemen, I am W. Barrett McDonnell, chairman of the public utilities committee of the Citizens Association of Georgetown, representing several thousand residents of a square mile of Metropolitan Washington directly affected by the present use and, therefore, by any proposed use of Washington National Airport.

The residents of Georgetown have lived with the evolution of commercial aircraft from the DC–3, when Washington National Airport was constructed, through the DC–4 and its contemporaries, to the present noise level of the DC–6 and the various other propeller driven aircraft currently in use at National. We, therefore, speak with considerable authority from a background of intensely unpleasant experience.

We have attempted to enjoy our homes and gardens under an unhappy compromise intended to divide the misery equally between ourselves and our good neighbors on the Virginia side of the Potomac. In theory, all aircraft approaching Washington National or taking off therefrom under existing regulations, follow the course of the Potomac River. But experience has demonstrated that deviation from the path of the river is as frequent as adherence to that course.

The Federal Aviation Agency now assures us that, when jet service in and out of Washington National is inaugurated on April 24, existing regulations will be enforced, requiring pilots to follow the course of the river, and noise will be monitored.

We are not reassured.

The Federal Aviation Agency cannot provide effective traffic policing at an altitude of several thousand feet and at jet speeds. Once an aircraft departs from the prescribed course the damage is done, and it will be no consolation to know that a monitor has measured our discomfort. We know from past experience that the pilot need only plead the safety of his passengers in justification of his action. This may be so, and if it is, such passenger jeopardy should not take place at low altitudes over densely populated areas. If passenger safety is not involved, we may judge, from past and present habitual deviations from the prescribed course, that the Federal Aviation Agency either has no effective enforcement procedure or, if it has, it does not use it.

The Agency's protestation that it will reform, to cope with the problem of the jet, has, therefore, a counterfeit ring. Certainly it admits the existence of the present and future problem.

In view of our certain expectation of greater disturbance from the jets, we protest most strongly this unilateral decision made by the Federal Aviation Agency to open Washington National to jet aircraft, without notice, without consultation with responsible local agencies and without opportunity to be heard. Federal Aviation Agency spokesmen have declared that the decision was based upon the "technical feasibility" of use of the present runways by jet aircraft, and the Agency has also publicly assured us that our comfort and convenience and safety were weighed in the final determination.

Again, we are not reassured.

We can hardly feel that the Federal Aviation Agency, charged by law with the promotion of commercial aviation and responsible for operation of Washington National Airport on a profitable basis, is a competent judge, having either qualification or jurisdiction to weigh our best interests in this exercise of eminent domain in the airspace over our property.

We are told that the medium and short-range jet is only the current stage in the evolution of commercial aircraft, begun with DC–3. Presumably, the aircraft in the next stage will be larger and more efficient carriers, and so it will be "technically feasible" to accommodate them to Washington National or vice versa.

If this is so, gentlemen, let us face the fact that operation of Washington National Airport for commercial aircraft with present landing and takeoff altitudes and noise levels is intolerable today in the middle of a metropolitan area. The saturation point was reached some years ago; what was an efficient and convenient terminal for the DC–3 in the 1930's, is an anachronism in the 1960's. Instead of pouring millions of dollars into Washington National Airport to increase its its capacity to accommodate this first stage of evolution of the jet, the Federal Aviation Agency must recognize the obsolescence of Washington National and phase it out before these costly improvements are outmoded by the next stage of evolution.

If any substantial part of the price of accommodation of Washington National Airport to medium and short-range jet aircraft is at the expense of the safety and comfort of tens of thousands of residents of the area that this airport is intended to serve, then the convenience of a jet terminal in the heart of a densely populated area is a luxury which we cannot afford.

The Citizens Association of Georgetown joins with the thousands of citizens of the Washington metropolitan area represented here today in protesting the callous indifference of the Federal Aviation Agency to the safety and comfort of us whose homes are in the path of the destructive force to which that Agency is giving new impetus on April 24.

STATEMENT PRESENTED AT THE HEARING ON USE OF WASHINGTON AIRPORTS BY JOHN WITHROW BREWER, CHAIRMAN SOUND ABATEMENT COMMITTEE OF THE BELLEVUE FOREST CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION, APRIL 13, 1966

Speaking for citizens of the Bellevue Forest community who have recently petitioned for a study of the impact of overflight of aircraft on this neighborhood in North Arlington.

We, a group of over 500 residents of the Bellevue Forest community of Arlington, Va., have passed the limit of our endurance in the matter of the conditions caused by constant overflight of planes in the airspace above our homes. The situation of which we complain has been increasing over the past several years, and, in spite of individual and collective protests to appropriate officials, we continue to observe the following results of air traffic which becomes more and more objectionable:

1. Without regard to visibility and weather conditions, planes are flying over our homes at low altitudes and, at certain periods, with a frequency of 1, 2, or 3 minutes apart.

2. Many persons have reported disturbing and damaging vibrations in their homes which lead to the following results: (a) plaster cracking, (b) windowpanes cracking, (c) rattling of dishes and chandeliers, (d) crooked pictures on walls.

3. Noise levels disturbing normal family life and activities:

(a) Conversations are interrupted and radio-TV programs are disturbed, even indoors and with windows closed.

(b) Outdoor living, in summer, at certain periods, becomes disagreeable and undesirable.

(c) Night and early morning flights of low-flying planes disturb sleep.

The citizens of this community believe that relief from these conditions could be secured if there were full utilization by planes of the airspace over the broad bed of the immediately adjacent Potomac River, with its bordering parkways. Planes taking off from National Airport are now turning away from the river well below Chain Bridge. What is worse, planes making their approaches for landing fail to establish an over-river course above Chain Bridge and thus make low passes over this residential community.

Although Washington has thus far escaped a serious aircraft tragedy, it is common knowledge that other cities have not been so fortunate. We fear that with this continual pattern of overflight in our community we may eventually suffer from such an accident. This danger, coupled with the damage, noise, and other inconveniences covered above is threatening the property value of our homes.

For the above reasons, we are urgently requesting that a scientific study be made of this situation. We further call attention to the fact that conditions which now to many seem unbearable may be made even worse by the projected use of National Airport by jet aircraft.

STATEMENT OF FOXHALL COMMUNITY CITIZENS ASSOCIATION, FOXHALL AND RESERVOIR ROADS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Senator BREWSTER, Congressman FRIEDEL, ladies and gentlemen, I am Robert L. Robinson, president of the Foxhall Community Citizens Association. The residents of this community are most apprehensive about the increased and detrimental noise anticipated, and already observed, in connection with the use of large two- or three-jet commercial aircraft at the Washington National Airport. Representatives of WNA tell us that annually 100,000 commercial flights, one-third of the airport total, fly over or near our community, 4 miles north of the main runway, each creating a disturbance of varied intensity. During the morning and evening rush hours this represents a flight a minute, no infrequent minor disturbance. At no other large airport in the Nation are there the unresolved noise problems already existent at WNA. Other airports are respectable distances from midcity and many have broad water for overflights.

Representatives of the Federal Aviation Administration have stated that they expect, and hope, that the jets will be less noisy than the propeller aircraft now using the airport. However, a noise-level chart, covering large commercial prop aircraft, published in 1963 by the FAA in a "Citizen's Guide to Aircraft Noise" when compared to an appendix published in 1965, covering two- or three-jet aircraft, shows that the jet takeoff noise resounding in our community will be 10 percent greater and the landing noise will be 100 percent greater. The jets are larger and heavier and have much less wingspread lift than the prop aircraft so require much more power and skill to land. Recent experimental jet flights over our community tend to verify this even though the jets are lightly loaded and flying under optimum conditions. Up to this time few complaints have been registered with the control tower since the jet flights have been infrequent and houses are still winterized from cold, and noise.

In spite of the condemning evidence published in FAA charts and in spite of evidence gathered at other commercial airports, FAA seems to ignore the plight of the local residents here most affected by the increased disturbance. On February 24, 1966, we protested in writing to William F. McKee, general, U.S. Air Force (retired), Administrator, FAA, against the commercial jets and on March 2, 1966, we requested of the Administrator that the flights be delayed until after noise tests were conducted and public hearings were held. On April 6 we received from a representative of FAA a letter stating that "* * * the Administrator advised them (commercial air carriers) that, among other things, they would have to keep in mind the problem of noise. We will see to that." It is our experience that FAA has not even controlled the lesser prop aircraft noise adequately.

We are aware that the Administrator is not legally bound to hold hearings but surely he has been aware of the President's message to the Congress proposing the Department of Transportation. This message requires, in connection with aircraft noise, that the Administrator, among others, "consult with the local communities and industry" to solve the problems. This does not imply that he should continue to tell us that there will be no problem, he hopes.

Apparently no one is certain of the amount of noise jets will generate in using the airport: FAA representatives state it will be less but their charts show far to the contrary. No valid testing has been done. We ask that conclusive tests be made and that prior to the testing the airport remain closed to commercial jets. If, as we suspect, tests prove an intolerable high level of noise, we intend to promote more use of Dulles and Friendship for a majority of the commercial jet flights. They have more than adequate capacity to handle them at no real inconvenience to the passengers or the commercial carriers.

Thank you for the opportunity to make our concern and requests known.

ARENA STAGE,
Washington, D.C., April 5, 1966.

Hon. DANIEL B. BREWSTER,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR BREWSTER: I though you would be interested in seeing the enclosed copy of my letter to General McKee.

We are terribly concerned about this problem and hope that progress will not be allowed to destroy a vital art institution.

Thank you for your efforts to get at the truth of the situation.

Sincerely yours,
THOMAS C. FICHANDLER.

APRIL 5, 1966.

Gen. WILLIAM F. MCKEE,
U.S. Air Force, retired, Administrator, Federal Aviation Agency, Washington, D.C.

DEAR GENERAL MCKEE: I had hoped to have an opportunity to express my views to you Friday at the hearing scheduled by Senator BREWSTER. Since the hearing was canceled I am writing instead.

We are greatly concerned that the use of jet planes at National Airport will be harmful and perhaps fatal to the operation of our theater. Arena Stage's new million dollar home was constructed 5 years ago when there was no indication that jets would be allowed to use National Airport. We were prepared to live with the noise generated by propeller-driven planes, although at times even those cause a serious noise disturbance. I know that pilots have been requested to try to avoid the vicinity of our theater during performance times. However, since planes are forbidden to fly over the White House or the Capitol, they often must take a route that brings them close to or directly over our theater. The noise from these planes has reached the absolute limit that we can stand and still continue to present plays. I can imagine what will happen when jets have to take similar routes.

It may not seem important to you, but loud exterior noises can have a disastrous effect on a play—can, in fact, make it impossible for us to carry on our work.

Arena Stage has been called an important cultural asset of the Nation's Capital. It is now completing its 16th year and the 5th in its own, new home. Nearly 200,000 people a year depend upon it to provide a significant portion of their cultural entertainment. About 100 people depend upon it for their livelihood and their artistic growth. Its annual budget of over half a million dollars feeds into Washington's economic lifestream and is multiplied many times before its total impact is felt. We do not believe that its future should be lightly jeopardized by what appears to be a sudden change of long run plans upon which important decisions were based. Had we been informed 5 years ago that jets would be using National Airport, we almost certainly would not have built our new theater on its present site. Certainly it is now impossible for us to uproot the structure and move it to quieter surroundings.

Should jet traffic force us to close the theater, I am sure the loss to the city would not be taken lightly. Arena Stage is an important organization that is in the forefront of the newly growing regional theater movement. The FAA, as part of the administration, cannot overlook its responsibility to the development of the Great Society, a development of which Arena Stage is, and hopes to continue being, an integral part.

We believe that the FAA must reconsider its decision to permit jets to use National Airport lest it destroy more than it has a right to.

Sincerely yours,
THOMAS C. FICHANDLER.

COMMITTEE OF 100
ON THE FEDERAL CITY,
Washington, D.C., March 28, 1966.

Re jets at National Airport.

Hon. DANIEL B. BREWSTER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BREWSTER: It is understood that you will conduct hearings on this subject on Friday, April 1. I request that this letter be made part of the record. The residents of Washington greatly appreciate your interest in the District of Columbia and the Nation's Capital.

The Committee of 100 on the Federal City is opposed in principle to converting National Airport into a place for jet planes.

We believe, no matter how plausible the arguments may be for jets at National Airport, that the noise factor cannot be explained away, and is directly in conflict with legislation that directs the FAA in its decisions to give consideration to the livability factor in the Nation's Capital.

We believe that grave safety risks are involved in allowing jet flights to come into the heart of a great metropolitan area; and that officials who urge such a move are assuming a terrible responsibility. Their misguided enthusiasm should not be permitted to place the residents of the closely builtup areas within the radius of National Airport exposed to such risks.

Washington at present is served by two big and efficient jet airports, Friendship and Dulles; each within easy motoring distance over superb freeways. We believe that no other major city has such good accessibility to neighboring jet airports.

Dulles Airport now does not have anywhere near enough traffic; and as a result its deficiency is being made up at taxpayers' expense. Why, then, should the taxpayers be required to pay for building up National into a jet rival with Dulles?

As you know, the National Capital Planning Commission has established a Special Committee on Washington National Airport, with Mr. Walter Louchheim as chairman and with General Duke, Dr. Edwards, and Mr. Jett as members. These highly competent city officials have drawn up a list of questions on the subject to be taken up with FAA, and it would seem prudent to defer any decisions or recommendations on the matter until Mr. Louchheim's special committee has made its report. I believe that this will not entail undue delay. In any case, the problem is too important to be rushed.

Respectfully submitted.

NEILL PHILLIPS,
Chairman, the Committee of 100 on the Federal City.

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY,
Washington, D.C., February 23, 1966.

Hon. DANIEL B. BREWSTER,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BREWSTER: I appreciate very much your letter of February 18 concerning the opening of Washington National Airport to jet traffic.

I find it somewhat difficult to understand why, since the construction of Dulles, that airport has not been used more generously. If I understand the situation, it was built for jet and other traffic. After having accomplished a very expensive transformation, we now find a movement afoot to handle some of the jets at National.

In my opinion it would be most unfortunate for this community to increase the amount of traffic at National Airport. Certainly from the standpoint of noise, it would be infinitely more disturbing. I think we must come to realize that National Airport is a convenience for smaller planes and that the long view will require use of Dulles and Friendship Airports for larger planes and jet traffic.

Very cordially and sincerely yours,
HURST R. ANDERSON,
President.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, since our meeting, the FAA has repeated its intention to open Washington National to jets on this Sunday, regardless of public objection.

While there appears to be no way for the public interest to prevail prior to the effectiveness of the FAA decision, I believe that steps must be taken to provide the public with much more effective control over the activities of the FAA. Toward this end, I am introducing two bills.

The first of these bills would divest the Federal Aviation Agency of the responsibility for the ownership and operation of Washington National and Dulles International Airports.

The FAA is now charged with the primary responsibility for the regulation of air safety and is also owner and operator of two airports which compete with airports subject to its regulations. It is my firm belief that such an arrangement is contrary to the public interest, as well as the public safety.

I am convinced that the public would be better served if the FAA is free to concentrate on its primary function of enforcing safety regulations and maintaining proper air traffic control and navigational facilities.

This bill would eliminate for good the conflict of interest which now characterizes the FAA's involvement with Washington area airports. Until this has been accomplished, I believe that it is essential to protect American taxpayers from the irresponsible and duplicating expenditures which will flow from the recent FAA decision, and which are apparently exempt from the control of congressional authorizing authority.

For this reason, I am introducing an additional bill which would prohibit the Federal Aviation Agency from undertaking projects in excess of $50,000 to improve or expand Washington National or Dulles Airports without specific congressional authorization.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of these two bills be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bills will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bills will be printed in the RECORD.

The bills, introduced by Mr. BREWSTER, were received, read twice by their titles, referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 3264

A bill to provide that the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency shall not undertake certain projects to improve or expand Federal airports without specific authorization for such projects

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency shall not undertake any project to improve or expand any airport owned and operated by the Federal Government and under his control, if the total cost of such project will exceed $50,000, unless such project has been specifically authorized by an Act of Congress enacted after the date of enactment of this Act. This Act shall not apply with respect to any project for which funds for construction have been appropriated before the date of enactment of this Act.

S. 3265

A bill to transfer certain administrative responsibility for the operation of Washington National Airport and Dulles International Airport from the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency to a Washington Airports Board, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Washington Airports Act of 1963."

SEC. 2. (a) There is hereby established an agency of the United States to be known as the Washington Airports Board (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "Board") which shall be composed of five members who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, as soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this Act, for terms of six years each; except that, of the members first appointed under this section, one shall be appointed for a term of two years, one for a term of three years, one for a term of four years, and one for a term of five years, as designated by the President at the time of such appointment. Three of the members so appointed shall constitute a quorum. Any person appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed only for the remainder of such term. The President shall designate annually one member of the Board as chairman and one member of the Board as vice chairman. The vice chairman shall act as chairman during the absence or incapacity of the chairman. The members of the Board may be removed by the President for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office. Not more than three members of the Board shall be appointed from the same political party. Each member of the Board shall receive compensation at the rate of $20,000 per annum, except that the member serving as chairman shall receive compensation at the rate of $20,500 per annum.

(b) The members of the Board shall be appointed with due regard to their fitness for the efficient dispatch of the powers and duties vested in or imposed upon the Board under this Act. Each member of the Board shall be a citizen of the United States and no member of the Board shall have any stock in, or bonds of, any civil aeronautics enterprise. No member of the Board shall engage in any other business, vocation, or employment.

(c) The Board shall have control over, and responsibility for, the care, operation, maintenance, and protection of (1) the airport decribed in the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the administration of the Washington National Airport, and for other purposes", as amended, approved June 29, 1940 (54 Stat. 686), and (2) the airport constructed under the Act entitled "An Act to authorize the construction, protection, operation, and maintenance of a public airport in or in the vicinity of the District of Columbia", as amended, approved September 7, 1950 (64 Stat. 770).

(d) The Board is authorized, subject to the civil service and classification laws, to appoint and fix the compensation of such officers and employees as may be necessary to carry out the duties vested in and imposed upon the Board under this Act.

(e) The Board is authorized to issue such regulations as it may deem necessary to enable it to carry out its duties under this Act.

(f) The Board shall make an annual report to the Congress, on or before January 15 of each year, which report shall contain detailed information with respect to the work performed by the Board during the preceding fiscal year.

SEC. 3. The Act entitled "An Act to provide for the administration of the Washington National Airport, and for other purposes", as amended, approved June 29, 1940 (54 Stat. 686), is amended as follows:

(1) In the first section of such Act, strike out subsection (a) and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(a) 'Board' means the Washington Airports Board established by section 2 of the Washington Airports Act of 1963."

(2) In sections 2, 3, and 7 of such Act, strike out "Administrator" and "he" each place they appear in such sections and insert in lieu thereof "Board" and "it", respectively.

(3) In section 4 of such Act, strike out "Administrator" and "Federal Aviation Agency" each place they appear and insert in lieu thereof "Board".

(4) In section 6 of such Act, strike out "Administrator" and insert in lieu thereof "Board".

SEC. 4. The Act entitled "An Act to authorize the construction, protection, operation, and maintenance of a public airport in or in the vicinity of the District of Columbia", as amended, approved September 7, 1950 (64 Stat. 770), is amended as follows:

(1) In the first section of such Act, strike out "the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency (hereinafter referred to as the 'Administrator')" and insert in lieu thereof "the Washington Airports Board (hereafter in this Act referred to as the 'Board'), established by section 2 of the Washington Airports Act of 1963".

(2) Strike out "Administrator" each place it appears in such Act (other than in the first section thereof) and insert in lieu thereof "Board".

(3) In sections 4 and 8(a) of such Act, strike out "Federal Aviation Agency" where it appears in each of such sections and insert in lieu thereof "Board".

(4) In sections 4, 5, and 9 of such Act, strike out "he" where it appears in each of such sections and insert in lieu thereof "it."

(5) In section 7 of such Act, strike out "his" and insert in lieu thereof "its."

(6) In section 11 of such Act, strike out "Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938" and insert in lieu thereof "Federal Aviation Act of 1958".

SEC. 5. (a) All orders, determinations, rules, regulations, permits, contracts, and privileges which have been issued, made, or granted by the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency in the exercise of duties, powers, or functions which, under this Act, are transferred to the Washington Airports Board, and which are in effect at the time this section takes effect, shall continue in effect according to their terms until modified, terminated, superseded, set aside, or repealed by the Board, or by any court of competent jurisdiction, or by operation of law.

(b) The provisions of this Act shall not affect any proceedings pending before the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency at the time this section takes effect, but any such proceedings shall be continued before the Washington Airports Board.

(c) No judicial proceedings lawfully commenced by or against any agency or officer of the United States, in relation to the discharge of powers, duties, or functions transferred to the Washington Airports Board under this Act, shall abate by reason of such transfer, but the court may, on motion or supplemental petition filed at any time within twelve months after such transfer takes effect, showing a necessity for a survival of such proceedings to obtain a settlement of the questions involved, allow the same to be maintained by or against the Board.

(d) The officers, employees, and property (including office equipment and official records) of the Federal Aviation Agency as the President, after consultation with the Administrator of such agency, shall determine to have been employed in the exercise and performance of those powers, duties, and functions transferred to the Washington Airports Board under this Act, shall be transferred to the Board upon such date or dates as the President shall specify. The transfer of personnel under this section shall be without reduction in classification or compensation, except that this sentence shall not prevent the adjustment of classification or compensation, after the end of the fiscal year during which such transfer is made, to conform to the duties to which such transferred personnel may be assigned. All official records transferred to the Board under this section shall be available for use by it to the same extent as if such records were originally records of the Board.

(e) Such of the unexpended balances of appropriations available for use by the Federal Aviation Agency in the exercise of those powers, duties, and functions transferred to the Washington Airports Board under this Act, shall be transferred to the Board upon such date or dates as the President shall specify, and shall be available for use by the Board in the exercise of its powers, duties, and functions under this Act.

SEC. 6. (a) The provisions of subsection (c) of section 2, of sections 3 and 4, and of subsections (a), (b), and (c) of section 5, of this Act shall become effective on the sixtieth day following the date on which the last of the five members of the Board first appointed under this Act qualifies and takes office.

(b) The remaining provisions of this Act shall become effective on the date of enactment of this Act.

POLISH MILLENNIUM DAY

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the calendar year 1966 marks the 1,000th anniversary of the origin of Poland as a Christian nation. The occasion of this millennium is being celebrated by the people of Poland throughout the year 1966 and honored with worldwide observances during the same period. Very few countries can boast of being in existence for a thousand years, and being civilized during that period of time. Our own continent was not even discovered then, and our own cultivation of civilization did not begin until the last 400 years. In that August 28, 1966, will mark the date in which many celebrations will be held in recognition of the proud heritage and love of freedom and God possessed by the people of Poland, it is fitting that appropriate recognition of the millennium of Poland should be accorded by the citizens of the United States on that date.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 156) to authorize the President of the United States to proclaim August 28, 1966, as Polish Millennium Day, introduced by Mr. DOUGLAS, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

AMENDMENT OF WAGNER-PEYSER ACT, RELATING TO DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION'S MANPOWER RESOURCES—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 551

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I submit an amendment to S. 2974, a bill to amend the Wagner-Peyser Act, that is currently before the Employment, Manpower, and Poverty Subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee and ask that it be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

S. 2974, introduced by Chairman CLARK brings long-sought improvements to this Nation's employment service system. Senator CLARK has recognized, as has the administration, that a system so important to the smooth functioning of our economy must be modernized and improved if it is to fulfill its role of efficiently allocating our precious manpower resources.

One of the major barriers to the efficient working of the labor market is inadequate information. A lack of information by potential employers of the men and skills available to them, can result in economic decisions that may be detrimental to the firm and the growth of the economy. Similarly, when jobseekers are unaware of the full range of opportunities open to them they may remain unemployed or underemployed. In essence, the efficient allocation of men and jobs in the labor market demands a greater awareness of the options existing in the market. And as the labor market operates more perfectly, we are more assured of economic growth and stability.

The U.S. Employment Service was established to facilitate labor market activity. Its modification at this time is a recognition that we are now in a position to bring new procedures and new technologies to better the Service's operations.

Section 7 of S. 2974, entitled "Labor Market Information" instructs the Secretary of Labor to collect, analyze, and store all labor market and manpower information among employers, labor organizations, private employment agencies, and the like. To carry out these responsibilities, the Secretary is authorized to employ the most modern and efficient automatic data processing equipment.

The directed use of the computer and other information systems in our Employment Service is to me one of the most promising aspects of this legislation. We have already seen the benefits of the computer in business establishments. And in government, these systems have revolutionized our methods of information gathering, made our space efforts possible and are contributing to the effective administration of our health and welfare programs. Because of my belief in the enormous promise of these systems, I am currently engaged in studies that hopefully will lead to the use of automatic data processing equipment for the benefit of State and local governments in their utilization of Federal programs.

The use of data processing systems in the labor market was strongly recommended in the recent report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, established by Congress in August of 1964. The Commission pointed out that most information concerning jobs "passes by word of mouth" through an informal grapevine, and that while the Employment Service is developing increasing amounts of labor market information "there is simply no place in any local labor market, let alone on a regional or national basis, where individual jobseekers or employers can discover the full range of possible jobs or employees available." On the basis of this finding the Commission recommended a computerized nationwide service for matching men to jobs.

While this goal may not be immediately attainable, there is no reason why we cannot begin to bring the computer into the labor market in a way that will demonstrate its full potential.

Accordingly, the amendment I am offering today would direct the Secretary of Labor to establish, in one or more Manpower Services Centers, a model computerized information system to bring jobs and men together in an efficient and productive manner. Such a model would develop specific employment-need information on a firm-by-firm basis. This could be matched by specific jobseeker information, such as skills, experience, availability, and so forth. The system would not be limited to a State or political boundary, but could encompass any traditional labor market area or region in which mobility is feasible. Ultimately, we may find that with sufficient information availability, the entire Nation will be a labor market area—for it is my hope that this model will result in the truly national information system contemplated by the Automation Commission.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment (No. 551) was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, as follows:

On page 9, between lines 11 and 12 insert the following:

"(c) The Secretary is directed to conduct studies and to undertake demonstration projects to further the use of automatic data processing systems in the national manpower services system. Such demonstration projects shall include, but not be limited to, the establishment, in one or more manpower services centers, of a model labor market information system, on a state or interstate basis, that will provide specific employment information on both employment opportunities and skills available in the labor market to interested applicants seeking placement, and individuals, organizations or institutions referred to in (2) of subsection (a) of this section."

On page 9, line 12, strike out "(c)" and insert "(d)".

On page 9, line 18, strike out the word "and".

On page 9, line 19, strike out the period, insert a comma and the following: "and the use of automatic data processing systems."

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing of the bill (S. 1596) to promote the domestic and foreign commerce of the United States by modernizing practices of the Federal Government relating to the inspection of persons, merchandise, and conveyances moving into, through, and out of the United States, and for other purposes, sponsored by my colleague [Mr. MONRONEY], my name be shown as a cosponsor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the names of Senators DIRKSEN, DOUGLAS, LONG of Louisiana, and WILLIAMS of New Jersey be added as cosponsors of S. 3097, a bill to provide financial and other aid, under the Housing Act of 1949 and related Federal programs, to encourage and assist in the preservation and maintenance of historic structures, and S. 3098, a bill to promote and coordinate historic preservation activities of the Federal, State, and local governments, other public bodies, and private organizations and individuals, at the next printing of these bills.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILL

Under authority of the order of the Senate of April 5, 1966, the names of Mr. ALLOTT, Mr. BASS, Mr. BAYH, Mr. CASE, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. LONG of

Missouri, Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. MORSE, Mr. MURPHY, and Mr. TALMADGE were added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 3177) to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide assistance to certain non-Federal institutions, agencies, and organizations for the establishment and operation of community programs for patients with kidney disease and for conduct of training related to such programs, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. JACKSON (for himself and Mr. MAGNUSON) on April 5, 1966.

NOTICE CONCERNING NOMINATION BEFORE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, the following nomination has been referred to and is now pending before the Committee on the Judiciary:

Edward L. Shaheen, of Louisiana, to be U.S. attorney, western district of Louisiana, term of 4 years. (Reappointment.)

On behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, notice is hereby given to all persons interested in this nomination to file with the committee, in writing, on or before Thursday, April 28, 1966, any representations or objections they may wish to present concerning the above nomination, with a further statement whether it is their intention to appear at any hearing which may be scheduled.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 3692) for the relief of William F. Kuhlman, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H.R. 3692) for the relief of William F. Kuhlman, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

FOR GOOD SCHOOLS TRY LIVE POLITICS

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, for a valuable insight into the critical problems confronting our primary and secondary schools in our great urban communities, I invite the attention of Senators to an article which was published in this morning's Washington Post, entitled "For Good Schools Try Live Politics," written by Richardson Dilworth, former mayor of Philadelphia, and presently the president of the Philadelphia School Board.

Mr. Dilworth, at great personal sacrifice, left private life to take on the arduous job of upgrading and improving the Philadelphia school system.

This article points out some of the difficult problems which confront the school system in Philadelphia, problems which I am sure are identical to those in many other large cities in this country where there are significant numbers of minority group members who are badly in need of a higher level of education than they have been receiving.

I commend my former colleague, Mayor Dilworth, for the dedicated efforts he is making to rehabilitate the Philadelphia school system.

I believe that readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will profit from reading this article which outlines some of the problems, and also some of the projected solutions which Mr. Dilworth and his colleagues on the school board are undertaking to provide.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOR GOOD SCHOOLS TRY LIVE POLITICS

(By Richardson Dilworth)

(NOTE.—Philadelphia's School Board was chosen by judges, like Washington's, until last year when a successful home rule movement gave the power of appointment to the mayor. The following excerpts are taken from an address here by Mr. Dilworth, a former mayor of Philadelphia and now president of its new school board.)

There are some people who ask why it is necessary to insist upon integrating our schools and their faculties. These people argue that what we should concentrate upon is raising the standard of public education in all of our schools. They assert that focusing attention on integration diverts us from achieving excellence of education.

Such a contention ignores the realities of the situation in the cities. Take my own city of Philadelphia, which is quite typical. The schools in the predominantly Negro areas are the oldest, most rundown schools in the city. And, due to the ironclad teacher seniority system which has developed over the years, these schools, for the most part, have the highest percentage of poorest and most inexperienced teachers. Add to this the fact that about a quarter of these pupils have a family background which has not equipped them to receive the standard public school education, and you have a shambles in which hardly any of the children in the school get educated.

Today, in our city, approximately 40 percent of the total school population is in parochial and private schools. The result is that while only 30 percent of our city's population is nonwhite, 57 percent of our public school pupils are nonwhite. And, today there are more white children in the parochial and private schools than there are in our city's entire public school system.

If this trend continues, and it is the trend in all of our cities, then 20 or 25 years from now, our big cities may find themselves with public school systems almost entirely nonwhite, and with parochial and private school systems at least 90 percent white. I cannot think of a greater blow to our democracy, or to the success of the urban civilization in which we find ourselves.

The broad picture is that our big city public school systems have for the most part been neglected and starved—ever since the end of World War I. Although we have splendid work being done here and there, by and large, our big city school systems no longer serve us well.

Big city teachers have been among the lowest paid. The result is that our city school systems have tended to become static and in-bred. New ideas and new blood have not been encouraged.

We should also experiment with what we call the magnet school. Let me give you an example: There is great need for a higher level of science teaching for selected youngsters. This indicates the creation of a science high school which offers the finest possible precollege science courses. But that school would also be a comprehensive high school to serve the neighborhood, and the science students would take their other academic courses right in with the regular high school students.

In short, the specialty attracts teachers and pupils from all over the city, and these specialty pupils take their general academic courses in the other part of the school, which is a comprehensive neighborhood high school. Magnet schools should also be set up for languages, for business training, and for the performing arts, among others.

Supplemental educational centers also show promise, particularly in the field of science. Such a center would serve the entire city, including the parochial and private schools, and also suburban schoolchildren. The center would offer all manner of special equipment and training not found elsewhere.

The expanding interest in education suggests that we begin to rethink the way we manage our schools. The conventional wisdom has it that we keep schools out of politics, and, of course, in the narrow sense of the word we must all agree. However, good education is and must inevitably be a vital political issue. The issue of a quality integrated education is as live a political issue in our cities as any issue can be. No bureaucracy can solve that issue. Failing the magic solution acceptable to everyone, enlightened and courageous leadership at the board level is essential if the cities are not to retreat from the challenge.

VIETNAM: LESSONS AND HARD CHOICES

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, when Senators returned home during the Easter recess, I believe that many found the people to be deeply concerned about two problems: Vietnam and the rise in the cost of living.

Mr. President, in deference to the millions of my constituents in the State of New York who have these feelings, I should like to take a few moments to express my views on the most pressing of these matters—Vietnam.

While I believe that there still remains a very real majority support in the country for the President's policy on Vietnam—namely, the application of limited American means to the attainment of a limited American purpose—I also believe that the very same people who participate in that support are very gravely concerned about the future; where we are going and what we should do. I believe, moreover, that the people of New York State are against the escalation of the struggle in Vietnam beyond the present order of magnitude. They are opposed to the bombardment of heavy civilian population centers such as Hanoi and Haiphong.

There is no denying the extent and the effects of the present political crisis in Vietnam. The situation is grave.

But this is not a time for political sniping nor a time to hunt for scapegoats; it is a time for reevaluation and a time to face hard choices.

As we make this reevaluation and face these choices, we should heed the lessons to be learned from the political crisis itself; lessons that will be vitally important in the weeks to come.

First. We should have learned by now to control the impulse to involve ourselves in the internal political affairs of a nation we are trying to help, but we apparently have not.

Second. We should have learned by now that military successes and even overwhelming power on the battlefield are not enough to satisfy a people who yearn for peace, for food, and for a sense of human dignity, but we apparently have not.

Third. We should have learned by now to expect anti-American sentiment in any nation where thousands of our troops are engaged in combat, but we apparently have not.

It is my hope that the people of our country will not become panicked by the political turmoil in South Vietnam; that they will understand that our purpose in being there remains valid and unaltered. We are there, having been asked in by the Government of South Vietnam, to wage a struggle—along with the Vietnamese themselves—for high but limited objectives using necessary but limited military means. We are actively seeking a negotiated settlement that will allow freedom of choice in Vietnam.

But the recent political crisis has brought about a change in the situation we face, even if it has not altered our purpose.

It is within the realm of possibility that this situation could produce a government in South Vietnam that is dissatisfied with our help or with the presence of our forces, or that is unable to continue to carry its share of the battle.

The American people should be prepared for such an eventuality, and the U.S. Government—calling on the lessons of the political crisis—should take every possible precaution to prevent any claim that it interfered in these vital South Vietnamese political decisions in any way.

In the current crisis, this was not always the case. Our Embassy in Saigon apparently allowed Premier Ky the use of U.S. aircraft to transport forces loyal to him to the Da Nang-Hue area, thereby raising the implication that we concurred in the removal from office of the Buddhist General Thi, the commander of Vietnamese forces in the north. And it is generally agreed that the President's personal endorsement of Premier Ky strengthened Ky's image in the United States but not in his own country, and was the first step in the evolution of the crisis.

In the crucial months ahead, we must learn from experience. We must adopt and follow a hands-off policy regarding Vietnam political affairs. This is the first lesson.

The second lesson is that military effort is only part of waging a struggle such as the one in Vietnam. Indeed, the very success of ARVN-U.S. military operations has allowed political differences—which have always existed uneasily beneath the surface in South Vietnam—to flourish. The Buddhist groups, which are avowedly anti-Communist, would not have attempted to topple the Saigon government unless the military situation was becoming more secure. Various political, religious, and tribal groups have been jockeying for power in Vietnam for years. This is bound to continue regardless of the war. We can only hope to keep it from getting out of hand.

Beyond the military struggle and beyond the feuding political factions lies the real war—the war against poverty and even starvation.

Neither the United States nor the Saigon leaders are waging this battle with adequate resources. The United States plans to spend $12 billion on the military effort in Vietnam during the current fiscal year. U.S. aid earmarked for the 700,000 Vietnam refugees is a shockingly low figure of $21 million, of which only $5.2 million is designated for food commodities. The record of the Saigon government's aid for refugees is equally dismal; its projection for this year is $14 million. Unless an all-out effort is made by both ourselves and the South Vietnamese on these social and economic fronts, the whole military effort could have been in vain.

The third lesson concerns the inevitability of anti-Americanism in such situations. Whenever a nation as powerful as ours becomes massively embroiled in a foreign war, resentment is bound to ensue. Our troops come in and present a totally unfamiliar, and at times unpopular, life style. The expenditures of U.S. dollars revolutionizes and dislocates the economy. All attention seems to focus on the American presence.

Obviously, it is only a short step for the people of the host country to begin to believe that they are no longer the masters of their own fate. Their frustration invariably turns against those who are there precisely to help them. To prevent these feelings from exploding, it is up to the United States to conduct itself with dignity and restraint.

There is still time to apply these lessons to the Vietnam situation in the critical weeks ahead.

We face hard choices right at this moment.

Should the government of Premier Ky remain in office, or should another government with the same plans for Vietnam assume power and responsibility, the United States can continue to play its part in Vietnam.

On the other hand, if a new Vietnamese government should ask us to leave, we have three alternatives: first, persist nonetheless and virtually take over the governmental operations in South Vietnam; second, withdraw our troops from the Asian mainland; or, third, redeploy our forces to another Asian location.

If we are forced to reappraise our position, I urge that we do so in light of our basic policy to date—that is, we are in Vietnam because the Government of that country wishes to wage a struggle for independence and freedom and desires our help. In no event should the struggle there be carried on by U.S. forces alone. In no event should we "go it alone" in South Vietnam.

Just as I oppose carrying on the effort in Vietnam by ourselves, I also reject complete withdrawal from the Asian mainland. There are still a number of nations in that area which need and desire our help in holding off the Chinese Communists, who still vow to persist in their so-called wars of national liberation—which are actually wars of aggression.

Should conditions force us to leave South Vietnam, I believe that our best choice is to redeploy our troops in another Asian country. It is my view that our forces should be kept together in effective units and redeployed where they can be available to counter any new aggressive move by Communist China. Northern Thailand is so threatened, and should the Government of Thailand request such assistance, I believe that at least some of our troops ought to be restationed there.

I see no disgrace in redeploying our troops under the above conditions. I believe that we have already demonstrated what we set out to demonstrate: that we are willing to back our commitments. Every nation that wishes to be free from Communist domination has already been heartened by our determination in Vietnam.

In these efforts, however, we cannot guarantee success; we can only guarantee a good faith effort itself. This we have done.

On yesterday, Wednesday, April 20, Secretary of Defense McNamara testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I welcome his testimony as a clear indication that we intend to keep out of Vietnamese domestic politics, that our applications of force remains limited, and that we still seek and are willing to accept freely expressed desires of the Vietnamese people in a national election.

I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from Secretary McNamara's testimony, as reported in this morning's New York Times, be made a part of my remarks.

There being no objections, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PARTS OF MCNAMARA TESTIMONY

OPENING STATEMENT

The governing principle of our military assistance program has been and is that the vital interests of this country in the defense of the free world are dependent upon the strength of the entire free world, and not merely upon the strength of the United States.

The United States is the focus of power in the free world struggle for national independence and economic progress, but our country can't be everywhere at once and our country cannot and does not do everything the best. The balance of forces and the options necessary in today's world can be achieved only with stanch friends well armed, ready to do their parts of the job.

The whole spectrum of threats remains relevant, from subversion and terrorism through conventional attack to the possibility of nuclear war. And these threats must be dealt with where they cast their shadow.

It would be unbearably costly to this country in both money and human resources to maintain a credible force by itself all along the great arc of forward positions to the west, south, and east of the Soviet Union and Red China.

But the free world cannot leave gaps in that forward arc. And the solution to the problem, therefore, has been a combination of forces, a mix of local forces in the homeland and the United States and friendly forces behind those ready to supply equipment and money and ready to supply additional reinforcement in case of need.

The growth and the increased flexibility of the U.S. part of that combination has been very great indeed. We have increased our mobility, our firepower, and our total strength to the point where we can now have 325,000 men assigned to combat operations in southeast Asia, and do this without calling up our Reserve forces, without imposing wage or price controls on our economy, without material allocations to force diversions of scarce resources from civilian to military use, and with the military budget, which in relation to gross national product is less in this fiscal year and will be less next fiscal year than in any one of the 5 years 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, or 1964.

Strongest nation in history

No other nation in history has ever been so strong. Never has any other nation—and as a matter of fact, never has the United States in the past—carried such great military strength with so little burden on its society.

Nevertheless, the requirement is as valid as ever for local forces to help hold that forward line of defense. These local forces have some important advantages over U.S. forces. They know more about local conditions; they know more about local terrain; they get much of their support from sources near at hand; they are defending their own families.

The friendly nations along the forward defense arc together contribute more than 3.5 million men to defense, somewhat more than the total number of men in our own military forces.

Would we seriously consider providing U.S. manpower to replace this deterrent strength of some 3.5 million men? I think the answer is "No." Does our own military budget exceeding $50 billion a year, exclusive of military assistance, make sense without the military assistance program? Again, I think the answer is "No."

In conclusion I'd like to leave this one thought. I think it would be irrational for our country to spend over $50 billion a year on its own military forces while refusing to help train and equip our friends who share with us the forward defense job and whose capabilities are critical to the success of that job.

The other alternatives, I believe, are clear and severe. The United States either must make up the shortages with U.S. forces or should recast and retrench its foreign policy.

QUESTIONS

FULBRIGHT. The only point I wish to make: these treaties or aid programs don't authorize you in any way whatever to intervene in a civil war.

MCNAMARA. No, that's quite clear.

SPARKMAN. Would you follow that up and differentiate this from a civil war?

MCNAMARA. Yes, sir, I'd be happy to. * * * In 1960, in Hanoi, at the first conference of the Laodong Party, the Communist Party of North Vietnam, it was agreed there would be established a front organization directed to destroy the Government of South Vietnam. That front was established. And later in that year, Gen. [Vo Nguyen] Giap, the Defense Minister, stated that the north is the revolutionary base for the war that will be carried in the south. And that went on through a series of meetings in 1961 and 1962 all of which are documented, all of which point to the direction of the subversion in the South by Hanoi to the point where in 1964, before any U.S. combat troops were introduced in South Vietnam, the 325th Division of North Vietnam was infiltrated to the south.

Lt. Gen. (Hoang Van) Thai, who had been the assistant chief of the North Vietnamese joint general staff, was sent into South Vietnam to command the Vietcong forces and the North Vietnamese armed forces which were sent there and to the best of our knowledge he is currently military commander.

They had infiltrated about 45,000 men from the north including this regular army division by the end of 1964, before we sent U.S. military forces—combat forces—into South Vietnam, and, of course, as you know since that time the number of North Vietnamese regiments has increased substantially.

We think there are about 11 or more there, some 20,000 regular North Vietnamese soldiers there today.

Question. And they are being directed from the north?

Answer. In a very literal sense, Senator Sparkman. They are receiving not only day-to-day but hour-to-hour direction of their activities from Hanoi, directly.

Question. It's on that basis that you say that it constitutes outside aggression?

Answer. Yes, sir, without question, in my opinion.

Military goals

GORE. Mr. Secretary, the Communists seek to establish a Communist state and I, we resist that * * *. Is it the goal of our military to exterminate Communist influence in South Vietnam?

Answer. No, I don't think so. It isn't our goal to exterminate anything. It is our goal to apply sufficient military pressure to the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese forces now seeking to destroy the political and social fabric of South Vietnam to prove to North Vietnam that they can't win by military action in the south, but that doesn't require extermination of the Communist forces.

Question. Is it our military and political goal to establish a democratic state or an American-type state in South Veitnam?

Answer. It's our goal to allow these people to choose the form of political institutions under which they prefer to live. I suppose you could conceive of them choosing some form other than a democratic form. If they did, we would adhere to that choice.

Question. Good. We would be pleased if they choose a democratic form?

Answer. We would. We think they will. But we would respect their choice.

Question. Now that comes to the role of the military in the process of choice which is now forecast and soon to occur in South Vietnam. What will be the role of the U.S. military in the elections now forecasted to occur in South Vietnam?

Answer. Well, I conceive no role for our military in those elections. Our role is to support the South Vietnamese military forces in their campaigns against the Vietcong, not to participate in the forthcoming elections.

Question. Well, in that campaign against the Vietcong, will the U.S. forces support the Saigon Government forces in trying to prevent the Vietcong from participating in the elections?

Answer. Well, I don't believe any procedures for the elections have yet been developed. And I can't really respond directly to your question. It's not conceivable to me that the Vietcong will participate in the elections. As a matter of fact, the most recent experience we've had with elections in South Vietnam—those of a year ago, just about this month—led us to believe that the Vietcong will seek in every way possible to make it impractical to carry out elections.

Question. Well, I think I would accept the view that it is likely that the Vietcong will attempt to disrupt the elective processes.

But my question is related to the other possibility. Should the Vietcong, indigenous as they are to South Vietnam, make the other decision and undertake to participate, pull off their uniforms and put on their pajamas and vote seeking to exercise their influence there, what will be the role of the U.S. military in supporting the troops of the Saigon Government?

Answer. Our role would be, as I said, to carry out military operations against the Vietcong if they're continuing to fight. If they're not continuing to fight, if they're seeking to vote, I'm sure the government of South Vietnam would welcome them as voters. And surely we would do nothing to prevent that.

Question. Then if the Buddhists, the Christians, the Vietcong, the Montagnards, the various sects in Vietnam succeeded through a process of their own choosing in a coalition government dedicated not to our side or the Communist side but neutral or nonaligned, would you interpret that as inimical to the security of the United States?

Answer. No, certainly not.

Comparison with Soviet

PELL. And in conclusion would you be willing to give a rough estimate of the total dollar value of Communist bloc military aid versus U.S. military aid.

MCNAMARA. Yes, and these are subject to all of the qualifications that one must give to any Soviet figures. But the total we estimate for 1965 was $277 million in Soviet military aid to nonbloc countries and $650 million in Soviet economic aid to nonbloc countries. And for the 12 years 1954 to 1965, a period we have collected data for, the total military aid to nonbloc countries is over $4 billion and the total economic aid is over $5 billion. Now I want to emphasize that these figures are rough estimates and they include all forms of aid—grant, aid and sales, and so on.

Question. But roughly our program would be in the order of six or eight times that of the Soviets.

Answer. Well, in comparison with 1965, they had a program of roughly $900 million, and we had one 3⅓ times that.

ELECTIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, history has demonstrated time and again that a dramatic turn of events, unexpected and unplanned for, can provide opportunities for the active participants in an encounter. The course of history has sometimes depended on the ability of these participants to react quickly and correctly. Often, through such circumstances, apparent disaster has been turned to good account.

There may be a bare possibility that such a turn of events has occurred in Vietnam. It is yet too soon to determine just what good, if any, may come to the United States out of the recent internal, almost intragovernmental, upheavals we have been witnessing within South Vietnam in recent weeks. It appeared for a few days that utter chaos would engulf that unhappy country, already subjected to subversion, aggression, civil war, and military dictatorship as pointed out by the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS].

But now we see the prospect of some kind of election which may begin to move the tragic, dangerous Vietnamese situation away from the course of escalated war and toward stability through a process of self-determination by the people of South Vietnam. In my view, the United States should encourage this.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that the United States should and must take what steps we can to help insure the best kind of elections possible under the circumstances. We should help create the best possible conditions.

The first, and perhaps most constructive, step we should take is to assume the initiative in negotiating a cease-fire for a reasonable period for the campaigns and elections, say 2 or 3 weeks.

This has numerous advantages, both as to the reality of meaningful elections, and as to our posture before the uncertain body of world opinion.

As to the realities, I think we would all agree that a cease-fire will, while not in and of itself guaranteeing a meaningful election, at least remove a hindrance to broad participation and voluntary exercise of the franchise.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NELSON in the chair). The time of the Senator from Tennessee has expired.

Mr. GORE. I ask unanimous consent that I may have 5 additional minutes. Perhaps I should make that 10 additional minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Tennessee may be granted 10 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, as far as our posture is concerned, a cease-fire negotiated on our initiative would demonstrate our interest in and sincere dedication to legitimate elections, and it would lend credibility to our assertions in behalf of self-determination. We have said—and I am sure it is truthfully said; Secretary McNamara repeated it yesterday that we are in Vietnam only to guarantee the right of self-determination for the South Vietnamese.

Furthermore, the negotiation of a cease-fire, proposed by the United States, will allow us, in a sense, to keep the initiative, to act positively, and not to appear to be merely an agitated observer of events. In the constant propaganda battle which we face with our Communist adversaries, this is important.

Our participation in cease-fires and bombing pauses is not novel. We have participated in three such events in the relatively short time in which we have been openly active combatants in Vietnam.

On May 13 through 18, 1965, the United States unilaterally initiated a bombing pause. The first contingent of Marines had landed in Vietnam on May 6, and the President wished to give the Vietcong and the Hanoi government a chance to think about the implications of our actions.

We participated in the 1965 Christmas truce, more or less formally agreed to insofar as the 2 days, December 24 and 25, were concerned. We then went even further, it will be recalled, and unilaterally suspended bombing operations against North Vietnam through January 31, 1966.

On December 28, 1965, the Vietcong proposed a cease-fire during the Lunar New Year, which was celebrated during the period January 20–23, 1966. The United States went along with this cease-fire on the part of the Vietcong, which was worked out between the VC and the South Vietnamese, with which we cooperated.

Now, Mr. President, I see advantages, and few probable detrimental results, in the United States taking the initiative in proposing and negotiating a cease-fire for a period suitable for a campaign and election. This would lend credibility to our aims. It is in this spirit that I suggest this course of action to President Johnson.

Mr. CLARK and Mr. JAVITS addressed the Chair.

Mr. GORE. I yield first to the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I strongly endorse the suggestion just made by the Senator from Tennessee, and I hope it will receive the immediate careful and favorable consideration of both the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense.

This is a real opportunity to take a step toward the holding of genuinely fair elections for the South Vietnamese people.

I suggest to the State Department and the Defense Department that they give careful consideration to a number of matters:

First, let us ask for a truce to last for a period of 3 weeks. That is the period the British take for their election campaigns, and it has pretty sound precedent.

Second, let us see if the truce cannot spread through the countryside. Rather than have participation in the election limited to the villages and towns, as now contemplated, we should try to see that the South Vietnamese Government is chosen by the people of the entire geographic area, and that all adults have an opportunity to vote.

Third, let us see if the Catholic minority and the Buddhist majority can join in a cease-fire so that there can be the kind of atmosphere and conditions under which a fair election can be had.

Fourth, let us be sure that a military junta does not dominate the election process, and that the fear of reprisals does not interfere with the right of the people to support candidates of their own free choice.

Fifth, there should be complete freedom of speech, so that candidates can be free to campaign in a climate in which it is guaranteed that reprisals will not be taken against them for exercising their basic political rights.

I believe that the suggestion of the Senator from Tennessee, with the conditions I have noted, is a most valuable one, and I hope the executive arm of our Government will pursue it.

I thank the Senator.

Mr. GORE. I thank my distinguished and able friend from Pennsylvania.

None of us can be sure that an election is possible under the situation prevailing in that unhappy land. But, since one is to be undertaken, surely we should take every action possible commensurate with the security of our men there to facilitate an effective and popular election broadly based in order that we will have the maximum degree of self-determination.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GORE. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I endorse the proposals of the Senator—but with certain reservations.

Mr. GORE. I thank the Senator.

Mr. JAVITS. I do not think that we can, off the top of our heads on the floor of the Senate, come to an informed conclusion on a matter of this character—a military matter in the first instance. Therefore, I know that inherent in the Senator's suggestion is the consideration of security. If those responsible for such matters concur, the proposal will receive my support.

In addition, the proposal should be accepted by the South Vietnamese Government, and efforts should be made to bring about some comparable response from the Vietcong and Hanoi.

Next, I think that Senator Clark said, and I agree with him, that every effort should be made to see that the election is a genuinely free one—free from inordinate pressures by the Saigon government and free from the terror tactics of the Vietcong—and that the results of this election are accepted by all concerned.

The peace offensive must be continued with everybody, including the Vietcong and the Chinese. We do seek a negotiated settlement and we have announced our intention to foster and abide by a free election.

I believe that our good faith is demonstrated by the fact that we will accept the results of a free election even if there are Communists in that Government.

Mr. GORE. I am grateful to have the comments of the distinguished Senator from New York, along with those of the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania.

Unless we are willing to accept the results of an election, assuming that it is reasonably free of intimidation on the part of anyone, then our profession of belief in and dedication to the right of self-determination is void.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk has repeatedly said our Nation was prepared to accept that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator may proceed for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GORE. Secretary of State Dean Rusk has repeatedly assured the Senate in public hearings and assured the American people and the world that the United States would abide by a free election and the choice made by the Vietnamese people in a free election.

Only yesterday I asked the Secretary of Defense, Mr. McNamara, if as a consequence of an election the Buddhists, Christians, the Montagnards, and Vietcong, the various sects and groups of South Vietnam raised a coalesced government, which was a position of neutrality or nonalinement, would that be inimical to the security of the United

States? His answer was: "Of course not."

I want to join the Senator in his additions to my suggestions that all security questions be carefully weighed, and any action on the part of our Government must be guarded thereby, and I would make no suggestion contrary to that.

Also, I share his view that along with a cease-fire proposal, to make the assurance to the world that we will abide by the process of self-determination being made once again.

I would like to make this further comment to the able Senator. The chances of the Vietcong accepting this suggestion may be remote but let them reject it. Then, we stand demonstrably four square for determination and they are refusing to cooperate therein.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator and I compliment him again on the fine statement he has made.

INQUIRY INTO OPERATIONS OF NATION'S SERVICE ACADEMIES

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President on April 7, I urged in this forum that there be Senate inquiries into the operation of our Nation's service academies, beginning with the Naval Academy.

My recommendations were, in part, misunderstood by some persons and were misinterpreted by others. Nevertheless, the extent of understanding, acceptance, and approval of my position is gratifying.

In a letter to the distinguished senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell], chairman of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, I emphasized that in suggesting a complete investigation of the service academies, I do not have specific allegations to make against either the Military Academy or the Air Force Academy. I added, however, that each of those academies has had crippling experiences in past years—the Air Force Academy only recently. And I noted that their problems may have stemmed largely from conditions similar to those alleged to prevail at the Naval Academy, as disclosed in newspaper articles, principally in the Washington Post, and as discussed in my Senate speech on April 7. Subsequently, I received additional information concerning academic turmoil at the Naval Academy.

So, in consequence, I communicated to Chairman Russell the belief that there might appropriately be a timely emphasis on Naval Academy inquiries and a careful, unhurried comparative study of the whole service academy system. Out of such a study, I suggested, the best elements of each academy's system can be identified and emphasized, while other phases can be deemphasized or eliminated.

Mr. President, I reiterate my assurance to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell] that I have full faith that the Senate Committee on Armed Services, within its jurisdiction, can and will make or cause to be made the studies of the service academies which seem to be necessary.

I stated to the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, and I repeat: I do not plan to offer legislation in the Senate at this time, either to create an investigating committee or to change existing law relating to the service academies. Only if the Armed Services Committee would so recommend would I urge and support placing elsewhere investigative jurisdiction over service academies.

In the meantime, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee responded to my communication by noting that the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Stennis], the chairman of the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee, asked my able colleague from West Virginia, Senator Robert C. Byrd, to conduct a study for that subcommittee of the charges against the Naval Academy. This is a significant development because preparedness is involved. Senator Byrd will perform with his customary diligence and thoroughness.

Senator Russell appropriately noted that, in addition, it seems to him that the subject of concern about the Academy and the practice of limiting the number of failures are properly matters for attention by the Board of Visitors to the Naval Academy. He pointed out that, by law, the Board is charged with the responsibility of inquiring into "the state of morale and discipline, the curriculum, instruction, physical equipment, fiscal affairs, academic methods, and other matters relating to the Academy that the Board decides to consider."

Concerning the Board of Visitors to the Naval Academy, he called attention to the fact that:

> Senator Brewster is serving as the designee of the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services on the Board this year and the Vice President has named Senators Holland, Bible, and Boggs as the other Senate Members. I understand the Board is planning to visit the Academy on April 29.

In a press release last Friday, I expressed satisfaction that inquiries I have urged are in capable hands, under proper auspices and jurisdiction, and are underway.

I also pointed out that information from my files had been given to the appropriate Senators in support of my belief that plebe indoctrination at the Naval Academy is permitted to be administered in such a manner as to inhibit some first-year midshipmen in their need and their efforts to acquire an adequate academic foundation as they begin at the college level.

Mr. President, I make it clear that I had complaints against the Naval Academy plebe indoctrination system for more than a year, but it was not on the basis of these complaints that I urged the service academy inquiries. These plebe indoctrination misconduct allegations were not, of themselves, sufficiently serious to form the basis for a broad investigation of the service academies. Yet, they are basic to the broader charges of academic grade juggling and rigging which stem from complaints attributed to members of the Naval Academy faculty—a faculty which now appears to be low in morale, inordinately disorganized, and on the verge of being seriously depleted as a consequence of resignations, discharges, and related types of separation.

There is no valid way of comparing the service academies with civilian universities point by point, but it is essential that there be comparisons of the academic requirements and the scholastic grading systems that lead to the awarding of the B.S. degree. Rigging or juggling grades of midshipmen or cadets as a means to the end of awarding a B.S. degree, or any other degree, with an officer's commission is a fraudulent procedure. This should not be tolerated.

It seems to me that the service academies are attempting to compress too many indoctrination, academic, athletic, and tactical and leadership military training activities into a 4-year period and as a consequence the overloading is compensated for in questionable grading and indoctrination methods which are unfair.

I make it clear that I am not an opponent of the service academy system. Neither am I an enemy of the administrators of the system, nor of those midshipmen and cadets participating in it. The task is difficult and demanding on administrators and participants—probably too demanding on the participating midshipmen and cadets. This necessitates adjustments and changes—perhaps changes of a fundamental nature.

It would not be unexpected if the ultimate finding of Senators and others who will be studying the prevailing problems will be that adequate time cannot be found in a 24-hour day, a 7-day week, and a 52-week year to meet adequately both the academic prerequisites for the B.S. degree and the physical and military requirements necessary for naval, military, and air officers within the framework of the 4-year curriculums of the service academies.

For my part, I prefer and vigorously support changes which would revise the curriculum and schedule to cover a 5-year period.

But I oppose inclusion of the plebe indoctrination technique which, in my judgment, weakens the academic foundation of too many young men making the transition from high school or preparatory school to the college level. My personal preference would be for an expansion of ROTC units and scholarships and a competitive system for selecting from candidates for advanced ROTC those best qualified to enroll at the service academies at the conclusion of the college sophomore year. Then, following a summer of midshipman or cadet orientation, service academy scholastic and advanced military training life could properly and appropriately be stretched over 3 years for completion of what normally would be the junior and senior years. This arrangement would afford more adequate time for advanced military science and leadership training, for physical culture and athletic pursuits, and for scholastic requirements incident to receiving the B.S. degree. Such a system certainly should compensate for any increases in cost by producing much better prepared and better qualified new officers for the three services. Whether or not the same systems would be indicated for the Coast Guard and Merchant Marine Academies is a subject for study and consultation by appropriate officials and legislative committees.

My commendation has been given to Washington Post Staff Writer Leroy Aarons, who authored a revealing and thought-provoking series of articles concerning the alleged state of affairs at the Naval Academy.

In a news analysis in last Monday's issue, Mr. Aarons wrote, in part:

> The administrators (at the Naval Academy) take the position that they are aware of the problems and are earnestly seeking to solve them. At the same time, they could seek to minimize their seriousness, saying that the problems are a natural outgrowth of the changes that have been taking place.
>
> This is partly true. But, as they (the administrators of Naval Academy affairs) may be learning from experience, no matter how impressive it looks on paper, change can create more problems than it solves. What change? How much?
>
> If a military school is to recruit a new wave of civilians, how much voice can it afford to give them?
>
> How far should one stress "academics" in a military school in the light of other demands?
>
> On the other hand, to what extent do military and athletic requirements actually contribute to naval leadership?
>
> Can an institution seek to create "the whole man" within a prep school world of spit shines, curfews, and on-campus restrictions?
>
> Recent events at the Academy indicate that these questions cannot be answered with partial solutions or the promise of good intentions. Perhaps a broad rethinking of the Academy's role is in order. * * *
>
> The schism between the military and academic missions has other implications. The midshipmen, torn between the demands of a strengthened educational program and stringent military and athletic requirements, is caught in the middle. Something has to be sacrificed, and often it is his studies.
>
> Over the past 10 years the Academy has added 139 young civilian faculty members to its staff * * *. These young teachers brought vitality, idealism, and new ideas to an institution that for years had enjoyed a relaxed clubby atmosphere * * *. Now a large segment of this group is demanding changes * * *. In effect they want the Academy to act more like a university.
>
> This catalog of problems cuts across the whole spectrum of the Academy existence, with implications for the other service schools as well. The answers are not easy and cannot be found in 5 days or even 5 weeks. Senator Jennings Randolph, Democrat, of West Virginia, obviously recognized this when he called for an exhaustive study of the service academies last week.
>
> In response, Senator Robert C. Byrd, his colleague from West Virginia, has been assigned the limited task of "reviewing" academics at the Academy. In addition, Senator Daniel Brewster, Democrat, of Maryland, will lead a team to the Academy later this month on the regular annual tour of the Board of Visitors.
>
> Their findings, along with the report of an accrediting team that studied the Academy last month, will be influential in determining whether or not a more searching, long-range analysis is to be made.

In its issue of April 16, 1966, the Washington Evening Star reacted somewhat differently. I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.), Evening Star, Apr. 16, 1966]

Report on the Naval Academy

The Middle States Association of Colleges and Universities can hardly be accused of indifference to proper academic standards. Consequently, a preliminary report by one of the association's evaluation teams, which praises the Naval Academy for its efforts to achieve a good balance in the demands placed upon the midshipmen, should help to clear the air in the current flap over the Academy's grading and teaching practices.

After all, the Academy is not a typical liberal arts college. Its basic function is to train young men who will be equipped to function effectively as officers in the Navy or Marine Corps. This calls for heavy emphasis on discipline, physical fitness, and education in the art (if this is the right word) of fighting a war. It is significant, or so it seems to us, that the Naval Academy is not noted for its peaceniks, for campus demonstrations, or for midshipmen who think they have a right to march around with placards featuring four-letter words. There must also be some significance in the fact that there is an active demand in industry and other civilian pursuits for Academy men after they have retired from military service.

It would be wise to await the final report of the Middle States Association. Meanwhile, on the basis of the draft report, it probably is safe to assume that things have not really gone to pot in Annapolis.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, it is unfortunate that the Evening Star editorial seems to dismiss as inconsequential a serious or potentially serious problem at the Naval Academy. I do not propose to be satisfied entirely with any report of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Universities unless it can be proved that the team from that organization probed comprehensively into Naval Academy affairs over a longer period than 5 days. The task is impossible of adequate comprehension in such a short period of time.

I prefer to view the problems of the Naval Academy as being present, serious, and soluble. In this light, I agree with the Washington Post editorial entitled "Evaluation at Annapolis," in the April 18, 1966, issue.

Also, I believe it is appropriate to invite attention to editorial reaction in my home State newspapers to the call I have issued for inquiries into the affairs of the service academies. I am grateful for the understanding and support which several of our West Virginia newspaper editorial writers have accorded to our speech of April 7 and to the designation of my colleague, Senator Byrd, to make the Naval Academy inquiry for the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record editorials from the Washington Post, April 18, 1966, "Evaluation at Annapolis"; from the Intelligencer, Wheeling, W. Va., April 9, 1966, " Randolph Joins Byrd in Turning National Spotlight on State"; from the Wheeling News-Register, Wheeling, W. Va., April 12, 1966, "The Naval Academy Under Fire"; from the Fairmont Times, Fairmont, W. Va. April 15, 1966, "A Necessary Inquiry"; and from the Dominion-News, Morgantown, W. Va., April 16, 1966, "No Need To Fix Academy Grades."

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 18, 1966]

Evaluation at Annapolis

Disturbed by criticism of academic policies at the U.S. Naval Academy, Congress has decided on not one, but two, inquiries into policies and procedures at Annapolis. There is no scandal here. There is, however, a serious question to be answered as to how well Annapolis and the other service academies, are performing their mission.

That mission is to train young men to become career military officers. Past achievements and past heroes are not relevant, despite the justifiable pride in them. The role of the military and of military officers has changed dramatically in the last two decades. Today's officer ought to be as well educated as his civilian contemporaries and should have a broad range of knowledge and interests if he is to serve his country well. The best place to stimulate the potential officer's intellectual growth is at the service academies.

It is up to the Naval Academy's Board of Visitors to undertake an evaluation of the curriculum and grading practices when it meets in Annapolis later this month. The dean and superintendent of the Academy are both committed to improving the educational program, but a strong mandate from the Board and from Congress might lead to more sweeping revisions sooner. Change has come slowly and has been strongly resisted in the name of tradition. Let the Board seek the views of faculty and students at the Academy, then consult academic and military leaders throughout the Nation with the aim of laying before Congress a bold blueprint for the future of the service academies.

[From the Wheeling (W. Va.) Intelligencer, Apr. 9, 1966]

Randolph Joins Byrd in Turning National Spotlight on State

West Virginia's Senators are keeping their State in the national spotlight.

First, it was Senator Byrd, whose exposé of shocking welfare abuses in the District of Columbia paved the way for a measure, if only a slight one, of improvement on a national scale.

And now it is Senator Randolph, with his demand for a thoroughgoing Senate investigation of the various U.S. service schools, with emphasis on the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

Citing a series of articles in the Washington Post and information he personally had gathered from midshipmen, Senator Randolph charged in a Senate speech the other day that "grave questions are raised as to the quality of education (at Annapolis) and the products of that education; namely, the officers being graduated and being presented to the Senate en bloc each year for rubber-stamp confirmation."

These are serious charges, reflecting most unfavorably on institutions which historically have enjoyed in the public mind a place of high esteem both as educational instruments and examples of honorable behavior. They should be either established or disproven. The indictment cannot be permitted to hang in the air. The probe Senator Randolph proposes would seem to be an appropriate means of getting at the truth.

West Virginia may be small, but her voice is not feeble, whether heard from the Senate or the House, where four Democrats and a lone Republican keep the Nation aware of this corner of Appalachia.

[From the Wheeling (W. Va.) News-Register, Apr. 12, 1966]

The Naval Academy Under Fire

What are we coming to when the U.S. Naval Academy admits that it has had limits on the number of midshipmen allowed to be flunked despite their grades?

According to Naval Academy officials, at present, not more than 13 percent of the plebes and 4 percent of the seniors can be given D's and F's. Academic Dean A. Bernard Drought acknowledged that last spring he instituted an experiment controlling the higher grades for plebes, as well as the barely passing and failing D's and F's. In one department, for example, the faculty was instructed to give 15 percent of the plebes A's and 35 percent B's. The system grew out of the so-called practical necessity of graduating reasonable numbers of naval officers each year.

This startling information was disclosed in the course of a speech on the floor of the U.S. Senate by West Virginia's Senator Jennings Randolph. Senator Randolph is concerned and rightly so with reports of conditions at the Naval Academy. Primarily he objects to a system which tends to subordinate academics at the Academy in preference to so-called plebe indoctrination with an excess of harassment. While the plebes may be acquiring foundation experience in the traditions of the brigade, in too many cases it is to the detriment of academic foundations.

On consecutive plebe classes—the one which entered in July 1964 and the current fourth class which entered in July 1965—two out of three of Senator Randolph's nominees experienced inordinate difficulties or disillusionment with the Academy, according to the Senator.

There appears to be far too much hazing and time-consuming humiliation of the plebes which allows them little opportunity for actual study.

Senator Randolph believes that unless the Academy officers take proper steps to correct these conditions it will be necessary for the Congress to act. Meanwhile, he has called for a complete Senate investigation of the Naval Academy and a curtailment of appropriations for educational plans at Annapolis until basic changes are made. Senator Randolph deserves the full support of his colleagues in this undertaking.

[From the Fairmont (W. Va.) Times, Apr. 15, 1966]

A Necessary Inquiry

An official investigation of the academic standards at the U.S. Naval Academy was almost inevitable after disclosures of the grading practices there. The task has been handed to Senator Robert C. Byrd, of West Virginia, and he can be relied upon to go into the problem deeply.

Following a series of articles in the Washington Post, the Academy admitted that it had imposed limits on the number of midshipmen given failing grades regardless of their academic standing in class. Not more than 13 percent of the plebes and only 4 percent of the seniors were allowed to flunk out.

Before Byrd's appointment to make the investigation had been announced—although he and Chairman John C. Stennis of the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee had already agreed upon it, Senator Jennings Randolph took the floor to report on academic conditions at the Academy and called upon the Senate to look further into the matter.

A. Bernard Drought, academic dean at Annapolis, acknowledged that in one department the faculty had been instructed to give 15 percent of the plebes A's and 35 percent B's. He said this practice grew out of the necessity of graduating reasonable numbers of naval officers each year.

Randolph primarily objects to a system which tends to subordinate academics at the Academy in preference to so-called plebe indoctrination with an excess of harassment. While the plebes may be acquiring foundation experience in the traditions of the brigade, in too many cases it is to the detriment of academic foundations.

On consecutive plebe classes—the one which entered in July 1964 and the current fourth class which entered in July 1965—two out of three of Randolph's nominees experienced inordinate difficulties or disillusionment with the Academy, according to the Senator.

There appears to be far too much hazing and time-consuming humiliation of the plebes which allows them little opportunity for actual study.

Senator Byrd intends to talk not only to those charged with responsibility for the academic program at the Academy but others with specialized knowledge in the field of education. Out of his report may be expected to come some specific regulations for the improvement of what seems to be a situation unbecoming to a Federal educational institutional.

[From the Morgantown (W. Va.) Dominion-News, Apr. 16, 1966]

No Need To Fix Academy Grades

It's bad enough when parents browbeat teachers and school principals into passing students whom they have flunked, but what must we think when we find the same practice at the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

It seems several civilian professors have flunked students at the Academy, only to have officials at the top changing the grades to pass. The excuse given is that the percentage of failure in each class has to be kept to a certain level in order not to lose too many potential officers. It is argued that the increase in original flunking was brought about by increased academic standards at the Naval Academy.

We presumed that professors at the Academy are capable of making prudent judgments as to a student's grade in the light of the needs of the service. We therefore think it dishonest for the Academy to pass students who have flunked. There is very little difference between this and the student cheating that was exposed several years ago at the Air Force Academy and, before that, at West Point. The only difference is that the dishonest students were dismissed from their schools. At Annapolis, the officials responsible for the changing of teachers' gradings are being praised for their initiative.

It appears to us a strange hierarchy of values. The Navy in the modern world still requires courage, leadership, physical endurance and the like. But it also requires a fully educated man—one well versed in the intricacies of the advance technology of the space age. A naval dunderhead, passed merely to fill a quota, is probably going to be a liability rather than an asset.

Besides—fixing grades is dishonest. The fact that it has official approval, is immaterial.

SALE OF A-4B JET AIRCRAFT TO ARGENTINA

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, we are all aware of the heavy demands and requirements put upon the Navy's inventory of high-performance jet aircraft as a result of the hostilities and operations in southeast Asia. Therefore, I was both surprised and disturbed to learn that an agreement has been consummated under which 50 of the Navy's A-4B Skyhawks have been sold to Argentina under the military assistance program.

I was even more disturbed about this when I learned that the Naval Air Reserve is not to receive A-4B aircraft which had previously been programed for it and is being compelled to accept the substantially inferior A-4A aircraft as a substitute.

I am advised that the A-4B, which is a greatly improved version of the A-4A, has proved to be a highly successful aircraft and that in it most of the undesirable features of the A-4A have been eliminated.

I do not question the legality of this transaction. I understand that it was worked out and approved as the law provides. However, I do question its wisdom and the policy behind it.

I am not opposed to military assistance as such. However, I do believe that the needs of our own Active and Reserve Forces should and must come first. Thus, I am very much concerned that the Naval Air Reserve has been compelled to lose some of the A-4Bs scheduled for it and to replenish these losses with the obsolete or nearly obsolete A-4A. It distresses me to see that the requirements of our own Reserve Forces come last when we are engaged in a shooting war.

I must also add that, since the future requirements of our southeast Asia operations are so uncertain, it seems to be both unwise and imprudent to dispose of any high-performance jet aircraft at this time. The aircraft which we have agreed to sell to Argentina may very well be needed for our active Navy Forces in coming months.

This appears to be only part of the picture of the relatively low priority given to our Reserve Forces. The Chief of the Office of Reserve Components, at a hearing before the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee a few weeks ago, told us, to my great surprise and dismay, that our Army Reserve components have a lower priority than do military assistance program commitments in the distribution of Army equipment which is in Army-wide short supply. In other words, as far as the distribution of equipment in Army-wide short supply is concerned, the requirements of our Reserve Forces are met only after completion of requirements for Active Duty Forces and military assistance program commitments.

On April 1, I wrote to the Secretary of Defense about this matter. I asked that he inform me as to the accuracy of the information which had been furnished me, as well as justification for the transaction if the facts are accurate. I also asked him to inform me whether the sale of these planes to Argentina is irrevocable, because, based upon the information I now have, I believe that this transaction is not in the best interests of our national security posture.

In this letter I also expressed to the Secretary of Defense my apprehension and concern about the relatively low priority which our Reserve Forces apparently have in the distribution of equipment at this time.

I have not yet received a response from the Secretary of Defense to my letter of April 1. I hope that he will be able to give me a satisfactory explanation of a situation which I find very difficult to understand. If the facts are as they have been represented to me, then I believe it is a matter which requires attention at the highest echelon, and I intend to pursue it thoroughly.

ELECTIONS IN VIETNAM

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I have followed with interest the colloquy between the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], and the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] on the elections in South Vietnam.

I agree with the sentiment expressed that this country should maintain the initiative in pushing for a peaceful solution of the dilemma in which it finds itself in southeast Asia. I believe we all agree on that. Perhaps this offer of a cease-fire for a limited period might contribute to this peaceful posture and purpose.

I believe that from a pragmatic standpoint elections are inevitable. The Ky government would have fallen before today if this agreement had not been reached. Any realistic observer must agree to that.

If the resulting government, established as a result of any election, is unwilling to carry on the struggle against communism, the aggression from North Vietnam, and the aggression supported by Red China and Russia, then surely we must make an agonizing reappraisal.

It would surely result in a serious retrenchment to certain enclaves at the least and probably a total withdrawal from South Vietnam.

Let us assume the adoption of this proposal for a cease-fire. As the senior Senator from Tennessee pointed out, he has no assurance or idea that the Vietcong will accept the proposal. If they do accept it, do we have any guarantee that they would live up to it? They did not live up to the Christmas cease-fire. They did not live up to the lunar cease-fire.

If they do accept the proposal, it means that it serves their purpose. Otherwise they would neither accept nor abide by the agreement.

Last night I saw on the television news excerpts showing the senior Senator from Tennessee questioning the Secretary of Defense. He asked:

> Suppose the Vietcong change their uniforms for pajamas during this election period, disappear as a military force, and become a force for drumming up votes for their side.

This could indeed happen. Even the North Vietcong regiments and regulars now in South Vietnam could change their uniforms for civilian garb and spend 3 weeks electioneering in that 60 percent of the area now virtually controlled by the Vietcong.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to proceed for an additional 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I believe these are questions that we must study and answer. I am sure that the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the White House staff, and the President himself will carefully consider and study these questions. Yes, the initiative of offering the cease-fire might well be helpful in once more demonstrating the sincerity of the United States and its people in finding a peaceful solution. It might be worth the risks entailed.

It seems to me that we have made it clear that we want to go to the conference table, that we have no design for 1 acre of the territory of North Vietnam. I believe that the world understands this.

If a further gesture is needed, well and good. I hope that the five points so eloquently outlined by the senior Senator from Pennsylvania can be attained. However, it seems to me that, in the realities of the present situation, it is difficult to understand how in August we can have what I would term to be a genuine election.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD an article entitled "Extorted Elections—Buddhist Protests Questions," written by William S. White, and published in the Washington Post of April 21, 1966.

I am not in agreement with all of Mr. White's observations and conclusions, but I do feel that he very eloquently expresses apprehension as to the true significance of the pending election.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 21, 1966]

EXTORTED ELECTIONS—BUDDHIST PROTEST QUESTIONED

(By William S. White)

Far too much hopefulness is being raised by the promise of elections in South Vietnam that has been extorted from the military regime there by the Buddhists.

Though it may be akin to making rude noises in church to say as much, the unhappy truth is that this is going to be a very dangerous experiment. How a nation under invasion by Communists from the north and endlessly assaulted from within by the fifth-column Vietcong can carry out genuine elections is quite a question.

Never before have armed Communists allowed any truly free political expression so long as there was the slightest prospect that it would go against them. Various administration officials are undoubtedly correct that given a fair choice the South Vietnamese will never choose armed communism to lead them. They point to past provincial elections to support the estimate.

But local elections are not national elections. Moreover, attempts to compare the chaos in South Vietnam with the growing pains of the early American Republic strike this observer as well-intended moonshine. To equate the protest of the Buddhists with, say, a Thomas Jefferson-Alexander Hamilton debate on democratic principles is surely to give the Buddhists a status they don't have.

The early Americans were politically sophisticated and educated men with a tradition of self-government and self-restraint brought from Britain. Nor were these American debates conducted while armed invaders were attacking Philadelphia and their local accomplices were kidnaping and killing people who did not agree with them.

Indeed, the alleged legitimacy of "Buddhist protests" looks dubious in the extreme on any detached analysis. Is it a legitimate exercise for a powerful group in a country savagely torn by guerrilla warfare to put a pistol at the head of its leadership, unelected though it be?

If these Buddhists are in fact reasonable men why could not they have withheld their demands for elections at least until their land was fairly secure from Communist marauders?

Every Communist "war of liberation" beginning with that in Greece long ago has demanded free elections—particularly while the country concerned was in torture and while the Communist assailants were losing ground militarily, as they have been in Vietnam.

That Premier Ky had to submit to the Buddhists is beyond debate. He could not do otherwise unless he was ready to see the war effort torn apart; but those who see this Buddhist squeeze play as only a splendid example of "democracy in action" or some such cherished slogan are putting forward an odd notion.

Though free elections are everywhere desirable, granted some peace and order and a guarantee that they will indeed be free, it is quite obvious that these preconditions do not prevail in South Vietnam.

Those who are not bemused by sloganizing, therefore, can only hope that this unavoidable risk may be run with minimum gain to the Communists, who always resort to so-called democratic means precisely when their real tactic of shooting their way into power is being least successful.

South Vietnam's elections, in all the present state of affairs, are far more likely to serve those here and abroad who want us simply to get out. For if the Communists by terrorism can pervert this election just enough to cast any doubt, however spurious, on the central anti-Communist resolve of South Vietnam a readymade excuse to the cut-and-run forces here at home will be at hand.

They will only need to say that the South Vietnamese themselves no longer welcome our "interference." The U.S. Government, of course, could not do anything to alter Ky's reluctant decision, even if it wanted to do so. It would be instantly charged with some form of "imperialism"; and most of all by the home critics of prosecuting the war to the end. The Buddhists know this; indeed they have undoubtedly been emboldened in their demands more by an American minority than by anything else.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORTON. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I very much admire the Senator from Kentucky, and I especially admire his understanding of the mechanics and need for a bipartisan foreign policy. He has spoken very characteristically in this regard.

I am glad that the Senator endorses this proposal. It is very important.

The Senator knows from his great experience that we do not expect that the Vietcong will necessarily observe this truce. However, I do think that something can be said for the idea anyway. It evidences our readiness to abide by the will of South Vietnamese people themselves.

I believe that what worries the people of the United States is that we might go beyond our present limited objectives.

We want to afford them an opportunity to express themselves. When they do express themselves, we will abide by their expression. It is vital, moreover, that we continue to base our presence in Vietnam on the fact that we are there at the invitation of the Saigon government, and that should this government no longer desire our presence, we have no alternative but to withdraw.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. MORTON. I could not agree more. I have publicly stated time after time that if they do not want us there, obviously we cannot stay. That would be an untenable position, completely out of character with the traditions of this great Nation.

The point I was trying to make is that it just is not as easy as trying to implement the five points developed by the Senator from Pennsylvania. The proposed election has many complications. Certainly we do not want our men in uniform to start electioneering or participating in the election. A ceasefire is a great gesture, and we are not going to violate a ceasefire if one is negotiated, but it could free some 500,000 Communist trained men to shed their uniforms and do nothing but spend 3 weeks in electioneering.

This is one of the possibilities that I think must be considered before we implement or put forward this suggestion; and I think the Senator from New York was eminently correct when he pointed out that certain precautions in the nature of security should be taken. I further think because of the possible political consequences in Vietnam a cease-fire proposal must be carefully studied before such a proposition is officially put forward by this Government.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator.

U.S. BUSINESS AND THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EFFORT—TWO VALUABLE INITIATIVES

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, as a sponsor of numerous measures to insure equal employment opportunity which led to the enactment of title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and of S. 3092 in the present session to improve and strengthen the provisions of title VII, I have repeatedly emphasized the need—along with effective regulatory efforts of government at all levels—for a massive effort to involve business, industry, and labor in voluntary programs for training members of minority groups and giving them motivation. The power of American business has yet to be fully unleashed in the gigantic task of catching up after a century of lag among Negroes.

Two forward-looking initiatives by business and industry in this field and the related field of slum eradication have recently come to my attention, and I believe they should be given national notice. They are the type of activity which it should be the policy of government to stimulate and encourage.

One of these programs is conducted by P. Ballantine & Sons, brewers of Newark, N.J., and involves a series of management seminars on equal employment opportunity held in cooperation with the Urban League of Essex County. The second is an urban rehabilitation pilot project in Harlem conducted by the U.S. Gypsum Co. Both appear to be excellent initiatives in a direction which I believe has enormous potential for good for our Nation.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD at this point materials describing the two programs.

There being no objection, the materials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

P. BALLANTINE & SONS,
Newark, N.J., March 31, 1966.

Hon. JACOB JAVITS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR JAVITS: May I call your attention to the enclosed brochure which outlines the objectives of a series of seminars currently being held here at P. Ballantine & Sons, Newark, N.J., in cooperation with the Urban League of Essex County?

This first management institute on equal employment opportunity in business and industry is, in essence, an educational experiment to provide supervisory personnel with greater insight into potentials available in the Negro labor market today, and to assist company managers in setting up and maintaining a continuing program of equality of opportunity for every job applicant.

Conceived and organized by the Urban League, the institute is being conducted by James A. Pawley, executive director of the league, and Godfrey C. Henry, institute director.

We here at Ballantine are enthusiastic about the program which includes guest lectures, problem solving, reading assignments, and group discussions and other dynamic activities, and we join the league in the hope that other companies and communities in New Jersey will encourage similar seminars.

Your comments and suggestions would help us in our efforts to gain widespread visibility for the program and to interest other companies in participation.

Sincerely,

JOHN E. FARRELL,
President.

MANAGEMENT INSTITUTE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY IN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

(Organized and directed by the Urban League of Essex County; sponsored by P. Ballantine & Sons, of Newark, N.J.)

"The broad objectives of the Management Institute on Equal Employment Opportunity in Business and Industry is to assist, through providing the material for a learning process, in the implementation of title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which makes unlawful discrimination in all areas of employment practices.

"The institute, a 12-month project, will run for 60 hours and over a period of 3 months for each full program. Two 2½-hour group discussion seminars will be held weekly.

"Our aim is to provide essential information which would facilitate a reassessment of the Negro's capacity for participating in American business and industrial development."—JAMES A. PAWLEY, executive director, Urban League of Essex County.

Management institute seminar group discussions will focus on:

1. A brief but substantive review of the African background of the Negro American as a guide to better understanding and assessing his economic and cultural potential.
2. The economic and cultural beginnings of the Negro in America.
3. The Negro's contribution to American economic and cultural development; emphasizing the historic development of Negro business from the establishment of National Negro Business League in 1900, and the development of Negro song, dance, literature and theatre in the same perspective.
4. The current economic and social status of the Negro, and the contributing factors and corrective proposals.
5. The impact of equal employment legislation on the opportunities of the Negro worker.
6. Affirmative action: definition and analysis of its meaning in regard to the provision of equal employment opportunity in business and industry.
7. The development of effective programs for recruiting, interviewing and testing the Negro applicant.
8. Positive action in job assignments to utilize the employee's full ability, evaluating task performance, on-the-job training and retraining, upgrading, and promotion.
9. Identifying and correcting practices not conducive to smooth relations between minority group members and others in business and industry.
10. Coping with problems arising from intracompany transfers of minority group members in the work force.
11. Internal opposition to work force integration.
12. Assessing and measuring corporate executive efficiency in providing equal employment opportunity in the need now to produce results rather than the traditional concern for avoiding problems.
13. What corporate management should know about the nonwhite community's aspirations, problems and prevailing attitudes.
14. Building the company's image in the Negro community.
15. Evaluation of, and specific recommendations on, the business and industrial community's development of support in the nonwhite community for furthering programs for economic opportunity and development.

APRIL 11, 1966.

Mr. JOHN E. FARRELL,
President, P. Ballantine & Sons,
Newark, N.J.

DEAR MR. FARRELL: Thank you for your letter of March 31, 1966, regarding the seminars your company is holding in cooperation with the Urban League of Essex County.

I very sincerely commend your company and the Urban League for undertaking this most constructive effort toward equal employment opportunity. It is precisely the kind of forward-looking program which I have long urged our private enterprise system to adopt, and I hope that you will continue to keep me advised as to your progress.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

JACOB K. JAVITS,
U.S. Senator.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Apr. 11, 1966]

PROFIT IN REHABILITATION: U.S. GYPSUM REBUILDS IN HARLEM AND MAKES IT PAY—SO FAR

(By Bowen Northrup)

NEW YORK.—Mrs. Stephanie Lahoussaye, a sturdy and gentle woman of 73, who lives quietly with her toy white poodle, may not be aware of it, but she and her fellow tenants at 307 East 102d Street are passing judgment daily on a precarious new initiative in housing.

Eight months ago their building was among the most dismal in a forlorn gray row of tenements. Now, painted light gray, with bright yellow trim, and totally refurbished inside, it is the showcase of the block. The local idlers survey it with something like incredulity.

Slum rehabilitation heretofore has been the unchallenged province of government. But the U.S. Gypsum Co. has plunged into the heart of Harlem with a $1.25 million pilot project to demonstrate that private interests can profitably undertake slum renovation. The company bought, and is rebuilding, six old buildings.

If it works in Harlem, it should work anywhere, U.S. Gypsum thinks, and rehabilitation appears to be a relative bargain; work at No. 307, the first building to be completed, cost between $9,000 and $9,500 per living unit, compared with an average $22,500 per unit for new public housing in New York City.

As a maker of building materials, U.S. Gypsum wants to open up a market it calculates at more than $20 billion. When it has finished its six buildings and sold them, at cost, to a nonprofit corporation, it probably will emerge with honors for public service and private enterprise.

But the test has just begun. U.S. Gypsum is on the scene now, with vigor, and the city is backing its project to the hilt. However, the problems of the ghetto tend to be endemic, and new housing in slum areas has a discouraging way of becoming slum housing.

UNCERTAINTIES OF THE FUTURE

Those asking "Did it work?" will begin to wonder whether Mrs. Lahoussaye and her neighbors continue to pay the rent and keep the place tidy, whether the neighborhood experiences a general uplift, and whether a lavish courtship of tenants accustomed to being disregarded produces results (U.S. Gypsum even stocks the refrigerators with food for the day when the tenants move into the refurbished building).

Mrs. Lahoussaye has lived at No. 307 for 40 years, and she recalls how it deteriorated with perennial neglect by an absentee landlord. There were boarded-up storefronts on the ground floor, a scattering of tenants elsewhere, and littered hallways favored by the drug addicts of the area for lounging.

Rents, originally pegged at $20 to $40 a month under rent control, has been reduced to an average of $11 because of 149 violations of the health and building codes. At least one tenant was paying only $1 a month.

"There were no closets or showers. The plaster was falling off the walls and the plumbing with it," says Mrs. Lahoussaye with a rueful shake of the head. "The hallways were full of garbage—sometimes on fire—and the rats were everywhere. They would bite at your legs."

Cockroaches and mice are on the list of another woman. "The landlord should have paid us for living here," she says scornfully. "You could look all over New York City without finding a worse building than this used to be."

Therein lie the seeds of gratitude. For U.S. Gypsum, new owner and landlord, has provided the latter lady, at a price, with a handsome two-bedroom apartment. The kitchen and bathroom are modern and fully equipped (the old building had tubs in the kitchens) and electric radiant heating is enclosed in the ceiling. Mrs. Lahoussaye occupies a similarly equipped one-bedroom apartment.

The company has sought from the start to engage the trust of its tenants, no mean task. For years the denizens of East 102d Street, a problem area, have provided samplings for social scientists and listened to the blandishments of incumbent or aspirant officeholders. Little, and usually nothing, happened. When U.S. Gypsum made its intentions known the general reaction, according to one tenant, was, "Oh Lord, here we go again."

But inveterate suspiciousness is melting. "They did what they said they would," one tenant remarks. It would bemuse her to learn how much effort has been devoted to her welfare in the higher councils of U.S. Gypsum. The company has worked hard to promise everything it could, but only what it could, and to deliver on every promise.

Now, it is saying, carriage lamps will be installed outside the front door, trees will be planted along the block, modern playground equipment will be provided free if the city will macadamize an adjacent vacant lot, chairs and tables will be set up in back yards for summer relaxation, and each building will be painted a different, attractive, color. This is akin to offering a thirsty man champagne; the tenants, who are wont to believe things when they see them, speak of these developments with dawning pride.

Since last summer East 102d Street has been the office of Warren Obey, a U.S. Gypsum salesman who is project manager in Harlem. Overseeing construction is half his job; the other half is working with the tenants and kindling their enthusiasm.

"Without their cooperation the whole effort is worthless," he says. "Be fair with them, be honest with them, and they will respond." He tirelessly emphasizes that it is their project; residents of the buildings affected have first choice of the new apartments, and other persons from the area come next.

THE ALTERNATIVE AVENUE

It may be working. A powerful incentive for the tenants to make it work looms a few blocks away in the tall, homogeneous buildings of a public housing project. Public housing is the other plausible avenue to decent lodgings in Harlem.

But the waiting lists for public housing are long, the regulations are strict, and many persons cannot qualify, such as those who are unmarried. A move to public housing usually involves leaving one's neighborhood.

"And there's a stigma about being in public housing," says Zion Paige, one of the tenants at No. 307. "You have to be in a certain income group to be there, and everyone knows it."

The new rentals in the U.S. Gypsum project are comparable with those in public housing, but steep for the area: $65 a month for efficiency apartments, $78 for those with one bedroom, and $85 for two bedrooms. But the company says the tenants are paying regularly.

"You have to pay for what you get, I guess," says Mrs. F. Thompson, on the sixth floor. She concedes that finding the rent money each month is a problem. Two floors below, Mrs. Cleo Whitthorne proudly surveys her neat, two-bedroom apartment and says, "It's worth $85, isn't it?" She thinks so.

U.S. Gypsum acknowledges occasional difficulty in collecting from tenants in the four buildings still occupied but not renovated (a fifth is under demolition). The company is not surprised at this, nor is it pressing the point; it wants the tenants' good will when they move back into the reconditioned structures.

The building at 307 East 102d Street, purchased for $30,000 and rehabilitated at a total cost of $219,000, now generates gross annual rentals of $22,700. The company figures this as an equitable return of 8 percent on its investment, and notes that the rehabilitated structure has been appraised privately at $300,000.

Should others follow where U.S. Gypsum has painstakingly pioneered? James Simpson, deputy director of the FHA, estimates the market for rehabilitation of rundown, but structurally sound, residences at $4 billion annually. New York City alone probably has more than 50,000 such structures.

U.S. Gypsum, which had to thread through the maze of Federal and local housing regulations, deal with the intricate fiefs of the construction unions, and grapple with the social problems of Harlem, is candid about its experience.

"Unless you're willing to go in and get your hands dirty, forget it," says James McLaughlin, the company's director of marketing services. A sample problem was "airmail," wherein tenants toss bags of garbage from windows. The company sought to install a garbage chute on the outside of 307 East 102d Street; it took a special meeting with Building Commissioner Charles A. Moerdler and several weeks of waiting to get approval of the application.

INQUIRIES FROM OTHER CITIES

The company is preparing a booklet incorporating the lessons it has learned, but it is quick to state that circumstances will vary in other communities, Mr. McLaughlin says inquiries have been received from a score of cities, among them New Orleans, Chicago, Dallas, Houston, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Oakland, Calif.

All should know that U.S. Gypsum embarked on its project only after determining that it had the backing of the New York City government. And it chose an area where a strong community organization already existed; this group, the Metro North Association, will become the owner of the project when the six buildings are completed, as a nonprofit consortium under the aegis of the Maremont Foundation of Chicago.

Metro North has a "building captain" living at No. 307 and a coordinator for the block. It hopes to ensure that the neighborhood does not deteriorate when U.S. Gypsum has left. Whereas public housing, for better or worse, usually sweeps an area clean, the East 102d Street project will be an enclave imperiled by its surroundings.

To Miss Frances Levenson, director of the demonstration rehabilitation project being carried out by the Rent and Rehabilitation Administration of the city, the East 102d Street project is just one of many on the drawing board. There is a 37-building project underway on West 114th Street and a 5-building project on East 100th Street.

Without the advice and coordination of the RRA a private rehabilitation project would be doomed. But Miss Levenson views the U.S. Gypsum initiative as "good for business" and a welcome addition to a "balanced housing program." The city, she notes, provides tax abatement for up to 12 years to encourage rehabilitation. And it has helped U.S. Gypsum secure low-cost mortgages from the FHA for the five buildings still to be renovated.

The real social value of maintaining the community is a laudable part of the U.S. Gypsum project, Miss Levenson believes. She adds, "When you give somebody something they can take pride in, they react favorably."

On East 102d Street, the jury still is out. As one resident of the block says, "With all these people around you can't tell * * * it'll take a few months to see if it works." From her window she can see the alternatives: A row of crumbling tenements across the street, and, several blocks away, the arid towers of a public housing project.

A SICK RIVER IS RETURNED TO NATURE

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, the April issue of True magazine carries an important article on water pollution abatement. It is entitled "A Sick River Is Returned to Nature." It is the story of how Wyoming has cleaned up its biggest river, the North Platte, in a decade.

All States, from Maine to California, would be wise to review the North Platte experience. It is proof that the municipalities and industries of any State can achieve clean water if they have the will to do so, and if the State's leaders show the way.

The article tells the story of the effort which began in 1955 under the then Governor, our present colleague, the distinguished junior Senator, Mr. Simpson.

He appointed Mr. Arthur E. Williamson as the State's pollution abatement chief, and he strongly supported Mr. Williamson's persuasive work to clean up the North Platte.

Wyoming's success was not easy. In 1948, the Public Health Service reported that the North Platte was "so grossly polluted that it is doubtful recovery ever can be made." By 1954, the river had further deteriorated.

Significantly, through Mr. Williamson's persistent efforts, Wyoming was able to improve the quality of the North Platte without intervention by Federal authorities, and without legal abatement enforcement proceedings.

The cost to industry and to the municipalities has been high, but residents and businessmen have found that the investment was sound.

A sugarbeet plant has turned its waste into cattle food.

The waste from a packinghouse now is converted to fertilizer.

A mining operation is diking iron ore that formerly drained into the river.

The oil companies were surprised to find that they had created an excellent wildlife refuge.

Land values along the river have increased from $240 an acre 10 years ago to $1,500 an acre.

Residents now take pride in their river, and fishing and recreation activities have returned.

The article concludes with a quote from Senator Simpson:

> There is no question in my mind that a dedicated Governor with good men under him can clean up any river in America. Every industry and every municipality knows that cleanup is coming. The main thing needed is someone with a strong voice to tell them when.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution, I urge my colleagues to read the article. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A Sick River Is Returned to Nature

(By Robert Gannon)

(Note.—Like many another major river in this country, the North Platte was seriously polluted. Then the State of Wyoming and a man named Art Williamson showed the rest of the United States what could be done to put a stop to a disgrace.)

Casper, Wyo.—In a broad path winding through the center of Cleveland, Ohio, the Cuyahoga River flows north to Lake Erie. It's a torpid swath of gray sludge pockmarked by pools of irridescence, and contains slowly churning masses of oily goo.

New York State's beautiful Hudson River is a fetid dumping ground for 217 major sources of waste. The filth has decimated the fish population and wiped out all the shellfish.

Atlanta's once dogwood-lined Chattahoochee River is now bordered by surrealistic saplings anchored in filth-strewn mud reeking of decay. The river is the main source of water for Atlanta; yet, at the city's intake, the once crystalline water now is the color of coffee with cream.

Across the land, rivers once sweet and unsullied now are so polluted they're good for little more than carrying away the human and industrial wastes that made them that way. "Except for headwaters," says one Public Health Service waterway expert, "virtually all of the Nation's major rivers are seriously polluted."

The poisoning of our rivers has not escaped the attention of the architects of the Great Society. In his recent State of the Union Message to Congress, President Johnson called it "wasteful and degrading" and urged a cooperative effort to make our rivers "a source of pleasure and beauty for all of our people."

Pessimists and pennypinchers cry that this is impossible. The pollution process has gone so far, they say, that it can no longer be reversed. Filthy water is an unfortunate but necessary consequence of advancing industrial civilization. We'll just have to learn to live with it.

A gloomy forecast. But it may be wrong. There are cases—not many, to be sure—where sick rivers have been cured. Take, for example, the North Platte River, largest in Wyoming and a prime feeder of the Missouri and the Mississippi. The North Platte rises from springs and melting snow, clear, and clean, high in the mountains of northern Colorado. Then it splashes northward into Wyoming. In a great arc, like a leftward-leaning question mark, it turns southeast to churn through the broad Wyoming grasslands toward Nebraska.

Today, for virtually all of its 600 miles (before it crosses into Nebraska), the river swarms with fish: perch, channel cat, sunfish, pike, and German brown trout. Boy Scouts canoe on it and, despite its iciness, swim in it. Tourists camp by its side and water ski behind the big dams. Some towns along its bank tap it in dry spells. The water is pure. But it wasn't ever so. In 1948, a report of the U.S. Public Health Service about the 150-mile section from Casper to the State line said: "This stretch of the North Platte River is so grossly polluted that it is doubtful if recovery can ever be obtained."

Larry Peterson, district fisheries manager of the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission, thinks back and says, "What I remember most about the river in those days was the smell. In the spring of the year when the water was released from the dams for irrigation, it picked up the human sewage and refinery wastes that had accumulated over the winter and carried them downstream. That slug of stuff eliminated not only all the fish along the way but the bottom food as well. You could smell it for 3, 4 miles away. Just drive along the highway and when you hit that odor you'd know you were close to the river."

Today a fisherman can plop himself down on a 5-gallon oil can, flick his line over a broken slat in the wooden Mystery Bridge 3 miles south of Casper and, a couple hours later, have a string of 18-inch cutthroats. In Wyoming, the river has come back to life.

The North Platte, in fact, is the only large river in the United States ever to be cleaned up after having been polluted in a variety of ways. The very few other rivers that have been depolluted suffered from only one or two major problems. Pennsylvania's Schuylkill River, for example, polluted by coal dust, cleared up when the mines were sealed; Louisiana's Ouachita River, salty from oil drilling, freshened when the State clamped down on offenders; New York's Rondout Creek purified itself after local citizens complained so much that health authorities closed down a polluting papermill. Each is a success story. But each river had only one problem. Yet the history of the North Platte cleanup proves that even a grossly polluted river can be made pure again.

The problems of the North Platte, like those of Cleveland's Cuyahoga, Atlanta's Chattahoochee, and virtually all other polluted waters, were three: irresponsible industry, myopic municipalities, and an apathetic public. The large plants on its shore were built a half century ago, almost before the word "conservation" was invented. The small plants came later. But by then the river was so foul anyway that a little more putrescence wouldn't hurt.

Towns along the way weren't interested in setting up expensive sewage disposal plants. Everyone else was using the river as a cesspool; why shouldn't they? Casper alone was bequeathing to its neighbors downstream an offering of nearly 4 million gallons of raw sewage a day.

Along with the industries and the towns, there was a third complication, common in Western States: peak power discharge. To run a hydroelectric plant efficiently, you let the water roar through the turbines for 4 hours in the morning, 4 hours in the evening, and turn the river off the rest of the time. In Wyoming, the North Platte is broken by six dams and six powerplants. "What happened when they let the water gush out of the last big dam above Casper," explained one State official, "was a sight to behold. A bank of water would come sweeping down the practically empty streambed, kicking up oil sludge deposits in front of it, and flush the whole stinking mess downriver. It'd kill even the carp and suckers that had ventured in from the side streams. Then the Bureau [of Reclamation, which builds the dams and regulates water use] would turn the water off and let the foul stuff sit there and percolate until the next cycle."

The fouling of the North Platte had grown slowly over the years, with hardly a complaint raised. The people knew it was polluted but they figured nothing could be done about it.

Then, in 1948, Congress passed the first Federal water pollution law. It was a rapid, toothless bill, but in two ways important: First, it provided for the first basic cataloging of all major U.S. waters and, second, it focused attention on these waterways; for the first time people realized they could get mad at pollution and not simply accept it.

One man who got mad was the late editor of the weekly Douglas Budget, Keith Rider. And according to those later involved, he was the catalyst for the whole North Platte cleanup. "He kept needling us," says a spokesman for the Wyoming Department of Health. "This guy Rider would just sit there downstream and turn out these editorials and the Casper paper, the Cheyenne paper and the rest of them in the State would pick them up."

The trigger was a Rider editorial that ran May 20, 1954.

The North Platte * * * is now nothing more than a second rate irrigation ditch and sewage disposal stream. Last Friday the first storage water of the season was released from the dams above Casper. By the time that head of water reached here, it had a black oily head on it which appeared to be a foot deep * * *. Following in the wake of the foul, oily mass of water, the river banks were strewn with dead fish of all kinds from Casper to the Guernsey dam."

The editorial was picked up by the AP wire and printed throughout the State. L. O. Williams, State sanitary engineer, said he was "very pleased" that Rider had reopened the problem. "There has been * * * too much footdragging," he added. The State fish warden called for "stringent stream pollution laws." The mayor of Casper, a city of 35,000 without any sewage treatment at all, said he was thinking really hard about some sort of system. And every candidate eyeing the upcoming November election, including Wyoming's present Senator Milward L. Simpson, who was then running for Governor, snatched the pollution ball and ran.

In May 1955, on the first anniversary of the editorial, the excitement of the election having long cooled (Simpson won), another editorial appeared, in the Douglas paper, titled "It Still Stinks." "Here we go again," wrote Rider, as he lambasted everyone, pointing out that except for a dandy meeting almost nothing had been done in the full intervening year. Again the piece was widely reprinted.

"That's the editorial that got the Governor really going on the problem," recalls one of Simpson's associates. "He printed up copies and sent them around to everyone remotely interested. The Governor said he was tired of being needled like this."

Governor Simpson may not have known it at the time, but he had already thrown the master switch. Early in 1955, he hired a man named Arthur E. Williamson, then 40, as the top pollution man in the State department of public health. Williamson's official title is director of the division of environmental sanitation. He is a slim, sun-scorched man who speaks with a drawl and, for the past 10 years, he has devoted the bulk of his considerable energy to cleaning up the North Platte.

Art Williamson was raised in the Midwest (Kansas) and educated in the East (an M.S. in sanitary engineering from New York University). But he belongs in and to the West. He drives a Ford pickup truck, wears cowboy shirts and black boots, and his hat looks like a prop left over from "Wagon Train." For dressup occasions he strings a bold tie around his open collar.

When the Governor appointed him, he said, "I don't care how you do it—how many arms you have to twist or heads to crack—just clean up the damn river. I'll back you to the fullest."

Williamson himself refers to the whole North Platte campaign as one big poker game. "We had to bluff our way most of the time. I still don't know if our laws had teeth or not. But the Governor and the pollution council and I all said we had real good laws, and we were going to enforce 'em. Now maybe if we had gone to court we could have forced industry to comply. Maybe. But I'll bet we couldn't have touched the municipalities. The towns thought we could, though—and that's all that mattered."

Shortly after he appointed Williamson, the Governor named new members to the pollution control advisory council, a group composed of State agency people (commissioner of agriculture, commissioner of game and fish, State engineer, and director of the public health department) and laymen representing industry, municipalities and agriculture. One council appointment was especially interesting: Dr. C. C. Buchler, of the American Oil Co. refinery. "I appointed Doc Buchler for a couple of reasons," Simpson said later. "The main one was that he was very intelligent, a famous engineer, and a good chemist. And the second reason, or maybe it was the first, was that I wanted him there so he'd show the way to the other oil companies."

By the end of 1955 Williamson and the commission had worked out a rough formula for pollution abatement. On January 24, 1956, at a meeting in Wheatland, he presented timetables to representatives of both communities and industry. Says Williamson: "I told the people that the first thing I want is an engineering report. 'Tell me what can be done with your sewage, what it's going to cost you, how you can finance it and by when.' Well, the industries seemed to be expecting this, so at the meeting they only grumbled a little. But all the mayors tried to procrastinate. They said they didn't have the money.

"But we had an ace: Our game and fish commission stepped into the breach with a $50,000 fund for grants to the cities to get together engineering reports. There went their excuses. This is the only State I know of where the game and fish people were serious enough about their fish to set up this kind of fund." Twenty-five towns used the fund in 1956 alone.

While the communities were reluctantly forming plans, Williamson and the committee turned their energy to industry, focusing their persuasive talents on the four oil companies spotted around Casper. Each day, someone figured, the plants were dumping enough waste into the river to fill a 14-story building the size of a tennis court. "Oh, it was bad, all right," admits slow-talking, chain-smoking Joseph W. Yant, chief engineer of American Oil's Casper plant. "But consider the enormity of our problems." These were big enough, figured company planners, to cost a million bucks or more to get rid of the three classes of gunk being dumped into the river:

1. Huge amounts of phenol (carbolic acid) and sulfides, along with a small quantity of silt and other chemicals formed during refining.

2. Calcium and magnesium salts pulled from river water used for cooling. If it isn't removed from the hard Wyoming water, thick crusts form on equipment.

3. Oil seepage. The refinery has been in operation for half a century and, as is usual with these plants, the storage tanks leak. Oil seeps into the ground, then into the river.

Along with two other oil companies (Socony Mobil and Texaco), American decided to cooperate. The fourth, Continental, tarried for the rest of the year, then in December 1956, solved the problem by going out of business. "It was an old refinery debating whether to keep going anyway," Williamson explains. "When we put the heat on them it was the thing that convinced them to close."

In the meantime, American was examining possible solutions. One it almost bought: shoot the waste through pipes up a mountain and let it run back into the river, oxidizing along the way. The company finally decided to solve things by cleaning up nothing—but by returning nothing to the river.

Four miles north of the plant, surrounded by rolling hills, a strongly alkaline pond called Old Soda Lake sat landlocked in the center of a huge basin. The company bought the slough and 2,200 acres around it and enclosed the whole thing in 8 miles of fence. They built a pumphouse at the plant, ran a 23,000-foot pipe to the pond and, in June 1957, hooked it all together. From the end of the pipe poured everything: phenols, dissolved calcium and magnesium salts, suspended oil, even sewage from the employees' washrooms.

Not long after the company had spent $1.5 million building the new Old Soda Lake (and the other two oil companies had installed similar setups), fish began slowly to return to sections of the river downstream. But the oil firms' trouble wasn't quite ended; people downriver complained that the fish tasted like petroleum. American discovered that the soil around the plant was so saturated with oil that some was still oozing into the river.

A little more pressure and the company came up with the solution: two wells 8 feet in diameter with pumps constantly sucking up whatever drains in, mostly oil. Today, it seems to be working. At least nobody complains of oily fish anymore. "A few months ago we stopped a fellow fishing from our railroad bridge, right in front of the plant," Yant said recently. "He had 64 trout—something impossible only a little while ago."

"Now you may wonder why American and the other oil companies paid any attention to anybody," says Williamson. In the first place, he explains, Doctor Buchler, manager of American's plant, as chairman of the pollution council, was placed in the odd public position of having to force his own company to comply. And in that position his leverage with others was considerable. "He never had a bit of sympathy for other industries," relates Williamson. "They'd come in and say, 'This is going to cost us to beat hell,' and he'd answer, 'I know what it's costing, I spent a million and a half bucks on it.' "

In the second place, so much publicity had been given the work of the committee and the condition of the stream that the companies were expecting pressure. And privately they believed they were in the wrong. "Our head office had been receiving complaints from elsewhere, too," says oilman Yant, "so the biggest hurdle was convincing the people with the purse strings that what we wanted to do, form a lake, was the cheapest practical solution."

Then, too, in cities the size of those along the North Platte, the people responsible for pollution are well known. If water pollution becomes something to be against, social pressures can be enormous. And the Governor was backing Williamson and the antipollution fight to the hilt.

With the massive quantities of oil refinery waste being eliminated, smaller polluters became more obvious. The city of Casper, for example, which had never bothered with even elementary sewage treatment, suddenly found itself a principal offender. Williamson tells how it was: "Whenever another area built up, Casper would run a 4-foot sewer pipe down to the river and attach the houses to it. That was it. You could stand at the outlet and see the excrement flush right into the river."

In local politics, no matter what the section of the country, building water purification plants usually is easy. People must drink. Sewage treatment plants, however, are more difficult because it appears that they benefit only those downstream. Politically, you don't do anything about pollution, you just talk about it. But now, a good many people were demanding action. They wanted a clean river and they wanted a plant built.

The local paper, primed by an outdoor columnist named Chuck Morrison, began to grind out a barrage of pro-plant editorials. Then with each utility bill, the city inserted little leaflets proclaiming that "Water Is the Lifeblood of a Progressive Community—Vote 'For' on Sewer Bond."

On May 14, 1957, the $1,150,000 sewer bond passed overwhelmingly. Because the North Platte was classified a river with interstate pollution, the U.S. Health Department added another $250,000.

With Casper well on the way to clean up, one by one the towns downriver began to come around; Douglas, Torrington, Guernsey. Glenrock, for example, is a smiling little community of 1,500, 22 miles east of Casper. "We're a pretty progressive town," says George McConnaughey, ex-mayor and owner of the Corner Market. "Art Williamson came down here and we had a meeting in the town hall and then we all went out and accomplished it. This is a small town with big people," he exclaims, straight faced. The settling ponds, pumping stations and sewage lines cost $37,700, of which the U.S. Public Health Service paid a third. That did the job.

Meanwhile, Williamson was talking with representatives of the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, because no matter how clean the river became, if peak power requirements daily cut off flow, fish could hardly survive. "About this time we got hold of an advanced study of the Bureau reporting on how they were going to operate this river," Williamson recalls. "From what I saw, I didn't like it. They were still figuring on this surge."

On May 12, 1957, Williamson, the Water Pollution Control Council, all interested State agencies, and everyone else who wanted to be there held a mass meeting with the Bureau. "We really pulled in a tremendous number of people from down along the river," says Williamson. "We had a lot of power in that meeting."

As a result, a subcommittee was formed to study the problem. Soon afterwards it came up with a solution. The plan called for a small dam below the giant Alcova powerplant with a reservoir to absorb the discharge pulses in its 181-acre lake, then let the water flow out at a constant rate.

The Bureau acquiesced. But 2 years dragged by before dam construction began, another 2 years, until 1961, before it started operating. Yet there was no real opposition to the plan, Williamson says. "It just took someone to get the idea, push it and keep at 'em."

As the water began to clear, free from refinery and city sewage pollution, Williamson increased his pressure on the little industries: meatpacking plants, mines, and small manufacturers. "He kept retracing his steps," says Senator Simpson. "Just as soon as the industries would recover from one blow, he'd go back and give them something else."

"They climbed all over me because of a little red iron ore that never got down to the river anyway," complains Les Wahl, superintendent of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Corp. mine at Sunrise, some 125 miles downriver from Casper. "I think one of our disgruntled employees told somebody we were killing the river fish."

The 65-year-old mine produces hematite, a red iron oxide, that tends to dye water bright red, whether or not it harms the fish. To counteract leakage in the Sunrise mine, pumps suck out 200 gallons of water a minute, dump it into a ravine that leads 6 miles to the North Platte. Last summer, Williamson drove up the winding road to the plant. "What looked like red paint was discharging down the dry draw. It had flowed 3 miles or so from the plant. Another 3 miles and it would have been in the river. I says, 'Boy, this gotta be stopped quick.' I talked to 'em and asked the fish and game boys to go in and follow it up, and now it's fixed."

"I don't want the stuff running into the river anyway," says Wahl. "It's worth dollars and cents to me. The pollution people had nothing to do with our building these dikes." At any rate, a series of little dams are up now and the silt flow has stopped.

On the outskirts of Casper, the Rocky Mountain Packing Co. squats alongside Interstate Highway 25. Inside, workers in white smocks butcher buffalo. "When I first saw the operation," recalls Williamson, "they were letting the waste run through a very small septic tank, then out across the ground. It eventually got into the river so you had a bloody, black-looking mess. It certainly wasn't a major pollution source, but it was a stinking one."

Williamson urged, threatened, and cajoled and, finally, the plant bought an old gravel pit with 20 or 30 feet of water in it. They began to dump waste there. Williamson told them: "I'll go along with that, but I think you're going to have some problems because that water's too deep. It's cold. You're just going to be pickling the stuff here. It's going to start smelling someday."

A few years later it did. There was a suit instituted by the plant's neighbors, but Rudy Stanko doesn't care to talk about it. Rudy Stanko is a large, red-faced man who now runs the company. "We settled," he says. "Then we figured we had better do something. So now we boil everything down; we dry it and sell it for fertilizer."

All along the North Platte everything was going smoothly. The cities were cooperating, the peak power demand no longer was a problem, the industries were, with a little pressure here and there, cleaning up their outflows. Everything was rolling.

With one exception: Holly Sugar Corp., just outside Torrington. "It wasn't that we didn't want to cooperate," says Ira D. Croghan, plant superintendent, a short, balding man with freckles. "It's just that our equipment happened to break down at the same time the State people took river samples."

Holly is a typical example of sugarbeet processing plants, factories which are still polluting such rivers as the Arkansas, Montana's Big Horn, Idaho's Bear and the Mississippi. During their peak season, mid-October through December, the 40-year-old company processes 3,000 tons of sugarbeets a day. There's lots of stuff to get rid of: lime used to purify the sugar; Steffens waste, a high alkaline substance left over from the making of molasses; flume water, used to transport and wash the beets; beet tails and chips; and waste from the plant's washrooms. Until the Williamson campaign everything went into the river except employee waste. That went through a septic tank estimated by health officials to be 50 percent effective.

Tests by the U.S. Public Health Service showed that total organic matter being discharged into the stream was equal to a city of 370,000 and potential disease-producing bacteria increased a thousandfold as the river passed the plant's outlet. No fish lived below the plant, and only a few hearty bottom organisms, like sludge worms and midge larvae, survived that deluge of contaminants.

The first real complaints began around 1950, when hunters claimed that because of pollution the ducks weren't settling. The hunters probably were wrong. "Those ducks were in there in the first place because of the beet pulp," Williamson says with a big grin. "They loved it. They'd come in by the thousands and stay as long as the river was full of pulp. So the more we cleaned it the fewer ducks would be there and the louder the hunters would scream."

Anyway, the hunters went hollering to the Public Health Service and soon Williamson came charging into the Holly offices. "Cooperate? Sure we cooperated," says Plant Superintendent Croghan. "They put the screws to us. They badgered us and threatened us with injunctions. That State committee and the fish and game people and Williamson—they never were satisfied with anything we did." That's probably because the first steps the company took, expensive as they were, didn't seem to help much.

First, Holly dug a giant pit the size of four football fields side by side. That was for the lime and it worked fine. But the river remained polluted. Then in 1956 the company bought a 55-acre pasture nearby, bulldozed a dike around it and dumped in the Steffens waste.

Still no fish. In 1961, the U.S. Public Health Service concluded that "it is evident that pollution of the North P'atte River by the Holly Sugar Co. constitutes pollution of interstate waters." So the Federal Government stepped in with fanfared hearings.

Beet chips and tails, it was decided at the hearing, must go. This waste was being swept away in Holly's flume water, which carried the beets through the plant. A screen was installed. Not much effect on the river.

The problem now seemed to be what is called pulp drainings. These "squeezings" from pulp were allowed to run into the river. Reluctantly, the company installed piping to pump the draining out to the Steffens waste pond and, just to be safe, diverted the sewer drains from the employees' washroom out there, too.

That almost did it. At least, the fish lived most of the year—until the sugarbeet season began again. Then they disappeared up the tributaries. The only thing left at Holly was the flume water. Enough dirt stuck to the beets so that when the flume water entered the stream, the silt coated the bottom, killing off food for the fish. "Now it looked like a perfectly simple thing to set up a fine screen there, put a truck underneath it and haul out whatever you collect," recalls Williamson. "We suggested this to them. But about this time Holly was beginning to feel we were riding them a little too hard and they began to see that precedents were being set. So the sugar interests went to the legislature with some real high-powered lobbyists trying to put a law through excepting that particular kind of operation from any pollution law. Well, we beat them. It was a battle, but we beat them."

Holly finally installed the screens and found that during the height of the season nearly 150 tons of dirt a day collected to be hauled off. Today, fish live in the river even during the sugarbeet season.

For its full length in Wyoming the North Platte has returned to life. Occasionally there are problems: Irrigation water runback causes turbidity; a company springs a leak in a tank containing toxic chemicals; the Bureau of Reclamation washes out a reservoir and the silt kills bottom life; an empty barrel of insecticide rolls into the river and wipes out fish for 10 miles. But these things are rare. The people of Wyoming are enjoying their river. Bottom land has risen in value from about $240 an acre 10 years ago to around $1,500 now.

Now that the citizens are happy, some companies that spent a lot of money on pollution control are finding that in the long run they may come out ahead. Rudy Stanko, for example, now processes his packinghouse waste and sells it as fertilizer. He happily hauls in an extra $1,000 a month. Les Wahl is watching his iron mine outflow settle behind those dikes. He expects that when the tanks fill, he'll scoop them out and process the iron oxide for a nice profit. And even Ira Croghan finds that sugar waste disposal isn't as bad as he once thought. Holly maintains a herd of 4,500 cattle on dried beet pulp.

The biggest surprise came to American Oil engineers. They expected an odiferous, lifeless mass to form from pumped wastes up in the Casper hills. What they got was a wildlife refuge. Discharge from the plant, a sickly green, almost black substance, first floods into a small "settling" pond, then overflows into the lake. The pond reeks of spent chemicals and is lifeless except for a strange, intensely green species of alga so thick that the water is opaque.

But the lake into which it overflows, now fully grown and stabilized (intake equals evaporation) at 500 acres, is clear, with small aquatic insects zipping through it. Around the edges reeds and cattails grow and cottonwood and willow trees, now 20 feet high, thrive. The water tastes slightly brackish, but is highly palatable to animals. Fifty antelope live in the fenced off acreage, drinking the water and grazing on the new grass. According to one local ornithologist, during migration season the lake is the best place in the State to spot ducks and geese.

Meanwhile, back in Cleveland, in Atlanta, along New York's Hudson and Maine's Androscoggin, things are still awful. The problems in the East are vastly more complex than in Wyoming. But there is a new Federal Water Quality Act that has a lot of major industries running scared. A top steel official claims it will cost the steel companies $260 million a year to comply. A paper man estimates the paper industry will have to spend a billion dollars in the next 10 years. Corporation bigwigs complain, but in the long run they'll probably have to get up the money. The States, too, are beginning to act. New York voters have recently authorized the financing of a giant sewage program and others are likely to fall in line.

"The public is now largely aware of the problem," says Assistant U.S. Surgeon General Gordon E. McCallum, "and is beginning to be willing to do something about it. The environment is starting to close in on us and the problems are pinching. They can be solved, though; we can have clean water—and it's not going to bankrupt us to do it. The total solution depends on only two things: brainpower and willpower."

"And someone strong to show the way." adds Senator SIMPSON. "Someone like Art Williamson. There is no question in my mind that a dedicated Governor with good men under him can clean up any river in America. Every industry and every municipality knows that cleanup is coming. The main thing needed is someone with a strong voice to tell them when."

SCHOOL MILK CUTBACK COULD DAMAGE JOHNSON ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAMS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, yesterday in commenting on the administration's proposal to cut the school milk program by 80 percent I indicated that a decision by Congress to redirect the program primarily to the needy easily could create resentment in those who no longer qualified to receive assistance under the program.

In this connection I would like to quote from a copy of a letter to President Johnson from Stanley Campbell, superintendent of the Rose Tree Union School District in Lima, Pa. Mr. Campbell states—although the statement concerns itself primarily with the school lunch program—there is no doubt that a drastic school milk cut would have the same effect.

Mr. Campbell says:

> A survey of the opinions of the people in this community concerning the cutback in school lunch subsidy indicates that the resentment which it has engendered is all out of proportion to the cost of the program. Many persons who have supported the administration policy have deep resentment concerning the proposed cut. They feel that ordinary citizens should have some benefit from the taxes they are paying. Persons who have never previously indicated resentment concerning the cost of some of the poverty programs begin to resent administration policy in connection with those programs. As I have indicated previously, the proposed cutback in the school lunch program is having a psychological effect among the people in this community that is all out of proportion to the savings that would be affected by it.

Mr. President, the school milk and lunch programs have been the most noncontroversial, the most successful, and the most beneficial that I have had the privilege to support since I came to the Senate in 1957. They are accepted on the State and local level. Participation is at an all-time high. Most communities have made provisions to insure free lunches and milk to the truly needy. All this will be endangered by the proposed cutbacks. Many schools will withdraw from the programs altogether.

This must not be allowed to happen.

FAIRBANKS THANKS 89TH CONGRESS

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, the City Council of Fairbanks, Alaska, has forwarded to me a copy of Resolution 480 passed by the council to express the appreciation of the city of Fairbanks to the 89th Congress for enactment of S. 2614, which provides for Federal participation in the 1967 Alaska land purchase centennial.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION 480

Resolution to express the appreciation of the city of Fairbanks, Alaska, to the 89th Congress and the Representatives of the State of Alaska

Whereas the action by the Congress of the United States in purchasing Alaska from Russia in 1867, in the face of severe criticism, has proven to be one of the most important and successful investments ever made by the Government and has returned the original investment many times over with a wealth of mineral, fur, timber, food products and other resources; and

Whereas the State of Alaska is now one of the country's greatest frontiers for development by this and the coming generation; and

Whereas the U.S. Government can point with pride to the wisdom of the Congress in purchasing Alaska and to the part the Government has played in developing this territory, now our 49th State, thereby inspiring confidence in the actions of Congress and in Government expenditures for development; and

Whereas the State of Alaska will observe and commemorate the 100th anniversary of the purchase of Alaska from Russia during the year 1967; and

Whereas the city of Fairbanks, Alaska, has been designated by the Governor of Alaska as the official site for an observance exposition; and

Whereas the 89th Congress has now authorized Federal expenditures of $4.6 million for participation in the centennial celebration: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the City Council of the City of Fairbanks, Alaska, as follows:

SECTION 1. That the city council, on behalf of all the citizens of the city of Fairbanks, Alaska, extends its warm appreciation to the 89th Congress and the representatives of the great State of Alaska, the Honorable E. L. (BOB) BARTLETT, the Honorable ERNEST GRUENING, the Honorable RALPH J. RIVERS, for the tremendous part they served in making this authorization possible and thereby expressing their continued faith and confidence in this great land.

SEC. 2. The city council respectfully requests our State of Alaska representatives to cause this document to be a part of the record of the United States of America CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the 89th Congress.

SEC. 3. The city clerk is hereby directed to dispatch copies of this resolution to the Honorable E. L. (BOB) BARTLETT, the Honorable ERNEST GRUENING, the Honorable RALPH J. RIVERS and the Honorable William A. Egan, the Governor of Alaska.

Adopted this 28th day of March 1966.

SYLVIA RINGSTAD,
Mayor.

Attest:

WALLIS C. DROZ,
City Clerk.

EXPORT QUOTAS ON CATTLE HIDES

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, many excellent editorials and articles have been written on the recent action by the Department of Commerce on placing the export of cattle hides under quotas.

Dr. Spencer Gervin, chairman of the department of economics and business at Emory and Henry College, Emory, Va., has written an article that I think merits the attention of those interested in the effect of his order.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Roanoke Times, Apr. 13, 1966]

HIDES EXPORT BAN SKINS MANY

(By Dr. Spencer Gervin, chairman, department of economics and business, Emory and Henry College)

"To keep shoe prices from rising" is the reason given by the Department of Commerce for placing the export of cattle hides under quota. Shoe manufacturers promised, if the Department of Commerce would thus limit export of hides, to show restraint in upping fall shoe prices. As a result of the quotas, hide prices dropped by 3 to 5 cents per pound at once, and cattle producers were skinned of an annual $50 million. The balance-of-payments deficit lost $130 million in revenue from the curtailed exports. Then in 2 weeks and 2 days after the quotas were imposed, shoe price rises of more than 5 percent were announced.

In 1964 beef became overabundant in the United States, due largely to imports. To cries for relief from falling prices, the then Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges admonished cattlemen to quit whining and hustle up some foreign markets. This they did, exporting to Japan for example in 1964 an unprecedented 3.8 million cattle hides. Then a drought in Argentina and a hoof-and-mouth disease epidemic in Europe thinned foreign herds. By 1965 U.S. hide exports had risen to 13.3 million and domestic cattle prices rose.

For 1966 net U.S. hide supply is expected to total 35.1 million, with domestic and foreign sales estimated at 37.8 million, a shortage of 2.7 million. Hence to prevent shortages and price rises Commerce imposed a limit on the quantity of hides and leather which may be exported from the United States, in effect cutting exports back to the 1964 level.

Immediately hide prices dropped by 3 to 5 cents a pound, cutting cattle producers income by a prospective $50 million a year. Loss from hide exports during 1966 will be $130 million, subtractable from the U.S. international balance-of-payments deficit which after a 1965 drop is already rising again this year.

Of course, it might have been well to let shoe prices rise, since in this way some of the excess purchasing power which is pushing prices up might have been taken from consumers. With higher shoe prices, consumers might have spent more for shoes and less for something else, thus relieving demand. Or they might have bought fewer shoes, in which case shoe supply-demand would have tended toward the equilibrium which price achieves in a free-price economy. Increased income for cattlemen would have stimulated further cattle and hide production, so relieving the shortage and arresting the upward pressure on price.

Despite the drop in hide prices, shoe manufacturers have announced price increases which will raise the consumers' shoe bill by over half a billion dollars a year, amounting to $1 to $2 per pair on their fall lines. Up to now no pressures have been applied against such increases, as in the case of steel, copper, aluminum, and cigarettes.

Score thus at present is: cattle producers stand to lose $50 million a year, balance of payments will have $130 million more deficit, and consumers pay $500 million more for shoes.

Consolation may be taken from the fact that without the export quotas shoe price increases might be greater. Or on the other hand they might not.

THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BELGO-AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, last month one of Europe's most distinguished public leaders, Paul-Henri Spaak, who was then serving as his Government's Foreign Minister, addressed the Belgian-American Association at Brussels on the occasion of its 20th anniversary.

Mr. Spaak, Belgium's great leader and, indeed, one of the western world's most prominent statesmen, having twice been Prime Minister and twice before Belgian Foreign Minister, as well as Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the principal negotiator of the treaty of Rome, stanchly defends U.S. positions, both in Vietnam and as regards the NATO alliance, as well as President Johnson's Great Society.

Considering the source of this speech, Mr. President, I think we should attach great importance to it. I commend it to my colleagues and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY FOREIGN MINISTER SPAAK ON THE OCCASION OF THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BELGO-AMERICAN ASSOCIATION AT BRUSSELS, BELGIUM, ON MARCH 7, 1966

Excellency, ladies and gentlemen, today no stories to cheer you, no exordium and not even any moving banalities. Nor will I speak of the American soldiers who saved us and who died on our territory; I will say nothing of the Marshall plan, I will say nothing of the Atlantic effort which enabled us to organize our defense during the difficult years.

Today you are marking the 20th anniversary of your association and you are celebrating it, let's be frank, at a rather difficult moment for the United States. Its policy is not well understood and it is the object in a good part of the world of extremely lively criticism concerning its action in Vietnam.

Every one here and I believe every one in the United States abhors war and we have all become sensitized by the television images given us every evening, and I wonder why, and by the continually repeated descriptions of the horrors of war.

But we face a political fact that we should try to explain to ourselves and I believe that the members of this association are interested in having insofar as possible clear ideas of this problem in order to try to buck an unfavorable current.

The first question is to know if it is the United States which declared the war in Vietnam. I know, of course, that the problem of the origins of a war is always a historical problem which is difficult to determine. We are still arguing among ourselves over what were true causes and who were those responsible for the war of 1914.

But still there are certain facts which are incontestable. During the period following the Geneva agreements of 1954, the United States did not intervene in Vietnam. As long as South Vietnam lived in peace, the Americans limited themselves to sending a few dozen of a few hundred advisers and technical assistance personnel in the hope that the country itself would both affirm its independence and find its political equilibrium. But in 1960 the North Vietnamese Communist Party declared in a public congress that the essential objective of North Vietnam was to conquer South Vietnam and to bring South Vietnam into the orbit and under the obedience of North Vietnam.

That is the way the affair began—by the political act that I have just recalled. Little by little North Vietnam sent troops into South Vietnam and, basing itself on a political opposition which undeniably existed, tried to seize power, to overthrow the Government, and achieve its objectives. It was then and only then that the United States intervened.

To a certain extent I understand the disappointment and sometimes perhaps even the bitterness which certain U.S. leaders feel in observing that they are unsuccessful in making the European population as a whole understand the importance of the problems posed out there and the correctness of the positions which they have taken.

There is an argument, however, which we should understand and which should affect us. I once heard this argument set forth forcefully by Mr. Foster Dulles and I have often heard it repeated forcefully in recent days by Mr. Dean Rusk: If the United States does not observe one among the commitments it has made in various parts of the world, how can the rest of the world believe that it will respect other engagements?

Here we are directly concerned. If the United States, which has a treaty with South Vietnam (which it has promised to help guarantee and defend its independence and liberty) failed to honor its pledged word, would we not be a little concerned—might we not believe that one day the United States could seek pretexts to avoid filling guarantees and promises it has made to us?

I believe that particular argument is essential and that U.S. leaders are right. When you are a great country, when you have undertaken commitments throughout the world, if you break your word once, no one will any longer believe in your pledged word, and we are directly concerned.

What causes the disappointment of American leaders is that they are unable to make Europeans understand that what is going on in Vietnam is not very different from what took place in Europe in the years 1948, 1949, 1950. At that moment, rightly or wrongly, in order not to enter into historical dispute, we thought that we were seriously threatened, and that the Soviet imperialism of that era would result in bringing other countries than those which had already fallen under the Soviet yoke and influence to submit against their will to Communist force.

At that moment we found it entirely natural, even more, nearly all of us were delighted, to see the United States come to our aid. * * *

Is not all of that reasonable as preconditions for peace conferences:

Two things are said in rejections of these propositions. One which is a senseless proposition that no reasonable man would think of defending: before beginning peace talks, America must withdraw its troops from Vietnam. This proposal has been made because it is of course unacceptable.

The second which is a little more nuanced is that the Vietcong must have its place in the talks. The Vietcong is the revolutionary party which stands against the legal government.

It is possible that this is a reasonable idea. I am doubtful of the possibility of realizing it, that is, of constituting in South Vietnam a government where side by side there would be official Vietnamese and Vietcong—that seems to be rather complicated; but are there no other ways of making the voice of the Vietcong heard? And if I have understood what U.S. leaders have said, it is that in principle they are not against this in order to find a reasonable solution.

That is what the Americans tell us every week and every month. That is the peace offensive which certain circles have tried to ridicule and which has been greeted in other milieu with skepticism. And I really wonder why, because I find this extremely reasonable and why shouldn't it succeed?

It won't succeed because Hanoi cannot make peace, and Hanoi cannot make peace because Peking forbids it to do so. There is no longer any doubt of this. The Chinese reasoning is not for those who want and love peace; but, for those who would examine the advantage for China, the reasoning is not without sense. They want the war to continue in Vietnam, because continuation of fighting prevents what they fear most, the rapproachement between the United States and the U.S.S.R., the rapproachement between the Western World and European communism.

They don't want peace because they say that America is drawn into a greater and greater and really difficult effort and they hope that America will lose a part of its prestige in this effort, and they want all of that cheaply, it must be said, since it is the Vietnamese who are the guinea pigs on whom the operation is being performed.

All of this appears to me today as indisputable. It is the political truth, it is not the Americans who wanted war; they have become engaged little by little; today it is they who offer to talk peace on reasonable terms and it is their adversaries who refuse to do so. That being the case, and given the immensity of the problems involved, how is it that European public opinion permits itself to be influenced solely by a very understandable horror of war, but that it refuses to reason, to understand and to support the right side at the right time?

The truth is that there should be, not a broad movement against the United States, but a broad movement of people from all of Europe, and of all parties, and beliefs to affirm: the conditions proposed by the United States are reasonable and those who should be pilloried are those who refuse to examine those conditions and to enter upon a policy of peace.

The foreign policy of the United States, such as it has been announced, we should certainly examine objectively; we should think about the problems of southeast Asia in terms of these problems themselves; but we should not forget that we needed the United States for our own foreign policy and our own military policy at difficult and distressing moments during the years which followed the war and we still need them.

We are allies of the United States in NATO, and I support this; we must defend and maintain the Atlantic organization. We know that we will shortly have the opportunity and the obligation of defending this alliance.

I would like to repeat what I have already said this week in another Belgian-American gathering (you know that since Napoleon and Lenin met to say that the only formula was repetition I no longer hesitate to repeat myself and I find myself extraordinarily eloquent).

NATO, the Atlantic Alliance, why should we abandon it? It is rare to see a mortal organization, and more particularly a political organization, which has succeeded. It is even more rare to see a political organization which succeeds 100 percent.

What did we want from the North Atlantic Treaty? We wished to erect in Europe an impregnable barrier against Communist imperialism of that period; and we wanted to defend our independence and freedom with the profound hope that to succeed in this defense we should never forget that the existence alone of the Atlantic organization would be sufficient to ward off that danger.

We succeeded. Since 1948 not one country of Europe has been the victim of any kind of attack, and you know as well as I that we obtained all that by our firmness, by our military organization and sometimes by difficult diplomatic negotiations, but lastly you know that we have never had to resort to the use of force.

When one thinks of today's situation, we live with the conviction that a war, a great war, like that which we have known could no longer happen in Europe.

I have already had a very long diplomatic life; I was Minister of Foreign Affairs before the war; I was Minister of Foreign Affairs in the years following the war; and throughout my career I have lived with the idea that war was near and that in any event it was a hypothesis to be foreseen. It was only a few years ago, following the profound and radical change, in my opinion fortunate, which has taken place in the policy of the Soviet Union, that for the first time in 30 years I began to believe that we were safe. But we are safe thanks to what we have done, thanks to the system we have erected. Why then should we renounce this system?

Of course, things have changed since 1948. The Atlantic Alliance must not remain static; it must adapt itself to new needs. Our relations with Eastern countries cannot remain today what they were in 1948. They improve steadily, but it is still reasonable and wiser to approach this problem together rather than separately.

The salient feature of NATO is military integration. We Belgians cannot renounce it. Without military integration no national defense and no army is conceivable for a small country.

In 1940 we had the same type of army as the largest nations, we had machineguns, cannons, tanks, planes, what else?—all that the others had in greater quantity. But they did not have specialized arms. You are sufficiently informed to know that today only the largest nations can have the weapons which, in a war which I believe is more and more unlikely, would be the decisive weapons; that is, atomic weapons.

If the fate of Europe tomorrow is to be represented by little nations continuing to arm themselves independently and in isolation, when faced by big neighbors who may have armies 100 times, 1,000 times, 10,000 times stronger and better equipped, the national defense effort would have absolutely no purpose. What is national defense today for a country which can be crossed by airplanes in 3 or 4 minutes doubtless, going from north to south, and in 7 or 8 minutes from east to west. It is an outdated and obsolete concept which would truly lead small countries nowhere.

It is the idea of Atlantic union such as we have built and the principle of military integration which Americans have helped us achieve, which must be defended today. Both are indispensable and essential.

Of course, we cannot be pleased to be friends of the Americans only because they are courageously waging in Vietnam and because their foreign policy is good.

What is never said in this country, that about which television, radio, and the press almost never speak, or do not allude to in any case daily as they do to military efforts, is the extraordinary economic, social, and intellectual effort to which the Americans have devoted themselves and to which Baron Boel alluded a few moments ago.

When I think of the United States, do you know what I fear? I fear that the disinterested effort, probably unique in history, which they have made to help us take the road toward an integrated Europe may, for them and for us, be condemned to failure because we would not move fast enough nor boldly enough, for I believe that the better minds are beginning to wonder if there is still time for us yet to catch up technically with the United States; and if we do not do it, it is not their fault, it will be our fault, for they will have understood better and more quickly than we, what could be, in grandeur and in reason, a united Europe emerging from its wars and its quarrels to renew its strength and to become not a satellite but a partner of approximate equality.

I was reading this morning President Johnson on the state of the Union. I was calculating in millions and billions of Belgian francs—now often in billions of Belgian francs—and I am bewildered by the extraordinary deployment of strength and by the economic development of the United States. They are waging a war which costs them dearly; it can be said that they sustain it easily; it does not affect the development of their economy. They have achieved during the past year a figure of considerable expansion; they have broken all records. I will not cite figures because those who know me know that I never cite a figure exactly; I am content with orders of magnitude and no one can contest this order of magnitude.

And what are they doing with it? They are in the process of making of their country one of the most advanced countries; not only from the economic point of view, but also from social point of view.

President Johnson initiated the phrase: "The Great Society." It must be seen what that represents in the way of effort in the field of education, in the field of war against poverty, and the war for urban renewal; they are even trying to arrange medical insurance.

Finally, they are making an effort concerning which we see only the bad side—always on the television—each time that there is a racial incident we are sure to see it for several days; each time a school is closed or a Negro beaten by the police we are sure we will not be spared the view of these policemen; but it is not explained to us daily what a fantastic effort it took on the part of the American administration, first with President Kennedy and then with President Johnson, to establish this equality of rights and to reestablish the fundamental legislation which in a few years will have permitted, I am convinced of it, to resolve a political problem which is also one of the most important human problems facing the United States.

Ladies and gentlemen, members of the Belgian-American Association it is about all of this together which you should be thinking. It is right for you to be members of the association. I am convinced that the fate not only of our country, not only of Europe but the future of peace depends on a close understanding and a close coordination between the countries of Europe, Belgium, and the United States.

You are the faithful servants of this great work. Let me congratulate you for it, and let me say: continue.

RURAL POVERTY PROGRAMS LACK FUNDS, COORDINATION

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, abolishing rural poverty remains one of the most difficult tasks facing this country. The task involves several million poor families, who remain on small farms and in rural communities.

It is clear that a large part of the rural poor are not being reached by the Federal agencies created to deal with this important national problem.

As the President noted in a rural community message in January, the effect of these deficiencies is as grievous on our major cities, which have received millions of unskilled migrants from rural areas since the 1940's, as it is on the rundown farms and small communities that still house 4.4 million poor rural families.

The fact that the war on poverty's major thrust is in the cities, while programs for the rural poor lack both funds and coordination, is outlined in detail in an article published this week in Reporter magazine. Bill Kovach and Nat Caldwell, both reporters on the Nashville Tennessean, have written a detailed and perceptive piece on this problem.

Rural poverty demands the careful attention of all Members of the Senate and I ask unanimous consent that this excellent article, entitled "The Plight of the Rural Poor," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PLIGHT OF THE RURAL POOR

(By Bill Kovach and Nat Caldwell)

A fourth of all farms and a fifth of all other rural homes lack running water. Children receive, on the average, 2 years less education than in the city and its quality is apt to be inferior. Unemployment and underemployment runs at a rate of 15 percent, more than twice as great as the national average. Moreover, the tools for rebuilding rural areas are not available—rural residents have less access to credit for housing, for business expansion, and for public utilities. As Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman has said, "Rural America is a place from which the poor, the uneducated, the unskilled, the hopeless, migrate to the cities when they cannot find jobs in their home communities." And, he might have added, these poor are usually not needed or even usable when they get there.

Rural poverty is largely regional. Of the 30 poorest congressional districts, 29 are in the rural South. The backbone of rural poverty is that broad strip running from southern New York to central Alabama along the Appalachian Mountains. There are wide pockets in Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. The problem is also serious in Florida, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, and California, with its great numbers of migrant farmworkers.

During the last year it has become clear that a large part of the 16 million poor who live in rural areas—nearly half of the total in the entire Nation—are not being reached by the Federal agencies created and charged with eliminating poverty. Slowly and painfully, rural leaders and Federal officials have become aware of the special character of rural poverty that has confounded every agency and program created to deal with the problem. An almost complete lack of basic facilities has repeatedly frustrated agencies concentrating on the development of physical resources. Industry, jobs, and business cannot be stimulated in areas lacking water systems or educational, recreational, and sewage facilities. The Office of Economic Opportunity, which concentrates on human development, cannot function adequately in areas robbed of local leadership by years of migration and whose population is so widely scattered that community action is almost impossible. In the rural South, the application of all the programs has run into an inherent resistance to integration and drastic economic change, especially in areas of substandard development dominated by a single industry such as mining or cotton.

One big reason why the rural poor have been neglected as compared to those in cities is that they produce no political leverage. In describing the plight of migrant workers, an Office of Economic Opportunity official summed up the helplessness of rural poor everywhere: "They seldom vote, so they have no political power, and what they have is so widely dispersed it is ineffective. They have little money to spend, so they have no power in the commercial world. They just don't reach the power structure of our society."

In the Appalachians, rural poverty is the result of years of State neglect. "The States," according to Harry Caudill, of Kentucky, "never cared about their Appalachian counties." Caudill, a lawyer whose book "Night Comes to the Cumberlands" established him as an authority on the region, points out that the rotting, inadequate schools are State schools, that the crumbling roads are State roads. But outside Appalachia the picture is generally the same. Long-standing State neglect of the problems of a locally exhausted resource like coal, or the plight of subsistence farmers, migrant workers, and sharecroppers, has made the new Federal efforts to solve them even more difficult.

FINDING A BALANCE

Federal action on the Nation's poor was slow in coming, and when it arrived, the rural areas got short shrift. By February 1965, it was clear to President Johnson that Federal programs were failing to meet the needs of the rural poor. In a message to Congress, he demanded that any department or agency administering programs that could benefit rural people "assure that its benefits are distributed equitably between urban and rural areas."

The President ordered the formation of an office in the Department of Agriculture as the coordinating arm in promoting development programs in rural areas. But this office, the Rural Community Development Service (RCDS), has barely started to function. At the moment, its main activity is to help rural residents qualify for social security and medicare, and to work with rural leaders in the direction of local projects. Eventually, a major function of the RCDS will be to act as a liaison between Department of Agriculture field workers on the county level and all Federal agencies administering rural programs. Nine offices in 11 States are now open, and it is hoped that 23 will be in operation by June. But the RCDS has been slow appointing State directors, partly because of redtape, partly because of the difficulty of the job. Each State office consists of only one man—the State director.

The new service has also received little help and even less cooperation from other Federal agencies. Agriculture officials complain that OEO cooperation is especially lacking. "They're all city oriented over there," one Agriculture aid said, "and they look on us as an old, stodgy bureaucracy that can't handle problems as well as they. What they overlook is the fact that we have field workers in almost every county in the Nation who could serve as representatives to develop rural programs—but it's going to take cooperation."

By September, President Johnson's plea for equitable distribution of benefits had resulted in so little action that 16 Senators joined Gaylord Nelson, Democrat, of Wisconsin, in a letter to Vice President Humphrey calling for a new effort to get Federal help into rural areas. Two months later, in November, the Vice President noted the persistence of the problems at a national OEO press seminar and called for "a better working relationship * * * between OEO and the Department of Agriculture." Other OEO officials promptly agreed. Joseph A. Kershaw, in charge of evaluating programs for OEO admitted that the urban-rural investment ratio was far out of balance, probably "because the urban problems are easier to get at." He promised that "Next year at least 45 percent of the (OEO) budget will be in rural programs."

When queried last month, however, Kershaw was less optimistic: "I don't think we'll make the 45-percent figure."

Officials in OEO have been reluctant to discuss the extent of the gap between urban and rural programs. A meaningful breakdown of rural-urban expenditures is hard to come by. But OEO's total expenditures for the past year give some indication: for the period from November 24, 1964, through November 1, 1965, OEO figures show an investment of $741,784,368 in urban programs as contrasted with $222,378,423 in rural ones.

Richard Wenner, the OEO representative on a task force considering rural problems, has given another and more specific indication of the gap. Recently he told rural leaders at a Chattanooga, Tenn., meeting that OEO expenditures in rural community action program amounted to only 15 percent of the $637 million allocated for fiscal 1966. But if funds for Head Start projects (preschool educational programs) are excluded, only 7 to 8 percent of OEO's community action budget remained for rural programs. Since many other programs (rural loans, migrant-worker aid, Job Corps camps, and others) have rural impact, OEO officials argue, and with some justification, that such figures are misleading.

While efforts such as the Labor Department's vocational training program or rural loans have been helpful, they hardly strike at the roots of rural poverty. The rural loan program is an example of the narrow objectives of such remedies. A farmhand in Mississippi, for instance, receives $1,850 (with up to 15 years to repay at 4.125 percent interest) to set up a small garage and purchase tools. The expectation is that his $2,500 annual income will rise by about $1,000 so that he can better care for his 10 dependents. In other cases, even such limited objectives are not met. A sharecropper who has coveted a tractor obtains one through the rural loan program only to learn that his problem goes much deeper than the lack of a tractor.

OEO guidelines make urban treatment easier. A recent experience in West Virginia is a case in point. The key to an effective attack on rural poverty is a community action program designed to bring the full force of coordinated Federal help to bear on a given community. Mineral and Hardy Counties in West Virginia set up their community action program in November 1964—the first such rural project financed in the Nation. Later, through OEO's request that an effort be made to reach as many people as would an equivalent program in an urban area, the project was expended to include four other counties. But then urban-developed OEO guidelines got in the way. As R. E. Fisher, publisher of the Moorefield Examiner, tells it, OEO "said we had to have more representation from the poor—the poor being defined as having less than $3,000 a year income. They never seemed to realize that the 6-county area consisted of 3,000 square miles and that people just don't come to meetings at the drop of a hat, especially in the daytime." Fisher reports that the entire program is bogged down in the "ever-changing guidelines."

HIGH AND DRY

As with OEO, the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) has placed little money into rural pockets. A greater share of the Commission's funds—some $840 million of the initial $1.1 billion appropriation—is being invested in a highway system that currently benefits contractors from large cities who merely shift machinery and men from massive interstate projects to these rural jobs. The conclusion drawn by Sar A. Levitan in a study of "Programs in Aid of the Poor," financed by the Upjohn Institute, was that the unskilled, rural or urban, "might qualify for no more than a fifth of the total man-hours generated directly by construction projects" financed by the Commission.

Similarly, the application of the Economic Development Administration's program, which now includes the old Area Redevelopment Administration and the accelerated public works projects, does not immediately reach the rural poor. As the Upjohn Institute study pointed out, by "directing its aid to employers and not to the unemployed, the program is based on the belief that Federal efforts should concentrate on the business community which, in turn, will create new jobs to help the unemployed." Both the EDA and the ARC programs are based on the hope that they will eventually aid the rural poor as an indirect result of their investments in going enterprises. But a look at how these Federal programs are working in rural areas indicates that the programs themselves tend to keep the rural poor from receiving any significant benefits.

Just as the shortage of human resources in rural areas militates against present OEO solutions, the shortage of economic resources interferes with aid from the Appalachian Regional Commission. Two basic actions by the ARC have provided grounds for criticism. The first applies to the highway program, which has so far consumed the bulk of ARC money. Not only do the road-construction projects supply few jobs for the region's poor but when the roads are completed, according to the Upjohn study, the kind of jobs created in the growth centers served by them "will be seasonal and low paying, and may still not allow the workers to escape the threshold of poverty."

Many observers, including some ARC officials, consider the decision to have the highway system run mainly north and south the biggest mistake of the program. Appalachia's depression has developed to a large extent because of an isolation due to a lack of access through the mountains. State governments have traditionally built their highways along the north-south axis, ignoring east-west routes wherever possible because of the high cost of building roads in the mountains. Thus, traffic has flowed around Appalachia as river waters flow around an island. Only in flood times such as a wartime boom does the surrounding prosperity spill over.

The second basic action of the Commission that has been widely questioned was the adoption of the "economic growth center" concept. Little money has been invested in resource development in sparsely populated rural areas. According to John L. Sweeney, the Federal Cochairman on the Commission, the ARC is not going to "sprinkle an area of 182,000 square miles with just temporary construction jobs." The Commission, he says, is building a base for permanent jobs, higher incomes, and better conditions for investing in area demonstrating a growth potential. To qualify as a growth center, a community must meet standards of population density, existing wealth, educational facilities, and other advantages that write off the neediest rural areas and concentrate Federal aid in cities or towns. The concept has been described as a new application of the old "trickle down" theory of economics—invest the money at the top and it will eventually trickle down to those who need it. Critics point out, though, that the region has always supported islands of prosperity. Birmingham, Knoxville, and Pittsburgh are all in Appalachia, but their presence has not prevented hunger in the surrounding countryside. The sense of hopelessness that this city orientation engenders in rural areas is obvious. There is a general feeling that only continued migration or welfare offers a long-range solution for deprived rural areas, and the community action program created for McDowell County, W. Va., for example, frankly aims at preparing residents of this area to adapt themselves in out-of-State cities.

THE EXPLOSIVE MIGRANT

If nothing else, the fact of an increasing migration to the cities has focused Washington's attention on the rural dilemma. Following a White House meeting last August, a study on agriculture and rural life was ordered under the direction of Secretary Freeman. The study was to be conducted by a task force of representatives from the Departments of Health, Education, and Welfare, Agriculture, and Labor, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and the Bureau of the Budget. Among the key targets of this task force was the proposal of programs to "stem farm migration to the cities and encourage a return to rural communities."

Robert G. Lewis, head of the Rural Community Development Service, crystallized this thinking in the preface to the program the task force hoped would be submitted to the present session of Congress: "The tragedy that occurred in the slums of Los Angeles * * * began as depression on the farm. Fundamentally, it was not a 'race riot'—but rather an explosion growing out of the poverty and despair of rural people lost in an urban slum existence that had eroded away whatever social capability and discipline they had at the start."

Although a detailed program suggested as a result of the study has been temporarily shelved because of budget conflicts—some observers feel the squeeze of current Great Society programs and Vietnam left no room for major legislation of its kind—it has stimulated further study and some further investment in rural problems. This increased interest in new ideas for rural solutions was evidenced in President Johnson's request in January for $5 million for pilot projects to combat rural poverty. The President envisions a common planning effort aimed at community development and the pooling of resources in rural areas.

"Our purpose," his message said, "is to demonstrate how a common effort can provide the needed district vocational school in one county, the hospital in another, the police training in a third, industry or an adequate library in a fourth—and how it can avoid the waste of duplication or, worse still, the total lack of any such facilities or services in a wide area because of a failure to pool common resources. Our purpose is not to supplant present efforts of local, State, or Federal Governments—but to supplement them; not to forsake the small community, but to help it avoid underrepresentation in decisions that affect its life."

An example of the effect that such a coordinated attack could have in a depressed rural community may be seen in the neighboring towns of Tazewell and New Tazewell, Tenn., which have a population of some 2,000. There, in 1962, the Area Redevelopment Administration gambled a million dollars on a public works project to develop water and sewage facilities. Three years later, that initial Federal investment has been matched by $9.5 million of other public and private investment and has brought the Tazewells to the point where they will qualify as a potential growth center under the Appalachian Commission formula. As a result of the ARA's million-dollar gamble, they have attracted plants manufacturing trailers, plastics, textiles, and furniture, creating 700 new jobs. Public and private building has been stimulated; credit has opened up for local development; 22 members of the 1954 graduating class at the local high school who left the Tazewells for the higher pay of the cities have returned home.

The central idea of the task force program that was dropped was the proposal for opportunity homesteads. Loans on liberal terms were planned to help a family to develop land on which it lived or to purchase and develop a homestead on land in areas where economic development appeared feasible. A probationary period was to be required in which the homesteader would improve the property and develop a subsistence farming operation; the participation of all adult members of the family in vocational, home management, and general education programs would be required. The end result would be the transfer of equity in the homestead to the family; because of the required training programs, it would be better prepared to develop economic independence.

Since the homestead farm was conceived only for subsistence purposes, off-farm employment would be provided in the first years by Federal investment in rural work projects. Planners point out that there is a backlog of needed work requiring low levels of skills, including soil, water, and wildlife conservation, forestry, and beautification. While such investments would be expensive, they would, unlike present relief expenditures, have a lasting value in developing natural resources, human skills, and a strong rural economic base.

A CHANCE TO GROW

Supporters of rural programs know that in President Johnson and Vice President HUMPHREY they have two men attuned to rural problems. As a lobbyist for the National Farmers Union said recently: "These guys know us, they know our problems. For the first time in a long time I don't feel as if I'm speaking a foreign language in Washington when I talk about rural affairs." The optimism of people like this, however, has suffered a setback with the increasing concern over Vietnam. Not only are the chances dim for new programs and increased poverty program spending; as city job opportunities open up with increased military spending, another massive migration of the rural poor comparable to that of the Second World War and the Korean war is apt to occur. Moreover, migrants have higher hopes and deeper hostilities than those of the 1940's or 1950's. The gap between what they possess and what they desire is infinitely wider.

Watts and Harlem and south Chicago and the other ports of entry into America's cities are not equipped to absorb many more of the rural dispossessed. Unless a solution is found for rural poverty where it exists, the human and physical resources of the countryside will be forfeited, and their forfeiture will serve as a continuing drain on the vitality of urban America.

Already the frustration and disappointment of small-town and rural leaders is being voiced. Recently the Appalachian Regional Commission decided that a highway could not be economically justified in Hancock County, Tenn. When he heard of it, Mayor Charles Turner, of Sneedville, the county seat, remarked, "I'm sorry to jump on you fellows about your programs. They're all real fine programs. It's just that I've put my whole life into this town and this county, and only now they're telling me it doesn't have a chance to grow anyhow."

TRENTON, N.J.—ALL AMERICA CITY

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, one of New Jersey's great cities, Trenton, has received a signal honor from the National Municipal League and Look magazine. Trenton has been named an All America City. This richly deserved award recognizes the fine efforts made by the citizens of Trenton, working through their local government with the enthusiastic cooperation of private business and groups of concerned citizens. Trentonians have shown what an active and dedicated program of urban renewal and rebuilding can mean.

Only a few years ago Trenton was a blighted city in a state of decline and decay, but today it is one of the most progressive and forward-looking cities in all of New Jersey. To those of us who are concerned with the problems of urban decay, Trenton will stand as a good example of what can be done through a combination of Federal, State, and local efforts to rehabilitate and to rebuild a city within a relatively short period of time.

Although we often speak pessimistically of the problems our cities face, I think Trenton's great success is a cause for optimism as we look to the future of our other great cities. I salute and congratulate the citizens of Trenton for their outstanding efforts. Trenton is truly an "All America City" and a shining example to every other American city.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial describing the award, which was published in the Trentonian, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR ALL AMERICA CITY: AWARD TO THE CITIZENS

Tonight the citizens of Trenton will be honored as the city receives its All America City Award in ceremonies at the war memorial.

It is important to note that the citizens of the city are being honored, for the award which was made by the National Municipal League and Look magazine was based on the participation of citizens in making Trenton a better place in which to live, work, and do business.

As Dr. George H. Gallup, of Princeton, the noted public opinion expert who served as chairman of the All America Cities Award jury, said in his letter of notification that Trenton had been among those chosen: "I salute the citizens of Trenton whose effective action has won this award and sincerely hope they will view this honor as a further incentive to play a positive role in the affairs of their community."

It goes without saying that the various movements which brought Trenton this honor were not accomplished without leadership on governmental levels. But it also goes without saying that such leadership would have been meaningless had not the citizens of the city responded the way they did.

From the formation of the Greater Trenton Council on through the birth of the Citizens Action Council, the change in government, the creation of a Citizens Advisory Committee on Human Rights, the successful campaign for water fluoridation, the turning of Coalport from a failure into a success, Mayor Holland's move into the Mercer-Jackson area that spurred improvements in that area, and the spawning of an antipoverty program by the Human Renewal Coordinating Committee to the repeated successes of the Delaware Valley United Fund, the accent clearly is on what citizens did.

And that's what makes the award so meaningful. It recognizes the fact that the people of Trenton, concerned over a dying city and aroused by the horrible "Case City" epithet, were not found wanting when the call to action was sounded.

Thanks to its citizens, Trenton has turned from "Case City" into All America City.

VIEWS FROM KANSAS ON THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial entitled "The Unpopular, Divided-Opinion War," published in the Independence News, Independence, Kans., on Saturday, April 16, 1966.

The editorial was written by my friend, John Vermillion, and expresses not only his view of the Vietnam war but the views of many people in Kansas. I cannot associate myself with some of the conclusions Mr. Vermillion draws. On numerous occasions, personally and by correspondence, we have discussed and debated this issue. We do not always agree. Our friendship does not require that we agree, but I respect his intellectual curiosity, his independence, and his sincere interest in the problems that face Kansas and the Nation.

On large and small issues we cannot hold to irrevocable and unchanging positions. There is a constant need to look at every side of every issue. It is for that reason that I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Unpopular, Divided-Opinion War

We call upon President Johnson to change his foreign policy in Vietnam.

It is very clear to the American people and should be very clear to the President of the United States, that the Vietnamese people, North and South, do not want the U.S. Government and military forces interfering in their internal affairs.

This rejection by the Vietnamese has been noticed by many Americans for many months, but loyalty has kept some Americans in line with the President's foreign policy. But now loyalty has taken on another design.

If we're going to be real, true, loyal Americans that we all should want to be, then loyalty at this time should be determined by taking a position that we must not be betrayed by the people that we are trying to help in South Vietnam.

We have been undermined and sold out by our so-called friends in that area.

Premier Cao Ky hoodwinked and promised the U.S. Government a lot of things that he couldn't deliver. We questioned his real purpose. We fell for his type of blackmail.

If we're really going to be loyal to our Nation and loyal to our fighting boys, then it is time that we get out of Vietnam and establish a strong line of defense in an area, where, if we are attacked, we will declare all-out war to defend our Nation against the enemy.

In the meantime, our Navy should continue to roam the high seas. Our Air Force should continue to be in the skies in the interest of maintaining a strong national defense for this Nation and this hemisphere.

Now the way the Vietnamese have betrayed us, it would be treason on the part of any leader, military or civilian, to ask and keep a footsoldier in that area where he can be shot in the back, where he has no real friends and comrades, and where no one seems to come to his defense when he needs it most.

It would be easy to say that we have probably lost as many fighting men that were killed by South Vietnamese as killed by the North Vietnamese.

Recognizing that this Nation cannot become an isolationist nation, we therefore call upon the President to use his influence and the available resources necessary to allow the Chinese Nationalists to regain control of China by encouraging the use of available Chinese Nationalist troops that are well equipped, well trained, and eager to regain the leadership of their country.

This will stabilize governments of smaller nations in that area in due time. Vietnam will be one of the nations that will be stabilized.

At the same time, we ask the President of the United States to use his influence to allow Germany to become united. When these steps are taken, which should help to stop communism, they will bring about a change in our foreign policy that will definitely be in the best interest of the United States and this hemisphere both from an economic and military standpoint.

If Germany is united, that nation has a definite distrust for Russia and will probably stop the growth of communism in Eastern Europe. The French are already determined to become a strong, nationalist nation.

The United States should follow the philosophical idea of Theodore Roosevelt, that being: "Speak softly but carry a big stick." There can be no letdown of duty, because every American can be used to concentrate his individual effort to get rid of totalitarian ideas in this Nation and in this hemisphere, communism being the No. 1 enemy idea that should be defeated and sent back to Russia with its tail between its legs.

The American people should at the same time make it known in a definite and positive manner that any other type of totalitarian idea will be dealt with harshly and whipped.

This Nation can then set about the task of developing strong individuality and at the same time it can use its inner strength to defend freedom where freedom really needs defending.

It's time that we became loyal to our country first.

It takes courage to be truly loyal. Imitation loyalty is a fool's folly. It's time to get out of Vietnam and build America strong and free.

In passing, let us say, too, that, if we don't do something to strengthen America internally both from a financial and a good citizenship standpoint, our enemies will definitely conquer America from within.

Already one can see that internally many hoodlums and troublemakers are causing more and more crime and this is weakening our Nation. We're also being weakened tremendously by an increased taxation and deficit spending program which is stifling individual initiative and creating indecision in the minds of many that would like to build America. And then too—if the best boys we've got for future leaders are being siphoned off, sent to Vietnam and are being killed and wounded, then we're eliminating the natural balance in people we need to maintain a good strong America.

America must be united and the American people have always united and fought shoulder to shoulder when our Nation was attacked, and we will courageously do this again. But it is hard to stay united when there is a definite feeling by many citizens that we are interfering in other peoples' business rather than really defending our own Nation.

This idea isn't one that could be labeled a cowardly withdrawal. It takes great courage to build back when one has found himself wrong or has made a mistake. Many of the greatest victories have come by knowing when to retreat and regroup, and then move on to the goal of righteous victory.

NEW JET SHUTTLE SERVICE

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, as an aviation enthusiast, it is a pleasure for me to salute today another step in aviation's progress toward being the predominant mode of passenger travel in the United States.

On Sunday, April 24, jet aircraft will be introduced on the air shuttle—a unique transportation system which has become familiar to those of us in Washington who have to make frequent business trips to New York and Boston.

The air shuttle will celebrate its fifth anniversary on April 30. Eastern Airlines started this service back on April 30, 1961, on the theory that frequent travelers—businessmen and people connected with Government—would welcome hourly service between Boston, New York, and Washington. The service was not only to be frequent, but passengers would be able to board an airplane without a reservation, buy their tickets on board, and be guaranteed a seat at all times through the availability of backup aircraft and crews waiting to handle peak traffic at the busy hours of the day and night—and on weekends and at holiday periods.

On the Sunday of last Thanksgiving weekend, for example, a total of 263 shuttle flights were operated and they carried 19,355 passengers—an alltime record for a single day. Last year, about 85 percent of all those who traveled by air between Washington and New York or Newark used the shuttle. Ten million people have flown it since that first flight in April of 1961, and it carries some 2.8 million passengers a year.

There have been some problems. It costs money to keep standby aircraft and their crews waiting at airports. Because of the congestion in the Washington-New York-Boston air corridor, the shuttle aircraft often have to fly circuitous routes. And since our east coast region, unlike Oklahoma, is not always blessed with the world's greatest weather, there are expensive delays on that score, too. Sixteen times since Eastern started the service, it has flown an airplane with only one passenger—one who was left at the gate when the previous shuttle section filled up.

The shuttle service has been improved continually since its introduction in 1961. Last August, faster, more comfortable prop-jet Lockheed Electra aircraft were introduced on the New York-Boston segment to replace older Constellations. Electras came to the Washington-New York segment last September, and by last October, all first sections operating out of La Guardia were equipped with Electras.

To make the service more attractive, there are now reduced fares—weekend round-trip excursion fares and a weekday family plan air shuttle fare. On April 24, air shuttle fares in offpeak hours on a trip between New York and Washington will be cut from $18 to $15 and some change.

On this same date, Sunday, April 24, the Boeing 727 Whisperjet will come into Washington National Airport from New York on the air shuttle. Four of the sixteen shuttle flights each way between New York and Washington will be with jets, and later they will be assigned to the Boston and subsequently to the Newark segments. By the summer of 1967 Eastern expects to have all first sections operating with jets, with Electras as second section and backup aircraft.

The jets are more comfortable and will make the Washington-to-New York trip in 40 minutes, a saving of 20 percent from the Electra time and 40 percent from Constellation travel time.

I want to commend the management of Eastern for this forward step which is typical of the fine leadership of the airline industry.

SAN JACINTO DAY

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I wish to draw attention today to the exploits of many brave Texans on this day in 1836. Sam Houston, the commander in chief of the Army of the Republic of Texas led his badly outnumbered army to a great victory over tyranny and injustice.

On the battlefield of San Jacinto, the Texan Army emerged victoriously from the struggle for freedom and the rights of man which they had been waging for nearly a year. In that battle, the enemy, General Santa Anna, was captured and as a result signed a peace treaty with the Republic of Texas recognizing its status as an independent nation in the community of the world. I rise today lest our great traditions be lost in the onslaught of the modern world. The same ideals that these men of San Jacinto and indeed all the gallant men of the Texas revolution fought for are what make our State great today. The idea that all men must be free and able to lead their lives without unnecessary interference from outside. These ideas have made and will continue to make the Lone Star a banner to which all freedom-loving people everywhere may repair. May we never forget the lessons of San Jacinto, that the price of freedom is an eternal struggle.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S CALL FOR SUMMIT CONFERENCE DESERVES SUPPORT

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, last weekend, I had the high honor of accompanying the President of the United States, Secretary Rusk, and some of the most distinguished Members of this body to Mexico City for the dedication of a statue of Abraham Lincoln.

The President's decision to lead the American delegation was a pleasant surprise to all of us, but I believe doubly so to me when he also decided to make a major declaration of foreign policy on Latin America while in the capital of Mexico.

Our Latin American policy has been of major concern to me for a number of years. Recently, I have feared that our neighbors to the south would be left to drift while we focused our attention on hotspots like Vietnam.

The President could not have chosen a more appropriate place, nor a more appropriate time, to reassure our Latin friends that we have not forgotten them.

Speaking as he did in the beautiful capital of one of the hemisphere's most successful democracies, his remarks carried special weight throughout Latin America.

I intend to lend all the support and assistance I can to his proposal for a high level conference to breathe new life into the Alliance for Progress.

The President's proposal dovetails exactly with the one I made 3 weeks ago on the floor of the Senate, when I called for a conference of all foreign ministers to develop a stronger hemispheric defense against the rising specter of communism.

One of the primary reasons that we have not yet been able to roll back this threat to the peace and security of the Americas is that the Alliance for Progress has not fulfilled the high expectations it has created among the people of many of the Latin nations.

We must win the fight against poverty and disease if we are to win the fight for stable and democratic governments in all nations of our hemisphere.

To the extent that we fail—and our failure has been substantial—we permit the continuation of conditions that provide a rich lode for Communist exploitation.

The war on poverty must be waged with vigor and imagination in every Latin nation. So long as there are some which are not moving with sufficient dedication, they run the risk of a Communist takeover, and they pose a constant threat to their neighbors who are striving hard to satisfy the legitimate demands of their own people.

A summit meeting to renew our dedication to the Alliance for Progress, and to develop new methods to carry out the goals of the alliance, will be of tremendous value. Some doubt concerning our long-term support of the alliance has developed in the Latin nations, and at the same time, there has been a lessening of enthusiasm in this country as we see that results do not match our hopes.

A high level meeting should do much to create new enthusiasm, both north and south of the Rio Grande.

At the same time, I believe that consideration of effective concerted action to protect our hemisphere from communism must be a keystone of the conference agenda.

As I said on the floor 3 weeks ago, we will lose the opportunity to help in anyway at all if we lose the fight against communism.

Many of the democratic leaders in Latin America recognize, in private, the need for stronger defensive action. They must be encouraged to speak out publicly so that we can create a climate favorable to more unified and positive action to control the Red menace.

It is my hope that the summit conferees will give serious consideration to formation of a permanent inter-American peacekeeping force under the control of the Organization of American States.

With such a force at its command, the OAS could react quickly and effectively when a threat to peace develops anywhere in the hemisphere. At the same time, it would remove from the United States the onerous role of hemispheric policeman.

As the Dominican crisis a year ago showed so clearly, the United States is the only nation in the hemisphere with both the will and the power to react when there is a threat of a Communist takeover.

In the circumstances in Santo Domingo last year, I believe we followed the only reasonable course.

But at the same time, we brought down on our heads the condemnation of many Latin leaders as well as certain elements in our own country.

An inter-American peace force, if there had been one, could have accomplished what we did, and could have done it with much more general support because there would have been no question that it was acting in behalf of the entire hemisphere.

I have written to the President to congratulate him on his proposal, and to reemphasize my own view that collective anti-Communist action must go hand in hand with the development of the programs of the alliance.

FLAT RIVER, MO.—AN ALL AMERICA CITY

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, we of Missouri are proud to note that another of our communities, Flat River, Mo., has been named an All America City for 1965. In addition, a citation of honorable mention has been received by Kirkwood, Mo., as a runner-up in the competition sponsored annually by Look magazine and the National Municipal League.

In making these awards, Look magazine observes in its May 3 edition:

> None of these winning cities is perfect. They admit that first. What makes them unique is the quality of life within them.

The citizens of Flat River are honored because of their initiative and accomplishments in improving their community. Even though employment in the lead mines of the area had slowed down in 1960, interested leaders moved ahead to make their city a more attractive place in which to live. They attracted new businesses, got a new post office, and passed two bond issues.

In 1962 Flat River received the first Missouri award for community betterment. That same year the citizens again inventoried their needs. By 1965 these needs had been accomplished—new streets, gutters, sewers, a system of garbage collection and a swimming pool. The only item on the 1962 list not accomplished is one that City Manager David Pence says, "We'll never solve—the elimination of stray dogs."

Flat River is the eighth city in Missouri to win All America City honors in the last 18 years. On April 30 citizens of that community will join in an all-day celebration of this honor they have earned by vision, planning, and hard work.

We congratulate both Flat River and Kirkwood on the recognition they have received and wish them continued success in their community development work.

LIMITATIONS ON COLLEGE HOUSING DRAMATIZE TIGHT ADMINISTRATION BUDGET

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, there has been a great deal of loose, uninformed talk about Federal waste and extravagance under the new budget.

Of course there are areas of spending which can be cut and some that I think should be cut. I have often called attention to them.

But, Mr. President, those who argue that this is a spendthrift administration, that the Great Society is throwing away money as if it were going out of style, just do not know what they are talking about.

Not long ago the New York Times spelled out the many hundreds of millions of dollars by which the administration has reduced its domestic programs below the levels authorized by the Congress.

Just this morning the president of the University of Arkansas speaking for seven of the outstanding national associations of higher educational institutions told the Housing Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee how seriously the administration's restraint in the college housing field is for higher education.

Now if there is any one area of this Nation which President Johnson and this remarkable 89th Congress has recognized more fully than any other—as the heart of the Great Society—it is education. In this regard the administration deserves high praise.

But because of the national inflationary situation, because of budget stringencies, the administration has exercised the greatest restraint even in this vital area.

President David Mullins of the University of Arkansas spelled this out in persuasive detail this morning. I ask unanimous consent that his excellent statement be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES, ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES, ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES, ASSOCIATION OF STATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, ASSOCIATION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF JUNIOR COLLEGES, BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY, SUBCOMMITTEE ON HOUSING

(By President David W. Mullins, University of Arkansas, April 21, 1966)

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is David W. Mullins and I am president of the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville. I am here to testify on the present status and urgent needs of the college housing loan program, which was initiated by action of this subcommittee in 1950. This program has been a major factor in enabling American higher education to take care of a rapidly expanding student body. However, it is now at a stage of crisis.

I have the honor and privilege of speaking on behalf of the following national organizations of higher education:

The American Council on Education.

The National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges.

The Association of American Colleges.

The Association of American Universities.

The Association of State Colleges and Universities.

The Association for Higher Education.

The American Association of Junior Colleges.

Each of these groups, Mr. Chairman, and hundreds of college and university presidents, student housing officials, and others over the country, would be glad to send representatives to testify before this committee as to the situation and needs in the college housing program. The fact that one witness appears is in the interest of conserving the time of this committee—since we all have the same story to tell.

The situation of the college housing loan program is this:

As of last January 31, and without advance notice, receipt of all new applications for college housing loans was stopped, and a limit of $4 million placed on any one project among applications already on file. No applications have been accepted since that time. The backlog of applications is such that if the funding limitations as announced for this year and projected for the 1967 budget are adhered to, it will be at least a year from now (fiscal 1968), before any new applications are accepted. Meanwhile college enrollments are at an alltime high and are rising rapidly. Last year's freshman class was 17.7 percent greater than the year before and the freshman class in the fall of 1964, 17 percent greater than that of 1963. Lack of space in which students can live is increasingly becoming the determining factor in admissions. Thus, because of insufficient housing many institutions have ceased to accept new applications several weeks earlier this year than in the past.

New loans this year are being held at the $300 million level under authorization by the Congress for this amount of new Treasury borrowing. Repayments on past loans totaling some $225 million constitute, under the law, a revolving fund in the Treasury from which new loans could be made, in addition to the $300 million figure. This authority is not being used.

The college housing loan program entered the current fiscal year with a backlog of $192 million in applications carried over from last year. At the time new applications were cut off the total of applications for the current year—including those held over—was about $800 million. Had receipt of applications continued, the total as of the end of this year was expected to reach $1.1 billion, as against $300 million made available.

It is estimated that—with new applications cut off—the program will go into fiscal 1967 with a backlog of $500 million of applications on hand. Allowing for the effect of the $4 million limitation on any one application, and some withdrawals due to private market sales, etc., it would seem conservative to say that the effective backlog as of next July 1 would be at least $400 million in applications already on file as of January 31, 1966.

The President's budget for 1967 suggests that the administration plans to hold new loans in fiscal 1967 to $300 million. The budget message also indicates that it will be proposed to sell off $800 million in presently held college housing bonds through a pool arrangement, as part of a general Government-wide policy of converting financing from direct Treasury lending to private lending, to the maximum extent practicable.

Mr. Chairman, the associations which I have the privilege of representing, and which include virtually every accredited college and university among their numbers, do not feel it is within their province or competence to discuss the methods by which Federal financing of the college housing loan program is provided. Our concern is that an adequate program of continued financing of college housing construction be available, at amortization rates which will not raise still higher the financial barriers to college attendance. Under present conditions in the private capital market the Federal program must be available to meet a high proportion of this need or it will not be met.

We are fully aware of the budgetary, fiscal, and other problems of the present. At the same time we are distressed—shocked might be a more accurate word—at the fact that the program is being held to the $300 million limit this year and at the proposal to hold it at that level during the 1967 fiscal year. We feel that the revolving fund from loan repayments should in fact be a revolving fund and made available for new loans in this period of all-time-high demands on college facilities. We feel that substantially more of the funds proposed to be realized from the sale of present assets should be made available for new loans.

It takes about 2 years to build a dormitory and get it ready for occupancy, once financing has been provided. A shutdown in receipt of applications for at least a year, as the prospect seems to be growing out of the budgetary proposals, means that it will be 3 years before housing needed now is available for student occupancy.

We have in operation a whole series of Federal programs designed to ease the financial barrier to needy and capable students for college entrance. These include the work study program, the National Defense Education Act loan program, the guaranteed loan program, the cold war GI bill, and the upward bound program, to name the major ones. To put the question in its simplest form: Where are we going to put these students? How can we provide living space and eating accommodations at rates which are not beyond their capacity to pay, thus negating the opportunity national legislation has wisely sought to provide?

The President's proposal to sell off college housing bonds through a pool arrangement is in effect comparable to receiving early repayment on those bonds. The college housing legislation, as we have already noted, provides for the relending of such repayments in order to provide additional college housing. In view of the critical and increasing demand for additional student spaces, we have no choice but to urge strongly that any proceeds realized from the sale of college housing bonds in fiscal 1967 be made available in that fiscal year for additional college housing loans.

HOUSING SITUATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion and by way of illustration, I should like to speak briefly concerning the critical situation which the University of Arkansas faces in the area of student housing. I am convinced that our situation is typical of that existing at many institutions across the country.

The university's enrollment has increased 70 percent in the last 6 years. Students come from every section of the State, many of whom come to the university for courses which are not available at other institutions in Arkansas. Last fall we had an increase of 1,350 students, or 500 more than anticipated. It was necessary for the relatively small Fayetteville community to absorb many of these students into substandard housing facilities. An estimated 300 had to commute unreasonable distances to attend classes. A number qualified for admission were unable to attend because of the lack of housing.

This fall a new residence hall to accommodate 450 students will be completed. However, we anticipate a minimum enrollment increase of 1,000. Therefore, we must again expect the community to absorb some 550 additional students into its limited facilities. There is a serious question that the community can do this.

In the fall of 1967 the university expects to have approximately 1,500 students beyond the 1966 enrollment. In an attempt to handle this increase we applied for a college housing loan in September 1965, in the amount of $4 million to construct residence halls and dining facilities to accommodate 822 students. A fund reservation for this loan has not been approved. Should construction of these facilities be delayed because of failure to secure early approval of the loan, we will be confronted with a housing crisis of truly large proportions. Even with the proposed new facilities and the residence hall now under construction, the community will still be asked in 1967 to provide housing for approximately 1,300 more students than are currently accommodated.

THE U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN VIETNAM

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, although I have supported our military presence in Vietnam since we first sent our advisers there, for some time there has been no question in my mind but that the physical presence of our servicemen especially in the urban areas of South Vietnam serves as an irritant to some of the Vietnamese.

This should come as no surprise to us. In part, it results from the weight of sheer numbers of men who invariably displace a local population; in part it is the result of the anxieties and frustrations of war. It happened in France and Italy during World War II when we were fighting a common enemy and in England where we have the longest and closest of ties in language, values, and traditions. It happens unfortunately in our own cities and to our own men when they are located near large military centers.

But when in addition to all these things the affluence of the visitor versus the relative impoverishment of the visited is as compellingly different as it is in Vietnam, and when this difference is reinforced by unrelated language and customs, and when previous associations with Western faces have been tinged with sorrow and bitterness, we face a far more explosive situation.

I have seen, and I am sure that any person who has seen first hand the deportment of our fighting men in Vietnam would be tremendously impressed by their effort not only to win the war, but also to heal its wounds and, in all things, to exemplify the highest principles which they are there to defend.

It is an easy transfer for these Vietnamese, who before our entry could make a living, now to believe that the more affluent Americans are primarily responsible for their declining buying power. The fact that we are there to fight for their freedom or to stop the transgressions from the north, carries little weight with the salaried worker or the head of a household who is in the phase with inflation, and who now is unable to provide for his family. All his feelngs can be directed into a hostile act at the mere sight of an American uniform. It is for this reason that I have made two suggestions which may be of interest to my colleagues.

One is to inaugurate programs among military and civilian personnel there to divert the unbalancing effect of their earnings from the Vietnamese economy. Of course, this must be voluntary. Without doubt the fighting men must control the small reward our Nation pays them for their sacrifices.

But if a portion of the earnings of American personnel could be channeled into a reserve for them, to be at his disposal later when new demands will descend upon them, it would be beneficial, both to them and to the goals of our efforts there. Perhaps such funds could be invested for them in savings bonds, or through regular methods of payroll deductions to banks or savings and loan organizations. The money could be set aside for education or for homes or for families and their future needs.

The economy of Vietnam must be bolstered in this critical period, but this need not be done by the wages of the men who fight there and who themselves are unavoidably caught by the same inflation from the recent inflow of dollars as are the local people.

The other proposal is to provide rest and recuperation for our men through centers outside Vietnam and outside southeast Asia. The military command has seen fit in recent days to keep men from Vietnamese cities which are now in political turmoil. Undoubtedly this has been a wise move and one which recognizes the problem I have been discussing, but if extended it adds additional demands upon those we already place upon our fighting men. It is for this reason that I have suggested that, when possible, rest and rehabilitation centers be established on American soil. I have suggested Hawaii's Fort DeRussy as such an area for it already serves this purpose, and did so during World War II. It would lessen the impact of our men on the sometimes hostile recreation areas in Asia, and would compensate them for the restrictions on their recreational outlets in Vietnam. Fort DeRussy is in the heart of Waikiki, and wives and sweethearts of servicemen on leave could come to visit them at this halfway point. The morale of the men and loved ones would be improved immeasurably. It would be a token of our country's appreciation.

I have made these suggestions to the Department of Defense for I believe they would be beneficial and appropriate both for our fighting men and for our objectives in Vietnam.

IS THERE A GOLD MINE OUT IN THE OCEAN?

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, an article in the April 9 issue of Business Week established a connection between three items which are very close to my heart: ocean research, small business, and precious metals.

The magazine report estimates that the ocean floor contains enough reachable copper to keep the world supplied for 1 million years, and that processing nodules of manganese which are known to exist in the mid-Pacific could yield 50 percent of this country's annual nickel requirements, 100 percent of its annual manganese needs, and 35 percent of its annual cobalt needs.

Ninety-five percent of our Nation's Continental Shelf lies within the 100-fathom curve, that is, within 600 feet of the surface.

Development of new techniques to operate at this depth should be one of the Nation's highest orders of priority. Yet, Business Week reports that the Government is spending about $200 million for research and development in this field, compared to $4.8 billion for research in outer space, and $7 billion for research by the Defense Department.

Because of the expenses involved, only a handful of firms make up the underwater industry, and these, in large parts represent segments of major corporations. However, it is heartening to note that some small businesses, in their traditional role as a go-ahead segment of our society, are scoring successes. The article describes one such company which has added to our store of technology by doing so.

Mr. President, I believe this article illustrates the desirability of concentrating further attention and resources of ocean sciences, so that small and large businesses will be encouraged to develop capabilities to gather wealth from the sea. I ask unanimous consent that the article from Business Week be included in the RECORD for the information of all concerned.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IS THERE A GOLD MINE OUT IN THE OCEAN?

A HANDFUL OF BIG AND SMALL U.S. COMPANIES BELIEVE THERE'S PLENTY OF MONEY IN UNDERWATER ENGINEERING—THEY'RE BUILDING NEW GEAR, INCLUDING ROBOT DIVERS, TO MAKE THE JOB EASIER, CHEAPER

No matter when—or if—the Navy succeeds in retrieving the missing U.S. H-bomb deep in the ocean off the coast of Spain, the 11-week search is stimulating fresh interest in a handful of firms that make up the underwater industry.

These are the companies, many of them new, that see untold riches of minerals on the ocean floor, that are making money now aiding petroleum producers in their search for offshore oil, and that undertake such unglamorous tasks as unplugging clogged sewers.

In large part, they represent segments of major corporations—Westinghouse Electric, Union Carbide, and Lockheed, for example—but there are also a good many small businessmen among them. All these companies view the oceans, the rivers, and the lakes as their economic oyster.

STARTING OUT

While the big companies have the money and engineers to move into what has been a technological vacuum (the diver's hard hat, invented in 1837, is still standard equipment), plenty of room exists for the small entrepreneur, as is shown by the case of Marine Contracting, Inc., based in Southport, Conn.

Its president and founder, George C. Wiswell, Jr., had been an advertising account executive for 10 years. Then, in 1962, he chucked Madison Avenue to get into the underwater business. At that time, his only contact with underwater activities had been a little weekend scuba diving.

Wiswell set up Marine Contracting, the first year selling jobs on days he wasn't supervising his small crew, and taking in some $60,000 in gross revenues. By 1965, sales had risen to $980,000, and from here on out, Wiswell claims, it's going to be big business. He expects to do a $2.5 million volume this year and holds contracts with oil companies doing offshore drilling to prove that he will.

TOSSING THE DICE

When he moved into the underwater business, Wiswell was betting that he could use his advertising and marketing background to sell commercial diving, and also that he could sign up some smart engineers who would apply modern techniques to underwater problems.

He appears to be winning both gambles. Wiswell's biggest coup so far is the first commercial adaption of an advanced underwater environment system—that is, letting men live at deep water pressures for an extended period in order to lengthen the time divers can spend on the bottom. To accomplish this, he used an environmental tank developed by Westinghouse's Underseas Division, designed primarily for the Navy's Sealab experiment. Wiswell did the job for American Electric Power, faced with problems at its Smith Mountain Dam, Va., pumped storage project.

In essence, a baffle system designed to keep trash and debris out of the turbines wasn't doing the job, and the utility had to have the system modified fast. It would have taken conventional divers considerably longer than 6 weeks to do the jobs—much too long for AEP's timetable. The project involved men working at depths of down to 200 feet—where in most cases divers get in less than half an hour's actual work a day, because of the dangers of "bends" and the long preparation and decompression times necessary.

However, Wiswell leased a Sealab-type environmental vessel from Westinghouse, knowing that he would get 4 hours' work daily from his divers. He won the contract by promising completion of the project in half the time that conventional methods would take.

UNDER PRESSURE

The divers lived in a special tank on the top of the dam for a week. During this period, they were in atmospheric and pressure conditions close to those faced at the 200-foot depth. Because of this, they wasted no time in preparation and decompression, except at the start or end of their stints.

I. FRAGILE HUMANS

Divers' problems are the toughest that the underwater industry faces. As T. J. Coleman, president of Ocean Systems, Inc., points out, human divers not only take a tremendously long time to do a job, but their cost is tremendous. Ocean Systems was formed January 1, 1965, and is owned jointly by Union Carbide, General Precision Equipment Corp., and Edwin Link, inventor of Link aviation trainers.

Another engineer points out that a diver in the Gulf of Mexico is paid $106 daily just to stand by, $126 if he dons a diving suit, and $168 if he gets wet. And that's just the beginning. On top of the $168 charge come per-foot costs, which range from $1.23 per foot for working between 50 and 100 feet to $10 per foot for working at depths deeper than 400 feet.

A man doing a job at, say, 300 feet will get $1,024 for a day's work, which actually means being at the work site below about 20 minutes. Then come costs of the supporting equipment—cranes, barges, and tugboats.

Coleman believes a number of things are starting to shave these costs. Research, he says, is making diving considerably less risky, and stretching the time divers can efficiently work underwater will make the actual cost lower.

Machines' role

The real solution, many people in the underwater business believe, will come by eliminating divers altogether. But so far this hasn't been practical.

A few years ago, Shell Oil Co. was very enthused about its ability to replace men working underwater with machines. While the company has had some success in this area, mechanical devices haven't done as well as expected, according to a Shell offshore production expert.

One device Shell built was called a universal manipulator, a man-like robot that can move about underwater feeling its way with sonar and seeing through a TV camera. But its weakness, says the Shell man, is extremely limited visibility. Even in the clear offshore drilling waters near California, a TV camera can't pick up a weld seam 12 inches away, while a human diver can feel it.

In fact, the limits of unmanned vehicles developed so far are evident in the search for the missing H-bomb, being handled by Ocean Systems as prime contractor for the Navy. The vehicle doing the job—known as Curve (for controlled undewater recovery vehicle)—uses a TV camera to locate an object and a manipulator to grab and haul it in.

Good news

These difficulties, of course, make any successes noteworthy. Humble Oil & Refining, for example, used a remote-operated drilling vessel to install a wellhead at a 642-foot depth off the California coast at Santa Barbara last December. That's a record so far, and the job was done by Global Marine, Inc., using its Cuss I vehicle, a highly sophisticated electronic and mechanical undersea system.

The depth, too, of the Humble project is significant. Almost 95 percent of the Nation's Continental Shelf lies at 600 or shallower levels.

II. JUST THE START

The potential wealth on the ocean floor is staggering. One enthusiast claims that it contains enough reachable copper to keep the world supplied for a million years.

Another—John Mero, an oceanographic consultant long known for his optimism about undersea mining—claims that a single 10,000-ton-per-day dredging operation working manganese nodules known to exist in the mid-Pacific could produce 50 percent of U.S. annual nickel requirements, 100 percent of manganese needs, 5 percent of the copper, 35 percent of the cobalt, and 7 percent of the molybdenum. In fact, the Bureau of Mines is sponsoring two ships in the Pacific conducting explorations and research on mining methods.

All of these minerals could be obtained, says Mero, "at substantially lower costs than those involved in producing similar products from land deposits."

In the works

While operations of this kind seem far in the future—10 years or more, even to the optimists—a great deal of ocean mining is taking place right now. Tin ore, for example, is being mined at 90-foot depths off Thailand and being smelted at a plant completed last fall.

Other projects—some just getting under way, others believed close to realization—include titanium ore operations, monocite sand (used for lamp mantles), iron ore off the Japanese coast, coal from an undersea tunnel off Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, aragonite off the Bahamas, and a De Beers diamond dredging operation off the coast of South Africa.

As Mero and others explain, getting at these deposits is only part of the problem. The other part is developing ways to smelt and refine the minerals and ores, whose composition usually is quite different from those found on land.

Interestingly enough, few mining companies have done much work in the problems of operating on ocean minerals and ores. Some of the most advanced work on processing manganese nodules has been done by a chemical company.

Another gripe of the underwater industry is that the Government is spending relatively little on underwater research compared to its research and development outlays for the space program.

J. H. Clotworthy, who runs the Westinghouse Underseas Division, puts the Government spending at about $200 million annually, including both classified and unclassified work. He calls this a "piddling" amount—especially in view of the fact that the Government takes in some $300 million annually on oil leases alone. The lack of any really big Government underseas project means that while big defense contractors have potential interest in this field, most are doing little about it.

SAFETY OF INTERSTATE NATURAL GAS PIPELINES

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, at my request, the Federal Power Commission has prepared a report on the safety of Interstate Natural Gas Pipelines. The report contains a chronological list of interstate gas pipeline failures over a 15½-year period. Between January 1, 1950, and June 30, 1965, the report discloses 64 deaths and 222 injuries have occurred.

The possible seriousness of an interstate gas pipeline failure was graphically and tragically shown last year near Natchitoches, La., when 17 people were killed in the fire resulting from a pipeline rupture.

The concern about this matter becomes greater each year as pipelines become older and as the areas around the pipeline right-of-way become more populated. The other side of the safety question involves reliability. As the Northeast power failure has shown, loss of an energy source can have a crippling effect.

The Committee on Commerce has been deeply involved with safety questions this session. A tire safety bill has been reported and passed by the Senate and the committee is now studying automobile safety. An investigation of natural gas pipeline safety has considerable precedent, although the problems and the possible solutions are of a different nature. The committee will schedule hearings on S. 1553, the natural gas pipeline bill in the near future.

I ask unanimous consent to have a summary of the FPC report printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the summary of the report was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

HIGHLIGHTS OF FPC REPORT TO U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE ON SAFETY OF INTERSTATE NATURAL GAS PIPELINES

The report was prepared by the Federal Power Commission at the request of the Committee on Commerce in connection with the natural gas pipeline safety bill (S. 1553) introduced by Senator MAGNUSON. The FPC report, which analyzes the gas industry's safety practices and record, concludes that primary responsibility must continue to rest with industry management but that "the Federal Government can make a valuable contribution" by fixing minimum safety standards "for protection against natural gas pipeline hazards." Minimum Federal standards, says the FPC report, "should not preempt the States from additional regulation in this field." The FPC report covers only interstate transmission, excluding both local distribution and intrastate transmission.

The report makes available for the first time in the history of the gas industry a detailed chronological list of gas pipeline failures, over a 15½-year period. The failures are classified to reveal whether they resulted in deaths or injuries. Casualties are segregated as to employee and nonemployee. The stated primary cause of each failure is indicated.

The report discloses 64 deaths and 222 injuries from January 1, 1950, to June 30, 1965, caused by pipeline or pipeline facility accidents. Listed in the report are 1,058 line failures which occurred during operation of transmission pipe; 1,115 failures which occurred during field testing of line pipe; and 121 failures involving compressors, metering equipment and other appurtenances occurring both during operation and field testing. The FPC concludes that although death and injuries from transmission line failures have not been numerous in the past, the potential hazard to life and property from any one single accident is high.

The most serious reported gas transmission pipeline disaster occurred last year when 17 persons were burned to death as a result of a pipeline rupture and fire near Natchitoches, La.

The report points out that as population centers expand "homes are being constructed near buried pipelines which were designed and installed under safety standards suitable for unpopulated or rural areas."

Twenty-six of the 49 States which now have natural gas service (only Hawaii does not) have safety codes and of these, 25 use the industry pipeline safety code which was prepared under the coordination of the American Standards Association. The American Standards Association code, which is voluntary insofar as the industry is concerned, includes minimum safety guidelines for pipeline design. Despite adoption of the American Standards Association code in the 26 States, 58 percent of the Nation's transmission line mileage is in States which do not provide for pipeline safety regulation, an even greater mileage was not regulated when installed, and not all the safety regulations adopted by the 26 States apply to interstate lines, the report points out.

The FPC report says that the industry's voluntary American Standards Association code "is a serious effort" to establish appropriate safety standards and "has been helpful in guiding the industry." FPC says the industry "is aware of its responsibilities" and "strives to improve its safety record," but suggests strengthening the voluntary standards of the American Standards Association code. The FPC notes that several States have imposed "more stringent" standards than the American Standards Association code while other States have added safety provisions for matters not covered by the American Standards Association code.

The FPC also concludes that "serious safety questions" are raised by the "increasing age of much of the Nation's pipeline network." About half of the 1,058 pipe failures during line operation occurred after pipe had been in the ground for more than 20 years and 82 percent were in pipe which had been underground for more than 5 years.

The three principal causes of line pipe failures during operation were earth moving equipment which damaged the pipe (28 percent), corrosion (19 percent), and weld failures (19 percent). The FPC's analysis of the failures indicated that the safety practices of coating, cathodic protection, and pressure testing have not been followed universally during the last decade following revisions in the code to provide for a more stringent test requirements. A study of 61 operating failures in pipe installed since 1955 shows that in 16 cases there was no preoperational testing, in 15 cases the pipe had no protective coating at all, and in 15 cases no cathodic protection had been provided.

Further highlights of the FPC report:

The FPC reported that of the 64 persons killed as a result of transmission system failures during the 15½-year period covered by the survey, 35 were gas company employees and 29 were nonemployees. The 222 injured persons included 135 company employees and 87 nonemployees.

The report shows that safety programs in the natural gas industry have helped reduce employee accident rates. For the 1950–52 period, the frequency rate for gas employee disabling accidents was 14.1 per million manhours worked, which dropped to 6.2 for the most recent 3-year period.

Of the 64 deaths during the survey period, 46 (19 employees and 27 nonemployees) were in connection with transmission line accidents, 17 (15 employees and 2 nonemployees) were in connection with compressor station, metering station, or similar facility accidents, and one employee death was in connection with field testing.

The report says the highest incidence of injury or death occurs in accidents in compressor and metering stations and similar facilities, with 23 percent of such failures resulting in death or injury; compared to 4.8 percent in transmission line failures and to three-tenths of 1 percent in testing failures.

The greatest exposure to injury to the general public occurs in transmission line failures, which account for 90 percent of nonemployee deaths and injuries.

During the survey period, there were 191 interruptions to service involving one or more towns, cities or wholesale customers, or more than 100 retail customers.

High pressures are an essential feature of long distance gas transmission technology. Some lines operate at pressures exceeding 1,000 pounds per square inch, and a range of 700 to 1,000 pounds is common. Gas moves through lines at from 10 to 25 miles per hour. The pressures confined in transmission lines have tremendous expansive energy in addition to the potential fuel energy which could be released through combustion.

The Nation's interstate natural gas transmission network contains more than 150,000 miles of pipeline owned and operated by companies subject to general FPC jurisdiction. They deliver more than 9 trillion cubic feet of natural gas per year, and the total plant investment is $11.1 billion.

FLORENCE, ARIZ., OBSERVES CENTENNIAL

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, beginning in February the citizens of Florence, Ariz., have been observing the centennial anniversary of their town's founding as one of the early trade and agricultural centers of the territory.

A full schedule of events is planned throughout the year to commemorate the town's pioneer history and its many contributions to the economic and political developments of Arizona. In many ways the history of Florence is a capsule history of the West, beginning with Indian wars and culminating in today's panorama of irrigated fields, productive mines, and modern urban communities.

Over the years since the first residence was built in what is now Florence, this desert community has played a prominent role in the continuing progress of Arizona. As the county seat of Pinal County, Florence has produced many outstanding citizens who achieved prominence in public service far beyond the borders of Arizona.

Among them are several former Governors, a former majority leader of the U.S. Senate, and one of our current ambassadors.

Florence was established on the site of the first land office south of the Gila River and soon became one of the prime farming areas of the Southwest. It is the hub of a cotton-growing region which consistently ranks among the highest yield counties in the Nation and in addition, the important copper mines of Pinal County contribute substantially to Arizona's position as the No. 1 copper-producing State.

The citizens and community service organizations of Florence are to be commended for organizing this centennial observance, and on behalf of them, it is my pleasure to extend a most cordial welcome to Americans everywhere to include the town of Florence on their western travel itineraries for 1966. I am sure they will be warmly received and will find the visit most rewarding.

DECLINE IN DOMESTIC OIL INDUSTRY

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I have consistently reminded Senators of the vital nature of maintaining a sound and healthy domestic oil industry throughout the United States. In Kansas, where the oil industry ranks high in the economy, we continually watch economic indicators to assess the strength of the industry.

Many times I have informed the Senate how exclusive imports endanger domestic oil production; and now, today, in Kansas other factors are affecting our oil business. In a recent article in the Kansas City Star, Mr. Ray Morgan sounded a danger signal which points to diminishing returns from the oil industry in Kansas. Mr. Morgan is a correspondent of sound judgment who understands the impact of this decline in production. He has clearly outlined in his article a crisis which faces my State.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Morgan's article, entitled "Oil on Way Out in Kansas," and published in the Kansas City Star, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"OIL ON WAY OUT IN KANSAS"—EXPERT SAYS INDUSTRY WILL DECLINE IN FUTURE—CONSIDERED IN TAXES—EVALUATION TABLES USE PROBABILITY AS A FACTOR, HE SAYS

(By Ray Morgan)

TOPEKA.—Assessment of oil properties in Kansas must be related to the fact that production is on the final decline, Dr. Charles Weinaug of the Kansas Geological Survey told a legislative committee here today.

Dr. Weinaug, who is an expert in evaluation of oil properties, said the method of assessment recently put into effect by the State property evaluation department is directed at considering this objective.

TOO MANY APPEALS

Dr. Weinaug testified before the Kansas Legislative Council Assessment and Taxation Committee about a study directed at ending the controversy over assessment of oil properties that resulted in over 900 appeals to the State board of tax appeals.

More than $1 million in reductions of oil property assessments was granted by the State board on the appeals, with the largest share going to the Cities Service Co., one of the largest operations in the State.

Weinaug said tax tables he helped the department of property evaluation to develop were directed at taking into consideration the effect of the final decline together with standard methods of determining the value of oil properties.

"Gentlemen, we might as well face the fact that oil production is on the decline in Kansas," Dr. Weinaug told the committee. "It isn't going to peter out overnight but it is on a decline toward eventual exhaustion of our reserves."

He said even newly discovered fields in western Kansas are showing a tendency to be short lived.

AS A GUIDE

He said the tables, which were put into effect a year ago, are directed at giving county assessors a set of standard guidelines in setting fair values.

"It was directed at putting into effect all the sound engineering principles which are taken into consideration within the industry in setting a fair value for an oil property," Dr. Weinaug said. "This included consideration of the fact that the productive capacity is declining."

Representative Lawrence Slocombe, Republican of Peabody, chairman of the investigating committee, asked Dr. Weinaug and Alvin Jones, director of the property evaluation department, whether the guidelines would stand up in court.

"We want something that is going to stand up in court when somebody comes in and challenges the way the value was set," representative Slocombe said. "Say a man buys a property in oil production for $1,000, for instance, and then the assessor uses these guidelines and sets another value above that figure."

Dr. Weinaug said that it was the same case in the purchase of farmland. He said the use of fertilizers, irrigation, and other improved methods available today would make the property worth more to one man than it would be to another.

"It's the same thing with oil properties," he said. "Better methods can make a difference. There are plenty of examples of this. What we have tried to do is to take an average of all these things in setting up the tables we consider to be the fairest in determining the value."

Senator Joe Warren, Democrat, of Maple City, asked if the thickness of capping layers above production areas was taken into consideration in the tables.

LACK OF FUNDS

Dr. Weinaug said it was not and said the reason was that such a factor would require considerable engineering study, which could not be undertaken because of the limited funds available.

"These factors vary so widely and are so difficult to determine by reading the electric logs of the drilling operations that we felt it would be better to leave them out," he said.

The study is directed at determining whether additional legislation by the 1967 general session of the Kansas Legislature is needed.

CURRENT RISE IN FOOD PRICES

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, in recent statements made by administration spokesmen the current rise in beef cattle, calf, and hog prices has been viewed with mounting alarm. Portraying the red meat and pork industries as the arch foes of a stable economy, the same persons point accusing fingers at the peak prices that meat is now bringing and forecast disastrous effects on our economy unless prices are forced back downward.

Although primary concern is focused on the prices of red meat and pork, prices of all agricultural products are alleged to be "inflationary."

Mr. President, I seriously question whether the current prices for beef, pork, and agricultural products as a whole are actually "inflationary" within the true meaning of that term.

No one would attempt to deny that prices for meat and foodstuffs have increased in the last year. Any housewife would be able to say that she is spending considerably more for groceries today than she did only a few months ago. But this is not an accurate measure of food prices.

Food prices have risen less than most other consumer articles in the past decade and a half. Since the 1947 through 1949 period, retail prices of farm foods have gone up only 15 percent, whereas nonfood living costs have climbed 35 percent.

It took 60 hours work in 1947–49 to buy the month's farm food supply for the average family; today, it takes 37 hours. This is the real measure of food prices.

Workers' hourly earnings have increased by 88 percent since the same 1947–49 base period; farm food prices have increased by only 15 percent.

In the United States we spend approximately 19 percent of our take-home pay for food. This compares with 29 percent for Britishers and as much as 50 percent for Russians.

In view of these statistics, I find it hard to describe the present prices of meat and foodstuffs as "inflationary."

The economic factors contributing to the recent rise in the price of meat and pork are complex and varied, and difficult to identify because of their interrelationship. But, stated one way, price stability for these industries is most often upset by boom-and-bust periods related to big cyclical sweeps in the cattle and hog sectors.

Less than 2 years ago, Secretary Freeman testified before the Committee on Finance on the beef cattle situation. Cattle prices had dropped from an average of $27.67 per hundredweight in 1962, to just under $24 in 1963, and to less than $21 in the spring of 1964. The Secretary was deeply concerned for the future of the cattle industry, as were many Congressmen, including myself. In preparing the Finance Committee as to what must be expected in the future, the Secretary had this to say:

> For many years, wide swings in cattle numbers and prices have been a major characteristic of the American cattle industry. For several decades the total number of beef cattle has trended upward, but has also moved in a cyclical fashion, reflecting adjustments which cattlemen have found it necessary to make periodically.

After tracing the price of beef from an average high of almost $36 per hundredweight in 1951, to an average of $18.88 in February of 1956, the Secretary made this concluding observation:

> Cattlemen will in all likelihood face these adjustments in the future as they have in the past. They usually take several years and result in severe hardship to many in the industry before beef production is again in line with demand at satisfactory prices.

So meat prices continue to fluctuate along the cyclical pattern as Secretary Freeman warned they would. Today they ride the crest of the cycle; tomorrow they could very well plunge to the base.

When beef prices are severely depressed and farmers wiped out as a result, we pity them and do nothing. But if beef prices go up and farmers off-set their prior losses with modest gains, a wild and frenzied scramble ensues to force prices back down again.

Mr. President, what is our Government doing to help stabilize prices? I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial entitled, "The Price Adjustors at Work," which was published in the Savannah Morning News of April 17, 1966. This article graphically illustrates the irrationality of the Defense Department's meat-buying policy and how it actually aggravates rather than corrects price instability.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Savannah (Ga.) Morning News, Apr. 17, 1966]

The Price Adjusters at Work

Recently, the U.S. Department of Defense cut in half its purchases of prime pork products and directed that more beef and poultry be bought to feed our men in uniform.

The Defense Department gave as its reason the fact pork prices were high and buying other meats would save money.

A short time after this occurred, pork producers began to complain because the cut in purchases by the Defense Department proved to force pork prices down. It is reasonable to assume that a heavier demand on beef and poultry will force prices for those foods up.

Now, if DOD is consistent with its policy, it will probably switch back to buying pork when the price scale balance shifts the other way.

So what is really going to happen? It's rather simple. The Government will make the meat market like a teeterboard. And the producers and consumers are the ones who will get caught in the confusion.

But the big question remains—will this Government manipulation save the taxpayers any money? It's really doubtful since beef and poultry prices undoubtedly will rise while pork prices decline. The total amount spent by DOD may average out to be pretty near the same.

This leads us to wonder whether DOD was more interested in saving tax money or whether it was just being the tool of Government manipulation.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, perhaps the best gage to determine if the price of a given commodity is unrealistically high is to compare that price with the price of parity. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a table of average annual and parity prices for beef cattle, calves, and hogs for the years 1958 through March 1966.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Average annual and parity prices for beef cattle, calves, and hogs

[In dollars]

Year	Beef cattle		Calves		Hogs	
	Prices	Parity	Prices	Parity	Prices	Parity
1958	22.00	23.20	25.00	25.60	19.80	22.10
1959	22.70	23.10	27.00	25.50	14.10	21.60
1960	20.40	23.70	23.30	26.20	15.40	21.30
1961	20.20	23.70	23.70	26.20	16.70	21.30
1962	21.30	23.60	25.00	26.20	16.40	21.70
1963	19.85	24.00	24.34	27.00	15.00	22.40
1964	18.06	24.69	20.68	28.06	14.80	21.69
1965	19.92	25.68	21.94	29.42	20.73	21.39
March 1966[1]	24.00	26.40	27.60	30.80	24.00	22.60

[1] Monthly average.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, in all except one instance, that of hog prices for March 1966, prices lagged materially behind parity. The price of hogs has already dipped downward since that time, but even at their highest level, the slight edge over parity was not nearly as disproportionate as was the disastrous low in 1964 when prices dropped almost a full $7 below the price of parity.

Mr. President, I am convinced that food is a bargain in the United States. My hat is off to the farmers of this great Nation who have made food a better buy in the United States than in other lands and lower in terms of labor costs than anywhere else in the world. For an hour's pay, our industrial workers can buy a good, well-balanced meal for four persons. In Germany and England it takes 2 hours' work to buy the same meal; in Austria, 4 hours; in France 4½ hours; and in Italy, it takes more than 5 hours.

Let us keep these thoughts in mind when the impulse to condemn present food prices takes hold of us.

THE STATES IN THE GREAT SOCIETY PROGRAM

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, former Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina is a leader among his colleagues in articulating the vital role which State governments must play in developing our Great Society programs. He has written a most thought-provoking article entitled "Poverty's Challenge to the States" for publication in the winter 1966 issue of Law and Contemporary Problems, Duke University School of Law. In this article, the Governor emphasizes that, although the States may have neglected the area of poverty in the past—as have other levels of government—they must now be used as a major resource in helping to solve this problem.

Governor Sanford suggests four types of activities to which he says the States are uniquely suited: First, technical assistance and informational services to interested communities to help them understand available programs and make the best use of their resources; second, stimulation and encouragement of local efforts through the initiation of State programs to be spun off to communities when they take hold; third, coordination of Federal and State programs through the Governor's office to bring the sufficient resources to bear on problem areas; and fourth, planning assistance for economic and public facility development, as exemplified in the Appalachia program. The future, says the Governor, will depend on the States' own actions, but they must be given a greater chance to participate as major partners in our creative Federal system.

The Governor makes an impressive argument on behalf of State government. The operations of the North Carolina fund, which he helped to establish, is a good example of what enlightened, energetic State leadership can do to stimulate a coordinated attack on its poverty problem.

Too many State governments and State leaders today, however, are just not measuring up to the responsibilities contemplated by the Governor. Too many State constitutions and laws still handicap urban development and work against those communities and citizens which need help the most. State restrictions imposed upon the borrowing and taxing powers of municipalities and counties have led to devious special devices to avoid the restrictions. The absence of State initiative in many cases has hindered better local and areawide coordination and planning.

The powers of many State Governors are weak and unclear. State administration, in most instances, is still fragmented, lacking in quality and experience, and too subject to political pressures.

When State governments—their legislative and their executive leadership—develop the machinery and the resources for promoting a more equitable and progressive program for State and community development, their position as an equal partner in the Great Society will be respected and supported. If the States fail us here, the Federal Government and the localities have little alternative but to seek alternative ways of intergovernmental collaboration.

The essence of the antipoverty program is action—the tendency of many State governments is inaction. Governor Sanford, Governor Brown, of California, Governor Rockefeller, of New York, and other forward-thinking State leaders want to change this. I have actively supported the Governors in their efforts to improve the role of the States as active partners in our federal system through legislation and other measures. And I shall continue to do so.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Governor Sanford's fine article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

POVERTY'S CHALLENGE TO STATES

(Note.—Reprinted from a forthcoming symposium on antipoverty programs, published as the winter 1966 issue of Law and Contemporary Problems, Duke University School of Law, Durham, N.C.)

(By Terry Sanford) [1]

Maimonides: "Anticipate charity by preventing poverty; assist the reduced fellow man * * * by teaching him a trade or putting him in the way of business, so that he may earn an honest livelihood, and not be forced to the dreadful alternative of holding out his hand to charity."

I. POVERTY AND THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

The American society has begun a significant shift in its philosophy toward the reduced fellow man. In the affluent sixties, the faces of poverty haunt our consciences as we discover its many moods and sources. Poverty can be the family suddenly fatherless, the handicapped individual with insufficient means to relieve his suffering, the child born into life without family, the blue-collar worker pushed out by the machine, the Negro struggling in a white man's world, the marginal farmer in an increasingly urban America, the coal miner in the age of nuclear energy, and the ill-educated in a time which increasingly demands education.

Early America left the treatment of the poor to private charity and scattered government aid and activity. The aid usually dispensed with a charity philosophy and the most common method of treatment was the poorhouse or other specialized institutions which segregated the extreme cases from society's view. Some communities drove the poor from the city's gates. As time passed, political organizations in the large cities developed welfare programs suited to their own purposes more than to the poor. Later some cities and States developed specialized programs to aid the most appealing groups of the poverty stricken—the abandoned mothers, the elderly, and the blind.

The depression of the 1930's focused the Nation's attention on the poverty question as America realized that private and local and State governmental efforts were inadequate. The New Deal stimulated new Federal programs which embodied a work-for-relief principle and direct support for certain categories of our poor—such as those over 65, the needy blind, and dependent children. The challenge to the whole American system caused a reevaluation of the role of Government and the development of the concept of Government as the guardian of the economy. The Federal Government instituted safeguards for the investor, the banks, the housing industry; it provided loans, regulated the monopolies, assured the compensation of the unemployed, and stimulated the economy by conscious Government policy.

Recovery was the byword, but there was a strong feeling that the Government should never let a depression happen again.

Several States began serious efforts at developing their industrial base through campaigns to attract new industry into the States. But within the States the areas of economic need could not compete for industry with the areas where life was better, and the neglect continued.

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[1] A.B. 1939, LL.B. 1946, University of North Carolina. Governor of North Carolina, 1961–1965; currently heading "A Study of American States" at Duke University under grants from the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corp. Author, "But What About the People?" (1966).

A. Where we are

How far has America come? It is difficult to measure the success of America's efforts against poverty in individual terms, but some facts can be stated. In 1962, the Conference on Economic Progress issued a detailed analysis on the condition of poverty as of 1960 in the United States. Using the annual income guidelines to measure poverty—that is, under $4,000 for families and under $2,000 for unattached individuals—the Conference found that over one-fifth of the Nation's population was living in poverty. While this number had been decreasing at a rate of 2.2 percent per year between 1929 and 1960, there still were in 1960 nearly 37 million impoverished Americans—one-third of them children.

But these gross figures paint only a partial picture. In the last few years it has become increasingly apparent that entire segments of our society have been unable to elevate themselves above a poverty situation. There are those living in the Appalachias and the Ozarks, in the stifling ghettoes of New York, Chicago, and and Los Angeles, and those who must hang tenaciously to the crop-weary lands which can no longer produce a living wage. All of these and more have been bypassed and left behind by our society. These are not cases. They are people—our people.

And what is the cost to us? We can measure the cost of lost productivity, of lost purchasing power, and of the relief rolls. But how do we measure the cost of a crushed spirit or a dead dream or a long-forgotten hope? What is the incalculable cost to us as a people when the children of poverty become the parents of poverty and begin the cycle anew?

The evidence seems to indicate that our governmental system has coped with only part of the poverty problem. In the past few decades, it has provided programs which maintained many people at or below a minimum subsistence level—while not reaching others at all.

With all of the effort in the New Deal and since, with all of the postwar economic boom in this country, still one-fifth of the American people do not earn enough to feed, clothe, and house themselves. Why? Why haven't we done the job by now? Where have we failed?

B. The myths that block us

There are many answers, but at least part of the answer lies in a number of myths that all of us have shared about our economy, our society, and ourselves.

The first is the explicit faith that so many of us have held that our economic system will overcome, in the long run, most of the obstacles facing our society. By developing our economy fully, and using the resources of the Government wisely, we believed that unemployment would fall, incomes would rise, and poverty thereby would automatically be reduced. While there is evidence that economic development has much to do with helping some of the poor, there is also ample evidence that an increase in economic growth does not touch most of the poor. Increased opportunities do not help those who are unable to take advantage of them. There are some obstacles which our economic system alone will not overcome.

The second myth is the myth of Horatio Alger—that if a person has the energy and the will to work, he will be able to make his way. In a sense, this means that poverty and unemployment are a result of choice, not a condition of society—a manifestation of laziness, not economic isolation. The depression jolted this belief when millions of Americans, who were left jobless through no fault of their own were also powerless to help themselves at all. The economy had let them down and so had the American way of life. Government assumed the role of the protector—of the old, the very young, the unemployed. But even with social security, aid to dependent children, unemployment compensation, and others, the feeling has remained that a bit of Horatio Alger exists in us all, if each of us only will work hard to succeed.

A third myth which has held back action against poverty is the status quo myth—that things are basically fine, we have the tools to conquer the problems we face, and really only need to change or adjust some minor mechanism of government to reach those few people who need help. Therefore, governmental agencies and their programs, operating for years, do not need changing or redirection but just need more money and more people to work for them. Consequently, when government acts, it usually turns to more of the same, solidifying the old structure and programs rather than seeking possible new solutions to the problems of a changing society. And this old structure has given birth to new problems: A housing program which eats up suburban land while the inner city slowly crumbles and decays; a welfare program which does not give enough to get by nor provide a path out; an agricultural program which thrusts vast changes on our farm population while failing to prepare the farmer for his withdrawal to the cities; and an educational system keyed to college and middle-class goals, leaving many behind who do not share those goals. And this does not exhaust the examples.

Government must be flexible, alert to change, coordinated and personal. The old textbook three-layered system of government with State, local, and Federal governments clearly assigned their tasks has already given way to a compartmentalized approach based on government responsibilities. Communication up and down the line is much better than communication between activities—a county welfare agent talks easily and often to his superiors at the State and Federal level but rarely to the county health agent. Today problems span the responsibilities of government and yet administrators and the departments see these problems in their own terms. The poverty problem is seen as a problem of welfare by welfare departments, as a problem of education by education departments, as a problem of health by health departments, and so on. While elected officials, like the Governor, are held responsible for carrying out these programs, in fact they have little or no control over these segmented activities.

What is needed is a multipronged, coordinated attack rather than an attack by parts of government on parts of problems. Michael Harrington, America's foremost analyst of the poverty program, has said: [2]

"In case after case, it has been documented that one cannot deal with the various components of poverty in isolation, changing this or that condition but leaving the basic structure intact. Consequently, a campaign against the misery of the poor should be comprehensive. It should think, not in terms of this or that aspect of poverty, but along the lines of establishing new communities, or substituting a human environment for the inhuman that now exists."

The fourth myth which has blocked effective action against poverty revolves around the ready tendency of Americans to believe that money will solve all our problems. Too often the initial governmental action has been a reflex to a symptom rather than a thoughtful response to the actual problem. Too little preplanning goes into our governmental actions, and too often we find ourselves investigating a crisis rather than anticipating it. Examples abound in our history, but none seems as potent as the fact that there are still over one-fifth of our citizens living in poverty, despite all the programs and economic development we have achieved in the last three decades.

But a Government alert to change is not enough. It must be responsive to the voices of those who need its help. When it is not representative, it cannot listen—and when it cannot listen, it ceases to be responsive. Increasing malapportionment of legislative bodies and the disfranchisement of segments of our population has undoubtedly had the effect of reducing or restricting the voice of the poor. Thus, we are just beginning to heed the cry for a fair share of tomorrow's blessings.

For all of these reasons and more, our governmental system has been doing only a partial job on the problem of the impoverished American. No level of government is exempt from this indictment. The Federal Government, active in the general field of welfare for several decades, chose the year 1964 to declare war on poverty. The States, active in this area for a longer period, have a spotty record of achievement—for only a few have exerted any great effort or shown much initiative in this problem, except recently in response to the new Federal programs. Generally, the problem has fallen to the local community, with its limited resources and abilities. Local response has been equally uneven: extending from the Community Chest approach to the 100-neediest-cases fund each Christmas; from the private efforts of the neighborhood church to the overtaxed, understaffed, and underfinanced local welfare agency.

But no level of government has done enough, for massive problems demand massive support.

II. FORMULA FOR THE FUTURE: COMMUNITY ACTION AND INNOVATION

The new approach to the battle against poverty had to be unique. It needed to be able to overcome the shortcomings of prior efforts while at the same time using the very positive parts of existing programs. It needed to involve all parts of the community and not segments. The whole problem needed to be tackled and not just parts of it. The new technique would be community action, the keystone of a broad-based antipoverty effort, and innovation preserving the best of the old with the promise of the new.

By innovation in approach I do not mean a whole new series of programs suddenly pressed into service. This is not what innovation means. Innovation in the antipoverty program takes the best of the broad variety of programs now available, combines it with new ideas to provide the total effort with flexibility to fit all the problems. The approach might be likened to a supermarket, with a varied display of programs from which to choose, along with the ingredients to mold a whole new program. The particular mix desired and developed depends on the definition of poverty brought to the market by the community. This allows for initiative, innovation, and diversity in the development of programs rather than preconceived and prestructured answers to a dynamic and changeable problem.

In addition, the new definition of community action stresses an inclusive definition of community—including representation from the poor themselves. This means that a new umbrella organization would be created to cut across all the vertical strands of government, such as welfare, health, education, and so forth, and to join with those in the nongovernmental sphere, such as churches, private philanthropic agencies, and a cross section of the citizenry. This community action organization was to look into the community mirror and devise its own answer. Not only did this broad-based organization force some of the rigid professional boundaries to be breached and questioned, but it also allowed the entrance into the market of many of those previously excluded. In this way, new voices would become part of the process. That this was a revolution is obvious—but a revolution within a structure established to encourage revolution.

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[2] Michael Harrington, "The Other America: Poverty in the United States," 168 (1963).

We in North Carolina recognized these two components when we established the North Carolina fund in the summer of 1963, with grants of $7 million from the Ford Foundation, matched by grants from Reynolds and Babcock Foundations, and State and local funds. In announcing the establishment of the fund, I said, "There are tens of thousands whose dreams will die. Some of this poverty is self-imposed and some of it is undeserved. All of it withers the spirit of children, who neither imposed it nor deserve it. These are the children of poverty who tomorrow will become the parents of poverty. We hope to break this cycle of poverty. That is what the North Carolina fund is all about."

We wanted to have the freedom to go into the communities of the State and say to the leaders of schools, government, welfare, health, charity: "Look, let's work together; let's see if together in a few neighborhoods near here we can't break the cycle of poverty and give these children a better chance."

We wanted the community, the entire community, first to analyze its own situation and then to come up with what it felt would alleviate the problems. We were gratified that 66 of our 100 counties were represented in such self-analyses and submitted proposals. Some proposals called for more of the same; other wanted striking new approaches. Some proposals could best be implemented by tinkering with the existing governmental machinery; others needed new machinery established. When there was a pattern, maybe a statewide program was needed. When it was unique, the North Carolina fund would support the community in its innovation. Unfortunately, our funds did not allow us to satisfy the tremendous response we received, and we had to select certain proposals as pilot projects—both statewide and community based. But all the communities were interested in a broader effort than was being made at the time.

We already see results. The first impact was to upset the existing power structures within communities so that changes in the status quo could occur. In most cases this amounted to radical changes in community relations and activities—but this we did knowingly, realizing that positive results would occur when existing structures are challenged by the new.

This process of self-analysis seemed to awaken the community conscience. The important thing in my mind was that we established a vehicle by which a community approach in its broadest sense was undertaken, encouraged a new look, and made provision for creative innovation in developing solutions.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964,[3] which embodies the nationwide commitment against poverty, was based on these same two components: community action and innovation. The success or failure of the antipoverty program is in the future, but the history of the national effort to date indicates that the existing order is being challenged on all fronts and that communities are beginning to probe their consciences. Critics charge mismanagement, unclear plans and goals, programs in shambles, politicos using the poverty war for narrow purposes, poor communication, agencies and whole levels of governments being bypassed. Some complaints are contradictory: too little coordination, too much coordination, no guidelines, too many guidelines—all these and others represent the beginning of the significant shift we have taken in our philosophy toward the reduced fellowman in our midst.

But, regardless of objections, our governmental system is carrying this fight to every community and every part of society in the Nation, with the overwhelming commitment of the Federal Government serving as the stimulant. Local communities everywhere are evaluating their situations and submitting proposals to the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington for approval and funding. The States are being asked to aid the local communities in this effort and to mobilize the States' resources to achieve the goals of the programs. And the Federal Government is providing the guidance and the funds for the massive effort.

III. THE ROLE OF THE STATES

The antipoverty program is less than 2 years old, and much is still in the definition stage. However, there appears to be a trend in development which, in the long run, may serve to reduce the potential results of the program. The trend I speak of is the unclear definition of the role of the States in the program and the fuzzy set of relationships between all the levels of the governmental system.

In many respects, the States are the key to the operation of the Federal system of government. I am not arguing from the constitutional position that all other governments in our system derive their grant of authority from the States. Nor am I arguing from the political position that shows that our State political systems are the basis of the national political system. The position I am arguing from is based on an understanding of how our governmental system operates—that the States are a major partner in almost all the Federal domestic programs, and are a vital resource which ought to be summoned to the frontlines of the battle. Highway programs, health programs, the new recreation program, the new education programs, the welfare programs, and others are all combinations of Federal-State funds and standards. And many States were active in these areas before Federal funds and standards were added.

Critics argue that the States have so often neglected their responsibilities in these areas that national programs were necessary. While this certainly is true of the need for national action in aiding urban areas, the voting rights bill, and the reapportionment question, there are many cases of States performing the role of the experimenter and the innovator, in which they have demonstrated the need for wider programs through their successes. The first antitrust statutes were developed by the States; the first maximum hours-minimum wage legislation was developed by the States; the States fashioned the first antidiscrimination statutes, the first child labor laws, the first unemployment insurance.

The point is that all levels of government are new to the problems of poverty, and that no level has a monopoly on solutions. The States, like all levels of our system, are already involved in the problems of poverty through their welfare, education, health, employment, and other activities. They are providing many of these services now, and the concept of innovation which I have discussed previously does not only look to the new, but a mixture of the new with the old, to achieve the goals of the program.

For that reason the States have a crucial role in the development and administration of the antipoverty program, and this role may be the key to its success. To date, there has been little or no support for the States to take much of a positive role; and their role has been left vaguely defined. With such a national commitment to a program, it is time for the States to move fully into the fray. It may be true that the States neglected the area of poverty in the past, but they were not alone in this. And, as I have stressed throughout this discussion, success will be achieved by bringing to bear all the resources available on the problem. The States can be a major resource.

There are at least 4 types of activities for which the States are uniquely suited. Some are already being performed by a few of the States.

1. Technical assistance, communication, and interpretation: The States should be the fulcrum of the Federal system. Halfway between the national and local government, the States are situated so that they can be either bottlenecks or positive participants in the overall process. Section 209(b) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 recognizes the unique contribution that States can make and provides for grants to State technical agencies for coordination and communication.[4] The State agency in this case serves on call for the interested communities and agencies to aid them to understand the various provisions of the program and to apply for grants. For small communities, often mystified and discouraged by Federal procedures, this State agency can make the difference as to whether many communities will participate in a poverty program at all.

Most States are doing this at the present time in their antipoverty programs, but it is not enough. With the high funding ratio (90–10 Federal-State) in which the States' 10 percent can be in kind rather than cash, these agencies virtually become extensions of the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity rather than State agencies adding the resources of the State to the battle. While this role is crucial in getting the nationwide poverty program underway and making its impact complete, it must not be the States' only effort. For once the program is interpreted, and the various communities and agencies are operating programs with grants from the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity, the need for such an office at the State level may disappear. Thus, interpretation and communiction is only the first step rather than the total role to be played.

2. Stimulation of antipoverty efforts: Using the same agency and funding available under section 209(b), the State agency can move out into a State at large and into the various governmental agencies and stimulate the necessary programs to be undertaken. It need not wait to be called upon. The agency can stimulate and challenge the communities and agencies to fulfill their responsibility. The State agency can take the initiative in getting statewide efforts underway where a statewide effort is preferable to a piecemeal community-by-community approach. Often the State agency will initially undertake the program itself and spin it off once underway when a suitable home can be found.

Several States have perceived their role in this manner. New Jersey, with the strong backing of Gov. Richard Hughes, has been using an affirmative State office approach and thereby has been able to obtain a "greater variety of grants covering more of its people than any other State in the Union," according to OEO Director R. Sargent Shriver. Some of the programs are developed and run directly by the State office. California, with an equally aggressive approach under Gov. Edmund G. Brown, has been a leader in developing rural area programs and a very impressive migrant labor program—created and initiated in the State coordinator's office. There are other examples, but I fear too few. This type of an approach means an active commitment and involvement by the Governor and the State in the program. There is nothing preventing the States from filling such a role except their own lack of imagination and leadership.

Many States have been distracted from this positive approach by the question of the

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[3] 78 Stat. 508; 42 U.S.C. 2701 (1964).

[4] 78 Stat. 519, 42 U.S.C. 2790(b), 1964.

Governor's veto over community action program proposals within the State. The argument on the one side is that the veto involves the Governor and thereby the State in the programs and allows for a certain degree of control. The other side of the argument is that the veto acts as a negative control rather than affirmative leadership. It is ex post facto, coming after the planning, development, funding and announcement stages—thereby presenting the Governor with an unhappy choice of just going along or stopping a program which has the support and commitment of many people. Further, its use has stimulated reaction from Congress to restrict the Governor in the future. The answer is that the veto can be used constructively if combined wtih a positive State approach. It can serve as another weapon in the Governor's arsenal to prod and stimulate agencies and communities in the proper direction. It can serve as the entree for the Governor to become an active part of the planning and development process.

3. Coordination of governmental activities: Coordination of governmental activities is a concept which excites the reformer and frightens the participant. Although everyone pays it lipservice, it is a concept which is ignored throughout our governmental system, and the poverty program is no exception. According to the U.S. Conference of Mayors, "Most of the community action agency directors reported that they had not encountered meaningful coordination between (the Federal) Office of Economic Opportunity and the so-called delegated programs operating through the Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and various other departments. * * * If local communities are expected to achieve any effective program development of a comprehensive and coordinated sort, the OEO must take the initiative among the Federal agencies which the local community action agencies are powerless to affect. This administrative failure, if allowed to continue, constitutes the most serious threat to the effective operation of a local umbrella agency currently on the horizon."[5]

This points out several important facts to be considered: first, coordination of effort by all levels of government is necessary for the success of the program; second, coordination at the Federal level has not really occurred and without coordination at this higher level, lower levels cannot meaningfully initiate or influence programs; and, third, the local communities face an impossible task in attempting to coordinate all the governmental activities which focus on them. The local communities do not possess personnel or resources; they suffer from a more parochial view of the world which leads to an inability to relate local particular problems to broader trends; and they do not have political muscle to force other levels to coordinate efforts.

The States can do part of this coordination job with the programs and agencies concerned with the poverty effort. The States already are a key to the operation of the Federal system of government, as a major partner in almost all the Federal domestic programs. They are responsible for administering most of the existing services and have impressive resources to bring to bear on the various problems. As entities more regional than local communities, they have a broader view and are more able to relate particular problems to broader trends. They may not be the perfect regional entities to carry this out, but they exist with a considerable present administrative structure, a power base and loyalty.

The logical place to vest responsibility for coordination is in the office of the Governor. The Governor is the only man representing his State who is acutely aware of the problems it faces in education, health, welfare, finances, mental health, urban renewal and poverty. In almost every State, the responsibility for initiation of major statewide programs falls upon the Governor. He must, like the President of the United States, energize his administration, search out the experts, formulate the programs, mobilize the support, and carry through with the idea. Few major undertakings ever get off the ground without his support and leadership. The Governor sets the agenda for public debate; frames the issues; decides on the timing; and can blanket the State with good ideas by using his access to the mass media. His office is really the only place where statewide coordination can occur.

4. Planning and the setting of priorities: The major criticism of the antipoverty program to date is the lack of adequate planning and setting of priorities in the development of the various programs. The supermarket approach makes programs available to attack all types of problems—but it is up to the local communities to pick and choose as they desire. At times, what one community does in answer to its problems may add to the problems of the next community, the region, or the State. For example, in some rural areas, separate communities, each offering retraining programs for high school dropouts, could glut the market with similarly trained people—to the disadvantage of both the community and the people. Likewise, there is need to insure the best priority of effort, so that programs build on each other rather than compete for the limited resources and energy at hand.

The local community sets its own priorities and the Federal OEO reviews them, but who relates the priorities established by a series of communities within the same region, or just beyond that region? The problems of our society flow in major part from its complexity. Yet, the emphasis on local communities acting individually or at best with several other communities in defining their problem and in devising their answer may potentially be overlooking the very complexity it seeks to meet. I agree with the efforts to seek multi-county approaches such as Georgia and Indiana have used, and also with the increasing emphasis that the Federal OEO places on this approach.

But poverty is too complex to yield to a one-dimensional approach. Our society is not made of neatly contained, self-functioning units. Problems often are not encompassed by political boundaries.

Look at the Appalachian regional development program. Twelve States, the Federal Government, and the local communities are attempting to focus the resources of all on a common condition—poverty in rural Appalachia. The impetus came from the Governors themselves, who had long known that poverty lurked in the valleys and the hills of this mountain chain that stretched over 12 States. But we had never defined the problem in quite that way. This new way of thinking about an old problem gave life to a whole new set of proposals and programs. The framework guided the effort. We soon came to realize that decisions made within one region have an impact well beyond its bounds, and events outside bring severe repercussions within the region.

With this sort of framework for action, the States could be turning to their own "Little Appalachias." They could be designing fresh approaches to meet the challenges of an era when populations and problems ignore the old city limits and county lines. As a funnel for funds, the States could act to bring together the strands of government. They should present the communities with an array of possible programs and aid them in fitting new approaches into the overall effort.

We need proper planning and the setting of priorities within an overall framework. Problems need definition and pinpointing. Trends must be discerned and areas defined. Programs like Appalachia must be meshed with the poverty program. Goals and the means to these goals must be set. Priorities and timing of activities should be suggested.

The States are in the best position to carry out this charge. The Federal Government looks at problems and programs in broad, general, aggregate terms. Local communities see the world in narrow, particular, individual terms. The States, as regional, territorial entities, are best equipped to bring these two viewpionts into focus to the benefit of those receiving the service. Further, they sit at a key point in the provision of services to the people and probably have the best chance to effectuate plans.

The future, however, will depend on the State's own action—their willingness to take on the responsibility and challenge this represents. Some States are taking their first steps in this direction. Illinois and Massachusetts have used portions of their State technical assistance funds to gather and analyze data relating to the poverty situation within their bounds. The North Carolina fund, from its inception, has maintained a strong emphasis on the research and planning function, with its first publication setting out the profile of poverty in the State. The next step in all these efforts is to relate the data to policy and program decisions and to translate their meaning to the communities in the State. This is the major role which the States can play, not just in this program, but in all programs—and it really means making government more responsive and effective.

IV. POVERTY IN PERSPECTIVE

Whether we acknowledge it or not, the realities of American growth and the demands of the American people are recasting American government along new and more exacting lines. For America is, as James Madison prophesied, a system of interacting federalism—and the influence of the States will fluctuate with their responsiveness to the needs of the times and the demands of the people.

Most people do not realize that the States are spending more than $40 billion a year on services to the American people. In the two decades since the Second World War, their budgets have risen at a faster rate than the Federal budget. They pass most of our laws; run our courts and our prisons; do most of what's done for the mentally ill; and have the largest responsibilities for education.

Despite the persistent arguments over the last 20 years that States have ceased to be progressive and should therefore be abandoned as obsolete, the facts remain: States are here, they are here to stay, and in terms of services and functions, they are stronger than they have ever been before.

But the future of the States will depend on the energy with which they attack the problems of the Nation. As I said recently in a speech to the Midwestern Governors' conference, "It is when the States fail to meet their responsibilities in such areas as education, civil rights and liberties, enhancing the opportunities of the poor, and urban affairs that the Federal Government moves into the vacuum. It is when the States are not responsive, are not laboratories of experimentation, do not reach all the people because they are either oppressive or not representative, that the States forfeit their strongest argument for a future."

This is poverty's challenge to the States to respond to the summons of the people. But it will take more than talk and more than interest and even more than a willingness to act. The States must be able to act. They must initiate a period of total reform which will do away with the weak Governor, unrepresentative legislatures, chaotic administrations, and archaic judiciaries. To conquer the future, the States must first conquer themselves.

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[5] U.S. Conference of Mayors, special report: "The Office of Economic Opportunity and Local Community Action Agencies," 4 (1965).

Most Americans tend to believe that there is something inherently good about the federal system. Our high school civics books teach us it is the best. However, no form of government is inherently good. It can be judged only in terms of the quality of the civilization it helps to produce and to sustain.

If the States can help to abolish poverty in America, they will have contributed to a more civilized nation. And by fueling the light of hope for millions of Americans, they can give fiber to the American dream and set a new course for themselves as active partners in a revitalized federal system.

THE CONSUMER ASSEMBLY OF 1966

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, a 3-day consumer assembly which will meet this month in Washington, D.C., has been described as the "largest and most broadly based consumer-oriented conference ever held in the Capital."

To judge by descriptions of the sponsorship and program, this is certainly an apt description, and I feel that Congress and consumers everywhere will want to give careful attention to the deliberations and findings.

The assembly is sponsored by 30 organizations, representing labor, business, cooperatives, credit unions, church and social clubs, women's and senior citizen groups, and others. Speakers and delegates will meet at the Washington Hilton Hotel, April 25 through 27. They will, I am told, not only discuss pending legislative proposals in Congress, but also seek to establish community and State associations for action in the hometowns and State legislatures of our Nation.

In this year of rising interest on consumer issues, the assembly is a timely, worthy followup to President Johnson's far-reaching message on consumer problems. The advent of the conference also leads me to announce an action recently taken by the Senate Special Committee on Aging. Members have agreed to change the name of the Subcommittee on Frauds and Misrepresentations Affecting the Elderly to the Subcommittee on Consumer Interests of the Elderly. As chairman of the subcommittee, I was pleased that committee members concurred in my thought that the new name will more adequately reflect the role of the subcommittee in its studies of problems that take precious dollars away from older Americans.

Americans past 65 years of age, after all, now have a total buying power of nearly $40 billion a year, even though far too many incomes of these Americans are near or below poverty levels.

Additional congressional attention should be given to the special consumer problems affecting those near or past retirement age.

We on the subcommittee will, of course, maintain a lively interest in outright frauds or deceptions that exploit the elderly.

In fact, we should be able to act soon in several promising areas of inquiry.

But the change in name will enable the subcommittee to study other problems that have a definite relationship to the elderly and what they get for their money. The new official description of jurisdiction gives some indication of the extent of our responsibility. It adds this paragraph:

> The subcommittee shall be authorized to inquire and report on any and all practices which relate to special problems or other circumstances affecting the elderly as consumers. This shall include but not be limited to studies of buying habits of the elderly, products offered to the elderly, products needed by the elderly but not offered to them, and marketing practices that affect the elderly.

Our earlier jurisdiction—authorizing inquiries on any practices that seem to subject our older people to financial or other loss as a result of fraudulent or misleading representation—remains unchanged.

Our assignment is thus both broad and challenging. In days which will, I am sure, bring new advances for the consumer, the subcommittee will do its best to understand and report on the interests of a large and growing part of our population and our economy.

BEEF IS A BARGAIN AT TODAY'S PRICES

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I recently received an interesting letter from Mr. Sam Marcus, of the Excel Packing Co., of Wichita, in my home State of Kansas. Mr. Marcus effectively makes a point that we are too likely to forget these days; that is, that at today's prices, beef is a bargain—and I might add that this statement applies to other meat products as well.

Indeed, beef is such a bargain in relationship to today's costs of production that very few cattlemen can honestly encourage their sons to follow in their footsteps.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a portion of an article on this subject, written by Dr. Ralph M. Durham, of Texas Technological College, be printed at this point in the RECORD. The article by Dr. Durham was published in the March 12, 1966, issue of the National Provisioner.

There being no objection, the excerpt of the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RIDICULOUS CONCEPTS SHACKLE MEAT INDUSTRY

(By Dr. Ralph M. Durham)

My friend, Charlie Quarre, kept mentioning cheap beef. I don't like to hear us talk about cheap beef. I think it is too cheap already in terms of price. It isn't a cheap product. If it were a cheap product, we would be out of business. I also want to say that although the National Livestock Feeders Association has really fought the change in grading, I dare say that the grading revision is one of the ways we may be able to stay in business.

Basically, the cattle producer is in a pretty bad way. You people may say, 29-cent cattle, but let me submit to you that in 1951 they were 42 cents and 40 cents and 38 cents. Do you know of any other business, except yours, where the products produced today bring 40 to 50 percent of what they brought 25 years ago?

Your taxes are up; your labor is up; your land is up. Livestock production today is a byproduct of the land holding industry.

You can prove this if you want to. The Rifle Production Credit Bureau some years ago started running an analysis. This was presented this year and showed that the cattle producers for the last 5 years have lost money, but their indebtedness has gone up about tenfold. This means that as the producer's land goes up in value, he borrows more money on the inflated value of the land to support himself so he can go ahead and raise cattle and lose money.

This is happening all over the country. In west Texas where I live, it would cost today approximately $2,000 a cow to set up a cow-calf operation. At 6-percent interest, that is $120, or 30 cents a pound for a 400-pound calf. In other words, what we are getting for calves today wouldn't pay the interest. Sooner or later, people will not produce cattle under those circumstances.

Look at hogs. If you play the pork belly market, you become an expert when you lose $15,000 or so. What has happened in hogs is simply that 15-cent hogs really didn't provide very much for the Iowa farmer, so now his kid doesn't come home any more. He has quit them and he may not go back to them.

MEAT FAMINE

So when you people are talking about problems, you really have them. I think we may have a meat famine in this country in the next 10 to 15 years. Why is this? Basically, it is because the farmer doesn't get enough for his product on the one hand, or because you people have forced him through ridiculous ideas and ridiculous concepts to produce a product inefficiently.

FAR REACHING IS RIGHT

Mr BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, our government goes along with the economic browbeating of Rhodesia. With such a display of cooperation with Great Britain, why does the U.S. Government not demand of Great Britain a quid pro quo in regard to the shipment of British cargoes to Cuba and to North Vietnam?

Certainly the British shipments to these two Communist governments support a far greater threat to the peace of the world and to the security of freedom loving nations than does Rhodesia, which has asserted its own independence, but which is threatening no other nation.

Pertinent to this subject was an editorial entitled "Far Reaching Is Right," which appeared in the April 11 edition of the Washington Evening Star. I ask unanimous consent to insert this editorial in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FAR REACHING IS RIGHT

Ambassador Arthur Goldberg was not guilty of overstatement when he said the Security Council's vote for the use of force to impose sanctions on Rhodesia was "one of the most far reaching steps the United Nations ever had been asked to take." It is not only far reaching; it is fraught with implications of a most disturbing nature.

The vote in the Security Council was 10 to 0, with the Soviet Union, France, Uruguay, Bulgaria, and Mali abstaining for varying reasons. The resolution does several things. It authorizes Britain to use force if necessary to prevent oil tankers flying the flag of any nation from delivering their cargoes to Rhodesia. Presumably if ships ignore an order to turn back they will be sunk "if necessary." The resolution directs Portugal not to permit oil to be pumped to Rhodesia through the Beira-Umtali pipeline. Britain also agreed to a demand by the Communist-African bloc that the latter's more drastic resolution, which calls for a British military occupation of Rhodesia, a total blockade and a demand that South Africa prevent overland shipments of oil to Rhodesia, may be considered later.

What is the reason for this extraordinary action by the Security Council? Ostensibly, it rests on chapter VII of the U.N. Charter which authorizes the use of force against a threat to international peace. But who is threatening the peace? Certainly not Rhodesia, which has asserted its independence but which is threatening no other nation. Portugal? South Africa? Not by any stretch of the imagination.

The unstated truth is that the Security Council has taken this action, not against a threat to peace, but to prevent the white minority in Rhodesia from indefinitely dominating the black majority. This may be a worthy objective. But it cannot justify a perversion of the U.N. Charter, or the consequences which may be expected to flow from it.

It is remarkable that the United States has joined unreservedly in this undertaking. Nothing evidently has been learned from our participation in somewhat similar abortive efforts by the U.N. to coerce Spain and the Congo's Moise Tshombe. Britain and other nations even now ignore our policy and continue to trade freely with Castro's Cuba, where there is at least some threat to the peace of Latin America. And in Vietnam, where the threat to peace long ago erupted into a grim and costly war, trade with Hanoi goes merrily on by many nations, including Britain. And the Soviet Union, of course, is actively assisting the North Vietnamese intervention. Have we sought to invoke the charter's chapter VII? Perish the thought.

Ambassador Goldberg went on to say that "we [the U.N.] shall be making international law."

Perhaps so. But it will be a new form of international law which is based on a disingenuous premise and which, to state the matter bluntly, is tainted with sham. A Security Council authorization for the use of force to deal with a genuine threat to international peace is one thing. The use of force to achieve some internal reform, no matter how desirable such reform may be, is a horse of entirely different color.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT ACT OF 1966

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In accordance with the unanimous-consent agreement previously entered into, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill (S. 2934) to provide needed additional means for the residents of rural America to achieve equality of opportunity by authorizing the making of grants for comprehensive planning for public services and development in community development districts designated by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed on a nongermane subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMERICAN INDIANS—NEW DESTINY

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I wish to address myself and call the attention of Senators to the American Indians, and the new destiny which I think can be theirs.

Mr. President, the worst mistake the American Indians ever made, someone has said, was that they had too loose and slipshod an immigration policy. They let the bars down, and they have had cause to regret it ever since.

Chief Powhatan might well have said, "There goes the neighborhood."

From the Indian's standpoint the best remedial policy might be to start a colonization program to send all us non-Indians to some foreign frontier and let us start anew. Or, perhaps, they could propose our withdrawal to certain defensive "enclaves" in this country, as General Gavin and others have suggested for the Americans in South Vietnam.

But, not since the Comanche medicine man, Ishiti, failed to live up to his promise to drive all white men from these shores, after running up against the reality of the long-range buffalo rifles in his first test at Adobe Walls in the 1870's, has any Indian put much stock in either suggestion.

"We've got to learn to live with you non-Indians," my Comanche Indian wife, LaDonna, says to me with not quite as much of a smile as I would like, "at least until we Indians get the bomb." I am afraid that, too, will be a long time coming, in view of the fact that we non-Indians do have the bomb, and we are against proliferation.

But, somebody must have thought the enclave idea had some merit, because it is the official Indian policy of the U.S. Government, and has been ever since we became ashamed of the former "good Indian is a dead Indian" policy. It is not an enclave policy for the non-Indian, however. It is an enclave policy for the Indian, himself.

We non-Indians have forced the Indians into withdrawing to defensive, isolated enclaves. We have done this, not just in the obvious case of the reservation, but also—and here is the whole point—we have done it and we are doing it even though he sits next to us in school or lives down the block.

We have meant well enough. No conquering people ever did more over a longer period of time to try to assuage their own guilty consciences and wipe out the ill effects of their conquest, than have we.

But, we have gone wrong—desperately wrong. And we know it, and that makes us feel worse. When we feel worse, we tend to try all the harder in the same old wrong ways. There is a wave of feeling worse going on all over the country right now.

So, what shall we do about the Indian problem?

In the first place, we ought to stop thinking of it as an Indian problem. It is not an Indian problem; it is a human problem, an American problem. We are probably not going to solve it finally until we no more need a Bureau of Indian Affairs than we do a bureau of Italian affairs or a bureau of Irish affairs.

That is a long way off, however. We cannot abolish the Bureau of Indian Affairs until it comes much nearer to doing its job, but there is a hint of the solution in that thought. In the meantime, the Bureau must have a new sense of purpose, direction, and urgency, and that, fortunately, appears to be in the making, internally.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs all these years has been the official U.S. agency charged by the Congress with the responsibility for Indian policy and programs.

As reported in April by the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

> The Indian Bureau has been in operation for well over a hundred years, and since 1948 almost $2 billion has been appropriated for the agency. In the last half dozen years alone, $1.5 billion has been made available for Indian programs.

Mr. President, I might say parenthetically at this point that I have discussed these remarks with the chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the distinguished Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON], who wished to be present and comment on them, but is necessarily absent because of his attendance at an important hearing in the Armed Services Committee. He does intend to comment on them hereafter, by Monday.

In 1965, the Bureau and the Indian Health Division had $300.7 million to work with, as compared with $273.8 million the year before, and $269.2 million the year before that. In 1965 the Bureau and the Indian Health Division had 21,025 employees on their payrolls to accomplish the job, as compared with 20,985 the year before, and 20,854 the year before that.

Thus, each year Congress has worried more about Indian problems, and each year we have provided more money and more employees to work on their solution.

This year, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Division are asking Congress for increased appropriations totaling nearly one-third of a billion dollars and for 1,200 additional employees.

What are we buying for our money? What kind of results are we getting?

I know more about Oklahoma than any other State, because it is my home. In many ways we are very fortunate in Oklahoma. We have no reservations.

It has been much easier for Oklahoma Indians to become a part of the total community in Oklahoma than it has in reservation States, and we have produced Indian humorists, prima ballerinas, U.S. Senators' wives, and business executives.

But, for every Will Rogers, Maria Tallchief, LaDonna Harris, and W. W. Keeler, there are thousands of Oklahoma Indians who do not even have a chance—and, what is worse, will not, unless some real changes are made in American thinking.

So, let us look at the facts about Bureau results in Oklahoma, where we have one-fourth of all American Indians, recognizing that the Bureau has had a better chance for success there than in most reservation States.

What about education? Although the Bureau of Indian Affairs, with proper pride, reports that approximately 90 percent of school-age Oklahoma Indian children currently attend local public schools, a recent study by the University of Oklahoma reveals that the dropout rate among Indian children in public schools is three to four times as high as among non-Indian children. In three eastern Oklahoma counties of high Indian population, the dropout rate among Indian children in public schools was recently found to be 70 percent. Whereas the average American child completes between 11 and 12 grades, the 1960 U.S. census revealed that among Oklahoma Indian children the median number of school years completed was only 8.8.

The principal of one Oklahoma public high school has indicated that about one-third of his students are Indians, but approximately 80 percent of all student absences and dropouts in his school are Indian. Another western Oklahoma public school district reports that approximately 25 percent of its school enrollment of 400 are Indian, yet only 11 Indians have graduated from that school in the last 40 years.

What about income? Among Indians living in rural areas in Oklahoma—and we do not have complete figures on urban areas—the median annual income is only $1,000, as reported by the 1960 U.S. census. A study completed in a western Oklahoma county recently showed that, whereas the average income for all males in that county was $3,281, the average income for Indian males in that county was half the non-Indian average, or $1,613.

Considering these facts, it is not surprising that Indian unemployment is at shocking levels.

Remember, the Oklahoma example is probably better than the typical Indian situation in many other parts of the United States. After noting that "American Indians are reportedly the most underemployed minority group in the United States," the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs officially stated early this month:

> That Indians remain at the bottom of the economic ladder, have the highest rate of unemployment, live in the poorest housing, and suffer chronic poverty, is a clear indictment of past programs and policies pursued by the Bureau.

That may be too harsh a statement unless we include ourselves, individually, in the criticism.

Surprisingly, I was a long time realizing some of the facts I have cited, although I grew up and went to public schools with Indian children in a community of relatively high Indian population. How I came to learn these facts is an interesting story.

My wife, LaDonna, and our three children are enrolled members of the Comanche Indian Tribe, once called the lords of the south plains. I am a better than average lay anthropologist, and I am a self-admitted expert on Comanche Indian history and culture. I learned to speak the language long ago and, in addition to practicing law for a living and serving in the Oklahoma State Senate, I have spent countless hours through the years in interviewing aged Comanches, with LaDonna's help, as a hobby. But, like many of those who are anthropologically inclined, I was more interested in the past than I was in the future; I was more interested in observing a situation than I was in helping to change it.

LaDonna is different. Hers is an untrained kind of natural sensitivity, although until recent years, an inarticulate one, to the problems of Indians. She knows the problems because she has lived them, both in the Indian way and in the "white man's road."

Though now only 35, she grew up in a bilingual home, where Comanche was the dominant language spoken. Even yet, that language sounds more explicit and expressive to her. Because her mother and father were divorced soon after she was born, and her mother until recent years was a live-in dietician at the nearby Fort Sill Indian Hospital, she was reared by her grandparents.

Her grandfather, Tabbytite, while he lived in a fine house and was an excellent and successful farmer in our country, could neither read nor write, spoke English only haltingly, never accepted or quite understood Christianity, and wore long braids until an illness late in life caused him to cut his hair. Son of an old-time medicine man, he himself, claimed and used curative powers and was a leader in the peyote religious cult, introduced from Mexico among the Comanches in early reservation times, the participants in which ceremonies use the hallucination-inducing peyote.

While the old man was always a good student of current events—especially war news—because of his avid interest in radio, and later television broadcasts, he had a hard time making heads or tails of some of the later technological developments. For example, when he died at an age in excess of 90 years in 1962, he still felt certain that the performers on television could see the viewers and, therefore, he always dressed in his best clothes to watch his favorite programs.

But LaDonna was more fortunate than many, in that her grandmother, Mrs. Wickkie Tabbytite, now a frequent visitor to Washington who has been conducted through the White House by Mrs. Lyndon Johnson, was and is a wonderfully adaptive person. Mrs. Tabbytite saw early and well the merits of education and association with members of the total community, Indians and non-Indians.

Some years ago, because of our interest in human rights, LaDonna became a member of the executive board of the Southwest Center for Human Relations Studies at the University of Oklahoma, and I became a member of its advisory council. The Human Relations Center, then, in 1963, was headed by Dr. William R. Carmack, now my administrative assistant in Washington, and was naturally concentrating its efforts primarily on problems of the Negro.

After her first board meeting, LaDonna came home and said, "I'd like to get that group interested in Indian problems also."

I take no little pride in the fact that I did not respond by saying, "Some of my best friends are Indians," but I am afraid the effect of what I said was about the same. "What Indian problems?" I asked. "I've lived all my life among Indians, and the only Indian problems I know about is the one I married." When I had a chance to say something more, I said that, if it were true that Indians had certain special problems, other than those encountered by all citizens, I had thought the Bureau of Indian Affairs was supposed to take care of such things.

The fact that, thereafter, over the next several months, it took us so long to really identify and articulate the basic problems as we saw them, should indicate how subtle and hidden, and, therefore, how hard to cope with, they are.

Primarily as a result of LaDonna's interest, the Human Relations Center at Oklahoma University in 1963 established an Indian education project in our hometown of Lawton. As its Indian participants commenced to discuss themselves and their problems together, the need to trade self-consciousness for self-confidence in dealing with the non-Indian community became the obviously dominant problem. Out of studies and interviews with Indian students which the Indian participants themselves originated and conducted, grew self-improvement courses in the social graces, counseling services, and career conferences for Indian young people, leadership training for Indian adults, and, most important, the development of total community discussion and action projects to give Indian adults and young people the opportunity for meaningful interaction with non-Indians.

It worked spectacularly. It worked because it was basically a self-help program developed by the Indians themselves, and—this is the primary point—it was aimed at the need for self-confidence, motivation, and the opportunity for active and worthwhile participation in the total community, with non-Indians as well as with other Indians.

Thereafter, under the leadership of Dr. Carmack and with the encouragement of local Bureau of Indian Affairs officials, the Washington office of the Bureau granted $25,000 annually to the Human Relations Center to expand this same kind of procedure and program, so that it now, in its second year, includes five such small project centers in western Oklahoma.

It is as a result of this Indian education project of the Oklahoma University

Human Relations Center that we are barely commencing to learn the facts, though we are still woefully short on the detailed and reliable statistics of Indian problems—in Oklahoma and throughout the United States. "As a result of this effort, too, LaDonna later formed Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity, a statewide organization of Indians and interested non-Indians, which has already in its first year held a statewide conference, attended by more than 500 Oklahoma Indians, on Indian opportunities in education, technical training, and employment, and has recently launched a project to train Indians from throughout Oklahoma for leadership in total community activities. This latter project is being financed by the University of Utah with a portion of funds granted to it for that purpose by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

Harold Cameron, of the University of Oklahoma Indian education project, who is responsible for discovering most of the real statistics we have in Oklahoma, has been carrying on some highly valuable and original research there. Indians today, he has written, unlike their parents and grandparents, do not have the reassuring and satisfying memories of a time when the Indian way of life was the only way of life. For good or ill, modern communications have changed the old way irrevocably.

He has found that Indian children begin experiencing real difficulty at about junior high school age, as school recitations and other activities begin to require competition in the non-Indian world. Regular school attendance then often changes to absenteeism; absences become dropouts. I am certain that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is on the right track in its efforts to get the Indian children into public schools, because continued isolation would only be delaying the advent of the difficulties, but we must recognize the problems which result.

Cameron states that at the seventh, eighth, and ninth grade levels, "Indian students usually do not take part in school activities, such as athletics, music and clubs, and they frequently do not seemingly have the confidence necessary to allow them to enter into normal classroom activities, such as group discussions."

Cameron further states that:

> The administrators of two high schools said that the Indian students were so fearful of being laughed at, they refuse to participate in any activity. Indian students have repeatedly said that they simply will not take part in any of the school's activities for fear of being ridiculed after making a mistake. One student said, "I don't speak up or take part because people don't like it when an Indian speaks up. People think that all Indians are dumb, so I might as well be dumb, too."

Moreover, the Indian is frequently forced to choose between acceptance by Indians or acceptance by non-Indians. Cameron states:

> In a recent interview, five senior-year high school Indian girls of a western Oklahoma community said that most Indian students are fearful that they will not be successful if they try to participate in the school's activities and, therefore, they segregate themselves whenever possible. These particular girls are active in their school's activities, and, as a result of their participation, are forced to endure the ridicule of other nonparticipating Indian students.

It is not surprising that this isolation from the total community carries over into adult life and follows the Indian wherever he goes.

Because of the lack of communication between the Indian and the non-Indian, and because of the strong negative social pressures from other Indians against the "white Indian" and the stigma some successful Indians feel is attached to being Indian, both of which latter pressures cause the successful Indian to remove himself from the Indian community, Indian young people have few Indian role-models of success-models with whom they can really identify.

These conflicting and inconsistent internal and external pressures, identified in Oklahoma, are equally prevalent on the Indian reservations. One Bureau reservation superintendent, who typifies the self-searching, basic thinking being done in the Bureau, recently wrote that these inconsistencies include:

> A feeling of dependency on the non-Indian world linked with a hostility toward it; the expressed desire to maintain the values of the reservation subculture, at the same time overtly expressing a desire to compete as an equal in the non-Indian world; desire for authority, yet fear of responsibility; constant expressions of togetherness and concern for community, linked with overt acts which frequently point to a strong self-orientation; and, finally, a recurring demand for freedom of action, opposed by an almost morbid fear of cutting the umbilicus linking the Indian to the Federal Government. Nothing much of lasting value can take place in reservation developments so long as these dichotomies exist as strongly as they do; they are certainly not consistent with the development of the values and skills which will be necessary to manage the huge estates owned by * * * tribes.

The result of all this, much too frequently, is the needless waste of great and valuable human resources in America, needless but surely predictable unemployment and idleness, delinquency and crime, alcoholism and despair, welfare and dependency, withdrawal and escapism, and human lives lived out without much feeling of belonging, of dignity, of worth.

These insights and these few statistics we have about Indians—and problems they face—must now be put to work in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and throughout the United States.

There are mostly good people in the Bureau of Indian Affairs who fervently want to do the right thing. Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior, the parent department, is a very good and exceptionally understanding man, who together with his wife, Lee, has a depth of interest in Indians not matched by any Secretary in recent times.

As a result of his leadership, stirrings of massive change within the Bureau can be heard. They are most welcome. The climate for new urgency, purpose, and direction in Indian policy has never been better.

But, as we make this new beginning, we must be careful not to place all our emphasis on treatment of symptoms and ignore causes.

First. It is essential that we clearly define and state our Indian policy and our responsibility to Indians. Just what is it we are trying to accomplish? The fact that there is no training manual or training program for the new employee who comes into the Bureau of Indian Affairs is not only an error in management, which must be corrected, but it is also indicative of the lack of real understanding or clear statement of what the goal of national Indian policy is. When we can clearly and succinctly define our Indian policy, then we will be able to state clearly how each Bureau employee and official fits into that goal and what his individual responsibility or role is.

Second. Our Indian policy must be aimed at people, not at areas; we must become interested in the Indian with problems, wherever he lives, in the town or city as well as on the reservation.

Indians with the same basic problems are in a good many places in the United States where you would least expect them. They, too, have been a part of the rural-to-urban shift, partly because of a concerted Bureau effort which began during the Eisenhower years to relocate them away from the reservation. At least as typical of the American Indian as the reservation dweller, is more and more becoming the Indian who lives in a little-recognized ghetto in a huge city, such as Los Angeles which has one of America's large Indian populations, or in loneliness in a smaller city or town. For him the Indian way is gone, and he cannot break into the non-Indian way. He is a man without a country.

As he moves into contact with non-Indians, permanently or occasionally, his isolation moves with him. But the services and interest of the Bureau do not always move with him. The degree of the Bureau's interest in him has been almost in direct proportion to the degree that he remains an Indian, isolated in fact from the total community, separate and inferior.

Indians living in the urban areas of Oklahoma City and Tulsa, for example, two areas of large Indian population, are ineligible for general assistance under the Bureau's welfare program. What is worse, these Indians, while continuing to live there, are also ineligible for the Bureau's adult vocational training program. Indian children in the public schools there receive no attention from the Bureau's educational services.

Third. The goal of our Indian policy must be that of helping the American Indian become a full-fledged citizen, able to move with ease into the mainstream of the American economy and culture. Though all legal barriers, except too restrictive controls on use of trust lands, have long since been removed, the intangible, more real barriers to meaningful interaction between the Indian and the non-Indian are still painfully present. The basic problem is the isolation of the Indian from the non-Indian community, partly self-imposed as a defensive mechanism and because of cumulative disappointments.

While we must not try to transform the Indian into a middle-class white man, because the right to be distinct and different is inherent in this country, and pride of heritage, itself, can be a powerfully motivating factor, contact by the Indian with the non-Indian and participation in the total community must become mutually easy, comfortable, worthwhile, and rewarding.

This goal is, of course, more difficult of achievement, but nonetheless essential, for the reservation Indian. Boldness, imagination, and real initiative will be required in the execution of our policies if this primary goal is to be achieved for and by him.

Fourth. We must understand that we cannot achieve our goal except through the change of attitudes. We must concentrate our attention on the Indian need for self-confidence, motivation, and the opportunity for active and worthwhile participation in the total community, with non-Indians as well as with other Indians.

Without this, we will be treating symptoms and not causes.

Further, in the past, our undertakings, dedicated to an attack on specific problems of the Indian, have too often sought to impose solutions and synthetic leadership from the outside. We have been doing things to Indians, rather than with them.

Greater control over the use and development of Indian tribal and individual lands, better provision for participation in tribal government by those away from the reservation, continuation and intensification of emphasis on industrial development on reservations and the building of job opportunities in Indian areas, more attention to the treatment of alcoholism—all are required and are in the making.

But, all these programs, and more, will not get us much further toward our goal unless attitudes are changed.

And, in all our undertakings we must be careful to understand that it is not just Indian attitudes we are concerned with. The attitude of the chamber of commerce executive who only thinks of Indian jobs in the arts and crafts and beadwork fields, "because they're all so artistic," should concern us also, as should that of the public school guidance counselor who says, "I just can't get anything out of these Indian kids, when all they do is grunt, and they lie so much," or the attitude of the businessman who says, "Your wife is different because she is part Spanish; these fullbloods just have no ambition or desire to work."

It has been announced that we are going to have an outstanding educator, the best money can buy, to head up Indian education in the Bureau. We need him. And, the new man must teach teachers, as well as children. Local public school teachers must be sensitized to the problems of Indian young people, and imaginative guidance and counseling services must be inspired and initiated in the local public schools, as well as within the Bureau. As we go to work at once with the facts we already know, we must also begin further research on the causes of school absenteeism and dropouts, so that better action programs can be initiated.

I understand also that we shall soon have a new man in the Bureau whose job will be to help the Indian help himself toward meaningful and worthwhile interaction with the non-Indian community, toward the development of skills which will permit him a leadership role in the total community. This new man, therefore, must necessarily work as much with non-Indians as he does with Indians, a direction in which the Bureau, itself, must also move. Non-Indians are eager to be a part of this great new effort, but the Bureau must serve as the catalyst to get us together in our local communities, not just in some momentarily satisfying, "do-good, take an Indian to lunch" meeting, but in community action which has real meaning and value and offers opportunity for worthwhile and lasting interaction.

We non-Indian church members need to be led to see that, while it is good to build an Indian mission, it is at least as good to encourage Indian membership in our own church. We non-Indian civic club members need to be helped to see that, at least as important as providing a scholarship for an Indian student to go to college, is inviting an Indian to join our own club so that he may help motivate us to better understanding and his children toward vital self-confidence.

So, it is not a matter of Indian Affairs; it is a matter of human relations, a matter of attitudes.

If the Bureau of Indian Affairs can now furnish the spark to help the Indian get himself outside his own problems and become a part of the solution to larger community and world problems, I am confident that we will not just have helped show the way to real hope and opportunity for these human beings involved. More than that, I think it is the destiny of the American Indian, himself a product of two cultures, to show America, and perhaps the world, the way to better human understanding and brotherhood.

Catch a glimpse of what we could be doing—and should be doing. For example, consider the millions of desperately deprived, unassimilated, unacculturated South American Andean Indians, who now live out their terrible, cocaine-numbed, half-starved, work-wracked, isolated lives and die of old age at 35, and who, my friends, will not be docile always. They may yet shake the foundations of this hemisphere's security. Already there are rumblings in those mountains, and Peking and Moscow have heard them and are today teaching the Indian languages and customs, along with subversion, to some of their agents.

Think what an advantage with these people America has; we have got Indians ourselves. That is a boast brand X cannot make. American Indians could have a mission with these Andean Indians which no other people could carry out nearly so well. And, if with these people of South America, why not with the other deprived, nonwhite people of the world, who make up most of the population of our globe?

There is no reason why not, except we had better start here at home. And, it is here at home that the Indian can lead us all—as he sees it more clearly himself and as, by working with him, we see it more clearly—to a fuller realization of the real and inborn worth and dignity of every single human soul.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, during many years in the House and the Senate, I have heard many speeches about the problems of the American Indian and the programs and efforts necessary to bring about the needed "lift" of this great race of people who were here when the latecomers arrived on the various shores of our country. Never have I heard a speech so moving, one so filled with the delicate understanding of the personality of the American Indian and the failure of the governmental approach to this good day, in reaching a compatible understanding of the Indian, of filling his needs, his aspirations, his ambitions, and the task to which his great quality and talents entitle him.

I congratulate my colleague from Oklahoma for this excellent speech, one that I commend to every Member of the Senate and the House and to the educators throughout the country to study carefully, in order to devise a program that will be worthy of the time and effort of the people who inhabited this land for many years before the others arrived.

I thank my colleague.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I am highly honored by the generous remarks of my distinguished colleague from Oklahoma. They are made doubly meaningful to me because long before I came to the Senate—and since—my distinguished colleague had displayed a great interest in and understanding of these problems and has been of great service in working for their proper solution.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I wish to join in the compliment the distinguished senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY] paid his distinguished junior colleague [Mr. HARRIS] for the speech he has just delivered in the Senate. The junior Senator from Oklahoma has rendered a service to the Nation and to the State in which he lives.

Although I was aware as I read the speech and listened to it as it was delivered that it was especially directed to the people whom the Senator knows best, it is a matter of interest to me, as well, because although I cannot command a lovely Comanche wife, I can say that my Uncle Dick married a Shoshone Indian. So I can at least say that I have an Indian relative.

We in Wyoming have a different situation than exists in Oklahoma, due to the fact that we have no segregated schools, although farther north there may be some. Both the Shoshone and Arapahoe Tribes are represented in Wyoming. In fact, my maternal grandfather came to Wyoming in 1865 with the Connor expedition, which was sent to quell disturbances in the West. So I have a deep and abiding knowledge of the work done for the Indians, as well as of their hopes and aspirations.

I am happy to say, as I am sure the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma knows, that the newly appointed Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Mr. Robert Bennett, is himself a fullblooded Indian and gives promise of doing an outstanding job.

But better than that, we have assurance from the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Udall, that he will seek to educate these people and will seek to provide for their needs.

The good Lord knows, as the Senator himself knows, that more officers are not needed in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Almost 22,000 employees of the Federal Government are now handling Indian affairs, and there are only 380,000 Indians on reservations. When we include Indians who live off the reservations, over whom we have little control, that means that 1 bureaucrat is in charge of every 14 Indians. One member of our Interior Committee suggested that there were more chiefs than Indians. We have asked the Secretary of the Interior and the new Director of the Bureau to try and remedy that situation. I am encouraged by our discussions, and I am hopeful that Mr. Bennett will be able to straighten out the bureaucracy that exists in his agency. One thing can be said with certainty, and that is that the situation cannot deteriorate further.

The employees of the Bureau have established one of the worst records of bureaucracy in the entire Government. Fortunately, Secretary Udall has now recognized the serious nature of the problems that exist in the Indian agency and has promised to back Mr. Bennett in an effort to clean up the mess which exists in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

I might digress to comment that I am leaving the Capitol shortly to meet my mother, 92 years old, who is flying to Washington today. She lived on a Shoshone reservation most of her life. She speaks the Shoshone and Arapaho languages. I wish she could have been here to listen to the marvelous presentation of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS].

I again wish to compliment the Senator. He has rendered a great service to his State and to the Nation. I am proud to be affiliated with him and to know that he has undertaken to express himself on the situation at this time.

Mr. HARRIS. I thank the distinguished Senator from Wyoming. I am grateful to him for remaining in the Chamber while I made my speech.

In Oklahoma, approximately 95 percent of the Indian children attend the public schools. That, as I am sure the Senator from Wyoming would agree, is a marvelous advancement in Indian policy. But I emphasize again that we cannot forget those young people once they enter non-Indian schools. That is precisely my point: That they go to those schools with the handicap of their own attitude and the attitude of the non-Indians with whom they come in contact. That is a situation which must be given special attention.

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HARRIS. I am pleased to yield to the distinguished Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I wish to commend the distinguished junior Senator from Oklahoma for his eloquent speech, which focused needed attention on this most embarrassing, depressing, human problem.

Although we in Hawaii do not have many Indians in our community, I am, like many other Americans, concerned about the problem.

Today, we pride ourselves in meeting commitments and fulfilling treaties. Yet my study of history shows that we have many dark chapters in which we have completely disregarded our treaties with the Indians. We have at times very conveniently forgotten our obligations. Yet today we are telling our people that our commitments are sacred and that the integrity of the United States is most precious.

Today, we pride ourselves on having the most educated people on the face of the earth residing in the United States. Last year was called Education Year. But I am depressed to learn that the original Americans have about the lowest rate of literacy in the United States.

We consider ourselves the wealthiest of all the people on earth, but I am depressed to learn that our original Americans have about the highest mortality rate in America. We consider ourselves affluent and wealthy. Yet we find our gallant original Americans with the lowest average income in the United States. But I suppose many Americans have not been concerned about this problem because for so many generations we Americans have been brought up to look upon the cowboys as the good people and the Indians as the bad barbarians. But a little study of our history will show that Indians have been great, and are still a great people. Numbered among them are Tecumseh, Sitting Bull, and Powhatan. They were great statesmen. They were statesmen upon whom we should look as the very best in our Nation. If we have a national conscience, the time has come that we undo this wrong.

I wish to join the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma in his remarks and to pledge to him personally and to assure him that I shall be following him in his leadership. I shall do whatever I can to join my fellow Americans to undo this wrong.

The Great Society is a great program. It is a program of human rights. It is a program of justice. It is a program of opportunity. The time has come when the programs of the Great Society should be extended to our great Americans.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, in conversations with me several times in the last month or two, the distinguished Senator from Hawaii has evidenced a great and abiding interest in this subject and in the welfare and lives of the American Indians.

I know that he will have a great influence on the improvement of this situation. His very presence here today and his excellent statement on what we must do and what our attitudes must be toward this problem will in itself help focus attention on the problem and move us in the direction of solution.

I thank the Senator very much.

I am pleased to yield to the distinguished Senator from Utah.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I join with my colleagues in congratulating the junior Senator from Oklahoma on the thought-provoking and penetrating speech he has made today on the floor of the Senate.

He has articulated for us a policy that we should adopt in this great country of ours to help the original citizens of this land, our Indian brethren.

As I listened to the speech of the Senator today, I felt that it was not only a good speech but also a great sermon. It pointed out that we as a people all too often in the past have thought of the Indians as being different and as being people who should be treated as a group under some group policy rather than recognizing the individuality, worth, and potential of every single Indian, as we recognize the individual worth of all other citizens of our country.

These people deserve an opportunity to develop their individual talents. They should be given all the opportunities that other citizens have.

Mr. President, I serve on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and also on the Indian Affairs Subcommittee. We have been puzzled and troubled over our policies. We are even now going through a reexamination of the policies that have been adopted by this Government concerning Indians who are wards of the Government or Indians who have been terminated as tribal members. They are still deserving of our consideration and concern.

I believe that what the junior Senator from Oklahoma has said today will be a great guideline for us to follow. We must seriously consider his statement.

The Senator made a most important statement in his magnificent speech when he said that it is not a matter of Indian affairs, that it is a matter of human relations and attitude. He said in his speech that we have so often forgotten this guidepost in our attitude in dealing with the Indians of our land.

I congratulate the Senator. A great need exists to give these people their full opportunity. It behooves us to move in the direction in which the Senator has pointed us.

I congratulate the Senator for his sympathetic, understanding, and penetrating speech.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Utah.

I am especially impressed and pleased by his remarks because of his years of able and dedicated work as a member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, his special expertise, and his interest in this subject.

As I mentioned in my remarks, the University of Utah has taken a great leadership role not just in the great State of Utah, but also throughout the United States wherever Indians are located, in trying to arrive at a fresh and new solution of some of the problems that we have discussed.

The University of Utah heads a consortium of universities financed by funds granted by the Office of Economic Opportunity for work in this kind of field.

It is from those funds that the Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity Organization was recently financed for a leadership training program in Oklahoma.

That brings up another separate question which I did not mention in my remarks. I believe that the Bureau of Indian Affairs and all of us must be willing to accept the fact that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is not the only agency or department of the Government which is or must be involved with Indians. The Bureau must not feel jealous of their jurisdiction of Indians. Every department should be and is involved with Indians. Indians are citizens, as we all are.

I believe that the Bureau and the officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity have made some breakthroughs in our thinking and actions having to do with Indians. The University of Utah has had a real and vital part in that program.

I am pleased to yield to the distinguished Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the Senator from Oklahoma has performed an important service to our Nation in delivering this fine speech on the problems faced by the American Indian today. His address has been warm and human, drawing deeply from his own rich experience, but his message is urgent. For despite a wide variety of Federal programs, despite the efforts of many dedicated people, we have not succeeded in bringing the majority of Indians remotely close to what we call the mainstream of our society. So we must give full support to the Senator when he urges us to take a hard look at the objectives of our Indian policies, and how we are carrying them out.

The Indian population of my State, Minnesota, is 15,793 according to the 1960 census. Of these 10,259 were receiving public assistance in 1964, approximately two-thirds of the total population. And this number on welfare has been rising, going up by 11.3 percent since 1960.

And when we look at the income figures we can see why. Indians in Minnesota live with an average family income of under $1,000 a year, less than one-third of what we have set as the minimum poverty level in America. The unemployment rate for Indians in Minnesota and Wisconsin is 55 percent according to the last completed figures of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Or if we consider housing, we find that of the approximately 2,500 Indian families in Minnesota, 2,250, or 90 percent, live in substandard housing.

With appalling conditions like these, I feel it is clear that we must not neglect a single Federal program that can be effective in helping Indian Americans to overcome them. We must work to make sure that poverty programs, job training, aid to education, health and housing assistance, antidiscrimination laws—all of these are fully utilized in helping Indians build better lives for themselves. And as Senator Harris so rightly emphasizes, we must work with Indian leaders in making these effective. We must be doing things with Indians, not doing things to them.

I have been working for many months now on getting adequate housing for some of our Minnesota Indian reservations. Our aim is a modest one to start—350 units, or roughly 15 percent of the need. It has been a slow process, not because of any lack of interest on the part of the Indians—they have been working on developing these projects since its outset—but rather because of delays brought about by problems in Federal housing regulations, and insufficient contact between officials working on this and the Indians involved.

For this reason I was most gratified to participate last week in a meeting in Minneapolis, called by the Indian leaders in my State, that brought together various officials of the Federal Government to discuss Indian housing projects. This meeting was called by the Indians and for the Indians. Initiative such as this must not go unanswered and unrewarded. We know the Indians are ready to cooperate, and I am hopeful that aided by the direct communication that took place last week, we will be able to move ahead on these Indian housing projects.

This meeting was the culmination of well over a year's effort by my office to urge the Bureau of Indian Affairs and U.S. Public Housing Authority and others to develop and approve low-income housing for Indians and Indian reservations.

Although the meeting was helpful, I must in all candor comment that in many respects the public housing authorities and others who have been working on this problem are no nearer to an answer today than they were a year ago.

They claim that we have a program available to provide public housing, but when they get down to the details of working out the actual construction of the housing, there always seems to be some delay, some reason to put housing out on further bids, some reason for further discussion; and still at this point, even after this meeting, I wonder when the day will come when construction of this needed housing for our Minnesota Indians will begin.

As some of you may know, it can get rather cold in northern Minnesota in the early months of the year, and these Indians go through winter after winter on dirt floors, with six, seven, eight people to a room, no sanitation facilities, carrying water to their homes in buckets. I do not think we would need a very careful study to determine what this does to the people's health, particularly young children.

I have seen actual health history cards prepared and kept by our U.S. Public Health Service on Minnesota Indian reservations. These cards would shock the average American with what they reveal about the repeated and costly health care required for American Indians, in Minnesota and elsewhere, simply because of the dilapidated and unsanitary housing in which they live. I visited some of those homes in late November, and I saw it happening.

We have a study, conducted by the Division of Indian Health of the Public Health Service, that shows we will get back every dollar we spend on minimum decent housing for Minnesota Indians in reduced costs of Government programs for Indian health. Over the long run, it will not cost us a penny more to provide decent housing than to allow the present disgraceful situation to continue.

And yet it does continue.

It is my hope that we can get moving on these projects and make a start toward helping Indians in my State and elsewhere get decent housing for themselves and their families.

Once again, may I express my gratitude to my distinguished colleague and close friend for the excellent address he has made this afternoon on one of the most neglected problems in the United States.

I would also commend my distinguished colleague for marrying wisely. His lovely wife, LaDonna, is a warm, clear-minded American who happens also to be of Indian descent. I have heard her speak on this problem, and know of her leadership and interest in the issue.

It is good news for the American Indian, as well as for all decent Americans, that Fred Harris is in the Senate.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I am most grateful for the warm and generous remarks of my distinguished friend, the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Mondale]. I think that his rising here on the floor of the Senate to add his own facts and statistics about the problems in Minnesota will add greatly to our understanding of the subject, and will add much to the record of this discussion.

Mr. President, I came to the Senate at approximately the same time as did the distinguished Senator from Minnesota. He and his wife, Joan, are very close friends of my wife, LaDonna, and me. I would join with the distinguished Senator from Minnesota in saying that we both probably overmarried ourselves.

But, Mr. President, almost from the first moment that we have known each other, the distinguished Senator from Minnesota and his wife have shown great interest in the plight and problems of the Indian people of Minnesota and throughout the United States. We have discussed these matters with them at great length a number of times since our coming here.

I can say with all assurance, Mr. President, that the Indian people of Minnesota and of the United States will be happier and healthier people, and more productive citizens, because of the presence in this body of the distinguished Senator from Minnesota, because of his knowledge and because of the things he is doing and will continue to do in this body in their behalf.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HARRIS. I am most happy to yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to join with other Senators in commending the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma for the outstanding speech he has just made. It is a speech long overdue—indeed, decades overdue. Too many of us tend to take the American Indian for granted, to ignore his real wants and his vital needs, as has been disclosed so cogently by the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS], the distinguished Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE], and others.

I am delighted that the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is looking into the matter, and am very pleased that Mr. Bennett, an Oneida Indian from Wisconsin, is now the Commissioner for Indian Affairs. I am confident he will accomplish those objectives which are so long overdue and which are so vitally necessary. And, too, it is my sincere hope that the day is near when the Indian will share fully in all of the benefits of American society.

I happen to come from a State which has nearly 30,000 Indians. There are Flatheads, Blackfeet, Sioux, Rocky Boy, Chippewa; there are Cree, Crow, and Cheyenne. And I am sure, being from Oklahoma, that my distinguished friend recalls the fact that after the defeat of Custer about 91 years ago, the Cheyenne were forced by this Government, through the Army, to go from Montana to Oklahoma. A branch of the Cheyenne, the Northern Cheyenne, made this momentous 2,500-mile trek on foot. They were harassed by the Army and by the Government. What few remained finally did arrive in western Montana. Their descendants are there today, living on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation.

I speak of the Cheyennes particularly because I have an especially warm place in my heart for them. They have little in the way of resources, but a great deal, indeed, in the way of initiative. They are trying to lift themselves up on the basis of that initiative alone. It is not easy. They have coal deposits, but the demand for coal has decreased in recent years. They have timber and carry on a lumbering business as well as they can. Over a million dollars has been expended on a cattle herd, which is tribal property, and they have one or two small industries. In short, their progress has been tremendous in comparison with the resources at their disposal.

It would be well if private initiative would develop an interest in our Indians For they need help to help themselves. They must be given the opportunity to raise themselves by their own bootstraps. And I am hopeful that, as a result of the hearings by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs at the time the nomination of Mr. Bennett was being considered, and, even more, as a result of this magnificent speech, there will be a new deal—a good deal for the Indians. And I hope also, as the distinguished Senator has so cogently stated, that the benefits of the Great Society, will be extended to them, not only in Oklahoma and Montana, but in every State in which they live.

Again, I commend the distinguished Senator for a remarkably good speech—a perceptive speech—and I repeat, a speech that was long overdue and greatly needed.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I am deeply humbled by the statement of the distinguished majority leader, who is my leader not only in the Senate on this side of the aisle, but also a leader for the country, for many years, in the field of the subject upon which I have spoken. He represents the great State of Montana, which has long been proud of and uplifted by its great history and heritage involving our Indian citizens.

Recently we had in our home for dinner a young man named John Artichoker, who is a Sioux Indian. He is superintendent of the reservation at Lander, Mont.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Of the Northern Cheyenne.

Mr. HARRIS. Of the Northern Cheyenne, Mr. President. I am much impressed by him. He was chosen within recent years—he is still a young man—as 1 of the 10 outstanding young men of the United States, by the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce.

But I am also impressed, and wish the Senate to know, by the fact that John Artichoker was tremendously impressed with the special wisdom and interest and activity of the great Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] in this field.

Artichoker is typical of the fresh thinking going on. He was here in Washington recently, working on bringing in industry to that reservation for the employment of those Indian people there. The distinguished Senator from Montana has been an integral part of the progressive efforts being made on that reservation and among Indian people generally in Montana and throughout the United States.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I not only share with the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS] the thought that the key sentence here is "So, it is not a matter of Indian Affairs; it is a matter of human relations, a matter of attitudes," but I also think that sentence should go one step further and say that it is not even a matter of Indians but of Americans. It is time we stopped thinking about Indians as being separate. They have surely lived here long enough to meet the resident requirements for full-fledged American citizenship.

Likewise, let us stop being so patronizing about Indians. Let us start calling them Americans. The sooner they become, with the rest of us, "just people," a part of the melting pot that is the United States, the sooner will we be on our way toward a successful solution of these questions.

I want to salute the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS] for having staked out such a clear, strong, and wise guidepost which can achieve these long-delayed goals.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I have listened with great interest to the remarks of the distinguished junior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS] on a proposed new destiny for American Indians. How timely his remarks are. If our U.S. American Indians were fully educated in both cultures, what a great force we would have for America and for the world.

We need this cultural and economic force at home; we need it badly abroad. Senator HARRIS has mentioned the high country of South America, the "altiplano" of the Andes, where tens of millions of Indians, from Colombia, through Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile speak the Indian language, and dream of that far-off Inca Empire where the average Indian was better of economically, socially, and governmentally, than he has been under Spanish-speaking governments this past four centuries. The Inca Empire stretched from Colombia to Chile.

Our American Indians, of the United States, properly educated and trained for this leadership gap, could render a great service to South America, to the people of the altiplano, to ourselves, and to the free world, if they were but given this opportunity.

FRED HARRIS has knowledgeably pointed up the problem of the American Indian in our culture. His beautiful, cultured, charming, highly intelligent wife, herself of part Comanche lineage, grew up partly in and fully understanding that culture. FRED HARRIS knows the history of the former Comanche culture, which played such a large role in the history of the Southwestern States.

He has narrated how they were called the lords of the south plains. Of interest, too, is the fact that the Comanche word for themselves meant "the people," or, we might give it a free translation, and it would be "we, the people." So proud were they of their strength and supremacy and so complete was their dominance in most portions of Texas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Colorado, and Kansas, that it was often marked on the early maps as "Comanche country," or "Comancheira."

With his knowledge of Indian culture, Oklahoma, the America of the past and of the present, the American Indian of the past and of the present, Senator HARRIS has special opportunities to render a special service to American Indians. In rendering that service, he is doing a greater service for all of us and for all the world. I salute him for his leadership.

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I want to compliment the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS] for his eloquence and precision in stating the case so well for a rededication and reinvigoration of our policies concerning American Indians. I join with him in asking "what are we buying for our money?" As the Senator so well points out, we are a woefully long way away from our long-standing goal of full integration of our Indian citizens into the mainstream of American society.

Again, my congratulations to the Senator from Oklahoma for a timely and forceful statement on one of our most serious domestic problems.

FARM INCOME IN 1966

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement by the Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman at a press conference on April 15, 1966, on the subject of farm income in 1966.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE ORVILLE L. FREEMAN AT PRESS CONFERENCE, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 15, 1966

I want to make an announcement on farm income. This administration, led by President Johnson, has fought hard for better farm income. That fight is once again succeeding this year.

I am pleased to report that net farm income in 1966 will exceed $15 billion, according to our latest estimates. This is about a billion dollars higher than 1965.

This estimate is based on the performance of the farm economy in the first quarter just ended and the prospects for farm production and farm prices during the year.

These estimates indicate that 1966 will be the best year in nearly two decades for the American farmer, and that the progress we began in 1960 toward parity of income will continue and accelerate.

Net farm income in 1960 was $11.7 billion. The estimate for 1966 represents an increase of more than $3.4 billion.

These income figures mean that:

Net income per farm will be at a record level of around $4,600, or about 55 percent higher than in 1960.

Disposable personal income per person on the farm will be about $1,600, or 44 percent higher than in 1960. Nonfarm income per capita, by comparison, has increased about 25 percent over the same period. This means the gap between farm and nonfarm income per person is narrowing. The farmer in 1960 earned about 55 percent of what other people did. Today he earns about 65 percent as much. This demonstrates that while the progress we have made is good, the farmer still is seriously underpaid in comparison to what others in our society receive in the nonfarm segment of the economy.

More farmers are earning parity of income today than ever before. In 1960 it was difficult to find many farmers in this position. In 1966, we estimate that nearly a half million farmers will earn as much as they could expect from the same skill and investment applied in other kinds of work. Another half million are getting close to this level.

Incomes of most farmers will reflect the expected increase in 1966, although weather conditions and other regional or local factors may prevent some farmers from sharing in the improved national farm income.

As a whole, however, the farm economy is healthier today than anyone possibly could have anticipated 6 years ago. I can recall some of the farm income projections in those days which estimated that net farm income might reach $14 billion by 1970—and even this was considered a highly optimistic calculation.

In the past, when farm income has climbed to the levels we expect this year, it has been followed by bad times with lean years for farmers. I do not expect this to happen in 1967 or beyond, but it could happen if both the consumer and the farmer ignore some of the lessons from past experience.

First, an abundant harvest does more than assure consumers that they will be well fed. It contributes importantly to a stable national economy.

Second, an abundant harvest is not automatic. It is the product of the skill and ability and hard work of the family farmers of this country. If this skill and ability is not adequately rewarded, the Nation cannot long expect the abundant harvests to continue.

Low farm income will not keep the capital and manpower resources in agriculture necessary for efficient production and fair consumer prices. Without efficient production, supply will drop and consumer prices skyrocket. This we must avoid in the national interest.

Third, the 6 good years in agriculture are the product of many factors. The farm programs voted by the Congress are an important underpinning. The growth in world markets is another. The most important factor, however, is the common sense of the farmer. He has made our voluntary farm programs work, and he has recognized and supported the drive to develop export markets.

If that commonsense continues, and the consumer recognizes that abundance deserves an adequate reward, then we will continue to enjoy the abundance of food and fiber which has contributed so much to the growth of the Nation's economy these past years and the adequate size family farm will reach the target of parity of income by 1970.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** (Mr. BAYH in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

FFA: NOW MEANS FORGOTTEN FARMERS OF AMERICA

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, for the past several weeks we from the Midwest have been amazed and disillusioned at the reports which we have been reading in the papers about the rising cost of living and the efforts of the Johnson administration to pin the responsibility for skyrocketing living costs on the American farmer. To this very hour, Mr. President, I have not heard a single voice raised within the hierarchy of this administration placing the blame for the high cost of living upon the inflationary policies of the administration itself.

It is most disturbing to read that in recent days the President himself, his chief economic adviser, Gardner Ackley, and the eminent spokesman for the farmers of America, the Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, have all pointed accusing fingers at farm food prices. They all attribute—even Orville Freeman who as a Cabinet official represents within the administration the agriculture industry—the alarming rise in consumer price index to food costs. And further, they make it more than abundantly clear that Government policy will be directed toward attempting to reduce living costs by pushing farm prices downward. Why? Why, Mr. President, is not the Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, fighting for better farm income to be derived from the farm products raised by the American farmer?

Has the Department of Agriculture under Secretary Freeman lost sight of its primary objective of assisting farmers achieve parity of income, or has the Department of Agriculture under Orville Freeman, as indicated in the April 8 issue of the Washington Farmletter published by Wayne Darrow, actually become the OPS—Office of Price Stabilization—for the Johnson administration?

SECRETARY PLEASED WITH FARM PRICE DROP

It is inconceivable to me, Mr. President, that with parity standing at 82 percent, any Secretary of Agriculture could make the statement which is published in the New York Times of April 1, 1966, which is headlined "Freeman Elated Over Price Drops—He Predicts Further Cuts in Cost of Farm Products."

Mr. President, if this headline is true, we have the wrong man speaking and fighting for the American farmer today. The outlook is dismal for any increase in parity and justice for the American farmer.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield at that point?

Mr. MUNDT. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. CURTIS. The Senator states:

> If this headline is true, we have the wrong man speaking and fighting for the American farmer today.

Well, now, who in the administration is speaking up for me American farmer and fighting for him?

Mr. MUNDT. I probably should have said that we have the wrong man as Secretary of Agriculture, if the headline is true.

Mr. CURTIS. He should be doing those things.

Mr. MUNDT. Yes, because he should be fighting and speaking for the American farmer, but obviously he appears to be speaking and fighting for the American consumer in the big metropolitan areas instead.

Mr. CURTIS. What the Senator is saying is something which the farmers throughout the length and breadth of this land are saying. I hold in my hand an article, the publication of a leading farm organization, and the headline states: "Administration Is Making Farmer Whipping Boy for Inflation."

I will not interrupt the Senator longer at this time, but I do wish to commend him for the position he is taking. It is most outrageous—with the sins of the administration, and all of its fiscal policies threatening severe inflation—that at such a time they are trying to set the housewife against the farmer, the housewife and the farmer against business, and so on, rather than looking toward their own houses.

Mr. MUNDT. I thank the Senator from Nebraska very much indeed. Of course, he represents a great agricultural State, just to the south of our fine State of South Dakota. I know his farmers are no different than ours, and that they bitterly resent the fact that the administration is trying to make them whipping boys because of fiscal policies over which they have no control.

Under the headlines in the New York Times, the story goes on to say:

> Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman expressed pleasure today with the fact that the prices of farm products had dropped recently.
>
> It was the first time in the memory of American farm officials that a Secretary of Agriculture indicated that he was pleased with a decrease in farm prices. Like Mr. Freeman, other administration officials were happy to note that consumers would benefit from lower food prices by this summer.

> If the food marketing industry will respond quickly to lower farm prices over the next several months—

Mr. Freeman told a news conference—

> retail prices also can be lower sooner.
>
> Not only have farm prices fallen since February 15—

Mr. Freeman said—

> but the average prices of all farm products should be 6 to 10 percent lower in the fourth quarter of the year than they are now.

Is that not a very pessimistic future which the Agriculture spokesman in this administration's Cabinet holds out for the farmers of America?

Mr. President, in the April 1 news story, Mr. Freeman gave this rundown on farm price decreases since February 15:

> Hogs down 4 cents a pound followed by a 10- to 13-percent decline in the wholesale price of bacon and pork. Lambs also down 4 cents a pound. Butter down 2 cents a pound. Soybeans and corn oil down more than 6 percent.
>
> Fresh lettuce down 35 percent; cabbage, celery, and onions down more than 20 percent. Fresh oranges and grapefruit off 7 percent. Eggs down 3 cents per dozen.

Our Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. President, made some predictions. According to the New York Times:

> He predicted the following declines by the end of the year: Poultry and eggs, down 15 to 20 percent; vegetables, down 20 to 25 percent; potatoes, 10 percent; meat animals, 5 percent.

MORE THAN HALF MILLION FARMS DISAPPEAR SINCE FREEMAN TOOK OFFICE

With this kind of farm price depressing policy by the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. President, is it any wonder that the record reveals that since Secretary Freeman took office more than half a million farms have disappeared and about two and a half million men, women, and children have left the farming population. In fact, Mr. President, this year approximately 100,000 more farms will evaporate from the face of rural America.

Mr. President, the farmers of South Dakota keep writing and calling me and asking, "Why do the wage increase guidelines of 3.2 percent apply only to the economy outside of agriculture and we as farmers must endure a depressing price economy?" It is a good question, Mr. President, and one I cannot answer, especially in view of the agriculture spokesman's effort in the administration to participate in the price depressing effort.

Thus far, Mr. President, the administration's only attack upon rising living costs has been directed against farm prices. Total living costs cannot be reduced significantly by such action even though the economic adviser to the President, Mr. Gardner Ackley, continues to claim that the cost of living rise can be halted by further depressing farm prices.

Mr. President, why this continual propaganda campaign from administration spokesmen placing the blame for skyrocketing living costs on the farmer? Why is there no mention of taking some of the pressure off by reducing nondefense expenditures of the Federal Government? Why is no recognition given to the indisputable fact that through the years consumer prices for many nonfarm goods and services have been rising much more rapidly than food costs? It is only in recent months, Mr. President, that farm prices have even begun to catch up a bit.

Mr. President, the U.S. Labor Department's Consumer Price Index for February 1966, shows that it costs $11.16 to buy the same goods, services, and foods which cost $10 in the 1957–59 base period. For food alone, it cost $11.18 to buy the same items which could be purchased for $10 in 1957–59. In other words, Mr. President, the increases in the overall Consumer Price Index and the retail food index are almost identical. With these facts available to Secretary Freeman and other administration spokesmen, why are food price increases alone singled out in assessing the blame for the overall rise in the cost of living?

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. I commend the Senator for the clarity of the thoughts he is presenting here. He is correct. I should like to call attention to the fact that food costs to the housewife and prices received for the raw products of the farm by the farmer in the marketplace are two entirely different things.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is entirely correct.

Mr. CURTIS. When the Senator from South Dakota grew up and when I grew up, our parents either raised their potatoes or bought potatoes by the bushel. Today many consumers not only buy small amounts of potatoes, they not only are able to buy new potatoes out of season, which means a great deal of transportation, but they buy potatoes already prepared and packaged, whether they are french-fried potatoes, ready to be eaten after being warmed up, or packaged mashed potatoes.

I am not suggesting we go back. I am not suggesting that we should not have the packaged foods that are a part of modern living. I only suggest that the facts be made known, that when the housewife buys such foods, she is paying for many, many other costs besides the cost of the raw farm product produced by the farmer, and that if the price received by the farmer were to fall a great deal, the housewife still would not find that the prices she must pay for the extra services, the extra preparation, the extra packaging, the great advertising, would likewise fall.

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct.

Mr. CURTIS. The Secretary of Agriculture should be explaining these facts to the American people.

I do not question these fine modern procedures and products, but I think it is wrong for the Secretary of Agriculture to imply that the cost of those extra services is somehow tied in with what the farmer receives at the marketplace.

Furthermore—and I shall not take much more of the Senator's time—the man who processes, transports, advertises, packages, resells, and retails foodstuffs pays a great amount in payroll taxes, social security taxes, local and State taxes. They are affected by the programs in Washington which must be matched by the Federal Government. That must be matched by the price charged at the counter. If those costs are not included, it will be only a matter of time before the man will go out of business.

The spokesman for the farmers should be explaining that to the consumers, rather than going to the trouble of turning the consumers against the individuals who produce the raw products.

Mr. MUNDT. I appreciate the contribution the Senator has made. That, of course, in the main, is the burden of the point I am trying to make here on the Senate floor this afternoon. Labor has an articulate and active spokesman in the Secretary of Labor. Education has a spokesman in the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. But the farmers lack a spokesman altogether, when the Secretary of Agriculture, who should be pleading their case and trying to get a better income for the farmers and have them secure a greater degree of parity of income for the products they produce, instead of being a spokesman for the farmers as between them and the consumers, does not exercise that responsibility, and instead takes pleasure in saying that "We are going to force down the prices paid to the farmer."

Mr. President, let us examine some other items in the Labor Department's Consumer Price Index. Homeownership costs have risen from the 1957–59 base of 100 to 113.3. Footwear is up from 100 to 116.2, and the shoe industry has just announced another 4.5 percent price increase for the fall lines. Public transportation costs stand at 122 percent of the 1957–59 level. Yet Freeman and other administration spokesmen continue to attack only farm prices.

AGRICULTURE NOT TO BLAME

The current price index for medical care is 124.5; for reading and recreation, 115.9; for used cars, 114; for other goods and services, including tobacco, alcoholic beverages, funeral, legal and bank charges, 113.6. These are average costs computed by the U.S. Department of Labor. They may vary some from one locality to another but they clearly reveal that increases in food prices are only a part and a small part of the explanation for the jump in the living cost. Why, Mr. President, in the face of these facts is agriculture singly blamed for the overall rise in the cost of living? It is neither accurate nor honest to attack American agriculture in this fashion.

It is hypocrisy, Mr. President, to assess the blame to the farmers of America. Sixty-one percent, Mr. President, 61 percent of the cost of the food in the housewife's shopping basket is added after it leaves the farm, and added because of these processes, procedures, and services, which were referred to by the Senator from Nebraska.

Through the years, higher processing, packaging, transportation, and handling costs, referred to by the Senator from Nebraska, along with higher taxes and wages have accounted for most of the upward trend in food prices. Yet, Mr. President, we hear not one word of condemnation to the segment of society creating these upward trends when they break economic guidelines. No, Mr. President, we hear only criticism for the poor farmer of America who is existing on 82 percent of parity or less.

Mr. President, let us make another comparison. Let us compare farm prices and retail food prices of February 1951, when the Korean war was at its height with today's Vietnam war prices.

U.S. Department of Agriculture figures show that average prices received by farmers for commodities they market were 13 percent lower in February 1966, than they were in the same month of 1951. And, Secretary Freeman is elated when they drop even more.

On the other hand, Bureau of Labor Statistics figures show that in 1951 it took $9.54 to buy at retail the same food items and amounts which today cost $11.18—an increase of more than 17 percent.

REAL VILLAIN IS INFLATION

Therefore, Mr. President, it is very clear that the cost-of-living increases are not the fault of the farmers of America. It is apparent that with farm prices down 13 percent and retail food prices up 17 percent between America's wars of 1951 in Korea, and 1966 in Vietnam that the real villain confronting Secretary Freeman, Gardner Ackley, and the administration is inflation and not increasing farm prices.

With rampant inflation, the people who suffer most are those in the lowest income brackets—and with Freeman-Ackley-Johnson policies, this will be the American farmer. It is ironic, indeed, that at the very time the Johnson administration is pursuing the much advertised and ballyhooed war on poverty, it is also continuing to generate inflationary pressures which are taking from all the poor far more than that which just some of the poor are receiving under Federal assistance programs. As a nation, we cannot afford the largest domestic spending program ever undertaken by the Government at a time when more and more billions of dollars are being channeled into the growing war in Vietnam.

Mr. President, with the Secretary of Agriculture and the Economic Adviser to the President declaring their war on the farmers of America and their right to achieve parity with their city cousins, it is not difficult to understand why parity stands at 82 percent of parity today and with every indication that it will be even lower in the months ahead. With this concerted effort on the part of Agriculture's spokesman in the Cabinet and the man responsible for establishing guidelines for economic advancement in the United States, it is no wonder that there is a mass migration from the farm today by many good substantial farm citizens and families.

Mr. President, we hear much about a fine organization known as the FFA—Future Farmers of America. It is unfortunate that under Secretary Freeman and Economic Adviser Ackley FFA now stands for the "Forgotten Farmers of America," insofar as a great many areas of this country are concerned.

DELIBERATE EFFORTS TO DEPRESS FARM PRICES

Mr. President, we have witnessed in recent months direct effort on the part of Secretary Freeman to depress farm prices. In my opinion, these actions on his part have been shameful and disastrous to the farmers he is supposed to represent in the Cabinet.

First. Secretary Freeman has engaged in a massive corn-dumping program deliberately designed to depress corn prices and force farmers into compliance with his programs. He has done the same thing with wheat. In fact, since October 1, 1965, Secretary Freeman has dumped more than 300 million bushels of CCC-owned corn into the domestic market and another 60 million bushels into the export market. These sales have been in direct competition with producer marketings and their effect has been to drive down the price of corn by several cents a bushel. In fact, today the uncommitted CCC inventory of corn is down to about 160 million bushels—a 2-week supply. At the present rate of dumping, CCC will be out of corn before most of the new crop is even in the ground, much less harvested.

Nevertheless, when the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG] and I joined in a resolution placed before the Senate Committee on Agriculture providing a prohibition against Secretary Freeman dumping Commodity Credit corn and grain on the open market at less than 115 percent of support price and carrying charges, the Department of Agriculture sent its spokesmen before the committee emphatically opposing this safeguard for the farmer. They testified for dumping policies meaning lower prices for the American farmer.

Unfortunately, Mr. President, we have been through all of this before with Mr. Freeman. During the 1961–62 marketing year he dumped nearly a billion bushels of corn into the marketplace. This led to unsound expansion of livestock numbers and marketings by 1963–64. We all remember the sharp break in cattle and hog prices in those years. It was, Mr. President, the policies of the Government itself which touched off the feast-and-famine cycle in meat prices and now the administration seems intent upon repeating this fiasco once again.

Second. In another effort to depress cattle prices the administration has imposed export quotas on cattle hides. It is estimated that this move is costing cattlemen as much as $4 per head. Further, despite this action which was based on a move to maintain a level in the price of shoes, the shoe industry has recently announced that the price of shoes will increase this fall. The reason for that is clear. The shoemaker is confronted with a great many other costs which in these inflationary times continue to go up. Even if the shoemakers were given the leather free, it would not have a significant impact on the price people have to pay for the shoes they purchase for their families.

We all remember the discussion which took place in Congress in 1963 and 1964 on depressed cattle prices. Representatives of the cattle industry met with all of us from producing States and with administration spokesmen. I am sure that all of us remember the classic statement made by then Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges who advised the farmers to "quit whining" and go out and look for new foreign markets for beef and beef products. The livestock farmers resented that slur and accepted the challenge—they built up the new foreign market for hides and now comes the same administration which told them to "quit whining" and seek new markets, cutting off these foreign markets by imposition of export quotas. Mr. President, with parity at 82 percent, I reiterate for my South Dakota farmers, "Why?"

Third. In addition, the dairy farmers are feeling the pressures of the price depressing actions of Secretary Freeman. All of us know that the administration has recommended in his budget a slash of 80 percent in the school milk fund—which would drop milk consumption by schoolchildren by fully one-third or approximately 1 billion half pints of milk per year. Obviously, the effect of this quantity of milk moving into the marketplace instead of into our schools can only be to hold down dairy prices. Also, according to a report in the Baltimore Sun of April 7, it is reported:

> Last month the Pentagon directed the Army and the Air Force to stop buying butter.

Defense agencies have been buying 1,800,000 pounds of butter a month. The boys fighting the war in Vietnam are being denied butter because of the war on the farmer, a war being fought by this administration on American soil. Again, I ask, "Why?"

Further, the Secretary of Agriculture—Mr. Freeman—has requested that import restrictions on cheddar cheese be eased which will have a depressing effect on the price of milk.

MORE DAIRYMEN MAY BE DRIVEN OUT OF BUSINESS

Dairy farmers have been going out of business by the thousands in recent years because of mounting production costs and inability to obtain labor. U.S. milk production is declining while the population grows. This squeeze seems certain to push retail milk prices higher. But Secretary Freeman seems determined to pursue policies which will drive even more dairymen out of business.

We all remember the discussion on the Senate floor, Mr. President, by our colleagues from Florida and California who pointed out that decisions by the Secretary of Labor added from 15 to 40 percent to costs of various fruits and vegetables produced in their States through rulings of the Secretary of Labor on the use of help at harvest time. Why did not the administration complain that this action would cause the cost of living to rise and take steps to depress these increased labor costs imposed by regulation on the producers of certain vegetables and fruits?

Finally, in order to grease the slide for lower hog prices which have reached their lowest point since mid-June 1965, Secretary of Defense McNamara has jumped into the war on the farmer by ordering the military services to cut their use of prime pork products in half. It seems to me, Mr. President, that Secretary McNamara has enough problems with his own war in Vietnam and the shortage of military supplies without engaging in the economic war against the farmers of America and the repurchase of bombs from West Germany at about 20 times the price for which we sold them. It seems to me that with that war on his hands, he would have problems enough, without an economic war being waged by this administration against the American farmers on American soil.

OUR DANGEROUS INFLATION WAS NOT BORN IN RURAL AMERICA

Mr. President, the inflationary policies of the Johnson administration are hitting farmers, as well as urban residents.

In 1960, farmers spent $26.2 billion to meet their production costs. For 1965, farm production expenses were estimated at $30.2 billion—an increase of $4 billion in 5 years. Had farm production costs remained stable, net farm income in 1965 would have been $18 billion, instead of $14 billion. Further, Mr. President, just a few days ago when the Labor Department announced a major cost-of-living rise for February, Arnold Chase, Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, told a news conference that since the middle of February the wholesale price index for farm and processed foods had fallen by one-half of 1 percent and admitted that the drop in wholesale prices may not have an immediate impact on prices paid by consumers. Some of the lower wholesale prices may never reach consumers at all if middlemen increase their take, he said.

It can be further noted that the net income of farmers along with the earnings of their city cousins is made up of depreciated dollars. The $14 billion net farm income reported for 1965 will buy only about as much as the $12.7 billion farmers earned in 1958.

The unsound fiscal policies of this administration have pushed the Nation's economy into a serious inflationary spiral. Skyrocketing living costs cannot be halted, however, by efforts to control and deflate farm prices alone.

TEN "DEMANDMENTS" AGAINST AGRICULTURE

Mr. President, in 1966 alone, in just these few months, there have been many instances of attacks upon the programs designed to help the economy of the American farmer. The administration and its various spokesmen have submitted to the Congress a series of recommendations which if followed will have a definite depressing impact on the farm economy. The list is long, disturbing, and disillusioning. It also comprises an unprecedented frontal attack on America's basic industry—agriculture.

I defy anyone to point to a single stage or era in American history in which any administration has made a sustained and concerted attack on one segment of this economy such as this administration is making on the American farmer. I propose to call the roll of at least 10 specific attacks on the farmer launched by the administration in that war.

First. The special milk program for schoolchildren is being cut by $82 million next year and $3 million is already being withheld from this year's appropriation. This represents a cutback of nearly 80 percent.

Mr. President, I spoke on the floor of the Senate when this cut was announced about a month ago. I deplored it then, and challenged the spokesman for the administration and the Members of the Senate who are of the majority party to point to another case in the whole series of activities of this administration in which they had made a similar recommendation of a cut affecting urban areas of even 25 percent of the magnitude of this 80-percent cut directed squarely at the farmers and the children of America. No one yet has picked up the gauntlet of that challenge, and they are not about to do so. This "economizing" is directed only at agricultural America.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, has the Senator been able to find why this particular amendment was cut by the President's Bureau of the Budget by 80 percent?

Mr. MUNDT. I have not been able to find out. I shall cite nine other instances of similar cuts, not quite as large as this 80-percent cut, but of serious significance to American agriculture. However, I suspect that it is all part of this effort to downgrade the income of the American farmer, in this case the dairyman, in an attempt to reduce the prices of foodstuffs for big city consumers.

Mr. CURTIS. The Senator does not believe for 1 minute that there was anything insincere about it and that the cut was made with the full expectation that Congress would restore it?

Mr. MUNDT. I do not know whether Congress will restore it. I do not know how much arm twisting there will be. I do not know how articulate or effective the Secretary of Agriculture and the President will be in opposing these restorations.

We will have to take it at face value. It is a cut of 80 percent. The Senator does not know whether Congress will restore it. No one can tell. I will, of course, try to get it restored.

I am a member of the Agricultural Appropriations Subcommittee dealing with these matters. However, it is a little difficult to try to overcome a 2-to-1 congressional majority in the other party when the President and Secretary of Agriculture say they want to cut it by 80 percent.

Mr. CURTIS. Has the Secretary of Agriculture ever disagreed with the Bureau of the Budget on recommendations for the various agricultural programs?

Mr. MUNDT. Not to my knowledge. Of course, when he spoke in New York, where there are many more people than in Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, and Kansas combined, he said he hoped there would be some additional reductions in food prices.

Mr. CURTIS. Has the distinguished Senator from South Dakota, as a member of the committee, received any communication from Secretary Freeman advising of any disagreement with the Bureau of the Budget over these cuts and asking the Senator as a member of the committee to restore them?

Mr. MUNDT. The answer is negative.

Mr. President, I have cited the first direct attack against American agriculture in the list of 10 which I am about to present, which I allude to as the "Ten Demandments" against agriculture instigated by the Johnson administration so far in 1966. And are still only in the month of April.

The other attacks are as follows:

Second. The school lunch program in in line for a $19 million administration reduction.

Third. Agriculture research, which has achieved outstanding results for all of America in new uses for farm products and lower costs for consumers, is being slashed by $26 million.

I remember the efforts of the distinguished senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] and myself as members of the Senate Agricultural Subcommittee of Appropriations for the 3 long years it took us finally to increase by $30 million the research program for agriculture.

That program probably has paid the biggest dividends of any research program in this country. They now come along and slash that wonderful research program by $26 million.

The reason that this is a most serious slash is that if we stimulate agricultural research and develop the full horizon of industrial uses for farm products, the day can quickly come when the American farmer can go back to raising a full crop and selling at a fair price, and we would no longer need a labyrinth of agricultural programs administered from Washington.

The next attack is:

Fourth. REA's loan program is being shortchanged in both next year's budget and this year's funding already approved by Congress, with $132 million being impounded from this year's appropriations and upwards of $100 million being cut from the budget for next year.

Fifth. The agricultural conservation program in which farmers are assisted in establishing soil and water conservation practices to preserve a fundamental source of our national wealth—our soil—takes it on the chin for the second successive year with a $120 million reduction proposed by the White House.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. Is that program one in which landowners as well as local units of government participate financially and put up their own money?

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is correct. That is a kind of partnership program. It is a traditional old-line program that has always been supported by Democratic and Republican Presidents alike. Suddenly we are going to give an invitation to erosion by cutting out those wise conservation practices.

Mr. CURTIS. Does the small watershed program come under point No. 5?

Mr. MUNDT. That is a separate program. However, I could add as a member of the committee that deals with it that they have also placed new ceilings upon that to reduce the rate of development of the small watersheds program.

Mr. CURTIS. Because of the interest of the farmers and because the farmers give up their time to promote, manage, and develop the program, and because they pay for part of it in local units—whether it be a local district or some other area—this program for the entire United States amounts to fewer billions of dollars than the amount which is proposed to be spent for renewing Pennsylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the White House. Is that correct?

Mr. MUNDT. I do not know what the project the Senator alludes to would cost. However, I can assure the Senator that it represents a very small part of the money we must pay each year as we climb the stepladder to the moon.

Mr. CURTIS. It is not a big item.

Mr. MUNDT. It is not a big item at all.

Mr. CURTIS. And by reason of the money and effort expended by other people a tremendous job is done.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is correct. That is because of its partnership relations.

Mr. CURTIS. I commend the Senator for the lead he is taking in getting money for research for new industrial uses. I am aware of the effort that he has put forth over the years.

I recall that when this increase was established, the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] was on the floor. I expressed my gratitude at that time. I once more express my gratitude to both the Senator from Georgia and the Senator from South Dakota. As the Senator knows, that is a program in which I have been very much involved and interested.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is correct. I appreciate that the Senator from Nebraska has been one of the articulate and consistent spokesman for this kind of program which would open up vast new markets for farm production and put the farmer back where he wants to be, producing a full crop, getting a fair price, having a parity income, and being able to operate his own establishment.

In Omaha, close to where the Senator from Nebraska lives, there is a great American, Leroy Welch, who has worked long and hard in this endeavor and has been of great assistance to us in our effort to stimulate a program of industrial utilization of farm products.

The next attack is:

Sixth. The Cooperative State Research Service program is scheduled to be knocked down by $7.5 million.

Seventh. A shift of $9,600,000 in funds—taken away from the old line agencies and employees—such as the extension service and giving it to poverty type programs which, in the main, are all too frequently operated by favored political appointees who get little accomplished for needy Americans.

This would also result in a reduction of old-line extension programs such as those for 4-H clubs, the members of which have been visiting in Washington this week, and who represent really the population cream of the rural area of America.

Mr. President, as mentioned earlier in this speech, the attacks on agriculture are represented by:

Eighth. Control on the export of hides to the detriment of the cattle industry.

Ninth. Import of cheddar cheese to the detriment of the dairy industry.

Tenth. Jumping of feed grains which depresses feed grain prices and livestock prices.

Mr. President, the farmers of America stand willing to tighten their belts to aid in the war effort. But, Mr. President, the farmer should not be the only one asked to tighten his belt. It is eloquently and significantly obvious that while proposing these cutbacks for our farmers and ranchers the White House simultaneously is recommending sharp increases in Federal expenditures for the big city areas of America. The concentrated attack on the farmer and the propaganda effort to single him out as the basic cause for the inflationary spiral in the cost of living is as unwise as it is unconscionable. No administration spokesman at any time places any blame on the cost of urban oriented programs as a cause of inflation. Just the farmer, Mr. President, gets the blame. Perhaps it is because there are fewer and fewer votes with each passing day in rural America and more and more votes in the big city areas that has decided the administration to attack the farmers of America while proceeding to increase the funds available for urban areas.

I point out, Mr. President, that while it may not seem so important, votewise, to the Democratic Party, to do things which are disadvantageous to the farmer, that the fact remains that the rural Americans are most important to all the country, because it is from rural America that we get the food, the fiber, and the raw material to keep our economy moving in high gear.

ECONOMIZING SHOULD NOT BE FOR FARMERS ONLY—DEMOCRATS JOIN REPUBLICANS IN IRATE PROTESTS

Mr. President, there are no more prudent, practical, public-spirited, and patriotic people living anywhere in the United States than America's farmers and ranchers. There would be no complaint from them were President Lyndon Johnson and his administration to advocate across-the-record curtailment of say 5 or 10 cents out of every dollar of reducible Federal spending in order to finance the war in Vietnam without stoking the fires of inflation to the point of peril.

Our rural people would be quick to cooperate with such an objective, impartial, and nonpolitical approach to a balanced budget and a sound and stable Federal fiscal policy. But, Mr. President, self-preservation is the first law of nature, and rural America is rightfully indignant and resentful about administration policies which will depress entire agricultural areas by sharply reducing farm income while at the same time the same city-conscious and urban-vote-courting administration proposes several new king-sized spending programs a month for improving the economy and increasing the net incomes of our metropolitan areas and our giant cities.

It is small wonder, Mr. President, that reports from across the State of South Dakota disclose in community after community a steady stream of registered Democratic voters who are protesting these antiagricultural area actions by voting with their feet and striking back with the only effective weapon they have by going to the office of their local town or county auditor and openly reregistering as Republican voters. They know when they are being abused and they are independent and intelligent enough to know the most effective way in which to make their protest and their resentment to be known and significant.

As a member of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, I have conferred with other Appropriations Committee members, both in the Senate and the House, and we shall do our best to right some of these wrongs by our committee action. We realize, of course, that we cannot right them all—but we shall do our best, as I pointed out to the Senator from Nebraska, when he was engaging in the inquiry about the school-milk programs.

In some areas we are already having some success but many of these attacks on our agricultural areas are beyond the reach of our Appropriations Committees. We are also determined to economize on all Federal spending during these weary war years and while inflation is serving as a national sales tax to rob us all of the full purchasing power of our hard-earned dollars. But such economics should not be labeled, "For Farmers Only." We shall do our best to provide equity and fairness, therefore, both in our reductions and our reallocations of the Federal spending.

I remember well when during the Republican administration of 1953–60 I felt that Secretary of Agriculture Benson's policy was depressing farm income that I stood on this Senate floor and urged him as the spokesman for the farmers of America to speak up in their behalf for better income and for the full parity of income to which they are entitled. Now that we have an administration of the other political party, I speak out again and urge that Secretary Freeman speak out for higher prices for the farmer and for full parity of income.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. The distinguished Senator has made some excellent points here. The job of the Secretary of Agriculture is a difficult one, and there are many ideas among farmers, Senators, and Representatives from farm States, and farm organizations as to what should be done.

But within the memory of the distinguished Senator from South Dakota, did any Republican administration ever recommend that an agricultural appropriation be cut by 80 percent, or recommend a slash of $132 million for REA, or some of the other things that have been hurled at the rural people of America in recent months?

Mr. MUNDT. I say to the Senator that I have done some research on that subject, and can say categorically that no Republican administration has ever recommended such cuts; and, to the best of my ability in researching the case, no other Democratic administration in American history has ever launched that kind of attack on the American farmers and their neighbors in our rural towns and cities.

Of course, the cities are growing, and big time politicians are looking at the electoral college operation, which unfortunately tends to give some 20 American cities, located in 12 States, almost a strangulation hold on American body politic.

I can understand the politics involved in trying to provide cheap food for the large consumers in the big cities, even though it does tend to drive the average American family-sized farmers off their farms, and to destroy many of the small towns and cities of rural America—I can understand it but I resent it and I shall continue to resist it.

Mr. CURTIS. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. The program of the Great Society does not stop there with its apparent drive to appeal to the great voting centers with cheaper food by doing an injustice to farmers, but it taxes the farmers for rent subsidies; is that not correct?

Mr. MUNDT. So far, we have been able, on the Appropriations Committee, to prevent the authorization or earmarking of any funds for this new program of so-called renticare.

The feeling is that we are being beset, however, by arm-twisting lobbyists. It will be recalled that we passed that bill a year ago but we did not give them any money, so that for the past 8 months they have been like the fellow who had a wedding license but no girl friend, they have been unable to do anything about it. We will continue to try to hold the line. Whether we can do it, I do not know.

Mr. CURTIS. I commend the Senator for his efforts and the success that he has had, but I would suggest that he not turn his back and leave the Treasury door open, because they are pressing hard.

Mr. MUNDT. Of course, the Senator is quite right. American farmers are taxpayers too. This "renticare" will be almost exclusively a city program, even though the people in the big cities are living in expensive apartments and nice homes. The farmers are paying more taxes, but I have never seen anything which provides rent subsidies for our farmers, only for those in the cities.

Mr. CURTIS. It is said that the great cities are decaying, that they need to be rebuilt, and that they have a multiplicity of problems concerning utilities, streets, taxes, old buildings, school buildings, slums, and everything else. I should like to ask the Senator, in general and by and large, has the Republican Party been in charge of city governments in these gigantic cities in the last century when all these problems began to grow and expand and yet have not been solved?

Mr. MUNDT. I believe that in the 20 major cities in this country the Republicans have only two mayors at this time—one recently elected in New York City.

Mr. CURTIS. The greater share of them over the long period has been Democrats.

Mr. MUNDT. The Democratic Party has had more success with city hall politics than Republicans have.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes, while they have been playing politics, these problems have accumulated and they have not solved them.

Mr. MUNDT. Just after the happy juncture when Congress adjourns, my wife and I drive home to South Dakota. We drive through Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana—from which comes the Presiding Officer who now graces the chair—we also drive through Illinois, through parts of Wisconsin and Iowa, and then home.

If anyone wishes to shed one big alligator tear about buildings which lack paint, which are run down, the shingles coming off the roofs, and cracks in the window panes, we do not have to go into the big cities to find buildings which need repair, which need to be refurbished in toto. They can be seen on the farms all along the route I have just mentioned.

Seldom do we see a new farm building being built in America any more. Seldom a new house, seldom a new barn. All too seldom even a new coat of paint on a house is far from being obvious.

If we are going into the business of paying rent subsidies every place there is a building which is not exactly up to snuff, we had better spend some money for some new mints and bureaus of engraving, because we are going to have to print bundles of money—thousand dollar bills by the baleful—to take care of that kind of situation.

It is true that we need to rebuild many areas in our cities. But we need to do so on the farms as well. I do not believe that we should take money away from the farmers to rebuild cities. There must be some other way to stimulate the facelifting of the buildings in this country.

FARM LEADER CALLS FOR SECRETARY'S RESIGNATION

Mr. President, I have noted in South Dakota papers recently a statement from a prominent South Dakota Democrat, Alfred R. Barnes, of Huron, S. Dak., a long-time farm program leader, calling for the resignation of Secretary Freeman. Mr. Barnes is one of the nonofficial Democrats of the State of South Dakota—a nonoffice holder. We would have to call him "Mr. Democrat" there. He was one time the State administrator of the Triple A program. He has been engaged in the farming business for a long time. But he is an American and a South Dakotan ahead of being a Democrat.

He came out with a statement the other day in which he put politics to one side and spoke out for the farmer and a better economic climate for him and his family. He detailed some of the attacks by the Secretary of Agriculture on the farmers whom he is supposed to represent, and said to President Lyndon Johnson, "You had better get the resignation of Orville Freeman."

Mr. President, Mr. Barnes said it, I did not say it. He is a Democrat. He has more access to the White House than I have.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the whole news story on Mr. Barnes—from the South Dakota press reports on this most unusual event.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Huron Daily Plainsman, Apr. 8, 1966]

CLAIMS FARMERS IGNORED—FREEMAN'S RESIGNATION CALLED FOR BY BARNES

A prominent South Dakota Democrat and long-time farm program leader today called for the resignation of Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman.

The demand was made by Alfred R. Barnes, Huron livestock feeder, farmer, and businessman, who served as State chairman of the old Agriculture Adjustment Administration and as a special assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture.

"Freeman has not adequately represented the farmers since he was named Secretary of Agriculture in 1961," Barnes said, "and now he applauds the recent decrease in farm prices. This is the first time in history that a Secretary of Agriculture has ever indicated that he was pleased with a drop in farm prices.

"It has been nearly 15 years since farm prices have amounted to 90 percent of parity," Barnes said. "At the present time they stand at only 82 percent of parity.

"It is unfortunate that it takes famine and war to put the farmer in a position to receive 82 percent of the price that he should have been getting for the past 15 years. It is even more unfortunate that the presumed administration farm spokesman, the Secretary of Agriculture, deplores the fact that farmers are now receiving a part of the price that has, historically, been the goal of his Department.

"The American consumer spends a smaller percentage of his earnings for food than persons in any other country in the world," Barnes continued. "And because of his efficiency, the American farmer has lost most of his voting power. Today, more than ever before, he needs a strong administration champion in Washington. Instead, Secretary Freeman seems more interested in representing the 'big city' consumer vote."

Barnes was referring to a statement this week that Freeman made in a discussion of inflation and the dropping of food prices as a retarding factor in the inflationary pressures.

"I am in favor of holding the line against inflation," Barnes said, "but why should the farmer who has taken the rap for years—who is still 18 percent below the parity price that most authorities have agreed is fair and equitable—be the scapegoat?"

Calling for Freeman's resignation, Barnes said, "Because of this, I believe Secretary Freeman should resign. I do not believe that labor would tolerate a Secretary of Labor who did not represent their interests and I see no reason why farmers should either."

Barnes was head of the AAA committee in South Dakota from 1938 to 1943. This agency administered the farm programs now handled by its successor agency, the Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Service. He also served as a special assistant to Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan during the Truman administration.

Barnes has been prominent in the South Dakota Democratic Party and served as State chairman in 1944 and 1945. He now serves on the board of directors of the State industrial agency.

Barnes is the second farm leader to criticize the Secretary of Agriculture's expressed pleasure at a decline in farm prices. Earlier this week Ben Radcliffe, Huron, president of the South Dakota Farmers Union, took strong exception to the statement that food prices were contributing to inflation.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, there also appears in South Dakota newspapers a statement by Mr. John Sutton, a Democrat member of the South Dakota Legislature and prominent rancher—in Sully County, by the way. He is presently a member of the legislature. I presume he is running for reelection. He is a fine citizen. In that public statement in the press a week or so ago, he criticizes President Johnson in his appeal to housewives to avoid buying high-priced meat and dairy products. Representative Sutton said:

> It was high time food prices caught up with the national economy even though higher food prices have contributed to a rise in the cost of living. I'm sure reduced Federal spending would be more acceptable to South Dakotans than reduced spending for food. We all know cattle, hog, and sheep prices were higher 20 years ago than they are today.

When the callous treatment which this administration gives the farmer and rancher has become so disheartening and discouraging to American agriculture that prominent and public-spirited Democrats in my own State cry out in protest and urge the removal of Secretary of Agriculture Freeman, I can no longer in good conscience refrain from reporting to the Senate on this sorry situation.

Mr. President, I hold in my hand an editorial from my hometown paper, the Madison, S. Dak., Daily Leader. It is entitled "Farmers Resent L.B.J. Program."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Madison (S. Dak.) Daily Leader]

FARMERS RESENT L.B.J. PROGRAMS

We have heard many criticisms among Lake County farmers, who think that the Johnson administration is not friendly to agriculture—that the cities and city voters are considered first, the farmer second.

There must be a measure of truth in that criticism. The President recently urged that to combat inflation, families should cut down on the more expensive foods. Also, he has sharply cut appropriations for REA expansion, after they have been voted by Congress. Some of these cuts, REA leaders charge, exceed Presidential authority.

Secretary Freeman has also drawn fire from local farmers, when he expressed himself in favor of lower farm prices, which are already about 20 percent off parity.

This situation emphasizes the fact, not generally recognized, the economic interest of the farmer is in many ways directly opposite to the interest of the workingman. Such oddities as farmer-labor parties are not logical.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, since the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis] has been most interested in this topic this afternoon—as he always is regarding matters of agriculture—I also take the liberty of inviting the attention of the Senate to an editorial which I clipped at the airport the other night from the Omaha World Herald, entitled "Double Whammy."

Mr. President, this is not a sportsman's description of what happened to Cassius Clay at the last prize fight, or what happens almost every sunny afternoon to the Washington baseball team, but this "double whammy" relates strictly to what the administration is doing to the American farmer. It is published in this great daily newspaper in the great State of Nebraska, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald, Apr. 19, 1966]

The ears of many Members of Congress no doubt were burning as they returned to Washington after an Easter recess. Especially those who spent any time among their rural constituencies. A great many people who wrest their living from the soil and those who do business with them are angry, boiling angry. And among them are many who in the past several years have supported Democratic administrations and Democratic farm policies.

This traces directly to something which Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, described in a speech at Cornell University the other night as "the double whammy."

And what is this "double whammy"?

Well, just about everyone, we imagine, would concede that no other productive group in this Nation has been harder hit by inflation than farmers have been. For some years now, the cost of everything farmers buy has crept steadily upward while the prices of the things farmers sell have made no appreciable, and certainly no sustained, gains.

But in recent weeks, a succession of actions and statements from men high in the Johnson administration has created the impression that what has been happening down on the farm is directly responsible for inflation, and that the only way to stop the runaway is to bridle farmers with more severe curb bits.

For example, administration officials have:

Cut butter out of Army rations because "prices were too high."

Increased cheese import quotas to counter an uptrend in domestic prices.

Expressed pleasure at declines in some farm commodity prices, and told of their hope for further drops.

Ordered military services to reduce use of prime pork products by 50 percent.

Placed export quotas and licenses on cattle hides to drive down domestic prices.

Dumped Government-held surpluses rapidly in order to check market prices.

Can farmers properly be blamed for any part of the inflation? People who see the President on network television advise Americans to shop carefully and buy the "cheaper cuts" can easily draw the inference that the farmer is the prime culprit.

But Mr. Shuman pointed out that farm expenses climbed from $26,200 million in 1960 to $30,300 million in 1965, while realized net income went from $11,700 million to $14,100 million. And $2,500 million of that net income total came from Government payments, not from the marketplace.

The truth, of course, is that farmers have had nothing to do with inflation except to occupy the position of being among inflation's most damaged victims. The Federal Government, whose spending drives the dollar's value lower year by year, is the chief offender.

Farmers are aware of this truth. And when they observe the President calling for even higher spending, crusading for increases in minimum wages, curtsying to organized labor leaders, and at the same time doing everything within governmental power to drive farm prices lower, they seethe with indignation. And a great many as of now appear likely to offer their rebuttal at the polls in November.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, in conclusion, let me urge that the Secretary initiate programs to increase farm income and fight for the farmer rather than placing on agriculture the blame for the fires of inflation which are sweeping America.

Mr. President, I urge the Secretary to stand behind the FFA—to stand behind what really is symbolized by the FFA—the Future Farmers of America—and to discontinue his participation in the propaganda and the programs designed to make rural Americans the forgotten farmers of America.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, again I wish to say that the Senator has delivered a very fine, factual, and challenging statement. The figures cited by the distinguished Senator would indicate that the inflation brought about by big Government and uncontrolled spending, together with ruthless expansion of Government, has cut the net income of farmers by approximately $4 billion because it has increased their cost of production that much; is that not correct?

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is correct. That is one reason why we get an erroneous picture, sometimes, from the statisticians in the Department of Agriculture, who try to show that the farmers are better off than they used to be because their net income is higher.

They fail to relate the net income to what it will buy.

Mr. CURTIS. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. We may have a net income of $1,000 or more, but we have a 47 cent dollar and, therefore, there is very little net income at all. We may handle more money but it buys less. We are spending it more but enjoying it less, to paraphrase Madison Avenue.

Mr. CURTIS. I suppose a good definition of inflation would be that it is an across the board sales tax.

Mr. MUNDT. The average American understands that inflation is a national sales tax. He should march to Washington to insist on some economy.

Mr. CURTIS. This nationwide sales tax, which has reduced the net income of the farmers by $4 billion, affects many people who are not farmers.

If their net income had been real to them in an additional sum of $4 billion, what would the farmers have done with that money? Would they have spent it up and down the streets of the towns in the Senator's State and my State?

Mr. MUNDT. Many farmers would like to paint their buildings, add buildings, build modern homes, or improve their homes. They would like to spend their money and give work to artisans. They would like to buy automobiles.

They would like to take trips, as other people do, in vacation time. That pretty much would have put the money back into circulation.

Mr. CURTIS. So it is not just the individual who tills the soils who has borne the brunt of these devastating policies, but it is the business and professional men and all the business concerns and workers and others in our States who depend upon agriculture. Is that not correct?

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator is right.

Mr. CURTIS. I wonder if the Senator knows why this was done.

Mr. MUNDT. I am not a mind reader or a crystal ball gazer, and I cannot predict why; but I know it was done, and I know it must be stopped. If the farmer will manifest the high spirit of which he is capable, if he registers a complaint, realizes that he is being kicked around, he can do something about it so he will not be kicked around, just as did some of the farmers in South Dakota who had been registered as Democrats, but said they were thenceforth registering as Republicans. A little of that kind of action and the message will get to the place where the message must be heard. When farmers vote with their feet in this fashion they hear the message here in Washington.

Mr. CURTIS. I wonder if this attack by so many against rural America is done by the Great Society because they do not know the consequences of their acts, or is the Great Society shoving aside a minority, making them a whipping boy for political purposes for the hope of political gain? I would hate to think that were true. I am baffled to think that the men who are running the Johnson administration do not know any better or do not know what they are doing.

Mr. MUNDT. I would hate to choose between the two ugly alternatives which the Senator has mentioned. There must be another reason. If there is, I think the hour is long past when someone should tell us about it. I hope it is not because of ignorance on the part of those in the administration. We have a war in Vietnam to win. I would like to think that we have the know-how in the White House for the military to bring about a victory in Vietnam. What is involved in this political and economic problem is the greatest of violations of civil rights. Even after civil rights legislation has been passed, we still have second-class citizens in every State in America except in California and New York, because there when an American proudly marches to the polls to vote for President and Vice President, he votes 43 times because of the electoral college system. But in other States we are 5th- or 10th-class citizens.

Take the State of Delaware. The man voting there has one-fourteenth the vote of even a know-nothing living in New York who votes. There is something wrong with that system. There is something wrong with the basic system in which the people of the smaller States ultimately lose because we play according to the rules of the game which now confront us. The rules of the game which we play provide that for a President and Vice President to win they must win in the 20 biggest cities and the 12 most populous States in America, or they are not going to win the election. They can forget the votes of the other areas.

I do not want to be critical of a man who wants to be President and plays according to the rules of the game. The President did not set the rules of the game.

As a matter of fact, I recall the occasion when the present President was a Senator and a resolution which I introduced and which was cosponsored by Senator Price Daniels, of Texas, proposed that every American's vote should have the same weight. I voted for the civil rights bill because I thought that a man's color should not make any difference in his right to vote. I do not think either that a difference in geographic location should make any difference in his right to vote.

The Supreme Court, in the Alabama case, has said that the accident of geographic residence should neither enhance nor decrease a man's stature in the voting booth. If the Court means what it said—and if the State of Delaware brings a suit in which it challenges the electoral college system—and the Supreme Court does not hand down a ruling which will give everyone an equal vote, it will stand convicted as being composed of the most inconsistent jurists in the history of this country. The Court held in the Alabama case that the accident of geographical residence must not result in one citizen's vote counting less than another's.

We have erased the question of color in voting. We have erased the question of creed in voting. We should erase the question of geographic residence, because I do not think that the mere fact of an American's residence should make any difference in the importance of his ballot.

Mr. CURTIS. I thank the Senator for what he has said. Unless there is a change in national policy, agriculture as we have known it all these years is going to be erased, and it will become a corporate operation, performed by employees, rather than a way of life, or an operation run by the initiative of and owned by families.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senator from Nebraska has referred to corporate operations and the fact that the family farm will be erased from our Nation. In fact, corporations are getting into the agricultural business because they want to be sure they have a source of supply of raw materials and food products. They can then make their money in the processing. Whereas the farmer cannot make money from the sale of his products, the corporations have integrated their operations, so while they may not make money from the raising of products on the farms, they can regain that loss and make money when they process, wholesale, and retail the finished products. To me, it is a sorry situation to confront.

Mr. CURTIS. I think both of us are desirous of keeping the record straight and we are speaking of corporations that have vertical integration.

Mr. MUNDT. Yes. Vertical integration.

Mr. CURTIS. And not necessarily a group of farmers who may choose a corporate entity, because that is happening and it is perfectly legitimate because it is a corporation which the farmers operate.

Mr. MUNDT. And engaging in the farming operation, where farming is simply providing them with a constant and consistent and steady flow of raw material, which they have the facilities to process. It is the corporate thing that we oppose.

Mr. CURTIS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MUNDT. I would like to add to the statements I have inserted in the Record an article which I brought over and forgot to mention at the time. It is an Associated Press story in South Dakota quoting Mr. Howard Millett, the immediate past president of the South Dakota County Commissioners Association, which deals with all the county farmers who live close to the people.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Seeks Ouster of Freeman

Sorum, S. Dak.—Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman should be removed from office because of the downturn in farm prices, Howard Millett, Sorum rancher and chairman of the Harding County Board of Commissioners, said.

He said he was urging the South Dakota congressional delegation to demand Freeman's discharge.

Millett, who is past president of the South Dakota County Commissioners Association, said "it is inexcusable for Secretary Freeman to infer that inflationary trends are caused by farm prices, which have been below parity for years and on March 15 stood at 82 percent of parity."

Mr. MUNDT. In the article Mr. Millett said:

> It is inexcusable for Secretary Freeman to infer that inflationary trends are caused by farm prices, which have been below parity for years and on March 15 stood at 82 percent of parity.

He goes on to ask for the removal of Mr. Freeman as Secretary of Agriculture.

To complete the record, I have placed editorials and statements of Mr. Barnes and Mr. Sutton in the Record and I thought that this statement of the former president of the County Commissioners Association of South Dakota should be included in the Record.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, for many years one of the objectives of the Congress in the economic field has been to achieve price parity for the products of the American farmer. This is an objective which I support. It is a matter for regret that, although we have made progress, we have never entirely achieved parity.

It is clear, however, that the Senator from South Dakota has chosen a poor example when he uses the dairy industry to argue that the Secretary of Agriculture seeks to depress farm prices.

Let us set his statements against the actual market changes that have taken place over the past year, and compare them with the actions that the Department of Agriculture has taken.

The average price received by dairymen for manufacturing milk in March, 1966, the most recent month for which this information is available, was $3.73 per 100 pounds—the highest price received since January of 1953. Likewise, the average price received by farmers for all milk sold—manufacturing as well as fluid—in March 1966 was the highest March average since 1952. Cheese prices, too, have shown steady improvement, and the March price of 45.7 cents per pound was the highest since August 1948. I believe these price improvements are a strong testimony to the effectiveness of the Department's dairy programs over the past several years. Price supports for manufacutring milk and butterfat, the establishment of the Department's dairy programs over the past several years for minimum prices in over 70 fluid milk markets, diversion of large quantities of dairy products to both domestic and foreign programs all have helped strengthen the economic position of our dairymen.

I, of course, do not believe, and I am sure that the Secretary of Agriculture does not believe, that incomes of dairy farmers have reached satisfactory levels. In fact, within the past month—to be exact on March 31, 1966—the Secretary announced higher support levels for manufacturing milk and butterfat for the year ending March 1967.

The support price for manufacturing milk was raised 26 cents per hundredweight which provides substantially better price assurance to dairymen over the next year.

On March 31, the Secretary also announced actions in a number of fluid milk markets providing higher prices to dairymen supplying these markets than they would have received had regular provisions in the order been allowed to operate.

Clearly, 1966 will be a record year for dairymen from the standpoint of total income. If these conditions do not produce an adequate supply of milk for domestic consumers over the coming year, the Secretary has announced that further action will be taken to protect the interests of producers as well as consumers.

It is also noteworthy, that with all of the talk we have been hearing from the Republican side of the aisle on inflation, the Senator from South Dakota would now speak so strongly in favor of price increases. In contrast with the record of his party, this administration has shown remarkable ability to maintain prosperity; to increase the gross national product; and to maintain relative farm price stability. Traditionally, prosperity has meant higher farm prices; depression has brought lower prices and distress to America's farm belt.

Thank you, Mr. President.

FARM INCOME AND POPULATION

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I have been very interested in the remarks made today on the floor by the distinguished Senator from South Dakota about rising living costs and the economic status of the American farmer. I have always favored measures which would help improve the income of those who depend for their livelihood on American agriculture, and tend to agree that many farmers have not in the past received an equitable share of wealth in comparison to their investments and labors.

Nevertheless, Mr. President, statistics clearly show that during the last 5 years there has been a definite trend upward in farm income. The Secretary of Agriculture announced only a week ago that net farm income is expected to be $1 billion higher in 1966 than in 1965, and that net farm income for 1966 should be $3.4 billion higher than it was in 1960. Although I believe that many farmers have not yet achieved a level of income that would place them on a basis of parity with other major working groups, great progress has been made under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations toward that goal.

The distinguished Senator also referred to the fact that our farm population has been decreasing and that the number of individual farms have become less in number. Specific mention was made of the fact that during the last 5 years more than half a million farms have disappeared and about 2½ million men, women, and children have left the farming population. It was implied that these losses have occurred, somehow, because of the policies followed by Congress and the Department of Agriculture under Secretary Freeman.

But this is not a new trend, Mr. President. It is a well-known fact that mechanization, improved production techniques, new and better fertilizers, and many other factors have during the last two decades resulted in consolidation of farms into larger operating units and almost a mass migration from agricultural to urban areas. To attempt to place the blame for this population shift on the current administration would be tantamountly unfair. Also, it completely ignores the fact that there were even larger decreases in the farm population during the previous decade than there has been during the sixties.

For example, President Johnson noted in his farm message to Congress more than a year ago that "in the 1950's more than half of America's rural counties suffered a population loss."

During the Eisenhower-Benson years of 1952 to 1960, U.S. farm population dropped from 21,748,000 to 15,635,000. Even though the latter figure included Hawaii and Alaska for the first time—and thus did not show the drop to be so sharp as it actually was—the farm population decline during the Republican years was more than 6 million.

The farm population, as a percentage of the total population, declined from 13.9 to 8.7 percent—a total of 5.2 percent—in the Eisenhower years. During the 3 Democratic years for which statistics are available since that time, the total decline was only 1.6 percent.

The distinguished Senator said that since Secretary Freeman took office more than half a million farms have disappeared. He did not compare the disappearance total with the record of the 1950's, however. In the period between the farm census years of 1950 and 1959, a total of 1,678,268 farms disappeared in America.

As a matter of fact, there has been a downward trend in the number of farms in the United States for the last 30 years. According to the volume, Agricultural Statistics 1965, published by the Department of Agriculture, there were 6.8 million farms in 1935. This had steadily declined to only 3.7 million by 1959, the end of the Eisenhower administration. At the same time it should be pointed out that there was a slight increase in the number of acres which were devoted to farming. It appears obvious to me that scientific progress and improved machinery, not governmental policies, have been largely responsible for the drop in the number of individual farms, the increase in the size of operating unit, and the accompanying losses in farm population.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

YOUTH TEMPERANCE EDUCATION WEEK

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 18) to provide for the designation of the fourth week in April of each year as "Youth Temperance Education Week," which were, on page 2, lines 3 and 4, strike out "annually"; on page 2, lines 4 and 5, strike out "fourth week in April of each year", and insert "week beginning April 24, 1966,"; to strike out the preamble.

And to amend the title so as to read: "A joint resolution to provide for the designation of the week beginning April 24, 1966, as 'Youth Temperance Education Week'."

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in House amendments Nos. 1 and 3.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in House amendment No. 2 with an amendment which I send to the desk. The amendment is necessary because supposedly this celebration is to begin on April 24, 1966, and that date will be soon upon us and would allow no time for the observation of this Youth Temperance Education Week.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The **LEGISLATIVE CLERK.** The Senator from Illinois proposes an amendment, as follows:

> Strike out "week beginning April 24, 1966," and insert in lieu thereof, "week beginning April 23, 1967."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the title will be appropriately amended.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, in accordance with the order previously entered, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 39 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, April 25, 1966, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 21, 1966:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

William N. Goodwin, of Washington, to be U.S. district judge for the eastern and western districts of Washington to fill a new position created by Public Law 87-36, approved May 19, 1961.

Alexander Greenfeld, of Delaware, to be U.S. attorney for the district of Delaware for the term of 4 years.

Smithmoore P. Myers, of Washington, to be U.S. attorney for the eastern district of Washington for the term of 4 years.

George E. O'Brien, of California, to be U.S. marshal for the southern district of California for the term of 4 years.

Harry M. Miller, of Kentucky, to be U.S. marshal for the western district of Kentucky for the term of 4 years.

Arthur C. Elliott, of Ohio, to be U.S. marshal for the southern district of Ohio for the term of 4 years.

U.S. AIR FORCE

Maj. Gen. Richard L. Bohannon, FR19067, Regular Air Force Medical, for appointment as Surgeon General of the Air Force in the grade of lieutenant general. This nomination is made under the provisions of section 8036, title 10, of the United States Code.

The following-named officers for temporary appointment in the U.S. Air Force under the provisions of chapter 839, title 10, of the United States Code:

To be major generals

Brig. Gen. Philip H. Greasley, FR1821, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Kenneth R. Powell, FR1614, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Richard O. Hunziker, FR4164, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. John L. McCoy, FR1705, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Charles G. Chandler, Jr., FR1842, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Michael J. Ingelido, FR4295, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Harry L. Evans, FR4619, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Louis E. Coira, FR1429, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. William T. Smith, FR1689, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Glenn A. Kent, FR3701, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Woodrow P. Swancutt, FR3729, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Wendell E. Carter, FR3848, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Stebbins W. Griffith, FR3944, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Luther H. Richmond, FR4133, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Grover C. Brown, FR4144, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. William T. Daly, FR3947, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Oris B. Johnson, FR5025, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Lawrence F. Tanberg, FR8286, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Royal N. Baker, FR8315, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Jewell C. Maxwell, FR8393, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Royal B. Allison, FR8451, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Chesley G. Peterson, FR9383, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Manson, FR1800, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Robert L. Delashaw, FR1913, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Andrew J. Evans, Jr., FR4072, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Kenneth C. Dempster, FR4633, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Edward H. Nigro, FR4889, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Robert F. Worley, FR4906, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. William C. Lindley, Jr., FR5006, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. James T. Stewart, FR8692, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. George B. Simler, FR9236, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Norman S. Orwat, FR9489, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Russell E. Dougherty, FR9985, Regular Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Edwin R. Chess, FR55101 (colonel, Regular Air Force, Chaplain), U.S. Air Force.

To be brigadier generals

Col. Roscoe C. Crawford, Jr., FR1639, Regular Air Force.

Col. William H. B. Erwin, FR3699, Regular Air Force.

Col. Robert A. Patterson, FR19250, Regular Air Force, medical.

Col. William P. McBride, FR4179, Regular Air Force.

Col. Dudley E. Faver, FR4202, Regular Air Force.

Col. Edward W. Scott, Jr., FR4203, Regular Air Force.

Col. Richard L. Ault, FR4462, Regular Air Force.

Col. Timothy L. Dacey, Jr., FR4631, Regular Air Force.

Col. Gustav E. Lundquiest, FR4710, Regular Air Force.

Col. Richard R. Stewart, FR5096, Regular Air Force.

Col. Sam L. Huey, FR5175, Regular Air Force.

Col. Harold V. Larson, FR5184, Regular Air Force.

Col. William S. Harrell, FR5240, Regular Air Force.

Col. Wright J. Sherrard, FR5249, Regular Air Force.

Col. Harold F. Funsch, FR19181, Regular Air Force, medical.

Col. Franklin A. Nichols, FR4809, Regular Air Force.

Col. Jack Bollerud, FR19194, Regular Air Force, medical.

Col. James S. Cheney, FR8336, Regular Air Force.

Col. Robert B. Hughes, FR7319, Regular Air Force.

Col. Gilbert L. Curtis, FR7448, Regular Air Force.

Col. Joe T. Scepansky, FR7879, Regular Air Force.

Col. Pete C. Sianis, FR7945, Regular Air Force.

Col. Harold C. Teubner, FR8145, Regular Air Force.

Col. Ralph D. Steakley, FR8241, Regular Air Force.

Col. William A. Hunter, FR8623, Regular Air Force.

Col. Joseph Myers, FR8661, Regular Air Force.

Col. Harmon E. Burns, FR8702, Regular Air Force.

Col. Courtney L. Faught, FR8781, Regular Air Force.

Col. John H. Herring, Jr., FR8800, Regular Air Force.

Col. Donald F. Blake, FR8926, Regular Air Force.

Col. Lester F. Miller, FR9004, Regular Air Force.

Col. Paul R. Stoney, FR9083, Regular Air Force.

Col. Kenneth W. Schultz, FR9096, Regular Air Force.

Col. Herbert G. Bench, FR9190, Regular Air Force.

Col. Walter R. Hedrick, Jr., FR9353, Regular Air Force.

Col. George J. Eade, FR9515, Regular Air Force.

Col. Joseph N. Donovan, FR9584, Regular Air Force.

Col. William F. Pitts, FR9796, Regular Air Force.

Col. Louis L. Wilson, Jr., FR9803, Regular Air Force.

Col. Edward A. McGough III, FR9819, Regular Air Force.

Col. James F. Hackler, Jr., FR9839, Regular Air Force.

Col. Carlos M. Talbott, FR9853, Regular Air Force.

Col. Winton W. Marshall, FR9999, Regular Air Force.

Col. Felix M. Rogers, FR10067, Regular Air Force.

Col. William W. Snavely, FR10177, Regular Air Force.

Col. James W. Little, FR8099, Regular Air Force.

Col. James O. Lindberg, FR8525, Regular Air Force.

Col. Carl W. Stapleton, FR8893, Regular Air Force.

Col. Paul N. Bacalis, FR9227, Regular Air Force.

Col. William C. Pratt, FR9722, Regular Air Force.

Col. Buddy R. Daughtrey, FR9984, Regular Air Force.

Col. Albert J. Bowley, FR10101, Regular Air Force.

Col. Augustus M. Hendry, Jr., FR8645, Regular Air Force.

Col. Robert E. Lee, FR32976, Regular Air Force.

Col. William L. Clark, FR48578, Regular Air Force, chaplain.

Col. Rene G. Dupont, FR11836, Regular Air Force.

Col. Donavon F. Smith, FR14577 (lieutenant colonel, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force.

Col. Dewitt S. Spain, FR36000 (major, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force.

The nominations beginning Harvey E. Cooper to be captain, and ending Frank S. Zimmermann to be second lieutenant, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on March 14, 1966; and

The nominations beginning Donald L. Coleman to be captain, and ending Raymond K. Zeillmann to be second lieutenant, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on April 1, 1966.

U.S. ARMY

The nominations beginning Arlo E. Abbott to be lieutenant colonel, and ending William G. Yoder to be first lieutenant, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on March 14, 1966; and

The nomination of Franklin D. Besecker for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States, in grade of second lieutenant, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3283, 3284, 3285, 3286, 3287, and 3288.

U.S. NAVY

The following-named officers of the Naval Reserve for temporary promotion to the grade of rear admiral, subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law:

LINE

Ralph S. Garrison
Stewart W. Hopkins
States M. Mead
Chester H. Taylor, Jr.
Edelen A. Parker
John H. Hoefer
Jim K. Carpenter
William S. Maillard
Alvin A. Peterson
Dallas F. Jordan

MEDICAL CORPS

Robert A. Conrad, Jr.
Richard H. Kiene
Robert E. Switzer

DENTAL CORPS

Francis J. Fabrizio

SUPPLY CORPS

Charles W. Shattuck
Leslie T. Maiman
James E. Gay
Paul N. Howell

CHAPLAIN CORPS

Ray C. Tindall

Rear Adm. Rufus L. Taylor, U.S. Navy, having been designated, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5231, for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of said section, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral while so serving.

U.S. MARINE CORPS

The following-name officers of the Marine Corps for permanent appointment to the grade of major general:

Louis B. Robertshaw
Rathvon McC. Tompkins
Paul J. Fontana
John H. Masters
George S. Bowman, Jr.

The following-name officers of the Marine Corps for permanent appointment to the grade of brigadier general:

Raymond G. Davis
Edward H. Hurst
Charles J. Quilter
Donn J. Robertson
Lowell E. English
Alvin S. Sanders

The following-named officer of the Marine Corps Reserve for permanent appointment to the grade of brigadier general:

Russell A. Bowen

* * *

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, APRIL 21, 1966

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Reverend William Logan, associate pastor, Aldersgate Methodist Church, Alexandria, Va., offered the following prayer:

John 3: 16–17: *For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.*

For God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through Him might be saved.

Let us pray.

Our gracious Heavenly Father, we bow before Thee with grateful hearts for our many blessings. We thank Thee for our great Nation with all its opportunities, resources, and people. Grant that we may do our part to make our land truly deserve its greatness.

Let us never take for granted the freedom that is ours; nor persuade ourselves that because freedom is our heritage it belongs to us and cannot be taken away. Rather let us treasure it, realizing that it cannot survive without faith in Thee and in the worth and dignity of every human life.

May these chosen persons begin their duties this day in a prayerful state of mind. Grant them the widsom and strength to meet perplexing issues. Give them courage to take a stand for what they believe is right for all men even if it is unpopular. Grant them humility that they will not seek power for themselves or even for the Nation, if it involves trampling on those in an inferior position.

Give us a sense of Thy ever-present nearness. May we all be conscious, in this age of great change, of the need for divine help, and be directed to think, speak, and do only what Thou wouldst have us do. We ask it in Thy holy name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

ANNIVERSARY OF SAN JACINTO DAY

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Texans remember the victory of San Jacinto just as they remember with pride the other stirring events of the struggle for Texas independence. Remembering our origins is part of our heritage as Texans, and a proud heritage it is.

Today, the San Jacinto Battleground, on the ship channel about 22 miles east of bustling and prosperous downtown Houston, is a quiet and lovely State park, a favorite picnic spot, and a place of great interest to students of history. Nearby, the battleship *Texas* is permanently moored.

Scenes of the decisive struggle that transpired here are recalled by the stone markers which dot the San Jacinto Battleground. Here it was that Sam Houston fell wounded, his horse shot dead from under him. There it was that Santa Anna camped with his troops, and under a tree which once grew on this very spot he was brought a prisoner to the victorious Sam Houston.

Visitors to the battleground are inspired by the massive 570-foot San Jacinto Monument which is topped by a gigantic Texas star and faced with Texas fossilized buff limestone. Inside the monument, an elevator takes visitors to an observation room. Circling the base of the monument are carvings and inscriptions which tell the dramatic story of the Texas revolution. Inside the base of the monument is housed the San Jacinto Museum of History, operated for the State of Texas by the San Jacinto Museum of History Association, a nonprofit educational organization. The museum was furnished and equipped by the donations of public-spirited Texans.

It was on March 11, 1836, that Sam Houston arrived at Gonzales to take command of the little force of about 400 men which was to be the nucleus of the Texas army of defense. Two days later, news of the fall of the Alamo that came to Gonzales led to a retreat. Similar disheartening news from James Walker Fannin came to Houston when he was on the Colorado, and though his army had been increased by recruits he nevertheless retreated again, despite much counsel to the contrary.

He finally halted to wait for the movements of the victorious Mexican enemy in the rough country on the upper Brazos.

After a delay of 2 weeks, Houston and his men crossed the Brazos. Almost at the same moment, with an advance guard of 750 men, General Santa Anna made a crossing farther down the river, and moved toward the temporary capital of Harrisburg. Houston marched toward the same point. During all of this weary time he had been doing what he could to minimize the forces of the enemy and to train and encourage his men.

It was on April 20, 1836, that with 783 men he overtook Santa Anna who had an almost equal force. They met where Buffalo Bayou enters the San Jacinto River. For an entire day, broken only by an indecisive cavalry skirmish, the two small armies lay within each other's view.

Santa Anna was reinforced by 500 men the next morning, April 21. The Mexicans became overconfident and were surprised in their camp by an attack in the afternoon. They were completely defeated in an engagement which lasted only 15 minutes. Almost the entire Mexican force was killed or captured, while the Texans lost only 6 men killed and 25 wounded. Sam Houston himself, shot through the ankle, was among those who were wounded.

Santa Anna was taken prisoner. He was persuaded to sign an order for the retreat of his other forces, an order already anticipated by the Mexicans. Sam Houston wrote a clear account of his campaign, and advised President David Burnet that Santa Anna should be used as a hostage for the preservation of the peace. He then left his victorious army in order to seek medical attention in New Orleans.

He soon afterward returned to Texas where he was elected President. He took the oath of office at Columbia on October 22, 1836. A few months later he secured the recognition of the new Republic by the U.S. Government.

The valor of the Texans on that day at San Jacinto is one of the great achievements in our struggle for independence that will be remembered forever. Today we salute the memory of those who fought so bravely and so well in a cause which we will always revere.

TEXAS INDEPENDENCE: THE CONTINUING STRUGGLE

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I think it is very appropriate that the excellent speech of our Peace Corps Director, the Honorable Jack H. Vaughn, delivered recently at the University of Texas, be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on April 21—San Jacinto Day—a proud day in Texas history.

His speech follows:

TEXAS INDEPENDENCE: THE CONTINUING STRUGGLE

Distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, happy birthday. I accept your award of recognition as much in awe as I do with pride.

In pride, of course, because I am aware that the recognition of this university and of this student body is neither lightly given nor hastily withdrawn. For such an honor, I am eternally grateful—and since I am young enough to expect that eternity is still a long way off, I intend to be grateful for a long, long time.

I am in awe, however, of a university which holds its people's independence to be a process, rather than a fact. To do so is to do more than merely honor and observe a proud tradition. It is to enrich and keep it young, as well. In so doing you challenge yourselves, which is inspiring—but you challenge your guest speaker to an imposing standard, so if I rise sufficiently to the occasion, count it as my own heartfelt award of recognition to a very special spirit here, of which it is an honor to be a part.

Birthdays seem to cluster about this time. My daughter, Kathryn, is 18 years old today.

I told a friend—an easterner—about Texas Independence Day and of the occasion for my visit here. He said, "Thank heavens Sam Houston didn't wait 15 days more. St. Patrick's and Texas simultaneously? The Nation would never survive."

Never a colony or a territory, Texas seems to have come to the Union with something a little extra: Texas came to the Union, an American legend in its own right. It gave our Nation more than its massive land and vigorous people. It brought the legend along, too—enriching the heritage of every American, then, and in succeeding generations.

I come to claim a share of that heritage for 18,000 Americans from every State in the Union: the Peace Corps. I shall trust to Texas' generosity for the occasion, for this week was our birthday too. Yesterday the Peace Corps was 5 years old.

It was more than a birthday. It was an Independence Day, as well.

The Peace Corps had to fight for its own independence, too. Formidable opinion in our early days would have had the Peace Corps tucked away within another agency. We were determined to make our own way—and we put up a good scrap.

We almost lost.

But we won and retained our independence because we had a strong champion in a Texan who was chairman of our National Advisory Council as well as Vice President of the United States. It was Lyndon Johnson who spearheaded the fight for Peace Corps independence in the conferences and confrontations which were the healthy battles of our beginning.

Another Texan, Bill Moyers, carried the fight for a strong Peace Corps still further, guiding and aiding Sargent Shriver in gathering the best ideas available from Members of Congress even before the original Peace Corps legislation went up to the Hill.

Thus did Texans fight for the independent beginning the Peace Corps needed if it were to succeed at all.

In that moment, we chose our course. No people, through their government, had ever placed such faith in themselves. But John F. Kennedy's challenge was as new and as fresh as the spirited men and women who came to volunteer. We could not meet that challenge with old, known courses. Rather, we said with Robert Frost:

> "Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—
> I took the one less traveled by,
> And that has made all the difference."

New problems required new solutions. Thus, we took new directions. The Peace Corps would not be a body of technical advisers and experts, but workers to share the burden, and to lead.

Nor would we turn our hand to projects we decided others might need—but rather to aid in doing things that our host nations wanted done.

Moreover, we steered clear of commissaries and special housing, hardship allowances and private transportation.

A new service required a new tradition. To this we turned.

What a towering task we faced. To appreciate the terms of human existence wherein the Peace Corps works, let us return briefly to your own history.

Texans came to this land for room to flourish and grow. They declared their independence to fight for the very principles which today are cherished by countless peoples throughout the world. They committed themselves to freedom—and to a long struggle for independence. They won—and they built on that base.

In nations everywhere today, like struggles for independence are underway.

But there are tragic differences. In the early days, Texans had strong leadership. Moreover, the people had mobility. They could rise from one social class to another. They insisted on having a voice in their own destiny, and they did.

Not so, the new nations on the move. Traditions there are not the stuff from which new worlds are conquered. People have been isolated as much by physical distances as by social isolation.

Texans fought as Americans, enriched by our Nation's exciting new heritage of optimism. That they knew what they wanted should be no surprise to us.

For Texans, freedom had value. In freedom, they beheld the power to change human conditions.

But, as President Johnson asked at Freedom House last week:

"What does freedom mean—when famine chokes the land, when new millions crowd upon already strained resources, when privilege is entrenched behind law and custom—when all conspire to teach men that they cannot change the conditions of their lives?"

The President was speaking of the lands in which we serve.

And in every one of those lands—no matter the nation—no matter the skill we bring—in every one of those lands the Peace Corps serves a single cause.

That cause is peace.

Yet in each year of our life we are finding reason to grow more skeptical of that virtuous word: "Peace."

I believe that peace in modern times presents a treacherous illusion. For peace should signify that men are free to act in their own best interest, within the limits of justice—that they are free to cope, to choose a course, to match wits.

But bitter irony, then, when peace offers no options for a better life—when peace offers indeed, no better way of life than war.

Nevertheless, such is the lot of people in almost every land wherein we serve.

Make no mistake—they are independent. Yet they guard their Nation's freedom with deeper conviction than they guard their own. They have been taught all about sovereignty—but they have learned nearly nothing of personal liberty—and hence, of freedom.

Peace has concerned them as nations. It has given them nothing, as human beings. We serve human beings. Peace Corps volunteers grapple with the hard, mean issues of survival, down where people live. At such levels the battles of peace are won or lost.

In such battles, the tactical objectives are measured in terms of knowledge imparted, faith created, and confidence restored.

Therefore, when we in the Peace Corps ask to share in Texas' heritage, we do not come just to learn of your struggle for independence. That battle was won.

For us in the Peace Corps, Texas independence is not nearly as important as what Texans have uniquely made of their independence. In that there are lessons for us to absorb and turn to service overseas in what surely has become our mission: imparting utility and human dignity, to peace.

Moreover, I believe the Peace Corps can learn some things from Texas which you may not even recognize in yourselves—but which it is our business to recognize—and use, if what we are about is to be done well—or even done at all.

To wit: Texas is a remarkable social revolution, and has been for decades. There is a newness and vigor in this society. Like it or not, Texas writes its own rules. It is a society of youth—a society of achievement.

Texans may appall some easterners the way easterners may appall some Englishmen. Never mind. The spirit which appalls may at times be a tool of our trade. (Even the very unalarming trend to urbanity I have noted recently in young Texans bound for—or better, bound to—Eastern schools, doesn't mitigate that spirit one bit. Put spurs to some of these young men behind their button-down boots and grey flannel jeans and you find them talking dreamily of land and cotton and cattle, and even of Houston.)

Next, Texas is the frontier State. People move here as if they were forever moving on. Indeed, Texas has been an eternally new frontier almost from its inception—and this is indeed may have been one of its most significant assets in the struggle to impart meaning to its independence. Now it is at the very forefront of the newest frontier, in space.

Moreover, Texas has been possessed of a sense of pragmatism—a belief that it is important to move at something, piece by piece, if it is ever to be done at all. In the Marine Corps, we used to call that "pickin' 'em up and layin' 'em down," one foot at a time, mile after endless mile.

Next, you might as well accept and live with a sense of gregariousness—which makes Texans happily mindful of people more than of things.

In addition, I suggest one crowning success in their struggle for meaningful independence with which Texans ought to be genuinely satisfied:

In the last 20 years, Texas appears to have accepted and become justly pleased with its Spanish ancestry.

One out of every five Texans is of Spanish descent. As Congressman HENRY GONZALEZ has told the world, in Texas the name Gonzalez is as common as Smith.

All through this State, particularly in the South, things Spanish glisten colorfully as never before.

The architecture around us, the names on mail boxes, yes, and the school enrollments and club memberships, all bear witness to the oneness with which Texans of all ancestries have applied themselves to impart human dignity to Texas independence.

Moreover, Texas has moved into working, harmonious relationship with its neighbor to the South, on terms and to an extent undreamed of less than a generation past.

Texans have done all this because they willed that it be so—for Texans have become too busy—and perhaps, too prosperous—to just waste valuable money, time and energy in prejudice and false pride.

Texans have another quality—an outgrowth surely of the continuing struggle for independence, and yet perhaps it is the very essence of that struggle.

It mystifies outsiders.

I have in mind your intricate relationship with freedom. It is an unfathomable love. It is so powerful that it is often defended from view, and protected lest it be misunderstood and attacked. Yet that jealous protection of deep personal faith is precisely the way of the ghetto.

And in that noble tradition, I suggest that Texas is truly freedom's ghetto.

I could stop right there with a list of reasons why Peace Corps volunteers ought to make good use of your traditions.

But there is something else for them to learn from Texas—not from the people, but from the legend itself.

We have discovered that legends and myths are as serviceable to freedom as are jobs and dollars.

In many of the lands in which we serve not only is there precious little time to cope with their history; there is also precious little history to cope with their times. In such instances, our problem is actually one of nation building.

Thus, when a nation is so fragmented that its people speak over 250 dialects, volunteers teaching English throughout the land are doing more than establishing a means of communication between people. They are building a nation.

Legends and myths are what make a political entity out of a geographic location. They also can make states out of valley districts, and nations out of regions. When a people begin to think that their nation is, they begin to think of what it can become.

As did the men at Washington-on-the-Brazos 130 years ago today.

We in the Peace Corps claim a share of their heritage for reasons as unabashed as they are shameless:

Peace Corps volunteers throughout the world are building a legend of their own—and they know it.

The Peace Corps began on odds as high as Travis' 1 to 33 at the Alamo. They have never risen to Houston's 4 to 1 at San Jacinto. Indeed, a Peace Corps volunteer in India stands at an even 1 to 1 million.

The Peace Corps will not refuse to consider any assignment for which we have authority under law—and it is my fondest hope that that will come to mean any nation anywhere in the world, whether it wishes us well or wishes us ill—so long as its government wants help for its people, of the brand we can supply.

Moreover, President Johnson yesterday expressed interest in Peace Corps aid to the beleaguered and gallant people of Vietnam. We look forward, of course, to the day when volunteers can be of service to human beings in all lands which have borne the brunt of violence and terror, not only in southeast Asia, but throughout the world.

Peace Corps volunteers will build traditions where they find the need to build them—but they will build them to fit the needs at hand. There are no rules, neither of high policy nor of politics, for the men and women who serve our cause.

Are they too few?

Eighteen thousand have served or are serving now. Not enough to make a dent in human misery.

It took just 20,000 Texans to begin the tradition which convenes us here today.

Moreover, the number of volunteers will grow—not in the dim future, but now. Thus, a quarter of a million men and women can have served during the next 10 years.

We shall hold them to high standards, for we must have utmost confidence in their judgment and the ability to endure confusion and despair in others as well as in themselves.

But in such numbers, and under those terms which we have established—such will be a force ready to export the unique vigor which Texas has found in its independence.

And as Texas sows, she shall reap.

When Peace Corps volunteers return from overseas, they constitute a body of rare young people accustomed to tough responsibilities for their years.

Overseas they may be the people called to build new traditions of the human spirit.

But at home, they are the very people upon whom existing traditions can safely repose.

Texas, for example, is the most bilingual State in the Union.

And the Peace Corps is the most bilingual of all Federal services. If better Spanish is your need, why not call upon Americans who truly have lived the language, to teach it and to work closely amongst those who need to communicate in Spanish.

Texas is a melting pot whose people ask what a man has done and can do, not who his family is and where he came from. Ask our veterans what they have done, but be prepared to sit and listen awhile.

Texas is a State where a bright young man can be elected to the State legislature at the age of 23. The Peace Corps is an outfit whose bright young men can revive the spirit of a village or a town, at the age of 21.

Texas is the place where Mexicans died serving on both sides at the Alamo. It was Peace Corps volunteers and they alone who risked fire to serve the wounded and were trusted by both sides at Santa Domingo.

Texas is a legend of ever new frontiers for all Americans. The Peace Corps is a legend of service to freedom for all mankind.

I like to think that these two legends will be a part of each other, for fruitful generations yet to come.

On this my first full day of service as Director of the Peace Corps, I am honored to receive your award of recognition.

On this my first day as a Texan—I'm mighty glad we gave it to one of our own.

Thank you.

PARTICIPATION SALES ACT OF 1966

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, before the Banking and Currency Committee we have the Participation Sales Act of 1966. I support this bill because I believe that in proposing this legislation, President Johnson asked for the next logical step in a time-tested policy of substituting private for public credit—a policy which is in the best interest of the Nation, and which contributes directly to the sound financing of the Federal Government.

This is not a new policy. It goes back to the mid-1950's. It carries the endorsement of Democrats and Republicans, of people in government, and out of government.

Let me tell you just a few things that have been said about this policy:

In his budget message of January 1955, President Eisenhower said:

> Private capital will be gradually substituted for the Government investment until the Government funds are fully repaid and the private owners take over responsibility for the program.

In 1961, the Commission on Money and Credit—a commission set up by the Committee on Economic Development, an independent group of businessmen interested in the Nation's economic welfare had this to say on the subject of substituting private for public credit:

> The choice among types of credit programs should be made on the basis of which will be effective at the least cost and which will interfere least with the private financial system. Where it can be effective, a loan guarantee type of program should take preference over the direct lending type of program.

That Commission by the way was chaired by Frazar B. Wilde, chairman of the Connecticut General Life Insurance Co., and it included among other illustrious members our present Secretary of the Treasury, Henry H. Fowler.

In 1962, President Kennedy's Committee on Federal Credit Programs had this to say on the subject of substituting private for public credit:

> Accordingly, the Committee believes that Federal credit programs should, in the main and whenever consistent with essential program goals, encourage and supplement, rather than displace private credit.

That Committee was headed by Douglas Dillon, then Secretary of the Treasury, and included William McChesney Martin.

This legislation, which provides the effective and efficient and economical means to continue this vital program of substituting private for public credit, deserves our support. For my part I support it wholeheartedly.

COCHON DE LAIT FESTIVAL

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, in the Eighth Congressional District of Louisiana, which I represent, there is a town noted for its French traditions, for its southern hospitality and its bons vivants. This town is one like many others in the State. The town to which I am referring in this instance is Mansura, La., located in the Parish of Avoyelles, which celebrates its 106th birthday this year.

Mansura is said to have been named by ex-soldiers of Napoleon, early settlers, who had been with him on his Egyptian campaigns and saw a resemblance between the Avoyelles prairie lands and Mansura, Egypt.

The people of Mansura are characterized by hard work and hard play. Six years ago, to celebrate the town's centennial, the citizens revived an old French custom known as the cochon de lait. The literal translation of "cochon de lait" is suckling pig, but in Mansura the words connote the town's annual festival where many 20- to 30-pound pigs are roasted over open hickory fires and the accompanying fun and gaiety is enjoyed by all the townspeople and visitors from miles around.

The pigs are constantly turned on a spit for 6 to 8 hours until they have attained a golden honey brown and the excess fat is thoroughly drained. The aroma is breathtaking and the flavor is never to be forgotten.

Mr. Speaker, the exclusive title of "La Capitale de Cochon de Lait" was made into law May 24, 1960, by the wishes of the mayor, Kirby Roy, Jr., and the town council and signed by the Governor of Louisiana.

The document now stands in the town's city hall in recognition of Mansura's exquisite culinary art in the French tradition.

The resolution reads:

Whereas the town of Mansura is one of the oldest French settlements in the State of Louisiana; and

Whereas the town of Mansura wishes to preserve the customs and traditions of its ancestors; and

Whereas the preparation of the cochon de lait is a time-honored custom peculiar to the locality and surrounding area; and

Whereas the culinary artistry used in the preparation of this delicacy is admired by people throughout the world: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of the State of Louisiana (the Senate concurring), That the town of Mansura is hereby recognized as La Capitale de Cochon de Lait of the world.

Mr. Speaker, let me take this opportunity to invite all who love good food and fun to attend the cochon de lait in Mansura, La., April 29 to May 1.

IS IT NECESSARY TO WEAKEN OUR FORCES IN EUROPE?

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the Vietnam war has placed a heavy drain upon the U.S. military forces and equipment. It becomes an even more serious matter when we find it necessary to withdraw skilled personnel from our forces in Europe in order to assure the proper buildup of U.S. fighting forces in Vietnam. This is disturbing from a number of viewpoints. One is the impact upon our allies in Europe. The French have created a very unsettled situation by disavowing their NATO commitments. The U.S. forces are the mainstay of allied strength. The U.S. forces already had been deprived of some of their effectiveness by drawdown of equipment for the war in Vietnam. Now a withdrawal of trained personnel will have a further demoralizing effect in Europe and this action will broaden the invitation for the Russians to start trouble.

It is a sobering thing that U.S. action in a small country like Vietnam should put such a strain upon the resources of our Armed Forces. It is now obvious that an additional involvement anywhere in the world, or a general broadening of the conflict in southeast Asia, would require a general mobilization. This, despite the fact that more than half of each $100 billion annual budget goes into defense. None of this is lost on the Communists.

There is a source of trained manpower which is being disregarded by the Pentagon. For some unaccountable reason, it is not policy to use the Nation's trained reservists in the current crisis. For years units and individuals have maintained a state of readiness in order that the Nation may have the advantage of their skills in time of crisis. Yet, we see ourselves become more and more deeply involved in the Vietnamese conflict and no reservists are called. It is time for a frank assessment of the situation. If the Pentagon does not intend to use the reservists in time of war, it could be said there is no justification for the continued expense of maintaining the Reserve components. In any event, the Pentagon should spell out to the Congress and to the Nation its plans for utilization of the Reserves.

ISN'T THERE A DANVILLE SOMEWHERE THAT WANTS POVERTY MONEY? TWO DOWN—FOUR TO GO

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, overzealous Federal poverty officials at OEO apparently crave a community called Danville in the United States that needs poverty money. A month ago, OEO pressed Danville, Ind., a community of 3,287, to set up a community action board to receive and administer poverty funds. Local citizens resisted, causing Senator BIRCH BAYH to inquire of OEO, "Why Danville?"

The reply came back to Senator BAYH that Danville, Ind., needed a community action program because they had 1,339 families with annual incomes under $1,000 and 1,979 families receiving aid to dependent children—ADC. On this basis, continued OEO officials, who could deny Danville help? Pressing the matter further, an OEO official visited Danville and to his consternation discovered that their poverty statistics did not match Danville, Ind. Quickly recovering, regional poverty officials answered:

> Those figures are for Danville, Ill.—an understandable mistake.

The only difficulty came when it developed that the poverty figures were not for Danville, Ill., either. At this point, I suppose OEO officials said: "There must be a Danville that fits our pattern of poverty." Sadly, however, a check of the population division of the Census Bureau indicated there were only six Danvilles in the country and none of them fitted the poverty profile prepared by OEO.

Perhaps the news media could now, as a public service, assist Federal poverty officials, who dearly wish to help a Danville, by running—apropos of Peter Pan—the following nationwide ad: "Isn't there someone out there, from a Danville somewhere, who believes?"

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR WEEK OF APRIL 25

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask for this time for the purpose of inquiring of the distinguished majority leader as to the program for the remainder of the week and what is to be programed for next week.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, in response to the inquiry of my distinguished friend, we have no further legislative business this week, and we shall ask to go over to next week upon the announcement of the program for next week.

The program for next week is as follows: Monday is District day. There are no District bills. Monday we have programed H.R. 12617, amending the act providing for economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands, with an open rule and 1 hour of debate.

On Tuesday the Agriculture Appropriation Act, 1967.

Wednesday and the balance of the week, H.R. 10065, Equal Employment Act of 1966. Open rule, 2 hours of debate.

H.R. 13881, transportation, sale, and handling of dogs and cats for research purposes. Open rule, 2 hours of debate.

This announcement, of course, is made subject to the usual reservation that conference reports may be brought up at any time.

ADJOURNMENT OVER

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order on Calendar Wednesday of next week be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE STATEMENT ON THE AMERICAN MARITIME INDUSTRY

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. RHODES] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, at a recent meeting of the House Republican policy committee a policy statement regarding the American maritime industry was adopted. As chairman of the policy committee, I would like to include at this point in the RECORD the complete text of this statement:

REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE STATEMENT ON THE AMERICAN MARITIME INDUSTRY

America is facing a crisis of major proportions with respect to its vital merchant marine. At the close of World War II, this country had a merchant marine fleet of over 3,500 vessels. By 1951 there were 1,955 active U.S.-flag ships. Today there are only 1,000, including those reactivated for the Vietnam war, and most of these are over 20 years old and near the end of their economic life.

The United States had dropped to 12th place among the world's major shipbuilding nations. Russia, on the other hand, has risen from 12th to 7th place as a maritime nation and is presently building an even larger merchant marine which she intends, by her own admission, to utilize as an instrument of foreign policy.

On January 1, 1966, the United States had only 45 ships under construction. And President Johnson's budget for fiscal 1967 provides only $85 million for our merchant marine ship construction. This represents a cut of $47 million from appropriations for the current year. It would permit construction of a maximum of 13 new ships. It is both significant and tragic that the administration's total maritime budget for 1967 set a 7-year low. Although the 1965 state of the Union message promised "a new policy for our merchant marine," nothing has materialized and the bickering and confusion among the various governmental agencies continues and grows.

By contrast, Russia boasts a merchant fleet of almost 1,500 vessels. Most are new and efficient ships built since 1950. Soviet orders for new ships rose from 225 in 1962 to 673 in 1964. Moreover, the Soviet Union is utilizing its satellites, and the Free World at a substantial cost in hard currency, for its merchant fleet expansion. For example, East German shipyards are scheduled to supply 399 merchant vessels. The Polish yards are working on Soviet orders for timber carriers and tankers.

The inadequacy of America's shipbuilding program is further highlighted by the fact that Japan has 199 merchant ships under construction, Great Britain 184 vessels, West Germany 176, and Sweden 44.

At the same time that our shipbuilding effort is lagging and our World War II reserve fleet is growing older and more dilapidated, the expanding war in Vietnam is putting the U.S. merchant fleet under tremendous pressure. Tonnage volume to Vietnam has leaped from 300,000 tons per month to 800,000 tons per month. Almost 470 ships are now under direct operational control of the Military Sea Transportation Service and most of these are engaged in the sealift to Vietnam. Moreover, because U.S. ships were not available, MSTS had to look to foreign-flag vessels for help.

Much of the present problem is attributable to the fact that several years ago Secretary of Defense McNamara decided that he could reduce the role of ships in the defense picture. According to McNamara, air transport could be substituted as a primary military supply vehicle. Now, just 4 years after this disastrous management decision, two out of every three soldiers in Vietnam had to be transported by ships and, as of January of this year, 98 percent of the supplies and cargo for the war went in by ship. The fact that it would take 260 of the C5A planes to carry the load of a single ship, and air transportation, if utilized, would cost 5 or 6 times as much per ton-mile, further dramatizes our need for and dependency upon ships.

At the same time that shipping presents a grave problem for us, both Communist and free world ships continue to carry goods to and from North Vietnam. In 1965 there were 199 free world ship arrivals in North Vietnam. Of this figure, 107 involved ships flying the flags of NATO countries. We know from our own experience that shipping, and the cargo that it brings to Vietnam, is an all-important factor in the prosecution of the war. Supply problems have hampered our effort. By the same token, Communist and free world ships have supplied much of the goods and military supplies that have made it possible for the North Vietnamese to continue the war. Certainly, at a minimum, the penalties and restrictions imposed upon ships that engage in Cuban trade should be imposed upon those who trade with North Vietnam.

The merchant marine shipbuilding effort in this country must be increased. Unless this is done, our defense commitments throughout the world will be in jeopardy. Indeed, our national survival may depend upon the shipping that should be under construction but which the Johnson-Humphrey administration has scuttled. We demand that steps be taken to correct this disastrous situation. If the present trend continues, this country that once boasted the greatest merchant fleet in the world, will be left on history's shore waiting for ships that never come in.

WHAT'S HAPPENED TO PATRIOTISM?

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the April issue of the New Guard, the magazine published by Young Americans for Freedom, contains a timely and provocative article entitled "What's Happened to Patriotism?" by Dr. William Jay Jacobs, who received his doctorate in history at Columbia University and who is currently assistant professor of education at Rutgers, the State university of New Jersey. One cannot help but see a relationship between the efforts of some to debunk this Nation's historical achievements and heroes and the current antics of the draft-card burners, the flag desecrators and some protestors of our firm policy in Vietnam. Fortunately, however, the United States has never suffered from a dearth of heroes, and as fast as our historic men of daring are seemingly interred, new figures take their place.

It must be discouraging to the debunkers of our American heritage to consider the case of Sp. Daniel Fernandez of Los Lunos, N. Mex., who hurled himself upon a Vietcong grenade, thus saving the lives of several comrades. Mr. Jose Fernandez, his father, stated that his son was very generous and always volunteering for something, but the last thing he would want is to be known as a hero.

I wonder how the downgraders would handle the heroism of Pfc. Milton Lee Olive, of Chicago, whose last gesture in this life, like Daniel Fernandez, was to fall on an exploding grenade. A quiet, religious youth, Milton Olive, like the heroes of our past, was described as being devoted to his duty and always wanted to do more than his share.

To grateful and patriotic citizens, every serviceman who willingly gives his life for this Nation is a hero. And for those who, for whatever reason, would belittle our precious heritage in the eyes of our youth, let them ponder these words from the last letter of Pfc. Hiram D. Strickland of Graham, N.C.—a letter to his family found in his personal effects—a letter he would never mail:

> I'm writing this letter as my last one. You've probably already received word that I'm dead and that the Government wishes to express its deepest regret. Believe me, I don't want to die, but I know it was part of my job. I want my country to live for billions and billions of years to come.
>
> I want it to stand as a light to all people oppressed, and guide them to the same freedom we know. If we can stand and fight for freedom, then I think we have done the job God set down for us. It's up to every American to fight for the freedom we hold so dear. If we don't, the smells of free air could become dark and damp as a prison cell.
>
> Don't mourn me, Mother, for I'm happy I died fighting my country's enemies, and I will live forever in people's minds. I've done what I've always dreamed of. Don't mourn me, for I died a soldier of the United States of America.
>
> God bless you all and take care. I'll be seeing you in heaven.
>
> Your loving son and brother,
>
> BUTCH.

To help restore patriotism to the position of honor it enjoys among our servicemen in Vietnam, I include the article, "What's Happened to Patriotism?" in the RECORD at this point:

WHAT'S HAPPENED TO PATRIOTISM?

(By Dr. William Jay Jacobs)

Unlike Prof. Eugene Genovese, my colleague at Rutgers, the State university of New Jersey, I do not "welcome the prospect of a Vietcong victory in Vietnam." Further, I am dismayed (as he is not) to observe that consistently, almost automatically, the word most calculated at faculty meetings to induce the smirk, raised eyebrow, or knowing smile is—"patriotism."

At least in the schools, patriotism has been "out" during recent years. It is unsophisticated and unfashionable, so that only a borderline minority of "warmongers" or "squares" would dare dredge from the past such relics as: "Don't give up the ship," "I only regret that I have but one life to give for my country," "We have met the enemy and they are ours." They have disappeared from the textbooks, from the lexicon of popular literature, and, with few exceptions, from the minds of the young.

There was a time, albeit in the innocence of the 19th century, when Americans were less cynical. They leaned heavily on a common body of national allusions and shared a common frame of reference. Then, children from all parts of the country, all social classes, and many religions partook of a common "American mythology." In the schools they learned the drama of American history. From songs and Fourth of July orations they learned patriotic rhetoric—"The Army and Navy Forever," "Three Cheers for the Red, White, and Blue," "Liberty and Union now and forever, one and inseparable," "Our country—right or wrong." Finally, from their grounding in McGuffey Readers they learned—memorized, if you will—"Breathes there the man with soul so dead/Who never to himself hath said/This is my own, my native land."

In today's enlightened times we have renounced the thrilling mythology of our past. In place of McGuffey's Arnold Winkelreid ("'Make way for Liberty!' he cried; Made way for Liberty, and died!"), we have substituted the insipid banalities of "Run, Dick, run!" "Go, Spot, go!" and "The grocer is your friend." In our history books the Pilgrims and Captain John Smith have been modernized into a pair of innocuous real estate agents, pondering sites for urban renewal. War, when it is discussed at all in these books, is usually avoidable, always senseless and stupid. Accordingly, those who died fighting in America's past conflicts for such abstractions as "honor" and "the flag" were apparently mistaken or, at best, simply naive.

How did patriotism fall into such disrepute?

Part of the onus must be borne by that most unfortunate of breeds, the "progressive educator." From the time of Plato's Republic, the basic task allotted to the school in Western civilization was the induction of the young into society, a society aspiring to perpetuate itself. Even in the United States, Horace Mann and Henry Barnard sold to a skeptical public the notion of a "common school" (open to all and free to all) by emphasizing the role such a school could play in developing a composite nationality, cementing the loyalty of disparate immigrant groups through a common educational experience. But by the 1930's the direction of educational leadership had changed. "Progressive" educators, often heavily indebted to Freudian psychology, set out to liberate the psyche as others before had sought to liberate the mind. The child, they reasoned, must be allowed, within the supportive atmosphere of the group, to "express" himself spontaneously, without regard to the inhibiting standards imposed artificially by tradition. Competition was supremely bad, cooperation and "love" supremely good. Understandably, for children apprenticing to love their fellow men (forgetting meanwhile that their fellow men might hate their affluent guts), "Don't fire till you see the whites of their eyes," seemed scarcely proper fare. Far more suitable was the trivia that passed for education until Conant and Keppel (nudged by Sputnik) demonstrated that a field trip to the waterworks or a book about "Little Charley's Baby-Sitter" might, indeed, be educating for "life-adjustment" while failing to educate for mental excellence. Remarkably, in 1966, there are still those—I teach with some—who prattle about "teaching children, not subjects," "group dynamics," and "getting along with people."

The triumph and reign of progressive education, with its mawkish femininity and distaste for nationalist fervor, helped to isolate patriotism from academic respectability. Equally as significant, perhaps, was the demise, first from the curriculum, then from American letters generally, of an entire species—the hero.

Debunking biographers, fashionable in the twenties, seriously undermined the stature of historical figures. Columbus emerged a mendacious visionary whose cruelty in Haiti presaged the Nazi death camp; Washington became a pompous hypocrite with royalist cravings; Paul Revere had won laurels for a ride he didn't complete. Similarly, John Hancock was a profiteer, Andrew Jackson was a backwoods barbarian. Even Lincoln was caricatured as a small-town politico and, in the bargain, a vicious white supremacist. After admitting the element of truth in all of this debunking, it is important to ask—what was substituted following the destruction of the old heroes?

According to Max Rafferty, State Superintendent of Schools in California, today's hero, if there is one, is fashioned in the image of ourselves:

"He is 'Daddy' in the second grade reader who comes mincing home with his eternal briefcase from his meaningless day in his antiseptic office just in time to pat Jip the dog and carry blond little Laurie into the inevitable white bungalow on his stylishly padded shoulders.

"He is 'Mommy' in the third grade books, always silk-stockinged and impeccable after a day spent over the electric range, with never a cross word on her carefully made-up lips and never an idea in her empty head."

As Rafferty declares, we have debunked the hero to make room for the jerk.

Closely related to debunking biographers in the work of overwhelming the hero were the "analytic historians," beginning with James Harvey Robinson and Charles A. Beard. As Howard Mumford Jones puts it, "The school of social historians has substituted movements for personalities, conflicts of economic interest for dramatic events, sociology for the romance of personal endeavor, and citizenship for hairbreadth escapes by sea and land." Consequently, instead of romantic gestures and heroic deeds today's history books are crammed with stock market graphs and interminable dronings on principal reasons for the rise of sectionalism.

No wonder history has become the most thoroughly disliked subject in the schools. The engaging old schoolbooks, movingly written by Bancroft and Prescott and Motley, exposed children, without condescending to them, to the emotional richness of the past. The heroes were all there—pioneers and Puritans, Daniel Webster, General Custer, Roger Williams. And along with them, in the McGuffey and Appleton readers, those legendary half-magical figures—William Tell and "The Soldier of the Rhine," Huck Finn, Tom Sawyer. Horatius at the Bridge, Ivanhoe. It is probably true, as Prof. Ray Allen Billington charged recently in the Saturday Review, that Patrick Henry never rocked the Virginia House of Burgesses with the cry. "If this be treason make the most of it." But does it matter? What is really crucial is that in our passion for "objective analysis" and historical revision we have stripped history of its glamorous personalities, its exciting events, its pageantry, and successfully transformed Grant and Lee, Hoover and Roosevelt into faceless abstractions bobbing helplessly in a sea of powerful movements and uncontrollable socioeconomic "trends." By debunking heroes while overlooking the human drama in their deeds we have confirmed for our children the judgment of Mouse when, to dry Alice's gigantic tears, he began reading history aloud, since it was, he said, the driest thing he knew.

MEDIOCRITIES

The hero passed into limbo, too, because he became the darling of alien philosophies. Hitler and Mussolini usurped heroism, literally clothing themselves in knightly armor to mesmerize their populations into loyalty. (Some of the new African leaders have done the same.) Regrettably. America's response to totalitarian hero worship was only half right. On the one hand we rejected the Nietzschean superman, but on the other, with every good intention, we accepted those ludicrous sops—Tom and Sally. Farmer Brown, and the "friendly bus driver"—insufferable bores, mediocrities whom no child could possibly idolize, or hate, or for that matter care about in the least. Two decades ago the "supermen" were crushed; the mediocrities linger on.

Finally, the hero vanished because 20th century liberals wishfully embraced an "international" solution to world problems. Since 1945, the Afro-Asians, the French, and now the Germans have provided us with abundant, often unpleasant reminders that nationalism remains the most dynamic force of our day. Still, liberal critics like Professor Billington are unconvinced. In the article mentioned earlier, Billington decries the stupidity of American textbooks for speaking of "our armies" and "our people." This, he says, is "destructive of international understanding" and should be eliminated "in the interest of world harmony." When, asks the professor, are we going to "discard hoary legend" and stop repeating "the tired clichés that inspired our grandfathers." Nor, in describing the American Revolution, should we speak of "patriots," warns Billington, since this is—"a biased word." How very odd that no commentator of Billington's persuasion has yet been produced by communism, our century's only truly international movement.

SOME DANGERS

Patriotism unquestionably has its dangers. There are always selfish interests eager to use the stirring phrases, the mythology of American history for their own purposes. Among the Nation's pressure groups there are scarcely any—Left or Right—not instantly prepared to cite the words of Washington or Jefferson, Lincoln or Kennedy to further programs they favor. In the process they are willing, not infrequently, to label someone else un-American.

It is a mistake, however, to view patriotism as inevitably egocentric or synonymous with closed-minded partisanship. Judiciously incorporated into powerful, dramatic narrative it can be important in restoring romance to the study of American history. Part of this romance is evoked by the historian's ability to recapture a mood in words, thereby making the past relevant and real. As F. Scott Fitzgerald once said, "For a transitory enchanted moment, man must have held his breath in the presence of this continent, face to face for the first time in history with something commensurate with his capacity for wonder." It is the sense of wonder they communicate to readers that explains why Gibbon and Parkman, Herodotus and Macauley are still read and enjoyed, while the tortuous monographs of academic historians are relegated to "compulsory reading" shelves.

The romance of American history can become manifest in another way—in a feeling of pride in the Nation, a lesson learned in the school or never learned. It is too late when a soldier is confronted by his leering Chinese captors to discover that loyalty and justice and honor are more than sentimental claptrap.

For the schools it is not yet too late. The patriotic emotion is still there. John Glenn, a modern hero, says he gets a funny feeling deep inside when the flag goes by. Briefly, after Khrushchev withdrew his missiles from Cuba, Americans could feel 10 feet tall—and over some radio stations patriotic music was played without interruption. Emotional attachment is a first step. Recently, new informational materials have appeared, including books and pamphlets from the American Heritage Foundation and exciting visual devices prepared by the Wemyss Foundation of Wilmington, Del. They make history live. Moreover, they anticipate, at last, the establishment of the history of American liberty as a "living tradition," even now inescapably molding the national character. In the hands of American writers dedicated to exploring its greatness, that tradition offers a bottomless reservoir of inspiration.

All of this is predicated on the restoration to American history of its inherent vitality and fascination. It is not unreasonable or excessive to ask that the Nathan Hales, not the cynical defeatists, be made to live again for American children. The alternative is a generation of young people susceptible to those, like Professor Genovese, who look forward to the victory of our enemies.

FREEMAN SHOULD BE REPLACED

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, for the good of the American farmer, Orville L. Freeman must be replaced as Secretary of Agriculture. Where he belongs I am not sure, but certainly not in the Government's top agricultural position. The Office of Secretary carries with it tremendous discretionary power over farm markets, and it makes no sense to leave in that position a man who expresses pleasure when farm commodity prices go down and whose use of Government stockpiles to drive down farm prices and keep them down forces the farmer to take a double dose of inflation.

For years I have urged that the powers of the Secretary of Agriculture are too awesome to trust to any mortal being, and I have warned that this authority, in the wrong hands, would some day be turned against the farmer. That sad day has come.

For the first time in memory a U.S. Secretary of Agriculture has bragged about a drop in farm market prices. His statement was printed on April Fool's day, but it was no joke. The drop came at a time when farm income was still way below parity, and that made Mr. Freeman's glee doubly disturbing.

Government action driving down farm prices doubles up inflationary problems for the farmer. The farmer must pay prices for things he needs which go up with inflationary pressures, but he gets his income from market prices for his commodities which are deliberately forced down and held down by Government action.

Hog prices are, of course, still above average for the moment, but surely the Secretary Freeman's memory is long enough to recall hogs at 15 cents not long ago. The American farmer can put up with low prices occasionally if he can look forward to other times when prices are up.

Corn dumping has cost farmers millions of dollars in market income recently.

According to USDA reports just received, the Government dumped 159 million bushels of corn during the 4-week period ending March 18. This reduced to 202 million bushels USDA's uncommitted inventory.

This dumping was an unconscionable effort to depress the cash price of corn and club farmers into reluctant compliance with the Government's so-called voluntary feed grains program.

Timed as it was, this dumping must be interpreted as a brutal plan to force sign-up. If the administration had followed an orderly program of liquidating stocks—spreading the sales evenly throughout the months following the harvest peak—corn prices could be 10 to 20 cents a bushel higher.

From October 1, 1965, the beginning of the new crop year, through March 18, 1966, CCC sold 296,844,000 bushels of corn for unrestricted domestic use, plus an additional 53,758,000 bushels for export. These heavy marketings, made in direct competition with sales by farmers, have forced midwestern corn prices down at least 10 cents per bushel at a time when there would normally be a seasonal rise in the cash price of corn.

This astounding situation is without precedent. Under Secretary Freeman's direction, the Department is vigorously engaged in a series of actions which are depressing farm prices. Moreover, a vigorous propaganda campaign is being waged by the Department and by the administration to pin the blame for inflation on agricuture.

The astounding and unprecedented campaign against our farmers comes at a time when farm prices are only around 82 percent of parity—the goal established years ago as the measure of fair farm prices.

Not only is the Secretary and the Department taking action to beat down farm prices which are 18 percent below parity on the whole. Mr. Freeman has predicted farm price declines, which under powerful Government pressure, are taking place and he has expressed gratification over this development. In the New York Times of March 31, a story by William M. Blair stated that Mr. Freeman took pleasure in predicting a decline in farm prices. He stated:

> It was the first time in the memory of Federal farm officials that a Secretary of Agriculture indicated that he was pleased with a decrease in farm prices."

Imagine the response from union officals and union members if a Secretary of Labor took action to lower wages and expressed gratification over the results.

Let me detail briefly some of the steps which the Department and the administration have taken in their campaign to hurt farm prices. They have—

Sold a tremendous quantity of corn to beat down feed grain prices;

Restricted exports to beat down the price of hides;

Authorized an increase in cheese imports;

Curtailed pork purchases by the military;

Urged the housewives to buy less food; and

Waged an increasing propaganda campaign to give the impression that farm prices are a major inflationary force.

Moreover, the Secretary of Agriculture has had the effrontery to ask the Congress for legislation which would give him the authority for the permanent management of farm prices. I am referring to identical bills introduced in the House and Senate—S. 2932 and H.R. 12784. This proposal ostensibly is to give the Secretary the means of accumulating reserves for the food-for-freedom program. When examined, however, the scope and sweep of Mr. Freeman's request is almost as great as the so-called omnibus bill of 1961—H.R. 6400. In this, the Secretary embodied the supply-management concept which would have given the Department of Agriculture control over almost every phase of agricultural production and marketing.

The bills to which I have referred would have the effect of setting aside existing legislation, including the major farm bill passed last year. The Secretary could ignore the laws now in effect with regard to price support levels, marketing quotas, and acreage allotments for almost any agricultural commodity in order to maintain and establish reserves. There would be no restrictions on the sale of Government-owned agricultural commodities save those now in effect. These certainly are no real barriers, as we have learned, to Federal sales which lower market prices. The so-called stockpile bill also would actually let the Department of Agriculture go into the business of processing, handling, and transporting any agricultural commodity. One may say that the Department of Agriculture would not use this power but, in view of Mr. Freeman's campaign against farmers and farming, I am not so sure. We must assume that, if the authority is granted, it will be used.

The bill would put the farmer on the dole from now on out and woe eventually to the producer who angered the bureaucrats. As I see it, H.R. 12784, in its present form, is a bill to help destroy the independence of the American farmer and to make him a ward of the Federal Government henceforth.

Some may argue that I am using the crystal ball and am trying to read Mr. Freeman's mind. In this connection, let me refer them to an exchange which took place between the Secretary and Representative QUIE, of Minnesota, when the former was testifying before the House Agriculture Committee on the food-for-freedom program.

The Secretary stated frankly that:

> If we are going to buy in by the Government when we have too much production, we have got to recognize that we will have to sell back when prices are stronger.

Mr. QUIE then commented that:

> The Department of Agriculture now is more the voice of the consumer than it is of the farmers.

The transcript quoted Mr. Freeman as saying:

> I am disturbed about that, but I plead guilty in the sense that the Department is an important consumer service agency and that it will continue to be so.

Anyone familiar with developments during the past several months must realize that the administration's attempt to put the blame for inflation on the farmers is a phony.

I am not defending food prices. There is a big spread between the price which the farmers receive and the retail prices, but I do know that food prices are cheaper in the United States today than in any major country in the world. For example, the consumer in this country spends about 19 percent of his disposable income for food, disposable income being defined as the income left after taxes and certain fixed costs are paid.

Let us contrast this figure with food costs—using the same yardstick—in some other countries: Britain, 27 percent; Sweden, 27 percent; France, 30 percent; West Germany, 36 percent; Italy, 43 percent; Japan, 43 percent; Yugoslavia, 46 percent; and the Soviet Union about 50 percent.

This is possible only because of the marvelous productivity of American agriculture, a productivity in glaring contrast with the inability to produce abundantly in the Communist countries. Over the years, the efficiency of American agriculture has enabled us to ship millions and millions of tons of foodstuffs to needy areas abroad, food which may have prevented chaos in many nations.

While American agriculture is efficient, in many ways it has not been rewarded for this efficiency. Farm income has consistently lagged behind urban income. In 1965, the farm population had only $1,510 per capita to spend after taking care of necessary items. On the other hand, the city dweller had $2,405, or $900 more than his rural brother.

Farm debt rose $3.4 billion in 1965 to a total of $39.4 billion, a record. Every year there are about 90,000 fewer farmers on the land. Every year the cost of doing business goes up.

Food prices are 111.4 percent of the 1957–59 average and the whole cost of living index is around the same figure. But let us take a look at the base period itself. In this period, farmers got only about 83 percent of parity for their products. In other words, the base period, itself, is not a true measure of the situation.

With the realization that the United States must use its farm surpluses and techniques to deal with the world's food deficit, many of us felt that the farmers would at last come into their own. They could get a fair price in the marketplace. Their contribution to the economy, to foreign policy, and to national security should be recognized. Farming would be put upon a sound and stable basis.

Agriculture is our most important single industry. Farmers spend nearly $45 billion every year in production costs and for consumer goods. More people are employed in agriculture than in the combined employment of the public utilities, automobile, transportation, and steel industries.

The administration's campaign against the American farmer will have far-reaching and disastrous results. The comparatively low prices for corn means, within the next few months, low prices for hogs, poultry and, in time, livestock. So it goes and I might point out that industry and business in the farming areas and outside also will be hard hit eventually.

Recently, my attention has been called to the fact that farm net income this year probably will be up by $1 billion, which seemingly is put forward as proof that Mr. Freeman does care for the producers. I am unconvinced. All this projected increase comes from an increase in payments to farmers which, overall, will total more than $3.5 billion. Government payments, year in and year out, are a most unstable foundation for agriculture. They depend on the whim of the executive branch of the Government and on the decision of each Congress. They are a poor substitute for cash in the marketplace.

The departure of Mr. Freeman would not in itself put American agriculture on a sound basis for solid market development in the future, but it would certainly be a hopeful and necessary beginning toward that end.

MR. FORD'S TIMELY CHARGE OF MISMANAGEMENT

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Findley] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, many of us who are concerned over the question of whether we can afford both the frills of new Great Society programs and the financing of the Vietnam war, without runaway inflation or even higher taxes, were greatly impressed by the thoughtful and sober statement made recently at a news conference by the distinguished minority leader, Mr. Gerald R. Ford, of Michigan, during the Easter recess.

The occasion for Mr. Ford's statement was twofold—the birthday anniversary of Thomas Jefferson, who as President, cut taxes and reduced the national debt, and the 15th of April, when most of us had to file our Federal income tax returns for 1965. Mr. Ford cited the rollcall record of this body to show that on domestic nondefense spending measures, an average of 93 percent of the Republicans had voted for savings and 82 percent of the Democrats had voted for spending more, and inevitably higher taxes.

The distinguished minority leader very carefully pointed out that we Republicans in the House of Representatives, though outnumbered two-to-one, have consistently voted President Johnson every penny he has asked for in support of the war in Vietnam and the national security. But in charging the Democratic majority, except for a handful of Jeffersonian Democrats, with being a "blank check Congress" for the Democratic administration, he served notice that we Republicans do not intend to countersign blank checks forever even in the defense area. He cited reports from South Vietnam of mismanagement by Pentagon planners and rightly warned that such shocking errors of judgment cannot be condoned merely for the sake of national unity. These management mistakes—and more—have been confirmed since by Secretary McNamara himself and, more significantly, by independent and reputable observers on the scene, among them the correspondents of CBS and the New York Times.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the full text of Mr. Ford's excellent statement and a few corroborating reports from the press and the networks in the Record at this point:

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD

Yesterday was the birthday of Thomas Jefferson. Today is the anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's death. Tomorrow, as most of us are unhappily aware even without this reminder, is Great Society tax day—the deadline for filing your Federal income tax returns for 1965.

President Johnson is in Mexico City today unveiling a statue of Abraham Lincoln, so I suppose it will not be amiss for me to say a few words in praise of Thomas Jefferson.

Jefferson, though he called himself a Republican, is regarded now as the father of the Democratic Party. Lincoln, the first Republican President, was himself a great admirer of Jefferson, saying that "the principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society." For his part, Jefferson declared that "every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists."

So without quibbling about labels, let me merely note that we are all today indebted to Thomas Jefferson for one major contribution to our system of government. He was the Founding Father who started the two-party system. You might say that, as Vice President, he was the first minority leader here on Capitol Hill. And the country has prospered under the two-party system which developed—thanks to Jefferson—outside the provisions of the Constitution. It added another and most important check and balance to our experiment in self-government.

As to Jefferson's principles, during his Presidency he cut Federal spending, reduced taxes, repaid $33 million of the national debt, and repealed the excise tax on whisky. Whether he was the last Democrat or the first Republican to do this I will leave for historians to argue.

There certainly can be no argument, however, about the differences of principle that divide our two parties in this lopsided 89th Congress. There is no doubt which is the spending party and which is the prudent party. Nevertheless, we keep hearing noises from the direction of the White House that we 140 Republicans in the House of Representatives, outnumbered more than 2 to 1, are wrecking the Johnson-Humphrey administration's earnest efforts to economize and head off higher taxes. The President pleads with us and with the housewives and businessmen and the farmers and labor leaders to sharpen our pencils and help him halt inflation.

Well, I have sharpened my pencil on my income tax forms, so let me show you a little simple arithmetic:

At this moment, there are 293 Democrats and 140 Republicans in the House. That is a 2-to-1 majority with 13 votes to spare. Even the liberal Democratic study group in the House of Representatives boasts enough members to outvote the Republican minority.

In the Senate there are 68 Democrats, including WAYNE MORSE, and 32 Republicans. That's also a two-to-one majority with four votes to spare.

In short, this is a blank check Democratic Congress which can do virtually anything it pleases, or anything President Johnson pleases, whether the Republican loyal opposition likes it or not. Such lopsided legislative majorities can spend your money, raise your taxes—and that's exactly what this blank check Democratic Congress is doing.

And remember, no matter what President Johnson says or how fervently he pleads with the housewives to stop buying steaks, the responsibility for Federal spending and for Federal taxing rests with the Congress. This blank check Democratic Congress will have to face the American voter in November, and the people will know who are the spenders and who are the savers.

They will know because there will be rollcalls on every spending bill that comes to the House of Representatives which offers any hope of saving a single wasted dollar of your money.

We asked President Johnson at the outset of this session to put wartime priorities on his wartime budget requests. So far he has refused. We have gone along with our elected Commander in Chief on everything he has asked to support our fighting men in South Vietnam—but when I read what is happening over there and how we are running short of bombs despite all the billions we have voted for defense, I wonder how long we can underwrite shocking mismanagement in the name of national unity.

We are certainly going to take hard second looks at all the rest of the Johnson-Humphrey spending proposals when the Congress resumes.

Now here is the record on nondefense spending rolled up by the blank check Democratic Congress thus far this session: On six key money measures, an average of 82 percent of the Democrats have voted for higher spending and, inevitably, higher taxes. (See table.)

On the same six rollcalls in the House of Representatives, an average of 93 percent of my Republican minority colleagues have stood up for economy and the now dwindling hope of holding off inflation and higher Federal taxes for future April 15's.

We were faced with three new spending proposals, all having some merit in normal times but steamrollered through the blank check Democratic Congress by lopsided majorities. Then we tried to trim excess fat from three appropriation bills which came to us before the recess. Some of these proposals were worthy, and they had powerful advocates. But we are at war—and not doing too well with it. So again the roll was called. Again the result was the same. Ninety-three percent of the Republicans were for saving; 82 percent of the blank check Democrats were for more spending.

Who votes for higher taxes? Democrats—4 out of 5 of them. We cannot expect to stop this steamroller without substantial help from any Jeffersonian Democrats still left in the Congress—and it doesn't look like there are very many of them left.

But we are going to make the record clear for the people to judge in November, and I predict that the next Congress will be known as the check-and-balance Congress instead of the blank check Congress. I am confident that here in the legislative branch, at least, this country will have the right kind of leadership next year to meet the mounting array of dilemmas and disasters at home and abroad.

Who votes for higher taxes?

SIX ECONOMY ROLLCALLS IN THE HOUSE, 1966

[In percent]

	Democrats voting for spending more	Republicans voting for cuts and saving
5-percent cut in Interior appropriations, Apr. 6, 1966	88	95
5-percent cut in Post Office-Treasury appropriations, Apr. 6, 1966	93	89
$12,000,000 supplemental for rent subsidies, Mar. 29, 1966	75	95
$750,000 new authority for HUBERT H. HUMPHREY house, Mar. 22, 1966	76	95
$4,600,000 new authority for Alaska Centennial, Mar. 2, 1966	79	94
$9,500,000 new authority for Florida "Interama," Feb. 3, 1966	83	87
Average	82	93

NOTE.—Total strength: 293 Democrats versus 140 Republicans—2 seats vacant.

U.S. PAYS $21 FOR BOMBS IT SOLD AS JUNK AT $1.70

The United States paid a West German firm $21 apiece for bombs which the German firm had bought from the Air Force as junk for $1.70 each 2 years ago, the Pentagon acknowledged yesterday.

Despite the fact that the Germans sold back the bombs—needed in Vietnam—for more than 12 times the purchase price, the Air Force claimed there was a saving in the transaction.

Bombs of the same type—750-pounders, cost $440 when bought new today, a spokesman said.

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara mentioned Thursday that bombs had been repurchased from the Germans, who bought them to use the nitrate in them for fertilizer. He was replying to newsmen's questions in regard to House Republican Leader GERALD R. FORD's charge that administration "mismanagement" had created ammunition shortages in Vietnam.

The firm—Kaus & Steinhausen Co., of Schwinge, Germany—bought 7,562 of the 750-pounders for $12,376 in 1964 after they had been declared surplus. The Air Force bought back 5,570 of them for $114,500.

The repurchase need came about when the Defense Department decided to send B–52 jets against the Communists in Vietnam. The 750-pounders had been disposed of in the belief that the giant bombers, which normally are armed with hydrogen bombs, would have no use for the conventional bombs.

On that basis, the Air Force was authorized in 1963, to dispose of excess 750-pounders stored in Europe. The reasoning was that the European storage space could be better used.

The Vietnam missions assigned to the B–52's last summer changed all that because the bombers were being loaded with 750-pounders at 30 tons a clip.

REPORT FROM SAIGON BY PETER KALISCHER, CBS NEWS, APRIL 19

U.S. Air Force sorties in South Vietnam have been cut drastically from over 400 to less than 100 a day in the past week because of a dire lack of ammunition and explosives, CBS News learned unimpeachably today.

There is no bomb shortage; there is only a shortage of what makes the bombs go off—fuses, pins and some timing devices. And there is even a shortage of 20-millimeter cannon shells.

This correspondent learned that since mid-April Air Force bombers have been taking off half loaded. Only emergency missions and those in direct support of ground force operations are being flown.

Apparently, the shortage, foreseen but not avoided, is now about to be remedied with tons of missing parts on the way. But they are not here now.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 20, 1966]

AIR FORCE RAIDS—INFORMED SOURCES IN SAIGON ASSERT NUMBER OF SORTIES IS DRASTICALLY REDUCED—DISPUTED BY PENTAGON—INTENSITY OF STRIKES AGAINST THE FOE IN SOUTH VIETNAM ALSO REPORTED CUT BACK

(By Neil Sheehan)

SAIGON, April 19.—The U.S. Air Force has drastically reduced the number and intensity of its bombing raids against Communist forces in South Vietnam over the last 13 days because of a shortage of parts for bombs and other explosive ordnance, informed sources said today.

Since April 6, when the reduction went into effect, the number of Air Force attack sorties in South Vietnam has shrunk to about 43 percent of its former level. The amount of bombs and other munitions being expended has similarly dropped.

A sortie consists of an attack on a target by a single aircraft.

Reserve supplies have recently dwindled so alarmingly that some U.S. airbases in southeast Asia are now operating on a few days' supplies of certain munitions, the sources said.

(In Washington, the Pentagon termed the report of shortages "misleading.")

USE OF ROCKETS FALLS

Before April 6 the Air Force was averaging about 185 sorties daily. The planes were dropping about 1,000 bombs each day on Vietcong and North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam.

Since then the sorties have averaged approximately 83 daily and the number of bombs dropped has averaged about 400 a day. The number of 2.75-inch air-to-ground rockets being fired has fallen from 2,800 for the week ended April 1 to 98 for the week ended April 15.

The sources said that further economies were being achieved by sending planes out with fewer bombs and other items of ordnance than normal. This technique, called "light loads," decreases the intensity of the attack.

WARNINGS TO PENTAGON

Air Force officials in Vietnam, the sources said, have repeatedly warned the Pentagon over the last 4 months that munitions were not arriving fast enough to meet requirements. So far, supplies have not been adequately increased, they said.

The sources, who are qualified but cannot be named, said that the shortage to explosive ordnance was somewhat widespread. It includes rockets and 20-millimeter cannon shells used by fighter-bombers in strafing as well as bomb fuses, without which the bombs will not explode.

The sources declined to explain in detail the reasons for the shortage, which they attributed to a failure of enough supplies, to arrive here from the United States. They said the shortage was definitely not due to faulty distribution of ordnance within South Vietnam.

Nor have political disturbances within South Vietnam been responsible for the shortage, these sources said. Earlier this month the airbase at Da Nang, 385 miles north of Saigon, was unable to obtain munitions at the port there because Buddhists and rebellious military units had set up roadblocks, but this problem was cleared up within a few days, it was said.

The amount of munitions required by the Air Force in Vietnam has soared over the last year as the United States has built up its military power here. Air Force sorties have increased from a few hundred a month earlier last year to an average of more than 1,300 a week this March.

ORDERS FROM WASHINGTON

Air Force officials here today would not discuss the shortage. They said they had received orders from Washington not to talk about the matter.

An official military spokesman would only say that the Air Force had enough munitions in South Vietnam "to meet all operational requirements so far, and we anticipate that the Air Force will be able to meet these requirements in the future."

Air Force officials here, it was said, decided to reduce the number and intensity of combat sorties when it became obvious they were beginning to use up their critical reserve supply of munitions.

The Air Force maintains a 15-day to 30-day supply of munitions within South Vietnam in the event of a major expansion of the war here, such as a large-scale intervention by Communist China. It is considered unwise to allow this reserve to become too low. If a major conflict did break out, the Air Force might then run out of munitions.

SAVINGS IN LIVES SEEN

Sources here said that a number of high-level conferences had been held in the last week in an attempt to find ways of remedying the shortage. The Air Force, these sources said, may soon begin emergency flights of ordnance from the United States.

So far, the sources said, there are still enough usable bombs and other munitions within South Vietnam to take care of priority military targets and to support American and Vietnamese ground troops in direct contact with the guerrillas.

The reduction has largely affected so-called preplanned bombing raids against suspected Communist troop concentrations, supply depots, and other bases.

The heavy use of airpower against such targets has been part of United States strategy in Vietnam. The theory is that constant bombing will harass the Vietcong and North Vietnamese, lower their morale, and help prevent them from massing for large-scale assaults, thus saving American lives.

EFFECTIVENESS IS QUESTIONED

Other military observers here question the effectiveness of this strategy and contend that it has been responsible for killing and wounding large numbers of peasants caught in the raids.

Under policies instituted by the Defense Department in recent years, maintaining large stockpiles of munitions overseas is considered uneconomical. Instead munitions are transported to an area as they are required.

This system ties the fighting units closely to their supply line and necessitates careful planning long in advance, a smooth-running transportation network and sufficient factory production to meet requirements.

Sources here said that the vast bulk of munitions was shipped to Vietnam by sea and that it took 4 to 5 weeks, or more, from the time the munitions left the factories until they were unloaded at the docks here.

The U.S. Air Force carries about 40 percent of the burden of the air war in South Vietnam.

The rest is maintained by the South Vietnamese Air Force, the Marines, and Navy planes from 7th Fleet carriers. So far as is known, there has been no reduction in sorties being flown by these forces.

German Denies Sharp Dealing

(Special to the New York Times)

Bonn, April 19.—The owner of the West German company that sold 5,570 bombs back to the United States at nearly 13 times the original purchase price emphatically denied today that he had engaged in sharp business practices.

"I have made absolutely no profit on the transaction," Karl Kaus, owner of Kaus und Steinhausen, asserted in a telephone interview.

The U.S. Defense Department, in urgent need of munitions for the Vietnam war, recently repurchased for $21 apiece, the 750-pound bombs it had sold to Kaus und Steinhausen for $1.70 each.

Mr. Kaus said that the repurchase price had been determined by "American auditors in Washington and also here in our plant."

The Defense Department in Washington has said that it considers the repurchase a good deal because new bombs cost about $440 each. The bombs originally cost $330 each.

STILL BELONGED TO UNITED STATES

The bombs were still officially American property, the German businessman explained. By contract, the U.S. Government keeps title to the bombs until they are fully dismantled.

Mr. Kaus asserted that the difference between what he paid for the bombs 2 years ago and what he sold them for just covered his expenses in storing, securing, and guarding the bombs, taxes to the West German Government, and losses incurred by their removal.

He said that the United States had wanted to buy back 2,000 more bombs but that they had been found to be in poor condition.

The company dismantles surplus bombs and sells the scrap to metal fabricating firms and the chemical components to fertilizer manufacturers.

Statement by House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford

A week ago, in reiterating that the Republican minority in the House had given the President every penny he has asked for defense purposes, I raised a question of serious shortages and inadequate advance planning by the civilian managers in the Pentagon which, according to widely publicized reports by reliable and patriotic Americans close to the scene, have been and still are hampering the stepped-up level of combat operations in Vietnam.

These reports, coincident with serious internal disturbances in that troubled country, came as something of a surprise to me, to a great many Members of the Congress, of both parties, as well as to the millions of Americans we are here to represent. We had been told in October 1963, by Secretary of Defense McNamara, that most Americans would be out of South Vietnam by the end of 1965. We had been assured, again by Mr. McNamara early last year that neither more combat troops nor more money would be needed in South Vietnam. Late last year, the Defense Secretary returned from a personal inspection of the situation there to say, "We have stopped losing the war." And we have been told ever since that the situation was improving day by day.

So it produced something of a sonic shock wave when suddenly the front pages of the newspapers and the radio and television newscasts were full of reports of internal unrest, attacks on Americans, and curtailment of combat operations against the Communist enemy. These were variously attributed to supply tieups, shortages of essential equipment, and civil disturbances in South Vietnam. Evidence mounted, and continues to mount, that the Pentagon planners were not adequately prepared to cope with the kind of limited, nonnuclear type of military operation for which they have supposedly been reorganizing since the end of the Eisenhower administration, with much fanfare about modern management methods.

When I raised the question of mismanagement, Mr. McNamara quickly—perhaps too quickly—sought to smother it by sheer weight of computer-like statistics. He called a quickie press conference that afternoon and personally declassified large areas of secret information about U.S. bomb loads and backlogs. This information was presumably classified on the grounds of national security and potential value to the enemy. It was not the first time he has removed the "secret" label when criticism of the Pentagon came too close for comfort.

In the course of Mr. McNamara's news conference to discredit his critics—who have never supposed or suggested that any of his mistakes were deliberate or dishonorable—the Secretary found himself partially confirming our concern. He admitted that the Air Force had to buy back 750-pound bombs which had originally cost U.S. taxpayers $330 apiece, were sold as surplus to a West German fertilizer firm 2 years ago for $1.70 apiece, and have now been recovered for $21 apiece. If this is good management, I am mistaken about the meaning of the word. If there was no bomb shortage, was this transaction really necessary?

Mr. McNamara also denied there is any shipping shortage affecting Vietnam. Yet only last Monday there were reliable reports—one headlined "United States Again Short of Viet Ships" from the April 18 Journal of Commerce—that the Government is trying to get 20 or more additional vessels from private shipping companies. It is a known fact that ships have been stacked up for weeks as far away as Manila waiting to unload their Vietnam cargoes. Mr. McNamara cites figures on post exchange supplies delivered to Saigon in answer to allegations that our airmen haven't enough bombs.

He says there is no ship shortage, only shortages of dock facilities. I am not interested in playing word games, nor am I interested in playing politics with this serious situation. I am only interested—and I think every Member of the House and Senate, Democrats and Republicans, is also interested—in seeing that the billions for defense we have unhesitatingly voted is well and wisely spent and that every American sent 10,000 miles from home is given all the support and supplies he needs to protect himself, defend all of us, and bring the war to a swift and satisfactory end.

There has never been any doubt in my mind that every one of my colleagues in the House and Senate, regardless of party, agrees completely on this point. I am proud to see such distinguished Americans and distinguished Democrats as Senator Stennis say, as he did on a national television network last Sunday, that his Preparedness Subcommittee has found evidence of "mismanagement" in Pentagon planning for the war. I am encouraged to hear that Mr. McNamara conceded before the Fulbright committee that we have some "temporary dislocations of supplies" in South Vietnam because that means that he is going to do something about it. I am informed that he sent his chief of Air Force logistics to Saigon to investigate what he calls the nonexistent bomb shortages and to eliminate them. That's what we want.

But I am deeply concerned that Mr. McNamara, in his Senate testimony yesterday, brushed off the concern of millions of patriotic Americans as "all this baloney." I share this concern, and I shall continue to express it. I think such able Members of Congress as Senator Stennis, Chairman Garmatz, of the House Merchant Marine Committee, and Congressman Otis Pike of the House Armed Services Committee, share it. I know that many responsible newsmen here, covering the Pentagon and sharing risks with our fighting men in Vietnam will continue to express their concern because that is our obligation to the American people.

Now here are just a few of the reports that have come in to corroborate the question I raised a week ago:

1. New York Times Correspondent Neil Sheehan, in a front page story from Saigon yesterday, reported that since April 6 "the number of Air Force attack sorties in South Vietnam has shrunk to about 43 percent of its former level"—from 185 daily sorties dropping about 1,000 bombs on Communist targets to an average of 83 sorties and 400 bombs. Rocket firings, according to this reliable report, have fallen even more spectacularly from 2,800 a week to 98. Mr. Sheehan says further that our planes are being sent out against the enemy with light loads—which is another way of saying more American manpower is being exposed to combat risks with less firepower. The New York Times dispatch states that "Air Force officers in Vietnam have repeatedly warned the Pentagon over the last 4 months that munitions were not arriving fast enough to meet requirements" and so far they are still inadequate. This has nothing to do with recent civil disturbances at South Vietnamese ports nor with the internal distribution system our fine military field commanders under General Westmoreland, according to Mr. Sheehan's sources. This New York Times report was called to Mr. McNamara's attention in the Senate hearings yesterday and he called it "baloney."

2. Earlier, CBS News Correspondent Peter Kalischer, quoting what he called an "unimpeachable" source, reported from Saigon that "a dire lack of ammunition and explosives" has forced a cutback in U.S. Air Force sorties from over 400 to less than 100 per day. Kalischer said the critical shortage was not in bombs but in fuses and other key parts that make bombs usable. He also reported a shortage of 20-millimeter cannon shells and planes taking off half loaded. "Only emergency missions and those in direct support of ground forces operations are being flown," CBS News said. This and other careful reports from trained war correspondents on the scene also, apparently, come under Mr. McNamara's category of "all this baloney."

3. The long-range management of our overall defense effort can be faulted for its failure to adequately anticipate the needs of the American merchant marine, a subject which we discussed at some length yesterday at the House Republican policy committee press conference. As recently as the start of this year, Mr. McNamara testified that our merchant fleet was adequate for our defense needs and reaffirmed his earlier preference for airlift. Yet this week the administration is reportedly trying to scrape up 20 or more additional U.S.-flag carriers, and the current budget includes funds for replacement of only 9 to 13 of the World War II merchant ships that form the bulk of our dwindling merchant marine—now fallen to about 1,000 vessels, mostly old, while the Soviet Union has 1,500, mostly new, and 673 more building or on order. In this connection, I note that Mr. McNamara yesterday brushed off questions by the distinguished Senator from Kansas, Senator Carlson, about the resale of surplus items by NATO nations. He said it was all "World War II equipment junk." It's a sad fact this is true of much of the merchant marine that he considers perfectly adequate. But our alarm over shipping is more "baloney."

4. The authoritative magazine, Aviation Week, in a series of articles by a Marine Corps Reserve pilot who spent 2 months in Vietnam reports in technical detail on a wide range of ordnance and ammunition shortages, deficiencies and deterioration. The publication, Aviation Daily, in its April 19 issue summed up the misstatements Mr. McNamara has made in recent weeks and concluded that "he has managed to almost meet himself coming back on some of the stories he has presented to the public."

Mr. McNamara has a great gift for figures. He is extremely agile in the use of words. As I said previously, I am not the least concerned with playing word games. I have not myself used the word "baloney" to characterize disagreements among equally patriotic Americans. We in the minority in this Congress cannot selectively declassify information which has been stamped "Secret" in order to substantiate the serious questions raised about the safety and support of our fighting men in Vietnam and the future security of our country.

We must, therefore, depend in large measure on the kind of responsible, independent reporters I have cited for firsthand information on the situation in Vietnam. I for one do not regard them as "baloney." Whether you call these examples mistakes of judgment, mismanagement, poor planning, faulty foresight, bad bungling or just plain goofs, I don't care. Whether they are "alarming" or "distressing" or "shocking" or whatever word you prefer—they are intolerable as long as they endanger any American soldier, airman, sailor, or marine. They are intolerable as long as we, by asking questions of the Pentagon and persisting after answers, can compel or speed up remedial action. This is the joint duty of the responsible press and the responsible representatives of the people. I intend and hope they intend to continue this duty. It is not "baloney."

CUBAN MILITARY TRAINING, SI—MILK FOR SCHOOLCHILDREN, NO

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Nelsen] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, on February 9, 1966, I wrote the President urging him to reverse the decision of our Government to send money through a United Nations agency to train Cuban Communists in military-related subjects. The letter was prompted by authoritative reports that $1,240,000 is to be channeled to Cuba through the U.N. More than half of this money is to be spent teaching subjects like military communications, radar, electronics, and computer training at the University of Havana. The school is open only to Communists and Cuban militiamen, and it is operated by Russian and Cuban Reds. Some of the money is also to go to help build a million dollar agricultural research station.

As I wrote the President, it seems to me some existing American programs which he would like to cut back, like the school lunch and milk programs, are far more worthwhile and needed than either of these Cuban projects. Certainly, there's no sense in financing the military educations of those sworn to destroy us.

With permission, I will insert the text of my letter to the President at this point in my remarks:

February 9, 1966.

The President,
The White House.

My Dear Mr. President: I was utterly shocked by revelations on the House Floor on February 1, indicating that our Government plans to send $1,240,000 through a United Nations agency to the Government of Cuba, which plans to spend more than half of it providing military-related training to Communists, using Russian and Cuban military teachers. As I understand it, the University of Havana technological branch, which is open only to Communists and Cuban militiamen, will provide training in military communications, radar, electronics, and computers, with the U.S. Government footing 40 percent of the project cost. As if this were not enough, the rest of our Government's contribution is to assist in building a $1.1 million agricultural research station near Havana.

According to statements made on the House Floor, the sizable contribution of the U.S. Government is entirely voluntary on our part, but Ambassador James Roosevelt, the delegate to this particular U.N. agency, has advised our Government will not demand rejection of the projects nor will the United States withhold its share of the costs. Ambassador Roosevelt is quoted as saying he merely intends to "place on the public record the Government's objection in principle."

Mr. President, tyranny, bloodshed, and chaos have been part of the lot of the Cuban people and many of their Latin American neighbors ever since the Communists seized Cuba. As a matter of fact, about 1 month ago some 82 Communist parties from three continents met in Cuba to plot the more effective subversion of the Western Hemisphere, Asia, and Africa. On these bases alone, the United States contribution to these improper projects should be withheld.

The fiscal 1967 budget which you recently presented to the Congress calls for cutting back the school milk program by $82 million, the school lunch program by $19 million, the agricultural research program by $70 million and the agricultural conservation program by $120 million. I would respectfully suggest that every single one of these programs is far more worthwhile and needed than is either the building of a million dollar agriculture facility near Havana or the financing of the military educations of those bent on our destruction.

In view of all these reasons, and because of the Government's heavy spending commitments at home and elsewhere in the world, I urge the immediate reversal of the Government's decision to contribute to these projects. Knowing you will want to investigate this further, I am enclosing a tearsheet from the Congressional Record which includes the appropriate remarks on which this letter to you is based.

Sincerely yours,

Ancher Nelsen,
Member of Congress.

Cuba To Receive U.S. Funds Through Agency of U.N.—American Aid To Total $1.2 Million—Roosevelt Puts Tentative OK on Project

(By Edward W. O'Brien)

Washington.—A United Nations agency which receives 40 percent of its money from the U.S. Treasury is planning to give $3,100,000 to Cuba, with more than half of the aid funds allocated to strengthen the University of Havana's technological faculty.

The United States, through Ambassador James Roosevelt has informed the U.N. agency it will not demand rejection of the project, nor will the United States withhold its $1,240,000 share of the cost.

TRAINS ENGINEERS

The university's technological branch trains engineers and others and is headed by Russian and Cuban military personnel. Only Communist Party and militia members are permitted to attend.

"Cuban technology is specifically oriented toward training in computers, electronics, and other areas of endeavor which Fidel Castro has stated are related to the military potential of Cuba and particularly to radar and military communications," according to the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, Inc., an anti-Castro organization of prominent Americans.

In 1963, the U.N. special fund headed by Paul G. Hoffman, proposed an aid project for Castro's Cuba but dropped it after an angry outcry in Congress and State Department opposition.

Last Tuesday, Ambassador Roosevelt, who represents the United States on the U.N. development program governing council that passes on special fund projects, said this Government's opposition in 1963 was a gimmick and didn't mean a thing in the whole concept of the fund.

PUBLIC RECORD

Mr. Roosevelt said he will "place on the public record the Government's objection in principle" to the new project but will do nothing else to block the project or cut off the customary 40-percent contribution by Washington.

U.S. payments to the U.N. special fund are voluntary. The fund will spend over $150 million this year.

Mr. Roosevelt said the United States nominal opposition to the Cuban project is not based on the Castro regime's communism but on the theory that Cuba's shortage of technical experts was caused by the Castro regime itself, which has caused thousands of Cubans to flee.

The new aid project was proposed by Mr. Hoffman, who maintained that U.S. support "must be kept free of ideological and political considerations."

Of the $3,100,000 total $2 million will go to the university and $1,100,000 for an agricultural research station near Havana.

ULTIMATE TOTAL

An ultimate total of $25 million in U.N. aid to Cuba is being discussed. Whether it materializes will probably depend largely on congressional and public reaction to the first portion.

Brazil and Paraguay strongly objected to helping Castro through the U.N. Both countries are among the principal targets of Communist subversion directed from Cuba.

A Communist tricontinental congress of subversion which brought together top-ranking Reds from many countries, ended in Havana less than 2 weeks ago. At the congress, Cuba was formally designated as a headquarters of Communist subversion in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. The citizens committee said it is alerting Senate and House Members to the U.N. project in the hope of bringing about cancellation of U.S. support.

"Should the U.N. proposal be approved, backed by U.S. support and money, we will have succeeded in underwriting the subversion of the Western Hemisphere," the committee has told its members.

On February 25, I received a reply from Douglas MacArthur II, Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, to whom the President referred my letter. According to Mr. MacArthur, no part of our contribution to the U.N. agency making these grants will be used to pay for projects in Cuba. The State Department maintains the Cuban projects will be financed entirely from the contributions of other countries.

The Department says it is to our overall advantage to continue contributing to this U.N. agency since it has approved a total of 604 development projects in 92 nations. Of this total, only 2 projects have been approved for Cuba while 591 have been approved for free world nations.

The Department also points out that our Ambassador to the Special Fund, James Roosevelt, did place our objections to the Cuban project on the record. In other words, when the military infiltrators trained at the University of Havana lead their revolutions of terror in Latin America in the years ahead, we can remind everyone proudly that "we told them so."

Mr. MacArthur's reply continued with statistics showing that the Soviet-bloc countries, including Cuba, had paid more into the Special Fund and the technical assistance program than they had received from them. The reply neglected to mention the fact that the United States contributes approximately 10 times the amount of money to the Special Fund than the combined total of the Soviet bloc. How much have we received or even requested in return?

At this point, I will insert the full text of the reply from Mr. MacArthur, after which I will comment further:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., February 25, 1966.

Hon. ANCHER NELSEN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN NELSEN: Your letter to the President of February 9, 1966, expressing your concern over the United Nations assistance to Cuba, has been referred to the Department of State for reply.

The United Nations Special Fund, now a part of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), has approved, since 1959, a total of 604 projects in 92 nations. Of this total, only 2 projects have been approved for Cuba, whereas 591 have been approved for free world nations.

At its most recent meeting in January 1966, the UNDP's governing council approved a special fund project for assistance to the faculty of technology of the University of Havana. The project calls for $2,096,500 in special fund money over 5 years, including $176,800 to be paid by Cuba in cash. In addition, Cuba has promised to provide personnel, services, land, buildings, and equipment in the amount of $23,500,000.

The United States opposed this project from the beginning. When it came before the governing council in January 1966, Ambassador James Roosevelt argued that Cuba's shortage of technicians and engineers is due mainly to Cuba's own policies, which have caused large numbers of well-qualified people to leave the country. He said we did not believe an international fund should be called upon to remedy deficiencies for which the Government seeking assistance is directly responsible.

The UNDP has a ground rule that projects shall not be approved or rejected for political reasons alone. Furthermore, to avoid political debate, which could tie up approval of projects indefinitely, the governing council has not taken formal votes on individual projects.

So after placing our objections to the Cuban project on the record, we did not request a specific vote because to do so might jeopardize other projects of special interest to friendly countries. For example, since 1959, 12 projects have been approved for China (Taiwan), 10 for Korea, and 1 for Vietnam, despite vigorous objections voiced by Soviet-bloc representatives.

We also took into account the fact that the U.S.S.R. and its 10 satellites, including Cuba, have contributed a total of $11.8 million to the Special Fund since its inception, while allocations from the Fund for projects in the Soviet bloc (including the 2 Cuban projects) amount to slightly over $9 million. Moreover, Soviet-bloc contributions to the other arm of the UNDP—the technical assistance program—have amounted to $27.3 million, in contrast to the $3.5 million of allocations approved for bloc countries. In other words, the funds provided by the Soviet bloc more than cover the projects financed by the UNDP in the bloc countries, including Cuba.

No part of our contribution to the Special Fund will be used to pay for projects in Cuba. They will be financed entirely from the contributions of other countries.

I trust that this information clarifies the situation with respect to United Nations Special Fund assistance to Cuba. If you should desire further information, please let me know.

Sincerely,
DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Mr. Speaker, at no point in this reply did the State Department deny that these funds are going to help train Cubans in military-related subjects—a peculiar enterprise for a peacekeeping organization like the United Nations.

Cuba is more than half a billion dollars behind in paying her share of the U.N. debts in the Congo and Middle East operations. This raises some interesting questions why Cuba should get special help from an organization she refuses to support as agreed. Where is the logic or the sense of fairplay in this proposition that some U.N. members have no say as to how their contributions are spent while other members can refuse to pay if they do not happen to agree with the programs?

Also, the so-called free world nations the State Department thinks are receiving so much more help include Algeria, the Congo, Ghana, the United Arab Republic, Haiti, Cambodia, and Indonesia. I think many of us can properly question the inclusion of these countries in the "free world" category.

The State Department maintains:

> No part of our contribution to the Special Fund will be used to pay for projects in Cuba. They will be financed entirely from the contributions of other countries.

Mr. Speaker, I certainly do not claim to be an expert in the field of United Nations funding procedures. However, I do know that the United States contributes 40 percent of the money for the Special Fund. Now this Fund has a certain amount of money to spend, and no amount of paperwork magic is going to change that amount. All we are really doing is contributing more heavily than would otherwise be the case to projects in other countries so that these other countries can contribute our share to Cuba.

In 1963, an assistance program for Cuba was sidetracked because of the resulting indignation of the public and the Congress. But, since most State Department programs never die, they just hibernate; this one is back, along with another. I would hope that public disclosure of the current plans will serve to bury these plans a little deeper this time. If this is not the case, I intend to bring the matter up again when the House considers the foreign aid bill this year.

Mr. Speaker, to conclude my remarks today, I will insert a memorandum prepared at my request by the staff of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs concerning U.N. assistance to Cuba:

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
March 16, 1966.

U.N. ASSISTANCE TO CUBA

Two projects have been approved for Cuba, financed from the U.N. Special Fund to which the United States contributes about 40 percent of the sum raised, not counting local resources made available for projects by recipient governments. The first project is for expansion of an agricultural experimental station in Santiago, Cuba, calling for an allocation of $1,157,000 from the Special Fund, including $114,500 to be paid by Cuba in cash. The second project, approved in January 1966, involves assistance to the faculty of technology of the University of Havana and calls for $2,096,500 in Special Fund money including $176,800 to be paid by Cuba in cash.

A subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate held hearings on the United Nations Special Fund with particular reference to the agricultural research project in Cuba on February 18, 1963. There was criticism of (1) Cuba's failure to pay its pledged amounts to the Special Fund, (2) her other delinquencies on U.N. accounts, (3) the question of U.S. funds in the Cuban project and (4) payments to the fund in currency of the donor country. There were no reports or recommendations stemming from the hearing and as far as I have been able to ascertain, no further action was taken. The official U.N. financial report and accounts for the year ended December 31, 1964, and report of the Board of Auditors (the latest report available) still list the project and show the amount of $1,157,600 earmarked for it. It also shows that Cuba owes $74,100 of the $109,100 total obligations for local costs. According to the same report, Cuba is fully paid up on its pledges to the special fund as of December 31, 1964.

With the exception that Cuba has now paid its pledged amounts to the special fund, the other criticisms made by the Senate apply to the project just approved in January 1966. Total arrearages by Cuba, in the Congo and Middle East operations, for which they were assessed plus the regular budget assessment, amounted to $596,063 at the time of the Senate inquiry. The latest reported total arrearage as of December 31, 1964, amounted to $690,633. The point was made and continues to be made that not one American dollar is used in the Cuban projects because the dollars are put in a segregated account, and other countries convertible currencies are used instead. The pertinent part of the Senate testimony relative to this follows:

"Senator SYMINGTON. Are you saying that when we put money into the special fund we reserve the right to say where the money is to go; to what country?

"Mr. GARDNER.[1] We have made no such formal reservation.

"What I am saying, Senator, is that we have received assurances in this case that the American dollars in our segregated account will not be used, and that Mr. Hoffman intends to use the currencies of other countries.

"Senator SYMINGTON. Doesn't that automatically mean therefore, that more of our American dollars will go to other countries?

"Mr. GARDNER. That is correct.

"Senator SYMINGTON. Then the statement is ridiculous from the technical standpoint of bookkeeping.

"Mr. GARDNER. But the other countries are not Communist, so that no American dollars or personnel or equipment will be used in this project."

The other criticism involved a discussion of payments to the Fund in convertible versus nonconvertible currency. The U.S. dollar as well as other free world currencies are convertible; bloc country contributions to the Fund are largely nonconvertible. In other words, when the U.S.S.R. contributes rubles to the Fund, they are used to pay salaries and other expenses of Russian technicians, or for purchases of goods and supplies from Russia. Similarly, the amounts cited for the two projects to be paid by Cuba in cash, $114,500 and $176,800, respectively, are paid by Cuba in Cuban pesos, which have a very limited circulation. Another significant point is that Russian rubles, and Cuban pesos, and other such currencies, of doubtful value, don't measure their real contribution because they are so overvalued in terms of real purchasing power.

In connection with the recently approved project, the Department of State maintains that since 1959, a total of 604 projects were approved in 92 nations of which 591 have been approved for free world nations. This overstates the case. The latest U.N. financial report referred to above lists current projects underway in Algeria, Congo (Brazzaville), Ghana, United Arab Republic, Haiti, Cambodia, Indonesia. Some may question the inclusion of these countries in the free world category.

ORDER REDUCING DEFENSE PURCHASE OF PORK ORIGINATED IN DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, prior to his departure to South America for a 10-day trip to explore ways of expanding our country's foreign agricultural aid programs, Secretary of Agriculture Freeman engaged in an incredible series of activities designed to depress the price of farm commodities here at home.

In a recent article by Nick Kotz which appeared in the April 17 Minneapolis Tribune Mr. Kotz explains the role played by the Department of Agriculture in the recent order of the Department of Defense reducing by 50 percent the purchases of prime pork products for our armed services. In this fine example of research and reporting Mr. Kotz points out:

> Defense and Agriculture sources both confirm that Agriculture recommended the reductions of purchases and Defense merely was carrying out the White House level decision.

I wish to point out as another in a series of administrative actions taken by the Secretary of Agriculture to combat inflation at the expense of the American farmers.

I commend Mr. Kotz's article to the attention of my colleagues since it does point out how the handling of this Defense Department order could have worked to the advantage of commodity market speculators who deal in pork belly futures. Since public information on this pork purchase reduction order was not made available until 7 weeks after it was issued, any speculator who knew of it could have "sold short" and then bought back after the effect of the cutback in purchases forced a decline in hog prices.

The article follows:

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT PORK CUT ORDER MAY HAVE HELPED SPECULATORS

(By Nick Kotz)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Johnson administration's failure to announce publicly its decision to reduce Government pork purchases may have permitted some individuals to use valuable "inside information" affecting the commodity markets.

Carrying out a White House-directed anti-inflation decision, the Defense Department has ordered the armed services to reduce by 50 percent over the next 6 months its purchases of prime pork products—pork chops, bacon, and ham.

The order was issued February 17, yet farm leaders, farmers, the news media, and the general public did not learn about the order until 7 weeks later.

Yet, Defense Department officials acknowledge that the information undoubtedly had been routinely passed along by Defense Supply Agency employees to various persons in the meatpacking and processing industry.

Agriculture officials state flatly that anyone possessing the information early would have at least a theoretical advantage in speculating on the pork bellies commodity market.

The Agriculture Department itself goes through elaborate procedures to insure that valuable market information is made public at a time when markets are closed and no one will be given an unfair advantage.

An Agriculture Department spokesman said the Defense Department should have made public the order, but that responsibility rests with the Defense Department.

Paul H. Riley, a Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, said the Agriculture Department should have advised Defense if it was wise to make the order public.

"I don't think we really considered that [effects on the commodity market]," said Riley.

"Maybe we should have. It might have been inadvertent on our part. We decided to play the whole thing on a low key."

The order went from Paul Ignatius, Assistant Secretary of Defense who is the Defense supply boss, to his counterparts in the various armed services.

The Defense Department still refuses to release copies of the entire order, and will only answer questions about it and read selected portions from it.

Department officials contend the order is an interdepartment memorandum and therefore not public information.

The Minneapolis Tribune has obtained a copy of the order, which also calls for cuts in Government purchases of certain canned fruits and vegetables.

In addition, it calls for efforts to obtain meat for troops overseas by barter agreements, rather than shipping the beef and pork from the United States.

The memo reveals that the Department was preparing anti-inflation moves as early as mid-January.

The Defense Department order stems from President Johnsons efforts to hold back inflation.

The decision was made at the White House level with principals involved besides the President including the Council of Economic Advisers, John Schnittker, Under Secretary of Agriculture, and Cyrus Vance, Under Secretary of Defense.

Defense and Agriculture Department sources both confirm that Agriculture recommended the reductions of purchases and Defense merely was carrying out the White House level decision.

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[1] Hon. Richard N. Gardner, Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs.

The economic theory was that fewer Government purchases would mean greater supply in the market, and greater supply relative to consumer demand would result in lower consumer prices.

This particular anti-inflation action was taken because prices of hogs and pork products were at their highest levels in years.

Riley said one disadvantage of issuing a press release would have been that it would have stirred up complaints about the action.

Concerning problems in taking anti-inflationary moves by cutting Government purchases, Riley commented: "If you go one way, one part of the economy criticizes you; if you go another way, someone else criticizes you."

What was the status of information concerning the order during the 7 weeks following its February 17 issuance?

The first general news stories concerning the order appeared on April 6, following stories in two trade journals based on initial information gained from persons connected with either the packing industry or the commodity market.

A delegation of farm leaders met last week with Defense and Agriculture Department officials to protest the cut in pork purchases.

These farm leaders, including top officials of the hog raising industry, all said they did not know of the order until reading news stories on April 6 and April 7.

Defense officials contend the information was available to anyone who requested it.

Officials of the Defense Supply Agency further state the order was not a secret and they assume their employees routinely spoke about the matter with the various major meat packing concerns.

"Where industry is concerned, I sure don't like to surprise them," said Smith. "We like to let them know of changes [in purchasing plans]."

Smith said he knows inquiries about the order were made to his office at least 3 weeks ago.

Charles Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, contends farmers were unfairly surprised.

"In the absence of a general announcement," said Shuman, "speculators 'in the know' were given a tremendous advantage. Farmers were being hit when they didn't even know they were being hit."

Farm bureau officials explained their theory of how insiders could have benefited in commodity speculation.

The Defense Department annually purchases about 2 percent of U.S. pork supplies including about 30 million pounds of bacon, 15 million pounds of pork chops, and 8 million pounds of ham.

A speculator in the pork bellies market who knew these purchases were going to be sliced in half would sell short, on the assumption reduced Government purchases of bacon would lead to lower market prices for bacon and hogs.

The speculator then would buy back after prices had dropped.

The price of May futures pork bellies on the Chicago Commodity Market rose slightly in the few days following February 17. But the February 17 price of 46.07 cents per pound had dropped to 44.67 on March 1.

Farm Bureau officials contend farmers also were at a market disadvantage if packers knew there was going to be a reduction in Government buying and farmers did not know.

Farmers would lack this knowledge in deciding what was the best time to market their hogs.

The price of hogs has declined markedly since a high last December.

Alex Caldwell, Administrator of the Agriculture Department's Commodity Exchange Authority, said he believes the Government decision to cut pork purchases would have had an effect on the pork bellies commodity market.

Another Agriculture Department spokesman contended the change in Government purchasing plans would be just one factor in a pork bellies futures market which is excessively speculative.

WASHINGTON SNOW JOB

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Erlenborn] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, there is a certain confusion among many of the people who live in my district and a certain suspicion that there are people in our Government who would like to eat their political cake and have it too. These are the ones who would have us believe that it is necessary for this country while fighting a war to spend billions of dollars in an antipoverty program. All this, while businessmen are complaining that they cannot hire as many people as they would like to hire.

I said that people are confused. Some of them, I am sorry to say, are becoming cynical—a condition which I believe is of grave concern.

The reasons for these conditions were outlined in an editorial which appeared in a recent issue of Suburban Life, a newspaper published in La Grange, Ill., and which circulates widely through my district. I place it in the Record under an extension of my remarks:

[From the La Grange Park (Ill.) Suburban Life, Mar. 24, 1966]

Washington Snow Job

Every wind that blows from the east brings to our ears the anguished cries of Washington politicos about the plight of the United States and how the war on poverty will bring this Nation to the pinnacle of the Great Society.

Left and right we hear of how bad off we are, how millions are walking the streets looking for employment, and how their families are one step ahead of starvation.

But from the Illinois Labor Department comes word that the unemployment compensation tax rate notices will show lower rates for thousands of employers.

"The taxes are lower in 1966 because employment has been high and unemployment and total benefits have been low in recent years. Although the average weekly benefit amount increased from $38.61 in January 1965, to $43 in January 1966, total benefits paid decreased $1.6 million, from $10.6 million in January 1965, to $9 million in January 1966.

"The volume of unemployment compensation claims is at the lowest level in many years. Number of unemployment compensation claimants in each of the first 3 weeks in February 1966, was the lowest since comparable weeks in February 1966," states the news release.

Manpower Trend, a publication of the Illinois State Employment Service for the Chicago area states, "The continuing economic upswing in the Chicago standard metropolitan statistical area at the beginning of 1966 cushioned the usual postholiday cutbacks, resulting in a less than average drop of 69,500 in nonagricultural wage and salaried employment during December–January period. The 2,674,900 level was a record for the month, with 92,900 more at work in January 1965.

"The high level of manufacturing activity was the main factor in this excellent beginning."

In this area, at least, there are plenty of jobs open for skilled help.

And industry has not waited for Uncle Sugar to pass out the sweets. It has taken it upon itself to upgrade and institute new apprentice training programs.

Because of this, industry is getting what it wants, skilled help. And it is getting it now, not when the costly and bulky Federal programs slowly move their trainees into the employment picture.

But the wagers of the war on poverty must continue to paint a dark picture in order to justify the expenditure of the huge sums of money they are pulling from the taxpayers' pocketbooks.

NOISE POLLUTION

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Kupferman] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, an increasing amount of attention has been focused recently on the problems of water and air pollution. After many years of study and concern in these two areas, this country is just now beginning to take concrete steps toward cleaning our water and air. Many of my colleagues have been as concerned with those problems as I have been.

Another serious environmental problem which demands our immediate attention is that of excessive noise. I call it "noise pollution."

Accordingly, I have today introduced a comprehensive bill to provide for a study of the complex noise situation in the United States with a view toward finding ways and means of eliminating unnecessary noise and of determining the effect of noise in general on the inhabitants of our cities and towns.

My bill, which I include in full at the end of this statement, would establish an Office of Noise Control within the Office of the Surgeon General. The Office, headed by a Director and assisted by a noise control Advisory Council, would provide grants to the States and local governments to research ways and means of control, prevention, and abatement of noise. The Office of Noise Control would cooperate fully with existing Federal agencies presently working in the specific field of jet noise abatement, and would prepare, publish, and disseminate educational materials dealing with the control, prevention, and abatement of noise.

Unlike water and air pollution, the threat of excess and uncontrolled noise is not widely recognized as a serious and immediate problem. This "noise gap" is unfortunate.

To primitive man noise was a warning signal indicating danger. Loud noises caused a fear reaction in man, and history tells us of the early employment of noise as a psychological weapon in battle. Perhaps the first record of the effect of noise dates back to the Biblical story familiar to all when the walls of Jericho were caused to fall by the blasts of many hundreds of trumpets and shouts from many people.

Concern over the increase of noise and moves to retard its increase date back to the period of the comfort-sensitive Greeks of Sybaris. Indications are that the noise problem, in general, has been recognized from the beginning of the industrial revolution, as one that would ultimately require solution.

In America one of the most complete surveys of the noise situation was made in New York under the auspices of Forum magazine as far back as 1926–28. Under the direction of Dr. E. E. Free, a study was made of the principal sources of noise in New York City, which led to recommendations of various methods of eliminating specific excessive noises.

Dr. Free suggested a number of laws to control important sources of unnecessary noise including, for example:

> The owner of any automobile or truck, street car or other vehicle found on inspection to be emitting unnecessary noise because of loose parts or bad adjustment shall be subject to heavy fine.

Effective beginnings were made on a national scale as well. For example, the National Safety Council made studies of human reactions to noise, with particular attention focused upon the effect and relationship of noise and automobile accidents. At the same time a committee appointed by the American Society of Mechanical Engineers studied methods of measuring the noisiness of machines with respect to definite terms in specifications for the manufacture of machines.

Countless other committees and individuals studied particular problems of interest, including a joint group under the sponsorship of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., and the National Electric Light Association which explored noise interference with phone conversations.

The first official body in the United States ever appointed to undertake a thorough scientific analysis of the noise problem was the New York City Noise Abatement Commission. Appointed by New York City's mayor in October of 1929, the commission was charged with the responsibility of studying the complex noise situation in New York City. It was directed to report to Dr. Shirley W. Wynne, New York's commissioner of health, on the effect of noise on the city's inhabitants and to explore ways and means of eliminating unnecessary noise. The work of the noise abatement commission culminated in an impressive 303-page report entitled "City Noise," which was published in September of 1931.

The commission channeled its efforts in five major areas by appointing committees to deal with the effect of noise on human beings, noise measurement, practical application of remedies, building code and construction, and finance.

Much of what we know today concerning noise and noise control we owe to the exhaustive work of the New York Noise Abatement Commission.

Many basic observations and conclusions supporting the detrimental effect of excessive noise were set forth in the report. For example, evidence from the commission's studies supported findings that excessive noise destroys efficiency, interrupts minimum requirements of sleep, can cause deafness, severely strains the nervous systems, is extremely costly, inhibits the normal development of infants, is the cause of accidents, and interferes with school programs.

These represent only a few of the detrimental effects of excessive noise cited by this early commission.

In 1929, the first portable sound-level meter, called a noise meter, was born. Noise measurements were made at 138 test points or stations in New York City and over 10,000 observations were made by the commission's traveling noise laboratory in an effort to make a complete scientific survey and analysis of city noise. The blast of the air hammer, the roar of riveting, and the blare of the automobile and truck horn, together with numerous other noises, were measured by trained experts and then reduced to matters of common human experience and reflected in decibel-intensity above the threshold ratios.

Specific recommendations were made by the commission with respect to specific excessive noise sources including: automobile horns, traffic control, automotive vehicles, elevated and surface electrical lines, and street surfaces.

With respect to noise in buildings, the characteristics and places of the buildings were studied as well as the treatment of indoor noise sources.

It was then believed that one way to escape the noisiness of the city was to build higher buildings which would rise above the sounds. Little did we imagine the multitude of equally as high buildings that we have today, which serve as echo chambers for the amplification of sound waves from the streets below and the sky above.

A few of the recommendations of the 1929 commission became realities by way of amendment of the local new New York City charter and code. Mufflers were required, horns were only to be used in an emergency, and several other provisions against unnecessary noise were enacted.

The basic law dealing with noise control in New York City as it exists today is set forth in section 435–5.0 of the administration code. It is set forth below:

> Section 435–5.0 Unnecessary noises prohibited.—(a) Subject to the provisions of this section, the creation of any unreasonably loud, disturbing and unnecessary noise is prohibited. Noise of such character, intensity and duration as to be detrimental to the life or health of any individual is prohibited.
>
> (b) The following acts, among others, are declared to be loud, disturbing and unnecessary noises in violation of this section, but any enumeration herein shall not be deemed to be exclusive:
>
> 1. The sounding of any horn or signal device on any automobile, motorcycle, bus, streetcar or other vehicle while stationary, except as a danger signal when an approaching vehicle is apparently out of control, or, if in motion, only as a danger signal after or as brakes are being applied and deceleration of the vehicle is intended; the creation by means of any such signal device of any unreasonably loud or harsh sound or the sounding of any such device for an unnecessary and unreasonable period of time.
>
> 2. The operation of any radio, phonograph or use of any musical instrument in such a manner or with such volume, particularly between 11 p.m. and 7 a.m., as to annoy or disturb the quiet, comfort or repose of persons in any dwelling, hotel or other type of residence.
>
> 3. The keeping of any animal or bird which by causing frequent or long continued noise shall disturb the comfort and repose of any person in the vicinity.
>
> 4. The use of any automobile, motorcycle, streetcar, or vehicle so out of repair, so loaded or in such manner as to create loud and unnecessary grating, grinding, rattling, or other noise.
>
> 5. The blowing of any steam whistle attached to any stationary boiler except to give notice of the time to begin or stop work or as a warning of danger.
>
> 6. The discharge into the open air of the exhaust of any steam engine, stationary internal combustion engine, motor vehicle or motor boat engine except through a muffler or other device which will effectively prevent loud or explosive noises therefrom.
>
> 7. The erection, including excavating, demolition, alteration or repair of any building other than between 7 a.m. and 6 p.m. on weekdays; except in case of urgent necessity in the interest of public safety and then only with a permit from the commissioner of buildings, which permit may be renewed for a period of 3 days or less while the emergency continues. (Subd. b. par. 7, amended by L. 1963, ch. 100, sec. 396.)
>
> 8. The creation of any excessive noise on any street adjacent to any school, institution of learning or court while the same is in session, or adjacent to any hospital, which unreasonably interferes with the workings of such institution, provided conspicuous signs are displayed in such streets indicating that the same is a school, hospital or court street.
>
> 9. The creation of a loud and excessive noise in connection with loading or unloading any vehicle or the opening and destruction of bales, boxes, crates, and containers.
>
> 10. The shouting and crying of peddlers, hawkers and vendors which disturb the peace and quiet of the neighborhood.
>
> 11. The use of any drum, loudspeaker or other instrument or device for the purpose of attracting attention to any performance, show or sale or display of merchandise by the creation of noise.
>
> 12. (Repealed by L.L. 1948. No. 64, October 1.)
>
> (c) Violations.—Any person who shall violate any of the provisions of this section shall be punished as follows: Upon conviction for the first offense, by a fine of not less than $5 and not more than $10 or by imprisonment for 1 day; upon conviction of every offense thereafter by a fine of not less than $10 and not more than $25, or by imprisonment for 10 days, or both. (Subd. c as amended by L.L. 1942, No. 50, October 29; L.L. 1954, No. 2, March 12; L.L. 1954, No. 125, December 15.)
>
> (d) Exemptions.—This section shall not apply to the operation or use of any organ, radio, bell, chimes, or other instrument, apparatus or device by any church, synagogue or school. (Subd. d as added by L.L. 1941, No. 55, July 15.)

Similar local statutes have been enacted in other States. These statutes have not been immune to questions as to constitutional validity. A major area of concern to attorneys across the Nation has been the validity of regulations which prohibit the operation of sound trucks and sound amplifying devices. The U.S. Supreme Court in *Saia* v. *People of the State of New York* (334 U.S. 558, 68 Sup. Ct. 1148 (1948)) held invalid a city ordinance, under which a member of a so-called religious sect, Jehovah's Witnesses, had been convicted for using a sound truck in a public park without a permit from the chief of police. In its rationale the Court cited prior decisions striking restraints on the right of free speech in violation of the 1st amendment which is incorporated in the 14th amendment as against State action. The Court stated in its 4-to-4 majority opinion, by Mr. Justice Douglas:

> We hold that section 3 of this ordinance is unconstitutional on its face, for it establishes a previous restraint on the right of free speech in violation of the 1st amendment which is protected by the 14th amendment against State action. To use a loudspeaker or amplifier one has to get a permit from the chief of police. There are no standards prescribed for the exercise of his discretion. The statute is not narrowly drawn to regulate the hours or places of use of loudspeakers, or the volume of sound (the decibels) to which they must be adjusted. The ordinance therefore has all the vices of the ones which we struck down in *Cantwell* v. *Connecticut* (310 U.S. 296; *Lovell* v. *Griffin* (303 U.S. 444); and *Hague* v. *CIO* (307 U.S. 496).

It is not my purpose here to consider the many legal questions surrounding freedom of speech and the control of noise. It may be helpful, however, to state some conclusions which Charles S. Rhyne, former president of the American Bar Association, has reached in his exacting work entitled "Municipal Control of Noise—Sound Trucks, Etc.," and published by the National Institute of Law Officers in 1947, pertaining to municipal regulation of sound devices:

> First, it has been demonstrated that previous restraints, standing alone, upon civil liberties guaranteed and protected from abridgment by the Federal Constitution will not be tolerated. If there is a previous restraint, such as requiring a license or permit from a public official, the issuance of such a license or permit must be governed by definite specific standards which do not allow censorship of any kind.
>
> If no civil liberties are involved then the regulation will be examined for its reasonableness and the extent to which it "prohibits" or "regulates" the activity.
>
> Finally, it may be stated that commercial advertising through the use of sound trucks is of such a differing nature from other uses that it can be legally and completely banned from city streets.

There is set forth at the end of this statement a copy of the applicable statement from Mr. Rhyne's Municipal Law, 1957.

The National Institute of Municipal Law Officers has further set forth in its book by Charles S. Rhyne three "model ordinances" which would regulate and prohibit, first, certain uses of sound trucks, second, certain uses of sound advertising from aircraft and, third, unnecessary noise and, which together with the annotations provided, make excellent reference sources for cities in their exploration of ways to draft or improve their existing codes.

President Johnson has voiced concern over the entire problem of environmental pollution. In 1965 the President asked his Science Advisory Committee's Environmental Pollution Panel to report on this problem. Their report of November 1965, entitled "Restoring the Quality of Our Environment," dealt in the main with air pollution. Among the various specific recommendations of the President's Committee, however, was B28, which reads as follows:

> We recommend that the Federal Government encourage the development and adoption of codes governing noise insulation in apartment buildings. Pollution of apartments by noise from either adjacent tenants or outside sources is a national common place. At least two counties have effective codes regulating this problem. Local governments should have access to codes which they can adopt with adequate reliance on both their effectiveness and their reasonableness.

I am not suggesting at this time, Mr. Speaker, that we write national codes dealing with regulation of excessive noise on a local level although we can suggest them. In my view, the model codes set forth by the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers together with existing local codes in various States would provide an adequate starting point for development of more comprehensive local laws dealing with noise. The fact remains, however, that we must have effective regulations concerning excessive noise and which specify among other things quantitatively the noise levels that constitute violations.

For example, in the city of New York at the present time a contractor is free to operate machinery at harmful noise levels at any time between the hours of 7 a.m. and 6 p.m. Anyone who has been awakened at 7 in the morning to the deafening tune of an air compressor or pneumatic drill outside his window knows the frustration if not neuroses which construction noise may cause. I am not suggesting that the construction—which is inevitable in a rapidly expanding city—be curtailed. Sensible regulations on the machines used in construction will, however, go a long way toward preserving our health and peace of mind. For example, I am informed that machinery noise may be greatly reduced by a simple device called a "residential quality silencer," an item which could be attached to an air compressor unit and would cost no more than $200.

An argument for not controlling construction noise during the daytime has been that the work is only temporary. I submit that the needs and pace of city building are such that we will be faced with continuing construction for some time to come.

Other countries, including England and West Germany, have long recognized the need for legislative control of machine and construction noise and have taken significant strides in this area. In this regard, I am attaching at the end of this statement a report entitled "Construction Noise: Neglected Health Hazard," by one of America's leading antinoise exponents, Robert Alex Baron, who is a constituent of mine.

Complaints from a goodly number of my constituents led me as a then New York City councilman to introduce in 1964 a bill, which died in committee, in the New York City Council to amend section 435-5.0—heretofore set out in full—of the New York City Administrative Code in an attempt to abate excessive machine noises, such as those from air conditioners. The language of the amendment proposed to include among those unnecessary noises prohibited:

> 12. High frequency or high pitch sounds due to the operation of any machinery situated on or near the roofs of the buildings and regardless of whether such sounds are intermittent or continuous in duration.

Approximately 10 months later the insensitivity of the New York City Transit Authority to the needs of residents in the area of the Avenue of the Americas at 55th Street, New York City, as pointed out in the New York Times, in allowing machinery to be used without mufflers or with ineffective mufflers so that the constant high noise level had a deafening and nerve shattering effect, caused me to introduce the following further prohibition and regulation, which died in committee:

> 13. The operation of any machinery in or over any street unless equipped with a muffler or other device which will effectively prevent loud or explosive noises therefrom. A loud or explosive noise shall be any sound in excess of 90 decibels at the source.
>
> 14. Every air compressor utilized in or on any street must have a silencer or a muffler in good working order.

In February of this year, 1966, as my last action as a New York City councilman, I introduced in the New York City Council an amendment which would limit the playing of transistor radios without the use of an earplug in public places, including the subways and buses. The prohibition reads as follows:

> 12. The operation or playing in any public place, including but not limited to, public transportation, private transportation available to the general public (excluding taxis and limousine service), public beaches and city streets, of any radio in such a manner as to be audible to anyone other than the owner or carrier of the radio. The operation or playing of such a radio as aforesaid with the sound reception limited to an earplug or hearing aid shall not be a violation of this provision.
>
> SEC. 2. This local law shall take effect immediately.

This bill is still pending in the committee on General Welfare of the New York City Council and has received the editorial support, among others, of the New York Daily News.

As the President's Environmental Pollution Panel suggests, substantial regulations must be enacted on a local level to abate excessive noise on "the inside" as well as the outside. Small but significant steps in this direction have been taken.

The Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn has been working on proposals which would include in the new New York City Building Code provisions for the combat of noise in multiple dwellings. Their analysis of their purpose is set forth in their letter to me of July 20, 1964, hereinafter set forth at the close of this statement.

In addition to reducing the amount of airborne noise to comfortable levels, the proposed Polytechnic code seeks to abate the "impact noises" which come from various pieces of mechanical equipment and ventilation ducts.

In this regard the National Bureau of Standards has published a monograph—No. 77-1964—entitled "Sound Insulation of Wall, Floor and Door Constructions." This publication contains acoustical test results on over 100 building constructions and is, I believe, of immense value in helping builders to erect buildings with good sound insulation.

Guidelines such as this, it is hoped, will revise the present trend toward the use of thinner construction for lower cost or even safer construction, but without regard to "sound" problems. With the realization that so many more people are moving to the cities, together with recognition of the rapid population expansion if not explosion, we must insure privacy and peace through quiet apartments which are the homes of our people.

While my bill does not now suggest national regulatory codes, it would provide Federal funds to assist the State and local governments to begin their own programs of noise control. In addition, the bill would provide funds for financing a comprehensive and energetic educational campaign to arouse public consciousness to the evils of noise and the advantages of a more quiet environment.

Before we can properly educate the public on the evils of noise, however, we must know more than we presently do about it. We must engage in an open-minded, immediate, and comprehensive research program into the causes and effects of noise on men, women, and children from a psychological, physiological, sociological, and biological point of view.

Actually a good deal of knowledge concerning the effects of noise has been gained through the diligent efforts and detailed work of several groups which have organized to voice their concern.

AEROPLANE NOISE

Probably the catalyst to the exploration of the effects of excessive noise was the jet airplane. Aviation noise was a problem to early aviators long before it became a problem to the average citizen on the ground. Today, however, the citizens living within a 5-mile radius of the modern jet-age airport share a very common and vital interest in noise abatement. It may be recalled that not too long ago Newark Airport was dramatically closed by complaints of a fearful and hostile community. Ever since then the aviation authorities have been sensitive to noise problems and the impact of community relations to aviation operations. A serious interest in this problem was displayed by the National Research Council and the Armed Forces in the form of a Committee on Hearing and Bio-Acoustics, known as CHABA, the committee responsible for advising the military forces on all facets of noise problems.

The report of the Committee on Science and Astronautics pursuant to House Resolution 133—October 1960—after careful study of testimony given during its hearings by acknowledged experts in the field of jet aircraft noise stated—House Report No. 2229, October 1960—the following conclusions:

> A great deal of noise research is underway in the Government, but there appears to be a lack of common orientation except in the Armed Forces, NASA, and CHABA.
>
> The NASA noise research program has been level budgeted for the past several years and will continue as a level effort, although noise problems are more acute than ever.
>
> More research and development effort is necessary and additional research tools are necessary, before a set of noise criteria can be drafted, around which industry can design aeronautical and space vehicles.
>
> There is no important, highly qualified Government group specifically charged with the responsibility for formulating noise criteria.

I strongly support the noteworthy work of my colleague from New York [Mr. TENZER] in his effort to abate aircraft noise.

I have had similar problems in my own 17th Congressional District of New York on helicopter noise, which disturbs the residents of Sutton Place, Turtle Bay, Murray Hill, Kips Bay, and all of Manhattan East. My constituents, Millicent Brower and William Gold, Esq., have been tireless workers on this question.

My bill includes proposals to centralize research projects to reduce aircraft noise under the National Aeronautics and Space Agency, and to authorize the F.A.A. to reimburse municipalities and airline and airport owners and operators for part of the cost of land acquisition or technical modifications to reduce jet noise.

Problems of aircraft noise are discussed below in the subject heading "Understanding Noise."

Moreover, my bill specifically provides that the Office of Noise Control should collect from other Federal agencies data relating to noise control, prevention, and abatement. It further provides that the Office of Noise Control shall cooperate with and fully coordinate its programs and activities with the programs and activities of other Federal agencies with responsibilities in this field. We must pool our resources and energy to develop the common orientation which the Committee on Science and Astronautics has said is lacking. The Office of Noise Control would accomplish this essential step in the comprehensive attack on noise.

UNDERSTANDING NOISE

Noise has been defined simply as an unwanted sound. It really has two aspects. Subjectively, noise is something we feel inside or hear and recognize, such as a train whistle. Objectively, noise is a form of energy in the air, invisible vibrations that can enter our ear and make us "hear something."

Noise may be measured in various ways. One way is to measure the deafening effect by the use of an audiometer. Another, and perhaps more common method is to record the noise level directly in decibels.

The decibel—known as "dB"—is a dimensionless unit used to describe levels of acoustic pressure, power, and intensity. It is a logarithmic ratio between two sound pressures. In other words, a difference between two sound-pressure levels of 10 decibels means a relative increase of sound energy of 10 times the lower level, not an arithmetic increase of 10 points. A doubling of the apparent noise level means the sound energy has been multiplied by 10.

Octave bands are arbitrary spreads of frequencies useful for rating noise hazards since some frequencies are more likely to cause hearing damage than others.

Industrial noise levels generally range from 75 to 125 decibels and higher. It is usually recommended that above 85 decibels industries institute hearing conservation programs.

The sound of everyday conversation is about 60 decibels. Small communities on the outskirts of the urban areas may have a rumble of about 30 decibels by day and 23 decibels by night.

While the relationship of noise levels and human tolerance is to some degree subjective, it is generally agreed that 130 decibels is the maximum noise bearable for human ears. This level would approximate the sound of jets in an airport. It should be noted, however, that prolonged exposure to less—say 110 decibels—may well result in loss of hearing.

It has been stated that one man's music is another man's noise. Certain sounds, however, are every man's noise. This is more clearly understood when one begins to appreciate what noise can do to people, both psychologically and physiologically.

The U.S. Supreme Court in *Public Utilities Commission* v. *Pollak* (343 U.S. 451 (1952)) decided that the constitutional rights of District of Columbia transit patrons were not violated by the broadcasting of news, music, and commercials in buses and trolleys. Mr. Justice Douglas' dissent demonstrates the indignity that many feel at being part of a "captive audience" for noise.

English radio audiences recently heard Jack de Manio interview the well known Dr. John Anthony Parr. Their brief discussion was on noise and ill health and, I believe, is of great value in appreciation of the effects of noise. It is set forth herein:

The Doctor Says Noise Does Affect Your Health

> Well, Doctor, I know noise irritates, but can it have any real effect on our health?
>
> Yes it can, in fact it is only of latter years that the problem has received any intensive scientific study. One experiment conducted in France submitted a group of soldiers to a loud noise for 15 minutes. They were then tested and to everybody's surprise it was discovered they were color blind for over an hour. Another set of experiments were carried out in Germany where they found that excessive continuous noise could set up inflammation of the stomach.
>
> Why should noise upset our health?
>
> Well, its all due to an inborn alarm system that we have. A sudden loud noise spells danger and we react. In fact we automatically get ready either to defend ourselves or for flight. Our muscles tense and we jerk, our abdominal blood vessels contract to drive extra blood to our muscles and this produces that feeling of the stomach turning over, and in an instant the liver releases stores of glucose to provide fuel for the muscles which may have to fight or run. This internal upheaval if repeated again and again is exhausting physically and mentally, and ultimately can cause a nervous breakdown and then it is but a step to contracting one of the stress diseases.
>
> But surely we can get used to noise?
>
> Yes, that is true, but only at a price. One cannot ignore a noise, only put oneself in a condition in which we do not make any obvious reaction. It means keeping all the muscles tense so that we are not jumping up and down like a human yo-yo, and

> keeping ourselves in this state of permanent tension leads on to mental stress. What is more, we become less and less efficient.
>
> Less efficient? That's quite a point, how does this come about?
>
> Well, as you know only too well Jack, noise can be measured in phons. A noisy office is 70 phons and a tube train is only between 80 and 90 and you wouldn't expect anybody to do any serious brainwork in a tube train; at 80 to 90 phons the level of noise almost prohibits the use of the telephone. Some experiments carried out in America showed that a copy typist doing routine work in a noisy office has her efficiency reduced by a fifth. Whilst her boss doing brainwork at his desk is one-third less efficient. As a result, less work is done, mistakes increase and accidents happen.
>
> Tell me, Doctor, have you a special noise that drives you mad?
>
> By golly there is, the sound of the telephone at 3 in the morning. It literally hurls me out of bed, throws me against the wall and sets me jumping up and down, by the time it's finished I am too exhausted to speak above a whisper. I want the phone equipped with a dulcet tone which eases me into consciousness and does not cause me a violent physical assault.

Karl D. Kryter, a consultant to Bolt Beranek & Newman, Inc., Cambridge, Mass., and a pioneer in the effects of noise, sets forth interesting and helpful comments in an article entitled "Psychological Reactions to Aircraft Noise," appearing in Science, volume 151, pages 1346–1355, March 18, 1966, which may aid in our understanding of noise. In a comparison of different noise sources he states:

> One way to estimate the impact of aircraft noise upon a community is to compare the perceived noise levels for sounds generated by aircraft with those for the other community noises; such a comparison is presented in table 12. It is difficult to draw a single curve to represent the noise from jet aircraft, particularly following takeoff. Different aircraft have somewhat different flight characteristics, and reductions in engine power at various stages after takeoff reduce the noise level. On the other hand, the takeoff noise depicted is for short- and medium-range jet aircraft, but longer range, more powerful jets generate higher noise levels than the takeoff noise levels shown in table 12. As may be seen in table 12, jet aircraft noise is greater by an order of magnitude than other common noises, and it is, therefore, not surprising that communities near airports complain about it.
>
> These and related experiments have shown, nevertheless, that people exposed to the noise object to it, the specific noise levels found acceptable being a function of the activity the person is engaged in. For example, the judged "threshold of annoyance" is found to vary, for steady-state sound, between 40 and 90 PNdb, depending upon whether the person was a "conference room" worker, a clerical worker, or a worker in a machine shop (15). Somewhat similarly it has been found that, in a community, the threshold of annoyance due to intermittent real-life sounds (from aircraft, automobiles, and so on) varies between about 50 and 90 PNdb. (See table 12, end of this statement.)

While extensive research has been devoted to the measurement and the evaluation of causes and effects pertaining to jet aircraft noise, not enough attention has been given to the evaluation and effects of other sounds. What we must do is engage in a procedure that will permit a study of intercomparisons of sounds of widely different character. For example, the sounds of helicopters, dishwashers, air conditioners, automobiles, factories, and so forth. In other words, we must study how "noisy" various sounds are rather than how "loud" they are.

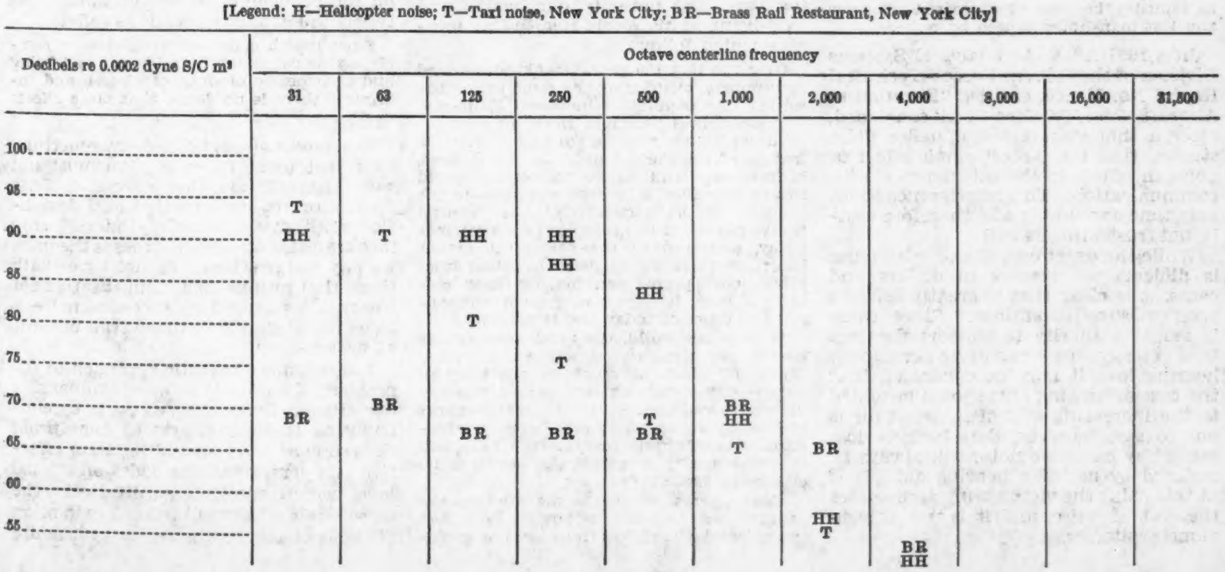
The well-known Dr. Samuel Rosen, consulting ear surgeon at Mount Sinai Hospital, New York, along with four of his colleagues from Germany and Egypt, completed dramatic research concerning the relation of noise to hearing loss and coronary heart disease, which I believe most helpful in understanding the effects of noise. His discussion of the problem is included at the end of this statement.

In three separate studies made of the primitive Mabaan Tribe in the jungle of southeast Sudan, it was demonstrated that, with aging, their hearing in high frequencies maintains considerably higher levels when compared to similar population groups in New York. The Mabaan environment is almost free of noise, with ambient noise level measuring 34 to 40 decibels on the C scale. The Mabaans are known to be free of hypertension throughout life. They enjoy freedom from coronary attacks and experience minimal atherosclerosis. It was surprising to learn that at 500 to 6,000 cycles per second hearing is significantly more acute in all Mabaans aged 10 years through 70 years than in people of the same age who live in the United States. We have come in the United States to accept loss of hearing as a byproduct of growing older. The facts indicate, however, that exposure for a long period of time to excessive noise is a leading cause of loss of hearing in older people. By way of prevention we must act now to curb this dreadful and unnecessary trend.

As I have heretofore stated, many of the people in my district have voiced increasing concern over the shattering clap of the helicopters which transport airplane passengers several times daily between the Pan Am Building and Kennedy Airport. They complain that sleep necessary for their children as well as themselves is constantly being interrupted. The noise from the blades and engine of the huge helicopter used in the shuttle also interferes with the rest required by so many of the bedridden patients confined in the hospitals directly below the path of the flights.

In a recent interview with Dr. Stanley Mohler, medical consultant to the FAA on noise problems, I learned of an interesting sample of noises taken only 3 months ago in the east area of my district over which the helicopter flies. I would like to include at this point in the RECORD a table which graphically displays in decibels and octave frequency a comparison of three common sources of noise together with Dr. Mohler's brief explanation:

[Legend: H—Helicopter noise; T—Taxi noise, New York City; BR—Brass Rail Restaurant, New York City]



[Legend: H—Helicopter noise; T—Taxi noise, New York City; BR—Brass Rail Restaurant, New York City]—Continued

Decibels re 0.0002 dyne S/C m²	Octave centerline frequency										
	31	63	125	250	500	1,000	2,000	4,000	8,000	16,000	31,500
50								T			
45											
40									T HH BR	T	T
35										HH BR	
30											
25											HH BR
20											

NEW YORK CITY—NOISE IN FOUR LOCATIONS

Noise samples were taken on February 16, 1966, in the Brass Rail Restaurant (near Times Square), inside a taxicab driving through Manhattan, and inside two commuter shuttle aircraft (one jet powered and one piston powered).

The above measurements are portrayed in the attached illustration. The noise samples were taken by the Federal Aviation Agency.

The illustrations show that the lower frequencies contain most of the sound energy with regard to the three vehicles. The restaurant contained relatively little sound energy in the lower frequencies. The curves for all four locations follow relatively similar patterns in the mid- and upper-frequency ranges.

Occupants of shuttle helicopters are exposed to similar noise energies as those illustrated in the attachment.

Another aspect in the evaluation of the effect of noise is the fact that noise is expensive. The early New York City Commission noted the inefficiency caused by noise among industrial workers and office personnel. In a July 1960 issue of Popular Mechanics magazine, in an article entitled "What Price Noise" it was stated:

> An estimated $2 million is lost each day to industry because of decreased efficiency and lost man hours caused by noise.

In a 1961 ASD—Aeronautical Systems Division of the U.S. Air Force—Technical Report No. 61-160, entitled "Reaction to Aircraft Noise," Welden Clark concluded, after a thorough review of office noise studies, that the largest single effect of noise in offices is the interference with communication. This interference is not only time consuming and therefore costly, but frustrating as well.

While the exact cost of excessive noise is difficult to measure in dollars and cents, it is clear that it greatly inhibits good working conditions. Since there is ample authority to support the fact that excessive noise can cause permanent hearing loss, it may be concluded that the cost of hearing aids should be added to the increasing cost of noise. This is not to say, however, that hearing loss caused by excessive noise will always be restored by use of a hearing aid. It is at this point the victim truly appreciates the cost of noise, and it is not only in monetary terms.

Another area in which noise has been identified as having a damaging effect is on our streets and highways. We know, for example, that one truck with a defective muffler can produce a roar equivalent to 90 or 100 passenger cars traveling simultaneously.

New York State became the first State, to my knowledge, with a workable antinoise act when in July 1965 Governor Rockefeller signed legislation which prohibits and defines excessive noise on the public highways. The act defines as excessively noisy, a vehicle which produces a sound of 88 decibles or more on the A scale. State Senator Max Berking, sponsor of the act, said when the bill was passed:

> Noise in the larger cities has mounted an average of 1 decibel a year for the past 30 years. In New York City 40 percent of the excessive noise is caused by trucks with defective exhaust systems.

April 7, 1966, the World Health Organization celebrated its 18th anniversary with the theme "Man and His Cities." Dr. M. G. Candau, Director-General of the World Health Organization, demonstrated a keen awareness to the increasing threat of noise to our health and well-being in his World Health Day message which follows:

> Over the last 100 years, mankind doubled in numbers, but during the same period the world's city population increased 5 times.
>
> These figures illustrate the swift advance of urbanization that is so characteristic a feature of the world today. In this process, health may tend to be forgotten. World Health Day 1966 is to draw attention to the human needs—particularly the mental health needs—of our complex urban settings today, and also to the contribution that health workers in cooperation with other professional people can make toward creating a more harmonious, human environment in cities of today and tomorrow.
>
> All over the world, the mushrooming city growth has given rise to slums and shanty towns, in which as much as one-third of today's city population are herded together in conditions contrary to the requirements of healthy living. But even when a minimum of basic physical requirements are met, the modern city threatens the health of its citizens in a number of ways.
>
> Many a person coming to the city from the country has to learn to put up with less space, less daylight, less fresh air, less greenery, more noise, but less liberty to make noise. Both work and play are different. Old established patterns of communal living are disrupted. The newcomers may fail to keep up with city ways, and adjustment problems of various kinds may arise. Psychosomatic and neurotic disorders are undoubtedly largely associated with the congestion and noise, the hectic rhythm of city life, its vast anonymity, and its many strident appeals to the individual to this or that. Furthermore, as a counterpart to the glamour of the modern city, to its employment possibilities, its educational wealth and its cultural achievements, we have delinquency, crime, prostitution, alcoholism, and the excessive use of drugs.
>
> The health worker clearly has his part to play in dealing with these problems. At the present state of knowledge, many questions still remain unanswered in this field. But much can be done, by the professions, the authorities, and by civic groups, but also by the citizens at large to make our cities better places to live in.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD NOISE

Our attitude toward noise must be dictated by our knowledge of what it is and what it can do to us. The first conclusion as to the effect of noise reached by the English report of the Committee on the Problem of Noise in its July 1963 report to Parliament reads as follows:

> Since health is defined as "a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely absence of disease and infirmity" there is no doubt that noise affects health.

Excessive noise is not merely something to adjust to or tolerate. We must not take the attitude that excessive noise from aircraft, construction and demolition sites, motor vehicles, industry surface transit, and other sources is the price we pay for growth. I do not agree with those that profess that compensation for the injuries caused by excessive noise is to be found simply in the overall benefits of progress.

I urge a more realistic approach to the problem of noise. We should compensate our citizens living near airports by contributing to their efforts to soundproof their homes. We should legislate effective and comprehensive codes on a local level which specify quantitatively the noise levels which will result in violation of the law. Above all, we must recognize noise as a substantial and immediate threat to our health and well-being.

A leading acoustical authority, Lewis Goodfriend, estimates that New York City noise could be reduced as much as 80 percent. This statement is found in the article on "The Sound of Sounds That Is New York," by Harold C. Schonberg in the New York Times Magazine of Sunday, May 23, 1965. All those who have researched the noise problem tend to agree that a good deal may be done to reduce excessive noise.

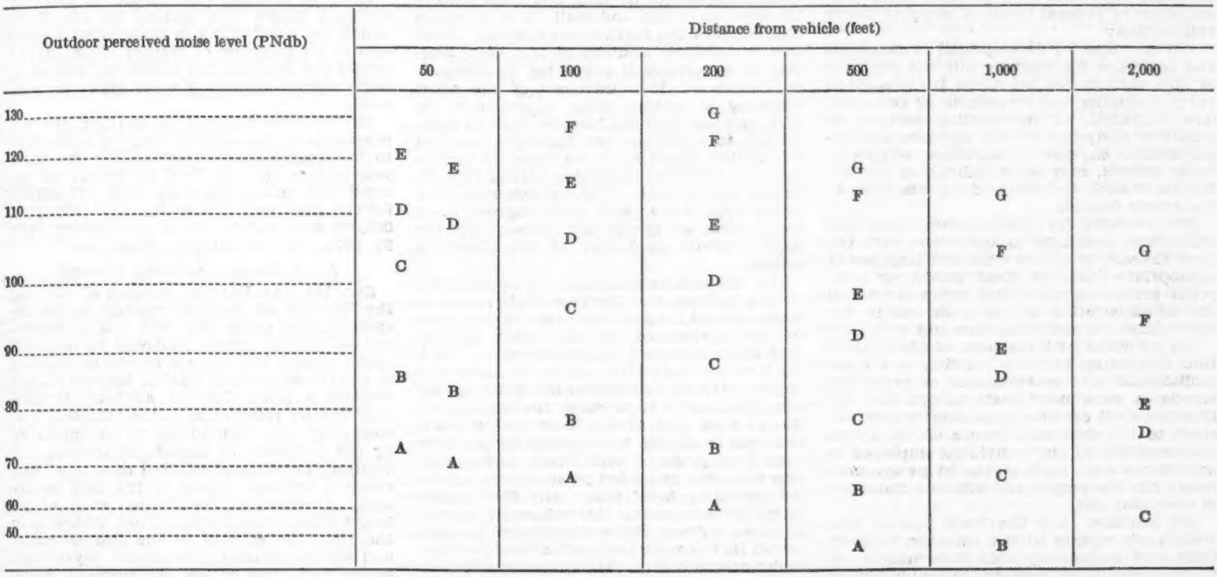
It is time for this country to undergo introspection regarding its attitude toward noise. We must act now so that in a few years we will not be caught in the too often experienced dilemma of having to say, "We should have done this long ago."

We must no longer turn a deaf ear to the problems of excessive noise. We must open our eyes to the serious problem of noise today.

TABLE 12.—*Typical levels of intermittent noise produced by vehicles (an increase of 10 PNdb is usually equivalent to a 100-percent increase in subjectively judged noises)*

[Legend: A—Passenger car, 15 to 25 miles per hour; B—Passenger car, 50 to 60 miles per hour; C—Truck or motorcycle, maximum highway speed or accelerating; D—Diesel freight train, 30 to 50 miles per hour; E—4-engine propeller aircraft approach power; F—Turbo fan aircraft approach power; G—Short 8 medium range fan aircraft takeoff power]

ESTIMATED LEVEL AT COMMUNITY HOUSES TYPICALLY NEAREST SOURCES OF NOISE



H.R. —

A bill to provide for a comprehensive program for the control of noise

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Noise Control Act of 1966."

TITLE I

Office of Noise Control

SEC. 101. (a) (1) There is hereby authorized to be established, within the Office of the Surgeon General, an Office of Noise Control (hereinafter referred to as the "Office").

(2) The Office shall be headed by a Director who shall be appointed in accordance with the civil service laws.

(b) It shall be the duty and function of the Office to—

(1) administer the programs authorized by sections 102 and 103 of this title;

(2) assist the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Surgeon General, in the planning and carrying on of any activities which relate to noise, its control, prevention, and abatement, and with respect to which such Secretary or the Surgeon General has or assumes any duty, function, or responsibility;

(3) collect, from other Federal agencies as well as from other sources, data relating to noise, its control, prevention, and abatement;

(4) prepare, publish, and disseminate educational materials dealing with the control, prevention, and abatement of noise; and

(5) in its discharging duties, functions, and responsibilities, to cooperate with and coordinate its programs and activities with the programs and activities of other Federal agencies which have or assume any duty, function, or responsibility, for or relating to noise, its control, prevention, and abatement.

Grant to States

SEC. 102. (a) For the purpose of enabling the Director to make grants under this section to States for the purpose of providing programs of noise control, research into the causes and effects of noise and of providing programs for the investigation of existing causes of excessive noise in our environment and research into new techniques of controlling, preventing, and abating noise, there is authorized to be appropriated $3,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, $5,000,000 for fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, $7,000,000 for fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, $9,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $9,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971.

(b) (1) From the sums appropriated pursuant to subsection (a) for any fiscal year, the Director shall reserve an amount (not in excess of 2 per centum of such sums) which he shall allot among Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands, in accordance with their respective needs for funds to carry out the purposes of this section. From the remainder of such sums the Director shall allot to each other State an amount which bears the same ratio to the amount of such remainder as the population of such State bears to the total of the populations of all of the States of the United States.

(2) The amount of any State's allotment under paragraph (1) for any fiscal year which the Director determines will not be required for such fiscal year in carrying out the State plan (if any) approved under subsection (c) shall be available for the reallotment from time to time, on such dates during such year as the Director may fix, to other States in proportion to the original allotments to such State under such paragraph for such year, but with such proportionate amount for any of such States being reduced to the extent it exceeds the sum the Director estimates such State needs and will be able to use for such year for carrying out the State plan; and the total of such reductions shall similarly be reallotted among the States whose proportionate amounts were not so reduced. Any amount reallotted to a State under this paragraph during a year from funds appropriated pursuant to subsection (a) shall be deemed a part of its allotment under paragraph (1) for such year.

(3) The amount of each allotment to any State for any fiscal year under this subsection shall be available to such State, if such State has a plan approved by the Director under subsection (c) in effect on the first day of such fiscal year, to pay not more than 75 per centum nor less than 33 per centum of the total cost of carrying out the State plan. In the case of any State, which on such first day does not have such a plan and has not previously received a planning grant under this sentence, the Director may pay to such State not more than $35,000 nor less than $10,000 for the purpose of enabling such State to prepare a plan under this section and establish a noise control program, and any amount so paid shall be charged to the allotment of the State to which it is paid.

(c) (1) Any State which desires to receive a grant under this section (other than a grant authorized under the last sentence of subsection (b) (3)) must prepare a State plan which is approved by the Director pursuant to this subsection.

(2) The Director shall approve a State plan under this section if he finds that such plan—

(A) establishes or designates a single State agency (hereinafter referred to as the "State agency") as the sole agency for administering or supervising the administration of the plan, which agency shall be the agency primarily responsible for the coordination of State programs and activities related to noise control;

(B) provides for such financial participation by the State or communities therein with respect to activities and projects under the plan as the Director may by regulation prescribe in order to assure continuation of desirable activities and projects after termination of Federal financial support under this section;

(C) provides for development of programs and activities for carrying out the purposes of this section (as set forth in subsection (a)), including the furnishing of consultative, technical, or information services to public or nonprofit private agencies and organizations engaged in activities relating to noise control, and for coordinating the activities of such agencies and organizations to the extent feasible;

(D) provides for consultation with and utilization, pursuant to agreement with the head thereof, of the services and facilities of appropriate State or local public or nonprofit private agencies and organizations in the administration of the plan and in the development of such programs and activities;

(E) provides such methods of administration (including methods relating to the establishment and maintenance of personnel standards on a merit basis, except that the Director shall exercise no authority with respect to the selection, tenure of office, and compensation of any individual employed in accordance with such methods) as are necessary for the proper and efficient operation of the plan; and

(F) provides that the State agency will make such reports to the Director, in such form and containing such information, as may reasonably be necessary to enable him to perform his functions under this section and will keep such records and afford such access thereto as the Director may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports.

(3)(A) The Secretary shall not finally disapprove any State plan, or any modification thereof submitted under this section without first affording the State reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing.

(B) Whenever the Director, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to the State agency administering or supervising the administration of a State plan approved under this subsection, finds that—

(i) the State plan has been so changed that it no longer complies with the provisions of paragraph (2), or

(ii) in the administration of the plan there is a failure to comply substantially with any such provision, the Director shall notify such State agency that no further payments to the State under this section (or, in his discretion, that further payments to the State will be limited to projects under or portions of the State plan not affected by such failure), until he is satisfied that there will no longer be any failure to comply. Until he is so satisfied, no further payments shall be made to such State under this section (or payments shall be limited to projects under or portions of the State plan not affected by such failure).

(C) A State which is dissatisfied with a final action of the Director under paragraph (2) or (3) may appeal to the United States court of appeals for the circuit in which the State is located, by filing a petition with such court within sixty days after such final action. A copy of the petition shall be forthwith transmitted by the clerk of the court to the Director, or any officer designated by him for that purpose. The Director thereupon shall file in the court the record of the proceedings on which he based his action, as provided in section 2112 of title 28, United States Code. Upon the filing of such petition, the court shall have jurisdiction to affirm the action of the Director or to set it aside, in whole or in part, temporarily or permanently, but until the filing of the record, the Director may modify or set aside his order. The findings of the Director as to the facts, if supported by substantial evidence, shall be conclusive, but the court, for good cause shown, may remand the case to the Director to take further evidence, and the Director may thereupon make new or modified findings of fact and may modify his previous action, and shall file in the court the record of the further proceedings. Such new or modified findings of fact shall likewise be conclusive if supported by substantial evidence. The judgment of the court affirming or setting aside, in whole or in part, any action of the Director shall be final, subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28, United States Code. The commencement of proceedings under this subparagraph shall not, unless so specifically ordered by the court, operate as a stay of the Director's action.

(D) Notwithstanding any other provision of this section, the Director shall refuse to make a grant for any fiscal year to any State for the purpose of carrying out a plan of such State approved under subsection (c), if the Director finds, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to the State agency administering or supervising the administration of such plan, that a lesser sum of State and local funds will be expended on the noise control program of such State during such year than was expended on such program for the preceding fiscal year. Any final action by the Director under this subsection may be appealed by any State dissatisfied by such action in the same manner as that provided under subsection (c)(3)(C) for appeals from final actions of the Director under subsection (e) (2) or (3).

(E) Payments of grants under this section may be made (after necessary adjustment on account of previously made underpayments or overpayments) in advance or by way of reimbursement, and in such installments and on such conditions, as the Director may determine.

(F) As used in this section, the term "State" means a State, Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, the Canal Zone, Guam, American Samoa, or the Virgin Islands.

Research and demonstration projects

SEC. 103. The Director is authorized to make grants to any public or nonprofit private agency, organization, or institution, or to engage by contract the services of any such agency, organization, institution, or of any individual—

(A) to conduct research into the causes and effects of noise, the means which may be employed for its control, prevention, and abatement, such research to include a study and evaluation of biological, physiological, sociological, sociocultural, and psychological factors which are, or may be, significant to an understanding of noise, its causes and effects, or its control, prevention, and abatement;

(B) to provide training of professional and technical personnel in the approaches, methods, and techniques for the proper control, prevention, and abatement of noise;

(C) to establish and conduct demonstration projects to develop and evaluate new techniques, approaches, and methods in the control, prevention, and abatement of noise, such projects to include development of specialized courses in colleges, universities and other institutions of higher education, relating to noise, its causes, effects, control, prevention, and abatement.

(D)(1) To the extent he deems it appropriate, the Director shall require the recipient of any grant or contract under this section to contribute money, facilities, or services for carrying out the project for which such grant or contract was made.

(2) Payments under this section pursuant to a grant or contract may be made (after necessary adjustment, in the case of grants, on account of previously made overpayments or underpayments) in advance or by way of reimbursement, and in such installments and on such conditions, as the Director may determine.

(E) The Director shall make no grant or contract under this section in any State which has established or designated a State agency for purposes of section 102(c)(2)(A) unless the Director has consulted with such State agency regarding such grant or contract.

(F) For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this section, there is authorized to be appropriated $5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, $7,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, $10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, $12,000,000 each for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the following fiscal year.

Noise Control Advisory Council

SEC. 104. (a) For the purpose of advising the Director on matters bearing on his responsibilities under this title and of reviewing all project grants proposed to be made under section 102, there is hereby established in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare a Noise Control Advisory Council (hereinafter referred to as the "Council") to consist of nine individuals to be appointed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") without regard to the civil service laws. Members of the Council shall be selected from persons who are not otherwise in the full-time employ of the United States and who are skilled in medicine, psychology, government, law or law enforcement, social work, public health, or education, or who have demonstrated particular interest in the special problems of noise control, prevention, and abatement.

(b) Each member of the Council shall hold office for a term of three years, except that (1) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term, and (2) the terms of office of the members first taking office shall expire, as designated by the Secretary at the time of appointment, three at the end of the first year, three at the end of the second year, and three at the end of the third year after the date of appointment. No individual shall be eligible to be appointed as a member of the Council after he has served as a member of the Council for two terms.

(c) Members of the Council shall, while attending meetings or conferences of the Council, be entitled to receive compensation at a rate fixed by the Secretary, but not exceeding $75 per diem, including travel time, and, while so serving away from their homes or regular places of business, they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73b–2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

(d) The Council shall report not less often than once each fiscal year to the Secretary and to the Congress on the work of the Office and other Federal agencies in the field of noise control, prevention, and abatement.

(e)(1) Not less often than once each fiscal year, the Council shall submit to the Secretary and to the Congress a report containing full and complete information on (1) the work and activities of the Office, (2) the work and activities relating to noise control, prevention, and abatement of other agencies of the Federal Government, (3) and the work and activities relating to noise control, prevention, and abatement of the States, and the role assistance provided under this title has played in such work and activities. The Council may include in any such report such suggestions and recommendations as it deems advisable, including suggestions and recommendations which would encourage and assist local communities in the establishment and expansion of noise control programs. The first such report submitted shall cover the period beginning on the date of the establishment of the Office and ending as short a time before the making of such report as is feasible, and each following report shall cover the period beginning with the day following the last day covered by the preceding report and ending as short a time before the making of such report as is feasible.

(e)(2) In addition to the annual report, the Council is authorized to submit to the Secretary and to the Congress such reports, containing such information and such recommendations, as the Council deems advisable.

TITLE II

Declaration of policy of aircraft noise control

SEC. 201. It is the finding of Congress that the impact of aircraft-generated noise upon millions of persons beneath or near the flight paths of such aircraft interrupts and disturbs the peace and quietude of homelife, interferes with public assemblies, and, in general, seriously disrupts the community life, all of which the citizens have a right to enjoy; that the extensive operation of jet-powered aircraft is contributing to the excessive pollution of the air creating thereby a hazard to the health and welfare of the public; and that the operation of aircraft and airports is the cause of various nuisances to nearby residents. It is therefore declared to be the policy and intent of Congress to abate and alleviate the disturbance and annoyance caused by the operation of aircraft and airports, and to control, prevent, and abate excessive noise from other sources.

Amendment of Federal Aviation Act of 1958

SEC. 202. Section 302 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 (49 U.S.C. 1343) is amended by inserting immediately after subsection (i) the following new subsection:

"AIRCRAFT NOISE AND POLLUTION CONTROL SERVICE; POWERS AND DUTIES OF ADMINISTRATOR

"(j)(1) There is hereby established in the Agency a Service to be known as the Aircraft Noise and Pollution Control Service. There shall be at the head of such Service a Director who shall be appointed by the Administrator subject to the civil service and classification laws. The Administrator shall delegate to the Director of the Aircraft Noise and Pollution Control Service the powers and duties of the Administrator relating to the elimination of noise created by aircraft, to the reduction of dangers of air pollution from the use of aircraft, and the protection of communities in this country from excessive interference or annoyance due to the operation of aircraft.

"(2) The Administrator shall conduct research and investigations, including the investigation of complaints, cooperate with local civic organizations and municipalities, and coordinate and consolidate current research projects to accomplish the following purposes:

"(A) Develop a workable measuring system for correlating the intensity and quality of aircraft noise with the distress to people on the ground caused by such noise.

"(B) Develop quieter aircraft through research and development in the fields of airframe and powerplant design and in the field of vertical takeoff and landing equipment for aircraft.

"(C) Develop a comprehensive body of knowledge concerning methods and devices for aircraft noise abatement, including but not limited to, mechanical devices such as noise suppression devices for aircraft engines and ground baffle systems, procedural techniques applied through air traffic control systems such as preferential runway systems and greater ascent and descent angles for aircraft, and administrative procedures for aircraft noise abatement through local zoning regulations, airport site selection, and encouragement of appropriate land use by both Government and private persons in areas near airports and along present and proposed flight lines.

"(D) Coordinate research relating to aircraft noise abatement.

"(E) Foster the rapid evolution of non-air-pollution aircraft.

"(F) Determine the immediate cause and develop a solution for such other nuisances, arising from the operation of aircraft or airports, as may, from time to time, come to the attention of the Director.

"(3)(A) The Administrator shall, with due regard to safety, establish such rules and regulations as may be necessary to require the maximum utilization of aircraft noise elimination techniques and devices, the maximum utilization of techniques and devices for the reduction of the amount of pollution deposited in the air and for the abatement or elimination of such other conditions which constitute a nuisance to the public.

"(B) The Administrator shall, in his sound discretion, reimburse domestic air carriers for such sum as he may deem appropriate, and within the available appropriation of funds, up to 30 per centum of the actual expense involved in modifying existing aircraft or purchasing new aircraft designed to comply with any rule or regulation promulgated under this section.

"(C) The Administrator shall, in his sound discretion, reimburse the owners or operators of any airport for such sum as he may deem appropriate and within the available appropriation of funds, up to 30 per centum of the actual expense involved in modifying such airport to comply with any rule or regulation promulgated under this section.

"(D) The Administrator shall, in his sound discretion, reimburse the State or any municipality for such sum as he may deem appropriate, and within the available appropriation of funds, up to 90 per centum of the actual expense involved in acquiring land surrounding an airport or along present or proposed flight lines when such land is acquired wholly or in part to reduce the effect of noise, glare, or other annoyance from the operation of such airport; the Administrator may, by agreement, condition such grant on the preservation or use of such land for such public purposes as conservation parks, and roads; reimbursement may be provided for land previously acquired if it is so dedicated."

(d) That portion of the table of contents contained in the first section of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 which appears under the heading "Sec. 302. Organization of Agency," is amended by striking out "(j) Supergrades." and insert in lieu thereof "(j) Aircraft Noise and Pollution Control Service; Powers and Duties of Administrator."

Mr. Speaker, for serious students of this subject, the following will be of great interest:

COMMENTS OF ROBERT ALEX BARON ON CONSTRUCTION NOISE AND SUGGESTED LANGUAGE FOR NOISE CONTROL REGULATIONS

Robert Alex Baron has long been an outspoken leader in the fight for noise abatement. He is founder of the Upper Sixth Avenue Noise Abatement Association and is a member of the Noise Abatement Society of England. On May 13, 1966, he will address the 14th International Congress for Noise Abatement in Baden-Baden, Germany, on the problems of noise abatement in America.

Comments and suggestions of Mr. Baron follow:

CONSTRUCTION NOISE: NEGLECTED HEALTH HAZARD

(By Robert Alex Baron)

The American public is not being told the truth about noise pollution, and furthermore, is encouraged to believe the myths that prevent an intelligent attack on a problem that grows menacingly worse each year.

As one who is actively involved in a campaign to abate urban noise, especially construction noise, I am appalled at the barbaric callousness with which children, the elderly, all segments of the population, are exposed to possibly damaging and lethal dosages of noise and asked to accept this torture as a "necessary evil."

If this language sounds extreme, please note this excerpt from Western Germany's new law for protection against construction noise: "It is necessary to control the intimidation of the public by construction noise * * * noise exceeding the limits of what could be considered human endurance."

What is this construction noise that is called "intimidating?" It is the noise generated by the air compressors, pneumatic drills, cranes, powersaws, cement mixers, and ramming devices necessary for demolition and construction. It is sound of a degree found in noisy factories, subways, and near four-engine bombers. It is unwanted sound that can be legally maintained from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. (and through the night by special permit) 6 days a week, week in and week out for many months and years. It is noise legally defined as "temporary" and "necessary" and thus excluded from the laws of nuisance.

In an attempt to abate the 100-plus decibels of a 3-year construction project outside my midtown Manhattan apartment and office, I canvassed every area of city government, progressing from the policeman on the beat to the commissioner of health and ultimately the mayor. Finding only indifference and ignorance, I extended my search for relief from the nagging noise to the Governor's office and finally the U.S. Public Health Service. I also joined the Acoustical Society of America and communicated with noted experts in the field of acoustical science and engineering.

Imagine my amazement when I discovered the American public is completely at the mercy of the construction industry, that no program exists on any level of government to cope with construction noise, and what is even more alarming, that the predominant attitude of American engineers, lawmakers, and the courts abets any degree of construction noise as a "natural right" of that industry. Where "social utility" is involved, public suffering is "the price of progress."

This in spite of the World Health Organization's call upon metropolitan planners and environmental health officials "to insure that both in the general urban environment and in dwellings, noise and vibration are kept to acceptable levels," because "noise and vibration are known to exert deleterious effects on numerous organs of the human body, especially the nervous system."

The public neglect is not mirrored in private industry and in agencies of the Federal Government dealing with outer space and the Military Establishment.

Private industry, made conscious of noise by a half-billion dollars in workmen's compensation claims, and by additional millions lost by noise-induced fatigue and inefficiency, is sponsoring factory-noise control research, hearing conservation programs, and industrial noise symposia.

Not community noise, but the noise environment of space and military personnel is the concern of the doctors, acoustical engineers, psychologists, and a host of other specialists working to understand and tame noise for NASA and the Armed Forces.

Why isn't the Earth-bound public entitled to the same acoustic attention as the man on the Moon?

What must we do to rectify this neglect? The first step is to face the question of values: does or does not the American public have the right to an acoustically desirable environment in which to live, to work, and to relax?

If the prevalent "public-be-damned" attitude were challenged, the public could be educated to recognize the harmful effects of noise and to reject the myth that present noise levels are a necessary "price of progress."

Even with the present neglect, the construction industry has access to reduced noise equipment and techniques. But that industry, indifferent to the public's comfort, and protected by law (construction noise is specifically excluded from existing noise codes) prefers to maintain the noisy status quo. Unless there is a demand for protective legislation, silenced equipment will not be able to compete with unimproved models and will remain relatively unused. By the same token manufacturers will not be encouraged to continue the development of noise-reduced machinery for public use.

President Johnson is calling upon the Great Society to launch a massive reconstruction of cities, to make them more livable for the four out of every five Americans who will live in them by 1980. If we do not address ourselves now to the problems of construction noise, how will we survive the years of 100-plus decibel environment created by the thousands of jack hammers, rock drills, compressors, ad nauseum, that will be used to do the job?

We live in a world of constant international and domestic crisis. It is more important than ever before that our ear drums, nervous systems, and hearts, be spared the unnecessary stress of raw noise.

Suggested Language for Noise Control Regulations

(By Robert Alex Baron)

RULE 1. SOUND LEVEL MEASUREMENTS

Section A: Wherever the continuous noise level in an area makes it difficult to hear a loud spoken voice at a distance of 1 foot or where there exists active noise sources which produce high noise levels, sound level measurements shall be taken.

Section B: Wherever the continuous overall sound level exceeds 85 decibels, measured on the C-scale, flat network, of a sound level meter, octave band measurements shall be made as part of a more detailed study of the noise conditions. This sound level survey shall be repeated at 6-month intervals, or more frequently depending upon changes in plant conditions.

RULE 2. HEARING CONSERVATION CRITERIA

Section A: Continuous steady noise having a duration of 5 hours or more per day, 5 days per week, shall not exceed the levels for any of the octave bands listed in table I [not included in Record], in the 40-hour-week column. Immediate control methods shall be initiated if these standards are exceeded.

Section B: Continuous noise levels having a duration of 25 hours per week or less shall not exceed the levels of sound for the octave bands listed in table I. Immediate noise control methods shall be initiated if these standards are exceeded.

Section C: For short-term exposures to noise the criteria in table I [not included in Record] shall not be exceeded unless noise control methods are instituted. The maximum noise level permitted for any exposure in any octave band level however short in duration other than impact noises shall be 135 decibels.

RULE 3. NOISE CONTROL METHODS

Section A: Whenever it is feasible to do so, noise sources shall be eliminated or suppressed or the noise levels reduced by engineering methods. These methods shall include substitution of noise producing operations with quieter methods or operations; isolation of the noise source; total enclosure of noise source; general acoustical treatment of the work area; and suppression at the point of dissipation.

RULE 4. LIMITATION OF EXPOSURE

Section A: Permitted weekly exposures for high levels of sound which cannot be reduced or suppressed by control methods shall conform to the levels specified in table I [not included in Record].

Section B: If the time interval between impact noises is less than 1 second, the noise shall be considered as continuous. If the time interval between impacts is more than 1 second, the weekly exposure shall be in accordance with table I [not included in Record].

RULE 5. AUDIOMETRY

Section A: All employees who work in areas in which high noise levels exist, or are suspected, shall be given a preplacement ear examination which shall include an audiogram. Audiograms shall be taken under proper conditions by competent technicians. Audiograms shall be taken at least once every 6 months for all workers subjected to high noise levels during the course of their normal occupations, or more frequently if there is a significant decrease in the acuity of hearing.

RULE 6. PERSONAL PROTECTIVE DEVICES

Section A: Wherever it is not feasible to reduce the noise levels to those specified in table I [not included in Record] by noise control methods or limitation of exposure, then personal protective devices shall be provided and used.

Section B: Ear protective devices when needed shall be provided, fitted, and maintained by the employer.

Section C: Ear protective devices shall be fitted or determined individually and shall be initiated by and subjected to adequate medical supervision.

Section D: The user or wearer of ear protectors shall be indoctrinated as to the proper use and the limitations of ear protection devices.

Section E: The attenuation of sound by ear protection devices shall be greater than that needed to keep sound exposure levels below those specified in table I [not included in Record]. 40-hour-week column, or if this is not feasible then the protective devices shall maintain levels which can be used in accordance with the weekly exposure limits specified for various levels in table I [not included in Record].

RULE 7. MEASURING INSTRUMENTS

Section A: All instruments and methods of measurement used for noise surveys or in noise control or hearing conservation programs shall conform to applicable specifications outlined in the American Standards and their revisions.

224.3–1944. Sound level meters for measurement of noise and other sounds.
224.10–1953. Octave-band filter set for the analysis of noise and other sounds.
224.5–1951. Audiometers for general diagnostic purposes.

RULE 8. RECORDS

Section A: Records of all noise surveys and studies and results of individual audiometric determinations shall be maintained by the employer and shall be available upon request to the employee concerned.

[From the Archives of Otolaryngology September 1965, vol. 82, pp. 236–243, copyright 1965, by American Medical Association]

Hearing Loss and Coronary Heart Disease

(By Samuel Rosen, M.D., and Pekka Olin, M.D., New York)

Our first study in 1960–61 [1] among members of the Mabaan tribe in southeast Sudan revealed their superior hearing. At 500 to 6,000 cycles per second hearing is significantly more acute in all Mabaans aged 10 through 70 years than in people of the same age who live in industrial areas of the United States.[2] Except for the bleat of a goat and other sounds of nature, the Mabaans live in a dramatically quiet, almost silent atmosphere. The bombardment of excessive noise in our culture and the virtual absence of such in theirs could be one of the factors responsible for their superior hearing.

Generally, hearing loss and increase in blood pressure occur with aging in healthy persons of the United States,[3] while the Mabaans' systolic and diastolic blood pressures remain the same at 75 as at 15 years of age, and coronary heart disease is unknown in this tribe. The Mabaans probably have minimal generalized atherosclerosis and greater elasticity of the small arteries.[4] We saw no varicose veins or thrombosis, no bronchial asthma, duodenal ulcer, nor ulcerative colitis. Rheumatic heart disease was not found among the children. The Mabaans are well nourished, their posture is erect at all ages, and their body musculature is well developed and firm. We saw no obesity. They seem to age more slowly and live longer than we do and remain agile in their seventies and eighties.

Their diet is frugal. The main food is a ground millet, which they eat as a wet mash and from which they also make beer. They eat fish, nuts, and wild dates. They possess a few scrawny cattle, a few pigs, and goats which are never slaughtered intentionally but are eaten as they die. A few small eggs are available and are given to the youngest children. Their mean average cholesterol is 160 milligrams per 100 milliliters in contrast to ours of 250 milligrams per 100 milliliters. They are physically very active, especially the women, who perform the heaviest work carrying firewood and water on their heads for long distances. They do not smoke. In two separate studies with our group Dr. T. A. Baasher [5] of the Clinic for Nervous Disorders, Khartoum, and senior psychiatrist of the Republic of the Sudan assessed their lives to be singularly free of stress as we know it. There is, however, always the real fear of wild animals and poisonous snakes and concern over whether the millet crops will last through the rainy season. Acute hearing is necessary for survival, so they have learned to listen since early childhood.

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[1] Rosen, S., et al.: "Presbycusis Study of a Relatively Noise-Free Population in the Sudan," Ann. Otol. 71:727, 1962.

[2] Glorig, A., et al.: "Some Medical Implications of the 1954 Wisconsin State Fair Hearing Survey," Amer. Acad. Ophthal. Otolaryng. 61:160–171, 1957.

[3] Lasser, R. P., and Master, A. M.: "Observation of Frequency Distribution Curves of Blood Pressure in Persons Age 20 to 106 Years," Geriatrics 14:345, 1959.

[4] Jansen, G., et al.: "Vegetative Reactions to Auditory Stimuli: Comparative Studies of Subjects in Dortmund, Germany, and the Mabaan Tribe in the Sudan," Trans. Amer. Acad. Ophthal. Otolaryng. 68:445–455 (May–June), 1964.

[5] Baasher, T. A.: Personal communication to the author.

(Submitted for publication April 8, 1965. From the Mount Sinai Hospital and New York Eye and Ear Infirmary, consulting otologist (Dr. Rosen), and the Department of Otolaryngology, University of Helsinki, Finland (Dr. Olin). Read before the combined meeting of the sections on otolaryngology of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia and of the New York Academy of Medicine, March 17, 1965. Reprint requests to 101 East 73d Street, New York, 10021 (Dr. Rosen).)

Occasionally when a few Mabaans leave their area to live in the big city—Khartoum—they become prone to hypertension, hypercholesteremia, coronary heart disease, and the stresses incident to big-city life.

High-frequency (12 to 24 kilocycles) studies,[6] conducted in 1962, again revealed the Mabaan's hearing acuity to be far greater than that of similar age groups in New York, Dusseldorf, Germany, and in Cairo, Egypt. In 1961 Glorig and Davis[7] called our attention to an air-bone gap with aging and reported a 12 decibel air-bone gap at 4,000 cycles per second at age 55 in healthy persons in the United States who had not been exposed to noise. This is the typical air-bone gap seen in conductive loss.

* * * * *

Table 3 shows these same high-frequency medians in relation to those obtained in the Mabaan tribe and in the United States. It is interesting to see how much more superior the Mabaans' high frequency hearing is as compared to ours and again how much more superior these two groups are as compared to either Finnish hospital. This applies to medians and to the percentage of response of each frequency.

TABLE 3.—*Comparison of medians (high frequency: 12 to 24 kc)*

[MNO=median not obtainable; NR=no response]

	Age 40 to 49				Age 50 to 59			
	Mabaan	U.S.	Experimental hospital	Control hospital	Mabaan	U.S.	Experimental hospital	Control hospital
12 kc	35 db 100%	50.7 db 95%	70 db 85%	87.5 db 62%	53.6 db 98%	77.9 db 82%	88.8 db 59%	MNO 42%
14 kc	55 db 94%	83.7 db 70%	92.5 db 51%	MNO 38%	67.5 db 86%	MNO 38%	MNO 19%	MNO 12%
16 kc	89.6 db 57%	MNO 28%	MNO 10%	MNO 3%	MNO 31%	MNO 3%	NR 0%	NR 0%
18 kc	MNO 18%	MNO 7%	NR 0%	NR 0%	MNO 8%	NR 0%		
20 kc	MNO 4%	NR 0%			MNO 2%			
22 kc	MNO 0.9%				NR 0%			
24 kc	MNO 0.9%							
Number	108	105	39	37	108	117	97	105

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In résumé, the experimental hospital patients, aged 50 to 59, heard 500–4,000 cycles per second by air-conduction better than patients aged 40 to 49 in the control hospital. At 12 kilocycles in the experimental hospital the 50- to 59-year-old patients heard as well as the 40- to 49-year-old patients in the control hospital. If the Glorig and Davis explanation of the conductive air-bone gap as a gradual diminution of elasticity of tissue inherent in aging is correct, then the much smaller air-bone gap at 4,000 cycles per second in the experimental hospital would again suggest that these patients age more slowly than those in the control hospital.

Just what is the effect of this apparent accelerated aging process in the patients in the control hospital? One of the principal structural effects seems to appear in the cardiovascular system giving rise to generalized atherosclerosis and coronary heart disease. This study shows that the difference in hearing in the two hospitals parallels the difference in the incidence of coronary heart disease. One must wait for the further passage of time and, with it, the occurrence of more cases of coronary heart disease to confirm this association. Therefore, it is very important to have autopsy evidence in these cases as to the state of the carotid and vertebral arteries and also the arterial and capillary blood supply to the inner ear, since diminished blood supply could alter cochlear function.

At what age does the long incubation period in the pathogenesis of atherosclerosis and coronary heart disease begin? If our vascular theory of hearing loss is plausible, then young people (10 to 29 years) in a population where there is a high incidence of coronary heart disease should have less acute hearing for the high frequencies (12 to 24 kilocycles) than a similar young age group in a population area where the incidence of coronary heart disease is low.

Pursuing this final question we recently made a pilot study of two such groups of young people (10 to 29)—one in a remote area of east Finland near the border of the Soviet Union and the other in the mountains on the Dalmatian coast of Yugoslavia. The 40- to 59-year-old people in east Finland are notoriously hypercholesteremic (mean 297 milligrams per 100 milliliters) and have the highest incidence of coronary heart disease in Finland, whereas the 40- to 59-year-old Yugoslavs have a much lower mean blood cholesterol level (183 milligrams per 100 milliliters) and one of the lowest rates of coronary heart disease in all of Europe.

The young Yugoslavs hear the high frequencies better than the young Finns. In the 10- to 19-year range, the Yugoslavs hear better at 18 kilocycles, and in the 20- to 29-year-old groups, the Yugoslavs hear better at 14, 16, and 18 kilocycles (table 4). Does the poorer hearing of the Finns in the age range 10 to 29 years reflect the beginning of the long pathogenic vascular process that may eventuate in atherosclerosis and coronary heart disease?

Enos, Holmes, and Boyer[13] dissected the coronary arteries of 300 soldiers killed in action in Korea. The average age was 22.1 years. They found gross evidence of coronary disease in 77.3 percent of the soldiers. The disease varied from "fibrous" thickening to complete occlusion of one or more of the main branches.

It is at this point that the otologist may be able to make a contribution to the increasing data being gathered on the chief enemies—atherosclerosis and coronary heart disease. Pursuing our research further, as we are presently doing, we may be able to say as otologists that the preventive treatment of atherosclerosis must begin long before the evidence of diminished hearing of the high frequencies can be observed. It is not enough for the 40-year-old man, conscious of his expanding waistline and the coronary deaths of his friends, to begin a regime based on polyunsaturated fats and daily exercise and moderation of work, play, ambitious goals, etc. It is perhaps prudent to begin this educational process with young children. Many cardiologists have suggested the hypothesis that diet control should begin early in life. Our studies, showing the early signs of cochlear changes in children and young adults, point an otological finger to the value of this hypothesis.

(Dr. Johan Runeberg, chief of Nikkila Hospital, Helsinki, and Dr. Paavali Alivirta, chief of Kellokoski Hospital, Helsinki, and the African Medical and Research Foundation cooperated in this study, and Karen Siegel, M.A., staff audiologist, assembled the data.)

TABLE 4.—*Percentage responding with medians at 12 to 20 kilocycles, of the total number tested in Dalmatia, Yugoslavia, compared to east Finland*

	12 kilocycles		14 kilocycles		16 kilocycles		18 kilocycles		20 kilocycles	
	Percent	Median	Percent	Median	Percent	Median	Percent	Median	Percent	Median
Age 10 to 19:										
Dalmatia (36 cases)	100	27.1	100	34.1	96	48.8	87	75.5	35	(1)
East Finland (21 cases)	100	25.0	100	38.1	95	46.3	71	82.5	14	(1)
Age 20 to 29:										
Dalmatia (22 cases)	100	32.0	100	45.8	91	70.8	46	(1)	5	(1)
East Finland (21 cases)	95	30.5	95	[2] 55.0	71	[2] 85.0	10	(1)	0	(1)

[1] Median not obtainable.
[2] Statistically significant.

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[6] Rosen, S., et al: "High Frequency Audiometry in Presbycusis: A Comparative Study of the Mabaan Tribe in the Sudan With Urban Populations," Arch. Otolaryng., 79: 18–32 January 1964.

[7] Glorig, A., and Davis, H.: "Age, Noise, and Hearing Loss," Ann. Otol., 70: 556–571, 1961.

[13] Enos, W.; Holmes, R. H.; and Boyer, J.: "Coronary Disease Among U.S. Soldiers Killed in Action in Korea," JAMA 152: 1090–1093 (July 18) 1953.

[Summary of remarks to the American Medical Association, Dec. 4, 1963, at Portland, Oreg.]

THE TRAUMA OF EVERYDAY NOISE

(By Lee E. Farr, M.D., the University of Texas Graduate School of the Biomedical Sciences, Houston, Tex.)

The problem of intrusive noise is a newsworthy matter of general and public interest not limited to the past several months since this program was organized. While the word "noise" seems meaningful to all, it is impossible to define "noise," as it is generally used, in terms of any of the physical parameters of sound waves. As Kryter points out in his monograph, the most acceptable definition and the one which particularly applies in this discussion, characterizes noise as "unwanted sound." While the definition is subjective, so are many of the reactions of the individual to this type of physical experience.

There is no doubt that the intensive and effective campaigns for control of industrial sound levels have alerted people to the effects of adventitious sound. The advent of the jet age with increases in the number of arrivals and departures of planes at airports accompanied with the dramatic noise increase of the jet engine with attendant wide publicity has further sensitized persons to noise. The speech interference effects of a jet plane flying over a home have resulted in uncounted and very numerous instances of frustration—sometimes this was over the telephone and sometimes during a TV or radio broadcast. These more dramatic noise sources, jet planes, helicopters, heavy trucks, pavement pneumatic hammers have served, in part, to direct attention away from the home to the office, factory or community at large, both for the source of noise and the measures which can be used to control it. While the campaigns have generally been concerned with noises of a type and intensity that are capable of causing damage to hearing with no other factor operating, they focused attention also on the effects of noise in reducing efficiency of persons in a wide variety of commercial, industrial, and clerical operations.

I ask you to come back into the home and re-examine the home environment with me to see what has transpired there during the period since 1938 when McCord, Teal and Whittridge wrote an excellent article on noise and its effects on human beings. In 1938 they could say that air conditioning and noise prevention have a definite relationship in controlled human environment. They state and I quote: "It follows as a natural consequence that occupants of buildings living in artificial atmospheres and thus not dependent on open windows and doors will in some measures be protected against extraneous noise arising from traffic, nearby buildings or low flying aircraft." They continue, "the multiple and insidious ill effects of noise constitute an inadequately recognized baneful influence on the lives of many millions of persons throughout the country, especially those who live in urban areas * * * noise deafness constitutes the most serious and tangible of the ill noise effects (echeoses), but there is in addition, a host of scarcely measurable injuries made evident by neuroses, loss of sleep, excessive fatigue, emotional disturbances and the like that jeopardize the complete well being of most persons, and in which noise may well play a part."

It is these latter phenomena with which I am concerned. This statement could have been written today and I strongly suspect tomorrow, without loss of applicability, for McCord, Teal and Whittridge could not foresee the extreme ingenuity which would develop various domestic devices, each of which would contribute to noise in the home, or the prosperity over a period of time which would make possible the equipping of most homes with one or more of these devices.

The kaleidescopic change of household sound sources which are capable of continuing and augmenting some types of disability problems is very characteristic of rapidly advancing technology as we have today. The full cycle from first arousing community action at a point distant geographically and in time to the individual but returning to him through household intrusion has resulted in the newer technology giving rise to a new responsibility for the doctor—perhaps even a new area of special medical attention—individual home environment of which noise is one component.

The hypnotic power of numbers, statistical means, catchword phrases and appeals to the body politic seems to have bemused physicians in meeting several of their most serious challenges of today. Individual control of a persons' immediate environment to promote health and well-being or to avoid or mitigate illness, must be recognized as the physicians responsibility and prerogative and not an area of specific exercise of community police powers or extension of community health services. Personal environmental control must be prepared to go far beyond community responsibility that the environmental circumstances may be selectively modified as required by the specific individual. While in principle, modern technology has made this possible, application of this knowledge to solution of or even the recognition of specific medical problems other than those permitting a statistical approach has been too frequently lacking. Knowledge of types and capabilities of room air filters, single faucet ion exchange water purifiers and control of household noise is not in the store of information generally available to or widely used by the doctor. Individual variation, a familiar fact to physicians, demands application of specific environmental controls for some persons which are not required by others who, however, may adequately be protected by measures appropriate to the large majority. As I have previously indicated, among the unadvertised contributors to the detriment of man's environment is everyday noise—that is noise encountered in the home and in ordinary transit. While for most individuals most of the time, noise of this intensity level may be completely tolerable, for others, it may be the triggering action setting off disturbances or preventing satisfactory control of disturbances and diseases commonly related to stressful situations. That heterogeneous everyday noise in the home environment is increasing to a new intensity in many situations can be attested to by an evening at home spent listening for it or by a stroll through too many of the newer larger apartment developments.

Let me further clarify the noise of which I am speaking and its effects. There are two types of noise effects with which we have to deal—the effect of noise which is of an intensity sufficient unto itself to cause acoustic damage if the period of action be long enough and the effects of noise which is not of such intensity or of such duration but may be of particular annoyance. In some instances noise of the first type, such as a jet plane may be capable of provoking acoustic damage and at the same time by its unexpected intrusion into personal environment have a very high annoyance value. As a general measure it can be said that other things being equal, the more intense a given noise the more annoying it is. In a similar fashion, sounds of higher frequencies are more annoying than a pure tone at 250 cps of equal loudness. The stimulus or noise as a producer of physical events is admirably characterized by the convulsive response of the patient with tetanus to a noise in his environment. With the underlying disease not manifest when the patient is quiet in a quiet environment by merely snapping the fingers the disease not only becomes clearly evident but this tetanic spasm becomes a matter of major concern and must be controlled. The trauma is clear and evident.

Unlike this provocation, the circumstances of annoyance which are frequently present at home lead to an encountered sequence of events which is usually decidedly unclear. But the absence of an immediate response does not necessarily indicate any absence of trauma. The late effects of radiation have pointedly forced us to look to chains of events which may result in manifest disease or disease exacerbations long past the period during which the noxious agent is applied and a response that gives no awareness of the immediate agent.

The trauma of which I speak may perhaps be better characterized as psychological since it results from perception of sensation which in turn under the specific conditions of the individual reacts to develop or to reinforce psychosomatic patterns of disability. The result of these reactions may be finally evident in an increase in symptomatology referable to the gastrointestinal tract, altered response to a common allergen, development of migraine attacks or any of the other manifestations of psychic stresses mediated through psychosomatic channels. How frequently does this type of happening occur and result in an exacerbation of illness related to a duodenal ulcer or colitis? How frequently is a well designed therapeutic regimen upset by intensive or aggravating noise triggering mechanisms which regimen otherwise would be effective in promoting a subsidence of symptoms. How well does the physician know these important components in the patient's home environment, of which he must be aware, to ascertain if impersonal factors of this type are making the disease pattern worse? How many alternatives does he have to solve this environmental control problem. While he is aware of color and light, heat and cold, what about noise and quiet?

Let us examine the manufacture of noise in a typical American household by several of the appliances which are in widespread use today. First, the examination will be from the standpoint of capability of production of acoustic damage. The estimates which I present were obtained by actual measurement in an apartment in Houston, Tex. The rooms were as large or larger than might be expected to be found in most homes and the furniture was that of the householder. A few of the more common noise sources were measured. In general, only those noises were measured which are produced at a constant level and which are dependent solely upon the use of the device. While measurement was made of a hi-fi unit, this was for comparison purposes only. Such a unit will vary in its production of sound depending on the user and the circumstances. In general a teenager will use it to produce a louder sound than will an adult with reasonably intact hearing. The noise produced by a hi-fi, radio or TV is therefore controllable by the immediate user and presumably adjustable to a level which is pleasing to him.

Traumatic everyday noise is, in general, sound generated by the acts of another and over which the captive listener has little control. A vacuum cleaner or dishwasher, however, produces a certain level of noise by its operation and thus cannot be reduced by operation at half power without sacrificing greatly the efficiency of the unit. If we examine the living room we find it to be satisfactorily quiet at a 50-decibel level. A vacuum cleaner run in this room will produce a noise at a level of 73 decibels at the user's ear when the nozzle is fully engaged on the rug. When, however, the nozzle is lifted so air can be drawn into it with high volume, the noise level rises to 81 decibels. This is not a low level of noise. The occupants of this dwelling playing a hi-fi at an intensity which one might call at the threshhold of loudness, but well below a vibrant level, found it produced 80 decibels 6 feet from the instrument. In the kitchen there were a large variety of noise producing devices. Only those were tested which seemed to produce the greater sound. The kitchen was not as quiet as the living room though there were no extraneous sound sources, but the air conditioner, a central unit, seemed more noisy. The vent fan over the stove, a single speed unit mounted in a metal canopy on the wall and ceiling, operated to produce a sound level of 84 decibels. When the dishwasher was run simultaneously the level rose to 88 decibels, and, if at the same time, the sink garbage disposal unit was turned on, sound production rose to 91 decibels measured at the lower and steady level of sound effects of the disposal unit. At peak noise levels for the garbage disposal unit the total sound production was over 100 decibels. Thus, we see that in the kitchen we can produce sound at such a level of intensity that if one were exposed to it for a full working day over an interval of time, acoustic damage would result. I point this out merely to emphasize how increments, each perhaps acceptable in itself, can reach a sum which is unacceptable.

* * * * *

[From Municipal Law, 1957]

SECTION 26–65. SOUND TRUCKS AND SOUND AMPLIFYING DEVICES[1]

Cities must cope with the problem of controlling loud and unnecessary noises but any regulation or suppression of sound trucks and other sound amplifying devices must be effected within the framework of the constitutional protection of freedom of speech and assembly.

Municipalities generally have the power to regulate or prohibit unreasonably loud disturbing and unnecessary noise.[2] "Noise" is construed to mean an unreasonable noise that disturbs the community.[3] Municipal attempts to control certain kinds of noise have been struck down as invalid.[4] But an ordinance prohibiting any noise of any kind "by crying, calling or shouting, or by means of any whistle, rattle, bell, gong, clapper, hammer, drum, horn, or similar mechanical device, for the purpose of advertising any goods, wares or merchandise" or attracting customers has been held valid under a city's power to regulate traffic and the use of streets and of public places for selling merchandise.[5] The prohibition against outcries for sale of merchandise has also been upheld under the city's power to preserve the peace and good order and to suppress nuisances.[6]

The use of sound amplifiers and vehicles with sound-amplifying devices are regulated by police ordinances of cities and such police power regulations have been upheld as not being in violation of free speech, freedom of worship, or the constitutional privilege to communicate thought.[7] The Supreme Court of Colorado has upheld a city ordinance prohibiting the use of sounding devices or the employment of "any loud or offensive device or performance as a means of advertising or attracting a crowd" which was enforced against a minister preaching at a crowded city corner with the use of a loudspeaker.[8] In distinguishing the Cantwell case[9] which involved the requirement of a license from a public official but did not involve either a breach of the peace or citizen's complaints of being disturbed, the Colorado court found the defendant's conduct amounted to a breach of the peace and was disturbing to tenants and property owners in the neighborhood, and concluded that: "In the administration of the ordinance in the present case we see no attempt, overt or hidden, to override constitutional guarantees. We believe the people of Montrose have the right to protect themselves from concentrated and continuous cacophony."

It has also been held that the enforcement of an ordinance prohibiting a loud speaker or a public address system on a vehicle against one who used a loud speaker to broadcast recorded sermons did not infringe upon his constitutional rights under the State or Federal Constitution where it appeared the broadcast was very noisy and disturbed public schools and citizens and could be heard for blocks.[10] An ordinance providing for a permit costing $25 for the use of a sound truck or loud speaker on the streets was held to be reasonable and not violative of free speech guarantees where the ordinance could be construed as making the issuance of the permit mandatory upon payment of the fee.[11] An ordinance requiring a license for the operation of an advertising sound machine was held valid with respect to labor union representatives.[12] But authority to regulate public parks does not vest power to prohibit the use of loudspeakers in the vicinity of a park.[13]

In the leading case on sound trucks,[14] the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that a city cannot require a permit, issuable in the discretion of a police chief, for the use of a sound truck by a religious sect in a public park. By dictum the Court indicated that a city may restrict the use of sound trucks as to time, place, and volume of sound. The majority opinion of the Court was based in part upon this reasoning: "We hold that section 3 of this ordinance is unconstitutional on its face, for it establishes a previous restraint on the right of free speech in violation of the 1st amendment which is protected by the 14th amendment against State action. To use a loud speaker or amplifier one has to get a permit from the chief of police. There are no standards prescribed for the exercise of his discretion." Emphasizing strongly the element of previous restraint on freedom of speech entailed in the permit requirement of the ordinance and finding that "loud speakers are today indispensable instruments of effective speech," the Court said: "The right to be heard is placed in the uncontrolled discretion of the chief of police. He stands athwart the channels of communication as an obstruction which can be removed only after criminal trial and conviction and lengthy appeal. A more effective previous restraint is difficult to imagine."

An ordinance making unlawful the operation of a sound truck with a sound or noise producing device upon city streets in certain sections of the city and at certain times was upheld upon evidence of the nuisance character of the sound truck and its creation of traffic hazards to motorists and pedestrians.[15] Another antinoise ordinance barring inter alia, the use of mechanical loudspeakers or amplifiers on trucks or other moving vehicles for advertising purposes, except where specific license is received from the police department" was also upheld as a proper exercise of the police power, the court enunciating the proposition that a city "may prohibit or condition as it deems proper the use of city streets as a place for the carrying on of private business.[16] This is consistent with the view expressed by the Supreme Court of the United States that "It is well established that the highways of the State are public property—that their use for purposes of gain is special and extraordinary, which, generally, at least, the State may prohibit or condition as it sees fit." [17]

These conclusions may be reasonably drawn from the sound truck decisions: (1) previous restraints upon civil liberties will not be tolerated; (2) where civil liberties are not involved, police power measures will be upheld if they are otherwise reasonable; (3) commercial advertising through the use of sound trucks on city streets can be legally prohibited.[18]

EXCERPT FROM STATEMENT OF CHARLES W. HARPER, DIRECTOR, AERONAUTICS DIVISION, OFFICE OF ADVANCED RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY, NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ADVANCED RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY, COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 1966

[Charts referred to in the text were not included in manuscript submitted.]

Engine types using hydrogen as fuel: Although these high values are theoretically possible, no conclusive evidence exists that they can be realized in practice. In 1967 Lewis Research Center will be engaged actively in research on the fundamentals of hydrogen combustion as related to achieving the high values of specific impulse desired.

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[1] For complete discussion of subject see Nimlo Report No. 123, Municipal Control of Noise—Sound Trucks—Sound Advertising Aircraft—Unnecessary Noises—Model Annotated Ordinances (1948).

[2] *Matteson* v. *Eustis*, 140 Fla. 591, 190 So 558 (1939), operation of rip-saw in backyard sustained conviction for disturbing the peace; *Louisiana* v. *Bottoms*, 300 *SW* 316 (Mo App 1927), shouting by a preacher at a religious meeting.

[3] *State* v. *Cantieny*, 34 Minn 1, 24 NW 458 (1885).

[4] *Louisiana* v. *Bottoms*, note 2 supra, loud shouting at intervals by a pastor during evening church services held not a disturbance of the peace or violation of ordinance; *Baum* v. *Cooper*, 131 NJL 574, 37 A2d 830 (1944), invalidating an antinoise ordinance; *Stoffel Seals Corp.* v. *Tuckahoe*, 206 Misc 597, 134 NYS2d 114 (1954), holding invalid and discriminatory an ordinance barring operation of machines producing any noise audible outside the premises; *People* v. *Arkow*, 124 NYS2d 704 (1953), holding a properly functioning home air conditioning unit did not violate an ordinance prohibiting loud, disturbing and unnecessary noises; *People* v. *Rochester*, 44 Hun (NY) 166 (1887), singing religious songs on streets not a violation of ordinance forbidding disturbing noises.

[5] *Goodrich* v. *Busse*, 247 Ill. 366, 93 NE 292 (1910).

[6] *New Orleans* v. *Fargot*, 116 La 369, 40 So 735 (1906).

[7] *Kovacs* v. *Cooper*, 336 US 77, 93 L ed 513, 10 ALR2d 608 (1949); *Haggerty* v. *Kings County* 117 Cal App2d 470, 256 P2d 393 (1953); *Hamilton* v. *Montrose*, 109 Colo 228, 124 P2d 757 (1942); *State* v. *Headley*, 48 So2d 80 (Fla 1950), upholding arrest of candidate for political office for using vehicle with loud speaker; *Brinkman* v. *Gainesville*, 83 GaApp 508, 64 SE2d 344 (1951); *Brachey* v. *Maupin*, 277 Ky 467, 126 SW2d 881, 121 ALR 969 (1939); *Posner* v. *Cooper*, 83 NYS2d 460 (1948). But see *Lovell* v. *Griffin*, 303 US 444, 82 L ed 949 (1938); *Hague* v. *CIO* 307 US 496, 83 L ed 1423 (1939); *Cantwell* v. *Connecticut*, 310 US 296, 84 L ed 1213 (1940).

[8] *Hamilton* v. *Montrose*, note 7 supra.

[9] *Cantwell* v. *Connecticut*, note 7 supra.

[10] *Brinkman* v. *Gainesville*, note 7 supra.

[11] *Posner* v. *Cooper*, note 7 supra.

[12] *Faria* v. *Violette*, 32 F. Supp. 239 (Mass. (1940).

[13] *People* v. *Caponigri*, 189 Misc. 9, 6 NYS 2d 577 (1938).

[14] *Saia* v. *People*, 334 US 558, 92 L. ed. 1574 (1948). But see, *Kovacs* v. *Cooper*, note 7 supra.

[15] *Brachey* v. *Maupin*, note 7 supra.

[16] *Maupin* v. *Louisville*, 284 Ky 195, 144 SW2d 237 (1940).

[17] *Stephenson* v. *Binford*, 287 US 251, 77 L ed 288 (1932), and cases cited there. See also *Schneider* v. *Irvington*, 308 U.S. 147, 84 L ed 155 (1939), dictum as to commercial solicitation; *Stodder* v. *Rosen Talking Machine Co.*, 241 Mass 245, 135 NE 251, 22 ALR 1197 (1922), barring playing loudly of phonograph in doorway of business establishment; *Weber* v. *Mann*, 42 SW2d 492 (Tex Civ App 1931), holding a radio is not a nuisance *per se*; *Grantham* v. *Gibson*, 41 Wash 125, 83 P 14 (1905), enjoining playing of certain musical instruments to detriment of hotel business.

[18] See Nimlo Report No. 123, op. cit. note 1 supra.

Operating problems research contains within it the two disciplines of operating environment and system dynamics research. Operating environment research combines all of the meteorological research, such as radiation hazards, rough air characteristics determination, clear air turbulence detection, etc., as well as the aircraft noise research which is discussed at some length in following paragraphs. The system dynamics research recently has been given explicit recognition in view of its rapidly increasing importance. This includes the very important research related to integration of the pilot into a new aircraft in a way to insure a satisfactory total system.

NOISE RESEARCH

Noise research, both local noise and sonic boom, is of primary concern to us. Noise is already compromising aircraft performance, utilization, and safety. It is obviously pointless for NASA research to continue on advanced aircraft if they cannot achieve public acceptance because of the noise associated with their operation. Chart 8, "Aircraft Noise Source Research" (fig. NASA RA 65–2206), outlines the NASA noise research program insofar as noise control at the source is concerned. Activities grouped under basic source studies refer to those studies directed at obtaining an understanding of exhaust noise sources in a jet. Many cut and dried attempts to suppress exhaust noise have failed to do this without excessive cost in efficiency, weight, and complexity. It is clear a more basic understanding of the mechanism of noise generation is required if a major reduction in noise generation is to be achieved. The problem is a complex one. Thus, aside from its own in-house studies of jet acoustics NASA has contracts with four universities and one industry member, all taking different experimental and theoretical approaches toward reaching this understanding.

It must be admitted that even a full understanding of the mechanism of noise generation does not guarantee a solution can be found, but it is certainly a prerequisite. Fortunately, for the moment, the jet exhaust noise during approach and landing has been overshadowed by the fan-compressor noise emitted from the inlet. We say "fortunately" because it appears this noise is more amenable to control than exhaust noise. NASA is continuing its in-house studies with small laboratory compressors and air inlets to determine how the geometric details of the inlet, fan, and stator affect the noise generated and emitted. from the front of the engine. In fiscal year 1966 a design study by industry will be completed giving a full-scale inlet design based on research data obtained from the laboratory tests; fiscal year 1967 should see construction and ground test of the full-scale unit. In fiscal year 1966 construction of a large scale three stage compressor will be completed and laboratory research with this equipment to extend the current smaller scale research program on compressor noise will be underway by fiscal year 1967. Finally, NASA has reactivated an industry sound suppressor program initiated some years ago but abandoned before the noise problem became acute. This experimental system will be completed and flown on the NASA 990 during fiscal year 1966. If the effectiveness is determined to be significant both in the sense of noise suppression and operational acceptability, the program will be expanded to apply the same principles to other engines.

Research on the noise source is but part of the NASA research activity. NASA, working with FAA and industry, is examining the possibilities of moving the source away from the observer through steeper descent during approach to landing and steeper climbout after takeoff. With regard to steep descents it must be recognized that the safest approach to a landing is a flat one using considerable power, although it is also the noisiest to an observer. Departures from this create a more difficult problem for the pilot.

NASA research will be directed at determining what aircraft characteristics can be changed to prevent this piloting problem from becoming unacceptably difficult, what new flight information might be required for the pilot and what new piloting techniques might be required or beneficial. A very wide range of possibilities exists, of course, ranging from simply changing flight techniques, through the development of new guidance systems or, finally, to major aircraft modifications. All of these possibilities are being examined. The steep climbout is a somewhat different problem. The climbout angle is fixed by the payload; any improvement in aircraft characteristics which could increase climb angle would allow also an increase in payload if no change in climb angle were taken. Thus, while NASA research will continue on means of improving aircraft characteristics, both aerodynamic and propulsion, which affect climbout it is clear that some regulatory action is required to prevent these from being translated directly into more payload. Chart 9 "Perceived Noise Levels Civil Turbojet and Turbofan Aircraft" (fig. NASA RA 65–1870), illustrates what could be accomplished in the way of reducing ground observed noise if it proves possible to use steep descent and no climbout procedures.

In chart 10, "Approximate Annoyance Zones" (fig. NASA RA 65–1872), we have summarized the target goals by combining all effects. Here we have used 100 PNdb as a beginning annoyance level since annoyance from lower noise levels seems to be eliminated by normal house construction. At this time it appears that annoyance may be restricted ultimately to between 2 and 3 miles from the airport during approach and 3 to 4 miles during takeoff. It would seem very likely that community planning will be required in order to assure that land usage in these areas will not be such that extreme sensitivity to noise exists.

FLIGHT DYNAMICS

Flight dynamics, the study of the motion of an aircraft about its average flight path and the control of this motion by the pilot or automatic control system, represents the other major research activity within operations research. Until now flight dynamics research has been loosely divided between the advanced research disciplines of aero dynamics and operations, but it has become evident that it is a major problem requiring special attention. The trace on the bottom of chart 11, "Cockpit Acceleration, Rough Air Flight" (fig. NASA RA 65–2212) shows one example of the problems; this is the acceleration, or "g", trace of a jet transport flying in rough air and is a case where the pilot control input is coupled with the rough air motion to cause an increasing pitching oscillation finally resulting in an uncontrollable drive. The upper trace shows the "g" history taken from an NASA piloted simulator used to study the same problem.

POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE OF BROOKLYN,
Brooklyn, N.Y., July 20, 1964.

Hon. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR COUNCILMAN KUPFERMAN: Your letter of June 26, 1964, addressed to Mr. Correale has been brought to my attention.

As Commissioner Birns indicated to you in his letter of June 23, 1964, we are proposing the incorporation of provisions for the control of noise within multiple dwellings in the new building code being prepared for the city of New York. Although provisions of this kind are included in the codes of a number of foreign countries, they are something of a national innovation here. While there has been considerable controversy over these provisions, we have been encouraged by the fact that the prospect of controls in the city has evoked a large amount of positive public reaction.

The noise control provisions in multiple dwellings are presently limited to the control of noise transmitted by air from apartment to apartment (airborne) and, secondly, by transmission through the structure (impact, vibration). However, the noise control provisions we are proposing include among them several covering the installation of cooling towers and other roof machinery. In this we attempt to control the vibration of such machinery which, in turn, will retard the amount of noise emanating from them (both internally and externally).

We have discussed, at some length, the element of external noise. It was interesting to find in our studies that there were provisions in some communities for the control of such noise through performance standards. We found this in Chicago, Ill., Warwick, R.I., and Fair Lawn Borough, N.J., as well as in New York City. The regulations in Chicago and Warwick are part of the zoning laws and that in Fair Lawn Borough appears to be a local ordinance. We also find similar provisions in the New York City zoning resolution under section 42–21 applicable to manufacturing districts (as is the case in the other communities). From the above, it would appear that the control of external noise is generally regarded as a zoning problem rather than a building code problem. As yet, no final decision has been made concerning the possibility of writing workable, adoptable regulations on external noise. I hasten to add, however, that even if the decision to proceed in this direction is made, we do not anticipate completion of the code before next spring. Secondly, there is some doubt as to the extent one can make provisions retroactive. Thus, our code would not seem to offer a solution to your immediate problem.

If we can be of any further assistance to you, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES E. SCHAFFNER,
Vice President for Administration.

REACTION OF PEOPLE TO EXTERIOR AIRCRAFT NOISE

(By Leo L. Beranek, Karl D. Kryter, Laymon N. Miller)

[Figures referred to cannot be reproduced in the RECORD.]

Since 1949, our firm has been engaged in various programs of investigation concerned with: propeller and jet aircraft noise; engine noise suppression on air bases and in flight; sound propagation through the atmosphere and over terrain; reaction of people in offices and communities to aircraft noise; and planning of air bases and surrounding residential communities to minimize noise nuisance. Our work has been sponsored by the U.S. Government, the Port of New York Authority and to a lesser extent by other airport agencies.[1 2 3]

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[1] A. C. Pietrasanta and K. N. Stevens, "Noise Exposure in Communities Near Jet Air Bases," Noise Control 4, No. 2, pp. 29 ff (March 1958).

[2] "Studies of Noise Characteristics of the Boeing 707–120 Jet Airliner and of Large Conventional Propeller-Driven Airliners," report prepared for the Port of New York Authority, Bolt, Beranck & Newman Inc., Cambridge, Mass., October 1958.

[3] "Studies of Noise Characteristics of the Comet 4 Jet Airliner and of Large Conventional Propeller-Driven Airliners," report prepared for the Port of New York Authority, Bolt, Beranck & Newman Inc., Cambridge, Mass., October 1958.

Each airport and the communities surrounding it constitute a special situation. A full evaluation of community disturbance by aircraft operations requires detailed knowledge of many factors. These factors differ from airport to airport and include such diverse items as distance of the nearest populated areas from the ends and the sides of runways, type and density of air traffic, runway utilization operational procedures of the airlines, prevailing type of home-building construction, socio-economic status of the communities involved, and motivation and attitude of the residents toward the airport. Conclusions drawn for one airport and its activities in relation to the surrounding neighborhoods are not specifically applicable to other airports.

The prediction of the annoyance of a neighborhood to a change in operations from that airport is not altogether hopeless. We have written several papers giving preliminary guidance on this subject. The present paper is another progress report along these lines. It makes use of the relatively new method of rating the perceived "noisiness" of an aircraft noise by means of units called the PNdb.[2, 3, 4] It also takes into account the statistical nature of the noise produced in a neighborhood located off the end of a runway.

The assessment of the change in annoyance in a neighborhood adjacent to an airport due to a change in aircraft operation from that airport involves at least the following steps:

1. The assignment of a "perceived noise level," in PNdb, to aircraft operations over each part of a community. This quantity may be the result of direct statistical measurement of the aircraft noise or it may be computed from a knowledge of noise data on individual aircraft and from a knowledge of the projected operations.

2. The comparison of the statistical pattern of the expected perceived noise levels for the new situation with that for some known situation. If the existing annoyance situation for the airport under consideration is already known, the effect of introducing a different type of aircraft, or of preferential runway systems, or of limiting operations to certain heights or times of day or year may be judged.

PERCEIVED NOISE LEVELS

Although the measurement of human reactions is a complex problem, some orderly relations between the readings recorded from physical instruments and the feelings people experience when they are exposed to sound have been established. One such relation developed during these studies[2, 3, 4] is the perceived noise level in units of PNdb. This quantity expresses in a compact way the measure of "noisiness" that is implicit in a listener's reactions to the sounds of aircraft and yet it is measured on a scale that is roughly comparable to the more familiar scales of physically-measured noise levels. The detailed manner in which perceived noise levels (PNdb) are computed from measured noise levels (db) is given by an example below.

The perceived noise level takes into account the distribution of power as a function of frequency, i.e., the frequency spectrum of a sound. In particular, the perceived noise level of a sound reflects the fact that people judge higher frequencies to be more annoying or less acceptable than lower frequencies when factors such as "meaning," novelty, adaption, etc., are held constant. The method of computing perceived noise level follows the concepts and structures, but not the loudness function, developed by S. S. Stevens[5] for calculating the loudness level of a complex sound.

TABLE 1.—*Conversion of octave-band sound pressure levels in decibels to octave-band perceived noisiness in noys*

Sound pressure levels in decibels re 0.0002 microbar	Frequency band—							
	20 to 75	75 to 150	150 to 300	300 to 600	600 to 1,200	1,200 to 2,400	2,400 to 4,800	4,800 to 10,000
20	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	0.6	1.0
30	-------	-------	-------	0.5	0.5	0.7	1.2	2.1
40	-------	-------	0.6	1.0	1.0	1.4	2.4	4.3
45	-------	-------	.9	1.5	1.5	2.0	3.3	6.0
50	-------	0.6	1.4	2.1	2.1	2.9	4.7	8.5
51	-------	.6	1.6	2.2	2.2	3.0	5.1	9.0
52	-------	.7	1.7	2.4	2.4	3.2	5.4	9.7
53	-------	.8	1.8	2.6	2.6	3.5	5.8	10.5
54	-------	.9	2.0	2.8	2.8	3.7	6.2	11.0
55	-------	1.0	2.2	3.0	3.0	4.0	6.7	11.8
56	-------	1.1	2.4	3.2	3.2	4.3	7.2	12.5
57	0.5	1.2	2.6	3.4	3.4	4.6	7.7	13.4
58	.6	1.3	2.7	3.6	3.6	5.0	8.2	14.4
59	.6	1.5	3.0	3.9	3.9	5.3	8.7	15.4
60	.7	1.6	3.2	4.2	4.2	5.7	9.3	16.5
61	.5	1.5	3.4	4.5	4.5	6.1	10.0	17.6
62	.9	2.0	3.7	4.8	4.8	6.5	10.7	18.8
63	1.0	2.2	4.0	5.2	5.2	7.0	11.5	20.0
64	1.1	2.4	4.3	5.6	5.6	7.5	12.3	21.3
65	1.2	2.6	4.7	6.0	6.0	8.0	13.1	22.7
66	1.4	2.9	5.1	6.5	6.5	8.6	14.0	24.0
67	1.6	3.2	5.5	7.0	7.0	9.2	15.0	25.6
68	1.8	3.5	5.9	7.5	7.5	9.9	16.0	27.4
69	2.0	3.9	6.3	7.9	7.9	10.7	17.2	29.3
70	2.2	4.3	6.8	8.4	8.4	11.5	18.5	31.3
71	2.5	4.7	7.3	9.0	9.0	12.2	19.8	33.4
72	2.7	5.1	7.8	9.6	9.6	13.0	21.0	35.5
73	3.0	5.6	8.4	10.3	10.3	14.0	22.5	38.0
74	3.4	6.1	9.0	11.0	11.0	15.0	24.0	40.5
75	3.8	6.6	9.7	11.8	11.8	16.0	25.7	43.0
76	4.2	7.3	10.5	12.7	12.7	17.0	27.5	46.0
77	4.6	7.9	11.2	13.7	13.7	18.3	29.5	49.0
78	5.0	8.5	12.0	14.7	14.7	19.5	31.5	51.0
79	5.5	9.2	13.0	15.8	15.8	21.0	33.7	55.0
80	6.2	9.9	14.0	17.0	17.0	22.5	36.0	59.0
81	6.7	10.8	15.0	18.3	18.3	24.0	38.0	63.0
82	7.3	11.7	16.0	19.5	19.5	25.5	41.0	67.0
83	8.0	12.7	17.1	21.0	21.0	27.5	44.0	71.0
84	8.7	13.8	18.3	22.5	22.5	29.5	47.0	76.0
85	9.4	14.8	19.5	24.5	24.5	31.0	50.0	81.0
86	10.2	15.9	21.0	26.0	26.0	34.0	53.0	86.0
87	11.1	17.0	22.5	28.0	28.0	36.0	57.0	92.0
88	12.1	18.3	24.0	30.0	30.0	38.0	61.0	97.0
89	13.1	19.5	26.0	32.0	32.0	41.0	65.0	193.0
90	14.2	21.0	28.0	34.0	34.0	44.0	70.0	110.0
91	15.3	22.0	30.0	37.0	37.0	47.0	75.0	117.0
92	16.5	24.0	32.0	40.0	40.0	50.0	90.0	124.0
93	17.0	26.0	34.0	43.0	43.0	53.0	85.0	132.0
94	19.5	28.0	36.0	46.0	46.0	57.0	91.0	141.0
95	21.0	30.0	39.0	49.0	49.0	61.0	97.0	150.0
96	22.5	32.0	42.0	53.0	53.0	66.0	104.0	160.0
97	24.0	34.0	45.0	57.0	57.0	71.0	111.0	170.0
98	26.5	37.0	48.0	61.0	61.0	75.0	119.0	180.0
99	28.0	40.0	51.0	65.0	65.0	80.0	127.0	191.0
100	30.5	42.0	55.0	70 0	70 0	86.0	135.0	203.0
101	32.5	45.0	59.0	75.0	75.0	92.0	144.0	215.0
102	35.0	49.0	63.0	80.0	80.0	98.0	159.0	228.0
103	38.0	53.0	67.0	86.0	86.0	105.0	165.0	242.0
104	41.0	56.0	71.0	92.0	92.0	113.0	175.0	256.0
105	43.0	60.0	76.0	98.0	98.0	120.0	187.0	273.0
106	46.0	64.0	82.0	106.0	106.0	128.0	200.0	290.0
107	50.0	68.0	88.0	113.0	113.0	136.0	213.0	310.0
108	53.0	73.0	94.0	120.0	120.0	145.0	226.0	328.0
109	57.0	78.0	100.0	129.0	129.0	155.0	240.0	348.0
110	61.0	84.0	106.0	139.0	139.0	165.0	260.0	370.0
111	66.0	90.0	114.0	150.0	150.0	177.0	275.0	395.0
112	71.0	96.0	122.0	166.0	166.0	190.0	293.0	420.0
113	76.0	103.0	130.0	170.0	170.0	203.0	315.0	445.0
114	82.0	111.0	139.0	181.0	181.0	215.0	335.0	470.0
115	87.0	119.0	148.0	192.0	192.0	230.0	360.0	500.0
116	93.0	125.0	158.0	205.0	205.0	245.0	380.0	-------
117	100.0	134.0	169.0	220.0	220.0	260.0	405.0	-------
118	106.0	145.0	180.0	237.0	237.0	280.0	435.0	-------
119	113.0	155.0	192.0	255.0	255.0	300.0	465.0	-------
120	120.0	165.0	204.0	275.0	275.0	320.0	500.0	-------
125	170.0	225.0	280.0	385.0	385.0	440.0	-------	-------
130	235.0	315.0	390.0	510.0	510.0	-------	-------	-------
135	325.0	425.0	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------
140	450.0	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------

The rating scheme using perceived noise level (in PNdb) was derived from studies in which people judged the relative annoyance value of pure tones and narrow bands of noise. The weights assigned to the various frequency components of a sound and the method of calculating PNdb are not based upon judgments made of the noise from airplanes.

However, we conducted a series of experiments in which people judged the relative acceptability of the flyover noise made by various jet and piston engined aircraft. The data from these judgment tests revealed that PNdb values calculated from a knowledge of the spectra of the aircraft sounds involved tended to underestimate by a few decibels the relative noisiness or unacceptability of the noise from the jet aircraft. Nevertheless, the perceived noise level predicted the acceptability of the jet and piston aircraft noises more accurately than did other methods, as will be shown in more detail in a later section of this article.

Perceived noise levels in PNdb have several useful interpretations. Suppose, for example, that airplane P has a perceived noise level of 110 PNdb and an overall sound pressure level of 105 db, and suppose that airplane J has a perceived noise level of 120 PNdb and an overall sound pressure level of 105 db. These numbers say that on the sound-level meter the two noises measure alike. However, when presented to listeners J is found to be 10 PNdb more noisy than P. To be perceived equal in noisiness to airplane P, the overall sound pressure level (in decibels) of airplane J would have to be reduced by 10 db without changing the spectrum and duration of the noise. If this were done, the perceived noise level would

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[2, 3] See footnotes on page 8758.

[4] K. D. Kryter, "Scaling Human Reactions to the Sound From Aircraft," paper to be submitted to the J. Acoust. Soc. Am. 1959.

[5] S. S. Stevens, "Calculation of the Loudness of Complex Noise," J. Acoust. Soc. Am. 28, 807-832 (1956).

drop from 120 to 110 PNdb and the overall sound pressure level from 105 to 95 db.

It is also possible to estimate the relative magnitude of the subjective noisiness of two sounds. The magnitude of subjective noisiness is measured in units called noys.[4] There is a direct relationship between the "noisiness," in noys, and the perceived noise level, in PNdb, which will be explained below. Thus, in our example, airplane P has a perceived noise value of 139 noy (110 PNdb) and airplane J. 275 noy (120 PNdb). Airplane J can be said to sound about twice as noisy as, or in other terms, 100 percent noisier than, airplane P, inasmuch as the numerical magnitude of J (275) is nearly double that of airplane P (139) on the noy scale. This does not mean, however, that in a given neighborhood twice as many people would express dissatisfaction with airplane J as with airplane P.

COMPUTATION OF PERCEIVED NOISE LEVELS (PNdb)

The perceived noise level is a single number computed from octave-band sound pressure levels according to the following procedure. The unit is the PNdb.

The first step is to convert the sound pressure level in each of the eight octave bands to "noisiness" in noys by means of the appropriate column in table 1. These values of octave-band "noisiness" are summed:

$$\Sigma N = N_1 + N_2 + N_3 + \ . \ . \ . \ + N_8. \qquad (1)$$

Then the "noisiness" in noys of the total noise is given by

$$N_T = N_m + 0.3(\Sigma N - N_m), \qquad (2)$$

where N_m is the largest value of "noisiness" for any one of the eight bands and ΣN is the sum given by equation (1).

This total noisiness N_T in noys is finally converted to total perceived noise level in PNdb by means of the formula:

$$\text{Number of PNdb for total noise} = 40 + 33.3 \log_{10} N_T. \qquad (3)$$

As an example, assume the following octave band levels for a certain jet aircraft flying overhead at 500 feet:

	SPL in db re 0.0002 microbar
20–75	97
75–150	96
150–300	101
300–600	101
600–1200	102
1200–2400	103
2400–4800	102
4800–10,000	95

From table 1 we find that—

$$\Sigma N = 24 + 32 + 59 + 75 + 80 + 105 + 159 + 150 = 684 \text{ noys}$$

$N_m = 159$ noys

$N_T = 159 + 0.3 \times 525 = 316$ noys

Perceived noise level = 123 PNdb.

STATISTICS OF AIRCRAFT OPERATIONS OVER COMMUNITIES

In order to evaluate the amount of noise exposure for a given community situated near an airport, a noise survey must be made at a number of representative positions in that community. The noise data are usually recorded on a specially designed magnetic tape recorder and are taken back to the laboratory for detailed analysis. In addition, the range and angle of elevation of each aircraft as it passes by the observer are recorded with a special camera. Care must be taken to ascertain that the sample observations are representative of the regular activity at the airport over an extended length of time.

In the laboratory the peak in sound pressure level as recorded during the flight is determined from the magnetic tape in each of eight octave frequency bands. The peak sound pressure levels are then converted to the peak perceived noise levels. The peak PNdb data may then be presented in a number of ways. One is to plot histograms (distribution curves) at each location in the community for each season of the year and for day, evening, and night operations. These histograms can be converted to the levels that would have occurred if the plane had flown directly overhead, if that is desired. One such plot of the noise produced outdoors for certain aircraft in communities around one international airport is given in figure 1.[2,3] Using the data given in figure 2 for the approximate noise reduction of outside noise provided by a typical one-family frame house, the plot of figure 3 is obtained for the noise indoors.

We do not know whether feelings of annoyance are caused by all levels of noise in a distribution like those of figures 1 and 3 or whether the top 50 percent or top 25 percent or some other percentage disturbs people. We know from neighborhood studies that it is generally not the isolated, exceptionally noisy airplane that sets the level of annoyance in a community, but rather sustained activity over a period of time. As a guess, we would say that the 25 percent level in figures 1 and 3 should correlate reasonably well with neighborhood annoyance.

The curves of figures 1 and 3 give the PNdb as though all the airplanes went directly over the head of the observer who took the data. In actual fact, aircraft generally do not fly a straight course after takeoff but deviate to one side or the other depending on the specific flight path, the wind, and the destination. This deviation has the effect of reducing the levels of the distribution curves and this reduction will be greater the greater the distance of the observer from the start of the takeoff roll. At a distance of 4 miles from the takeoff roll, for example, the standard deviation of the distribution of horizontal position of the airplanes may be several times greater than the mean altitude. Thus sound propagation to the observer may be severely influenced by vertical wind and temperature gradients and other weather effects. In figure 4, we show four 25 percent lines: two for outdoor and two for indoor levels with two of these representing airplanes in overhead flight and two adjusted to represent scatter of flight paths after takeoff. Neither the particular overhead nor the scatter situation shown in figure 4 may be typical at other airports.

The curves shown in figure 4 are fairly general, assuming the particular types of operation that normally exist out of New York International Airport. For an airport that primarily serves cities within 1,000 miles, with the type of propeller aircraft in common use in 1958 and the customary loading factor experienced in the United States, the contours are about 2 PNdb lower than the curves of figure 4.

SUMMER VERSUS WINTER AND VIBRATION VERSUS NOISE

The evidence available to us from studies in neighborhoods indicates that the feelings of annoyance or disturbance in a neighborhood varies from month to month approximately according to figure 5. The annoyance due to operations is higher in the summer than in the winter, rising to a peak in June, July, and August when windows are open due to the summer heat.

In figure 5 we see that the ratio of the annoyances with windows open (June, July, and August) to those with windows closed (November through March) is called O/C. We have evidence that an equivalent reduction in annoyance could also be achieved by reducing the noise levels of the aircraft by about 8 PNdb. Computations based on the change in spectra of propeller aircraft noise caused by the noise-reducing characteristics of framehouses (figure 2) reveal that the difference between open and closed windows is about 8 PNdb.

These results permit another important conclusion; namely, that house vibrations separate from audible noise do not seem to cause significant annoyance even with the windows closed. If house vibrations were the controlling factor then the annoyance would be the same whether the windows were open or closed because houses are shaken about the same amount whether the windows are open or closed.

The conclusion stated above is consistent with testimony given in the Newark trial in 1957. Most people gave as the reason for their annoyance that their sleep was disturbed or that they experienced interference with telephone, speech, radio, or the audio of TV.

DAYTIME VERSUS NIGHTTIME

In our previous writings [1, 6, 7] we have reported that annoyance is more likely to arise in the nighttime (after people have retired) than earlier in the evening and is more likely in the evening than in the daytime. At one airport we made a sample study of the hourly distribution of annoyance over a 9-month period and of the hourly distribution of takeoffs for the same time period. The results are given in figure 6. We see that the ratio of annoyance to takeoffs is very low during the daytime between 0700 and 1800 hours. In the early evening, i.e., 1800 to 2200, the ratio increases. In the brief period between 2200 and 2400 hours (the retiring period) the ratio of annoyance to takeoffs abruptly rises still further. Between 0100 and 0200 the ratio drops considerably and between 0200 and 0700 the ratio drops to a relatively low value. It is expected that the low rate of annoyance between 0200 and 0700 may be nonlinearly associated with the very small amount of activity in this period.

We have consistently observed that a daytime-nighttime difference of 10 db (or PNdb) is required to keep the around-the-clock community annoyance about the same.[1] Daytime annoyance appears to be at about the same level as that experienced in the evening when the daytime-evening difference in noise level is about 5 or 6 PNdb.

LANDINGS VERSUS TAKEOFFS AND SUCCESSIVE DAYS OF EXPOSURE

The relative importance of takeoffs and landings in causing annoyance is shown by a typical month's operation over a given community in table 2. A negligible percentage of annoyance was caused by landings. Also, the expressed annoyance due to takeoffs was small during the first day of a series in which takeoffs passed over this community. (Whether takeoffs or landings pass over a given community depends of course on the wind direction and other operational variables.) The amount of expressed annoyance generally increases on the second and third days of a series. Expressions of annoyance are more likely to occur on days of poor visibility. All of these factors are illustrated in table 2.

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[4] See footnote on page 8759.

[2,3] See footnotes on page 8758.

[1] See footnote on page 8758.

[6] K. N. Stevens, W. A. Rosenblith, and R. H. Bolt, "A Community's Reaction to Noise: Can It Be Forecast?" Noise Control 1, No. 1, pp. 63–71 (January 1955).

[7] K. N. Stevens, A. C. Pietrasanta, et al., "Procedures for Estimating Noise Exposure and Resulting Community Reaction From Air Base Operations," WADG technical note 57–10 (Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio, April 1957).

TABLE 2.—*Aircraft activity over one community*

[Each day's total is expressed as percentage of 1 month's total. Monthly totals of takeoffs and landings were about equal]

Date	Daily takeoffs as percentage of monthly total	Daily landings as percentage of monthly total	Weather	Daily expressed annoyance as percentage of monthly total expressed annoyance
1				
2				
3		0.2		
4		.1		
5		2.2	6 to 15 knots, clear	
6				
7	2.0			
8	11.1		15 knots, clear	7
9	20.8		15+ knots, clear	19
10	16.1		6 to 15 knots, rain, haze	47
11		17.0	15+ knots, rain, haze, ILS	2
12	2.0	3.8		
13	.3	3.3		1
14		2.8		1
15	9.2		6 to 15 knots, fog, ILS	2
16	.3	5.1		
17	.9			
18		11.0	6 to 15 knots, ILS	1
19		17.8	15+ knots, ILS	
20		21.6	6 to 15 knots, ILS	
21		14.0	15 knots, clear	
22	9.3			
23	11.4		6 knots, clear	3
24	.8			1
25	.7			
26		.1		
27	14.5		10 knots, smoke, ILS	15
28				
29	.6	.2		1
30		.1		
31		.7		

TABLE 3.—*Indoor perceived noise levels for propeller airliners and for Boeing 707–120 and Comet 4 jet airliners*

Distance from aircraft (feet)	Composite large propeller airliner		Boeing 707-120 airliner		Comet 4	
	Takeoff (meto power) PNdb	Landing PNdb	Takeoff (8,000 pounds thrust) PNdb	Landing PNdb	Takeoff (7,350 r.p.m.) PNdb	Landing PNdb
400	96	83	109	99	107	99
600	93	79	105	94	103	94
800	90	75	101	89	99	90
1,000	88	73	97	86	96	86
1,200	86	71	94	83	94	83
1,400	84	69	91	80	92	80
1,600	83	68	89	77	90	78

We observed from actual measurements on propeller aircraft operations that the perceived noise level for instrument landings (of propeller aircraft) was about 19 PNdb lower than the takeoff noise over this community. A difference of 18 PNdb should cause a very great difference in annoyance, just as table 2 shows.

EXTRAPOLATION TO NEW SITUATIONS

The key item needed in order to extrapolate from an existing situation around an airport to a new situation where a different type of airplane is involved is a new distribution curve of the type shown in figure 1. Before we can make up a new distribution curve, we must know the variation of the peak PNdb levels with thrust and altitude and the manner in which the new aircraft will fly. Evaluations of this type have been performed on the Boeing 707–120, the Comet 4 and the Caravelle I jet airliners and have been reported in the literature.[2][8][9] Some estimate must then be made of the variability in altitude and azimuth for each of the airplanes expected to use the airport. Then the percentage of operations of each type of aircraft and the estimated range of loadings must be ascertained from the airlines. When all of these data are available, new graphs like figures 1, 3, and 4 can be computed and serve as the basis for a new evaluation.

Tables 3 and 4 present a brief summary of perceived noise levels for takeoffs and landings of the two types of jets now operating into airports on the east coast and for an average large propeller aircraft. The takeoff data reflect typical power cutbacks after takeoff.

We see immediately that if jet aircraft were to replace propeller aircraft and if they were permitted to follow the same flight routines as the propeller aircraft, the perceived noise levels indoors in communities near the airport would increase by 10 or 12 PNdb. (See table 3.) An airport operator would be unlikely to disregard this magnitude of predicted change.

One solution to the problem is for the airport operator to specify an altitude that will give a PNdb level not exceeding the PNdb level at the average altitude for propeller aircraft. For example, if it were found that propeller aircraft were flying over the near edge of a community at a height of 600 feet, it would be logical to require that the jet fly past that same point at over 1,200 feet if annoyance is to be maintained at about the same level.

Another solution is to require that the thrust of the aircraft engines be reduced when flying over neighborhoods. For example, with one jet airplane, the perceived noise level drops 2 PNdb for a thrust decrease of 1,000 pound per engine, or 4 PNdb for a decrease of 2,000 pound per engine, and so forth.

Obviously, another way to reduce the possibility of increased annoyance following the introduction of noisier aircraft into an airport is to limit the operations to daytime, or to periods between 7 a.m. and 10 p.m.

Another solution is to specify a PNdb number (as measured under the flight path) not to be exceeded over inhabited areas. Presumably a different number should be specified for daytime than for nighttime. Tentatively, the Port of New York Authority has specified 112 PNdb measured outdoors under the flight path as the maximum permissible level for operations between 7 a.m. and 10 p.m.

Another situation of interest is the system of preferential use of certain runways. Such a system has been in use at the three principal airports of the Port of New York Authority for about 4 years.

Comparison of a similar airport without the preferential runway system with one of the New York airports shows that the annoyance there as judged by our studies during the past year without the preferential runway system was 99 percent of the 4-year average, while at a New York airport with the preferential runway system during the last year only it was 80 percent of the 4-year average.

Still another way to limit annoyance, if space permits, is to locate the start of takeoff roll as far as possible from the community that the airplane will fly over. An additional mile will give the 707–120, fully loaded on a standard day with zero headwind, about an additional 600 feet of altitude, or a reduction of 9 to 12 PNdb in the perceived noise level, depending on the weather.

It is apparent that whenever a new type of aircraft is to be introduced each airport operator should first determine what perceived noise levels in the communities surrounding his airports are exceeded by the noisiest 25 percent of flights. Then he must predict the increase (or decrease) in perceived noise levels that will result from the introduction of the new aircraft. If the increases in perceived noise levels are above what he thinks are allowable, he must take one or more of the remedial actions listed above.

VALIDATION OF PERCEIVED NOISE LEVEL RATINGS

To validate the PNdb method for rating the noises of aircraft, judgment tests were performed by our firm under a variety of controlled circumstances. An immediate purpose of these judgment tests was to determine the relation between the sound pressure levels of jet aircraft and piston aircraft that would produce equal amounts of perceived noisiness. The sounds of jet aircraft that were used were from the Boeing 707–120, equipped with JT3C–6 engines and FS–152 noise suppressors; the Comet 4, equipped with Avon RA–29 engines with noise suppressors; and the Caravelle I, equipped with Avon RA–26 engines without noise suppressors. The sounds of propeller aircraft were from the Douglas DC7 and the Lockheed Super Constellation. The sounds were recorded on magnetic tapes and were played back over loudspeaker systems. Various kinds of human judgments were performed,

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[2][3] See footnotes on page 8758.

[8] L. N. Miller and L. L. Beranck, "Survey of the Takeoff Noise Characteristics of the Caravelle Jet Airliner and of Conventional Propeller-Driven Airliners," Noise Control 3, No. 6, pp. 42 ff (November 1957).

[9] L. N. Miller, L. I. Beranck, and K. D. Kryter, "Airports and Jet Noises," Noise Control 5, No. 1, pp. 24–31 (January 1959).

TABLE 4.—*Outdoor perceived noise levels for propeller airliners and for Boeing 707–120 and Comet 4 jet airliners*

Distance from aircraft (feet)	Composite large propeller airliner		Boeing 707-120 airliner		Comet 4	
	Takeoff (meto power) PNdb	Landing PNdb	Takeoff (8,000 pounds thrust) PNdb	Landing PNdb	Takeoff (7,350 r.p.m.) PNdb	Landing PNdb
400	112	101	126	117	125	117
600	108	96	122	113	121	112
800	105	92	118	108	117	109
1,000	103	90	115	104	114	105
1,200	101	88	112	101	112	102
1,400	99	86	109	98	110	99
1,600	98	84	107	96	108	97

TABLE 5.—*Differences between ratings of noise from propeller and from jet aircraft determined by various methods*

[The ratings were determined for the sounds when they were judged to be subjectively equally noisy. A negative value in a column indicates that the rating of the jet by that method was lower than the rating of the propeller aircraft]

Measurement method	Meter with frequency-weighting networks				Perceived noise level (PNbd)	Loudness level (phon)	Equal listener response curve (db)	Speech interference level (db)
	C network (db)	A network (db)	P network (db)	N curve (db)				
Outdoor	−11.2	−2.5	+4.0	−1.5	−2.2	−5.0	−5.2	+7.5
Indoor	−12.2	−6.0	+1.3	−6.0	−4.4	−7.0	−8.2	+9.4
Average	−11.7	−4.3	+2.7	−3.8	−3.3	−6.0	−6.7	+8.4

some involving individual listeners and others involving large groups of listeners simultaneously. In part of the tests, indoor spectra were used; in the others outdoor spectra were used. The details of the tests and their outcome are given in references 2, 3, and 4.

The exact noise spectra that were reproduced through the loudspeakers at the ears of those judging the "noiseness" were rated, when the listeners judged them to be equally noisy, by seven different schemes as follows:

1. Sound pressure level as measured with the C weighting network on a standard sound-level meter.[10]

2. Sound pressure level as measured with the A weighting network on a standard sound-level meter.[10]

3. Sound pressure level as measured on a sound-level meter with a special P network. The P network is relatively unknown in the United States, but it is found on some European instruments for measuring "broadcast background noise."[11] The P network gives heavy stress to the higher frequencies relative to the low.

4. The perceived noise level in PNdb.

5. Loudness level (LL) in phons.

6. A process of weighting the sound according to the equal listener-response (ELR) curve.[8][9] (Note: This method was originally developed for indoor listening but for noise levels measured outdoors. The comparisons made here on its suitability do not include this case. The method is not as suitable, as shown here, either for both listening and measuring sound levels indoors or for both listening and measuring sound levels outdoors.)

7. Speech interference level (SIL) in decibels.

Table 5 shows the difference in decibels between the ratings of propeller and jet aircraft by each of these seven methods, when the jets sounded just as noisy as the propeller driven aircraft. If we accept the human judgments as valid, a positive number in table 5 means that the method indicated at the head of the column overestimates the "noisiness" of the three jet noises relative to the propeller noises. A negative number indicates that the method underestimates the "noisiness" of the jets relative to the props. The N curve results shown in table 5 will be discussed in the next section.

Inspection of table 5 shows that the perceived noise level method (PNdb) and the method using the P network come the closest to the human judgments. The PNdb method underestimates the "noisiness" and the P network method overestimates it, each by about three units. Use of the A network is not far different from the PNdb method, leading to estimates low by about four units. The loudness level and the methods using the equal listener response curve and the C network yield estimates low by 6 to 12 units. Finally, the speech interference level is an estimate which is high by about eight units.

We have decided to use the PNdb method for several reasons. First, it is equalled in accuracy only by use of the P network. Second, it is based on a solid foundation of basic psychological experiments reported in the literature. Third, the overestimates of the noisiness resulting from the P network would put a penalty on the airport operator. Fourth, the PNdb method may be more nearly correct than the judgment tests because with familiarity, the jet noise in the home may be a few PNdb less noisy than when presented in the laboratory.

We participated in direct listening comparison tests conducted on July 25, 1958, by the Boeing Airplane Co. in Seattle wherein listeners familiar with jet noise were used. Those tests involved the same types of jet and propeller airliners included in the laboratory studies discussed above, operating under various controlled conditions of flight. This opportunity was greatly appreciated because it afforded a situation that could be of tremendous value in our evaluation of the general validity of the data we were obtaining in the laboratory.

Our personal observations at the Boeing tests verified, at least to ourselves, that the PNdb method of rating is not at variance with the results of listening to sounds from those aircraft under real-life conditions.

A METER TO MEASURE PERCEIVED NOISE LEVEL

It would be very convenient to be able to determine the perceived noise level of a sound directly from a single meter reading. This notion, of course, is the same as that behind the design of the A, B, C, and P weighting networks for measuring loudness on a sound-level meter. Figure 7[4] shows the relative weighting that may be assigned in the electrical circuitry to the various octave bands, according to the several schemes for measuring or estimating sound pressure level, loudness level, and perceived noise level. The weighting function that we show for approximating perceived noisiness is clearly much different than those of the present A, B, C, and P networks that are available on some sound-level meters.

The N function in figure 7 is the response necessary to give the same meter reading for octave-band noises of different frequencies each of which has the same noisiness, namely 40 noys (see table 1). Practically speaking the weightings do not change appreciably for contours from 10 to 80 noys, a range corresponding to octave-band sound pressure levels from about 65 to 110 db. This range, we believe, covers the levels at which sounds are likely to become a "noise problem" so that a meter with the characteristic shown by the N curve should be useful as a general tool for estimating the noisiness of complex sounds. Our firm is in the process of designing such a meter.

Obviously, the use of a meter involving a network that weighs a sound spectrum in accordance with the N curve gives us an overall noisiness rating that bypasses part of the procedure involved in computing a PNdb—that part concerned with the way in which octave-band levels may be added to obtain a noisiness level over all bands. Nonetheless the N curve rating is on the average within 0.5 db of the PNdb value for these noises. This consistency between the N curve rating and PNdb is to be expected, of course, only among sounds that have nearly the same total bandwidth and have relatively continuous spectra.

In view of the relative accuracy with which both the A network and PNdb methods estimated the judgment test data (see table 5) it might seem reasonable to use sound-level meters with the existing A weighting network for measuring perceived noise level. However, certain sound-level meters are designed so that the A network is to be used with relatively weak sounds (below 40 to 50 db) whereas the noises involved in our tests had octave-band levels averaging 80 to 90 db. A more important restriction against using a meter with the A network as a general "noisiness" meter is the fact that while a weighting function similar to the A function in figure 7 may predict fairly well the relative perceived noise levels for the spectra of certain jet and piston aircraft, the accuracy is fortuitous and it cannot be expected to handle with this same relative accuracy other types of sounds.

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[8] [9] See footnotes on pages 8760 and 8761.

[10] ASA standard Z24.3, sound level meters for measurement of noise and other sounds (American Standards Association, New York, 1944).

[11] Report of the 17th Plenary Assembly, 1954, of the International Telephone Consultative Committee (CCIF), vol. 4 (International Telecommunication Union, Geneva, 1956), pp. 127–130.

[4] See footnote on page 8759.

Recent Studies in Evaluating Aircraft Noise and Its Subjected Effects

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[Figures referred to in article are not included in the Record]

ABSTRACT

Laboratory tests, aimed at refinement of the perceived noise levels as an objective measure of noisiness, have suggested possible modification in methods of calculating the perceived noise level to include effects of time duration and the presence of discrete tone components. Some of the problems associated with applying the results of these laboratory tests to better assess community reaction to aircraft noise are discussed. Recent field studies investigating category ratings and ratio scales of noise acceptability have demonstrated similarity in judgments of recorded and actual aircraft flyover noise signals. Comparison of these category ratings with those of British studies shows good agreement concerning levels at which a considerable degree of dissatisfaction is expressed—108 to 115 PNdB in the context of 20 to 30 flyovers per day. With respect to sonic booms, there is currently a lack of judgment data, obtained either by laboratory or field tests, which adequately define the parameters of sonic booms to which people are most sensitive. Problems and suggested approaches for additional sonic boom investigations will be discussed, including the need for subjective testing utilizing both actual booms in field studies and stimulated stimuli in the laboratory.

With widespread introduction and more extensive use of subsonic jet transport aircraft, greatly increased numbers of people have become exposed to aircraft noise. This exposure and the consequent widespread evidence of dissatisfaction have stimulated considerable interest in methods of relating man's assessment of aircraft noise to physical measurements of the noise. In particular, this concern has stimulated interest in the development of measures of rating noise in terms of "noisiness," "acceptability," and "annoyance." Now, with impending development of the supersonic transport, there is a need not only to refine scales for measuring man's assessment of aircraft engine noise, but also to develop and validate suitable scales for measuring man's assessment of sonic booms.

In this review we summarize the results of recent studies undertaken to improve procedures for rating aircraft flyover noise and describe some of the problems currently under investigation. We also discuss some of the problems faced in developing objective measures to evaluate man's assessment of more complex sounds, such as sonic booms.

REVIEW OF SUBJECTIVE RATING METHODS FOR AIRCRAFT NOISE

The effects of jet engine noise on people had received considerable attention by the military services in the decade before the introduction of civil jet transports. This concern arose out of the varied personal and community problems occasioned by the development of high-thrust military jet aircraft. Military-sponsored studies, completed prior to the introduction of civil jet aircraft, have stimulated the development of many of the techniques for measuring and describing aircraft noise that have become widespread since the introduction of jet transports.[1] [2] [3] [4] In turn, concern with developing measures for determining man's assessment of noise is a relatively old and basic problem of practical importance in a number of applied acoustic problems. Aircraft noise is not alone in stimulating interest in development of subjective scales. There is, for example, considerable current interest in developing and validating objective means of rating man's subjective assessment of automobile, truck, and motorcycle noise.[5] [6] Much effort has gone into the establishment of suitable noise criteria for different human activities and work environments.[7] [8]

Since the development in the 1920's of means for rapidly and accurately measuring sound pressure levels, there has been increasing interest in correlating physical measures of sound with resulting human responses. Several developments in this area of psychoacoustics should be mentioned since they contributed materially to current methods of evaluating aircraft noise. As one subjective description of noise, the concept of loudness as a measure of noise magnitude has received considerable attention. A key development in this realm was the now familiar Fletcher and Nunson loudness contours for pure tones.[9] From these contours, the A, B, and C weighting networks were established and incorporated in sound level meters in the 1930's. These weighted frequency networks were then used to establish single-number criteria for different acoustic environments.[10] It was also quite frequently assumed, lending to the usefulness of such loudness contours, that the ranking of the acceptability of real life sounds could be correlated in terms of the loudness.

Later came the development of contours showing the relative loudness of broadband noise signals and the investigation of procedures for adding several tones or several frequency bands of noise. This work led to the methods of computing loudness established by S. S. Stevens at Harvard and more recently by Zwicker.[11] [12] [13]

Another technique quite widely used in evaluating military aircraft noise in this country was the level-rank procedure for rating octave band noise spectra.[1] [2] The level-rank concept utilized a family of curves plotted on octave band paper with the rank designating an area between two neighboring curves; the curves were based on results of the then existing laboratory experiments on loudness, annoyance, and speech interference. In practice, a measured or calculated noise spectrum was superimposed upon the level-rank curves and assigned the rank of the highest zone into which the spectrum protruded. In effect, this procedure assumed that the noise in different frequency bands contributes independently to the shaping of subjective repose and that the effects of different bands of noise were not simply additive. The noise-level-rank concept was incorporated in empirical procedures for estimating community response to noise based on the correlation of certain physical aspects of the noise with observed case history experience.[3]

The development of the perceived noise level started with listening tests conducted in 1958 in which subjects compared recordings of the noise levels produced by large propeller aircraft with those produced by takeoffs of turbojet aircraft. Each subject was asked to adjust the sound level of one recording until it sounded as acceptable or as noisy to him as the sound of a reference aircraft noise record. The specific purpose of the tests was to determine whether the sound from the soon-to-be introduced commercial jet aircraft would be more or less acceptable to communities near airports than the sound from the propeller-driven aircraft then in operation. These tests indicated that then-current noise evaluation methods employing either a meter or a calculation of loudness could not predict accurately the judged noisiness of the sounds. Therefore, from studies of these tests and available information on the "annoyance" values of sounds of different frequencies by Laird and Coyne, and later by Reese, Kryter, and Stevens the "perceived" noise level was evolved.[14] [15] The perceived noise level was expressed in units which we call perceived noise decibels, or PNdb. The perceived noise level in PNdb was proposed as an appropriate measure of the relative subjective acceptability or noisiness of complex sounds, and aircraft sounds in particular.[16] [17] [18]

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[1] Rosenblith, W. A., K. N. Stevens, et al, "Handbook of Acoustic Noise Control," vol. II, "Noise and Man," WADC TR 52–204, pp. 179–200 (June 1953).

[2] Stevens, K. N., W. A. Rosenblith, R. H. Bolt, "A Community's Reaction to Noise: Can It Be Forecast?" Noise Control, 1, No. 1, 63–71 (January 1955).

[3] Stevens, K. N., A. C. Pietrasanta, et al, "Procedure for Estimating Noise Exposure and Resulting Community Reaction From Air Base Operations," WADC TN 57–10 (April 1957).

[4] Pietrasanta, A. C., "Noise Measurements Around Some Jet Aircraft," J. Acoust. Soc. Am., 28, 434–442 (1956).

[5] Mills, C. H. G., D. W. Robinson, "The Subjective Rating of Motor Vehicle Noise," app. IX, Noise, Final Report Committee on the Problem of Noise, HMSO, London (July 1963).

[6] Galloway, W. J., "Selection of an Objective Measure for Motor Vehicle Noise," J. Acoust. Am., 37, 1198 (1965).

[7] Baranek, Leo L., "Revised Criteria for Noise in Buildings," Noise Control, 3, 19–27, (January 1957).

[8] Sound Control, ch. 14 of "1961 Guide and Data Book," ASHRAE, New York.

[9] Fletcher, H., and W. A. Munson, "Loudness, Its Definition, Measurement, and Calculation," J. Acoust. Soc. Am., 5, 82–108 (1933).

[10] Knudsen, V. O., and C. M. Harris, "Acoustical Designing in Architecture," John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York (1950).

[11] Stevens, S. S., "The Measurement of Loudness," J. Acoust. Soc. Am., 27, 815–829 (1955).

[12] Stevens, S. S., "Calculation of the Loudness of Complex Noise," J. Acoust. Soc. Am., 28, 807–832 (1956).

[13] Zwicker, E., "Uber Psychologische und Methodische Grundlagen der Lautheit," Acustica, 1, 237–258 (1958).

[14] Laird, D. A., and K. Coyne, "Psychological Measurements of Annoyance as Related to Pitch and Loundness," JASA, 1, 158–163 (1929).

[15] Reese, T. W., K. D. Kryter and S. S. Stevens, "The Relative Annoyance Produced by Various Bands of Noise," Psychoacoustics Lab., Harvard University (Mar. 17, 1944) P. B. No. 27, 306, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

[16] Kryter, K. D., "Scaling Human Reactions to the Sound From Aircraft," J. Acoust. Soc. Am., 31, 1415–1429 (1959).

[17] Kryter, K. D., "The Meaning and Measurement of Perceived Noise Level," Noise Control, 6, 12–27 (September–October 1960).

[18] Kryter, K. D., K. S. Pearsons, "Judgment Tests of the Sound From Piston, Turbojet and Turbofan Aircraft," Sound, 1, 24–31 (March–April 1962).

The concept of the perceived noise level is somewhat similar to the concept of loudness level in that it evaluates and sums the contribution of noisiness in each of a number of frequency bands covering most of the frequency range of sounds to which humans respond. The difference between loudness and noisiness scales lies in differences between the reference contours of equal loudness or noisiness.

Figure 1 shows a complete set of noisiness contours, resulting from the investigations of Kryter and Pearsons.[19] Figure 2 illustrates a typical difference between the equal noisiness contours and the loudness contours established by Stevens.[20] The difference between the loudness and noisiness contours is predominantly at high frequencies. In other words, for a high and a low frequency sound which are equally loud, the high frequency sound will be more annoying.

SOME APPLICATIONS

The perceived noise level scale is now widely used in this country and abroad for rating aircraft noise. Currently it has been proposed as a measure of the annoyance of aircraft noise in several national and international specifications.[21] [22] It is also often employed in defining the noise characteristics of new aircraft.

On the basis of information concerning the flight profiles of an aircraft as well as the noise characteristics, plus information concerning the noise attenuation through the atmosphere, perceived noise level contours can be prepared indicating the maximum levels occurring on the ground at positions beneath and to either side of the flight path. Sets of generalized noise-level contours have been prepared depicting the maximum levels expected during takeoffs and landings for many of the aircraft (fixed wing and helicopter) in current use in this country.[23] [24] [25] These contours provide information for estimating the reaction in communities exposed to aircraft noise and for planning suitable land uses in areas near airports.[23] [26] In these procedures the perceived noise level is coupled with information on the number of operations, runway utilization, and time of day to calculate a composite noise rating (CNR). The composite noise rating in turn may be used to estimate the response of residential communities. Figure 3 shows the empirical relationship that has evolved from extensive studies of community-aircraft noise problems near a number of military and civil airports.

As initially developed, the perceived noise level scale rated the relative noisiness of sounds having similar temporal characteristics without strong discrete tone components. These limitations on the use of the perceived noise level scale have become more restrictive with the increase in landing noise problems and by the introduction of turbofan engines. Consequently they have stimulated study of more complex methods for comparing complex noises which may differ widely in time pattern and in discrete tone content.

Before discussing some of the results of recent laboratory tests aimed at increasing the accuracy of rating differing aircraft sounds, we might note first the practical application of some simple methods of estimating the perceived noise level. As Kryter has earlier noted, it should be possible to obtain a good estimate of the calculated perceived noise level for sounds having approximately the same bandwidth and frequency spectra by use of a sound level meter and a simple weighting network.[17] [18] To be most accurate, such a meter must be specially calibrated for each class of sounds for which it is used.

Both the A-network of the standard sound level meter and sound level meters incorporating weighting networks having the inverse shape of the 40-noy equal noisiness contour shown in figure 1 (N-network) have been used to estimate the perceived noise level of aircraft flyovers. Our recent experience has shown that with either the N-network or the A-network, the calculated perceived noise levels (as calculated from octave band noise measurements) may be approximated from the network readings with sample standard deviations of the order of 1 to 2 db. In some applications, this accuracy in estimating perceived noise levels is adequate. For example, this method may be entirely satisfactory in describing the noise levels in the vicinity of an airport where a variety of different aircraft are in operation. In such cases, we have observed that the noise levels per se due to jet aircraft operations may vary over quite wide ranges with typical sample standard deviations ranging from 5 to 8 PNdb obtained near well-defined takeoff and landing paths. In this case, the measurement error introduced by network readings of PNdb may be quite acceptable. The reduction in data analysis time per flyover permits a greater number of flyovers to be sampled, thus facilitating a better statistical description of the noise environment. However, it should be emphasized that such approximation procedures may lead to serious errors when measuring sounds having different bandwidths and sharply differing frequency spectra.

TIME DURATION

In examining the effects of duration on noisiness, Kryter and Pearsons reported several years ago results of some laboratory comparisons in which the time duration was varied for bands of noise and simulated and actual aircraft sounds.[19] Results of these tests indicated that doubling the duration of a sound (i.e., the time in which the noise signal is within 10 dB of the maximum level) increased its subjective noisiness by 4.5 dB. In other words, if one doubles the duration of a sound, then the level must be reduced by 4.5 dB to retain the same noisiness. The time pattern employed is shown in figure 4. Figure 5 shows a plot of the experimental data. The study included signals having durations of 1.5 to 12 seconds, presented at sound pressure levels in the vicinity of 100 dB. Similar results have also been observed for sounds having levels of 60 to 80 dB.

The extent to which this "trading" relation of 4.5 dB between duration and level for equal noisiness is applicable for longer or shorter durations is not known, although one would suspect that for durations longer than 20 to 30 seconds the slope of the curve in figure 5 should decrease. We are currently undertaking additional studies in which the time duration of the stimuli is varied over a greater range.

On the basis of these laboratory tests one may define a duration-adjusted perceived noise level or "effective PNdB" defined as

$$\mathrm{PNdB}_{\mathrm{eff}}=\mathrm{PNdB}+15\log\frac{t}{t_{\mathrm{ref}}} \qquad (1)$$

Now, the time duration of the noise signal produced by the flyover of an aircraft is determined by four major factors: (a) noise source characteristics of the aircraft, (b) distance and geometrical relationships between the aircraft and a ground position, (c) aircraft speed, and (d) sound attenuation characteristics of the atmosphere. For a given aircraft operating at a fixed power setting, the time duration will be approximately proportional to the aircraft speed. In practice, since variations in takeoff and climb speeds are often relatively small, variations in time duration are likely to be principally dependent upon distance from the aircraft.

As an example, figure 6 shows the time duration of several aircraft flyover signals plotted versus the ratio of the distance between aircraft and ground observer to aircraft speed. Data points are shown for computer-simulated takeoffs of a large transport aircraft at three different speed profiles encompassing a range of speeds after liftoff ranging from 150 to 230 knots. The same data points are replotted in figure 7 versus the distance between aircraft and ground observer. For a given slant distance, the time durations shown in the figure typically vary over a ratio of about 1.5 to 1. When the time durations shown in figure 7 are now interpreted in terms of the effective perceived noise level, by means of equation 1, we obtain the band of effective perceived noise levels shown in figure 8. At a given slant distance, the variation in duration resulting from changes in speed has resulted in a spread of effective perceived noise levels of 2 to 3 PNdb.

Also shown in figure 8 is the unmodified perceived noise level-vs-distance curve for this simulated takeoff condition. (In figure 8 we have taken 20 seconds as the reference time for modifying the perceived noise levels in accordance with equation 1. This choice of a reference is quite arbitrary; selection of a different reference time would merely have shifted the effective duration-modified perceived noise level with respect to the uncorrected perceived noise level curve.)

It is plainly evident from figure 8 that the time duration correction has significantly changed the slope of the curve relating perceived noise levels to distance. While the unmodified perceived noise level curve decreased at a rate of approximately 8 to 10 PNdb per doubling of distance, the effective perceived noise level curve decreases at a rate of only 4 to 5 dB per doubling of distance. When interpreted in terms of noise contours depicting the maximum perceived noise levels occurring on the ground under the flight path, we obtain the typical situations shown in figure 9. In the upper portion of figure 9 are shown the perceived noise level contours for a computer-simulated takeoff of a large turbojet transport aircraft. In the lower portion, the effective perceived noise level contours are shown for the same takeoff. The effective perceived noise level contours are well separated, indicating a very moderate change in noisiness for ground positions off to either side of the aircraft flight path. The extent to which this may hold true for signals of long duration remains to be substantiated by future laboratory tests.

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[19] Kryter, K. D., K. S. Pearsons, "Some Effects of Spectral Content and Duration on Perceived Noise Level," J. Acoust, Soc. Am., 35, 866–883 (1963).

[20] Stevens, S. S., "Procedure for Calculating Loudness: Mark VI," J. Acoust. Soc. Am., 33, 1577–1585 (1961).

[21] SAE ARP 865 "Definitions and Procedures for Computing the Perceived Noise Level of Aircraft Noise," (1964).

[22] ISO/TC 43 (Secretariat–206), "Secretariat Proposal for a Procedure for Measurement and Description of Aircraft Noise in the Vicinity of an Airport."

[23] Bolt Beranek and Newman Tech. Report "Land Use Planning Relating to Aircraft Noise," published by FAA (October 1964). Also published by the Department of Defense as AFM 86–5, TM 5–365, NAVDOCKS P–98, "Land Use Planning With Respect to Aircraft Noise."

[24] Bishop, D. E., "Noise Contours for Short and Medium Range Transport Aircraft and Business Aircraft," FAA Tech. Report ADS–35 (1965).

[25] Bishop, D. E., "Helicopter Noise Characteristics for Heliport Planning," FAA Technical Report ADS–40 (1965).

[26] Bishop, D. E., "Development of Aircraft Noise Compatibility Criteria for Varied Land Uses," FAA SRDS Rept. No. RD–64–148, II (1964).

See footnotes 17 and 18 on page 8763.

DISCRETE TONES

The effect of discrete tones on the noisiness of complex noise signals has been studied by several investigators. They have noted that the presence of a pure tone in a band of random noise may cause the composite signal to be judged much noiser than a band of random noises having the same overall sound pressure level as the composite signals.[15], [27], [28]

Some recent work undertaken by Kryter and Pearsons has resulted in the curves shown in figure 10.[29] This figure incorporates some of the results of laboratory experiments interpreted in terms of corrections to be added to the observed levels of the frequency bands containing noise and a pure tone. This procedure suggests a relatively simple method to account for the additional noisiness resulting from the presence of a single pure tone. The perceived noise level of the complex sound would then be calculated on the basis of the corrected band pressure levels. The abscissa in figure 10 is stated in full, one-third or one-tenth octave bands as:

1. The tone-to-noise ratio (T/N) is dB when the tone is measured independently of the background noise; or
2. The ratio of the tone-plus-noise level to the level of noise in adjacent frequency bands (T+N/AN). In other words, this ratio represents the amount in dB by which the band containing the tone exceeds the level of adjacent bands.

Study of the figures indicate that octave band analysis is likely to be inadequate in detecting the presence of pure tones or in providing enough information to permit an accurate determination of the pure tone correction. For example, when the level of the octave band containing noise and the pure tone is 3 dB above the adjacent bands (T+N/AN–3 dB), the correction for pure tones may vary from 3 to 7½ dB. For a similar 4 dB protrusion for noise levels measured in one-third octave bands, the pure tone correction may vary from 2 to 6 dB. With the one-tenth octave band measurements, the correction is reduced to the range of 0 to 3 dB for a 3 dB protrusion. Thus, to fully account for the additional noisiness of pure tones, one may often have to utilize a more detailed frequency analysis than is normally employed in analyzing aircraft flyover noise.

The correction to the total perceived noise level for spectra similar to that encountered in aircraft flyover noise signals will rarely if ever approach that for the correction (from fig. 10) applied to the noise band containing the pure tone. In most practical cases, this correction to the total perceived noise level would be of the order of one-half or less of the correction for the individual band containing the pure tone.

Unfortunately, in the analysis of actual flyover noise signals, one does not encounter the relatively simple combination of steady state broadband noise and single pure tones. In flyover signals, several pure tones may be present; these tones may or may not be harmonically related. There may be significant frequency shifts in the pure tones due to Doppler effects. Additional difficulty is encountered because of the changes in absolute level of the signal with time, accompanied by variations in the pure tone levels relative to the broadband noise. These variations are created by differences in the directional pattern of the multiple noise sources. Where narrow band frequency analyses are relied upon to separate pure tones from the broadband noise, frequency shifts and changes in noise levels with time may limit the sampling time. This in turn may restrict the choice of filter bandwidths or the accuracy with which one may determine the broadband noise levels.[25] [30]

Thus, it is often difficult to determine with any great degree of assurance, the appropriate measures of pure tones and noise necessary to make use of figure 10. The effect of some of these complexities on noisiness assessments have been investigated in the laboratory. We recently completed tests in which subjects compared the noisiness of broadband, continuous spectum noise with the noisiness of the same band of noise including various combinations of pure tones. The pure tones, all harmonically related, were presented under steady state, frequency modulated, and amplitude modulated conditions. The frequency modulations at 5 and 25 percent varied at rates of 1 and 5 cps. The amplitude modulation at 100 percent also varied at rates of 1 and 5 cps. It was found that the judged noisiness of the complex sounds could be predicted with reasonable accuracy by the calculated PNdB values. The test results further indicated that no difference in calculation procedures is necessary to predict the additional effect of modulating and combining tones in noise. Thus, at least for the limited range studied, the presence of more than one discrete tone or a small amount of amplitude or frequency modulation is accounted for by the perceived noise level procedures.

Given the complexity of actual flyover signals and the measurement and interpretation problems associated with determining tone-to-noise, ratios, and time durations as well as absolute levels, it is quite possible for different investigators analyzing the same signals to arrive at somewhat different perceived noise levels. We have recently begun a study of some of the problems in analyzing flyover noise signals and interpreting them in terms of the latest laboratory information available on calculating perceived noise levels. We hope in this study to compare different procedures and evolve several suggestions for measurement procedures that will lead to more consistent reduction and interpretation of flyover measurements. It is probable that several procedures of differing complexity will be developed to meet the widely varying data applications.

ABSOLUTE JUDGMENTS OF AIRCRAFT NOISE

Most of the judgment tests undertaken to determine the acceptability or noisiness of various aircraft sounds have used recorded noise signals as the stimuli. We recently undertook some field tests to determine if there were any significant differences in the judgments of relative noisiness of noise produced by actual flyover and by recordings of aircraft noise.[31] As a part of these tests, we also investigated the establishment of a category scale of acceptability for aircraft noises. In this investigation, subjects were asked to score the flyover noise on a scale having four categories of acceptability—"of no concern," "acceptable," "fairly acceptable," and "unacceptable." This testing is similar to British tests, such as the Farnborough test in 1961, in which subjects were asked to rate the noise of aircraft or motor vehicles in terms of various "intrusiveness," "noisiness," and "annoyance" scales.[5] [32] [33]

For these field tests groups of subjects were assembled at two buildings located near major flight paths at the Los Angeles International Airport. Subjects judged actual flyovers both inside and outside of the test buildings. Recorded flyover noises were judged inside the buildings. Most subjects judged noise from both aircraft takeoffs and aircraft approaches.

One major advantage of such tests is, of course, the exposure to actual noise stimuli and the opportunity to place subjects in an environment more closely resembling a normal home or work situation. One drawback of such tests is the limited dynamic range and lack of control of the noise stimuli. Another disadvantage is the variability in judgments when making subjective magnitude tests. This variability is considerably greater than in tests in which subjects compared the noisiness of two sounds. Thus, the field tests are a relatively insensitive method for detecting differences in responses to other than major changes in the noise stimuli.

In both the relative and category judgment tests, we found little difference in judgments of actual flyovers and recorded flyovers of the same perceived noise level. We also found in both the relative judgment and the category judgment tests little difference in the judgments of takeoff noise compared to approach noise for the same perceived noise level. This latter finding is contrary to what might be expected on the basis of the effect of time duration since there were sizable differences between the mean time durations of the approach noise signals and the takeoff noise signals (10 seconds compared to 16 seconds). One explanation for the similarity in judgments of approach noise and takeoff noise despite the difference in time durations is the probability that many of the approach flyover noise signals contained more pronounced discrete frequency components that the takeoff noise signals. This increased discrete tone content may have tended to increase the noisiness of the approach flyovers, thus offsetting the decrease in noisiness due to the shorter time duration.

The relative judgment test results indicated that a change of approximately 16 PNdB was required to double or halve the relative noisiness of the flyover signals. In originally developing the perceived noise level scale it had been assumed that 10 dB was required for doubling of noisiness. Thus, these test results indicate a more moderate change in the growth function of noisiness than originally assumed. As a result of the value of 16 PNdB required for doubling observed in these tests and a value of 13 PNdB observed for doubling in some recent British laboratory tests, we are undertaking detailed laboratory tests to determine more accurately the growth of noisiness as a function of sound pressure level.[34]

The major results of the category judgment tests are given in figure 11. This figure shows two curves representing the mean of indoor judgments and outdoor judgments. There is substantial displacement between the judgments of indoor flyovers and outdoor flyovers. This displacement indicates that for flyovers heard at the same perceived noise levels most observers will assign less acceptable ratings to the noise when heard indoors than when heard outdoors. The displacement between curves in figure 11 is approximately 14 PNdB in midscale, less than the 18 dBA difference between indoor and outdoor judgments observed in the Farnborough tests. In both tests, the shift between indoor and outdoor judgments is somewhat less than the magnitude of noise reduction provided by the particular test building structures.

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[15] See footnote 15 on page 8763.

[27] Little, J. W., "Human Response to Jet Engine Noises," Noise Control, 7, No. 3, 11–13 (1961).

[28] Wells, R. D., W. E. Blazter, Jr., "A Procedure for Computing the Subjective Reaction to Complex Noise From Sound Power Data," Paper L24, Proc. of the 4th Inter. Congress on Acoustics, 1962, Copenhagen (Organization Committee of the 4th ICA and Harlang and Toksuig, Copenhagen, 1962).

[29] Kryter, K. D., K. S. Pearsons, "Judged Noisiness of a Band of Random Noise Containing an Audible Pure Tone," J. Acoust. Soc. Am., 38, 106–112 (1965).

[25] See footnote 25 on page 8764.

[30] Galloway, W. J., "Frequency Analyses of Short-Duration Random Noise," Sound, 1, No. 6, 31–34 (Nov.–Dec. 1962).

[31] Bishop, D. E., "Judgments of the Relative and Absolute Acceptability of Aircraft Noise," J. Acoust. Soc. Am., 37, 1175 (1965).

[5] See footnote 5 on page 8763.

[32] Robinson, D. W., J. M. Bowsher, W. C. Copeland, "On Judging the Noise From Aircraft in Flight, Acustica, 13, 324–330 (1963).

[33] "Social Survey in the Vicinity of London (Heathrow) Airport," Appendix XI, Noise, Final Report, Committee on the Problem of Noise, HMSO, London (July 1963).

[34] Broadbent, D. E., D. W. Robinson, "Subjective Measurements of the Relative Annoyance of Simulated Sonic Bangs and Aircraft Noise," J. Sound Vib. 1, 162–174 (1964).

Comparison of our category test results with the results from tests employing other category scales is somewhat difficult because of the semantic differences in the category scales and the context in which the subjects were asked to judge flyover noise. For example, in the Los Angeles tests, subjects were asked to judge flyover noise in the context that the flyovers would occur 20 to 30 times during the day and night. However, in the Farnborough tests, subjects were not instructed to interpret the flyover in terms of any particular number of occurrences. However, if we adjust scales for such differences by introducing weighting factors based on current estimates of the effect of number of occurrences on subjective judgments, we obtain the comparison shown in figure 12. In this figure, acceptability ratings are compared with the Farnborough intrusiveness judgments and the London Airport Social Survey annoyance ratings. In figure 12 both indoor and outdoor judgment curves are plotted vs the perceived noise level measured outdoors, assuming 20 PNdB as a representative building noise reduction value.

Although the category scales shown in figure 12 employ quite different sets of adjectives, there is reasonably good agreement among the three scales as to the magnitude of the noise levels rated with adjectives implying a significant degree of dissatisfaction—"unacceptable," "very annoying," or "very much (annoyance)." For situations where the number of flyovers is about 20 to 30 per day, the mean judgments for the three different tests indicate a significant degree of dissatisfaction at perceived noise levels in the range from 108 to 116 PNdB.[35]

In the context of 20 to 30 flyovers per day, this range in noise levels brackets the composite noise rating (CNR) of 115 shown in figure 3 as a lower boundary for the zone of community response to aircraft noise in which repeated and vigorous noise complaints might be expected. The CNR boundaries are based primarily upon case history experience. Thus, from both field experience and more formal category judgments of aircraft noise, there seems to be reasonable agreement concerning the levels of noise which are likely to create quite widespread dissatisfaction either on an individual or community basis.

There is considerable variability in the category judgments of aircraft noise. For example, in our acceptability tests, the pooled estimates of the standard deviations for the various sets of tests ranged from 7 to 9 PNdb. Thus, in interpreting curves showing mean assessments of the noise, such as shown in figure 11 or 12, one should recognize that for any noise exposure, there likely will be found sizable proportions of people holding quite different opinions about the noise.

SONIC BOOM

The setting of acceptable limits for sonic booms experienced in a community critically influences flight planning and the economic operation of supersonic transports. The limits are important in influencing design of the aircraft and engines, since they determine the altitude at which the aircraft becomes supersonic and also set minimum altitudes for cruise flights at different speeds.

Laboratory judgment tests have provided some of the information needed to establish preliminary criteria for sonic booms. Professor Richards of Great Britain has investigated the relative effects of peak overpressure, rise rates, and fall rates for N-shaped waves similar to waveforms of outdoor sonic booms.[35] The stimuli for his tests were produced by small loudspeakers mounted in headsets with special seals to provide the necessary low frequency response. Because of the use of the headset, however, the stimuli were presented only to the ears thus eliminating any possible effect of the booms on the body. No tests were conducted with sonic booms as they might be experienced inside a house.

Other tests in Great Britain reported by Boardbent and Robinson with simulated indoor booms indicate that the upper limit for acceptable sonic boom overpressure is about 1.9 psf.[34] This was determined from judgment tests in which subjects rated the annoyance of sonic booms and aircraft flyover noise. The stimuli for these tests were provided by loudspeakers. The sonic boom signal was produced by a recording of a boom made inside a building. The level of this single recording was varied and the subject rated the different levels on an annoyance scale. Their results show that under indoor conditions, a sonic boom of 1.9 psf overpressure measured outdoors is equivalent to a flyover signal of 110PNdb measured outdoors. It should be noted, however, that although the stimuli were produced by loudspeakers, the low frequency components and associated structural vibration effects were lacking.

Similar work in this country has been conducted by Pearsons and Kryter in which subjects adjusted the level of recorded aircraft noise or bands of noise until they were as acceptable as sonic booms heard indoors and outdoors.[36] The booms were produced by specially constructed 18-inch loudspeakers mounted in a concrete test chamber, 3.5 feet by 3.5 feet by 7.9 feet. The test stimuli included simulated outdoor booms with an N-shaped waveform and a recording of a sonic boom made inside a wood frame building during supersonic flyover. During a portion of the tests some window rattle was added to the indoor sonic boom by adding a window mounted in a plywood door for the chamber. With the addition of the window rattle, the test results indicate that a sonic boom of 2.3 p.s.f. measured outdoors is equivalent to a flyover noise signal of 113 PNdB measured outdoors. These results are in agreement with those of Broadbent and Robinson. The tests further indicated that sonic booms heard indoors are less acceptable than when heard outdoors. As with other laboratory tests, however, the structural vibration normally experienced inside a house was not included in the test stimuli due to the concrete chamber construction.

Within the last 2 to 3 years, rather extensive public opinion surveys have been conducted to determine individual (and community) tolerance to sonic booms.[37] [38] As a consequence, we know quite a bit more now about reactions to sonic booms produced by current "small" supersonic aircraft. However, within the last 2 years, relatively little effort has been given to any systematic study to ascertain which parameters of a sonic boom signature are most significant in determining people's expressions of annoyance or acceptability. Consequently, we now know little more than we did several years ago about possible tradeoffs in reaction in terms of overpressure, rise time, wave shape, and boom duration.

There is particular need to increase our understanding of possible interactions of these parameters since most of our field and laboratory experience is with sonic boom signatures that differ in many waveform details from those expected from the supersonic transport.

The public opinon surveys show that people tend to be most critical of sonic booms while listening to them inside buildings. This finding is in general agreement with laboratory experience with simulated sonic booms. Thus, we should now find out more about man's assessment of sonic booms under indoor conditions. For these investigations, laboratory judgment tests utilizing well-developed test techniques and supplemented with field judgment tests offer a logical approach. The laboratory tests provide a means of determining man's relative assessment of annoyance to ranges and kinds of wave shapes not produced by current aircraft. Laboratory tests also offer a means of simulating the indoor wave shapes expected to be produced by sonic booms from supersonic transport aircraft.

Of course, there are technical problems involved in generating in the laboratory the wave signatures and associated structural vibrations expected from sonic boom excitation of buildings. However, the technical problems involved are certainly not major (nor costly) problems compared to other technical problems which are being solved in the development of a supersonic transport aircraft.

In looking at this problem, one is tempted to draw a parallel with some of the problems experienced during introduction of subsonic transport aircraft. As you may remember, the initial noise level specifications set up by some aircraft and engine manufacturers relied on a basic and simple measure of the noise, the overall sound pressure level. There was considerable dismay, surprise, and confusion on the part of some when the criteria which evolved for evaluating aircraft noise involved a weighting of the noise spectrum rather than a simple overall sound pressure level rating. Similarly, there is a tendency today for many to assume that the basic and most easily measured physical parameters describing the sonic boom wave shape must also be the most pertinent ones in governing man's reaction to the sonic boom. However, past experience in developing measuring scales to describe man's psychological and physiological reactions to noise show that man's reactions seldom scale simply with any single physical parameter of the stimuli and that several parameters of the stimuli must be considered. Thus, our present reliance on overpressure as a governing criteria on sonic boom acceptability may later have to be modified or replaced by consideration of other sonic boom parameters. It would seem reasonable indeed to explore possible needs for criteria modification now, rather than wait for accumulation of case history experience to suggest the need for revisions.

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[35] In fig. 12 judgment scores are correlated with the outdoor perceived noise level plus a weighting due to the number of flyovers equal to 10 log n, where n is the number of occurrences per day. The choice of 10 log n for the number of occurrences is suggested by empirical procedures for predicting community response to noise from aircraft operations. This choice is also supported in part by analysis of the London Airport Social Survey data. For these survey data, weightings of either 10 log n or 15 log n are equally valid statistically in correlating the number of flights per day and average peak noise level of the aircraft with the average annoyance.

[34] See footnote 34 on page 8765.

[36] Richards, E. J., "Sonic Boom Assessment," J. Acoust. Soc. Am., 36, 1036 (1964).

[37] Pearsons, K. S., K. D. Kryter, "Laboratory Tests of Subjective Reactions to Sonic Boom," NASA CR-187 (March 1965).

[38] Borsky, P. N., "Community Reactions to Sonic Booms in the Oklahoma City Area, AMRL-TR-65-37 (February 1965).

Figure 1–5.—*Typical overall sound levels measured with a sound-level meter. (General Radio Co.)*

At a given distance from noise source	decibels re 0.0002 microbar	Environmental
	140	
50-hp victory siren (100′)		
F-84 at take-off (80′ from tail)		
Hydraulic press (3′)	130	
Large pneumatic riveter (4′)		Boiler shop (maximum level)
Pneumatic chipper (5′)		
	120	
Multiple sand blast unit (4′)		Engine room of submarine (full speed)
Trumpet auto horn (3′)		Jet engine test control room
Automatic punch press (3′)	110	
Chipping hammer (3′)		Woodworking shop
Cut-off saw (2′)		Inside DC-6 airliner
		Weaving room
Annealing furnace (4′)	100	
Automatic lathe (3′)		Can manufacturing plant
Subway train (20′)		Inside Chicago subway car
Heavy trucks (20′)		
Train whistles (500′)		Inside motor bus
	90	
10-hp outboard (50′)		
		Inside sedan in city traffic
Small trucks accelerating (30′)		
	80	
Light trucks in city (20′)		Office with tabulating machines
Autos (20′)		Heavy traffic (25′ to 50′)
	70	
		Average traffic (100′)
		Accounting office
Conversational speech (3′)		Chicago industrial areas
	60	
15,000 kva, 115 kv transformer (200′)		
	50	Private business office
		Light traffic (100′)
		Average residence
	40	
		Minimum levels for residential areas in Chicago at night
	30	Broadcasting studio (speech)
		Broadcasting studio (music)
	20	Studio for sound pictures
	10	
Threshold of hearing—Young men 1,000 to 4,000 cps	0	

Vegetative Reactions to Auditory Stimuli—Comparative Studies of Subjects in Dortmund, Germany, and the Mabaan Tribe in the Sudan

(Presented at the Special Scientific Program of the Committee on Conservation of Hearing and the Otosclerosis Study Group at the 68th annual session of the American Academy of Ophthalmology and Otolaryngology, Oct. 20–25, 1963, New York.)

(By Gerd Jansen, M.D., Dortmund Germany; Samuel Rosen, M.D., New York, N.Y.; J. Schulze, M.D., Dortmund, Germany; Dietrich Plester, M.D., Dusseldorf, Germany; Aly El-Mofty, M.D., Cairo, Egypt.)[1]

(Note.—All charts may be found in original report.)

In three separate studies made recently of the primitive Mabaan Tribe in the jungle of southeast Sudan it was shown that, with aging, their hearing in the high frequencies maintains much higher levels when compared to similar populations in Wisconsin, New York, Dusseldorf, and Cairo. The Mabaan environment is almost free of noise, with an ambient noise level measuring 34 to 40 decibels on the C scale. Noise is undoubtedly a critical factor in the deterioration of hearing in the high frequencies with aging in industrialized and developed societies. Other contributory factors, such as diet, stress, climate, race, and genetic origin must also be considered. The connective tissue changes in the ear which occur in all body tissue with aging could be another factor contributing to the hearing loss.

The Mabaans are free of hypertension throughout life, have no coronary attacks and probably have minimal atherosclerosis. Such an ideal cardiovascular state may indicate a better blood supply to the cochlea and could also contribute to their superior hearing.

What possible effect can loud noise have on the capillaries in the body in general and on the capillaries which supply the cochlea in particular? Such experimental studies on humans had previously been done at the Max-Planck Institute in Dortmund, Germany. It was suggested by one of us (S. R.) that similar comparative studies be made among the Mabaans because their cardiovascular tree is presumably better than that of the Dortmunders or other more industrialized and developed populations. In March of 1963 such a study was carried out by the authors in conjunction with newer auditory functional tests.

A sudden noise causes a number of reactions in the human body. In addition to the psychic shock, one winces, turns the head, holds the breath, closes the eyes for a short time. The breathing is accelerated, and other characteristic manners of behavior are induced by the noise. These facts indicate that extra-aural responses to noise occur. The purpose of this study was to investigate the effect of sudden noise on the vegetative nervous system.

A very important function of the vegetative nervous system is the regulation of the changing caliber of blood vessels. Thus, Lehmann and Tamm tested in humans the effect of noise on the pulse rate, blood pressure, vascular peripheral resistance and cardiac output. They found that a short or prolonged noise did not change pulse rate or blood pressure. But peripheral resistance or vasoconstriction of precapillary vessels increased at the onset of a noise and was found to persist as long as the noise persisted. Two-thirds of all subjects exposed to noise showed definite vasoconstriction, whereas about 20 percent of the subjects exhibited vasodilatation. It should be stated at the outset that none of the Mabaans of any age exhibited vasodilatation on exposure to noise.

Peripheral vasoconstriction was recorded plethysmographically by strain gage, or cuff at the end of the finger (fig. 1). The finger pulse amplitudes are recorded in quiet—for 1 minute. The average values of the pulse amplitude under quiet conditions decrease markedly during periods of noise, showing the vasoconstriction effect of noise.

Figure 2 shows vasoconstriction in percentage. The line 0 indicates the caliber of the blood vessels without noise. The irregular line demonstrates the changing caliber of blood vessels in tests during noisy periods. During the noise period of 5 minutes a sharp fall of the curve (24 percent) is seen, which means vasoconstriction. Following this 5-minute period of noise, vasoconstriction begins to disappear but may persist for 25 minutes before vasoconstriction has completely disappeared.

During the vasoconstriction there was a diminution of cardiac output, possibly a compensatory effect of the vasoconstriction. This reaction seems to be a physiological response to noise. Those reacting to noise with a vasodilatation showed an increase of cardiac output.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 19, 1966]

Jet Noise Study Called "Urgent" by Johnson's Science Adviser—Hornig Urges the United States To Set Up Panel To Analyze Problems at Three Major Airports

(By Evert Clark)

Washington, March 18.—A sweeping attack on jet aircraft noise was proposed to the President today by his chief science adviser.

It was the first acknowledgment that the problem has grown to such size and involves such conflicting economic interests that extensive Federal action is required.

A key proposal would create a high-level Federal study group to undertake "on an urgent basis" a systematic analysis of noise problems around the John F. Kennedy International Airport and the airfields at Chicago and Los Angeles.

Dr. Donald F. Hornig, the President's Special Assistant for Science and Technology, proposed the program by endorsing the recommendations made by a special panel that he had convened last October.

Members of the panel were drawn from the aircraft industry, the airlines, the field of land-use planning, and Federal and local governmental agencies.

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[1] Dr. Jansen and Dr. Schulze are associated with Max-Planck Institut für Arbeitsphysiologie, Dortmund, Germany; Dr. Rosen is consulting ear surgeon at the Mount Sinai Hospital, New York, and at the New York Eye and Ear Infirmary; associate clinical professor of otolaryngology, College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University. Dr. Plester is with the Hals-Nasen-Ohren Klinik, Medizinische Akademie, Dusseldorf, Germany; Dr. El-Mofty is professor at Ein Shams University, Cairo, Egypt.

The President noted recently in calling for a department of transportation that jet noise "is a growing source of annoyance and concern" to thousands living near large airports, and that the problem would worsen as jet use expands.

JOHNSON URGES DRIVE

He said that "it is clear that we must embark now on a concerted effort to alleviate" the problems. He asked Dr. Hornig, the Secretaries of Commerce, and Housing and Urban Development, and the heads of the Federal Aviation Agency, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to "frame an action program" for the attack.

Dr. Hornig said today the panel's recommendations would form the basis for his group's future work. The Federal study group urged by the panel will be a separate group.

The panel study was to a considerable extent "a result of concern over the environment of our people," Dr. Hornig said. Last November, a panel of the President's Science Advisory Committee, which he heads, included jet noise among the things that "pollute" man's environment.

Democratic Representative Herbert Tenzer of Nassau County, whose Fifth Congressional District lies just east of Kennedy Airport, was thanked today by the President for "your initiative" in presenting many aspects of the noise problem "to me and to my science adviser."

PROGRAMS TO BE DEVISED

The panel report proposes federally supported studies of the expected scope of the noise problem through 1975 and of the public and private programs needed to combat it.

It also proposes studies to reduce engine noise, to improve measurement of noise levels and to develop national and international noise standards.

Other recommended approaches are modification of flight patterns around airports, and the formation of a study group to investigate the Federal role in a coordinated program for land use in airport areas.

Mr. Tenzer has pointed out that about 200 lawsuits, claiming damages of about $20 million, are pending across the country as a result of jet noise. Most claim property has effectively been taken from its owners without due process.

He also has quoted Federal Aviation Agency figures that about 75 airports are now served by jets but that the number will grow to about 400 in 3 or 4 years.

SMALLER JETS EXPECTED

The panel's study noted that the recent introduction of smaller jets would rapidly increase the number of cities served. It also said "larger, higher performance, and potentially noisier" stretched versions of present jets and giant passenger planes, such as the civilian version of the C–5A, would compound the problem later.

The proposed supersonic airliner is not mentioned in the report. Dr. Hornig said the noise it would make in airport areas was not expected to exceed that of present jets, although it would have its own sonic boom noise problem away from landing and take-off points.

Reducing jet noise further through research and by altering flights paths does not look too promising, the panel indicated. Suppressing noise adds weight to a plane, reducing its moneymaking capacity and increasing its cost to airlines.

Federal attempts to encourage local bodies to keep housing developments away from airports have had little success to date.

Initiative for the solution of jet noise problems, the panel declared; "can effectively come only from a source not compromised by economic interests in conflict with the major groups now involved—engine and aircraft manufacturers, airline operators, and local governments."

[From the New York Times, Mar. 13, 1966]

Jet Noises Linked to Psychotic Ills—Interrupt Dreams Vital to Health, Experts Say

(By Edward Hudson)

The possibility that residents of communities afflicted by jet noise may develop psychotic symptoms because their dreams are interrupted at night was raised here last week by a psychiatrist and a psychologist.

Both referred to recent studies on dream interruption which, the psychologist said, showed "dreams are very necessary to mental health." If people are awakened and prevented from dreaming, they said, severe psychotic symptoms can occur.

The two were among nine witnesses who spoke at a hearing held here by the State assembly's mental hygiene committee at the Bar Building, 42 West 44th Street.

Many of those who testified lived near Kennedy International Airport and told of loss of sleep by themselves and their children, as well as other effects of jet noise on their lives.

Daniel Rhodes, a representative of the Flatbush Park Civic Association in Brooklyn, told of two instances of threats of armed violence by noise-protesting residents and added: "It's a peculiar thing why my neighborhood should have a distressing amount of nuts."

YOSWEIN HEADS COMMITTEE

The inquiry was conducted by State Assemblyman Leonard E. Yoswein, whose Brooklyn district abuts Kennedy Airport. Mr. Yoswein, chairman of the committee, recently introduced a bill that would require the State commissioner of mental hygiene to study effects of jet noise on the well-being and mental health of people living near airports.

No one spoke against the bill and many expressly approved it.

The psychiatrist, Dr. Julius Buchwald, a faculty member of the Downstate Division, New York State Medical Center, said "everybody dreams at least five times a night."

If a person is awakened and prevented from having his dream, he said, psychotic symptoms from mild to more severe can occur. He listed these as paranoidal delusions, psychoses, hallucinations, and suicidal and homicidal impulses.

Dr. Buchwald said in jet noise-affected communities laboratory experiments on dreams were repeated on a grand scale.

OTHER HARMFUL EFFECTS

Dr. Buchwald said jet noise could create other harmful effects. It can arouse nightmarish memories if linked to past experiences in sleep, he said.

The conscious perception of noise, he said, can lower a person's productivity and greatly reduce his sense of humor and ability to handle ordinary frustrations. Even perceived unconsciously, he said, jet noise can build up frustrations that later explode.

The psychologist, Dr. Howard M. Bogard, chief psychologist of Queens Hospital Center, said persons prevented from dreaming will tend toward true psychoses.

He urged a study of whether residents near airports lose out on dream time, whether such communities become disoriented by people moving away, and whether family life is disrupted because of interruptions in ordinary communication.

"I have heard of several instances of children running into houses absolutely terrified," he said. "People should not be subjected to intimidation by outside forces over which they have no control."

[From the New York, N.Y. Chelsea-Clinton News, Mar. 17, 1966]

Point of View: The Infernal Racket

In the past year or two, a frightening fact has finally sunk into the consciousness of the average citizen—the fact that two of our vital natural resources—breathable air and drinkable water—have almost reached the vanishing point.

The experts have been wringing their hands for years over the despoliation, but most people who listened at all dismissed them as cranks. After all, who thought about air any more than they thought about breathing? Air was just there. Now when it is almost too late, fear has galvanized us into a readiness for action.

There is another natural resource which is in short supply in this crowded and varied city, and it is running out so rapidly that someday soon we may have to find ways of carrying it around with us like a spaceman will carry oxygen on the moon. That resource is quiet.

Just think of the noises you hear in a day. Some of them are pleasant. Most of them are simply an assault on the eardrums—the trucks parked with their diesel motors idling, the car horns, the helicopters, the jack hammers, the transistor radios, the loud TV commercials, the construction machinery. Even the sounds of children's voices, which singly are sweet, by the hundreds are a din.

Imagine the shouts of happy children, multiplied by a thousand, and amplified by being at the bottom of an echo chamber formed by surrounding tall apartment buildings has given pause to some members of the Chelsea community as they pondered the advisability of a swimming pool on 25th Street between 9th and 10th Avenues.

Since the idea of an outdoor swimming pool has been talked of more and more often, the question of the noise it would create is not just an academic consideration. The question of excessive noise was raised as well at last week's meeting of the local planning board, when the installation of special lighting to allow nighttime softball games in Chelsea Park was discussed.

An outdoor swimming pool on 25th Street would create noise night and day not only for the residents of the small brownstones which nestle around the site, but for the thousands of families living in Elliott and Chelsea Houses on 25th Street and London Terrace on the south side of 24th Street. The noise will rise over the small houses and ricochet between the 25th Street houses and the solid block-long 20-story wall formed by London Terrace.

Few of those apartments are air conditioned so that in the hottest weather, when the noise is loudest, people won't even have the choice of keeping their windows closed.

The city has occasionally shown concern in controlling noise. One of the most effective instances was the ban on blowing car horns except in emergencies. Another is banning noisy industry from residential areas. The most recent is the long-sought change in the building code regulations which now require materials used in new apartment buildings to stop sound between the apartments.

We hope the same concern will be shown on 25th Street.

Rita Bird.

FAA DESERVES TO BE CONGRATULATED FOR PERMITTING JETS INTO NATIONAL AIRPORT

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Pucinski] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have taken the time today to discuss with my colleagues the beginning of a whole new era in the Nation's Capital which will commence Sunday when short-haul jets begin operating into and out of National Airport.

The Federal Aviation Agency and its Administrator, Gen. William F. McKee deserve the highest commendation for arranging this historic development in the Nation's Capital.

It is my honest judgment that any objection to short-range jets operating into and out of National is the height of provincialism.

Every major city in the world—Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, Miami, Houston, Baltimore, Paris, London, Rome, Moscow—has, Mr. Speaker, adjusted itself to the jet age, except the Nation's Capital.

We could no more stop jets from coming into National than we could insist that only horse-drawn carriages can operate along Pennsylvania Avenue.

The critics of the FAA fail to realize that Washington, D.C. belongs to all the people of this Nation, and the hundreds of thousands of visitors who travel to the Nation's Capital have a right to come here by the most modern form of travel—jet travel.

The thousands of businessmen and other busy people who must come to the Nation's Capital to transact urgent business have a right to come into this city by jet without losing valuable time on surface transportation from Dulles or Friendship.

What possible advantage can there be for any American to fly by jet from Chicago to Washington—a trip of only 1 hour and 30 minutes—only to see the time he has saved wiped away by a 1½-hour surface trip from either Dulles or Friendship to the Capital.

Progress is against those who would try to prevent the use of jets at National.

Furthermore, only the short-range three-engine jets are scheduled for National. There will be no four-engine jets operating at National. Both Dulles and Friendship will continue receiving these larger jets.

There will be 102 flights into and out of National or approximately 15 percent of the 630 daily landings and departures of the entire aircraft at National.

Regarding the question of noise level, the FAA has taken a whole series of steps to keep the noise level to a minimum.

There is no question that the people of Washington will have to get used to a different kind of aircraft noise. The jet does give a unique sound, but all of the tests heretofore have clearly indicated that the noise will not be louder and, in fact, it will be of shorter duration.

The FAA has altered both the noise abatement procedure at National as well as the approach pattern. The FAA will require departing aircraft to reduce thrust to provide the positive climb of 500 feet minimum or better. Jet aircraft will also have to remain over the rivers until they reach at least 3,000 feet altitude unless otherwise instructed by the tower.

There can be no doubt that adjustments will have to be made, but these adjustments have been made in major cities throughout the world. It is cynical to suggest that somehow the National Capital should remain out of tune with the major cities of the world.

In my District on certain days, my constituents have to endure the jet landings every 40 seconds for as much as 3 hours at a time during rush hours when we have up to 280 aircraft landing within the rush hour period.

I would not want to suggest that this has not created severe hardships for my people, because, indeed, it has. No such density operation is being suggested for National.

Mr. Speaker, I have more than a passing interest in this problem. Chicago's O'Hare field has now reached its saturation point, and we must divert some of the operation to Chicago's Midway.

With the advent into National, United Airlines, and I am hopeful other airlines, will be able to transfer part of its short-haul operations from O'Hare to Chicago's Midway, thus reducing the congestion at O'Hare.

But even if I would not have a personal interest in this matter, I would still strongly advocate jets at National only because jets at National will help the economy of the District of Columbia. I have said repeatedly that we must find new job opportunities for the people of Washington, D.C. The advent of jets into National will indeed create, in time, new job opportunities as well as improve comfort for visitors to Washington.

Mr. Speaker, I have taken the time today because I would not want the FAA to think that by our silence those of us from the Midwest agree with the attitude recently made on the use of National by jets.

I am sure that time will prove that the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages of jets at National, and those who have been so quick to criticize FAA will discover, indeed, that they have been misinformed on this entire situation.

Mr. GETTYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Annunzio] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join my distinguished colleague from the 11th District of Illinois, Hon. Roman Pucinski, who is responsible for securing this special order, in commending William F. McKee, Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, for his farsighted decision to inaugurate jet service on Sunday, April 24, between Washington National Airport and O'Hare International Airport in my own city of Chicago.

The two- and three-engine short-haul jets that will be used will shorten considerably the flight time between the Nation's Capital and various major cities in the eastern half of the United States, including Miami, Memphis, St. Louis, Cleveland, Detroit, Minneapolis, New York, and Boston, in addition to Chicago.

This unprecedented and far-reaching decision of the Federal Aviation Agency was made after months of study on the impact jet service would have on air passenger traffic.

It was concluded that the use of short-haul jets would not only improve the air carrier service but would stimulate and facilitate the growth of the airports involved and would broaden and improve the service available to passengers.

Stuart G. Tipton, president of the Air Transport Association, predicted recently that the use of jets at Washington National Airport would "radically change the pattern of airline service on the east coast and much of the Middle West" and would brighten prospects for revival of Chicago's Midway Airport as a major terminal.

O'Hare International Airport is rated as the busiest airport in the country, and, therefore, the world, in terms of total air carrier operations. O'Hare assumed this top spot in 1962. By comparison, Midway Airport was rated 97th in 1962. In 1965, O'Hare still held the top spot, and Midway had climbed in 3 short years up to 46th place.

With O'Hare holding first place, and Midway growing by leaps and bounds, it is conceivable that in the very near future a third air carrier airport will be feasible, and, indeed, even necessary, to service Chicago. Serious consideration should, therefore, be given by the officials to sanctioning a third air carrier airport for Chicago.

The airline schedules for jet service at Washington National Airport effective April 24, show a total of 102 operations or 51 flights. There will be a total of 630 air carrier operations on April 24, of which 102 will be the short-haul jets. Broken down, this comes to 83.9 percent piston and turbo-prop operations, and 16.2 percent jet operations.

The jet schedules in general show 12 daily incoming flights from Chicago, of which 9 will be from O'Hare and the remaining 3 will be from Midway, and 13 departures for Chicago, 10 going to O'Hare and 3 going to Midway.

With the advent of 51 jet flights daily out of Washington National Airport, we stand on the threshold of a whole new concept in air passenger service. Again, I congratulate Administrator McKee, his associates, and all the others who have contributed to making this momentous progress possible.

MEDICARE—GREAT, BUT NOT PERFECT

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Farbstein] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, July 30, 1965, is an historic day for all of us, for those of us who have already celebrated our 65th birthday and for those of us who pray to live to do so. It is on that day that President Johnson signed into law the most important social security bill since President Franklin Roosevelt signed the original Social Security Act 30 years ago. The new law increases social security benefits and makes other improvements in the existing social security and public assistance systems, but, more significantly, it makes medicare a reality.

Two insurance plans for persons 65 years of age or over will go into effect July 1966. One is a basic hospital insurance program and the other is a supplementary voluntary health insurance program. The basic hospitalization program will provide inpatient hospital care, nursing home care, and home health services following hospitalization, and outpatient hospital diagnostic services to persons aged 65 or over who are eligible for social security or railroad retirement benefits. Hospitalization insurance will be financed by a payroll tax on active workers, their employers, and the self-employed. Congress can take pride that persons not eligible for benefits under social security or railroad retirement will receive the benefits of the basic plan if they already are 65 or will become so within the next few years. Their benefits will be financed from the general revenues of the Federal Government. Thus, there is no cost for this program to persons already 65 or over who are retired except, of course, the deductibles and the coinsurance they must pay when they are actually drawing down benefits under the program.

The other program, the supplementary health insurance program, covers doctors' fees and certain other medical and health services not provided in the basic plan. Enrollment in this supplementary program is voluntary and is open to persons aged 65 or over regardless of whether or not they are eligible for the basic hospital insurance program. The cost of this supplementary program to those wanting to participate in it is $3 a month, or $36 a year. The 7-percent increase in social security benefits more than covers this cost. The premium will be deducted monthly from the social security or railroad retirement checks for persons receiving such checks. Other persons wanting the supplemental plan will pay their premiums to the Government. The Government also will pay $3 a month for each participant in the program. Let me say that this is, I believe, a good program—one which will meet the heaviest costs of illness. But, Mr. Speaker, let us be clear that it is also a limited program—to my mind only the "cornerstone" of the structure we must build in the future.

Certain forms of protection are omitted and certain limitations are imposed that will severely weaken the effectiveness of the programs in giving the aged the help they require to meet the high cost of their essential medical expenses. Congress should carefully review these shortcomings.

A most serious defect is the failure to offer protection against the cost of drugs and medicines. The basic hospitalization program does cover drugs normally furnished by a hospital or nursing home for the period a person is a patient there, but this ignores the tremendous need for drugs that the elderly have when they are not institutionalized. For the aged with their many chronic illnesses, drugs are a frequent and often a daily necessity.

Since the end of World War II, there have been marvelous discoveries in the field of drugs; but when you go to the drugstore to have a prescription filled, these discoveries cost money. The high cost of drugs is a particular hardship on the aged who live on a small retirement income but who in the course of a year spend, on the average, well over twice what the average person spends on medicine. From every dollar an aged person spends on medical expenses, an average of 25 cents goes for drugs and medicines. Mr. Speaker, I, therefore, give my wholehearted support to the proposal that prescribed drugs be included in the supplementary health program for the aged. This addition would add about 75 cents to the monthly premium that an individual will pay, indeed a small sum for an item so vital to health.

I feel strongly that drugs to protect his health should not be denied any aged citizen merely because of his financial inability to purchase them. On April 13, 1965, I placed before Congress a drug stamp bill—H.R. 7424—that is designed to help the hardest pressed of our aged to obtain the drugs and medicines they need. Under the bill, persons aged 65 or more with an income below a certain level would purchase drug stamps and then obtain with these stamps prescribed drugs at approved retail drug stores. The stamps would be purchased at a fraction of their retail value and the druggists accepting the stamps would redeem them for their full retail value. In no case would a person pay more than 25 percent of the retail value for the stamps, so the most an eligible person would pay for each dollar's worth of prescribed drugs would be 25 cents. I urge my colleagues to give serious consideration to this plan.

I have also introduced a bill, on January 4, 1965—H.R. 993—that should help reduce the price of drugs and medicines for everyone. The bill proposes amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act so that the labeling and advertising of drugs sold by prescription could not bear only a brand name but the generic name or established name must also appear. "Name" drugs often are more expensive than the same drugs without a trade name so that often brand name drugs are priced fabulously high merely because the consumer does not know their content. If, however, the established name of the drugs were known, persons could shop around to obtain the same basic drugs for less. Mr. Speaker, this practice, of course, would reduce the incidence of overpricing.

Now to pass on to other features of the hospital and health insurance plans with which I find fault. I utterly fail to understand why benefits are limited to persons who are at least 65 years of age rather than follow the benefit categories of social security. The age requirement for the receipt of hospital and health insurance benefits should be at least as low as that for drawing social security benefits. Retired workers and their dependent spouses can draw benefits at age 62, and under the new law a widow can draw her benefits as early as age 60. I feel that the same rationale for permitting persons to draw social security benefits before age 65 is applicable equally for hospital and health insurance benefits.

Mr. Speaker, it seems obvious to me that the benefits of the hospital and health insurance programs should be extended to the disabled at age 60, the age at which widows can now draw social security benefits. Regarding the disabled, the social security program recognizes that total disability is no respecter of age, and, therefore, it imposes no age requirement for the drawing of disability benefits. The financial and health status of the totally disabled often closely resembles that of the elderly. Like that of the aged, the income of the totally disabled decreases sharply while the incidence of costly illness increases. The disabled are hospitalized frequently and in many cases their hospital stays are long. A survey conducted by the Social Security Administration in 1960 revealed that about 1 out of 5 disability beneficiaries under social security received care in a short-stay hospital in the survey year and, excluding hospitalization in long-term institutions, half of those hospitalized were in the hospital for 3 weeks or more. For these reasons, I plan to introduce legislation extending hospital and health benefits to the disabled at age 60.

It is quite true that age 60 is an arbitrary age selection and will still leave unprotected younger disabled persons. However, it is a beginning toward the rectification of the problem. This proposal is a logical extension of the amendments to the Social Security Act Congress enacted in 1965. I am confident that my colleagues will give serious consideration to my bill. I equally recognize, Mr. Speaker, that extension of medical protection to disabled persons regardless of age would not be acceptable to my colleagues.

I also do not think that the insurance programs offer sufficient protection against catastrophic illness. It is true that even among the elderly, relatively few persons are hospitalized for longer periods than that covered in the hospital insurance program. Thus, protection against longer stays could be provided with very little increase in the cost of the program—and just imagine what the protection would mean to those unfortunate few who are victims of long, financially exhausting illness.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, both the hospital insurance program and the supplementary health insurance program contain deductible and coinsurance features which I find objectionable. Under the supplementary medical care plan, the patient must pay the first $50 and then 20 percent of all costs above this deductible. A patient may receive up to 90 days of hospitalization for an illness in the hospital plan but he must pay the first $40 of the hospital stay and $10 a day for the days after 60 days. Patients are entitled to 100 days of care in a nursing home but must pay $5 a day after the first 20 days elapse. There is also a deductible and coinsurance for outpatient diagnostic services. These features supposedly are to cut down abuses of the system. I think, however, that rather than discourage abuses, they encourage delays in seeking early care and are the severest burden on the aged who need help the most. Also, they make administration of the programs complicated and costly.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I want to make clear that I believe the two insurance programs enacted for the aged are tremendous achievements. They are great, but not perfect. It was, perhaps, prudent to start these new programs with a measure of caution so that we can develop administrative and cost experience. But I trust this is only a beginning. Much remains to be done. I have set forth a few of the goals towards which we must strive if we are to give our aged population true security and adequate health care.

FAILURE OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE TRUE LEADERSHIP IN FOREIGN POLICY EVIDENT IN EVERY CORNER OF THE GLOBE

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. EDWARDS] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the failure of the U.S. Government to provide true leadership in foreign policy over the past 6 years is evident in every corner of the globe. But perhaps it is nowhere more serious than in Latin America.

The Johnson and Kennedy administrations have allowed events to drift from month to month. Our policy consists primarily of wishful thinking and hoping. The United States has failed to apply the imagination and initiative needed to fulfill a proper U.S. role in support of stability. As a result, Moscow communism is moving with ever-growing force into all of Latin America.

It has been said that one of the most pathetic tendencies in U.S. foreign policy is that we refuse to profit from lessons of the past, even from the recent past. And that view seems to be fortified by the facts.

Communist terrorism was being conducted in Vietnam as early as 1957. It was becoming steadily more serious all through the following years. And yet in 1963 the U.S. people were still being told that the problem was well in hand, and would be virtually done away with by 1965.

It was not until 1965 that the Johnson administration began to deal candidly with the seriousness of the problem, and one suspects that even today we are being fed a carefully measured diet of the truth about Vietnam.

As a result, the American people are shocked to learn of the tragedies which both we and the South Vietnamese people are undergoing in terms of loss of life and of productive capabilities.

And yet, instead of learning from this lesson, it appears that our Government is failing to face up to the boiling caldron evident in Latin America today, and is repeating the mistakes of southeast Asia.

After the Bay of Pigs fiasco President Kennedy assured the country and the world that the United States would not stand idly by to watch the export of Communist subversion from Cuba into Latin America.

In September 1962, President Johnson made similar statements, and went further, saying that the U.S. aim is to get rid of Castro and of Soviet influence in Cuba. He spoke of "remaining alert and fully capable."

This presumably is still our policy. And yet it is also our policy to avoid offending Russia in fear that this might cause hard feelings. And so we do things like signing new cultural exchange agreements with Russia soon after we have been treated to Russian violations of previous agreements.

THE MOSCOW-HAVANA AXIS

Nearly all major mistakes of U.S. foreign policy since 1961—from the Berlin Wall to Laos, and from the Dominican Republic to Vietnam—can be traced to our Government's tendency to minimize the extent and the guile of Communist involvement in trouble spots.

On one hand, while our stated policy is one of active opposition to Castro communism, on the other hand, our working policy planners appear to hold a fundamental belief that Moscow is really not interested in expansion of Russian influence, and we must, therefore, endlessly prove our good faith, and not offend anyone.

If it were true that Castro's revolution had no connections with communism, as many in the State Department believed until Castro himself said otherwise, then there might be no conflict between our public policy of opposition to Castro and our actual practice of trying to find accommodations with Moscow.

But the fact is that Castro's government has been associated with Moscow from the start, and the relationship has become closer in the past several months. And if the State Department were to state this fact clearly, and were to be candid regarding the aggressive nature of the Moscow-Havana axis, the result would be to emphasize the bankruptcy of U.S. policies going back to the Bay of Pigs.

With these inconsistencies and confusion the State Department is left with its obsession over finding accommodations with Moscow. We try not to notice the increasing Moscow ties with Castro.

Just as in 1963 and 1964 the Administration did not face up to dangers in Vietnam, it now cannot bring itself to face up to the dangers in Latin America.

Instead of dealing candidly with the American people, as the administration could do by telling us, for example, that Russia is pumping an estimated $1 million each day into Cuba, the White House says nothing about Moscow's energetic, ambitious activities in Latin America.

Instead of helping to inform the people about the Havana Conference in January of this year, the administration says we need to engage in more trade with Communist nations and enter into new expressions of mutual good faith.

What about the Havana Conference?

It took place during the first 2 weeks in January while the Johnson administration carried through a pause in the bombing of North Vietnam in the vain hope that this would give the chance for Russia to influence Hanoi with its supposed peaceful intentions.

It was called the First Conference of the Solidarity of Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The principal result was to demonstrate the determination of Communists to increase the pace of terror and subversion in Latin America.

And in the event that some might think the mood of the Conference was directed at overthrowing governments by legal, political means, it seems clear that the main Soviet aim was to give greater support to guerrilla leaders rather than to established Communist Parties of the various countries.

This is true because Latin American delegates to the Conference were not, in general, the Communist politicians. The "real stars," according to a French newspaper, were the "lean, bronzed men who had arrived from the guerrilla camps" of Latin America.

Even a Budapest newspaper said the delegations emphasized the firm grip of Castro-type revolutionaries.

Some 600 delegates and observers from 82 countries on three continents attended the Havana Conference. The Soviet delegation of 34 men was headed by Sharaf R. Rashidov, First Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee of Uzbekistan.

A month before the Havana Conference, on December 9, 1965, the delegates met in Moscow and were told by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, that the Soviet Union would do everything to "consolidate the front of struggle against imperialistic aggression."

The two supreme Soviet leaders Brezhnev and Kosygin issued a message of greeting to the conference saying:

> The U.S. imperialists are challenging all progressive forces.

While our Government apparently still clings to the fiction that Russia is truly interested in peaceful coexistence, the Russian delegate, Rashidov, spoke before the Havana Conference on January 6 giving lipservice to peaceful coexistence but then saying:

> It is clear that there is not, nor can there be, any peaceful coexistence between the oppressed peoples and their oppressors.

In Communist terminology, of course, the United States is the oppressor nation. And in case there was any doubt as to the importance placed by the Conference on this theme, it was included in the same language in a special resolution passed at the closing session, January 15.

The final declaration of the conference called for support of the Vietcong in Vietnam and hailed their effort as an inspiring example.

MAXIMUM MILITANCY

The Havana Conference also included in its final declaration a clarion call for maximum militancy on the part of subversives in Latin America "who are fighting with arms in their hands against the force of oligarchy which are in the service of the United States."

It mapped efforts for sabotage of U.S. investments in Latin America, and called for "liberation" of Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. And it called for "active, vigorous, and militant solidarity" through revolutionary action for the "complete liquidation of all forms of imperialist, colonial, and neocolonial oppression."

The Havana Conference was intended to be a starting point rather than a goal in itself. It arranged for establishment of regional groups to advance the stated aims. And accordingly, on January 19, only 4 days after conclusion of the Conference, there was set up a group called the Latin American Solidarity Organization consisting of 27 delegations.

The Latin American group met with Fidel Castro and Medro Medina of Venezuela, and decided to establish permanent headquarters in Havana with Medina as Secretary General.

It was not long before the new group began to function. On February 10 there was established a "Free Puerto Rico" Embassy in Havana. And on February 12 the group appealed for "a wave of sabotage against Yankee interests throughout the world."

One of the grave mistakes we have made in Asia has been our failure to recognize and to work with the elements there which are prepared to stand up against Communist aggression and in support of their own independence, until it is too late.

It sounded empty, for example, to hear Vice President HUMPHREY talk in March 1966, about the need to recognize our friends in Asia in their fight for independence, after 5 years of our neglect of those same free peoples of Asia.

Yet today we appear to be headed down the same road in Latin America. We have heard nothing from our own Government about the Havana Conference.

But Ambassador Ilmar Penna Marinho, of Brazil, Chairman of the OAS Council, says of the Havana Conference:

> Except for the placing of nuclear weapons in Cuba in October 1962, no event threatens more dangerously the territorial and political integrity of our continent.

Most other members of the OAS Council take the same attitude. So does the Latin American press generally.

Responsible Latin American opinion recognizes the solid evidence of Communist subversion in Latin America.

There are at least 43 guerrilla training camps for Communist subversives in Cuba alone. These camps can train about 10,000 activists a year. The basic training period is 4 months.

Guerrillas come and go from these camps by means of the Soviet-financed Cuban fishing fleet as well as by other means. Cooperation between Cuban embassies and Soviet bloc embassies throughout Latin America is well known.

Last October authorities in Venezuela discovered an underground arms factory on the outskirts of Caracas with enough explosives to blow up the entire city.

Bandit groups and kidnapers with Communist objectives have been operating in Colombia, Guatemala, and Peru, for years. The same terrorism is taking place in these countries as took place in Vietnam starting in 1957, and continuing through 1964, all generally unknown to the American people.

Meanwhile, in the United Nations, the Soviet Union uses its diplomacy to mask its troublemaking. For example, it seeks to divert OAS complaints of Cuban subversion to the Security Council where the Soviet veto could kill any significant action.

And our own U.S. delegation to the U.N., instead of telling our country what the situation is, defends the continuation of the 40-percent U.S. contribution to the United Nations Development Fund, which in turn, is making $2.1 million grant to Cuba.

Republicans Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois, and EDWARD GURNEY, of Florida, are among those who have worked to prevent this U.S. help to Castro Cuba. The State Department, however, says that if we blocked this assistance to Cuba we "would probably jeopardize other projects of special interest to friendly countries such as Vietnam, the Republic of China, and Korea."

In my opinion the State Department and the Johnson administration owe to the American people, and, indeed, to Latin America, an explanation of greater credibility than that.

THE BIG MYTH

Ever since 1961 there has been a myth circulating among the people who generally control U.S. foreign policy. It is that the world becomes more dangerous as the United States actively shows its determination to prevent or defeat Communist subversion.

Exactly opposite is the truth. Whenever the United States has demonstrated an intention to stop Communist aggressive tactics, the result has been peace and lessened danger of global conflict. This was the case in the Quemoy-Matsu incidents, the fight against Communist subversives in the Philippines, and Greece, and the Lebanon incident.

Whenever our determination has wavered or appeared to be in doubt, these are the times the world has become more dangerous. This was the case leading to the Korean war, and in Laos where our "accommodation" with the Pathet Lao led directly to strengthened Communist hold on the Ho Chi Minh trail which has made it possible for the Vietcong to conduct prolonged operations in South Vietnam.

When the Communist character of the Castro regime in Cuba first became clear, and he admitted it first publicly in 1961, effective action by the United States in helping to establish non-Communist Cubans in power would have lessened the dangers the world faces in Latin America today.

The Dominican Republic presents a case by itself, also. There, in April 1965, we did take action against an upheaval which was Communist infiltrated if not Communist originated. However, our efforts were clumsy to the extent that we forfeited the support of our natural allies because we ignored them.

The Johnson administration allowed itself to be inhibited by the cries of some, including some in the State Department, that the disorder had no significant Communist element. Debate raged in this country for days and weeks over whether Communists were involved or not.

It has recently been shown that Communists had a very significant part in the Dominican Republic revolt. And their only remorse is that they did not plan carefully enough. They have promised themselves to do better next time.

And there surely will be a next time. It is folly for we in this country to argue, as we are tending to do, over the question of whether these revolutionary upheavals are instigated by Communists or merely taken over and run by Communists once they are started.

The point is that Communists stand ready to move in at the first sign of disorder, and will do everything they can to take it over, agitate increased violence, and put their people in charge if they can.

THE WAY OUT

The road ahead will be difficult, at best. There are no easy solutions to problems which are infinitely complex. But clearly, this country will make no gains whatever so long as we so blindly refuse to profit from the past.

We have been making the same mistakes over again for so long that we must be the absolute dispair of our natural friends in Latin America. One suspects this has already happened in Asia.

How can we go about minimizing mistakes and begin to act the part of a leader in Hemisphere affairs? How can we be a leader for peace and progress? Here are some of the things which would provide a beginning.

First. Let us not be overwhelmed by the Sino-Soviet split. Surely the Administration must know that the Chinese and Russian Communist leaders have differences which are based on relatively superficial ideas, rather than on basic purposes.

Both of these power centers are dedicated to the communization of non-Communist countries everywhere. Their differences are over tactics and timetable in the achievement of the same goal.

The Chinese approach is bellicose, crude, and blatant. The Russian approach is more in accord with the outside appearance of accepted standards of world diplomacy.

The Chinese are open and frank about their aims. The Russians like to appear peaceful. Their aims are usually camouflaged, and therefore are in reality the more dangerous of the two.

Second. While China appeared to be the dominant Communist influence in Cuba some months ago, it is now clear that Russian communism is in charge.

With approximately $1 million in aid being poured into Cuba by Moscow every day, Castro is playing the Russian game. This should be made clear to the American people, along with the significance of the Havana Conference as a Moscow-engineered program for the militant subversion of Latin American.

Third. Some of the 82 delegations to the Havana Conference appear to have included officials of the countries represented. The information on this point is available.

We should withhold U.S. aid from those countries which may have sent official or semi-official delegations to the conference.

In this connection it should be added that the second Tri-Continental Conference, in other words, the follow-up to the Havana meeting, is scheduled to be held at Cairo in 1968, at the invitation of President Nasser.

Fourth. Instead of considering Latin American policies country-by-country and bit by bit, it is essential that we use the regional approach. We made the mistake in southeast Asia of considering Laos and Vietnam as two isolated countries as though they were on opposite sides of the world.

Now it often seems that we consider Cuba as one problem and Venezuela as another, with no relation between the two. We need to consider Latin America as a single area which is the target of a single objective as set forth at the Havana Conference.

In this connection it is important that we do everything we can to support the Organization of American States and guide it towards success in its work for strengthening the independence of Latin American countries.

Fifth. The American people should give greater public support to realistic Government policies with regard to Latin America, and should demand that key positions in the Government are filled with persons who do have realistic ideas.

A case in point is the case of Thomas C. Mann. Mr. Mann was appointed Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs in November 1963. He did have, generally, realistic ideas of the kind which should lead to true U.S. leadership in the interests of peace and security.

In October 1965, he made a speech in San Diego which was labeled a "hard line" speech. He stressed the Communist threat, and said that collective intervention in Latin American states is justified if they are under attack by subversive elements responding to direction from abroad.

For comments such as these Mr. Mann was labeled "controversial." He was criticized by Senator FULBRIGHT, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. And in January he was shifted out of the Latin American policy position into one limited to economic affairs.

CONCLUSION

The overall need in U.S. response to events in Latin America today is the need for true leadership. And one essential ingredient of true U.S. leadership is a candid approach by the Government to the people.

Let the Government demonstrate that we recognize the reality of the Latin American problem. Let us state clearly what the facts are, and what their significance is, and let us not hide behind bland statements of our our hopes.

We can be sure that while U.S. attention is riveted on Vietnam, Latin American Communists will use every means at their disposal to implement the declarations of the Havana Conference.

In this situation the non-Communists of Latin America cry out for our leadership. It is only the United States that can provide such leadership. And it is vital that we answer the call.

WE ARE ABOUT TO SEE IT HAPPEN AGAIN

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include certain extracts and reports and other extraneous data.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, we have seen it happen again. Because they were in such a hurry to say "no" to every administration proposal, some of our Republican friends now find themselves in the embarrassing position of opposing one of their very own ideas.

I refer, of course, to the Participation Sales Act submitted yesterday by the President.

This is a plan to bring more of the private market into our Government lending programs. It has two purposes: first, to help us better use Government funds now tied up in various forms of loans and second, to stimulate growth and prosperity in the private sector of our economy.

Certainly this proposal is in the best traditions of the great free enterprise system.

But what happened yesterday? Without giving any attention to the historic position of the Republican Party, my good friend, the distinguished minority leader and some of his associates decided they had an issue. They pounced on it like a hungry animal. What is it that has happened to the distinguished minority leader lately? Do I detect a sense of political desperation in some of his alarming statements? Or is his objection in this instance just reflex action? Is it just blind adherence to the doctrine of "no-ism"? Is the respected minority leader suffering under a misapprehension about what we are trying to do? Is he really in pain or are his tears just crocodile tears? Whatever the reasons the American people are not going to be fooled by these tactics.

What a pity cooler heads did not prevail. Instead of shouting and name calling, my friend should have been examining the Participation Sales Act. Had they done this they would have found that it would accomplish exactly what responsible Republicans have been advocating for years.

In January 1954, President Eisenhower said in his budget message:

> To encourage the substitution of private financing for Federal outlays in the areas of greatest housing need, I shall urge the Congress to authorize two new mortgage insurance programs, as well as to liberalize certain existing programs * * *. The policy of this administration is to sell the mortgages now held by the Association as rapidly as the mortgage market permits. Assuming satisfactory market conditions, receipts from these sales and from other sources in 1955 will exceed expenditures by an estimated $166 million. This contrasts with net expenditures of $379 million in 1953, and $62 million estimated for 1954.

In January 1955:

> Private capital will be gradually substituted for the Government investment until the Government funds are fully repaid and the private owners take over responsibility for the program.
>
> The Federal National Mortgage Association will make commitments for immediate or deferred purchases of $423 million in mortgages insured under the urban renewal, armed services, cooperative, and other especially urgent housing programs which I have specifically designated. Sales of mortgages together with repayments and other receipts, however, are expected to be $255 million greater than expenditures.

In January 1956, President Eisenhower stated:

> In addition, purchases of mortgages by the Association under its secondary market program are expected to increase in 1957 to $290 million. Except for temporary Treasury loans, the funds required will be obtained from sale of debentures and stock to private investors, and the purchases are shown as trust expenditures, rather than budget expenditures. By the end of the fiscal year 1957, private purchases of stock will have made an excellent start toward the goal of replacing a Government activity with a private company.

Again in January 1958, President Eisenhower said:

> With more realistic mortgage prices, it should be possible to restore the incentive for private financing originally intended under the Housing Act of 1954 and thus avoid the necessity for additional large amounts of new obligational authority to finance purchases of mortgages under this program and under programs for armed services and cooperative housing.

But the record only begins here.

Leading Republicans in private life—chairmen of the Nation's biggest banks, investment houses and industrial firms have recommended the substitution of private for public credit—the very heart of the Participation Sales Act.

The report of the 1961 Commission on Money and Credit was based on the principle that the private market should be gradually substituted for Government investment.

The Chairman of the Committee was Mr. Frazer B. Wilde, chairman of the Connecticut General Life Insurance Co., one of the Nation's largest.

Some of the other members were:

David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, one of the world's largest.

Gaylord A. Freeman, Jr., president of the First National Bank of Chicago, one of the largest financial institutions in the West.

Lamar Fleming, Jr., chairman of the board of Anderson, Clayton & Co., a large industrial firm.

Joseph M. Dodge, President Eisenhower's Director of the Budget and chairman of the board of the Detroit Bank & Trust Co.

But let me continue.

The very next year, in 1962, some of our most distinguished, outstanding, and knowledgeable public officials who participated in the Committee on Federal Credit Programs supported the principles now embodied in the Participation Sales Act. I will quote from a key recommendation of its report:

> Accordingly, the Committee believes that Federal credit programs should, in the main and whenever consistent with essential program goals, encourage and supplement, rather than displace, private credit.
>
> Government-financed credit programs should, in principle, supplement or stimulate private lending, rather than substitute for it. They should not be established or continued unless they are clearly needed. Unless the urgency of other goals makes private participation infeasible, the methods used should facilitate private financing, and thus encourage longrun achievement of program objectives with a minimum of Government aid.

This report was unanimous—signed by then Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon and Federal Reserve Board Chairman William McChesney Martin, then Budget Director David Bell and then Chairman of the Economic Advisers Walter Heller.

Finally from the pens of some of the most knowledgeable House Republicans in the field of fiscal and monetary policies comes the strongest endorsement of all for what the President is trying to accomplish in the Participation Sales Act.

These Republican experts—and there were 10 of them in all—members of the Committee on Ways and Means, only 2 years ago urged the Government to embark on comprehensive program of asset sales.

The rollcall is long and distinguished: Representative John S. Byrnes, Representative Howard H. Baker, Representative Thomas B. Curtis, Representative Victor A. Knox, Representative James B. Utt, Representative Jackson E. Betts, Representative Bruce Alger, Representative Steven B. Derounian, Representative Herman T. Schneebeli, and Representative Harold R. Collier.

And here is what they said in pertinent part in the minority report on H.R. 6009 which was a bill to provide temporary increases in the public debt limit:

> The administration also can always reduce its borrowing requirements by additional sales of marketable Government assets. This provides the Treasury with another "cushion."
>
> For example, when the Secretary of the Treasury was before the committee on February 27, we suggested that it was incumbent upon the administration to show "good faith" before coming to the Congress for an additional increase in borrowing authority. We pointed out that the Government held about $30 billion in loans, many of which were readily marketable. In fact, there was a very good market for many of these loans. Instead of increasing its offering of these loans to private lenders, the administration was then acting on the supposition that the Congress would automatically accede to a request for an increase in its borrowing authority.
>
> It was also pointed out to the Secretary of the Treasury that the Government had other assets which might be liquidated, such as the stockpile of strategic materials amounting to about $8.7 billion.
>
> Our refusal to grant the administration's request last February produced "results." In the interim of less than 2 months the administration found that it could increase revenues from the sale of loans by an additional $1 billion for fiscal 1963. Now, the administration estimates that it will realize $2.028 billion—as contrasted with an original estimate of only $0.929 billion less than 2 months ago.

These are the facts that the distinguished minority leader and some of his colleagues would have discovered about the Participation Sales Act if they had read before they condemned. I think they should be reminded just where they stand—in relation to where their party has stood for more than a decade. For they are long on words and short on memory.

I hope that once their memories are refreshed they will reaffirm their party's dedication to the free enterprise system and help us enact this enlightened item of legislation into law.

I say this because I think it would be good for the country.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished majority leader yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. JONAS. The distinguished majority leader has not, of course, referred to me.

Mr. ALBERT. No, I did not.

Mr. JONAS. It is not my prerogative to speak for the minority——

Mr. ALBERT. The gentleman always makes an excellent contribution on any subject in which he interests himself.

Mr. JONAS. Thank you, sir. I appreciate those words and I shall try to make this constuctive.

Will not the distinguished majority leader recognize that there is a great deal of difference in bringing in private capital to provide funds than having the Government provide the capital originally and then sell the mortgages at a discount? That is what is contemplated, if the gentleman will yield, in this act to which reference has been made. The taxpayers will be asked to pick up the difference between the market value of these mortgages and what investors in the private segment of the economy will pay for them.

Mr. ALBERT. Of course, what they will pay is speculative, but I think the substance of the minority views on H.R. 6009 will answer the distinguished gentleman; namely, what they were driving at was to prevent the necessity of the Government borrowing more money, and that is important. I think that is critical here. It will mean a lot of difference as to the future obligations of the Government of the United States at a time when interest rates are quite high.

Mr. JONAS. May I comment on that?

Mr. ALBERT. Surely.

Mr. JONAS. Of course, the report to which reference has been made was signed when the money market was quite different than what it is today. Today everyone admits that money is tight and becoming tighter, and interest rates are considerably higher today than they were then. The effect is that these mortgages to which my distinguished friend, the majority leader, is referring to cannot be sold at par, and the taxpayers will have to subsidize them by putting up the difference.

Mr. ALBERT. The gentleman will understand, of course, that if the Government has to borrow money, it will be subject to the tight money situation to which the gentleman has alluded in his comments.

Mr. JONAS. May I say, and speaking for myself personally, I would like to have the Government sell all of these mortgages if it can sell them at par. But they cannot be sold at par. They have to be sold at a discount, and the only way they can be sold at all is for the taxpayers to put up the difference in money.

Mr. ALBERT. I think the answer is that whatever is best for the Government and will cost the Government the least in the long run will be the best action, and I think the administration will pursue this matter with that in mind.

Mr. JONAS. I certainly concur in the view that what is best for the country should be done, and I intend to support what I think is best for the country.

Mr. ALBERT. I know the gentleman does.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman's yielding. I simply want to know when we are going to get this Presidential message I have been hearing about for 2 days.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ALBERT. We got the President's message yesterday.

Mr. HALL. It was not delivered to the Members.

Mr. ALBERT. I believe it was read yesterday. I think the gentleman will find it, if I am not mistaken, in the Congressional Record. I see the distinguished gentleman, the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, here, whose committee is very busy on this subject now.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PATMAN. We had hearings on this matter this morning. We had Under Secretary Ball, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, Mr. Schultze. We will have another meeting at 2 o'clock this afternoon. It is contemplated we will remain in session this afternoon until we dispose of this. If it is not completed today, it will be continued tomorrow.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman willl find it, I believe, in the Congressional Record.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the bill to carry out the President's request will be forthcoming.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, I was on the floor constantly yesterday. I did not leave, as I customarily do not. I did not know it was read, because had it been read I would have honored the President's message, as I customarily do, with a quorum call, so that all might have heard it.

It may well have been submitted, it may well have been printed, but it was not read as a message in accordance with the custom that we have lately adopted for the President's messages, nor was it read on the floor of the House, because I sat here, alert and eager, to perform that function in honor of the President's words.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I may be mistaken.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I believe the distinguished majority leader is mistaken.

If he will yield further, I would like to know, of the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, if he plans to hear other than administration witnesses as he goes through the sessions?

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, may I say I do not know whether we got a message or a communication. We did have a communication from the White House on that subject. Am I right?

Mr. PATMAN. We had a communication.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I am sure we had a communication from the White House on this matter yesterday.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I wonder if the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee can answer the other question?

Mr. PATMAN. There was a communication.

Mr. HALL. Does the committee plan to hear other than administration witnesses?

Mr. PATMAN. That will depend on the wishes of the majority of the committee.

Mr. HALL. I presumed that would be the answer.

The SPEAKER. The Chair states that the message yesterday was an excutive communication, which of course under the rule was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the message was referred, then, without being read to the assembled House of Representatives?

The SPEAKER. It was not a formal message. It was a communication.

Mr. HALL. I thank the Speaker.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN MIGRATION

(By unanimous consent, Mr. McCulloch was granted permission to address the House for 5 minutes, and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.)

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to attend in November 1965, the 24th semiannual session of the 29 member governments of the Council of ICEM—Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration—held in Geneva, Switzerland. The U.S. congressional delegation, of which I had the honor to be a member, was composed of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Rodino], the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Rogers], the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Donohue], the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MacGregor], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy].

The needs for resettlement of some of the people of the world have materially changed in recent years but our Government and our citizens have continued to play a leading role in providing both material assistance and resettlement opportunities to refugees. In large part through special legislation well over a million refugees have been admitted to the United States of America since the end of World War II. I am proud, Mr. Speaker, of the leadership my country has provided for ICEM. I call to your recollection the part played by our late great colleague, Tad Walter, in conceiving and founding ICEM, and the contribution of our late great colleague, Chauncey Reed, in writing the constitution for this great organization.

In our changing times the problem of European refugees is vastly different from that which confronted us at the end of World War II. The unsettled conditions of the world, the existence of governmental systems based upon the denial of human rights, the denial of equal opportunity and the refusal to respect the dignity of the individual, all of these bear eloquent testimony to the continued need for our united efforts to resolve the problems of refugees.

The current situation and the present trends in European migration were ably reviewed before the Council in Geneva by ICEM's Deputy Director, Walter M. Besterman, who served as our counsel for 19 years. The record he made in serving the Judiciary Committee is well known to you all. The contribution he is now making in his post at ICEM has received acclaim and recognition worldwide.

For the information of the House, Mr. Besterman's address follows:

I

Mr. Chairman, I have been requested by the Director to review briefly with the Council Document MC/736 which contains a report on our operations in two, usually referred to as classic, fields of operations, namely, national migration and refugee migration. As you will have noted, the document is divided into two parts: "Chapter 1, National Migration," and "Chapter 2, Refugee Migration." I shall refer first to national migration.

The results of our operations in 1965 reflect, in our opinion, the situation which exists in the migrant-sending countries, the countries of Western Europe. They do not reflect the situation as it exists in the migrant-receiving countries where requirements of national policy—that is the willingness, the economic considerations, but also the ever-present generosity—represent an attitude of open doors. To state it with more precision, there are many overseas countries willing to offer hospitality to Europeans desiring to migrate at this time, although the numbers of such Europeans are diminishing.

Nevertheless, in our daily operations we are faced with a flow of people, who, even though benefiting from the prosperity of Europe of today, desire to seek new opportunities in new lands, hoping that life might be better there for themselves or for their children. It is the urge for betterment in faraway lands that probably goes back at least some 3,000 years: human beings will always be on the move. It is a demonstration of their vitality. They are entitled to express it and this community which comprises governments believing in freedom of movement is the expression of recognition of the legitimacy of this ever-present desire for a change.

In the national migration sector we have achieved or are about to achieve—we still have 1 month to go of this year—the targets set forth in 1964 when we first presented to this Council our estimates of movements. The deviation from the target will not exceed 10 percent—a tolerable discrepancy when you consider that we have to estimate not only the possibility of movements but also the will of the individual to move at least 12 to 18 months ahead of time.

The various programs and related statistical data are a part of the paper before you and there is probably no need, Mr. Chairman, for me to review the items separately. There is, however, one important point to be made. In presenting to you, ladies and gentlemen, the figures reflecting our operations we are, of course, speaking of quantity. But in the area of our efforts to supply the Latin American countries with the most desirable type of migrant, that is the highly skilled migrant, the statistics do not reflect our achievements. I would respectfully submit that they do not reflect the significance of our operations, because in that particular field we are not dealing with quantity. We are dealing here in quality, and no statistician could report adequately on that particular aspect of our operations.

There is another aspect which weighs heavily on whatever we do in the field on national migration; it is the prosperity of Europe, the tight labor market for skilled, semiskilled, and even unskilled workers. There are job vacancies in Europe far in excess of labor supply. That situation has created the phenomenon of intra-European migration in size unequalled in history. We have to agree, I believe, on certain terms before we proceed any further in assessing the role of overseas migration as compared to intra-European migration. The migrant seeking resettlement abroad seeks a new way of life, if not a new life. The intra-European migrant of today, with very few exceptions indeed, seeks to enhance his fortune for a few years and plans to return home. Well, whether he actually returns home, or moves to another foreign land, time alone will tell. Whether he finds satisfactory conditions in his home country upon return, particularly when compared to the conditions in which he lived temporarily, is again another story. Whether any country in Europe will impose the weight of a recession exclusively or even partially on the foreign workers, whether the sad story of the 1930's is at all likely to repeat itself and whether we might see again the trains in which foreign workers were shipped home, is one more of the question marks hanging over intra-European migration.

These and other questions are of considerable significance, economic and political, to Europe. No wonder the OECD has initiated a study in depth of the uniquely complicated phenomenon of intra-European migration.

Although it is conceded that efforts are made to afford the intra-European migratory worker virtually the same entitlements to social welfare protection as those enjoyed by the native worker, vast discrepancies exist in fact. Housing problems beset the intra-European migratory worker. The rather cruel rule "no house, no wife, no children" causes hardship due to separation of families and tends to produce mounting social problems. Acquisition of citizenship, the great symbol of achieved assimilation, is another facet of the unhappy situation in which many intra-European migrant workers find themselves. Reasonably expeditious naturalization, the rule of the countries offering permanent resettlement, is an exception in Europe, practiced in but very few countries.

These, Mr. Chairman, are only some of the highlights of the intra-European migration dilemma brought out recently by a renowned American scholar, Prof. C. P. Kindleberger, of the great MIT, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in a dispassionate, thorough analysis published in my country's leading political journal, Foreign Affairs. The danger to quote Professor Kindleberger as he sums it up, is "that the mass migrant of today will become a man without a country, one who has left one life and finds that he cannot stay where he is and cannot go home again. The problem of belonging," says Professor Kindleberger, "is difficult enough within one's own borders. Unless Europe achieves a social and political identity it may develop a problem of flying Mediterraneans, restless spirits with no home."

What the great Massachusetts economist is writing about, and what the OECD is concerned with, has not escaped ICEM's attention. We are aware of intra-European workers who, while still in the host country, approach our missions, the immigration officers of our overseas member governments and the voluntary agencies, with requests for counsel, advice and assistance in obtaining documentation enabling overseas migration in their desire to have the Gordian knot cut, rather than float between what has been adbandoned as home and what has never become one. More and more of them just want to settle down, with their families, overseas, in a new abode.

Let me suggest, Mr. Chairman, that in analyzing our narrative and our statistics regarding national migration, it must be realized that many aspects of the current intra-European migration tend to increase ICEM's task in the sector of national migration overseas rather than to relieve us of it. I wish to inform the Council that ICEM's Director is aware of that situation. A recently constituted internal staff task force will attempt to establish ICEM's position in that regard so that we may be ready to respond to the wishes of the member governments whenever their interests would require our action.

Mr. Chairman, the primary purpose of chapter 2 of the report before you is to answer several questions frequently asked in the Subcommittee on Budget and Finance, in the Executive Committee and in this Council: Who are the refugees of today? Why do they become refugees? How many refugees are there?

I am most grateful to my good friend the distinguished representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr. Jamieson, for relieving me of about one-half of my task by having stated his high office's finding that the European refugees, contrary to certain unfounded beliefs, still exist, not in diminishing numbers, and still not only request but are most deserving of assistance.

In the paper before you there are set forth three conclusions reached from an assessment of the reasons causing the continuous appearance of European refugees.

The first stems from those political developments taking place since the end of World War II which have and are creating new sovereignties, new independent countries, based predominantly on religious and racial principles. I am speaking of former colonial possessions or former dependencies which have joined the family of free nations, have found recognition by other countries, and became members of the United Nations. In these countries there remains a considerable residue of persons of European ethnic origin who are the minorities, national or ethnic minorities, formerly the privileged ones, presently the underprivileged or, in plain words, the people who are not wanted there any more. There may be room for some differentiation as to whether they are subject to persecution or to pressure. In fact, it would be but a play on words. In reality they become refugees because they not only desire, but must, eventually, leave the places of their historical abode.

Simple arithmetic tends to indicate that this is a continuing problem. That conclusion is inescapable if you but count noses or heads and keep in mind that not all of them will be able to leave within a year, or 2 years, or 5.

Our second conclusion relates to the well-known group of people who are not in accord with and do not accept the rule of the regimes installed in Eastern Europe in the post-war period. Registering their dissatisfaction and opposition to the regimes which do not believe in and do not adhere to principles of freedom, to free choice of employment and movement, these refugees stream into Western Europe, into the countries of temporary asylum, seeking permanent resettlement.

The third conclusion reflects the history of the last 20 years, the history of the efforts made by UNRRA, and by IRO, and by this organization which made it possible for well over two million refugees to be resettled in many overseas countries and in many countries of Western Europe. Opportunities exist now for their close relatives to join them. What these opportunities are to be attributed to is rather difficult to determine. It could be that certain governments of Eastern Europe have decided that it is better to let the people go for the simple reason that their departure would leave less mouths to feed, or would mean less communication between the refugees resettled in the free world and their relatives still enclosed in certain areas. Any other guess could be just as correct as these theories are. Nevertheless, the fact remains that these people now have the possibility to leave, and the long overdue and much desired family reunion could take place.

Thus, Mr. Chairman, in these three findings we have attempted to determine the motivations of the refugees and to answer the questions: Who are they, and why do they become refugees? Their numbers are reflected on page 8 of the document. Having gone back to the world refugee year, 1960, when the old static camps of unfortunate memory had begun to disappear and were being replaced by just a few camps presently in operation, camps in the nature of transit centers characterized by a fortunately short stay of refugees, we find that the level of movements remains practically stable. It differs from year to year by not more than 10 percent. Here then is the indication of both the continuity and the stability of the flow as another part of our assessment.

Having looked at the motives and the numbers of refugees, we have attempted to refine the categorization of refugees as first presented to the Council a year ago. We have found that it is possible to categorize the refugees for operational and budgetary purposes regardless of geographical areas, regardless of their location, as these considerations have, in our opinion, no bearing on either the legitimacy of their claim to refugee status or their eligibility for assistance as refugees. We have now based our categorization on the legal status of the refugees. In the proposed category No. 1 we place the refugee who, having found himself in an area of asylum, requires our services in terms of counseling, assistance in obtaining immigration documentation and expeditious movement to resettlement. In category No. 2 we propose to place the refugee who leaves the country of his residence with a visa to final destination and requires our assistance in transit only, in arranging his expeditious onward transportation. Then comes our new category No. 3 where we propose to assign displaced Europeans for many years referred to as "ethnic refugees." This is the group I tried to characterize in the terms of ethnic or religious minorities who, for a variety of reasons, are the victims of oppressive measures in the areas of their historical abode.

The last categories, No. 4 and No. 5, the first relating to Cuban refugees departing from Spain mostly to the United States, and the latter including solely the European refugees leaving China through Hong Kong, could also be placed in category No. 1 as they definitely are asylum seekers. For reasons of convenience rather than anything else these categories were separated. This administration believes that the problem of European refugees transiting through Hong Kong is nearing its final solution. It may continue for another 6 or 8 months, but probably would not extend beyond 1966. The problem of the Cuban refugees who, in a roundabout way, attempt to reach the United States via Spain may or may not be close to a solution, but it represents an entirely separate program. No ICEM funds are used for this program; the funds are derived from other sources; we offer transport services only, on a fully reimbursable basis. These are the reasons for treating separately categories No. 4 and No. 5.

It is the Director's hope, and we are glad to have obtained last week the endorsement of the Executive Committee in this respect, that our assessment of the reasons for the continuing flow of refugees, and their new classification, will meet with the approval of this Council, giving us an important instrumentality for an orderly arrangement of operations and their financing.

As to ICEM's current operations in the refugee sector, the most important occurrence that should be reported to the Council, I believe, has already been mentioned by Mr. Jamieson. I have in mind the performance of our organization when at something less than 2 months' notice we had to shift suddenly from medium to high gear of operations in Italy, where an unexpected influx of refugee asylum seekers exceeded well over threefold the estimates made earlier this year and based on last year's experience. I am glad to report that the vital cooperation of immigrant-receiving countries was immediately available; that ICEM's technical machinery permitting the missions of those countries to enlarge and expedite selection was ready to serve; that we were in a position to accelerate movements in a fashion which gives added strength to what the Director said this afternoon; namely, that this organization is in a position to give the countries of first asylum a guarantee that they will not be burdened with the expenses, the inconveniences and the problems of an accumulation of refugees to whom they accord temporary asylum. We are not developing a residue of refugees at this time, Mr. Chairman. This statement is, on my part, an attempt to obtain recognition for the overseas countries who have very recently amended their laws or regulations, opening the doors wider and in a more permanent fashion than at any time in the past. It is also a tribute to the partnership that exists between ICEM, the voluntary agencies and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; the partnership which insures that this humanitarian machinery which your governments have built at high expense is equipped to render the services which are expected of us. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

NATIONAL LIBRARY WEEK

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. **DORN.** Mr. Speaker, it is fitting and proper that this Nation observe National Library Week. It is fitting and proper that we honor all of those who make available to the American people the finest libraries in the world. Our librarians, custodians, trustees and all associated with our libraries should be honored for their dedication, devotion and loyalty to education and a search for truth.

One of the first acts of the totalitarian enemies of freedom is book burnings and censorship of learning. One of the greatest bulwarks of academic freedom is our libraries.

Mr. Speaker, the following editorial, which appeared in the Easley Progress, Easley, S.C., on April 13, 1966, is a splendid tribute to our libraries:

NATIONAL LIBRARY WEEK

National Library Week is to be observed from April 17 through 23. It symbolizes a service and a need that are of the utmost importance in this complex modern world.

A library is many things. It is, first of all, a repository of the thoughts, the wisdoms, the failures and successes, and events great and small which marred or brightened the centuries which have passed. It holds, within its confines, the history of man and nature.

A library exists to provide knowledge and understanding. It has no limits—everything ever known under the sun is within its province. A library is timeless, in the sense that it embraces all of time.

A library offers the reader amusement, relaxation, the opportunity to quietly contemplate himself and the world around him. It provides, from its many voices, comfort or challenge, relief from care or stirrings of ambition—whatever may be one's needs or desires.

It is impossible to conceive of a world without libraries. Never in the endless reach of history has knowledge been so important. That is true of the knowledge that lies behind the miracles of science and invention which are transforming life more swiftly than we realize. And it is true, above all, of the knowledge that comes out of the past and that with the principles and attitudes and values that transcend the material and give true meaning to the existence and perpetuation of mankind.

MAY 1, NATIONAL TAX FREEDOM DAY

Mr. **WYATT.** Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GURNEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. **GURNEY.** Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a resolution into the House of Representatives to designate May 1, 1966, as National Tax Freedom Day.

The first day of May is indeed an occasion for celebration for the average American taxpayer. It is the first day of this year that he can call a dollar his own.

From January 1 until April 30, every dollar he earns belongs to the Government; he must pay it out in Federal, State, or local taxes. But, the amount he earns after May 1 is his to keep.

This is simply another way of saying that the average American's tax load is costing him one-third of his income, or 33 cents out of every dollar he earns.

Certainly, this day of relief throughout the land deserves to be marked appropriately, and the bill I propose would do this by giving it the status of a national holiday.

But, along with the celebration of emancipation from the yoke of taxation, this day is an occasion for some serious thinking about this Government that has grown so big that it takes a third of every American's income to support it. It will certainly cause some reflection for the taxpayer to realize that the year is 4 months gone before he can start working for himself and his family.

It is a day for the taxpayer to begin taking a closer look at what the Government has done with the fruits of 4 months of his labor. It should be a day for him to think about the waste of his money in poorly planned and badly administered programs that he did not approve of in the first place.

It is a time for the taxpayer to resolve to take action to see that the holiday will be held at an earlier date in the following years.

If my study of history serves me correctly, the Boston Tea Party was in protest against the excessive taxes levied on tea. The issues of excessive taxation and taxation without representation were the prime reasons sparking the Revolutionary War. The Crown had been arbitrary in its policies and unwilling to listen to the protests of the colonists.

The American people have a tradition of resenting high taxes used for purposes which they do not support. Today the American people feel that taxes are too high. There is also a widespread feeling among many Americans that they are being taxed without representation. All too frequently the Representatives of the people vote for expensive programs that the majority of the people back home do not want.

Just recently I sent a questionnaire to the citizens of my district asking their opinions on various national issues. The replies when tallied showed 82.5 percent of those answering to be opposed to most of the programs of the Great Society. When asked about specific issues, 84.5 percent did not approve of the handling of the poverty war, 84 percent felt that we should not continue the guns and butter economy, and 76.2 percent opposed the reinstatement of the excise taxes.

Because of the decree of one man and a small coterie of advisers in the administration, programs which large people feel to be unwise, mismanaged, and often purely political in purpose are being pressed upon them and financed by their tax money.

It is high time for the American people to become more indignant and to show their indignation about excessive taxation without representation by electing people who will represent them instead of a chosen few in the Great Society.

NATIONAL SCHOOL SAFETY PATROL WEEK

Mr. **TENZER.** Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LOVE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. **LOVE.** Mr. Speaker, today I want to join with my colleagues who have introduced bills by introducing a joint resolution to provide for the designation of the second week of May of each year as "National School Safety Patrol Week."

As you know, the School Safety Patrol program was started many years ago and, since its inception, the traffic death rate of school-children has dropped nearly one-half, while the death rate of other age groups has doubled.

More than 16 million children, since 1922, have served as School Safety Patrol members safeguarding the lives of their fellow students. I know from the efficiency with which this program is conducted within my own district—Third, Ohio—it is an outstanding example of cooperation by school authorities, police departments, and motor clubs affiliated with the American Automobile Association.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that traffic safety is one of the most critical problems we are faced with today, I recommend that we unanimously adopt a resolution designating the second week of May of each year as "National School Safety Patrol Week." I would like to recommend further that we continue to encourage the School Safety Patrol and pedestrian control programs and concentrate on other symptoms which contribute to the loss of lives on our Nation's streets and highways.

STATUTORY AMENDMENT ON ATTEMPTED DESTRUCTION OF PUBLIC AIRCRAFT

Mr. **TENZER.** Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LOVE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. **LOVE.** Mr. Speaker, there is currently a deficiency in the statutory law concerning the prosecution and punishment of one who fires on a military aircraft. His punishment now is determined by the amount of damage he caused. Consequently, a bullet hole in the wing of an SAC bomber would result in a maximum fine of only $1,000 against the guilty party—18 U.S.C. 1361.

This situation actually occurred in my district—Third, Ohio—recently when a certain individual fired a rifle at armed military bombers taking off from Wright-Patterson Air Force Base because the noise from takeoff disturbed his peace. The resultant damage was holes in the wings of the aircraft, but a difference of only inches could have meant a major catastrophe. However, under present law, the man could only be fined a maximum of $1,000 for this act.

Obviously, one who fires on a military airplane is not only risking the possibility of damage and destruction to over a million dollars in property, but is endangering the lives of many persons. If he misses the plane entirely, he currently cannot be prosecuted, and, if he does cause minor damage, the penalty is proportionately minor. However, in every instance the risk is very great, and a suitable deterrent is therefore necessary.

There is now a provision which provides a penalty of 10 years and/or $10,000 for willful attempts to interfere with any national defense material, 18 U.S.C. 2155(a). This provision, however, requires a prior showing of an intent by the defendant to obstruct the national defense effort of the country itself, in order to prosecute him. As a result, one who fires on a military aircraft solely for his own purposes—that is, to prevent such flights due to their disturbing his peace and quiet, or his livestock—cannot be prosecuted under section 2155(a) because he had no intent to obstruct the national defense effort.

It is therefore imperative, Mr. Speaker, that we amend the statutes to provide a deterrent and an appropriate penalty for any future attempts. The most preferable procedure is to amend the existing sections with reference to civil aircraft, 18 U.S.C. 31, 32, and 34, as provided in the bill which I have introduced today.

JOSEPH P. McMURRAY INAUGURATED PRESIDENT OF QUEENS COLLEGE

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, this coming Sunday, April 24, Queens College of the City University of New York will inaugurate Joseph P. McMurray as its fourth president. The good fortune of Queens College will be commemorated at that time, and well-deserved acknowledgment will be made of the career of a man who has been a dedicated public servant for many years.

President McMurray represents a new breed of college presidents. His experience has not been limited to the field of education, although he previously held the post of president of Queensborough Community College. Just prior to his appointment to Queens College in 1965 he had served as Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, a position he had accepted after a 2-year stay at Queensborough. In addition, Joe McMurray has given over 25 years of faithful and devoted service to the government in other capacities—he worked in the executive branch of the Federal Government for the Department of Commerce, the Federal Works Agency, and the National Resources Planning Board; he was with the legislative branch as administrative assistant to the late beloved Senator Robert F. Wagner, and on the staffs of two Senate committees; he then returned to his home State of New York where he served with the New York City Housing Authority; and subsequently as Commissioner of Housing for the State of New York.

During his quarter century of service to his country, his State and his city, President McMurray has acquired a vast and rounded experience which will bring to Queens College a new sophistication and depth. American colleges and universities are more and more active in service to all levels of government, in developing leaders, in educating and encouraging their students to actively participate, not only in local affairs, but in national and world affairs. To this development, President McMurray will bring special enthusiasm, ability, and conviction. He is a native New Yorker who knows his city, who acquired his education in the city, and who has been actively engaged in community, civic, and municipal affairs for a long time.

For a community to have an energetic, growing, and resourceful college is of great benefit to, and provides tremendous opportunities for, the residents. For that college to have installed as its president a man of such wide experience and varied accomplishments is a crowning achievement, bringing good fortune and distinction to the institution and to the community.

The city of New York and especially the borough of Queens, as well as the City University and Queens College itself—including the student body and the faculty, will be greatly enriched and much complemented by the installation of Joseph M. McMurray as president of the college.

I consider it an honor and a privilege to join with the many academic, civic, and political figures who will be paying well-deserved tributes to one of our outstanding citizens this Sunday, April 24.

THE 130TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF SAN JACINTO

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PICKLE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 130th anniversary of the Battle of San Jacinto. Few military battles in North America have had greater historic effect than that of San Jacinto.

The victory of the Texas Army near Buffalo Bayou led to independence of my home State and its later annexation to the United States. The Mexican War which followed resulted in the acquisition by the United States of most of this country's States in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific coast area.

The successive defeats of Texas fighting men at the Alamo, San Patricio, Auga Dulce, Goliad, Refugio, and Victoria in the spring of 1836 had created confusion among the military as well as the civilian population.

Santa Anna swept eastward across Texas with his army, thinking the war was over.

General Sam Houston's army, which had been bypassed and left in the rear of the Mexican Army, moved southeastward and on April 20, took a position opposite of Santa Anna's camp at the junction of the San Jacinto River and Buffalo Bayou.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon on April 21, the Texas Army commenced its charge against the Mexican forces while Santa Anna took his siesta.

The Texans charged to the music of "Won't You Come to the Bower?" and with the battle cry, "Remember the Alamo," "Remember Goliad."

The Mexicans were routed with a loss—according to Houston's report—of 630 killed, 280 wounded, and 730 captured. Practically the entire Mexican force was killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. The Texas Army sustained a loss of 9 killed and mortally wounded and 30 less-seriously wounded.

General Santa Anna fled the battlefield, but was captured a day later.

I think that it behooves us as a nation to recognize the valor and determination for liberty and independence that provided the victory for the Texas Army.

It is the spirit of men fighting at San Jacinto as well as those who have fought under the American flag throughout our history that has kept this Nation safe for democracy.

Today, we are helping a small and defenseless nation to be able to choose its own direction. Today, we are in a gallant fight to repel an enemy which has slaughtered innocent civilians and has kidnaped or tortured.

We have put our own prestige and the future of free people everywhere on the line by firmly confronting aggressive communism in southeast Asia.

In view of the victory of the Texas Army on the banks of the San Jacinto River some 130 years ago, let us be strengthened in our present conflict against tyranny.

REMARKS OF JAMES H. BOREN, DIRECTOR, PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE PROGRAMS, AT THE BANQUET OF THE SAN ANTONIO FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS, SAN ANTONIO, TEX., APRIL 14, 1966

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker I have long been a supporter for the Alliance for Progress—a program which I consider crucial and important in our country's efforts toward peace. Recently, Mr. James H. Boren, the able director of the Partners of the Alliance programs, spoke in my home city of San Antonio. I feel that his address, delivered at a banquet of the San Antonio Federation of Women's Clubs, should be brought to the attention of you and my colleagues.

REMARKS OF JAMES H. BOREN, DIRECTOR, PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE PROGRAMS, AT THE BANQUET OF THE SAN ANTONIO FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS, SAN ANTONIO, TEX., APRIL 14, 1966

It is a pleasure to be here in the beautiful HemisFair city of San Antonio on Pan American Day of 1966. As we reflect upon Pan Americanism we can certainly recall the pleasures which have come from the interplay of the music, the arts, the prose, and poetry which are among the treasures of the hemisphere. The thoughts which I wish to share with you this evening, however, focus upon a larger purpose of Pan American Week observances—the purpose of promoting genuine understanding and friendship among the peoples of the Americas.

When I speak of the peoples of the Americas, I am speaking in general terms, terms which conceptually include not only the leaders of the social and economic order but also those citizens of the hemisphere who live and work outside the groups which normally are involved in Pan American Day observances. It is of these people and of the need to broaden the base of participation in international operations that I speak to you this evening.

It was June 19, 1964, that here in San Antonio we formally launched the Texas Partners of the Alliance through which Texans and Peruvians are working together. The speaker for that evening in 1964 was the distinguished Peruvian Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency Ambassador Celso Pastor. I recall that on that evening special messages were read from President Fernando Belaunde of Peru, President Lyndon B. Johnson, Senators RALPH YARBOROUGH, and JOHN TOWER, and Gov. John Connally. I recall that your distinguished Congressman, HENRY GONZALEZ, was scheduled to be with us but had to send a message instead of personally participating because that was the day for the scheduled vote on the civil rights bill. I recall also that Mr. Edward Marcus, of Dallas, was presented as the elected chairman of the Texas Partners of the Alliance and that San Antonio's and the Federation's own Mamie Dial was elected to the State executive committee.

Many successful projects have been listed in the inventory of accomplishments of the Texas Partners since June of 1964 and your organization has played an important role in the progress made thus far.

I have not come to you this evening to thank you for what you have done. Rather, I have come to give recognition for what you have done, for your performance in this program has not been motivated by a desire for thanks or gratitude either from your Government or from the Peruvians whom you have helped. Your performance has been motivated by a desire to translate the goals and ideals of your organization into action.

The projects which have been completed by the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs had their birth in the village of San Jacinto de Mita in a beautiful but treacherous area of the Peruvian Andes. It was there, in 1962, that Alejandro Rojas, a young man "under 5 and 20," founded a community library for the benefit of the people of his little valley.

Alejandro Rojas, a campesino, arranged for a small one-room adobe hut to be used for the library. He built some crude shelves on which he placed a few well-worn magazines, a few paperback books, and a collection of Alliance for Progress pamphlets. The inventory of the library had a value of about $5—but the pride of the people in their little "biblioteca" was beyond measurement in dollars and cents.

With arrangements made through our AID mission, a collection of 200 books, maps, and other materials were made available to the library. The impact of that addition to the library was great, largely because it was response to self-help. It was response to the initiative of a young campesino who had the spark of leadership. It was response "con dignidad"—with dignity.

Thus was born the "little library" project which has been your project. Your organization already has provided almost a score of rural villages with basic books and materials for the libraries being developed on a self-help basis.

The Texas Federation of Women's Clubs have been an important part of the Texas partnership with Peru, but you are being joined every day by more and more Texans.

High school students of Texas, through the Pan American Student Forum Clubs, have provided: Hand tools for training schools; materials for roofs, doors, and windows for village schools; pumps for village wells; outboard motors for dugout canoes to enable jungle villages to market their products; equipment for medical posts; chain saws for rural cooperatives, and pressure lanterns for night literacy classes.

The Texas electric cooperatives have provided 14 3,000-watt generators for rural educational programs—making possible evening literacy and other classes for villagers who must work all the daylight hours.

The Texas Medical Association has helped arrange for medical assistance in terms of doctors working in Peru on special programs. A young newsboy from Lima is alive today because of open-heart surgery performed in Houston through arrangements made by the Texas Partners. A 12-year-old girl from Iquitos on the Amazon faces a brighter future because of surgery in Houston which corrected several malfunctioning heart valves.

The Texas Hospital Association is presently completing a survey of hospital equipment which will be shipped to rural and barriada (slum) medical posts in Peru.

The Texas Farmers Union is presently developing plans for a broad program involving agricultural youth in Texas and Peru.

The jaycees of Lubbock and Mr. Jim Clark, of Shallowater, and others of the Lubbock area, sent 1,200 feet of steel cable to a rural village in southern Peru. The longshoremen of the port of Houston provided free loading of the cable and will assist with other future Partners' projects. For years men of some villages have hand-walked steel cables over Andean rivers to get to the land which they tilled. The cable sent from the high plains of Lubbock is being used by villagers to complete a suspension bridge over which they will be able to walk to their fields—in safety and with dignity.

Educational institutions are providing scholarships for Peruvian students and Texas families will be helping by providing free room and board in their homes. The education committee of the Texas Partners, under the leadership of Ambassador Dick Rubottom of SMU, is working with the Texas Good Neighborhood Commission and many institutions in developing an excellent educational program.

These are only illustrations of the range of activities of the Texas Partners of the Alliance which is moving forward under the outstanding leadership of Chairman Edward Marcus.

Today, the citizens of 30 States of the United States are developing partnerships with the people of 30 areas in Latin American countries. These are working partnerships where people can work together on identified self-help projects, technical assistance programs and educational and cultural exchanges. The Partners of the Alliance is a private sector program which, in part, seeks to translate into reality the stated principle that we, in the United States, can learn as well as teach, and receive as well as assist. For years we have paid lipservice to this principle but now we seek to give meaning to the words.

Though only 2 years old, the Partners of the Alliance program has been responsible for the flow of approximately $3,500,000 in goods and services. We are proud of this material contribution of the private sector partnership committees. Of greater value, however, is that body of intangible values which comes from the personal involvement of the peoples of the Americas.

The Charter of Punta del Este, which is the great charter of the Alliance for Progress, calls for the active participation of the "peoples and governments" of the Americas. You, the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs have accepted the challenge of the Alliance. You have made a positive contribution through assisting rural villages in Peru with their self-help library programs.

It is a great privilege for me, in behalf of the Agency for International Development, to present to the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs this certificate of appreciation "in recognition of the leadership and significant contribution toward the attainment of the goals of the Alliance for Progress." This certificate, signed by David Bell, Administrator of the Agency for International Development and bearing the signature of the U.S. Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress, is presented with the hope that it shall serve not only as recognition for your past participation but also as a reminder that the challenge of the Alliance for Progress is a continuing one.

PRESENTATION

President Fernando Belaunde Terry, of Peru, made a speech in the Andean village of Chincheros in April of 1956. In that speech he gave an eloquent tribute to the people of his great country:

"Cada vez que observo desde alguna altura un villorio peruano hago la misma pregunta y obtengo la misma enaltecedora repuesta." (Every time I look from some height upon a Peruvian village I ask the same question and I get the same inspiring answer.)

"As I look at the humble town with its colorful bell tower, I inquire of my guide: Who built the church? and the guide replies: 'The people built it.' Again I ask: 'Who built the school?' and he answers again: 'The people built it.'

"And following the winding dirt road amongst the mountains I ask once more: 'Who made this road?' and again, resounding now in my ears like a triumphal march I hear in these eloquent words the history of all of Peru's yesterdays, its present, and the prophecy of its future: "The people built it.'

"The people built the road, the church, and the schools. The people raised the terraces and dammed the torrent. Once there was an earthquake and they recovered their debris and rebuilt their homes.

"And when it was required of them they gave of their sons to the army; and they suffered the nation's indifference without complaint.

"They were denied their ancestral rights of freedom to choose their own leaders and goals. Rulers were imposed upon them. Their properties and income were taken from them. But they could not be deprived of their traditions.

"And the people went on building roads, schools, and churches. Because, fortunately, though Peru's small villages have been forgotten villages, they have not forgotten their own heritage." And as you, the women of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs look to your program planning for the period ahead, I wish to issue again the continuing challenge of the Alliance for Progress and the basic challenge of Pan Americanism. Sit not on the sidelines but continue to be participants in this great endeavor. Take pride in your accomplishments but recognize that we have only begun. It is at your level, the grassroots level, the level of the people to which we must expand our operations if Pan Americanism is to be more than the title of a jingle.

In closing, I wish to leave with you the thoughts of President Johnson when commemorating the fourth anniversary of the Alliance last year:

"Development is not just a matter of resources, or trade, or production or even crops. Rather, in some mysterious way, a people—because they have great leaders and because they have great hopes and because they are themselves great—an entire people begin to stir, and to sacrifice and to work. And when they move, a nation begins to move."

You have assisted in the forward movement of a people and I know that you will continue to accept the challenge of the alliance as partners in its implementation.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. Mize (at the request of Mr. Gerald R. Ford), from April 25 through April 28, on account of official business as delegate to Inter-Development Bank Board meeting in Mexico City.

Mr. Delaney (at the request of Mr. Boggs), on account of illness.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. Michel (at the request of Mr. Wyatt), for 60 minutes, on Monday, April 25, 1966; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Edwards of Alabama (at the request of Mr. Wyatt), for 20 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Albert, for 15 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Congressional Record, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. Gathings and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Kupferman to include tables and charts in his special order of today.

Mr. Evans of Colorado.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Wyatt) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Pelly.

Mr. Findley.

Mr. Conte.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Tenzer) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Annunzio.

Mr. Moorhead.

BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 1746. An act to define the term "child" for lump-sum payment purposes under the Civil Service Retirement Act.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 36 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, April 25, 1966, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

2326. Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, a letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics), transmitting reports listing Army, Navy, Air Force, and Defense Supply Agency contracts negotiated during the 6 months ending December 31, 1965, pursuant to the provisions of title 10, United States Code, was taken from the Speaker's table, referred to the Committee on Armed Services, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHLEY:

H.R. 14576. A bill to promote and foster the development of a modern merchant marine by encouraging the orderly replacement and modernization of merchant vessels and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. BELL:

H.R. 14577. A bill to establish a U.S. Committee on Human Rights to prepare for participation by the United States in the observance of the year 1968 as International Human Rights Year, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DYAL:

H.R. 14578. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. DWYER:

H.R. 14579. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish in the Veterans' Administration a national veterans' cemetery system consisting of all cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are, or may be buried; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. EDMONDSON:

H.R. 14580. A bill to extend and amend the Library Sevices and Constuction Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama:

H.R. 14581. A bill to make certain expenditures made by the city of Mobile, Ala., eligible as local grants-in-aid for the purposes of title I of the Housing Act of 1949; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 14582. A bill to extend the program of health insurance benefits under title XVIII of the Social Security Act to disabled individuals aged 60 or over who are entitled to monthly cash benefits under section 223 of such act, and individuals aged 60 or over who are retired for disability under the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HULL:

H.R. 14583. A bill to amend the act of May 28, 1924, to revise existing law relating to the examination, licensure, registration, and regulation of optometrists and the practice of optometry in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. HUOT:

H.R. 14584. A bill to amend Public Law 815, 81st Congress, to provide temporary assistance where public school buildings are destroyed by natural causes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. JENNINGS:

H.R. 14585. A bill to provide, in the case of a carryback of an unused investment credit, the same rules for quick refunds of income tax as now exist in the case of a net operating loss carryback; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LOVE:

H.R. 14586. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to make the destruction of any public aircraft a crime, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MEEDS:

H.R. 14587. A bill to extend and amend the Library Services and Construction Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. POOL:

H.R. 14588. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, so as to allow an additional income tax exemption for individuals who have certain debilitating progressive diseases; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina:

H.R. 14589. A bill to prevent excessive forced attrition among women officers of the naval service; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 14590.—A bill to amend the Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. TENZER:

H.R. 14591. A bill to establish a U.S. Committee on Human Rights to prepare for participation by the United States in the observance of the year 1968 as International Human Rights Year, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. TRIMBLE:

H.R. 14592. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Army to construct Crooked Creek Dam on Crooked Creek, Ark.; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. GURNEY:

H.J. Res. 1081. Joint resolution designating Tax Freedom Day as a national holiday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KLUCZYNSKI:

H.J. Res. 1082. Joint resolution to authorize the President of the United States to proclaim August 28, 1966, as Polish Millennium Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LOVE:

H.J. Res. 1083. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the second week of May of each year as "National School Safety Patrol Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SECREST:

H.J. Res. 1084. Joint resolution relating to travel and investment in France; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WIDNALL:

H.J. Res. 1085. Joint resolution to provide for the establishment of an Office of Deputy Superintendent of the Arts within the Recreation Board for the District of Columbia to develop and conduct a program of the arts for the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. GERALD R. FORD:

H. Con. Res. 629. Concurrent resolution request for the submission of a new budget for the fiscal year 1967; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. LOVE:

H. Con. Res. 630. Concurrent resolution to authorize the printing of additional copies of House Document No. 190 of the 89th Congress; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H. Res. 823. Resolution authorizing a Representative in Congress who is a member of a certain committee to designate one of his employees to be cleared for access to classified information available to the Representative in his capacity as a member of such committee; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. POWELL:

H. Res. 824. Resolution to amend section 8(b)(4) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, with respect to strike at the sites of construction projects; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GILBERT:

H.R. 14593. A bill for the relief of Maria Carmen Plaza De Alonzo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POWELL:

H.R. 14594. A bill for the relief of Vincenzo Sparaco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14595. A bill for the relief of Alberto Tortoroli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

376. The SPEAKER presented a petition of Ralph Boryszenski, Rochester, N.Y., relative to impeachment of Hon. Stephen S. Chandler, U.S. district judge for the western district of Oklahoma, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Armenian Memorial Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 21, 1966

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, April 24, Armenians all over the globe will observe the 51st anniversary of the ruthless Turkish massacres of the Armenian people.

In 1915, the Turks set out to exterminate the whole Armenian Christian population within the Ottoman borders. Systematically, and with cold callousness, the Turks first killed the writers, teachers, clergymen, and leaders of the Armenian people. Then the able-bodied men were brutally murdered and the young women enslaved. The remaining women, children, and old people were forced to march barefooted under the blazing sun, without food or water, toward their ultimate destruction in the remote deserts of Der-el-Zor.

Along the way these helpless people were subjected to inhuman tortures and mutilation, to rape and massacre, and those who survived these initial brutalities, died one by one from exhaustion, disease, and starvation. The roads where these caravans passed were piled high with the corpses of these innocent victims of the Turks.

When the carnage was over 1,500,000 martyrs had been slain and another million had been ruthlessly torn up from their ancient homeland and deported to the desolate deserts to die. Not only had the Turks attempted to annihilate the Armenian nation, but at the same time they tried to obliterate every trace of the 3,000-year-old Armenian civilization. Universities, libraries, churches, and monasteries were burned, and with them, irreplaceable antiques, paintings, books, and relics were destroyed.

Not an Armenian alive today has been left untouched by these massacres. Grandparents, mothers and fathers, children, and even newborn infants were ruthlessly murdered. Whole families were wiped out with a single blow, and a new word, genocide, had to be coined to describe the Turks' efforts to destroy an entire race.

The massacres in 1915 were a more extensive repetition of the Armenian massacres in 1895 and 1896, which horrified a civilized world and caused Gladstone, Britain's prime minister, to rise up and make the last public speech of his career in defense of the Armenian people and against Abdul Hamid, the perpetrator of these crimes.

The Armenians are perhaps the oldest of the civilized races in western Asia and were the first nation in the world to accept Christianity as their state religion. From time immemorial, the Armenian has worked peacefully and industriously in the high mountains which are his home between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. Here, church and people have maintained with amazing vitality their traditions and culture against wave after wave of alien conquest. For centuries, the Armenian has been known not only for his industriousness, but for his intelligence, his ingenuity, his courage, and for his talent for handicraft, for commerce, and for intellectual pursuits.

When Talaat Bay gave the signal for the unwarranted massacre of the Armenians in 1915, he declared:

> After this, there will be no Armenian question for 50 years.

Fifty years have elapsed, and the 51st anniversary of the massacres is at hand. The Armenian question does exist, and shall continue to exist as a glaring reality until justice is done, and reparations are made to the survivors of 1,500,000 innocent martyrs.

The Germans have made reparations to the Jews, and until the Turks make similar reparations to the Armenians, the Armenian question will remain a blot on the conscience of mankind which failed to support an innocent people in their great need.

The scars of these massacres are carried in the hearts and minds of every surviving Armenian. On this sad anniversary, Americans of Armenian descent in the United States are looking to their elected Representatives in the Congress and the Senate to secure some measure of justice for the crime committed against them—a crime with which no other in recorded history can compare.

As citizens of the United States, they are asking that the Congress support immediate Senate ratification of the Genocide Convention, which is before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. They are asking recognition of President Woodrow Wilson's decision on the territorial boundaries of the Armenian Republic as provided in the 1920 Treaty of Sevres which Turkey signed recognizing Armenian independence. And further, they are asking for positive steps to right the wrongs of the past.

Mr. Speaker, as Members of this Congress, let each of us examine our conscience and let us do our utmost to alleviate the memory of this unjustified crime against the Armenian people.

"The World Was There"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 21, 1966

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of the Congress to a superb documentary motion picture, made by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, entitled "The World Was There."

This film, produced and written by Byron Morgan and Gene Starbecker for NASA, is an exciting report on the Project Mercury program. It was on exhibition at the National Gallery of Art last year for 2 months. It won first prize in the television category of the National Aeronautic Association Film Festival and represented the United States in the Second International Aeronautic and Space Film Festival, in Vichy, France, in 1965.

This is the story of a free and open society and a free press in action. It emphasizes the way in which our space program, unlike the secrecy-shrouded Russian program, is open to the world. All communications media cover our space flights and through them the people of the world have grandstand seats. This, certainly, is one of the great space leads we have over the Soviet Union.

Although we are now well into the Gemini program and are preparing for the Apollo flight to the Moon, it seems to me that, in viewing this film on the Mercury program, we can take great pride in reliving those exciting pioneer days when the first Americans rocketed into space.

Disclosures of the Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 21, 1966

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, here are a few shocking disclosures which came to my attention this week, none of which will help convince the voters that the Johnson administration is doing as good a job as it claims.

CASE NO. 1

A Michigan man was disclosed to have been drawing $698 a month, tax-free, from two different Federal antipoverty programs.

In this connection, a Congressman read a letter to the Members of the House of Representatives from an irate constituent who had just paid the balance of his income tax on the family income of $108.50 per week take home pay.

The constituent said that the Michigan man gets $146 more per week, tax-free, from the public trough, than he and his wife realize from working a combined 62 hours a week.

"Let me tell you, Congressman" he said, "I'm fed up."

CASE NO. 2

A Member of the Senate told his colleagues that the more than $100,000 he received from two fund-raising dinners in Connecticut—at which Lyndon Johnson was the principal speaker—was not for political purposes. He said the money consisted of tax-free gifts to bolster his personal finances.

CASE NO. 3

In Maine, a newspaper revealed how tax money to help the poor is spent. The paper reported that on a 5,000-acre plush resort hotel complex at Poland Spring, the Government is spending $6 million on a Job Corps training project for underprivileged girls. There are 100 girls presently enrolled, with plans for 1,080 eventually. It will require a staff of 360—1 for every 3 girls. The annual payroll of $2.5 million will represent $2,500 per girl, per year. Courses will include snow and water skiing, and dancing.

CASE NO. 4

American drivers might prefer to drive schoolbuses in Thailand, where it costs the United States $9,000 per year for Peace Corpsmen for 2 hours a day driving.

CASE NO. 5

The first year of the Domestic Peace Corps, for 202 volunteers, cost $1.5 million, or $7,426 per volunteer.

CASE NO. 6

In Washington, D.C., where the average income is the highest of any city in the United States, there are real pockets of poverty. However, those in charge of fighting poverty here complain that 230 out of 702 unemployed heads of families being trained for jobs have failed to show up for training at least 3 out of every 5 days since the program began 6 months ago. Even so, it is reported, they collected $47 a week.

Meanwhile, Mr. Speaker, at Shoreline Community College, in my congressional district, only 1,310 full-time students can be enrolled, due to finances, although college facilities will accommodate 2,500 of the 2,800 students who are applying. Only $300,000 would do the job.

Education is one antipoverty program where, through increased earnings of college graduates, the Public Treasury, in due time, gets its money back.

Centennial of Emes Lodge No. 67

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 21, 1966

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, on April 3 it was my pleasure to attend the 100th anniversary banquet and ball of Emes Lodge No. 67, B'nai B'rith held at the St. Nicholas Hotel in Springfield, Ill.

Mr. Leo D. Cohn, president of the lodge, served as master of ceremonies, presiding over a program which included greetings from Illinois Gov. Otto Kerner, and Springfield Mayor Nelson Howarth.

The lodge itself came to life in Springfield, July 23, 1866, at which time 18 members undertook to bring to the Jewish community the principles of the covenant translated into community service. The earliest records show that pioneer members arrived in Springfield about 1855. Recurrent waves of immigration from Europe brought numbers of Jews westward.

The lodge has contributed through the years to many civic projects, and was especially active during World War II with blood banks, bond drives, and USO activities. Refugees from the Hitler terrorism were given assistance by B'nai B'rith and Emes Lodge and support was also provided to the new state of Israel.

Chapters participating by sending delegates to the celebration included those in Bloomington, Peoria, Danville, Champaign, Galesburg, Spring Valley, Rock Island, Mattoon, and Quincy.

The Honorable Wilbur D. Mills Honored for Dedicated Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 21, 1966

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, 1,500 people were in attendance when Hon. WILBUR D. MILLS was honored for 28 years of dedicated and devoted public service to the Second Congressional District of Arkansas and to the Nation. The occasion was the dedication of a new and luxurious Lawrence County courthouse made possible largely through the efforts of WILBUR MILLS, County Judge Brooks Penn, and public-spirited citizens throughout Lawrence County

Although the dedicatory ceremony was the announced purpose of the giant meeting, the real incentive was to pay tribute to a great national leader whom they had known intimately and had worked with since his service began in the 76th Congress on January 3, 1939. They also wanted to show appreciation to Mr. MILLS for his zealous and tireless efforts in obtaining the approval of the accelerated public works application for the construction of the badly needed Lawrence County courthouse at Walnut Ridge, Ark.

The Arkansas General Assembly redistricted the State in March 1965, and as a result the five counties of Randolph, Lawrence, Jackson, Woodruff, and Monroe which had formerly been a part of the Second Congressional District served by Representative WILBUR MILLS were transferred to the First Congressional District which I am privileged to serve in the Congress.

According to the Centennial History of Arkansas, Dallas T. Herndon, editor, the first post office in the State of Arkansas was established at Davidsonville, Lawrence County in June 1817, with Adam Richie as postmaster.

The Sunday, April 17, 1966, dedication program for the Lawrence County Courthouse contained some noteworthy information. It is fitting and proper that it be made a part of these remarks. Brooks Penn, county judge, was the chairman of the group of courthouse commissioners which included Rudy Baker, Jim Bland, Jr., C. Jack Cato, Ben Mays, and W. E. Spikes.

The program carried the following historical information:

LAWRENCE COUNTY COURTHOUSES

Lawrence County came into existence as a separate unit of government in 1815, as a county in the Territory of Missouri. It was the second county formed in what is now this State, Arkansas County being the first. It embraced about two-thirds of the territory now in Arkansas north of the Arkansas River, and a strip off the southern part of Missouri.

It is called "Mother of Counties" because from it have been formed 31 other counties. The county was named Lawrence in honor of Capt. James Lawrence, who distinguished himself in the War of 1812. As he was carried from the deck of his ship, mortally wounded, he gave his famous last command, "Don't give up the ship."—McLeod's Centennial Memorial History of Lawrence County (1936).

The first courthouse in what is now Lawrence County was erected at Smithville, after the county seat was established there in 1837. In 1868, the county seat was moved from Smithville to Clover Bend. In 1869, the county seat was moved to Powhatan. A courthouse built in 1873 was burned in the year 1885. The existing courthouse building at Powhatan was erected in 1888.

In 1887, a bill was passed in the State legislature dividing the county into two districts, the eastern and western. A two-story frame courthouse was built east of the Missouri-Pacific Railroad in Walnut Ridge, which was used until 1900, when a new courthouse was built on the court square.

In August 1963, under sponsorship of the county development council, a special election was held and the people, by a vote of 4,250 to 360 voted to consolidate the districts, to have one county seat, and to erect a new courthouse in Walnut Ridge.

The contract was let in October 1964. The overall project cost of $410,000 was shared equally by Lawrence County and the Federal Government.

A reproduction of the remaining portion of the program was as follows:

DEDICATION PROGRAM

Concert by Walnut Ridge High School Band: 1 p.m.

At 1:30 p.m.:

Presiding: Jerry Bassett.

Invocation: L. N. Moody, Main Street Church of Christ.

Introduction of guests and officials: Mr. Bassett.

Remarks: Hon. E. C. GATHINGS, Representative, First Congressional District.

Remarks: Brooks Penn, county judge.

Address: Hon. WILBUR D. MILLS, Representative, Second Congressional District.

Benediction: Lehman Rorex, Midway Assembly of God Church.

From 2:30 p.m. to 5 p.m.: Following the program, the courthouse will be open the balance of the afternoon for public inspection. County officials will be in their respective offices.

Erhart, Eichenbaum, Rauch & Blass, architects; E. K. Riddick, Jr., engineer; McDaniel Bros. Construction Co., contractor.

OFFICERS SERVING LAWRENCE COUNTY, 1965–66

Brooks Penn, county judge; O'Neal Kellim, circuit clerk; Don Hardaway, county clerk; Oland Goad, treasurer; Carl Polston, collector; Cleo Moody, assessor; Kenneth Guthrie, sheriff; Harry Hilburn, representative; Thomas Penn, State senator.

COUNTY DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL COMMITTEE

Their planning and unceasing effort brought success to the movement for consolidation of the eastern and western districts and for the construction of the new courthouse.

William H. Wade, Tom Sloan, Homer Hastings, Arthur Cleveland, Rudy Jones, Rolph Bush, W. B. Rudy, Jay H. Myers, Robert R. Bruce, Wilgus DeBow, Lawrence Bragg, Muriel M. Allison, Elmer Milligan, Mrs. Relton Forehand.

Harry L. Ponder, Lowell Penn, Jewel Brannon, Tom A. Rorex, Harold Lady, Henry M. Rainwater, Carl E. Phillips, Homer Bell, Max M. Hollander, Mitchell Davis, Wm. J. Swink, Jesse Hoggard, Grover Davis, Mrs. Miles Ponder.

The dedicatory speech of Hon. WILBUR D. MILLS was as follows:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN WILBUR D. MILLS, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE LAWRENCE COUNTY COURTHOUSE, WALNUT RIDGE, ARK., APRIL 17, 1966

Citizens and officials of Lawrence County, ladies and gentlemen, friends, this is indeed a wonderful occasion, and I am very pleased and privileged to be here with you to participate in this dedicatory ceremony.

This high moment that we are sharing today is more than a mere recognition of the completion of this splendid new courthouse to serve Lawrence County. It is far more than that. It is, I think, my friends, above anything else, a symbol of the united—and I emphasize the word "united"—the united efforts of all the citizens of this great county.

This impressive and beautiful building is the fruition of the plans of farsighted county officials and leaders who initially envisioned a new Lawrence County courthouse.

FEDERAL-LOCAL COOPERATION

It is a symbol of the resourcefulness and wisdom of all the people of this county, who—having recognized the need—unhesitatingly took the necessary steps to meet it. For this fine structure would not have been possible without your election in 1963 to consolidate the two districts of this county—western and eastern. And it would not have been possible without your vote to impose upon yourselves a tax in order to join with the Federal Government in financing the construction of this new building on this historic site on which we are standing today.

I am personally gratified that the Federal Government, under the accelerated public works program, assumed the role of a partner in providing financing for this much needed public facility. I was advised just before leaving Washington that the latest figure on the amount of the Federal grant is $195,000 out of a total cost of $390,000.

Here, indeed, is an outstanding example of effective coordination and cooperative effort between agencies of the Federal, State, and county governments. It is typical of the projects that have been completed under the Federal accelerated public works program, and other programs of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations—including the area redevelopment program and most recently, the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.

This project can be pointed out and referred to by everyone as a noteworthy instance in which the Federal Government has been able to serve the interests of the people by assisting in meeting a pressing need. It has done so without trespassing on local rights, weakening local initiative, or diminishing local authority.

For, as President Johnson pointed out last year in his message to Congress on the Economic Development Act, and I quote:

"No Federal plan or Federal project will be imposed on any regional, State, or local body. No plan will be approved unless it also has the approval of State and local authorities. No programs or projects will be originated at the Federal level. The initiative, the ideas, and the request for assistance must all come to Washington, not from Washington." So, my friends, we are here today dedicating a fine, new building, and in so doing, we are also recognizing the ultimate and desirable result of creative cooperation between the Federal Government and the leadership and citizenry of this great county.

LAWRENCE COUNTY—YESTERDAY

In all of life's experiences, when we reach a significant milestone or achieve a desired objective, the natural tendency is to turn to and reflect upon the events and occurrences that led and brought us to the attainment of that particular mark or goal. We are in such a pleasant and enjoyable circumstance today in this ceremony dedicating this new courthouse.

In anticipation of being here with you and sharing in this dedication, I took from the shelves of the Library of Congress some weeks ago the delightful book entitled "Centennial Memorial History of Lawrence County," which was written some 30 years ago by the late Walter E. McLeod. All of us remember Mr. McLeod for his very meaningful contribution to education in Lawrence County during his long career of service to the public schools.

In the entertaining and informative moments that I could devote to this book, during brief respites from my congressional duties, I reveled in the rich and unique history of this country. I was made proud by the account of the original formation of Lawrence County in 1815 as an expansive area in the Missouri Territory. The county's boundaries at that time encompassed vast areas of what later became the State of Arkansas and a portion of southern Missouri as well. Indeed, the book's pages reflect that Lawrence County is most appropriately referred to as the "Mother of Counties," because its original lands were so extensive that from them have been carved some 31 other counties.

It was also interesting—in view of our engagement here today—to glean from the book information about past courthouses that have served Lawrence County. We are reminded that court was initially held in 1815 near Davidsonville, a town, which is no longer in this county. This county, therefore, had a judicial system over two decades before Arkansas became a State. The other names recorded in the book as having served as sites for terms of court over the years included Smithville, Clover Bend, for a brief period and of course, Powhatan and Walnut Ridge. I could go on and recount other facts and stories from this very interesting book, but you undoubtedly know them all. Suffice it to say, my friends, that I was quite impressed in rereading and recalling some of Lawrence County's long and exceedingly rich history.

LAWRENCE COUNTY—TODAY

But let us now turn from the glorious past to the present moment and the very satisfying and gratifying occasion that brings us together today.

It is not given to many of us to make a mark upon our times in behalf of the public good—perhaps the one great objective in life. But in the conception, construction, and completion of this beautiful, imposing and utilitarian new courthouse, you leaders and citizens of Lawrence County have not only made an immediate mark upon your time, but one that can be measured in lasting terms.

Let us here today, therefore, in dedicating this splendid structure look beyond the stone and mortar and steel of which it is composed, to the united citizenry of this great county to whom it belongs and whom it will serve.

Let us not fail to pay well-deserved tribute to all those who had a part in its planning and construction; to the public servants who in their various offices will utilize its facilities for the common good of all the people of this county; to those who will administer and those who benefit from the services that will emanate from this building; and, finally, to the high standard and quality of justice that has traditionally been available in law and in equity to all citizens in the courtrooms of Lawrence County.

It is a great honor and privilege to be with you and to have had a part in this memorable ceremony today.

The American Textile Machinery Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 21, 1966

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday of this week, the American Textile Machinery Association held its annual meeting here in Washington at the Washington Hilton Hotel. Because the textile industry of America has for so long been a bulwark in the economy of New England, and particularly in western Massachusetts which I am privileged to represent in this body, we took considerable interest in this meeting.

In a large sense the textile industry we know today was born along the streams and rivers in New England which furnished the early power to run the weaving mills and looms. It grew to become a major industry in America, furnishing the impetus for agricultural fiber production in other parts of the country and for development of a prosperous and efficient consumer retail industry.

Some revealing facts concerning the state of the textile industry and its relationship to our overall economy were brought out in a fine address given by Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor to the Textile Machinery Association meeting on Wednesday. Under unanimous-consent procedures, I include the text of Secretary Connor's remarks at this point in the RECORD.

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE JOHN T. CONNOR, TO THE ANNUAL MEETING, AMERICAN TEXTILE MACHINERY ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 20, 1966

I am very happy to be here today with so many outstanding leaders of American business and American industry. You and your colleagues in the leadership of the Nation's commerce and industry have helped America to achieve national greatness, and today you are helping to maintain that greatness.

In many respects business is very much like mountain climbing. When we scale the heights of economic attainment we find that new and imposing peaks loom before us. We welcome the new challenges. And we have faith in our ability to avoid the crevasses and hazards, charted and uncharted, that await us beyond the next rise.

This metaphor has special meaning to the great industry you represent and are examining today in your annual meeting.

Having climbed a path of notable industrial accomplishment, you are gathered to look jointly at the problems and promise that lie ahead, not only for textiles but our economy as a whole.

These years of the sixties have been years of achievement for the American economy and the dynamic industries that power it. We are in the sixth year of unbroken economic expansion and rising employment. Today we have an economy characterized, in President Johnson's words, by unprecedented "riches and rewards" for business, labor, farmers, and stockholders.

New high levels in production, employment, profits, personal income, capital investment, foreign trade and other areas tell a story of growth and prosperity the like of which the world has never seen.

From our pinnacle of economic achievement, however, we see a whole range of problems that test the flexibility and resilience of our system, and the ability and the responsibility of our business and labor leaders.

We see the inflationary pressures that always accompany prosperity and require us to exercise restraints at the proper time.

You textile machinery manufacturers—one of the most progressive elements in America business—have just cause to be proud of your industry.

Not only do you lead the world in the quantity of textile machinery produced, but you are also number one in invention, innovation, and introduction of new methods and equipment. You have helped textile manufacturers achieve remarkable progress in productivity. New machinery has brought increased production, lower costs, higher quality and a broader variety of materials.

The shuttleless loom—your automated so-called "fiber-to-sliver" systems—automatic accessory machinery for fabric control—machines to process new textured yarns from man-made fiber—these and other technological achievements of recent years have marked real advances in the manufacture of textiles.

Your outstanding research and development programs have made it possible for large segments of the U.S. textile industry to achieve a high level of modernization very rapidly through their wise investments.

Modernization has been a primary factor in the great surge forward by the textile industry in the past few years. This surge has brought broad benefits to the textile industry and its labor force. Efficiency of operation has, at the same time, enabled textile prices to remain at reasonable, competitive levels.

And we hope that it has placed the textile industry in position to move ahead with a dynamic export-expansion program.

Exporting is another area in which the textile machinery industry excels. Your export total of close to $140 million in 1965 was an increase of almost 65 percent over the past decade.

Your large export surplus each year is an important entry on the plus side of the balance-of-payments ledger. The surplus in 1965 came to some $70 million.

Today you textile machinery manufacturers are in the strongest position in your history. Never has the demand for your skills and your products been so great, and never has the U.S. textile industry been in a better position to finance new and improved equipment. Nor has there ever been greater demand for your products abroad.

You are, in short, major contributors and participants in the historic expansion and prosperity that the President has described as "the American economic miracle."

And you share fully, as well, in the management challenges and opportunities before us. You are the men who must help America match its mountains of challenge and opportunity—in your own interests and in the broad interests of the Nation.

Inflation, of course, is the most immediate economic challenge that we face today. The vicious circle of inflation would hurt everybody—business and labor, the farmer and the consumer—just as the beneficent circle of prosperity has helped all Americans.

Hurt most deeply would be those of our citizens who are least equipped to ride out economic stormy weather. And hit hardest would be the problem areas in the economy where we have patiently labored for improvement.

Inflation would sap our economic health and darken the dreams nurtured by 5 years and more of record prosperity.

With wages and prices spiraling, you and other exporters would be hard pressed to maintain a competitive position in the international market. The balance of payments would suffer severely. Our international and domestic economic problems would feed on each other just as our international and domestic achievements have mutually nourished our tremendous economic growth.

There is no single, simple solution to the potential problems of inflation. There is, however, a broad approach that is the key to success. Government-industry-labor partnership have earned prosperity. And government-industry-labor can maintain it.

Under current conditions, this must be a partnership of economic restraint and of across-the-board economic balance—a partnership of sound fiscal and monetary policies and of cooperation and understanding and commonsense.

Our policies and our decisions and our judgment within this partnership must be trained on two objectives. The first is prevention of spiraling inflation. The second is support of a continued broad level of balanced economic expansion.

Considerable precision of economic judgment is required to achieve both these ends simultaneously. But both must be attained—and both will be attained.

Our national commitment to the defense of freedom in Vietnam places a special responsibility on everyone charged with making the Nation's economic decisions—on leaders of the private sector no less than on officials in the public sector.

The fact that men are fighting and dying in Vietnam elevates the responsibility that we share for restraint and balance—and for mutual good will and cooperation—to the level of a national moral obligation.

And it is especially incumbent on those of us who have been particular proponents, participants, and beneficiaries in expansion and prosperity to act wisely and responsibly in crucial economic areas that include wages and prices, plant and equipment expenditures, and new construction.

Response to the President's appeals for balanced, considered restraint in these areas has thus far been extremely gratifying.

No less could be expected of American businessmen. Business, in all times and all seasons of our national life, has consistently delivered the goods that America has required, in peace as well as in war.

Contributions by business and the banking community to the President's voluntary balance-of-payments program over the past 15 months have been an especially meaningful example in another area of continued economic challenge.

This should be a source of great pride and satisfaction to you and your fellow leaders of American business, as it is to me. Business is acting with wisdom and determination—and accepting real sacrifices—in this balance-of-payments area.

I know that sound and sophisticated judgments by the Nation's industries, within the framework of government-business-labor partnership, will help also to win the battle against inflation.

The partnership for progress works in other ways as well.

You in this knowledgeable group are well aware of the factors that have combined to bring the Nation from the low point of recession in early 1961 to the high level of continuing prosperity we know today. I do not propose to review these factors in detail. Suffice to say that Government policies have helped to establish a sound operating environment for you and your fellow activists in private enterprise. And the Nation's business and industrial communities have moved forward to unsurpassed levels across the economic scoreboard.

Policies undertaken in the past 5 years, under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, have been critically important to the textile industry. You know how vital the long-term cotton textile arrangement, one-price cotton legislation, and tax and depreciation measures have been for your client textile manufacturers and yourselves, and the further promise that international action holds in the areas of wool and manmade fiber textiles.

Coupled with technological advances in which you have played a central role with the textile makers, these measures have helped American textiles move ahead after a serious and broad decline. Government policy encouraged the technological progress that you have achieved, and increasing prosperity encourages still further balanced expansion and advancement to serve growing markets in the United States and abroad.

As I told the American Textile Manufacturers' Institute recently, it is a firm Government commitment to continue to pursue policies—internationally and domestically—that support further textile progress. And this commitment clearly extends to your essential segment of the textile community.

Of particular interest to textile machinery manufacturers and other heavily export-oriented industries is the area of export credit facilities. With the vast expansion of export opportunities in recent years, this has been a subject of broad interest both to Government and industry.

Increased flexibility and broader coverage for sales of American goods and services abroad have been provided by the Export-Import Bank and the Foreign Credit Insurance Association in the past few years, and forward movement in this area is a continuing process in keeping with the demands and potentialities of export expansion.

The Department of Commerce, along with other Government agencies, has been particularly interested in this subject. As many of you know, our National Export Expansion Council, under the distinguished leadership of Carl A. Gerstacker of the Dow Chemical Co., has been looking at this matter. There may, of course, be room for various views on specifics in this field. But there appears to be full agreement in Government and business that a sound program of support for exporters is a fundamental part of export expansion.

The views of the export community are essential inputs for long-term national consideration in this area. I recommend that you as an industry weigh every factor, and make your attitudes known as appropriate.

To some, it may appear anomalous to promote textile machinery exports on the one hand, while on the other hand conducting a program to contain textile imports and promote textile exports. However, this approach does not take full account of the realities of the world marketplace, nor of the important contributions that dollar sales of textile machinery make to the balance of payments.

There is large and growing demand for textile machinery in many parts of the world. Although it is the leading producer of textile machinery, the United States is not the leading international supplier. According to the most recent figures, the United States produces more than 40 percent of the total output of nations in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, but ranks third in exports with about 15 percent of the market. At the same time, imports of textile machinery into this country have increased more than fivefold in the past 10 years.

So there is decided room for expansion in the export of textile machines. At the same time, although inequities and disorderly growth of international textile competition are matters of serious continuing concern, neither the long-term arrangement nor contemplated future international agreements aim at stifling competition. Nor, even in their absence, would action by the United States alone have this aim.

Rather, our objective is to maintain orderly competition that provides equitable trade opportunities for all in a growing international market for textiles and textile machinery.

America and her strong, forward-looking industries will conquer the imposing challenges before us today and tomorrow—not simply because they are there, but because we must to assure the continued growth and prosperity and well-being of this great Nation.

Vice President Humphrey Speaks to Cadets at U.S. Air Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. EVANS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 21, 1966

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, April 15, I heard Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY give a challenging speech to the cadets at the U.S. Air Force Academy, which is located in my congressional district.

His speech dealt with the changing world of today, and of tomorrow, and is one that I commend to the attention of my colleagues.

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY, AT THE AIR FORCE ACADEMY, COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., APRIL 15, 1966

Although only the Air Force is represented here today, I must, in my position, attempt to avoid partiality. In this regard, I am reminded of the remark of Gen. Marlin Craig, Army Chief of Staff in the 1930's to President Franklin D. Roosevelt:

"Sir, I don't mind when you speak of the Army as 'them,' but I find it disturbing that you always refer to the Navy as 'us.'"

It was 70 years ago this May that Samuel Pierpont Langley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute launched his 16-foot, steam-powered model airplane off the Potomac River and flew a half a mile in the incredible time of 90 seconds.

Langley's plane was a model. It did not carry a man. We had to wait until 1903 and Kitty Hawk for that.

But it all began 70 years ago.

Seventy years—in the larger scheme of history—is not a very long time.

But though those 70 years are but the average length of a full American life, they reach back into an incredibly distant world—a world that has receded from us by a quantum of change that no other period in the vast sweep of human history can surpass.

One measure of that change is flight itself. I flew here this morning from Washington—nonstop—in 3 hours and 20 minutes.

Had I made the flight from Washington to Colorado Springs in Langley's plane, it would have required 127 days—and we would have had to make 2,987 fuel stops along the way.

I think you will admit that even for a well-traveled Vice President that would have constituted the ultimate in whistle-stopping.

The world of 1896—the world in which powered flight began—was not entirely a peaceful world, nor a completely comfortable one. There were crises, and there were confrontations.

But the problems of national security then were small compared to those today.

You have lived most of your lives in a world in which national security was equated with the relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States.

As recently as 2½ years ago, the attention of the world focused on the direct nuclear confrontation between Washington and Moscow over Cuba. Only a few months earlier, American and Russian tanks had stood face-to-face in Berlin.

Today the nuclear confrontation of the superpowers has given way to less obvious, but not less important, confrontations stretching from Vietnam to Santo Domingo, from Laos to the Congo.

We have moved from a period of dangerously-abnormal simplicity into a period of more-normal diversity.

But the conflicts we face—the challenges we confront—are no less important for our national security.

The strong Western nations face "wars of national liberation," international subversion, border conflicts, and internal rebellions without the unifying cement of fear which bound us into an effective cohesive alliance—from the days of the Greek-Turkish crisis of 1947 to the missile crisis of October 1962.

Since then we have witnessed conventional warfare in the Himalayan Mountains between China and India.

We have seen a surge of subversion in Latin America through guerrilla training and launching, sabotage and infiltration.

We have painfully observed the systematic campaign of terror and military aggression launched by Communist forces against the Government of South Vietnam.

These situations are a peril to both the peace of the world and the security of unstable nations. They carry with them the possibilities of great power intervention and of rapid escalation.

Our national security is no longer primarily a question of holding back Soviet-directed imperialism across national boundaries.

It is a matter of meeting another—and still expansionist communism—in southeast Asia.

It is, most important of all, a matter of helping the small, weak nations of the world strengthen themselves—economically, politically, socially—so that they can withstand a thousand varied assaults on their national integrities.

It is a matter of helping these nations, in many cases, build stable and democratic institutions from the ground up.

It is a matter, too, of helping mobilize our Western partners to the effort.

This is the world you will enter: A world in which "duty" may mean manning a Minuteman site—or working in shirtsleeves with illiterate peasants in a country which came into being after you were born.

You will be challenged not only by problems of aerodynamics, but also by problems of containing and transforming the wellsprings of war itself into stable societies—societies at once strong enough to defend themselves against outside aggression; and healthy enough to throw off the internal infection of insurgency.

We can, I think, agree with Mao Tse-tung that the next great series of conflicts which threaten our national security are most likely to erupt across the arching span of Asia, Africa, and Latin America—in the restless new world of developing nations.

Not only in Vietnam, but in all the predictable insurgencies of the future, the American military man must know how to inject the antibodies of social reconstruction into the diseased and Communist-infected bloodstream of a disabled nation.

Tomorrow you will have to deal with an incredibly complex technology—a technology so galloping that even now the new scientific information published worldwide each single day would be enough to fill 7 complete 24-volume sets of the Encyclopedia Britannica.

You will have to be more than an expert technician. You will have to be not only a competent natural scientist, but a competent social scientist as well.

That is why, in leafing through our Academy catalog, I am so encouraged to find not only courses such as "Matrix Vector Analysis," "Orthogonal Expansions and Analytic Probability," and "Astrodynamics"; but courses as well in "Western World Literature," "Great Issues in American History," "Economic Problems of Developing Areas," "Political Parties and the Democratic Process," "Labor-Management Relations," and "Philosophical Analysis."

It is precisely this carefully balanced mixture of science and the arts, technology and the humanities that makes your curriculum so strong—and that is so well calculated to prepare you for the un-simple world ahead.

I know there are some older officers—though only a minority—who believe that the younger officers of today should spend less time in the classroom, and more time in the cockpit.

I don't doubt that you yourselves, on occasion, would trade the quiet grey of the study hall for a little more of the wild blue yonder.

But if you are really going to tame that wild blue yonder—and today it is a lot more yonder than yesterday—you will need every ounce of academic excellence you can acquire.

It is not a case of classroom versus cockpit. It is much more a case of excellence versus mediocrity.

So I urge you to take every possible advantage of the magnificent opportunities that lie ahead for you in an Air Force career.

Some 85 percent of those who have graduated from this Academy have elected to remain in that career.

It is a career that will help preserve—and help build—in the broadest sense our national security, and the security of freedom in a volatile world.

I wish you well in it.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, APRIL 25, 1966

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Dr. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. Therefore will we not fear.—Psalm 46: 1.

O God, our Father, who art the refuge and strength of Thy people in every age and our refuge and our strength in this present hour, we pause in Thy presence to offer unto Thee once again the devotion of our hearts. Amid all the changes of this life, help us to rest our spirits upon those eternal foundations of truth and love which Thou hast laid for us. Save us from restlessness, from confusion, and from perpetual movement. Draw us unto Thyself that for this moment we may be still and know that Thou art God. With the assurance of Thy Spirit may we accept the responsibilities of This day and fulfill all our obligations with fidelity and honor. Into Thy loving arms we commit ourselves and our Nation—praying that together we may be one in Thee: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, April 21, 1966, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 1903. An act for the relief of Mrs. Sadie Y. Simmons and James R. Simmons.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills and a joint resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 696. An act for the relief of Sheung Wan Ng;

S. 776. An act for the relief of Eileen Iris Punnett;

S. 1187. An act for the relief of Victor Abadi;

S. 1663. An act for the relief of Maria Kryjanovskaja;

S. 2063. An act for the relief of Sixto M. Pagaran;

S. 2106. An act for the relief of Dr. Jose Joaquin Diaz Franquiz;

S. 2107. An act for the relief of Andrew Loriz;

S. 2109. An act for the relief of Dr. Olibio S. Rodriguez-Eiras;

S. 2163. An act for the relief of Seaman Eugene Sidney Markovitz, U.S. Navy;

S. 2164. An act for the relief of Jose E. de la Torriente;

S. 2348. An act for the relief of Dr. Jorge G. Echenique;

S. 2376. An act for the relief of Dr. Mario Presman;

S. 2377. An act for the relief of Dr. Cesar A. Mena;

S. 2446. An act for the relief of Carlos J. Arboleya;

S. 2447. An act for the relief of Dr. Arturo Victor Fajardo-Carpio;

S. 2450. An act for the relief of Elsian Thomas;

S. 2451. An act for the relief of Margaret Lee Weil;

S. 2457. An act for the relief of Jorge Ajbuszyc Volsky;

S. 2497. An act for the relief of Dr. Guillermo Anido y Fraguio;

S. 2519. An act for the relief of Sister Mary Cecilia (Leonie Esquivel);

S. 2555. An act for the relief of Kim Kin Soon;

S. 2626. An act for the relief of Dr. Argyrios A. Tsifutis;

S. 2738. An act for the relief of Dr. Ezzat N. Asaad;

S. 2739. An act for the relief of Dr. Blanche L. Asaad;

S. 2750. An act for the relief of You I Souk;

S. 2789. An act for the relief of Dr. Alberto Oteiza; and

S.J. Res. 130. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the week of May 8 to May 14, 1966, as "National School Safety Patrol Week."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House numbered 1 and 3 to Senate Joint Resolution 18 entitled "Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the fourth week in April of each year as 'Youth Temperance Education Week'."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to House amendment No. 2, with an amendment, and to the House amendment to the title, with an amendment, in which concurrence of the House is requested.

SIAMIS AGAINST CHIZZO

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives, which was read:

OFFICE OF THE CLERK,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., April 21, 1966.

The Honorable SPEAKER,
House of Representatives.

SIR: From the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, the Chief of the Office of Finance of the House of Representatives has received a subpena duces tecum, directed to him as such officer to appear before said court as a witness in the case of *Sophie Siamis* v. *Mary Chizzo, et al.*, and to bring with him certain and sundry papers therein described in the files of the House of Representatives.

The rules and practices of the House of Representatives indicate that no official of the House may, either voluntarily or in obedience to a subpena duces tecum, produce such papers without the consent of the House being first obtained. It is further indicated that he may not supply copies of certain of the documents and papers requested without such consent.

The subpena in question is herewith attached, and the matter is presented for such action as the House in its wisdom may see fit to take.

Respectfully yours,
RALPH R. ROBERTS,
Clerk, U.S. House of Representatives.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the subpena.

The Clerk read as follows:

CIVIL SUBPENA BY THE U.S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Sophie Siamis, plaintiff, v. *Mary Chizzo, et al., defendant;* civil action No. 1471–63.

To: H. Newlin Megill, Office of the Clerk, Disbursing Office, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

You are hereby commanded to appear in (this court) to give testimony in the above-entitled cause on the 25th day of April 1966, at 10 a.m. (and bring with you) all payroll records for Sophie Siamis from January 1, 1965, through December 1965, and do not depart without leave.

Please await telephone call.

ROBERT M. STEARNS,
Clerk.

CLARA F. HARRIS,
Deputy Clerk.

APRIL 12, 1966.

Joseph D. Bulman, attorney for plaintiff, DI 7–0158.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 825

Whereas in the case of Sophie Siamis against Mary Chizzo, et al., (civil action No. 1471–63), pending in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, a subpena duces tecum was issued by the said court and addressed to H. Newlin Megill, Office of the Clerk, Disbursing Office, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., directing him to appear as a witness before said court on the 25th day of April 1966, at 10:00 a.m., and to bring with him certain and sundry papers in the possession and under the control of the House of Representatives: Therefore be it

Resolved, That by the privileges of this House on evidence of a documentary character under the control and in the possession of the House of Representatives can, by the mandate of process of the ordinary courts of justice, be taken from such control or possession but by its permission; be it further

Resolved, That when it appears by the order of the court or of the judge thereof, or of any legal officer charged with the administration of the orders of such court or judge, that documentary evidence in the possession and under the control of the House is needful for use in any court of justice, or before any judge or such legal officer, for the promotion of justice this House will take such action thereon as will promote the ends of justice consistently with the privileges and rights of this House; be it further

Resolved, That H. Newlin Megill, Administrative Assistant for Budget and Finance, Office of the Clerk, House of Representatives, be authorized to appear at the place and before the court named in the subpena duces tecum before mentioned, but shall not take with him any papers or documents on file in the office of the Clerk or under his control or in possession or control of the House of Representatives; be it further

Resolved, That when said court determine upon the materality and the relevancy of the papers and documents called for in the subpena duces tecum, then the said court, through any of its officers or agents, have full permission to attend with all proper parties to the proceeding and then always at any place under the orders and control of this House and take copies of any documents or papers and the Clerk is authorized to supply certified copies of such documents or papers in possession or control of said Clerk that the court has found to be material and relevant and which the court or other proper officer thereof shall desire, so as, however, the possession of said documents and papers by the said Clerk shall not be disturbed, or the same shall not be removed from their place of file or custody under the said Clerk; and be it further

Resolved, That as a respectful answer to the subpena a copy of these resolutions be submitted to the said court.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON FLOOD CONTROL OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Flood Control of the House Committee on Public Works be permitted to sit during general debate this week.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

APPROPRIATION CUT IS BETTER THAN INCOME TAX INCREASE

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, many leading businessmen and economists believe that a cut of between $2 and $4 billion in Federal nonmilitary domestic spending would curb the spiral of inflation and thereby halt the alarming increase in the cost of living.

The alternative which is being considered by President Johnson is said to be a 5- to 7-percent increase in Federal income taxes.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly favor the cut in spending and vigorously oppose a tax increase.

Why increase taxes? The taxpayers of this country already have had a substantial decrease in their incomes owing to the recent increase in social security deductions taken out of their pay each week. Also their take home pay will be less from now on due to larger income tax withholding which starts May 1. Then on top of these cuts in net income, there is the reduced buying power of wages due to inflation.

Republicans have been fighting for a 5-percent overall cut in Federal appropriations instead of a tax increase. Our plan would not cut out any project or program. All we would do is allow the President to effect economies or to defer or postpone spending where he can, just so he reduces the total amount of Government nonmilitary spending by 5 percent in the next fiscal year.

Unfortunately, a majority of the Democrats in the House seem determined to resist our Republican plan. They stubbornly support the administration.

This seems unfortunate because the alternative to a tax increase could be quite painless, just a modest reduction in Government nondefense expenditures. In the coming weeks many appropriation bills will be considered. I hope that these bills can be reduced by an overall amount of 5 percent. I am sure such a cut would be far more satisfactory to the American people than a 5-percent increase in their income taxes.

WHAT PRICE POVERTY?

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to ask: What price poverty? The Youth Corps is indeed a pretty costly venture. In fact up to March 15, 1966, it had managed to spend $287,433,953 of the taxpayers' money. Up to March 1 of this year it had turned out exactly 1,061 graduates. Of these, 515 found jobs, 359 entered the armed services, and 187 are in college.

The aims of this program are good, but I wonder about the methods. On the basis of cost per graduate thus far, it could be said that this program has cost the taxpayer $270,908 per graduate. Now we all realize a good measure of this money was spent "tooling up" for the program. Nevertheless, it is also quite apparent that when big government goes into anything, money is no object and "cost of production" figures mean very little. As a matter of fact no private business or industry could afford this kind of a training program. And I am not so sure the American taxpayer can afford it either. Youth must and will be served, but let us make the service sensible, practical, and within reasonable financial bounds.

YOUTH TEMPERANCE EDUCATION WEEK

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the Senate joint resolution (S.J. Res. 18) to provide for the designation of the fourth week in April of each year as "Youth Temperance Education Week," with amendments of the Senate to the amendments of the House, and concur in the Senate amendments to the House amendments.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendments, as follows:

> Strike out the matter proposed to be inserted by amendment numbered 2 of the House engrossed amendments and insert "week beginning April 23, 1967,".
>
> Amend the amendment of the House to the title so as to read: "Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the week beginning April 23, 1967, as 'Youth Temperance Education Week'."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendments to the House amendments were concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DESIGNATION OF WEEK OF MAY 8 TO MAY 14, 1966, AS NATIONAL SCHOOL SAFETY PATROL WEEK

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the Senate joint resolution (S.J. Res. 130) to provide for the designation of the week of May 8 to May 14, 1966, as "National School Safety Patrol Week," and agree to the same.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

S.J. Res. 130

> Whereas more than an estimated forty-nine thousand Americans died in traffic accidents on the Nation's highways during the year 1965 and the prevention of such accidents has become a problem of major concern; and
>
> Whereas the school safety patrols, since their organization on a national scale in the early 1920's, have played an important role

in the reduction of highway accidents involving school-age children; and

Whereas more than nine hundred thousand safety patrol members are now serving forty thousand schools in all fifty States, protecting nineteen million children; and

Whereas the school safety patrols are a cooperative program sponsored jointly by American Automobile Association motor clubs, local schools, and police; and

Whereas more than sixteen million Americans have served as safety patrol members during the more than forty years since the program was established; and

Whereas the traffic death rate of school-age children since 1922 has dropped nearly one-half while the death rate of all other age groups has doubled and the efforts of the school safety patrols have been a contributing factor in this reduction; and

Whereas the lifesaving efforts of the school safety patrols play an increasingly important role in the nationwide campaign to reduce traffic accidents and this program should receive public attention and citizen support; and

Whereas the period of May 8 to May 14, 1966, provides an opportunity for due recognition of the foregoing achievements, accomplishments, and needs: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the week of May 8 to May 14, 1966, is hereby designated as "National School Safety Patrol Week" and the President is requested to issue a proclamation calling upon all people of the United States for the observance of such a week with appropriate proceedings and ceremonies.

The Senate joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KASTENMEIER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I join my colleague from the Judiciary Committee in recommending the immediate consideration of this resolution which designates the week of May 8 to May 14, 1966, as "National School Safety Patrol Week."

We are all aware of the important contribution made by the 900,000 boys and girls who serve faithfully at school crossings throughout the country protecting the lives of some 19 million children. In fact, 66 Members of this body joined me in recognizing the success of the school safety patrol.

While I support the request of my colleague from Colorado to act on the Senate bill, I am sure that the sponsorship of a similar measure here on the House side by nearly 70 Members emphasizes the broad support this proposal has.

Since the inception of the program in Chicago in 1916, over 16 million children have served in the patrols, and I understand that my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANNUNZIO], is a product of this worthy program.

We have now reached the critical point in our dealings with the problems of traffic safety. Important legislation is currently being considered by the Congress, and I hope that this needed legislation will be enacted this year so we can slow down the death rate on our Nation's highways.

In 1965, 49,000 Americans died in traffic accidents. If it were not for programs such as the school safety patrol, the number of deaths would be considerably higher. This is illustrated by the fact that after the school safety patrol program was organized on a national scale by the American Automobile Association, the traffic death rate of schoolchildren dropped nearly one-half, while the death rate of other age groups has doubled. This record alone is ample justification for the enactment of this resolution.

On May 14, 1966, the annual school safety patrol parade will be conducted in Washington, and over 26,000 boys and girls from over half of the States will participate. A proclamation by the President will be an honor well deserved by these young boys and girls.

DAY OF RECOGNITION FOR FIREFIGHTERS

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be discharged from further consideration of the Senate joint resolution (S.J. Res. 86) to authorize the President to proclaim a "Day of Recognition" for firefighters, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

S.J. RES. 86

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President is hereby authorized and requested to issue a proclamation designating May 4 of each year as a "Day of Recognition" of the personal sacrifices and devotion to duty of firefighters in the United States of America in protecting lives and property in their communities; and calling upon the people of the United States to observe such day with appropriate ceremonies.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ROGERS OF COLORADO

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ROGERS of Colorado: On line 4 of the resolution, strike "of each year" and insert in lieu thereof "1966".

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Colorado.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Senate joint resolution, as amended, was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim May 4, 1966, as a 'Day of Recognition' for firefighters."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AMENDING THE ACT PROVIDING FOR PROMOTION OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE RYUKYU ISLANDS

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Rules Committee, I call up House Resolution 820 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 820

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 12617) to amend the Act providing for the economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill, and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Armed Services, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH] and reserve the balance of the time.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 820 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 12617, a bill to amend the act providing for the economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands.

The purpose of H.R. 12617 is to increase from $12 to $25 million the amount authorized to be appropriated in any fiscal year for obligation and expenditure in accordance with programs approved by the President for certain activities within the Ryukyu Islands.

The United States has but one reason for continuing to exercise in the Ryukyus those plenary rights of administration granted by article 3 of the Treaty of Peace with Japan. This reason is the Ryukyu Islands' singular strategic value to the security of the United States and the free world. These islands, centrally located with respect to vital areas of the Far East, provide a major link in our forward defense barrier in the Pacific. Our base on Okinawa is essential. The presence of our military base there provides us the capability to bring our military power to bear rapidly in the event of aggression.

While considerable progress has been made in promoting the economic and social welfare of the Ryukyuan people, and while the political situation is relatively stable, there is serious concern because there continues to exist a strong movement for the early return to our administration to Japan. It is the popular consensus that economic advancement in the Ryukyus lags behind that in Japan.

An interdepartmental task force was established in August 1961 to investigate the extent to which economic and social conditions contributed to the dissatisfaction of the Ryukyuans, and to determine what steps were necessary to improve the position of the United States in the Ryukyus.

A number of actions, stemming from the recommendations of the task force, have now been completed, but by the end of 1964, it became apparent that even with the implementation of all of the task force recommendations which were feasible and practical, there was still a gap in the economic growth rate and in the standards of living as between the Ryukyu Islands and comparable areas of Japan.

Development was directed of an economic development planning system which would bring forth a long-range plan which would have as its priority objectives the attainment of the following U.S. goals:

First. Contribution from the public sector to the maximum possible extent for economic development and the promotion of cultural advancement.

Second. Attainment of levels of public health, educational, and welfare services equal to those obtained in comparable areas of Japan; reaching them to the extent possible by the end of fiscal year 1971.

These goals cannot be reached with the present $12 million level of U.S. contributions.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 820 in order that H.R. 12617 may be considered.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation is highly essential. It is at the request of the President, the military, and the Armed Services Committee.

I know of no objection to the rule, and reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 820 provides for 1 hour of debate, under an open rule, for consideration of H.R. 12617, a bill for the promotion of economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands.

The purpose of the bill is to increase from $12 million to $25 million the amount authorized to be appropriated in any fiscal year for programs approved by the President within the Ryukyu Islands.

Public Law 86–629 set up a basis for U.S. programs on the islands. It provides that all moneys received by the government of the islands from taxes, assessments, fines, and fees shall be available for Government expenditures. Revenues derived by the U.S. civil administration of the islands are deposited in a separate fund available for programs approved by the President; and $12 million was authorized to be appropriated in any fiscal year for such programs.

Our continued interest in the Ryukyu Islands stems from our base on Okinawa. The islands lag behind Japan economically. A task force has recommended a number of steps to improve the U.S. position among the islanders, including raising pay levels of islanders employed by the United States, greater control of the islands by the government of the Ryukyu Islands, and greater cooperation with Japan to improve the well being of the islanders. These suggestions have been followed; the situation has not materially improved.

Further goals have been set: increased contributions to the economic development; and attainment of the levels of health, education, and welfare services equal to the rest of Japan by 1971.

The United States retains administrative control of the islands and will continue to do so as long as our security interests require it. We must make this period as agreeable to the Japanese and the islanders as possible. The 5-year program will cost about $45.8 million over the $12 million a year appropriation currently authorized.

There are no minority views. The Department of Defense and the Bureau of the Budget support the bill.

I know of no opposition to the rule. Frankly, I know of no opposition to the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the remainder of my time and urge the adoption of the rule.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 12617) to amend the act providing for the economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Illinois.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 12617, with Mr. Howard in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Price] will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. O'Konski] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 15 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, the background of this bill and my presentation of it to you is somewhat more lengthy than I might wish. It does not, however, lend itself well to summarization. Since legislation relating to Okinawa and the other Ryukyu Islands has always aroused a certain amount of controversy, a full understanding as is possible of the rationale of this legislation is necessary for arriving at a sound judgment with respect to it. Also, it was back in 1962 that we last dealt with a bill relating to Okinawa, and I feel it highly desirable to refresh your memory with respect to the very special relationship we have to Okinawa.

First I will describe what the bill will do and then I will go into its background.

In essence, the bill would raise from $12 million to $25 million the amount authorized to be appropriated for obligation and expenditure in accordance with the programs approved by the President for—

First. Promoting the economic development of the Ryukyu Islands and improving the welfare of the inhabitants thereof;

Second. Reimbursing the Government of the Ryukyu Islands for services performed for the benefit of and by reason of the presence of the Armed Forces of the United States within the Ryukyu Islands, including but not limited to reimbursement for such services in the fields of public health and safety, in annual amounts which may be paid in advance to the Government of the Ryukyu Islands; and

Third. Emergency purposes related to typhoons or other disasters in the Ryukyu Islands. Preference shall be given to programs in which the Government of the Ryukyu Islands participates by sharing part of the costs of contributing other resources.

I think it is of particular importance to take note of the fact that this bill is virtually identical to a bill which was reported out of the Armed Services Committee in May 1962, and which passed the House that same month. The one difference, which is only one of detail, between that bill and this is that in 1962 the limitation was $6 million and we were trying to raise that to $25 million.

The Senate would not agree to the $25 million and we compromised at $12 million at that time.

Now, some background on Okinawa.

All of the Ryukyu Islands together have a population of 933,000 people. Okinawa, with an area of about 290,000 acres, has a population of 738,000.

It is 970 miles from Tokyo, 920 miles north of Manila, about 1,000 miles from Saigon and 400 miles from the Red Chinese mainland.

Of course, we first took Okinawa by conquest.

Since 1945, the United States has exercised full power over the island, indeed, all of the Ryukyus.

Prior to the war, these islands were an integral part of Japan but after Japan surrendered they were treated as a separate and distinct territory for the purposes of occupation.

Japan was occupied under allied authority; the occupation of Okinawa was solely under American control.

During this period, 1945 to 1952, the occupation was purely a military one.

In 1952, the treaty of peace with Japan was ratified. The treaty provided:

> The United States shall have the right to exercise all and any powers of administration, legislation, and jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants of these islands.

Japan retained what has been called residual sovereignty which means only that we would not turn the Ryukyus over to another country.

At this point a civil administration was introduced to take the place of the military occupation which had preceded it. Even though it was a civil administration it was, and is, in fact headed by a U.S. military officer.

Necessarily during the whole period from 1945, through 1952, and up to 1960, the date of Public Law 86–629 which is the basic act that this bill would amend, it was necessary to carry on governmental functions in Okinawa. These functions, however, were carried out in many instances under the rather broad authority of the Treaty of Peace with Japan.

Appropriations were made by the Congress from time to time, but on occasion they were subjected to points of order. It became evident, therefore, that some basis in law should be provided not only to support the appropriations but to permit the retention and expenditure of revenues which arose in Okinawa itself. And these revenues accrued to both the local government, known as the GRI, or Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and also to the civil administration of our own country.

Actually, Public Law 86–629 did not change anything but gave legislative sanction to a de facto situation.

We should remember that our relationship with Okinawa is unique in our history and our responsibilities are similarly unique. We have absolute control over these islands and, therefore, we have a special obligation to see to it that our administration of the islands is not less than should be expected from the United States. Okinawa has been a propaganda weapon before and will continue to be. We must counter this propaganda which has intensified as American power has grown in Vietnam.

I have mentioned that the basic law sanctioned the retention and expenditure of funds arising in Okinawa. It also placed the original limitation of $6 million—which is now $12 million, as I mentioned—on the amount of money which could be appropriated annually for the Ryukyus.

I think I should note particularly at this point two matters of importance. Both of them were brought up and stressed during our hearings.

First. I think it is important to quote the preamble to the basic law relating to Okinawa. It reads as follows:

> That, in the exercise by the President of the authority over the Ryukyu Islands granted the United States by article 3 of the Treaty of Peace with Japan, every effort shall be made to improve the welfare and well-being of the inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands and to promote their economic and cultural advancement, during such time as the United States continues to retain authority over the Ryukyu Islands.

I have read that in order to place in context this further statement. Perhaps we lacked foresight in imposing the original limitation of $6 million and also I regret our inability to persuade the Senate in 1962 that the limitation should be $25 million because it was clear at that time that the $12 million recommended by the Senate represented nothing more than the proposed appropriation request for that particular year. I mention this only to stress the fact that there never was anything particularly magical about either the $6 million or the $12 million. There is, however, every reason to believe that the $25 million will be an outside limit which will be realistic for very many years to come.

Underlying the whole matter of this legislation are two basic considerations. By the peace treaty we derived the following authority and I quote:

> The right to exercise all or any powers of administration, legislation, and jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants of these islands.

With authority goes responsibility.

Second. We have a tremendous investment in construction and equipment in Okinawa. Everything considered it may equal as much as $1 billion. This legislation represents in a very real sense the premium on an insurance policy that guarantees that we can continue to get full benefit from this immense investment.

Because of the authority that we have over Okinawa we have complete freedom of movement of troops, weapons, equipment, and supplies into and out of the islands without hindrance and without the delay which might otherwise occur in meeting the procedural requirements of a foreign government.

Actually, the Ryukyus serve a threefold purpose in our deployments to meet our security commitments in the Western Pacific. They provide a centrally located logistical base; they provide a close-in staging area and operational base for U.S. forces with missions in the Western Pacific; and they are an important center of military communication and transportation. Moreover, the Ryukyus serve other important purposes, such as providing sites for major Voice of America operations. The value of this base has been demonstrated repeatedly, from the time of the Korean war to the present day. Indeed, today this base is playing an increasingly important role in the support of operations in Vietnam.

During the committee hearing the question was raised as to whether we were being forced—"blackjacked" was the word used—into increasing the amount from $12 to $25 million. It is not an unreasonable question as a matter of fact, but I think the answer is clearly "No." The programs outlined by General Watson, the High Commissioner of the Ryukyu Islands, and by Deputy Under Secretary of the Army Holt indicated a clear need for the programs which would utilize these funds. I will deal in detail with these a little later.

I cannot stress too much the fact that we owe a very special responsibility to the Okinawans. One might say that we beat Japan in the war and the occupancy of Okinawa is a mere consequence of that defeat. This is factually true but it fails to recognize that Okinawa is geographically far separated from Japan. It has, in many ways, its own ancient culture. The Okinawans were never true enemies of the United States. They were the unhappy victims of a war in which they had little or no part or interest.

The eyes of the world, and particularly the eyes of the Communist world, are constantly turned on Okinawa. Every small mistake—and who does not make them—that we have made on Okinawa has been the subject of widespread comment in the Communist press. Indeed, the Communist press has manufactured mistakes which actually were never made. Charges of imperialism have been thrown at the United States and every other device used to cause dissention in Okinawa and to use Okinawa as a focal point for anti-U.S. feeling throughout the world.

From my own background knowledge of Okinawa and from the very fine hearing which was held by the committee, I am convinced that many or all of the difficulties which have been encountered and others which appear imminent can be rectified by enactment of this bill. Today we have stability on Okinawa but it is, as described by one of the witnesses, "an uneasy stability."

Acceptance of the belief that we could continue to operate our numerous military installations on Okinawa—and there are just not one, two, three, or four—there are a great number of them—without the cooperative acquiescence of the local people would require a willing suspension of belief and understanding of the realities of the situation.

This might sound as though the bill constituted a kind of purchase price for friendliness. Nothing could be further from the truth. But it is true that the Okinawans constantly compare themselves to their counterparts—frequently relatives and friends—in Japan and it is true, for example, that teachers in Okinawa are very much more poorly paid than their counterparts in Japan. It is equally true that many of the other benefits which accrue to their counterparts in Japan are either wholly absent or very much less in Okinawa. These are simple facts—facts which we must take cognizance of.

For example, educational facilities and instruction are behind even the poorest in Japan. There is a shortage of doctors, nurses, and interns. There is a need for more hospital facilities, a need for health surveys. And in connection with health surveys, there has been discovered, for example, that there are instances of trachoma up to 80 to 85 percent of the population in some areas.

I think it is of sufficient importance to note some of the outstanding differences between Okinawa and Japan as illustrative of the basis for some dissatisfaction on the part of the Okinawans and the need, therefore, for this bill.

In Japan there is one doctor per 989 people—in Okinawa, per 2,444 people.

In Japan there is one dentist for 2,772 people—in Okinawa, for 9,087 people.

Nurses: One nurse for 439 people in Japan—in Okinawa, for 1,106 people.

Hospital beds: In Japan, 826 per 100,000 population—in Okinawa, 396.

In all areas of this kind, these very great differences are found. And they are meaningful.

At this point I would like to make reference to an important program which, although initiated prior to General Watson's becoming High Commissioner, has been effectively implemented by him since his arrival in Okinawa. I am referring to an organization called the United States-Japan Consultative Committee. Both the United States and Japan have interests in raising the level of public health, education, and welfare in the Ryukyus. The Japanese showed a true spirit of cooperation in furthering the ends of the Consultative Committee with the result that this year Japan will provide $16.1 million for these programs as against our own $17.3 million—that is, we will provide $17.3 million if our bill becomes law.

This year, however, was not the beginning of the Japanese contribution. Japan has contributed to these programs since 1962. Until this year the overall amount contributed was in excess of 50 percent of our own contribution. This coming year, as I have mentioned, Japan will be only about $1 million less than our own planned contribution of $17.3 million.

I will end at this point by very briefly indicating the specific programs which would utilize our proposed $17.3 million by giving a few of the highlights.

Five million dollars would be for teachers' salaries—incidentally, Japan will contribute $5,288,000 for this purpose; school construction, $1,800,000; school equipment and supplies, $1,085,000.

In the area of social welfare, $395,000 for retirement annuity and $165,000 for medical insurance.

In the area of public health, disease control, $450,000, and $500,000 for health and medical facilities and equipment—and here again the Japanese contribution exceeds ours by $222,000.

Other substantial expenditures are $1 million for roads and bridges and $1.4 million for the sewer system.

Let me add only these very important notes: We need Okinawa; we cannot realistically maintain our military position without a reasonably satisfied people; we have, in any event, a special responsibility toward the Okinawans; and, last, this bill is in every essential respect identical to that passed by the House in 1962. And the need today for this legislation is even greater.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PRICE. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Hawaii.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 12617 and to commend the gentleman in the well and his subcommittee for the excellent report on the bill and for favorably reporting the bill.

The stated purpose of this bill is to increase from $12 million to $25 million the amount authorized to be appropriated in any fiscal year to carry out our programs in the Ryukyu Islands.

These programs will provide, over the next 5-year period, for increased economic development and the promotion of cultural advancement of these islands. Increased emphasis will be placed on an added goal during the same period. This is the attainment of levels of public health, education, and welfare services equal to those found in comparable areas in Japan.

It is a matter of our most serious national concern that our responsible officials in the Ryukyus have reported the existence of a strong movement for the early return of our administration to Japan. It seems that this movement has been given added impetus by popular opinion among the Ryukyuans that economic advancement in their islands lags behind that in Japan.

There are a number of compelling reasons why our revitalized programs in the Ryukyu Islands ought to be supported by the increased appropriations that this bill provides. I should like, however, to mention the two that I consider to be of paramount importance.

First of all, these islands have great strategic value to the security of the United States and the free world. As President Kennedy stated on March 19, 1962:

> Our bases in the Ryukyu Islands help us to assure our allies in the great arc from Japan through southeast Asia not only of our willingness but also of our ability to come to their assistance in case of need.

Another reason why the measure on the floor ought to be given our unqualified support is the fact that the Ryukyu Islands have become, in a very real sense, a "showcase of democracy." The plenary rights of administration we exercise in the Ryukyus today were granted by article 3 of the Treaty of Peace with Japan. Our administration of these islands is being watched by the nations of the world as an example of democracy in action. We are under scrutiny and, as our Committee on Armed Services has tersely stated:

> The United States must not be found wanting.

Mr. Chairman, I urge a unanimous vote in favor of the bill on the floor.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PRICE. I am glad to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. McCLORY. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I wish to concur in the position that the gentleman has taken as to the strategic importance of Okinawa. However, it was my impression that it was necessary to terminate our relationship with the Japanese and with Okinawa in a very few number of years.

Mr. PRICE. No time has been set for the termination of that relationship. It depends solely upon decisions made by our own Government. We recognize only that Japan has residual sovereignty.

Mr. McCLORY. Does this relationship come up for renegotiation in the future?

Mr. PRICE. No, it does not. It is entirely in our hands. It is a determination that we expect to be made sometime by our Government, and possibly after some discussion with the Japanese. But there is nothing in the foreseeable future that has anything to do with the termination of this relationship. The gentleman may be referring to the Security Treaty between our country and Japan under which our troops are stationed in that country. That treaty, however, has nothing whatsoever to do with Okinawa or our continued use of the Ryukyus.

Mr. McCLORY. The Japanese are discussing that and advancing that view, are they not?

Mr. PRICE. There are groups in that part of the world that have discussed it, but it is not one of formal negotiation.

Mr. McCLORY. I thank the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, the remarks of the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRICE], who, as we all know, has long maintained an interest in Okinawa and its problems, outlines all of the salient features of this bill. Concededly, our relationship with Okinawa, unique as it is, raises many questions with respect to our assistance to the people of Okinawa. I think Mr. PRICE has given you the answers to all of these questions. However, it is my earnest recommendation that every Member take notice of the fact that the committee report on this bill is very complete. It contains the history of our occupancy of these islands, the growth of its economy, the importance of Okinawa in our defense structure, and a great many other matters of both interest and importance. I commend its reading to you.

It seems a long way from the flight of our Gemini 8 astronauts to consideration of this bill for aid to the Ryukyuan economy, but I could not help but think, when our men were returning from that dangerous flight, how fortunate we were to have our bases in the Ryukyus as a safe haven for their return from the reaches of space.

Ever since we took the Ryukyus in World War II we have been benefiting from their location, first as a staging area for an invasion of the Japanese main islands which, happily, was never required; and then through a series of Far Eastern crises, including the Korean conflict, leading right up to the present struggle in Vietnam. We should not allow ourselves to take for granted our possession of this highly effective and strategically located base.

The Ryukyus are part of an arc of free nations which runs from Japan and Korea in the north, through Taiwan to southeast Asia. Under the treaty of peace with Japan, we exercise full authority over these islands, their territorial waters, and their inhabitants. As a result, we have freedom of movement of troops, weapons, equipment, and supplies into and out of the islands.

The Ryukyus serve a threefold purpose in meeting our security commitments in the western Pacific. They provide a centrally located logistical base; they provide a close-in staging area and operational base for U.S. forces of all three military services with missions in the area; and they are an important center of military communications and transportation. Moreover, the Ryukyus serve other purposes, such as providing sites for major Voice of America operations. In developing these marvelous capabilities, we have invested well over a billion dollars. It would be folly to think that for another billion dollars we could duplicate this base. And the freedom of operations which we enjoy there could not now be purchased at any price.

We have made it clear that so long as the conditions of threat and tension exist in the Far East we shall remain in the Ryukyus. If we are to remain in the Ryukyus indefinitely, we can better justify our continuing presence only by recognizing the very real sacrifices and the valid aspirations of the Ryukyuan people. This recognition should take concrete form by our unremitting efforts to improve the welfare and well-being of these people whose lot is cast with ours. Only by these efforts will we continue to merit the cooperation we have enjoyed in our dealings with them during each of the emergencies of the past 20 years.

Anyone who remembers Okinawa as it was at the end of World War II and who sees it now recognizes how very much we have done to restore and develop the Ryukyuan economy. The city of Naha and other destroyed communities have been rebuilt. The standard of living is now higher than it was before the war.

However, economic progress has not kept pace with similar progress in Japan. This comparison is appropriate because the Ryukyuans are Japanese. Hence, there is a certain amount of dissatisfaction, as the gentleman from Illinois has pointed out, when the Okinawan—I should say, the Ryukyuan—realizes the sometimes great differences between his status and that of his peers in Japan. These differences have been dealt with in detail by Mr. PRICE. They are of very considerable importance.

Our mission in the Ryukyus has changed from the military occupation which was established at the Battle of Okinawa. We have, subsequent to the treaty of peace and under legislation and Presidential directives, undertaken to improve the welfare and well-being of the Ryukyuan people. As a part of this undertaking, we entered into a unique cooperative arrangement with the Ryukyuans and the Japanese for the operation of this base in the interest of all the countries seeking peace, stability, and freedom in the Far East. This arrangement is commented upon in the communique issued after the meeting here in Washington between President Johnson and Prime Minister Sato in January 1965:

> The President and the Prime Minister recognized the importance of U.S. military installations on the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands for the security of the Far East. The Prime Minister expressed the desire that, as soon as feasible, the administrative control over these islands will be restored to Japan and also a deep interest in the expansion of the autonomy of the inhabitants of the Ryukyus and in further promoting their welfare. Appreciating the desire of the Government and people of Japan for the restoration of administration to Japan, the President stated that he looks forward to the day when the security interest of the free world in the Far East will permit the realization of that desire. They confirm that the United States and Japan should continue substantial economic assistance to the Ryukyu Islands in order to advance further the welfare and well-being of the inhabitants of these islands. They expressed their satisfaction with the smooth operation of the cooperative arrangements between the United States and Japan concerning assistance to the Ryukyu Islands. They agreed in principle to broaden the functions of the existing Japan-United States Consultative Committee so as to enable the committee to conduct consultations not only on economic assistance to the Ryukyu Islands, but also on other matters on which the two countries can cooperate in continuing to promote the well-being of the inhabitants of the islands.

Under these arrangements, the Government of Japan will provide $16.1 million in economic assistance to the Ryukyus in 1967. These funds, as well as those provided by the United States under this act, and the revenues of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands will be expended under programs approved by the United States as the sole administering authority.

These expenditures will be part of a comprehensive long-range plan which is the joint product of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands and the U.S. civil administration of the Ryukyu Islands. In authorizing now the full $25 million expected to be required in fiscal year 1971, we are providing the U.S. civil administration with a flexibility in dealing with the other contributors commensurate with its role, on behalf of the United States, as the sole administrative authority on the island.

The bill was reported out of the subcommittee and the full committee unanimously and it is my sincere hope that this unanimity within the committee will be reflected here on the floor of the House.

Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL] who has had a very close and personal interest in this area.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I shall not take long.

I rise in support of the bill, although I am not known as one of the "big spenders," or increasing-budgeteers of the Congress. This is predicated upon our committee's unanimous action, after careful hearings and after repeated visits to these islands as well as to the country with which they were formerly associated, temporarily at least, as a prefecture—or state—of that other nation.

I should like to remind the Members that this is an authorization, not an appropriation. I have great faith in the current High Commissioner. I believe all of this will not be expended for the social, political, economic, and other projects which may be authorized.

It is in that connection I wish to speak, Mr. Chairman. I am thoroughly convinced, after repeated visits there, that we should "fly our flag" more in the Ryukyus than we do. By this I mean, as the former distinguished High Commissioner, Lt. Gen. Paul Carraway, now retired of the Army, so forcefully said on so many occasions—as, indeed, did the conquering general, General Bruckner, before him—this is a matter clearly of military stratagem of treaty rights, and of occupation in the Pacific. We alone have been winners for a free world and yet retain the power to enforce world law, and we must so state in a dynamic fashion. Therefore, I most strongly recommend, as indeed does the distinguished chairman of our subcommittee, who has visited there on so many occasions and has made a personal study of this military base—so strategically, geographically, and geoeconomically placed and important in our military body—that the High Commissioner continue not only to wear the hat of commanding general of the 9th Corps in the Pacific but also that of the Commanding General of the Ryukyuan Command and of the High Commissioner, and that he be selected from those who are militarily grounded. That is most important.

In addition to that, Mr. Chairman, and finally I wish to submit that it is vitally important for us to fly our flag not only in the military respect but also, as emphasized here so well, educationally, economically, and geographically. We must never allow the same thing to happen with this bastion of defense, which has literally replaced the "Pearl of the Orient" or the crossroads of the Pacific, as a great military, strategic and tactical staging base. But we must maintain it also from the point of view of more and more occidental orientation. Toward this end it has been my pleasure to have certain industries visit this area. Also, the Sear's Foundation has considered establishing medical and health care centers, these have all visited and made necessary surveys in this regard. This is the positive approach rather than one of matching dollars with former aggressors. The blood of U.S. men spilled on Okinawa and Iwo Jima, and so forth, was in the interest of the Okinawans themselves and world peace.

It is a most difficult area to administer. The government of the Ryukyus Islands with its elected assembly is doing a good job. I have met many of the members. They have been given maximum latitude. However, until American business picks up the opportunities there in such matters as fertilizer, textiles, and even paint and paper manufacturing and we begin showing our flag to a greater degree than we do, it will simply be a military base. This alone, though, is well worth it. We should by all means enforce it. We have the only force that can be applied by the one power remaining outside of the aggressive Communist world, and as those who are interested in defense we should simply state that we have the power to enforce this and we will do this because it is necessary to allay tensions and difficulties in the far western Pacific.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished, able, and conscientious gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS].

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin for yielding to me.

Mr. Chairman, I do not believe anyone would argue, and certainly I do not argue, that this is not a strategic base for the United States in the Pacific. It may well be the most important base we have in the world. But to increase this authorization from $6 million in 1962 to $25 million now 4 years later, seems to me to be an unwarranted increase in the rate of spending in behalf of the Ryukyuans. I cannot remember how much we gave the Ryukyuans by way of alleged war damages only last September. I wish someone would refresh my memory as to that amount. I do know it was many millions of dollars.

Mr. PRICE. That was a separate bill to which you refer.

Mr. GROSS. I understand it was a separate bill, but it represented a substantial expenditure of American dollars on the Ryukyuans.

Mr. PRICE. You are talking about the war claims bill, I believe, which was a pretreaty bill. It had nothing to do with this particular problem which we are discussing here this afternoon.

Mr. GROSS. Slice it thick or thin. It makes little difference. We went in, and by virtue of a lot of American blood, U.S. troops won those islands in World War II. By virtue of that conquest they are ours to hold and to occupy.

Mr. PRICE. Well, the gentleman is correct in that statement, and we say that in the statement which we make in support of this legislation. Nevertheless we are retaining full jurisdiction and responsibility over the administration of these islands some 20 years after the war, and after we have signed a treaty of peace with Japan.

Mr. GROSS. I do not happen to think that what we do by way of support for the Ryukyuans now is contingent upon what someone thinks the Japanese would do if they still had control of the Ryukyu Islands.

Mr. PRICE. I would say it is more than thinking what the Japanese would do. We know what they are doing. We know they, in fiscal year 1967, are matching us almost dollar for dollar in this particular type of program which is recommended by our own people and the military authorities over there. We do have great responsibilities and we do exercise full jurisdiction. What we are doing over there I would like to think, at least, and I feel most of us do, is in our own self-interest, because this is our principal strategic base in any part of the world, particularly in the far Pacific. We have no other installation like this anywhere in the Pacific area.

Mr. GROSS. What is this $25 million to be used for?

Mr. PRICE. It is to be used for the purpose of supporting the school and educational system, improving the health programs in the area, such as increasing the number of hospital beds, and in overcoming some of the prevalent diseases in the area, although that is not too much of a problem.

There is trachoma in the islands. However, this is primarily provided for carrying on things like teachers' salaries and school and other construction.

Mr. GROSS. In addition to these programs which the gentleman has mentioned, are we engaged in the building of a powerplant or powerplants over there?

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further; no, but we are trying at this time to expand the power facilities over there. There is no particular one under construction now, although there is an urgent need for additional power supplies over there. However, as the report indicates, the Ryukyu Electric Power Co.—REPC—was established by CA Ordinance No. 129, dated September 29, 1954, to acquire and administer the Machinato Electric Powerplant—constructed with GARIOA funds—and other facilities for the generation, transmission, distribution, and sale of electricity.

Through June 30, 1965, the REPC leased its facilities to the Army, which operated the integrated power system on Okinawa. On July 1, 1965, at the suggestion of the Bureau of the Budget, the REPC took over the operation of the system from the Army. It now produces power and wholesales it to the armed services, to a few municipalities and large industrial consumers, and to the five Ryukyuan-owned companies which distribute power to the local economy. In 1965, construction of a steam electric plant of 88-megawatt capacity was comleted at Kin. The plant cost was $15.2 million, of which $10.5 million was provided by an appropriation under Public Law 86-383 for a loan from the Secretary of the Army to the REPC, and $4.7 million was funded by REPC earnings. It is anticipated that additional generation capacity of 240 megawatts will be required in the period 1968-71. Design of additional power facilities has been undertaken and a method is being sought whereby the additional power requirements can be met without resort to a further Treasury loan.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 additional minutes to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. GROSS. Of course.

Mr. PRICE. And, I might say that there is no money in this year's budget for a powerplant. The effort to expand this plant is in the process of trying to be worked out so that private enterprise will build the additional facilities required.

Mr. GROSS. Does the gentleman from Illinois remember how much the Congress appropriated last year for the payment of alleged war damages to the Okinawans?

Mr. PRICE. I do not believe that that bill has been enacted long enough to implement the legislation as set up. However, I believe the authorization—not appropriation—is in the neighborhood of——

Mr. GROSS. Well, does the gentleman know the amount involved?

Mr. PRICE. That legislation did not come from the Committee on Armed Services. However, I understand the authorized amount was about $20 million.

Mr. GROSS. Twenty million dollars last year, and this is to be increased from $12 to $25 million?

Mr. PRICE. This has no connection at all with any war claims.

Mr. GROSS. I understand that. But I am talking about the outflow of the taxpayers' money from the United States to the Okinawans, to the islands which we conquered in World War II at a cost of thousands of American lives. If I remember correctly, there were demonstrations on the part of the Okinawans only last year demanding to go back under Japanese rule unless we came up with additional revenue. Are we being blackmailed in this situation, by any chance?

Mr. PRICE. No; I do not feel that that was in connection with any threat to us in connection with legislation.

Periodically there have been demonstrations for the return to Japan. This has been true almost since the beginning of our occupancy over there. However, I say these demonstrations have been less in numbers since the enactment of the 1960 act. They decreased even more after the enactment of the 1962 act, and they are almost nonexistent at the present time.

There is only a handful of people engaged in those demonstrations now; whereas, around 1960 there were relatively large numbers engaged in those demonstrations.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has again expired.

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Chairman, I shall be glad to yield the gentleman from Iowa 2 additional minutes.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Illinois.

What is our payroll on Okinawa? Does the gentleman from Illinois have any information on that subject? In other words, what do we contribute to the economy of the Okinawans by virtue of the expenditures that we make in the islands?

Mr. PRICE. Everything in connection with the facilities that we operate over there, and the operations which we carry on, amount to in the neighborhood of $196 million.

Mr. GROSS. That is a pretty good annual expenditure or annual payroll.

Mr. PRICE. That is not all payroll. It is also exports of goods and services, capital transactions, and so forth.

Mr. GROSS. Our annual expenditure, let me put it that way.

Mr. PRICE. But the gentleman from Iowa understands that we obtain thousands of civilian employees from the Okinawans in return for that. We obtain goods and services in return for it.

Mr. GROSS. Well, of course, we are contributing heavily to their economy by virtue of our expenditure and employment of natives on those islands.

Mr. PRICE. No one denies that, but I would point out also that if the gentleman examines the situation, even with the amount of money that we have poured into Okinawa, their economy is running behind the economy of other prefectures of Japan. We have a responsibility to render assistance, to these people, and to develop a healthy economy for them, and to help them develop a healthy economy for themselves.

Mr. GROSS. Since 1962 there has been a four times increase in the expenditures for the purposes proposed in this bill. Does the gentleman anticipate that in the next 4 years this is going to be increased by the same amount in other words from $6 million in 1962 to $25 million as proposed in this bill?

Mr. PRICE. No, I do not and I will tell you the reason why I do not. Because this figure of $25 million was suggested at the time the original legislation was being considered and it was programed for an orderly amount of funding for each year. This is not a new figure. It was asked for 6 years ago.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I am not opposed to providing the Ryukyuans a reasonable amount of assistance but I submit that $25 million as proposed in this bill, which is more than twice the $12 million provided last year, and four times the amount given in 1962, is not justified.

Only last year, Congress approved the payment of some $22 million to the Ryukyuans for alleged war damages even though Ryukyuans and Japanese troops took a heavy toll of American military forces when they captured those islands in World War II. Any war damages ought to have been paid by the Japanese and not by the taxpayers of this Nation.

Additionally, the United States spends nearly $200 million a year in support of its bases in the Ryukyus. This provides, among other things, for the employment of several thousand natives. I reiterate that I have heard nothing here today to warrant an increase of more than 100 percent in the authorization of these funds. I cannot support this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from Hawaii [Mrs. MINK] may extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Chairman, I rise to express my support of H.R. 12617, a bill to raise the limit on U.S. economic assistance to the Ryukyu Islands from $12 million to $25 million annually.

The Ryukyus are a chain comprised of approximately 72 islands covering an extent of about 848 square miles between the Pacific Ocean on their west and the China Sea on the east. They lie only 400 miles from mainland China, 970 from Tokyo, 620 from Korea, 920 from Manila, and 600 miles from Quemoy and Matsu. The largest and best known island in the Ryukyus is Okinawa, 454 square miles in extent, with 738,000 inhabitants of the chain's total of 933,000.

Since 1945, the United States has assumed full control of the Ryukyus, which were a part of Japan prior to the war. We have been governing these islands under international law, charged with this responsibility as the occupying power at the termination of hostilities. Our rule there became formalized in 1952 with the signing of the peace treaty with Japan, which gave the United States "the right to exercise all and any powers of administration, legislation, and jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants of these islands."

Japan retains, however, what we called residual sovereignty there, a recognition of the desire of the people of the Ryukyus to be united again with their mother country, as well as an informal guarantee that we will not transfer jurisdiction of the islands to any third party.

Initially, we provided only such basics as food, clothing, and shelter to these war-devastated people. However, after the peace treaty, emphasis returned to the establishment of local government and achievement of a viable economy. The military has been responsible for the conduct of affairs in the Ryukyus, according to the following policy statement from Executive Order No. 10713 of June 5, 1957:

> The Secretary of Defense shall encourage the development of an effective and responsible Ryukyuan Government, based on democratic principles and supported by a sound financial structure, shall make every effort to improve the welfare and well-being of the inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands, and shall continue to promote the economic and cultural advancement of the inhabitants.

In accord with this stated policy, it is our aim to bring the people of the Ryukyus to the level of the living standard in comparable areas of Japan, in anticipation of the islands returning eventually to the jurisdiction of that country. We have initiated measures that have led to progress in public health, education, welfare services, self-government, and economic development in general, but not nearly as rapidly as such advances have been made in Japan.

The economy of the Ryukyus has till now been too dependent on expenditures by the United States military establishment and we have failed so far to create the economic surplus that will be necessary for general cultural progress to the level of Japan.

H.R. 12617 is a recognition of the urgency of increasing economic assistance to the Ryukyus, for our investments there have always lagged far behind actual need. In the 1950's our investment was minimal, making it necessary for Congress to authorize assistance of $6 million annually under Public Law 86-629. This sum was found inadequate for decent social progress in the Ryukyus by a presidential task force in 1961, which recommended radical increases in American aid, and this recommendation led to the passage of Public Law 87-746 which provided an annual appropriation of $12 million. The House of Representatives in that 87th Congress voted for the $25 million level we are considering today, but the Senate cut it back to $12 million, the current level of assistance.

Mr. Chairman, the need for the increased appropriation is more urgent than ever. Our interests in the Ryukyus are both humanitarian and strategic, and while we have established a base of operations that enables us to guarantee the security of much of Asia, I believe we have not fully met our responsibility to rehabilitate these people. Though we have a large investment there already, both military and economic, the Committee on Armed Services has found that a markedly higher tempo of aid will be necessary to meet our commitment to the Ryukyuan people.

For fiscal year 1967 the committee is asking $1,200,000 to reimburse the Government of the Ryukyu Islands for expenses in public health and safety related to the U.S. military presence; $14,070,000 to provide additional and improved educational facilities, teacher's pay, public health and medical programs, public safety measures, social welfare activities, and public works and economic development; $990,000 to train badly needed technicians, to provide Ryukyuan leaders with firsthand experience of American life, and to transport welfare supplies from voluntary aid organizations in the United States to the Islands; and $1,050,000 for guidance, advisory, and technical services in education, management, public health, public works, and government operations.

This would bring the total for fiscal 1967 to $5.3 million over the present authorization; the ceiling of $25 million in H.R. 12617 would not be reached until 1971 after a series of gradual annual increases. Japan, too, has recognized the need for more assistance and has increased its contribution to the Ryukyus from $2.8 million in fiscal 1963 to $7.9 million in fiscal 1966, with an increase expected again next year.

The Department of the Army concurs in the findings of the committee, and has requested the $25 million maximum to give it greater flexibility in negotiating equitable funding arrangements with the governments of Japan and the Ryukyus.

Our actual increased costs would be in the areas of education, health, welfare, and economic development projects, surely a worthwhile and necessary effort to bring these islands into closer relationship to progress in the modern world. In light of our acceptance of the postwar responsibility for rehabilitating the Ryukyu Islands and restoring them to self-government, we should live up to that commitment to the fullest and thereby make it possible to end the dependence of the Ryukyus on the United States as soon as practicable.

I sincerely believe that we must not become used to the idea of the Ryukyu Islands as being purely an American military base, but must work for the social welfare of nearly a million people whose plight was not of their own doing. It is simple justice and in the best traditions of America to restore the people of the Ryukyus to the full dignity of life and full capability for self-government.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 12617

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section

4 of the Act of July 12, 1960, Public Law 86-629, as amended (76 Stat. 742), is amended by striking out the figure "$12,000,000" and inserting the figure "$25,000,000" in place thereof.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. Udall) having assumed the chair, Mr. Howard, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12617) to amend the act providing for the economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands, pursuant to House Resolution 820, he reported the bill back to the House.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

THE LATE HONORABLE LOUIS A. JOHNSON

Mr. **HECHLER.** Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. **HECHLER.** Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the outstanding service to the Nation performed by a great West Virginian, the Honorable Louis A. Johnson, who passed away yesterday.

Louis Johnson was Assistant Secretary of War under President Franklin D. Roosevelt from 1937 to 1940. He was Secretary of Defense in the administration of President Harry S. Truman from March 28, 1949, to September 19, 1950.

West Virginia is proud of Secretary Johnson for his many achievements on behalf of the defense of our Nation. He has always been a tower of strength for the veterans of our Nation. He was one of the founders of the American Legion, and he was national commander of the Legion.

Louis Johnson practiced law in Clarksburg, W. Va., and was a senior member of the firm of Steptoe & Johnson, with offices in Clarksburg and Charleston, W. Va., and Washington, D.C.

I have, along with other Members, introduced H.R. 12077, authorizing the designation of the Veterans' Administration hospital at Clarksburg, W. Va., as the Louis A. Johnson Memorial Veterans Hospital.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that a letter from the Deputy Administrator of the Veterans' Administration on this resolution be incorporated with my remarks, and I would renew my plea that this hospital be renamed or redesignated as a Louis A. Johnson Memorial for veterans hospital.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

The letter referred to follows:

Veterans' Administration, Office of the Administrator of Veterans Affairs,
Washington, D.C. February 25, 1966.

Hon. Olin E. Teague,
Chairman, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Chairman: The following comments are furnished in response to your request for a report by the Veterans' Administration on H.R. 12077, 89th Congress.

The bill provides that the Veterans' Administration hospital at Clarksburg, W. Va., shall be designated as the Louis A. Johnson Memorial Veterans' Hospital.

Louis A. Johnson has had a distinguished career of public service in many capacities. Among other things, he was Secretary of Defense from March 1949 to September 1950 in President Truman's administration. He served as Assistant Secretary of War from 1937 to 1940 and as the President's personal representative to India from March to December 1942. He was active in the formation of the American Legion and a national commander of that organization.

The Veterans' Administration has long followed a policy of naming its hospitals for the city or town in or near which they are located. The policy was adopted after considering suggestions that the hospital be named for prominent doctors, Congressional Medal of Honor winners, and other individuals sought to be honored. It was realized that a fair basis of selection would be difficult, that controversy would result, and persons or organizations whose candidates were not chosen would be disappointed.

Hospitals named by Congress, of course, are not subject to the mentioned administrative policy and two have been so named. They are the Royal C. Johnson Veterans Memorial Hospital and the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Hospital, both of which were named by public laws enacted in 1945.

We are advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to the presentation of this report from the standpoint of the administration's program.

Sincerely,

Cyril F. Brickfield,
Deputy Administrator.

FARLEY ADDRESS ACCLAIMS THE GREATNESS OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON IN TRADITION OF OUR NATION'S GREATEST PRESIDENTS

Mr. **EVINS** of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include an address.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. **EVINS** of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a great speech is a jewel that should be circulated for the broadest possible attention. Such a speech was made recently in Dubuque, Iowa, by the Honorable James A. Farley, the former Postmaster General and a great American.

The excellence and greatness of the speech lie in acute tracing of historical perspective. Entitled "Great American Presidents," the address traces the philosophical descendancy of great Presidents—from Jefferson to, and including Lyndon B. Johnson.

General Farley concludes that President Lyndon B. Johnson as a direct spiritual heir of a number of the great American Presidents is destined to be one of the greatest Presidents in American history.

I ask unanimous consent that a copy of this address which appeared in a recent issue of Vital Speeches of the Day be reprinted in the body of the Record.

The address follows:

GREAT AMERICAN PRESIDENTS—LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD

(By Hon. James A. Farley, chairman of the board, the Coca-Cola Export Corp., delivered on the occasion of the dedication of the new Coca-Cola bottling plant, Dubuque, Iowa, Feburary 3, 1966)

I am not one to contradict Shakespeare but I think I can prove that comparison are not always odious. I take nothing away from President Andrew Jackson when I say that Franklin D. Roosevelt was a great President; and I take nothing away from President Jackson or Franklin D. Roosevelt or Truman when I say President Lyndon B. Johnson has already proven that he is of the same mold.

I am mindful that these Presidents all were Democrats. It is not, however, why I picked them, though I am willing to concede that being Democrats didn't count against them either.

All four Presidents measured their problems with only one yardstick: "What's best for the American people" and, that answered, they immediately activated their decisions. President Jackson urged low interest rates for the common people—so does President Johnson. President Jackson was understanding, as President Johnson is, of the fact that the inflationary fears of the financial market aren't nearly as close to the common people as the deflationary fears of unemployment and farm foreclosure.

When I first came to Iowa, 35 years ago, in the depths of the depression, a farmer couldn't buy a package of cigarettes for a bushel of corn. The farm country was at the point of rebellion. Armed farmers prevented foreclosures; and when the legislature met they sustained the farmers.

Franklin D. Roosevelt wanted neither foreclosures nor rebellion. What he wanted was a New Deal for all and he got it in the form of 100 basic pieces of legislation passed in 100 days—a feat unparalleled in American history until President Johnson's programs were enacted by the 89th Congress. Of those 100 basic acts of Congress, as the late great Speaker Sam Rayburn pointed out, none have been repealed, all have been expanded and all are now part of the platforms of both major parties.

And, of course, the same thing will be true of the Great Society measures which President Johnson is now enacting into law. I predict that in another 35 years from now the Great Society will be flourishing, and further the principal question will not be why it was enacted by President Johnson but why it was delayed until he alone had to accomplish it.

I understand that these are expansive declarations but I am prepared to prove them.

President Lyndon Johnson is the direct spiritual heir of a number of the great American Presidents. The first is President Jefferson. President Johnson has done something more than merely adopt President Jefferson's theory of government. He has elaborated it into the most effective method of party responsibility in the history of our country.

It annoys me, to be frank, to see his consummate skill criticized as that of mere clever manipulation. Actually, it represents a new and fundamental approach.

More particularly, President Jefferson insisted that the party assume full responsibility before the American people. In order to give the American people an honest choice of its policies President Jefferson believed that the congressional leadership and the Chief Executive should be in constant conference before the legislation was offered. President Jefferson himself attended such caucuses and when he could not go he sent Albert Gallatin, his Secretary of the Treasury.

President Johnson has furthered the same system. Had Presidents Jackson, Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt employed the Johnson-Jefferson approach they would have saved the country many a crisis, and would have avoided many headaches for themselves in their wars with Capitol Hill.

Franklin D. Roosevelt did employ this method for his first term. There was complete party responsibility and there was complete cooperation on Capitol Hill.

As President Jefferson employed Albert Gallatin to maintain such liaison, the President delegated that duty to me as Postmaster General and chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Vice President Garner, Senators Joseph T. Robinson, Pat Harrison, and James T. Byrnes, and Congressman Henry Rainey, Joseph Byrne, and Sam Rayburn, certainly as astute as any men who trod Capitol Hill, were prime factors in moving that massive legislation to completion. It was the Jefferson pattern in full and effective sway. Everyone who is familiar with what has happened in the Congress for over 30 years knows full well that President Johnson was a protege of Speaker Sam Rayburn. Every bit of legislative know-how he possessed was made known to the young Congressman, and I think it is fair to say that the pupil has at least equaled the master now.

President Roosevelt was prevailed upon by a certain group to abandon this procedure and the disastrous policy of attacking the Supreme Court was embarked upon, even as the congressional liaison was abandoned. In fact, the Congress was not even consulted before the plan was made public—and neither was I. The result was a paralysis of Government for a full year. President Johnson would never have made this mistake.

Unfortunately, those who did not believe in the Jefferson approach lost more by their bad manners than they could possibly have gained for the country by their good policies.

The New Deal bogged down, not because its aims were less exalted but because its bright young men had no concept of working with the Congress. President Johnson makes no such mistakes. He assumes that election to public office carries a presumption that the officeholder is also a gentleman. His unexampled good manners with the Congress have resulted in unexampled good legislation for the country. The net effect is that the country is more united under President Lyondon B. Johnson than any time since the era of good feeling under President Monroe. But it annoys me, I repeat, to see a great constitutional function initiated by the most effective President in American history with the Congress and have it passed off, or even criticized, as mere political cleverness. So much for that; President Johnson has placed the Government nearer the people and the Congress than any man since Jefferson. If continued, it will result in orderly, democratic government without the paralysis of a continued duel between Capitol Hill and the White House, for generations to come. Therefore, in this alone President Johnson is, in my opinion, the greatest constitutionalist of the American Presidents.

And now let us examine the Great Society. President Jefferson was bitterly criticized for paying $15 million—$15 million, not billion—for all of the territory between New Orleans and Montana. On it now stands dozens of cities where one city block is worth more than that.

Secretary Seward was called a fool for paying some $7½ million for Alaska. The fish catch alone now exceeds the purchase price every single year.

Yet there are those who do not see that President Johnson has discovered a whole new country—1,200 miles long and 250 miles wide, within our own country. I mean Appalachia, and I predict that this Johnsonland will blossom forth with vast new cities on the western slopes of the Alleghenies in the next century as the eastern slopes of the Rockies brought forth their great cities in the last.

There are those who deride but there are those who decide. I can only say that one of the gateways to Appalachia, Atlanta, is leading the country in expansion. Atlanta will be to Appalachia what St. Louis is to the Missouri Valley. Mail volume alone went up an even 25 percent last year.

Private industry has glimpsed the vision of President Johnson—and is translating it into reality. Therefore, I count the opening of Appalachia on a par with Jefferson's Lousiana Purchase. According, what has been sneered at as a poverty program will develop by the year 2000 into one of the country's great assets. And for this, too, history will call President Johnson great.

Now let me again remind you, if I may, of my first visit to Iowa in 1931. Millions and millions of people were out of work. In that terrible hour it is my proud statement that President Franklin D. Roosevelt rescued the country from civil disorder and even rebellion. He saved the farms, the banks, the insurance companies, our industrial empire and he saved the homes of the people. And he did it in the pattern of President Andrew Jackson—and in the pattern now being elaborated by President Johnson. I can state it in one sentence. The Federal Reserve, pursuant to its duty is charged with guarding the currency from inflation; but President Lyndon B. Johnson, by a much higher order of oath, is charged with guarding the American people from the infinitely greater disaster of deflation. I can understand the alarm of a financial community which fears we are expanding too fast. But, again, I can more readily sympathize with a President who is determined that the expanding economy shall not contract at all.

For those who tell you that your share of the national debt is increasing I strongly urge that you ask if your share of the national assets is increasing more rapidly to say nothing of your share of the national income. You will find that the American Republic is so overwhelmingly solvent that any talk of the American dollar being unsound is pure nonsense. As a matter of fact, it is not gold which is holding up the value of the dollar. It is the value of the dollar which is holding up the gold standard. President Johnson is perfectly aware that the American dollar is backed by the greatest production machine, the most skilled labor force, and the most advanced scientific groups in the history of man. To keep this combination in the forefront he has brought every possible assistance at the command of the Presidency.

There are so many facets to the expanding Great Society that it is impossible to even begin to enumerate, much less to treat each one. But, at random, let us consider the case of the aged. When Franklin D. Roosevelt first promulgated social security it started more than a great debate. It started the great abuse. It was declared that the President was undermining the American character. It was further stated that he slandered the ability of the average American to take care of himself in his old age. But we called upon the actual statistics. They proved that 90 percent of all American workers over 60 were dependent upon their relatives for support. When I was a boy, many married children could not support their parents and they had to go to the almshouse, in my home county called the poorhouse.

In the face of the most unfair kind of attacks, I take pride in the fact that under President Franklin D. Roosevelt I helped guide the legislation which not only wiped the almshouse off the map but blasted the undignified word of poorhouse out of the language.

And now, President Johnson has gone far beyond even our hopes of those days. He will pilot through legislation which will put two schools in every place where there used to be a poorhouse and by doing so he will triple the already huge assets of the Nation. And, I am not talking in the abstract. I am talking in the concrete. In the first place, our expansion as a country cannot continue without an expanding school system. In the second place, for every dollar invested in the education of the young $25 will be returned to the young citizen in increased earnings. The taxes he will pay as an educated man will return at least 110 percent to the Government itself as an investment.

So the issue of whether or not we can afford the Great Society is not only spurious but idiotic. The fact is that we cannot afford not to follow the President forward. In 1933, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt brought the country out of a depression because he banked on the great character of the American people in the past. President Johnson, in these happier times, is leading the American people to new heights by banking on that same American character in the future. To him will come one of the greatest satisfactions known to man. Thomas Jefferson thought so much of his contribution in this field that he omitted mentioning that he was President of the United States, but mentioned that he was founder of the University of Virginia in his will. President Johnson's Great Society has as its cornerstone the founding of a great many schools and colleges to give every American child a chance to develop his talent. Once a political party in this country could stand for election on a platform merely of a full dinner pail. Then it advanced to a chicken in every pot. Then a car in every garage.

Now President Johnson has abandoned this material approach. He stands on a platform of an education for every child and the necessary books and schools and scholarships to develop its talents. In my opinion, as Thomas Jefferson wrote the Bill of Rights for all American men and women President Lyndon B. Johnson has written a bill of rights for every American child. And for this alone he will go down as one of the greatest of Presidents. Thus, Thomas Jefferson's greatest monument, in his own opinion, was his name on the cornerstone of the University of Virginia. Hence, President Johnson's greatest monument will be his name in the hundreds of schools and colleges and universities he is already founding.

I am proud of the fact that I knew him when he was a yearling—when only the eyes of Texas were upon him. But I have seen him grow until the eyes of the Nation were upon him as majority leader—and no man was more wholeheartedly dedicated to the Nation than Democratic Majority Leader Johnson when he supported Republican President Eisenhower during the Berlin crisis. Ex-President Eisenhower could testify to that. I urge that President Lyndon B. Johnson is entitled to the same support as President that he gave as majority leader.

For some time there has been much controversy pro and con on the situation in Vietnam. The President has no real option in Vietnam. The real option rests with the Communists, for they are the aggressors and have been since 1945. For a month now, the President has sought some sort of an accommodation by which killing would stop. Since the Reds have not responded it must be assumed that they wish to continue the war.

But Vietnam is not an isolated spot. It is merely the one on which the Commmunists are exerting full pressure at this time. As Al Smith said, "Let's look at the record."

The Communists first succeeded in getting a coalition government in China. They were then given the Japanese war arsenal in Manchuria. With the superior arms they threw out the Nationalists.

When Moscow put Berlin under pressure, Red China seized Korea. When we forced them back to the 38th parallel and they saw they were going to be defeated, only then and then only did they seek an armistice. They prolonged this for months and months—while they moved their forces down to the south. Then they demanded Quemoy and Matsu. When they found we would not yield they conquered Tibet and, incidentally, put thousands and thousands of innocent people to death.

When that was accomplished, they put pressure on Vietnam and threw out the French. When an agreement was reached in 1954, on Vietnam, they at once transferred pressure to Laos. They succeeded in getting a coalition government in Laos, and threw that country into chaos. Now they are using Laos as part of their line of supply to South Vietnam.

Obviously, if we vacated South Vietnam they would continue the pressure throughout southeast Asia.

Thus, President Johnson did not adopt a war policy. He had war thrust upon him. Our position in South Vietnam is not like a Normandy beachhead. It is more like a Dunquerque. The President is in the same position as Winston Churchill in 1940. He is a receiver in bankruptcy of the policy of appeasement. Appeasement has brought our affairs in Asia to this sad state. Continued appeasement will not only lose Vietnam, it will lose us our Asiatic allies and greatly impair our Atlantic alliance.

The President, like Churchill, can only offer us blood, sweat, and tears; but if we attempt to run away the pressure will increase every time. The fact is that had the policy of the President been adopted in 1946, instead of 1966, there would be peace in the Pacific right now.

Much has been said, and rightly, of the necessity of the United States honoring its commitment to its allies. I go one step further. Thirty-one thousand Americans died and one hundred thousand were wounded in Korea. We would shame ourselves and belie their sacrifice if we gave away in the jungles of Vietnam what they died for in the snows of Korea.

The great tragedy is that the Communists always mistake humanity for weakness. The strong effort the President has been making for peace has been derided by them as his fear of American public opinion. Nothing could be further from the truth. He has done all that he could and the American public knows it. Accordingly, when hostilities resume on a full scale every American will know without being told exactly what President Roosevelt reported to the Nation on Pearl Harbor Day: "They asked for it."

I am sure the American people approve the position taken by President Johnson in his statement to the Nation on Monday of the resumption of all activities in North Vietnam. The reason for his course of action was explained in greater detail by Secretary of State Dean Rusk immediately afterward at a press conference. This should settle any prolonged debate and we should back the President to a man in the position he has taken which in his judgment is the best interests of our country and the free world as well.

As President of the United States the eyes of not only the Nation but of the world are on Lyndon B. Johnson. And if the Biblical phrase "By their fruits ye know them" continues to be as true in the future as it has been in the past the future generations of our country will as gratefully remember President Lyndon Baines Johnson as they now revere the names Thomas Jefferson, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Harry S. Truman. I think a man has seen much if he once sees greatness in his lifetime. I congratulate myself that I have seen it four times—in Presidents Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Truman. And, make no mistake, Lyndon Baines Johnson is destined to be one of the greatest Presidents in American history.

"SHOCKING MISMANAGEMENT" OR "CREDIBILITY GAP"

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished minority leader of the House has referred to Secretary McNamara's "shocking mismanagement" of our Defense Establishment, and the use of the word "shocking" has been somewhat controversial.

I do not think we need to belabor the semantics involved, but surely there can be no question about the mismanagement. Anyone who reads the newspapers, or who reads the letter I have from the Department of Defense concerning reacquisition of bombs and ammunition, or who reads the recent report of the House Armed Services Committee on the cutback in military construction, or who reads today's Armed Service Committee report on the proposed reduction in our manned bomber forces, can only conclude that either gremlins are at work in the Pentagon, or that the House minority leader has been much too kind in his choice of adjectives.

The manned bomber report says, in part:

> The long-term effect of a decision to wipe out a major weapons system is, therefore, so far reaching in its implications and its impact on the destiny of this and future generations of Americans that the subcommittee believes the entire decisionmaking process, with respect to matters of this magnitude, must be overhauled.

In referring to the committee's inability to secure important information from the Secretary, the committee says in its report:

> Although this is not by any means the first instance in which it would appear that the interrogator and the responder appeared to be speaking different languages, it perhaps does represent a truly masterly demonstration of language to conceal fact, and possibly thought.

So, it is not merely the House minority leader who finds shocking mismanagement, but the House Committee on Armed Services, and to the word "shocking" must be added "evasive" and "deceptive."

On March 31, the Assistant Secretary of Defense advised me of then current plans to reacquire from the Federal Republic of West Germany, vast amounts of small arms ammunition, bombs, artillery shells, radios and small arms.

When this information was made public, hours after Secretary McNamara used the word "baloney" to describe his critics, the Department of Defense made the sharpest about face in Pentagon history. Press Secretary Sylvester began changing Defense policy with every news story. He is quoted as saying that there are no longer any plans to reacquire the bombs, shells, or other items. He did not say when this decision took place, presumably because it might have been most embarrassing for him to reply about "10 seconds ago."

To this instant, Mr. Speaker, I have had no word from the Defense Department to indicate anything different from what Assistant Secretary McNaughton told me on March 31.

Is it not logical to assume that any shortages of the magnitude indicated on March 31 could hardly have been wiped out? If the shortage still exists, from what stocks are they to be compensated for, that did not exist on March 31?

Mr. Speaker, I submit that Defense procurement is much too important to national security to be changed with each passing news development. The fact is that, after talking too much, the Defense Department is now taking the opposite tack and saying nothing, though I am sure that trend will not last long.

Surely, the manned bomber report, the military construction report, the ammunition reacquisition, and joint committee hearings on the naval nuclear propulsion program, along with many other incidents such as the TFX fiasco, compel further investigation by the Congress.

McNAMARA SHOULD BE OUSTED

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include certain pertinent material.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, a House Armed Services subcommittee has issued a report calling for the overruling of Secretary of Defense McNamara in his decision to scrap the B-58 supersonic bomber, and taking sharp issue with other McNamara decisions.

The fact that McNamara continues his highhanded action in overruling the recommendations of the military chiefs is further proof of the charges by Representative GERALD FORD, House minority leader, of mismanagement of the Department of Defense.

It is a continuation of the unbelievable award by McNamara of the TFX contract to a Fort Worth, Tex., firm—a contract that has produced an inferior aircraft for the military at an excessive cost of nearly half a billion dollars.

It is becoming more apparent with each passing day that Robert Strange McNamara ought to be ousted and a Secretary of Defense installed who could unify efforts in the Military Establishment instead of promoting disunity through dictatorial tactics and operations.

Following is the news story in the Washington Post with respect to the subcommittee report:

(By John G. Norris)

Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara stands virtually alone at the Pentagon in his opposition to manned bombers and should be overruled on his decision to scrap the B-58 supersonic bomber, a House Armed Services subcommittee reported yesterday.

The subcommittee, headed by Representative F. EDWARD HÉBERT, Democrat, of Louisiana, issued a caustic and strong report that lashed out not only at the Secretary of Defense but at the entire decisionmaking system of the Defense Department.

In a direct attack on judgment exercised at the Pentagon, the subcommittee recommended that "the National Security Act be amended to require the advice of Congress before the executive branch eliminates any major weapons system."

Backed by censored Pentagon testimony, the lengthy report contained these highlights:

The subcommittee was "shocked" to discover that McNamara's decision to scrap the Air Force supersonic B-58 bomber fleet by 1971, was neither "recommended nor truly supported" by any Air Force, civilian or military chiefs, and was opposed by most.

All Pentagon witnesses, except McNamara, questioned during a closed-door investigation of the bomber cutback plans held in late January and early February, favored development of a new replacement of the B-52 as necessary to supplement the Nation's long-range missile force.

All witnesses, except McNamara, also testified that the FB-111 fighter-bomber, a slightly modified version of the TFX, was suitable only as an interim replacement for the earlier and lighter B-52 C through F models, and was not a true strategic bomber capable of replacing the later, long-range B-52G's and B-52H's.

Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, retired Air Force Chief of Staff, said the United States is "below the minimum safe level" of strategic bomber strength for a nuclear war, and "far short" of the total needs for a conventional bomber war.

Dissent came from only one member of the nine-man subcommittee and, predictably, from the Defense Department, which said the majority report did not properly reflect McNamara's manned bomber views.

The committee dissenter, Representative LUCIEN N. NEDZI, Democrat, of Michigan, made his strong objections known in a minority report. He said the Hébert report "fails to deal adequately or objectively with the central issue involved in the inquiry—the future role of (strategic) manned bombers."

NEDZI said the majority was more concerned with "demonstrating the fallibility" of McNamara and "insinuations" against his credibility than getting at the facts. He said it was his understanding, despite the majority conclusion, that not all members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and other top officials are convinced that a new strategic bomber, in addition to the FB-111, is clearly required.

PENTAGON'S REPLY

At the Defense Department, Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester issued a statement saying that the majority report has not "properly or fairly reflected the views" of the Secretary on the future of manned bombers.

Sylvester added that the Defense Department shares NEDZI's views as to the trivialities expressed and insinuations made against McNamara in the majority report.

A spokesman for the House Armed Services Committee said an overwhelming majority of the full committee approved the Hébert report. He would not disclose how many dissenters there were.

The published subcommittee hearings disclosed that Gen. John P. McConnell, Air Force Chief of Staff, testified that while the Air Force recommended the phaseout of 345 earlier B-52's and their replacement by 210 BF-111's it had not proposed the elimination of the Air Force's 80 supersonic B-58's.

Among the Pentagon witnesses who testified in favor of the development of a big new, long-range strategic replacement for the B-52 were Air Force Secretary Harold Brown, formerly McNamara's research chief, and John S. Foster, Jr., Brown's successor as the Pentagon's Director of Research and Engineering. Foster testified that he knew of no one at the Pentagon who shared McNamara's position.

Air Force military chiefs, including McConnell, LeMay, and Gen. John D. Ryan, SAC commander, urged that "full development" of the USAF's project for a such plane—the advanced manned strategic system or AMSA—should be launched immediately if it is to be ready when the later B-52's wear out in the mid-1970's. Brown and Foster felt there was time for further study of its characteristics.

McNamara testified that the need for such an aircraft was not clear and he would approve only limited funds for development of some components as a "hedge" against later developments that would prove it necessary. LeMay and the subcommittee said they were convinced that McNamara had made a "firm" decision against such a bomber but would not say so.

"AMSA will always be a step away," said the Hébert report. "Always held out as a hope and a promise but with little possibility of becoming a fact. SAC will be kept on tippytoes but it won't be kissed."

The subcommittee recommended that:

A minimum of $11.8 million be added to the current budget to start full development (contract definition) of AMSA, and that it be pushed with vigor and full funding.

That the announced scrapping of the B-58 bombers be "immediately abandoned."

That the FB-111 program be approved.

BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE GROVELS WHEN ADMINISTRATION SNAPS FINGER TO DOUBLE-CROSS TAXPAYERS

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, faster than a committee could respond to a Presidential request for a declaration of war, the House Banking and Currency Committee supinely acquiesced to a near-fraudulent request of the administration to cover up the cost of the guns and butter regimen.

The vehicle is H.R. 14544, the so-called Participation Sales Act of 1966, which was hurriedly introduced on April 20, 1966. The President's message to Congress on the subject was delivered to the House on the same day, but, uncustomarily, was not even read.

A notice of a committee hearing on the bill was given the day before the bill was introduced. Copies of the bill were not available to committee members until 15 minutes before the meeting. No subcommittee hearing was scheduled. The full committee could not begin until 10:40 a.m.—the Housing Subcommittee had a previously scheduled hearing at the regular meeting time of 10 a.m.

Only two witnesses, both administration officials, were called. No member was permitted more than 5 minutes for interrogation. Many members were not allowed to complete their questioning.

The committee adjourned at 11:55 a.m. and resumed the hearing at about 2:15 p.m.

At about 3 o'clock, the same day, a majority of the committee voted to close the hearing, excuse the witnesses, dismiss the public and the press, meet in executive session and vote out the bill. Four simple amendments were accepted without debate and the bill was passed in about 5 minutes.

Our committee spent 2 hours and 22 minutes on the bill. No general bill has received less attention or consideration by our committee. Maybe no bill has received less time or study by any committee of Congress.

The chairman took votes. He was prepared. He had proxies for all absent majority members. The ranking minority member had no valid proxies because he could have had no idea that such an important bill, or any bill, would ever be voted out with so little consideration.

Again the Banking and Currency Committee has degraded itself and demeaned the legislative process, and the Congress. The parliamentary system has been flagrantly abused. Our committee has disdained debate and deliberation. A majoritarian device has been arrogantly applied: "We have the votes, so why deliberate?" Few would believe a once facetious cliche has been given brutal currency:

> My mind has been made up for me, so don't confuse me with the facts.

The majority had its orders, so why even listen to any other views?

Some committee members, who were voted in favor of the bill had not even read the bill. This makes a travesty of our committee rules and the quality of our legislative process.

A good bill can stand debate, deliberation, full inquiry. A bad bill cannot withstand the light of day, the scrutiny of interrogation, the crucible of debate, the floodlight of public opinion.

H.R. 14544 must be a very bad bill. It is being rammed through the committee and the Congress before even Members of Congress can understand it or evaluate the consequences. It must be forced through Congress before the taxpayer discovers the added costs. Enactment must be railroaded before the citizens realize that an enormous deficit is building because of the "guns and butter" spending extravagances of the administration. Enactment is urgent before the people of the United States discover that instead of a $1.8 billion deficit which the President promised, we really have a $6 billion, or more, deficit. The bill must be enacted hurriedly before the public discovers the budgetary legerdemain.

The chairman likens this bill to emergency legislation during the great depression of 1933. The terrible consequences of extravagant Federal spending are obviously imminent. We all know this. The growing inflation is convincing evidence. But we should do the right things, forthrightly, openly, after thorough study, debate, and deliberation. Gimmicks and tricks, which only postpone proper and necessary action until after the election, should not be tolerated.

Congress has been criticized by the administration for taking the valuable time of Cabinet members during committee interrogation. This charge is no longer valid. The Postmaster General of the United States sat through the entire morning session of the hearing on H.R. 14544 voluntarily. He is a very able, important, and overworked public official and our committee was highly honored that the Postmaster General would select our committee to audit.

But, inasmuch as neither witness even suggested that H.R. 14544 had any application to the Post Office Department, I think we can quite properly deduce that Mr. O'Brien had other, but very important, reasons for his keen interest in our committee and the passage of H.R. 14544.

The merits of every bill are important. But Members of Congress have a larger responsibility than any particular bill. We have an obligation to preserve sound parliamentary procedure, the committee system, and the right of the public to know fully about bills which we consider. We are not discharging our obligation. Our committee, the Congress, and the administration which is pressuring our committee to behave in this unseemly manner, will suffer and regret this scandalous performance.

No country or system can long tolerate an arrogance of power. A majority, no matter how great in numbers, will not survive if it cannot withstand the questions or ideas of the minority. Suppression of debates, ideas, or the free expression of opinion—whether by brute force of arms, or by denial of the basic parliamentary functions—will inexorably undermine the majority, the Congress, and the Nation.

May I suggest that, in spite of your orders, you study thoroughly H.R. 14544.

"THE WAY IS PLAIN, PEACEFUL, GENEROUS, JUST"

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, world problems mount rather than recede for the United States, despite our massive outpouring abroad of dollars, guns and troops.

To understand why this is so we must face the fact that empires directed from Europe are no more. Where once Britannia ruled the waves and, in cooperation with other empires provided worldwide stability, now, to an uncomfortable extent, a power vacuum exists.

What will fill it? Will it be a tyrannical force like communism, already organized, disciplined and on the move?

Under Presidents Truman and Eisenhower a system of alliances was established in an effort to fill the vacuum. The alliances were intended to hold back the tide of tyranny and provide a stable situation in which liberty and justice could develop.

Today the alliances are a shambles. The United Nations has become merely a meeting place of nations—useful of course, but not capable of providing worldwide stability.

To an alarming degree the United States is trying to fill the power vacuum alone. It is an unaccustomed role. The United States seeks no empire. Indeed, in retrospect we must acknowledge that through the years many prominent Americans applauded the breakup of the old empires, and on occasion the policies of our Government hastened the process.

As the free world alliances have weakened and broken apart, our role as world policeman has become all the lonelier. This trend is alarming for several reasons.

First. It means our resources must necessarily be spread thinner in order to cover wider responsibilities.

Second. The fragmentation of the free world makes each part more vulnerable to aggressive forces—not only military but also economic.

Third. The experience may be so distressing and discouraging that the United States will return to a new form of isolation. The cost in blood and treasure is so great, and the burdens so unfairly distributed that the American people, in resentment over frustrations, may turn their backs on world responsibilities. That indeed would be a calamity for mankind of incalculable proportions.

To me, this is the most alarming aspect of our lonely role as world policeman.

Up to now, the experience certainly has not been gratifying.

Even at the present pace, our policies and programs are not measuring up to today's opportunity and challenge. The pace is apt to get worse.

In South Vietnam our continuing investment has brought little so far that is hopeful. The end to military action is nowhere in sight. As our commitment in troops rises, so apparently do the forces of aggression from the north and those of strife within the nation we seek to aid. One of the most distressing facts of the war is that we are receiving very little cooperation from other free nations. Only South Korea, Australia, and New Zealand have sent troops.

To the north Red China has already tested its own atomic bombs and in time is certain to advance in the development of nuclear weapons. Earlier this year our Secretary of Defense asked NATO nations what they will do about this rising danger. The question still echoes around, with no meaningful response, as does Secretary of State Rusk's request for greater allied assistance in Vietnam.

In Latin America the Alliance for Progress has lost its spark. The memory of our fumbling role in the Cuban invasion and our much-criticized action in the Dominican Republic lingers on. Communist subversives trained 90 miles off the U.S. coast in Cuba play effectively the old themes of Yankee imperialism, dollar diplomacy, and gunboat diplomacy.

In the North Atlantic Community things go from bad to worse. Powerful tides of change are rising and up to now our response has been uncreative, essentially negative, and defensive, and often petty and childish. After several years of complaint and warning, France has moved to free itself from the NATO military organization and the organization itself from French soil. Although the other 13 nations in the alliance have expressed solidarity with the United States in the face of French action, the solidarity is thin in spots.

The tides of change flow in other capitals as well as in Paris. West Germany grows more and more restive under the "special status" which amounts to second-class membership and may seek a more independent role if France attempts, as expected, to negotiate with the Soviet Union some sort of arrangement involving longterm West German interests. Turkey is resentful over a series of events—U.S. withdrawal of missiles as part of the Soviet-United States deal which followed the Cuban confrontation in 1962, U.S. policy on Cyprus in 1964 and our warning to Turkey at that time—a warning which amounted to a qualification of our commitment under the NATO treaty to respond automatically in the event Turkey was attacked by Russia.

Part of the difficulty in Western Europe arises from U.S. neglect of its responsibilities as the ex officio leader of NATO, and its failure to recognize and adjust to the vast changes which have occurred in the Atlantic Community since the Atlantic treaty was adopted in 1949.

It was inevitable at the outset that the United States provide the leadership and the resources in the alliance. Western Europe was ravaged by war and struggling to rebuild. Now, although the possibility of Soviet attack remains, the situation otherwise is substantially changed. The nations of Europe have rebuilt their economies. They are able to take a larger responsibility in the alliance and want a larger voice in vital life-and-death decisions.

The United States has acted, however, as if nothing has changed. We have taken NATO for granted, and assumed the status quo will continue. We have taken no significant steps to alter and improve military structure which today—as was true in 1949—forces our allies to rely under all circumstances upon U.S. strategic weapons and decisions for the most basic requirements of their national security.

Many Americans will be astonished to learn that throughout NATO's entire 17 years U.S. officers have always held the two supreme command posts. Of the 10 principal subordinate commands, French officers have never held more than 1. United Kingdom officers have always held six and the United States the remaining three. Officers of Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Luxembourg, West Germany, Italy, Portugal, Canada, Turkey, and Greece have never held a principal command position and do not now. Iceland, the other member of NATO, has no national military force.

On September 9 De Gaulle warned that France will "end the subordination which is described as integration"—at the very latest—when the North Atlantic Treaty reaches its 20th year in 1969.

This was widely presented in the United States as a rejection of any Atlantic integration, although the French President stressed that his objection was to the present form of integration which to him means the subordination of his country.

France had repeatedly stated that the present command structure was not acceptable. In fact, these complaints were first voiced before De Gaulle's return to power. Today, the complaint comes principally from France. Tomorrow it may be from others.

We should ask ourselves how we would feel if the situation were reversed, with U.S. officers never permitted to hold more than one lonely subordinate command post in the entire structure.

De Gaulle is aware, of course, that the relative power of members is usually reflected in the structure of any alliance or league. In the United Nations, for example, certain countries have privileged status on the Security Council. In NATO only the United States, Britain, and France are represented on the Standing Group.

But clearly he warned this practice has been carried to excess in NATO and to the disadvantage of France. We can note that the practice may also have worked to the disadvantage of other European allies. Germany, Italy, the low countries and others—all have valid claims to proper representation in NATO's command structure.

The charge was serious and deserved immediate, courteous, and sympathetic attention.

It should have been dealt with affirmatively. Instead the administration prepared only for retreat.

President Johnson recently said of NATO:

> We must maintain its strength and we must continually update it to serve the common aspirations of us all.

But the only action his administration took was negative—preparations in anticipation of French withdrawal.

This totally negative response tended to strengthen French complaints and more than canceled out the affirmative words. It directly contradicted the partnership spirit of NATO. And, perhaps most dangerous of all, it unwittingly played into the hands of the long-term scheme, often attributed to De Gaulle, to establish French dominance over Western Europe, in substitution for what De Gaulle calls Anglo-Saxon hegemony.

Since September 9, the opposing positions of the United States and France have hardened and the French President—doubtless irritated by our negative response—has stepped up his timetable and given clear notice of withdrawal plans. Our Government continues to deal with the problem in an uncreative and even childish manner—trying to collect from France the cost of removing NATO installations, rejecting the French deadline for removal of troops from French soil and withdrawing our nuclear weapons from French troops in Germany.

How much better it would be to go to the heart of the problem by means of a man-to-man discussion between the resolute Presidents of these two proud Republics, and by proposing overdue improvements in the NATO structure.

At the very least, a personal discussion between the two Presidents could affirm our desire to maintain cooperation and alliance with France no matter what final decisions France may make in regard to the multilateral Atlantic alliance.

However, the personal meeting has not occurred and with each passing day the chasm between these historic friends widens. It is pointless to argue who must share the greater blame for this unfortunate development. Sins of omission and commission may have occurred in abundance on both sides.

It is vitally important, however, to understand where the responsibility for leadership lies. Who has the prime duty to take the initiative to meet problems like those posed by France? Is it a collective responsibility, or does it center mainly in one person?

The plain truth is that the President of the United States is the ex officio leader of the alliance, and it is, therefore, his personal responsibility to deal affirmatively with problems of NATO just as with problems within the United States.

The moment President Johnson took the oath of office, he inherited the mantle of NATO leadership. He may prefer that somebody else worry with Atlantic alliance problems, so that he can devote his full foreign policy attention to a small corner of the globe in southeast Asia.

However, the responsibility, under present circumstances, cannot be effectively assigned to someone else. Neglect of the responsibility creates a leaderless vacuum, and forces of disintegration take over. This, I submit, is precisely what has occurred.

The reasons why President Johnson cannot shift the alliance leadership to someone else are plain. He alone controls the vast arsenal of nuclear weapons which form the basic deterrent on which all NATO nations depend to resist aggression. He personally selects the two U.S. officers who hold the supreme field command positions—SACEUR and SACLANT. Even the small tactical nuclear weapons, in theory integrated into the NATO command structure, are actually under his personal control.

The NATO command structure is so dependent on decisions the U.S. President alone can make that it could not possibly function in a crisis except as an appendage of the U.S. Department of Defense.

It is widely assumed that military forces of NATO nations are integrated to a substantial degree.

What are the facts? As mentioned earlier, none of the strategic nuclear weapons is integrated. None is even earmarked for NATO command in wartime. None of the tactical nuclear weapons is actually integrated. Even those assigned to NATO forces can be used only on specific authority of the U.S. President. No naval forces are integrated.

The only forces which can properly be called integrated are under SACEUR, a U.S. officer. Germany is the only member of the alliance whose military forces are fully integrated.

In assessing the current crisis in NATO we should face some clear facts of life.

First. NATO is a far cry from the integrated, militarily efficient structure many believe it to be. Calling it integrated does not make it so.

Second. The United States does indeed dominate the military structure. In my opinion, it does so to an unnecessary degree.

The United States long ago could have, and should have, made several substantial improvements on its own initiative.

First. Authorize full exchange of nuclear military information among all three members of the Standing Group, theoretically the top military authority consisting of representatives of the United States, Britain, and France. This would have ended an unfortunate caste system which has denied to the French member information available to the other two.

Second. Yield some of the U.S. command positions to make possible a more reasonable division of them among officers of other nations. Last year former President Eisenhower suggested that a French officer be named SACEUR. In 1961 a French request for a subordinate sea command was denied. Certainly the key positions should be more fairly distributed—perhaps rotated—thus creating a command structure that reflects a greater degree of partnership.

Third. Withdraw the U.S. veto over tactical nuclear weapons assigned to NATO. The line of authority over all assigned weapons and other forces should be clear, without lateral interference.

Although modest compared with what needs to be done to strengthen the Atlantic community, these steps would be in the right direction. The basic reforms they involve are needed, whether France stays in the alliance or not.

While we try to strengthen the alliance we must acknowledge its inherent weakness.

Even the best-formed and best-tended alliance hangs always by the tiny fragile thread of national self-interest. George

Washington took note of this frailty in his Farewell Address when he said:

> To the efficacy and permanency of Your (the United States) Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No Alliances however strict between the parts can be an adequate substitute.—They must inevitably experience the infractions & interruptions which all Alliances, in all times, have experienced.

By example, there are two sides to the NATO military coin.

One side shows the weakness if each nation attempts to stand alone in military affairs, and this side argues persuasively for an integrated military force. The other side shows the potential weakness to a nation if its military forces are merged in an integrated force actually controlled by another nation. In the flashing instant of a nuclear showdown, its failure to act would effectively immobilize all the others.

It poses a dilemma not easily resolved. In an integrated command someone must be in charge. Fifteen fingers on the same button is hardly a practical arrangement. On the other hand, the one in charge has the destiny of the others in his hands.

What is needed of course is a truly integrated military force controlled by a government of the whole in which all parties have a fair voice.

Therefore, while urging that the United States act immediately to patch things up with France on the best basis possible, and make the suggested improvements in the structure of the alliance, I realize full well that this alone is not enough.

It is not enough because alliance is not enough.

We must seek and find a governmental arrangement which will end the ever-present danger of fragmentation inherent in any alliance, one which will bind the free nations together effectively and permanently in order to deal with all areas of vital common interest—trade, monetary, worldwide policy as well as military affairs.

Abraham Lincoln's statement to Congress December 1, 1862 is appropriate today. He said:

> The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

Today, as in 1862, the dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. We must rise with the occasion. We must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves.

The people of the United States should offer the firm, friendly hand of common citizenship to freedom-loving people beyond our borders.

This should be done by inviting the people of other free nations to join with us in establishing a new federal union government of limited but specific authority and at the same time placing new emphasis on U.S. immigration and statehood.

This generous and peaceful gesture would do more than all the foreign-aid dollars and foreign-aid guns imaginable to exalt once more the name "America" to the idealism it once symbolized. It would put aggressive forces like communism on the defensive and lift the spirit of liberty in every land.

It would be a powerful initiative in foreign policy with immediate impact, even though response to our offer of common citizenship might take time.

It would demonstrate plainly our desire to cooperate—not to dominate—in world affairs. It would show how problems which beset the free-world community and seem almost beyond solution—like monetary instability, nuclear proliferation, trade rivalry, East-West relations—can be resolved safely, peacefully, and to mutual advantage.

Guns and dollars have their place. At times they are essential. But they must not be permitted to crowd out of preeminent position in our affairs the humanitarian idealism that brought our Republic into being, led to its expansion across a continent and far into the Pacific Ocean and made it a place of refuge and opportunity for 42 million immigrants.

It would remind us, too, that American citizenship is for most of us a heritage of birth, an act of God for which we can claim no personal responsibility. The heritage carries with it responsibility but certainly no right to exclude others.

The offer of common citizenship, stated clearly and kept before the world, would disprove Communist accusations of imperialism even though circumstances may require that American guns, as well as voices, continue to speak.

It would prove that we mean what we say about the supreme importance of each individual person, regardless of race, origin or station in life. Our avowal that Government exists to serve man—and not the other way around—would have new meaning, not only to those fortunate enough to live under our constitutional system, but to those in distant lands and degrading circumstances.

It would diminish—hopefully erase—the false but widely held notion that the United States is a self-righteous power which uses and exploits people beyond its borders and is interested in their personal problems only in terms of our own narrow self-interest.

The actual establishment of common citizenship through a new federal union government would, of course, require a giant historic stride in political achievement. Preparation for it would likely call for patient effort by the best minds of the Atlantic community.

A beginning is being made in Congress this year, with consideration of a resolution to establish a delegation of eminent U.S. citizens to meet with similar groups from other NATO nations for these specific purposes: First, to declare that the eventual goal is to convert the alliance into a federal union government; second, to set a timetable for reaching the goal; and third, to establish institutions to keep the project in motion.

Procedures for U.S. immigration and statehood of course already exist, and only a few changes in immigration laws are needed.

Before the United States can hope for achievement of these broad goals, we must first make the offer of common citizenship and adjust the emphasis of our foreign policy accordingly.

The offer itself is the critical need at this moment.

By the simple but explicit offer of common citizenship we would give eloquent testimony to our Judeo-Christian heritage and a firm, believable commitment to the ideals of liberty, justice, and equality for all people, not just those within our present borders.

Gone would be the false illusion of America as a closed society, its borders fixed and its land and people walled in by a ring of armaments.

America would be regarded as an open society of free men and women who are ready, willing and anxious to share with other like-minded people the responsibilities and opportunities of citizenship.

In the same message to Congress from which I quoted earlier, Mr. Lincoln closed with words which challenge each of us to measure up with courage, imagination and determination to the great opportunity which lies before us—an opportunity to transform today's gloom into bright promise.

He said:

> We, even here, hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which if followed the world will forever applaud and God must forever bless.

THE WOMEN'S JOB CORPS CENTER AT CHARLESTON, W. VA.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. SLACK] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, on three separate occasions during recent weeks we have been entertained by two of our minority colleagues with a series of skits portraying what they claimed to be horrifying discoveries about the Women's Job Corps Center at Charleston, W. Va. I use the word "entertained" advisedly, because their act must have been entertainment since it was largely based on fiction.

Webster's New World Dictionary defines fiction as "a making up of imaginary happenings," and this description fits their performances admirably. If I were a drama critic, however, I would recommend against attending future performances, because the first three have featured repetitious dialog and a very weak plot.

This statement is designed to eliminate some of the misinformation and confusion that has been spread about the Job Corps Center, and to thereby correct the record.

As a native of Charleston, W. Va., I have always been gratified when one of my colleagues in the House has had an opportunity to visit with my constituents. In the present instance, however, I must admit my complete astonishment at the amount of pseudofact, unsupported assumption and innuendo that has erupted out of a 1-day visit to my home city by a Member of the House.

We all realize that the minority has determined to make the antipoverty program a major political issue in the 1966 campaign. To that end we have heard many speeches by various Members who offer what they consider to be evidence of waste, extravagance, and mismanagement in the handling of antipoverty funds by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Where there are truths to be told in this connection, the minority is exercising an important and time-honored function. But we honor that function only where it is based on fact, and in the case of the Job Corps Center at Charleston a minimum quantity of fact has been used as a basis from which to project a maximum quantity of assumption and speculation.

It is now time, therefore, to clear the atmosphere by supplying a somewhat more rounded picture of the actual situation, because the basic contentions of the minority in connection with this Job Corps Center are wholly without merit. The record does not support the statements which have been made, and therefore the Women's Job Corps Center at Charleston cannot be permitted to become a horrible example in the 1966 campaign, a symbol of favoritism, as were the vicuna coats and oriental rugs of the last years of the Eisenhower administration.

The minority spokesmen did not criticize either the operations or the enrollees of the Job Corps Center, but confined their charges to the physical location of the facility and the funds expended to adapt a hotel structure to fit the specifications of a Job Corps center. I will do the same.

I was not consulted either before or after the Center was located in Charleston. Indeed, you may be interested to know that during a full year of its operations no staff member of the Office of Economic Opportunity ever visited me, wrote a letter or even telephoned to place at my disposal information regarding its progress and operations. I have never met the manager and I have no personal, political, or patronage connections of any kind with the Center.

As previously stated, however, and in the belief that the principles of fairplay should prevail in public discussion and in political campaigning, I feel it proper to correct the record at this time in such a manner as to remove the Job Corps Center at Charleston from further discussion as a strawman political issue in 1966.

Just what were the contention advanced by the minority spokesmen?

They were two in number:

First. That this installation is a flagrant example of political favoritism and of extravagant diversion of antipoverty funds into the pockets of Democratic politicians.

Second. That the financial arrangements which have been made to secure the structure in which the Job Corps Center is located—a building known as the Kanawha Hotel—were extravagant and wasteful of the public funds.

Let us deal with first things first. During three appearances before this House, very heavy emphasis was placed on the subject of political favoritism, because one of the owners of the hotel is Mr. Angus Peyton, a former candidate for political office and presently the commissioner of the West Virginia Department of Commerce. There was also reference to the fact that the hotel housed a Democratic campaign headquarters in 1960.

Out of these two trivialities an effort was made to create a picture of gross profiteering at the taxpayers' expense by means of a secret and presumably shady deal involving special consideration for a Democratic politician who, in some mysterious manner, was able to influence decisions taken by the Office of Economic Opportunity and its contractor, the Packard Bell Electronics Corp.

I think you should know that Mr. Angus Peyton is not presently a candidate for public office. Although the present West Virginia Governor, the Honorable Hulett Smith, served as State commerce commissioner at the time he was elected to the governorship, that particular State post offers no historical advantage. West Virginians have most often turned to persons with experience as State attorney general, and among those individuals who are tentatively mentioned as potential candidates for Governor in 1968, Mr. Peyton is not accorded any preferential status over a half-dozen others.

As to the presence of 1960 campaign headquarters in the hotel, I can assure you that during the past 20 years this property has had many political headquarters in both primary and general election campaigns. In 1958 my own headquarters was located there because it is a well-placed central point in the downtown business district.

No connection has been shown between the establishment of the Job Corps Center at this site and any political ambitions of Mr. Peyton, or the past use of suites of rooms in the hotel as political party campaign headquarters. This type of innuendo casts doubt on the sincerity of the entire minority effort and detracts from the strength of their argument. Let us examine just how this facility came to Charleston.

The Office of Economic Opportunity was established when Public Law 88-452 was signed by the President on August 20, 1964. There was an interval of several months before appropriated funds became available, the necessary professional staff could be hired, and the mechanics of the program could be translated into direct action.

The creation of the new Job Corps centers present some knotty problems. After all, what is a Job Corps center? It must be a substantial building which meets health and safety requirements in all respects, and must be adaptable to the job of housing, feeding, instructing and providing a modified campus atmosphere for several hundred young persons who will reside within its walls.

There are no available unused college dormitories in this country. The Congress knows that only too well. Office buildings are not readily adaptable to living quarters. Unused barracks are usually located too far from the sources of supply and services required to maintain a group of several hundred young people.

Older hotels seemed to offer the best possibility, and OEO set out quite frankly to determine if any hotels which might be considered on the fringe of profitable operations would be interested in leasing their facilities.

In November 1964, the General Services Administration was requested by OEO to canvass hotels and similar properties on a nationwide basis to ascertain whether any of them would be available for use as Job Corps centers. At that time GSA contacted Mr. Angus Peyton informally, inquiring as to whether he would be interested in leasing space in the Kanawha Hotel for that purpose. The response was entirely negative: Mr Peyton indicated he was not interested in the slightest.

The general response to this broad inquiry was not promising. However, Public Law 88-452, in section 103, specifically authorized the Director of the Job Corps program to enter into agreements not only with Federal, State, and local agencies, but also with private organizations for the establishment and operation of conservation camps and training centers. There were strong signs of interest in this portion of the OEO program by private industry. A detailed story in the Wall Street Journal of February 11, 1965, reflected that interest and listed a number of top-rank corporations who were offering proposals to OEO.

It was concluded, therefore, that OEO would be well advised to encourage private industry to offer proposals for the creation and management of Job Corps centers, with these proposals to include suggested sites, which they must locate themselves and offer as part of a package to OEO for approval.

In January 1965, the Packard Bell Electronics Corp. had put forth a proposal to establish and manage a Job Corps center and was engaged in an effort to secure a suitable location for the facility. A number of cities came under consideration, but Packard Bell felt that a special effort should be made to locate one of the early centers in the Appalachian region which had received a great deal of attention and special consideration by the Congress. It was necessary to select a community where a satisfactory property was available, but also a community of sufficient size so that the required goods and services could be obtained to maintain several hundred young persons.

The Packard Bell representatives approached Mr. Peyton about the Kanawha Hotel and received a negative response. Notwithstanding the impression left by the statements of the minority, the hotel at that time was making a satisfactory profit. It is an old building, but it is constructed of masonry and could continue in active service indefinitely if properly maintained. I am advised by Mr. Peyton that the owners have recently spent $250,000 on improvements, primarily new elevators, new interior reconditioning, and new furniture. The hotel was making very gratifying financial progress and the owners were collecting $8,850 per month in rents of leased space on the first and second floors alone, plus the usual rentals from four floors of hotel rooms.

At this point the Packard Bell representatives visited the Charleston Area Chamber of Commerce and talked with Mr. Frank Sohn, the executive vice president. I know Mr. Sohn personally and have been impressed by the vigor with which he discharges the typical chamber of commerce responsibility of assisting new business to enter the Charleston area. He viewed the Job Corps center as a potential new business, involving a payroll of perhaps $50,000 a month, and was determined to assist the Packard Bell group if at all possible. He called four property owners for them including two other hotels in the hope that something might be made available. None of these other properties provided the right combination of space, location, and physical facilities, however. He thereupon called Mr. Peyton and asked him to reconsider his earlier decision and meet with the Packard Bell representatives.

At this point I would like to mention a curious circumstance. With all of the so-called investigation that was done in Charleston by the minority, how did they happen to overlook the key role played by Mr. Sohn? Or do they actually know what happened, but dare not admit it, because the whole fabric of their political favoritism charge would collapse into a pile of nonsense?

The simple truth is that there could be no Job Corps center in Charleston unless an acceptable site could be found, and Packard Bell had found no site. They were offering what amounted to a new industry which would spend over $600,000 per year in the community for salaries, goods, and services. No chamber of commerce man worth his salt would allow an opportunity like that to go by the boards.

On this third occasion Mr. Peyton was still unenthusiastic but he agreed to the meeting. Finally, as in all dealings of this kind, the matter reduces itself to a question of what the seller will take and what the buyer can afford to offer. A lease was drawn up and agreement was reached.

I do not believe detailed comment on the lease is necessary because a copy was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on April 5. Suffice it to say that Mr. Peyton considers the lease to be a good agreement for both parties, is in no way ashamed of its provisions, and states that it was negotiated just like any other lease. He wishes to be on the record officially, furthermore, with the statement that he never at any time held consultations with or negotiated with any Federal official whatsoever. All arrangements were reached with representatives of the contractor—the Packard Bell Electronics Corp.—and on a business basis entirely.

Since the minority has inserted in the RECORD some very loose speculation about the terms of that lease, a subject which I will examine later on, I think in all fairness to Mr. Peyton that his position and antecedents should be made known. The minority has left the impression that he is a marginal politician who is participating in a grubby payoff of some kind because he was defeated in a Democratic primary.

This is simply not the case. The Peyton family has resided in the Charleston area for well over a century. They have always been substantial people of excellent repute. The grandfather of Angus Peyton was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1863 at which the first West Virginia State government was organized and was a member of the first State supreme court.

The Peytons have been businessmen and property owners for generations. They are realistic and determined in their business dealings, but I know of no instance in which dishonesty or questionable business practices have been attributed to any of them. The fact is, as State commerce commissioner, position involving responsibilities aimed at encouraging the entry of new business into West Virginia, Angus Peyton could hardly refuse indefinitely to reach an arrangement which would bring a sizable new source of business to the Charleston area, particularly after it was found that the Kanawha Hotel was the only property which might be available and which met the needs of the contractors.

I have inquired into the facts stated above through Mr. Peyton, Mr. Sohn, the General Services Administration, and the Packard Bell management. All four of these sources are in agreement regarding the way in which this matter developed. The Packard Bell representatives verified the fact that they told Frank Sohn a payroll of $50,000 a month could be expected and also that there would be very heavy local purchases from merchants, involving food, clothing, operational supplies, and even the services of professional men.

I submit, therefore, that a false and misleading picture of the placement of the Job Corps Center in the Kanawha Hotel has been painted by the minority spokesmen.

Let us go on to the second basic contention of the minority spokesman—that there has been extravagant and wasteful use of public funds in this enterprise. Much of the basis for this contention revolves around a number of disconnected assertions regarding the terms of the lease, the amounts to be expended for rent and other purposes, and the presumed value of the Kanawha Hotel in relation to the lease terms.

Prior to my first election to Congress I served for 6 years as a tax assessor. I was an elected public official charged with the responsibility of setting valuations on property for assessment purposes each year. I was, in fact, the assessor for Kanawha County in which this Job Corps Center is located. Consequently I am personally familiar with the assessment history of real estate in the area.

In fact, very careful study of the biographies of my 434 colleagues, as published in the Congressional Directory, reveals that I am the only former tax assessor now serving in the House of Representatives.

Under the circumstances you can appreciate the mixed feelings with which I read the discourse on real estate values and tax assessments in my home county which was delivered by minority speakers after a lightning 1-day visit to my own home city. It may have escaped our colleagues, but this is indeed the age of specialization, and full knowledge of all factors bearing on real estate values and supporting a fair scale of assessment is a very complex matter, involving some fine and careful judgments, and Macy's does not tell Standard Oil how to make gasoline.

I will not go into all of the various fragmentary cost and expenditure elements detailed in this Chamber as the basis for charges of extravagance, because each has only limited meaning individually.

For example, it is stated that the furniture in the Kanawha Hotel was transported to a storage building and that rental of $4,800 per year for the storage of this property must be paid with Federal funds. Since the contractor is responsible for the furnishings and equipment of the owner, and since this property must be returned to the owner when the lease ends, it would appear that there is nothing unusual about this action. Obviously it is in the public interest to protect this equipment and minimize the chances of damage. Leases calling for removal and protection of owner property are very common; I suggest that this would never have been the subject of comment if Mr. Peyton had not once been a political candidate.

It has been stated that $16,000 was paid to settle leases of former tenants. That is true, but has no connection with the cost of the Job Corps facility. The Packard Bell organization has not been and will not be reimbursed for this expense, and has not requested any such reimbursement.

Actually, this $16,000 item underscores the weakness of the minority case. This money was paid to settle leases of clients who occupied permanent quarters on the first two floors of the hotel. As I stated earlier, the hotel collected $8,850 per month from this source, plus the rental from four floors of hotel rooms. Simple arithmetic informs us that the Kanawha Hotel had a guaranteed yearly income of $106,200, plus additional return each month depending upon the number of hotel rooms in use.

A great deal has been made by the minority spokesmen of the fact that the lease calls for payment of $94,800 in rent for the first year, and the minority has been even brazen enough to label this sum as a "diversion of antipoverty funds." The fact is, the hotel owners, through the terms of this lease, agreed to fixed rental income totaling $11,400 less on the first year than they would have had by continuing in the hotel business.

One of the ugliest distortions of fact I have ever read in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is the minority statement that:

> A leading West Virginia Democrat receives $94,800 per year profit on a property worth

$250,000—a poverty profit of 38 percent a year.

This is a deliberate and calculated smear, because the terms of the lease as published state clearly in article III that the "lessee agrees to pay the fixed net rent at the rate of $94,800 for the first year." The rental clause does not stipulate profit, and how much the owners will profit can only be determined after a span of operation, or even perhaps after the use of the hotel is completed by the Job Corps.

It was also stated that the Packard Bell firm is obligated to pay the sum of $70,000 as compensatory remuneration if the lease is terminated prior to 2 years and 3 months of its beginning date. This is also true, and it is a typical penalty clause in a short-term lease. However, if the facility is operated beyond 2 years and 3 months this obligation is eliminated.

I have been advised by OEO, however, that the affairs of the Charleston Job Corps Center have proceeded quite satisfactorily and that there is every indication the facility will be continued in operation for several years. This being the case, this $70,000 is an item which has no meaning whatsoever in relation to the cost of the facility.

Rather than take your time in a long detailed backtracking of each individual statement made by the minority spokesman in which individual figures are cited for various kinds of expenditures, I believe it would be more profitable to deal with the whole as the sum and substance of the argument. Representatives of the Office of Economic Opportunity do not agree with many of the statements made by the minority as to expenditures in establishing the Job Corps Center at Charleston. There is a profusion of statement and counterstatement in the record of the pertinent committee hearings.

The Office of Economic Opportunity contends that $187,000 has been spent in renovating the hotel. One minority spokesman maintains that $225,000 was spent. He has been countermanded by another minority spokesman who contends $345,000 was spent for renovation. A great deal depends upon just what is included in the various totals and I will leave all of these parties to pursue their separate contentions.

Let us consider the maximum figure for renovation put forth by the minority, the sum of $345,000. Much has been made of this figure in comparison to the assessed valuation of the property and some idle speculation regarding presumed market value of the hotel in 1965. The fact is, nothing whatsoever placed in the RECORD by the minority can be claimed to have unassailable validity in this connection. We have been treated to exposition of West Virginia law covering property assessments. On the basis of my personal experience, I can assure you that the State law has provisions governing assessments but the key element in those provisions is the determination of fair market value. But our colleagues apparently forgot, or did not know how to define, fair market value.

For your information and for the record, fair market value is determined wherever possible on the basis of the willing buyer-willing seller principle. This means simply the amount of money a buyer who is under no form of duress will pay for a property to a seller who is in the same position. There is no offer of record during recent years regarding the sale or proposed sale of the Kanawha Hotel property and consequently the fair market value of that property can be only an educated estimate. The Kanawha County Assessor's Office advises me that the property, land, and building combined, was assessed for $154,300 in 1965 and for $183,300 in 1966. A spokesman for the Office of Economic Opportunity contends that the market value of the property would have been $438,000 in 1965 and $508,250 in 1966 even had it continued in hotel operation. After consulting with certain unnamed real estate agents, the minority speakers state that they consider the property to be worth $250,000 when Packard Bell took it over for a Job Corps Center.

Since there has been neither an offer to buy nor an offer to sell the property recently, I must advise you on the basis of my past experience that none of these figures have any conclusive meaning. I do have other figures, however, which will provide a basis for comparison and perhaps eliminate some of the mystery.

Immediately adjacent to the Kanawha Hotel there is a slightly larger piece of property containing a former Federal building which was declared surplus after a new Federal building was completed. At that time the Library Board of the Kanawha County Public Library attempted to obtain the old Federal building on a donable basis for use as a public library. The General Services Administration felt that it was unable to permit this transfer because of the tremendous value of the land. There were organizations willing to pay $500,000 for the old Federal building with the understanding that they intended to demolish the structure and that they considered the land alone to be worth $500,000. Eventually on June 25, 1964, GSA permitted the library board to assume a priority position and to purchase the property for $500,000. It is now being renovated for us as a library.

A short distance away there is a comparable piece of property containing a large but very old stone structure which had served as the location of the library for many years. When the library board was successful in obtaining the old Federal building, this structure was placed on the market. It was sold on October 29, 1964, to a bank. The sale price was $711,000 and again it was publicly stated that the structure would be demolished and a new building would be erected by the bank.

The fact is, there is a serious shortage of level land in the Charleston downtown business district. The city is enclosed by hills and the limited amount of flatland has always been disproportionately valuable. When such land becomes available today, the investment in new construction is always far heavier than the preceding structure would reflect.

Reference was made by the minority to the fact that land was purchased in an urban renewal area across the street from the Job Corps center for $10.50 per square foot by the Charleston National Bank. It would be strange indeed if the land in an urban renewal area were directly comparable in price per square foot with that which is privately owned, in view of the known restrictions placed upon redevelopment of urban renewal areas and the deliberate effort made to offer an attractive investment for redevelopment purposes.

I think you will have a better idea of property values in this section of the city by being informed that the bank proposes to expend $6,800,000 for a 19-story building on this 7,500 square feet of urban renewal land which was purchased for $792,445.50 from the Charleston Urban Renewal Authority.

In the same urban renewal area land was purchased at $8.32 per square foot for the purpose of constructing a 12-story motel and parking garage which will cost in excess of $2 million.

In this general connection, I feel that it should be made known that the comparisons between property values and rentals in the Charleston and Huntington areas are equally misleading. There has never been any similarity between the two communities in this respect. Charleston downtown property has always claimed a much higher price. It so happens the city of Huntington is so situated geographically that its business district contains far more level and accessible acreage, and consequently there is no necessity to concentrate the downtown business district within a limited number of square blocks, as has been the case in Charleston. I will not labor this point because any person who is familiar with the two cities would immediately recognize the difference.

When all has been said and done concerning the costs incurred by Packard Bell in establishing the Job Corps center, we must inevitably return to the question of the actual mission which was in prospect. After all, the whole undertaking rested on a need to meet a certain set of requirements. In substance, the contractor was required to have available a facility which would permit the housing, feeding, instruction, and general supervision of 300 young women, all of whom would be brought from other cities.

Ideally, a college dormitory would have been the answer to the problem. But there are no surplus college dormitories, as I stated earlier. In fact, there are far to few college dormitories and this Congress has authorized the use of Federal funds to encourage the construction of additional dormitories throughout the country. Hotels which meet the necessary standards as to location, safety, and operational efficiency, and which can be released from hotel service and transformed into dormitory operation are not easy to locate. I think I can give you some valid figures which will provide an honest basis for comparison in this particular case.

If no property could have been leased, then it would be necessary to think in terms of new construction. There is a direct comparison which can be made in this connection. On February 12, 1965, the Housing and Home Finance Agency approved a loan of $2,700,000 to Morris Harvey College in Charleston, an institution located perhaps a mile distant outside the business district. This money is to be used to construct a residence hall to house 152 men, a connecting structure to another residence hall to house 72 young women and another structure containing a cafeteria to accommodate 336 students. These combined facilities do not by any means add up to those which are contained in the Charleston Job Corps Center, but I believe that $2,700,000 for new construction is suggestive, and I would point out that this does not include the cost of the land which the college already owned.

This entire picture cannot be presented to you within the proper frame of reference without some comment on the minority statement of April 20, which described a ridiculous parade around the city of Charleston during which various hotel owners were quizzed as to whether or not they had been approached by OEO or Packard Bell for the use of their facilities for a Job Corps Center. I can inform you that Packard Bell representatives visited both the Holley and the Ruffner Hotels but found that they would not be adaptable and consequently never considered making an offer. Their visit was at the suggestion of Mr. Sohn of the chamber of commerce.

The minority reports that the management of the Daniel Boone Hotel indicated they had not been so approached. This is quite understandable, since the Daniel Boone is a modern establishment which has always enjoyed a high level of custom and which has never given any indication that it proposed to go out of the hotel business. Adaptation of the Daniel Boone might have been feasible, but the property would have been far more expensive.

For a level of nonsense, however, which really goes beyond what should be included in the Congressional Record, I point to the statement attributed to the manager of the Holiday Inn Motel, who also said he had not been approached nor had he received an offer for his facility to become a Job Corps site. In conversation with that gentleman, it was established that the Holiday Inn Motel was only opened in 1963. It contains 200 rooms with swimming pool and other recreational facilities. Its total cost, land and buildings is estimated by the manager at $2,600,000 and it was deliberately built as a luxury motel.

No responsible business representative for Packard Bell or anyone else could have ever contemplated the thought of using the Holiday Inn as a Job Corps site and I must conclude that the minority was completely aware of that fact and only inserted this statement to further confuse an issue wherein the facts will not support their basic contentions.

In conclusion I think it is fair to state that an impartial study of the facts in relation to the many statements made by the minority underscores the flimsiness of the major contentions they have advanced. No evidence has been produced to prove political favoritism. When reviewed in relation to the mission at hand for a Job Corps center, the sum total of their arguments does not support a charge of extravagant expenditure. To anyone familiar with ordinary everyday leasing practices, the terms of the lease executed by Packard Bell with the Kanawha Hotel are in no way unusual.

Most of all, I think it is important to realize that there is not an iota of truth to support the pernicious statement that this placement of the Job Corps center in the Kanawha Hotel was designed to provide "a leading West Virginia Democrat with $94,800 per year profit—a poverty profit of 38 percent a year."

It seems quite apparent that, in their efforts to build up a general case against the antipoverty program, the minority decided to concentrate on a selected number of installations, and the Charleston Center was picked for pointed criticism because one of the owners had previously been a Democratic candidate for public office. They went to Charleston to seek evidence to support predetermined conclusions, and consequently they have been trapped by their own insistence upon criticizing all operations of the antipoverty program whether they are properly subject to criticism or not.

I take the position that throughout the minority discussion of this matter we have been listening to fiction. Good fiction frequently has elements of humor and some of the statements made by our colleagues are humorous in the extreme.

Perhaps the length of this statement will be held excusable because the humorous aspects of the situation may to some degree brighten your day.

OUR NATION'S AGRICULTURE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Albert] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, everyone in this Nation has a stake in the well-being and performance of our Nation's agriculture.

Farmers and businessmen in rural areas have a stake in its stability and prosperity. As consumers, all of us have a stake in the continued production of abundant food and fiber at reasonable prices.

As Members of Congress, whether we represent rural or urban districts, we have the responsibility to provide legislation and funds to assure an efficient and prosperous agriculture. Further, we have the responsibility to review each year whether these farm programs and the funds we appropriate are being administered wisely and in the best interest of everyone.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to make a brief report on the state of our Nation's agriculture.

I am happy to report that it is good, and it promises to be even better.

Net farm income this year will exceed $15 billion. This is about a billion dollars higher than in 1965.

More farmers are earning parity of income today than ever before. It is conservatively estimated that nearly a half million farmers today are earning parity of income and another half million are rapidly approaching this level. By contrast, Mr. Speaker, back in 1960 it was difficult to find very many farmers at all who were in this position.

What does this mean to the individual farmer? It means this: that the net income per farm this year will be at a record level of around $4,600 or about 55 percent higher than it was in 1960.

Further, our grain surpluses have been nearly eliminated. The carryover of stocks of all farm commodities are the lowest since 1957. This is in contrast to the monumental, unmanageable $9 billion worth of grain surpluses we had in Government storage 6 years ago, at inexcusable high cost to the taxpayers.

Farm exports are at a record level. An editorial from the Farm Journal and reprinted in the April 6 issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, says that our farm exports will soon hit $7 billion a year and that they already account for 25 percent of all the U.S. exports and take the produce of one-fourth of our cultivated acres.

This editorial titled "New Day in Farming" gives a definitive and accurate account of the progress agriculture has made under Secretary Freeman the last 5 years and it projects what we can expect in the years ahead. Mr. Speaker, I would like to have this editorial printed in the Record.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Apr. 6, 1966]

New Day in Farming: End of Surplus Era, Migration From Rural Areas, Said To Be in Sight

(An editorial in the Farm Journal)

Since World War II we have lived through a period of semiemergency in agriculture. Surpluses. A heavy exodus of families from farming. Subsidies and supports. A need to farm at less than full steam.

We're not out of the woods yet. In fact we're deeper in, so far as subsidies go, with farmers depending less on markets and more on direct handouts from Government than ever. Farmers are now getting direct payments from Washington that equal nearly a fourth of their net income from farming—hardly a healthy situation when the appropriations must be voted every year, by a Congress ever more urban and consumer minded.

But this should gradually ease off as the need for all of the food we can raise begins to develop. That day is not yet here. True, we've already withdrawn some of our 60 million idle acres and put them back into production for rice and spring wheat and next year will probably reactivate more, particularly for wheat. But this will have to be done a little at a time, not suddenly.

Acts of God or man—particularly man—could set farming and everything else back—big war, big drougth, big inflation, big government, to name a few.

But if we can be spared those, there's light visible at the end of the tunnel. Farming is at last coming over the top of the hill. A new day is in sight.

As for the present there can be no argument. Not in recent times have so many farmers done so well, granting that, in a business as big as farming, prosperity can never be universal. Most crops have been bountiful, most prices good—some even high—which is a most unusual conjunction of circumstances in the same year.

Farm income nationally is at record heights. There is almost a boom psychology out in the country. That's particulary true in the livestock world. Prices for beef cattle, hogs and sheep are all unusually good at the same time. When did that ever happen before? Yet supplies are moderate and seem likely to stay so for awhile, particularly for cattle and sheep. Demand for meat is zooming, not only here but in Western Europe and Great Britain. There's no threat of consequence from imports. Australia and Argentina, big exporters, are both short of meat, although admittedly this may be temporary.

Grain markets have been higher, too, not only because of our own heavy demand for food and feed, but because we're shipping record amounts abroad, both for dollars and for free.

The giveaway part has burgeoned because of famine conditions in India, the cash part because of big demand from Japan and Western Europe. (The future in Europe depends on what the Common Market does.) Our farm exports will soon hit $7 billion a year. Already they account for 25 percent of all U.S. exports, and take the produce of one-fourth of our cultivated acres.

Meanwhile our surpluses are melting. Some are gone. Wheat, once the arch villain, is down to security-reserve levels and probably below. We still have too much feed grain, but not a lot too much. We may have a big carryover of soybeans, but perhaps not enough for a safe reserve in view of the world commitments. Our surplus supplies of dried milk may not be enough to take care of pressing needs.

Longer range, consider these prospects:

Farming is a growth business—it has to be with more people to feed both here and abroad every day.

Farming is moving into stronger hands. While some families will yet be leaving it, a big part of the adjustment has been made. Those left will cut bigger slices of an ever-bigger pie. And they will be living on family farms, as they do today.

More industry continues to move to the country, offering farmers a second income at least part of the year.

Weather is now less of a hazard than it was, due to more irrigation, machinery to speed the work, chemical weedkillers and better harvesting and storage equipment.

Our food for freedom program is bound to grow, calling for more proteins, not just our surplus cereals.

This, then, is the way the picture is shaping up. It has its dark spots and uncertainties, but when we look at it all we want to be counted among the optimists.

There's no doubt about it: Farming in the United States is entering a new and better day.

And how does the American consumer benefit from this new prosperity in agriculture? Very well, indeed. This year consumers are spending only 18.2 percent of their disposable income on food as compared to 20 percent 5 years ago and 50 percent or more being spent in other countries.

Yes, we can all be proud of our Nation's agriculture. It is the source of our Nation's strength—the envy of the rest of the world. The consumers can be grateful to the Nation's farmers for the abundance they enjoy at so reasonable a price. Farmers are benefiting from a new stability in price and income.

And how did this all come about? It was a combination of sound legislation for which we can take credit and sound, dedicated administration on the part of our Secretary of Agriculture, Orville L. Freeman.

I am in complete agreement with President Johnson who said of Orville Freeman on April 7 that he is "one of the greatest administrators this Government has ever known."

The record I have just reviewed proves it.

Secretary Freeman took on a job in 1961 that few men would dare to tackle. By any measure, it was to be a thankless, demanding job.

Recall, if you will, the situation in agriculture back in 1961 when he took over.

The agricultural economy was in a gravely depressed state after 8 years of almost steadily declining prices and income. There was a pervasive feeling of pessimism and lack of confidence among our farm families and among the businessmen in rural areas. And the prospects were bleak.

No one had any clear or definite idea of how to achieve real parity of income for farmers.

Orville Freeman inherited an incredible surplus problem and he was told to solve it.

The entire rural economy was flabby and weak. Rural communities were drying up and deterioriating rapidly.

Opportunities for young people became nonexistent and people by the hundreds of thousands migrated to the cities each year where they were unwanted and unneeded. Most of them came to the cities ill trained and ill prepared to cope with city life. And while the rural areas were being decimated of the energy and enterprise that these young people could give, overburdened cities suffered from the influx of these rural people creating worse problems of congestion, slums, and dangerous tensions.

It not only took a man of unquestioned ability to solve these problems—but it took courage—it took vision—it took a man able to see things a new way and try new methods and new programs to solve old problems.

When you are faced with that kind of a situation, you are going to make a few people unhappy. But Orville Freeman didn't take the job as Secretary of Agriculture to win any popularity contest. I submit, however, that he has won the respect, the confidence, and admiration of an overwhelming majority of people in this Nation—and deservedly so.

During the 5 years of his administration, the Department of Agriculture has moved from the old traditional position that was almost solely concerned with the problems of farming as such to a concern that now includes the entire rural community and all its people. Further, he also recognizes that the production of food and fiber and its price is the concern of all consumers.

He does not use our Government storage and loan programs as the ultimate marketplace for farmers but uses it as Congress intended it to be used: as a mechanism for orderly marketing and stability of farm prices. This policy has benefited both the farmers and the public.

This policy has stabilized feed grain prices and subsequently livestock prices as they never have for many years.

It is no easy task to maintain the fine, delicate balance between production and fair, reasonable farm prices and at the same time protect the interest of the consuming public.

But Orville Freeman has accomplished this.

Mr. Speaker, I do not alone hold this opinion. It is shared by many. In an editorial on April 19, the Des Moines, Iowa, Register fully supports Secretary Freeman's policies and calls the accusations of a few people who have accused the President and Secretary for blaming high food prices on farmers "as amusing distortions." I want to give every one of my colleagues the opportunity to read this editorial, entitled "Food Prices and the Farmer," and, therefore, I would like to have it inserted in the RECORD.

FOOD PRICES AND THE FARMER

The military services recently announced that they were reducing servings of bacon to the troops because of high prices. Earlier the Air Force and Army said they were buying less butter and more margarine because butter was so high.

Then Agriculture Secretary Freeman made a statement, in answer to questions about food prices, noting that prices of farm products and dropped slightly and probaby would go lower during the year, so that consumers could expect some reductions in food costs. President Johnson also commented on the food price situation by advising consumers to shop around and buy cheaper cuts of meat and low-cost foods.

These items in the news have brought forth outraged reactions from a few farm leaders and Republican politicians. They have accused the President of blaming the high food prices on farmers and blasted Freeman for what they called an expression of pleasure that farm prices were likely to decline.

These distortions are amusing, because some of the same people not long ago were accusing the administration of imposing a "bread tax" on consumers. They also have urged lower price supports and an end to farm production controls. Now they seem to be on the other side of the fence, objecting to anything that would keep farm prices down, including sales of government grain reserves.

At a time when farm income has taken a sharp spurt and is the highest in history on a per farm or per person basis, it seems ungracious of farm leaders to complain about a bit of attention to the consumer. What is wrong with the military services adjusting their purchases to minimize use of the higher priced items? Or for the President to suggest that consumers buy wisely?

Most of the 6-percent rise in retail food prices in the last year came from the sharp reduction in hog production and higher hog prices. Farmers are now increasing pig production, and prices will decline late in the year. However, the general level of prices of farm products is unlikely to fall much, and the Department of Agriculture predicts a further rise in farm income in 1966.

Farm income per farm and per person was practically stagnant during the 1950's while nonfarm income was rising. In the 1960's, however, farm income has risen rapidly—about 50 percent per person on farms, while nonfarm income per person was rising 25 percent.

Farm families living on commercial farms of $20,000 gross sales per year and more are now receiving incomes fully as high as comparable families living in cities. Making allowance for average returns on invested capital, the average farmer on a commercial farm of this size is obtaining higher returns for his work than the average wage earner in manufacturing.

The farm programs of recent years which have held production in check have been a major factor in improving income of commercial farmers. Such farmers should not complain if the government tries to adjust its own military purchases to reduce costs of food and make more bacon and butter available for the civilian consumer.

Mr. Speaker, I am willing to let this record speak for itself. It is a record that not one of us expected to read 5 years ago. Never in all my years in this House have I had such confidence in a Secretary of Agriculture. Never have I looked forward with more confidence to the future well-being of our farm families, to the improvement and strengthening of our entire rural economy, nor have such complete assurance that our Nation will enjoy the magnificent fruits of our great abundance.

FILING OF MINORITY VIEWS, COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the minority of the Committee on Banking and Currency may have until midnight to file minority views and that they be attached to the majority report on H.R. 14544.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

MIGRATORY LABOR IN FLORIDA CITRUS BELT

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, a torrent of words has come forth since termination of Public Law 78, the bracero law. Too often, what is said has been erroneous or incomplete.

I would like to comment on an apparent misunderstanding regarding certain aspects of our farm labor policy that recently was entered into the Record.

The statement unjustifiably attacks Secretary of Labor Wirtz over the requirements he issued for employers wishing to remain eligible for foreign agricultural workers.

It implies, without giving a full explanation of the situation, that the Secretary showed favoritism in accepting a sound wage-payment plan offered by Florida citrus growers.

It has been said that the Secretary agreed to the Florida system of wage payments but rejected a similar plan offered by California citrus growers a year earlier.

This charge is not based on all the facts. California citrus growers have made overtures to the Labor Department regarding an incentive piece-rate system, but the important point is this:

Their proposal was not similar to that of the Florida growers. It was not nearly as comprehensive a package as was presented by the Floridians.

Let us review the story of progressive action taken by citrus growers of my State.

Florida growers felt that a guaranteed average wage of $1.50 an hour, when combined with vigorous interstate recruiting, would secure more workers than the Labor Department's required guaranteed minimum of $1.15 an hour.

On several occasions, the growers presented to the Labor Department their plan, which was accompanied by a substantially higher piece-rate schedule. They documented their case with careful analyses of payrolls of typical growers.

As a result, Secretary Wirtz agreed to try this alternative formula as a yearlong experiment on a one-industry, one-State basis.

The harvest season is now nearing completion and everyone concerned agrees that this important experiment was a success. These are the facts:

More domestic workers than ever before were attracted to the citrus groves; more than 20,000 at the peak of harvest.

If it had not been for a bad freeze, no foreign workers would have been required for harvest, though 3,500 were used last year. Significantly, only 665 British West Indians were accepted by employers, while 1,000 were available.

The average wage paid these domestic workers was nearly $2 an hour, excellent wages for agricultural work anywhere in America.

To suggest that the Secretary of Labor is allowing Florida growers to use a simple piece-rate system denied to California growers is an injustice.

The Secretary of Labor has indicated to growers of other States the Labor Department's willingness to listen to proposals similar to the Florida plan.

All of us are indebted to Secretary Wirtz for his willingness to listen to the problems of American growers and for accepting their sound ideas for progress.

Florida's citrus industry has every reason to be proud of its progressive labor record—and it is time that the record was set straight in this matter.

"SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW ROLE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN EDUCATION"—AN ADDRESS BY DR. SAMUEL HALPERIN, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR LEGISLATION, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY, DETROIT, MICH., FEBRUARY 23, 1966

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Brademas] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the persons who contributed most significantly to the passage of the several major education bills which Congress has enacted in recent years is Dr. Samuel Halperin, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation, of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

A political scientist by education, with experience on Capitol Hill, and a former Congressional Fellow of the American Political Science Association, Dr. Halperin has brought to his present responsibility a keen intelligence and understanding of the legislative process.

I believe that Members of Congress will find of interest the text of a most thoughtful address delivered by Dr. Halperin on "Some Implications of the New Role of the Federal Government in Education" on February 23, 1966, at Wayne State University in Detroit, Mich., and under unanimous consent I insert the text of his address at this point in the Record:

Some Implications of the New Role of the Federal Government in Education

(An address by Dr. Samuel Halperin, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich., Feb. 23, 1966)

Americans have always referred to their lawmakers and the legislative process in a spirit of healthy irreverence. We have always had, as a people, a large measure of skepticism about the necessity for and the worthwhileness of politicians and politics.

But recent actions of our national legislators in the 88th and 89th Congresses should have gone a long way toward dispelling, certainly among educators, any notion that our Congress has failed to meet the challenges of the mid-20th century.

Measured in dollars alone, the Congress has been doing much more than merely talking about the importance of education.

Since the days of sputnik and the National Defense Education Act, Federal aid to education has multiplied at a tremendous rate. Appropriations of the U.S. Office of Education alone have doubled from fiscal year 1964 to fiscal year 1965 and this year, fiscal year 1966, they will more than double again.

Over the last decade, Office of Education appropriations have increased twentyfold to approximately $3.5 billion. All Federal education expenditures now amount to almost $9 billion, up from only $3.2 billion just 4 years ago.

Obviously, education is important to the Nation, important to the economy. But, there are better ways than money to measure some of the implications for American education to which my talk and your interest are devoted. When we weigh the impact of recent Federal programs in the lives of our people, we find at the beginning of this school year these accomplishments:

More than 100,000 students from low income families are attending college aided by Federal work study grants. Four out of five of these students could not attend college without this form of Federal assistance.

More than 5.8 million students are enrolled in federally aided vocational and technical schools, a 30 percent increase from just 1 year ago.

One hundred and twenty-five vocational and technical schools are being constructed with the help of the Vocational Education Act of 1963; when completed, more than 400,000 students will be trained in these schools for a changing world of work.

One out of every 17 American college students is receiving help from the national defense student loan progam. Almost 900,000 students at 1,700 colleges and universities will soon have borrowed almost $800 million to help finance their college education.

Almost 6,000 graduate students are working towards their Ph. D. under the national defense graduate fellowship program, up one-third from just a year ago.

Four hundred and sixty colleges and universities are now building undergraduate facilities with the help of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963. One half million students will soon have new classrooms, laboratories, and libraries which would otherwise be unavailable.

Seventy-two new community colleges and technical institutes are under construction and will soon enroll an additional 50,000 young people on the road to higher learning.

Some 360 public libraries are being built today under the Library Services and Construction Act of 1964. Twenty-three million Americans will soon be served by these new facilities.

Five hundred and sixty-one thousand culturally deprived preschool children have been learning basic educational skills under Operation Headstart.

Four hundred and forty thousand high school youth and dropouts are working and continuing their education under the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

And so the record goes—a record signifying that America's leaders mean to put education at the head of the national agenda for constructive social action.

FACTORS RESHAPE THINKING

The recent outpouring of Federal aid to education legislation represents the culmination of 3 major factors which have reshaped American thinking and brought about a veritable revolution in education. These three factors are: First, the magnified role of education in the lives of the American people; second, a growing concern for children who lack full education opportunities; third, the realization that the only major additional source of funds for education is the Federal Government; the only government that all Americans share in common.

Let me speak of these factors in turn.

The first of these factors, the expanded role of education grows out of an increased emphasis placed on education by government, by private enterprise, by the American people in general. Education is our second largest industry, second only to national defense. Before the recent escalation of the conflict in Vietnam, education was well on its way to becoming the first business of the Nation.

Almost 55 million persons, almost 30 percent of our entire population, are enrolled in schools and colleges of one kind or another. Total outlays for education in 1965–66 amount to some $42 billion, up more than twelvefold from the $3.4 billion spent in 1940. Over 2.4 million of our people are directly employed as teachers. Additional millions of workers earn their living from education, in sales, in construction, in maintenance and in related industries. Indeed, one expert has recently concluded that the knowledge industry—which includes education, publishing, the information sciences, communications, and the like—already accounts for almost $200 billion annually. This is roughly 30 percent of our entire gross national product and is rising at a faster rate than virtually any other segment of the economy.

Behind this boom is a growing demand for education, more of it than ever before. In earlier generations, a high school diploma was a standard of attainment. In 1920, only 17 percent of our young people graduated from high school. Today, more than 71 percent of our youth graduate from high school and that percentage is rising rapidly each year.

It is clear that college—and postsecondary education—is now becoming the common goal. It is now simply an article of faith in this country that children need more and better schooling to enter and to succeed in the changing world of work.

The second factor reshaping American thinking is the growing concern—a kind of collective national guilt—about the widespread existence of poverty in the midst of our affluent society and about the costly social ills which poverty breeds.

Increasingly, we recognize that poverty, ignorance, dependency, unemployment, and crime constitute the greatest of threats to the continued growth and strength of the Nation. More clearly each day we see them linked in a chain of cause and effect. States with the lowest per capita incomes today are the highest in unemployment, school dropouts, selective service rejection rates. Correlations between poverty, welfare dependency, and low educational attainment no longer can be disguised or ignored. Almost all accept in 1966 what was easily dismissed in 1946; namely, that virtually every social problem has its roots in our failure to educate ourselves and our children as well as we can and as well as we must.

The American people seem to have learned that poverty and ignorance, discrimination and crime are no longer purely local problems. In our highly mobile society, no social ills are local in nature, in cause or in cure. The solution to problems in education can only be found in a concerted nationwide effort which jointly harnesses the resources of States, local governments, public and private talents, industry and labor as well.

The third new factor in education, it seems to me, is the realization that the full resources of all levels of governments—local, State, and Federal—must be used to support and raise the quality of American education. Over past decades, many States and localities have taxed themselves to the limit to provide better classrooms, better teachers, and better schools. But more and more, we come to see that the resources of the Federal Government with its broader tax base have to be used if we are to continue to expand and improve education. This is a bipartisan conviction and seems to be gaining increasingly broader acceptance in the Congress.

SCHOOLS WERE IGNORED

It is interesting to note that this newfound commitment to use the resources of the Federal Government for the improvement of education stands in marked contrast to that earlier great period of social reform which we associate with the New Deal. When a third of a century ago, the American people directed our Government to a major series of political and social tasks, there was virtually no effort or interest in using the Federal instrumentality for the upgrading of education. At that time, Washington was central to betterment in health, in welfare, in industry, in agriculture, in finance, and in the field of labor legislation. But the schools were by and large ignored in the national thrust for what we have now come to call the Great Society.

When interest in Federal aid to education finally did become a major national sentiment, the struggle to enact Federal aid statutes was intensely bitter and, usually, totally frustrated. In fact, your library contains several volumes recounting the convulsive deaths of numerous school aid bills. Only 4 years ago, two of my colleagues in the field of political science were even led to conclude: "For close to a century the Federal aid story-line has run on without a break, rather in the manner of a daytime television serial. There is no particular reason to assume the end is now in sight, and some good reasons to suspect that Federal aid will not be approved within the immediate future."

Victory for Federal aid to education was close a number of times. The issues which complicated and on several occasions doomed it—such as reluctance to spend money, fear of Federal control, the church-State issue, racial segregation—each had to be overcome in turn.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 helped to clear the way; Congressmen could dispense with the question of whether to vote for a bill that either provided or did not provide funds to segregated schools. The great postwar economic boom seemed to make Americans more sure of the strength of their economic system, more willing to invest money in the future eradication of social problems. The congressional elections of 1964 insured an unprecedented majority pledged to work for Federal aid to education. President Johnson, the teacher in the White House, placed our cause high on the priority list of "must" legislation, and so our legislative planning began.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and other recent statutes seem to me to have emerged as the epitome of consensus legislation. That act was carefully designed to recognize and to meet past objections and to assure that it would not merely be politically viable but, much more important, that it would be educationally workable. It was and it is our view that education bills which split Americans apart—Negro from white, North from South, Catholic from Protestant, rural from urban—are bad legislation and bad education. They are as likely to set brother against brother as they are to provide sorely needed dollars for the classrooms of the Nation.

So, in developing our bills, we sought to bring individuals and organizations together which had in the past been opposed on the details of education legislation. We sought to reach positions of broad compromise and acceptance wherever possible.

After much study of the various possible alternatives and considerable consultation with interested parties, President Johnson sent to the Congress a series of bills which demonstrate conclusively that Federal aid to education is possible without the stultifying hand of Federal control; demonstrate that all schoolchildren can benefit from federally financed programs without violation of the first amendment to the Constitution; demonstrate that a formula for equitable distribution of funds can be found helping both urban slums and rural depressed areas; demonstrate that earmarked funds for the eradication of ignorance can be combined with general funds to increase the quality of education for all school districts, thus improving the entire educational system.

We have succeeded then in the formal sense that new laws are in place after almost a century of arduous struggle. Congress has now appropriated over $1.5 billion to get the Elementary and Secondary and Higher Education Acts of 1965 into operation.

Now that educators have the first large installments of long-awaited and much-needed Federal aid, we all have a heavy responsibility to produce effective results, to prove that Federal aid to education can, in fact, make the qualitative difference in the lives of our people that its proponents have always claimed it would.

NEED BASIC INFORMATION

This leads me to a discussion of some of the implications of Federal aid to education, the major subject of my remarks before you today. First, and following the repeated observations of Francis Keppel, Assistant Secretary for Education, we must now recognize that we are woefully short of the basic educational information needed to achieve our national purposes.

The Office of Education today can tell you all sorts of things about education: how many teachers we have, how many schoolchildren, how many school buildings, and even whether they lack indoor plumbing. But we do not know how much our children really know; the subjects in which they are strong or weak; the relation between different kinds of teaching and learning, or age and learning; or a host of other essential matters.

In the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the Congress requires by statute, for the first time, comprehensive information from school systems, States, and the Office of Education on what effects Federal funds are having on our schools and on our children. It is hardly surprising that when the Congress puts up billions of dollars, it tends to be interested in what educational difference those dollars make.

The Congress now expects an annual accounting of the new law; not just a fiscal accounting, but an educational accounting. This is required by the Congress on behalf of every citizen, every taxpayer of the United States, so that we may know where we are going, where we have fallen short, where we need to place additional effort. I predict that this type of requirement will soon be present in other Federal aid statutes.

Ultimately, I believe, it will be possible for the Congress and educators at large to debate intelligently what are the most crucial educational needs of our children, what benefits can be expected from further Federal investments in education, which are the most effective types of Federal investment—and, conversely, which the least. These are the kinds of questions we all have a right to have answered. Unfortunately, they are not questions we can fully and honestly answer today. Given the crude state of our information inventory and the mechanisms at our disposal for expanding that inventory, we can, at best, aim in the general direction of a problem, commit ourselves to attack that problem, improvise as we go along, and, finally, hope that all goes well.

I submit that this situation is intolerable. America is not so wealthy that it can long continue to devote precious fiscal resources to whatever seems like a promising educational idea. The problems of America multiply by the day and cry out for a solution. Dollars are simply not available immediately for everything that we would like to do to rid our cities of blight, to combat mental and physical illness, to transport and house our population with effectiveness and dignity, and to educate every person to the limits of his desires and capacities.

Increasingly, educators will have to compete for tax dollars also urgently needed by other sectors of our society. In that competition, facts about what works and what doesn't will come to play a decisive role. Educators will be challenged as never before to prove that their ventures are worthy of support, that there is an effective payoff which can be measured and evaluated in terms of what children learn, in terms of whether specific social problems—poverty, unemployment, crime—are or are not alleviated by quality schooling.

In the final analysis, we shall not merely be able to speak to you of how much money we are spending on education, but what that expenditure means in the lives of our people. This, it seems to me, is a first implication of recent Federal legislation to strengthen American education.

STATUS QUO ALTERED

In the second place, much recent Federal aid legislation seems founded on the unarticulated premise that new institutional arrangements and educational practices are essential if this Nation is to solve its problems in education. While some Federal aid provisions are clearly calculated to strengthen existing educational institutions (particularly the critical State departments of education), others have the effect of drastically altering the status quo in education.

Numerous instances could be cited. The Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, for example, is generally known as a bricks and mortar statute. Already, it has played a major role in meeting actual and anticipated needs for college classrooms, libraries, and laboratories.

But perhaps even more important to the future of American higher education, the 1963 act has called into being in every State of the Union a governmental instrumentality which generally was nonexistent just 3 years ago.

The statute provides, in title I, for the operation of State commissions, "broadly representative of the public and of institutions of higher education," to draw up a State plan for the use of Federal construction funds and to determine which colleges will get Federal grants. In political terms, these State commissions determine who gets what. As such, they have considerable power to influence the nature and direction of higher education in their respective States. They can plan ahead boldly or merely carry out their limited statutory functions. Once created, it is only natural to expect that these commissions will take on new functions transcending bricks and mortar. (Indeed, various titles of the Higher Education Act of 1965 provide the possibility that many of these State commissions will soon have responsibility for planning statewide programs of community service and continuing education and programs for the use of closed-circuit instructional TV and other types of laboratory and instructional equipment.)

If these State commissions are as important as I have suggested, it is sad to note that there exists no study at all of these bodies. No scholar, to my knowledge, has yet even described these powerful new agencies, let alone provided any systematic thought to such major questions as the proper role of, and desirable limits on, such commissions. Until this is done—and perhaps some enterprising Wayne graduate student could earn his doctorate in this way while simultaneously performing a useful national service—we only know that American higher education is being powerfully molded by these new commissions, but we cannot say with assurance whether that molding ultimately is for good or ill.

Another good example of the manner in which new educational arrangements are forced into being and the status quo altered by Federal aid legislation can be seen in title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This is the program of supplementary centers and services which, many of you will recall, was deliberately created to move education beyond the four walls of the classroom and to expose our children to a richness of educational experiences which can never be confined to the school alone.

Title III requires that a local public school district (or districts) applying for a program grant must provide, in the words of the statute, "satisfactory assurance that in the planning of that program there has been, and in the establishing and carrying out of the program there will be, participation of persons broadly representative of the cultural and educational resources of the areas to be serviced." The term "cultural and educational resources" is further defined to include State departments of education, colleges and universities, private schools, public and nonprofit agencies in health and welfare, libraries, museums, musical and artistic organizations, educational radio and television, etc.

What this means, in simple and direct language, is that education can no longer be regarded solely as the domain of the professional educator. While he will continue to have the sole responsibility for the operation of the schools, if the dream of title III is to become prevalent practice, the educator must forge new partnerships with all who can contribute to the finest possible educational experiences. He must reach out into the community at large to tap every resource which can help his students to learn more than ever before about the world beyond the classroom. He must see his role, not as one limited and set aside, but, rather, as a master orchestrator of talents and opportunities. Thus, he and his school will come to stand at the very center of the community and education will be at the core of life, and not at its periphery.

Aside from the all-important question of educational quality which lies at the core of title III, the point I wish to stress here is that the school as we have known it will, if title III succeeds, never be quite the same again. New partnerships between educators and noneducators will mean that education will gain a base of community support unlike anything in our history. The involvement of the entire range of cultural resources in a locality will mean far-reaching changes in traditional conceptions of the schoolday, the school year, and, indeed, the school building and teacher themselves. Much of what we now think of as "extracurricular" will soon be central to the learning experience as students come to learn in museums and symphonies and in offschool agencies of all types. The grasp of the teachers will be extended as never before through the cooperative service of lay lecturers, artists, musicians, health aids, and the entire gamut of professional and semiprofessional personnel who can help the teacher truly teach the whole child.

QUESTIONS FOR FUTURE

In short, new legislation can mean important new institutional arrangements as well as new educational practices. Here again, it is neither too early for educators to grasp the substantive challenge before them nor for scholars to study the important implications of what is happening to our American educational system in the wake of Federal educational legislation.

Time does not permit further extended discussion of other implications of recent Federal aid legislation. However, in summary fashion, I think that at least the following are worthy of our attention:

1. The effects of a growing number of categorical, as contrasted with general aid programs on the educational system. In this connection, some of the relevant questions to be studied would include: "Are categorical programs more likely to upgrade educational quality than general aid programs? Are categorical programs more likely to meet critical educational problems than general aid programs? Do educators gain or lose freedom as the result of this type of aid approach?"

2. The effects of Federal aid on the public-private school balance in this country. Is it likely, as some contend, that the spirit of cooperation between public and private educators embodied in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act will lead to an expansion of sectarian instruction? Or is it more likely that these new relationships will tend to erode the walls of sectarian suspicion that have long separated Americans? In any case, how will American public education react to its new statutory responsibilities to provide educational opportunities for the entire community?

3. The effects of Federal aid on the nature of the American teacher and administrator. How can we assure that a larger proportion of those persons entering education are the very finest talents that this Nation can provide? As society raises its expectations for education, will the teacher and the administrator rise to the challenge?

These latter questions, in particular, although they may seem familiar and even trite are, in fact, the most critical questions that we can put to ourselves. Federal aid to education, after all, is not an end in itself but only an instrument to achieve the goals we set for ourselves. Dollars from the Treasury are essential. But good people—dedicated to the highest ideals of our society

> and of the teaching profession—can alone realize the promise of these new Federal aid laws.

ARMENIAN MASSACRES IN TURKEY IN 1915

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Joelson] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, the Armenian massacres of 1915, planned and perpetrated by the Turkish Government early in the First World War, was one of the saddest national tragedies of that war. That shocking event also marked the first actual application of the idea of genocide, that is, the planned and deliberate extermination of ethnic groups within a country through wholesale massacres.

At the time when this fiendish machinery was put in motion in April of 1915, some 2 million Armenians then living in the Ottoman Empire were apprehensive of the tragic fate that seemed to await them. Their friends and sympathizers in other countries were also seriously concerned with their unenviable and tragic lot, though none of these friends, nor all friendly governments, were in a position to save the Armenians from the impending holocaust. The Turkish authorities knew that, however numerous and powerful these friends, since they were being involved in the war, they could not interfere in Turkey's plans of exterminating its Armenian subjects in the quickest though in a thoroughly inhuman manner.

The successful execution of the plan depended on its secrecy and its instantaneous application throughout Turkey. This carefully prepared plan was so diligently guarded by the Turkish Government that not even its ally in war, the German Government, knew anything about it. In that fateful April, when Armenian leaders in all communities throughout Turkey were arrested and imprisoned, even the Germans in Turkey were not aware of the diabolical move initiated by the Turkish Government. Once all these Armenian leaders were in prison, and all able-bodied Armenians were drafted into war service, the rest proved relatively easy for the Turkish authorities. With the aid of fanatical Turkish and Kurdish mobs, the Government was able to carry out its plan of massacring, or causing the death through famine and pestilence of nearly all Armenians in Turkey in less than 1 year. As the result of that tragedy, the Armenian massacres in Turkey in 1915, today the Armenians in Turkey number no more than 75,000, representing only the remnant of a once industrious, gifted, and thrifty ethnic element of the Ottoman Empire.

FIRST NATIONAL CONSUMER ASSEMBLY

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Farbstein] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, today marks the opening session of the first nationwide Consumer Assembly, which is being held in Washington, D.C. President Johnson has noted:

> The consumer has a right to a dollar of stable purchasing power.

Throughout the Nation, cries rise from consumers asking for protective legislation which would guarantee the President's objective.

For the first time, a group of 30 organizations representing labor, business, cooperatives, credit unions, church, and social clubs, and women's and citizens' groups are meeting to discuss with nationally known experts such subjects as truth in packaging, truth in lending, truth about automobiles and tire safety, cost of medical care and drugs, and air and water pollution. This assembly points up the increased awareness of the consuming public to the key issues which vitally affect their everyday life.

The Congress and the President already have recognized the need for action in many of these fields. In other areas, however, Congress is not moving fast enough to design legislation protecting consumers.

Mr. Speaker, let us hope that this national gathering will further focus attention on the pleas of consumers and result in favorable congressional action on several measures to attain the President's objective.

MILLENNIAL YEAR OF CHRISTIANITY IN POLAND

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Boland] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Springfield Daily News, published in my home city in Massachusetts, said in an editorial on April 16:

> The Polish Government has obviously decided to hamper and deemphasize as much as possible the 1,000th anniversary of Polish Christianity.

The millennial year of Christianity in Poland observance is to begin on May 3 and this year coincides with the solemn commemorations of Poland's Constitution of 1791. Observance of Polish Constitution Day by American citizens of Polish ancestry has become a lofty tradition since the outbreak of World War II in 1939 with the Nazi invasion of Poland. It is a tradition which sustains the faith of the Polish nation in cultural values, democratic ideas and Christian precepts of the Western World and strengthens the will of individual Poles in their homeland and abroad to withstand Communist-imposed travails.

Spiritually nourished by manifestations of friendship in the West, the Poles keep the hope alive that their day of deliverance and the return to their rightful place in the free world shall become a wondrous reality. By accepting Christianity of the Latin Rite in 966, Poland forever linked her destiny with that of the West and became a creative force in its culture, keeping at the same time a centuries long watch on the eastern ramparts of Christendom.

Mr. Speaker, I place the Springfield Daily News editorial at this point in the Record:

Poland and the Pope

> The Polish Government has obviously decided to hamper and deemphasize as much as possible the 1,000th anniversary of Polish Christianity.
>
> Were it not for the opposition of the Warsaw government, Pope Paul would have been among the pilgrims gathering at the Shrine of Our Lady of Czestochowa on May 3 for the ceremonies marking the millenium.
>
> Thousands of Americans were to be there with their prelates, including Most Rev. Christopher J. Weldon, bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Springfield. So were many thousands from other lands.
>
> However, the Polish Government has made that impossible. It has refused to grant visas to the bishops who were to lead the pilgrimages to the famous shrine. In its determination to restrict the ceremonies, the Polish Government has even refused to admit Catholic bishops from other Communist states. It has scheduled Communist party rallies and athletic contests at the same time as the religious ceremonies.
>
> Polish Christianity dates from the baptism of King Mieszko in 966, and Polish devotion to Our Lady of Czestochowa dates from 1655 when the Pauline monks there repelled an attack by 2,000 Swedish troops. The Virgin Mary was proclaimed to be the protector and patron of Poland, and this shrine has attracted throngs of pilgrims sometimes numbering more than a million. The May 3 pilgrimage would undoubtedly have been the largest ever held there, had not the Polish Government taken action to prevent it.
>
> However, no act of government can obliterate the influence of centuries of history, nor can it eradicate devotion and faith. In fact, the Polish Government's restrictions may draw even more world attention to the millenium. Many of the pilgrims who had intended to go to Czestochowa will instead go to Paris, where there is a shrine to Our Lady of Czestochowa, and to Rome, where there is the Polish Chapel of Our Lady of Czestochowa, established only 8 years ago by Rev. A. A. Skoniecki of Palmer. This chapel is only one of many shrines of Polish significance at the Vatican and in Rome, and there too the pilgrims will meet the Pontiff who had wanted to meet them at Czestochowa.
>
> There are many other churches around the world named to honor this great Polish shrine (there is one as close as Turners Falls) and other great names in Polish Christian history—St. Casimir, St. Stanislaus Kostka, St. John Cantius, St. Hyacinth, St. Adalbert, and St. Anthony Bobola. The

Polish Government's restrictions cannot adversely affect ceremonies in these churches, and in fact may have the effect of increasing them and drawing more attention to them.

The Polish Government can keep the Pope out of Poland, and can hamper and harass Polish Catholics, but when it moves to restrict religious commitment and devotion, it undertakes a task which history indicates is an exercise in futility. Indeed, instead of diminishing the millenial ceremonies and their influence, the Polish Government's actions may well have the opposite effect.

WILLIAM LEWIS HERNDON: PATHFINDER OF THE AMAZON

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in an address to the House on February 5, 1964, I summarized the career of Comdr. William Lewis Herndon and quoted an October 19, 1857, report to the Secretary of the Navy by Matthew Fontaine Maury in which the latter gave a moving description of Herndon's heroic death.

Recently I have received a copy of a fascinating article by Dr. Donald M. Dozer, now professor of history at the University of California, Santa Barbara branch, in which is described Herndon's 1851 exploration of the Amazon—a project planned by Maury in 1850.

In order that the contributions of Herndon in the field of exploration may be better known, and thus serve as an inspiration to the youth of our country, I quote it as part of my remarks:

[From the Virginia Quarterly Review, Autumn 1947]

PATHFINDER OF THE AMAZON

(By Donald Marquand Dozer)

A little past noonday on Wednesday, May 21, 1851, seven men on muleback, followed by seven heavily loaded burden-mules, filed out of Lima, Peru, through the Gate of Marvels and took the broad and beaten road toward the east along the left bank of the Rimac River. The leader of the little party was a bespectacled, red-bearded naval lieutenant from Virginia, William Lewis Herndon. He was only 38 years old, of mild manner, and of slight build. He had been detached from his vessel in Valparaiso, Chile, and commissioned by the Secretary of the Navy in Washington to "explore the Amazon from its source to its mouth." From the Navy agent in Lima he had received a sum of $5,000 to cover the necessary expenses of the exploration. In Lima also he had been given a passport and letter from the Peruvian Minister of War and Marine directing the authorities of the districts through which he and his party might pass to "afford them all the assistance and facilities that may be necessary for the fulfilment of their object."

In case this letter proved inadequate, Herndon and his comrades carried guns in leather cases strapped to the cruppers of their mules and pistols in their saddlebags. Their pack animals were loaded not only with camping equipment and food for a long journey but with bales of coarse cotton cloth, hatchets, knives, tinderboxes, fishhooks, beads, and other cheap trinkets which, it was thought, might take the fancy of the Indians and purchase services and food when money would not. One of the three American friends of Herndon who accompanied the little expedition as far as the cemetery a mile or two beyond the Gate of Marvels gave the gloomy parting that he never expected to see them again.

Thus began a yearlong odyssey of land and water travel across the South American Continent through the great Amazon Basin, which was still largely unexplored and filled with unknown perils and high adventure. Herndon met them with high expectations. On the first heavenly morning out of Lima he took an invigorating plunge into the icy water of a mountain stream and felt a surge of lightheartedness and hope "as strong and fresh as in the days of boyhood." At times the task ahead was to tax his strength and resourcefulness almost to the limit, and his thoughts turned longingly toward his homeland and toward his beloved wife Mit and little daughter. But his trip from Lima to Pará at the mouth of the Amazon—a distance of 4,715 miles by his route—was to yield results of incalculable significance for the entire Amazon Valley and for the future relations of the United States with it. Moreover, his journal of the expedition, faithfully written on jogging muleback or on a gliding river craft or under a mosquito curtain in encampments on the edge of the mysterious jungle and buried today among the publications of the 32d Congress, is one of the sagas of American travel literature, unfortunately too little known.

Up and up the expedition ascended into the high Cordillera as the valleys gradually narrowed and the Rimac became a "babbling brook" rushing "musically between its willow-fringed banks." As the mercury in the barometer, indicating their altitude, went below the scale, they resorted to the expedient of cutting away the brass casing in front and then marking the height of the column of mercury on the inside of the case with a penknife. Less than 60 miles from Lima, at an elevation of over 16,000 feet, they crossed the Great Divide separating the waters of the Atlantic from those of the Pacific. At the base of the mountain which their pathway flanked they saw the picturesque Morococha or Painted Lake, so called from the variety of colors which its mirrorlike surface reflected from the red, green, and yellow of the surrounding mountains. Into its waters, Herndon recorded, "I musingly dropped a bit of green moss, plucked from the hillside * * * and as it floated along I followed it, in imagination, down through the luxurious climes, the beautiful skies, and enchanting scenery of the tropics, to the mouth of the great river; thence across the Caribbean Sea, through the Yucatan Pass, into the Gulf of Mexico; thence along the Gulf Stream; and so out upon the ocean, off the shores of the 'Land of Flowers.'" Many a laborious month would pass before Herndon could follow the conjectured course of that tiny bit of moss, but high vision and a tenacious will kept him on his course to the long journey's end.

II

His proper task now began as he entered territory drained by the headwaters of the "King of Rivers." As he proceeded he made it his business to study mining, labor, education, transportation, agriculture, trade and commerce, Indian customs, animal life, and virtually every aspect of the country through which he passed. He descended into the famous silver mines at Cerro de Pasco in Peru by a shaft "which seemed only a little larger than that of a common well" and which sloped at a 75° angle from the horizontal with "the steps merely holes dug for the heels at irregular distances." On the following day he was so sore from the descent that he could scarcely walk and he could not bear to touch his leg muscles. In this desolate mining country 14,000 feet above sea level, he noted, people were looking "earnestly to the eastward for communication with the world" and agreed that it would be "a great day for them when the Americans get near them with a steamer."

As he entered the fertile Montaña or eastern slopes of the Andes he was impressed by their suitability for white settlement. He noted crops similar to those grown in his native Virginia, including cabbage, lettuce, onions, Indian corn, and tobacco. This region, he predicted, could be made "the finest rice country in the world." Everywhere he inquired as to the conditions of land settlement and colonization. Might it not some day be his destiny to lead bands of settlers to this region? He wrote ambitiously to the Secretary of the Navy from Cerro de Pasco: "I sometimes feel that I shall be doing a great work in the cause of civilization and humanity, if, when my present duties are accomplished, I can lead some of the starving thousands of Europe to the plenty and abundance of this fertile country." In a later letter written from Nauta, Peru, he confided to the Secretary of the Navy: "I hope, for the benefit of the human race, to lead a company of settlers to these lands." Here then was a great conception combining humanitarianism with business enterprise, and henceforth Herndon began to dream of operating a fleet of American-built steamboats on the Amazon and its tributaries and began to jot down the prices and kinds of commodities available at the river ports which he visited.

Traveling a few miles to the northward, he and his party reached the headwaters of the Huallaga, one of the main tributaries of the Amazon, which Herndon hoped might someday become a pathway for American vessels through the heart of Brazil to the gold and silver mines of eastern Peru. At the head of canoe navigation on this river they sold their mules and embarked in two canoes, the larger about 40 feet long and each hollowed out of a single log and manned by five men and a boy. The river course to the Atlantic now stretched out before them, a tortuous distance of over 3,600 miles. Rowing and drifting with the current, they generally traversed 45 miles a day, traveling from 5 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock in the afternoon. After landing in the evening on the tropical beach and securing the canoe, the boatmen made it their first business to go off into the woods and cut stakes and palm branches to make a house for the patron. With the stakes they constructed in a few minutes the framework of a little shanty which, when thickly thatched with palm leaves, would keep off an ordinary rain. After supper they all retired for the night at 8 o'clock, the Indians stretching out on the ground around the hut—each under his narrow cotton mosquito curtain which glistened in the moonlight like so many tombstones.

Each day of river travel brought new and exciting experiences. As the Indian canoes ran the dangerous rapids in the river, Herndon's nerves were quickened by the rapid gesture of the puntero indicating the channel, by the graceful position of the popero giving the boat a broad sheer with the sweep of his long paddle, by the "railroad rush" of the canoe, and by the wild, triumphant, screaming laugh of his Indian crewmen as they reached the bottom of the rapids. As they traveled along, they saw a fine doe coming down toward the river, but it eluded their shot. Farther on they had better success with a gang of red howling monkeys and shot three of them which the Indians promptly roasted and devoured. Herndon tried a piece of it but found it so tough that his teeth could make no impression upon it. Sea cows abounded in the river and were highly prized by the Indians for their flesh, which tasted like pork, and for their fat. Enormous turtles swarmed out of the river at night, deposited their eggs in the sand, and retreated to the water before dawn. Porpoises also sported in the river, and alligators appeared after the party entered the main trunk of the Amazon. On one occasion, Ijurra, the Peruvian guide, shot a large bat of the vampire species, measuring about 2 feet across its extended wings and having a delicate fur of a glossy, rich maroon color. At another time Herndon saw an ounce or tiger cat swimming in the river and drove it into the forest with stones. Parrots and lizards were plentiful, and a strange bird, called the Alma Perdida, or lost soul, sometimes in the deepest night sounded its wailing melancholy cry from the depths of the forest.

The Indians that Herndon observed in their tiny clusters of 15 or 20 houses along the river were a gentle, quiet race, submissive to the local priests and much addicted to drinking and dancing. They hated work and lived little above the level of the "beasts that perish." Filthy and mangy, some of them had the revolting habit of eating mosquitoes which they caught on their bodies in order to reclaim the blood taken by the insects. On one occasion when one of them had the dysentery Herndon charitably gave him some doses of calomel and opium, but the man "died with the last dose." The Indian dandies were often resplendent in their savage decorations, with heavy ornaments hanging from holes in their lower lips. In general the tribes followed the practice of binding the heads of infants between boards, front and rear, in order to flatten them. These people, Herndon concluded, could never develop, cultivate, and civilize the vast valley of the Amazon. Only if it were thrown open to colonization from outside could it be made to contribute its fair proportion to the maintenance of the human race.

The feminine charms of the native women were not lost on Herndon. The musical Spanish name of a woman in Chinchao who consented to supply the party with milk and eggs brought before him "the features of the gay and beautiful young girl, whose quick repartee and merry laugh added so much to the charm of Valparaiso society." At a ball given in the governor's house in the pretty village of Tingo Maria, Herndon recorded, "a fat old lady, who would not dance with anybody else, nearly killed me," and he woke up next morning "with pain in the legs and headache from dancing." At Taropoto, while awaiting some peons who were to transport cargo for him, Herndon joined a mounted party of eight on a horseback excursion to a neighboring village; on arriving there he was a little startled to see the two ladies of the party "denude themselves to a silk handkerchief around the loins, and bathe in the river within 40 yards, and in full sight of the men." On another occasion he was impressed by the charms of a pretty Indian girl, appearing to be about 13 years of age, who was the wife of one of his boatmen. "It was amusing," Herndon wrote, "to see the slavish respect with which she waited upon the young savage (himself about 19), and the lordly indifference with which he received her attentions. She was as straight as an arrow, delicately and elegantly formed, and had a free, wild, Indian look, that was quite taking."

After traveling down the Huallaga River for 700 miles, Herndon and his party entered the main trunk of the Amazon early in September. Already the river was three-quarters of a mile wide. "It rolled through the wilderness," Herndon wrote, "with a stately and solemn air. Its waters looked angry, sullen, and relentless." To him they appeared quite as muddy and turbid as those of the Mississippi, but this river lacked the charm of the Mississippi with the plantation upon its bank, the city upon the bluff, and the steamboat upon its waters. Herndon felt, however, that the Amazon had inconceivably great possibilities for the future. Steam, settlement, and cultivation would make this valley one of the most enchanting regions on the face of the earth. The establishment of three steamboats on the river—one running on the headwaters of the Amazon in Peru, another plying between the Peru-Brazil boundary and the mouth of the Río Negro, and the third covering the lower Amazon from the Río Negro to Pará—would stimulate and entirely monopolize the trade of the river, which according to his calculations already amounted to $2 million annually.

At Nauta, Peru, Herndon bought for $60 another boat called *Garretea*, which was 30 feet long, 7 feet wide in its widest part, and 3 feet deep, with a deck on the afterpart covered over by small poles bent in hoop-fashion over it and well thatched with palm leaves. Under this cabin Herndon rode, and from its roof the pilot steered the vessel. Under a lower covered deck in the middle of the boat sat the rowers. Herndon's specimens of rocks, fauna, and flora, of which he collected large quantities as he went along, were transported on a smaller auxiliary craft.

As Herndon floated down the Amazon in his picturesque craft, he imagined he could hear the crash of the forest falling to make room for the cultivation of cotton, cocoa, rice, and sugar, and the sharp shriek of the saw, shaping the valuable Amazon timber; in his mind's eye he saw gangs of Indian laborers searching the forests for rubber and hordes of wild Indians flocking to the steamboat landings to exchange vanilla, spices, dyes, drugs, and gums for ribbons, beads, and other gay trinkets. Dazzled by this prospect of rich profits he concluded that Brazil and Peru must be persuaded to throw open their rivers to the commerce of the world. "Had I the honor to be mustered among the statesmen of my country," Herndon declared, "I would risk political fame and life in the attempt to have the commerce of this noble river thrown open to the world."

When he reached the low shelving green banks of the Ucayali River, a tributary entering the Amazon from the south below Nauta, he determined to explore its headwaters. Recruiting 12 peons to pole and paddle his *Garretea*, he began the slow ascent. Struggling against the current they barely crept along as day after day passed in the most monotonous routine. Sometimes Herndon would land and, with gun on shoulder and clad only in shirt and drawers, would walk for miles along the beaches. As he watched his boat from the shore he was overwhelmed with pride to see at her masthead "the beautiful and well-beloved flag" of his country waving above the heads of her swarthy crewmen, and he felt a proud affection for it as he realized that he had carried it where it had never been before.

When they reached the neat-looking Indian village of Sarayacu, some 275 miles from the mouth of the Ucayali, Herndon's boatmen refused to proceed any farther because they were approaching the territory of warlike tribes. In their terror they even painted their mosquito curtains black so that they could not be seen at night. Father Calvo, the Franciscan priest who exercised a paternal rule over the Indians of Sarayacu, warned Herndon not to proceed any farther. Herndon, therefore, reluctantly turned his boat downstream, but his disappointment was so great that, according to his own report, he did not recover his gayety and elasticity of spirit until he finally received the congratulations of his friends at home.

III

On December 4, Herndon reached Tabatinga where the Amazon waters entered Brazil. As he disembarked from his vessel wearing the uniform of a lieutenant in the U.S. Navy, he was saluted with seven guns and was received with much stately ceremony by the commandant. His passport, which he presented to the commandant, charged all Brazilian authorities to place no obstacle in his way but rather to lend him all facilities that he and his party might need. Nevertheless, the officer in charge cautioned him against making drawings of his tumbledown fortifications and persuaded Herndon to exchange his vessel for a Brazilian craft in compliance with the law of the empire which forbade foreign vessels to navigate its interior waters. From that point to the end of the voyage Herndon refrained from flying his flag in deference to Brazilian law.

The river now became broader and deeper, reaching a width of a mile and a half a few miles below Tabatinga and a depth of 66 feet in midstream. They were still more than 2,000 miles from their destination and many a time, worn and wearied with canoe life, Herndon felt like exclaiming, "This river seems interminable." Drifting or paddling all day and sometimes to 10 or 11 o'clock at night, the expedition passed occasional clusters of huts surrounding a stinking manteiga factory, where turtle egg oil was made, or the mouths of tributary streams, which they sometimes explored; and Herndon busied himself in collecting specimens of various kinds and making scientific observations. On January 5, they entered the broad and superb confluence of the Río Negro, whose mouth at the point where it entered the Amazon was 2 miles wide. The river seemed well named, for its waters had the appearance of black marble, and when taken up in a tumbler showed a light red color.

Everything that Herndon saw fed his ambition to become the colonizing entrepreneur of this valley. When the President of the Province of Amazonas bade farewell to Herndon, his parting wish was that "you could bring me a thousand of your active, industrious, and intelligent population, to set an example of labor to these people." Wherever Herndon went he observed and reported on the conditions of steamboat travel. At Barra, Brazil, he found a dilapidated steamer which had just made the trip up from Pará—a distance of 1,000 miles—in 18 days. This, according to Herndon, "was the first trip ever made by by steam." Considering that the wood prepared for the steamer had not had time to dry and that there was a current of nearly 3 miles in an hour against the boat for about one-third of the distance, he did not judge it a very bad run. When the little Peruvian, Ijurra, who had served as the native leader of his expedition, left him at Barra to return to Peru and establish a plantation, he promised Herndon that he would have a grand crop of cotton and coffee ready against the arrival of his steamer.

Herndon was fairly carried away in imagination by the potentialities of steamboat commerce on the Amazon and its connecting streams. He calculated that only 19½ days would be required for a flat-bottomed iron steamer to run north from Barra up the Río Negro and thence by way of the natural canal of the Cassiquiari into the Orinoco River through Venezuela to the Atlantic Ocean. The course of the trade winds made it inevitable that ships from the mouths of both the Amazon and the Orinoco would pass close by the southern ports of the United States. If Brazil would only throw open her great river to the trade of the world, Herndon was confident that the United States would reap far the largest share of the benefits to be derived from it.

As he watched the passing shores of the Amazon from his boat cabin, studied his maps, and talked with the natives at the river ports, Herndon conjured up still another scheme for developing inland transportation in South America. If only an 18-mile canal could be constructed near the headquarters of the river Tapajoz, one of the southern confluents of the Amazon, he concluded that steamboats could travel from the Amazon into the network of rivers emptying into the Rio de la Plata at Buenos Aires. Herndon envisaged the banks of all these streams settled by an active and industrious population, and the rich land divided into large estates cultivated by slave labor. If this could be done and trade awakened in all these fertile valleys, the power and wealth and grandeur of ancient Babylon and modern London must yield to those who would control this trade, focusing at the mouths of the Orinoco, the Amazon, and the La Plata.

On and on the muddy river flowed. The trip seemed endless. Herndon suffered from periodic fevers, from pains in his teeth and shoulders, and from general debility. When he left Barra on February 18, 1852, he had a sort of Wandering Jew feeling that he was destined to leave everybody behind and never to stop. At Barra, however, he had stumbled upon "the greatest treat" he had yet encountered—a back file of New York newspapers which, though they were not current, were nevertheless 6 months later than any he had previously seen. He eagerly scanned them for the latest news from home. At Obidos, at the mouth of the Trombetas River, while visiting a country house, he "caught glimpses of some ladies neatly dressed, and with very pretty faces" and he "was charmed with the sight of a handsome pair of polished French leather boots sitting against the wall. This," Herndon observed, "was the strongest sign of civilization that I had met with, and showed me that I was beginning to get into communication with the great world without." At Santarem farther down the river and only 650 miles from the sea he saw further "tokens of an increased civilization in a marble monument in the cemetery, and a billiard table."

As his physical weakness and his nostalgic longing to enjoy once more the delights of civilization increased, the Amazon on which his tiny vessel floated broadened into a mighty current. At Prainha, a village 90 miles below Santarem, the Amazon was 4 miles wide, and 100 miles farther down it widened to 10 miles. Some 55 miles farther the river suddenly flared into an immense bay 150 miles across in its widest part. Here began the great estuary of the Amazon, which was divided into two great channels by the island of Marajo, the northern channel flowing into the Atlantic at Cayenne and the smaller southern channel flowing into the sea by way of Pará. Herndon took the southern course and after threading a labyrinthine maze of channels he and his party finally arrived weary and forlorn at their destination, Pará, at 9:30 in the evening of April 11, 1852, almost 11 months after their departure from Lima. Herndon was so worn out with the hardships of the trip that he did not even take the trouble to go ashore for mail, but anchored his vessel in the stream, wrapped himself in his blanket, and fell asleep.

When he went ashore the next morning, he must have felt that at last he was in touch with civilization again, for he found Pará a picturesque trading port which served as the intermediary between the Amazon basin and the vast world outside. He brought with him to Pará such a collection of botanical, geological, and animal specimens as were seldom seen even in that port. For as he had traveled down the Amazon he had collected sand from the river bed, samples of rare woods and rocks, and many strange animals and birds, including a tiger crane, a delicate sort of turkey hen, a white monkey, paroquets, wild pigs, a mongoose, and a delicate Pinshi monkey, which, Herndon wrote, "sleeps upon my beard, and hunts game in my moustaches."

During the month that Herndon spent in Pará he indefatigably delved into the history and statistics of the port, conceiving it to be the Atlantic terminus of his projected fleet of steamships. In Pará's salubrious climate he rapidly regained his strength and recuperated from the rigors of his expedition. On May 12, he finally embarked on the U.S. surveying brig *Dolphin* for New York. To his deep regret his last monkey died as he went up New York Bay, but of the rest of his menagerie he succeeded in bringing back alive to the United States 22 birds of various sorts. Hastening to Washington, he laid the results of his trip and his recommendations before the Secretary of the Navy and then awaited the outcome of the diplomatic negotiations which would, he hoped, open the Amazon to the world's commerce and open up to him new opportunities for exploration and colonization.

IV

But Herndon was never to realize his dream of launching a flotilla of steamboats on the Amazon and its tributaries and of leading thousands of immigrants to its rich jungles and broad savannahs. The Brazilian Government persisted in its refusal to open its interior waters to foreigners and, instead, issued an imperial decree on August 30, 1852, granting to one of its own citizens the exclusive privilege of navigating the Amazon for 30 years. While the Government at Washington was negotiating with Brazil to rescind this monopoly and to throw open the Amazon to foreign commerce, Herndon had to bide his time and carry on his routine naval duties.

Promoted to the rank of captain, Herndon found himself in 1857 commanding the mail steamship *Central America* en route from Aspinwall on the eastern side of the Isthmus of Panama to New York and carrying about $2 million in gold, a crew of 101 men, and 474 passengers. Off Cape Hatteras the vessel ran into a heavy gale and sprang a leak. The waters soon rose high enough in the engine room to extinguish the fires and stop the engine. So great was the fury of the gale that when they tried to hoist a sail it was carried right out of the bolt ropes by the wind. Captain Herndon, foreseeing that his ship must go down, hoisted his flag union down as a sign of distress. Soon a small brig named the *Marine*, bound from the West Indies to New York, answered the steamer's signals of distress. Herndon immediately arranged for the transfer of crew and passengers to the relief vessel as it lay by. Each life boat made two trips to the brig, carrying in all 100 persons, but the *Central America* was listing badly. Its decks were already awash. As one of the last boats was about to leave the vessel, Captain Herndon handed his watch to a passenger. "Please give it to my wife," he asked. "Tell her——," but his voice choked and he buried his face in his hands. Then taking hold of himself, he resolutely ordered the hurricane-deck cut away and rafts to be made. He distributed life-preservers to the remaining crew members and then went to his stateroom and put on his uniform. Fully attired as a captain in the U.S. Navy, he took his stand on the wheel-house holding on to the iron railing with his left hand. A rocket from the bridge flashed its last signal of distress, the ship fetched her last lurch, and as she went down, the gallant captain bared his head in a final salute.

Forty-nine of the passengers and crew of the *Central America* were picked up from the water during that night and the next morning by a passing bark and brought safely into Norfolk. Nine days later three others were found 450 miles away from the scene of the wreck. But Herndon perished with his vessel. It was recorded of him that "he did all that man could do, or officer should, to save his ship and crew" and that he faithfully "stood to his post and gloriously perished." A monument near the chapel at the Naval Academy in Annapolis commemorates his heroic death with the inscription, "Forgetful of self, in his death he added a new glory to the annals of the sea."

If Herndon had lived only 9 more years he would have seen the Brazilian Government, under the leadership of a group of liberal statesmen, open up the commerce of the Amazon to the outside world in an act of unprecedented generosity and enlightened self-interest, and he would have seen hundreds of his fellow Americans, fugitives from the Southern carpetbag governments, throng to Brazil to begin life anew. As American steamboat captains turned their prows into the turbid oceanlike currents of the lower Amazon and weary confederate exiles searched its shores for new homes in the Brazilian wilderness, few of them knew the debt they owed to the valiant "Pathfinder of the Amazon."

THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SITUATION

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, during the past week, contingency planning negotiations for the creation of a new currency to help finance world trade and development were continued here in Washington by deputies of the finance ministries or departments of Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States. They met here in the next-to-last conference they will hold for arriving at a basis of agreement on improvements in the international monetary system before preparation of their report. They are to meet again next month in Rome, and then draft their report to the Group of Ten governments, in June.

The United States has been at the forefront of attempting to improve the international monetary situation through arranging for new sources of liquidity to finance growing international trade in the absence of dollar deficits. Between 1958 and 1965, deficits in the U.S. balance of payments were the source of about three-fourths of the new reserves accumulated by the rest of the world. Improvements in the U.S. balance of payments have been reducing the supply of dollars which have augmented the reserves of foreign countries in past years.

The prospects of supplying ample additional liquidity for the conduct of international commercial affairs through additions to monetary gold are not hopeful. As indicated in the report on the gold situation—House Report No. 702, 89th Congress, 1st session—which resulted from a study by the Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, of which I am chairman, the yearly accretions of monetary gold are too small to lend any substantial support to the growth of monetary reserves, and little near-future improvement can be looked for from that direction.

In the circumstances, the necessity for some means of supplementing gold—and dollars—with additional reserves pointed to the need for planning to that end. I believe President Johnson and Secretary of the Treasury Fowler are to be congratulated for having brought the possibility of a future liquidity problem to the world's attention, and in taking the lead in first calling for technical studies of means to improve the situation, and then, in having the large industrial countries move from such technical studies toward the negotiating stage.

The deputies of the Group of Ten monetary powers, in general, have been instructed to seek a basis of agreement on the improvements that are needed in the international monetary system, including arrangements for the future creation of reserve assets. These require consideration of alternate types of assets, including modification of drawing rights on the International Monetary Fund, some possible new composite reserve unit which would be directly transferable among participating countries, or a combination of drawing rights and reserve units.

Once a sufficient basis for agreement on essential points is reached by the Group of Ten countries, a much larger group of countries will give consideration of the questions involved, which affect the world economy as a whole. The fact that the United States has been able to obtain broad agreement on the need for some kind of new reserves is, I believe, a tribute to the foresight and skill of President Johnson and Secretary Fowler; and they are to be further congratulated upon their insistence that the interests not only of the Group of Ten countries, but other countries, also, be taken into account in planning for adequate monetary machinery to further world trade and world economic development.

REORGANIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS AND MINORITY CONTROL OF INVESTIGATIONS

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to reinstate my special order for today.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I have been advised that the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress will report their recommendations in 4 to 6 weeks and we can then expect the Rules Committee to commence hearings on those recommendations. It is my sincere hope that the joint committee will recommend action on my bill, H.R. 9252, to provide for the control of the Committees on Government Operations of the House and Senate by the minority party when both the executive and legislative branches are dominated by the same political party.

While research indicates that H.R. 9252 is the first formal proposal in the history of this Nation to provide for minority control of a standing committee, there are well-known precedents for minority control of investigations. The division of the Government between opposing parties throughout our history has arrested on more than one occasion, Executive domination of the Congress. I believe the modern role of official opposition should be regarded as an essential feature of our system and should be encouraged to develop a constructive and responsible spirit through legislation.

Since various news stories have recently indicated a desperate need for congressional investigation into Government agencies whose policies reflect conflicting programs, inefficiency and corruption, I have been swamped with mail from constituents. I have been forced to reply that it is unfortunate that legislative oversight is now practically nonexistent since both Houses of the Congress are controlled by the same party as that of the President.

Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States is the sole executive authority in the United States. The Constitution vests the executive power in him, with little guidance as to the manner of its exercise other than that he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed. As Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, he can order the military forces of the United States virtually anywhere he so chooses. For example, the substantial increase of military forces in Vietnam was carried through within the powers vested in the Presidency. Similarly, the decision to intervene in Korea was the President's.

In contrast, the political leadership of the Soviet Union is divided. As chairman of the Council of Ministers, Kosygin is the formal head of the Soviet Government and thus exercises all the formal authority inherent in that office. As General Secretary of the CPSU, Brezhnev is head of the Soviet Communist Party which is the real source of political power in the Soviet system. And as a member of the Politburo, Kosygin shares in this power. Under present conditions both sources of power, governmental and political, complement one another, but it is unlikely that either the Soviet Premier or General Secretary could act independently on a crucial question, for example, making a military commitment in the same manner as the President of the United States who commands sole executive authority.

In the American constitutional system it is extraordinarily difficult to remove a President before his term of office of 4 years ends. The most significant incident of this sort in American history, the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson, failed. Thus, except for death or virtually total disability, the President can exercise his authority for 4 years and even 8 if reelected.

Tenure of office for the political leader is not necessarily a guarantee in the Soviet political system, that is, except the Stalin years of totalitarianism. Within a few months after assuming Stalin's mantle, Malenkov was divested of his authority as General Secretary of the CPSU, holding only the Premiership of the Government. In February 1955, Malenkov was forced to resign from this office to be replaced by Bulganin. Khrushchev retained the position of General Secretary of the party. In July 1957, Bulganin was removed, and Khrushchev assumed both positions as Premier of the Government and General Secretary of the party. But even in this position his power was limited by various political forces acting within the Soviet political system. Some scholars have referred to Khrushchev's leadership not as a dictatorship but rather as a collegial leadership in which he played a major role. Of course, Khrushchev himself was removed from both offices in October 1964. And there are no assurances that Brezhnev and Kosygin will hold their posts for 2, 3, 4, or any determined number of years.

Thus, by virtue of having a constitutional tenure of 4 years and perhaps even 8, it could be said that our President has an advantage in exercising the power he holds over that of the present Soviet political leadership. This power has been building up for over 30 years so that the omnipotent Executive has become the Nation's greatest spender of its taxpayers' money in all its peacetime history. The Chief Executive concerns himself with the air we breathe and the water we drink, with junkyards and with beauty—not to mention building houses for us, planning our cities, and reclaiming blighted areas. All of these things require money—tax money. Moreover, attention to these matters leaves the Executive short on time to defend the Nation against its enemies and to conduct its foreign affairs which are primary duties laid upon him by the Constitution.

Very recent events demonstrate dramatically the octopus-type power of the Executive. The New York Herald Tribune of November 9, 1965, reported:

> There is a more fundamental issue in the President's crackdown on aluminum than his use of the stockpile for purposes clearly beyond the intent of Congress in authorizing its creation. Mr. Johnson has moved his administration into the business of administering industrial prices. * * * The proper extent of the Government's coercive powers is * * * of much greater significance than whether the price of aluminum should be a half cent higher or a quarter cent lower. Mr. Johnson is concerned over inflation, and rightly so (though not sufficiently concerned to balance his own budget.)
>
> We have a far better mechanism than Presidential judgment for determining justified price levels; the forces of a free market. * * * In the short run, prices may go higher than they should; in the long run, they could hardly be sustained in a competitive market. * * * The President has every right to "state the public interest," as he himself might put it; but when he begins trotting out the Federal arsenal of economic weapons, he risks launching a dangerous spiral of his own—a spiral of coercion that is not easily stopped.

Clark Mollenhoff, veteran Washington newsman and Pulitzer Prize winner, points out in his book "Despoilers of Democracy":

> The power of Congress and the press to serve as a check on the executive branch must be preserved and actively supported. * * *

> American citizens must understand the importance of this balance of power and be ever on guard against any threat to it.
>
> If the public doesn't care about its Congress * * * and if it continues to shrug its shoulders over arrogant administration and shoddy favoritism, as well as outright corruption, then one day the house of democracy may fall.

The matters covered by the Executive directly affect the daily lives of millions of people. There is no question that big government has been getting bigger as well as more intrusive.

Minimal effective checks on Executive power require that: first, each individual whose interests are directly affected by government action shall, if he wishes, have a meaningful day in court—not necessarily a court of law. If before a congressional committee, he should be allowed to present his case upon the assumption that someone with real authority will in good faith seriously consider his statement; second, the congressional committee should be independent and objective—free from external direction by party or Executive officials; and third, the congressional committee shall reveal to the public the facts presented and the details of procedure, thus avoiding either arbitrary departures from general rules or unfair application of general rules.

Committee decisions are accepted in part because they are supported and enforced by the power of the Congress. They are also accepted because they are regarded as fair and just in their own right and are viewed as the product of a legislative body which is regarded as serving a common need and indispensable function in our society.

There are certain attributes which we usually look for in determining the fairness and justice of a committee decision in its own right, as far as procedure is concerned. We are more willing to attribute these qualities to judgments arrived at: first, manifestly on the basis of the weight of the testimony; second, after all parties brought forward by both the majority and minority—The word "minority" will refer to the major minority party when both Houses of Congress are controlled by the same major party as that of the President, unless otherwise indicated—had a chance to present their case fully; third, undominated by the special interest of the chairman in the outcome of the investigation; or, fourth, not on the initiative of the chairman, but at the request of the minority.

Committee decisions often depart widely from these standards for what are deemed compelling reasons. Thereby, they may forfeit public confidence in their fairness and justice and rely for acceptance instead upon public respect for Congress, as well as fear of the possible invocation of Executive force.

For example, committee members may rely partly on information and arguments not adduced by the witnesses, without affording a full hearing. Chairmen may consent to committee action only after pressure from the news media and even then may have a special interest in the outcome.

Such factors greatly weaken the moral force, so to speak, of committee decisions. But the availability of investigation by the Government Operations Committees under minority control, in those cases where these conditions are present, may do much to restore the moral force otherwise lacking, and thus secure public acceptance of the fairness and justice of congressional actions.

The existence of minority control would be a constant reminder to the official that excessive actions risk legislative inquiry and reversal. It would be a constant source of assurance and security to the individual citizen that he has this method of vindicating his rights against the Executive before an independent tribunal.

If the Executive process is part and parcel of a necessary delegation of power to Government officials to enable them to handle adequately the problems of modern society, then congressional review seems essential to insure that this power be exercised conscientiously, within the minimum demands of procedural fairplay, without the requirement of a judicially determinable violation of constitutional or statutory rights. The delegation of discretionary powers to the minority is neither new nor foreign to a congressional "rule of law." What is novel is the enormous amount of discretion entrusted to modern Executive officials.

Rule XI of the House of Representatives, section 691, 8(c)(2), states that the Committee on Government Operations "shall have the duty of studying the operation of Government activities at all levels with a view to determining its economy and efficiency." Control of the Executive has long been one of the main functions of the Congress. For example, from 1789 to 1925 there were upwards of 300 congressional investigations of Executive conduct. Since Congress has yielded more and more authority to the Executive, I feel it must seek ways of insuring that the Executive carries out its intentions.

For that reason, I introduced H.R. 9252 to provide—

> That the majority of the membership (including the chairman) of the Committee on Government Operations of the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively, shall be composed of members of a major political party other than the political party of which the President of the United States is a member.

The bill reads as follows:

> *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the respective amendments made by the following sections of this Act are enacted by the Congress—
>
> (1) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively, and shall be considered as one of the rules of that House of Congress to which specifically applicable; and
>
> (2) with full recognition of the constitutional right of such House to change such rule at any time, in the same manner, and to the same extent, as in the case of any other rule of such House.
>
> SEC. 2. Clause (j) of rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate (relating to the Committee on Government Operations of the Senate) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:
>
> "(3) The majority of the membership (including the chairman) of such committee shall be composed of members of a major political party other than the political party of which the President of the United States is a member."
>
> SEC. 3. Clause 8, of rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives (relating to the Committee on Government Operations of the House of Representatives) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:
>
> "(e) The majority of the membership (including the chairman) of such committee shall be composed of members of a major political party other than the political party of which the President of the United States is a member."
>
> SEC. 4. The foregoing provisions of this Act shall become effective at the beginning of the next regular session of the Congress which follows the date of enactment of this Act.

The requirement that the chairman be a member of the minority would not permit the chairman to play the part of an autocrat with impunity, since the chairman and the committee would have to depend upon the whole House or Senate for legislative acceptance of their proposals. But it would tend to give the chairman a spirit of independence and freedom to criticize the operations of the Executive.

Quite often a minority member will have information which it would be in the public interest to disclose in the press; a newsman will recognize this but will be reluctant to use the information which does not have an "official stamp" so to speak. H.R. 9252 would provide an official minority outlet to the news media.

Although I have been unable to find any legislative precedents for H.R. 9252, there certainly are many precedents for minority control of investigations—the most famous being the minority investigation of the Teapot Dome scandal. Every boy and girl in this country who took a high school history course would undoubtedly have studied this scandal.

In 1923, the Executive and both Houses of Congress were under the control of Republicans, but Senator Thomas J. Walsh, Democrat of Montana, was prevailed upon to take command of the Public Lands Committee to investigate improprieties surrounding the leasing of the Teapot Dome oil reserve.

The most recent instance is when Senator Harry Byrd was permitted to retain his chairmanship of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures in the Republican 80th and 83d Congresses, although the Executive was not Republican in the 80th Congress. Also, in the 63d Congress, when the Senate had 72 standing committees, 51 Democrats, and a 1-committee-chairmanship rule, 21 committees were perforce chaired by Republicans.

A search through Hinds' and Cannon's "Precedents of the House of Representatives," as well as Haynes' volumes on the U.S. Senate, and other volumes on Congress, including "Congressional Committees," L. G. McConachie, 1898; "The Jeffersonians," Leonard White, 1954; "Government by Investigation," Alan Barth, 1955; "Congressional Investigating Committees," Marshall E. Dimock, 1929; "Congressional Control of Administration," Joseph P. Harris, 1964; "The History of Legislative Methods in the Period Before 1825," Ralph V. Harlow 1917; "The American Senate," Lindsay Rogers, 1926; "History of the House of Representatives," George B. Galloway, 1961; "Forge of Democracy," Neil MacNeil, 1963; "Party Government in the House of Representatives," Paul D. Hasbrouck, 1927; "Congressional Investigations," Ernest J. Eberling, 1928; "The Investigative Function of Congress," George B. Galloway, 21 American Political Science Review, 47—1927; "Legislative Procedure," Robert Luce, 1922; the U.S. Senate, 1787-1801, Senate Document 64, 87th Congress, 1st session uncovered no instances of the adoption of a bill such as H.R. 9252. All resolutions providing for investigations by standing or select committees that are produced in "Hinds' and Cannon's Precedents" merely provide for committees of a specified number, and in a rare instance, during the 1920's, a specification that the select Senate committee be composed of three members of the majority—Republicans—including one progressive Republican and two members of the minority—Democrats—Cannon's "Precedents of the House of Representatives," volume VI, paragraph 364.

The general rule, particularly over the last hundred years, seems to have been committee representation in accordance with party strength in both Houses—ibidem, volume VIII, paragraphs 2184, 2187, 2188. Hinds' "Precedents of the House of Representatives," volume IV, paragraphs 4467, 4477, 4478, 4551.

It is true that in the early days of the House, and at least up through 1898 in the Senate, some standing—and select—committees had majorities on them from the minority party or were chaired by a member of the minority party, but to our knowledge the resolutions or rules creating them did not specify such a result. It usually occurred because of the distinguished record of a certain individual such as John Quincy Adams in the House, or because the committees were relatively minor in nature, or because distinction was given to a Member with long service in a particular area.

In his "Forge of Democracy," Neil MacNeil states, page 157:

> Down until the Civil War, in fact, it was not unusual for the Speaker to give political control of some of the less important House committees to the political minority and even appoint minority stalwarts to be chairmen of them. John Quincy Adams, for example, normally chaired a House committee, no matter which party controlled the House.

McConachie, supra, records that as a result of committee elections in the Senate in 1816, the Finance Committee came under minority control, and the chairman of the Senate Committee on Commerce and Manufactures was a member of the minority, page 275. He also records that the chairman of the Senate Committee on Pensions in 1845 was a member of the minority, page 282, and that in the early days of the House, some committee chairmen were from the minority, page 139. Samuel Randall, of Pennsylvania, a Democrat and Speaker during the 44th and 45th Congresses—1876, 1878—was chairman of the House Committee on Public Expenditures—a minor committee—in the Republican-controlled Congress of 1883, page 140.

In 1898, of 59 Senate committees in a Republican-controlled Senate, 11 were chaired by Democrats and 2 by Populists, page 293.

In all such instances, to our knowledge, however, these situations occurred from factors other than specific resolutions and rules specifying minority control or minority chairmen.

We, thus, have been unable to find any precedents for H.R. 9252 as a considered and definite policy of Congress.

Minority parties have formed their own ad hoc committees on an informal basis such as the Republican Congressional Food Study Committee which was created in 1943. It consisted of 44 or 45 members of the Republican Party in the House, under the chairmanship of the Honorable Thomas Jenkins, of Ohio—90 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, A3454-A3458—but it had no official sanction or authority.

Of course, when the Presidency has been in control of one party and one or both Houses of Congress have been in control of the other party, congressional committees will be created of majorities in the party not of the President, but such situations are the result of politics and not of determined policy.

The provisions in the House rules relating to selection of committees are found in rule X:

> 1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:
>
> * * * * *
>
> 2. The Speaker shall appoint all select and conference committees which shall be ordered by the House from time to time.
>
> 3. At the commencement of each Congress, the House shall elect as chairman of each standing committee one of the members thereof; * * *.

The provisions in the Senate rules relating to selection of committees are found in rule XXIV:

> 1. In the appointment of the standing committees, the Senate, unless otherwise ordered, shall proceed to ballot to appoint severally the chairman of each committee, and then, by one ballot, the other members necessary to complete the same. A majority of the whole number of votes given shall be necessary to the choice of a chairman of a standing committee, but a plurality of votes shall elect the other members thereof. All other committees shall be appointed by ballot, unless otherwise ordered, and a plurality of votes shall appoint.

Taken literally, the rules of both Houses do not prohibit the selection of committees controlled by a minority so long as the consensus in both Chambers is in agreement with such a prospect.

Second, the concepts of separation of powers and checks and balances support the thesis that the committee in each House charged primarily with oversight over the expenditure of funds by the executive branch and the efficient operation of that branch should be in the control of the party opposite to the President. The swing of power away from Congress to the Executive, the vast authorization of administrative powers by Congress to the executive branch, the huge growth of that branch, the great enlargement of the policy and legislative proposing functions of the Executive, and the consequent need for a thorough oversight by Congress are conditions which support H.R. 9252.

Perhaps the major function of Congress today is oversight over the sprawling administrative structure and this function is necessarily diminished when the party of the President and the majority party in Congress—and thus the majority on every committee—is one and the same. Note the comment by George B. Galloway in "History of the House of Representatives," page 185:

> Today "legislative oversight" has become a, if not the, principal activity of the standing committees of both Houses.

The most certain way to assure that funds are being expended by the administrative agencies in accordance with law, that waste and misfeasance will be ferreted out, is to place general authority regarding oversight of expenditures and efficiency in committees where the party opposite to that of the President is given control. It is the most certain way that the Congress and the public will be fully informed, that the public welfare is receiving maximum benefit, and that "whitewashing" will be eliminated.

The principle behind the bill was expressed by John Stuart Mill, in his "Representative Government," Everyman Edition, page 239:

> Instead of the function of governing, for which it is radically unfit, the proper office of a representative assembly is to watch and control the Government; to throw the light of publicity on its acts; to compel a full exposition and justification of all of them which anyone considers questionable; to censure them if found condemnable; and, if the men who compose the Government abuse their trust or fulfill it in a manner which conflicts with the deliberate sense of the Nation, to expel them from office, and either expressly or virtually appoint their successors.

Joseph P. Harris, in his "Congressional Control of Administration," 1964; pages 292-293, states:

> Congressional investigations of administration, and especially of charges of mismanagement or misconduct of executive officers, are seldom free of partisanship. Many result in divided reports, the members of one party absolving the executive officers of any serious blame for shortcomings, and those of the other party finding them guilty of misconduct or incompetence as charged. This obvious partisanship seriously impairs the utility of the inquiry except as a weapon of party warfare; the public is more likely to be confused than informed by such conflicting findings.

Lindsay Rogers in "The American Senate," 1926; page 202:

> Party control in the House of Representatives is now so strong as to shut off that body from embarrassing inquiries into Executive performances. Only when the majority of the House and the President belong to different political parties do the latter's agents suffer any scrutiny. This, for example, was the case during Mr. Wilson's last 2 years. Then 51 congressional investigations were in progress. But when a President has a Congress of his own political faith, inquisitions are not so frequent, their

institution by the House of Representatives is extremely rare, and Senate majorities are not anxious to act.

Dr. George Galloway in his "The Investigative Function of Congress," supra, page 58, states:

> In the final analysis, therefore, investigation may be viewed as the legitimate function and duty of a political party. It would appear to be part of its duty to reveal the errors, shortcomings, and misdeeds of the representatives of the other party in office.

He then lists some of the purposes of the investigative function, pages 64–65.

> It is a safeguard against imbecilities as well as corruption. It is the American method of achieving ministerial responsibility without reducing power. It is one of the checks in a system of checks and balances.
>
> It is a substitute for a system of administrative courts needed to protect the citizen from the arbitrary action of subordinate officials.
>
> It is a security against the misuse of opportunity. There is always the danger that public positions will become places of profit, that office will be employed as a means of private plunder.

But, he reports, pages 66–67:

> In order to secure the appointment of a committee of investigation, the support of a majority of those present in the Chamber is necessary, which is difficult to obtain when both the majority of the House and the Executive belong to the same party. The administration leaders will resort to every parliamentary stratagem to avert the danger. Many inquiries are proposed which fail to receive the support of the Rules Committee or the House and consequently fall through. Others are authorized but never reach completion.

Possible examples of such consequences in recent years might include the TFX investigation, the Bobby Baker investigation, the failure to investigate alleged pressure put upon Federal employees to contribute to Democratic "Galas," and the considerable activity of the Legislative Oversight Subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee during the Eisenhower years as contrasted with its relative inactivity since 1961.

As Dr. George Galloway points out in his book, "Congress and Parliament."

> The use of committees of inquiry by legislative bodies dates back to the practice of the British House of Commons in the 17th century. The Commons used them in disputed election cases as early as the end of the 16th century, and as an aid in the legislative process after 1688. Later, the inquisitorial power was assumed by the American colonial assemblies, which modeled themselves after the House of Commons and, asserted the same privileges. The practice of the Continental Congress and of the State legislatures in the period following the Revolution furnished further evidence of the heritage of this device by U.S. legislatures. Likewise, the Federal Congress after 1789 assumed that the legislative power implied the use of committees of inquiry with power to send for persons and papers.

The British still have devices for the efficient and expeditious conduct of investigations that Congress could well emulate. Since 1861, the select committee of Public Accounts of the House of Commons has been a critic of Treasury administration, and by reporting its findings to the Commons has fastened financial responsibility on the executive. Second, about half of the time of the House of Commons during a normal session is devoted to the criticism of Government policy and administration, and is largely controlled by the opposition.

The select committee on Public Accounts has 15 members and is chaired by a member of the opposition. The financial control exercised by the Accounts Committee is both retrospective and deterrent. As Basil Chubb states:

> Select committees cannot, of course, insure efficiency and economy; only the efforts of the administration itself can do that. But they are sufficient to assure the House of Commons that its wishes are carried out, that government is conducted honestly and faithfully, and that where business is not transacted efficiently there is a fair chance that notice will be taken * * *. Active select committees, criticizing and appraising the conduct of public business, have a powerful effect at once deterrent and stimulating, and they go as far as it is possible to go under our present system of government to enable the House of Commons to see that it gets 20 shillings' worth of goods for every pound it spends.[1]

Like our own Committee on Government Operations, the effective work done by the Accounts Committee is largely due to the fact that they have at their disposal the reports and investigation of the Comptroller and Auditor General. Also like our Government Operations Committee, the Accounts Committee is not concerned with financial policy—which is reserved for our Appropriations Committee—but rather with insuring that Government expenditures conform with the orders of the House of Commons and that public business is conducted faithfully and economically.

However, unlike our present Government Operations Committee, the Accounts Committee is always chaired by the opposition. Therefore, the Accounts Committee would receive and examine the reports of the Comptroller and Auditor General and would submit such recommendations as it saw fit in connection with such reports, a function not always performed by our Government Operations committees with respect to reports of our Comptroller General.

With respect to the second point, Dr. George Galloway asserts:

> As it works in the English Parliament, question time has several beneficial results. It keeps the ministry alert to the temper of the Commons and keeps the civil service on its toes. It provides a safety valve for the daily escape of parliamentary steam that might otherwise accumulate and explode in sensational investigations. It directs the attention of the Cabinet to inconsistent or conflicting departmental policies and programs and to instances of administrative inefficiency or private grievance.
>
> Question time works well in England chiefly because, under their form of government, Cabinet and Commons come face to face with each other. The members of the Cabinet are members of the House of Commons; they are the leaders of the party in power and they hold office only as long as they have the confidence of the House. Ministers are on the floor at question time, facing the House en bloc. There is no separation of powers or personnel. The House controls the Government, whose tenure of office depends upon its retention of the confidence of the House. Questions and answers are fully reported in the press and an atmosphere of watchful alertness pervades public affairs. Although the English Cabinet is the creature of the Commons and holds office at its pleasure, it acts as a steering committee of that body, lays out its agenda, controls all major legislation, and rules the nation. Under such a system the right to question on the floor and, by vote of want of confidence, to dismiss the ministry, is a vital and indispensable part of the governmental machinery.[2]

I am reluctant to suggest the creation of special investigating committees and would leave the performance of the investigative function of Congress to its standing committees. I believe that H.R. 9252, without the need for any additional specific language, provides for the effective devices just discussed. First, more significant use of the reports of the Comptroller General and, second, public discussion of Government policy and administration, thereby eliminating executive secrecy.

I also favor codes of fair conduct voluntarily adopted by congressional committees and codes of fairplay mandatory upon all congressional investigating groups by statute or standing order.

One must be realistic about the current chances for adoption of any one or more of the many proposals for congressional reform including, "resident agents for Congress," "Joint Committee on Legislative Executive Relations," "automated information systems," use of "congressional specialists," "institutional devices for improved congressional intelligence," establishment of "oversight calendars" pertaining to oversight of the administration, and many other fine recommendations.

And what I propose in H.R. 9252 is a long, long way from ever getting a favorable vote with the present complexion of the Congress.

Hearings before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress were held in 1945, and many alarms for reform sounded at that time are still ringing over 20 years later. Dr. W. Y. Elliott, professor of political science at Harvard, then Vice Chairman of the War Production Board, testified on June 26 of that year that there had been some improvement over the early days of President Franklin Roosevelt's first administration, but "there is still in my judgment need for the closest legislative scrutiny of the actions taken by the executive and administrative agencies of the Government."

Dr. Elliott pointed out that the operation of committees through the service of hearings is a method of getting ex post facto accountability of the administrative agencies—a problem that is still with us today. Reorganization of the Committees on Government Operations, as I have outlined, will, by its nature, prevent errors at the formative stages, both of legislation and of administrative policy.

Dr. Elliott reminded the committee:

> That legislative and representative government is on trial the world over as to its

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[1] "Congress and Parliament" by Dr. George B. Galloway, National Planning Association, November 1955, p. 82.

[2] Ibid., p. 74.

> ability to survive in a period when crises are recurrent and when often the very safety of the Nation or its economic stability may be involved as much by delay as by ill-considered decisions.

He also emphasized:

> The Committee on Appropriations of the House reviews the budget of every part of the Government. But it cannot in the nature of things do more than express the views of the committee as to the functions being performed. The power of the purse is always an ultimate power in the legislative body and a very useful one—Organization of Congress; hearings before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress; 79th Congress, 1st session; pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 18; part 4, June 26, 1945; U.S. Government Printing Office; Library of Congress JK 1061 .A48 1945; pages 951–973.

The fundamental purpose of H.R. 9252 is to assure that funds are being expended by the administrative agencies in accordance with law and that waste and misfeasance will not go undetected. With the swing of power away from the Congress to the Executive, the vast authorization of Administrative powers by the Congress to the Executive, the huge growth of the Executive, and the great enlargement of the policy and legislative proposing functions of the Executive, the need for thorough and persistent oversight by the Congress of administrative activities is heightened. The interest of good government demands determined and persistent, independent examination into and evaluation of the manner in which the executive branch is carrying out the legislative mandates under which it operates. The function of critically analyzing Executive use of legislative authority and the transactions which flow therefrom is one of the most important responsibilties the legislative branch must fulfill. Fulfillment of this responsibility is essential to an informed citizenry, the very touchstone of our democratic processes. With the majority party in Congress the same as the party of the President thereby giving rise, under present procedures, to each committee being chaired by a member of the President's party and having a majority of its members of the same political party, it is only realistic to recognize that a climate exists in which the important oversight function of the Congress is subject to political pressures inimical to the necessity for full disclosure and critical scrutiny of Executive actions.

My bill proposes to assure more aggressive inquiry by the Congress into executive actions through removing the political compatibility between membership of the key oversight committees of both Houses and the executive. I believe the proposals contained in the bill—that the chairmanship and majority membership of the House and Senate Committee on Government Operations be comprised of members of a major political party other than that of the President—would provide the most direct and efficient way to assure that inappropriate political considerations will not obtrude upon the oversight function.

I realize that the matter of how any committee of the Senate and House is to be organized is one peculiarly within the provisions of each particular Congress to resolve unless a constitutional amendment is enacted. I am also well aware of the fact that the problems which we are attempting to overcome are some which are rooted in the political processes of our governmental structure.

Therefore, I think it is important to point out that the various proposals for congressional reform are not the only means available for minimizing the degree to which the oversight functions of the Congress are subject to political persuasions.

It was in the very interest of obtaining the independent examination and evaluation of executive activities which are essential to the proper functioning of our governmental processes that the Congress in 1921 established the General Accounting Office. The General Accounting Office was created as an independent agency in the legislative branch and is headed by the Comptroller General of the United States under a 15-year appointment. The Comptroller General is not subject to removal except for cause and he may not be reappointed for a second term. The Office functions as an agent of the Congress. As an arm of the Congress, one of the main functions of the General Accounting Office is in the area of great concern which led me to introduce my bill—to assure the conduct of administrative agency programs in accordance with law and to detect waste and misfeasance where they occur. In executing this important function the General Accounting Office has consistently been guided by the principle that its effectiveness depends upon a reputation for independence of action and objectivity of view. Not only has it remained completely free from political influence, but I believe that it is constantly alert to the dangers of being placed in a position where its actions and decisions could be construed as being motivated by political considerations.

There is no need to detail the extent to which the General Accounting Office is responsive to the undertaking of examinations and investigations at the request of the Congress, its committees and its individual members. Nor is it necessary to detail the valuable work undertaken by that Office upon its own initiative in carrying out its statutory responsibilities. A cursory review of the annual reports of the Comptroller General and the direct contacts Members of both Houses have had with the Office would make obvious the fact that the General Accounting Office is a valuable tool toward accomplishment of the objectives my bill is designed to attain. For example, during the 88th Congress, the Comptroller General of the United States submitted a total of 668 audit reports and other communications to the Congress on fiscal and related operations of the Government. During the 1st session of the 89th Congress there were 75 different references in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD relating to use by minority members of General Accounting Office reports and recommendations. Hearings conducted by the various congressional committees are replete with references to findings of the General Accounting Office.

Reports of the General Accounting Office are available for whatever use the minority will make of them. These reports and responses to inquiries from Members of the Congress contain objective views with respect to the issues covered therein and recommendations for corrective actions indicated. If the minority concludes that the subject of a General Accounting Office report or any other subject indicates a need for further investigation, within the purview of that Office as a nonpartisan, nonpolitical agency of the Congress, it is free to bring that matter to the attention of the Comptroller General with a request that he furnish advice of his findings.

A heightened appreciation by all the minority members of the valuable assistance available to them through the services of the General Accounting Office, together with an increased utilization of those services to help bring to light matters relating to Government operations and expenditures, might go a long way toward obviating any immediate need for committee membership realinements as put forth in my bill.

However, in the final analysis, I believe that a reasonable man would agree that it is a fact that the substance of our desires cannot, in reality, be completely achieved through greater minority use of the General Accounting Office. It would not appear, particularly from some of the examples to which I have referred, that the assistance the General Accounting Office could render in such situations would be sufficient to accomplish our purposes.

The efforts of the General Accounting Office are no substitute for investigation by congressional committees. The General Accounting Office has no power of subpena, and they are not organized and do not operate in the context of conducting hearings for the taking of testimony regarding factual matters which might be in dispute. To say that the efforts of the General Accounting Office are not a substitute for H.R. 9252 is not to say, of course, that the General Accounting Office cannot be of considerable use to minority members of a committee who desire to obtain information.

Obviously, no need would exist for H.R. 9252 if one or both Houses were controlled by the major party other than the President's. This is probably the best argument for the enactment of H.R. 9252 and the most realistic as far as presenting this to the Congress for a vote.

Since 1858 there have been 16 instances of one or both Houses of Congress controlled by the President's opposition party:

The 86th Congress, President Eisenhower, Republican.

The 85th Congress, President Eisenhower, Republican.

The 84th Congress, President Eisenhower, Republican.

The 80th Congress, President Truman, Democrat.

The 72d Congress, President Hoover, Republican.

The 66th Congress, President Wilson, Democrat.

The 62d Congress, President Taft, Republican.

The 54th Congress, President Cleveland, Democrat.

The 52d Congress, President B. Harrison, Republican.

The 50th Congress, President Cleveland, Democrat.

The 49th Congress, President Cleveland, Democrat.

The 48th Congress, President Arthur, Republican.

The 46th Congress, President Hayes, Republican.

The 45th Congress, President Hayes, Republican.

The 44th Congress, President Grant, Republican.

The 36th Congress, President Buchanan, Democrat.

The effect of opposition control of one or both Houses goes far beyond the provisions in H.R. 9252 and surely the Nation has been the better for the checks and balances in our history. In fact, notwithstanding the statements by some political scientists that the magisterial and doctrinaire years between the 72d and 80th Congresses did irreparable harm to our system of Government, any one or all 16 instances cited above could very well have saved this Nation from Executive dictatorship. However, some form of opposition control should not be left to chance.

As Lord Acton said:

> Power tends to corrupt; absolute power corrupts absolutely.

We pointed out in the beginning that a President whose party controls both Houses of the Congress has, in some respects, more power than that of the present Soviet political leadership. Caesar took in hand the army, the Empire, and the opposition. "All is Caesar's"; there was no opportunity for what we would call legislative oversight. Thus, the birth of executive dictatorship was the beginning of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire.

Our three-branch system of government has helped to prevent a dictatorship from arising in our Nation. The deterrent to dictatorship would be strengthened by the existence and operation, on a regular basis within the legislative branch, of minority control of the investigations and reports of the powerful committees on Government operations.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF ISRAEL

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to reinstate my special order for today.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. UDALL). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the courageous people of Israel today celebrate the 18th anniversary of their independence. It is well to take this time to pay tribute to a people and a nation which have achieved in less than a generation the social, economic, and political miracle of all time.

No new nation has more quickly or more completely adopted our American democratic way of life.

In 1948 the Israelis were given a barren soil, woefully short of water. Yet arable land has increased almost fourfold since independence, and deserts have been reclaimed where nothing had grown for centuries. Israel now produces enough food domestically, with the exception of meat and some grains, to feed her population. In fact, her surplus food exports more than pay for her food imports.

The dynamic Israeli economy has enjoyed an average growth rate of 10 percent per year. This rate is higher than that experienced by the European Economic Community, Japan, the United States, or the Soviet Union.

The Israeli industrial sector is a mixture of private, state, and cooperative enterprises. Israel now produces a truly remarkable variety of products and her industrial exports have expanded accordingly.

One of the most exciting developments of the last decade has been the imaginative and resourceful character of Israel's foreign policy. Cut off from friendly relations with its immediate neighbors, Israel has rapidly increased its ties with the developing nations of Africa, southeast Asia, and Latin America.

Israel's experience with cooperatives, her applied technology, and her refusal to tie political strings to her technical aid have given her strong friends all over the world. In 1963 over 2,000 Israelis were helping people in Asia and Africa, and over 3,000 Asians and Africans were studying in Israel. More recently the Israeli Government entered into an agreement with the Organization of American States to furnish some 2,000 scholarships for Latin Americans to study agricultural methods in Israel. In northeast Brazil, Israel technicians are showing how high crop yields can be obtained with little rainfall. Israel's contributions to world economic development are far out of proportion to her population and to the size of her economy.

A most significant contribution, which Israel gives to the developing nations is the example of its own development. The Israeli model cannot be wholly transplanted to other nations. It is, however, a vivid demonstration of the potential power and dynamism of a system pragmatically tailored to the needs of a particular country. The migration of millions of Jews to the land of their heritage has helped to produce a uniquely Israeli development mystique. This cannot be transplanted to other lands but it can dramatize the need for each of the developing nations to develop its own system for enlisting human energies and dedication.

The Hebrew word for 18 is chai. Chai also means life. This is truly an anniversary of life—a life with all the deep religious meaning of freedom. Freedom to live in peace. Freedom to pursue the good life. Freedom to do unto others as we would have them do unto us.

Mr. Speaker, the State of Israel has great reason to be proud of her 18 years of independence. I am sure I speak for the other members of this body in extending to this ancient, yet truly modern people, our warmest wishes for continued success. Success accompanied by shalom—the watchword of my coreligionists which means peace. Peace for all people for all time.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the State of Israel is the most remarkable and startling postwar phenomenon in the Middle East. Though it is only 18 years old, it has its roots in dim and distant antiquity. Long before the beginning of our Christian era, there was the independent and powerful kingdom of Judea in which the Jews lived happily in their own patriarchal ways, developed their particular mode of life, built their own political, religious, and social institutions, and created their distinct civilization. Then, some 2,000 years ago, the Kingdom of Judea was overrun and brought to an end. Thereby the Jewish people not only lost their national political existence but eventually were evicted from their homeland and dispersed to all parts of the world.

Since then, for nearly 2,000 years, Jews lived in Diaspora, in actual dispersion. During that long and almost unending period of enforced exile from their ancient homeland the Jewish people suffered much. They endured proscriptions, discriminations, and a multitude of iniquities in many lands. But they bore the almost unbearable vicissitudes in their fortunes with a built-in fortitude. During all that time their spiritual and cultural heritage sustained them and strengthened their devotion to the idea of freedom and independence. Throughout these centuries their heritage was not allowed to wither away and die, but it was kept alive, carefully nurtured and jealously guarded. Finally, after long centuries of waiting and anxious suspense, at the end of the First World War, many Jews were given the chance to return to their ancient homeland. And in May of 1948, in accordance with the historic decision of the United Nations General Assembly, they proclaimed their political independence and launched upon the task of rebuilding their State of Israel.

The creation of the State of Israel was not achieved with ease or without superhuman efforts. It called for sacrifices and hard work not only on the part of Jews in Palestine alone, but depended heavily upon the good will and boundless generosity of world Jewry. Both these conditions were met in bountiful measure, and so the new state was able to get off to a very good start, despite hazardous conditions threatening its existence and in the face of formidable odds. Today, after 18 years of strenuous and sustained hard work on the part of its creators, the State of Israel stands as the embodiment of the centuries-old Jewish faith, as the fulfillment of their hope of returning to the home of their forefathers. It is a living testimony to the persistent and tenacious efforts put forth by self-sacrificing Jews for the common welfare and safety of all.

On May 15 of 1948, when the leaders of the Jewish people proclaimed Israel's independence, herculean work had already been done toward the creation of the new state. Palestine had already become a relatively safe refuge for homeless and destitute Jews. In the course of a bare generation, from 1922 to 1948, the Jewish population of the country multiplied by 10. On the eve of Israel's independence there were thus some 650,000 Jews in Palestine; that was a solid nucleus on which to build the new state. The newcomers, too, were dedicated to the single cause of making Israel a new center of spiritual and cultural life of world Jewry. Today there are more than 2,200,000 Jews in the new state, and the population is still on the increase. Another encouraging feature is that the Israelis are a youthful people and possess youths' energy and enthusiasm.

Today the State of Israel is a fast growing entity, the most powerful of the area, in the constantly effervescing Middle East. It is a lively, vigorous, and dynamic state. It is a democratic and progressive state with a popularly elected representative government. It is a small but strong state to be reckoned with in all phases of Middle Eastern affairs. In many respects it is a model new state in the oldest part of the old world. The Israelis are renowned for their ingenuity and industry, and they have displayed these rare traits in the building and in the very creation of their country. They are also stouthearted defenders of their homeland. They guard their newly won freedom and independence with gallantry and extraordinary vigilance. In these difficult and multiple tasks and in innumerable spheres of activity the Israelis have worked near-miracles in the relatively short time of 18 years.

In the underdeveloped and relatively backward Middle East the State of Israel has already become the most industrialized urban community. The country is in a position to export many finished industrial products, even though much of the raw material needed for its industry has to be imported. Economically and financially Israel is dependent on trade, and, though it is not easy to expand its foreign trade under the prevailing international conditions in the region, the Israelis are doing well with other parts of the free world, and they are not as dependent on foreign aid as they were a few years ago. Still, they count upon the financial aid of world Jewry, and in this they have not been disappointed. The Jewish people in the United States have responded to Israel's needs in an admirable and encouraging spirit. They make great sacrifices to assist their kinsmen in the new state. Of course, the Government of the United States has also given funds and material aid to Israel. It is also aiding Israel by carrying on extensive programs of technical assistance in such fields as agriculture, health, industry, and education. These programs symbolize the respect and friendship that the American people have for the young and growing nation in ancient Palestine.

Politically and on the diplomatic front the State of Israel has had its anxious moments and perilous days. Nor are the threats to her very existence diminishing. For that reason the State of Israel has been turned into an armed camp since its creation, and it has done this consciously, shouldering heavy material and financial expenditures. Before all else the new state has to be defended, and its defenses made secure. The Israeli leaders are quite realistic in their approach to these problems. The bloody events, leading to ceaseless conflicts with the Arab countries, are too familiar to them. Though full-scale war on all fronts has not taken place in recent years, the problem of peace between the State of Israel and the Arab states is far from being settled. No Arab state has as yet recognized Israel's existence officially, though they are very much aware of its actual existence. There is only a precarious and uneasy truce. In the face of this extremely dangerous situation, the Israel leaders have persistently pressed for the amicable settlement of all outstanding issues with their Arab neighbors, and they have not been discouraged by the rebuffs with which their overtures have been greeted.

After 18 years of busy and uneasy existence, Israel is fast coming of age, and has already claimed the right to be recognized as a young member of the family of nations. Under trying conditions and most hazardous circumstances, harassed on nearly all sides by implacable foes, the new state has moved forward and has registered remarkable progress. Despite the multiplicity of difficulties and dilemmas, the people of Israel face their future with confidence and justified pride. They continue their task of making Israel a model and viable state. On this day, on the observance of Israel's 18th Independence Day, I wish them peace, prosperity, and happiness, and express my ardent hope that they will be rewarded in their undiminished zeal to turn their state into a force of stability and peace in the troubled Middle East.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, 18 years ago the free world welcomed into its family the new, independent nation of Israel. Since that time many exciting, dynamic transformations have occurred in that land. Agricultural and industrial technology have expanded, science and culture have grown. Despite her size, Israel stands today, in a part of the world too often feudal and backward, strongly independent, economically prosperous and progressive. Here literally the deserts were made to bloom.

In 1959 I had the good fortune to visit Israel and came away convinced that at no time since the American Revolution had a more resolute and dynamic spirit been manifested among a people. It is right and logical that we, as a democratic nation, were the first to recognize a government with which we share many experiences, many ideals, and many aims. We have in common with Israel the experience of mass immigration and a great variety of immigrant traditions, tongues and experiences which furnish the nucleus of a culture both unified and distinctive.

Israel has won unity out of diversity. She has built strong bulwarks of freedom and independence. Modern day Israel is a tribute to the courage and determination of her people and a monument to the many free peoples around the world who have given her moral and financial support. She has battles yet to be fought and won but we know she approaches them with steadily increasing strength and resolve and with the support of those who are determined to preserve democratic institutions everywhere.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend our colleague, Congressman MULTER, for reserving this time for the Members of Congress to pay tribute to the young nation of Israel on its 18th anniversary of independence and self-government.

The successful establishment of a new nation on previously inhabited global terrain for many centuries has been one of the modern miracles brought about by centuries of perseverance, tenacity, and love of liberty by the Jewish people and their friends throughout the globe.

Israel has almost quadrupled population during the last 18 years and no nation in the history of the world has been transformed into an industrial, agricultural, educational, religious country with a modern economy with such success and with such rapidity as Israel.

Today with the rapid construction of educational institutions, Israel will, in a short time, be on a par with any nation in the world in its high quality of advantages for its youth to compete in this scientific age.

Israel's economic progress has been phenomenal with the establishment of industries, irrigation and agricultural development and the nation is taking advantage of all of the modern progress to compete in domestic advancement and international trade.

Since World War II, almost two million people have left former war-stricken nations, persecution, and prejudice to become citizens of a new and independent nation.

Thousands of Israel children are not only being educated in modern schools on all the essentials of 20th century study and research, but they are also being taught the language of their ancestors which was spoken in the same kingdom of Palestine 3,500 years ago.

The nation of Israel is but in its infancy. Expansion, improvement, and progress will increase rapidly as the difficulties of pioneering are overcome. As the generations pass, it will be a homeland for the Hebrew people throughout the world and a free government after many centuries, to a liberty-loving people.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join my colleagues here in the U.S. House of Representatives to pay tribute to the State of Israel on the occasion of the celebration of her 18th anniversary. This is an anniversary of which Israel, Jewish people all over the world and friends of Jewish people may well be proud. Against tremendous odds, this little country has carved out a refuge for thousands, and in an unbelievably brief period of history has truly wrought miracles.

In this short span of time, Israel has accomplished much. In almost every area of activity, every field of human endeavor, she is in the vanguard. In industry, in agriculture, in education, in the sciences, in the standard of living of her people this valiant small country stands high on this list of enlightened and progressive states.

And during this great metamorphosis, Israel has remained an exponent of the democratic way of life. She stands free and independent—a bulwark of strength for all to behold.

We are all aware of the close community of interest between this country and Israel. From the moment when President Harry Truman first recognized the newly formed nation to the present day when the programs of technical cooperation between the two countries has progressed toward the frontiers of knowledge itself, the record has been a happy and beneficial one.

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, on this, the 18th anniversary of Israel's independence, I am proud to join in the salute to the most progressive and stabilized country in the Middle East.

Israel is important to the security and welfare of the United States and the people of Israel may be sure that America will maintain, now and in the future, its close friendship with the State of Israel.

We in this country admire the people of Israel and congratulate them on their many splendid achievements in the face of overwhelming odds. Not only has Israel resettled millions of immigrants, made fertile the formerly barren, worthless desert land and created a diversified industrial structure, but Israel has also responded generously in sharing her experience with the new nations of Africa and Asia. Thus Israel is bringing the tenets of democracy to the far corners of the world.

The people of Israel can be proud on this occasion of the 18th anniversary of its independence and we in America extend to them the wish for continued growth and prosperity for their beloved country.

Mr. DYAL. Mr. Speaker, 18 years ago, that great President of the United States, Harry S. Truman, recognized a new nation as soon as the U.N. had voted for partition. As a Bible student, President Truman acknowledged a promise and a fulfillment. Our Nation's recognition followed the announcement of David Ben-Gurion, soon to be the new Premier:

> We hereby proclaim the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine to be called the State of Israel.

On April 25 this new state observes its 18th anniversary. The birth had not been without pangs and continuing labor. Its enemies had said, "We will fill the sea with corpses." The Mufti of Jerusalem screamed, "Murder the Jews. Murder them all." Azzam Pasha stated, "This will be a war of extermination and momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian Massacres."

But the Arabs had not considered that 4,000 years of oppression and humiliation had affected the conscience of man through the United Nations, nor did they take into account the determination of the people themselves. Driven from Auschwitz and Belsen and from Dachau and Birkenau, they would be driven no more. The road of courage out of Jerusalem, the defense of Safed, the victory at Haifa all proved they were there to stay.

From these victories came a flag with the Magen David, a national anthem Hatikvah—Hope—and the return of an ancient people to a never forgotten homeland. Theodor Herzl had said decades before:

> If you have the will it need not be a legend.

Mr. Speaker, I have traveled those ancient valleys thinking of the age-old stories and this month as we remember the anniversary of Israel, I recall walking in the Valley of Elath where David met Goliath. I selected a stone from the very stream where David selected his five. He defeated Goliath and changed the course of history that day. David and Goliath—this is the story of the new nation. The morale, the purpose, the sense of destiny are evident in traveling among the young people of Israel. They have not forgotten the burden of the psalms which was:

> If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.

This hope and its promise remained in those who made their ascent—aliyah—to the promised land.

The announcement proclamation 18 years ago said:

> The land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious, and national identity was formed. Here they achieved independence and created a culture of national and universal significance. Here they wrote and gave the Bible to the world.

These were the people of the Book; they had been scattered by the Book, and have been gathered by the Book. They went to the ancient writings of the Bible to discover copper and oil and even highways. The new nation spoke of freedom and liberty and Hanukkah finally was a holiday with fulfillment meaning.

Thousands returned to the soil; they planted trees and created watered gardens and gave freely of themselves in draining swamps and building terraces, remembering that "sacrifice brings forth the blessings of heaven."

We met many orphans on our trip to the Holy Land—youngsters who never knew how their parents died, in what concentration camp or beside what burial trench in Poland or Nazi Germany.

The accomplishments of these last 18 years are an altar erected by these young people—Evneh Mizbayach b'shivron libi—I will build me an altar from the broken fragments of my heart. Israel invited the refugees and in Operation "Magic Carpet," "On Eagles Wings" and others the remnants of the people came from a hundred nations speaking 37 different languages. The return of these people was the largest movement of an ethnic group in all history for purposes other than war and was accomplished by the youngest and smallest democratic state in our time.

Ben-Gurion said:

> In its long wanderings on the stage of world history during 4,000 years, our nation has been continuously faced with manifestations of hatred and hostility, slanders and accusations, persecutions and torture, destruction and butchery. But it has never lost its spirit, has never faltered; its faith has never been shattered.

The creation of this nation was a demonstration of indomitable will.

The existence of Israel cancels Lord Byron's lament that—

> Tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast
> How shall ye flee away and be at rest!
> The wild-dove hath her nest, the fox his cave
> Mankind their country—Israel but the grave.

Lord Byron's efforts to liberate another country, Greece, will be long remembered.

This people in the long years of the Diaspora always fought for freedom and justice for others. Now, in their own land they have achieved it for themselves. In so doing they have done it with the idea of a purpose to fulfill.

This anniversary causes us to remember some of the drama of the birth. The Bible came alive again in the heroic defense of Judea; in the relief of Haifa and many other places in 1948 where it seemed that miracles as great as those of Jericho were performed.

The birth of Israel is one of history's finer moments and as history has colored their historic life pattern in the centuries past on this anniversary it is well if we recall the words of Isaiah who said:

> They shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations.

Or Ezekiel:

> This land that was desolate is become like the garden of Eden, and the waste and desolate and ruined cities are become fenced and are inhabited.

Amos prophesied:

> I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled up out of their land which I have given them.

More impressive to me than any other, however, in visiting that land which had been ravaged and desolated by invaders of many races who traveled the Fertile Crescent, was the passage:

> The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose.

Mr. Speaker, we walked that land in the spring—at this same time of year—and recalled the canticles and how Solomon sang:

> For, lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone;
> The flowers appear on the earth;
> The time of the singing of birds is come,
> And the voice of the turtle (dove) is heard in our land.

This new nation has been planting 10 million trees a year. Their efforts in conservation are a wonder and their movement of water from Lake Huleh to the Negev remind us, who represent California, of our own tremendous Feather River project.

The new nation has little juvenile delinquency. No wonder, if one has lived with them on a kibbutz and seen the hours of labor spent in vineyard and garden followed by standing watch along the border for a portion of the night.

Along with the creation of a new nation has come the resurrection of a language long dead—a first time in recorded history and the use of the ancient Biblical tongue is not only intriguing but has started adult education classes all out of proportion to the limited population.

My own people, the Mormon pioneers, went into another desolate land to make the desert blossom and succeeded with their thrift, industry, and the use of irrigation.

I will continue to watch with interest the chalutzim—pioneers—of Israel as they work to conquer an unfriendly terrain as did our own pioneers in the taming of the West.

In complimenting Israel I do not forget the continuing bad treatment of these people by Russia and the Communist destruction of their mores and traditions and the abuse they receive in that land. I salute the bravery of the new nation. It was born in courage and strengthened by faith and wisdom. If little more than the spirit of its greeting and farewell "Shalom"—peace—had been given the world, we would have gained. A strong mazel tov for a prosperous future.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, today Israel celebrates the 18th anniversary of her rebirth as a nation. In less than a generation this democratic Jewish state has won worldwide praise and recognition for its accomplishments. One hundred nations maintain official diplomatic relations with Israel, and it is significant that, in the past year, West Germany joined the list, for the first time.

The threats of her hostile Arab neighbors have forced Israel to remain constantly alert and on the defensive. But, although her security demands have imposed a heavy tax on the economy, Israel has grown and progressed. Since 1948 the population has tripled, the industrial output increased tenfold, the irrigated land multiplied five times and, the number of schoolchildren enlarged sixfold.

Nor has Israel devoted itself only to its own needs. Its program of technical assistance has aided more than 80 countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Over 2,000 foreign students came to Israel in 1965, and more than 700 Israelis went abroad to train developing nations in health, education, agriculture, and youth organization.

We in the United States have a share in Israel's accomplishments. We were the first country to recognize Israel as a nation. We have generously supported her absorption of immigrants and the growth of her economy. And we have stanchly defended her right to exist as a free and independent state, in the face of threatened Arab war of destruction.

I congratulate the people of Israel on this important occasion of the 18th anniversary of their country.

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, the birth and rise of the State of Israel stands as one of the happiest and most hopeful events in the postwar world. These developments also constitute one of the most remarkable feats in human history, that of regaining independence and freedom by the Jewish people, and recreating their ancestral homeland in their own image, after the lapse of nearly 2,000 years. Here we have a clear case, a living proof, that courage, patience, and perseverance can bring their just rewards. And it is most gratifying to see the Jewish people in some measure compensated for their endless sufferings and untold sacrifices.

Eighteen years of independent and free existence is not a long period in the history of any nation; and it is only a mere moment in the long history of the Jews. But in that brief period they have done more in rebuilding and recreating their formerly barren country than others have done in the course of centuries. Today that youthful, vigorous, dynamic, and democratic state is the living embodiment of the centuries-old undying faith of the Jews. Israeli leaders and citizens, with the generous aid and constant encouragement of world Jewry, have made the State of Israel a model democratic state in the Middle East. They have also made it a safe haven, and a happy home, for more than 1,500,000 Jewish refugees. These new citizens, with their kinsmen there, have re-created their ancient homeland. With energy and optimism, and with boundless enthusiasm, their labors have turned much of the desert regions of the country into fertile and cultivable land, and the hills of Galilee into blossoming orchards. By the skillful use of science and the technical know-how of its people, by building canals, and by laying water pipelines, the Israeli people have transformed arid and inhospitable hills and desert plains into productive farmlands. In innumerable fields of activity Israeli citizens have worked near-miracles.

In the midst of all these activities the State of Israel has become a democratic bastion in the Middle East. With the best fighting force in the whole region, and the deft diplomacy pursued by its astute leaders, Israel has become a real factor, an important force for stability and peace in that troubled region. Her dauntless and gallant citizens are ready and willing to guard their richly deserved freedom against all comers, and they are prepared to ward off any impending threat. On this 18th anniversary celebration of Israel's independence, I wish the citizens of the State of Israel success in all their endeavors toward the attainment of their national goals.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, today I join with my colleagues and millions of Americans in wishing the State of Israel continued prosperity and a long life. April 24 marks the 18th anniversary of the establishment of Israel as a homeland and place of refuge for Jews from all over the world, but particularly from the tyranny of nazism. As our Government had the distinction of being the first to extend diplomatic recognition to the struggling young state, we can take particular pride in her continued growth. It did not take Americans long to recognize that Israel was a democratic nation dedicated to the same basic principles of freedom, liberty, equality, and social justice, which were the foundations of our own democracy. We know that the history of the Jewish people has been one of persecution and struggle against the forces of oppression; but with the establishment of the new State of Israel came at last the hope for a better life for homeless Jews. These people who went to Israel knew from the beginning that their problems in trying to build an economically prosperous and politically stable country would be almost insurmountable. Despite all the difficulties, Israel has been successful in meeting her internal, political, social, and economic challenges. Unlike many other countries who received abundant assistance from the United States and others, Israel did not forget those in need when she prospered. Today she has a farflung program of technical assistance in the fields of agriculture, health, and education for those less fortunate nations in Africa and in Latin America.

The outstanding achievements of Israel in 18 short years can be a source of pride to all of us who cherish the ideals of freedom as well as a source of hope to those who pray for a world of peace and prosperity. To the people of Israel I want to say, "Mazel tov for your truly magnificent accomplishments—yours is a dramatic success story of which you can be proud. I know you will continue to provide an example to others as a people united in love of country and one another."

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is an honor to join with my colleagues today in saluting the 18th anniversary of Israel's independence.

There are many nations throughout the world that have emerged from their former colonialism and have made great strides toward achieving peace and prosperity. To me, Israel has been a shining light on the path of early success.

Eighteen years ago, Israel became an independent state. It had conflicts and difficulties, both from within and from outside its boundaries. The path has not always been easy or clear. And yet, through determined effort, Israel has met her problems and has grown and prospered. Her economy is sound. Her Government is stable. Her leadership is wise and careful.

The people of Israel can be proud of their accomplishments. They have made great advances in a relatively short period of time. They have built a strong foundation on which to continue their development.

I salute Israel on her 18th anniversary. She exemplifies the early maturity in the young nations of the world. Her example should be a guiding light to all of us who seek a universal brotherhood of man.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my colleagues in once again paying tribute to democratic Israel on her anniversary as a nation. Her steadfast dedication to principles of freedom and her great social progress provide a standard to guide newly developing nations formerly under foreign domination.

Israel stands today surrounded by enemies sworn to destroy her. Nevertheless, she abides by her faith in a free society. Her friendship for the United

States has remained steadfast through the years. The relationship between our countries has proven mutually beneficial and will remain so in the years ahead.

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. Speaker, 18 years ago today, the state of Israel declared her independence, thus establishing the first and only true democracy in the Middle East, but, unfortunately, at the same time, setting off a chain of events which has kept that volatile segment of the globe in a delicate state of military balance to this very day.

Since that April day in 1948 when the State of Israel was proclaimed, I have always been an admirer of the faith, determination, ability, and moral strength of both Israel's leaders and its citizens. The creation of a homeland for the Jews of the world who have been dispersed over these thousands of years, subjected to pogroms and indignities of every kind and, on more than one occasion, nearly annihilated as a people, seemed to me more proof than anyone could ask that God does, indeed, exist, since the promise made to Moses was at last fulfilled. To be a witness to the fulfillment of that Biblical promise made me even more interested in Israel and, since becoming a member of the Congress of the United States, a self-appointed champion.

Today, Mr. Speaker, as Israel and her friends throughout the world mark this 18th anniversary of her independence, Israel is still existing under the often-reiterated threat of invasion by the Arab States which surround that tiny nation on the Mediterranean. It is still necessary—after nearly two decades of existence—for Israelis to attempt to improve their economy, expand their arable acreage, strengthen their democratic government, and improve their social institutions while under arms, patrolling their skies and border against the attacks with which they are threatened.

I do not feel it is fitting for the United States to stand by silently while a nation in whose birth we participated continues to exist under these warlike threats as we help arm their sworn enemies.

In December, I had the extreme pleasure of visiting Israel for the first time and seeing at first hand the spirit of its people, the effectiveness of their development skills, and the beauty of their land and their traditions. And from the mouth of Israel's President, Mr. Zalman Shazar, I heard the often-repeated desire of the Israelis for a peaceful settlement of the differences, real and imagined, which exist between her and her Arab neighbors. I came away more certain than ever that my feeling for this plucky little nation was merited and, further, that the United States must provide tangible support for her, our only reliable ally in the Middle East.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I urge that the United States conclude a mutual security pact with Israel, supply it with defense weapons as long as they are needed, and stop providing arms to all Arab nations.

If, on the celebration of the 19th anniversary of Israel's independence a year from today, we can bestow upon Israel such a "present," we will have both increased the odds favoring peace in the Middle East and secured the peaceful progress of a nation which has sought to instill democracy in the Middle East and which has, by its foreign policies, proven itself a worthy ally of the United States.

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, on this, the 18th anniversary of the independence of Israel, it is fitting that we pause to consider what wonders have been wrought by this little country in only 18 years. The Israelis have the admiration of most the world and the envy of the rest of it for the tremendous steps they have taken for their country and their countrymen, both old and new, in agriculture, in industry, in shipping and commerce, in education, in culture, and in the very standard and happiness of living during these last 18 years.

May Israel continue forever to be a bastion of democracy and liberty and justice in this changing world.

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, today is a significant date in the history of the nation of Israel. As the people of this small nation celebrate the 18th anniversary of their own equivalent to our Fourth of July, I join with many of my colleagues in extending greetings and best wishes.

Out of a barren wasteland new cities have been born. Confronted with difficulties that would have daunted a lesser people, the new citizens of Israel took each new problem as a greater challenge. Out of headaches, heartaches, and harassment they have made opportunity.

In 18 short years a foundation for a strong nation has been implanted in the hearts of Israel's people. More apparent strengths such as universal education, new industry, thriving ports, tourist centers, agricultural development, and mining operations often overshadow those attributes that make a nation strong and self-reliant.

The comments of the young Israel woman when queried on why she chose a nonexistent community in the desert as her home instead of staying in the settled and more confortable environs of the Israel cities, help to explain why this new nation is growing more vigorous with each passing day.

In reasoning out her choice, the young woman said she wanted to be able to tell her children and grandchildren that she came to this new place when it was nothing and out of it helped to mould a city. This kind of courage and determination will not be defeated.

It is hoped that Israel's neighbors will, in the days ahead, change from one of antagonism to one of mutual cooperation. This would allow all concerned the opportunity to use their energies to meet the social and economic problems of their region. I am sure that the citizens of Israel would welcome this change.

To a nation whose people are imbued with stout hearts and determined wills, the patriots of America salute you.

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, I rise in commemoration of an event that bears special meaning for our Jewish friends, not only in my own 19th District of Michigan but throughout the United States and the world. Eighteen years ago today the Jewish people proclaimed the re-creation of the independent State of Israel and the end of the bitter 2,000 years of the Diaspora, or dispersion.

Let us pause briefly to glance at the colorful panorama of Jewish history in order that we may appreciate the deep significance of the reestablishment of the sovereign State of Israel. The formative period of Israel, dominated in turn by judges, kings, prophets, and scribes, lasted from approximately 1200 B.C., when the Israelites entered Canaan, to A.D. 71, when the Romans crushed the Bar Kochba revolt, exiled the Jews, and renamed their country Palestine. Barred from their land, the Jews scattered throughout the earth, into different countries, among other peoples, and different ways of life. Yet the children of Israel remained faithful to their ancient heritage and to the dream of someday returning to their homeland. Their resolve is expressed in the old Biblical pledge:

> If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.

Independence ushered in an era studded with amazing productivity, industry, and creativity. The Israelis vigorously and fearlessly launched an imaginative program of economic development. Measured by the size of per capita income, Israel's economy in 1950 stood close to the level of developing countries such as Argentina. Since then it has grown at a rapid rate and is now approaching the level of countries like Holland and Finland. Reliable figures indicate that Israel's output—GNP, or gross national product—has increased by an average of 10 to 11 percent a year over the last 14 years. No other country can boast such a level of sustained growth. With her own economic development as a guide, Israel has initiated an important program of technical assistance in the emerging nations of Africa and Asia. Accompanying her economic success has come progressive action in the fields of education, health benefits, and political development.

We rejoice in the many achievements of the Jewish people and salute their valor, perseverance, and genius. It is a real pleasure for me to join with my colleagues in offering congratulations to them on this, Israel Independence Day.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, the anniversary of Israel's independence has become a memorable holiday, and it is jubilantly observed not only in Israel but by many friends and sympathizers of the Israel cause.

In the history of civilization, 18 years is not a long time; in the history of man, 18 years is not sufficient time to measure the impact of a momentous event; in the history of nation-state, an 18-year-old state is but an infant. The importance of Israel's independence 18 years ago cannot, however, be viewed only in the terms of years, but rather must be seen in the impact that state has had on the lives of millions of Jews around the world, and specifically of 2.5 million inhabitants of Israel.

Today, 2.5 million Israelis live in a democratic republic where individual freedom and social justice prevail.

The marvel of Israel has been the growth of a modern economic system in an area once largely an arid desert, within the framework of democratic ideals and institutions. Israel has taken its place as a respected member of the international community.

The parliamentary government of Israel has been notably stable, and the country stands as a positive force for peace in the turbulent and volatile Middle East.

The outstanding achievements of this nation are a source of pride to all of us who cherish the ideals of freedom, and a source of hope to all of us. To the people of Israel we say, "mazel tov"—congratulations for what you have accomplished in the past 18 years.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to participate in this recognition of the 18th anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Israel.

In addition to the efforts of its own citizens, the growth and development of this nation have been and are continuing to be fostered by many others. Distinguished citizens from the 12th District of Illinois are contributors of time, energy, and money to Israel, as are many other Americans.

Notwithstanding its accomplishments of the past 18 years, many problems still burden this country. It is my fervent hope that the Republic of Israel will resolve these problems rapidly and harmoniously and will flourish in peace and prosperity.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, our generation is privileged to live through what may someday be regarded by historians as the age of the developing nations. In the turbulent, uncertain period since World War II, we have observed a parade of what seems a countless number of new nations declare their independence after centuries of subordination to major world powers. We have added strange and unaccustomed new words to our vocabulary of sovereign states.

Sadly, the coming of sovereignty for a great many of these emerging nations has not brought with it stability, economic prosperity, or even peace. More often than not, their course has been one of civil unrest, religious friction, swift and sudden overthrows of governmental authority, violence, and tragedy.

However, there is one nation which has been born out of the ashes of World War II that is singularly unique in this respect. And in the period since its inception—in less time, in fact, than it takes a boy to grow into manhood—the sovereign State of Israel has established a record matched by few nations that have stood for centuries.

The people of Israel have performed something of a miracle in the desert wastelands of the Middle East. In just a few short years they have established a stable, responsive democratic government. They have established a prospering, growing economy that is able to serve its consumer needs as well as its very demanding military defense needs. They have reestablished a focus for the ancient traditions and culture of the Jewish people. And they have established a stable, intelligent, articulate society.

The statistical record is almost incredible: an increase in arable land of something like 360 percent, largely through modern agricultural methods and irrigation; an average annual economic growth rate of about 10 percent—on a par or above that for virtually every major world power; in a period in which most of their sister new nations are still swallowing up billions in economic assistance, the Israelis are already extending some forms of foreign aid, already sharing the bounty of their promised land.

The nation of Israel certainly offers a message for all mankind. It is one of patience—patience that can hold for 3,000 years. It is one of courage—courage to endure the brutal, outrageous inhumanities that have decimated the Jews in ancient times as well as modern. It is one of faith and hope, of determination and fortitude. And it is one, above all, of enlightenment.

Mr. Speaker, today, April 25, marks the 18th anniversary of the establishment of the free and independent nation of Israel. I am pleased and proud to extend congratulations to the people of Israel on this occasion and, on behalf of the people of western Massachusetts who I am privileged to represent in this body, to wish them God's speed.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 18th anniversary of the independence of the State of Israel, and upon this occasion, I join with my colleagues in extending congratulations to the people of Israel who, in this short span of years, have made such tremendous progress against great odds in the building of their new nation.

In 1948 Prime Minister Ben-Gurion declared the establishment of an independent State of Israel and the return of the exiles to that land. Recognition by President Truman and the United States followed.

During 18 short years, more than a million immigrants were received by Israel to become a part of the new nation. Through the hard work and consecrated effort of the Israelis, the arid land has been converted to agricultural uses. Industries have been built and are expanding. Natural resources have been developed. New towns and cities have been created with hospitals, schools, and other necessary facilities to accommodate the new nation's expanding population.

During this period of growth and expansion, the United States and Israel forged a firm bond of friendship. On this 18th anniversary of Israel's establishment as a nation, we extend our greetings and best wishes to the people of Israel, and join them in the sincere hope for continued peace and prosperity in the future.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am extremely happy to extend my greetings to the people of the Republic of Israel as they celebrate the 18th anniversary of the founding of their sovereign state.

I congratulate them on the wonderful progress they have made as a nation during this short span of time. The establishment of Israel as an independent country represents a great victory not only for the Jewish people, but for all peoples who believe in self-determination, human freedom, and human dignity. The Jewish state has met the challenge and merits the continued confidence of the world, because they have practiced democracy, justice, brotherhood, and peace.

Israel has opened its doors to Jewish immigrants from displaced camps in Germany, Austria, Italy, countries in north Africa, and the Middle East, as well as other parts of the world. This action proves to all that Israel recognizes its duty and obligation. She has opened her heart to these immigrants to return to their ancient homeland, and in doing so has fulfilled a promise to mankind.

Because Israel has made such progress in the face of its gigantic undertaking is justification of the faith of those who shared in the work of establishing the country, and is proof of the magnificent spirit and the dedication of the people of Israel to its just cause.

Israel today is displaying a constructive role in the family of free nations and will continue to do so. It merits the continued moral encouragement of all who share its great love for liberty and independence.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, today we observe the happy occasion of the 18th anniversary of the State of Israel. While it is perhaps unusual that the Congress each year so honors one particular foreign nation, it is entirely fitting that we do so. Israel is more than just another nation-state, another ally to us. She is the culmination of generations of hope and the bright promise of a sorely ravaged people. Americans are deeply committed to her success and emotionally bound up with the affairs of her people.

We have poured out assistance to her both private and governmental. We have the continuing pleasure of watching the continuing miracle, which the people of Israel are achieving. They are making the desert flower and have formed, against enormous odds, a stable, permanent home for the Jews of all the world.

The voice of Israel is a voice of culture in the councils of the world respected for the ancient wisdom which it brings to the troublesome affairs of our world.

Let us praise Israel and her valiant, resourceful people. Let us also pray that the issues which still divide her from her neighbors may be resolved and that all nations of the Middle East may learn to live in harmony.

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, on this day 18 years ago according to the age-old Hebraic calendar, the small nation of Israel was reborn in its ancestral home. Since that time it has become a valued member of the international community, experienced a phenomenal growth rate, and contributed generously of its skills to help others in need of them. Indeed, the story of Israel since independence in 1948 is one worthy of a great epic poet.

From the beginnings of the national movement in the latter part of the 19th century, to the proclamation in May 1948 by the Jewish National Council of the independent State of Israel, we may find all the great themes: intense zeal, single-minded dedication, and the kind of courage which only the loftiest ideals can inspire in mankind. And, as is obvious to even the most casual observer, the commitment to progress and prosperity has not dimmed.

Jews from every corner of the world, with differences in language and custom a legacy of their dispersion so many centuries ago, have been welded into a state wherein the virtues of community enterprise, a common goal, and plain hard work have succeeded in creating a thriving economy in what was once nearly barren land.

I should like to take this opportunity to join my colleagues in paying tribute to this small nation and its brave people. In a world where many of the traditional virtues have been ignored or denigrated, it is particularly pleasant at this time to be able to give public recognition to a country which has practiced them, and made them work beyond the fondest dreams of some of its own early supporters. I look forward to many even more prosperous anniversaries in the years to come.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to join other Members of the House this afternoon in paying tribute to the State of Israel, which celebrates its 18th anniversary today. The United States was the first country to grant de facto recognition to the State of Israel following the declaration of independence proclaimed by Prime Minister Ben-Gurion in 1948.

Since that time, the United States has given a great deal of public and private assistance to Israel, which is now a flourishing state. Through the hard work of its people, Israel has made tremendous improvements in agriculture and industry and has absorbed over a million immigrants. Its educational system has had an important part in the nation's rapid development, with compulsory education to the age of 14 and vocational training provided in many fields.

The people of Israel are to be congratulated on their great accomplishments in developing their nation over a relatively short period of time. I hope that they will continue to prosper in peace.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, on this happy occasion, the anniversary of Israel Independence Day, we pay tribute both to a thriving and progressive nation and to an outstanding and courageous people. It is a real privilege for me to salute not only the citizens of Israel, but all our Jewish friends in my own Second District of Massachusetts, throughout the United States, and the world on this glad day.

May 14, 1948, marked the triumphant return of the Jewish people to their ancient homeland after almost 20 centuries of absence. Their struggles and wanderings during the preceding 2,000 years had carried them through four continents and through six civilizations. The Jews had wandered in Canaan, been enslaved in Egypt, suffered destruction in Judah, and had been taken captive in Babylon. After contact with the Greeks they had suffered strife under the Maccabees and oppression by the Romans. Yet they had survived—as a capitalist class under feudal lords, as a "People of the Book" under the Moslems, as children of the ghetto in the late Middle Ages; as statesmen, scholars, and concentration camp victims in the modern age. Not only had they survived but they had carefully preserved their ancient heritage and the dream of restoring Israel.

Today, after 18 years of independence, Israel has taken its place among the sovereign nations of the world. It boasts a democratic system of government, a successful program of economic development, and a fine record in the cause of international cooperation.

One of its most outstanding achievements is the multiplication of its political, economic, educational, and social ties with the emerging nations of Africa and Asia. Having profited from the genius of her own economists, Israel has now launched a far-reaching program of technical assistance in order to share her knowledge of economic development with the developing nations.

The exchange of information and skills with Africans and Asians is growing each year, and joint undertakings of agriculture, industry, transport, and shipping are expanding. In 1963 the number of Israelis on missions to Africa and Asia approached 2,000, while the number of students and apprentices from these countries in Israel rose to more than 3,000. This effort is only one more in the history of a people which has contributed to the world great ideas and great men such as Moses, Spinoza, Freud, and Einstein.

Americans feel great affinity and admiration for the citizens of Israel. We rejoice in the triumph celebrated today, and we look forward confidently to the continued success and progress of Israel in the coming years. Warmest wishes and congratulations to a great people.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, today we remember a signal event of the 20th century—the day upon which the Jewish people proclaimed the independent state of Israel. On that day 18 years ago ended the 20 centuries of dispersion borne by this courageous people and began a period of triumph and progress.

Measured in terms of actual land area, Israel is a small country, encompassing only 8,000 square miles. Upon returning to the land that the Bible described as one "flowing with milk and honey," the Jewish people found in 1948 that years of neglect had turned much of the soil into wasteland. Yet neither the relatively small size nor the exhausted natural resources could daunt the spirit of the Israeli people. As the Deputy Prime Minister of Israel, Abba Eban, wrote:

> The ancient glory inspires both our memory and our ambition. The Biblical literature, the Hebrew language, the pursuit of universal order and progress are the spiritual roots of our nationhood. Seen in this light, the smallness of our state in area and population are enlarged in the consciousness of men by the broad vistas of historic experience. A people small in geography may well be great in history. Modern Israel should be contemplated in historic depth and not merely in terms of its visible surface.[1]

In the 18 years since gaining independence, Israel has made remarkable and impressive progress in the face of great problems.

In the first 4 years after its establishment the country doubled its population and seemed to be on the verge of wrecking the economy. Temporarily, Israel seemed unable to cope with such a large wave of immigration, and the countryside was dotted with many immigrant camps. Today a visitor to the country finds it hard to believe that such difficulties ever existed. The immigrant camps, the masses of unemployed, and the general shortages are gone. Today Israel is alive with economic activity, bright new towns, and abundant consumer goods. Not all of the economic problems have been solved, but Israel's record is one of astounding achievement which provides a foundation for attacking her remaining problems.

Accompanying economic achievement have come important steps toward political and social progress. The Israelis have set up a democratic republic. They have participated enthusiastically in the United Nations and its affiliated agencies. They have enacted progressive legislation such as the national insurance law in 1954, which provides for old-age pensions, survivors' insurance, work-injury insurance, maternity insurance, and family allowances.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, we pay tribute today to the great Israeli people and to our Jewish friends throughout the world. It is a real pleasure to join with my colleagues in offering congratulations and warmest best wishes to them on the occasion of Israeli Independence Day.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join with my colleagues in celebrating the 18th year of independence of the State of Israel on this day, which is the equivalent of the 5th day of Iyar in the Hebrew calendar.

I was privileged to be in Jerusalem on the occasion of the 10th year of independence in 1958.

We in the United States who are just 10 years short of the second centennial of our own Declaration of Independence take special interest in the development of this still new state, a bastion of democracy in the Middle East.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, today we celebrate the 18th anniversary of Israel's independence. When we count the achievements of that small but mighty bastion of democracy in the Middle East, we can only be amazed by the great achievements that determination and dedication have produced in so short a time.

Immigrants fleeing from intolerable conditions in all parts of the world, thirsting for freedom, driven by insecurity and persecution, sought refuge in a homeland both new and old—Israel. As pioneers, they made the desert bloom.

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[1] Irving Miller, "Israel: the Eternal Ideal" (New York, Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1955), p. viii.

They transformed a wasteland into a homeland which produced not only food and sustenance, but which quickly developed industries, formerly unknown.

These pioneers built a great university; they established a medical school and a hospital. From these institutions, scientists, doctors, and nurses have been supplied, not just for their own country but for emerging nations in Africa and other parts of an awakening world.

The Hebrew University, the Hadassah Medical Organization and Kupat Holim, the labor sick fund, have trained general practitioners, specialists, and nurses who are serving in Israel, and in Liberia, Kenya, Tanzania, and Kampalo. Emerging nations in Africa and Asia will join the United States in saying "Blessed is the name of Israel."

The world in which we live is a better, a safer, a more secure and a world materially and spiritually richer because 18 years ago today the State of Israel was born.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, today we join our friends in the free world to celebrate the 18th anniversary of Israel's independence. That this nation stands as a free and sovereign entity represents the realization of a 2,000-year-old dream. It might be a day, too, for all people to reflect on the great debt that is owed to the Jewish people for their providing the foundations upon which our civilization and society is built.

Israel has grown from a sparse desert of less than 100,000 inhabitants into a prosperous and expanding nation of over 2 million citizens. But this prosperity and wealth has not come without a price. The list of obstacles that only yesterday faced the Jewish nation is long and difficult.

The hazards of Mother Nature and the enmity of Israel's Arab neighbors combined to impose almost impossible odds that the new state could not, and would not, succeed. And yet the Jewish people overcame the odds. They have triumphed.

Today, Israel has proudly conquered her internal problems. Thousands of acres of previous desert have been irrigated and now produce an abundance of crops. Electric power is fast becoming an everyday fact of life for most of the country. The fact that Israel welcomes and absorbs more than 100,000 immigrants annually attests to her affluence and prosperity.

Yet Israel remains an island in a sea of hostility. The governments of neighboring Arab States still wish the abolishment of the Jewish State. Israel has endured both hot and cold wars. At present there exists a state of tense outward peace, but at any moment this could burst into hot war.

It is my hope that on this 18th anniversary of Israel independence the states of the Middle East will come to recognize Israel as a sovereign and independent nation, and accept her into their common intercourse. Her neighbors have much to gain from this friendship and Israel needs their recognition to continue success. But most of all, world peace stands to gain and by this every nation on earth has a stake in the events of the Middle East.

While we join in commemorating the 18th anniversary of Israel independence, we should keep in mind that there is a thread of continuity that runs through the history of Judaism for over 4,000 years that has sparked some of the greatest of man's ideas and ideals. The State of Israel is young, but the Jewish people have been tempered and matured by years of hardship and deprivation. This is why they have withstood, and indeed mastered, the tumultuous and unstable past 18 years, and I am confident that this past is but a prologue to Israel's future.

Israel is a combination of dynamicism and cohesiveness. This has made her succeed and this, I think, will make her endure. I join with my colleagues in wishing Israel peace, prosperity, and happiness on this 18th commemoration of independence.

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join today in paying tribute to the courageous and progressive nation of Israel on the occasion of the 18th anniversary of her independence.

During the comparatively brief period of her history as an independent nation, the people of Israel have carved a strong, free and prospering nation out of the desert to provide a home for refugees from throughout the world. The skillful and resourceful manner in which Israel has stabilized its economy, established a strong democratic government, successfully absorbed a vast number of immigrants and withstood the continual threat of outside aggression should serve as a proud example to the developing nations on every continent.

Today, because of the untiring and imaginative efforts of the Israelis, and with the generous public and private assistance from the United States, Israel is a productive nation with a remarkable record of economic, political, social and cultural development. Her industry is expanding rapidly; her agricultural output has soared as cultivable land has nearly doubled in 18 years, marshlands have been drained and broad irrigation programs have been initiated; an outstanding system of free education for all children between 5 and 14 has been established to insure a proper basis for further development in the years ahead; and hospitals, scientific institutions, and cultural centers have been built to enrich the lives of the people.

I was privileged to visit Israel this past fall as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. During our stay we were most impressed with the rapidly multiplying agricultural communities, the tourist centers, the lakhish development area, the town of Ashdod with its new port, and to learn of the great progress being made in the development area of Kiryat Gat.

Following a long and wide-ranging discussion with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mrs. Golda Meir, and Ambassador Moshe Bitan, director of the U.S. department at the Foreign Ministry, I felt it a most significant honor to plant a tree in the Kennedy Forest as a symbol of the deep and abiding friendship of our two nations.

Perhaps the most impressive trait of Israel is the same strong national dedication to freedom, social justice and the principles of democracy which are the foundation of our own Government. Israel stands out as a model of governmental stability, a bastion of freedom and democracy to developing areas throughout the world, and an outstanding example of the rapid progress that is possible under democratic institutions at a time of important ideological competition.

At the same time she has effectively met the challenge of the economic and political problems inherent to all new nations, Israel has admitted and successfully assimilated more than 1 million refugees from Europe, North America, Africa, and Asia. Even more remarkably, she has indicated both the willingness and ability to share the knowledge and experience accumulated through the years with other less developed nations by instituting a program of technical assistance in the fields of agriculture, health and education in Africa and Latin America. This program of overseas assistance has proven uniquely successful because of the very real understanding in Israel of the type of assistance most critically needed for sound national development in these areas.

The people of Israel have our heartiest congratulations and good will on this occasion, and our assurance of continued support in the years ahead. As we look back with satisfaction on the tremendous accomplishments of the past 18 years, we can look to the future with confidence as this brave nation makes greater strides toward economic growth and peaceful relations within the framework of the free, democratic tradition she has already established.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure for me to join today in commemorating the 18th anniversary of the independence of Israel. To the valiant, wise, and energetic people of that country, who have accomplished so much in such a brief period, I extend my admiration and earnest wishes for continued success.

In the years since independence, Israel has succeeded in creating a dynamic, flourishing economy. Last year the gross national product rose by 8 percent at constant prices. There was full employment and increased per capita income. Exports reached new heights.

These are remarkable accomplishments. But even more remarkable is the fact that despite the great efforts required, despite the problems of hostile neighbors, massive immigration, and limited natural resources, Israel has not turned in upon itself and become preoccupied with its own problems and needs.

It is a tribute to the great character of the Israeli people that they have reached out to help others and to share their experience and understanding with other developing nations. Israel's international cooperation program last year sent more than 700 technicians and other helpers into 55 countries around the world. More than 2,100 students from 80 lands came to Israel to participate in training courses. The Hebrew University, Technion in Haifa, and the Gadna and Nahal youth organizations have participated in this people-to-people aid. Countries with growing populations seeking new lands on which to settle have benefited from Israel's experience with new settlements.

Israel has a right to be proud of the positive role it has played as a good citizen in the international community.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to have the opportunity to join my colleagues in marking the 18th anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Israel.

At a time when new nations and older underdeveloped countries are struggling to build strong and independent societies, the story of the past 18 years in Israel should be an inspiration for all.

When the task seems too dangerous and difficult and when the goal seems too distant, one need only remind himself of the 1900 years of frustration during which the "promised land" was only a dream and the 18 years in which that dream has become a living monument. Israel is a monument to the unrelenting devotion of a people to their promise; a devotion that withstood centuries of heartache and grievous tortures of mind and body.

Since that day in Tel Aviv in 1948 when Prime Minister Ben-Gurion declared the establishment of the independent State of Israel, it seems as though the pent-up energies of generations have been unleashed.

The energy of the people of Israel has turned rocky mountainside into forest; desert into flourishing farms; and empty coasts into thriving ports. This tremendous job of building was done despite the constant and unwarranted attacks of hostile neighbors. Certainly these neighbors should know by now that the State of Israel is here to stay and that a people so long denied their own land will not be moved.

Mr. Speaker, when critics of our policy ask what we seek in the world, what we want in South Vietnam, Africa, or South America, perhaps we need only point to Israel and say we only seek to assure that each man have a right to his promised land, and to develop a country to which he can live freely and prosper.

And if those we seek to help ask what they must do, perhaps we need only point to the people of Israel and say you must put forth a measure of their energy and devotion.

The United States can be proud to have been the first nation to recognize the independent State of Israel and proud, too, of the public and private aid we have given to its people. But our help and good wishes would have meant little if it were not for the courageous people who built and defended this nation with their own labors and lives.

I wish to join my colleagues today in saluting the people of Israel on this anniversary of the rebith of their nation; in extending our hope that they will be allowed to develop an even greater society in peace; and in pledging our cooperation in building a better world for all mankind.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, we honor the 18th birthday of Israel.

For a nation so small, so young and so lacking in natural resources, Israel has come a long way in a short time. And I am sure that its future is destined to be a bright and influential one on the world scene.

By placing its trust in God and in its people, Israel has flourished. A garden has grown in what used to be desert.

The people of Israel have turned their land into a source of steadily rising living standards through hard work and diligent study of the forces of nature.

The same qualities make the people of Israel world famed for their culture, their art and the depth of their knowledge.

While it has been only 18 years since Israel's birth, its conception has taken thousands of years.

With the age of its concept as the "promised land" has come wisdom. With its youth as a nation has come vigor.

The people of Israel have proved their courage on countless occasions against a hostile landscape and even more hostile neighbors bent upon their destruction.

But they have shown that their urge to create a free and peaceful land is stronger than the will of its neighbors to destroy.

We wish Israel and its people a happy and prosperous future as a nation and as a people.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I rise to pay tribute to the State of Israel on this day, its 18th anniversary of independence.

As a member of the Appropriations Committee, I had the privilege of visiting this young nation last November. Upon leaving Israel, I could not help but reflect upon the amazing progress and courage of these people and their leaders.

Israel's economic progress over the last 18 years is indeed singular—particularly in view of the odds against which she has struggled. More than half the land is desert and only a third is cultivable; sources of energy are negligible; her mineral wealth is not generously diversified; the growth of her population far exceeds even the rapid pace usual in other developing nations—with 3½ times as many people today as there were when Israel achieved independence. Furthermore, while her geographical location as a link between three continents could offer enviable commercial advantages, she is denied these advantages because the Suez Canal is blockaded to her shipping and land communications with her Arab nations are nonexistent.

Yet, despite these handicaps, the Israeli economy has advanced almost beyond belief. Israel continues to outstrip her Arab neighbors, and their chances of catching up diminish every day; she has moved from a subsistence agricultural economy at the time of her independence to a complex industrial society; the annual average increase in gross national product in the period 1955 to 1964 is recorded at more than 10 percent; unemployment has decreased from 9.5 percent of the working force in 1949 to 3.3 percent in 1964; her agricultural products meet nearly all the food needs of the nation, and standards of nutrition continue to rise; bright new towns have sprung up in what was once desert wasteland; between 1949 and 1964, the area of irrigated land has increased by 360 percent; and, whereas Israel in 1963 imported almost twice as much as she did in 1949, her exports have risen nearly nine times over the same period—all this despite the Arab boycott. Moreover, her people are dynamic and motivated, and her leaders are intelligent and idealistic.

Israel today is a showcase among the developing nations. She knows the meaning of being a new nation, proud of sovereignty yet ever mindful of the basic interdependence of nations. Because of this consciousness, she has, over the last few years especially, helped other developing nations fulfill their "rising expectations." She is a source of expertise in a number of areas in which she has forged ahead—in fields such as cooperative agriculture, solar energy, desalination of sea water, irrigation technology, public health, and aeronautical engineering. Between 1958 and 1963, Israel took part in cooperative projects in almost 100 countries, sending abroad more than 1,000 experts, particularly in the fields of agriculture and medicine.

In 1964 alone, Israel cooperated in the development projects of more than 70 countries in Africa, Asia, the Mediterranean basin, and Latin America. Emphasis has been not on simply taking over these projects, but on training local personnel so that they may gain the necessary expertise. As a training ground for other developing nations, she opens wide the doors of her educational and professional institutions to students from other nations seeking to learn, accommodating today more than 2,000 students a year. Between 1958 and the beginning of 1963, more than 6,000 students from 4 continents benefited from professional training in Israel.

The problems that face Israel today are great. One is a water shortage which, if not met, will impede further development of both the industrial and agricultural sectors of the economy. Moreover, the Arab States, which control most of the headwaters of the Jordan, threaten to divert the river's flow, and thereby frustrate Israel's plan to develop the Negev. Another problem is Israel's balance of payments, with the volume of her imports far exceeding the volume of her exports. This has contributed to what is probably the gravest and most stubborn of Israel's economic problems, persistent inflation.

Israel's biggest headache, however, is President Nasser, whose threats force Israel to spend 12 percent of her national income for defense, instead of for the further development of her standard of living. When I was in Israel, I had the opportunity to discuss the nation's defense problems with Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, Foreign Minister Golda Meir, and Defense Adviser Moshe Dinstein. There is no questioning the seriousness of Nasser's threats. Israel's geographic-strategic position is one of weakness, given the combined numerical strength, financial resources, and international bargaining power of her adversaries.

The Arab States are spending millions of dollars to train new brigades and to equip them with new weapons—weapons which are acquired from the Soviet Union and the West. The Arabs remain committed to destroying Israel. The United Nations has been unable to challenge this illegal posture, and the Soviet Union pours new weapons into Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. What is more, the United States—while it helps Israel through development loans, food grants, private gifts and investments, and moral support—hurts Israel by providing planes, tanks, and missiles to Saudi Arabia and Jordan.

The concentration of hostile and well-equipped armies on all Israel's frontiers presents a constant threat of an attack too swift to be prevented by external intervention. In view of this danger, I feel it is imperative that this Government take all measures necessary to deter those who menace Israel's security. It is up to this Government to help this valiant nation defend herself and, at the same time, to do everything in its power to bring about a lasting peace settlement in this strife-ridden region of the Middle East.

I salute Israel on the occasion of her 18 years of independence—a nation built on long-range hopes; a nation always careful not to indulge in short-term efforts to reap immediate profits. May she continue to be successful in assuming the responsibilities of independence, and may she soon be free of the threat of external aggression which haunts her daily.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, Israel celebrates its 18th anniversary today. After 2,000 years of exile, the children of Israel have returned to rebuild their ancient home in Palestine.

The growth of Israel has been nothing less than a modern miracle of courage, energy, and imagination. Three days after achieving its independence the new state was under siege from five of its Arab neighbors. The attackers were repulsed and then routed. With their external enemies at bay the Israelis launched a new struggle to convert the desert into a growing agricultural and industrial economy.

The Israelis have conducted their battle against nature with the same determination and imagination that routed their external enemies and the results have been no less spectacular. In less than two decades a plot of barren wasteland has been transformed into a prospering industrial nation with an unequaled growth rate of nearly 10 percent. The amount in cultivated land has more than doubled and the amount of irrigated land has grown by over 500 percent. Industrial growth has been no less impressive; in the 5-year period between 1958 and 1963, for instance, the value of Israel's industrial output actually doubled.

But Israel's spectacular economic growth is only half of the story. The gifted people that have immigrated to the new Jewish homeland have already made Tel Aviv a major world cultural center. Israel ranks second in the world for the number of books published in proportion to its total population. Over a thousand libraries have grown alongside the new agricultural and industrial complexes that are transforming the desert. The Israel National Theater and the famed Israel Philharmonic Orchestra tour the world as well as enriching the lives of their own Israeli audiences. Museums and historical shrines mark the landscape in a nation that combines a reverence for its past with a progressive view of the future.

The spectacular accomplishments of Israel are no surprise to millions of Americans who are aware of how much Jewish-Americans have done to enrich the culture and growth of our own Nation. It is a pleasure for me to take this opportunity to congratulate Israel on the 18th anniversary of its independence.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, it is my honor to join in this commemoration of the 18th anniversary of Israel's independence. These 18 years have not been easy ones for Israel, but they have demonstrated, as few countries have ever been able to do, the indefatigable energy of a people dedicated to national unity and tied by iron bounds of loyalty and faith.

At this moment, however, even as we rejoice with our friends in Israel on the occasion of their Independence Day, we must remember the tremendous pressures which conspire to do them ill. Peace in the Middle East is of paramount importance to Israel and, indeed, to the world. It is up to this government to do everything within its power to assure this peace.

To their credit, Israel has exerted every possible effort toward the goal of achieving peace in their troubled part of our troubled world. But they have been neither aided or encouraged by the continued arms buildup in the Middle East. They have been forced for self-preservation to continue seeking military assistance, but it is their strongest desire to achieve peace.

This country is and must continue to be committed to the free growth of Israel, permitting that great nation—to which Western civilization owes so much—to prosper and flourish, unhampered by the persistent menace of increasing military buildups on their borders.

I urge this administration to properly mark Israel's independence by assuring them that we will not contribute to an arms imbalance which favors the Arabs in the Middle East in any way—that we will do our best to discourage our allies from contributing in any way—that we will do our best to bring the Arab-Israeli dispute to a peaceful conclusion, but that we will always stand ready to aid Israel in the event that these other goals are unrealized.

Again, Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to join in marking the independence of this proud, inspired, and inspiring nation.

My congratulations and best wishes to the Israeli government and its loyal supporters throughout the world—of whom I am proud to be one.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, this year we celebrate the 18th anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel.

For hundreds of years the Jewish people have labored to found their own nation where the great cultural heritage of their people could be preserved and nurtured for generations unborn. At the turn of this century, a struggle to achieve this goal appeared to be nearing an end but at every turn new and almost unsurmountable obstacles seemed to appear in the path of a new and sovereign Israel.

Many prophets of doom and despair said that there would never be a State of Israel. However, 18 years ago the dream became a reality and valiant leadership has successfully proved that this young nation can achieve greatness in a short period of time.

I am proud to do honor to the State of Israel on the occasion of this notable anniversary.

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 18th anniversary of independence for the State of Israel. In these 18 years perseverance and toil have reclaimed desert waste, transformed them into fertile fields and established firmly a modern free society in this ancient land.

Israel stands as a tribute to the creativity and diligence of its people, a symbol of hope, achievement, and renewal.

I join in expressing warm regards to the people of Israel on this happy occasion and extend to them their ancient salutation and prayerful entreaty "shalom."

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, the nation of Israel whose independence day we celebrate today is one of more than 50 sovereign states that have come into being since the end of World War II. Yet Israel, which proclaimed its independence to the world on May 14, 1948, is unique in many ways.

One must look to the rich history of the Jewish people in order to more clearly understand the deep significance of their return to the land of Israel. Some 3,200 years ago the ancestors of the Jews entered Israel and made parts of it their home for 12 centuries.

The formative period of Israel, ruled in turn by judges, kings, prophets, and scribes, lasted from approximately 1200 B.C., when the Israelites entered Canaan, to A.D. 71, when the Romans crushed the Bar Kochba revolt, exiled the Jews, and renamed the land Palestine.

The history of Palestine for the next 2,000 years was marked by successive waves of foreign conquerors, and as the years went by, the life of the Jews in Palestine dwindled until only an impoverished remnant remained of the once thriving people. With the banishment of the Jews from their homeland the history of Palestine ceased to be a history of the Jews for the time being.

In spite of nearly 2,000 years of separation from Israel, the Jews managed to preserve their identity and to retain a sense of unity.

This bond was composed of a common body of belief, law, knowledge, customs, and particularly of a common belief in their history and to their belief in delivery from exile and return to the ancient homeland.

The Jewish connection with the parcel of land known as Israel has not rested on the simple fact of a previous occupation that was almost terminated 1,800 years ago. The faith of the Jewish people, as well as their conception of their origin, history, and destiny, has been bound with their past life in Palestine and with the fervent expectation of its renewal.

On May 14, 1948, the Jewish people proclaimed the restoration of Israel as a sovereign state. The bitter years of the Diaspora had ended. An era of astounding economic, political, and social progress had begun. The barren country which the Jews took over in 1948 had long since ceased to "flow with milk and honey."

Years of neglect had turned verdant valleys into malarial swamps, rich pastures into dust bowls, forested hills into eroded mounds of bedrock. Yet the courageous spirit that had sustained the Jews through their exile enabled them to attack the problems of forging a new nation.

The settlers drained the swamps, checked the spreading sand dunes, planted millions of trees, improved seeds and farming methods, and made the land yield a farm produce which today supplies almost all but the meat and grain needs of its people. In addition to the outstanding success in economic development, the Israelis have followed the democratic system of government and have enacted important social legislation.

Mr. Speaker, Israel looks forward with confidence and pride to its future. It is a real pleasure for me to pay tribute to the intelligence, the valor, and the moral strength of the people of Israel. On this happy occasion of Israeli Independence Day, I want to extend my greetings and warmest best wishes to the progressive and thriving nation of Israel and to wish continued success and happiness for its citizens.

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, today is an occasion for congratulating the people of Israel on the amazing success they have won during the 18 years of their nation's existence. After nearly 2,000 years without a country of their own, this small nation of approximately 8,000 square miles, was founded in 1948 by the heirs of one of the oldest cultures in the world, and has grown from 780,000 people in 1948 to approximately 2½ million in 1964.

The courage and ingenuity of the Jews of the world in establishing their parliamentary democracy, defending their freedom, establishing their flourishing kibbutzes in the barren desert, all give witness to the pioneering spirit of this remarkable people. Despite centuries of dispersion, marked by some of the most ferocious persecutions ever visited upon any people, this unique nation with its roots in antiquity is coming to flower in our time. At this time, its major exports are diamonds and citrus fruits, but rapid progress is being made in other aspects of industry and trade. New highways traverse the land, nuclear reactors for peaceful purposes are being used, and desalination of water by nuclear energy is being planned. Strong emphasis is being placed on the development of chemical and metalworking industries. A clothing industry is reaching sizable proportions and Israeli garments are appearing in the world markets.

In addition to government, agriculture and industry, the arts and learning are of central importance in the life of the country. From the Technion—Israel Institute of Technology, to the Israel Philharmonic, the ancient Jewish preeminence in scholarship and the arts finds expression.

In an article in the March 1965 issue of the National Geographic, John Scofield narrated the following observations he had made of a group of new arrivals to Israel, which illustrates the spirit of this people:

> An old man elbowed his way desperately through the crowd that jammed the ship's rail so that he could glimpse the sunlit hills of Israel, still several miles away. Behind him he told me, lay 9 years as a political prisoner and 11 months of weary travel from Moscow to packed refugee camps in Poland, Germany, and France. Ahead lay a land and a language he had never known.
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> I asked him why a 72-year-old man would leave the city where he had been born to start life anew in Israel. He turned a bearded face to me and I saw on it a look of utter disbelief. "What a question," he shouted, almost angrily. "This is my country. I'm coming home."
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> In the 17 years since a United Nations resolution created the State of Israel from most of what had been a British-administered Palestine, more than a million Jews have echoed the same cry: This is my home, this land I've never seen. And still they arrive—the Rumanian architect and the Moroccan beggar, the idealistic young pioneer from Argentina and the old man from Moscow, the family with 17 children from India's little Jewish community on the Malabar coast.

Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a privilege to salute today this young and vigorous nation of Israel.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, for the 18 years of its existence as a state, Israel has been beseiged by its neighbors. In 1948 the Arab States defied the United Nations decision to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine and went to war. They were defeated by the gallant Israelis fighting for their survival. But they have continued to use every means—military, economic, and diplomatic—to bring about Israel's destruction.

Economically, they have imposed a boycott of trade and travel. They refuse to allow air, sea or ground communications between themselves and Israel. They have threatened to boycott any company doing business with Israel and any ship or plane landing at its ports and airfields.

Diplomatically, they have attempted to isolate Israel in the world community. They have pressured and blackmailed nations in an attempt to dissuade normal diplomatic relations with Israel.

Militarily, they have accumulated huge stockpiles of sophisticated weapons from both the East and the West. They have organized a unified Arab command to coordinate the forthcoming attack on Israel. They have endorsed a Palestine liberation army, composed of Arab refugees, who are dedicated to "throwing the Jews into the sea." And they have encouraged terrorist raids in their hatred and desire to kill and maim.

But in all three aspects they have failed.

Last year, the Congress decided that it was past time to challenge the Arab attempt to involve Americans in their boycott of Israel. We passed an amendment to the Export Control Act encouraging all businessmen to refuse to cooperate in any restrictive trade practices against nations friendly to the United States. This law was specifically directed against the Arab boycott of Israel and I believe that it was an important step in bringing about the realization that we will not acquiesce in the Arab attempt to halt Israel's progress and development.

Diplomatically, the Arabs have also suffered setbacks. Israel now maintains diplomatic relations with 100 nations in all parts of the world. Last year, West Germany defied Egyptian President Nasser and agreed to establish normal relations with Israel. Only a few states, absorbed in their own difficulties, still refuse to recognize Israel. In addition, Israel through its technical cooperation program, is aiding the development of more than 80 developing nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Finally, though the arms race in the Near East continues to escalate dangerously and wastefully, the United States has made its commitment to Israel's integrity clear by agreeing to sell arms to that beleaguered state. It has told the Arabs in no uncertain terms that we will not allow the destruction of our Middle East ally and that their accumulation of arms from the Soviet Union is useless.

But peace is still not a reality. And we must continue to insist that both Arabs and Israelis meet at the peace table and solve their differences peacefully. This is the best way we can celebrate Israel's birthday.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 18th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the State of Israel. We here in the United States have a special feeling for that young country which has prospered against what once seemed to be impossible odds. The celebration this year also has a special significance to Jews the world over as it is the 18th anniversary of freedom. In Hebrew the word "chai" means 18, but it also means "life" and this is precisely what Israel has meant to millions of Jews.

Scattered to the four winds by invaders of their homeland, the Jews have wandered endlessly, seeking escape from pogrom and discrimination. Time and time again the Jewish community has had its heart wrenched out as political leaders found in the Jews a scapegoat for whatever was troubling the particular country at that time. This unceasing round of wandering, settling, persecution, and more wandering came to an almost unbelievable culmination in

World War II, when 6 million Jews died at the whim of Nazi madmen.

On May 14, 1948, the British left Palestine and Israel immediately proclaimed her freedom. To the credit of this country, recognition was granted in a matter of hours. But recognition was not granted by Israel's neighbors and the infant country was forced to fight a war to keep her sovereignty intact. Even while the battle was raging, however, millions of Jews from all over the world started for Israel. They were welcomed and put to work.

Mr. Speaker, last year I had the good fortune to travel in Israel and see firsthand what that work has produced. From the bustling metropolis of Tel Aviv to the loneliest border kibbutz one gets the impression of a nation hard at work. Yet the people are not depressed or burdened by this work. They are happy and what is more important, really, terribly proud of what they have accomplished. Men will take you to the middle of a citrus grove and then point out that less than a decade ago that spot was a barren wasteland. In a hot, dry, desolate kibbutz you can literally watch the desert being pushed back and then the realities of life are brought home as you note that the men, women, and children are working under the eyes of an armed guard atop a watchtower.

But the guard atop the tower is a Jew and the people working are Jews and the barbed wire and guns are not to keep them in, but rather their enemies out. For the Jews have made it well known to their neighbors and the world that they have come home to Israel and that they intend to stay there. A proud people are creating a proud country and the Near East, and the world for that matter, is a better place for their effort.

Mr. Speaker, 8 years ago President Lyndon Johnson, while serving as majority leader of the other body, offered a resolution noting the 10th anniversary of Israel. The sentiment of that resolution is still very appropriate:

> We wish Israel well. We hope it continues to flourish and prosper in dedication to the ideals of freedom and international cooperation, and that it will serve as a force to contribute to peace in the Middle East and in the world.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, today we celebrate the 18th anniversary of the founding of Israel as an independent state and it gives me great pleasure on this memorable occasion to extend heartiest congratulations to this nation and its more than 2.5 million people.

The struggle of Israel to obtain and maintain independence since her founding in 1948 has excited the imagination of all those who love and cherish liberty.

Its first years were rugged and survival perilous—a constant battle against both the unyielding land and the unyielding hostility of her Arab neighbors. But courage and strength of purpose brought victory at last in land reclamation and the development of schools and community service in much of this desert waste.

And now in that small strip of land to which Moses led his people from Egypt, new wealth has blossomed forth in a rich, fertile, and progressive nation.

In the words of Rabbi Israel Miller, president of the Jewish Council of America on the occasion of this year's anniversary observance the restoration of the Holy Land as the home of the Jewish people is an act of providence reflecting God's pledge to the ancient Hebrews to restore them to their land.

Israel has become a shining example of what a young nation might accomplish even in today's worried world.

We join with Americans across our land in saluting its dedicated men and women who through determination, strength, and belief are realizing the age-old dream of their forefathers.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 18th anniversary of the reentry of Israel into the family of nations. The 18th anniversary of Israel's independence, which began at sundown yesterday, has a special significance in Jewish culture. In the Hebrew alphabet, which denotes numbers as well as letters, the number 18 is also the Hebrew word for life—chai.

In the nearly 2,000 years which passed between the destruction of the Kingdom of Israel by the legions of Rome, and the day 18 years ago when the Jewish National Council proclaimed Israel's rebirth, the children of Israel sought to regain their ancestral home in the face of stubborn opposition and irrational prejudice. In the land of their fathers, where many of the ideals of human charity, social justice, and the brotherhood of man were first enunciated, they were unwelcome. A holy war, waged by a fierce enemy, sought to overturn by force and violence the dream of recreating an ancestral home.

Throughout the centuries of the diaspora, the regaining of Zion remained a deeply felt goal. Beginning in the latter years of the 19th century, a new and more vigorous attempt was made to regain the fields and valleys of ancient Israel, so that after centuries, the Jews could once again live and work in their own "land of milk and honey."

In a world where so many high ideals have been shattered or completely disregarded, the experience of Israel in these last 18 years is an achievement worthy of more than casual notice. Established as a free state with a deep commitment to the same ideals which have helped to make America great, it is especially important to draw attention to the fact that Israel has more than lived up to the goals and ideals which it set for itself. Still free and independent, defending their right to be free and independent with their lives, still steadfastly committed to democratic government, still deeply concerned with social justice and providing a decent livelihood and home for the thousands of immigrants which it has absorbed, Israel stands today as a model of progressive development, a bastion of democracy surrounded by despots.

On this anniversary of her new independence, it is both fitting and proper that we who cherish freedom acknowledge Israel's impressive achievements in the field of political development, economic progress, and social justice. These achievements have gained for Israel an enviable reputation among the less developed nations of the world as a disinterested and highly capable friend for their own economic development, and provided a tangible example of what can be done despite the odds in less than two decades toward turning neglected soil into a "land of milk and honey."

I know that my colleagues join me in wishing the leaders and people of Israel the very best for the future; the sincere desire for peace and prosperity which characterizes their beliefs and policies is heartening to us in an era and area of instability and we look forward to the day when it will become the general attitude of all peoples and nations.

In noting this commemoration we stand determined to honor our commitment and that of the United Nations to the people of Israel to maintain their freedom and bring to the Middle East at long last the watchword of this little nation—"Shalom"—peace.

Mr. Speaker, I would also like to include at this time the Proclamation of Israel Independence, a charter for freedom and a renewal of hope for the people of Israel:

PROCLAMATION OF ISRAEL INDEPENDENCE ISSUED AT TEL AVIV ON MAY 14, 1948 (5TH OF IYAR, 5708)

The Land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and national identity was formed. Here they achieved independence and created a culture of national and universal significance. Here they wrote and gave the Bible to the world.

Exiled from Palestine, the Jewish people remained faithful to it in all the countries of their dispersion, never ceasing to pray and hope for their return and the restoration of their national freedom.

Impelled by this historic association, Jews strove throughout the centuries to go back to the land of their fathers and regain their statehood. In recent decades they returned in masses. They reclaimed the wilderness, revived their language, built cities and villages and established a vigorous and evergrowing community, with its own economic and cultural life. They sought peace yet were ever prepared to defend themselves. They brought the blessing of progress to all inhabitants of the country.

In the year 1897 the First Zionist Congress, inspired by Theodor Herzl's vision of the Jewish State, proclaimed the right of the Jewish people to national revival in their own country.

This right was acknowledged by the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, and reaffirmed by the Mandate of the League of Nations, which gave explicit international recognition to the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to reconstitute their national home.

The Nazi holocaust, which engulfed millions of Jews in Europe, proved anew the urgency of the reestablishment of the Jewish state, which would solve the problem of Jewish homelessness by opening the gates to all Jews and lifting the Jewish people to equality in the family of nations.

The survivors of the European catastrophe, as well as Jews from other lands, proclaiming their right to a life of dignity, freedom, and labor, and undeterred by hazards, hardships, and obstacles, have tried unceasingly to enter Palestine.

In the Second World War the Jewish people in Palestine made a full contribution in the struggle of the freedom-loving nations against the Nazi evil. The sacrifices of their soldiers and the efforts of their workers gained them title to rank with the peoples who founded the United Nations.

On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution for the establishment of an independent Jewish state in Palestine, and called upon the inhabitants of the country to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put the plan into effect.

This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their independent state may not be revoked. It is, moreover, the self-evident right of the Jewish people to be a nation, as all other nations, in its own sovereign state.

Accordingly, we, the members of the national council, representing the Jewish people in Palestine and the Zionist movement of the world, met together in solemn assembly today, the day of termination of the British mandate for Palestine, by virtue of the natural and historic right of the Jewish people and of the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, hereby proclaim the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine, to be called Israel.

We hereby declare that as from the termination of the mandate at midnight, this night of the 14th to 15th, May 1948, and until the setting up of the duly elected bodies of the state in accordance with a constitution, to be drawn up by a constituent assembly not later than the 1st day of October 1948, the present national council shall act as the provisional administration, shall constitute the provisional government of the State of Israel.

The State of Israel will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion; will promote the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; will be based on the precepts of liberty, justice, and peace taught by the Hebrew prophets; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens, without distinction of race, creed or sex; will guarantee full freedom of conscience, worship, education, and culture; will safeguard the sanctity and inviolability of the shrines and holy places of all religions; and will dedicate itself to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The State of Israel will be ready to cooperate with the organs and representatives of the United Nations in the implementation of the resolution of the Assembly of November 29, 1947, and will take steps to bring about the economic union over the whole of Palestine.

We appeal to the United Nations to assist the Jewish people in the building of its state and to admit Israel into the family of nations.

In the midst of wanton aggression, we yet call upon the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to return to the ways of peace and play their part in the development of the state, with full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its bodies and institutions—provisional or permanent.

We offer peace and unity to all the neighboring states and their peoples, and invite them to cooperate with the independent Jewish nation for the common good of all.

Our call goes out to the Jewish people all over the world to rally to our side in the task of immigration and development and to stand by us in the great struggle for the fulfillment of the dream of generations—the redemption of Israel.

With trust in Almighty God, we set our hand to this declaration, at this session of the provincial state council, in the city of Tel Aviv, on this Sabbath even, the 5th of Iyar, 5708, the 14th day of May 1948.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a pleasure for me to add my congratulations to those of my distinguished colleagues in this body on the occasion of Israel's 18th anniversary of independence. The long and sometimes bloody struggles waged by the Jews for their own home, and indeed for their very survival, is unsurpassed in the annals of recorded history. The people whose history has produced such outstanding historical figures as David and Solomon continue to this day to impress and influence the world with their accomplishments in fields such as science, philosophy, medicine, and many other endeavors.

For hundred of years following their defeat by the Romans, the Jews were faced with the problem of trying to exist in a land which was constantly undergoing political upheaval. Palestine was at one time or another under the control of the crusaders, the Arabs, and the Turks. Toward the end of the 19th century, circumstances evolved which gave renewed impetus to the historic Jewish longing to return to Palestine. Everywhere, the idea of nationalism was on the increase while at the same time a wave of anti-Semitism was sweeping Europe. Under the leadership of Theodor Herzl, a group of Jewish intellectuals gathered at Basel, Switzerland, to promote the idea of a national homeland for the Jews. This historic meeting was the spark which culminated in the creation of Israel some 50 years later.

We are all well aware of the tragic events of the World War II period during which more than 6 million Jews were ruthlessly murdered simply because they were Jews. Problems arising from survivors and other Jewish refugees attempting to enter Palestine on the one hand, and the extreme hostility of the Arab population in Palestine on the other, posed a serious problem for Britain, which turned the matter over to the United Nations. Palestine had been awarded to Britain as a mandated territory following World War I.

In 1947 the United Nations voted to approve the partition of Palestine, and the following May 14, 1948, Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion declared Israel an independent and sovereign state. The combined armies of five Arab States were unable to defeat the determined Israelis who, for the first time in thousands of years, had a home of their own. During the short war which followed the independence declaration the Israeli forces proved more than adequate to defend their newly won independence.

Today, 18 years later, Israel's achievements have been phenomenal. She has encouraged an agricultural base which, with the exception of a few imported items, is sufficient to feed her population of more than 2½ million. In addition, she has created many industries which have absorbed the technical and scientific talents which are to be found in that country. In 1966 we witness an Israel with a people dedicated to the principles of liberty and democracy and determined to preserve their freedom and security. As they observe the conclusion of another successful year, I extend to them my best wishes and warmest congratulations for a most prosperous and productive future.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, as Israel celebrates the 18th anniversary of her independence, the whole world continues to watch and wonder at her progress. In less than two decades, this small, brave country has moved forward to a maturity undreamed of by even her most ardent supporters.

Despite a lack of natural resources and the constant threat of invasion, she has not allowed any obstacle to deter her in the development of her land and her people. Deserts are now flourishing gardens and forests, and new industry is constantly being introduced. She continues to encourage programs in education and the arts, never losing sight of the democratic ideals of the dignity of man.

Throughout her 18 years, Israel has faced every task with unmatchable courage, determination, and discipline and has warded off all aggression. She will make any reasonable concession and go great distances in the interests of peace, for her aim is peace—peace with honor.

The entire peace-loving world joins in solemn tribute to the unprecedented achievements of this heroic people.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the 18th anniversary of Israel, it is fitting that we pause to reflect on our friendship with that brave country. In the exercise of peaceful social progress under conditions of great stress and tension, the Israeli people have set standards for the entire world. Continuously beset by belligerent rhetoric and frequent provocation, Israel has managed to preserve its ideals of tolerance and liberty, as well as its security. I submit that this achievement is a milestone of democracy in this century.

To hail Israel, and to celebrate our alliance with her, therefore, is also to honor the very best impulses of American diplomacy. Each dollar of foreign aid, and each pledge of commitment brings us credit even while it helps guarantee Israeli security.

Sadly, this alliance, and the peace of the Middle East which it seeks to guarantee are subject to continuous threats and instability. Israel still must deal with the belligerance of Egypt and the Arab community in general. Every week brings another ominous declaration. Thus, in celebrating Syria's 21st anniversary recently, President Nureddine Atassi announced that his country was mobilizing all necessary efforts for a "war of liberation against Israel." Just last week, Syria's Premier Zayyen arrived in Moscow to seek Soviet arms aid.

Egypt continues to prepare for a conflict with Israel which is declared to be necessary and inevitable. In the last year the United Arab Republic reached agreement on a $300 million arms aid program from the Soviet Union. To acquire this aid the United Arab Republic mortgaged to Russia its long staple cotton, principal export commodity of the country. Egypt cannot afford the luxury of guns and butter. Yet she has chosen guns.

The situation in the embattled Middle East is further complicated by the internal instability of the Arab world and, indeed, in many Arab nations. In the past few weeks, governments have changed in

Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. There is pronounced instability in Aden and Yemen. Egypt and Jordan have been the scene of increased intrigue, mass arrests, and the most complicated political plottery.

In Syria, just to take an example, there has been a renaissance of Communist influence marked by the return of Khaled Bakkdush, an exiled Communist leader. The new Baathist regime, still in sharp competition with the military and former government of General Aurin Hafez, must now take account of yet another factor in the already complex spectrum of Syrian politics.

This model of internal instability carries many implications. On the one hand, it points to the conclusions that an Arab world, divided against itself, will be unlikely to organize an effective campaign against Israel. United only in rhetorical opposition to Israel, the Arabs, it has been argued, will be too busy sorting out their own affairs to tamper with the relatively secure and powerful Israel.

There is, of course, something to this argument, but it ignores, I think, a broader reality in Middle Eastern affairs. A tense and bitter Middle East is gradually becoming subject to an uncontrollable arms race, with all powers diverting unprecedented funds to military budgeting. Regardless of the object of such steps—whether it be preventive attack in an Arab-Israel dispute, political victory over internal domestic dissidents, or intervention in local civil conflicts—the atmosphere is becoming explosive. The present lull in open hostilities can prove highly misleading. Bitter antagonisms are finding the means of expression in modern weaponry stockpiles. A gradual process of arms acquisitions, though initially characterized as simple self-defense, can suddenly transform into a stifling and vicious encirclement.

I believe the Israel response to this situation has been prudent and restrained. Israel has no choice, of course, but to act in accordance with her own security interests in the light of the increased threat of an aggressive explosion and an encircling Arab world. To reaffirm our own national commitment to Israel's security, we recently have agreed to supply modern tanks to the Israel Army. I regard that decision as a proper one, occasioned by disturbing growth in Arab military power and Soviet military assistance.

Yet I believe no one can be happy with the need for such a policy. This, of course, has been exactly the response of Israel. In recent months, Israeli diplomacy has made a concerted effort to stress the need for an end to the arms race in the Middle East, an end to the proliferation of military assistance programs, and an end to the cycle of bitterness and hostility which leaves an open sore in world politics. Stressing its willingness to make concessions necessary for such a reduction in tension, Israel has called upon the United States and the U.S.S.R. to take steps toward the convening of a Middle Eastern Disarmament and Security Conference.

It is my view that immediate steps can be taken in this direction. Our primary attention is naturally focused on South Vietnam. But I would remind my colleagues that the Soviet Union, deeply involved in Vietnam as it is, still found a creative role in the Tashkent settlement of the Indian-Pakistan dispute.

We need a spirit of Tashkent for the Middle East. And I believe the most dramatic celebration of Israeli independence would be a move in the direction of such a diplomatic commitment. We are talking in Geneva, with little apparent success, of the need for East-West disarmament. Meanwhile, the arms race in the Middle East continues and escalates. Would not a regional disarmament agreement in the Middle East immeasurably advance the cause of general and complete world disarmament?

I have no illusions about politics in this part of the world. Nothing we have heard from the United Arab Republic gives me any reason to believe that their vituperative hatred for Israel will modify itself. I only submit, Mr. Speaker, that the tension in the Middle East covers up a diplomatic vacuum toward which those seeking world peace might profitably direct their attention and resources. I cannot believe the Soviet Union is any more anxious to supply arms to Egypt than we are to offer tanks. The problem is one of willingness and desire to seek peace. I think we must acknowledge the deep awareness that Israel herself has shown in this regard. It is one feature of the present state of Israel independence that the entire world should note and applaud.

Eighteen years after the formal birth of the Israel nation, the region in which it has sought security is tense, even explosive. Despite that fact, Israeli independence thrives. That independence, represents dramatic testimony to the argument that democratic institutions are better equipped to foster social change than are military autocracy and elitism. My own view is that Israel wants little more than peace, quiet, and the right to celebrate life in independence. Her ambitions are modest, and yet her achievements are great. There is a tension in Israeli independence for all of us. And if today we celebrate such independence, and our own happy relation to it, let us also remind ourselves of the tensions of that independence, the sad threats to it, and our deep obligations to its continuance.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, the birth and the development of the State of Israel is one of the hopeful events in the turbulent history of the postwar Middle East. That significant event stands as one of the most remarkable feats in human history. The regaining of independence by the Jewish people after the lapse of 2,000 years and the recreation of their ancient homeland in which their own traditions can be protected and enjoyed certainly constitute a clear case, a living proof that patience, perseverance, and hard work have their rewards. And it is gratifying to see the Jewish people rewarded for their many grievous sufferings in the course of centuries.

Eighteen years of independent existence is a rather short period in the history of a nation, and it is no more than a mere moment in the long history of the Jews. But in that brief period they have done more in the way of rebuilding their country than other nations have done in centuries. Today that youthful and vigorous, dynamic and democratic, growing and powerful state is the living embodiment of the centuries-old Jewish faith. Israeli leaders, with the backing of world Jewry, and others, have made the State of Israel a model state in the Middle East.

With boundless enthusiasm, energy and optimism they have turned much of the arid desert areas into fertile and cultivable land, and the hills of Galilee into blossoming orchards. And what is more important in these perilous days, all Israeli citizens are prepared to guard their newly-won freedom against all possible dangers.

The State of Israel is fast becoming a true bastion of democracy in the Middle East. With its most effective fighting force in the Middle East, Israel has become a real factor for stability and peace in the whole region. On the 18th anniversary of Israel's Independence Day I wish peace and prosperity to the citizens of the State of Israel.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my colleagues today in commemorating the 18th anniversary of the independence of the State of Israel.

Less than a generation ago the Jewish people reclaimed their ancestral homeland, a place which had been the scene of many of the most significant events in world history.

As with our own country, the independence of Israel was not easily won. The establishment of a Jewish state was accomplished only after a long period of trial and travail.

In the ensuing 18 years, the Israelis have built a flourishing and economically viable nation. They have made the deserts to bloom and harsh soil to yield bountiful crops.

Not content merely with the forms of independence, they have sought to obtain for themselves and their offspring the full fruits of liberty and economic progress.

Israel is, in this way, an object lesson to other nations which recently have won independence.

For some of the newly independent countries there is temptation to consider self-government as the end of the struggle, when, in fact, it is only the beginning.

Freedom does a people little good if they go hungry, or do not have proper shelter or clothing.

The Israelis have recognized this truth, and have gone forward to create by hard work and dedication what many believe is a modern miracle of nation building.

For this reason, then, we salute the people of Israel today on this 5th day of Iyar, 5726, the 18th anniversary of the creation of the State of Israel: "Sholom L'chaim—peace and long life."

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to join my colleagues in observing the 18th anniversary of Israel independence.

We pay tribute to a young state of great vigor and achievement. In the span of 18 years, a new nation has been born, has been solidified, and has successfully developed the most promising political, social, and economic institutions.

Nationhood is not an easy task. It demands sacrifice, fortitude, and skilled leadership. More than anything else, it requires of the citizenry a patient and intelligent response to the processes of adjustment and development.

Israel is not by nature blessed with those resources which have traditionally helped in the building of a stable, progressive economic and social identity. So success depended most upon the spirit and intelligence of the people; in short, upon human resources.

Today, when conflict and irresolution plague us at every corner of the globe, free peoples can look with pride to the experience of Israel and draw from it many rich lessons.

In observing this anniversary, we recognize that Israel's astonishing progress, set against great adversity, can serve as an example to all the nations of the world. She has developed free and stable political foundations. Her educational system is one of the world's finest. Scientists, scholars, and technicians in all fields are capably trained. More than 1,500 students from Asia and Africa go to Israel for their education and training.

Israel is a force for peace. She seeks no territorial aggrandizement, no special treatment, no privileged status in the international community. Rather, she seeks to live in peace with her neighbors, to collaborate with all nations in the continuing search for amicable diplomatic and trade relations.

It is both rewarding and refreshing to review the accomplishments and progress of this great nation. In observing this 18th anniversary of her independence, we join in paying tribute to Israel's achievements as a nation, with the hope that these will carry her to renewed dedication for an even more promising future.

Mr. **FARBSTEIN**. Mr. Speaker, 18 years ago out of an arid, barren middle eastern corner of the world, a persecuted but dynamic people began to build a country known as Israel. Modern Israel is a nation which encompasses the visions, aspirations, and hopes of Jews throughout the world. The nation has become one of the most prosperous in the Middle East and had a Gross National Product of $3.6 billion in 1965 and an annual disposable income of $2.3 billion in 1964, one of the highest in the middle eastern world.

In spite of its growth and development, Israel faces the concerted and determined threat of the Arab world. It continues, however, to be the bastion of democracy in an otherwise totalitarian section of the world. Israel faces 85 million militant Arabs but is determined to remain a homeland and an ideological base for the world's Jewry.

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, in spite of the fact that America has always been, and will continue to be, a friend of Israel, it has not always acted in a consistent manner to achieve peace in the Middle East. From the beginning of the 1950's to the present, America has attempted to maintain an arms balance between the Arabs and Israel. This balance has been more fiction than fact, since U.S. policy has been ambivalent. Too often, America has found itself resisting Israeli appeals for balancing arms on the basis that America is not a major arms supplier in the Middle East. Fact has demonstrated, however, that we have not hesitated to supply arms to other nations in that area of the world. The arms race continues to be a major problem to me as I view the Israel-Arab situation. Whether or not we wish to realize it, arms are symbols of conflicting instruments of policy. Supplying of arms, therefore, indirectly gives credence to the belief in many Middle Eastern capitals that America is not concerned about repeated threats against the integrity of Israel.

Let me say, Mr. Speaker, that America must one day realize that whatever influence and prestige it gains by arming Arab nations, it faces greater losses by its implied acquiescence in Arab threats. Those of us in America must continue to be vigilant and be assured that American policy in the Middle East will maintain a strong Israel. We must be certain that the great nation founded 18 years ago will continue to be a prosperous homeland for a people long without a country.

It is to this pledge that I rededicate myself today. I salute the people of Israel on this, their 18th Anniversary, and I share in the joys of their accomplishments. Shalom.

Mr. **DULSKI**. Mr. Speaker, upon this 18th anniversary of the founding of Israel as an independent nation, I am happy to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the courageous people of Israel.

Although faced with almost insurmountable obstacles, the Israelis established their independence. Through hard work, resourcefulness, and rigorous self-discipline, they have transformed a desert waste into a prosperous, growing economy.

Unlike other nations that have been generously endowed with natural resources, Israel was faced with the task of building a nation in a narrow strip of land that had practically no resources, and was surrounded by enemies. Further, she had the task of unifying and assimilating over a million people who came from 70 different nations with different languages and different backgrounds.

From this small and insecure nation in a sea of enemies, Israel has developed into a prosperous and dignified state. The determination, the skills, the dedication of the citizens of this country have been tremendous.

Although still very young in the family of nations, Israel has been quick to assume her responsibilities. Under a generous and farsighted policy of foreign aid, Israeli technicians and teachers can be found in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

To the many newly independent countries facing the difficult problems of developing modern political, economic, and social institutions, Israel is a worthy example to be followed, and also a ready source of aid and encouragement.

I extend my heartiest congratulations to the people of Israel on this anniversary for a job well done, and very best wishes for continued success in their endeavors.

Mr. **VAN DEERLIN**. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 18th anniversary of a unique experiment in international statehood, an experiment conceived by necessity and implemented by far-seeing men and nations of good will. It was an experiment designed to prove that from an almost barren and unproductive territory a new nation could be developed, a nation that offered new life and hope for the future to hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children who had lost all hope.

It is an experiment that has succeeded beyond the wildest dreams of those who fostered it and supported it through days and years of turmoil and heartbreaking obstacles—an experiment that has brought from dry desert territory a flourishing and prosperous new nation, Israel.

Established as a haven of refuge for Jews throughout the world—a haven where the poor, the sick and the old found a welcome that was to be found nowhere else in the world—Israel has provided a beacon for distressed and underdeveloped nations everywhere.

From the dry and unproductive desert sand now pour food and fruits that feed a nation in such abundance that they are exported to other countries. In once empty spaces, factories turn out goods that are sold in nations around the world. Mud huts and tents that once housed a few hundred thousand struggling families have given way to modern homes in cities where more than 2½ million persons have found a new life, and a new future.

This, the 18th anniversary of the founding of Israel, is not only the anniversary of a new nation, it is the anniversary of the birth of a new hope for civilization, a hope that thrives on the belief that mankind, which can destroy itself with nuclear weapons, can also save itself by foresight and good will.

Mr. **POWELL**. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 18th anniversary of independence for the people of Israel. This is a memorable occasion and I wish to take this occasion to express my warm congratulations and extend felicitations to His Excellency, Zalman Shazar, President of the State of Israel; and to His Excellency Avraham Harman, the Israeli Ambassador to the United States.

I need not go into the background surrounding the creation of the State of Israel, as all Members of the Congress are well aware of those events. However, I would like to comment on the fact that after thousands of years as a scattered people, faced with inumerable difficulties and sometimes victimized because of their religious beliefs, the Jewish people can proudly look to a state of their own. Through herculean efforts, Israel has managed to overcome many of the difficulties which had confronted the country upon winning its independence in 1948. While we all agree that tensions among the Jews and Arabs pose a potential threat to world peace, Israel has made it clear that she is desirous of living at peace with her neighbors. It is my sincere hope that someday this wish will become a reality.

Meanwhile Israel is busily going about the tasks of establishing a truly strong and economically viable state, the political atmosphere of which is the most democratic in the area.

It is a fitting tribute to the accomplishments of Israel that on their 18th anniversary, congratulations and well-wishes have been coming from all over the world. I am well aware of the many burdens which the Israelis have had to overcome, and I am proud to congratulate them on a job well done. Best wishes to Israel, and may the future hold even better things in store for your people.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure and privilege for me to rise today in commemoration of the day upon which the Jewish people proclaimed the independent sovereign State of Israel. That day, May 14, 1948, marked the triumphant return of the Jewish people to their homeland from which they had been banished almost 2,000 years before.

We are all familiar with the history of the valiant Jewish people. Almost 2,000 years ago the Romans conquered the land of Israel, drove out most of the Jews, and named the land Palestine. Palestine passed from one conqueror to another, and the Jewish people settled in other countries throughout the world, among many different peoples with different ways of life. Yet the annals of Jewry during the Diaspora, or Dispersion, were marked by memories of the ancient heritage and by the unshakeable resolve to return to their beloved homeland. Through 20 centuries of exile and bitterness, the Jews carefully preserved their identity, heritage, and union for the triumphant day when they should restore the sovereignty of Israel.

The reestablishment of the land of Israel has brought about even greater determination in this wonderful and courageous people. They have attacked the problems of forging a nation with a pioneering spirit reminiscent of the first American settlers. The thousands of immigrants who flocked to Israel have been assimilated successfully and are now making their contribution to the progress of the new nation. The economic resources, neglected and exhausted during the years of the Diaspora, are being carefully utilized and enhanced through the ingenuity and imagination of the Israeli citizens. On the international scene, Israel has proved its interest in the cause of world peace through active participation in the United Nations and its affiliated agencies. The Israelis, having achieved such great success in the economic development of their own land, have now initiated their own technical assistance program in Asia and Africa.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, we pause today on the anniversary of Israeli Independence Day to salute the recreation of Israel and to pay tribute to the courage and genius of a great people. It is a real pleasure for me to join with our Jewish friends in my own 21st District of Pennsylvania, throughout the United States, and the world in extending our warmest and best wishes to the Israeli people on this glad occasion.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, yesterday it was my pleasure to join with the Adath Israel congregation in Trenton, N.J., to celebrate the 18th anniversary of the independence of the State of Israel.

On that occasion I delivered the following remarks:

Remarks Delivered by Representative Frank Thompson, Jr., Democrat, of New Jersey, Sunday, April 24, 1966, at the Adath Israel Synagogue, Trenton, N.J., on the 18th Anniversary of Israel's Independence

It gave me very great pleasure when you invited me to join you in this celebration today, but the pleasure was mixed with humility. Many peoples celebrate an independence day, but any other people is bound to feel humility when they celebrate the independence of Israel. For no other people in history has waited so long for independence or suffered so much during that wait or shown such enduring faith in its eventual outcome: and no other people in history has built and maintained a civilization on the basis of that faith in the tragic conditions of the diaspora. This is why the gentile feels humble as he contemplates the fulfillment of the promise of 2,000 years, the refulfillment of the promise of many more.

I suppose it was the awe-inspiring magnitude, the epoch-making generosity of that historic fulfillment that gave the events leading up to 1948 such a peculiar quality for us who watched them and watched our own instinctive reaction to them. I think that peculiar quality was due to the infectiousness of your faith. What I mean is that we watched the great powers playing with the idea of the national home: we watched the vacillation of the British as the Palestine administration varied its view of its responsibilities under the Balfour Declaration to suit a broader game of power politics: we watched the tragedy of the white paper and its refusal to recognize that the end of two millennia of exile was being marked by the most savage massacre of all: and we watched the tragedy of the Arabs, exploited politically and economically by their own people, and led to blame those who could help them most of all. And yet through all this your faith communicated itself to some of us, and we never felt any doubt about the inevitability of the fulfillment of the promise.

The Covenant itself, of course, is an article of faith for the Christian as well as the Jew, and it may seem presumptuous to add any further grounds for our belief in the idea of Israel, but the honest man does not disguise to himself the extraneous sympathies that run parallel to his faith. For myself, I cannot deny that whenever I have contemplated the struggles of Israel, the long agony of Ireland, which I was brought up to care about, has been close to the surface of my thoughts; and to many Irishmen in America it was, I know, a source of pride that—although the history of their church in other lands at other times was not innocent in 2,000 years of persecution, nevertheless—Ireland alone sent volunteers to help in the final struggle in 1948.

But although today, as we look back after 18 years, we owe it to those who fought for so long not to forget the bitterness of their fight, today should be a day of joy, not of mourning, and it is right that we should name it by the name "Chai" because the idea of the Jewish people that was expressed for so long in terms only of hopes and dreams is now expressed in reality; and the words of the prayer, "L'shana ha-ba-ah B'Yerushalayim," now express not a wishful aspiration but a realized and growing pride: pride in a desert turned into a garden by the children of those under whose hands it flowered last 2,000 years ago, and pride in a people allowed at last to dig for itself and build for itself and fight for itself after 2,000 years when its integrity was maimed by the restrictions of alien societies. And today should be a day of joy in particular for the Jewish community in America because it was not only the pogroms of Eastern Europe that set in motion the irresistible progress that brought Israel into being: what was also needed was the help of the Jewish community in this country above all others, and in particular the self-respect and independent voice that the Jewish people and all other exiles have found in the New World.

And finally, to look to the future—and we owe it to a past built on hope always to look to the future with hope—we should all pray today that this new land may at last be able to live at peace with its neighbors and to bring them all the benefits that it uniquely can.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the history of Israel is older than that of many countries, but the dramatic story of the meteoric rise and growth of the State of Israel is quite new. The history of old Israel had become only a memory more than 2,000 years ago when the country was overrun, conquered, and its Jewish population dispersed to all parts of the world. Since those days nearly all Jews had lived in dispersion, and their life in Diaspora was hard and almost unbearable. But they faced their trials with exemplary fortitude.

Their spiritual and cultural heritage sustained them and kept them spiritually bound together. Through centuries that rich and unique heritage was carefully nurtured, jealously guarded, and kept alive. Finally, at the end of the First World War many of them had the opportunity of returning to their ancestral homeland. And by May 1948, when they constituted about half of the country's population, they proclaimed their independence and began the task of rebuilding, almost recreating, their new state.

That was only 18 years, and that short period has been one of miracles in the way of accomplishments and attainments. Besides making the State of Israel a safe haven for more than 1,500,000 homeless and destitute Jews, the Israeli leaders have made their new state a model, prosperous and progressive democracy.

By providing refuge, and employment to such a large number of refugee Jews, Israeli leaders performed a difficult humanitarian task with distinction, and at the same time had their rewards in gaining these industrious people as patriotic citizens. Working with boundless enthusiasm and built-in energy they have turned much of the desert of the country into fertile and cultivable land. By the skillful use of scientific and technological know-how of their people, Israeli leaders have successfully transformed arid and inhospitable hills and dry plains of Palestine into industrial urban centers.

On the occasion of the celebration of its 18th Independence Day the State of Israel is a new and encouraging political force in the Middle East. It has already claimed and secured the right of recognition as an equal member in the world family of nations. The people of Israel take just pride in their accomplishments in nearly all spheres of their multiple activities, and face the future with confidence and hope. They continue their supreme task of making their new state a viable, vigorous and powerful state, able to ward off all imminent and potential threats. I wish the citizens of Israel peace and fortitude in all their worthy endeavors on the 18th anniversary celebration of their independence day.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a privilege to join with my colleagues today in offering congratulations and best wishes to the people of Israel on their 18th Independence Day.

For the Jewish people 1948 brought to an end almost 2,000 bitter years of exile and heralded the birth of a productive and successful era.

With independence Israel became the lodestar for hundreds of thousands of Jews scattered throughout the world. From more than 80 countries, they poured into the new nation, trebling the population and marking the first instance in which a small state had taken in so many people in so short a time.

Centuries of neglect had turned much of Israel's soil into wasteland. Yet the Israelis launched an imaginative plan of economic development that resulted in reclamation of most of the land. Indeed, the Israelis' knowledge of economic development is such that they have now undertaken technical assistance programs in the emerging nations of Asia and Africa.

Today we pay tribute to the courage, genius, and wonderful resolve of a great people. It is a pleasure to join with our Jewish friends, not only in my own 30th District of Los Angeles, but throughout the United States and the world, in commemorating Israel Independence Day.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to take this opportunity to join my colleagues in extending my sincere best wishes to the state and people of Israel on this, their 18th anniversary of independence.

In the space of less than two decades, a population which has been drawn from peoples all over this world has succeeded in emulating our own success in creating a vital, vibrant society dedicated to the progress and prosperity of the whole nation. We as Americans can be grateful for the existence and friendship of this small, brave state in a turbulent area of the world, and proud of the assistance which we have provided. The Israel people have industriously shaped from the meager resources of their land and from the aid given them by friends abroad a growing and thriving economy of which they can be proud.

I am sure that the future will continue to see the people of Israel making even more spectacular progress, for it has become evident that the talents and ingenuity of her people have been far from exhausted. I look forward to a long and happy relationship between our two countries.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, in 1948 the age-old dream of a Jewish homeland was finally realized, and the independent State of Israel was proclaimed. I am proud to join my colleagues in voicing congratulations to Israel on this, her 18th anniversary.

There are strong and common bonds between America and Israel.

America and Israel are two democracies struggling for a better world domestically and internationally; two peoples devoted to improving their lives and the lives of their children; two nations seeking equality for their citizens and dedicated to securing the rights of all individuals.

It is significant that these two nations share not only their goals but their problems as well.

The United States is today undergoing two simultaneous revolutions—the revolution of economic opportunity and the revolution of civil rights.

The concept of equality—both civil and economic—is not new. It was stated by the prophets, by the leaders of the French Revolution, and by the signers of our own Declaration of Independence.

But the implementation of the philosophy is still to be realized. We are not far removed from the days when the slogans of "rugged individualism" and "free enterprise" were used to hide unconcern. Nor are there so many of us who cannot vividly recall child labor and sweatshops.

In fact, although we have evolved beyond the robber barons and progressed past the philosophy of the dole, we still hear the old arguments calling the poor lazy, and the old cry of socialism raised against society's efforts to help the needy.

But we have finally realized that every person must have an opportunity to work. We understand that unemployment is more than financially debilitating. The absence of a job also robs an individual of self-esteem and his status in the family and in the community.

It is to this problem that the war on poverty is mainly directed. The educational and vocational training programs which are being established and expanded throughout the country are aimed at creating an equal opportunity for all to be employed.

The United States is the wealthiest nation in the world. Israel is young in years and poor in resources, but it too faces the problem of equal opportunity.

It has long recognized the need and value of labor. Shortly after the Zionist movement was founded by Theodor Herzl, a 50-year-old bookkeeper—A. D. Gordon—came to Palestine to teach and practice his philosophy of redemption through labor. Gordon's ideas led to the establishment of the first kibbutz, the settlement of Degania, and, thereafter, to the founding of the other cooperative villages which played such a vital role in the reclamation of Palestine. It led, also, to the formation of the Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor, which has pioneered such progressive ideas and institutions as Kupat Cholim, Israel's medicare.

This is the history of Israel's present effort to meet its own revolution of economic equality. Unlike our own, Israel's revolution does not come from a group of neglected, downtrodden or enslaved citizens. Rather, it is a result of the state itself—of the creation of a Jewish homeland whose doors are open to any Jew asking sanctuary.

Since Israel became independent, some one-and-a-quarter million immigrants have entered the country—1½ times the population of the state in 1948. Arriving without means or skills, these people had to be absorbed into the economy. They needed the opportunity to work, to assert themselves as heads of their families and to find a place in the new community.

This was Israel's problem. And it was met with the three basic necessities—as important in the Near East as they are here—employment, education, and housing. New villages and development towns were established, some in the arid desert of the Negev. More than 250,000 housing units were built. The number of schools was multiplied almost four times.

But immigration and the absorption of immigrants is not a problem of the past—completed and forgotten. The flow of homeless and dispossessed continues. More than 250,000 newcomers have entered the country in the past 5 years—an average of 50,000 a year. And this number is expected to continue for at least 3 to 4 more years.

The majority of the immigrants come from Moslem countries where illiteracy is common and economic opportunities meager. This has resulted in Israel's second major internal problem—the integration of the Oriental Jews into a strange, modern Western society.

In the United States we have, in recent years, moved toward legal equality for all our citizens. But we have found that civil and social equality necessitates a crash program of education, at the preschool, school, and adult levels.

Israel laws have never discriminated between citizens, regardless of country of origin, race, or religion. But the oriental immigrants from north Africa and Middle Eastern countries like Yemen, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Iran, Iraq, and others, do not have the means to compete with the Western-educated Jews.

Thus, Israel has turned to the same solution as we have—education.

The Government's budget for education is the largest of all social services. In the last 5 years the amount spent on education has tripled—$48 million in 1961–62, $153 million in 1966–67. The Government has instituted head start programs to prepare preschool children. It conducts special enrichment programs in schools located in immigration centers, and boarding schools and longer hours in development areas to give the children an atmosphere and surroundings conducive to study. A teachers' corps of the army sends instruction to the development towns, where they are most needed.

In the past 16 years, Israel's school population has increased sixfold. Today there are more children in Israeli schools than there were Jews when the state was declared. To grasp the significance of this figure we would have to imagine a school population in this country of over 190 million at the end of the next 16 years.

The accomplishments are great, but the problems that remain are still huge.

While elementary education in Israel is free, universal, and compulsory, secondary education is not, because the limited Government budget cannot be stretched that far. There is a serious shortage of teachers and adequate facilities. And the measures favoring the culturally deprived immigrants still have not bridged the gap between East and West.

Thus at home both America and Israel continue to fight the war on poverty, the war on illiteracy, and the war on inequality.

Mr. Speaker, on the international scene Israel and the United States are partners in the struggle for democracy.

Over the past decade we have, through our foreign assistance program, aided the recovery and development of more than 100 nations around the globe. We have tried to promote democratic ideas and institutions together with economic progress.

One of the recipients of this aid has been Israel. Through fiscal year 1965 the United States has loaned and given Israel a total of $1,045 million in development loans, technical assistance and surplus foods. And last week the Department of State announced a new aid package of $54 million for the current year.

This generous assistance by our Government has played a large role in the development of the Jewish state. Without it, and the unselfish help of American Jewry, Israel would not have been able to settle the hundreds of thousands of refugees, nor raise its standard of living, build its houses and factories.

But Israel has not just been a recipient. It, too, has shared its wealth with the less fortunate. The wealth of Israel is not, however, the gold or dollar with which we are blessed. It is the brains and experience of its people.

In 1964, 620 Israel experts went to 66 countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This is 15 times the number that went abroad in 1958. The technicians help train their counterparts in agriculture, youth training and education, industry and engineering, health and medicine, administration and social services.

In addition to the Israelis overseas, almost 2,300 African and Asian students from 80 different countries are studying in Israel. Between 1958 and 1963, more than 6,100 men and women from the developing nations participated in training programs in Israel.

The Israel program is designed to be self-liquidating. The experts train local people to replace them. The students who come to Israel obviate the need to send Israelis to those countries.

Israel's program was designated to win friends, but in the process it influences people as well. The Soviet Union and Red China insist that the developing nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America must look to communism to build their countries. Israel teaches that it is democracy and cooperation that produce tangible results—not coercion and communism.

I have mentioned that Israel is engaged in a number of wars, internally and externally, for the good of her citizens and others. But Israel must fight one war against her will—the struggle for her survival. Menaced by her Arab neighbors, Israel must remain alert and maintain her defenses.

Eighteen years ago, when the community of nations decided to recognize the right of the Jewish people to a state in Palestine, the Arabs went to war against that decision.

That war has continued unceasingly, since 1947, despite Israel's repeated pleas for peace.

Today, the situation in the Middle East has reached a new level of danger.

In 1955 the leaders of the Soviet Union agreed to sell Egypt's President Nasser top quality weapons at bargain prices. That was the beginning of the arms race. Egypt, Iraq, and Syria now have sophisticated bombers, supersonic fighter planes, heavy tanks, submarines and missiles supplied by Russia which are all aimed at Israel and which the Arabs have threatened to use against her.

Israel, surrounded by neighbors intent on her destruction, has armed in self-defense.

Thus, the states of the Middle East, poor in resources, low in living standards, absorbed in development needs, must uselessly expend resources on equipment for destruction.

And, as the quantity and quality of the arms entering the area increases, so does the possibility that they will be used, plunging the region and perhaps more, into war.

This dangerous and useless expenditure on arms must be stopped, and I believe that the United States must play a vital role in the effort toward peace.

Mr. Speaker, our Government must continue its clear commitment to Israel's survival, demonstrating its support for the State of Israel and commitment to its continued existence and growth.

The United States must press for an end to the Arab war against Israel. Keeping Israel strong enough to deter any Arab attack will eventually bring home to the Arabs that their effort to turn back the clock of history is futile.

We should not continue to acquiesce in the policy that allows the Arab refugees to be used as pawns in the propaganda and military effort against Israel.

We should not give aid to Egypt while it wages war in Yemen and threatens all its neighbors.

We must not agree to the closing of international waterways or to discrimination against Americans because of their Jewish faith.

I am happy to say that positive moves are taking place in this direction. Last year's amendment to the Export Control Act, which I co-sponsored, was an important blow to the Arab boycott. Our statement in the United Nations calling on UNRWA to strike those refugees arming and training for war, from the relief rolls may help weaken the Palestine Liberation Army.

Mr. Speaker, these efforts must be intensified. The refugees must be settled in the Arab countries which have the land and opportunity for them. The calls by Nasser for a "war of liberation" must be countered by our own call for peace, for direct negotiations between the Arabs and Israel.

We must press the Soviet Union to end its arms shipments to the Arab world. I understand that we have made such suggestions at the Geneva disarmament talks. If this can be accomplished, we will have taken a giant stride on the road toward peace.

Mr. Speaker, on this 18th anniversary of Israel's rebirth, I join in saluting the people of Israel and extend my best wishes for a continued record of achievement.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, today we commemorate a significant and stirring event of the postwar era—the day upon which the Jewish people proclaimed the independent sovereign republic of Israel. Yet May 14, 1948, is much more than an independence day for a nation. It is a tribute and a monument to the patience, courage, and perseverance of a valiant people, who had borne persecution, separation from their homeland, and bitterness for almost 2,000 years.

The United States was the first country to recognize the new State of Israel. Americans generally have a strong affinity with the nation of Israel. We have a tradition of sympathy for peoples striving to attain sovereign nationhood. We have a deep interest in the commitment of Israel to democracy. We feel great admiration for the pioneering spirit that has transformed Israel in 18 short years from a relatively poor country into the progressive and economically strong nation that it is today.

The record of economic development of Israel is an impressive and inspiring one. An example of American-Israel cooperation in the sphere of economic development is afforded by the water-harvesting research alliance recently concluded between the two countries. The aim of this alliance is to capture for man's use some of the scanty rain that falls on desert regions and that is at present nearly all lost to evaporation. American and Israeli scientists are hard at work on effecting a cheap soil treatment for making water run off the earth and concentrate in reservoirs. If successful, this project will pay outstanding dividends not only to Israel but to arid lands throughout the world.

Thus we see today that Israel-American relations rest on a firm and friendly base. The bonds of sympathy and friendship which characterized the beginning of these relations have been transformed in the course of years into a tradition of economic cooperation and intensive cultural exchange. On this, the occasion of their independence day, we pay tribute to the citizens of the Israel nation and offer our warmest congratulations and and best wishes for continued progress and good fortune.

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, 18 years ago the establishment of the State of Israel was proclaimed. That day was a moment of high fulfillment for every one of us with memories of the Jewish past and with hopes for the Jewish future.

Israel was reborn after 2,000 years of prayer, after 50 years of thought and planning and dreaming and after half a century of hard work and resettlement on the land.

In the language of the Bible, the number 18 is symbolized by the Hebrew letters spelling the word "chai," meaning "life." It is now 18 years since the people of Israel witnessed the declaration of 1948. Since that time the number of states in the United Nations has doubled and each faced a choice between two systems of thought and government which compete for their favor and adherence. One makes the individual the slave of the state and the other makes the state the servant of the people, which cherishes the freedom of the individual. There was never a question about the choice Israel would make.

The State of Israel today is the only democracy in the Middle East—an oasis in a desert of medieval feudalism—a friend of America and American democracy. That is why we rejoice on its 18th birthday. Its growth has been fantastic, its development almost a miracle. Plucked out of the fires of hate and destruction, 2½ million people now live in the State of Israel.

Zionism's transcendent purpose as envisioned by the prophets of old was to revitalize the Jewish people and its culture and its way of life. This way of life consists of a faith—a faith in God—a moral and ethical code which comes to us from ancient times and which is that covenant made by the patriarchs and by Moses. It is a Torah which was and is a covenant made at Sinai. Now Zionism's unfinished business has something to do with implementing this covenant and making it meaningful for our time. We must light a beacon for the world to guide it from destruction.

The second part of that covenant was a sense of social idealism which is inherent in Judaism. Wherever human beings in any part of the world suffer from hunger, from lack of freedom, from poverty, from inadequate housing, the idealism of the prophets and our rabbis speak to us and prod us on.

To me Zionism's ultimate purpose will not have been achieved until that day when the prophecy of Isaiah and Micah shall become a reality—that day when the nations of the world will grind their implements of war into plowshares—and nations shall not make war any more.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the story of Israel is perhaps as old as that of any country existing today, but the story of the State of Israel, with its heroic events and glories, is quite new. The beginning of Israel's story is buried in the dim and distant past, at the early dawn of human history.

Long before the beginning of our Christian era there was the independent Kingdom of Judea in which the Jews lived in their chosen patriarchal ways, developed their mode of life, built their own political, religious, and social institutions, and created their own civilization, perhaps one of the oldest in all history. Then centuries later, about 2,000 years ago, the Kingdom of Judea was overrun; the Jews lost their national political independence; they were evicted from their ancestral homeland and eventually dispersed to all parts of the world.

Since those far-off days nearly all Jews lived in dispersion. During that long period they suffered much; they endured proscriptions, discriminations, and a multitude of inequities and injustices in many lands. But they faced their almost endless vicissitudes with exemplary fortitude. Their spiritual and cultural heritage sustained their spirit of freedom and independence, and kept them spiritually bound together. Through centuries that unique heritage was carefully nurtured, jealously guarded, and kept alive.

Finally, after long awaiting and suspense, many of them were afforded the opportunity of returning to their ancient homeland at the end of the First World War. And in May of 1948, with the proclamation of Israel's independence, they launched once more upon an independent political existence.

That was 18 years ago, and the short period that separates 1966 from 1948 has been a period of miracles in the new State of Israel. This new Israel, though separated from its ancient predecessor by more than 2,000 years, stands for the same idea—freedom, independence, and the dignity of the human being. Today the 18-year-old State of Israel stands in the place of the Kingdom of Judea as a dynamic and powerful state, the true embodiment of the centuries-old Jewish faith. It is the living and shining testimony of the persistent and tenacious efforts put forth by self-sacrificing Jews for the common welfare and safety for all their needy and suffering kinsmen.

Besides providing a haven for more than 1,500,000 refugee Jews since its creation, Israel leaders have succeeded in making the State of Israel a model democracy in the midst of feudal and autocratic governments in the Middle East. By providing homes, employment and safety to needy Jewish refugees, the State of Israel has performed a great humanitarian task with distinction. These new citizens, united with their coreligionists have recreated their ancient land. They have proved their ability, resourcefulness and ingenuity in the rebuilding of their country.

It has already become the most industrialized urban land in the underdeveloped rural communities of that region. After 18 years of uneasy, busy but hopeful existence, today Israel can proudly claim the right to be counted as a member of the family of sovereign states. There the people of Israel face the future with supreme confidence, and continue their task of making Israel a model state in the heart of the Middle East. I wish them patience and fortitude, peace and prosperity and happiness on the 18th anniversary of their Independence Day.

I know that I join with tens of thousands of Jews in the Rochester, N.Y., area, which I represent, in marking this occasion. I think it is fitting for me to mention that just last week in Rochester, a dinner was held honoring Rabbi Philip S. Berstein for his long and devoted service to his people all over the world—especially in the State of Israel. At the same event, the Israeli Ambassador to this country, Avraham Harman, was the featured speaker, and I understand that many of the dinner guests purchased savings bonds of the Israel Government. This is only one example of the close proximity that is felt between Americans and Israelis, and it is testimony to the faith that Americans have in the future of the State of Israel.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a pleasure for me to offer my congratulations to the State of Israel on the occasion of its 18th anniversary of independence.

Eretz, Israel, was the birthplace of the Jewish people. They were forcibly exiled from their land, but they never ceased to pray and plan for their return. On November 29, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly called for the establishment of a Jewish State in Eretz-Israel. And a miracle began.

The achievements of this small nation in 18 short years are truly amazing. Through hard work and sacrifice, an arid desert has been transformed into a productive land. And despite all their accomplishments, the people of Israel still strive to mold a stronger and even more united nation.

Israel has become a valued and important member of the world community. It is helping other developing countries through technical and economic assistance. Its people and programs are testimony to a common dedication to make Israel a major contributor to a modern and peaceful world.

My congratulations to the people of Israel for their progress in the past, and I wish them many more anniversaries of equal accomplishment in the future.

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, this week we are celebrating the anniversary of Israel's independence proclaimed in 1948 in Tel Aviv after the British mandate of Palestine had ended.

As we observe this 18th anniversary, it gives each of us great pride to see this nation flourish in democracy within its Middle Eastern feudal environment. Israel, enslaved for over 2,000 years, has made great progress in the past 18 years. The people of Israel have made fantastic social and economic strides. They are successfully developing their economic capabilities to the fullest degree possible.

Not only do we observe their progress this week, but we look with pride to their unselfishness. Persons of Jewish ancestry scattered for centuries have not let miles divide their allegiance to one another. Since Israel's independence, this nation has received over 1½ million people of Jewish heritage into their common homeland. We can look to these brave people and learn from them. Their examples of patience, courage, and perseverance are unmatched in the history of the world.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, in 1807, when the United States was 18 years old, we were a little nation situated along the eastern seaboard of a strange land across the sea. We were surrounded by some enemies who were savages, the Indians, and some enemies who were civilized but who acted like savages, the English and the French.

Now, there is a little land across the sea, situated along a seaboard, surrounded by enemies, and it also is now 18 years old.

The Americans of 1807 did not waste time worrying. Instead, they worked, conquered a wilderness, and they laid the foundation for the great Nation we enjoy today. And today, in this little 18-year-old land across the sea—in Israel—the Israelis are not spending their time worrying.

They are working. They are conquering, not a wilderness, but a desert. And they are laying the foundations for a great nation to come in the Middle East.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks immediately following my remarks on the same subject.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. UDALL). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Geiser, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on April 19, 1966, the President approved and signed a bill and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 11029. An act relating to the tariff treatment of certain woven fabrics; and

H.J. Res. 997. Joint resolution to support U.S. participation in relieving victims of hunger in India and to enhance India's capacity to meet the nutritional needs of its people.

REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 3 OF 1966—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 428)

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. UDALL) laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read, and without objection, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Government Operations and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1966, prepared in accordance with the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended, and providing for reorganization of health functions of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

I

Today we face new challenges and unparalleled opportunities in the field of health. Building on the progress of the past several years, we have truly begun to match the achievements of our medicine to the needs of our people.

The task ahead is immense. As a nation, we will unceasingly pursue our research and learning, our training and building, our testing and treatment. But now our concern must also turn to the organization of our Federal health programs.

As citizens we are entitled to the very best health services our resources can provide.

As taxpayers, we demand the most efficient and economic health organizations that can be devised.

I ask the Congress to approve a reorganization plan to bring new strength to the administration of Federal health programs.

I propose a series of changes in the organization of the Public Health Service that will bring to all Americans a structure modern in design, more efficient in operation, and better prepared to meet the great and growing needs of the future. Through such improvements we can achieve the full promise of the landmark health legislation enacted by the 89th Congress.

I do not propose these changes lightly. They follow a period of careful deliberation. For many months the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Surgeon General have consulted leading experts in the Nation—physicians, administrators, scientists, and public health specialists. They have confirmed my belief that modernization and reorganization of the Public Health Service are urgently required and long overdue.

II

The Public Health Service is an operating agency of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It is the principal arm of the Federal Government in the field of health. Its programs are among those most vital to our well-being.

Since 1953 more than 50 new programs have been placed in the Public Health Service. Its budget over the past 12 years has increased tenfold—from $250 million to $2.4 billion.

Today the organization of the Public Health Service is clearly obsolete. The requirement that new and expanding programs be administered through an organizational structure established by law more than two decades ago stands as a major obstacle to the fulfillment of our Nation's health goals.

As presently constituted, the Public Health Service is composed of four major components: National Institutes of Health, Bureau of State Services, Bureau of Medical Services, and Office of the Surgeon General. Under present law, Public Health Service functions must be assigned only to these four components.

This structure was designed to provide separate administrative arrangements for health research, programs of State and local aid, health services, and executive staff resources. At a time when these functions could be neatly compartmentalized, the structure was adequate. But today the situation is different.

Under recent legislation many new programs provide for an integrated attack on specific disease problems or health hazards in the environment by combining health services, State and local aid, and research. Each new program of this type necessarily is assigned to one of the three operating components of the Public Health Service. Yet none of these components is intended to administer programs involving such a variety of approaches.

Our health problems are difficult enough without having them complicated by outmoded organizational arrangements.

But if we merely take the step of integrating the four agencies within the Public Health Service we will not go far enough. More is required.

III

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare performs major health or health-related functions which are not carried out through the Public Health Service, although they are closely related to its functions. Among these are:

Health insurance for the aged, administered through the Social Security Administration;

Medical assistance for the needy, administered through the Welfare Administration;

Regulation of the manufacture, labeling, and distribution of drugs, carried out through the Food and Drug Administration; and

Grants-in-aid to States for vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped, administered by the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration.

Expenditures for health and health-related programs of the Department administered outside the Public Health Service have increased from $44 million in 1953 to an estimated $5.4 billion in 1967.

As the head of the Department, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is responsible for the administration and coordination of all the Department's health functions. He has clear authority over the programs I have just mentioned.

But today he lacks this essential authority over the Public Health Service. The functions of that agency are vested in the Surgeon General and not in the Secretary.

This diffusion of responsibility is unsound and unwise.

To secure the highest possible level of health services for the American people the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare must be given the authority to establish—and modify as necessary—the organizational structure for Public Health Service programs.

He must also have the authority to coordinate health functions throughout the Department. The reorganization plan I propose will accomplish these purposes. It will provide the Secretary with the flexibility to create new and responsive organizational arrangements to keep pace with the changing and dynamic nature of our health programs.

My views in this respect follow a basic principle of good government set by the Hoover Commission in 1949 when it recommended: "that the department head should be given authority to determine the organization within his department."

IV

In summary, the reorganization plan would—

Transfer to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare the functions now vested in the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service and its various subordinate units—this transfer will not affect certain statutory advisory bodies such as the National Advisory Cancer and Heart Councils;

Abolish the four principal statutory components of the Public Health Service, including the offices held by their heads—the Bureau of Medical Services, the Bureau of State Services, the National Institutes of Health exclusive of its several research Institutes such as the National Cancer and Heart Institutes, and the Office of the Surgeon General;

Authorize the Secretary to assign the functions transferred to him by the plan to officials and entities of the Public Health Service and to other agencies of the Department as he deems appropriate.

Thus, the Secretary would be—

Enabled to assure that all health functions of the Department are carried out as effectively and economically as possible;

Given authority commensurate with his responsibility; and

Made responsible in fact for matters for which he is now, in any case, held accountable by the President, the Congress, and the people.

V

I have found, after investigation, that each reorganization included in the accompanying reorganization plan is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in section 2(a) of the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended.

Should the reorganizations in the accompanying reorganization plan take effect, they will make possible more effective and efficient administration of the affected health programs. It is, however, not practicable at this time to itemize the reductions in expenditures which may result.

I strongly recommend that the Congress allow the reorganization plan to become effective.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *April 25, 1966.*

MANPOWER

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DAWSON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. DAWSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the plan submitted by the President which would authorize a reorganization of the Public Health Service.

All of us in this House are aware of and disturbed by the handicap which an inflexible and outmoded organizational structure represents for the Service as it attempts to deal with the critical health issues of our time. It does great credit to the Service that it has so ably carried out its responsibilities in the face of this handicap.

The goals which the American people have set in health require creative, responsible Federal leadership—leadership of the type already demonstrated by the Service.

I think specifically of the critical problem of health manpower. The fact of shortage has been documented in many studies conducted by the Public Health Service. Acting upon the information provided through them, we in the Congress in the past few years have enacted significant legislation—the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act and the 1965 amendments to that act, the Nurse Training Act—to provide Federal aid for construction of teaching facilities, for student assistance programs, and for educational improvement in professional schools.

This year we will consider and, I am confident, pass legislation to establish similar programs of Federal assistance to universities and 4-year colleges which offer training in medical technology, dental hygiene, and other allied health fields.

These are important steps toward insuring more and better trained health professionals to serve the American people. All of us recognize, however, the necessity for complementary action—continuing education, for example, to keep physicians and dentists already in practice up to date with scientific advances. Only in this way can the full benefits of health research be extended to people in need.

Health manpower will constitute a major problem for the Nation and a major concern of the PHS for many years. I am confident that the reorganization of the Public Health Service will give due attention to this fact—to the need for the closest coordination and effective administration of programs to develop our manpower resources and to the need for continuing assessment of the manpower situation, to provide a basis for future action.

I urge the acceptance of the President's plan.

DISEASE PREVENTION

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MCCORMACK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I should like to express my enthusiasm for a proposal President Johnson has recently made. I refer to his submission to the Congress of a plan that would authorize reorganization of the Public Health Service.

I am sure most of my colleagues are aware of the disadvantages under which the Public Health Service has been laboring. Some of the Service's responsibilities have been frozen into law for more than 20 years. As medical science has moved ahead in giant strides, the PHS has had to struggle within an organizational structure which simply does not lend itself to the requirements of contemporary health needs. The Service has done a very fine job in protecting and advancing the Nation's health, but it is time that we removed some of the shackles that have bound it.

I would suggest that any reorganization plan should have as a key objective the improvement of the teamwork which today is essential in every area of health care. In that aspect of health care which is of greatest concern to us all—keeping us well and getting us well—there may be room for closer coordination between activities concerned with prevention of illness and injury and those devoted to care and treatment.

With regard to both prevention and treatment a burgeoning problem needs close scrutiny. I refer to the increasing contamination of the environment with pollutants which may be harmful to health. Somebody needs to keep track of these pollutants—the ones we know about and the ones that our technology may bring into being in the future—and to study their relationships to sickness and death.

Other types of research also are closely related to prevention and treatment. Programs devoted to prevention and treatment should be able to conduct and support research into better ways of preventing and controlling the ailments and injuries that befall us. They should be able to help States and communities make the best use of the knowledge we have. They should be geared to the conduct of pilot projects and demonstrations which will help health and medical authorities throughout the Nation make available to all the people the best health care we know how to give. There should be an arrangement whereby States and communities may call upon the Public Health Service for consultation in all phases of preventing sickness.

Mr. Speaker, I would commend the President for the vision he has shown in making this request. We should grant the authority he asks, in the expectation of a reorganization that will enable the Public Health Service to build importantly upon its already fine record.

MENTAL HEALTH

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States deserve the assurance that programs dedicated to the advancement of health are conducted in the most effective and the most economical manner possible. I am sure that the reorganization of the Public Health Service which will be authorized under President Johnson's plan will be directed toward the continued achievement of just such a manner of operation in the administration of expanding Federal health programs.

The Nation's major health problems demand Federal support of a wide scope of activity—research, basic and applied; training of health personnel for research, education, and practice; demonstrations of new developments in treatment and new organizational patterns for the delivery of health services.

Mental illness—to cite only one example—requires greatly expanded activities in all these areas. Mental illness is an increasingly serious national problem, affecting people of every age and race and income group. Its impact upon our children, the helpless victims of environment and circumstance, is particularly disturbing to me.

A basis for more intensive action has been built in the Service's mental health programs over the years; I would hope and expect that the reorganization will give high priority to these activities.

The Members of this House, as the Representatives of a people who aspire to the best in health services, should fully support the President in his efforts to achieve the most efficient use of the health resources dedicated to this end.

I urge the adoption of the President's proposal.

CUTBACK ON PORK PURCHASES

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Findley] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the president of the Illinois Pork Producers Association is Mr. Louis F. Dyson who lives in my district near the Virden community. On April 17 he wrote to Agriculture Secretary Freeman complaining about the Government's decision to cut back on purchases of pork because of present prices.

Here is the text of Mr. Dyson's excellent letter:

Illinois Pork Producers Association,
Virden, Ill., April 17, 1966.

Mr. Orville Freeman,
Secretary of Agriculture,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Freeman: I am writing to you in behalf of the Illinois pork producers in regard to our Government's decision to cut back on purchases of pork, also in regard to your recent statements concerning the high price of pork and the farmers net income, as reported by the news media.

Needless to say, we pork producers are quite disturbed about the Government order to cut back on purchases of pork for the Armed Forces; however, your implication that the American hog producer was receiving more than his fair share of the consumers food dollar, has certainly angered many of us. You reported that we hog producers have received the "highest price for hogs since World War II days," is quite true; however, you failed to mention the period a few years hence when the price was near the break-even point, at which time many of our producers were forced into more profitable fields.

May I remind you that the U.S. hog farmer has struggled along during this period of break-even prices, asking for, and receiving no Government subsidy as in the case of the grain producer. We hog producers have watched our net return, or take home pay, grow less and less, while our city cousins, working for industry, asked for and received, or struck and settled for a steady increase in wages.

I think that our producers will be the first to agree that the $30 top was an extreme and not practical, however, since our U.S. hog producers must base his business expenditures and family living upon the down's as well as the up's of the hog market, in other words, an average market price derived during the length of the price cycle, not just a year's length of time. All of us that have made pork producing our vocation would ask for a living wage somewhat similar to that of workers in industry.

Food produced by the American farmer is as ever a bargain, all we ask, "Give our hog producers a fair break, one that he has worked for, for many years."

Please answer publicly the following:

Can you assure our Illinois pork producers that the Government order limiting purchases of pork was based solely upon the cost of pork, and was not a political maneuver to discredit our producers in the eyes of the American consumer, or to make them a pawn whose expenditure will benefit other industries. Can you also tell us at what time and price level the Government will again purchase pork?

Will you kindly explain to the American consumer that our U.S. hog producers certainly do not desire to receive more than our fair share of the consumers pork dollar, but we do ask for a living wage comparable to that of workers in industry.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Louis F. Dyson,
President, Illinois Pork Producers Association, Virden, Ill.

Copies to: Representative Paul Findley, 20th District of Illinois; Mr. Paul Benard, KMOX–TV, St. Louis, Mo.

CARDINAL JOSEPH BERAN

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Collier] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, in these days we hear a great deal about peaceful coexistence with the Communists, a coalition government in Vietnam in which the Communists would be represented, increased trade with the Communist nations, cultural exchanges with the Communist countries, and the easing of tensions between the citizens of the free world and the peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

A man who can speak with authority and eloquence on these subjects is Cardinal Joseph Beran, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Prague. Cardinal Beran is at present visiting the city of Chicago. I am confident that he will have a great deal to say about life under godless communism.

During World War II, the archbishop underwent the horrors of imprisonment in a Nazi concentration camp. After the war, when Czechoslovakia was taken over by the Communists, he disappeared from public view for 12 years. Three years ago he was released from internment and lived for a time in retirement under restrictions.

In January 1965, he became a cardinal. The following month he went by plane from Prague to Rome. The Communists told him that he is never to return to his native land.

Let us hope and pray that at some not too distant day Czechoslovakia will again be free and that Cardinal Beran will be able to return to live out his days in freedom in his own country.

WEAKNESS OF THE SOVIET COLONIAL EMPIRE

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Derwinski] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as the administration plunges forward on the dangerous policy of appeasement and coexistence with the Soviet Union and the Communist dictatorships of Eastern Europe, it might be well for Kremlinologists to ponder these two items which I am inserting in the Record as an extension of my remarks. The first appeared in the Sunday Washington Post and is a reprinted story originally carried in the Manchester Guardian. It tells of the continued opposition of the captive peoples within the Soviet Union to Communist dictatorship. The second article, which appeared in the April 18 edition of the Wall Street Journal, tells of the Communist manipulation of currency in an effort to slightly alleviate their weak currency base.

I believe these two unrelated articles dramatize the weakness of the Soviet colonial empire and should demonstrate a need for the United States to develop a coordinated free world economic drive against the Soviet Union and its satellites.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 24, 1966]

Nationalist Trend Worries Kremlin—Issues Cautiously Aired at 23d Party Congress

(By Victor Zorza)

London.—The Kremlin is worried about self-assertive nationalist trade trends in the 14 non-Russian republics that contain almost half the population of the Soviet Union.

The uncomfortable matter was aired, guardedly but unmistakably, at the recent 23d Soviet Communist Party Congress. Communist Party Chairman Brezhnev said the enemy had often tried to undermine the friendship that bound the Soviet peoples together, but to no avail.

Delegates from Lithuania and Azerbaijan were even more explicit, and a representative of the Tatar people said they would wage an irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois nationalism.

The enemy in the Soviet press, is a vast foreign propaganda machine pouring nationalist poison into the Soviet Union. It is right in identifying Radio Liberty in Munich as the main source of foreign broadcasts in various national languages. It is the only such source of any consequence. But it is difficult to see how a single radio station staffed by a few emigrees can pose a threat to Soviet internal order.

The subject may have been too explosive for detailed discussion at the Party Congress, but articles in the Soviet press make it clear that the real sources of trouble are inside the Soviet Union. Cited were:

The interest shown by some republics in their own economic development, to the detriment of other republics and in disregard of the interests of the state as a whole. This tendency, noted in a Pravda editorial, drew a stiff rebuke from the theoretical journal Kommunist.

The increasing number of complaints about the predominance of Russian officials in posts requiring higher education.

The growing resentment about the way the Russian language tends to push out national languages.

None of this means that the world's largest state is going to fall apart.

As the loyalists argue, the national republics stand to gain rather than to lose by being associated with Russia and with each other. But the association was brought about by force in the early years of Soviet rule, and its structure reflects the elements of compulsion and of Russian domination.

The problems are not unlike those faced by Britain in growing into a unitary state. But what England, Scotland, and Wales took several centuries to achieve, the Soviet Union is trying to do in a few decades, at a time when the pace of progress is incomparably greater.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Apr. 18, 1966]

COMMUNISTS AND CURRENCY: REDS RESORT TO PETTY POLICIES TO GAIN MORE WESTERN MONEYS

(By J. Russell Boner)

LEIPZIG, EAST GERMANY.—In the April issue of the East German monthly magazine German Foreign Policy, chief editor Hans W. Aust analyzes the Luxembourg meeting at which France and her Common Market partners resolved their paralyzing disagreements.

Since that meeting took place in late January, one might assume Mr. Aust has spent the past 2 months in leisurely contemplation of the events. Actually, he was waiting for the printers. Because of the labor shortage and the increase in printing for Western publishers, the leadtime on printing the magazine has stretched from 3 to 4 weeks to 6 to 8, he explains. Printing of Western publications is a major source of hard currency for the East Germans, and to get their hands on capitalist money the Communists willingly push their own publications to the end of the line.

Hard currency is a prized commodity in the Communist lands. They need it to buy sophisticated machinery to build their economies, and hopefully narrow the still painfully obvious gap between Eastern and Western living standards.

Party members insist the people understand that they must be brushed aside to make way for the big spenders from the West with the good money that can be used to build the Communist state.

EFFECT ON POPULACE

But there's plenty of evidence that the grasping quest for hard currency makes the curtained-in Europeans feel like second-class citizens with second-class money. Some of the petty tactics used to part Western visitors from their currency make any propaganda pitch for the utopian society ludicrous indeed. And some of the resulting economic oddities in foreign trade illustrate that single-minded pursuit of capitalist cash by social planners can often be an expensive and uneconomic endeavor.

Throughout East Germany there are 13 interhotels, along with about a dozen intershops located near entry points and at tourist meccas where Western "luxury" goods and services are easily obtainable at bargain prices—but in hard currency only. The shops stock such merchandise as woolens, leather, nylons, whiskey, and American and British cigarettes. These goods are usually obtained through barter transactions in Western countries. The Communists argue, correctly, that such shops make their land more attractive for tourists to visit. But Western observers express real puzzlement over the establishment of these showcase centers for capitalism in the midst of a Communist land where spartan consumer goods are the rule—and then, in effect deny the local citizens access. One Western businessman figures that for the relatively limited amount of foreign exchange the East Germans get, "they couldn't have come up with a better propaganda program—for us."

Even products developed and produced in East Germany often are withheld from the domestic market and put to work earning foreign exchange. Cautioning local businessmen not to expect to be able to buy all the machinery and equipment exhibited in the East German displays, Kurt Schmeisser, director general of the Leipzig Fair, said, "There are some things that we have developed that cannot be made available for the home market."

The second-class citizenry extends throughout the Communist lands. A comely blonde East German secretary out for an evening with her boss at the Ring Cafe night club on Ross Platz here complains that the comrade Bulgarians in the Black Sea resorts ask arriving German guests whether they're from the East or West sector. Since the East Germans have only limited amounts of their soft currency to spend, they are shunted to the poorest accommodations, she says. On the other hand, the free-spending capitalists are assigned the choice locations.

The recent spring fair here at this showcase city for Communist East Germany might have provided the Reds with a good opportunity to impress Western businessmen and newspaper correspondents with the rapid economic growth and success of the Communist rebuilding program. Instead, they turned the occasion into an opportunity to pry loose a few extra guilders, pounds, dollars, marks, and francs from the visiting firemen. The money-grubbing on an official level over relatively petty amounts was a constant reminder of how hard pressed the country is to obtain Western goods and equipment.

Consider the experiences of one fair visitor. On arrival here he found he had to buy 25 nonexchangeable East German marks a day (costing about $6.25 at the official rate), or 125 for the 5 days he planned to stay. Usually the East Germans make a tourist buy only 5 marks a day, which they refuse to reconvert on departure.

The visitor's wallet stuffed with 125 East German marks, he was whisked to the "Jenny Marx Hotel" and ushered into a cubicle with a scant 3-by-8 foot living area normally shared by two persons. The "hotel," it turns out, is a dormitory for which two students each pay $2.50 a month in local currency. But for the Western visitor the rent has been hiked 36-fold to $6 a day. Further, this must be paid in hard currency; that stack of East German bills isn't legal tender here. Perhaps fearing the full price is too steep for one person, the hotel assigns a stranger to share the room—and cost.

A hired car and interpreter also must be paid for in hard currency: 80 U.S. dollars. When two $50 travelers checks are produced, the East German tourist officials try for some 30 minutes to get hard currency for change. Although there is plenty of hard currency around they find it impossible to come by. and finally offer change in East German marks. As compensation, a receipt for $100 is rendered for convenient expense account cheating. The visitor eventually was able to convert back to Western currency the East German marks he purchased in excess of the 25-mark-a-day requirement—but only after paying a 7-percent commission.

Doubtless the Communists fear that without the controls purchase of East German marks in West Germany at a market price of one-third their official value would be more widespread. But, in the case cited above, the same amount of foreign exchange would have been extracted had all bills been payable in local currency, with no forced exchange. And the Communists would have appeared considerably less grasping.

The fleecing of visitors isn't limited to the German Reds, of course. The Russians require purchase of nonredeemable meal coupons geared to feed 300-pound capitalist gluttons. At the end of one monthlong visit, an American couple used their leftover coupons to buy all the vodka and caviar they could carry, and still had to give $75 worth away. In another move that can scarcely be blamed on a creeping rise in costs, last month the Russians hiked hotel rates to triple their former cost for foreign diplomats and correspondents living there.

PRINTING IS PRODUCTIVE

As Mr. Aust indicates, printing is a big source of revenue for East Germany. In the past 2 years, book sales to capitalist countries have risen 42 percent according to Joachim Kranz of the state Book Import and Export Company. Western publishers say they can get a book printed in Eastern Europe for as little as 50 percent the cost of printing in Western Europe. Mr. Krantz explains. "There is a difference in the two economic systems. Labor and paper costs are going up in the West. Here we have stabled fixed prices (and wages). In the Western countries they want to make profits. Here we try to meet requirements, therefore the prices aren't so high." And the requirement in this case, of course, is hard cash.

Sometimes the pursuit of hard cash can lead the Reds into costly ventures in terms of hard currency as well as people and material.

For instance, one West German businessman confides that a U.S. company he represents received an equipment order from an East German firm that included a request for some standard gages. "I told them, 'why not buy locally manufactured gages and install them. It will save you some hard currency.'" The Red customers replied that if they ordered locally they'd have to wait 2 years for delivery. They needed the gages quickly, though as components for a large export order.

"At the same time," relates the Western salesman, "an East German manufacturer was offering the same gages for delivery to the West in 3 months, and at cheaper prices."

Pound notes and dollar bills will never match the Berlin wall as a stark physical reminder of the vast gulf between the socialist and capitalist systems. But the official obsession for getting hard currency, and the resulting inequities, keeps the disparity before the people in terms they well understand.

TURKISH MASSACRE OF THE ARMENIAN POPULATION

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Derwinski] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take a few minutes to remind the Members of the House of the first great genocide of modern times, the Turkish massacre of Armenian population of the then Ottoman Empire. Last year, Americans of Armenian descent had a nationwide program to observe the 50th anniversary of this tragedy.

This incredible mass murder of Armenians by the Turkish Government, which has gone unpunished so far, must not be forgotten by those who wish to see justice achieved by the Armenian people. It cannot be forgotten by other victims of more recent genocides, for which it was a precedent, such as the Communist Chinese mass killings in Tibet and the Nazi murder of millions of Jews. Had world opinion brought about justice for the Armenians, the later genocides might not have taken place. The Soviet Union has also been guilty of such atrocities, creating a deliberate famine among the non-Russian peoples in the 1920's and 1930's and killing thousands of the Baltic peoples following World War II.

Therefore, I urge all those who are working for freedom and justice in the world today to remember the tragic genocide by the Turkish Government against the Armenians which occurred in 1915 and to do all they can to see that such an atrocity is not permitted to occur again.

Mr. Speaker, may I include as a continuation of my remarks an editorial which appeared in the April 24 edition of the Hairenik Weekly, the official publication of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation of North America:

Lest We Forget

April 24 is Armenian Memorial Day, and as we prepare to observe the perennial anniversary of our great tragedy, the supreme thought which pervades our heart and soul is, Lest We Forget.

Fifty-one years ago a savage race fell upon us and murdered in cold blood close to 2 million innocent souls with a bestiality and mercilessness which has never been seen in the annals of man.

A perfidious world forgot that brutal slaughter of human beings, and no matter how hard we tried to arouse the world conscience, how piously we cried for elementary human decency and justice, still we miserably failed in our effort.

That is the reason why we remember and that's the reason why in the security of our rewon affluence, we tremble lest we, too, forget.

We are keenly aware that the world has its many troubles, therefore, we blame no one for being disinclined to give the priority among a host of harassing problems to the Armenian case.

First of all, there is the cold war which, despite all efforts of honorable men to resolve it, to this day, shows no indication of diminution, but on the contrary, is being further exacerbated by a fanatical foe who is bent on burying us.

There is the war in Vietnam in which, for obviously honorable considerations, we became involved—a vicious, stubborn and desperate conflict which is our taxing manpower and our financial resources.

Further to worsen the situation, De Gaulle threatens to pull France out of the NATO, and thus, further to jeopardize the safety of the free world.

There is the Cypriot question, there is Rhodesia, and there are Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand as potential spots of infiltration and subversion, further endangering the safety and the peace of the world.

Under the circumstances, obviously this is not an auspicious setting for a consideration of the Armenian case.

Still, from the historical viewpoint, we submit that, had justice been done to the Armenians in the aftermath of the first world war, much of this agony could have been spared for the world.

Let the world know, and let the Turk know this one fundamental truism well that, until the Turk is punished for his crimes and until justice is done to the Armenians, the world shall have neither peace or safety.

The Nazi authors of the Jewish genocide were brought to justice and they were punished.

No such justice was meted out to the criminal Turk.

A rejuvenated and reformed Germany made reparation for the Jewish losses in human lives and property.

No such reparation, in token of true contrition, has been made by the Turk to the Armenians to this day.

The Turk seized the Armenian ancestral lands and today is firmly squatted on a desolation which he himself created by the depravity of his soul. That land belongs to the Armenians and should be returned to them.

Punishment of the criminal, reparation and independence. This is the Armenian case which shall haunt mankind until a monstrous wrong is corrected and justice is done.

And let no one forget that the Armenians played no small part in the defeat of the central Allies in World War I and rewon their independence. Witness the Sevres Treaty signed by Armenia, the Turks, and a host of world powers, as well as the Wilsonian Award on Armenia's boundaries.

That the Sevres Treaty and the Wilsonian Award were conveniently dispensed with by the criminal Turk and a perfidious world was the greatest travesty of justice.

As long as that monstrous crime by default is not righted, the Armenian shall remember and they shall continue in the reminder of April 24 if for no other tangible reason than the sacred duty of lest we forget.

COOLEY PROTESTS FARM PRICE ROLLBACK—PROPOSES CUT IN GOVERNMENT SPENDING AS INFLATION CHECK

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Langen] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, for some time now a number of my colleagues and I have been calling attention to the plight of the American farmer due to the price-depressing practices of the Johnson administration.

I have pointed out time and again the numerous instances in which this administration has sought to make the farmer a scapegoat and a whipping boy for the President's own inflationary policies.

Time and again I have called attention to the fact that the man in the administration whose job it is to speak for the farmer in Government councils expresses pleasure when farm prices drop.

And time and again, Mr. Speaker, I have called on the administration to halt its misguided and misdirected efforts to check the rise in living costs by pushing down farm prices. It just is not working, and it will not work, because the farmer is not to blame for inflation—in fact, he is one of its principal victims. Many other factors are involved—factors which are conveniently overlooked by the administration.

Because of my deep concern over what is happening to the farmer as a result of this policy of deliberately depressing farm prices, and because of my serious misgivings about what possible promise the future can hold for American agriculture under the dark shadow of such a Government attitude, I am pleased to see that our well respected and honored colleague, the chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, who because of his position has a most experienced knowledge of American agriculture, has also recently pointed out the unfairness of the administration's one-sided fight against the American farmer.

Because of the excellent manner in which he sets forth so explicitly and convincingly the farm price situation as it exists today, I call to the attention of the entire Congress this very worthy statement:

Cooley Protests Farm Price Rollback—Proposes Cut in Government Spending as Inflation Check

Congressman Harold D. Cooley, of North Carolina, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, declared today that "although farm prices now are substantially below what they were 14 years ago, our farmers are being made the scapegoats of inflation."

He called for a halt in "Government undertakings to roll back farm prices."

Instead, the North Carolinian proposed, as "a certain way to combat inflation," a "reduction in nonessential Government spending on old and new programs heating up the economy" that can wait until the conflict in Vietnam is settled.

"The farmer is not to blame for inflation," he declared, and he prepared for presentation to the House these figures developed by his committee's staff from official Government statistics:

Retail food prices in March of this year were 16 percent above food prices in 1952.

Prices received by farmers in March of this year were 6 percent below prices received by farmers in 1952, 14 years ago. He used 1952 for the comparison because this was the last of the 11 consecutive years, beginning in 1942, that the farmer received 100 percent of parity in the marketplace for the food he produced; the farmer now receives only 82 percent of parity in the marketplace.

Prices paid by farmers for their production materials in March of this year were 15 percent above such prices paid in 1952.

Per capita income (disposable income after taxes) of the nonfarm population increased by 50 percent over the 14-year period, from $1,612 to $2,410. During this period the per capita income of people on farms increased from $952 to $1,512, this being accounted for in the fact that the farm population decreased at a faster pace than the fall in farm prices, and the smaller farm income now is distributed among a much smaller farm population. While farm prices have declined by 6 percent the farm population has dropped by 43 percent, from 21,748,000 in 1952 to 12,353,000 in 1965.

Profits of corporations in the United States, after taxes, climbed from $19.6 billion in 1952 to $44.5 billion in 1965, an increase of 227 percent.

Hourly wages of production workers in manufacturing industries increased from $1.65 in 1952 to $2.68 in March of 1966—up 62 percent.

Hourly earnings of employees in food marketing firms climbed from $1.38 in 1952 to $2.34 in March of this year—up 70 percent.

"I applaud the gains made by individuals and by business in the nonfarm sector," Mr. Cooley said. "I am appealing for fairness and equity in consideration of the prices received by the people who produce our food—food not only for ourselves but for millions of hungry people in the free world.

"The farmer is not to blame for inflation. As shown by the figures I am presenting, he is the least able among our working people to have his income diminished. Yet we see the Government taking various actions to roll back his prices."

He mentioned particularly, in this connection, these Government actions:

Government-owned corn has been moved in large volume into the markets to keep feed prices from rising.

The Armed Forces have cut their pork purchases in half.

Cheese import restrictions have been loosened to encourage a larger inflow of foreign cheese, with the effect that the prices of milk used for manufacturing purposes may be depressed.

Export restrictions have been placed upon cattle hides to roll back prices with the purpose of forestalling increases in shoe prices.

Mr. Cooley concluded:

"Farm prices now have leveled off and the prices farmers receive for several important commodities again are headed downward. Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman has fought a valiant battle in bringing farm prices up from their low levels of the middle and late 1950's. I am confident that he now again will bring all the power of the Department of Agriculture into play in an effort to stabilize prices at levels which will reflect fair and equitable income for our farm families.

"I am certain that the consumers—the urban population—of this country are not demanding any further squeeze in farm prices, as a safeguard against inflation. I am sure that no one wants, by depressing farm prices, to bring about a new exodus of people from our farms into the overcrowded cities.

"This is not a time to roll back any man's wage or his legitimate profits in business and industry. There is in my mind one certain way to combat the inflationary threat that confronts this Nation, and this is a reduction in nonessential Government spending on old and new programs heating-up the economy that can wait until the conflict in southeast Asia is settled and the pressures upon our economy are moderated."

BOMB SHORTAGES?

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Latta] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, the May 2, 1966, issue of the U.S. News & World Report carries a story with which most Americans are very much concerned these days. This story is entitled, "Bomb Shortages?—An On-the-Scene Report," and is as follows:

Bomb Shortages?—An On-the-Scene Report

Saigon.—The shocker behind the charges and denials of bomb shortages in South Vietnam is this:

The disturbing situation has been obscured by a smokescreen issuing from the Department of Defense.

It's true that the bomb-distribution problems in South Vietnam have been—with few exceptions—licked.

Munitions ships are unloading cargo on schedule and bombs can be seen stocked in storage depots, as officials claim. The tonnage of bombs being delivered to the U.S. Air Force, Navy, and the Vietnam Air Force has not slackened.

But what is not being told: American and South Vietnamese airmen are not getting the particular types of bombs they need for specific missions.

Because of that, some missions are scratched or the aircraft are loaded with substitute bombs far less effective than those originally called for by 7th Air Force planners in Saigon.

At this moment, the U.S. Air Force is suffering from a critical shortage of both 500- and 1,000-pound bombs, and occasionally even napalm. Sometimes stocks are depleted.

Yet it is those types, Pentagon planners have long known, that are the ones most needed in South Vietnam.

To make do, pilots are often given 750-pound bombs for attacks on Vietcong troops and installations. The result is that pilots complain that the substitute ordnance is either too big or too small for the job. Many are bitter about not having the right bombs for the right mission, often feel their efforts are wasted. "When we do get the stuff we really need it," says one ammunition-supply officer. "It goes directly from the ship to the aircraft. We have no stocks to fall back on."

Says another officer: "It's unbelievable. We have too much of what we do not need and little or none of what is most in demand."

What is going on?

The fact is that—except for napalm, incendiary clusters and 20-mm. ammunition—ordnance used by Americans in South Vietnam was made originally in World War II to blast Nazi Germany, Italy, or Japan.

The old bombs—many dating back to 1942—have been reconditioned and new fuses inserted. But the dud rate, on occasion, has reached 50 percent.

Ammunition officers have been told that stocks of old 500- and 1,000-pound bombs are so low that they will have to resort to substitutes as much as possible until next January.

For example, incendiary clusters are being dropped directly on Vietcong troops rather than on buildings.

Some officers have been told that new contracts for the manufacture of the types of bombs urgently needed were not signed until 4 months ago.

The issue has become so hot behind closed doors in South Vietnam that American military officers have been ordered not to discuss shortages with anyone, especially newsmen. But, privately, they are furious about statements from the Pentagon implying that there is no shortage of any type of bomb.

Air Force commanders are also burned up over this: They say that the U.S. Navy still has the biggest, most complete stockpile of World War II bombs. But the Navy reportedly has turned a deaf ear to pleas to share its stock of 500- and 1,000-pound bombs.

"There are four wars going on here," says one officer. "The Government and the Buddhists, the Government and the Vietcong, the U.S. Army and Marines, and the U.S. Air Force and Navy."

ISRAEL INDEPENDENCE DAY

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. Dwyer] may extend her remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, wherever men value freedom, the 18th anniversary of the establishment of Israel as an independent nation is an occasion for joy and celebration. And wherever there is doubt about man's capacity to shape his own future, this great occasion should be cause for renewed hope.

But there is reason, too, on this anniversary for continued alertness and determination in the face of the stubborn and unreasoning hostility directed against the youthful State of Israel by her Arab neighbors, and there is cause for dismay and for outspoken denunciation in the growing evidence of active anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

It would be difficult, Mr. Speaker, to exaggerate the achievement of the people of Israel in the years since 1948 to overstate its significance. Burdened with the terrible memories of Nazi persecution, confronted by the hatred of the Arab States, inundated by waves of immigrants of the most diverse social, economic, and cultural backgrounds, handicapped by lack of funds and space and by the barren condition of much of the land, and forced into an expensive arms race as a means of self-defense, the Israel people have triumphed over every obstacle.

It has been a triumph of hope but, even more, it has been a triumph of the courage and faith and determination which transformed that hope into impressive reality. As a result, Israel stands today as an oasis of freedom, of opportunity, of democracy in its finest sense, a land in which respect for human dignity comes first.

But Israel's triumph cannot be taken for granted. Her victories so far can only be considered temporary, for the tiny but dynamic country is still engaged in a struggle for survival. We in America, who should understand better than most the unique quality of Israel's accomplishments, cannot be indifferent to that struggle. We must, in keeping with the ideals common to both nations, join more fully in the effort to bring peace to the Near East, to reduce the pressures of the arms race, to remove boycotts and blockades, and to persuade her neighbors to join Israel in open and honest negotiations whereby all can live in peace.

Our commemoration today of Israel's 18th anniversary will, I hope, demonstrate that the Congress of the United States remains deeply concerned and committed to those goals.

A TRIBUTE TO LOUIS A. JOHNSON

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. Moore] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, the world lost one of its great men, the United States one of its foremost figures, and West Virginia one of its favorite sons Sunday in the death of Louis A. Johnson, of Clarksburg, W. Va. Mr. Johnson was the Nation's second Secretary of Defense, a former national commander of the American Legion, and a prominent lawyer. He was 75 when he died in Washington Hospital Center here after a long illness.

Thousands of American war veterans, their wives and loved ones, and the Nation itself can be thankful for the vital interest Louis A. Johnson took in military and veterans affairs of his Nation.

In 1937, Mr. Johnson was a "voice in the wilderness" when in his role as Assistant Secretary of War he became one of the strong advocates of military preparedness. His efforts to persuade the Congress and industry to ready for possible war drew considerable criticism. However, shortly after the end of World War II, Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson said Mr. Johnson's early drive for mobilization had shortened the military conflict by 18 months. Mr. Johnson knew and tasted war. He served as an infantry captain in the Meuse-Argonne campaign in France during World War I, was decorated as a commander of the French Legion of Honor, and was a pioneer in the formation of the American Legion. He was elected national commander of the American Legion in 1932.

Mr. Johnson succeeded the late James Forrestal as Secretary of the Defense Department and started a drive for unification of the Army, Navy, and Air Force by abolishing some of the 800 agencies created by these three branches of the armed services. He served for only 18 months, from March 28, 1949, to September 19, 1959, in the turbulent infant days of Armed Forces unification and during the outbreak of the Korean war. When Mr. Johnson left office, he ruefully told President Truman that he had to admit he made more enemies than friends during his drive for unification and defense economies. Mr. Johnson also demanded an end to racial segregation in the armed services. He received the 1949 Inter-Faith Action Medal for outstanding work in promoting better interracial and interfaith understanding.

Mr. Johnson was a senior partner in the law firm of Steptoe & Johnson which maintains offices here, at Charleston, W. Va., and at Clarksburg, W. Va.

Mr. Johnson was born in Roanoke, Va., but after graduation from the University of Virginia Law School in 1912, settled in Clarksburg, W. Va. Mr. Johnson was a teetotaler who as a hobby raised orchids and camellias in his comfortable Clarksburg home.

While Mr. Johnson and I were on the apparent opposite sides of the political fence, in actuality he was a close political friend and adviser. I was the beneficiary of his kindness and advice. I had the highest respect for this man who was a fighter and a take-charge man in everything he did. At the age of 26, he was majority floor leader of the West Virginia House of Delegates shortly before going off to World War I.

On behalf of myself and Mrs. Moore, we offer our sincerest sorrow to his wife, the former Ruth Frances Maxwell, of Clarksburg, his two daughters, Lillian Maxwell Johnson and Mrs. Katherine Johnson Hill, of New York City, and to his granddaughter, Ruth Maxwell Hill, as well as to his two brothers, Gordon E. and Paul S. Johnson of Roanoke.

To have known him was reward in itself.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY IN A FREE ECONOMY

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Younger] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. George Champion, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, delivered an address before the 18th Annual Business Conference at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J., on March 24 of this year on the subject "Private Enterprise and Public Responsibility in a Free Economy." It seems to me that this address is very timely and points up some of the infringements by the Federal Government upon private enterprise. Because of the many references to the action of the Federal Government, this address should be of particular interest to the Members of Congress.

The address follows:

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY IN A FREE ECONOMY

(By George Champion)

In inviting me to participate in a program on the relationship of business and government, your chairman, Orville Beal, probably figured that a banker could speak, if not from authority, at least from experience—some of it quite painful.

The Federal Government's interest in banking is almost as old as our national history, and State regulatory commissions have kept a wary eye on the banks since 1838. That's 16 years before the insurance business of our luncheon speaker, Gil Fitzhugh, and Orville Beal fell under the States' regulatory gaze, and 69 years before Don Cook's public utilities came under official surveillance. So you can see that the relationship between my particular business and Government has been enduring, if not always enchanting.

It used to be fashionable to talk about the triad of banking, insurance, and public utilities as regulated industries, meaning industries requiring Government permission before they could undertake certain activities. Today that term is redundant. If anyone can find such a thing now as an "unregulated industry," he can sell it at a profit to the Smithsonian.

The historic boundaries between public and private enterprise have become so blurred that it is often hard to tell whether we have a mixed economy or just a mixed-up one.

The Federal Government is the biggest spender, biggest lender, biggest borrower, and biggest customer in the free world. It does everything from running sightseeing cars at TVA, to guaranteeing the financing for the Washington Senators' baseball stadium. If Jimmy Hoffa's drive to unionize the ball players succeeds, I wouldn't be surprised if the Government ordered an 80-day cooling off period to get the teams through the World Series.

Now you may feel as I do that we would be better off under a system in which—to borrow a British statesman's trenchant phrase—"private enterprise will be enterprising [and] the government will govern." However, we in the 20th century business community are faced with a fact of life, not a theory. Realistically, if we are to have any hope of solving the grave problems of our times, we must do everything possible under the existing system to maintain a strong, healthy and growing economy.

This requires a high degree of cooperation between business and Government in numerous areas of our national life. Many of the tasks which need to be done are so formidable that Government inevitably must play a part in them. Over the years, business can be proud of its record of cooperative achievement with Government, particularly in times of national emergency.

Lately, this partnership approach has given currency to a newly minted expression in Washington: "creative federalism." As interpreted by administration spokesmen, this concept envisages a broadly based Federal effort to join hands with other levels of government and all types of private institutions in the work of improving America.

While acknowledging the existence of many areas where the cooperative spirit of "creative feudalism" may be desirable, I would like to suggest here today that there are still other areas where creative competition between business and Government could better serve the national interest.

All of us are familiar with the vital spark that the competitive factor has provided in our economic development. By mobilizing the full measure of people's energy, initiative and ability, it has advanced the welfare of millions further than any previous system had advanced the welfare of even a chosen few.

Just imagine what could be accomplished if some of this competitive zest were channeled into public service. Think of the good that could be done if business were to launch an all-out campaign of creative competition with Government in developing imaginative new approaches to economic and social problems.

I can think of nothing that would put the brakes on big government faster than for business to identify critical problems and take the initiative in dealing with them before Washington felt the need to act. The polls have shown repeatedly that whenever people see a viable alternative to government action, they are likely to support it. They favor Government intervention only when there seems to be no other way.

Creative competition between business and Government could offer that other way.

In saying this, I'm not suggesting for a moment that business is ignoring its social responsibilities at the present time. Indeed, it is contributing three-quarters of a billion dollars a year and an unreckoned sum in time and talent to eminently worthwhile projects in the fields of health, welfare, education, and culture.

Nor am I suggesting that business should accept blanket responsibility for coping with the effects of all the social changes that flow from its technological developments. This would be patently unrealistic.

What I am suggesting, though, is that business might compete with Government by setting up projects that would represent beachheads of excellence throughout the country. These would be in the nature of pilot programs in social experimentation that could serve as models for others in the future. By establishing standards of quality and cost for the Government to emulate, these public-service projects could exert a cumulative effect far greater than their immediate impact.

Those of us old enough to recall the great debate over the Tennessee Valley Authority will remember that one of the arguments advanced in favor of public power was that its rates would constitute yardsticks by which people would know whether they were paying a fair price for electricity. Now with the Federal Government spending the taxpayers' money at a rate of $12 million an hour, perhaps it might not be a bad idea to have some reversible yardsticks for measuring Government's performance.

Of course, the primary public service that any business can render is its own economic success: its ability to harness science and technology to the production of better goods and services that increase employment and raise our standard of living. But beyond this, as Dr. Henry Heald reminded us in his recent valedictory at the Ford Foundation, business and other private institutions "must serve society—independently or in creative interplay with Government efforts—as productive centers of ideas and action."

Clearly, there are many areas of public service in which business could exercise constructive leadership by applying its ideas and actions in competition with Government. In determining where it could compete most effectively and contribute most significantly, I would like to suggest three factors that seem to me worthy of reflective consideration.

The first is concentration. Individual businesses would be well advised to focus on one or two problems to which they could bring special expertise, rather than to spread themselves so thin that the impact would be negligible.

This concentrated approach is now being used successfully by U.S. Gypsum Co., in a novel assault on the problem of slum dwellings. One of the Nation's largest makers of building materials, the company had long nurtured a theory that dilapidated homes could quickly be made livable without the necessity of relocating families in other neighborhoods. Not long ago, it decided to put this theory to the test. It took over a block of Harlem slums and launched the first urban renewal project ever attempted solely by a private corporation. Six tenements are being renovated from top to bottom—new floors, new walls, new bathrooms and kitchens. The cost per unit amounts to about $9,000, less than half the unit cost for new public housing. Precise records are being kept on the time spent and the cost involved in each step.

Why is the company moving ahead on its own this way? Partly, of course, to encourage other private investors to undertake slum projects. But beyond these considerations, it is because an enterprising management feels the experiment could conceivably open up a vast market that might eventually become as important to the national economy as new construction is today.

The special problem that spurred West Virginia Pulp & Paper Co. to ideas and action was stream improvement. Like United States Gypsum, it had analyzed the issue thoroughly. Its own experts and consulting engineers made pioneering studies to determine the best means of providing treatment for the complex wastes from paper manufacturing processes. On the basis of these studies, the company invested $4 million to install in Virginia an advanced biological process for treating industrial wastes. The company then entered into contracts to guarantee bond interest, amortization and operating expenses for a $4½ million plant built in Maryland by a State commission, and $1 million for enlarging an existing municipal plant in Pennsylvania. Not only are the plants in Maryland and Pennsylvania cleaning up industrial wastes, but they are treating domestic sewage from nearby municipalities as well. Thus these communities benefit doubly from the paper company's venture in social responsibility.

Admittedly, the two cases I have cited represent specific and limited opportunities. But think of the immense impact if businesses all across the country focused on one or two public-service projects where they could contribute specialized knowledge. For instance, the "brain teams" that have figured out how to put a man on the moon should certainly be able to get a man to work a little more quickly and conveniently. This was underscored in the recent California experiment in which four aerospace companies, using systems analysis, drew up provocative long-range programs for coping with the State's problems of transportation, crime, pollution, and data communication. We in the business community have here an unusual chance to strengthen our free-opportunity system by demonstrating that our know-how can be brought to bear, quickly and effectively, on social and economic problems.

A second factor that business should take into account in designating areas for creative competition with Government is selectivity. It should select those areas where there is a particular tendency today to look to Government for help.

Industrial relations are a case in point. Some unions apparently are beginning to feel they are not big boys unless they can embroil the mayor or the Secretary of Labor or even the President himself in their wage disputes. Yet labor relations experts are virtually unanimous in their agreement that too much Government intervention stifles initiative and robs the collective bargaining process of its flexibility and self-government.

How much better it would be for labor and management to compete with Government in this area by showing genuine originality in working out their own solutions. A few farsighted companies and unions are trying to do just that through joint study committees and the results to date are heartening. These committees work year-round on explosive issues that cannot be handled in the countdown atmosphere of a strike deadline, but can be talked out in a more leisurely forum. In many cases, the upshot has been a solution measuring up to the highest standards of both public responsibility and private freedom.

Management, by itself or in collaboration with unions, could also compete with Government in the retraining of workers displaced through automation. True, a handful of companies have made a start in this direction, but much more could and should be done without looking to Government for guidance and handouts. After all, unions and management have a common share in the Nation's affluence, and a common stake in the progress of a country that gives the worker a better life than he has ever known since the wheels of the industrial revolution first began to turn.

Another area where Federal influence is becoming increasingly evident and where business could do more is education. It came as a shock to me the other day to learn that the Ivy League colleges, usually regarded as among the last private bastions of the liberal arts, now depend on the Federal Government for well over one-third of their total budgets.

Yet education is an area where business has tremendous resources and could contribute effectively to the learning process. By some estimates, corporations spent more than $4½ billion last year on their educational efforts. Taken as a whole, U.S. companies are far ahead of those anywhere else in the world in the training of staff and line people at all levels. If this accumulated know-how could be channeled beyond the individual companies and out to meet the general public needs, the results could not be anything but beneficial.

General Electric alone teaches more people than any other institution in New York State, public or private. Now GE is working with Time Inc., in a fascinating new enterprise to blend electronic capability with editorial and educational materials. Similarly, other electronics firms are joining with publishing houses to create and market educational materials incorporating new texts, audio-visual aids, language laboratories, classroom television and other advanced features.

Some idea of the vast potential here was suggested not long ago when RCA assigned 15 of its top scientists and engineers to deliver weekly classroom lectures at four Brooklyn high schools. They discussed and illustrated the latest developments in nuclear physics, jet propulsion, and space technology. The idea caught on quickly and now eight other industrial companies have pooled their resources with RCA to conduct regular lectures and demonstrations on contemporary science for New York City high school students. Outstanding scientists, coming directly from the laboratory, bring to the classroom an element that cannot be duplicated in the experience of even the most dedicated teacher—a glimpse of activities, at the frontiers of science and an insight into the scientist's private world of exploration.

This, of course, is only one experiment. But imagine the good that might be accomplished if businesses from coast to coast made their talent and techniques available to schools in their own communities. What a resounding response this could be to those critics who are forever complaining that business is luring the most promising teachers away from the classroom.

A third factor that should be considered in this creative competition with Government is personal involvement.

In my view, businesses, small and large, should actively set an example of good citizenship and do everything possible to encourage more of their people to participate in civic and political activities. Each of us here today should try to persuade our business associates to take a more active role in the affairs of the local community.

I was distressed to read in the Wall Street Journal a while back about one businessman who openly boasted of his ability to evade his civic and political responsibilities. "I find," he told the interviewer, "that a $1,000 donation will get practically anybody off your back."

Those of us who have taken on fund-raising chores would be happy, I'm sure, to get the $1,000. But, actually, no amount of money can substitute for the personal involvement of a dedicated man or woman in a local project. The French philosopher Rousseau said it well when he remarked: "As soon as public service ceases to be the chief business of the citizens, and they would rather serve with their money than with their persons, the State is not far from its fall."

Perhaps I'm inclined to exaggerate local problems these days. My fellow New Yorkers and I have recently lived through a water shortage, a dock strike, an newspaper blackout, a power failure and a transit tieup.

Yet by any reckoning, State and local problems are becoming increasingly important. The phenomenal growth of our cities is reflected in the fact that today 70 percent of our people live on only 1 percent of our land area. Public spending by State and local governments has more than doubled in the past decade, a much sharper rise than even that of the Federal budget. These government units are already spending more than $70 billion a year, and the figure is expected to top the $100 billion mark by 1970.

I believe the majority of our problems are susceptible only to local diagnosis and treatment by local people who, in the Quakers' term, "have a concern." Being close to local conditions and activists by nature, businessmen should be able to spot potential problems before they became acute, and propose workable solutions before social reformers step forward with grandiose government schemes.

Every time we delegate a job to government, we add another picket to the fence of authority that is shutting us off from concern for our neighbor and his concern for us. Every time a citizens' group takes on such a job, it is doing its part to reverse this trend. Examples of what businessmen can do when they feel strongly about community problems may be seen in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Atlanta, and Newark. In these cities and many more, private, nonpolitical groups of businessmen have given revitalized leadership to projects for the well-being of all the people of the community.

The most recent example is New York City's new Economic Development Council, made up of executives from insurance companies, banks and industrial firms under the alert chairmanship of Clarence Francis, former head of General Foods. These are some of the busiest men in New York. But they are not too busy to devote a substantial portion of time and personal attention to finding ways of improving the business climate—of keeping existing industries in the city and developing new enterprises.

One of the first ideas generated by the council was a plan for an early warning system among the banks to detect businesses that might be in trouble and considering moving out of town. More than 500 branch banks throughout the 5 boroughs will report to the council periodically on economic conditions in their communities and how they can be improved. In this way, the group hopes to learn much more than is currently known about economic trends so that it can take positive steps to make the business environment more attractive.

The businessman's personal involvement in activities of this kind is more important than ever now that State and local government has become our largest growth industry. It seems to me we should think seriously of applying on local and State levels the concept of the Hoover Commission of the 1940's and 1950's. You'll recall that a bipartisan group headed by former President Herbert Hoover made two exhaustive studies of the organization of the executive branch of the Federal Government, and came up with a series of recommendations that saved the taxpayers some $10 billion a year. More than that, it furnished perhaps the greatest education of the American people in civil government since the original debate on the Constitution. If the same thorough and thoughtful approach could be applied to State and local government operations, I am confident the result would be better government at a better price.

Concentration, selectivity, personal involvement—these, as I see them, are key factors to consider in deciding what areas might be appropriate for creative competition between business and Government. The exact ground rules for business' participation in this competitive encounter will need defining, perhaps with some trial and error. But I am convinced that these things can be worked out once a company freely acknowledges the importance of its social responsibility.

Whenever you mention social responsibility among businessmen, someone invariably raises the question: "What will the stockholders say?" The question implies that somehow there is a conflict between a corporation's social responsibility and its economic responsibility to its stockholders. I don't think that's the case.

The job of corporate management, in my judgment, is to produce so efficiently and compete so effectively as to earn the optimum combination of short- and long-range profits. In my view, management is not fulfilling its responsibility to the stockholders simply by earning a profit today, if it does not at the same time nurture and enhance an economic environment in which it can continue to earn a profit tomorrow.

Successful businesses have never shied away from investing capital in new or expanded facilities that are expected to return profits in the future. Nor have they balked at spending money on research and development, even on basic research where the payoff may lag a decade or more behind the investment.

This is no mere exercise in altruism but just good business sense. It seems to me that improving the quality of our society is simply another step in the process of taking a broader gaged view of return on investment. The times in which we live have made this as necessary as investment in plant and equipment, in research and development, or in enlightened industrial relations. The distinction between capital investment and social investment is, I suggest, much more a difference of degree than of kind.

Business must learn to look upon its social responsibilities as something inseparable from its economic function. Since private enterprise has an important bearing upon the lives, aspirations, and future well-being of the people, it has a corresponding obligation to contribute to the solution of their economic and social problems. If it fails to do so, it leaves a void that will quickly be filled by others—usually by Government.

For 30 years, I've listened to businessmen complain that Government was competing in their activities. In many cases, I've agreed with them. But I'd like to live long enough to hear Government bureaucrats complain that business is competing in their activities—because I think it would be a healthy thing for our country.

To retain public confidence in the years ahead, business must demonstrate that it has the resources, the vigor, the intelligence—and, above all, the will—to meet its obligations in a free economy. To the extent that it can develop practical solutions to public problems, business can help our Nation immeasurably in regaining its ideal of a truly free society.

AID TO MERCHANT MARINE

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashley] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, last week I introduced a bill which is designed to aid our sorely depressed domestic merchant marine, including that serving on the Great Lakes. This bill will promote and encourage an orderly replacement and modernization building program within the domestic merchant marine. It will accomplish this by permitting vessel operators to deposit in a special construction reserve fund earnings before taxes in order to build new vessels and to reconstruct and recondition existing vessels. In addition, the bill provides special depreciation schedules for vessels which are designed to reflect the risk incident to such investment.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation is of vital interest to the merchant marine. For years and years studies have been conducted and everyone is agreed that the merchant marine—particularly the domestic segment and that serving the Great Lakes—is in serious plight. Everyone has said there must be some solution. Mr. Speaker, my bill is a solution and I earnestly urge that it be given prompt and favorable consideration.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY'S ADA SPEECH

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'Hara] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, Vice President Humphrey has long been noted as a forceful and effective speaker. It is not particularly surprising, therefore, to learn of an outstanding speech by the Vice President. We have come to expect it. And last Saturday night was no exception.

I was among those privileged to hear the address by the Vice President at the annual convention of the Americans for Democratic Action, on Saturday night. I can report that he was in his usual good form. He gave a fine speech, and under permission granted, I include it at this point in the Record:

Keynote Speech of Vice President Hubert Humphrey, Americans for Democratic Action, Washington, D.C., April 23, 1966

We are gathered here tonight—old friends and new—to celebrate the 19th birthday of Americans for Democratic Action. As I thought over the events of this period, it first seemed to me that 19 years had rushed by quite painlessly: Looking around this room I see a number of old colleagues who haven't aged at all. And I trust they will return the compliment. Even though in realistic terms, it may be that we have spent too much time in the same elevator to have much perspective on each other.

Yet, on second thought, when we inject some perspective into our journey together, we must realize that the last 19 years have been a period of incredible change. The American people have faced great challenges and, despite temporary setbacks, have responded in a fashion which validates our basic faith in the democratic process.

The state of democratic action in America—and of Americans for Democratic Action—is good.

The ADA resolutions of the 1950's have become the laws and government programs of the 1960's.

The difference between heresy and prophecy is often one of sequence. Heresy often turns out to have been prophecy—properly aged.

ADA has not only dreamed great dreams, it has helped them become realities.

Those who founded ADA had no illusion that they could simply ride the locomotive of history to a preordained liberal destination.

What organization spoke out earlier or more forcefully on the great moral issues of civil rights and civil liberties, or on the test ban treaty, or on the right to equal legislative representation, or the need to modernize our economic policies, or the importance of larger Federal investments in education, health services, and housing?

And we not only spoke out on these great issues, we fought hard and effectively for them. We really lived up to our name—Americans for Democratic Action.

Of course, we have not always been in perfect agreement among ourselves.

Indeed, I recall once when our foreign policy commission came up with four different minority reports and no majority report at all. No other organization can make that statement.

It seems as if hundreds of times over the last 19 years a newspaperman, or critic, has come up to me with a triumphant look in his eye and said: "How do you explain ADA's position on Madagascar, or Guam, or the Straits of Magellan?"

(I sometimes wonder: Is there anything we haven't taken a position on at least once?)

If, every time any one of us had been outvoted, he had picked up his principles and walked out, there wouldn't be more than a corporal's guard here tonight.

To put it another way, ADA is a political group, not a utopian sect.

We have been concerned with communication, not excommunication. We have practiced self-determination, not self-extermination. We believe in the democratic process, and respect what results from it.

This belief in self-determination, in the right of individuals and of peoples to choose for themselves, has been at the heart of American purposes at home and abroad.

As the author Thomas Wolfe put it a generation ago:

"To every man his chance, to every man regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity—to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him—this is the promise of America."

In this spirit, Franklin Roosevelt set forth his four freedoms as goals of national and international democratic action: Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—everywhere in the world.

These are the four pillars on which we seek to build the better world of the future, a world of freedom and justice under law—yes, a world of security and self-determination for every nation and every human being.

These are the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, which the United States has at all times supported and cherished.

These are the principles on which we acted when we came to the support of the beleaguered nations in World War II—the principles underlying too the Marshall plan, the Truman doctrine, and NATO.

We were not afraid to be far reaching and controversial.

We in ADA vigorously supported these policies, even though some other liberals—some genuine liberals and some not so genuine—denounced and opposed them.

Now we face a new test, calling for equal courage—the need to help the nations of Asia shape their own futures.

Saigon is as close to this ballroom tonight as London was in 1940.

The inescapable agony and pain of Vietnam have compelled us to face the stark realities of an Asia in turmoil and revolution.

Nowhere are the challenges more formidable than they are in Asia, where two-thirds of the human race lives.

Asia is rich in peoples, rich in culture and rich in resources. It is also rich in trouble.

We seek nothing in Asia except to help these nations in their troubles and in whatever way we can to bring about human dignity and material well-being for the hundreds of million who have rarely known it.

What this effort demands is nothing less than an Asian New Deal—a doctrine of no less compassion, scope, and imagination than that which lifted our country from the depths of the depression—a doctrine embodying the same commitment which helped raise Europe from the ashes of World War II.

We have seen the first steps in the President's historic Johns Hopkins address, in the Honolulu Declaration, in the beginnings of the Asian Development Bank and Mekong River development.

But it is not enough to help build nations without helping to protect them.

For physical security without human welfare is little better than a prison, and welfare without security is no more than an illusion.

I know that there are differences within this room as to just how we should meet our responsibilities in Asia, and particularly in Vietnam.

The right to differ is one of the basic freedoms we seek to secure and extend. But there is also the right to advocate and, with your permission, I shall exercise it tonight.

We begin with a common set of premises.

No sane human being seeks war—anyplace.

No liberal can tolerate aggression.

Today in Vietnam we meet aggression—aggression by Vietnamese communism, a particularly militant strain with its own published program of expansion.

While Peking undoubtedly has a strong strategic interest and great influence in Hanoi, it would be a gross oversimplification of a complex relationship to consider North Vietnam merely a satellite of Communist China.

But still a basic question: Does the National Liberation Front represent the majority of the Vietnamese people?

The overwhelming weight of the evidence demonstrates that it does not.

Twice in recent months the National Liberation Front, in an effort to show its strength, has called for a general strike in South Vietnam. Both these efforts have been total failures. The reason: Lack of popular support.

Some 800,000 refugees have fled to Government-controlled areas in South Vietnam during the past year and a half. Like Berliners, they voted with their feet.

In all the years right up to now, April 23, not one single recognized nationalist, religious, labor, or student leader in South Vietnam has identified himself with the front—not even leaders who were imprisoned by the late President Diem, not even determined and articulate opponents of the present government.

And not one has called for a coalition government with the Vietcong since Ho Chi Minh's abortive popular front efforts in 1946 and 1947.

It is not necessary to explain to an ADA audience how the Communists operate, how the demand for coalitions is a staging point in the application of what Rakosi cynically called salami tactics—slicing up the non-Communists. No one here needs to be informed about "transmission belts" or fronts, the standard Communist techniques of infiltration.

The reality is that the National Liberation Front is exactly what it was set up to be by Ho Chi Minh in 1959: A front for Hanoi—the vehicle for the seizure of power in South Vietnam.

The people of South Vietnam have strong and diverse views about many things, and they do not hesitate to express them—as we know so well.

But on two things all their leaders are agreed—and this includes the students, the Buddhists and, notably, Tri Quang himself.

First, they do not want to live under communism.

Second, they do not want us to abandon them.

Yet another question remains: Isn't our intervention in South Vietnam basically wrong, even immoral?

On this point, I will cite an observation by John Stuart Mill which is as pertinent now as when he made it.

"The doctrine of nonintervention, to be a legitimate principle of morality, must be accepted by all governments. The despots must consent to be bound by it as well as the free states. Unless they do, the profession of it by free countries comes but to this miserable issue, that the wrong side may help the wrong, but the right must not help the right."

If we had applied the doctrine of nonintervention in Greece after the war, that country would be controlled by the Communists today. If the British had applied it in Malaya, the same thing would have happened there.

In both cases, but for timely outside aid, militant and determined Communist minorities would have seized and held power. In both cases, subsequent elections have conclusively demonstrated that the Communists were indeed a minority—and a small one, at that.

And, I might add, if we had left South Korea alone in the face of the Communist aggression from the north, there would be no South Korea today. History should have taught us by now that Communists are dedicated to seeking power in whatever way they can get it.

If they succeed in seizing power by force in one country, they will be tempted to try it in others. Indeed, liberation fronts have already been set up for both Thailand and Malaysia.

I agree with what Adlai Stevenson wrote in a letter answering the Vietnam critics, and made public by his family after his death:

"I do not believe * * * retreat in Asia or anywhere else would make any contribution whatsoever to the idea that violence shall not be the final arbitrator in world affairs."

All of us believe that every people have the right to determine their own future peacefully—not have it determined for them by the disciplined minority which happens to be adept at guerrilla warfare.

None of us believes that aggression should become an acceptable means of attaining political power—and that is why we are determined to prevent its success.

The task in South Vietnam, is of course—as in the rest of Asia—much more than military.

It is social revolution.

It is helping in the basic institutional development of a modern state, in which all its citizens have a voice and a stake.

In the midst of war, against an adversary who has made terror a science, it is no easy task to achieve social, economic, and political objectives which would be difficult even under the most peaceful conditions.

The birth of a nation seldom comes without pain and suffering. The South Vietnamese, bled white by the calculated assassination of many of their able leaders are fumbling their way toward a democratic order. In this there is confusion and tumult. But from our standpoint as liberals: Is the tumult not infinitely preferable to the monolithic silence in Hanoi?

Indeed, on the fundamental level of commitment, we are fighting in South Vietnam to make it possible for the South Vietnamese to quarrel among themselves, to prevent the icy hand of Communist totalitarianism from destroying the diversity of this vital people.

And may I add this: The social, economic, and political effort in South Vietnam is difficult. But it is not impossible. The fact is that today we are making progress in helping the South Vietnamese in their basic programs to better the land, the health, the education, the daily life of the Vietnamese people. This progress may not be in our morning headlines. But it is there and it will continue.

And our help in fostering social and economic development will continue at a rising scale, limited only by security and logistic considerations. We seek to give the highest priority to such assistance.

The people of South Vietnam will have the opportunity to elect a constituent assembly this summer. There will be many candidates and a variety of parties. They will hold meetings and make speeches. They will have access to the press, the radio, and TV. Both the campaign and the election itself will be observed and reported by journalists from many Nations.

We support the decision of the South Vietnamese Government to hold this election and the right of the elected assembly to adopt a constitution. We shall cooperate willingly and gladly with any government the people of South Vietnam freely choose.

Indeed, I challenge the Hanoi regime to hold an election under the same ground rules—with full freedom for campaigning and full access to the proceedings by the world press. If such an election were genuinely free, and if the Communists should by any chance win it, it would be the first time they have ever won a free election anytime, anywhere in the world. It's no wonder that they don't risk free elections.

Finally, I will say again: The United States is ready to move this matter from the battlefield to the peace table. We are prepared to go anywhere, under any auspices, to achieve peace—Rangoon, Tokyo, or anywhere on earth. We are willing to talk to anyone. It is not we who are resisting negotiations for peace.

The prospect for peace in Vietnam—for peace in Asia—is fundamentally affected by the action and conduct of Communist China.

I have said on a number of occasions that we do not seek the isolation of Communist China, but only containment. This is the policy of our Government. It is the policy we have followed with the Soviet Union—a policy that has resulted in a growing realism and even moderation among Soviet leaders. This took a good deal of time, and it will take time with Communist China as well.

The proposals we have recently made have been rejected out of hand. But I am convinced that we should persist in them, prudently and patiently.

World peace requires that the Chinese Communists come to realize that an international course of action based upon force and the threat of force cannot succeed. We would welcome the time when a peaceful China—willing to accept the responsibilities that go with membership in the family of nations—might be ready to live in harmony with her neighbors.

Therefore, we are pursuing in Asia a policy of vigilant resistance to aggression and subversion, coupled with an equally vigilant search for every avenue to peace.

It was in this spirit that the late President Kennedy said in his 1961 state of the Union message:

"Our task is to convince (the Communist powers) that aggression and subversion will not be profitable routes to pursue (their) ends. Open and peaceful competition—for prestige, for markets, for scientific achievement, even for men's minds—is something else again. For if freedom and communism were to compete for man's allegiance in a world of peace, I would look to the future with ever-increasing confidence."

Our ability to successfully engage in this competition—and, indeed, fulfill the responsibilities of world leadership—rest, in the last analysis, on the strength and soundness of our own society.

We cannot effectively preach self-determination and freedom of choice abroad unless we practice them at home.

Our task at home remains one of providing to each individual maximum opportunity to exercise freedom of choice in the vital aspects of his life.

To provide this opportunity for personal choice surely lies at the heart of our concerns about civil rights, the urban ghetto, the war on poverty, education, and health services. Examine any aspect of the urban ghetto—housing, schools, jobs, welfare, public services—and you discover a highly complex, ingrained, and self-sustaining system which ruthlessly and systematically denies to residents of these areas any opportunity for meaningful choice—any opportunity to become real persons.

Living in a rat-infested tenement or a rural shanty: Is that meaningful choice?

Attending a third-rate, overcrowded, and understaffed school or dropping out in despair: Is that a meaningful choice?

Being the last hired and first fired in a low-paying degrading job, or collecting unemployment insurance (if you qualify and until it runs out): Is that a meaningful choice?

Struggling with costly and inadequate mass transit, playing on littered or empty lots: Are these areas of life where the poor exert meaningful choice?

It is this inability to choose—this denial of the right to chart one's destiny or to be real participants in the social, economic, or political life of this country—which produces the frustration, the bitterness, hopelessness, and outrage we encounter today in the urban ghettoes of America.

And it is only as we succeed in breaking this vicious pattern—in providing better schools, housing, jobs, public services, and assuring justice—that we can expect this outrage to fade away.

Only as persons experience actual freedom of choice in these vital areas of life can we expect them to develop a personal stake in maintaining and improving our society as a whole. For as these opportunities become real, cynicism will be transformed into faith, apathy into initiative, and alienation into a sense of community and participation.

To assure each human being the chance to choose—to become everything that he is capable of becoming—this is what the American democratic system is all about. And we can never rest until every American has this opportunity.

Much has been done at home and abroad, and much remains to be done. And we have the resources to do the job. As President Johnson has said:

"This Nation is mighty enough—its society is healthy enough—its people are strong enough—to pursue our goals in the rest of the world while still building a Great Society here at home."

We must always remember that democracy is a human means for achieving human ends. It will grow and flourish only as it produces visible and tangible result for the people—the opportunity for a fuller and better life, freely chosen and freely determined.

This is our purpose in the United States, and this is our purpose in the world.

Finally, a personal note. It has been my privilege, with your help, to pay a role in the drama of American democratic action for over two decades.

We've come a long way together and we've been through a good many battles.

But tomorrow will always be the time for us.

Tomorrow could be a cataclysm of nuclear destruction. Or tomorrow can be the opening of a bright new era of human freedom and expression.

If we keep our wits about us, if we hold our nerve, if we never cease working, we can have a world of brotherhood and peace—the world we've dreamed of.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Banking and Currency may have until midnight tonight to file certain reports.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent leave of absence was granted to:

Mrs. Kelly (at the request of Mr. Patten), for Monday, April 25, and Tuesday, April 26, on account of illness.

Mr. Reuss, Mr. Ashley, Mr. Gonzalez, and Mr. Halpern (at the request of Mr. Albert), from today through April 29, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. Slack, for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Zablocki, on May 3, 1966, for 60 minutes; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Albert, for 30 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include a newspaper editorial and article.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Congressional Record, or to revise and extend remarks, was granted to:

Mr. Evins of Tennessee.

Mr. McCarthy.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. McEwen) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Griffin.

Mr. Fino.

Mr. Morse.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. HALEY) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. FRASER.

Mr. MOSS.

Mrs. SULLIVAN in two instances.

Mr. MULTER.

Mr. BLATNIK.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 696. An act for the relief of Sheung Wan Ng; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 776. An act for the relief of Eileen Iris Punnett; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1187. An act for the relief of Victor Abadi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1663. An act for the relief Maria Kryjanovskaja; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2063. An act for the relief of Sixto M. Pagaran; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2106. An act for the relief of Dr. Jose Joaquin Diaz Franquiz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2107. An act for the relief of Andrew Loriz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2109. An act for the relief of Dr. Olibio S. Rodriguez-Eiras; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2163. An act for the relief of Seaman Eugene Sidney Markovitz, U.S. Navy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2164. An act for the relief of Jose E. de la Torriente; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2348. An act for the relief of Dr. Jorge G. Echenique; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2376. An act for the relief of Dr. Mario Presman; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2377. An act for the relief of Dr. Cesar A. Mena; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2446. An act for the relief of Carlos J. Arboleya; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2447. An act for the relief of Dr. Arturo Victor Fajardo-Carpio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2450. An act for the relief of Elsian Thomas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2451. An act for the relief of Margaret Lee Weil; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2457. An act for the relief of Jorge Ajbuszyc Volsky; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2497. An act for the relief of Dr. Guillermo Anido y Fraguio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2519. An act for the relief of Sister Mary Cecilia (Leonie Esquivel); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2555. An act for the relief of Kim Kin Soon; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2626. An act for the relief of Dr. Argyrios A. Tsifutis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2738. An act for the relief of Dr. Ezzat N. Asaad; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2739. An act for the relief of Dr. Blanche L. Asaad; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2750. An act for the relief of You I Souk; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2789. An act for the relief of Dr. Alberto Oteiza; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 1903. An act for the relief of Mrs. Sadie Y. Simmons and James R. Simmons.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 44 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, April 26, 1966, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of the rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2327. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of examination of financial statements of the Panama Canal Company, fiscal years 1965 and 1964 (H. Doc. No. 427); to the Committee on Government Operations and ordered to be printed.

2328. A letter from the Associate Administrator, Foreign Agricultural Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, transmitting a report on title I, Public Law 480, agreements signed during March 1966, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 85–128; to the Committee on Agriculture.

2329. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize an increase in the number of Marine Corps officers who may serve in the combined grades of brigadier general and major general; to the Committee on Armed Services.

2330. A letter from the Secretary, Department of the Air Force, transmitting a report on the number of officers assigned or detailed to permanent duty in the executive part of the Department of the Air Force, as of the end of the third quarter of fiscal year 1966, pursuant to the provisions of section 8031(c), title 10, United States Code; to the Committee on Armed Services.

2331. A letter from the Secretary, Export-Import Bank of Washington, transmitting a report on the amount of Export-Import Bank insurance and guarantees on U.S. exports to Yugoslavia, for the month of March 1966, pursuant to the provisions of title III of the Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriation Act of 1966, and to the Presidential determination of February 4, 1964; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2332. A letter from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting the Annual Report of the American Red Cross for the year ended June 30, 1965, pursuant to the provisions of 67 Stat. 173; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2333. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of savings attainable through reductions in fire department and guard force staffing at contractor-operated installations under the supervision of the Oak Ridge Operations Office, Atomic Energy Commission; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2334. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of opportunity for savings through payment of relocation costs rather than subsistence allowances for contractor-furnished employees, Federal Aviation Agency; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2335. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of savings available through utilization of greater quantities of excess medical equipment and supplies, Veterans' Administration; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2336. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of review of selected overhead costs charged to government contracts by the Univac Division of Sperry Rand Corp., St. Paul, Minn., Department of Defense; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2337. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of transportation of privately owned vehicles on foreign-flag vessels, the Military Sea Transportation Service, Department of the Navy; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2338. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of review of reemployment leave travel benefits granted certain civil service employees in States of Alaska and Hawaii, Department of Defense, and other Government agencies; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2339. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of potential savings by buying instead of leasing specialized transportation equipment, Department of the Air Force; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2340. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of review of the expedited signing of certain agreements under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (commonly known as Public Law 480), Department of State, Agency for International Development, Department of Agriculture; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2341. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of review of prices negotiated on selected contracts for ammunition and weapons components, Department of the Army; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2342. A letter from the Genter & Batten, certified public accountants, Daytona Beach, Fla., transmitting the audit report of the Military Order of the Purple Heart of the U.S.A., Inc., as of July 31, 1965; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2343. A letter from the treasurer, American Chemical Society, transmitting the Annual Report of the American Chemical Society for the calendar year 1965, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 75–358; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2344. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend section 207 of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1949, as amended, to provide payment of nonforeign differentials to certain U.S. citizen wage board employees serving in nonforeign areas outside the continental United States and Hawaii; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, pursuant to the order of the House of April 20, 1966, the following bill was reported on April 22, 1966:

Mr. WHITTEN: Committee on Appropriations. H.R. 14596. A bill making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1446). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

[*Submitted April 25, 1966*]

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. PATMAN: Committee on Banking and Currency. S. 2499. An act to amend the Small Business Act to authorize issuance and sale of participation interests based on certain pools of loans held by the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes; with amendments (Rept. No. 1447). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. PATMAN: Committee on Banking and Currency. H.R. 14544. A bill to promote private financing of credit needs and to provide for an efficient and orderly method of liquidating financial assets held by Federal credit agencies, and for other purposes; with amendments (Rep. No. 1448). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, pursuant to the order of the House of April 20, 1966, the following bill was introduced on April 22, 1966:

By Mr. WHITTEN:

H.R. 14596. A bill making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for other purposes.

[*Submitted April 25, 1966*]

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BOGGS:

H.R. 14597. A bill to amend part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act to include prescribed drugs among the items and services covered under the supplementary medical insurance program for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia:

H.R. 14598. A bill to declare the Old Georgetown Market a historic landmark and to require its preservation and continued use as a public market, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. DORN:

H.R. 14599. A bill to amend the River and Harbor Act of 1965 to prohibit certain fees being charged in connection with the projects for navigation, flood control, and other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 14600. A bill to amend the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act to require corroboration of unsupported statements and evidence of eligibility for aid or assistance thereunder which may be provided by applicants for such aid or assistance; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HOSMER:

H.R. 14601. A bill to establish a Joint Congressional Committee on American Manpower and National Security; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. KUPFERMAN:

H.R. 14602. A bill to provide for a comprehensive program for the control of noise; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WATTS:

H.R. 14603. A bill to amend the tobacco marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. GRAY:

H.R. 14604. A bill to authorize the Architect of the Capitol to remodel the existing structures of the U.S. Botanic Garden for use as a visitors' center; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HOWARD:

H.R. 14605. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide assistance to certain non-Federal institutions, agencies, and organizations for the establishment and operation of community programs for patients with kidney disease and for conduct of training related to such programs, and other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 14606. A bill to provide for the construction of a new Veterans' Administration hospital in southern New Jersey; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin:

H.R. 14607. A bill to provide for appointment by the Postmaster General of postmasters at first-, second-, and third-class post offices; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. DINGELL:

H.J. Res. 1086. Joint resolution to authorize the President of the United States to proclaim August 28, 1966, as "Polish Millennium Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KUPFERMAN:

H.J. Res. 1087. Joint resolution to establish an Atlantic Union delegation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MORSE:

H.J. Res. 1088. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GEORGE W. ANDREWS:

H. Res. 826. Resolution creating a select committee to conduct an investigation and study of the Commissioner of Education's policies and guidelines on school desegregation; to the Committee on Rules.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

462. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Arizona, relative to a highway safety program approved by the Secretary of Commerce; to the Committee on Public Works.

463. Also, memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Arizona, relative to opposing H.R. 8282, relating to unemployment adjustment benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

464. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to the impact of Federal defense activities on California public schools; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

465. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Idaho, relative to opposing H.R. 11798, relating to taxation of interstate commerce; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia (by request):

H.R. 14608. A bill for the relief of Earl J. Krotzer; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DERWINSKI:

H.R. 14609. A bill for the relief of Georgios Koliopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ICHORD:

H.R. 14610. A bill to provide for the free entry of a double neutron diffractometer for the use of the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KARSTEN:

H.R. 14611. A bill to provide for the free entry of a high resolution nuclear magnetic resonance spectrometer for the use of the University of Missouri at St. Louis, Mo.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KEOGH:

H.R. 14612. A bill for the relief of Filomena Moccia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROGERS of Colorado:

H.R. 14613. A bill for the relief of Rubert Narischkin (also known as Rubert Fink); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

377. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Rev. Charles P. Sarelis, presbyter, Greek Orthodox Church of Huntington, Inc., Greenlawn, N.Y., relative to a petition of members of his parish relating to religious freedom in Turkey; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

378. Also, petition of Kang Ha Hyung, Seoul, Korea, relative to a claim against the U.S. Government; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

379. Also, petition of Ralph Boryszewski, Rochester, N.Y., relative to impeachment of Hon. Stephen S. Chandler, U.S. district judge for the western district of Oklahoma; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

380. Also, petition of the City Council, Eureka, Calif., relative to the Pacific coast ocean fishery resources; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

◆

SENATE

MONDAY, APRIL 25, 1966

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD, a Senator from the State of West Virginia.

Rabbi Dr. Abraham Hecht, president, Rabbinical Alliance of America, Brooklyn, N.Y., offered the following prayer:

אבינו שבשמים מלך העולם

Sovereign of the universe, Almighty God in Heaven, may this hour be an hour of favor and acceptance in Your sight.

Our hearts are lifted unto You in gratitude for Your mercies and kindness toward the people of these blessed United States. More especially, do we thank You, O Lord, for bestowing upon this great land, legislators and statesmen who will guide with the help of Almighty, the destiny, and stir the hearts of men and women, young and old, to serve their country in truth and loyalty.

Bless this august assembly and their families. May they be granted peace of mind, serenity and spirit, and inner tranquillity predicated upon faith and trust in God. May those who occupy themselves with the affairs of our country always faithfully seek Your guidance in pursuing its welfare, its advancement, its growth and security.

Pour down Your bountiful blessings upon our distinguished and beloved President, Lyndon B. Johnson, his family, and all the peoples of this great democracy, so that peace and prosperity, freedom and tolerance increase and endure throughout the length and breadth of its borders.

May we realize in our day the prophetic vision of Isaiah—LVIII—as engendered by the various programs advanced by this illustrious legislative body for the welfare of mankind.

To loose the fetters of wickedness,
To undo the bands of the yoke,
And to let the oppressed go free,
And that you break every yoke?
Is it not to deal your bread to the hungry,
And that you bring the poor that are cast out to thy house?
When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him,
And that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?

We pray to the Ruler of the universe that His blessing continue to be bestowed on all inhabitants of our country, that fears and dangers, prejudice and malice be removed from its borders, and that all its citizens regardless of race, color, or creed will know the joys of prosperity, tranquillity, and peace. Amen.

DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., April 25, 1966.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD, a Senator from the State of West Virginia, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

CARL HAYDEN,
President pro tempore.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, April 21, 1966, was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 3 OF 1966—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 428)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Government Operations:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1966, prepared in accordance with the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended, and providing for reorganization of health functions of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

I

Today we face new challenges and unparalleled opportunities in the field of health. Building on the progress of the past several years, we have truly begun to match the achievements of our medicine to the needs of our people.

The task ahead is immense. As a nation, we will unceasingly pursue our research and learning, our training and building, our testing and treatment. But now our concern must also turn to the organization of our Federal health programs.

As citizens we are entitled to the very best health services our resources can provide.

As taxpayers, we demand the most efficient and economic health organizations that can be devised.

I ask the Congress to approve a reorganization plan to bring new strength to the administration of Federal health programs.

I propose a series of changes in the organization of the Public Health Service that will bring to all Americans a structure modern in design, more efficient in operation and better prepared to meet the great and growing needs of the future. Through such improvements we can achieve the full promise of the landmark health legislation enacted by the 89th Congress.

I do not propose these changes lightly. They follow a period of careful deliberation. For many months the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Surgeon General have consulted leading experts in the Nation—physicians, administrators, scientists, and public health specialists. They have confirmed my belief that modernization and reorganization of the Public Health Service are urgently required and long overdue.

II

The Public Health Service is an operating agency of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It is the principal arm of the Federal Government in the field of health. Its programs are among those most vital to our well-being.

Since 1953 more than 50 new programs have been placed in the Public Health Service. Its budget over the past 12 years has increased tenfold—from $250 million to $2.4 billion.

Today the organization of the Public Health Service is clearly obsolete. The requirement that new and expanding programs be administered through an organizational structure established by law more than two decades ago stands as a major obstacle to the fulfillment of our Nation's health goals.

As presently constituted, the Public Health Service is composed of four major components: National Institutes of Health, Bureau of State Services, Bureau of Medical Services, Office of the Surgeon General. Under present law, Public Health Service functions must be assigned only to these four components.

This structure was designed to provide separate administrative arrangements for health research, programs of State and local aid, health services, and executive staff resources. At a time when these functions could be neatly compartmentalized, the structure was adequate. But today the situation is different.

Under recent legislation many new programs provide for an integrated attack on specific disease problems or health hazards in the environment by combining health services, State and local aid, and research. Each new program of this type necessarily is assigned to one of the three operating components of the Public Health Service. Yet none of these components is intended to administer programs involving such a variety of approaches.

Our health problems are difficult enough without having them complicated by outmoded organizational arrangements.

But if we merely take the step of integrating the four agencies within the Public Health Service we will not go far enough. More is required.

III

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare performs major health or health-related functions which are not carried out through the Public Health Service, although they are closely related to its functions. Among these are health insurance for the aged, administered through the Social Security Administration; medical assistance for the needy, administered through the Welfare Administration; regulation of the manufacture, labeling, and distribution of drugs, carried out through the Food and Drug Administration; and grants-in-aid to States for vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped, administered by the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration.

Expenditures for health and health-related programs of the Department administered outside the Public Health Service have increased from $44 million in 1953 to an estimated $5.4 billion in 1967.

As the head of the Department, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is responsible for the administration and coordination of all the Department's health functions. He has clear authority over the programs I have just mentioned.

But today he lacks this essential authority over the Public Health Service. The functions of that agency are vested in the Surgeon General and not in the Secretary.

This diffusion of responsibility is unsound and unwise.

To secure the highest possible level of health services for the American people the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare must be given the authority to establish—and modify as necessary—the organizational structure for Public Health Service programs.

He must also have the authority to coordinate health functions throughout the Department. The reorganization plan I propose will accomplish these purposes. It will provide the Secretary with the flexibility to create new and responsive organizational arrangements to keep pace with the changing and dynamic nature of our health programs.

My views in this respect follow a basic principle of good government set by the Hoover Commission in 1949 when it recommended "that the department head should be given authority to determine the organization within his department."

IV

In summary, the reorganization plan would—

Transfer to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare the functions now vested in the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service and in its various subordinate units—this transfer will not affect certain statutory advisory bodies such as the National Advisory Cancer and Heart Councils;

Abolish the four principal statutory components of the Public Health Service, including the offices held by their heads—the Bureau of Medical Services, the Bureau of State Services, the National Institutes of Health exclusive of its several research institutions such as the National Cancer and Heart Institutes, and the Office of the Surgeon General;

Authorize the Secretary to assign the functions transferred to him by the plan to officials and entities of the Public Health Service and to other agencies of the Department as he deems appropriate;

Thus, the Secretary would be enabled to assure that all health functions of the Department are carried out as effectively and economically as possible; given authority commensurate with his responsibility; and made responsible in fact for matters for which he is now, in any case, held accountable by the President, the Congress, and the people.

V

I have found, after investigation, that each reorganization included in the accompanying reorganization plan is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in section 2(a) of the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended.

Should the reorganizations in the accompanying reorganization plan take effect, they will make possible more effective and efficient administration of the affected health programs. It is, however, not practicable at this time to itemize the reductions in expenditures which may result.

I strongly recommend that the Congress allow the reorganization plan to become effective.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *April 25, 1966*.

WAIVER OF CALL OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, under rule VIII, I ask unanimous consent to waive the call of the calendar of measures that are not objected to.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, statements during the transaction of routine morning business were ordered limited to 3 minutes.

COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service be permitted to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consider executive business, for action on nominations.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no reports of committees, the clerk will state the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCE SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Environmental Science Services Administration.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar Nos. 1099 and 1100.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DISPOSAL OF MOLYBDENUM FROM THE NATIONAL STOCKPILE

The bill (H.R. 13369) to authorize the disposal of molybdenum from the national stockpile was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1133), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

This measure would (1) grant congressional consent to the disposal of approximately 14 million pounds of molybdenum now held in the national stockpile and (2) waive the 6-month waiting period normally required before such disposal could be started.

EXPLANATION OF THE BILL

Why congressional action required

Under existing law, congressional approval is required for the disposal of materials in the national stockpile except when the proposed disposal action is based on a determination that the material has become obsolescent for use in time of war.

The proposed disposal of molybdenum is based on a determination that the quantity of this material in the national stockpile is excess to requirements and not because the molybdenum is obsolescent for use in time of war. Consequently express congressional approval for the disposal is required.

Moreover the bill would authorize an immediate start on the disposal of molybdenum by waiving the statutory requirement for a 6-month waiting period after notice of the proposed disposal is published in the Federal Register.

Why disposal is proposed

At the time (Jan. 19, 1966) the original measure was proposed by the General Services Administration, the stockpile objective for molybdenum was 68 million pounds. The national stockpile inventory is 69,034,253 pounds. Hence 1,034,253 pounds of molybdenum was surplus to stockpile objectives. Subsequently, a new review of stockpile requirements by the Office of Emergency Planning revealed that a substantial increase in production and supply contemplated within the next several months would permit a reduction in the stockpile objective to 55 million pounds, thereby creating an excess of approximately 14 million pounds. The bill has been amended accordingly by the House of Representatives.

It is understood that molybdenum has been in tight supply on a world basis for several years. This situation has been accentuated by the rapid expansion of the U.S. economy during 1965 and continuing into 1966. Although mine production, both in the United States and Canada, is expanding rapidly, it is anticipated that the market will probably remain tight during most of this year. The release of molybdenum from the national stockpile should relieve this situation and is encouraged by both the consuming and producing industries.

Information on molybdenum

Molybdenum is a hard, silvery-white metal used as an alloying element principally in the manufacture of steel and is a desirable substitute for other ferroalloy metals. It imparts a high melting point, high-strength stiffness, and toughness to alloys. The toughness imparted by molybdenum makes steel suitable for armorplate and permits the manufacture of castings of military quality. The missile industry uses molybdenum in high-temperature applications, such as nozzles, leading edges, and numerous structural parts. Electric furnace heating elements, electrical contacts, and electrodes are made of molybdenum metal or molybdenum base alloy.

The United States is the world's foremost producer of molybdenum ores and concentrates. Other free world sources are Chile, Canada, Japan, Norway, Mexico, Republic of Korea, and the Philippines.

The total inventory of molybdenum held by GSA now is 69,034,253 pounds. As indicated above, the present stockpile objective is 55 million pounds. The excess of approximately 14 million pounds is covered by H.R. 13369.

Financial information

The average acquisition cost of the inventory was $1.10 per pound (Mo content). The current market price is $1.55 per pound (Mo content) of concentrates, f.o.b. Climax, Colo., and $1.75 per pound (Mo content) of molybdic oxide.

LAND CONVEYANCE, FORT CANBY-CAPE DISAPPOINTMENT, WASH. AND OREG.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2421) to make retrocession to the State of Washington of jurisdiction over lands comprising the Fort Canby-Cape Disappointment area near the mouth of the Columbia River which had been reported from the Committee on Armed Services, with an amendment, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

> That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, the head or other authorized officer of any department or agency of the Government may, at such times as he may deem desirable, relinquish to the States in which the land is situated all, or such portion as he may deem desirable for relinquishment, of the jurisdiction heretofore acquired by the United States over any lands within the Columbia River at the mouth project in the States of Washington and Oregon which are under his immediate jurisdiction and control, reserving to the United States such concurrent or partial jurisdiction as he may deem necessary. Relinquishment of jurisdiction under the authority of this Act may be made by filing with the Governor of the State where the land is situated a notice of such relinquishment, which shall take effect upon acceptance thereof by the State in such manner as its laws may prescribe.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended, so as to read: "A bill to authorize the adjustment of the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands within the Columbia River at the mouth project in the States of Washington and Oregon."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1134), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXPLANATION OF THE AMENDMENT

The amendment is in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Department of the Army. The lands involved in the bill as introduced are a part of a large project known as the Columbia River at the mouth project comprised of a total of 3,861.67 acres, a substantial portion of which is under exclusive Federal jurisdiction. This project is located in the States of Washington and Oregon. Both States have indicated some interest in developing portions of this project into a park area. The bill as introduced would affect only about 119 acres in the State of Washington, whereas the bill as amended will affect about 2,500 acres in both the States of Washington and Oregon, thus eliminating the necessity for further legislation.

BACKGROUND OF THE LEGISLATION

For a number of years the State of Washington has desired to use the lands in Pacific County, which were formerly part of the Fort Canby Military Reservation and are now part of the Columbia River at the mouth project, for development of a State park. The lands comprising the entire Columbia River at the mouth project, including those which were formerly part of Fort Canby, are required for continued protection, preservation, and rehabilitation of existing facilities and for such future maintenance and development as may be necessary to maintain or improve the entrance channel to the Columbia River as a navigable waterway. Although it is essential to the Department of the Army to maintain control over the 921.9 acres of former Fort Canby lands, development of this area for public park and recreational purposes by the State of Washington is considered compatible with future project requirements and therefore the major portion of this area, approximately 725 acres, can be leased to the State for the desired purpose under appropriate conditions. The entire area is now under permit to the Coast Guard, primarily for protection and surveillance.

Although the existence of exclusive Federal jurisdiction over a part of the area which can be leased to the State does not include such leasing, it would hamper administration of a lease because the State would be unable to enforce its laws for the public protection within the areas subject to exclusive Federal jurisdiction. This jurisdiction cannot be retroceded unless necessary authorization is provided by an act of Congress.

The State of Oregon is faced with a situation similar to that of the State of Washington in that it desires to lease for public park and recreational purposes a portion of the Columbia River at the mouth project comprising a part of the former Fort Stevens which is under exclusive Federal jurisdiction. For the same reasons that the State of Washington desires retrocession of Federal jurisdiction of lands on the Washington side of the channel, local representatives of the State of Oregon have expressed a desire for retrocession of Federal jurisdiction over lands in their State. In view of these circumstances, it is believed that the concept of the proposed legislation would be improved by approaching the problems on a projectwide basis, to permit retrocession of exclusive Federal jurisdiction over any part of the Columbia River at the mouth project which the head of the agency having control over the lands deems appropriate. It is understood, of course, that this legislation contemplates no transfer of an interest in any of the real property concerned.

The Department of the Army believes, however, that if special legislation affecting one project is to be enacted at this time, it should not be piecemeal, as is the proposed measure, but should apply to the entire project concerned. The Columbia River at the mouth project is comprised of a total of 3,861.67 acres of land located in Clatsop County, Oreg., and Pacific County, Wash. The entire land inventory in the project is made up of property transferred from former military reservations to civil works accounts in 1954, including, in addition to Fort Canby areas, lands from the former Sand Island Military Reservation, Oreg., and the former Fort Stevens Military Reservation, Oreg. Roughly, 1,000 acres of former Sand Island lands and about 1,300 acres of former Fort Stevens lands are also under exclusive Federal jurisdiction.

FISCAL DATA

Enactment of this bill into law will not involve the expenditure of any Federal funds.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

Report on Title I Agreements Under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954

A letter from the Associate Administrator, Foreign Agricultural Service, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on title I agreements under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, for March 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Report on Military Procurement Actions for Experimental, Developmental, Test, or Research Work

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics), transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on military procurement actions for experimental, developmental, test, or research work, for the 6-month period ended December 31, 1965 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

Increase in Number of Marine Corps Officers Who May Serve in the Combined Grades of Brigadier General and Major General

A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize an increase in the number of Marine Corps officers who may serve in the combined grades of brigadier general and major general (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Armed Services.

Reports of Comptroller General

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on review of reemployment leave travel benefits granted certain Civil Service employees in States of Alaska and Hawaii, Department of Defense, and other Government agencies, dated April 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on potential savings by buying instead of leasing specialized transportation equipment, Department of the Air Force, dated April 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on review of the expedited signing of certain agreements under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (commonly known as Public Law 480), Department of State, Agency for International Development, Department of Agriculture, dated April 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on opportunity for savings through payment of relocation costs rather than subsistence allowances for contractor-furnished employees, Federal Aviation Agency, dated April 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on savings attainable through reductions in fire department and guard force staffing at contractor-operated installations under the supervision of the Oak Ridge

Operations Office, Atomic Energy Commission, dated April 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on review of selected overhead costs charged to Government contracts by the Univac division of Sperry Rand Corp., St. Paul, Minn., Department of Defense, dated April 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on examination of financial statements of the Panama Canal Company, fiscal years 1965 and 1964, dated April 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on review of prices negotiated on selected contracts for ammunition and weapons components, Department of the Army, dated April 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on savings available through utilization of greater quantities of excess medical equipment and supplies, Veterans' Administration, dated April 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

Amendment of Criminal Code Relating to Interstate Shipment of Wildlife

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Criminal Code relating to the interstate shipment of wildlife, and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Amendment of Section 207 of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1949, To Provide Payment of Nonforeign Differentials to Certain United States Citizen Wage-Board Employees

A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend section 207 of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1949, as amended, to provide payment of nonforeign differentials to certain United States citizen wage-board employees serving in nonforeign areas outside the continental United States and Hawaii (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

PETITIONS

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I present to the Senate for appropriate referral, resolutions from the Advisory Council of the Rhode Island Department of Employment Security pertaining to the pending amendments to the Wagner-Peyser Act and the pending appropriations measure for the administration of employment security programs, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the resolutions were referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, as follows:

Resolution

Whereas the Federal-State system of public employment offices has served the work force for more than 30 years after its establishment by the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933; and

Whereas the Employment Service has expanded and developed over the years procedures and practices so as to provide an expanding list of services needed by a rapidly developing and complex economy; and

Whereas the rapid changes in the economy stimulated, in part, by the use of data processing devices, computers, and other kinds of automated machinery, and the accelerated pace of technical change necessitate the development of new methods and techniques by the Employment Service; and

Whereas the Federal-State relationship has been a source of progress for the Service, and has enabled it to adapt itself more effectively to the diverse manpower needs of the regional and local labor markets; and

Whereas the mission and purpose of the Employment Service require updating and expansion so that account is taken of changes in the needs of the labor market as well as of the new tasks the Service should perform; and

Whereas tried and trusted methods and relationships such as the close administrative and technical relationships between the Employment Service and the Unemployment Compensation units have each been of inestimable benefit to the other; and

Whereas the Employment Service has achieved a high level of efficiency under its present title, and is known to both employers and job seekers under its present name: therefore, we

Resolve, That we endorse legislation that will spell out the mission of the Employment Service in accordance with present practices and policies, and the needs of the employer and job seeker, and be it further

Resolved, That we oppose any administrative separation of the Employment Service from the unemployment compensation activities, the changing of the name of the Employment Service to Manpower Commission, or a change in the status of the Employment Service, or the abolition of the Bureau of Employment Security; and be it further

Resolved, That we favor the maintenance in the future, as in the past, of separate sites for local and regional employment offices and unemployment compensation units wherever the volume of work makes such separation economical and desirable.

Resolution

(By Advisory Council, Rhode Island Department of Employment Security)

Whereas the bureau of employment security and its affiliated State agencies have played a vital role in the recovery and expansion of the economy from the low levels of the low 1960's; and

Whereas it has come to the attention of the Advisory Council of the Department of Employment Security of the State of Rhode Island that reductions in the money needed to maintain and expand the services of these agencies is contemplated; and

Whereas the changes that are facing the economy in the immediate future, especially in the areas of training and distribution of labor, are of great importance for the continuance of the high level of employment and prosperity: Therefore, we

Resolve, That we are of the unanimous opinion that the reduction of money needed to maintain the present standard of the agency would work to the detriment of the people in the loss of these services; and be it further

Resolved, That this advisory council wishes to be recorded as being opposed to any monetary reductions in the agency's account that would impede progress and lead to the curtailment of the services.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following report of a committee was submitted:

By Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia, from the Committee on Armed Services, with an amendment:

S. 2950. A bill to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, and evaluation for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes; (Rept. No. 1136).

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. DOMINICK:

S. 3268. A bill to provide that the withholding allowance for itemized income tax deductions as enacted by the Tax Adjustment Act of 1966, shall take effect on May 1, 1966, the same as the graduated withholding of income tax enacted by such Act; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 3269. A bill to permit all patients currently using the drug Krebiozen to purchase same in Illinois for use in any State until a clinical test on cancer patients is completed; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. Dominick when he introduced the above bills, which appear under separate headings.)

By Mr. SPARKMAN:

S. 3270. A bill to make certain expenditures of the city of Ozark, Ala., eligible as local grants-in-aid for the purposes of title I of the Housing Act of 1949; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. KENNEDY of New York:

S. 3271. A bill to provide for the protection, conservation, and development of the natural coastal wetlands of Hempstead-South Oyster Bay, Long Island, for fish and wildlife and outdoor recreation purposes, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. Kennedy of New York when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. SMATHERS:

S. 3272. A bill for the relief of Dr. Jacobo Albo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PROXMIRE:

S. 3273. A bill to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

(See the remarks of Mr. Proxmire when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. PELL:

S. 3274. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937, the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, and the Railroad Retirement Tax Act to make certain technical changes, to provide for survivor benefits to children ages 18–21 inclusive, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

By Mr. FONG:

S. 3275. A bill to amend section 328 of the Immigration and Nationality Act relating to naturalization through service in the Armed Forces of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

AMENDMENT TO TAX ADJUSTMENT ACT OF 1966

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to provide that the withholding allowance for itemized income tax deductions, as enacted by the Tax Adjustment Act of 1966, shall take effect on May 1, 1966, the same as the graduated withholding of income tax enacted by such act.

The Tax Adjustment Act of 1966, which we just passed, allowed taxpayers to adjust the amount withheld in cases involving itemized deductions in excess of the standard deduction. This provision, however, does not go into effect until January 1, 1967. This bill would allow this formula to take effect on May 1, 1966.

Last week, I pointed out that excessive accelerated withholding of income tax was really a hidden tax gimmick. The taxpayers of the Nation were being required to loan money, without interest, to the Federal Government. This, of course, constituted a new tax. These gimmicks were tried in my home State of Colorado by our previous administration, under Governor McNichols, and our people unequivocally expressed their disapproval.

The proposals which were placed in effect were wholly ineffective so far as providing any equitable tax increase is concerned. I would like to be able to assure Coloradans that what they rejected at home is not going to be started in the Federal Government.

This bill has already been introduced in the House. I hope that we can get quick action on the bill, so that relief can be granted at the same time that the Tax Adjustment Act takes effect.

Mr. President, last week I placed in the RECORD a letter from a constituent itemizing the problems that the present tax bill have created for America. I believe this letter provides probably as much—or more—justification for this particular type of bill as any letter that I have ever received from a constituent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HARTKE in the chair). The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3268) to provide that the withholding allowance for itemized income tax deductions, as enacted by the Tax Adjustment Act of 1966, shall take effect on May 1, 1966, the same as the graduated withholding of income tax enacted by such act, introduced by Mr. DOMINICK, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

PURCHASE OF KREBIOZEN IN ILLINOIS FOR USE IN ANY STATE

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to permit all patients currently using the drug krebiozen to purchase it in Illinois for use in any State until a clinical test on cancer patients is completed.

The bill is very simple. It does nothing more than allow people who live outside Illinois to enter the State and purchase Krebiozen for use back home. The citizens of Illinois have this right; but the people of other States, through mechanism of the interstate commerce concept, are prohibited from doing the same.

The bill would provide some flexibility to a situation which at the moment is extremely complicated for those who feel that the drug krebiozen is providing real relief for them.

I wish to make it crystal clear, Mr. President, that this bill would apply only to patients who are currently using the drug. It would not permit the extension of its use, and would not permit interstate sale of the drug in any way whatsoever. It would simply permit patients to go get the drug, to bring it back to their home States, and to use it on their own.

I feel, Mr. President, that this bill will be gratefully accepted by those who are presently using the drug for the problems which they have with cancer.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and apropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3269) to permit all patients currently using the drug krebiozen to purchase same in Illinois for use in any State until a clinical test on cancer patients is completed, introduced by Mr. DOMINICK, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

LONG ISLAND NATIONAL WETLANDS RECREATION AREA, NEW YORK

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to establish a Long Island National Wetlands Recreation Area on 16,000 acres of natural marsh in Hempstead Bay and Oyster Bay, Nassau County, N.Y.

There are extensive tidal wetlands lying behind a barrier beach along the south shore of Long Island, N.Y. These bays and marshes are of great value as commercial and sports fishing and wildlife resources. They are also one of the more attractive natural areas open to those who live on Long Island and those who visit the area.

These wetlands are threatened by those who wish to fill them in and develop the new land for housing and industrial purposes.

If this area is destroyed, Long Island will lose a unique and irreplaceable part of its natural resources; it will lose the fish that attract so many sportsmen and commercial fishermen to its waters, the migrating waterfowl and other birds and wildlife that add to the quality of life on Long Island.

I propose that we designate an area about 15 miles long and 3½ miles wide stretching from Lawrence to Babylon as a national wetlands recreation area. If we do this, the Department of Interior and the New York State Conservation Department can protect and develop intelligently these wetlands so that they continue to serve those who fish, hunt, and otherwise enjoy their riches.

These wetlands consist of a series of protected shallow bays about 4 feet deep and a number of low-lying marshy islands and mudflats. There are a number of channels for pleasure boating running through the area.

The wetlands have long been recognized as a major feeding ground for many species of fish and shellfish. More than 60 different kinds of fish spawn, grow, and feed in the waters surrounding the marsh. And shellfish such as the crab, clam, and oyster feed on the microscopic organisms that live only in the particular combination of salt and fresh water found in a tidal area.

These bays are also part of the most important coastal waterfowl areas in the North Atlantic States, according to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

These marshes are a major nesting and feeding ground for migrating ducks, brant, geese, and other waterfowl. And each year between October and April thousands of waterfowl are found there.

More than 55 other kinds of shorebirds, rails, and herons can be found in the marshy islands found in these estuaries. And ornithologists tell us that without this wetland, these birds would no longer breed or winter on Long Island.

Fish and wildlife in these wetlands also provide recreation and employment for many people. Sports fishermen in just one area along the south shore spent more than $3½ million during the 1958 season renting boats, buying fishing equipment and food. And more than 15,000 hunters spend an estimated $300,000 each year during the duck season.

Commercial shellfisheries from Hempstead and Babylon alone harvest a $200,000 crop each year. And commercial fishermen operating off Long Island and elsewhere catch fluke and other fish that hatch in these wetlands.

There are others who use and enjoy these bays and marshes who neither hunt nor fish. Some visit the wetlands to watch the activities of the birds during the different seasons of the year. And others drive along the shore to enjoy the scenery. For this area is one of the attractions that has brought both residents and visitors to Long Island.

But there are others who are destroying these marshes and bays. Some local towns are interested in filling in parts of the wetlands with sand dredged from the marshes to build new housing developments.

The damage caused by filling in the shores of these wetlands can be seen easily. But the damage from dredging the bay bottom is harder to appreciate. The shallow bay bottoms are the grounds for fish eggs and shellfish, nurseries for young fish, and the feeding grounds for migrating fish. When thousands of cubic feet of sand and marine plants are sucked up from the bottom, fish and animals who feed there are either destroyed or go elsewhere. And the loss of one link in this food cycle will destroy other parts.

Sewage and other pollutants from new houses and industry also are destroying life in the wetlands. For untreated sewage kills young marine life. And chemicals and oil have the same effect.

A lack of fresh water is also changing the character of the bay's water. Many small freshwater streams that once entered these bays have either been diverted or are clogged with sewage. And without this vital fresh water, the salt content in the bay water has increased and vital marine food is dying out.

The destruction of these wetlands will have an impact that reaches far beyond the south shore of Long Island. As local marine life, swamp grasses and other plants disappear in these areas, fish and wildlife in other States will be affected. The blue fish may no longer appear off North Carolina. The brant or the pintail may not winter in Brigantine, N.J., or Chincoteaque, Va. And like the whooping crane, whose natural breeding and wintering grounds in our northern plains States were gradually destroyed, these waterfowl may disappear. For wildlife is not governed by zoning regulations or State boundaries, but by the supply of food, the temperature, and other natural conditions.

The Long Island wetlands are only one of many areas of coastal marsh and bays that are threatened today. A recent report of the President's Science Adviser Committee recognized the danger to our wetlands and recommended that Federal funds be made available to acquire title, either directly or through the States, to important marshes, lagoons and estuaries which could then serve incidentally as national and State parks, national monuments, wildlife refuges, and public recreation areas.

The committee recommended this step because of the importance of these coastal areas to fish and wildlife and their continuing destruction by pollution, dredging, and landfill.

Scientists on the committee pointed out that 60 percent of the seafood taken from waters surrounding the United States is dependent on these coastal bays and marshes for their existence. Our waterfowl also live on food growing in or near the water. For our incredible rich coastal marshlands, producing as much as six times the amount of organic material grown on average wheatfields, are a vital part in the lives of fish and wildlife.

Unfortunately, our coastal marshes are threatened by the growing population on our coasts. Almost 60 percent of the people in the United States live in a 250-mile-wide band along our Atlantic, Pacific, and gulf coasts. These people turn to the seacoast for recreation, for employment, and for attractive homes. It has become increasingly difficult to find building sites on the seacoast near our cities. And the projections show that these pressures for land on our coasts will increase.

Byproducts of the pulpmill, the gasoline refinery, or the steel mill are also a major threat to the coastal marshes and bays, for much of our industry is located along our coastlines. Air pollution, chemical wastes, sewage, and metals can destroy life in these estuaries, just as quickly as dredging and landfill, as we have already seen in the Great South Bay and Moriches Bay on Long Island, Raritan Bay and Barnegat Bay, N.J.

Fortunately, the Hempstead-Oyster Bay wet lands have been recognized as an invaluable natural resource and efforts have been initiated to protect them.

A State-Federal Planning Committee for Preservation of Long Island Wetlands was formed in 1957. Their survey of the wetlands, completed in 1959, showed that 12½ percent had been destroyed since 1954. They estimated that 30 percent was threatened in the next 5 years and an additional 39 percent was threatened in the foreseeable future. In all, the survey estimated that more than 80 percent of the wetlands will be destroyed.

This committee with representatives from the New York State Department of Conservation and the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of Interior, recommended that approximately 16,000 acres of wetlands be protected as a fish and wildlife area.

Pointing to the need for protection, the committee recommended that this area be dedicated to these purposes by Hempstead Township and in 1959, the New York State Legislature passed a law authorizing the town of Hempstead to enter into an agreement with the New York State Conservation Department to preserve this wetland area.

In a limited recognition of this need, in 1962 the town of Hempstead dedicated 2,500 acres to the wetlands for conservation purposes.

But, unfortunately, the pressures on these towns for landfill and new housing projects were so great that the planning committee's recommendations had not been accepted by the fall of 1965. And during this period the wetlands suffered.

Between 1954 and 1964 a total of 4,635 acres of wetlands in Nassau County were destroyed. A total of 2,219 acres was destroyed prior to 1960. And since 1960, an estimated 2,416 additional acres of wetlands have been filled in and large sections of the shallow bay bottom have been dredged up.

In 1962, the Town Board of Hempstead approved the dredging of 4 million cubic yards of fill from East Bay to fill in the shore line in South Bellmore. A stretch of bay bottom, 3,000 feet by 3,000 feet was dug out leaving a 20- to 30-foot-deep pothole in the bay. Housing was constructed on this land fill. In this case, both the Federal and New York State Governments objected to the dredging.

Again in 1964, the Town Board of Hempstead approved the dredging of 800,000 cubic yards of land fill from Garrett Lead and portions of Middle Bay to fill in the shoreline at Oceanside for housing. Today, there are 300 private houses being constructed on this sand dredged from the bay bottom. Again, both the Federal and New York State Governments objected to this destruction of the bay bottom.

There have been other permits for dredging and land fill issued by the town of Hempstead. Having received an estimated $500,000 per year since 1961 from the sale of this fill, it is no wonder that there is some reluctance on the part of Hempstead to dedicate this wetlands to conservation use.

In view of the continuing destruction of these wetlands, Congressman HERBERT TENZER introduced a bill to create a Long Island National Wetlands Recreation Area in October 1965. This bill, H.R. 11236, would authorize the Secretary of Interior to acquire 16,000 acres of wetlands to establish the Long Island National Wetlands Recreation Area.

Shortly after Congressman TENZER introduced this bill, the town of Hempstead and the New York State Conservation Department started discussions to see if a larger part of the wetlands could be dedicated to conservation. Congressman TENZER, therefore, asked to meet with the New York State Conservation Department and others interested in his bill to discuss this proposal.

At a meeting January 14, 1966, between Secretary Udall, Congressman TENZER, Senator JAVITS' and KENNEDY's representatives, the New York State Conservation Department and the town of Hempstead announced that they had dedicated an additional 7,500 acres of these wetlands to wildlife and conservation on December 28, 1965.

However, this dedication does not provide the necessary protection for the wetlands. As Secretary Udall stated in a letter to Congressman TENZER:

> This document is wholly inadequate, and I am quite frankly disappointed at such a timid effort. In my opinion, the agreement will not afford genuine protection to the wetlands.

I ask that the full text of Secretary Udall's letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C.

Hon. HERBERT TENZER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. TENZER: Since meeting with you and representatives of Senators JAVITS and KENNEDY and Congressman GROVER and local and State officials of New York and others interested in conservation, I have had an opportunity to review the "Cooperative Conservation Agreement" recently executed by the New York State Conservation Department and the town of Hempstead which you sent to us.

This document is wholly inadequate and I am quite frankly disappointed in such a timid effort. In my opinion, the agreement will not afford genuine protection to the wetlands.

As I understand it, the agreement subjects about 10,000 acres of wetlands previously dedicated by the town to conservation purposes to a vaguely defined cooperative development and management program. I understand that the 10,000 acres are included within the boundaries of the area described in your bill, H.R. 11236. It also reserves to the town of Hempstead certain rights, including the right to continue to lease any of these lands now under lease and to lease other lands within the area with the State's approval. The agreement does not in any way restrict the uses to which the leased lands can be put by the lessees. Obviously, many uses, such as the removal of fill material, might not be compatible with the preservation of these natural wetlands. In addition, the agreement can be terminated by mutual agreement of the parties, unlike your bill.

As I indicated at the beginning of our meeting, the idea expressed in your bill of preserving these natural and irreplaceable wetlands for their extremely valuable fish, shellfish, and wildlife, as well as outdoor recreation, is consistent with this Department's general policy of preserving such natural areas for present and future generations of Americans. We are now concentrating our efforts in developing appropriate suggestions in the form of amendments to your bill which we believe will accomplish our mutual purposes.

Let me again commend you for your farsightedness in introducing this legislation.

Sincerely yours,

STEWART L. UDALL,
Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, Representative TENZER and I share Secretary Udall's view of this agreement. It does not do the job. It does not limit the ways in which this wetland can be used and the agreement can be easily terminated. If we accept this agreement, there will be further inroads in the wetlands. And one morning there will be no more wetlands.

A stronger agreement to protect this national resource is required. I, therefore, introduce a bill to create a Long Island National Wetlands Recreation Area. This bill is similar to that introduced by Representative TENZER with the exception of several minor changes in wording and the addition of a section permitting the Department of Interior to collect user fees, as is now the practice at other national parks.

Nassau County Chief Executive Eugene Nickerson, the Nassau County Board of Supervisors, and the Nassau County Planning Commission have endorsed Representative TENZER's bill and I ask that their supporting resolutions be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION 1458—1965

A resolution urging Congress to pass a bill known as the Long Island National Recreation Area bill; pursuant to the county government law of Nassau County and the Nassau County Administrative Code

Whereas it is vital that substantially all remaining wetland areas along the south shore of Nassau County be preserved in their natural state; and

Whereas remedial action must be taken in the wetland areas to repair and improve natural drainage and ecological balances, and to protect said areas from potential pollution; and

Whereas the urgency to resolve the matter of conservation of wetland areas along the south shore of Nassau County must prompt immediate measures to insure the availability of these highly productive resources for both conservation and recreation purposes; and

Whereas there is a bill pending before the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, known as the Long Island National Recreation Area bill (H.R. 11236), introduced by Congressman HERBERT TENZER, Representative from the Fifth Congressional District of the State of New York, and others, which bill provides for the establishment of a wetlands conservation district; and

Whereas the Nassau County Planning Commission, by resolution adopted October 13, 1965, endorsed and supported the Long Island National Recreation Area bill (H.R. 11236): Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Board of Supervisors of the County of Nassau urges the House of Representatives to pass the aforementioned bill, known as the Long Island National Recreation bill (H.R. 11236); and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded immediately by the clerk of the board of supervisors to Congressman HERBERT TENZER, the sponsor of the aforesaid bill, and to Congressmen RICHARD OTTINGER, JOSEPH RESNICK, EDNA KELLY, SEYMOUR HALPERN, and BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL, the cosponsors of said bill, and that a copy of this resolution shall also be forwarded by the said clerk to Congressman HERBERT BONNER, the chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and also to all other Congressmen representing Nassau County.

RESOLUTION

Whereas the Nassau County Planning Commission has supported, by a resolution dated the 13th day of July 1965, the concept of a conservation area or district in order to preserve the remaining wetlands along Nassau County's south shore; and

Whereas the commission has been vitally concerned with the continuing applications for dredging permits and potential despoilation of additional areas in the said south shore portions of Nassau County and their detrimental effects upon Nassau County; and

Whereas the commission has heretofore recommended agreement between the towns of Hempstead and Oyster Bay in Nassau County and the State of New York toward the objectives of a wetlands conservation area or district in accordance with present State law; and

Whereas notwithstanding the existence of appropriate provision under the laws of New York State, a comprehensive area on the south shore of Nassau County for conservation purposes has not been established to date; and

Whereas the danger of the despoliation and use of bay fill for private purposes of potential public lands still exists: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Nassau County Planning Commission hereby supports Congressman HERBERT TENZER's bill, H.R. 11236, which provides for the establishment of a wetlands conservation district, and the commission urges its passage. This proposed legislation provides for positive action toward achieving long-overdue conservation objectives.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, Representative TENZER's bill was enthusiastically endorsed by many others. Representative EDNA KELLY, and Representatives SEYMOUR HALPERN, RICHARD OTTINGER, JOSEPH RESNICK, AND FRANK THOMPSON have introduced companion bills in the House of Representatives.

Many of the elected officials from the area, such as Supervisor Michael N. Petito, of Oyster Bay, and Mayor Robert J. Sweeney, of Freeport, are also supporting the measure.

And in addition, a number of national conservation groups such as the National Audubon Society, the Wildlife Management Institute, and the Garden Clubs of America support this proposal.

But despite local and national support for this proposal, the Long Island wetlands are still in danger. On April 6, 1966, the Corps of Engineers issued a notice stating that the town of Hempstead wished to dredge 1.1 million cubic yards of land fill from the Great Island Channel section of the Seaford part of the proposed national wetlands area. If this permit and others like it, are approved the wetlands will be destroyed.

A shoreline with no fish, wildlife, or natural marshland would be desolate. For these animals and fields of marsh grass are as much a part of our heritage as our mountains and great rivers. We should not knowingly accept a day when "the sedge is wither'd from the lake and no birds sing."

This bill will permit the Federal Government and the State of New York to preserve this part of our natural resources, a part that cannot be replaced. We can save these wetlands, and I believe we should.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3271) to provide for the protection, conservation, and development of the natural coastal wetlands of Hempstead-South Oyster Bay, Long Island, for fish and wildlife and outdoor recreation purposes, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. KENNEDY of New York, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

DAIRY IMPORT ACT OF 1966 WOULD BOOST DAIRY FARMER, TAXPAYER

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, the Dairy Import Act of 1966.

This proposal is simple and straightforward. Its passage would reassert the right of Congress to regulate foreign trade in milk and dairy products. It would be a major step in insuring the dairy farmer a proper share of the Nation's prosperity while guaranteeing that American consumers will continue to be supplied with adequate quantities of products which meet exacting sanitary and quality standards.

The importance of the dairy industry to the U.S. economy has been recognized by the Congress many times. A significant legislative enactment was the Agricultural Act of 1949. Under the authority of this act, prices paid farmers for milk are supported at that level, between 75 and 90 percent of parity, which is considered necessary to assure adequate supplies for consumers. During the major portion of the period since the enactment of the act prices paid dairy farmers have hovered at, or near, the minimum level, and consumers have enjoyed bargain-basement prices. However, the amounts of dairy products purchased by the Government under this act have gradually decreased until, at present, there are virtually no stocks of dairy products in the hands of the CCC. As a consequence, for the first time since the close of the Korean war, dairy farmers have an opportunity to participate in our affluent society as at least a junior partner. The reason? The demand for milk is finally beginning to catch up with the supply.

The average Wisconsin dairy farmer is now making an investment in excess of $50,000 per year. He has increased his efficiency far more than nonfarmers. And yet his hourly income remains well below $1 an hour.

No wonder a record number of farmers are leaving the farm.

Ironically, while the Department of Agriculture, on the one hand, purchases dairy products to bolster the farm price, the Federal Tariff Commission allows greater and greater quantities of dairy products to be imported, thus severely hampering the operation of the dairy programs enacted by the Congress.

The Federal Tariff Commission is charged with the responsibility for restricting dairy imports under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. It has carried out its responsibilities with little or no enthusiasm.

In spite of surpluses within the United States, the Tariff Commission has granted liberal import quotas on butter, butter oil, dried cream, malted milk, dried whole milk, nonfat dry milk, dried buttermilk, Cheddar cheese, Edam cheese, Gouda cheese, bleu mold cheese, Italian-type cheese, such as Romano, Reggiano, Parmesano, Provoloni, Provolette, and Sbrinz. The quotas granted for imports have been increased from time to time, and never decreased. On all other dairy products, there is no quota whatsoever.

The importation of some items, such as Swiss cheese has never been under a quota. It is interesting to note that imports of Swiss cheese, as well as of other unrestricted cheese, have grown by leaps and bounds, and far overshadow the volume brought in under import quotas. In recent years, voluntary agreements have served to limit imports of Colby cheese and fresh cream, but these agreements have been less effective than quotas and have now been terminated.

The uncontrolled import of Colby cheese illustrates the problem. Colby and Cheddar cheese are very similar. As far as consumer use goes they are interchangeable. An import quota on cheddar cheese is almost meaningless as long as Colby cheese is permitted to come into the United States uncontrolled. At the present time millions and millions of pounds of Colby are imported into the United States. My bill will stop this bypassing of quotas.

The difficulty of enforcing quotas on some products, such as butter, has reached the point of the ridiculous. Butter, for example, is limited to an import quota of 707,000 pounds per year. In an attempt to escape regulation, importers changed the form of butter to butter oil, and imported unlimited quantities before this situation could be brought to a hearing before the Tariff Commission.

While the import quota on butter stood at 707,000 pounds, the Tariff Commission established a quota for production brought in to circumvent the quota as butter oil at 1,200,000 pounds, thus more than doubling allowable imports of butter. This was only the beginning. Importers then mixed sugar with butterfat and brought in a product called exelone. This product was used in ice cream, and our own cream was churned into butter and sold to the Department of Agriculture under the price support program. Again, an appeal was made to the Federal Tariff Commission. Finally, a hearing was held and a zero quota established, but it barred only products containing more than 45 percent butterfat. Another new product then entered the American markets, which was a mixture of sugar and butterfat, containing just under 45 percent butterfat, called Junex—junior exelone.

Although Australia agreed in 1965 to limit exports of Junex to 2.2 million pounds, this amount represented more butterfat than the total butter quota for all countries combined.

Recent modest dairy income gains could be completely wiped out by a continuation of the free and easy import policy that recently saw the administration license the import of 900,000 pounds of cheese. Cheese prices, which were beginning to boost dairy income, dropped 3 cents a pound as a result.

In addition to depressing dairy farm income, dairy imports cost the taxpayer a pretty penny. In past years each pound of butter and cheese imported from abroad has compelled the Government to purchase an equal amount of the domestic product under the price support laws. Since 1959, in fact, the taxpayer has paid twice the value of every pound of dairy imports.

My bill would put strict but sensible controls on the importation of dairy products. It would permit imports equivalent to the 1961–65 average. These imports could be increased if domestic consumption increased.

Furthermore the President could authorize additional imports if he felt they were in the national interest providing that an equivalent amount of dairy products were removed from the domestic market by the Secretary of Agriculture.

This is a moderate measure. It is a flexible measure. Above all it is a measure which is in the best interests of both the farmer and the taxpayer.

I ask unanimous consent that the bill be held at the desk for 3 weeks for cosponsors.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be held at the desk, as requested by the Senator from Wisconsin.

The bill (S. 3273) to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. PROXMIRE, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES SALARY ACT OF 1966—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENTS NOS. 552 AND 553

Mr. **WILLIAMS** of Delaware. Mr. President, due to an inadvertence, both amendments 549 and 550, which I introduced last week to H.R. 14122, were drawn to coincide with line and page numbers of the bill as reported by House committee rather than the reprinted version.

Accordingly, I am today submitting two amendments which are in lieu of the amendments 549 and 550, mentioned above. I ask that these new amendments be printed and referred to the appropriate committee.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The amendments will be received, printed, and appropriately referred.

The amendments (Nos. 552 and 553) were referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

CONSTRUCTION OF CERTAIN HIGHWAYS—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 554

Mr. **MOSS.** Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment to the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1966, S. 3155, which provides that the authorizations proposed in the bill for forest roads and trails be increased from $85 million to $150 million for the fiscal year 1968 and from $110 million to $150 million for the fiscal year 1969.

The authorizations for national forest development roads have been running substantially below the level provided for in the 10-year program proposed by the U.S. Forest Service in 1960. The deficit in funding this program from 1960 through 1965 totaled more than $85 million.

If we are to keep abreast of the goals established in 1960 and to serve more fully the recreational and scenic road programs to which the Johnson administration is committed, it seems to me we must substantially increase the level of appropriations for these roads. I recognize that in preparing appropriation requests for the fiscal year 1967 the administration had some hard choices to make, but in this instance we are dealing with authorization requests for the fiscal years 1968 and 1969—some years hence. The requests are neither adequate nor realistic.

It is becoming increasingly necessary to build forest development roads to accommodate highway recreational use, including house trailers and boat trailers. When the 10-year program was revised in 1962, the Congress had anticipated that a large portion of these roads would be built by Federal timber sale purchases. However, we have found that the requirement that these roads be constructed by buyers of national forest timber unnecessarily restricts the timber markets, reduces the income from the sale of Federal timber, and deprives the counties in which the timber is located of a substantial portion of receipts which are dedicated to build schools and to the construction of local roads. It is thus evident that the insufficient authorizations for forest development roads and trails have served to create a brake on the economic development of many timber-producing communities.

In many instances, improvements on these roads would open up new and beautiful recreation areas to the public and would provide an economic shot in the arm to the surrounding counties and nearby towns. One such striking example in my State is the Skyline Recreation Way through the Manti and La Sal National Forests in the south-central part of the State. This road, now very narrow in parts, and passable only in good weather, traverses the broad summit of the Wasatch Plateau through beautiful mountain and lake country. All 100 miles of it is on national forest land. A good forest road through this area would open up its recreation potential to thousands.

I am sure there are many other similar areas in the United States which would be benefited by increasing the authorization for forest roads and trails.

I plan therefore to bring up the amendment I am submitting today before the Senate Public Works Committee when hearings are held in May on S. 3155, and, if necessary, to pursue the question of higher authorizations on the Senate floor.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred.

The amendment (No. 554) was referred to the Committee on Public Works.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS AND AMENDMENT

Mr. **MUSKIE**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the names the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Hart], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Williams], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy] be added as additional cosponsors of the bill (S. 3089) to provide a comprehensive program to combat alcoholism, which the Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss] introduced on March 15, 1966.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. **MUSKIE**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing of the bill (S. 3168) to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health, which the Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss] introduced on April 1, 1966, the name of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Williams] be added as a cosponsor.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. **JORDAN** of Idaho. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin] be added as a cosponsor of amendment No. 508 to S. 3155, the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1966.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

HEARINGS ON AMENDMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT

Mr. **EASTLAND**. Mr. President, open hearings will be held by the Internal Security Subcommittee on S. 3243, a bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act and to make provision for necessary travel controls. Hearings will be held in the New Senate Office Building in room 2226 on May 4 and 5.

The purpose of the hearing is to give any interested party or group an opportunity to testify about the bill. Anyone wishing to appear should communicate with the Internal Security Subcommittee not later than Friday, April 29.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 130) to provide for the designation of the week of May 8 to May 14, 1966, as "National School Safety Patrol Week."

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the amendments of the House to the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 18) to provide for the designation of the fourth week in April of each year as "Youth Temperance Education Week."

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (H.R. 1903) for the relief of Mrs. Sadie Y. Simmons and James R. Simmons.

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE RECORD

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

By Mr. **HARTKE**:

Statement by him on the retirement of Walter M. Hall from the staff of the Boys Clubs of America.

THE 18TH ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAELI INDEPENDENCE

Mr. **SALTONSTALL**. Mr. President, 18 years ago, the free and independent State of Israel was established as a homeland for the Jews of the world. This remarkable achievement was accomplished not only because of the persistence of Jews all over the world who for many generations had sought to identify themselves with a nation of their own, but also because of the encouragement of many members of the United Nations who believed in their cause. The United States was the first country to extend diplomatic recognition to Israel, which has continued to justify the faith that we and many other countries placed in her. In the midst of an area noted for its turbulence she had been an example of stability, prosperity and progress. Her system of government is democratic and has continued to respond to the needs of its citizens.

Against odds considered by many to be insurmountable, the people of Israel have performed an economic and social miracle in half a lifetime. One part of that miracle is the transformation of sterile wasteland into lush, productive farmland. By means of irrigation, the Israelis have increased the amount of arable land by 360 percent. Economic growth has been just as remarkable: Israel now has an average annual growth rate of 10 percent. The country has progressed economically to the point that it is able to lend technical assistance to less-advanced countries.

With courage and determination, the Israelis have created not only a prosperous nation, but a dynamic one as well. The world continues to benefit from the country's great creativity in the arts as illustrated by her recent exhibition of art and culture.

Israel's amazing history has also included the rapid development of the country into a highly sophisticated state of military preparedness. Due to her geographic position, she has been forced to build and maintain an efficient and large armed force to deter her enemies. She now represents a bulwark of freedom in the Middle East.

The outstanding political, social, and economic achievements of this small, yet determined, nation deserve the admiration of all people who honor the ideals of freedom and respect initiative and courage and resourcefulness. I am honored to be able to join with my fellow citizens of Massachusetts in saying "mazeltov," congratulations to the people of Israel on the anniversary of their independence.

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. Mr. President, April 25 marks the 18th anniversary of Israeli independence. The story of the children of Israel and their struggle to recreate their ancient homeland is one of the marvels of modern history.

Nearly 2,000 years ago, in 70 A.D., Roman legions marched on the city of Jerusalem where they smashed the sacred Second Temple and drove the Jews into exile, an exile that was to last until halfway through the 20th century. During the centuries that followed, devout Jews returned to the ruined remains of the Second Temple, a portion of the western wall which became known as the Wailing Wall because of the tears shed by those who mourned their ancient homeland.

Despite their long exile of suffering and persecution, the Jews never forsook their heritage. Dispersed and scattered to the four corners of the earth, their common suffering became a bond to their nationhood, a symbol of unity and an impetus to the struggle to reclaim their ancestral home.

After the First World War, it appeared that the Western powers might grant the Jews a home in Palestine, but the wish expired in the flames of Arab nationalism.

It was only after the insane horrors of World War II that a conscience-stricken world considered the cause of the Jewish nation in earnest. The problem was referred to the new world organization, the United Nations. Finally, in November of 1947 the General Assembly made a historic decision to partition Palestine into independent Jewish and Arab states.

On May 14, 1948, the last British high commissioner left Palestine. After nearly 2,000 years, the Jews could return home to a new State called Israel. The exile was over, but the battle was about to begin. Three days later, the infant State was fighting for its life against a sudden invasion by five neighboring Arab States. But the Jews had waited too long to be denied their homeland now. The invaders were met by a ferocious counterattack that sent them reeling before an armistice agreement was signed through the United Nations.

Since then, Jews around the world have united to help build the miracle that is Israel. What was once a barren desert has become a nation of over two and a half million people with an annual economic growth rate of nearly 10 percent. I do not intend to list the unprecedented economic and social advances that this young nation has made here. Let me only say that it stands as a model to the underdeveloped world and a monument to the skill and courage of a great nation. It is a pleasure for me to take this opportunity to congratulate the Israelis on their 18th anniversary of independence.

Mr. PELL. It is a rare privilege indeed to share the joys and heartaches which accompany the birth and growth of a great nation. Yet many of us here and throughout the Nation can harken back to that night 18 years ago when over a cracking shortwave connection, the strains of "Hatikvah," the hymn of return to the promised land, proclaimed to the world, that the independent State of Israel was a reality. A reality made even more forceful by President Harry S. Truman's swift diplomatic recognition of nationhood.

Since that day, Americans, especially Americans of Jewish descent, have watched with interest and pride, the growth of the State of Israel. From a band of farming settlements interspersed with a few cities, a strong viable country has developed. Industry has flourished, schools, colleges and universities have grown in size and excellence, the desert has been made to bloom, music and the arts have an honored place. A small indigenous population has grown to 2.5 million people, people from every land to which the Jew had been dispersed in 2,000 years of wandering. This infusion of people from varied national origins has brought many cultures to Israel and is reflected in the everyday life of the country, just as everyday life in the United States is a reflection of the many cultures within our borders.

Despite its turbulent history, a nation has grown. Free democratic institutions were established and are flourishing. The State of Israel has taken its place as a respected member of the international community, sympathetic to the feelings and aspirations of the newly independent countries of Africa and Asia, as is demonstrated by the many technical assistance programs now being carried on. A member of the United Nations since 1949, Israel participates in almost all of the U.N.'s affiliated agencies.

On this, the 18th anniversary of its independence, I join with millions of Americans in wishing the State of Israel continued prosperity and a long and useful life.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, today marks the 18th anniversary of the nation of Israel. Small in size but mighty in spirit, the renewed homeland of the Jewish people has grown and prospered over the past years. The support given Israel by the American people and the prompt recognition of her independence by our Government are one of the finest moments in the history of American foreign policy.

The prosperity that the Israeli people have brought to a land once neglected and impoverished has shown what modern technology, combined with fervent dedication, can bring about. Surrounded by hostile, embittered, and fanatic enemies who are pledged to the destruction of this land, they have maintained their independence through their courage and firmness. Today, Israel is a beacon light of democracy in a region preyed upon by despots and tyrants. In an area where coup d'etats are a violent substitute for democratic processes, Israel has shown that democracy can lead to the prosperous development of a nation.

I think it is a tribute to the skills and ability of the Jewish people that Israel no longer receives any significant foreign aid except for some food supplies, and she, in fact, has placed the talents of her people in the service of the developing nations of Africa. She has done this despite the harsh necessity of maintaining her armed might in order to deter the aggressive ambitions of the Arab bloc which is still pledged to the senseless destruction of Israel.

We can think of the great benefits which would derive to the Arab nations and to Israel herself, were a firm and lasting peace to be attained so that the technology of Israel could assist Arab nations, ground down by centuries of poverty, in their development efforts. I would hope that our policy toward Israel will continue to be one of firm support and assistance in maintaining the balance of armed might while at the same time doing all we can to persuade the Arab nations to forswear their senseless policy of hostility.

It seems to me that there are no substantive issues existing between the Arab nations and Israel which cannot be resolved to their mutual benefit. Surely it is foolish to expect that a country which has grown and prospered over 18 years can be driven from the face of the earth.

On this 18th anniversary, we can all take heart from the story of the Jewish people who, after a hundred years of oppression, survived the most ruthless, calculated, and insane massacre, to rise like a phoenix from the ashes of their destruction and to build their ancient homeland into a new expression of a religious faith which had kept their people alive and together through the centuries of the Diaspora. Theirs is a history which can give new hope to men of every faith, for it is a tale of one of the great triumphs of the human spirit.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, today is the anniversary of a modern miracle.

Eighteen years ago today the Republic of Israel became a fact, with the United States the first to recognize this infant nation. Eighteen years ago a Biblical prophecy was fulfilled. Yet, in a larger sense, more than a prophecy from the Bible came alive.

Israel has been a true miracle, rising as it has from 2,000 years of neglect to one of the most modern countries on the face of the globe. Where neglect brought swamps, they were drained. Where neglect left desert sand, it is being irrigated. Where trees were stripped, they are being planted anew.

Today Israel is a land nearing self-sufficiency, exporting technical know-how to emerging nations of Africa and the East. Today the high standard of living in Israel is a shining example of what democracy can build.

As one who has visited the Holy Land and who has seen her sons helping others less developed, I marvel at the progress of this tiny island of prosperity in an area of great problems. I wonder if any other nation could have built so much so well so fast.

In this spirit, I wish the people of Israel a happy 18th birthday with the hope that the promise of this young republic may be an inspiration to other developing nations. May this land and its people continue to lead the way with health, safety, and prosperity—this land of Israel which embodies a spiritual heritage which so many of us share.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, on April 25, 1966, the State of Israel celebrates its 18th anniversary as an independent nation.

I have before me excerpts of a sermon delivered by Rabbi David L. Genuth to his congregation, Temple Beth El, Cleveland, Ohio, in commemoration of this great event in Jewish history. I ask unanimous consent that Rabbi Genuth's sermon be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> On Monday, April 25, the Jews throughout the world in general and the 2½ million citizens of the State of Israel in particular will celebrate Israeli Independence Day which occurs on the 5th day in the Hebrew month of Iyar, 5726, corresponding to the 25th day of April 1966.
>
> I believe not only American citizens of Jewish faith should rejoice with the State of Israel, but every American, regardless of race, creed, or color should offer a prayer of thanksgiving to God that the State of Israel is celebrating its 18th anniversary. The number 18 is synonymous with "chai" in Hebrew, which is the symbol of "life," enduring life.
>
> It would be worthwhile to review the history of American-Israel relations during the last 18 years. First, let us recall that for four centuries the name America has been a beacon of light, inspiring a new and vibrant hope in the hearts of all the Old World's people. At every stage in America's history there have been men who felt her destiny, but this has been especially true during the last 18 years, in America's relationship with Israel.
>
> The history of the Jewish people in the last 30 years was written with the lifeblood of 6 million Jews. Six million of our fellow Jews have been slaughtered in the fields of Europe; men, women, children, have been carted off to furnaces like unwanted rubbish. The great institutions of Jewish life and learning lay about us in ruin, but after this great tragedy, a transition began from paralyzing weakness to a great eruption of hope and strength. God performed once more the great miracle of Jewish survival, but at this time America was the messenger and the spokesman of God. It came first in the spring of 1946 when thousands of displaced fugitives in the camp of occupied Europe suddenly heard a strong voice lift up in their behalf.
>
> President Harry Truman will go down in the annals of Jewish history as the greatest friend in a moment of the deepest despair. He had urged in the name of the American people that the remnants of Israel should be admitted in accordance with international law and that Palestine should be designated by world conscience as a Jewish national home.
>
> The second great moment in the history of American Jewish relations came on Friday, May 14, 1948, which corresponds to the Hebrew calendar of the 5th day of Iyar. At 4 p.m. the shofar (ram's horn) was blown in the city of Tel Aviv, Israel was established and proclaimed. Ben-Gurion concluded the Declaration of Independence with the following words: "With trust in Almighty God, we

set our hand to this declaration at this session of the Provisional State Council, on the soil of the homeland, in the city of Tel Aviv, on this Sabbath eve, the 5th of Iyar, 5708, the 14th day of May, 1948."

Within 5 minutes after the Declaration of Independence was cabled to America, President Truman announced that the State of Israel and its Government were recognized by the United States. For that great act, Truman's name is revered and honored in every city and village of Israel. Again, President Truman granted the first great loan to the State of Israel in order to help in its stability and prosperity as well.

During my short visit to Israel, 2½ years ago, I have seen with my eyes that forsaken Palestine is once more destined to become a land of milk and honey and become a jewel in the Middle East. So in gratitude and in appreciation, celebrations will be held all over the free world; men of good will will join the people of Israel and the city of Jerusalem which is the cradle of all great religions in chanting the "Hallel," which we do recite every Passover, that Israel, formerly Palestine, which planted the seeds of justice, peace, long suffering, and charity, once more is a member with all other nations in the human family and plays a comprehensive symphony of the tradition and cultures of all mankind.

The dream of Isaiah has been fulfilled: "The Lord shall set His hand a second time to recover the remnants of His people. And He shall set up an ensign for the nations and shall assemble the outcast of Israel and gather together the depressed of Judah from the four corners of the earth."

HIGH OPERATING COSTS IMPERIL MERCHANT FLEET

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, a week ago I had occasion to make a talk in New Orleans at the launching ceremony of a great new ship constructed by the Avondale Shipyard.

I pointed out there that our Nation's merchant marine was gradually losing its position of world leadership; that in the United States, the average age of our ships in the merchant fleet is 17.4 years, whereas the world average is 13.6 years. The Japanese ships average 8.4 years.

I further pointed out that in order to sustain our merchant marine, since 1946 the Congress has provided $2,056,184,645.11 in operating differential subsidies, paid to enable our shippers to compete in the world market.

In addition, since July 1, 1937, we have made a national investment of $765,382,000 in an effort to maintain our merchant fleet. The record will show, Mr. President, as I pointed out in my speech at New Orleans, that we are gradually losing the race.

I wish to call to the particular attention of the Senate that at the Avondale Shipyard in Louisiana a large shipbuilding concern, Lykes Bros., is constructing many ships specially designed to reduce operating expenses.

Mr. President, since January of this year, there has been a new $12 million ship tied up in New Orleans because of labor difficulties. The design of this new vessel means a saving of about 10 persons in the operating personnel aboard that ship.

In the Baltimore Sun on April 9, there appeared an article which explains the situation, and outlines the efforts put forth by the administration to solve these difficulties.

The Labor Department was supposed to make an effort to reach a settlement of the work stoppage; but, Mr. President, as much as we need ships today in order to carry war materials to southeast Asia, the strike continues. Here we have a classic example of the results of an unwise and backward-looking attitude toward the problems and potentialities presented to the Nation by automation. Because of these difficulties, orders for other new ships of this class have been put off, and may be canceled entirely.

Here we are trying to devise new ways and means of completing better and faster ships which will be able to compete on the world's shipping market and revitalize our ailing merchant marine. It would seem to me that if these ships, already on order, were constructed as intended, it would mean many more ships flying the American flag on the high seas. It would mean many more jobs, both ashore and afloat. By reducing operating expenses, it may be that we can recover some of the losses in shipping which we have sustained during the past 5 or 6 years.

Last week, I appealed to the White House to look into this matter again, in the hope that this ship, and other similarly automated ships to be constructed will soon be able to plow the seas.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a speech I made in New Orleans dedicating the SS *Howell Lykes* on April 16.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Address by Senator Allen J. Ellender, Delivered at the Ceremony To Launch the SS "Howell Lykes," New Orleans, La., April 16, 1966

I am honored to be here today at the launching of this model of modern shipbuilding. This vessel, the SS *Howell Lykes*, is just that—a genuine masterpiece representing the very finest example of the advances made in one of the most ancient crafts known to man. In its comparatively short history, this shipyard at Avondale has established a tradition of producing such masterpieces of shipbuilding, and has achieved distinction in a time-honored craft.

Similarly, Lyke's Bros., for whom this vessel was built, has achieved a solid reputation for demanding the finest and most modern in ships to carry on its far-reaching operations throughout the world. Both Avondale and Lykes Bros., contribute much to our great Port of New Orleans, as well as other ports all along the gulf coast.

But more than that, in my opinion, the *Howell Lykes*, along with its sister ships, represents perhaps the only real chance the United States has to maintain its position as a leader in the world's maritime commerce.

It has been amply documented that today we stand in a very real danger of losing the position of maritime leadership we have enjoyed since the end of the Second World War. The situation now confronting our Nation is rather ironic. It is ironic because as the victor of World War II, we were virtually the only nation participating in that conflict, both enemy and friend, which did not have to start again almost from scratch in rebuilding its merchant marine. As a result we now find ourselves faced with a merchant fleet on the average of 17.4 years old, compared with a world average ship age of only 13.6 years. Japan for instance, now one of our major competitors, has a merchant fleet with an average age of only 8.4 years.

According to an article by Noel Mostert in the February 10 issue of the Reporter magazine, the Japanese plans for merchant fleet expansion are the "most ambitious ever laid down for shipping and calling for a State-aided expansion to 40 million tons by 1980 from the present fleet of 8 million tons." This article, which the Federal Maritime Administration states is substantially correct, goes on to point out that under the combined expansions of the Japanese and Russian fleets, and in light of the continuing Western decline, the nations of the West will lose control of the world's freight market by the mid or late 1970's.

Since 1946, our U.S. merchant fleet has diminished steadily, while since 1950, the Russian merchant fleet has been undergoing sustained growth. In a staff study prepared for use of the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1963, it is shown that between December 31, 1960, and December 31, 1962, the Russian fleet increased by 129 vessels with a deadweight tonnage increase of 983,000. During the same 2-year period, the U.S. fleet decreased by 111 with a loss of 535,000 deadweight tons.

If the trends which have now been underway for a number of years are continued into the 1970's, indications are that the U.S.S.R. will have under its flag by 1975 about 3,500 vessels with a deadweight tonnage of 21 million tons. Comparable figures for the United States indicate 567 active ships under our flag with a deadweight tonnage of only 8,695,000.

One further note in this regard—as of May 1, 1963, Russia had 236 vessels either under construction or on order, with a tonnage of 3 million deadweight tons. On the same date, May 1, 1963, the United States had 47 ships under construction or on order for a tonnage of 697,660 tons.

These studies have been corroborated time and time again, by legislative committees, by the Maritime Administration, and by private groups, both union and management. In addition, a study completed by the Library of Congress in July of 1964, for use by the Committee on Commerce and entitled "The Growing Strength of the Soviet Merchant Fleet," states that "while Soviet Russia each year is carrying more and more of her seaborne commerce in her own vessels, the United States is carrying less and less of our own foreign trade in U.S. flag vessels." The study goes on to point out that in 1960 only 11 percent of the U.S. commercial cargo went in our own bottoms. The percentage in 1961 dropped to 9.4 percent and in 1963 fell to 8.8 percent. The figures are almost reversed for Russian commerce.

Without a doubt our merchant marine is in serious trouble today, and a substantial national commitment in both dollars and effort is being placed in jeopardy. Since 1946 our Nation has invested $2,056,184,645.11 in operative differential subsidies paid to enable our shippers to compete in the world market. Since July 1, 1937, we have made a national investment of $765,382,000 in construction differential subsidies to maintain our ship building facilities. This has made possible the construction of 137 ships in the years 1956 through 1965. But as I said, this substantial investment is today in peril.

Why is this so? The reasons are many and complex and it appears that each group interested in our merchant marine and shipping policy has its own answer to this problem. It is not for me here today to offer a solution. I firmly believe, however, that new ships of the class represented by the *Howell Lykes*, and shipyards and ship workers represented by Avondale, provide one realistic answer and strong hope for the future.

One fact of the matter is that some way must be found to bring down operating costs. If competitive costs are lowered, all segments of our shipping industry will benefit together. Through an increased merchant marine more jobs can be provided on more ships. To achieve this end, we must make every effort to bring peace to the negotiating table that stands between labor and management.

Before leaving Washington, I asked the Maritime Administration to supply me with a list of strikes which have affected the industry over the last 20 years. The list of these requires 10 full pages of closely spaced type. You all know that last year was a particularly bad one for the industry and for the Nation.

The Maritime Administration informed me that 10 separate strikes affected the Nation's shipping in 1965. Two of these you will recall—the longshoremen's strike early in the year which tied up shipping for 61 days, and the seaman's strike in the middle of the year which lasted for 75 days—were particularly harmful to the industry, to the workers, and to the Nation as a whole. It has been estimated by the Maritime Administrator that the seaman's strike cost the national economy $1.8 million daily for each of the 75 days. I might note here, this dispute tied up only the American-flag ships and thus did a double injury to our economy. Trade once lost to competition is difficult to regain.

Another important facet of the problem facing our merchant marine is the pressing need for an overhaul of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. Some time ago Representative EDWARD A. GARMATZ, of Maryland, chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, stated that, and I quote, "it is time we should be considering a possible program for broadening the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 to extend its benefits to all segments of the American merchant marine. We are floundering on the sea of uncertainty."

As I said earlier, it is not for me here today to attempt to chart a course through these uncertain seas. I would like to suggest that the representatives of the shipping industry, the shipyards and the operating unions, get together and make every effort to arrive at a workable solution to the problem. It is essential that more and better ships be constructed. The cost of construction must be diminished in some way, and last but not least, the cost of operating ships must be lowered if we are to compete in world shipping. I have no doubt that Congress will lean backward in assisting you if all segments of the shipping industry make a genuine effort to help themselves.

Thank you very much.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that the article to which I referred from the Baltimore Sun of April 9 be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Baltimore Sun (Md.) Apr. 9, 1966]

LYKES, UNION GETS APPEAL ON MANNING—WIRTZ AND MEANY URGE TEMPORARY SCALE TO ALLOW SAILINGS

(By Helen Delich Bentley)

SAN FRANCISCO, April 8.—W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor, and George Meany, AFL–CIO president, today offered a recommendation for settlement of a manning dispute on an automated freighter that has been immobilized since January 28.

They called upon both the company and the licensed engineers union to permit a special three-man Federal panel to establish a temporary scale on the S.S. *Elizabeth Lykes* so that it can resume sailing immediately while the three-man group determines what the permanent number of engineers aboard should be.

The suggestion was outlined in a telegram signed by Wirtz and Meany and sent to Jesse M. Calhoon, president of the National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association (AFL–CIO), and Frank A. Nemec, president of Lykes Bros. Steamship Corp.

NEW LYKES SHIP DUE

The *Elizabeth Lykes* is the only ship in the American merchant marine presently inactivated by a labor dispute. However, the SS *Ruth Lykes* is scheduled for delivery next week and others are to follow throughout the summer.

The company had sought a five-man licensed engineers crew, but the union balked and said that six were necessary.

The union was basing its argument on overtime worked aboard another sister ship, the *Louise Lykes,* on its initial voyages. The first engineer averaged 44 hours of overtime a week. Overtime pay aboard ship is less than straight-time pay; there is no time and a half for seamen.

On this basis, the union said another man was warranted.

FIVE NOW ABOARD

However, Lykes contended that the overtime hours were unusual since the *Louise Lykes* was a prototype vessel and there were many problems that the company said subsequently were straightened out in the shipyard. The *Louise Lykes* is now on another voyage with just five licensed engineers aboard.

Wirtz and Meany acted jointly in the plea today because they had been designated last summer by President Johnson to work out permanent machinery for resolving manning disputes aboard automated ships added to the American merchant marine.

Manning was one of the points of dispute last summer when the licensed officers' unions went on strike for 78 days.

Thus far, Wirtz and Meany have been unable to come up with a formula acceptable to all the labor unions and management. Therefore, they have made the intermediary proposal regarding the Lykes situation to relieve some of the pressure from working out permanent machinery for all manning disputes.

The initial proposal from Meany and Wirtz for the permanent machinery was rejected by the labor unions, which since have been working on a substitute.

However, the engineers union has made it clear that regardless of what permanent machinery might be established, it would not permit the *Elizabeth Lykes* dispute to be resolved by that machinery because they felt it unfair to apply such a mechanism to an existing situation. It should be applicable to future problems only, Calhoon feels.

LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL: A GREAT PAPER SAYS GOODBY TO A REMARKABLE EDITOR

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Louisville Courier-Journal has long been recognized as one of the handful of truly great newspapers in America.

Recently, its editor and publisher accepted the resignation of its very remarkable associate editor, Weldon James.

Mr. James vigorously disagreed with Barry Bingham and the Courier-Journal on the paper's Vietnam policy. James forthrightly told the paper so and quit to go on active duty with the U.S. Marines.

In resigning, Mr. James wrote one of the most impressive statements on editorial dissent within a great newspaper that I have ever read. Barry Bingham, the paper's publisher, replied with equal grace.

The editorial and the report speak well for the integrity of both Weldon James and the Courier-Journal.

Some years ago, after I had completed my requirements for my doctorate at Harvard, I began writing a dissertation on "Developing Standards for Evaluating the Political Content of the American Newspaper." I never completed the dissertation. So, of course, I have never earned my doctorate. But, in the course of my study, I have had occasion to study American newspapers in some depth.

In my judgment, this editorial shows a remarkable and rare maturity as well as deep conviction, on the part of all those involved in what must have been the toughest kind of difference of opinion.

It shows how an editor in support of his deepest convictions can resign in good grace, and how a great newspaper can accept that resignation. It provides a lesson for all of us in our often heated disagreements over Vietnam policy.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial by Weldon James explaining his resignation from the Courier-Journal and the reply by Barry Bingham be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and reply were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Apr. 21, 1966]

A MATTER OF BELIEF: IT'S PAST TIME TO SAY TO HELL WITH HO

(By Weldon James)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Washington Daily News reprints from the Louisville, Ky., Courier-Journal an article by its associate editor, Weldon James, announcing the reasons for his resignation—and the reply from the paper's editor and publisher, Barry Bingham. Weldon James, incidentally, gained entry into area of Far East affairs by being present, as United Press correspondent when Japanese shells sank the U.S. gunboat *Panay* in the Yangtze River in 1937.)

This is one editorial only a great newspaper could invite anyone to write and to sign.

I quit, I resign as an associate editor of the Courier-Journal. I am going on active duty in the Marine Corps to testify to my belief that U.S. policy in Vietnam is right—and that the quicker more newspapers and more people give the President solid support, the shorter and less dangerously complicated the war there will be.

The Courier-Journal, as its readers know, is no appeaser on Vietnam, no advocate of U.S. withdrawal. But it does not speak with the sharpness I believe the continuing crisis demands.

I believe that the United States was right about Vietnam in 1954, right when President Kennedy increased our involvement, right when President Johnson did likewise, and right to commit, in the President's words, "whatever it takes" to deny the Communist a military triumph there.

I believe Lyndon Johnson is as right as Roosevelt, as timely as Truman, as cautiously correct as Kennedy, and as entitled to Eisenhower's and the Nation's support as the Courier-Journal used to say in editorials I wrote.

But the Courier-Journal, like some other great newspapers, no longer takes a forthright stand on this paramount issue. I respect the conscientiousness of its reasoning, but I am not convinced.

This is no time for the press of a great Nation to play Hamlet—or Lippmann. Walter Lippmann's gloom about the Truman doctrine was 100 percent wrong. That doctrine played a decisive role in converting the Soviet Union to a belief in peaceful coexistence. Its great dividend is the historic rift between Peking and Moscow today.

Mr. Lippmann's China doorstep arguments about southeast Asia today are identical with his Russia-doorstep arguments about Greece and Turkey in 1947—and I believe identically fallacious about what the United States should do and can do.

The Courier-Journal has not indorsed the Lippmann line, nor has it been guilty of the vacillation or the silence or the yes-buts of a good part of the American press that have misled both Hanoi and Peking. But in recent months it has been something less than decisive. And all this across the Nation has nurtured honest confusion of the minority in this country—and unintentionally encouraged the sit-ins, the draft card burners, the neoisolationist belief that if only the United States were to withdraw from southeast Asia (or any other trouble spot), the world would have instant peace.

No one can deny that the issues in southeast Asia are terribly complex, or contend that we have not made mistakes there. It would be a miracle if we had not. And I fully respect the honest doubts and anxieties of some of my colleagues and of other thoughtful Americans who differ with my views. But I believe it is past time they resolved them and invoked positive support for the President. This could, in my emphatic belief, keep the war limited—and help to shorten it.

Diversity of critical opinion is not only a right but the great strength of a democracy, and no American I know would limit it. But there is enough evidence at hand for the American jury to reach a verdict on Vietnam. The evidence is not just two decades of history but the exposition of that history and of the facts today by the President, the Vice President, the Secretaries of State and Defense, Averell Harriman, McGeorge Bundy, and a host of others.

At moments in history when their declarations had a powerful and useful impact on public opinion, the Courier-Journal's Henry Watterson said "to hell with the Hohenzollerns" and Mark Etheridge (former publisher) and Barry Bingham said in effect "to hell with Hiter"—and Mr. Bingham went into the Navy before Pearl Harbor to show where he stood. I hold it is past time to say to hell with Ho—and to speed him toward that destination until he sees the virtues of the conference table.

That solution manifestly is impossible as long as Ho believes that the American people will indeed, as he long ago boasted, weary, waver, and withdraw.

If we don't get the message to Ho now, the need to get it to Mao Tse-tung will be upon us in time. He's told us what he plans. It is as foolish to laugh at his boasts and Red China's "weakness" now as it was to laugh at "that clown Hitler" and Nazi Germany's "weakness" in the 1930's.

Some of my good but regrettably misinformed friends have attributed the positiveness of my views to my long ties with the Marine Corps, instead of to reason, logic, and a lifelong study of history.

This is nonsense, of course, The Marine Corps has no foreign policy. It has no politics. Sound out six Marine sergeants—or six Marine generals, for that matter—and you'll find as many differing "experts" on foreign affairs and politics as you'll find in the corner tavern.

The Marine Corps, as a long succession of its Commandants have made plain, has but one job. That is to obey the orders of the civilian Commander in Chief, the President.

The Marine Corps does teach the uses of disciplined rage and the application of "measured strength"—exactly what the United States is employing in Vietnam today. And it has been asking for reserves to volunteer. I am proud it believes I can be of some use to it now, thanks in great part to the generosity with which the Courier-Journal over the years has enabled me to advance my training in Marine Corps schools, the National War College, and with Navy and Marine Forces on the job in Europe and the Orient.

A few comments on the national scene:

It is well nigh incredible to me that some self-styled liberal Democrats should be ignoring the posthumous revelation of Adlai Stevenson's true position on Vietnam (the Courier-Journal, of course, took sensible editorial notice of this). It is even more shocking that they should be seeking to explain away Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY's vigorous and persuasive support of the President's policies as the calculated insincerity of "a White House captive." They owe it to their label—and to the country—to go back and ponder what John F. Kennedy said and did about Vietnam.

I believe that the worst bit of mischief-making about southeast Asia has been perpetrated by the President of France. NATO aside, it is appalling that De Gaulle can induce anyone anywhere to accept his absurd equation of U.S. aid to South Vietnam with France's vain attempt, against Anglo-American advice and warning, to hold on to her colonial empire in Indochina after World War II. But when I discussed Vietnam with some hundreds of the Nation's college student editors in New York recently, I discovered that some—a thin minority, fortunately—have indeed accepted this absurdity as "fact."

The Courier-Journal, to its credit, has not encouraged the absurdities of the super-liberal Democrats or the French equationists. But it has not yet attacked them with the vigor I think they demand.

To longtime readers of the Courier-Journal I must observe that I came to Louisville some 17 years ago on handsome promises, handsomely kept—that I would have time for foreign travel and lecturing and other writing, and would wear no man's collar, and be paid to argue and to criticize the newspaper from front page to back, and be expected to write nothing if I "lost the argument."

Well, I have lost the big one now, and so I am leaving. But the grief is purely professional. I leave with regret for my lack of persuasiveness, and with my high regard and liking for my editorial colleagues intact.

That goes especially for Molly Clowes (editorial page editor)—no difference of opinion could ever diminish the professional admiration and the deep affection I have for her—and for Barry Bingham, a comrade-in-arms in Europe and the Pacific, a close friend since 1942, whose example of 1941 I am now following.

Note From the Editor of the Courier-Journal

Weldon James, in the statement which appears on this page, is clearly acting on principle in a cause which commands his deep conviction.

He is one of the fortunate people who can see the issue of Vietnam in clear, sharp outlines of black and white. I share with millions of Americans the unhappy necessity of viewing it in infinitely varying shades of gray.

I cannot in good conscience support every aspect of the official American position. I cannot, on the other hand, find the release of condemning our whole policy and demanding American withdrawal.

The man who is owner and editor of a newspaper must shoulder the burden of editorial policy decisions. I listen to my valued associates, such as Weldon James, with respect as well as affection. But the final responsibility for the editorial page cannot be divided. I can only act on my conscience, as Weldon James is acting on his.

—Barry.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wisconsin yield?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I am delighted that the Senator from Wisconsin is putting into the Record the statement made by Mr. Barry Bingham, the publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal, because I believe that statement—as the Senator has pointed out—is indicative of the stature of Mr. Bingham, as well as of Associate Editor Weldon James.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I thank the distinguished majority leader. Of course, I agree with him wholeheartedly. Mr. Bingham is, really, one of the great newspaper publishers in this country.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SPORTING NEWS LINES UP IN MILWAUKEE'S CORNER ON BRAVES' WALK OUT

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the decision of Circuit Judge Elmer W. Roller, ordering baseball to prepare a 1967 expansion plan including Milwaukee unless the Braves are ordered back to Wisconsin forthwith, has brought comment from across the country, most of it highly critical of baseball's abandonment of Milwaukee. The Sporting News, the so-called bible of baseball, expressed its views in its most recent issue, and it could find no approval of baseball's position, either.

That editorial concludes as follows:

> By following its present course, we do not believe baseball will regain public esteem in the courts. It can do so only by complying with Judge Roller's order to submit an expansion plan for 1967 which would include Milwaukee. Failure to do so means baseball is playing with fire. The defeat in the Wisconsin circuit court can bring renewed vigor to baseball if it expands as ordered. But defeat in the U.S. Supreme Court could destroy every privilege the majors insist they need for survival. The choice should not be difficult.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the April 30 issue of Sporting News be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Sporting News Lines Up in Milwaukee's Corner

Regarding the future welfare of baseball. perhaps the most important bit of testimony in the State of Wisconsin's case against the

Braves came from former Commissioner Ford Frick. Disputing the oft heard claim by many officials that early expansion is "preposterous," Frick said, on the contrary, that it would be simple to add more clubs to the two major leagues.

Then, getting to the heart of the issue, Frick expressed the opinion that "if we refuse to consider the interest of the public in the development of our game, if we insist on being completely monopolistic in our organization, we will lose all the public esteem which presently exists. We will pave the way for the breakdown of our structure."

The Sporting News agrees completely with Frick's views. The monopolistic privileges which baseball enjoys carry with them certain obligations, which regrettably have not been fulfilled in Milwaukee. As a result, baseball is headed for a U.S. Supreme Court test that may well destroy "the umbrella" of antitrust exemption under which it has been operating since Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' famous decision in 1922.

RESPONSIBILITIES, TOO

While many outsiders dispute the point, baseball undoubtedly has prospered because it is a monopoly. But, long ago, other legalized monopolies—and there are still many of them in this country—recognized or were forced to recognize that exclusive rights and public responsibilities go hand in hand.

Baseball may be fighting for what it believes to be its rights in the Milwaukee case, but we think it is ignoring its accountability. Organized ball operates with reserve clause contracts, unchallenged territorial rights and a free agent draft. Baseball officials consider them vital to the game's health. So do we. And we also maintain that an enterprise which finds it necessary to accept a privileged status cannot shirk its allegiance to the community in which it operates.

Compounding the obligation baseball owes to its fans—and taxpayers in general—is the game's increasing tendency to rely on public funds for new park construction. Today's high costs virtually prohibit private financing of stadiums. Even where it can be done, there must be municipal, county or State cooperation through site allocations, tax concessions, road building, and other assistance. And when a club accepts outside aid, either in full or in part, it increases its sphere of responsibility.

If the Braves, let us assume, had built their own stadium in Milwaukee with private funds, then their decision to move to Atlanta, leaving a "white elephant" park behind them, possibly could not be challenged under our free enterprise system. But, having moved into a county built arena, the club became a quasi-public institution, with an obligation to every citizen in the Milwaukee area.

The Braves departure also left economic wounds not easily healed. Testimony during the trial suggested that a major league club meant $18 million per year to Milwaukee's economy. One witness estimated that in the period 1953–63, more than $50 million in out-of-town revenue poured into the city as the result of major league baseball.

UNCONVINCING PROOF

A quasi-public enterprise packing that much financial wallop can hardly expect a hearty farewell handshake from the city suddenly deprived of this income.

These factors put a heavy burden of proof on the Braves' attempt to pull out of the city and leave it without major league baseball. Approval of the transfer to Atlanta would appear justified only if there is overwhelming evidence that baseball interest is dead in Milwaukee, that the club is blameless and that the guilt lies at the community's door. We are not convinced.

By the same token, the Braves' case for abandoning Milwaukee did not convince Judge Roller. Testimony he cited in his 176 page decision casts considerable doubt on the validity of numerous defense claims. Was it Milwaukee's fault that the purchasers of the Braves in 1962 borrowed at least $5 million in short- and long-term notes to swing a $6.2-million deal? Was Milwaukee's 1964 attendance of 910,000 evidence of fan apathy? If it was, might not the 10 other major league clubs which failed to match that figure in 1964 have grounds for moving?

By following its present course, we do not believe baseball will regain public esteem in the courts. It can do so only by complying with Judge Roller's order to submit an expansion plan for 1967 which would include Milwaukee. Failure to do so means baseball is playing with fire. The defeat in the Wisconsin circuit court can bring renewed vigor to baseball if it expands as ordered. But defeat in the U.S. Supreme Court could destroy every privilege the majors insist they need for survival. The choice should not be difficult.

VIETNAM—A MISERABLE CIVIL WAR

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 8 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, historically, there are no such countries as North Vietnam and South Vietnam. For thousands of years, the Vietnamese have lived in the land area which, since 1954, has been termed North Vietnam and South Vietnam. Historically, the Vietnamese people are great warriors. They have a noble tradition and a very great history of having hurled back invaders from the Chinese Empire throughout many, many years. Monuments within Vietnam commemorate these victories and stand as memorials to warlord rulers of Vietnam.

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara is said to have made a tough statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in which he said:

> The war in Vietnam was not and is not a civil war. It is a direct and flagrant aggression by North Vietnam.

This was a blatant misstatement of fact. The Geneva Accords of 1954 provided neutrality, self-determination, and free elections for Vietnam. At that time the United States, through its representatives, agreed to the Geneva Accords. It is specifically stated in the Geneva agreement, and I quote:

> The military demarcation line at the 17th parallel is provisional and should not in any way be considered as constituting a political or territorial boundary.

Since that time all land area north of the 17th parallel is termed North Vietnam and the area south of this provisional demarcation line is referred to as South Vietnam.

Very definitely, this administration has involved more than 300,000 men of our Armed Forces in a miserable civil war in Vietnam. While on a study mission in Vietnam early last October, General Westmoreland stated to the junior Senator from Ohio, "The bulk of the Vietcong fighting us in South Vietnam were born and reared in South Vietnam." He made this statement to me one evening in Saigon. He will not deny it. Furthermore, no one can deny that Prime Minister Ky, the flamboyant air marshal, so-called, of the South Vietnamese Air Force who was installed by 10 generals last June as Prime Minister of the Saigon government when those general overthrew the civilian government of Saigon, was born and reared in Hanoi. It may be startling to Defense Secretary McNamara to learn that Ky and other officials in the Saigon government and generals of the army of Saigon forces fighting the Vietcong were themselves born and reared in North Vietnam. General Richard Stilwell informed the junior Senator from Ohio that 80 percent of the armed forces of South Vietnam fighting in the Mekong Delta were born and reared in the Mekong Delta which is south and west of Saigon. The civilian head of the National Liberation Front, which is the political organization directing the Vietcong, is a Saigon lawyer. It is stated that he is not a Communist.

When the Vietnamese were fighting for their freedom against French colonialism their official organization was termed the National Liberation Front and their fighting forces were termed Vietminh. Many of those freedom fighters against French colonialism are fighting now as Vietcong to establish, they hope, a South Vietnam free from the presence of foreign soldiers. Of course, this is a civil war. In fact, in recent weeks the violence and rioting in Danang, Saigon, Hue and elsewhere in South Vietnam have indicated a revolt within a civil war. Defense Secretary McNamara is just as wrong now in denying that a miserable civil war is raging in Vietnam as he was in May 1962 in a briefing at Saigon, when he said, "The war is being won." Still dressed in khaki and hiking shoes that he wore during his field tour, with his notebooks filled with information and opinions, he answered a skeptical reporter, "Every quantitative measurement we have shows we are winning the war." Also, at that time 4 years ago, in the luxurious air-conditioned headquarters in Saigon, Gen. Paul D. Harkins, the American commander, waxed optimistic with impressive statistics of Vietcong killed and of our winning the war. This was precisely how the French staff officers comforted themselves during the Indo-China war early in 1954 shortly before Dienbienphu was overrun by the Vietnamese. Bad news was derided as spurious pessimism.

The forces of the National Liberation Front fought for freedom against the French attempt to reestablish their oppression and colonialism at the end of World War II, and despite massive military aid given by our Government to the French in 1953 and 1954, including airplanes, tanks, munitions, artillery, machineguns. The French were besieged and defeated at Dienbienphu which General Navarre had established and garrisoned as an offensive base. Following this surrender on May 8, 1954, of the French, Moroccan, and Vietnamese alined with them against the Vietminh, and about 12,000 survivors of the French Foreign Legion, and the withdrawal of the French colonial forces, Ho Chi Minh was elected president in the only election held in Vietnam.

We Americans, supplanting French colonialism, established by the operations of our CIA a puppet government in Saigon and President Diem called off the elections stipulated in the Geneva Accords to be held in 1956. President Eisenhower in his reminiscences wrote that had the election been held Ho Chi Minh, the George Washington of Vietnam, would have received 80 percent of the vote of the Vietnamese people living to the south and north of the 17th parallel demarcation line.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The 8 minutes of the Senator from Ohio have expired.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, Secretary of State Dean Rusk said again last week—and he has repeated the statement since, in fact he has made this statement so many times that one feels like saying put on a new record—"American soldiers are fighting in Vietnam because of commitments made by three Presidents."

This Thursday marks the birthdate of Adolf Hitler, born in Austria, April 28, 1889. Hitler was the author of the "big lie." He and his Nazis boasted, if you state a lie repeatedly many, many times, it will come to be believed. This seems to be the technique of Secretary Rusk and other apologists for our involvement in a miserable civil war in Vietnam with hundreds of thousands of American GI's.

To speak charitably of Secretary Rusk and other "war hawks" who repeatedly claim that American boys are fighting and dying in Vietnam because of commitments made by three Presidents, let me say if they are not resorting to the big lie technique, my comment, generous to them, is that they are reckless and careless with the truth.

Our late great President John F. Kennedy stated:

> Transforming Vietnam into a Western redoubt is ridiculous.

Also, on September 3, 1963, shortly before he was assassinated, he said:

> I don't think that unless a greater effort is made by the Government to win popular support that the war can be won out there. In the final analysis, it is their war. They are the ones who have to win it or lose it. We can help them, we can give them equipment, we can send our men out there as advisers, but they have to win it—the people of Vietnam—against the Communists. We are prepared to continue to assist them, but I don't think that the war can be won unless the people support the effort, and, in my opinion, in the last 2 months the Government has gotten out of touch with the people.

On the day that General Eisenhower left the White House, January 20, 1961, the total of U.S. military advisory personnel had been increased during his administration from 327 in 1953 to 685 in 1961. He made our initial commitment to South Vietnam in a letter to President Diem of South Vietnam stating:

> I am instructing the American Ambassador * * * to examine with you * * * how an intelligent program of American aid * * * can serve to assist Vietnam in its present hour of trial.

He added:

> The purpose of this offer is to assist the Government of Vietnam in developing and maintaining a strong, viable state capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means. * * * The U.S. Government hopes that such aid, combined with your own continuing efforts, will contribute effectively toward an independent Vietnam endowed with a strong government.

It is evident, therefore, that Secretary Dean Rusk and other administration apologists for waging an American war in Vietnam are reckless and careless with the truth. There was no commitment by three Presidents. Regrettably, there is a commitment by one President, the present Commanding Officer of our Armed Forces, President Johnson.

Vietnam was never, and is not now, of strategic or economic importance to the defense of the United States.

WISCONSIN FARMERS POUR HARD WORK, INVESTMENT, GREAT EFFICIENCY INTO PRODUCTION

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, too few Americans appreciate the amazing technological revolution that has taken place on our dairy farms. The American dairy farmer has made a huge contribution to the remarkable standard of living in this country.

At this time when farmers are being so unfairly blamed for inflation, more Americans should realize that it is primarily because of the remarkable increase in farm efficiency, the hard work of farmers, and the very heavy investment they have made that America has in fact enjoyed the most stable prices since World War II of any country in the world.

The farmer and his family have received little benefit from this. In general he has been left out of the affluent society.

Recently the Christian Science Monitor reported on the impressive efficiency of one of Wisconsin's dairy farmers, Craig Beane of Fort Atkinson. Mr. Beane is one of the most efficient dairy farmers in our State. And it is not an exaggeration to argue that Wisconsin has the most efficient dairy farmers in the world and that virtually all the inefficient dairy farmers left the farm during the very sharp reduction in the number of dairy farmers over the past 20 years.

The Christian Science Monitor reports an exciting story of modern efficiency in operation. The story shows that the Beane family has dedicated itself with amazing zeal to dairying, studying journals and technical dairy publications, installing a computer to keep the most comprehensive and precise kind of records, working from 4:30 a.m. until long after dark.

Yes, Mr. Beane has done well. He has invested $200,000 in his farm operation since he went to work for his father-in-law after World War II.

But Mr. Beane is not living high in any sense. As the Monitor reports:

> Inside, the home shows the wear of years of plowing all earnings back into farm operations * * * less house paint, remodeling or living conveniences.

For too long, Mr. President, the sacrifice American farmers have made in low income—while they have contributed so immensely to the economy—has been overlooked.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by John Allan Long, entitled "Computers Prod Wisconsin Cows," from the Christian Science Monitor be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DOWN ON THE FARM—1966: COMPUTERS PROD WISCONSIN COWS

(NOTE.—American farming is experiencing a revolution in techniques, mechanization, and business practices. To learn more about these important changes a correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor has visited five representative Midwest farms of different types. His first report is from the dairying region of Wisconsin.)

(By John Allan Long)

FORT ATKINSON, WIS.—Craig Beane pulled on his boots, pushed up his gray sleeves, sloshed over his muddy backyard, paused, then pointed across a rolling field behind his huge dairy barn.

"There are very few dairy farmers left between us and town," he said, motioning toward Fort Atkinson, 4 miles east.

"They're quitting now 16 a day in the State. They can't compete with city wages—do better in town. But there's still a good future in dairying. I wouldn't let my son go into it if there weren't."

There is probably no other dairyman in this State who knows his business better than Craig Beane. And now he is expanding while so many of his neighbors are pulling out.

HOW IT'S DONE

He swung open the small door to his century-old barn. Stepping inside, he turned methodically to his chores. Twice a day—early morning and early evening—he and his son milk 60 cows.

Wash down the milkroom. Scrub the tank, milkers, tubing. Let the cows into their stanchions. Give them hay and feed. Attach the automatic milker.

Pour the milk into a portable strainer which channels the milk through tubing across the barn and into the stainless steel tank. Move to the next cow. Repeat, again and again, until through.

Feed the calves. Clean the barn. Wash the milking equipment.

It takes a lot of know-how to make money dairying in Wisconsin today. It doesn't take the most modern equipment, as Mr. Beane proves. It does require the farmer to be on top of his business.

COMPUTERS USED

This Mr. Beane is. He's a director on the board of Milwaukee Milk Producers; a writer for the Wisconsin Agriculturalist, a farm journal; vice president of the Agricultural Records Cooperative (ARC), a farmer-owned computer center in Madison; and president of the national Dairy Herd Improvement Association (DHIA).

These latter two groups use computers to help farmers keep detailed records on their cows. ARC is the State arm of the DHIA.

Mr. Beane understands the complexities of the Federal milk marketing orders. Most farmers know little about how these orders set their milk prices.

And Mr. Beane is highly efficient in his milking operations. The 100 minutes it takes him to milk is fast. I visited a farmer north of Madison who has the ultimate in milking equipment. It takes him 20 minutes longer to milk 20 fewer cows.

MILKING IN THE PARLOR

Mr. Beane is preparing to install a milking parlor setup in June. The mud around his barns is only temporary—produced by heavy construction equipment.

At present, each of the cows has a separate stall. The milker must go to a cow, milk her, carry the milk to the centrally placed strainer, return to another cow, milk her, and so on. This amounts to about 2 miles of legwork a day, figures Mr. Beane.

With the parlor, the milker remains in one place. The cows file past on both sides on raised platforms; the farmer doesn't have to stoop. Eight cows are milked at a time.

Milk is automatically carried to the tank. Feed is automatically measured to each cow according to her needs. Washing the milkers and tank is done by pushbutton. The parlor is sprayed out with pressurized hot water.

Few farmers are using the parlor setup. It costs up to $40,000 to build. But for large herds, it is a must. Mr. Beane has 120 cows, and milks half of these. He is building his herd to 200.

TWO-HUNDRED-THOUSAND-DOLLAR INVESTMENT

With the expansion, he will have about $200,000 invested in his farm. The parlor makes it easier on the milker. But it alone doesn't produce more or better milk.

Like the white, high-peaked barn, the Beane home also dates back to the 1860's. The farm has been in Mrs. Beane's side of the family for 103 years.

Set behind a hill, the house and barns are protected from high winds and tornadoes. Last year, April twisters leveled several farms within a mile. The Beane farm was only buffeted.

Inside, the home shows the wear of years of plowing all earnings back into farm operations—more cows, better cows, more land, more equipment. And now a new milking parlor. But less house paint, remodeling, or living conveniences.

READING AND WRITING

"We started after the war with a model A Ford, the shirts on our backs and $100 in our pockets," recalls Mrs. Beane in her kitchen. Dressed in blue jeans, her hair rolled up, she often takes her turn at milking.

She adds: "But how many people after 20 years can boast a $200,000 investment?"

Mrs. Beane keeps busy with constant chores, which currently include caning a chair and refinishing some century-old antiques.

The kitchen, study, and living room are full of farm journals and every conceivable dairy magazine. Mrs. Beane is taking a writing course at a nearby college and helps her husband with his letters and articles.

After the war, Mr. Beane went to work for his father-in-law on a wage basis. Later, he went on a 60–40 basis, with Mr. Beane paying part of the costs and receiving part of the earnings. Eventually, he bought the farm and ever since has built up equity.

Situated at the base of several small hills, the Beane farm is ideal for dairying. Land around here once grew wheat. But the earth was worn and rolling and wheat by the 1860's was moving West. In the years before 1900, dairying slowly took hold as Wisconsin's major farm income.

DAIRYING A BUSINESS

"Today," says Mr. Beane, "land taxes are high. The soil is not as deep as in Illinois and other Midwestern States. It is too hilly.

"Because of this it is not profitable to raise cattle or cash crops. The land is ideal for milk herds. We buy our feed but raise most silage and roughage."

Making a dairy farm pay today is no simple matter. No longer is dairying a way of life. The farmers who don't make dairying a business are the ones forced to quit.

Running a paying business means keeping records of costs, income, and efficiency. To the dairyman, this means keeping close tabs on each cow. More specifically, how much butterfat does she produce?

The farmer gets paid for the butter fat in his milk. Mr. Beane averages 500 pounds per cow per year. This is good, though many farmers get 600 pounds or more.

COMPUTERIZED COWS

To keep accurate records on 120 cows, Mr. Beane uses a computer. He is a firm supporter of computer farming. As head of the DHIA, he travels over the country spreading interest in it.

To date, about 20 percent of the country's dairy cows are analyzed by computers. This is how it works for Mr. Beane:

Once a month, a sample of milk from each cow is tested for butterfat. The records are sent to the Madison ARC offices. Using a computer, cow production records, Mr. Beane's income, feed costs, and so on, are compared.

The result is a couple of sheets of tabulations. They rate the individual performance of each cow in the herd. A letter is assigned to each cow. An "A" cow is earning well in relation to costs. A "D" cow is doing poorly.

Thus very quickly, Mr. Beane can determine which cows he must replace. There is no guessing. Before, the cow that was sold generally was the one which got dirtiest or kicked the most.

Without such individual records, the dairyman has only one. This is the total herd's milk production and butterfat content.

Thus DHIA records allow Mr. Beane to cull least profitable cows, feed the rest according to production needs, and select the most suitable for breeding.

It is dark outside when evening milking is over, Mr. Beane turns out the lights in his milk room, walks through his barn—the cows bedded down around him—and steps out into his yard.

Dairying is not the business for the farmer who minds being tied down. Always the cows must be milked twice a day.

When Mr. Beane returns to his barn, it will be 4:30 a.m. tomorrow. The cows will want to be milked and fed again.

WHITTEN SUBCOMMITTEE TO BE PRAISED FOR PROVIDING $103 MILLION FOR SCHOOL MILK PROGRAM

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I was delighted to learn last Friday that the Agriculture Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee decided to recommend an appropriation of $103 million for the special milk program for schoolchildren for fiscal year 1967. This is $3 million more than the subcommittee recommended last year and a whopping $81 million over the administration's proposed slash of 80 percent.

Frankly I feel that more is needed to keep pace with this vigorous and vital program of such importance to our Nation's youth. The need for additional funds is indicated by the 10-percent cutback in the reimbursement rate this year as a result of the Bureau of the Budget's decision to hold Federal spending under the program to $100 million. Nevertheless Congressman WHITTEN's subcommittee deserves the heartfelt thanks of all American parents for recognizing the importance of continuing the school milk program in its present format.

In going through the House hearing record I found that within the Department of Agriculture itself an apparent conflict existed as to the wisdom of slashing the school milk program to one-fifth its former level. On page 653 of part 3 of the House hearings, the following dialog takes place:

> Mr. MICHEL. What was the original request of the Consumer and Marketing Service to the Department for the special milk program?
>
> Mr. SMITH. We requested $105 million for fiscal year 1967.
>
> Mr. MICHEL. What request did the Department submit to the Budget Bureau?
>
> Mr. SMITH. Twenty-one million was included in the Department estimates.

Mr. President, no amount of elaborate window dressing can obscure the fact that this cut represents false economy. For the cost to the Commodity Credit Corporation of purchasing the nearly 3 billion half pints that were consumed under the school milk program last year would have been, by departmental estimate, about $65 million.

I intend to continue fighting here in the Senate both for adequate funds for the program in fiscal 1967 and for passage of my legislation to make the program permanent. Representative WHITTEN's subcommittee took a giant step toward the first goal last week. I feel sure that its decision will be fully backed by both in the House and in the Senate.

THE HUMAN INVESTMENT

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, on April 19 the Finance Committee announced that it would hold hearings on Tuesday, April 26, to consider legislation relating to a tax credit for manpower training. Three bills will be considered at that time: S. 2343, introduced by the senior Senator from New York; S. 2509, a revised version of the original Human Investment Act introduced by the junior Senator from Vermont; and S. 3184, recently introduced by the junior Senator from Connecticut.

Allowing a tax credit for private investment in this country's human resources was first recommended in 1963 in the minority views of the report entitled "A Comprehensive Employment Policy in the United States," issued by the Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. This report was the product of extensive and detailed testimony offered in hearings conducted by the distinguished senior Senator from Pennsylvania, the chairman of the subcommittee. I was pleased to join in contributing to the minority views. The report was a clear and insofar as possible a complete analysis of the problems of unemployment.

The idea of the Human Investment Act has grown since it was first advanced. It has, since 1963, been considerably revised. In its present form as S. 2509 the act is cosponsored by 22 Senators. The same legislation has been introduced by 83 Members of the House. The strong support shown for the concept led to its consideration by the Republican task force on job opportunities and its being recommended by the task force to the Republican coordinating committee. On March 28 of this year this committee approved and adopted a paper on the Human Investment Act. So that my colleagues may fully understand the principles of this act and in the hope that many of them will wish to express their support of it before the Finance Committee next Tuesday, I ask unanimous consent to include the task force's statement in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Human Investment

(Adopted by the Republican coordinating committee, March 28, 1966; presented by the task force on job opportunities; published by Republican National Committee, Washington, D.C.)

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THE NATION OF THE CRISIS

Our Nation today is facing a crisis in manpower. We are well into a serious skilled labor shortage but the Democratic administration continues to talk of unemployment statistics and is failing to give adequate thought to the problem of matching men to the right jobs.

Today there are some 3 million unemployed Americans. Many more are underemployed. Although job vacancy data is incomplete, most economists agree that the total number of job openings around the country is well over 2 million—and maybe as high as 3 million.

In his manpower message to Congress on March 8, 1966, the President took some cognizance of the problem, saying that "we cannot rest content" as long as we have a condition where "employers seek skilled and experienced workers while thousands cannot find work because they lack proper training and education. Our goal is not just a job for every worker. Our goal is to place every worker in a job where he utilizes his full productive potential, for his own and for society's benefit."

The goal is laudable, but the message contained no real solution to the problem. Instead, the President asked, "What can we do to help employers improve their own on-the-job training?" He did not answer the question, except to say that the Federal Government next year should spend $10.2 billion for education and training because "the root of most problems of unemployment and underemployment lies in deficiencies in education."

A REPUBLICAN RECOMMENDATION

The President also asked how might employers be encouraged "to redefine jobs in a way that employs more of the unskilled or semiskilled?" Again, he offered no answer. Right answers are not obtained by asking wrong questions.

We Republicans believe that the question is incorrectly stated. It is not jobs which should be redefined, but rather employees who must be retrained to fill those jobs. We believe that the real answer has been pending before Congress since February 1965, in the form of legislation sponsored by the entire Republican congressional leadership.

The Republican Party recommends that the Government seek to encourage employers to retrain their present and potential employees so as to improve their skills. We believe that the proper role of the Federal Government is to provide the climate, or the incentives, whereby labor and business can take the lead in reeducation for industry.

EFFECTS AND CAUSES

The present shortage of skilled workers has led to many serious problems:

It has caused an impairment of logistic support for our fighting men in Vietnam;

It has caused a backlog of unfilled orders throughout the domestic economy;

It has forced some companies to take foremen and supervisors away from their duties to work on the production line, with an attendant decline in managerial efficiency;

It has increased costly labor turnover, as desperate efforts to obtain qualified workers lure employees from one company to another and from one industry to another;

It has led to excessive overtime pay, reflected in the cost of the product; and

It has encouraged some firms to seek workers abroad and bring them here to fill jobs once filled by Americans.

And as all these factors become more and more serious, costs to the employer are increased. Consumer prices then rise—and inflation is accelerated.

Artificial barriers, such as racial discrimination, are applied against many workers, preventing them from stepping into available openings. The unemployment rate among Negroes, for example, is still 7 percent—almost twice as high as among whites. Republican Members of Congress have attempted to eliminate racial barriers from labor legislation during this present Congress. But the Democratic leadership has refused even to let the issue be debated by the House. Had these Republican efforts to amend the Taft-Hartley Act and the situs picketing proposal been successful, the unemployment rate among minority groups would have dropped considerably. Moreover, it is unfortunate that the Johnson-Humphrey administration has failed to give prompt and effective implementation to title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which bans discrimination by employers and labor unions with more than 100 members. Once again, we Republicans call upon the Democratic administration to enforce this section of the law.

There are also restrictions on the geographic mobility of labor caused in large measure by a natural reluctance on the part of many workers to leave their lifelong homes to accept jobs elsewhere. And there are other factors.

But, by far the most important reason for unemployment at a time when job vacancies are about numerically equal to the people seeking jobs is the scarcity of needed job skills among the unemployed. This condition, called structural unemployment, is the key manpower problem of the 1960's.

"The nature of today's unemployment problem is no less serious because of its structural character," reported Republican members of the congressional Joint Economic Committee in March 1965:

"Indeed, persistent unemployment that falls with special severity on particular age, education, or racial groups poses a real threat to our democratic system. Unless our efforts to attack structural unemployment succeed in enabling these individuals to lead productive lives, a growing and insurmountable gap may appear between the haves and the have-nots in our society, or between those who have a good education and good jobs and those who have little education, inferior jobs or no jobs at all, and who are hostile or indifferent to their society. The increasing emphasis on high skills, on technical competence and on expertise will increase the problem in years ahead and pose an even greater danger for the survival of our free and open democratic system. It is precisely for this reason that the attack on chronic unemployment takes such high priority among our national goals."

THE NEED FOR EDUCATION

The answer to this problem of structural unemployment begins with an increased national dedication to strong basic education, so that every American will have the requisite skills in comprehension, communication, and simple mathematics to qualify for more advanced training. This need becomes evident when it is realized that the unemployment rate among teenagers is 11 percent—three times above the national average.

But a great strengthening of basic education, vital though it is, will never be the complete answer to the problem. This year we must provide for an additional 1.6 million entrants to the labor market. Most of these newcomers will be teenagers or recent college graduates. By and large the jobs created for them—or the jobs made available by those who have moved up the ladder or out of the job market—will require much more skill than the jobs available a decade ago or even a year ago. We are in an age of rapidly advancing technology on all fronts of the economy.

To meet the demand of technology, there must be a broad national effort to upgrade the job skills of the American labor force all along the line—preparing the unskilled and semiskilled for varying types of skilled work, and turning those now classified as skilled workers into advanced technicians.

It goes without saying that, as workers move up the "skill ladder" to better and more demanding jobs, the positions they once filled become open to the less skilled but striving applicant.

The Republican Party has long recognized the need for a major effort to upgrade the Nation's job skills. In 1959, the Republican committee on programs and progress advocated: "programs, particularly of private industry and labor organizations in cooperation with community colleges, adult evening classes, and vocational schools, to help the individual constantly to improve the level and the variety of his skills, and to become more flexible in the job market."

Republicans are also proud that they authored and supported the important Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, and its subsequent strengthening amendments.

THE ROLE OF INDUSTRY

The most effective job trainer in the Nation has always been the free competitive economy. Through the years business and labor, working together, have demonstrated their ability to conceive, organize, and carry out job training programs superior both in quality and in efficiency to Government-operated programs. Although the Democratic administration is urging expanded governmental training programs, we believe that the emphasis should be redirected to business and labor, where primary responsibility and capability rightfully lie.

The proper role of the Federal Government is to encourage labor organizations and business enterprises to intensify and expand their time-tested programs of job training.

In 1962, Congress adjusted our revenue laws to provide a tax credit toward the cost of plant equipment and machinery in order to spur new investment in these job-creating items. It is now agreed among business analysts that this new provision has made a significant contribution to the increased investment in equipment and machinery.

Republicans believe Congress—and the administration—should now act to encourage a similar investment in human beings—in the American labor force, whose skills are worth far more to the strength of the Nation's economy than machinery can ever be. Certainly we should give the highest priority to an investment in human resources.

Republicans have suggested the tax credit approach to this problem because it can most easily be designed to reduce to a minimum the burdens of redtape, bureaucracy and governmental intrusion into the affairs of business and labor.

The Democratic proposal of more Federal funds for training and education may be of limited help to the nonskilled in acquiring skills. But, such a proposal makes absolutely no provision for those workers who presently have limited skills to move up the ladder. This can result only in chaos at the bottom of the economic pile—competition for jobs at a level where competition is least desirable. The Republican tax credit approach will have equally beneficial effects at all levels of the skill ladder.

THE HUMAN INVESTMENT ACT

Accordingly, we recommend that the Congress enact and the Nation support Republican-authored legislation to grant a credit against Federal income taxes toward the costs incurred in retraining employees or potential employees in needed new skills.

Republicans in Congress have taken the lead in sponsoring the Human Investment Act. Twenty-two Republican Senators and eighty-three Republican Members of the House are sponsoring such legislation. All 12 members of the joint Senate-House Republican leadership are included in this number.

The purpose of the Human Investment Act is to encourage industry to expand its training programs so that the reservoir of available job skills more closely matches the present and anticipated needs of the economy. Private enterprise today is the Nation's largest job trainer, investing about $4.5 billion a year in the various forms of employee training. Over the years, labor and business have shown that they know best what skills will be needed in the economy and what kinds of training will best prepare workers to accept the jobs that become available. It is the goal of the Human Investment Act to provide the type of economic climate through tax incentives which will permit business to enter this field on a major scale.

Unskilled workers today have an unemployment rate twice as high as the overall national rate. In most cases, the unskilled lack only the training necessary to permit them to move into existing vacancies.

The problem is a national one and demands a national solution. The Republican Party believes that the Human Investment Act is a proper, indeed, necessary, response.

This legislation will guarantee an expansion of worthwhile and needed training programs, such as apprenticeship and on-the-job training, while holding red tape and administrative regulations to a minimum. The enactment of this Republican-authored legislation would be a major step toward encouraging our American enterprise system to expand its continuing efforts to alleviate the Nation's manpower shortages and enhance the opportunities for the individual worker to share more fully in the benefits of the American economy.

APPOINTMENT OF SENATOR MORSE TO PRESIDENT'S EMERGENCY BOARD IN AIRLINE MACHINISTS DISPUTE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, a Member of this body has been singled out by the President of the United States to channel his great talent and energy to prevent a possible labor-management disaster. The senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] has been appointed a member and Chairman of the President's Emergency Board in the airline machinists dispute.

Senator MORSE's selection comes as no surprise; in fact his appointment is accepted as rather routine only because he has been called upon so often in the past. His impressive, proven, and longstanding qualifications in the field of labor-management relations are unsurpassed, spanning a period of over 35 years. It is difficult to get down to the bread and butter of working out the details of any dispute, let alone one involving labor and management, without somehow leaving the table with a slightly ruffled shirt. However, in spite of being called to assist in many disputes over these many years, WAYNE MORSE's reputation for fairness and good judgment has never been tarnished.

Prior to his service in the U.S. Senate, WAYNE MORSE distinguished himself as an arbitrator on many occasions beginning with the labor-management disputes of the thirties in the lumber and maritime industries on the west coast. His contribution as chairman of the Paper Products Industry Board in the late thirties was a history-making breakthrough in the low pay industries. In 1941, as Chairman of President Roosevelt's National Railroad Emergency Board, his tireless efforts and around-the-clock sessions brought about a settlement—preventing a nationwide strike—on the day prior to Pearl Harbor. In 1942, WAYNE MORSE was appointed by President Roosevelt as a public member of the National War Labor Board where he wrote some of the major decisions of the Board—many of which are still considered landmark decisions.

History, however, will not record WAYNE MORSE's contribution to the development of healthy labor-management relations solely on the basis of his involvement in the troubled times of the thirties and early forties. His contribution has been continuous and continuing.

President Kennedy called him to service in 1963 appointing him Chairman of the Special Board on the Atlantic and Gulf Coast Longshoremen's shutdown. After the Board's recommendations were presented, a settlement was agreed upon by the parties.

President Johnson summoned him twice in 1965 to study and recommend fair and equitable solutions to the longshoremen's dispute of February 1965, and to the steel dispute of September 1965.

This brief rundown of the major involvements of the senior Senator from Oregon spanning the full history of the meaningful development of labor-management relations in this country—from the administration of Roosevelt through the administrations of Kennedy and Johnson—explains why his appointments are accepted with such serene unanimity.

With such extended exposure the fact that his reputation with both labor and management remains unblemished is his true testimonial. His perception of the substantive issues and of the delicacy of the personal relationships—his sound and unbiased judgment—his tireless energy—are credentials without equal for the task at hand.

His most recent call to duty on the airline machinists dispute does not mean that a solution is inevitable. However, we can be assured that the senior Senator from Oregon will perform as he does in every one of his undertakings—he will attempt to overcome even the inevitable—but never will the inevitable overcome him.

We in the Senate are proud of his appointment, the Nation should be cautiously relieved, the parties to the dispute thankful.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. I am so glad I did not miss this speech. When I came onto the floor of the Senate and heard the Senator from Montana, I was much surprised.

I want the Senator to know that I appreciate this further evidence of his leadership, kindness, and devotion to friendship. I do not deserve the evaluation of the Senator from Montana; but certainly, as a human being, I appreciate the stimulation and inspiration it has given to me. It pleases me to know that the Senator from Montana, MIKE MANSFIELD, has that trust in me, and it will prove to be a source of great strength to me. Although I am bound to disappoint him and many others many times, it will at least inspire me to keep the disappointments at a minimum, so far as my human powers can make that possible. I thank him sincerely. His remarks are a manifestation of kindness that is far beyond my desserts, but I want him to know how much I appreciate his friendship and his trust.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I can only say, in conclusion, that what I said was factual, the truth, and very well deserved.

THE HIGHER PATRIOTISM—LECTURE BY SENATOR FULBRIGHT

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on Thursday, April 21, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Senator FULBRIGHT, addressed the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies on the subject, "The Higher Patriotism." This lecture was the first of three that Senator FULBRIGHT will give at this institution.

The theme of the three lectures is "The Arrogance of Power," and in this opening exercise Senator FULBRIGHT outlines admirably the function, and the outright necessity, for open discussion, debate, and dissent in foreign policy matters by both the public and Congress.

Our friend from Arkansas is described as an admirer of Mark Twain; but I suggest that some lines Carl Sandburg wrote back in the 1920's in his long poem, "Good Morning, America," are highly pertinent to the theme of the Fulbright lectures, to wit:

> Now it's Uncle Sam sitting on top of the world.
> Not so long ago it was John Bull and, earlier yet, Napoleon and the eagles of France told the world where to get off at.
> Spain, Rome, Greece, Persia, their blunderbuss guns, their spears, catapults, ships, took their turn at leading the civilizations of the earth—
> One by one they were bumped off, moved over, left behind, taken for a ride; they died or they lost the wallop they used to pack, not so good, not so good.
> One by one they no longer sat on top of the world—now the Young Stranger is Uncle Sam, is America and the song goes, "The Stars and Stripes Forever," even though "forever" is a long time.
> Even though the oldest kings had their singers and clowns calling, "Oh king, you shall live forever."

The Secretary of Defense is immensely proud of the military power we have brought to bear in Vietnam. No doubt the Spaniards, Romans, and British were equally proud of the military power they were able to bring to bear on the world in which they were interested. But before we all begin to believe that the U.S. Defense Department is going to keep us on top of the world forever, I hope people will hear and read and meditate upon the Fulbright lectures.

I hope, too, that they will ponder the facts so mechanically rattled off to the Foreign Relations Committee as though they proved something. The bombing statistics alone tell us that we are plastering the small areas of South and North Vietnam with a much higher rate of explosive destruction than we visited upon Korea or upon Europe in World War II.

What is the result? What are we gaining from this display of our power to deliver destruction upon a rather primitive society?

We are gaining the hatred of hundreds of millions of people around the world. We are establishing a shocking image of a nation whose foreign policy should be bottomed upon morality, but which has become characterized by immorality. All one has to do is listen to the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of State to recognize that they give little thought, if any, to moral principles within our foreign policy. We are more interested now in the ratio of the kill of human beings, all the children of God.

Is the war being brought to an end? Is the enemy being crushed? Is even the military return a tiny fraction of the cost? Is victory brought nearer by the exhibition of military power of the United States upon people without a navy, without an air force, without heavy power by way of firing power? Are we delivering these bombs simply because it is one thing we can do, whereas we are incapable of dealing with the political, social, and economic issues and problems that are the cause of the war?

"Forever" is going to be a mighty short time for us unless we begin to pay heed to the things Senator FULBRIGHT is telling us in these lectures. I ask unanimous consent that the first lecture by this great scholar and Senate colleague, entitled "The Higher Patriotism," be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the lecture was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE HIGHER PATRIOTISM

(Statement by Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Christian A. Herter lectures, lecture I, Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, D.C., April 21, 1966)

To criticize one's country is to do it a service and pay it a compliment. It is a service because it may spur the country to do better than it is doing; it is a compliment because it evidences a belief that the country can do better than it is doing. "This," said Albert Camus in one of his "Letters to a German Friend," "is what separated us from you; we made demands. You were satisfied to serve the power of your nation and we dreamed of giving ours her truth."[1]

In a democracy dissent is an act of faith. Like medicine, the test of its value is not its taste but its effects, not how it makes people feel at the moment, but how it inspires them to act thereafter. Criticism may embarrass the country's leaders in the short run but strengthen their hand in the long run; it may destroy a consensus on policy while expressing a consensus of values. Woodrow Wilson once said that there was "such a thing as being too proud to fight;" there is also, or ought to be, such a thing as being too confident to conform, too strong to be silent in the face of apparent error. Criticism, in short, is more than a right; it is an act of patriotism, a higher form of patriotism, I believe, than the familiar rituals of national adultation.

In the three lectures which we begin tonight I am going to criticize America, I hope not unfairly, and always in the hope of rendering a service and the confidence of paying a compliment. It is not a pejorative but a tribute to say that America is worthy of criticism. If nonetheless one is charged with a lack of patriotism, I would reply with Camus, "No, I didn't love my country, if pointing out what is unjust in what we love amounts to not loving, if insisting that what we love should measure up to the finest image we have of her amounts to not loving."[2]

What is the finest image of America? To me it is the image of a composite, or better still a synthesis, of diverse peoples and cultures, come together in harmony but not identity, in an open, receptive, generous, and creative society. Almost 200 years ago a Frenchman who had come to live in America posed the question, "What Is an American?" His answer, in part, was the following: "Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labors and posterity will one day cause great change in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigor, and industry, which began long since in the east; they will finish the great circle. The Americans were once scattered all over Europe; here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared, and which will hereafter become distinct by the power of the different climates they inhabit. The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labor, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence. This is an American."[3]

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[1] Albert Camus, second letter, December 1943, "Resistance, Rebellion, and Death" (New York: Random House, Inc., 1960), p. 10.

[2] Albert Camus, "Letters to a German Friend," first letter; ibid., p. 4.

With due allowance for the author's exuberance, I think that his optimism is not far off the mark. We are an extraordinary nation, endowed with a rich and productive land and a talented and energetic population. Surely a nation so favored is capable of extraordinary achievement, not only in the area of producing and enjoying great wealth—where our achievements have indeed been extraordinary—but also in the area of human and international relations—in which area, it seems to me, our achievements have fallen short of our capacity and promise.

The question that I find intriguing—the question which I have chosen as the theme of these lectures although I have no answer to it—is whether a nation so extraordinarily endowed as the United States can overcome that arrogance of power which has afflicted, weakened, and in some cases destroyed great nations in the past.

The causes of the malady are a mystery but its recurrence is one of the uniformities of history; power tends to confuse itself with virtue and a great nation is peculiarly susceptible to the idea that its power is a sign of God's favor, conferring upon it a special responsibility for other nations—to make them richer and happier and wiser, to remake them, that is, in its own shining image. Power confuses itself with virtue and it also tends to take itself for omnipotence. Once imbued with the idea of a mission, a great nation easily assumes that it has the means as well as the duty to do God's work. The Lord, after all, surely would not choose you as His agent and then deny you the sword with which to work His will. German soldiers in the First World War wore belt buckles imprinted with the words: "Gott mit uns." It was approximately under this kind of infatuation—an exaggerated sense of power and an imaginary sense of mission—that the Athenians attacked Syracuse and Napoleon and then Hitler invaded Russia. In plain words, they overextended their commitments and they came to grief.

My question is whether America can overcome the fatal arrogance of power. My hope and my belief are that it can, that it has the human resources to accomplish what few if any great nations have ever accomplished before: to be confident but also tolerant and rich but also generous, to be willing to teach but also willing to learn, to be powerful but also wise. I believe that America is capable of all of these things; I also believe it is falling short of them. Gradually but unmistakably we are succumbing to the arrogance of power. In so doing we are not living up to our capacity and promise; the measure of our falling short is the measure of the patriot's duty of dissent.

The discharge of that most important duty is handicapped in America by an unworthy tendency to fear serious criticism of our Government. In the abstract we celebrate freedom of opinion as a vital part of our patriotic liturgy. It is only when some Americans exercise the right that other Americans are shocked. No one of course ever criticizes the right of dissent; it is always this particular instance of it or its exercise under these particular circumstances or at this particular time that throws people into a blue funk. I am reminded of Samuel Butler's observation that "People in general are equally horrified at hearing the Christian religion doubted, and at seeing it practiced."[4]

Intolerance of dissent is a well noted feature of the American national character. Louis Hartz attributes it to the heritage of a society which was "born free," a society which is unnerved by deep dissent because it has experienced so little of it.[5] Alexis de Tocqueville took note of this tendency over a hundred years ago. "I know of no country," he wrote, "in which there is so little independence of mind and real freedom of discussion as in America. Profound changes have occurred since democracy in America first appeared and yet it may be asked whether recognition of the right of dissent has gained substantially in practice as well as in theory." The malady in Tocqueville's view was one of democracy itself: "The smallest reproach irritates its sensibility and the slightest joke that has any foundation in truth renders it indignant; from the forms of its language up to the solid virtues of its character, everything must be made the subject of encomium. No writer, whatever be his eminence, can escape paying this tribute of adulation to his fellow citizens."[6]

From small town gatherings to high policy councils Americans are distressed when a writer or a politician interrupts all this self-congratulation and expresses himself with simple, unadorned candor. As prospective diplomats and professionals in various fields of international relations, many of you will be faced sooner or later with the dilemma of how you can retain your capacity for honest individual judgment in a large organization in which the surest route to advancement is conformity with a barren and oppressive orthodoxy. There are many intelligent, courageous, and independent-minded individuals in the Foreign Service of the United States, but I have had occasion to notice that there are also sycophants and conformists, individuals in whose minds the distinction between official policy and personal opinion has disappeared.

A few months ago I met an American poet, Mr. Ned O'Gorman, who had just returned from a visit to Latin America sponsored by the State Department. He said, and previously had written, that he was introduced by American Embassy officials in the countries he visited that if he were questioned by students and intellectuals with whom he was scheduled to meet on such difficult questions as the Dominican Republic and Vietnam he was to reply that he was unprepared. Poets, as we all know, are ungovernable people and Mr. O'Gorman proved no exception. He finally rebelled at a meeting with some Brazilian students with the following result as he described it: "The questions came swirling, battering, bellowing from the classroom. Outside the traffic and the oily electric heat. But I loved it. I was hell bent for clarity. I knew they wanted straight answers and I gave them. I had been gorged to sickness with Embassy prudence. The applause was long and loud. The Embassy man furious. 'You are taking money dishonestly' he told me. 'If the Government pays you to do this tour you must defend it and not damn it.' It did no good when I explained to him that if I didn't do what I was doing, then I'd be taking the money dishonestly."[7]

A high degree of loyalty to the President's policy is a requirement of good order within the Department of State but it escapes me totally why American diplomats should not be proud to have American poets and professors and politicians demonstrate their country's political and intellectual health by expressing themselves with freedom and candor. As O'Gorman put it, "I spoke with equal force of the glory and the tragedy of America. And that is what terrified the Americans."[8]

The universities—and especially institutions like the school of advanced international studies—have a special obligation to train potential public servants in rigorously independent thinking and to acquaint them as well with the need for reconciling loyalty to an organization with personal integrity. It is an extremely important service for the universities to perform because the most valuable public servant, like the true patriot, is one who gives a higher loyalty to his country's ideals than to its current policy and who therefore is willing to criticize as well as to comply.

We must learn to treat our freedom as a source of strength, as an asset to be shown to the world with confidence and pride. No one challenges the value and importance of national consensus but consensus can be understood in two ways. If it is interpreted to mean unquestioning support of existing policies, its effects can only be pernicious and undemocratic, serving to suppress differences rather than to reconcile them. If, on the other hand, consensus is understood to mean a general agreement on goals and values but not necessarily on the best means of realizing them, then and only then does it become a lasting basis of national strength. It is consensus in this sense which has made America strong in the past. Indeed, much of our national success in combining change with continuity can be attributed to the vigorous competition of men and ideas within a context of shared values and generally accepted institutions. It is only through this kind of vigorous competition of ideas that a consensus of values can sometimes be translated into a true consensus of policy. Or as Mark Twain plainly put it: "It were not best that we should all think alike; it is difference of opinion that makes horseraces."[9]

Freedom of thought and discussion gives a democracy two concrete advantages over a dictatorship in the making of foreign policy: it diminishes the danger of an irretrievable mistake and it introduces ideas and opportunities that otherwise would not come to light.

The correction of errors in a nation's foreign policy is greatly assisted by the timely raising of voices of criticism within the nation. When the British launched their disastrous attack on Egypt, the Labor Party raised a collective voice of indignation while the military operation was still underway; refusing to be deterred by calls for national unity in a crisis, Labor began the long, painful process of recovering Great Britain's good name at the very moment when the damage was still being done. Similarly, the French intellectuals who protested France's colonial wars in Indochina and Algeria not only upheld the values of French democracy but helped pave the way for the enlightened policies of the Fifth Republic which have made France the most respected Western nation in the underdeveloped world. It was in the hope of performing a similar service for America on a very modest scale that I criticized American intervention in the Dominican Republic in a speech in the Senate last year.

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[3] Michel-Guillaume Jean de Crevecoeur, "What Is an American," Letter III (1782) of "Letters From an American Farmer."

[4] "Further Extracts From the Notebooks of Samuel Butler," A. T. Bartholomew, ed. (London: Jonathan Cape Press, 1934), p. 120.

[5] Louis Hartz, "The Liberal Tradition in America" (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1955).

[6] Alexis de Tocqueville, "Democracy in America," vol. I (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), p. 265.

[7] "Mission Over, a Controversial Visitor Departs," the National Catholic Reporter, Aug. 18, 1965, p. 6.

[8] Ibid.

[9] "Pudd'nhead Wilson: Pudd'nhead Wilson's Calendar," ch. 19.

The second great advantage of free discussion to democratic policymakers is its bringing to light of new ideas and the supplanting of old myths with new realities. We Americans are much in need of this benefit because we are severely, if not uniquely, afflicted with a habit of policymaking by analogy: North Vietnam's involvement in South Vietnam, for example, is equated with Hitler's invasion of Poland and a parley with the Vietcong would represent another Munich. The treatment of slight and superficial resemblances as if they were fullblooded analogies, as instances, as it were, of history "repeating itself," is a substitute for thinking and misuse of history. The value of history is not what it seems to prohibit or prescribe but its general indications as to the kinds of policies that are likely to succeed and the kinds that are likely to fail, or, as one historian has suggested, its hints as to what is likely not to happen.

Mark Twain offers guidance on the uses of history. "We should be careful," he wrote, "to get out of an experience only the wisdom that is in it—and stop there; lest we be like the cat that sits down on a hot stove lid. She will never sit down on a hot stove lid again—and that is well; but also she will never sit down on a cold one anymore."[10]

There is a kind of voodoo about American foreign policy. Certain drums have to be beaten regularly to ward off evil spirits—for example, the maledictions which are regularly uttered against North Vietnamese aggression, the "wild men" in Peking, communism in general and President de Gaulle. Certain pledges must be repeated every day lest the whole free world go to rack and ruin—for example, we will never go back on a commitment no matter how unwise; we regard this alliance or that as absolutely "vital" to the free world; and of course we will stand stalwart in Berlin from now until Judgment Day. Certain words must never be uttered except in derision—the word "appeasement," for example, comes as near as any word can to summarize everything that is regarded by American policymakers as stupid, wicked and disastrous.

I do not suggest that we should heap praise on the Chinese Communists, dismantle NATO, abandon Berlin, and seize every opportunity that comes along to appease our enemies. I do suggest the desirability of an atmosphere in which unorthodox ideas would arouse interest rather than horror, reflection rather than emotion. As likely as not, new proposals, carefully examined, would be found wanting and old policies judged sound; what is wanted is not change itself but the capacity for change. Consider the idea of appeasement: In a free and healthy political atmosphere it would elicit neither horror nor enthusiasm but only interest in what precisely its proponent had in mind. As Winston Churchill once said: "Appeasement in itself may be good or bad according to circumstances. Appeasement from strength is magnanimous and noble and might be the surest and perhaps the only path to world peace."

In addition to its usefulness for redeeming error and introducing new ideas, free and open criticism has a third, more abstract but no less important function in a democracy. It is therapy and catharsis for those who are troubled or dismayed by something their country is doing; it helps to reassert traditional values, to clear the air when it is full of tension and mistrust. There are times in public life as in private life when one must protest, not solely or even primarily because one's protest will be politic or materially productive, but because one's sense of decency is offended, because one is fed up with political craft and public images, or simply because something goes against the grain. The catharsis thus provided may indeed be the most valuable of freedom's uses.

While not unprecedented, protests against a war in the middle of the war are a rare experience for Americans. I see it as a mark of strength and maturity that an articulate minority have raised their voices against the Vietnamese war and that the majority of Americans are enduring this dissent, not without anxiety, to be sure, but with better grace and understanding than would have been the case in any other war of the 20th century.

It is by no means certain that the relatively healthy atmosphere in which the debate is now taking place will not give way to a new era of McCarthyism. The longer the Vietnamese war goes on without prospect of victory or negotiated peace, the war fever will rise; hopes will give way to fears and tolerance and freedom of discussion will give way to a false and strident patriotism. In Mark Twain's novel, "The Mysterious Stranger," a benevolent and clairvoyant Satan said the following about war and its effects:

"There has never been a just one, never an honorable one—on the part of the instigator of the war. I can see a million years ahead, and this rule will never change in so many as half a dozen instances. The loud little handful—as usual—will shout for the war. The pulpit will—warily and cautiously—object—at first; the great, big, dull bulk of the nation will rub its sleepy eyes and try to make out why there should be a war, and will say, earnestly and indignantly, 'It is unjust and dishonorable and there is no necessity for it.' Then the handful will shout louder. A few fair men on the other side will argue and reason against the war with speech and pen, and at first will have a hearing and be applauded; but it will not last long; those others will outshout them, and presently the antiwar audiences will thin out and lose popularity. Before long you will see this curious thing: the speakers stoned from the platform, and free speech strangled by hordes of furious men who in their secret hearts are still at one with those stoned speakers—as earlier—but do not dare to say so. And now the whole nation—pulpit and all—will take up the war cry, and shout itself hoarse, and mob an honest man who ventures to open his mouth; and presently such mouths will cease to open. Next the statesmen will invent cheap lies putting the blame upon the nation that is attacked, and every man will be glad of those conscience-soothing falsities, and will diligently study them and refuse to examine any refutations of them; and thus he will by and by convince himself that the war is just, and will thank God for the better sleep he enjoys after this process of grotesque self-deception."[11]

Past experience provides little basis for confidence that reason can prevail in an atmosphere of mounting war fever. In a contest between a hawk and dove the hawk has a great advantage, not because it is a better bird, but because it is a bigger bird with lethal talons and a highly developed will to use them. Without illusions as to the prospect of success we must try nonetheless to bring reason and restraint into the emotionally charged atmosphere in which the Vietnamese war is now being discussed. Instead of trading epithets about the legitimacy of debate and about who is and is not giving "aid and comfort" to the enemy, we would do well to focus calmly and deliberately on the issue itself, recognizing that all of us make mistakes and that mistakes can only be corrected if they are acknowledged and discussed, and recognizing further that war is not its own justification, that it can and must be discussed unless we are prepared to sacrifice our traditional democratic processes to a false image of national unanimity.

In fact the protesters against the Vietnamese war are in good historical company. On January 12, 1848, Abraham Lincoln rose in the U.S. House of Representatives and made a speech about the Mexican War worthy of Senator MORSE. Lincoln's speech was an explanation of a vote he had recently cast in support of a resolution declaring that the war had been unnecessary and unconstitutionally begun by President Polk. "I admit," he said, "that such a vote should not be given, in mere wantonness, and that the one given, is justly censurable, if it have no other, or better foundation. I am one of those who joined in that vote; and I did so under my best impression of the truth of the case."[12]

That is exactly what the students and professors and politicians who oppose the Vietnamese war have been doing: they have been acting on their "best impression of the truth of the case." Some of our superpatriots assume that any war the United States fights is a just war, if not indeed a holy crusade, but history does not sustain their view. No reputable historian would deny that the United States has fought some wars which were unjust, unnecessary or both—I would suggest the War of 1812, the Civil War, and the Spanish-American War as examples. In an historical frame of reference it seems to me logical and proper to question the wisdom of our present military involvement in Asia.

The wisdom and productivity of the protest movement of students, professors, clergy and others may well be questioned, but their courage, decency, and patriotism cannot be doubted. At the very least the student protest movement of the sixties is a moral and intellectual improvement on the panty raids of the fifties. In fact it is a great deal more: it is an expression of the national conscience and a manifestation of traditional American idealism. I agree with the editorial comment of last October's very interesting issue of the Johns Hopkins magazine, in which it was suggested that the "new radical" movement "is not shallow and sophomoric, it is not based on the traditional formula of generational defiance, and it is not the result of an infusion of foreign ideologies. It is based instead on personal disenchantment and the feeling of these radicals that they must repudiate a corrupted vision of society and replace it with a purer one."[13]

Protesters against the Vietnamese war have been held up to scorn on the ground that they wish to "select their wars," by which it is apparently meant that it is hypocritical to object to this particular war while not objecting to war in general. I fail to understand what is reprehensible about trying to make moral distinctions between one war and another, between, for example, resistance to Hitler and intervention in Vietnam. From the time of Grotius to the drafting of the United Nations Charter international lawyers have tried to distinguish between "just wars" and "unjust wars." It is a difficult problem of law and an even more difficult problem of morality, but it is certainly a valid problem and, far from warranting contempt, those who try to solve it deserve our sympathy and respect.

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[10] Ibid., ch. 11.

[11] Mark Twain, "The Mysterious Stranger" (New York: Harper & Bros., 1922), pp. 119–120.

[12] "The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln," vol. 1, 1824–48 (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), p. 431.

[13] "The New Radicals," the Johns Hopkins magazine, October 1965, pp. 10–11.

There can be no solution to a problem until it is first acknowledged that there is a problem. When Mr. Moyers reported with respect to the Vietnam protests the President's "surprise that any one citizen would feel toward his country in a way that is not consistent with the national interest," he was denying the existence of a problem as to where in fact the national interest lies. The answer, one must concede, is elusive, but there is indeed a question and it is a sign of the good health of this Nation that the question is being widely and clearly posed.

With due respect for the honesty and patriotism of the student demonstrations, I would offer a word of caution to the young people who have organized and participated in them. As most politicians discover sooner or later, the most dramatic expression of grievances is not necessarily the most effective. That would seem to be especially true in the United States, a country which, as I have pointed out, is easily and excessively alarmed by expressions of dissent. We are, for better or worse, an essentially conservative society; in such a society soft words are likely to carry more weight than harsh words and the most effective dissent is dissent that is expressed in an orderly, which is so say, a conservative manner.

For these reasons direct action such as the burning of draft cards probably does more to retard than to advance the views of those who take such action. The burning of a draft card is a symbolic act, really a form of expression rather than of action, and it is stupid and vindictive to punish it as a crime. But it is also a very unwise act, unwise because it is shocking rather than persuasive to most Americans and because it exposes the individual to personal risk without political reward.

The student, like the politician, must consider not only how to say what he means but also how to say it persuasively. The answer, I think, is that to speak persuasively one must speak in the idiom of the society in which one lives. The form of protest that might be rewarding in Paris or Rome, to say nothing of Saigon or Santo Domingo, would be absolutely disastrous in Washington. Frustrating though it may be to some Americans, it is nonetheless a fact that in America the messages that get through are those that are sent through channels, through the slow, cumbersome institutional channels devised by the Founding Fathers in 1789.

The good order and democracy of our society therefore depend on the keeping open of these channels. As long as every tendency of opinion among our people can get a full and respectful hearing from the elected representatives of the people, the teach-ins and the draft card burnings and the demonstrations are unlikely to become the principal forms of dissent in America. It is only when the Congress fails to challenge the Executive, when the opposition fails to oppose, when politicians join in a spurious consensus behind controversial policies, that the campuses and streets and public squares of America are likely to become the forums of a direct and disorderly democracy.

It is the joint responsibility of politicians and opinion leaders in the universities and elsewhere to keep open the channels of communication between the people and their government. Under the American Constitution the proper institutional channel for that communication is the U.S. Congress, and especially the Senate, to whose special problems and responsibilities I now turn.

In recent years the Congress has not fully discharged its responsibilities in the field of foreign relations. The reduced role of the Congress and the enhanced role of the President in the making of foreign policy are not the result merely of President Johnson's ideas of consensus; they are the culmination of a trend in the constitutional relationship between President and Congress that began in 1940, that is to say, at the beginning of this age of crisis.

The cause of the change is crisis. The President has the authority and resources to make decisions and take actions in an emergency; the Congress does not. Nor, in my opinion, should it; the proper responsibilities of the Congress are to reflect and review, to advise and criticize, to consent and to withhold consent. In the last 25 years American foreign policy has encountered a shattering series of crises and inevitably—or almost inevitably—the effort to cope with these has been Executive effort, while the Congress inspired by patriotism, importuned by Presidents, and deterred by lack of information, has tended to fall in line behind the Executive. The result has been an unhinging of traditional constitutional relationships; the Senate's constitutional powers of advice and consent have atrophied into what is widely regarded—though never asserted—to be a duty to give prompt consent with a minimum of advice. The problem is to find a way to restore the constitutional balance, to find ways by which the Senate can discharge its duty of advice and consent in an era of permanent crisis.

Presidents must act in emergencies, especially when the country is at war, and of the last five Presidents only one has not had to wage a sizable war for at least a part of his period in office. Beset with the anxieties of a foreign crisis, no President can relish the idea of inviting opinionated and tendentious Senators into his high policy councils. His reluctance is human, but it is not in keeping with the intent of the Constitution. I believe that, as representatives of the people, Senators have the duty, not merely the right, to render advice, not on the day-to-day conduct of foreign policy, but on its direction and philosophy as these are shaped by major decisions. I conclude that, when the President, for reasons with which we can all sympathize, does not invite us into his high policy councils, it is our duty to infiltrate our way in as best we can.

I can illustrate by some personal experiences the extent to which the trend toward Executive predominance has gone and the extraordinary difficulty which a Senator has in trying to discharge his responsibility to render useful advice and to grant or withhold his consent with adequate knowledge and sound judgment.

Many of us, at the time of the great Cuban missile crisis of 1962, were in our home States campaigning for reelection. When the President called some of us back—the leadership, appropriate committee chairmen, and ranking minority members—we were not told the nature of the emergency about which we were to be consulted or informed, but of course we were able to guess the approximate situation. We convened at the White House at 5 p.m. and were briefed by the President and his advisers on the crisis and on the decisions which had already been taken on how to deal with it. When the President asked for comments, Senator RUSSELL and I advocated the invasion of Cuba by American forces, I, as explained in a memorandum which I had hastily prepared, on the ground that a blockade, involving as it might a direct, forcible confrontation with Russian ships, would be more likely to provoke a nuclear war, than an invasion which would pit American soldiers against Cuban soldiers and allow the Russians to stand aside. Had I been able to formulate my views on the basis of facts rather than a guess as to the nature of the situation, I might have made a different recommendation. In any case, the recommendation I made represented my best judgment at the time and I thought it my duty to offer it.

The decision to blockade Cuba had already been made. The meeting at the White House broke up after 6 p.m. and President Kennedy went on television at 7 p.m. to announce his decision to the American people. In his book on President Kennedy, Theodore Sorensen refers to the temerity of those of us from the Congress who expressed opinions at the White House meeting as "the only sour note" in all of the decisionmaking related to the crisis.[14]

On the afternoon of April 28, 1965, the leaders of Congress were called once again to an emergency meeting at the White House. We were told that the revolution that had broken out 4 days before in the Dominican Republic had gotten completely out of hand, that Americans and other foreigners on the scene were in great danger, and that American marines would be landed in Santo Domingo that night for the sole purpose of protecting the lives of Americans and other foreigners. None of the congressional leaders expressed disapproval of the action planned by the President. Four months later, after an exhaustive review of the Dominican crisis by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee meeting in closed sessions, it was clear beyond reasonable doubt that, while saving American lives may have been a factor in the decision to intervene on April 28, the major reason was a determination on the part of the U.S. Government to defeat the rebel, or constitutionalist, forces whose victory at that time was imminent. Had I known in April what I knew in August, I most certainly would have objected to the American intervention in the Dominican Republic.

Almost 9 months before the Dominican intervention, on August 5, 1964, the Congress received an urgent request from President Johnson for the immediate adoption of a joint resolution regarding southeast Asia. On August 7, after perfunctory committee hearings and a brief debate, the Congress, with only two Senators dissenting, adopted the resolution authorizing the President to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, against aggression in southeast Asia. Once again Congress had been asked to show its support for the President in a crisis; once again, without questions or hesitation, it had done so.

The joint resolution of August 7 was a blank check signed by the Congress in an atmosphere of urgency that seemed at the time to preclude debate. Since its adoption the administration has converted the Vietnamese conflict from a civil war in which some American advisers were involved to a major international war in which the principal fighting unit is an American army of 250,000 men. Each time that Senators have raised questions about successive escalations of the war, we have had the blank check of August 7, 1964, waved in our faces as supposed evidence of the overwhelming support of the Congress for a policy in southeast Asia which in fact has been radically changed since the summer of 1964.

All this is very frustrating to some of us in the Senate, but we have only ourselves to blame. Had we met our responsibility of careful examination of a Presidential request, had the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held hearings on the resolution before recommending its adoption, had the Senate debated the resolution and considered its implications before giving its overwhelming approval, we might have put limits and qualifications on our endorsement of future uses of force in southeast Asia, if not in the resolution itself then in the legislative history preceding its adoption. As it was, only Senators MORSE and GRUENING debated the resolution.

I, myself, as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, served as floor manager of the southeast Asia resolution and did all I could to bring about its prompt and overwhelming adoption. I did so because I was confident that President Johnson would use our endorsement with wisdom and restraint. I was also influenced by partisanship: an election campaign was in progress and I had no wish to make any difficulties for the President in his race against a Republican candidate whose election I thought would be a disaster for the country. My role in the adoption of the resolution of August 7, 1964, is a source of neither pleasure nor pride to me today—although I do not regret the outcome of the election.

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[14] "Kennedy" (New York: Harper & Row, publishers, 1965), p. 702.

How then can the Senate discharge its constitutional responsibilities of advice and consent in an age when the direction and philosophy of foreign policy are largely shaped by urgent decisions made at moments of crisis? I regret that I have no definitive formula to offer but I do have some ideas as to how both the Senate as an institution and an individual Senator can meet their constitutional responsibilities.

The Senate as a whole, I think, should undertake to revive and strengthen the deliberative function which it has permitted to atrophy in the course of 25 years of crisis. Acting on the premise that dissent is not disloyalty, that a true consensus is shaped by airing our differences rather than suppressing them, the Senate should again become, as it used to be, an institution in which the great issues of American politics are contested with thoroughness, energy, and candor. Nor should the Senate allow itself to be too easily swayed by executive pleas for urgency and unanimity, or by allegations of aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States made by officials whose concern may be heightened by a distaste for criticism directed at themselves.

In recent months, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has engaged in an experiment in public education. The committee has made itself available as a forum for the meeting of politicians and professors and, more broadly, as a forum through which recognized experts and scholars could help increase congressional and public understanding of the problems associated with our involvement in Vietnam and our relations with Communist China. It is my hope that this experiment will not only contribute to public education but will help to restore the Senate to its proper role as adviser to the President on the great issues of foreign policy.

I believe that the public hearings on Vietnam, by bringing before the American people a variety of opinions and disagreements pertaining to the war, and perhaps by helping to restore a degree of balance between the executive and the Congress, have done far more to strengthen the country than to weaken it. The hearings have been criticized on the ground that they conveyed an "image" of the United States as divided over the war. Since the country obviously is divided, what was conveyed was a fact rather than an image. As I have already indicated, I see no merit in the view that we should maintain an image of unity even though it is a false image maintained at the cost of suppressing the normal procedures of democracy.

In coming months, and perhaps years, the Foreign Relations Committee contemplates additional proceedings pertaining to major questions of American foreign policy. It is our expectation that these proceedings may generate controversy. If they do, it will not be because we value controversy for its own sake but rather because we accept it as a condition of intelligent decisionmaking, as, indeed, the crucible in which a national consensus as to objectives may be translated into a consensus of policy as well.

I should like to say a few words about the problems and decisions that an individual Senator faces in the effort to make a useful contribution to the country's foreign relations.

A Senator who wishes to influence foreign policy must consider the probable results of communicating privately with the executive or, alternatively, or speaking out publicly. I do not see any great principle involved here: it is a matter of how one can better achieve what one hopes to achieve. For my own part, I have used both methods, with results varying according to circumstance. Other things being equal—which they seldom are—I find it more agreeable to communicate privately with Democratic Presidents and publicly with Republican Presidents.

Since 1961, when the Democrats came back to power, I have made recommendations to the President on a number of occasions through confidential memorandums. In March 1961 I gave President Kennedy a memorandum expressing opposition to the projected invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs; although my recommendation was not accepted, it was given a full and fair hearing by the President and his advisers. In June 1961 I sent the President a memorandum protesting public statements on controversial political issues made by members of the Armed Forces under the sponsorship of right wing organizations; It resulted in the issuance of an order by Secretary of Defense McNamara restricting such activities and it also produced a lively Senate debate in which I was accused of wishing to "muzzle the military."

In April 1965 I sent President Johnson a memorandum containing certain recommendations on the war in Vietnam, recommendations which I reiterated thereafter in private conversations with high administration officials. When it became very clear that the administration did not find my ideas persuasive, I began to make my views known publicly in the hope, if not of bringing about a change in administration policy, then at least of opening up a debate on that policy.

On the afternoon of September 15, 1965, I made a speech in the Senate criticizing the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic. That morning I had sent a copy of the speech to President Johnson, accompanied by a letter which read, in part, as follows:

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Enclosed is a copy of a speech that I plan to make in the Senate regarding the crisis in the Dominican Republic. As you know, my committee has held extensive hearings on the Dominican matter; this speech contains my personal comments and conclusions on the information which was brought forth in the hearings.

"As you will note, I believe that important mistakes were made. I further believe that a public discussion of recent events in the Dominican Republic, even though it brings forth viewpoints which are critical of actions taken by your administration, will be of long-term benefit in correcting past errors, helping to prevent their repetition in the future, and thereby advancing the broader purposes of your policy in Latin America. It is in the hope of assisting you toward these ends, and for this reason only, that I have prepared my remarks.

* * * * *

"Another purpose of my statement is to provide a measure of reassurance for those liberals and reformers in Latin America who were distressed by our Dominican actions, just as you did in your outstanding statement to the Latin American ambassadors on August 17. I believe that the people in Latin America whose efforts are essential to the success of the Alliance for Progress are in need of reassurance that the United States remains committed to the goals of social reform. I know that you are doing a great deal to provide such reassurance and one of my purposes in this speech will be to supplement your own efforts in this field."

My speech generated a controversy. A number of my colleagues in the Senate expressed support for my position; others disagreed. Much of the criticism, to my surprise and disappointment, was directed not at what I had said about the Dominican Republic and Latin America but at the propriety of my speaking out at all. As Churchill once said, "I do not resent criticism, even when, for the sake of emphasis, it parts for the time with reality." [15]

I was taken aback, however, by the consternation caused by my breach of the prevailing consensus. With these thoughts in mind, I said in the Senate on October 22, 1965:

"I believe that the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations has a special obligation to offer the best advice he can on matters of foreign policy; it is an obligation, I believe, which is inherent in the chairmanship, which takes precedence over party loyalty, and which has nothing to do with whether the chairman's views are solicited or desired by people in the executive branch.

"I am not impressed with suggestions that I had no right to speak as I did on Santo Domingo. The real question, it seems to me, is whether I had the right not to speak." [16]

It is difficult to measure the effectiveness of a Senator's speech, because its effect may be something not done rather than some specific action or change of policy by the Executive. Generally speaking, it seems to me that a Senator's criticism is less likely to affect the case in point than it is to affect some similar case in the future. I am inclined to believe, for example, that my criticism of the State Department last summer for its failure to give public support to Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. when it was brought under right wing attack for ageeing to engineer a synthetic rubber plant in Rumania, while it did not revive that transaction, may have encouraged the State Department to give vigorous and timely support to a number of tobacco companies who were subsequently criticized by extremist groups for their purchase of tobacco from certain Eastern European Communist countries. As to the effect of my Dominican speech, it may have been a factor in the administration's support for the Garcia Godoy government in its resistance to pressures by the Dominican military. Its more significant results will be shown in the reaction of the U.S. Government if it is again confronted with a violent revolution in Latin America. As to my criticisms and those of my colleagues regarding the Vietnamese war, their effect remains to be seen.

Before considering how he will try to influence events a politician must decide which events he proposes to influence and which he will leave largely to the determination of others. The Senate consists of a hundred individuals with 50 separate constituencies and widely varying fields of individual knowledge and interest. There is little that a Senator can accomplish by his own efforts; if he is to have an effect on public policy, he must influence his colleagues. Sometimes, but not often, a colleague's support can be won by charm; it can certainly be lost by rudeness. Occasionally it can be won by persuasive rhetoric; more often it is gotten by trading your support on one issue for his on another, or simply by a general practice of limiting your own initiative to matters of unusual interest or importance while otherwise accepting the recommendations of the committees. And, in some instances, a Senator may influence his colleagues by influencing their constituencies.

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[15] Speech in the House of Commons, Jan. 22, 1941.

[16] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 111, pt. 21, p. 28373.

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Some may regard this process of mutual accommodation as unethical. I do not regard it as unethical, because I do not place my own wishes and judgments on a plane above those of my colleagues. There are no areas of public policy in which I am absolutely sure of the correctness of my opinions, but there are some in which I am reasonably confident of my judgment; it is in these areas that I try to make a contribution. There are other areas in which my knowledge is limited, and in these I prefer to let others take the lead. There are still other areas in which I am proscribed from leadership or initiative by the strong preferences of my constituency.

A politician has no right to ask that he be absolved from public judgment; he may hope, however, that he will be judged principally on the basis of his performance in the areas of his principal effort. He may hope that he will be judged not as a saint or a paragon but as a human being entrusted by his constituents with extraordinary responsibilities but endowed by the Lord with the same problems of judgment and temptation that afflict the rest of the human race.

In conclusion, I reiterate the theme on which I opened and the theme that I will develop further in the next two lectures: that, as a nation extraordinarily endowed with human and material resources, as a nation which is a synthesis of many nations, America has the possibility of escaping that fatal arrogance which so often in the past has been the legacy of great power; that it has the possibility, instead of seeking to remake the world in its own image, of helping to bring about some reconciliation, perhaps even some synthesis, of the rival ideologies of our time.

None of us—student, professor, politician or private citizen—can advance this aim by uncritical support of the policies of the moment. All of us have the responsibility to act upon a higher patriotism, which is to love our country less for what it is than for what we would like it to be.

WE MUST LEGISLATE TO COMPEL AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURERS TO MANUFACTURE MECHANICALLY SAFE AUTOMOBILES

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the hearings being conducted by the Senate Commerce Committee on automobile safety are of concern and importance to all Americans. I am hopeful that, when these hearings are concluded and our colleagues who serve on the Commerce Committee have carefully considered the testimony they have heard, strong automobile safety legislation will be favorably reported and debated and passed in the Senate.

Manufacturers and dealers of automobiles should be required by act of Congress to see to it that safety standards fixed by independent experts—who should be relied upon to put the public interest first—are adopted and provided on automobiles sold as new or used cars. If strict requirements are based on the findings of a team of experts who have investigated fatal motor accidents just as thoroughly as Civil Aeronautics Board experts investigate plane crashes, then the cruel fact that many thousands of Americans are now unnecessarily killed on our public roads would become a thing of the past. Let us legislate in the endeavor to greatly reduce accidents on our roads and turnpikes and to save lives.

The total of 50,000 persons slaughtered in traffic accidents in the period of only 1 year seems but a statistic. How many people, for example, realize when they commence a trip in their automobile that the risk of injury or death is approximately 50 times greater than had they made this trip by train? Fortunately, hearings have been held on this subject before the Senate Commerce Committee and legislation should be forthcoming before this Congress adojurns.

Statistics for the year 1964 have been carefully compiled. The relative death rates during that year per 100 million passenger miles traveled were as follows: railroad passenger trains, .05; scheduled airplane travel, .14; scheduled buses, 1.30; passenger autos and taxicabs, 2.40.

Officials of the General Motors Corp. are to be praised for calling in 1,500,000 of their automobiles which allegedly have unsafe throttles. Yet, most of us may have an uneasy feeling that this would not have been done except for publicity given testimony of witnesses at hearings before the Senate Commerce Committee.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MODIFICATION IN THE STRUCTURE AND DEPLOYMENT OF NATO

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the scope of the change is not yet clear. The timing is not yet set. But whether or not it is welcomed, a modification in the structure and deployment of NATO is to be expected. Such is the effect of the recent letter which President de Gaulle addressed to other heads of states on his intentions with respect to French participation in the organization.

The pressure for change in NATO, however, did not begin with this letter. If there must be a unique role ascribed to President de Gaulle, it is that of opening the valve to release the pressures for change in NATO which have been building for many years. Now that it is open, the valve is not likely to be closed again until there has been a thorough consideration of the premises as well as the present relevance of the bureaucratic structure which underpins the Atlantic Alliance. Indeed, it would seem in the best interests of the United States to insist that the valve remain open until there can be a full reexamination of NATO a decade and a half after its establishment and in the light of the vastly altered circumstances which exist in Europe and the world today.

What I am suggesting, Mr. President, is that the French letter be regarded, not as a shocking impertinence, but rather as a helpful initiative which could lead to adjustments in NATO that serve not only the interests of France, but our interests as well, not to speak of other member nations.

Let me add that I am not unaware that the French position has not generally been viewed in this fashion. On the contrary, it has more often been interpreted as dangerous in the extreme or as a personal affront, or as a reflection of a hostility toward the United States. Indeed, one sometimes has the impression from such interpretations that the United States has been challenged to a duel by the President of France, that the choice of weapons—since it falls to us—has been made and we are already on a diplomatic field of honor from which we cannot budge until satisfaction has been obtained.

I think that that is a most unfortunate impression, and it is a source of regret that it has had so wide a circulation. Certainly there is nothing in the words of President de Gaulle's handwritten letter to President Johnson which suggests antagonism toward the United States in any way, shape, or form. Certainly, there is nothing in President Johnson's reply which suggests hostility to France in any way, shape, or form. Good sense ought to predominate in this matter and it ought to be kept free of personal vindictiveness or vindication. If I read the De Gaulle letter correctly, the United States is asked to reduce its costs as well as its responsibilities in Europe, at least insofar as they are incurred as a contribution to the defense of France. I would be inclined to see that as a refreshing and welcome change rather than evidence of French hostility. And if I interpret President Johnson's reply correctly, there may be differences with the French analysis of the current situation, and its present position on NATO but certainly there is no hostility toward France or her distinguished President.

It would be my hope, therefore, that the sensible attitudes of the two Presidents would percolate into all of the negotiations which must flow from the French letter. In this connection, I am hopeful that references in the press to the effect that such attitudes do not prevail will prove to be erroneous. If restraint and understanding do not govern these negotiations, then certainly there is a basis for deep fear, not only for the future of NATO but for the Atlantic Alliance itself.

I think that President Johnson has made it amply clear that he desires not solely the preservation of NATO but also the preservation of the Atlantic alliance and of good relations with France. These three objectives are not, in my judgment contradictory objectives or mutually exclusive and, to their simultaneous achievement, our best efforts ought to be bent. Indeed, if we aspired only to the first while ignoring the second and third we would be engaged only in an exercise in petulant futility.

I have no doubt that the chief elected officer in each nation fully appreciates the need not only for the warmest relations between the United States and France but also for the Atlantic alliance and, in present circumstances, for some form of institutional substructure with which to undergird it. In any event, there is too much at stake here for both France and the United States to permit a breakdown or an estrangement between the two nations. The relationship is so fundamental to the North Atlantic and, indeed, to the world that it would be my hope that the highest elected officials of France and of the United States would not hesitate to meet themselves, if the relationship were threatened in any way by a failure of diplomacy.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may insert at this point in my remarks the "Concluding Comments" contained on page 14 of the report issued by Senator BOGGS, of Delaware; Senator PELL, of Rhode Island; former Senator Benjamin A. Smith, of Massachusetts; and myself, to the Committee on Foreign Relations, on January 28, 1963.

There being no objection, the comments were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

There have been far-reaching changes in Europe in the past decade and the prospects are for continued change. This conclusion may well apply to Eastern Europe which is not within the purview of the report, as well as to Western Europe. It is obvious that the Communist monolith of Stalin's day has evolved considerably. There have emerged shades of ideological color in the bloc and national differences continue to reveal themselves. One indication of the extent of the change is the elaboration of trade and other relations between the two parts of Europe. From an East-West European trade viewpoint, the Iron Curtain has become a somewhat outdated figure of speech. Additional change is to be anticipated in Eastern Europe and in East-West European relations in the aftermath of the open clash of the Soviet Union and China. In what direction it may lead is not certain but the influence which apparently it has already had upon both Yugoslavia and the East German Communist leaders is significant.

In Western Europe, too, the probability is for continued inner change, with repercussions on our relations with the region. Again the direction of change is uncertain. When the immense value of what has already evolved in the way of cooperation among the Western nations is considered, it appears inadmissible that these relationships may be threatened with severance or even erosion. On the contrary, it is the promise of both the Common Market and the Trade Act that intra-Western economic cooperation will intensify to the benefit of all concerned. That, too, is the promise of NATO in the realm of defense.

The promise of growing Western cooperation still holds, but little is to be gained by ignoring the danger signals. These are to be found in certain tendencies to turn the Common Market into a wall of separation around the Inner Six and they are to be found in the reluctance of Western Europe to share the more costly burdens of common defense and freedom. Past benefits of Western cooperation suggest but do not assure that these difficulties will be resolved satisfactorily. And when this uncertainty in the Western World is coupled with the even greater uncertainties in the Soviet bloc, it is not at all clear what the situation will be in Europe, a year, two, or five, hence.

U.S. policies and a changing Europe

In these circumstances, it would appear most advisable for the United States to develop a high degree of alertness to change in its approach to Europe. We must continue to work energetically for the extension of our close relationships with Western Europe. But the decline in the gap between the well-being of the Europeans and ourselves as well as in the capacity to sustain the costs of cooperation strongly suggests the need for reconstituting this effort on a more mutual basis.

We need also to be alert to the even wider changes in the world of international politics, a world which we have dealt with for more than a decade essentially in bipolar terms. The schism in the Communist bloc already hints at the possible emergence of a tripolar world. And recent tendencies in Western Europe, notably in France and Franco-German relations, indicate that other possible prefixes to "polar" must not be ruled out.

Our present position respecting Europe is one which tends to constrict our ability to deal promptly with change. We have, for example, stringently limited contact with Eastern Europe while Western European contact with that region has expanded. In the role of leaders of the Western camp we have made a great investment of resources, bureaucracy, military manpower, and prestige in Western Europe, and in the underdeveloped regions. We are heavily committed to certain evolving patterns of Western cooperation and it is not easy to face the possibility of a need for reevaluation and adjustment. Nowhere is this more evident than in the inequitable burdens in which we have acquiesced in sustaining NATO and in the commitment at Berlin. But it is, indeed, ironic at this late date that these key elements in the defense of the West and, particularly, of Western Europe appear to be of more intense concern to the United States than to the Western Europeans. It is an anomalous position in the vastly changed circumstances of contemporary Europe.

It should not be beyond the considerations of our policy, therefore, to require a greater Western European contribution to the defense of Berlin as well as to negotiations which seek to alleviate the dangers of war—limited or otherwise—at that critical point. Similarly, it is not unreasonable to insist that the continuance of the present costly level of our military commitment in Western Europe be contingent upon a substantial increase in the Western European commitment to NATO. Or, conversely, if the Europeans believe that peace can be sustained without the addition of the promised European divisions—as they apparently do—there is no reason to reject the possibility that it can be maintained with fewer American divisions in Europe.

In trade relationships we face tendencies in the Common Market to move in the direction of exclusiveness. These tendencies cannot be ignored. If the problems to which they give rise are not met by mutual forbearance and accommodation, then we must be prepared to meet them with the defensive mechanisms which are provided in the trade bill.

In foreign aid our willingness to carry additional burdens must be coupled with a readiness to sustain the risks of carrying fewer burdens unless our efforts in this connection lead to reasonable cooperation from others whose stake in underdeveloped areas is at least as great as our own. As a minimum we should restrain our own bureaucratic tendencies to introduce grant or easy-loan assistance programs into former colonies in which the more profitable forms of assistance constitute the bulk of the European aid commitment to these same areas. Finally, inasmuch as there is little likelihood of Western Europe adopting trade inhibitions comparable to our own, we should consider equalizing the commercial opportunities of our own people in Eastern Europe, particularly in the realm of agricultural commodities and, in this connection, reexamine both Executive procedures and pertinent legislation.

The great danger in failing to insist upon a prompt correction of some of the present inbalances in burdens as between ourselves and the Europeans is that we may lose contact with the realities of a changing Europe. We may place too great a reliance on the words of cooperation even as the substance of cooperation eludes us. And we will continue to carry the inequitable burdens until we find ourselves eventually in relationships of increasing irrelevance, until our capacity to exert a constructive influence on events may be impaired. In that direction lie serious international financial difficulties and, perhaps, sudden, popular disaffection and dangerous retreat to the Western Hemisphere.

MINUTEMAN OF THE YEAR AWARD TO SENATOR STENNIS

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Mr. President, as Members of the Senate know, each year the Reserve Officers Association of the United States selects an outstanding citizen who has responsibility in the field of national defense to receive its Minuteman of the Year Award. This honor is designed to emphasize the importance of every citizen's role in national defense and to give due credit to those who have made major contributions in this vital area.

A few weeks ago the ROA honored the distinguished Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS] at its annual midwinter national council banquet as this year's award recipient and as "the citizen who has contributed most to national security."

Senator STENNIS for the past several years has served as chairman of the Subcommittee on Preparedness Investigating of the Senate Armed Services Committee. I know that all the Members of this body are fully aware of the objective, careful, and dedicated services he has rendered to the Senate and to the country in his capacity as chairman of the subcommittee.

I believe the ROA made an outstanding choice for its 1966 Minuteman Award, and I know that all of us agree that the Senator from Mississippi has indeed made a major contribution to our national security.

Mr. President, the presentation of the Minuteman Award was made by ROA's national president, Maj. Gen. Donald S. Dawson, an Air Force reservist who is known to many of us particularly for the outstanding service he rendered as a staff assistant to former President Truman. I ask unanimous consent that his remarks in presenting the honor to Senator STENNIS be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GENERAL DAWSON'S REMARKS IN PRESENTING THE MINUTEMAN OF THE YEAR AWARD TO SENATOR STENNIS

"To be prepared for war," said General Washington, "is one of the most effectual means of preserving the peace."

This young Nation—the United States of America—not yet tonight 200 years old—knew in 1787 and has known throughout the years, that Washington spoke from a profound wisdom as well as from his experience and valor at arms.

George Washington also wrote, in his historic paper to Alexander Hamilton in those formative days, that "every citizen who enjoys the protection of a free government owes not only a proportion of his property, but even of his personal services to defense of it." It was Washington also who said that our defense should be planned around a relatively small professional army and a large citizen army which would be called to the colors only when threats to the security appeared.

So, it was that the historic American military policy—security through strength and preparedness and the citizen-soldier concept—became and has remained the American policy.

"Preparedness" is the one word, more than any other, which describes our national policy. Not appeasement, not disarmament, not slothfulness but "preparedness" and eternal vigilance.

We are assembled tonight to pay homage to the career of a man who has lived and worked, and sacrificially served, in the George Washington tradition.

National preparedness has been his mission during his nearly two decades of service in the United States Senate.

He was never a military man. He was a scholar, and he spent much of his early adult life as a jurist. Calm of demeanor and unruffled by issues, he has given to all who have come to know him, intimately or casually, an assurance that he had patient competence which comes of profound wisdom and fair judgments.

He has approached his military mission as he has all of his others—with a persistent quest for the facts, and with an inspired ability to separate the spurious from the authentic, and the truth from error.

As chairman of the Preparedness Committee of the U.S. Senate, he became a student, and now is a master of military policy and law. He is supported by a committee of experts—Margaret Chase Smith and Senator Richard B. Russell among others—who were experts in the field of military legislation when our current Secretary of Defense was in high school. He has pored over the military lawbooks—as did others of his committee—but he has also gone into the field to find out how these laws, when applied, affect the lives of the men, and the officers, of the armed services and their families. He has measured the effectiveness and desirability of a law by what measure of security it would give to our Nation. The men in the ranks have come to know him as a man who either understood their problems, or who would postpone any action until he could ascertain what they were. He has been the champion in these past several years that the military people have needed so much.

The nonmilitary community, too, looks to him as a man of judgment and experience, whose purpose is to contribute to the total strength of our Nation * * * whose integrity has been so deeply ingrained in his every act that all knew his only criteria was the national security.

We in the Armed Forces Reserves know him as man who is not awed by glamour, who is not beguiled by power, who is not intimidated by the powerful.

His colleagues have observed that his courage to stand for what he believes is right knows no limits. The United States of America—not simply our military community—is in his deep debt.

It is in a genuine sense of humility, therefore, that I say to our guest that we in the Reserve Officers Association are honored by his presence tonight, and by his acceptance of a nationally significant recognition which we claim for him.

And now it is my personal pleasure and my high privilege to present you, the representatives of the Military Establishment of this great country, to our honor guest, the Honorable John Cornelius Stennis.

(Then read citation:)

"Reserve Officers Association
of the United States.

"AN ASSOCIATION RESOLUTION WITH RESPECT TO THE CAREER OF THE HONORABLE JOHN CORNELIUS STENNIS

"Whereas throughout his career in the Senate of the United States, Senator Stennis' (a) devotion to the highest concept of duty to country; (b) nobility of his purpose in leadership for adequate preparedness which is necessary to national security; (c) steadfastness of his dedication to the citizen-reservist tradition; (d) clarity of his judgment to insure strength, effectiveness and high morale to the Nation's military force, have given confidence to his generation, inspiration to posterity, and safety to this Nation's institutions and ideals: Therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That in the name of the minuteman, whose genius in patriotism gave our citizens the will to exist as a free people, in recognition of his great service to the United States, this association proudly recognizes his service as a patriot and its meaningful contribution to the national security shared by every American citizen in these times.

"______ ______,

"Brigadier General, Air Force Reserve,
"National President.

"______ ______,

"Colonel, USAR,
"Executive Director.

"For the association, the national council, February 25, 1966)."

Wording on plaque to Senator John Cornelius Stennis, ROA's Minuteman for 1966 (presented February 25, 1966):

"The Reserve Officers Association Minuteman Award, 1966, to the Honorable John Cornelius Stennis, U.S. Senator, as the citizen who has contributed most to national security of the United States of America in these times."

AL G. DICKSON RECEIVES NATIONAL EDITORIAL AWARD

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, I was deeply gratified to learn recently that a personal friend of mine and one of North Carolina's most able and respected newsmen had won the Sigma Delta Chi Distinguished Service Award for 1965 in the field of editorial writing. Al G. Dickson is only the second resident North Carolina editor who has been so honored in the 26-year history of the journalism fraternity's editorial competition.

Al Dickson began his newspaper career in Wilmington, N.C., in 1929 and is now executive editor of the Star-News newspapers in that city. He is also vice president of the Associated Dailies of the North Carolina Press Association. He received his award for a single editorial, published on November 11, 1965, concerning law enforcement in his county and the threat of the Ku Klux Klan to his community. According to Sigma Delta Chi, his editorial "shows extensive investigation and careful consideration in reaching its conclusions. Dickson's stand on an issue where emotions were running high, exemplified civic responsibility, leadership, and courage of which American journalism can be proud."

I strongly endorse the fraternity's description of Al Dickson's courage and ability, not only as exemplified by the editorial which was cited, but also by hundreds of editorials which he has written for the Wilmington papers in recent years. More than once he has written masterpieces of good sense and good journalistic craftsmanship which have been of great good to his community and State.

In receiving this award, Al joins a very prominent group of newsmen who have received the award in the past. Among them are Allen Drury, Alan Barth, Virginius Dabney, and native North Carolinians Cecil Prince, David Brinkley, and Vermont Royster.

The announcement of this year's award was carried in papers across the country; but I ask unanimous consent that the article in his own Wilmington Morning Star of Friday, April 15, 1966, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Al G. Dickson Wins Journalism Award

Al G. Dickson, executive editor of the Star-News newspapers, won the Sigma Delta Chi Distinguished Service award for 1965 in the field of editorial writing.

Notification of the national honor was received Thursday from Russell E. Hurst, executive officer of the professional journalistic society.

The citation read:

"Dickson is cited for his single editorial, published November 11, 1965, in which he forcefully expresses the view that the new Hanover County sheriff is not strong enough to face the serious threat the Ku Klux Klan could make to his community. The editorial shows extensive investigation and careful consideration in reaching its conclusions.

"Dickson's stand on an issue where emotions were running high exemplifies civic responsibility, leadership and courage of which American journalism can be proud."

He is the second North Carolina editor to win the Sigma Delta Chi editorial award in the 26-year history of the editorial competition. The other was the late Cecil Prince, of the Charlotte News, in 1959. David Brinkley, NBC news commentator and formely of Wilmington, won the SDX award for radio or TV newswriting in 1960.

Dickson writes approximately 150 to 200 editorials annually. Most of them are on local subjects. During the last several years he has won six awards in the editorial competition sponsored by the North Carolina Press Association. These include two firsts, two seconds, a third and a fourth place.

He began his career on the Wilmington News on June 15, 1929, after attending North Carolina State University at Raleigh and Wofford College in Spartanburg, S.C. Through a series of promotions, he served as managing editor of the Wilmington Morning Star, the Wilmington News and editor of both newspapers. He was appointed executive editor in 1955. He is a former president of the North Carolina Association of Afternoon Dailies and the United Press International Editors Association of North Carolina. He is now serving as vice president of the Associated Dailies of the North Carolina Press Association.

His late father, John G. Dickson, was a veteran North Carolina newspaperman, having served in editorial capacities on the Greensboro Daily News and Record, Charlotte Observer, the Gastonia Gazette, and Rock Hill (S.C.) Herald. His mother lives in Charlotte.

Among prominent American editors who have won the SDX editorial award are Allen Drury, Felix R. McKnight, Alan Barth, Virginius Dabney, Robert M. White II, Robert Estabrook, James J. Kilpatrick, Vermont Royster and Hodding Carter III.

Sigma Delta Chi is a professional society for men engaged in journalism. It is dedicated to the highest ideals of the profession and is comparable to those professional organizations serving the fields of medicine and law.

In this role, it constantly endeavors to raise the standards of competence of its members, to recognize outstanding achievement by journalists, to recruit and hold able young talent for journalism, to advance the cause of freedom of information, and to elevate the prestige of journalism to every respect.

Founded as a fraternity at DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind., in 1909, Sigma Delta Chi changed its designation in 1960 to that of a professional society of journalists. It is a nonprofit, voluntary association, with a worldwide membership of men engaged in every field of journalism. Its membership extends horizontally to include men engaged in the communication of fact and opinion by all media, and it extends vertically to include in its purposes and fellowship all rangs of journalists.

Jurors for the 1965 SDX awards contest included Dean Wayne A. Danielson, of the University of North Carolina School of Journalism.

AID TO VIETNAMESE VILLAGERS—OPERATION HELPING HAND

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, when Hawaii's famed 25th Division was sent to Vietnam, the people of Hawaii dipped deep into their pockets—and their hearts—for Operation Helping Hand, to help Vietnamese villagers in the areas where the division was ordered into action.

Some 270 tons of goods worth an estimated $800,000 have arrived in Vietnam and are now being stored and categorized in a warehouse for distribution by 25th Division personnel.

I ask unanimous consent that the latest report on Operation Helping Hand, written by Bob Jones, of the Honolulu Advertiser's Saigon bureau, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Chu Chi Gets Hawaii Aid

(By Bob Jones)

Chu Chi, Vietnam.—Hawaii's Operation Helping Hand is reaching out to this needy village 30 miles northwest of Saigon.

Already some 270 tons of goods donated in the late February campaign have arrived in Vietnam. Four hundred boxes weighing 450 pounds apiece have reached the 25th Division headquarters, and another 800 boxes are on the docks at this writing.

About 300 boxes are underway by ship.

Far from the riots and anti-American demonstrations of Saigon, Chu Chi is more concerned about building a complete medical center for the district, finding an instructor to give dressmaking classes to villagers and virtually building Chu Chi into a model village.

It will all be done, villagers hope, with what Hawaii citizens and civic groups donated under Operation Helping Hand when the 25th Division left the islands.

"It's been the greatest exhibit of help to anyone I've ever witnessed," said Lt. Col. Robert R. Hicks, the man in charge of seeing that the goods are distributed where they will do the most good.

"The folks in Hawaii really took this to their hearts, right down to the little kid with 17 cents who said, 'This is all I have to offer.' "

Operation Helping Hand won't be as spectacular as some people may expect.

"We aren't just going to dump the whole amount in the villages in one big splash," said Maj. Gen. Fred C. Weyand, 25th Division commander.

Instead, the goods will be doled out strictly on the basis of need, with a full accounting and control system to make sure none of the goods find their way into the black market or the hands of the Vietcong.

Donations by individual communities in Hawaii won't be going to specific villages here and at the 3d Brigade's operating site near Pleiku.

This is how it will work:

A guarded warehouse is going up at Chu Chi where all the goods (worth about $800,000) are being categorized and stored.

Each unit within the 25th Division has been given a hamlet to build up.

As an item is shown to be needed in the hamlet (paint, clothes, shoes, etc.), the unit will draw the goods from the central storage place and allow Vietnamese authorities to distribute it to the people.

They don't just hand out clothes wholesale. It must be on a basis of need.

For example, one of the contributions here recently was to 10 families of Vietnamese Army soldiers killed along with 2 American advisers near Phumoc My in a Vietcong ambush.

Clothes have been distributed in the Catholic refugee village of Bac Ha here, and to Montagnards in the 3d Brigade's area in the central Vietnam highlands.

There was $5,500 in cash donated by people in Hawaii, and that has gone into a special fund for village projects.

"For instance, the 3d Brigade builds a spillway for people to utilize a stream to wash and get their water," Colonel Hicks explained. "We authorize use of funds for that type of project."

Hawaii's contribution probably will be spilled out throughout Vietnam for the coming year wherever units of the 25th Division operate.

An operating table and anesthesia machine donated by the Wahiawa General Hospital will be the nucleus of the planned Medical Center at Chu Chi.

All the rubber sandals collected are finding their way to villagers' feet.

Above all, the division is trying to avoid the kind of wholesale distribution of gifts which all too often has only a brief effect in the village or is mistaken as a case of Americans showing off their wealth.

The 21 sewing machines the division got before leaving will be used for that dressmaking class here as soon as an instructor can be found.

PRESENT STATE OF AMERICAN FARM INCOME

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, this morning I received a long and very well written letter from Harry L. Graham, legislative representative of the National Grange. I think it is significant, and should be brought to the attention of the Senate. It presents a balanced picture of the present state of American agriculture, and shows that farm income has turned the corner.

The national picture is well illustrated in Mr. Graham's letter. I would add that in Minnesota, as well, the progress has been encouraging. Net farm income in Minnesota was $433 million in 1960, and preliminary estimates for 1965 indicate it was up 23 or 24 percent—about $100 million. Net income per farm is estimated to have risen 35 percent from the $2,776 in 1960—an increase of roughly $1,000 per farm.

But farm income is not as high as it should be. Recent reports show it at roughly 82 or 83 percent of parity—without including Government payments—and I am old fashioned enough to think that it should be 100 percent.

The American consumer does in fact receive the best food in the world at the lowest prices—and the American farmer still receives an income too low for his input of capital, labor, and productive know-how.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Graham's letter be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

National Grange,
Washington, D.C., April 22, 1966.

Hon. Walter Mondale,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Mondale: The Grange has been deeply disturbed by the recent harsh criticisms of the Secretary of Agriculture, Orville L. Freeman, and the public demands for his resignation. The Grange also regrets the circumstances compelling the Secretary to appear in opposition to further increases in farm prices due to the pressure to control inflation. We do not believe that the difficulties are sufficient to warrant a complete disregard of over 5 years of devoted and distinguished service to domestic and international agriculture.

Since 1961, Secretary Freeman has fought valiantly for programs to reduce our surpluses, improve domestic farm income, expand our international trade, reduce farm program costs, and improve the image of the American farmer at home and abroad. The Grange gladly joined in that fight, and together we have rejoiced at the substantial victories.

The Secretary has led the fight against those whose vested interests are best served by low farm prices and huge reserves.

It should be pointed out that much of the opposition to the programs of the Secretary has come from the storage and warehouse owners and the grain trade. At the time Mr. Freeman became Secretary, every warehouse in this country was bulging with grain, and we had stored excess surpluses in many kinds of inadequate auxiliary buildings. Figures indicate that the Department of Agriculture is presently using only 17 percent of available private storage space for the storage of CCC stocks. The situation has changed from surpluses of commodities to surpluses of warehouse space. This was a primary objective of the program.

He had to fight those who consider their political interests best served by making it impossible for him to be a successful Secretary. Some of the voices today raised in the chorus against Mr. Freeman are the same voices we have heard for the past 5½ years. They do not want a solution; they want a sacrifice. Nothing reasonable could be said in defense of the Secretary which would be acceptable to these people. Unfortunately, he has had to defend himself from those within agriculture who prefer policy to price when price is involved, and price to policy when policy is involved. Those whose blind adherence to an oversimplified and outdated concept of agricultural marketing led

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them to prefer the disastrous cyclical fluctuations of the market to programs which permit an orderly development and maintenance of a stable and fair market price.

However, there are those concerned farmers and farm leaders who now pounce upon him in the dilemma imposed upon him by his responsibility to the total society. They are trying to prove he is antifarmer and therefore should retire as Secretary. To all of them, we would suggest a careful and objective look at the record.

1. Net farm income has increased from $11.7 billion in 1960 to $14.1 billion in 1965, with predictions for a net income of $15.1 billion in 1966. This is an increase of 29 percent. Cash receipts from pork increased from $2.9 billion in 1960 to $3.7 billion in 1965 with predictions of $4.1 billion in 1966, an increase of 31 percent. Cash receipts for beef have increased from $7.6 billion in 1960 to $8.85 billion in 1965, with predictions of cash receipts of $10 billion in 1966, an increase of 45 percent. Income from crops totaled $15.8 billion in 1960; $19.6 billion in 1965; with estimates of $20.2 billion in 1966, an increase of 28 percent.

2. The Secretary has fought for the enactment of legislation enabling the agricultural situation to move from one of surplus to one of balance. Stocks of both feed grains and wheat are down about a billion bushels each; stocks of dairy products have disappeared; and the present strength of our markets for agricultural products indicates the degree of success which has been attained.

3. These increases in farm income have been attained at very modest costs to the consumer. The price of wheat for flour for bread for the millers has remained practically unchanged for the past 5 years. Any increases in the price of bread have been due to costs other than the increase in the price of wheat.

In general, there has been no substantial increase in the price of pork and beef, except for those choice items in high demand. It is symptomatic of our present affluent society that the loudest cries about the cost of meat have been the cost of choice steaks and bacon. The increased spendable consumer income has been responsible for the demand of those high-priced meats, and has enabled speculators to push the price of bacon far beyond any reasonable relationship to the price of the rest of the hog. Fortunately the present bacon price has assured more reasonable levels.

The prices of lettuce and some other vegetables and fruits have been directly influenced by the shortages created by either adverse weather conditions, or by the intensified labor situation caused by the termination of the bracero program. The farmer can hardly be held responsible.

With the exception of about the last 4 months, the steady trend in the price of food has been downward for many years, and the percentage of income spent for food, despite the many built-in services not previously a part of the market basket, has declined. American consumers still are able to buy the widest variety of high quality foods for the smallest part of their earnings in all recorded history. American consumers literally live better today than kings and emperors did a hundred years ago.

4. Secretary Freeman has been a valiant defender of agriculture in our national economy. Most of the improved posture of American agriculture, both in the United States and throughout the world, has been the result of his efforts. The American farmer is now pictured as a progressive scientist and businessman making substantial, if not critical, contributions to the strength of our domestic economy, to the balance of payments to world relief, and to the security of the free world. On an international level, he is no longer regarded as a protected producer behind a high wall of Government subsidies trying to displace all the rest of agricultural markets of the world. Today he is thought of as a fair and honorable competitor in world cash markets and the major, if not the only, supplier for the concessional markets and relief needs of the world.

5. U.S. commercial agricultural exports have increased substantially from the 1960 level of $3.3 billion to last year's level of $4.7 billion. During 1961-65, a continuation of U.S. commercial agricultural exports at the 1960 level would have meant lower U.S. exports by $3.4 billion with a consequent further deterioration in the U.S. balance of payments. Of this $3.4 billion, 1965 alone accounts for $1.4 billion.

The 1966 outlook is for a further increase of U.S. commercial agricultural exports.

6. During Secretary Freeman's tenure, American farm programs have for the first time recognized the difference between the economic problems facing commercial farmers and the more complicated social problems facing the marginal or low-income farmers. Programs have been devised to meet the specific problems of the latter group as well as those of the commercial farmers. We believe that these programs will get the same efficient administration as the others under his jurisdiction, and, if properly funded, will make a great contribution to the rural welfare.

7. In our judgment, the image of the USDA has improved vastly under Secretary Freeman's administration. During the last 3 months, we have twice heard Mr. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, admit that the Secretary had not made any particular grab for power in areas where the Farm Bureau had previously expressed major concern. Repeatedly, when this question of the Secretary's relationship to the total agriculture arises, the critics say they do not fear Secretary Freeman, but rather they fear a different kind of Secretary in the future.

Despite the added responsibilities of social programs given to the Department of Agriculture, the Department's budget has held relatively steady, and more important, the money which has been appropriated for farm programs has increasingly gone to the farmers.

8. The change in the whole posture of American agriculture during the past 5 years has been almost unbelievable. From a situation in which many of us were pessimistic about the future of agriculture, we now have created a situation in which we can look into this future with considerable optimism based upon valid factors and considerations. The enactment of the Agricultural Act of 1965 gave a permanence and stability to working programs which have made a tremendous contribution to this optimistic future.

We are concerned, however, with the unjustified correlation of farm prices with the cause of the increase of the cost of living. The price increases during the first quarter of this year should have been viewed as a seasonal adjustment upward as off-season fruits and vegetables increased in price. Most of our consumers have forgotten that it is only during the last few years that both fresh fruit and vegetables were obtainable in the United States during the winter months.

It also appears to the Grange that the price-depressing techniques used in relation to pork, especially in terms of buying for the armed services, were premature in the light of the predicted increases of marketing and the usual seasonal adjustments downward during the second quarter of the year. The Bureau of Labor Statistics release of April 21 indicated the seasonable adjustment downward began with a decline of wholesale farm prices for last week of 1.7 percentage points from the previous week.

The usefulness of selective controls at the farm level to prevent price increases has always been questionable. The experience of the Government in trying to control bread by the use of a consumer subsidy and trying to control the price of shoes by export quotas on hides indicates the futility of this approach. Despite the fact that all segments of any industry contribute to its price the responsibility for controlling prices and the economic impact especially in the case of hides, was unjustly placed on the one part of that industry least capable of absorbing the enormous loss.

The final solution to the problem of inflation certainly is to have as many consumer goods available as the public demands. We recognize that the control of inflation is a serious responsibility of the administration, but that it has two prongs. One of them is obviously the removal of surplus purchasing capacity. This can be done by tax increases or by slowing up the construction program in those industries already superheated, or, it can be done by increasing interest rates, which is about the harshest method that can be used.

On the other hand, inflation can be controlled by increasing the amount of consumer goods available. In the case of farm products, the major method used in our society to increase productivity, and thereby lower prices, is to give sufficient price incentives to indicate to the producers that there is a possibility of a profit for the expanded production necessary to control the price increases. In the case of pork, beef, and beef products, the price which must be considered is the average of the cyclical fluctuations. An attack on the high point of the cyclical fluctuations can serve to increase the pressure of prices, not to reduce them.

The Grange appreciates the opportunity to cooperate with the administration for the improvement of the agricultural section of our economy. We recognize the tremendous responsibility placed upon it to maintain a stable economy. We are well aware that inflation frequently and usually strikes hardest at farmers.

Our concern at the present is twofold. We believe the responsibility for controlling inflation should be more widely shared than it would be if the primary object of controlling consumer prices is to roll back farm prices.

We also believe that the distinguished public servant who has served so well as the Secretary of Agriculture for the past 5 years has been one of, if not, the greatest, of all the Secretaries of Agriculture.

We would be extremely agitated if the action of the administration during this present financial difficulty, would continue to be such that the effectiveness of this great administrator and public servant would be either temporarily reduced, or permanently destroyed.

Respectfully yours,

HARRY L. GRAHAM,
Legislative Representative.

FORT WAYNE AIDS VIETNAM REFUGEES

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, it is with a strong sense of pride that I call attention to an unique people-to-people project being conducted by the people of Fort Wayne, Ind., in cooperation with the International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers. Virtually all sections of the community are raising funds for the IUE refugee resettlement village, to help the innocent victims of the Vietnamese conflict rebuild their lives.

During the last week of April, civic and religious groups, industrial and labor organizations, high school and college student governments, Boy Scouts and other local Fort Wayne groups will join the IUE in soliciting funds for the refugee village. A rally will be held on May 1, Law Day, sponsored by the IUE with the Fort Wayne Bar Association. The 15,000 seats of the Allen County Memorial Coliseum are expected to be filled with Hoosier men, women, and children interested in helping Vietnamese refugees reconstruct their lives.

Under the slogan "Win the peace by winning the people," the IUE will set up a town in Vietnam for the use of refugees from the war. Working closely with the Agency for International Development, the IUE has consulted with the Confederation of Vietnamese Labor—CVT—who recommended that the refugee village be started. This refugee resettlement village will be a community in which the displaced persons can begin a new life, in a neighborhood of homes, farms, jobs, schools, and health clinics.

For the more than 1 million Vietnamese refugees these villages are a desperate need. Such villages, as the one planned by the IUE, mean five important things in the world to men, women, and children who are exiles in their own country: first, a refuge of peace from the ravages and horrors of war; second, shelter and food; third, medical attention; fourth, the chance of reuniting dispersed and broken families; and, fifth, the opportunity to earn a living.

Already the movement of 300 selected families is anticipated to the village site. These persons will provide a new source for agricultural produce for the Cam Ranh area as well as furnish skilled workers for the city's industry. Communitywide fund raising endeavors across the United States, in other towns as generous as Fort Wayne, will provide the necessary money for these 300 Vietnamese families to move in, clear the land, and put in crops before the rainy season starts in September.

AUTO SAFETY

Mr. **KENNEDY** of New York. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial appearing in the Washington Evening Star on April 18, 1966, be printed in the Record. I was pleased to see that the Evening Star has endorsed the need for Federal regulation in the auto safety field and commend this article to the attention of my colleagues.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Nader and the Industry

It is not very often in this era of big government, big business and mass-produced public response that one man, acting alone, can make the Nation sit up and take notice.

Ralph Nader has done just that.

Nader, a 34-year-old Washington attorney, has for the past several years staged a one-man campaign against the world's biggest business, the automobile industry. What his charge boils down to is that the automakers are more interested in making money than in safe design. And he has made a convincing case.

No one will dispute the industry's right to make a healthy profit. But Nader's accusation is that the automakers have purposefully prevented the public from hearing about potentially fatal flaws in their cars for fear of losing customers to the competition. The only answer, Nader believes, is in enforced public disclosure of detected defects and in Federal laws governing car safety standards.

Since Nader began making his charges—first in the book "Unsafe At Any Speed" and currently in testimony before Senate committees—some startling facts have come to light. For the first time the general public has learned that hundreds of thousands of cars have been quietly called back over the past 5 years because of unsafe design features—flaws that include sticking throttles, faulty door catches, fenders that cut into tires and bottoms unable to clear low obstructions in the road.

The industry, as might be expected, reacted sharply. First there was the episode of the sub rosa investigation of Nader's personal life by a small army of private investigators. When that failed to quiet their critic, there were outraged protests from the several companies named and cries that the charges were unfair and unfounded.

The latest to cry foul was Henry Ford II, who charged that Nader is not qualified to express an opinion. "If he's that good an engineer, we have some good jobs here and I'll be glad to give him one," Ford said, "but I don't think he knows what he's talking about."

That doesn't quite answer Nader. It hardly takes an engineer to know that something is amiss when the throttle sticks open at a high speed, or the door flies open, or a car hangs up in the middle of a railroad crossing.

The auto companies have asked the Senate for the chance to draw up and enforce their safety regulations before Congress imposes mandatory Federal standards. But judging from the remarks of several committee members, the pervading congressional sentiment seems to be that Federal regulation is overdue.

That is our view, too.

COLLABORATION BETWEEN DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND DEFENSE-ORIENTED INDUSTRIES

Mr. **BREWSTER**. Mr. President, in these days of sustained military crisis, the need for fruitful collaboration between the Department of Defense and defense-oriented industries is absolutely essential.

Recently, I had the pleasure of reading a speech on this subject by my good friend, Thomas S. Nichols. Mr. Nichols is a distinguished and respected resident of Maryland. He is also chairman of the executive committee of the Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp., and as such, he possesses a firsthand knowledge of the relationship between defense industry and the Defense Department.

On the basis of his expertise, Mr. Nichols has been chosen to sit for two terms on the Defense Industry Advisory Council, a body created in 1962 by Secretary McNamara to act as a catalyst between Government and industry.

Thomas Nichols' very pertinent remarks demonstrate how important it is for defense industry and the Defense Department to be able to explain themselves to one another directly and persistently.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the speech of Thomas S. Nichols at the National Security Industrial Association advance planning briefing in St. Louis in March be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Need To Know and the Duty To Tell

These are strenuous days. The budget for the Department of Defense this coming fiscal year involves expenditures of about $66 billion—more than one-half of the total Federal outlay. At the same moment—next fall to be strictly accurate—1½ million young Americans will enter college * * * twice the total enrollment in our colleges and universities just 20 years ago. I have linked these two figures side by side advisedly. For together they illustrate once more, and dramatically so, the eternal effervescence of the American spirit, even under the threat of ominous challenge.

To me it is reassuring to know that in face of great strains on our fiscal resources because of Peiping aggression, we are still moving boldly ahead on the domestic front to perform miracles like making next fall's freshman class larger than the total college enrollment 20 years ago. Such unshakable confidence has always been an indomitable feature of the American tradition. When no more than 2 to 5 percent of those between 18 and 21 in England or the Continent were enrolled in higher education during the first half of this century, the United States had 10 percent by 1930 even during the depression. Today it is 30 percent and by 1980 it will reach 50 percent. But each such advance, as we well know, can only be won if the courageous, adventurous, inventive genius, and management of American industry is not muzzled.

Two years ago we spent close to $2 billion for expanding the facilities of higher education. By 1975 it will take $33 billion. Meanwhile our defense expenditures must go on.

So far we have elected to undertake two major tasks without skipping a beat: First, to protect our national security and redeem our commitments to people who have been the victims of aggression; second, to raise the material and cultural facets of American life to even higher summits. We have elected to do both at once. But since not too many listen, we must ask the question over and again: "Can the economy generate such sums to do both?" I lean to the optimistic view. But sometimes when I become pessimistic, I think of the bullock in India who was chased by a tiger across a clearing to the edge of a forest. As he lumbered awkwardly ahead he saw a monkey high up in a tree and shouted: "Do you think I can climb this tree?" "Brother," snapped the monkey quickly, "It's no longer a matter of opinion. You've got to climb this tree."

And so it is. And so it is in our long adventure with free government that at this conjunction of war and revolution and domestic disorders, the private sector of our economy is put to the supreme test. More than at any other time in the Nation's lifeline we need to perfect the proper meshing of the Nation's huge industrial capability with our military machine of defense. It is toward the refinement of such relationships that we meet today.

As President Eisenhower perceptively stated in his farewell address early in 1961, until World War II the United States had no armaments industry, and the coming together of an immense Military Establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. Today—20 years away from World War II—the congruence of

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our industrial and military components in a standing partnership has become an accepted fact of national life. A most important breakthrough in relating industry to defense occurred 4 years ago with the establishment of the Defense Industry Advisory Council.

This body was created in 1962 by Secretary McNamara and was directed for the first 2 years by the skillful hands of Secretary McNamara and Mr. Roswell Gilpatric. Starting in February 1964, Cyrus Vance has served as its energetic and imaginative chariman.

The function of the Council, in a word, is that of catalyst in the intricate relations between government and industry. In this sense, both the Defense Industry Advisory Council with its working groups composed of specialists in their fields and the National Security Industrial Association assist in presenting industry experience and judgment in the formulation of procurement policy practices within the Defense Department. The objectives of the Council are threefold:

1. To provide the Secretary of Defense and his principal management assistants with a forum for the presentation of logistics management objectives to a representative cross section of the defense industry;

2. To provide representatives of the defense industry a forum for discussing directly with Defense Department executives their suggestions and criticisms;

3. To provide a focal point for a topside review and discussion of industry study group findings that ought to be brought to the direct attention of the Secretary of Defense.

Essentially the Council aspires to engineer a continuous dialog between our industrial and defense machinery. The Council has met a dozen times for 2-day sessions since its creation, representing among its 22 members from business and industry—textiles, automotive vehicles, shipbuilding, aircraft, ordnance, space missiles, instrumentation, chemicals, communications, and computers, to name but a few. All Council members are selected by the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense from several hundred nominees submitted by a variety of organizations. Members speak only for themselves, not for their companies or an industry segment. One-third to one-half the membership is rotated every 2 years. I am now in my second term.

One final word about the operation of the Defense Industry Advisory Council: it is a sounding board, not a voting body. It works tirelessly to identify inconsistencies in current regulations or to look into the policy of allowance on independent research and Government cost and a vast catalog of other problems affecting the defense industry.

Behind the curtain of confusion that too often surrounds the relations between the private and public sectors of our Nation, the Council is breaking new ground and opening new windows of communication. There is no more supreme mission to which Government and industry can assign itself in a vigorous effort to assure the survival of our system of government and free enterprise. For unfortunately today we too often seem to communicate with each other in a manner which may produce peevish rejoinders and counter-rejoinders which do not clarify misunderstandings or honest disagreement.

We need to explain ourselves more directly and more persistently. We need more face-to-face encounters for ventilating viewpoints, and the Defense Industry Advisory Council provides just such an instrument. Even more, it offers the kind of a vehicle for transmitting the creative impulses of private enterprise to the topside policymakers of government. We need to build in more enclaves in the private sector to perform the same function. For in a test of wills we must live up to our conviction that only in societies where the economies are free does real freedom survive. Today, of the 115 members in the United Nations, 80 are nondemocratic societies. Indeed, the peril points for American policy box the compass, but we need not despair. The stars will not fall from the heavens if we will keep our heads, not zigzag our policies by reacting or overreacting to what others do, and if we will seek new forms to strengthen freedom in the economy. We have just begun to grow; to acquire our second wind. And let no one try to flog us into being ashamed of it.

All around us we know the world is more expulsively stacked—a quarrelsome world confounded by the surging force of people, politics, and power. In this setting, the United States still sways the destiny of people and nations, but we can continue to do so only so long as we sustain our growth and the doctrines of freedom that have always animated our course. We dare not fail.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE TRANSFER

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, on December 9, 1965, I wrote to President Johnson concerning his proposed transfer of the Community Relations Service from the Department of Commerce to the Department of Justice. In that letter, I explained why I felt that a policeman could never become an effective conciliator. While we look upon the Commerce Department as neutral in its approach to human problems as well as economic problems, we know that the Justice Department is charged with another responsibility—that of enforcement and prosecution. Although the Justice Department can no doubt perform its prosecution function better with access to the heretofore confidential files of the Community Relations Service, the conciliation function of CRS is bound to be impaired.

A copy of my letter was sent to the Justice Department. Although I never received from it what I considered to be an adequate reply, the administration's proposal became Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1966. I then submitted a copy of my letter of December 9 to the members of the Reorganization Subcommittee of the Senate Government Operations Committee. I do not believe that the points raised in my letter were answered either by a majority on the committee, or on the Senate floor during debate on the transfer, and I was deeply distressed that the Members of this body chose to follow meekly the mistaken suggestion of the administration.

The full consequences of this reorganization are treated by David Lawrence in his article, "Unprecedented Step by Congress," which appeared in the Evening Star of April 22, 1966.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Lawrence's article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Evening Star, Apr. 22, 1966]

UNPRECEDENTED STEP BY CONGRESS

(By David Lawrence)

Almost unnoticed, the Congress of the United States has taken a step which would not be surprising in a police state, but is certainly unprecedented in a democracy.

For, by an overwhelming vote dominated almost entirely by Democrats in both Houses, a law has been passed this week giving the police arm of the Government the power to hold a club over citizens who may become involved in disputes over racial discrimination—in public accommodations, education, employment practices, or housing—or any denial of "equal protection of the laws."

When the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed, there was established a Community Relations Service, which was designed to help settle disputes, disagreements, or difficulties "relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin" when these threaten the "peaceful relations among the citizens in any community." This Service was to offer conciliation assistance on a voluntary basis and to use persuasion. The agency given this authority was set up as a part of the Department of Commerce.

Now, however, all these duties have suddenly been transferred to the Department of Justice, which is in charge of Federal Prosecutions. The act of 1964 specifies that no officer or employee of the Community Relations Service "shall engage in the performance of investigative or prosecuting functions" in any litigation arising out of a dispute in which he acted on behalf of the Service. But the law also says that "nothing in this act shall be construed to deny, impair, or otherwise affect any right or authority of the Attorney General" to institute or intervene in any action or proceeding.

While the personnel of the Community Relations Service are prohibited by law from making public any information they gather, there is no provision against the use of that same information by the head of the Department of Justice in any litigation that might ensue.

So, in effect, businesses, labor organizations, owners of stores and other facilities may, whenever there are complaints of discrimination, find themselves confronted by the Department of Justice. This is bound to be construed as a coercive procedure and to imply the threat of punishment if so-called conciliation assistance on the part of the Department of Justice is not accepted.

What is puzzling is why, if the Department of Commerce was unable to supervise the functions of a community relations service, these same duties were not assigned to the Civil Rights Commission or to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, both of which agencies retain their jurisdiction over various kinds of disputes arising out of alleged practices of racial discrimination.

Throughout the Civil Rights Act of 1964 "religion" is specifically included 20 times among the categories in which discrimnatory practices came under the jurisdiction of the Federal law. The wording is "race, color, religion, or national origin." But the word "religion" is omitted in the section relating to the gathering of voting statistics and in title X, which establishes the community relations service.

While the Civil Rights Act was designed to prohibit religious discrimination in employment, education, business, and in other phases of economic life, there is no explanation as to why religion was omitted in tackling disputes under the section of the law which provides a community relations service.

Up to now, the Commission on Civil Rights has been active, as has the Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and while disputes may arise that ultimately could result in court litigation, there is no provision which gives the Department of Justice the right or the power to intervene in any controversies where there are no formal charges of law violations.

The whole question was not debated thoroughly in either House of Congress and, as in many other phases of the civil rights problem, legislation has been enacted which, in some instances, could impair rather than safeguard civil rights. For it's certainly strange to find the policeman acting as the conciliator in the community when everybody knows that now, unless the policeman has his way, arrest and prosecution will follow.

COL. LOUIS ARTHUR JOHNSON

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, yesterday the Honorable Louis Arthur Johnson, of West Virginia, died here in Washington, D.C., after a lengthy illness. Born on January 10, 1891, in Virginia, he made the State of West Virginia his home during his adulthood, practicing law as a partner of the Steptoe & Johnson law firm with offices in Clarksburg and Charleston, W. Va., and in the Nation's Capital.

In recognition of his forensic ability, he was awarded an honorary L.L.D. degree in 1938 by Salem College in West Virginia and received a second such degree from West Virginia University at Morgantown in 1949. These were but two of several similar degrees awarded to him by various U.S. colleges and universities during his long years of public service.

He was a member of the West Virginia House of Delegates in 1917, serving as chairman of the judiciary committee and also as majority floor leader. He was national commander of the American Legion from 1932 to 1933, having spent 1 year overseas during World War I. He was decorated a commander of the Legion of Honor by the French Government, and he was a recipient of the West Virginia Distinguished Service Medal in 1961.

In 1933, he was appointed civilian aide to the Secretary of War for West Virginia, and he later served as a member of the Federal Advisory Council, U.S. Employment Service, Department of Labor.

He was appointed by the President of the United States as Assistant Secretary of War on February 29, 1937, serving until July 25, 1940. In 1942, he spent 9 months in India as the personal representative of the President. He is perhaps best known for his service as Secretary of Defense from March 1949 through September 1950.

Among other responsibilities which he accepted and faithfully discharged, he was a director of the Union National Bank of Clarksburg and the Community Savings & Loan Co. of that city. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1924; he served as national chairman to the Democratic Advisory Committee from 1936 to 1940; he was a member of the American, Federal, West Virginia, and Harrison County Bar Associations; he was an associate of the bar, city of New York; and he was a member of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States. He was a member of the Masonic organization; he was an Elk; and he was a member of Rotary.

Louis A. Johnson faithfully served his State and his Nation and endeavored to live fraternally and constructively among his fellow citizens. The record of his labors should not be forgotten.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the death yesterday of the Honorable Louis A. Johnson in Washington Hospital Center was the passing of a man who was truly a leader in community, in State, and in national affairs. His record as a lawyer, soldier, legislator, leader in veterans' affairs, and a policymaker in our Federal Government marked this adopted West Virginian as a citizen of honor and service.

I valued his counsel and cooperation and friendship in official and personal matters. Mrs. Randolph joins in our sympathy to Ruth, his widow, and to their daughters, the granddaughter, and to the brothers of the deceased.

Yesterday, and earlier today, I was in his home city of Clarksburg—county seat of my native Harrison County, W. Va.—when news was received of the death of Colonel Johnson. His passing at the age of 75, after a lengthy illness, was not unexpected, but citizens of Clarksburg were saddened. Many of them remember the active civic, legal, and business leadership of Louis Johnson, who shared his talents and his services likewise with his adopted State of West Virginia and with his country in capacities which reached the heights of the national commander of the American Legion and Secretary of Defense for a period of the administration of President Harry S. Truman.

Born at Roanoke, Va., Louis Johnson graduated with the class of 1912 from the University of Virginia College of Law, but migrated to the bustling coal, oil, and gas producing section of West Virginia centered at Clarksburg. There, he formed a law partnership with Philip P. Steptoe, a fellow alumnus of the University of Virginia, which grew over the years into a nationally prominent legal firm, Steptoe & Johnson, with additional offices in Charleston, W. Va., and Washington, D.C.

At the outbreak of World War I, Mr. Johnson was serving as a delegate from Harrison County in the West Virginia Legislature, but he entered officer training immediately and subsequently served in combat in Europe as a captain of infantry. Later, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel in the Army Reserves.

Mr. Johnson took an active part in the organization of the American Legion. He led the West Virginia delegation at the Legion's first national convention and was elected a member of the national executive committee. Thereafter, he served as chairman of the West Virginia delegation to the 1927 Paris convention, and in 1930–31 as commander and judge advocate of the West Virginia department and chairman of the Legion's national legislative committee. In 1932, Mr. Johnson was elected national commander of the American Legion. He remained a life member of the Legion's executive committee.

In 1933, Mr. Johnson was chosen American vice president of the Federation Interallies des Anciens Combattants, an international organization of World War I veterans. In 1942, he headed the Legion's commission on post war America.

His first opportunity in the National Government spotlight came in 1937 when President Roosevelt appointed him assistant secretary of war, a post he filled 3 years. In his position in the War Department, Mr. Johnson favored a strong America and pressed for an expansion of the U.S. Air Force.

President Truman appointed Mr. Johnson as his Secretary of Defense in 1949, and late in 1950 he returned to his private law practice.

Many Members of the Senate and House knew Col. Louis Johnson, and I feel that the tribute we of the West Virginia delegation pay to his memory will be shared by many of our colleagues in the Congress.

INTERNATIONAL TOURISM

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, on March 31 and April 1, in Paris, France, the International Chamber of Commerce met and considered the various aspects of international tourism. I am especially interested in this meeting, for one of the agenda subjects is the adoption of international symbols and pictograms relevant to tourism. In this age of jet travel, when one can be thousands of miles from home in a matter of hours, the adoption of universally accepted and understood symbols is of great significance.

How many of us, how many of our constituents find a trip abroad somewhat difficult, due to the fact that we must ask information about every single destination, or be told that smoking is not allowed, since the language is foreign to us? The adoption of a sign, symbol or pictogram intelligible to all would alleviate this problem.

And we need not go abroad to understand the problem. For in our own country, as an example, roadside signs are neither uniform nor in many instances intelligible to any but the most knowledgeable traveler. Can one believe that "soft shoulder," "narrow soft verge," and "dropoff on edge of roadway" all mean the same thing? This type of confusion is especially difficult for visitors to our shore.

Let us hope that the International Chamber of Commerce, in its studies of this communications barrier, has decided on steps to take which will insure adoption of universal signs, symbols and pictograms, and that all countries will join in this effort.

It was my pleasure to send a letter of greetings to the International Chamber of Commerce, and I ask unanimous consent to have the message printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARCH 23, 1966.

Mr. WALTER HILL,
Secretary General, International Chamber of Commerce, Paris, France.

DEAR MR. HILL: On the occasion of the International Chamber of Commerce's meeting on international tourism, I should like to make my support for the adoption of universal symbols and pictograms known. I understand that one of the agenda items of your meeting concerns this subject and I congratulate you on this.

During my tenure as U.S. Foreign Service officer and as a private tourist, I became all too aware of the problems a visitor from another country can find himself beset with, even with a knowledge of the indigenous language. For those who only speak their own mother tongue, the problem is even greater and can measurably detract from the enjoyment of a visit.

The adoption of universal symbols and pictograms would be one more step in making lands distant from one another, part of a close-knit world community. Toward this end, I have sponsored legislation in the Senate of the United States, which could eventually lead to the adoption of the metric system by my country.

I wish you success in your studies of this subject, and eagerly look forward to the recommendations on the adoption of universal symbols and pictograms which I hope your consultations will bring forth.

Warm regards.

Ever sincerely,

CLAIBORNE PELL.

A "DOMINO THEORY" OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCE

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, when we talk of the domino theory, we automatically think of southeast Asia. But has anyone ever considered the domino theory in international finance?

The United States is currently trying out a financial experiment known as voluntary restraint. The program first took the form of restraint upon bank lending abroad, but quickly spread to corporate investment. Remember, the program is only voluntary, and the percentages set up by the administration as guidelines are also voluntary, with the whole purpose of the program being an effort to strengthen our balance-of-payments position.

Just as the domino theory threatens the fall of southeast Asian countries to communism, the domino theory of international voluntary restraint threatens to choke off the free flow of money between countries. What the United States has initiated, other countries have been quick to take up.

The most notable of these is our good friend and fellow reserve currency country, Great Britain. The British, who also suffer from chronic balance-of-payments deficits, have been prompt in instituting their own voluntary restraint program on overseas corporate investment. But they intend to go one step further. To cure their international payments deficit, they intend to require the systematic liquidation of all their short-term overseas investments—particularly those in the U.S. stock market.

The effect on the economy of the United States of a full-scale liquidation of the British stock portfolio would be nothing short of disastrous. There are literally billions of British-owned dollars tied up in American stocks and bonds. Any action by the British to liquidate their holdings would not only ruin our balance-of-payments situation, but would also break the back of the stock market.

And who is to say they could not do it? They own the shares. They have every right to sell them if they want to. We would probably have about as much success in stopping the sale of British-owned securities as we have had in stopping De Gaulle from converting dollars to gold.

Of course the United States could retaliate. We could sell all of the British securities that we own. But this would only bring about the financial ruin of the two great reserve countries of the world, much to the delight of our Communist enemies.

This problem is discussed in an article written by Mr. William Davis, financial editor of the Manchester Guardian, and appearing recently in that paper. Mr. Davis, it should be noted, is reputed to be a close personal associate of Prime Minister Harold Wilson.

I ask unanimous consent that the article referred to be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHOULD WE CASH OVERSEAS ASSETS?

(By William Davis)

Prince Philip says we are on our uppers, and politicians tend to spread the impression that we are practically bankrupt. Actually, this is not so. We still have something like £11,000 millions in overseas assets—vastly more than all our debts. The value of this nest-egg is increasing all the time. Between 1962 and the end of 1964, our share investments alone rose by £600 millions, chiefly because of the buoyancy of stock markets in the United States and Canada during the period.

Official long-term assets have dropped in recent years, but are still considerable. Private long-term assets, less liabilities, are at least £6,000 millions. British industry owns many overseas subsidiaries. The insurance companies have direct investments in the United States alone of over £420 millions, net overseas assets of oil companies add up to around £1,300 millions, and private individuals as well as trusts hold large blocks of foreign shares. United Kingdom net earnings from interest, profits and dividends totaled nearly £800 millions in the 2 years 1963 and 1964—about the size of the deficit Labour "inherited."

Clearly, we are far from "broke." But, of course, this in itself does not permit complacency. A man doesn't sell his house and car to pay off an overdraft; if his banker wants him to reduce the loan, he tries to make repayments out of current income.

NEST-EGG INTACT

As a nation we try to do a great many things We import more than we export, our government spends a great deal of money abroad on defense and aid, and British industry tries to go on investing on a substantial scale. So far, the income on our foreign assets has usually been large enough to allow us to do all this without actually breaking into the nest-egg itself. (If we have smaller assets than in, say, Edwardian days the cause lies in two costly World Wars and not in peacetime excesses.)

Some people say this ought to change. The National Institute, in its recent review, said there was a case for reconsidering the whole structure of Britain's foreign asset holdings "in the light of the long haul ahead for the British balance of payments." Rather than go on suffering the inconveniences and humilitation of short-term indebtedness, the Institute said, it might be well worth taking deliberate steps to liquidate some long-term assets and so strengthen the monetary position—even at some sacrifice of future income and possible appreciation.

Mr. Callaghan himself has a lot of sympathy for this line of thinking. He tends to argue that, if the choice is between unemployment and dipping into the kitty, we must dip.

Selling long-term assets is not, of course, an easy thing to do. Some could be realized only with the greatest difficulty and sacrifice, if at all. And since most of the nest egg is in private hands, a Chancellor must rely on persuasion or penalties rather than on compulsion. Mr. Callaghan has already gone some way toward this since he took office, and I would not be at all surprised to see further action in the months ahead.

The most obvious point of attack, of course, is current and future investment. Cutting the capital outflow is easier than getting back money already invested in bricks and mortar. Mr. Callaghan knows well enough that a sizable part of the infamous 1964 deficit was accounted for by overseas investment. British companies were acquiring foreign firms, and setting up factories inside growing tariff walls. His figures show him, too, that the improvement in our balance-of-payments picture since then has partly reflected the Labor Government's curbs on money transfers.

The corporation tax and other measures taken by Mr. Callaghan are a powerful brake on overseas spending, and should continue to have an important effect. On present evidence, the Chancellor may well tighten his grip further if he is still at the Treasury next month. Curbs on transfers within the sterling area, at present still relatively easy, are widely expected to be part of the next Labor Government's budget.

Lord Cromer, as we know, deplores all this. He acknowledges that, during a crisis, one has to take certain temporary measures. But he, and many other people in industry and the city, fear that the Government's steps against overseas investment will become a permanent feature. There is certainly strong justification for this fear. With £900 millions of short-term debts to be repaid my 1970, we shall be in a tricky position for several years to some. And the Government has made it clear many times that, in its eyes, the home economy comes first. Its argument, roughly, is that people must make sacrifices—but that they will not be put out for work for the sake of long-term investment abroad.

Mr. Callaghan stressed in his budget speech last year that the calculable return on long-term investment is on average considerably less from the point of view of the national economy than the return on investments within the United Kingdom. This is because income earned abroad bears tax in the country of origin, reducing the benefit to the United Kingdom. Moreover, only about half the income earned from direct investment overseas is remitted to Britain.

Lord Cromer and others argue, against this, that British firms need factories abroad to jump tariff barriers and maintain export sales: "We have," says Lord Cromer, "an important contribution to make in participating in the new industries of Europe and throughout the world, both for our own good and for what we can offer."

Most industrialists, not surprisingly, are in strong agreement. They say that if the Government wants to reduce capital outflow the starting point should be its own large military expenditure abroad. Some also suggest that we should reassess our economic aid to other countries; much of it, they claim, is a waste of money.

The Tory Party, by and large, stands firmly behind Lord Cromer. So far, however, it has not made an election issue out of it. This is not because men like Edward Heath regard the whole thing as unimportant. On the contrary, they tend to get very passionate about it in private. The real reason, I suspect, is that Mr. Heath has no realistic alternative cure for our short-term balance-of-payments problems. How could he boost overseas investment without, at the same time, taking measures which would almost certainly lead to a sharp rise in unemployment?

PUBLIC DEBATE

Mr. Heath's hurry to get into the Common Market (where restrictions on transfers of capital are not allowed) makes it all the more important that questions like these should be asked in public. Indeed, I think there is a good case for including the subject of overseas investment in our current economic debate. Instead of talking incessantly and foolishly about the health of the pound, politicians, and others ought to try to make a constructive contribution to the argument. It may be too complicated and too remote from everyday life to make a good platform topic, but it doesn't take much to see that it influences all sorts of other decisions. If we can get worked up about an aircraft carrier, we should certainly be able to discuss the nation's financial assets and their future.

As things stand, short-term curbs are obviously unavoidable. But how far should they go? Personally, I would rather see Whitehall restrain people from buying land in the Bahamas than deflate the economy to a point where we risk serious unemployment. I see nothing wrong with telling companies to remit more of their overseas income to the United Kingdom, or with asking them to put more emphasis on raising money abroad—perhaps by letting local investors buy a stake in the equity of their subsidiaries. I see no reason, either, why we cannot put manufacturing investment at home before spending abroad—at least for a while. The targets set by the national plan will be difficult enough to achieve as it is.

Nor do I see much harm in reexamining the present basis of financial aid to the developing countries of the world. Many cannot afford high rates of interest, but why not take more equity stakes in promising enterprises in return for financial help? The government is keen enough to do it here at home; abroad the right field may offer much faster growth.

Looking further ahead, we ought to discuss our approach to overseas investment in a calm and rational manner. There isn't much point in talking about "our national heritage" and "being true to our history," as Lord Cromer likes to do. But there isn't much sense, either, in being "little Englanders." We are a great trading nation and if we want to go on playing a world role on the business front (as well as the military one) we must be outward looking.

JET PLANES AT NATIONAL AIRPORT

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, yesterday the Federal Aviation Agency ruling permitting the landing of jets at Washington National Airport became effective. Today's papers report the rash of citizen complaints which were anticipated and which were the subject of a public meeting I held in the Senate Commerce Committee room on April 13.

These legitimate complaints speak for themselves. Of more concern to me today are developments which bear on the safety of jets at National Airport.

The Washington Post reports, in a front page story, this morning that Mr. Arven Saunders, director of National Capital Airports, attributed yesterday's noise complaints to the newness of pilots landing at National Airport for the first time and consequently making a radio beam approach instead of a visual one. The director is quoted as saying:

> Because many of these pilots have never landed jets here, they chose to be cautious and use their instruments rather than to follow the Potomac.

Mr. President, these statements raise three serious questions. First, why has not the FAA required the proper program of orientation flights for pilots who began to fly the Washington route yesterday? Second, what action will the FAA take in view of the clear violation of its abatement procedures by the pilots failing to utilize the much touted river corridors? Finally, if the radio beam approach does not follow the river, and if the pilot must use this beam to make his approach in any kind of bad weather, is it not a fact that a very high percentage of landings at National Airport will not adhere to the noise abatement procedures which the FAA has promised for the area?

Mr. President, I have written to General McKee, Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, today, requesting an immediate answer to the three questions which I have just raised. In the meantime, I believe there is an additional question about the safety of jets at National Airport presented by the apparent confusion over the policy of the Air Line Pilots Association with respect to reductions of power on takeoff.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a letter dated April 22, from Mr. Charles Ruby, president of the Air Line Pilots Association, to Mr. David Thomas, Deputy Administrator of the FAA, and a policy statement be printed at this point in my remarks. In his letter, Mr. Ruby refers again to the marginally safe procedure involved in power reductions during takeoff and reiterates the Air Line Pilots Association's opposition to these procedures.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AIR LINE PILOTS ASSOCIATION,
Chicago, Ill., April 22, 1966.

Mr. DAVID D. THOMAS,
Deputy Administrator,
Federal Aviation Agency
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. THOMAS: An April 18, 1966, article appearing in the Washington Post has apparently created some confusion regarding the Air Line Pilots Association policies on noise abatement procedures due to the fact that I was misquoted and also quoted out of context. For your ready reference a copy of our policies is attached.

The Air Line Pilots Association is firmly opposed to any deviation from our noise abatement policy. It is our opinion that this policy enables our membership to fulfill its individual responsibilities for the safety of the flight while reducing the noise to its lowest practical level.

Marginally safe noise abatement procedures (e.g., substantial power reductions, extended climbs at less than maneuvering speed, etc.) or panic regulations will only delay the inevitable conclusion that this is not the proper long-range solution to this complex problem. The end result will be an increasing economic burden on those responsible for finding the solution to this problem.

I trust the foregoing will eliminate any confusion or misunderstanding which may exist within your Agency regarding my views on this matter.

Sincerely yours,
AIR LINE PILOTS ASSOCIATION,
CHARLES H. RUBY, *President.*

NOISE ABATEMENT POLICY

The association maintains the position that aircraft noise should be reduced by engineering and design and not by marginally safe flying techniques.

ALPA shall refuse to endorse or accept noise abatement procedures which require:

1. Clearances or communication designed to change headings at low altitudes for noise abatement purposes.
2. Turns below 600 feet for noise abatement purposes.
3. Reduction of power, earlier or to a greater extent than is done on a normal takeoff.
4. Climbs at airspeeds less than maneuvering speeds for the existing flap configuration.
5. Procedures when weather is below 1,000 feet—3 miles.
6. Preferential runway for noise abatement purposes when
   (a) Runways are wet.
   (b) A wind of greater than 10 knots velocity or a wind angle which exceeds 80 degrees from the runway heading exists.
   (c) A tailwind greater than 4 knots for takeoff or landing.
7. Requirement that approaches be conducted above glide slope for noise abatement purposes.
8. Communications other than those required for standard traffic separation during takeoff and approach. (Board 1962.)

NOISE ABATEMENT PROCEDURES

The association and its members shall refuse to accept or comply with noise abatement procedures which in the judgment of the pilot adversely affect safety, and the central safety chairman shall be notified immediately of instances where unacceptable procedures have been offered. Through his MEC the central safety chairman shall take prompt effective action to remove unacceptable noise abatement procedures from company directives and manuals.

ALPA SUPPORT IN NOISE VIOLATION CASES

If any member of the Air Line Pilots Association is fined, arrested, or cited for a noise violation while operating his aircraft in a manner that, in his judgment, was necessary to insure adequate safety for his passengers and crew, the association shall provide its full resources and strength, including the withdrawal of all operations by association members into and out of said airport. The president of the association shall be charged with the responsibility of ordering such withdrawal. (Board 1964.)

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT ACT OF 1966

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Chair lay before the Senate the unfinished business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill (S. 2934) to provide needed additional means for the residents of rural America to achieve equality of opportunity by authorizing the making of grants for comprehensive planning for public services and development in community development districts designated by the Secretary of Agriculture.

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Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I consider the bill the Senate has before it to be very important legislation affecting the rural areas of this country. As most Senators know, in 1954, we enacted a law providing for planning assistance for urban areas. The pending bill merely extends the provisions of section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954 to rural areas. I do not consider this to be a new program at all because it merely gives the people in rural areas an equal opportunity to receive planning assistance.

The Senate realizes of course that during the past 4 or 5 years it has been confronted with legislation to assist the large cities by providing Federal funds to assist in the planning and building of tramways and underground facilities to carry workers from the rural communities to the cities, air pollution prevention and control, advances for public works planning, hospital and medical facilities, waste treatment works, and a host of other purposes.

The pending bill would merely provide planning assistance to the people in the rural areas in order that they have an equal opportunity to get together and plan the development of a rural area. The people in these areas will be able to form an authority in order to plan for the future. The Secretary of Agriculture would approve the area and planning funds would be made available. However, State governments would have authority to disapprove the area and grants would have to have the concurrence of the State government.

This bill seeks to devise some ways and means whereby the rural people can develop plans for the use of their human and natural resources, in the hope of devising ways and means of attracting industry to utilize these human and natural resources.

It is my belief that it is incumbent on us to approve this bill, because if the rural areas continue to lose small industries, and if we continue to make it impossible for the rural people to obtain employment where they now live, they will continue to migrate to the large cities, thereby creating additional problems in the city areas.

There is no doubt in my own mind, if such a trend should continue, that large sums of money would be necessary to alleviate the transportation and other problems in the large centers of our Nation.

As the Senate knows, we have had studies going on, applicable primarily to the Northeast, where it is felt that something should and must be done to alleviate the problems of transportation for people going to work.

Here in the District of Columbia it is planned to spend $350 million to $450 million to build an underground tramway to carry people from outside the central parts of the city to work within the city.

It was my privilege to travel a good deal over the United States, particularly Louisiana, in the past year or so. I was amazed at the large number of communities that were suffering economic distress. I know of some parishes in my State in which there are as many as 3 or 4 incorporated cities, and sometimes as many as 10, where that has happened, because of the fact that farming has virtually ceased in those communities. Since many of the farming operations are now almost fully mechanized, the residents of those communities have left to go to the larger cities where they hope to find employment.

In many cases, this shift in population has caused a tremendous burden on the large cities. Many of the people who have migrated to the large cities expect relief from the city fathers if they cannot get work there.

It is my observation that such a situation applies not only to my State, but to many other States of the Union.

This bill does not seek to provide grants for the construction of any plants, or any grants to build anything. It is a small planning program designed to make it possible for the State, or for communities within a State, to form an area of say, 4 to 5, or perhaps 10, counties or parishes, or perhaps 2 parishes or 2 counties, with a view to organizing themselves into a more or less legal entity. Some States now have these planning districts. That legal entity can then contract with the Federal Government to obtain funds of up to 75 percent of the cost that would be entailed in making a survey, in order to develop what these areas have to offer by way of manpower and by way of natural resources, in the hope that something can be done to invite industry there.

It is my belief that if we can establish such areas throughout the country, it will be an invitation to large industries not to keep enlarging businesses that they already have in the larger cities but to disperse into less congested areas. There is no doubt in my mind that if we continue to make it possible to give employment only in large cities, the businesses located there now will gradually increase in size, and population will continue to intensify which, in my opinion, will affect transportation and other problems there.

It is my hope that if we can make available to the business interests of the Nation areas where they can come and establish smaller branches of the larger businesses, where they will not be confronted with transportation problems, where there are good sewerage systems, where there are fine resources of other types, it will be an invitation to more or less disperse larger businesses, instead of having them concentrated in one or two large areas.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I wanted to make an inquiry or two about the bill. I have heard what the Senator from Louisiana has just said.

On page 1 of the report are set out one or two paragraphs describing what the bill seeks to do. One is to make grants up to 75 percent of the professional staff cost required for district development planning and for other planning of public services and functions for which Federal planning grants are not otherwise available.

This is a 75-percent grant that would be made to the district authority that is first established, to be used in planning the economic development of the community, in making known what the resources are, natural and human. Is that correct?

Mr. ELLENDER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The second paragraph refers to grants, as follows:

> Planning incentive grants in an amount up to 10 percent of the amount of other Federal planning grants made within the district.

Will the Senator explain that?

Mr. ELLENDER. Within a district where there may be two or three urban or other areas which may already be receiving planning assistance under section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954 or other Federal authority. In order to have the planning in those areas coordinated with the plans for the entire district, the language just read by the Senator provides for additional grants to the district planning agency, so that it can effect that coordination. Such additional grants could not exceed amounts equal to 10 percent of the grants under such other Federal authority.

If, for example, an urban area should receive as much as $100,000 for urban planning, the district could receive an amount equal to as much as 10 percent of that amount, or $10,000, in order to coordinate the urban plan and make it dovetail with the plans for the entire district.

I wish to emphasize that this is merely for planning. The people who are employed to do the planning will specify in the final plan what Federal programs are available at that time, because many communities do not know the many programs that are available to them.

If we can provide through this planning a means of letting the community know what Federal programs are available to them, it might assist them in not only taking advantage of, but coordinating these programs.

Today there are programs scattered all over the country. If such a program were adopted, as conceived in the pending bill, it would mean that the planning could be coordinated.

Mr. LAUSCHE. After the district authority is created and the planning completed, it would be possible for that district authority to obtain grants under existing programs that provide moneys for community development.

Mr. ELLENDER. The Senator is correct. It would be the same as they could do now. They could do that now if they desired to do so and knew where to go for such assistance.

Mr. LAUSCHE. But this will allow them to create a district approach to the program.

Mr. ELLENDER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I have one last question. I notice that there is no limitation upon the amount that will be authorized. Why has the committee deemed it advisable to make an open-end authorization?

Mr. ELLENDER. We did not have any serious discussion on that phase of the bill, but it was intended that the money was to come from the same authorization that now exists under section 701 for urban development.

Urban aspects of planning are already covered by section 701. This bill seeks to accord to rural people a voice in the planning of the urban areas upon which they depend, and to accord to rural people the same type of planning now provided for urban people. It is not a new program but merely provides for equity under an existing program. It is planned as a pilot operation for the first year or so, and we contended that its cost should be kept within the cost limits of the existing program.

It was mentioned that the overall cost of grants under the bill would not be in excess of $5 million. The total amount authorized under section 701 for grants is $230 million.

So far as I am concerned, and I am sure there would not be any objection to it, the authorization that is now provided for under section 701 could apply to this program, so that the planning funds could be obtained from that source alone. In fact I have an amendment to accomplish that purpose.

I wish to say to my good friend that efforts were made before the committee by a few Senators to have grants provided here to help construct facilities that were recommended by the planners, but the committee fought that off with a view toward making this solely and wholly a planning authority.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I thank the Senator.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I have nothing more to add than I have already stated. The report as well as the bill, makes it very clear, that this is to be relegated to planning only.

It is my considered judgment that if a program of this kind were adopted it might go a long way toward consolidating some of the programs that are now being fostered throughout the country. It would at least coordinate them.

The bill was reported by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry with only one dissenting vote. All other members of the committee voted for it.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, a question was raised some time ago about an open-ended authorization for appropriation. Of course, it was the intent of the committee to have this item come within the purview of section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954. In anticipation of the question being raised, we prepared an amendment to make it perfectly clear that the grants under the bill would have to come within the $230 million limit now contained in section 701. I am happy to furnish the Senator with the amendment we had prepared.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment to the committee amendment, and ask that it be read.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 9, line 8, after the comma, it is proposed to insert the following:

> but within the total amount authorized to be appropriated under subsection (b),

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, a moment ago the distinguished Senator from Louisiana and I discussed the fact that the authorization is open ended. The Senator from Louisiana pointed out that it was not contemplated that there would be an authorization beyond the $230 million set forth under section 701 of existing law. This amendment contemplates achieving what the committee had in mind, and I suggest that with that understanding the manager of the bill accept the amendment and eliminate the open endedness of the bill.

Mr. ELLENDER. I have no objection to that, because that really was the intention of the committee and we prepared the amendment. Consequently, I have no objection to it.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Ohio.

The amendment to the committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ELLENDER. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment to the committee amendment which would strike out section 11 on pages 11 and 12, to perfect the amendment just agreed to.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk read the amendment, as follows:

> Beginning on page 11 with line 24, strike out all through line 2 on page 12.

Mr. ELLENDER. The amendment should have been agreed to in conjunction with the amendment just agreed to. It would remove any possible question concerning the intention of the committee to include the grants under the bill within the existing $230 million restriction. No authorization is needed for administrative funds. The direction to administer the law provides all the authority that is needed. Since the grants are restricted to the existing limit, there should be no increase in costs of administration.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the senior Senator from Louisiana.

The amendment to the committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the nub of this measure is to make grants to local governments in rural areas, with which to pay for professional staff corps in planning and setting up community development districts. Local governments may set up such community development districts, if not disfavored by the State, and with the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture. Grants would be made by the Housing and Urban Development Agency, and administered by the Secretary of Agriculture. The Federal Government would undertake to pay 75 percent of the cost of the professional planning staff corps, plus 10 percent of the amount of all other Federal planning grants, to be used as incentive grants. The basic objective is to improve the recipient districts as places in which to live.

And now for the bad news:

> There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

That is an open-end authorization.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. About half an hour ago, that provision was stricken.

Mr. DIRKSEN. What is in the bill now?

Mr. ELLENDER. The same authorization that is now provided under section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954. It has not been increased.

As the Senator may know, the authorization under that act amounts to $230 million.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yes.

Mr. ELLENDER. Until now, only $113 million of that sum has been appropriated. But in any event, the authorization provided for under section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954 would be the measure of the appropriation.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, the bill as reported and the report were at variance. The bill came in with an open-end authorization, but the report indicated a target of $230 million, which—and this is important—"shall be available until expended."

Desirable as all this may be, is there any reason why it cannot be deferred? As I interpret the glowing language used to explain and describe what is contemplated, I can see an amazing potential that in time could run into billions. Having targeted $230 million in the initial estimate, we can be pretty certain on that point. It is just the beginning.

The purpose is to plan for all of the needs of such a district: medical, educational, public services, and otherwise.

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In short, it envisions an area which will vary in size, geared to a small metropolitan area or several such areas, so as to bring metropolitan standards and services to the rural sections of such an area.

The potential size and cost of such a program is impossible to determine. It will be continuing, to be sure; and it could run into billions.

Let us think of this in terms of the conditions which presently face us, and what might be proposed to meet them.

First, inflation is no longer around the corner, it is here—in a great big way. The most recent figures released indicate that at long last the administration is aware of this threat, and that it will not be whistled away. For some time, the air has been filled with speculation about a tax increase to siphon off excess disposable income. Business and industry have been lectured about cutting back capital spending. Housewives have been cautioned to be frugal. The consumer adviser, Esther Peterson, suggests that all housewives quiz their grocers about advancing prices and why they exist. Everybody has been lectured, cautioned, and admonished except Congress.

The administrative budget, plus trust funds, add up to payments to the public, in fiscal 1967, of $145 billion. Measured against productive capacity, this can only add up to a substantial rise in prices.

We can pursue three courses to meet the steadily growing problem. We can continue deficit spending, and borrow. Interest payments are already well over $1 billion a month, as maturing Federal obligations are retired at higher and higher interest rates. The annual interest burden increases accordingly.

Comes now Prentice-Hall, with the indication that in early June, Congress will receive a new tax bill. That is another approach to the problem.

But there is a third, and that is reduction of expenditures and postponement of Great Society programs that can wait.

What is before us is a Great Society program. It can wait. If we are half as interested in curbing inflation as we pretend to be, we will be wise to send this measure back to the committee and let it repose there until a more auspicious time for its consideration.

But instead of making a motion to recommit, I think, Mr. President, I prefer an up-or-down vote on the passage or the nonpassage of this bill. That is the reason for requesting the record vote. Speaking only for myself, I intend to resist it. I intend to vote against it, because I think this is one of the things that can be deferred.

In the last several months, there has been a lot of commotion, a lot of discussion that in the 1967 budget, the President saw fit to cut those items dear to the hearts of the country and close to the hearts of Congress.

That would include impacted school areas, school lunches, and the school milk fund program. Well, frankly, I do not care what it is. I try to hew to a consistent course and it therefore occurs to me that the time is now to resist programs which will be an additional burden upon the budget, which will make more disposable income available and will only add to firing up the fevers of inflation.

For that reason, I expect to vote against the bill.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Illinois mentioned the figure of $230 million. Let me say that was not the intention of the committee to raise the amount of planning money above what is now provided for in Public Law 89-117 approved on August 10, 1965. That is the law which fixed the $230 million limit.

As I indicated a moment ago, there is no additional authorization for planning grants under the bill than what was provided by Public Law 89-117 for section 701 grants; and this limitation of $230 million includes this rural planning program as well as urban development. In order to straighten the matter out, a while ago, an amendment was adopted in line with what the committee intended, and language was added which prevented any misunderstanding; namely, that the present appropriation authority of $230 million for planning grants will include such planning grants as are to be made under this bill. The open end appropriation which the distinguished Senator from Illinois has mentioned in section 11 has been stricken from the bill by an amendment which I proposed. This makes it crystal clear that there will be no additional grant money.

This bill would only extend to rural areas the general type of planning assistance now provided urban areas under section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954. The objective is to assist predominantly rural areas in planning for facilities and services necessary to their growth and development. Many such areas are faced with declining opportunities for employment and are withering away as their population migrates to the city to contribute to city unemployment and congestion.

This bill would assist hamlets, towns, and rural counties to determine cooperatively what their assets are; what their needs are; and what they must do to make their communities attractive places to live and work. Proper development of rural communities will provide industry with an opportunity to locate in rural areas where labor supplies are readily available, where freedom from congestion permits employees to move to and from work with ease, and where the benefits of country living can be had in addition to such necessary but diverse facilities and services as pure water, sewage disposal, and hospital and library services.

The bill does not provide any grants for the installation of such facilities, but only for assistance in their planning.

Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954 is currently concerned principally with the urban aspects of planning. This bill would give the rural people a chance to cooperate in planning with the towns upon which they depend, and would fill in the gaps to provide planning for the rural as well as urban aspects of the community. It would be concerned with all of the needs of the combined rural and town area.

The committee held 3 days of hearings on this bill and heard all witnesses. The bill was generally favored. Many amendments were suggested and were carefully considered. The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute represents a blending by the committee of the various viewpoints.

Many of the witnesses were concerned with the need for maintaining State and local initiative in the creation and development of the planning operation. Districts to receive grants under the bill must be initiated and organized by the local governments. The State in which a district is located has a very considerable interest in its formation and in the grants made to it.

Many States, such as Georgia, now have laws providing for the creation of districts and provide State funds for their planning operations. The committee was most anxious that the bill be adjusted to fit into the existing pattern and the bill provides for utilization of the districts already in existence or which may be hereafter created by State authority.

Under the bill, towns and counties could band together in a community development district. Soil conservation districts or other local public bodies could join with them as equal partners, if the towns and counties saw fit. If such district is designated by the appropriate State authority, or if the State does not disfavor approval of such district, the district would be eligible for approval by the Secretary of Agriculture under the bill.

The participating governments would, however, have to request such approval and the appropriate State agency would have to be given 45 days' notice so that it could register disfavor if it desired. Before such approval, the participating governments would also be required to have elected a governing board for the district. The members of the board would be responsible to the respective governing bodies by which they were elected, and representation on the board would be established in such manner as to provide all citizens residing within the district an opportunity to be represented through action of the government for a jurisdiction in which they reside.

After such approval, the Secretary of Agriculture could approve the district for planning grants in such amounts as he might determine necessary, but not to exceed 75 percent of the salaries and expenses of the professional staff required for district planning, plus an additional amount, not to exceed 10 percent of the amount of other Federal grants for planning purposes extended within the district. The additional amount is intended to provide an incentive for the district planning agency to coordinate other plans in the district with the plan for the entire district. The grants would be made by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development under the 701 program administered by him, subject to a requirement of State concurrence.

It was the objective of the committee that planning assisted under the bill be such as to result in truly effective action. Therefore, while the bill is restricted to planning assistance and provides no funds for construction, the committee amendment directs the district planning staff to prepare a detailed study of the Federal aids available to carry out the plan.

It is contemplated that the program under the bill will be only a pilot operation for the first year or so. As the program develops, the committee believes it will be of great assistance to rural areas in developing their potential to attract industry, to make the best use of their natural resources, and to provide the country with healthy and attractive rural communities.

(At this point Mr. HART took the chair as Presiding Officer.)

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I do not envision the spending of much money. If I thought this bill would expand Federal spending I would not be for it; but, in my opinion, if a bill of this character should be enacted into law and brochures could be prepared for various areas and States and made available to business, it might be an incentive for business to locate in some of those areas and use the human and natural resources which are there now, and in all probability it would prevent the migration of more and more country folk to the large cities and in the long run save money.

Mr. President, I emphasize that the pending bill does not deal with anything other than planning. We have provided an amendment in the bill, which was suggested by the distinguished Senator from Minnesota, that those who make these studies would designate at the end of the report what existing Federal programs would be applicable, so that the local people who are causing this planning to be done would know about it.

(At this point Mr. HARRIS took the chair as Presiding Officer.)

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, another point is that the pending bill would create local authorities composed of local people appointed by local people. Their duties would be to coordinate the programs now existing all over the country and provide for more effective results.

Mr. President, I believe that the pending bill is a good bill. It will not authorize any more grant money than has now been provided in the law. Funds will, of course, have to be provided to pay the cost of administering the bill, but they should not exceed the cost of administering existing law since the total volume of grants is within the existing limit.

I am hopeful that the Senate will approve the pending bill.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I am well aware of what the distinguished Senator from Louisiana has said—that this is a planning bill to provide for the cost of professional planning.

The planners frighten me. Only a few years back, we had the Budget Director talking about a planned deficit. That is like talking about planning for the hole in the doughnut. I do not know that we need a plan for that. We just walk into it naturally. Therefore, I do not want to be planning for red ink.

In view of what is taking place at the present time, and the deep concern of the President, the Council of Economic Advisers, Congress, and the country generally, over the inflationary fevers, somewhere, somehow, there has got to be a halt in the programs of the Great Society—I was about to say the high society.

Now, I did not pick that figure of $230 million out of thin air. That figure occurs in the report from the committee accompanying the bill.

We have our choice. We can either adopt the programs and spend more money, or we can face another tax increase.

Recently, we had the shortest tax decrease in history, because shortly thereafter we had to vitiate our efforts and the results by putting some of it back.

I would much prefer the approach of cutting down on Federal expenditures, rather than to invite a tax increase, at the present time. Here is an opportunity to make a beginning.

We cannot do it by cheese paring—that is, $100,000 here, $200,000 there, or $50,000 some other place. That is not going to make a dent in that $112 billion administration budget.

The fact is, the consolidated cash budget of the country is not $112 billion but $145 billion, because it must include the trust fund. All the money disbursed to the public then becomes disposable income and feeds the inflationary fires.

I believe that this is a good time to put our foot down. It is an amazing thing that the President had the captains of industry in the White House and he lectured them about capital expenditures. He also sent out a message to the housewives of the country that they should be more frugal. Esther Peterson, consumer adviser, states that the housewives should go to their grocery stores and quiz the proprietors as to why there is a price increase.

What would they know about it?

All they know is that as goods are invoiced to them from the wholesaler, they take their usual retail markup, and that will be the price.

Now we know it right in the Capitol, because anyone who smokes cigarettes and went downstairs to the dining room to get a pack knows that during the past 2 weeks the price of cigarettes has gone up from 23 cents to 25 cents. No tax is paid down there, but that is 2 cents on top of 23 cents, so that would be an 8½ percent increase. But, go to the grocery store and see what is happening today. With respect to meat and canned goods, and all the other items which bulk so large in the family budget, there we will see it.

Now, inflation is here. It is a fact. It is a reality. It can be called walking inflation. It can be called creeping inflation. It can be called galloping inflation. I do not care what one calls it. It is here today, and it is a matter of great concern to the American people, because nearly every family in the land will be affected.

Senators can take their choice. They can add taxes, add to the burden of business and individuals, if that is the way it is going to be, or we can start retrenching a little and start cutting down on some of these programs and expenditures.

As I see it, this is a program that can wait. It can be deferred, and nobody will be hurt in the process.

I respectfully suggest, under all those circumstances, that the bill ought to be either voted down or recommitted to the committee. But I am not in a mood to recommit. I would rather have it voted up or down. If this is what Congress wants to do, very well and good, but it is going to give the President, a great, big weapon in the form of—I am going to say a mailed fist, because he can say to the country, "I tried to cut it down, but I could not sell it to the people's representatives on Capitol Hill."

So here is a chance, and I intend to respond to that chance the best way I know how.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I rise to oppose the adoption of S. 2934. It is with some reluctance that I do so. There are portions of the bill as reported by the Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee which may be highly desirable.

However, my opposition is based on a conviction that this measure needs very thorough study, not only by the Congress, but by interested farm organizations and others. A measure which can have such far-ranging implications needs careful and thorough attention before it is enacted into law.

This proposed program's impact on existing local, State, and Federal planning activities and programs should be very carefully assessed. There are many programs which could be affected by this bill. This was certainly true before the bill was modified, principally through the efforts of the distinguished chairman of the committee. There are, at the Federal level, at least 80 existing programs that affect our rural citizenry in one way or another. No one seems to know how they would be affected.

I ask unanimous consent that a table prepared by the Department of Agriculture be printed at this point in the RECORD, listing some of the existing major programs.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Grants for neighborhood facilities

Brief description of program: Grants to local public bodies and agencies to finance specific projects for neighborhood facilities.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $25 million.

Public facilities loans

Brief description of program: Direct long-term loans are made to municipalities and other subdivisions and instrumentalities of States and to Indian tribes for financing construction of essential public works.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $30 million.

Federal Housing Administration loan insurance program

Brief description of program: The principal purposes of FHA are to improve home financing practices, to encourage improved housing standards and conditions, to further home ownership and to stabilize the mortgage market. These objectives are achieved through the insurance of loans for financing the production, purchase, repair, and improvement of residential properties.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $9,595 million.[1]

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: 9,286.

Number of field offices: 81.

Low rent public housing

Brief description of program: Federal loans and annual contributions are made to finance local construction of low rent housing and to maintaining the low rent character of such housing after completion.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $260 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: 1,673.

Water and sewer systems grants

Brief description of program: Grants to local public bodies and agencies for basic water and sewer facilities. The program is designed to promote effective orderly growth and development of communities.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $100 million.

Grants for advance acquisition of land

Brief description of program: Grants are made to local public bodies and agencies to assist the timely acquisition of sites planned to be used in connection with future construction of public works or facilities.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $5 million.

Loans and grants for urban renewal

Brief description of program: Federal assistance to local governments for acquisition, clearance, redevelopment, and rehabilitation of slums and blighted areas.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $725 million.

Open space land and urban beautification grants

Brief description of program: Grants are made to State and local bodies to help finance acquisition or permanent interest undeveloped land in urban areas useful for park recreation, conservation, historic or scenic purposes; also for the acquisition of developed land in buildup portions of urban areas to be cleared for use as permanent open space land.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $85 million.

Advances for public work planning

Brief description of program: Interest-free advances to States, municipalities, local public agencies, and metropolitan areas, and regions for the planning of local public works.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $10 million.

Urban planning

Brief description of program: Grants to supplement State and local funds to financing comprehensive urban planning and to help communities solve planning problems resulting from changes in the urban economy and population.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $35 million.

Office of the Secretary, salaries and expenses

Brief description of program: Represents administrative expenses of the Office of the Secretary and certain operating programs.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $44,084,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: 3,602.

Number of field offices: Seven.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of education

Elementary and Secondary Educational Activities

Brief description of program: Grants to assist local school districts to expand and improve programs for educationally deprived children; to States for library resources, textbooks, and instructional materials for elementary and secondary schools; to local educational agencies for supplementary educational centers and services; and to strengthen State departments of education.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total $1,342,410,000; in rural areas, $375 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 328; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, in total, 61.

Number of field offices: Nine.

Higher Educational Activities

Brief description of program: Grants to States for community service and continuing education programs to assist in solution of community problems; grants and contracts for college library resources, training of librarians, research to improve libraries, and catalog and bibliographic information by Library of Congress: grants to strengthen developing institutions; educational opportunity grants for financially needy undergraduate students; insured loan programs for college students; work-study programs for needy college students; teacher training and services programs; and grants to higher education institutions for instructional equipment and institutes to train faculty in use of such equipment.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $475,272,000; in rural areas, $23,500,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 225; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 99.

Number of field offices: Nine.

Higher Education Facilities Construction

Brief description of program: Grants and loans for undergraduate and graduate academic facilities and public community colleges and technical institutes. (Proposed legislation would enlarge loan program through sale of certificates of participation in pools of academic facilities loans.)

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $722,744,000; in rural areas, $36 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 165; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 18.

Number of field offices: Nine.

Expansion and Improvement of Vocational Education

Brief description of program: Grants are made to States for support and improvement of vocational education programs. Training for gainful employment as semiskilled or skilled workers and for business and office occupations is emphasized, and construction of area vocational schools is included. Grants are made for research and special project activities. A work-study program provides employment for students enrolled in vocational classes who are in need of financial assistance. The planning of experimental residential vocational schools where high dropout rates and youth unemployment prevail will be undertaken.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $250,791,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 54; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 36.

Number of field offices: Nine.

Grants for Public Libraries

Brief description of program: Grants are made to States for the further development of public library service and for construction of public library buildings.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $57,500,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 73; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 0.

Defense Educational Activities

Brief description of program: Payments to higher education institutions for student loan funds; grants to States and loans to nonprofit private schools for elementary and secondary instructional equipment and minor remodeling; grants to higher education institutions for graduate fellowships for college teachers; grants to States for elementary and secondary guidance, counseling, and testing programs, and institutes at higher education institutions for training counseling personnel; contracts with higher education institutions for language and area study centers, and modern foreign language fellowships; grants and contracts for research in educational uses of new media; grants to State educational agencies to strengthen statistical services; and institutes at higher education institutions to train elementary and secondary teachers in selected subjects.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $239,357,000; in rural areas, $29,000,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 252; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 27.

Number of field offices: nine.

Hospital Construction Activities

Brief description of program: To assist the States in providing adequate hospital and medical facilities through a program of construction or modernization grants or loans; to improve the utilization of health facilities and their services through programs of research and areawide planning.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $304,544,000; in rural areas, $22,000,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 192; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 118; number of field offices, 9.

Dental Services and Resources

Brief description of program: To protect and improve the dental health of the Nation by developnig methods for preventing, controlling, and treating dental diseases, by encouraging the adoption of proved methods, fostering research, and by providing assistance to State and local dental programs.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $9,196,000; in rural areas, $125,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 121; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 128.

Number of field offices, nine.

Medical Care Services

Brief description of program: To provide a focus within the PHS for medical care administration activities in general as well as the professional health aspects of the health insurance for the aged program.

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[1] Represents the face amount of loans of which all or a portion is covered by insurance.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $13,901,000; in rural areas, $1,250,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 174; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 132.

Number of field offices, nine.

Nursing Services and Resources

Brief description of program: To give leadership in nursing practice and research, to increase the number of nurses prepared for leadership positions and to provide a wide range of technical assistance designed to augment and improve nursing services through the Nation.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $26,134,000; in rural areas, $3 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 141; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 29.

Number of field offices: Nine.

Federal Water Pollution Control Administration

Waste Treatment Works Construction

Brief description of program: Grants to States, municipalities, or intermunicipal or interstate agency, for the construction of waste treatment works including intercepting and outfall sewers.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $150 million; in rural areas, $50 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer program in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 31; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total, 131; in rural areas, 104.

Number of field offices: In total, 131; in rural areas, 84.

Appalachian Regional Development

Brief description of program: Grants to assist in preventing pollution of the streams of the region and to protect the health and welfare of citizens.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $3 million.

(Workload absorbed under the regular program.)

Sewer Overflow and Storm Water Control

Brief description of program: Grants to assist in the development of projects which will demonstrate new or improved methods of controlling discharges of untreated or inadequately treated sewage or other waste from storm or combined storm and sanitary sewers and conduct of research and demonstrations by contract.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $20 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer program in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 28; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 0.

Vocational Rehabilitation Administration

Grants for Rehabilitation Services and Facilities

Brief description of program: Provides funds to States on a matching basis to help them meet the costs of vocational rehabilitation services for physically or mentally handicapped persons having disabilities that are substantial vocational handicaps and can probably be enabled to work. Provides assistance to States and other public and nonprofit organizations, agencies, and institutions in establishment, construction, expansion, and improvement of public or other nonprofit rehabilitation facilities and workshops for the physically or mentally disabled.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $259,060,000.[1]

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 296;[1] outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 83.[2]

Number of field offices: Nine.

Social Security Administration

Medicare

Brief description of program: Provides a basic hospital insurance plan and a voluntary supplementary medical benefits program. Coverage under both programs is extended to essentially all individuals aged 65 and over. Benefits under the hospital insurance plan will afford basic protection against the costs of inpatient hospital services, outpatient diagnostic services, posthospital home health services, and posthospital extended care. The supplementary medical benefits program will cover most physicians' services, home health services, and other related medical services. Benefit payments under both programs are effective on July 1, 1966, except for services in posthospital extended care facilities which will be effective on January 1, 1967.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $3,256 million; in rural areas, $976.8 million.[3]

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In District of Columbia metropolitan area, 25; outside District of Columbia metropolitan area. In total, 5,760; in rural areas, 1,728.[1]

Number of field offices: In total, 638; in rural areas, 0.

Children's Bureau

Special Project Grants for Health of School and Preschool Children

Brief description of program: The 1965 amendments to title V of the Social Security Act authorize a 5-year program of special project grants to provide comprehensive health care and services for children of school age, and for preschool children, particularly in areas with concentrations of low-income families. Projects will provide screening diagnosis, preventive services, treatment (both medical and dental), correction of defects and aftercare for children in low-income families.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $35 million; in rural areas, $3 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 17; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 22.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Bureau of Outdoor Recreation

Grants for Public Outdoor Recreation

Brief description of program: Funds are provided for assisting States in financing 50 percent of the cost of preparing recreation plans, acquiring land and water areas, and developing areas for public outdoor recreation purposes.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $69,440,000.[3]

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: 81.[4]

Number of field offices: 6.[4]

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Economic Development Administration

Development Facilities Grants

Brief description of program: Direct and supplementary grants are made to States and their political subdivisions, Indan tribes, and private or public nonprofit associations representing a development area to assist in the construction or improvement of development facilities which will (1) tend to improve opportunities for the successful establishment or expansion of industrial or commercial facilities; (2) otherwise assist in the creation of additional long-term employment opportunities in the area; or (3) primarily benefit the long-term unemployed and members of low-income families or otherwise substantially further the objectives of the Economic Opportunity Act.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967; In total, $175,140,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 100; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 294.

Technical and Community Assistance

Brief description of program: Technical assistance and research. Communities are aided in their planning for economic development by the provision of technical assistance useful in alleviating or preventing conditions of excessive unemployment or underemployment. Grants-in-aid are provided for economic planning staff and up to 75 percent of administrative expenses for public or private nonprofit State, area, district, or local organizations. A program of research into the causes and possible cures of unemployment and underemployment is undertaken. Community assistance: Leadership is provided for the stimulation of local initiative toward redevelopment activities at all levels. Locally prepared economic development programs are reviewed and assistance provided in the development of proposals to carry out these programs.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $27,245,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 250; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 254.

Economic Development Center Assistance

Brief description of program: Multicounty economic development districts are designated to broaden economic redevelopment efforts beyond individual redevelopment areas. Financial assistance in the form of grants and loans for development facilities, industrial and commercial loans and working capital loan guarantees are provided.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $40 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 5; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 26.

Economic Development Revolving Fund

Brief description of program: Long-term loans at low-interest rates to aid in the construction or expansion of development facilities and of commercial or industrial facilities for the purpose of alleviating unemployment and underemployment within designated areas.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $107,800,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 86; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 171.

Number of field offices: Eight area offices for all EDA programs.

FEDERAL AVIATION AGENCY

Grants-in-aid for airports

Brief description of program: The Federal-aid airport program is designed to assist the

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[1] Represents the face amount of loans of which all or a portion is covered by insurance.

[2] At the present time it is not possible to identify the amount of program effort devoted specifically to the rural segment of the population. Data from an earlier study indicates that approximately one-third of all rehabilitants are from nonurban areas and about 15 percent of these are from farm areas.

[3] Data is not available on this basis but was derived by using 30 percent of the total. Based on the 1960 population census, approximately 30 percent of the individuals age 65 and over now reside in rural areas.

[4] This program covers the entire United States and segments relating to rural areas are not identifiable.

Nation's communities in the development of airport facilities to serve the needs of civil aviation. On the whole, such needs exist primarily at centers of population, including smaller cities and towns. The program is not oriented toward developing rural areas as such, but toward meeting the needs for airport facilities as an integral part of the national aviation system. While some airports that receive aid from this grant program may be physically located in an area designated as rural, this occurs because airports require substantial land, and generally such airports serve specific community air transportation needs. Any benefit to strictly rural areas is indirect, in that it affords such areas air access through nearby communities' airports.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: Total grants-in-aid for airports, $60 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administrator programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C. metropolitan area, 19; outside Washington, D.C. metropolitan area, 183.

Number of field offices: 34.

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Business loans under section 7(a) Small Business Act

Brief description of program: Loans for business construction, conversion or expansion.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total $428,000.

Business loans under title IV of the Economic Opportunity Act

Brief description of program: Loans to very small concerns and/or to persons seeking to establish such concerns.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total $50,000.

Disaster loans under section 7(b) Small Business Act

Brief description of program: Loans to firms displaced by construction conducted by, or with funds provided by, the Federal Government. Loans to restore a home, business, or nonprofit institution to the predisaster condition.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $125,000.

Loans to small business investment companies under Small Business Investment Act

Brief description of program: Loans to provide capital and operating funds for SBIC's which in turn provide long-term loans and equity capital to small firms.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $72,000.

Local development company loans under Small Business Investment Act

Brief description of program: Loans to provide funds to buy land and build a new factory, acquire machinery and equipment, or expand or convert an existing plant, for a specific small firm.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $50,000.

Estimated positions to administer all the above programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 230; Outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 2,565.

Number of field offices: In total, 72.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Bureau of Employment Security

Services to Smaller Communities

Brief description of program: This program is concerned with people in the smaller and rural communities which cannot be served adequately by existing local offices and where it is not economically feasible to establish additional offices. It operates through the use of mobile teams which provide the full range of employment services to such communities, including testing, counseling, referral to training courses and referral to suitable jobs. In addition, community leaders are provided with comprehensive data on manpower needs and resources for use in developing local job opportunities and strengthening local economics.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $1,491,800; in rural areas, $1,491,800.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 10; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: None.

Manpower Development and Training Activities

Brief description of program: This program provides occupational and basic education training programs to equip the Nation's unemployed and underemployed workers with skills that will enable them to participate in productive employment.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $347 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967.[5]

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Job Corps

Brief description of program: The Job Corps provides work and training in residential centers away from their home environment for young people aged 16 through 21 who are out of school and out of work.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $310,000,000; in rural areas, $119,000,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 535. Outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total (non OEO Staff), 4345; in rural areas (non OEO Staff), 4345.[6] [2]

Number of field offices: Seven.

Neighborhood Youth Corps

Brief description of program: The Neighborhood Youth Corps administered by the Department of Labor provides full or part-time work experience for youths 16 through 21, enabling them to stay in or return to school or increasing their employability.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total $300,000,000; in rural areas $75,000,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area 202; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 160; number of field offices: 33.[7]

Community action program

Brief description of program: This program provides financial support, assistance, and guidance to communities across the Nation in developing and carrying out comprehensive local antipoverty programs.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total $914 million; in rural areas $228 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area 250; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total 400; in rural areas 80.

Migrant agricultural workers program

Brief description of program: This is a special program to meet the housing, sanitation, education, and day care needs of migratory agricultural workers and their families.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total $37 million; in rural areas, $37 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area 12; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: 0.

Adult basic education program

Brief description of program: This activity provides programs of instruction for adults whose inability to read and write the English language constitutes a substantial impairment of their ability to secure gainful employment.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total $30 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer program in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area 32; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: 3; number of field offices: 9.

Work experience program

Brief description of program: This activity provides demonstration work and training programs for unemployed parents of dependent children and for other needy persons in order to prepare them for regular employment and hence to enable them to become self-supporting.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $160 million; in rural areas, $54 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 57; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 30.

VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America)

Brief description of program: VISTA is a corps of full-time volunteers who live and work for 1 year helping and training the poor of our Nation. VISTA volunteers work under local sponsorship and local supervision. They receive no salary, only a bare living allowance and a stipend of $50 for each month of service.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $26 million; in rural areas, $9,194,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 285 (total VISTA staff); outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: VISTA volunteers in total, 4,500; in rural areas, 2,250.

Loans to low-income farm and rural families and to cooperatives serving such families

Brief description of program: The Farmers Home Administration administers this program which provides direct loans to rural applicants below normal Farmers Home Administration credit assistance and to rural cooperatives to improve economic circumstances.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In rural areas, $35,900,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 7; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total, 238; in rural areas, 220.

Number of field offices: 1,681.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Farmers Home Administration

Rural Housing Loans

Brief description of program: Direct and insured loans in rural areas to acquire, build or improve homes and service buildings on farms. Includes special loans for multiple senior citizens and farm labor housing.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In rural areas, $390 million.

Rural Housing Grants

Brief description of program: Grants for minor repairs to rural homes and farm service buildings and to help construct or repair farm labor housing and facilities.

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[2] See footnote on page 8889.

[5] There are no specific funds or positions identified in this program for rural or urban areas. Trainees are selected on the basis of criteria other than community size.

[6] Includes 2,324 in the Forest Service and 2,021 in the Department of the Interior.

[7] Includes NYC regional offices, district offices, and field offices.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In rural areas, $7 million.

Operating Loans

Brief description of program: Direct loans to assist family farmers in reorganizing and improving their farming systems.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In rural areas, $300 million.

Real Estate Loans to Individuals

Brief description of program: Direct and insured loans to acquire, enlarge or develop family farms and to provide facilities for land and water development, use and conservation.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In rural areas, $247 million.

Real Estate Loans to Associations

Brief description of program: Direct and insured loans in areas under 5,500 for the installation of water or waste disposal systems, and recreation, drainage, or other special community facilities.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In rural areas, $210 million.

Water and Sewage Grants

Brief description of program: Grants to assist in planning and developing water and waste disposal systems in areas under 5,500.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In rural areas, $26 million.

(The above five programs are administered from the annual appropriation "Salaries and expenses, Farmers Home Administration.")

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 195; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total, 6,275; in rural areas, 5,217.

Number of field offices: In total, 1,681; in rural areas, 1,637.

Emergency Loans

Brief description of program: Direct operating type loans for agricultural credit not available after natural disasters to continue normal operations.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In rural areas, $68,500,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 5; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, in total, 556; in rural areas, 527.

Rural Renewal

Brief description of program: Technical assistance and direct loans to local public agencies in low-income rural areas to restructure their economy.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In rural areas, $1,200,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 3; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, in total, 24; in rural areas, 20.

Social Conservation Service

Conservation Operations

Brief description of program: Technical assistance, primarily through conservation districts, to landowners and operators in developing plans and applying conservation treatment; make soil surveys to determine land capabilities and conservation treatment needs; snow surveys in the Western States to develop streamflow forecasts to aid seasonal use of water; operate plant material centers to test species of plants useful in soil and water conservation.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $109,020,000; in rural areas, $93,539,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: in Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 403; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total, 10,897; in rural areas, 9,905.

Number of field offices: In total, 3,508; [8] in rural areas, 3,452.

Watershed Planning

Brief description of program: Make investigations and surveys of proposed small watershed projects in response to requests made by sponsoring local organizations, and assist in the development of watershed work plans.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $6,397,000; in rural areas, $6,397,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 20. Outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total, 578; in rural areas, 529.

Watershed Protection

Brief description of program: Cooperate with local sponsors and others in installing planned measures to reduce erosion, floodwater and sediment damage, and further the conservation, development, use, and disposal of water, including development for recreation and improvement for wildlife habitat; cooperate with Federal, State, and local agencies in river basin investigations and surveys to develop coordinated water resources programs.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $69,559,000; in rural areas, $64,603,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 90. Outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total, 2,630; in rural areas, 2,417.

Flood Prevention

Brief description of program: Planning and installing works of improvement for flood prevention, agricultural water management, development of recreational facilities and improvement of fish and wildlife habitat, waterflow and runoff retardation, sediment control, soil erosion prevention, and conservation in the 11 watersheds, specifically authorized by law.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $26,454,000; in rural areas, $25,629,400.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 33; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total, 1,258; in rural areas, 1,179.

Great Plains Conservation Program

Brief description of program: Cost sharing conservation practice installation under long-term contracts and furnishing technical assistance to farmers and ranchers in developing and carrying out plans for land use adjustments to minimize climatic hazards, conserve soil and water and protect land from erosion and deterioration from natural causes in designated counties in 10 Great Plains States.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total $16,112,000; in rural areas, $15,630,700.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 15; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total, 389; in rural areas, 355.

Resource Conservation and Development

Brief description of program: Conduct investigations and surveys to assist local leaders and sponsoring organizations develop overall programs and plans for the orderly development, improvement, conservation and utilization of natural resources, and furnish technical assistance to sponsors, local groups and individuals in carrying out such plans and programs.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $6,748,044; in rural areas, $6,403,017.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 10; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total, 253; in rural areas, 232.

Rural Electification Administration

Electrification Loan Program

Brief description of program: Electrification loans are made primarily to cooperative associations formed solely for the purpose of supplying electricity in rural areas.

Estimated obligations or program levels in 1967: In total (all rural areas), $270 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer program in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 425; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, in total (all rural areas), 92.

Telephone Loan Program

Brief description of program: Telephone loans are made to private companies and cooperatives. REA cooperates with the industry to extend telephone service to rural areas.

Estimated obligations or program levels in 1967: In total (all rural areas), $85 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer program in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 341; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, in total (all rural areas), 104.

Federal extension service

Extension Educational Activities Related to Rural Areas Development

Brief description of program: The Cooperative Extension Services provides leadership in rural areas development in cooperation with many and varied existing organizations, or aids in the development of such organizations at the local level. This program includes the providing of educational and informational assistance to State, county, and local organizations interested in and responsible for providing leadership in local and area development. This includes work with individuals as well as groups in the rural areas.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total (all in rural areas), $26,500,000.[9]

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 29; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, in total (all in rural areas), 1,779.[9]

Number of field offices: In total (all in rural areas), 3,100.

Forest Service

Cooperation With States

Brief description of program: These funds are granted to States not to exceed 50 percent on a matching basis. Programs are administered by States and involve forest tree planting, forest management and processing, and general forestry assistance.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $5,086,000; in rural areas, $5 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 10; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, in total (all in rural areas), 760.

Number of field offices: In total (all in rural areas), 750.

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[8] These figures include all programs administered by SCS since staff at each location is responsible for work under all programs operating at the location.

[9] Financed from Federal, State, and local funds. Federal funds are estimated at 37 percent of the total.

Timber Development Loans

Brief description of program: Direct loans to private timber development organizations in Appalachia.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $800,000; in rural areas, $750,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 1; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, in total, 6; in rural areas, none.

Number of field offices: This program will be administered through the Farmers Home Administration field offices.

Utilization Research and Development—Develop New Products

Brief description of program: Rural area development specialists work directly with Federal, State, and local rural community development groups to help evaluate opportunities for establishing and operating agricultural processing plants. These advisers aid in the preplanning stages, assist in the formulation of specific program plans, and evaluate completed project proposals.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $75,000; in rural areas, none.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 4.8; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, zero.

Nutrition and Consumer Use Research—Guidelines for Nutritional and Health Standards

Brief description of program: Liaison with Rural Community Development Service, including work with home economists in rural areas, to make maximum contribution to programs for low-income families through preparation of guideline materials and through work on inter-agency and interdepartmental committees related to rural areas development.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $30,200; in rural areas, zero.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C. metropolitan area, 2; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, zero.

Consumer and marketing service

Consumer Food Programs

Brief description of program: National school lunch program, special milk program, food stamp program and commodity distribution programs.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total,[10] $616,000,000; in rural areas, $192,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 315; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total, 799; in rural areas, 24.

Number of field offices: In total, 165, in rural areas, 13.

Marketing Service and Regulatory Programs

Brief description of program: Administration of market regulatory laws, Federal administration of marketing agreement and order programs, payments to States for matching fund marketing service work, and Federal-State cooperative market news service.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $19,759,700; in rural areas, 0.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 542; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, in total, 933; in rural areas, 0.

Number of field offices: In total, 259; in rural areas, 0.

Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

Agricultural Conservation Program

Brief description of program: Costs are shared with individual farmers and ranchers who perform approved soil-building and soil- and water-conserving practices on their farms.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total (all in rural areas), $100 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 88.8; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, in total 4,256.5; in rural areas, 3,744.6.

Number of field offices: In total, 3,006; in rural areas, 2,947.

Appalachian Region Conservation Program

Brief description of program: This is a long-term program authorized in section 203 of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 to provide cost-sharing assistance to landowners, operators, or occupiers of land in the Appalachian region.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total (all in rural areas), $4,375,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer program in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 0; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, in total (all in rural areas), 65.

Number of field offices: In total, 386; in rural areas, 373.

Cropland Adjustment Program

Brief description of program: This program assists farmers, through long-term agreements, to divert land from the production of unneeded crops to uses that will promote the development and conservation of our soil, water, forest, wildlife, and recreational resources.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total (all in rural areas), $215 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 6; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total, 1,590; in rural areas, 1,500.

Number of field offices: In total, 3,006; in rural areas, 2,947.

Cropland Conversion Program

Brief description of program: Under long-term cropland conversion agreements in this pilot program, cropping systems and land uses will be changed to permanently shift to better productive use cropland which is not well suited for crop use.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total (all in rural areas), $10 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 5.9; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total, 43.1; in rural areas, 27.7.

Number of field offices: In total, 114; in rural areas, 89.

Conservation Reserve Program

Brief description of program: The conservation reserve program is authorized by the Soil Bank Act. It was a voluntary program, initiated in 1956, under which the Secretary was authorized, through the calendar year 1960, to enter into 3-to-10 year contracts with farmers to withdraw specified acreages of cropland from production and devote it to conservation uses. In return for removing designated cropland from production and for establishing necessary conservation practices on this land, the farmer receives an annual rental payment each year of the contract period, and receives cost-sharing assistance for the establishment of the required conservation practices. Most contracts will have terminated by the fiscal year 1970.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total (all in rural areas), $143 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 54.5; outside Washington, D.C. metropolitan area: In total, 348.2; in rural areas, 260.8.

Number of field offices: In total, 3,006; in rural areas, 2,947.

Emergency Conservation Measures

Brief description of program: This program restores to normal agricultural use farmlands which have been damaged by wind erosion, hurricanes, floods, or other natural disasters. Costs are shared with farmers for carrying out approved practices.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total (all in rural areas) $12 million.

Sugar Act Program

Brief description of program: The chief objective of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended, is "to protect the welfare of consumers of sugars and of those engaged in the domestic sugar-producing industry." This involves determination of U.S. consumption requirements and administration of quotas to regulate imports of sugar produced in foreign areas. It also involves marketing of sugar produced in domestic areas. Payments are made to domestic sugar growers who comply with certain labor, wage, price, and marketing requirements prescribed by law.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total (all in rural areas) $80 million.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 29.3; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total, 253.2; in rural areas, 166.4.

Number of field offices: In total, 342; In rural areas, 315.

CCC Price Support and Related Programs

Brief description of program: To stabilize, support, and protect farm income and prices; help maintain balanced and adequate supplies of farm products, foods, feeds and fibers; and aid in their orderly distribution.

Estimated net payments to farmers in 1967: In total $3,933,600,000; in rural areas, $3,366,200,000.[11]

Estimated man-years of employment to administer program in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 1,026.6; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total, 22,561.5; in rural areas, 18,145.0.

Number of field offices: In total, 3,006; in rural areas, 2,947.

Economic Research Service

Poverty Problems and Employment Opportunities in Rural Depressed Areas Including Appalachia

Brief description of program: Research on poverty problems and employment opportunities in chronic rural depressed areas including Appalachia.

Estimated obligations or program level in 1967: In total, $1,609,800; in rural areas $25,000.

Estimated man-years of employment to administer programs in 1967: In Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 89; outside Washington, D.C., metropolitan area: In total, 27; in rural areas, 2.

Number of field offices: In total, 24; in rural areas, 0.

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[10] The consumer food programs are operated primarily through State education and welfare agencies. These agencies in turn operate through local, city, or county units. Records of recipients and obligations are not required to be maintained by rural or urban areas.

[11] Does not include $567,400,000 purchases of processed commodities.

Mr. HRUSKA. Running down this table, under the heading "Department of Housing and Urban Development," there is a listing of grants for neighborhood facilities, estimated obligations or program level in 1967, $25 million total.

In the field of loans and grants for urban renewal, there is a listing of estimated obligations or program level in 1967, a total of $725 million.

Under the heading of "Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, elementary and secondary educational activities," there is an estimated obligation or program level in 1967 for rural areas in the amount of $375 million.

Under "Higher educational facilities construction," there is a listing of estimated obligations or program level in 1967 for rural areas in an amount of $36 million.

Under "Hospital construction activities," there is an estimated obligation or program level for rural areas in the amount of $22 million.

In the field of defense educational activities, there is an estimated obligation or program level in 1967 for rural areas in the amount of $29 million.

In the field of dental services and resources, there is an estimated obligation or program level in 1967 for rural areas of $125,000.

In the field of medical care services, there is an estimated obligation or program level in 1967 for rural areas of $1,250,000.

There are similar provisions for nursing services and resources and waste treatment works construction under the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration.

Farm organizations and others who would be affected urge that a broad-reaching program such as this bill would create must be given careful study and analysis. This has not been done. This program with its $230 million authorization will surely have great impact on existing programs.

There are, in addition to the Federal programs, numerous State programs which also could be affected by the bill. Virtually every State has planning legislation on its books, as the table on page 82, and following, of the Senate hearings indicates. The effect on these programs must be carefully measured.

The Agriculture and Forestry Committee is to be congratulated on the work it did in recasting the original bill which was introduced by the administration. As introduced, the bill represented another effort by the Secretary of Agriculture to gain control of rural America. In its original form, there was no limitation on authorization of appropriations. It was open ended. Not until earlier this afternoon, and indeed after debate had started on the floor of this Chamber, was there a limit of authorization set. This was done as a result of the amendment of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE]. This amendment set a limit of $230 million on the authorization.

Notwithstanding this ceiling, it is a measure which needs a detailed study. We must explore all of its ramifications before approving it.

I share the suggestion of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] that perhaps one approach to this question would be to recommit the bill, but I agree with him that a more direct way would be to defeat this bill. In the face of the problems in our economy, we should not create new spending programs. In this way we can aid the President in his efforts to defeat the giant and nefarious threat of inflation. The best course is to defeat the bill and make a new start on it at a more propitious time.

It is for these reasons that I oppose the pending measure.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I shall not take much time on the bill. The bill as originally introduced was not a good bill in that it tended to eliminate State and county lines and lines of local communities as well. The committee recognized its faults. All of the witnesses, with one exception, I believe, suggested it be amended so as to be less hazardous and to comply more with what is supposed to be the purpose of it. Of course, the Department of Agriculture supported it.

So the committee has in effect virtually rewritten the entire bill. It has rewritten the bill in such a way that it clearly applies to planning only.

If I am not mistaken—and if I am the chairman of the committee will correct me—it gives rural areas the same assistance as regards planning as is now enjoyed or given to urban areas.

There was some very slight objection to it because after an area had been delineated at the request of the people living therein, the program would become effective so far as the area was concerned. The committee provided more control and coordination by the State by providing that a district would not be approved unless the proper State agency had been given a 45-day notice and had not disapproved such approval.

This wording is copied from Public Law 566, the Small Watershed Act, according to counsel for our committee. Inasmuch as I introduced that bill I cannot complain about that too much.

The other main criticism of the bill was that the authority for appropriations was open-ended. The amendment offered by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE] provides, as I understand it, that no additional appropriations are authorized for the purpose of carrying out this legislation.

I voted to report the bill with the understanding that I would vote for any amendment or even against the bill itself if I found anything that I thought was wrong about it, before the time came to vote.

I believe that with the adoption of the Lausche amendment and the explanations which have been given as to the purpose of the bill, it is now a sound bill and will not add to the cost of Government. It is likely to do some good, and also give the rural areas the same kind of treatment now afforde. only to urban areas.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I rise in support of S. 2934, which would authorize Federal aid for community planning in rural areas.

I believe this is one of the most important bills that we will consider in Congress this year. The agricultural revolution has enabled us to produce vastly greater quantities of food on greatly diminished acreage and with greatly decreased manpower. This basic structural change has created a new reservoir of manpower and resources in the rural areas of our Nation—a reservoir which will be either a great opportunity for us or a great source of difficulty as the years pass.

Thus far, the result of the agricultural revolution has been a significant contribution to the great exodus from the rural areas to the cities. It has therefore contributed to some extent to the making of the serious urban crisis in which we now find ourselves. As the years pass, we must turn to the redevelopment and rebuilding of our rural areas if we are to have any hope of dealing with the urban crisis.

Rural development, therefore, is of great importance to everyone who lives in cities. But it is of critical importance to the rural areas themselves. The agricultural revolution has made farming uneconomical for thousands of small farmers. It has intensified rural poverty because there was nothing for those who left the land to turn to.

If we are to revitalize rural America, if we are to bring the quality of life in rural America up to our national standard, if we are to save our cities, we must begin planning in an orderly way for the economic development of all of our rural communities. As I travel around my own State of New York, I hear time and time again the complaint that planning for adequate water and sewer facilities, for adequate transportation, for education, for recreation, and for new industry would begin if the communities had somewhere to turn for technical help. Many communities simply do not have the experience to plan comprehensively on their own or to know how to take advantage of the various substantive programs of Federal aid. Most communities do not have the financial resources to afford an experienced planner to coordinate and spearhead their planning effort.

S. 2934 would contribute greatly to meeting this need, and it would do so by encouraging multi-county combinations for more efficient effort.

Often, one small community on its own will be unable to afford or sustain an adequate higher education facility or an adequate new source of water or an adequate new hospital. But rural counties acting together can afford these things and can do so in a way which locates the needed facilities in the places where they serve most efficiently. S. 2934 will foster this new regionalism.

The need for rural development all over the country is critical. This legislation would help meet that need. I hope the Senate will act favorably on it.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I shall vote against S. 2934, the proposed Community Development District Act of 1966, despite the substantial improvements made in the original version of this bill by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. These improvements recognize that the States should be given an effective voice in implementing the program contemplated by the bill.

This bill proposes to extend to rural areas the urban planning grant concept embodied in section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954. Under it, the appropriate State planning agency—in Pennsylvania's case, probably the State planning board, of which I am a member—would designate community development districts which, if approved by the Secretary of Agriculture, would be eligible to receive planning grants to be disbursed by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. These grants are designed, according to the report accompanying S. 2934, "to assist cooperating local governments in predominantly rural areas in planning their future development."

Desirable as this objective is, I doubt seriously that there is a compelling need for this program.

The proliferation of planning bodies and their conflicting jurisdictions should be a cause for concern. The Pennsylvania State Planning Board, besides trying to formulate a statewide development plan for the Commonwealth, is also trying to promote effective regional planning. In pursuit of this latter objective, the board has divided the Commonwealth into 13 State planning regions. The board's efforts to promote effective regional planning in Pennsylvania have not been facilitated by recent Federal enactments which have resulted in the establishment of new planning jurisdictions. The Appalachian Regional Development Act and the Public Works and Economic Development Act, both of which were enacted last year with my support, authorized the establishment of development districts which, without careful coordination, may not necessarily coincide with one another. Fortunately, the Scranton administration in Pennsylvania has managed to see to it that these districts conform as much as possible with one another and with the State planning regions.

Now, the Department of Agriculture, apparently for empire-building reasons, comes along with a proposal to establish still another set of development districts. This, I suggest, is unwarranted and unnecessary. As one deeply involved in the planning process at the State level, I feel strongly that we must curb an increasing tendency toward proliferation of planning bodies and conflict in the planning requirements upon which Federal development assistance is conditioned. This has become such a serious problem in metropolitan and regional planning that I have been engaged in drafting a bill, which I hope to introduce later this session, to bring some order out of the growing chaos in planning by rationalizing and making more meaningful the role of comprehensive planning in metropolitan and regional development.

In short, Mr. President, this legislation is unnecessary and for this reason I oppose its enactment.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I wish to express my strong support for S. 2934, the Community District Development Act which authorizes Federal grants to our rural areas for planning activities.

Assistance of this nature has long been offered to our urban communities and is long overdue to improve the public health and community services to our farm and rural areas. I believe it is imperative at this time when our farm population has declined to a dangerously low point that we offer immediate assistance to the people who are performing this vital function to our Nation's well-being. This should encourage rural people to stay on the farms and thus, hopefully, help to reverse the continuing gravitation toward urban centers which have growing housing, crime, and welfare problems.

As we all know, our cities have grown to a point where the problems of serving the citizens are becoming more staggering each day. We know we must find some other solution than merely expanding our facilities in the cities.

This legislation offers, in my opinion, one of the most promising programs insofar as it will encourage and assist the rural areas to improve the services which may be offered to people living on farms and small communities. In this manner, I believe, we can at least urge our people to remain in these smaller communities while still enjoying the benefits of better public health programs, better schools, cultural programs, and we can encourage industries to look for rural areas in which to expand rather than create further congestion in the already crowded cities.

I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this legislation.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I have no intention of discussing the bill at length, but there are one or two questions I would like to address to the manager of the bill.

Will the bill lead to the destruction or reduction of the authority of our local and county governments?

Mr. ELLENDER. No.

Mr. BENNETT. Could certain local functions be consolidated under this program?

Mr. ELLENDER. No; but assistance would be given to enable the local governments to coordinate their programs within the district, not with the idea of doing away with them, but coordinating them.

Mr. BENNETT. The Senator talks about coordinating. Suppose a particular district did not want to have a particular function included in the program, but wanted to hold out? Could it be forced to become a part of the program?

Mr. ELLENDER. If the Senator from Utah will read the bill, he will see that it relates only to planning. It has nothing to do with a new program. It simply provides for a planning organization that would be formed either through existing State law, such as in Georgia and some other States, or it would permit commissioners of a county or, as in my State, police juries, to join together and form a body that would have not exactly corporate existence but would form an entity which could deal with the Federal Government in obtaining funds for planning. It would have no authority, as I said, to go beyond obtaining funds for the purpose of planning operations.

Mr. BENNETT. If a particular community within a projected district decided it wanted to stay outside the program and did not want the plan to include its functions, could it be safe in that position?

Mr. ELLENDER. It would not have to participate in the program if it did not wish to. The planning, of course, would cover the whole district; but what we sought to do in committee was to place the handling of the program in the hands of the local people who are interested in the development of their community. The entire management of the planning would be in the hands of the local people.

Even as to the funneling of the moneys for the planning, which would be up to 75 percent of the amount to pay those who do the work, the Federal Government would furnish that to the authority created under the local or the State laws. They would have the authority to put up the rest of it, which would be the 25 percent, if the Federal Government put up as much as 75 percent.

I want to emphasize to the Senator from Utah that the bill does not contemplate the expenditure of any funds whatever for the construction of any proposed projects. It merely permits the planning of the resources of the community, both human and natural, with the hope of attracting industry, and with the further hope that by so doing, industry will locate there and try to develop an operation to keep the people of that area busy where they live, instead of forcing them to go to large cities and large centers to obtain work.

Mr. BENNETT. Of course, the Senator from Utah realizes that there have been other Federal programs, notably the ARA, whose purpose was to bring industry to areas that needed it. From my point of view, that program was not a success. In fact, it was so much less than a success that it was necessary to develop another program, give it a name, and put it on top of the ARA. Will this program fit into that pattern?

Mr. ELLENDER. I think this new authority will help a good deal, because under the proposed authority local people will undoubtedly study the programs now in existence, with a view to trying to coordinate them. In the overall planning, the tendency will be to seek the coordination of all Federal programs either existing or that may exist in the future. In this way, the people in an area can work together and thereby, perhaps, save the Government money, instead of continuing some of these programs that cost as much as they have in the past, without obtaining substantial results.

Mr. BENNETT. I thank the Senator from Louisiana for his comments.

The Senator from Utah is still gun-shy of programs which bring in Federal coordinators and put them on top of local authorities.

Mr. ELLENDER. The board would be composed of local people. They would be selected either under existing State law or under the direction of municipalities in the area. My State has police juries which are empowered to make local laws for government of the parish. As I recall in the State of Utah there are county commissioners.

Mr. BENNETT. County commissioners.

Mr. ELLENDER. They are similar to the police juries in my State.

The people who were elected would get together and formulate the board or authority which would have the privilege of dealing with the Federal Government and obtaining funds in order to plan the use of the human and natural resources within the district.

As I have stated, there has been a great influx of rural residents to the cities because there is no employment where they now live. I could list for Senators many areas in my own State where there has been a migration of country folks to the cities in order to obtain employment.

I am sure the Senator is cognizant that because of this tendency, Congress has provided a large amount of money to study the need for transportation facilities in the areas where many people travel to work. A large amount is being spent in the Northeast. Probably $350 to $400 million will be spent in the District of Columbia to build underground tramways.

The passage of this bill will, in my opinion, stop some of the migration. A part of the planning will be the preparation of brochures for certain parts of Louisiana and for certain parts of Utah, to inform industry of the kinds of human and natural resources that now exist and to invite them to come to those areas and expend funds there.

Another result can be anticipated because of the proposed legislation, as I have said earlier. Large electrical concerns may be scattered, let us say, in a certain area of the country. Instead of expanding their existing facilities in that area, they may wish to build smaller facilities throughout the rural area and scatter their work around, in order to keep the people in the country, where they should be, and not crowd the big cities. On many occasions it has been difficult for city fathers to provide proper housing and proper transportation for the millions of workers who now reside in the cities.

It is my opinion that the proposed legislation will accomplish much. What we are attempting to do by the bill is to provide the rural people with the same planning benefits as are accorded to the urban dwellers.

The bill was amended at the beginning of the debate in order to have it conform to the committee desires; that is, to use the present authorization under section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954, which now limits planning grants to $230 million.

The moneys would be taken from that fund and no further authorization is provided in the bill before the Senate.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I am glad the amendment is incorporated in the bill. However, having watched these earlier programs operate and realizing how people do not locate because of brochures, but because of markets, available raw materials, and other conditions, I feel that this will probably be as unsuccessful as the original ARA.

I wish I could remember the figure representing the number of new industries that are prepared to start up every year, but it is a small handful. Chambers of commerce in communities of any size are already working on the program. Now we propose to add a Federal program with plans for the expenditure of an additional $230 million.

There still is not enough industry to make up the difference. While I appreciate the enthusiasm of my friend, the Senator from Louisiana, I am afraid I am not particularly impressed.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], who is a member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, is in Kentucky today and could not be present. However, because he is a cosponsor of the community development district bill and took part in the discussions which led to the committee amendments improving the bill, I ask unanimous consent that a brief statement he had prepared be included at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

I am glad to be a cosponsor of the Community Development District Act of 1966, for I believe it can encourage local initiative in rural development, and can help coordinate existing programs and make their benefits more fully available to rural areas and centers.

The Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, on which I serve, has amended the administration bill and, I think, improved it greatly. The committee amendment makes clear that approval of a district for the purposes of this act shall be upon the initiative of local units of government participating in the district, that the districts shall be those designated by the State, and that the State concur in the planning grants to be approved by the Secretary of Agriculture. The committee has been assured that such districts would be identical with those already designated in several States or under other authorities, so there would be no overlapping or duplication but rather coordinated planning supervised and directed by the responsible elected officials of participating governments within the district.

I point out that the authority for grants is limited to planning, and that the intention is to extend to rural areas the type of area planning which can result in more orderly and efficient application of existing programs already authorized for urban areas.

I remember that under the Eisenhower administration, new impetus was given to the concept of rural area development under the leadership of Under Secretary of Agriculture True B. Morse. I believe the first rural development pilot counties were named nearly 10 years ago. So it is not a new idea that rural area planning, proceeding through local initiative and maintaining local responsibility, can be productive in building a better life for those who live in rural areas, and in helping these areas maintain their value and importance during the changes which are taking place across the entire face of our land. Later the Rural Community Development Service was formed in the Department of Agriculture, and while its goals have been worthwhile it has not, at least until now, been provided with sufficient funds—or the direction to extend assistance to defined and selected areas in which some continuity of attention might bring about mutually productive results in several fields.

I think the hope in this bill is that it would stimulate the creation of multicounty districts organized for productive area planning, eliminate duplication and waste, and utilize to better advantage Federal and State programs of assistance already available.

In Kentucky, as in several other States, such development areas are already organized under the Kentucky area program office, utilizing local area development councils. At this time there are 21 multicounty area development councils, in most cases involving four to six counties. I understand that other States, such as Georgia and Pennsylvania, have also found this approach worthwhile.

The bill before the Senate today recognizes the value of this method of dealing with the problems of rural area development. It is centered in local initiative and State responsibility, and I believe could help bring about the kind of planning and cooperation which would do much to bring to fruition the hopes all of us have for the fuller development of rural communities and country life.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I shall not talk long on this bill. I want to point out a few things as I address some questions to the Senator in charge of the bill.

It is my understanding that the amendment of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE] strikes the provision for the open end authorization.

Mr. ELLENDER. I had that amendment on my desk. It simply clarifies the language to provide that the authorization of $230 million included in the 1965 amendment to the Housing Act of 1954 will also be used for rural planning. It would not increase the amount from the $230 million provided in that act.

After that amendment had been adopted, I examined the bill and found that the authorization amendment contained in section 11 had not been stricken from the bill. Therefore, I moved to strike section 11 and the Senate agree to an amendment to strike that out also.

If the bill is enacted as presently written, the authority for funds would be derived from section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954, as amended in 1965.

Mr. DOMINICK. I appreciate that statement. It clears up that point.

The second point concerns the fact that at the present time an application has been made in my State for a survey of a five-county area in the most rural section of our State to determine the economic and human resources of that particular area. The job of making this survey has been given to the poverty corps as a proposed grant to some people who want to make this study.

It became apparent during the process of reviewing this proposal that most of the information being asked for was already available by merely picking it up from our State development board and from the local chambers of commerce. Nevertheless, this application is still in effect.

What is the difference between what is provided in the bill and what could already be done under the existing Economic Opportunity Act or grants of the type that I have mentioned?

Mr. ELLENDER. How was this authority created in Colorado, of which the Senator is speaking?

Mr. DOMINICK. Our State Industrial Board is a State agency designed to bring industry into the State where possible.

Mr. ELLENDER. The Senator spoke of five counties. How were these five counties designated?

Mr. DOMINICK. These five counties are separate governmental units. A professor at one of the Colorado universities simply proposed that the poverty program give him a grant to make a study of the counties. It did not originate in the counties.

Mr. ELLENDER. As I understand the Senator, the funds would be obtained from the poverty program.

Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator is correct. The funds would benefit the professor largely, plus the survey group.

Mr. ELLENDER. The difference is that under this bill, if enacted, a planning commission would be created, by either State law or by municipal governments—police juries in Louisiana—and county commissioners in the Senator's State. Local people would get together and form an area of perhaps 2 counties, 5 counties, or 10 counties and would elect a board which would provide matching funds which, in this case, would be 25 percent or more of the cost to make the survey and work out the plan. The Federal Government would furnish the remainder. That is one of the essential differences.

As I said, a planning board would be created under the act which, I repeat, would be composed of people in the community affected. Local people would make the selection of the board members. The selection would be made by elected officers of the community affected, such as municipal officers, jury officers, and police jurymen in our State. This entity would be empowered to accept funds from the Federal Government to have the planning made.

Mr. DOMINICK. It would seem entirely possible under this situation that if we were to pass this bill there would be three separate programs, all of which could deal with the same thing. There could be the poverty program, the pending bill, and the money which is now available for planning grants under the Department of Housing and Urban Development which goes to urban, interregional or intercounty regional planning committees and things of that kind at the present time.

I know of the latter type because I happened to serve on one when I was still in the State Legislature of Colorado.

Mr. ELLENDER. If this bill is passed, and I hope it will be, the local people will more or less have the opportunity to form this entity at the local level. They will be able to coordinate programs that are now in effect or that may be created in the future.

The committee agreed to an amendment to the bill whereby those who do the planning will prepare a brochure indicating the resources in that area which can be used as the basis for listing and improving the natural and human resources of the particular county. There will doubtless be authority to coordinate a program that may now be in existence, or that may be created later.

The amendment agreed to by the committee would provide that those who analyze the particular community would indicate at the close of their study the programs that are then available from the Federal Government to assist in carrying out the plan.

In other words, I am sure the Senator is cognizant of the fact that there are many programs today that are available to many people, but few know what they are. In this proposed study, those employed for that purpose would conclude their brochure by indicating such Federal programs as may be available to carry out their recommendations.

Mr. DOMINICK. Then one of the functions of this planning is to try to put together, at the end of a plan, the number of Federal programs that are available to the area?

Mr. ELLENDER. Such programs as may be available, yes, that is right.

Mr. DOMINICK. And we need another Federal program to put together a correlation of these programs which already exist?

Mr. ELLENDER. To provide a coordinated list of applicable Federal aids.

Mr. DOMINICK. I have great admiration for the Senator from Louisiana, but——

Mr. ELLENDER. I have explained that on two or three occasions. The purpose of the bill is to more or less coordinate these programs. I repeat what I said before, that this is a planning program only, simply to show those interested for example, what these certain areas have to offer, in the hope that private enterprise will come in and provide industry to give employment to the people there, rather than let them float into the cities.

Mr. DOMINICK. And the bill specifically is not designed to provide any funds to implement programs which may be recommended in the plan?

Mr. ELLENDER. The Senator is correct. There are no funds for that purpose. It is only for planning.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the Senator.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, just a word in opposition to the bill. I have the greatest admiration and respect for the distinguished Senator from Louisiana, and am always impelled by his persuasiveness.

But when we have a plethora of bills coming across the floor of the Senate calling for additional expenditures on the homefront, I say let us confine our planning and efforts to the matter of winning the war in Vietnam. That should be our first order of business. We need to establish priorities. I oppose and will continue to oppose bills of relatively low priority. We must not lose sight of the fact that we are at war and experiencing inflation that threatens our entire economy—inflation caused by needless and excessive domestic spending.

In the light of the current situation, to this cowboy from Wyoming, $230 million is a lot of money to spend for such a program.

Mr. McGOVERN. A year ago, Mr. President, I proposed and the Senate adopted an amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act directing the Administrator to adopt procedures that would assure rural America an equitable share of antipoverty program benefits. At that time, only about 5 percent of total program funds were being expended in rural areas, although 47 percent of the Nation's poverty was there.

On February 17, the President sent a bill to Congress, pursuant to an earlier message on rural poverty, proposing the the establishment of rural community development districts through which technical assistance would be given rural areas in planning projects and taking advantage of antipoverty programs.

In my opinion, the President's response to the amendment I sponsored is well designed.

Large urban communities have professional personnel to plan and develop antipoverty programs and develop useful projects.

Small rural towns, townships, and counties, however, seldom can afford the professional assistance necessary to plan, complete applications and forms, and successfully process projects.

The Community Development District Act of 1966 provides for the designation of districts sizable enough to justify the employment of such professional assistance, and for grants to assist the small local governments in obtaining the technicians and the services they need.

I want to congratulate the President and his aids who have prepared this proposal, as well as Senator ELLENDER who guided the measure through his Committee on Agriculture and is managing it on the Senate floor. The development of these districts should not only result in a more equitable sharing in the Federal effort, but also in the stimulation of self-help in the rural areas as a result of clearer insight into economic problems.

I hope the Senate will approve this bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further amendment to be offered, the question is on the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended.

The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended, was agreed to.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the bill pass? On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. INOUYE. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BASS], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], the Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. RUSSELL], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BASS], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS], and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS] would each vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] is paired with the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN]. If present and voting, the Senator from Kentucky would vote "yea" and the Senator from Arizona would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] is paired with the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY]. If present and voting, the Senator from Iowa would vote "yea" and the Senator from California would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 43, nays 21, as follows:

[No. 66 Leg.]

YEAS—43

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Bartlett
Bayh
Brewster
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Case
Dominick
Ellender
Ervin
Fulbright
Harris
Hart
Hartke
Hill
Inouye
Jackson
Jordan, N.C.
Long, Mo.
Mansfield
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Mondale
Monroney
Morse
Muskie
Pastore
Pell
Proxmire
Randolph
Smathers
Smith
Sparkman
Stennis
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NAYS—21

Bennett
Boggs
Carlson
Curtis
Dirksen
Fong
Hickenlooper
Holland
Hruska
Jordan, Idaho
Kuchel
Lausche
Morton
Pearson
Saltonstall
Scott
Simpson
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NOT VOTING—36

Bass
Bible
Burdick
Church
Clark
Cooper
Cotton
Dodd
Douglas
Eastland
Fannin
Gore
Gruening
Hayden
Javits
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Long, La.
Magnuson
McNamara
Metcalf
Miller
Montoya
Moss
Mundt
Murphy
Nelson
Neuberger
Prouty
Ribicoff
Robertson
Russell, S.C.
Russell, Ga.
Symington
Talmadge
Tydings

So the bill (S. 2934) was passed.

The title was amended, so as to read: "A bill to provide needed additional means for the residents of rural America to achieve equality of opportunity by authorizing the making of grants for comprehensive planning for public services and development in community development districts approved by the Secretary of Agriculture."

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to commend the distinguished senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] for his skillful handling of the community district development measure. His persuasive advocacy assured the Senate's overwhelming endorsement of this rural assistance program. Such success, though, is characteristic of nearly all legislation backed by the highly able chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Our thanks go also to the ranking minority member of the committee, the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], whose support of the measure helped greatly to achieve successful Senate action.

Additionally, I commend the distinguished minority leader and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT], who, while opposing the measure, did not seek to impede its orderly disposition.

Finally, I thank the Senate as a whole for its swift action on this measure.

SECOND SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, FISCAL YEAR 1966

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that if the second supplemental appropriations bill, H.R. 14012, is reported today, it be laid down and made the pending business.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—and I did not rise for the purpose of objecting—but on behalf of my able colleague, who may speak for himself, I ask if it is the intention of my able friend that, if the appropriations bill is reported, as I am sure it will be, it will be taken up tomorrow.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Oh, no.

Mr. KUCHEL. On Wednesday.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Wednesday.

Mr. KUCHEL. I thank my friend. I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT TO WEDNESDAY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon Wednesday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RUSSIAN FISHING TRAWLERS OFF PACIFIC COAST—II

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on April 13 I discussed in the Senate the very serious problem that has arisen by reason of the huge catches of ocean perch that are being taken by Russian trawlers in the deep waters from 10 to 30 miles off the coast of Oregon. On the same day I urged the President and the Secretary of State to take immediate action, through diplomatic channels, to work out a satisfactory policy which would assure proper conservation measures with respect to this extremely important natural resource.

The correspondence I have received from Oregon since April 13 indicates that the problem has not abated. It has intensified, and the people of Oregon, with full justification, are looking to our Government to find a solution to the Russian trawler fishing problem which will assure that our supply of west coast bottomfish will not disappear through excessive catches taken by the Russians.

On April 19 the State Department replied to my plea for diplomatic negotiations. One would have to search long and diligently for a more inept and unsatisfactory reply on the part of any agency of the Federal Government.

The basic theses of the State Department, as reflected in this April 19 letter, were, as we lawyers would say, in the nature of pleas of confession and avoidance. I ask unanimous consent that the State Department letter of April 19 be set forth in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 19, 1966.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have received your telegram of April 11 forwarding the text of your telegram of the same date to the President regarding the operations of Soviet fishing vessels off the coast of Oregon. I refer also to your communication to me of April 5 enclosing copies of messages on this subject from fishing industry interests in Oregon.

Some 20 to 30 Soviet trawlers have been observed since about April 1 fishing in international waters off the Oregon and Washington coast. It is probable that, as was the case last year, these vessels have moved south from the larger groups which have for some time been fishing in the Gulf of Alaska and off British Columbia. No violations of U.S. law by these vessels have been observed, and our information indicates that they are operating within their rights under international law.

In the circumstances, the courses of action available to us under normal practice between nations are those based primarily on the requirements of conservation. It is our understanding, based on consultations with the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, Department of the Interior, that there is insufficient scientific evidence at present to justify conclusions as to what, if any, the conservation requirements might be for the bottomfish stocks off our Pacific Coast.

In your telegram, you allude to the fact that the U.S.S.R. has not acceded to the 1958 Geneva Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas. In itself, this need not rule out our seeking negotiations with the Soviet Union regarding the conservation of the bottomfish stocks off our West Coast. Before doing so, however, we consider that we should attempt to obtain a better gauge of whatever conservation problems may exist regarding these stocks and to formulate, in consultation with the fishing industry, measures which we might propose to meet any such problems. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, we would need to weigh carefully the implications of such negotiations for existing fishing treaty arrangements in the North Pacific, since we consider it highly unlikely that the discussions could be limited solely to the question of trawling for bottomfish or that participation could be limited to the United States and the Soviet Union. We think it inevitable that both Canada and Japan (and perhaps others) would at some point be drawn into the discussions and that we would then face the prospect of a general fisheries treaty in the North Pacific to include all four countries.

We have been engaged for some time in negotiations with Canada and Japan looking to possible revision of the tripartite International Convention for the High Seas Fisheries of the North Pacific Ocean. Since the minimum 10-year duration of this treaty expired in 1963, any one of the parties may now terminate it 1 year after presentation of a notice of intent to do so. The abstention provisions of this treaty provide almost complete protection from Japanese fishing for our halibut fisheries outside of Bering Sea and for our salmon fisheries except for red salmon originating in the Bristol Bay area of Alaska which migrate to the west of 175° west longitude. Obviously, we seek in the negotiations with Canada and Japan to continue to protect our salmon and halibut fisheries.

In this situation, negotiations with the U.S.S.R. on fisheries treaty arrangements in the North Pacific will almost certainly prejudice the tripartite negotiations to the disadvantage of the United States. From informal discussions which we have had with Soviet fisheries officials and from their public statements and actions, we consider that there is no possibility that the Soviet Union would be willing to enter into a treaty embodying the principles contained in the present tripartite treaty. Thus action to bring the U.S.S.R. into treaty arrangements would almost surely bring about a deterioration of the protection now afforded the U.S. salmon and halibut fisheries.

Obviously, the entry of Soviet trawlers on a sustained basis into our trawl fishery off the Washington-Oregon coast would present a new element to which we would have to give most careful consideration. In so doing, we would need to take into account the actual and potential effect of these new Soviet fishing operations upon the stocks of fish and upon our fishery, as well as the interests of other elements of our fisheries which might be implicated, including, for example, the Columbia River and other salmon fisheries.

In consultation with other agencies of the Government and our industry advisers, the Department is watching this situation closely with a view to the balance of advantage to our North Pacific fisheries as a whole.

I regret that the Department is unable to send you a more favorable reply at this time. If there is additional information which you believe we can furnish, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,
For the Secretary of State:
DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II,
Assistant Secretary.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the distilled essence of the State Department reply to my request for immediate negotiations on the coastal fishery activities of the Russian trawlers was this:

First. We do not have the facts to indicate whether the Russian trawlers are taking fish in quantities which will interfere with conservation requirements, because we do not have a proper gage of whatever conservation problems may exist.

The facts which I put in the RECORD show that the Russian trawlers are taking away 500,000 pounds a day. That is pretty difficult to reconcile with conservation. It does not take many days of that type of nonconservation fishing to destroy fishing beds.

Second. We must not "rock the boat" in connection with negotiations that have been going on for some time between the United States, Canada, and Japan with respect to a possible revision of the tripartite International Convention for the High Seas Fisheries of the North Pacific Ocean; if we start negotiations with the U.S.S.R. on fisheries treaty arrangements, the "boat will be rocked" to the disadvantage of the United States.

Mr. President, these are shocking admissions on the part of our Government. The United States has had enough experience with Russian fishing activities in the Atlantic to be alerted to the probability that comparable activities would be undertaken by the Russians on the west coast. Why we have not prepared detailed memorandums with the essential factual information as to what is necessary by way of conservation measures to preserve our west coast bottomfish stocks, defies rational explanation.

Mr. President, I am at a loss to understand why we should hesitate to ask for diplomatic negotiations with Russia because we are engaged with negotiations with Japan and Canada. After all, may I say respectfully, I am not arguing only for the economic interests of the people of my State and of the Nation; I am arguing for a conservation program that will protect a basic food supply not only for the people of the United States but of the world. When we think of the great problem of assuring an adequate food supply for the people by the year 2025—which is not too far ahead—we cannot justify in our time following a course of action which is going to do irreparable damage to one of the most basic sources of food supply that we have; namely, the food that comes out of the ocean.

The second excuse offered by the State Department, namely, that we should not "rock the boat" by asking for negotiations with the Russians constitutes a type of handwringing which ill-befits the State Department. If the Department expects me to join in this sordid display of handwringing and avoidance of issues, I advise the Department here and now that I do not intend to join in such a sad display of inaction.

Today I have communicated with the Department of State advising it of my dissatisfaction with the answer supplied under date of April 19 and I have asked that this issue be reviewed at the Secretarial level. I have also apprised the President of my views and the State Department's reply.

In order that we may have all available facts at hand, I have asked the director of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries to supply relevant information concerning this coastal fishery resource.

I ask unanimous consent that my letters of today addressed to the Department of State and the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries be set forth in the RECORD at the close of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., April 25, 1966.

HON. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II,
Assistant Secretary of State, Department of State, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MACARTHUR: This will acknowledge your letter of April 19 in reply to the recent communications I addressed to the President and the Secretary of State wherein I requested the scheduling of immediate diplomatic conferences with the Russian Government on the fishing activities of Russian trawlers off the coast of Oregon. In all candor, I must say your reply is completely unsatisfactory.

As I indicated in my Senate statement of April 13, it is estimated that the Russians are taking approximately 500,000 pounds of ocean perch per day off the coast of Oregon. This is a substantial quantity and arouses understandable concern in Oregon over the possible depletion or complete loss of this fishery resource.

Despite the urgency of this situation, the reply of the Department of State reflects nothing but complacency and inaction. The Department's first observation worthy of attention on the Russian trawler fleet activities is this:

"It is our understanding, based on consultations with the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, Department of the Interior, that there is insufficient scientific evidence at present to justify conclusions as to what, if any, the conservation requirements might be for the bottomfish stocks off our Pacific coast.

"In your telegram, you allude to the fact that the U.S.S.R. has not acceded to the 1958 Geneva Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas. In itself, this need not rule out our seeking negotiations with the Soviet Union regarding the conservation of the bottomfish stocks off our West Coast. Before doing so, however, we consider that we should attempt to obtain a better gage of whatever conservation problems may exist regarding these stocks and to formulate, in consultation with the fishing industry, which we might propose to meet any such problems."

My first question in response to the above-quoted paragraphs is this: when do you expect to obtain sufficient scientific evidence as to the conservation requirements for the bottomfish stocks off our Pacific Coast? Is this evidence now being collected, and if so, when will it be available to serve as the basis for diplomatic conferences with the Russians aimed at the preservation of this fishery resource? Is such evidence completely inadequate at present and will it be several years before it will be ready for use?

In connection with this specific issue, I enclose for your consideration a copy of a letter to the editor of the Portland Oregonian, addressed to that newspaper by Carl Francis of Dayton, Oreg. This item was published on April 21, 1966. As you will note, it refers to a Presidential proclamation of September 28, 1945, issued by President Truman. I enclose a photostatic copy of the proclamation in order that you may have the exact text as it appeared in the Federal Register. Also, enclosed is a photostatic copy of Executive Orders 9633 and 9634 of September 28, 1945, "Reserving and Placing Certain Resources of the Continental Shelf Under the Control and Jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior," and "Providing for the Establishment of Fishery Conservation Zones."

A number of my constituents have suggested that the foregoing proclamation and Executive orders could serve as the basis for action on the part of our Government to demand the immediate withdrawal of the trawlers. It is possible, of course, that the 1945 proclamation and Executive orders have been superseded by a treaty entered into later by the United States, but in order that I may have accurate information to supply my constituents on the question presented by the 1945 proclamation and Executive order, I would appreciate your detailed comments thereon.

On the same general subject, Oregon State Treasurer, Robert W. Straub, wrote to me under date of April 18, indicating that we claim rights to submerged lands extending to the Continental Shelf beyond the 3-mile limit insofar as Federal jurisdiction relates to the granting of oil leases. If I understand correctly, the United States claims paramount jurisdiction as against the adjacent States in the granting of oil leases on submerged lands lying between the 3-mile limit and the edge of the Continental Shelf. Mr. Straub presents an interesting and important question, namely, if we claim paramount jurisdiction for oil lease purposes on submerged lands extending beyond the 3-mile limit to the edge of the Continental Shelf, why do we not claim paramount jurisdiction as against other nations, including Russia, with respect to the fishery natural resources located between the 3-mile limit and the edge of the Continental Shelf. Your comments in this respect will be appreciated. Enclosed for your information is a copy of Mr. Straub's letter and press release of April 18 posing this issue.

The second principal point set forth in your April 19 letter is found in this language:

"In addition, and perhaps more importantly, we would need to weigh carefully the implications of such negotiations for existing fishing treaty arrangements in the North Pacific, since we consider it highly unlikely that the discussions could be limited solely to the question of trawling for bottomfish or that participation could be limited to the United States and the Soviet Union. We think it inevitable that both Canada and Japan (and perhaps others) would at some point be drawn into the discussions and that we would then face the prospect of a general fisheries treaty in the North Pacific to include all four countries.

"We have been engaged for some time in negotiations with Canada and Japan looking to possible revision of the tripartite International Convention for the High Seas Fisheries of the North Pacific Ocean. Since the minimum 10-year duration of this treaty expired in 1963, any one of the parties may now terminate it 1 year after presentation of a notice of intent to do so. The abstention provisions of this treaty provide almost complete protection from Japanese fishing for our halibut fisheries outside of Bering Sea and for our salmon fisheries except for red salmon originating in the Bristol Bay area of Alaska which migrate to the west of 175 degrees west longitude. Obviously, we seek in the negotiations with Canada and Japan to continue to protect our salmon and halibut fisheries.

"In this situation, negotiations with the U.S.S.R. on fisheries treaty arrangements in the North Pacific will almost completely prejudice the tripartite negotiations to the disadvantage of the United States. From informal discussions which we have had with Soviet fisheries officials and from their public statements and actions, we consider that there is no possibility that the Soviet Union would be willing to enter into a treaty embodying the principles contained in the present tripartite party. Thus action to bring the U.S.S.R. into treaty arrangements would almost surely bring about a deterioration of the protection now afforded the United States salmon and halibut fisheries."

As a Senator from the State of Oregon, I do not intend to stand by and observe the destruction of an extremely valuable west coast fishery resource if there is the slightest possibility for our Government to take affirmative action which could lead to the preservation of that resource. The "wait and see" attitude reflected in your April 19 letter is one which could very well lead to a "too little and too late" situation under which we might observe the complete loss of a natural resource which might have been preserved if we had taken expeditious and forthright action.

I am asking that this matter be brought to the personal attention of the Secretary of State and am requesting that it be reviewed in his office. I am also making a copy of this letter available to the President because I feel he would not wish to endorse the policy of inaction reflected in the Department's April 19 letter.

Sincerely,

WAYNE MORSE.

[From the Portland Oregonian, Apr. 21, 1966]

H.S.T. SAID "NO"

TO THE EDITOR:

This letter is prompted by your April 12 editorial entitled "Russian Invasion." It was carefully written, but the comment "legally nothing can be done about the Russian trawlers, so long as they stay beyond the 3-mile limit * * *," may have been without recalling events of about two decades past; for then, on September 28, 1945, President Harry S. Truman issued his Proclamation No. 2668, which provided in part as follows:

"Now, therefore, I, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the following policy of the United States of America with respect to coastal fisheries in certain areas of the high seas:

"In view of the pressing need for conservation and protection of fishery resources, the Government of the United States regards it as proper to establish conservation zones in those areas of the high seas contiguous of the coasts of the United States wherein fishing activities have been or in the future may be developed and maintained on a substantial scale. Where such activities have been or shall hereafter be developed and maintained by its nationals alone, the United States regards it as proper to establish explicity (sic) bounded conservation zones in which fishing activities shall be subject to the regulation and control of the United States. Where such activities have been or shall hereafter be legitimately developed and maintained jointly by nationals of the United States and nationals of other States, explicitly bounded conservation zones may be established under agreements between the United States and such other States; and all fishing activities in such States shall be subject to regulation and control as provided in such agreements."

Attorney General Smith Troy of the State of Washington, reporting August 13, 1946, to the Off-Shore Fisheries Committee of the Council of State Governments, stated:

"For purposes of this memorandum, it will be assumed that as against foreign governments, this country does possess the power to regulate such shore fisheries beyond its territorial limits."

Interestingly, even with the United States, there has been a feeling that the 3-mile limit is not an immutable principle of law; Louisiana (General Statutes 9311.1 to 9311.4) extended its gulf boundary to a point 27 miles off shore, and in *Skiriotes* v. *The State of Florida*, 313 U.S. 69, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the right of Florida as against one of its own citizens to forbid the use of diving equipment for taking sponges from the Gulf of Mexico within three marine leagues (marine league being 3.45 statute miles) from shore.

As you point out, Russia itself claims authority 12 miles seaward; in 1955 four Swedish fishing boats were seized by the Russians for violating this claim; and the crews held for trial.

One of the results of the proclamation of President Truman was the action of the Pacific coast legislators in creating the Pacific Marine Fisheries Commission; perhaps in the interim the National Government has adopted the view that the ocean fisheries is an international asset, open to all. But the Truman proclamation, unnoticed in the recent furor, deserves recognition.

CARL H. FRANCIS.

DAYTON.

[From the Federal Register, Oct. 2, 1945]

PROCLAMATION 2668—POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT TO COASTAL FISHERIES IN CERTAIN AREAS OF THE HIGH SEAS[1]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas for some years the Government of the United States of America has viewed with concern the inadequacy of present arrangements for the protection and perpetuation of the fishery resources contiguous to its coasts, and in view of the potentially disturbing effect of this situation, has carefully studied the possibility of improving the jurisdictional basis for conservation measures and international cooperation in this field; and

Whereas such fishery resources have a special importance to coastal communities as a source of livelihood and to the nation as a food and industrial resource; and

Whereas the progressive development of new methods and techniques contributes to intensified fishing over wide sea areas and in certain cases seriously threatens fisheries with depletion; and

Whereas there is an urgent need to protect coastal fishery resources from destructive exploitation, having due regard to conditions peculiar to each region and situation and to the special rights and equities of the coastal State and of any other State which may have established a legitimate interest therein:

Now, therefore, I, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the following policy of the United States of America with respect to coastal fisheries in certain areas of the high seas:

In view of the pressing need for conservation and protection of fishery resources, the Government of the United States regards it as proper to establish conservation zones in those areas of the high seas contiguous to the coast of the United States wherein fishing activities have been or in the future may be developed and maintained on a substantial scale. Where such activities have been or shall hereafter be developed and maintained by its nationals alone, the United States regards it as proper to establish explicitly bounded conservation zones in which fishing activities shall be subject to the regulation and control of the United States. Where such activities have been or shall hereafter be legitimately developed and maintained jointly by nationals of the United States and nationals of other States, explicitly bounded conservation zones may be established under agreements between the United States and such other States; and all fishing activities in such zones shall be subject to regulation and control as provided in such agreements. The right of any State to establish conservation zones off its shores in accordance with the above principles is conceded, provided that corresponding recognition is given to any fishing interests of nationals of the United States which may exist in such areas. The character as high seas of the areas in which such conservation zones are established and the right to their free and unimpeded navigation are in no way thus affected.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this 28th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1945, and of the Independence of the United States of America the 117th.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

By the President:

DEAN ACHESON,
Acting Secretary of State.

[F.R. Doc. 45–1875; Filed, Oct. 1, 1945; 11:11 a.m.]

[From the Federal Register, Oct. 2, 1945]

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9633—RESERVING AND PLACING CERTAIN RESOURCES OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF UNDER THE CONTROL AND JURISDICTION OF THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

By virtue of and pursuant to the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is ordered that the natural resources of the subsoil and seabed of the Continental Shelf beneath the high seas but contiguous to the coasts of the United States declared this day by proclamation[1] to appertain to the United States and to be subject to its jurisdiction and control, be and they are hereby reserved, set aside, and placed under the jurisdiction and control of the Secretary of the Interior for administrative purposes, pending the enactment of legislation in regard thereto. Neither this order nor the aforesaid proclamation shall be deemed to affect the determination by legislation or judicial decree of any issues between the United States and the several States, relating to the ownership or control of the subsoil and seabed of the Continental Shelf within or outside of the 3-mile limit.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 28, 1945.*

[F.R. Doc. 45–18132; filed, Sept. 28, 1945; 2:25 p.m.]

[From the Federal Register, Oct. 2, 1945]

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9634—PROVIDING FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FISHERY CONSERVATION ZONES

By virtue of and pursuant to the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered that the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Interior, shall from time to time jointly recommend the establishment by Executive orders of fishery conservation zones in areas of the high seas contiguous to the coasts of the United States, pursuant to the proclamation entitled "Policy of the United States With Respect to Coastal Fisheries in Certain Areas of the High Seas,"[1] this day signed by me, and said Secretaries shall in each case recommend provisions to be incorporated in such orders relating to the administration, regulation and control of the fishery resources of and fishing activities in such zones, pursuant to authority of law heretofore or hereafter provided.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 28, 1945.*

[F.R. Doc. 45–18133; filed, Sept. 28, 1945; 2:25 p.m.]

STATE OF OREGON, TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Salem, Oreg., April 18, 1966.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WAYNE: I think our Government can assert its rights over offshore lands and tell the Russian fishermen in no uncertain terms to get off our property.

We claim possession of the Continental Shelf outside the 3-mile limit for oil drilling, so we surely could do the same for fishing. We have granted Federal oil leases to private oil companies in the very area where the Russian fishing boats are.

As an expert in international law, can you see a correlation between harvesting the natural resources above the ocean bottom and harvesting oil and other mineral resources below the ocean bottom?

I'm sure you'll agree that if Russian oil rigs came over and set up to drill where their fishing boats now are catching fish we'd soon see a U.S. Navy cruiser running them off.

I'm also sure you'll agree that our fishermen are entitled to as much protection from their Government as are the oil companies.

I know you'll do everything in your power to save our fishery resource which is being plundered by these Russian pirates.

Best personal regards,

ROBERT W. STRAUB,
State Treasurer.

STATEMENT BY OREGON STATE TREASURER, ROBERT W. STRAUB, APRIL 18, 1966

State Treasurer Robert W. Straub today called for the U.S. Government to assert its rights over offshore lands and tell the Russian fishermen in no uncertain terms to get off our property.

In a letter seeking Senator WAYNE MORSE's assistance, Straub pointed out that the United States claims possession of the Continental Shelf outside the 3-mile limit for oil drilling. "We surely could do the same for fishing," Straub said.

He noted that the U.S. Government has granted oil leases to private oil companies in the very area where the Russian fishing boats are.

Terming MORSE "an expert on international law," he asked the Senator if harvesting the natural resources above the ocean bottom were not the same as harvesting oil and other mineral resources below the ocean bottom.

"I'm sure you'll agree," Straub said to MORSE, "that if Russian oil rigs came over and set up to drill where their fishing boats now are catching fish we'd soon see a U.S. Navy cruiser running them off."

Said Straub, "I'm also sure you'll agree that our fishermen are entitled to as much protection from their Government as are the oil companies."

Straub said to MORSE that he knew "you will do everything in your power to save our fishery resource which is being plundered by these Russian pirates."

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., April 25, 1966.

Mr. DONALD L. MCKERNAN,
Director, Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MCKERNAN: On April 13, I spoke in the Senate with respect to the serious situation that has developed in Oregon due to the extensive fishing activities of Russian fishing trawlers now operating from 10 to 30 miles off the coast of Oregon. The details concerning my April 13 statement are set forth in the attached tearsheet from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date.

The apprehension over the Russian fishing activities off the coast of Oregon has greatly increased throughout the State of Oregon, as evidenced by a series of communications addressed to me urging immediate action by our Government to prevent the taking of sizable catches of fish—primarily ocean perch—estimated at about 500,000 pounds per day. I can supply copies of these communications if they would be of help to your office.

On April 13, I urged the President and the Secretary of State to initiate immediate diplomatic conferences in an effort to resolve the problem, particularly through arrangements which would establish conservation measures to be observed by the Russians in carrying on their fishing activities in our coastal waters.

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[1] See Executive Order 9634, *infra.*

[1] See Proclamation 2667, supra.

[1] See Proclamation 2668, supra.

Under date of April 19, the State Department responded to the communications I addressed to the President and the Secretary of State. A copy of the April 19 reply is enclosed. As a Senator from the State of Oregon, I found the State Department's response to be completely unsatisfactory and I so advised the Assistant Secretary of State in a letter I addressed to him today. A copy of that letter is enclosed.

Two primary points were set forth in the State Department's letter:

1. There is "insufficient scientific evidence at present to justify conclusions as to what, if any, the conservation requirements might be for the bottomfish stocks off our Pacific coast," and

2. We shouldn't "rock the boat" with respect to the North Pacific Fishery Treaty at this time by seeking negotiations with the Russians on Oregon coastal fishery matters.

It would be helpful to me if you could assist on the first point mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Specifically, I would like very much to have a report concerning the nature and extent of our fishery resources which are being removed through the Russian fishing activities now underway off the coast of Oregon. Also, if you have received information as to the period of time likely to be covered by the current Russian fishing trawler activities off the coast of Oregon and whether this project will be repeated on an annual basis, such information would be most useful to me in evaluating the extent of the problem.

As soon as convenient, I would like very much to have a full report from your office as to the steps that are being taken by the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries to obtain, as mentioned by the Department of State in its April 19 letter, sufficient scientific evidence "to justify conclusions as to what, if any, the conservation requirements might be for the bottomfish stocks off our Pacific coast." In that connection, the State Department letter observes, "We consider that we should attempt to obtain a better gage of whatever conservation problems may exist regarding these stocks and to formulate, in consultation with the fishing industry, measures which we might propose to meet any such problems." It would be most interesting to me to ascertain when the State Department called upon you to initiate your work on this conservation problem and the progress that has been made in ascertaining the "better gage of whatever conservation problems may exist," as mentioned by the State Department. In your report on this general subject, I would like to have you estimate as to how many months or years must elapse before we will have the scientific evidence on hand to cope adequately with this natural resource conservation problem.

Finally, and looking into the future, it occurs to me that there is a possibility that the Russian trawlers might decide to undertake activities off the mouth of the Columbia River beginning about June of this year to fish for the salmon migrating from the ocean into the Columbia. Do you have, at this time, any indication as to whether the Russian trawlers will seek to take salmon from the ocean this summer off the mouth of the Columbia River and if such activities appear to be possible, do you have at hand, scientific evidence to justify the conservation requirements we should seek to work out immediately with the Russians in connection with this important segment of our salmon industry?

Your comments and a full report on these matters at the earliest possible date will be most helpful to me in pursuing my work as a member of the U.S. Senate to preserve and protect our Oregon offshore fisheries.

Sincerely,

WAYNE MORSE.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, in closing I want the State Department to know that I am not stopping with an exchange of correspondence. To the contrary I shall insist that the people of the country get some action in regard to this threat to the fishing beds along the Pacific coast.

I wish to say that the State Department, in my judgment, has a clear public responsibility to call for some negotiations at the diplomatic level with Russia to find out if we can reach some understanding for necessary and reasonable conservation policies in the fishing practices of both countries, for these so-called conventions on fisheries are mutual in their reciprocal obligations. I ask for nothing from Russia that I do not think my country should not also agree to in its own fishing practices.

I have already asked the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee to work on it. I have asked to have our ambassador at the United Nations, Mr. Arthur Goldberg, take note of this problem and see to what extent, if any, under existing United Nations' procedure it might be possible to try through United Nations procedure to obtain some understanding with Russia in regard to this problem.

TRIBUTE TO FRANCIS KEPPEL

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, when the educational history of our times is written in definitive form many years hence, it would surprise none of us who were associated with him to learn that that historian of the future will assign a position of great importance in the development of Federal aid to American education to Francis Keppel, formerly Commissioner of Education, formerly Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for Education, and formerly dean of the School of Education of Harvard University.

Today, as chairman of the Education Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, I want to pay my personal tribute to him in the Senate. He was a wise and able counselor, not only to me as chairman of the subcommittee, but every member of the committee. His help to me and to my colleagues during the term of his incumbency as Commissioner of Education was marked by a fierce commitment to meet the needs of students and scholars of every age. His tact and his knowledge, based upon his distinguished service in higher education, enabled him to succeed in his task to a far greater extent than any of us would have deemed possible at the beginning of this decade.

Francis Keppel was a dedicated public servant. He is and will continue to be a dedicated educator. My best wishes go to him in the new career he is now starting. I know that his accomplishments there will rival his service in the Office of Education and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare since they are based upon the qualities of character with which he is so liberally endowed.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL WEDNESDAY

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, in accordance with the order previously entered, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Wednesday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 34 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Wednesday, April 27, 1966, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 25, 1966:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

William Howard Shaw, of Delaware, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce, vice Andrew F. Brimmer.

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

The following-named Foreign Service officers for promotion in the Foreign Service to the classes indicated:

Foreign Service officers of class 1

Seaborn P. Foster, of Florida.
A. David Fritzlan, of the District of Columbia.
Joseph Godson, of New York.
Lee E. Metcalf, of Texas.
Henry Clinton Reed, of Ohio.
J. Raymond Ylitalo, of South Dakota.
J. Owen Zurhellen, Jr., of New York.

Foreign Service officers of class 1 and consular officers of the United States of America

Rodger C. Abraham, of Connecticut.
John A. Birch, of Maryland.
Richard C. Breithut, of Maryland.
William D. Brewer, of Connecticut.
John L. Brown, of Massachusetts.
William B. Buffum, of New York.
James J. Byrnes, of Virginia.
Stanley M. Cleveland, of Nevada.
Hermann F. Eilts, of Pennsylvania.
Robert A. Fearey, of Maryland.
Edmund E. Getzin, of New York.
Philip C. Habib, of California.
Dean R. Hinton, of Illinois.
Harold E. Howland, of Virginia.
James C. Lobenstine, of Connecticut.
James F. Magdanz, of Virginia.
Abram E. Manell, of California.
Melvin L. Manfull, of Utah.
John A. McKesson 3d, of the District of Columbia.
Howard Meyers, of New Jersey.
William K. Miller, of Illinois.
Clinton L. Olson, of California.
Albert E. Pappano, of Ohio.
John Frick Root, of Pennsylvania.
Herbert D. Spivack, of Tennessee.
William J. Stibravy, of New Jersey.
Emory C. Swank, of Maryland.
Maurice F. W. Taylor, of California.
Sheldon B. Vance, of Maryland.
John Patrick Walsh, of Illinois.
Alfred T. Wellborn, of Maryland.

Foreign Service officers of class 2

Arthur B. Allen, of Virginia.
Eric M. Hughes, of Virginia.
John L. Kuhn, of Pennsylvania.
James H. McFarland, Jr., of Michigan.
John H. Morris, of Pennsylvania.

Foreign Service officers of class 2 and consular officers of the United States of America

Edwin M. Adams, of Illinois.
Alfred L. Atherton, Jr., of Massachusetts.
Philip Axelrod, of Maryland.
John George Bacon, of Washington.
Harry G. Barnes, Jr., of Minnesota.

Chester E. Beaman, of Indiana.
William E. Beauchamp, of New York.
Emerson M. Brown, of Michigan.
Keirn C. Brown, of New York.
William A. Buell, Jr., of Rhode Island.
Edward West Burgess, of Maryland.
William D. Calderhead, of Texas.
John M. Cates, Jr., of California.
Christian Addison Champman, of the District of Columbia.
Earle A. Cleveland, of Illinois.
Dennis A. Collins, of Ohio.
John P. Condon, of Oklahoma.
Frederick B. Cook, of Florida.
Thomas J. Corcoran, of New York.
John B. Dexter, of Maryland.
Adolph Dubs, of Illinois.
Theodore L. Eliot, Jr., of California.
James H. Ennis, of Florida.
Richard A. Ericson, Jr., of California.
Wayne W. Fisher, of Iowa.
Robert C. Foulon, of Illinois.
Miss Selma G. Freedman, of the District of Columbia.
Edward J. Gaumond, of Illinois.
John I. Getz, of Illinois.
Culver Gleysteen, of Pennsylvania.
William H. Gleysteen, Jr., of Pennsylvania.
William C. Hamilton, of Connecticut.
Arthur A. Hartman, of New Jersey.
Robert B. Houghton, of Michigan.
Herbert G. Ihrig, Jr., of Washington.
Johannes V. Imhof, of California.
John J. Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania.
Richard E. Johnson, of Illinois.
Richard G. Johnson, of New Jersey.
Abraham Katz, of New York.
Jorma L. Kaukonen, of California.
William M. Kerrigan, of Maryland.
Emery R. Kiraly, of Maryland.
George W. Landau, of New Jersey.
Jerome R. Lavallee, of Massachusetts.
James F. Leonard, Jr., of Pennsylvania.
Seymour Levenson, of California.
Frank E. Maestrone, of Connecticut.
Guy Chandler Mallett, Jr., of Florida.
George Moffitt, Jr., of Connecticut.
Virgil L. Moore, of Virginia.
Cleo A. Noel, Jr., of Missouri.
Albert V. Nyren, of Virginia.
Miss Mary S. Olmsted, of Tennessee.
W. Paul O'Neill, Jr., of Maryland.
Richard B. Peters, of Oklahoma.
Henry L. Pitts, Jr., of Washington.
Norman K. Pratt, of Pennsylvania.
Sandy MacGregor Pringle, of the District of Columbia.
Paul Monroe Popple, of Illinois.
Rupert Prohme, of California.
Albert A. Rabida, of Colorado.
Normand W. Redden, of New York.
John Church Renner, of Ohio.
John F. Rieger, of the District of Columbia.
Frederick T. Rope, of New York.
Sidney Schmukler, of Virginia.
Talcott W. Seelye, of Maryland.
Thomas K. Shields, of California.
Harry W. Shlaudeman, of California.
Moncrieff J. Spear, of New York.
William Perry Stedman, Jr., of Maryland.
Curtis C. Strong, of Oregon.
Leslie C. Tihany, of Nevada.
Francis T. Underhill, Jr., of New Jersey.
Robert O. Waring, of New York.
Alfred E. Wellons, of Maryland.
Alfred W. Wells, of New York.
Harry J. Wetzork, of Pennsylvania.
Charles S. Whitehouse, of Rhode Island.
Park F. Wollam, of California.
Robert L. Yost, of California.
Robert W. Zimmermann, of the District of Columbia.

Foreign Service officers of class 3 and consular officers of the United States of America

Arthur P. Allen, of California.
Robert N. Allen, of Florida.
Miss Marion E. Anderson, of Connecticut.
John D. Barfield, of Georgia.
Richard W. Berg, of New Hampshire.
Melville E. Blake, Jr., of Maryland.
John M. Bowie, of Maryland.
Charles W. Brown, of California.
Robert T. Burke, of New York.
Robert T. Burns, of Indiana.
Roy O. Carlson, of Illinois.
Arnold K. Childs, of Ohio.
George T. Churchill, of Colorado.
Joseph A. Cicala, of Connecticut.
Miss Joan M. Clark, of New York.
Carroll E. Cobb, of Virginia.
Michael M. Conlin, of California.
Thomas F. Conlon, of Illinois.
Eller R. Cook, of Florida.
M. Lee Cotterman, of Ohio.
William J. Cunningham, of California.
Mario R. DeCapua, of Connecticut.
William B. deGrace, of Massachusetts.
A. Hugh Douglas, Jr., of Rhode Island.
Morris Draper, of California.
Miss Ollie G. Edmundson, of Missouri.
Virgil M. Elliott, of Florida.
Michael E. Ely, of the District of Columbia.
Richard W. Finch, of Ohio.
Charles C. Flowerree, of Virginia.
Francis L. Foley, of Colorado.
Theodore T. Franzen, of New Jersey.
Gerald A. Friedman, of Florida.
Jack Friedman, of the District of Columbia.
Robert L. Funseth, of New York.
Fred J. Galanto, of Massachusetts.
William A. Hayne, of California.
Russell C. Heater, of California.
Theodore J. C. Heavner, of Virginia.
David D. Hoyt, of Florida.
Wharton Drexel Hubbard, of New York.
Robert C. Huffman, of California.
Paul R. Hughes, of California.
Richard C. Johnson, of Massachusetts.
Miss Betty-Jane Jones, of Wisconsin.
Lewis D. Junior, of Missouri.
Herbert Kaiser, of Maryland.
Edward L. Killham, of Illinois.
Thomas F. Killoran, of Massachusetts.
Lucian L. Kinsolving, of New York.
Richard N. Kirby, of Ohio.
Roger Kirk, of Michigan.
Lyle F. Lane, of Washington.
Archie S. Lang, of Illinois.
Loren E. Lawrence, of Kansas.
Philip M. Lindsay, of California.
John L. Loughran, of Pennsylvania.
Miss Doris Meltana Luellen, of California.
Jack F. Matlock, Jr., of Vermont.
David H. McCabe, of California.
Stuart H. McIntyre, of Washington.
Frazier Meade, of Virginia.
William F. Miller, of Massachusetts.
John L. Mills, of Georgia.
Richard W. Murphy, of Massachusetts.
Charles Willis Naas, of Maryland.
Richard D. Nethercut, of Florida.
John F. O'Donnell, Jr., of Massachusetts.
Joseph E. O'Mahony, of New York.
J. Theodore Papendorp, of New Jersey.
Neil L. Parks, of Maryland.
Hilding A. Peterson, of Minnesota.
Wendell A. Pike, of Washington.
Charles H. Pletcher, of Minnesota.
Sol Polansky, of California.
Richard St. F. Post, of Connecticut.
Virgil E. Prichard, of Oklahoma.
Roger A. Provencher, of Colorado.
Miss Nancy V. Rawls, of Georgia.
Miss Marie E. Richardson, of Arkansas.
Norman V. Schute, of California.
Max L. Shimp, of Ohio.
Melvin E. Sinn, of New Jersey.
Alvon T. Slemons, of Indiana.
Robert F. Slutz, Jr., of Ohio.
Richard G. Smith, of Florida.
William R. Smyser, of Pennsylvania.
Herbert Spielman, of New Jersey.
Joseph F. Starkey, of Washington.
Kenneth P. T. Sullivan, of Pennsylvania.
Thomas E. Summers, of California.
Joseph A. Tambone, of New York.
Jean R. Tartter, of Florida.
Joseph Terranova, Jr., of Maryland.
Mrs. Musedorah W. Thoreson, of Tennessee.
Terence A. Todman, of the Virgin Islands.
Charles P. Torrey, of California.
Miss Frances A. Usenik, of Minnesota.
August Velletri, of Maryland.
Abraham Vigil, of Colorado.
Julius W. Walker, Jr., of Texas.
Herbert S. Weast, of California.
John T. Wheelock, of Illinois.
Arthur H. Woodruff, of Florida.
Miss A. Dorothea Wool, of Virginia.
William Marshall Wright, of Arkansas.
Robert D. Yoder, of Pennsylvania.
Carlos M. Yordan, of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.
Charles T. York, of New York.
Harry R. Zerbel, of Wisconsin.

Foreign Service officers of class 4 and consular officers of the United States of America

George A. Anderson, of Iowa.
Mrs. Sara L. Andren, of Michigan.
Sam G. Armstrong, of Texas.
Diego C. Asencio, of New Jersey.
Paul L. Aylward, Jr., of Kansas.
Miss Dorothy M. Barker, of Louisiana.
Brady G. Barr, of Texas.
Norman E. Barth, of Illinois.
Arthur C. Bauman, of Michigan.
Craig Baxter, of Ohio.
George E. Belcher, of Michigan.
Roger N. Benson, of New Jersey.
Harry E. Bergold, Jr., of New York.
Calvin C. Berlin, of Ohio.
Gordon R. Beyer, of Maryland.
Richard C. Blalock, of Oklahoma.
Donald W. Born, of Massachusetts.
Thomas D. Boyatt, of Ohio.
Arthur E. Breisky, of California.
Peter S. Bridges, of Illinois.
Everett E. Briggs, of Maine.
James E. Briggs, of North Carolina.
Carleton C. Brower, of California.
Bazil W. Brown, Jr., of Pennsylvania.
Carroll Brown, of Florida.
Edward W. M. Bryant, of Massachusetts.
Thomas R. Buchanan, of Illinois.
Hubert H. Buzbee, Jr., of Alabama.
Mario Calvani, of Massachusetts.
Hugh K. Campbell, of Ohio.
Norman L. Cansler, of Texas.
Don T. Christensen, of California.
Richard D. Christiansen, of Michigan.
Douglas McCord Cochran, of Pennsylvania.
John Coffey, of Illinois.
Edward M. Cohen, of New York.
Ernst Conrath, of Wisconsin.
Peter D. Constable, of New York.
Goodwin Cooke, of New York.
Dwight M. Cramer, of Nebraska.
John E. Crump, of Kansas.
Richard S. Dawson, Jr., of California.
Willard B. Devlin, of Pennsylvania.
John C. Dorrance, of California.
Robert A. England, of Connecticut.
Fred Exton, Jr., of California.
Donald C. Ferguson, of California.
Rudy V. Fimbres, of Arizona.
Robert L. Flanegin, of Illinois.
Robert H. Frowick, of Connecticut.
Paul F. Gardner, of Texas.
Robert S. Gershenson, of Pennsylvania.
William L. Givens, of California.
Louis P. Goelz III, of Pennsylvania.
Miss Fannie Goldstein, of New York.
James L. Gorman, of Washington.
Myles L. Greene, of Florida.
Carl J. Grip, of California.
Kenneth O. Harris, of West Virginia.
James D. Hataway, Jr., of Georgia.
Roy T. Haverkamp, of Missouri.
Miss Theresa A. Healy, of New Hampshire
Gerald B. Helman, of Michigan.
Lambert Heyniger, of New Jersey.
Wallace F. Holbrook, of Massachusetts.
Harold E. Horan, of Texas.
Herbert Eugene Horowitz, of New York.
Michael P. E. Hoyt, of Illinois.
Robert M. Immerman, of New York.
Ralph T. Jans, of Michigan.
Ernest B. Johnston, Jr., of Alabama.
Ellis O. Jones III, of Connecticut.

Richard W. Kautsky, of Arkansas.
Miss Helen E. Kavan, of Ohio.
Frederick T. Kelley, of Massachusetts.
Lowell C. Kilday, of Wisconsin.
James E. Kiley, of California.
George L. Kinter, of Vermont.
James A. Klemstine, of Pennsylvania.
David Korn, of Missouri.
Henry G. Krausse, Jr., of Texas.
Gerald Lamberty, of Wisconsin.
James N. Leaken, of California.
Nelson C. Ledsky, of Ohio.
Gerard J. Levesque, of South Dakota.
Herbert Levin, of New York.
Melvin H. Levine, of Massachusetts.
Joe Lill, of Kansas.
Peter P. Lord, of Massachusetts.
Walter H. Lubkeman, of New York.
William H. Luers, of Illinois.
David S. Lusby, of Arizona.
Miss Helen K. Lyons, of California.
David A. Macuk, of New Jersey.
John C. Mallon, of Kentucky.
Gifford D. Malone, of West Virginia.
Miss Mary Manchester, of Texas.
Charles E. Marthinsen, of Pennsylvania
Mrs. Elvira P. Martin, of Connecticut.
Mrs. Marcia L. Martin, of Florida.
W. Wyatt Martin, Jr., of Tennessee.
Richard C. Matheron, of California.
Frank A. Mau, of Wyoming.
J. Thomas McAndrew, of New York.
William H. McLean, of Texas.
Francis Terry McNamara, of Vermont
Jay P. Moffat, of New Hampshire.
Donald R. Morris, of New York.
Beauveau B. Nalle, of Virginia.
Roy C. Nelson, of Arizona.
William C. Nenno, of New York.
Ronald D. Palmer, of Michigan.
Bernard F. Piatek, of Illinois.
Miss Jane M. Potter, of Maryland.
Mark S. Pratt, of Rhode Island.
Russell A. Price, of California.
Mrs. Inez L. Pulver, of Minnesota.
Edward J. Rankin, of New Jersey.
Donald E. Rau, of Florida.
John D. Rendahl, of Minnesota.
Robert G. Rich, Jr., of Florida.
Miss Lois J. Roork, of Oklahoma.
Edward B. Rosenthal, of New York.
Richard Rueda, Jr., of California.
Peter Semler, of Virginia.
Walter John Silva, of Texas.
Kenneth N. Skoug, Jr., of Pennsylvania
Walter Burges Smith II, of Rhode Island.
Roger A. Sorenson, of Utah.
Richard L. Springer, of Ohio.
Michael Sterner, of New York.
Charles R. Stout, of California.
Ulrich A. Straus, of Michigan.
Miss Constance V. Stuck, of Arkansas.
John Susko, of Pennsylvania.
Eugene S. Szopa, of Maine.
E. Paul Taylor, of California.
John J. Taylor, of Tennessee.
Harry E. T. Thayer, of the District of Columbia.
George H. Thigpen, of California.
Francis Hugh Thomas, of Pennsylvania
Frank M. Tucker, Jr., of Pennsylvania.
Howard L. Walker, Jr., of California.
Robert E. Waska, of Texas.
Miss Virginia A. Weyres, of Wisconsin.
Marshall W. Wiley, of Illinois.
John E. Williams, of North Carolina.
Joseph Charles Wilson, of Ohio.
Herbert Gilman Wing, of Pennsylvania.

Foreign Service officers of class 5 and consular officers of the United States of America

Daniel W. Alexander, of Washington.
Raymond J. Alvarez, of California.
Donald M. Anderson, of Iowa.
George Aneiro, of Ohio.
Charles E. Angevine, of Colorado.
Merle E. Arp, of Iowa.
James E. Baker, of Maryland.
Richard C. Barkley, of Michigan.
Robert L. Barry, of Pennsylvania.
William F. Beachner, of Washington.
Natale H. Bellocchi, of New York.
Miss Margaret E. Beshore, of Indiana.
Jack R. Binns, of Washington,
James K. Bishop, Jr., of New York.
C. Thomas Bleha, of Michigan.
Felix S. Bloch, of North Carolina.
William D. Boggs, of West Virginia.
A. Donald Bramante, of New York.
M. Lyall Breckon, of Oregon.
John Allen Buche, of Indiana.
Ralph H. Cadeaux, of Florida.
Miss Martha C. Carbone, of Washington.
George F. Carr, Jr., of Texas.
Allen E. Caswell, of New York.
Clive Chandler, of Washington.
Timothy W. Childs, of Connecticut.
Geryld B. Christianson, of Minnesota.
Hovey C. Clark, of New Jersey.
Paul M. Cleveland, of Virginia.
George W. F. Clift, of California.
Harry L. Coburn, of New York.
Temple G. Cole, of Kentucky.
Thomas C. Colwell, of California.
James Ford Cooper, of Michigan.
Miss S. Marguerite Cooper, of California.
Edwin G. Corr, of Oklahoma.
John R. Countryman, of New York.
Trusten Frank Crigler, of Arizona.
Leroy E. Debold, Jr., of New York.
R. Robin DeLaBarre, of Maryland.
Jerrold Mark Dion, of Washington.
James T. Doyle, of Florida.
Richard P. Draves, of New York.
Robert B. Duncan, of New Jersey.
Thomas P. H. Dunlop, of North Carolina.
James M. Ealum, of California.
Ollie B. Ellison, of Illinois.
Emil P. Ericksen, of California.
Otho Evans Eskin, of the District of Columbia.
Raymond C. Ewing, of California.
James R. Falzone, of Massachusetts.
Guido C. Fenzi, of California.
James Ferrer, Jr., of California.
Miss Alta F. Fowler, of Virginia.
Anthony G. Freeman, of New Jersey.
John A. Froebe, Jr., of Ohio.
Peter F. Frost, of Connecticut.
Rogelio Garcia, of New York.
Gerald D. Gilbertson, of Florida.
Paul John Glasoe, of Ohio.
Ralph H. Graner, of New York.
Terrence G. Grant, of Illinois.
Philip J. Griffin, of the District of Columbia.
Olaf Grobel, of Tennessee.
Kurt F. Gross, of Virginia.
John B. Gwynn, of Ohio.
Frank J. Haendler, of Illinois.
William H. Hallman, of Texas.
Miss Jo Ann M. Hallquist, of Wisconsin.
William Bruce Harbin, of California.
Joseph M. Hardman, of Oregon.
Paul J. Hare, of the District of Columbia.
Donald F. Hart, of Massachusetts.
Douglas G. Hartley, of the District of Columbia.
Pierre M. Hartman, of Colorado.
Walter A. Hayden, of New York.
George W. Heatley, of California.
Martin G. Heflin, of Florida.
Charles Higginson, of Massachusetts.
M. Bruce Hirshorn, of Pennsylvania.
Sean M. Holly, of New York.
John W. Holmes, of Massachusetts.
David C. Holton, of Virginia.
Marvin W. Humphreys, of the District of Columbia.
Arnold M. Isaacs, of Illinois.
Dee Valentine Jacobs, of Utah.
Martin Jacobs, of New York.
Don C. Jensen, of California.
Robert E. Kaufman, of the District of Columbia.
Samuel C. Keiter, of New York.
George Lockwood Kelly, of Georgia.
Dalton V. Killion, of California.
Richard N. Kilpatrick, of South Carolina.
Eugene Klebenov, of Massachusetts.
Anthony S. Kochanek, Jr., of New Jersey.
Norbert J. Krieg, of California.
David C. Lacey, Jr., of California.
John J. LaMazza, of New York.
Clint A. Lauderdale, of California.
James E. Leader, of Delaware.
Jon S. Lodeesen, of Tennessee.
Matthew T. Lorimer, of New Hampshire.
George Q. Lumsden, Jr., of New Jersey.
William K. Mackey, of the District of Columbia.
Edward A. Mainland, of California.
Richard R. Martin, of the District of Columbia.
Robert W. Mashek, of Iowa.
Howard M. McElroy, of New York.
Richard H. Melton, of Maryland.
Harlan G. Moen, of Wisconsin.
James M. Montgomery, of New Jersey.
John H. Moore, of the District of Columbia.
Robert B. Morley, of New Jersey.
David Dysart Morse, of Illinois.
Alvis Craig Murphy, of Ohio.
Edward V. Nef, of the District of Columbia.
John D. Negroponte, of New York.
William V. P. Newlin, of Pennsylvania.
Joseph K. Newman, of Florida.
Patrick T. O'Connor, of New York.
Thomas J. O'Donnell, of Michigan.
Robert O'Neil, of New Jersey.
Robert P. Paganelli, of New York.
Thomas J. Pape of Texas.
Ross C. Parr, of Florida.
Miss Emily Perreault, of Illinois.
Homer R. Phelps, Jr., of New York.
James D. Phillips, of Kansas.
James A. Placke, of Nebraska.
Ernest H. Preeg, of New York.
Martin Prochnik, of Colorado.
Frederick S. Quin, of New York.
Walter G. Ramsey, of the District of Columbia.
Alexander L. Rattray, of California.
John E. Reinertson, of Wisconsin.
Robert G. Richmond, of New Hampshire.
Martin Rosenberg, of New York.
John Hall Rouse, Jr., of Maryland.
George L. Rueckert, of Wisconsin.
Charles W. Schaller, of Wisconsin.
Carl W. Schmidt, of New Jersey.
Richard C. Scissors, of Missouri.
Robert E. Service, of the District of Columbia.
David G. Shaw, of New York.
Gilbert H. Sheinbaum, of California.
Pierre Shostal, of New York.
Henry Sears Sizer, of New York.
Lester P. Slezak, of Pennsylvania.
Linwood R. Starbird, of Maine.
Robert R. Strand, of Ohio.
Peter A. Sutherland, of Massachusetts.
Gerald M. Sutton, of California.
T. Elkin Taylor, of Georgia.
Richard W. Teare, of Ohio.
Alan R. Thompson, of Alaska.
Samuel B. Thomsen, of California.
John B. Tipton, of Illinois.
Thomas M. Tracy, of Massachusetts.
George Peter Varros, of Connecticut.
Frederick S. Vaznaugh, of California.
Charles W. Walker, of California.
John A. Warnock, of California.
E. Allan Wendt, of Illinois.
Walter G. West, of Colorado.
Keith W. Wheelock, of the District of Columbia.
Alfred J. White, of New York.
Robert T. Willner, of Connecticut.
H. L. Dufour Woolfley, of Louisiana.
Warren Zimmermann, of the District of Columbia.
David E. Zweifel, of Colorado.

Foreign Service officers of class 6 and consular officers of the United States of America

Kenneth P. Allen, of Texas.
Morris J. Amitay, of New York.
Andrew F. Antippas, of Massachusetts.
Charles H. Barr, of Washington.
J. Peter Becker, of Pennsylvania.
Peter T. Beneville, of Colorado.
Robert R. Bentley, of California.

Alan D. Berlind, of Virginia.
David F. Biltchik, of New York.
Werner W. Brandt, of New York.
Kenneth L. Brown, of California.
Richard C. Brown, of New Mexico.
James R. Bullington, of Tennessee.
James N. Bumpus, of California.
Francis R. Campbell, of Minnesota.
John Franklin Campbell, of California.
Moises L. Cantolla, of California.
Robert C. Cary, of Washington.
Donald D. Casteel, of Wyoming.
Richard A. Christensen, of Wisconsin.
Daniel H. Clare III, of New York.
David W. Cox, of Wisconsin.
John P. Crawford, of Ohio.
Anthony S. Dalsimer, of New York.
Rolfe B. Daniels, of California.
John R. Davis, of New York.
Edward Knapp Dey, of New York.
Dale Alan Diefenbach, of Ohio.
Michael Dowling, of Georgia.
Clarke N. Ellis, of California.
Donald C. Ellson, of Indiana.
A. Edward Elmendorf, of California.
Henry A. Engelbrecht, Jr., of the District of Columbia.
Joseph G. Fandino, of Illinois.
Ronald D. Flack, of Minnesota.
Robert A. Flaten, of Minnesota.
Lowell R. Fleischer, of Ohio.
Patrick J. Flood, of Ohio.
William A. Garland, of Maryland.
Stephen R. Gibson, of California.
Arthur M. Giese, of Mississippi.
Robert F. Gillin, of Maryland.
Harry J. Gilmore, of Pennsylvania.
Lewis Girdler, of Connecticut.
Robert Coleman Gratsch, of Michigan.
John E. Hall, of New York.
Richard Harding, of Michigan.
Alan M. Hardy, of Ohio.
Douglas James Harwood, of Connecticut.
Jerome L. Hoganson, of Wisconsin.
Richard Holbrooke, of New York.
Ernest H. S. Holm, of New Hampshire.
David A. Hughes, of Washington.
Richard H. Imus, of California.
Miss Linda C. Irick, of Arizona.
Alden H. Irons, of Massachusetts.
David Bruce Jackson, of California.
Philip K. Johnson, Jr., of Ohio.
Ralph T. Jones, of Wisconsin.
Louis E. Kahn, of California.
William P. Kelly, of Pennsylvania.
Don Roland Kienzle, of Massachusetts.
Robert H. Knickmeyer, of Missouri.
H. Alan Krause, of Illinois.
Donald Kreisberg, of New York.
Edward Kreuser, of Pennsylvania.
Roland Karl Kuchel, of New Jersey.
C. William Lafe, of Pennsylvania.
William A. K. Lake, of Connecticut.
Robert E. Lamb, of Georgia.
David F. Lambertson, of Kansas.
Walter J. Landry, of Louisiana.
Vernard A. Lanphier, of Utah.
William L. Lee, of California.
Vladimir Lehovich, of New York.
Melvyn Levitsky, of Iowa.
Roscoe C. Lewis III, of the District of Columbia.
Robert S. Littell, Jr., of Connecticut.
Edward W. Lollis II, of Indiana.
Joseph Charles Luman, of Pennsylvania.
Walter A. Lundy, Jr., of Georgia.
Donald M. Maclay, of Pennsylvania.
John Linden Martin, of Oregon.
Dwight N. Mason, of New Jersey.
Gary L. Matthews, of Missouri.
James Richard Matz, of Texas.
Robert Allan Mautino, of California.
Philip R. Mayhew, of the District of Columbia.
Charles W. Maynes, Jr., of Utah.
John T. McCarthy, of Pennsylvania.
Donald Floyd McConville, of Minnesota.
Miss Kathleen McDonough, of New York.
J. Phillip McLean, of Washington.
William B. Milam, of California.
Bradford William Miller, Jr., of New York.
Robert Wesley Miller, of California.
Gerald Joseph Monroe, of New Mexico.
Harry M. Montgomery, Jr., of New Jersey
Robert J. Montgomery, of Texas.
Bert C. Moore, of Ohio.
Glenn A. Munro, of Maryland.
Nicholas M. Murphy, of New York.
Lewis Roy Murray, Jr., of Tennessee.
Ronald Peter Myers, of Michigan.
Arnold Nachmanoff, of New York.
Miss Leona M. Nelles, of South Dakota.
David G. Newton, of Massachusetts.
Joseph T. O'Brien, of New Jersey.
Arthur M. Odum, of Texas.
Miss Linda Margaret Pfeifle, of Maryland.
William Polik, of New York.
Ralph C. Porter III, of New Jersey.
Douglas K. Ramsey, of Nevada.
Reynold A. Riemer, of New York.
Ronald F. Rosner, of Louisiana.
Miss Sarah I. Rowley, of Michigan.
Ernest C. Ruehle, of Missouri.
Robert M. Ruenitz, of California.
Theodore E. Russell, of Maine.
John J. St. John, of Pennsylvania.
Richard C. Schenck, of New York.
Cornelius D. Scully III, of Virginia.
Raymond W. Seefeldt, of Illinois.
David Segal, of Connecticut.
Merle W. Shoemaker, of Pennsylvania.
Frederick Owen Shoup, of California.
Samuel Sloan, of the District of Columbia.
Miss Edith Smith, of Illinois.
Keith C. Smith, of California.
N. Shaw Smith, of Virginia.
Gerald E. Snyder, of Ohio.
John P. Spillane, of Illinois.
Joel S. Spiro, of Pennsylvania.
Walter E. Stadtler, of New York.
John P. Steinmetz, of California.
William Morgan Stewart, of Maryland.
Richard L. Storch, of Illinois.
Gordon L. Streeb, of Colorado.
Garett Gordon Sweany, of Washington.
Miss Barbara F. Sweeney, of the District of Columbia.
Daniel Taher, of New Jersey.
Maurice M. Tanner, of Arizona.
Peter Tarnoff, of the District of Columbia.
Carl Taylor, of Vermont.
Clyde Donald Taylor, of Maine.
Dirck Teller, of Maryland.
Miss Joan F. Thielbar, of New Jersey.
James F. Twaddell, of Rhode Island.
William Graham Walker, of California.
William J. Waller, of California.
Donald J. Walsh, of the District of Columbia.
Ralph Claiborne Walsh, of Texas.
Barclay Ward, of Connecticut.
Haven N. Webb, of Tennessee.
Olin S. Whittemore, of Michigan.
W. Cramer Widenor, of New Jersey.
Milton J. Wilkinson, of California.
Theodore S. Wilkinson III, of the District of Columbia.
Thomas Edward Williams, of Kansas.
Ronald E. Woods, of Michigan.
Murray David Zinoman, of New York.

In the Marine Corps

Lt. Gen. Frederick L. Wieseman, U.S. Marine Corps, for appointment to the grade of lieutenant general on the retired list in accordance with the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5233 effective from the date of his retirement.

In the Air Force

The following officers to be placed on the retired list in the grade indicated under the provisions of section 8962, title 10 of the United States Code:

In the grade of general

Gen. Bernard A. Schriever, FR1519 (major general, Regular Air Force) U.S. Air Force.

Gen. Robert M. Lee, FR590 (major general Regular Air Force) U.S. Air Force.

Gen. Jacob E. Smart, FR592 (major general Regular Air Force) U.S. Air Force.

The following-named officers to be assigned to positions of importance and responsibility designated by the President in the grade of general, under the provisions of section 8066, title 10 of the United States Code:

Lt. Gen. William S. Stone, FR1039 (major general, Regular Air Force) U.S. Air Force.

Lt. Gen. James Ferguson, FR1530 (major general, Regular Air Force) U.S. Air Force.

Lt. Gen. David A. Burchinal, FR1936 (major general, Regular Air Force) U.S. Air Force.

In the Marine Corps

The following-named (warrant officers) for temporary appointment to the grade of second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Adams, Norbert H.
Ahsue, Frank L.
Allum, Phillip D.
Alvarez, George L.
Ambrose, Ronald S.
Anderson, Bryon A.
Atkins, Darrel R.
Aylward, George F.
Bargerstock, Glenn C.
Bartlett, Donice R.
Beal, Rodney A.
Beck, Benjamin W.
Begor, George L.
Bennett, Robert W.
Bennett, George J.
Benson, Robert C.
Berkey, Kenneth W.
Berton, Calvin J.
Bever, Homer E.
Binder, John A.
Black, Jerry C.
Bland, Thomas M.
Blaylock, Philip W.
Bokenkamp, Brent S.
Boise, Lee A.
Bondurant, Richard D.
Borowy, Alfred J.
Boyle, Edward B.
Bradford, Ellis J.
Brooks, Garold N.
Brooks, Robert D.
Brown, Donald J.
Brownfield, Arthur, III
Bryant, Clarence C.
Bullock, Jeat
Canning, Robert H.
Cannon, Charles E.
Cannon, James R.
Caputo, Anthony F.
Cardoza, Edward
Carnicle, Gary L.
Carter, John E.
Carver, Roger E.
Casen, Grover C.
Cates, Ernest H.
Chapman, Authur J.
Chase, Marshall C.
Choate, Larry D.
Clemons, Edgar L.
Clifford, Wilfred J.
Colleton, Charles F., Jr.
Collins, Howard J.
Cornett, Hubert C.
Craiglow, John F.
Cravens, Larry G.
Craynon, Charles R.
Cross, Charles F.
Dalton, Robert J.
Darst, Glenn L., Jr.
Davis, John W., Jr.
Davis, Thomas E.
Deffes, Romain J., Jr.
Diederich, Don E.
Dobson, Leroy
Donnell, Billy D.
Dorn, Daniel B.
Doss, Thomas L.
Drucker, Jerome
Duggan, Michael J., Jr.
Dunagan, Donald R.
Dusek, Bobby E.
Ellis, Thurlow D.
English, Fred C.
Fallon, Lewis J., Jr.
Fanning, John T.
Farrow, William T.
Featherston, Joseph F., Jr.
Fellinger, Barry E. C.
Ferral, William J.
Fleck, Wolfgang H.
Flick, Gerald L.
Floe, Jerry D.
Ford, Norman R.
Franks, William D.
Gagnon, Leo P.
Galasky, Michael P.
Gallan, Craig D.
Garoutte, Robert L.
Garrow, Robert T.
Gatton, Donald T.
Gazaway, Harold S.
Gibson, Robert L. J.
Giles, Earl E.
Goff, Charles N.
Golden, Tom A.
Gould, Ronald W.
Graham, Alan N.
Gray, Wayne K.
Green, Ray H.
Griffith, Bryan O.
Griffith, James H.
Grivner, Richard L.
Gulley, Robert M.
Gwaltney, Robert E.
Gypin, Fred, Jr.
Hamilton, Robert E.
Hampton, Walter R.
Haney, Emmett L.
Hann, Thomas E.
Hansen, James F.
Harrell, Charles D., Jr
Harris, Don T.
Harris, William H.
Harrison, Leonard J.
Hart, Berne C.
Hastie, Orville L.
Haught, Harry A.
Hawkins, Robert D.
Hayward, Thomas E.
Henninger, Edgar W.
Hiller, Dale R.
Hensel, Frank E.
Hofstra, Jack
Holk, James N.
Huddleson, Carl L.
Irons, John L.
Jacobsen, Arthur R., Jr.
Jenkins, Clifton S., Jr.
Jennings, James
Johnson, Donald R.
Jones, Allen L.
Juarez, Luis A.
Kee, Gary S.
Kelley, Jessie W.
Kellison, Charles R.
Kloch, Robert L.
Kramer, William L.
Kramp, Kay E.
Kroelinger, William L.
Lacoursiere, Robert P.
Laton, Robert L.

Laughner, Donald E.
Ledoux, Roger O.
Lee, William E.
Leonski, Joseph A.
Lewallen, James W.
Lilly, Junior
Loughren, Frederick R.
Lowe, William N.
Loy, David W.
Matthews, Millard F., Jr.
Matthews, Peter J.
Matras, Lawrence W.
Mazourek, William L.
McCall, William D., Jr.
McAuley, William T., II
McCarthy, Frank H.
McCarthy, John E., Jr.
McCombs, Francis
McCord, Richard G.
McGee, Henry W.
McGuire, John P.
McQueary, Daniel H.
Meegan, George B.
Meehleder, James M.
Mello, Edmund M.
Meyer, Edward H., Jr.
Milavic, Anthony F.
Miller, Ashby R.
Miller, Thomas J.
Moore, Edward L., II
Moore, Fred A., Jr.
Moore, Theodore C.
Morilla, Robert G.
Mosley, Don E.
Murphy, Timothy J.
Myers, Glenn N.
Nadeau, Arthur G.
Nail, Gary L.
Naperalski, Gerald R.
Needels, Charles F., Jr.
Occhipinti, Charles W.
O'Hara, William J.
Olsen, John O.
O'Toole, Thomas F., Jr.
Parrish, Bobby J.
Pelczarski, Paul R.
Pelto, William M.
Pepe, Francis A.
Peregoy, Edmund T.
Pierce, Arthur A.
Pihl, Donald E.
Rabun, Jack N.
Rachal, James E.
Radcliffe, Darrel R.
Randlett, Frederick A.
Ray, Walter J.
Redford, Raymond E.
Redic, Bobby D.
Reed, Chris D.
Reed, Ralph W.
Reynolds, Albert A.
Richardson, Herbert C.
Richmond, William A.
Roberson, Thomas F.
Robertson, John T.
Roepke, Lyonel K.
Romine, Donnie L.
Rowe, Hugh T., Jr.
Rowe, Robert D.
Russell, Edward M., Jr.
Russell, Hayden B., Jr.
Russell, James C.
Sanders, Billy C., Jr.
Sanders, James W.
Saulnier, John I.
Schleusner, Clifford G.
Schoonover, Adrian E.
Schmidt, Charles W.
Search, George B.
Seitz, James E.
Sellars, James A.
Seman, Stephen G.
Sergeant, Louis E., Jr.
Sheldon, William G., III
Shelton, Jerry M.
Simpson, Harvey H.
Slavens, Charles R.
Smethurst, Robert J. L.
Smith, James L.
Snearly, Paul L.
Spalsbury, James A.
Springer, Dennis E.
Stanley, Jackie W.
Sterling, William G.
Stetser, Raymond D., Jr.
Stitcher, Frederick M.
Svitak, James D.
Swaney, David O.
Swink, Richard M.
Thomas, Jerrold A.
Toholsky, Ralph E.
Tomlinson, William G.
Toombs, William E.
Treece, Wayne L.
Trott, Winfield R., Jr.
Underwood, Robert J.
Vchulek, Joseph A.
Vincent, Richard L.
Voss, Curtis M.
Wagstaff, Jack L.
Walden, Robert A.
Walker, Jerry E.
Walker, Mungo R.
Waltman, Robert, Jr.
Warren, Theodore B., Jr.
Webb, Patrick J.
Weeks, Robert W.
Welborn, David E.
Welsh, Ronald R.
Wengeler, Lloyd J.
White, Henry G.
Willson, Russell D.
Witt, William J.
Wolfe, William M.
Wolverton, Charles F.
Wright, Eddie B.
Wright, James N.
Zoerb, Dennis R.
Zwiener, Robert C.

The following-named (staff noncommissioned officers) for temporary appointment to the grade of second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Abene, Charles F.
Abrams, Joseph C.
Ackley, Gordon E., Jr.
Acosta, Raymond, Jr.
Adams, Andrew W.
Adams, Joe E.
Adams, John W.
Adams, Richard W.
Adams, William T.
Adkins, Jimmie L.
Adler, Sidney S.
Aguayo, Ernest M.
Ahlers, Richard M.
Ainsworth, James J.
Alexander, Richard E.
Allen, Carl, Jr.
Allen, James M.
Allen, Paul W.
Allen, Raymond K.
Allen, Thomas V.
Allison, Robert C.
Alvarez, Juan C.
Ammons, Gene F.
Amos, Henry D., Jr.
Andelin, Marvin R.
Anderson, Carl W.
Anderson, Charles F.
Anderson, Douglas E.
Anderson, Jack H.
Anderson, John H.
Anderson, Lawrence R.
Anderson, Melvin L.
Anderson, "O." "V."
Anderson, Perry B.
Anderson, Robert C., Jr.
Anderson, Wilbur L.
Anderson, William A.
Annis, James E.
Anselmo, Salvatore
Anthony, James E.
Anthony, William J.
Antle, Gayle
Appleby, William L.
Aragon, Gerald P.
Arango, Gerard
Arbisi, Anthony R.
Ardolino, Gavin C.
Argenzio, James
Armstrong, Richard T.
Arnold, Billy T.
Arnold, Everett C.
Arnold, Richard E.
Arocha, Julius.
Ascher, Charles J.
Ash, George J.
Ashley, Calvin H.
Atkinson, William T., Jr.
Austin, Donald E.
Avellino, Michael J.
Awalt, Marshall L.
Axline, Robert L.
Ayers, Rodney F.
Azarian, Harry K.
Babineau, Raymond O., Jr.
Bachstein, Robert L.
Backus, William E.
Bacon, Gerald C.
Baeza, Bernard J.
Baggett, Liston D.
Bailey, Barry H.
Bailey, Charlie E.
Bailey, George H.
Bailey, Ralph J.
Bailey, Robert E.
Baker, Clyde L.
Baker, Michael L.
Baker, Walter B.
Baldridge, Herbert J.
Balfanz, Duane A.
Balius, Ronald A.
Ball, Richard A.
Ballance, Orval C.
Ballinger, Robert E.
Balske, Ronald E.
Banaszek, Edward A.
Banaszek, Henry F.
Bancroft, Paul F.
Banks, Charles D.
Banks, Don
Bantleon, Ervin R., Jr.
Barber, Harold J., Jr.
Barber, John S., Jr.
Bare, Boyd B.
Barfield, Ernest
Baribeau, Robert A.
Barkley, Roy T.
Barksdale, Dennis.
Barnes, Glen E.
Barnes, Robert J.
Barnes, William P.
Barnett, James W.
Barnett, Robert K.
Barnett, Windle W.
Baronet, Lee N.
Barrer, Harold B.
Barron, Bonie P.
Barry, James M.
Barry, Lawrence E.
Bartlett, Francis E., Jr.
Bartlett, James N.
Bartley, Charles M.
Bartley, James H.
Bartolomeo, Clarence C.
Barton, Richard L.
Bash, Robert C.
Basham, Benjamin E.
Bass, Charles M.
Bass, Henry S.
Bass, Louis M.
Bassett, James V.
Bastyr, Michael J.
Bates, John L.
Bauer, John W.
Baughman, William O.
Baum, Arthur R., Jr.
Baumbach, Richard R.
Baumgardner, Janna R.
Bausemer, Francis J.
Baxley, Eugene L.
Beadle, Conrad M.
Beasley, Robert E.
Beatty, Robert E.
Bechtel, Marvin H.
Beck, William O.
Becker, Edgar L.
Beebe, Daniel L.
Beierman, Lavern J.
Belanger, Durham J.
Belcher, Travis E.
Beligotti, Augustus D.
Belken, Douglas C.
Belkonen, Thomas C.
Bell, Charles H.
Bell, Walter H.
Bellis, Richard T.
Belville, Arthur J., Jr.
Beman, Charles G.
Benedict, Fieldon C.
Benfatti, Raymond C.
Benjamin, Eugene R.
Benjamin, Gilbert T.
Bennett, Donald E.
Bennett, Donald R.
Benoit, Ronald R.
Benoy, Robert F.
Benson, Thomas G.
Benz, Anthony B.
Bequette, Bobby F.
Berger, Paul A.
Bergman, Joe F.
Berndt, Robert F.
Berry, Thomas A.
Berryman, Cecil B.
Bersano, Bernard L.
Bertagnolli, William R.
Bertram, Lois J.
Bethune, Donald E.
Beukema, Donald R., III
Bevilacqua, Allen C.
Bewley, Theodore A.
Bible, Hubert D.
Bickford, Thomas E.
Bigler, David P.
Bille, George A.
Billings, Charles E.
Bingham, Thomas F.
Bishoff, Franklin R.
Bishop, Francis A.
Black, Garvice
Blair, Donald W.
Blair, Howard M., Jr.
Blanchette, Robert O.
Bland, Robert W.
Blank, Joseph J., Jr.
Blanton, Jerry M.
Bledsoe, John D.
Bledsoe, Otis W.
Blessing, Leroy E.
Blevins, "L." "D."
Blivin, William C.
Blocker, Billy R.
Blosser, William E.
Blott, William
Blount, John L., Jr.
Bloxom, Ray L.
Bly, Oscar E.
Blyzes, Orville N.
Bobb, John T.
Bobbio, Leonard J.
Bodziak, Henry M.
Boeker, Arde G.
Boerner, Robert E.
Boeyen, William C.
Bolton, Richard W.
Bond, George P.
Bonin, Francis G.
Bonini, Juan B.
Bonneau, James M.
Bonisgnore, Joseph
Bontell, William J.
Borek, Max J.
Borgman, William C.
Borowicki, Albert A.
Bos, Richard E.
Bothelho, Ernest
Botsford, Donald R.
Bottorff, Norman L.
Bouldin, John F.
Boutin, Leo C.
Bowen, Clifton E.
Bowers, Ralph C.
Bowling, Ralph M.
Bowman, Marion V.
Bowyer, Bernard G.
Bowyer, Lindy E.
Box, Robert C.
Boyd, Richard R.
Boyer, Paul L.
Boyser, Everett J., Jr.
Bradley, Joseph G. A.
Brady, Donald
Brady, Earnest W.
Brady, John A.
Brage, Jack A.
Bragg, Kenneth G.
Braley, Charles A., III
Brandenburg, Leo A.
Brandenburg, William C., III
Brandt, Dale R.
Branson, Bobbie V.
Branson, Sylvan K.
Brayfield, Nelson E.
Breeze, Eugene
Breshears, "R." "B."
Brey, Patrick M.
Brier, Franklin D.
Bright, Edward E.
Bright, Raymond J.
Bringham, Gary L.
Brock, George A.
Broderick, Ernest J., Jr.
Brodeur, Henry
Brookfield, Charles E.
Brookman, Donald P.
Brooks, James W.
Brooks, Jerome P.
Brooks, Ronald D.
Brooks, Theo I.
Brophy, Daniel R.
Broska, Arthur C., Jr.
Broussard, Nelson J.
Brouvillette, George H.
Brown, Charles W.
Brown, Clarence A.
Brown, Donald A.
Brown, Edward H., Jr.
Brown, George F.
Brown, Herbert D.
Brown, Jerrell M.
Brown, John W., Jr.
Brown, Kermit E.
Brown, Norman
Brown, Richard M.
Brown, Robert A.
Brown, Robert L.
Brown, Thomas L.
Brown, Umphis L.
Brown, Walter A., Jr.
Brown, William A.
Brown, William A.
Brown, William N.
Brownlee, Joseph L., Jr.
Brumagen, Arthur
Bryant, George M.
Buck, Richard O.
Buckingham, John E.
Buckley, Leonard
Buhl, William J.
Buice, Richard E.
Bumgarner, Olin L.
Bunnell, Vernon B.
Burgess, Bernard E.
Burie, James R.
Burk, Roger R.
Burke, John R.
Burkhard, Robert G.
Burkholder, Robert P.
Burley, Harold G., Jr.
Burlingame, William R.
Burnett, Earl V.
Burns, Robert J.
Burr, Charles A.
Burton, Earl L.
Burton, Harry E.
Burton, Ronald R.
Bury, Leonard M.
Bussell, Brice L.
Butchko, Stephen W., Jr.
Butler, Erston.
Butler, Milburn C., Jr.
Butts, Bonnie O.
Byelick, Joseph M.
Cady, Raymond J.
Cahill, William J., Jr.
Caldwell, Jackie D.
Caldwell, Ronald L.
Call, Fred J.
Cameron, Charles A.
Camp, James D.
Camp, Walter J.
Campbell, David M.
Campbell, Donald E.
Campbell, Donald J.
Campbell, James E.
Campbell, Joseph J.
Campbell, Leo W.
Campbell, Thomas E.
Campbell, William J.
Camper, Donald A.
Camper, Ronald B.
Candelario, Emilio, Jr.
Canonico, Joseph A.
Capdepon, Henry P., Jr.
Capece, Anthony
Capeci, Robert L.
Capistran, Joseph A.
Cappock, Robert J.
Caproni, Charles J.
Cardell, Robert A.
Carman, James D.
Carmen, Nathaniel W.
Carnako, George
Carney, Robert A.
Caroll, Robert F.
Carpenter, "H." "C."
Carpenter, Robert M.
Carr, Thomas L.
Carroll, Robert J.
Carson, Milton E.
Carter, Donald L.
Carter, Joseph M.
Carter, William L., Jr.
Carver, David B.
Casey, Andy
Casey, Howard L.
Casey, James J.
Cash, Paul E.
Cash, Robert
Casti, James E.
Caswell, Charles R.
Cato, Dale G.
Cavanaugh, Elvin R., Jr.
Cefali, Norman C.
Chamberlain, Richard
Chance, Charles L.
Chapman, James L.
Chapman, Laurel E.
Charrier, James E.
Chase, Jerome M.
Chaves, Emilio J.
Chaves, Jackson B.
Chavez, Pedro
Childs, William J.
Chilton, Jack E.
Chin, Earl F. M.
Ching, George M.
Choate, Julian R., Jr.
Chopiak, Russell C.
Chow, Calvin K.

Christ, William E.
Christian, Ward E.
Chun, James K.
Church, Earl V.
Cirka, Richard G.
Cismar, Frank P., Jr.
Clapp, Harold G.
Clapp, Robert D.
Clark, Charles V.
Clark, Donald J.
Clark, Duchesne P., Jr.
Clark, Elmo A.
Clark, Thomas J.
Clark, Vernon L.
Clarke, Thomas J., Jr.
Clausen, Raymond C.
Clemens, Duane T.
Clements, Roger C.
Cleveland, Harold K.
Clevenger, Aubrey L.
Clickner, David M.
Clifford, Gerald R.
Cline, Charles S.
Clontz, Paul B.
Coble, Rex G.
Coccovaldez, Jose T.
Cochran, Ralph E.
Cockrell, Ernest
Coconis, Peter P.
Coffey, Allin L.
Cohenour, Keith E.
Coker, Henry T.
Cole, James W., Jr.
Cole, Robert E.
Coleman, Clinton R.
Coleman, Harold J.
Collins, Daniel J.
Collins, Joe R., II
Colney, Earl W.
Colton, William J.
Combs, Edgar G.
Comer, Charles G.
Compo, Edward E.
Condroski, Anthony R.
Connell, William R.
Connin, Larry A.
Conover, Jerry L.
Contreras, Salomon O.
Conyers, John M.
Cook, Charles E.
Cook, Dannie L.
Cook, Freddy V.
Cook, James A.
Cook, Marvin, Jr.
Cook, Rodney
Cooper, Bertrand W., Jr.
Cooper, Eldon L.
Cooper, Joseph R., Jr.
Cooper, Warren E.
Copes, William E.
Copeland, George D.
Corcoran, Joseph N.
Cormier, Gerard A.
Cornelius, Franklin L.
Cornell, Robert A.
Corral, Robert A.
Corsey, Nolan L.
Cortez, Jose F.
Cosby, Donald R.
Cottle, Stanley E.
Coulter, Allen R.
Coulter, Robert J.
Coulter, Ronald K.
Courtney, Robert A.
Cowan, Harry E., Jr.
Coward, Allen M.
Cox, Charles K.
Cox, Francis L.
Crabb, Kenneth L.
Craig, Rodger L.
Cramer, Donald L.
Crandall, Robert J.
Crane, Gordon N.
Craner, Franklin D.
Crawford, Duane E.
Crews, Fenton A.
Cribbs, Winford R.
Crippen, Jack E.
Crist, Larry D.
Critzer, Roger A.
Crockett, Charles L., Jr.
Crockett, Daniel E.
Crockford, Ronald K.
Croghan, Edward J., III
Crone, John
Cronin, Richard A.
Crosby, Robert.
Crossman, Chester H., Jr.
Crostic, Roy E.
Crowe, John T.
Crowe, William J.
Croy, Norvin A., II.
Cruickshank, Eugene J.
Cruit, Kenneth A.
Culbertson, Louis A.
Culp, William L.
Cumber, Harry W.
Cummings, Fledge E., Jr.
Curran, John F.
Currey, Arol E.
Curt, William E.
Curtis, Albert
Cushman, Richard M.
Cutten, Lewyn F., Jr.
Cuyno, Vincent H.
Czapor, Karl W.
Czubachowski, Raymond F.
Dailey, Edwin L., Jr.
Daley, James T.
Dalzell, Richard.
Darby, Jackie T.
Darcy, Joseph P.
Dargan, James J.
Darling, Eugene R.
Darlington, Earl G.
Darnell, William M.
Daugherty, Gerald B.
Daugherty, James T., Jr.
Daugherty, Richard C.
Davenport, Harry G.
Davidson, Kenneth M.
Davidson, Larry R.
Davies, Kenneth W.
Davis, Albert E.
Davis, Arthur
Davis, Daniel
Davis, David A.
Davis, George K.
Davis, Louis L.
Davis, Robert L.
Dawkins, Edward D.
Dawson, Charles L.
Dawson, Edward S.
Deane, Ottie B.
Decker, William J.
Dederick, Darwin E.
Defrank, James W.
Degrenier, Paul L.
Degryse, Richard V.
Dehart, Lawrence A.
Deibert, Harold J. E.
Deitrich, James N.
Dejaynes, Hubert D.
Delabarre, Ronald K.
Delancey, Joe M.
Delk, Vaughan E.
Demers, Russell L.
Demming, Marion F.
Dennison, Marshall C.
Depietro, James D.
Desourdy, Robert A.
Devereaux, Jewel L.
Dewert, William F.
Dewey, Charles H.
Diana, Kenneth R.
Dianish, John A.
Dias, Kenneth W.
Dibernardo, James V.
Dickerson, Charles R.
Dickey, Thomas C.
Dillinger, John W., Jr.
Dillman, Richard J.
Dillon, James G.
Dillon, Walter R.
Dirusso, Charles R.
Dittman, Richard H.
Ditto, Donald S., Jr.
Dixon, Robert D.
Doak, Henry L., Jr.
Dobbs, Jeff A.
Dockery, Billy W.
Dodd, Julian E., Jr.
Dolman, Robert J.
Dolphin, John J.
Donlan, James T.
Dooley, Dennis D.
Doran, Fredrick L.
Dornbach, Albert A.
Dowden, Frank H.
Downey, Jesse
Downie, Robert M.
Downs, David B.
Doyle, Bryant E.
Doyle, Paul H.
Doyle, Robert D.
Drake, Charles B.
Drew, Charles L.
Drew, Stuart H.
Drivick, John F., III
Dube, Serge R.
Duffy, Patrick E.
Dufore, Floyd L.
Dugas, Hubert
Dundes, George E., Jr.
Dunn, Harvey
Dunn, James A.
Dunn, John F.
Dunn, Ralph W., Jr.
Dupre, Howard J.
Duran, Gregory
Durazo, Carlos C.
Durham, Kenneth G.
Durham, Sidney E.
Dustman, George H., Jr.
Dutiel, Robert O.
Dykes, "H" "L"
Dykstra, Lowell G.
Dzik, Arthur J.
Eagle, Monte W., Jr.
Eakin, Shelton
Eaton, Jackie L.
Ebert, Robert W.
Eckersen, Frederick
Eckert, Robert L.
Eckley, Rex T.
Eckman, Charles D.
Eckman, George M.
Edwards, Charles E.
Edwards, John T.
Edwards, Robert I.
Egan, John B.
Eggers, Lee K.
Elcess, Weldon L.
Elder, Harold T.
Elder, Victor B., II
Eldon, Ralph J.
Eley, Richard J.
Ell, Melvin L.
Eller, Johnnie L.
Ellerbee, Morris C.
Elliott, Thomas M.
Elliott, Vernon R.
Ellis, Bruce L.
Ellis, William F., Jr.
Elmore, Ernest M.
Elms, Rozert W.
Emanus, Calvin D.
Ennis, John E.
Ennis, Patrick E.
Enos, Leroy N.
Entwisle, Thomas J.
Ereth, Thomas M.
Erickson, Donald A.
Ericsson, Bruce T.
Erly, John W.
Ervin, Morris L.
Esmond, Roy D.
Espinoza, Carlos D.
Estep, Vernon C.
Ette, Robert J., Jr.
Eubank, Leroy E.
Evans, Michael J.
Evans, William R.
Everett, Zane L.
Fagen, Clifford L.
Fairbrother, Myrl G., Jr.
Fairchild, Lon C.
Fairley, James A., Jr.
Falgout, Roy F.
Faries, Victor H.
Farlee, Richard E.
Farr, Roland C.
Farra, Elwood D.
Farrington, Richard A.
Farris, Paul T.
Fasnacht, Jon H.
Fasulo, John
Fattig, Charles W.
Faulkner, Wayne E.
Fayak, Bernard A.
Faylor, Dwight G.
Fecke, Ralph L.
Felderman, Keith L.
Felner, Theodore K.
Fenn, Ronald S.
Fenner, Edward G.
Ferguson, Mitchell M.
Fermino, Francis R.
Fernandez, Walter J., III
Ferrari, Joseph G.
Ferree, Douglas R.
Ferree, Harry R.
Feryan, James E.
Fields, James E.
Fierros, Robert
Filicko, James W.
Finnie, Richard F.
Firth, Thomas G.
Fischer, Robert C.
Fisette, Robert H.
Fisher, Joseph V., Jr.
Fitzgerald, Stephen A.
Fitzsimmons, Joseph C., Jr.
Fladd, Robert J.
Flaherty, Paul S.
Fleming, Ronald D.
Flery, Joseph J., Jr.
Fleskes, William G.
Fletcher, Ernest E.
Fletcher, Freddie E.
Fletcher, Jack
Flinn, John D.
Floyd, Henry A., Jr.
Floyd, Johnny M.
Flynn, Edward H.
Foley, Jeremiah R.
Foley, Nicholas A.
Fontenot, Robert H.
Foo, Robert C. K.
Ford, David L.
Ford, Robert
Ford, William G.
Forrest, William E., Jr.
Fortson, Marvin P.
Forvendel, Henry A., Jr.
Foss, Philip L.
Foster, Frank C.
Foster, Robert P.
Foster, Sterling J., III
Fox, Charles W.
Fox, Gerald E.
Fox, Guy G.
Fox, Wesley L.
Fraker, Adrian X.
Frederickson, Robert R.
Freed, Joseph E.
Freem, Mitchell C., Jr.
Freeman, James H.
Freestone, William F.
Freidenberger, George H.
Freitas, John P.
French, Stanley L.
Friedl, Richard T.
Fritz, Donald H.
Frost, Donald E.
Fugera, Franklin J.
Fulmer, James D.
Fulton, Daine L.
Furbee, Richard D.
Furber, Buddy R.
Furtney, Arthur J., Jr.
Futch, Amos W.
Gaines, Charles J.
Gainor, Richard H.
Galang, Richard S., Jr.
Gallagher, Cornelius J.
Gamble, Frank R., Jr.
Gambrell, Jerry C.
Gangwer, John L.
Garavaglia, Joseph E.
Garber, Charles P.
Garbrick, James H.
Garcia, Alfredo S.
Garcia, Arthur
Garcia, Johnny
Garcia, Louis
Garcia, Robert H.
Gardner, Bernard E.
Gardner, Ralph G.
Gardner, Richard G.
Garland, Ronald G.
Garner, Bertram A., Jr.
Garon, John T.
Garoutte, Jimmy L.
Garr, Edward
Garrett, Charles D.
Garrett, Joe D.
Garrett, Leroy A.
Garrett, Robert A.
Gates, Bobby A.
Gaubert, Raoul J.
Gaylord, Ivan E.
Gearhart, Carl O.
Geddis, Robert B.
Gehrdes, Robert P.
Gehring, Paul, Jr.
Gellenbeck, Oscar A.
George, Robert J.
Geries, Theodore R.
Gessner, Frederick, C.
Getchey, Charles D.
Gibbard, Patrick F.
Gibbs, Gene R.
Gibbs, Harold C.
Gibbs, Haywood P.
Gibney, William A.
Gibson, Roy
Gibson, William J., Jr.
Gibson, William J.
Gierczynski, Michael
Gill, Sam A.
Gilmore, Jimmy G.
Gilmour, Daniel C.
Gilstrap, Lester
Girardot, Charles E.
Giroux, George A.
Glasgow, Robert T.
Glass, Robert T.
Glassmire, John R.
Glausier, Robert E., Jr.
Glenn, Dearl A.
Glidder, Marvin S.
Gloady, Richard C., Jr.
Glover, John D.
Goble, Billie J.
Godfrey, Robert C.
Godin, Alfred M.
Godsil, Richard L.
Godsil, Stanley W.
Godwin, Johnny W.
Goewey, Virgil L.
Gogulski, John B.
Gomeau, Edward J.
Gonsalves, Manuel
Gonzalez, Gilberto
Gonzalez, Heriberto
Gonzalez, Victor B.
Gooch, Brannon N.
Good, Loyal W.
Goodall, Elbert R.
Goodine, James E.
Goodman, Monroe A.
Goodwin, Robert Y.
Gordon, Samuel L.
Gordon, Samuel M.
Gore, William M.
Gornic, George J.
Gosch, Thomas C.
Gould, Keith R.
Goulet, Joseph A.
Gour, Oliver F.
Goyette, Gerald L.
Grabus, Edward J.
Graham, John D.
Graham, William L.
Grammig, Richard A.
Grant, Charles E.
Grant, Robert A.
Grassilli, Leo J., Jr.
Gray, Hayward W.
Green, Billy D.
Green, Jack C.
Green, James R.
Green, Vernon L.
Greenawalt, Harvey E.
Greenburg, Lawrence K.
Greene, Russell E.
Gregory, Abie R.
Gribben, William A.
Griffin, Charles L.
Griffin, Charles R., Jr.
Griffin, Samuel E.
Griffith, John A., III
Grigg, Davis I.
Griggs, Bobby J.
Grimes, Jessie
Grimmer, James R.
Gross, Francis E.
Grunwald, Richard H. W.
Guerin, James D., Jr.
Gueterman, Frank J.
Guffey, David L.
Guice, Doyal R.
Guile, Frederick A.
Gulley, Robert G.
Gunkel, Alfred N.
Gustafson, Richard J.
Guth, Roger A.
Guy, William D.
Gwinn, Robert P.
Haack, Richard O.
Haaland, John
Hack, Virgil D.
Hagan, Howard P.
Hager, Thomas J.
Haines, Robert L.
Hakim, James J.
Hale, Edmund D.
Hale, Jim B.
Haliscak, George
Hall, Alton D.
Hall, Jessie B., Jr.
Hall, Richard A., Jr.
Halterman, William R.
Hamel, Roland L.
Hamic, Thomas E.
Hamilton, William M.
Hamlin, William H.
Hamm, Troy B.
Hancock, John C., Jr.
Hand, Jessie A.
Handlesman, Martin H.
Hanger, Darrel W.
Hankins, Thomas J.
Hanrahan, Thomas J.
Hansen, Guy R.
Hansford, George F.
Hanson, Edward R.
Hanus, Clois L.
Harden, Richard M.
Hardin, Bobby L.
Harding, Alan L.
Harding, Richard D.
Hardy, Ronald E.
Hargrove, Billy E.
Harlan, Herman
Harmon, Kenneth D.
Harrell, Arnold C.
Harrell, James S.
Harrelle, Roosevelt
Harrer, William J.

Harrington, Billy D.
Harris, James R.
Harris, Lee F.
Harris, Ralph
Harris, Robert L.
Harris, Willie L., Jr.
Harrison, Robert D.
Hart, Roger M.
Hartzler, Earl W.
Harward, Joseph R., Jr.
Harwood, Gerald R., Jr.
Haselton, Gerald M.
Haskell, Richard P.
Hasse, Ronald E.
Hatadis, Robert E.
Hatch, Emmett L.
Hatchel, Joe H.
Haugen, James H.
Haught, William G.
Haukaas, Everette W.
Hauser, Albert W., Jr.
Hawkinson, Jerrald J.
Hayes, Jeromed
Haynes, Paul C.
Heap, Virgil I.
Heard, Jewel M.
Heard, Nathan E.
Heatley, George
Heazlit, William M.
Hebert, Kenneth J.
Hedgecock, Norman C.
Hehner, Walter K., Jr.
Heidbreder, Henry, Jr.
Heiden, Charles S.
Heim, Donald E.
Heishman, Gordon E.
Heldreth, Claude E.
Hellinger, Solomon S.
Helton, William C.
Hemming, Michael J. T.
Henderson, Alfred B.
Henderson, Delbert D.
Henderson, James M.
Henderson, Richard W.
Hendricks, Phillip G.
Hendrix, William L.
Henry, Elton O.
Henry, Herman C.
Henry, Reagon A., Jr.
Hensel, Richard E.
Herman, Harley W.
Hern, Charles R.
Hernandez, Miguel A.
Herold, Andrew G., Jr.
Heroy, Dewey W.
Herringer, Charles L.
Hertz, James O.
Herzog, John M.
Hester, Robert J.
Heyse, Rudolf B.
Hiatt, George A.
Hiatt, Virgil D.
Hickey, Myles T.
Hicks, Edward Q.
Hicks, Leroy
Higgs, William W.
Hildebrand, Arthur T., Jr.
Hill, Peter
Hill, William R., Jr.
Hillard, Gerald W.
Hilliard, Albert E.
Hilliard, Roy L., Jr.
Hillman, James E.
Hilton, Richard G.
Hines, Howard R.
Hinman, Rex L.
Hines, Lonnie R.
Hirschmann, Harold
Hisler, Norman R., Jr.
Hix, Clifton L.
Hobart, Ellis R.
Hobaugh, George F.
Hobson, Robert M.
Hockensmith, Donald L.
Hodge, Arthur D.
Hodge, George E. C.
Hodge, Joel
Hodges, Jerry L.
Hoedl, Leo J.
Hoelzle, Jack
Hoffman, Charles R.
Holdeman, Robert E.
Holdridge, Billy B.
Holiwski, Frank D.
Holland, Kenneth B.
Hollis, Harold D.
Holmes, Billy R.
Holmes, James D.
Holschen, Henry J., Jr.
Holt, William A.,
Holter, Vernon P.
Honza, Billy J.
Hoover, Reginald E.
Hopper, Jerald D.
Hopper, Theodore D.
Horadan, Lloyd
Horrobin, William P.
Horton, John W.
Housh, Richard H.
Howard, Thomas E.
Howell, Paul A.
Howey, William C.
Hradsky, Robert A.
Hrebik, Richard K.
Hruz, Stephen J.
Hudson, Clarence
Hudson, Richard A.
Huels, Walter D.
Huffman, James W., Jr.
Hughes, Jacob W., Jr.
Hughes, William J.
Hulcy, Zane C.
Hull, Denford J.
Humphrey, Doyle E.
Hundley, Thomas Y.
Hunsberger, Robert S.
Hurst, Charles E.
Hurt, Roosevelt
Husted, Thomas H., Jr.
Huston, Wayne B.
Hutchinson, Arnold A.
Huth, Gary T.
Hutsler, William C.
Hyland, Edward C.
Illes, Steve J.
Imes, Donald E.
Imhauser, Robert W.
Ingersoll, Alvah E., Jr.
Inman, Donald D.
Irvine, Floyd D.
Irvine, Joseph W.
Israel, Larry N.
Iversen, Rolf R.
Jackman, Dan L.
Jackson, Jerald W.
Jackson, Kaye E.
Jackson, Richard B.
Jacobs, Charles E., Jr.
Jacobs, George T.
Jacome, Robert A.
James, Danny D.
Janis, Joseph J.
Jarrell, Roland, Jr.
Jasmund, Robert F.
Jeffery, Harry D.
Jenkins, Ralph H.
Jenkins, Walter R.
Jernee, Huston R.
Jessee, Franklin E.
Jiminez, Francis
Johanson, David D.
John, Noel A.
Johnson, Albert E.
Johnson, Dale L.
Johnson, Dan C.
Johnson, David F., Jr.
Johnson, Dennis W.
Johnson, Donald D.
Johnson, George O.
Johnson, James A.
Johnson, Paul C.
Johnson, Richard. Jr.
Johnson, Robert J.
Johnson, Weldon W.
Johnson, William D.
Johnston, Darrell G.
Joiner, James E.
Joles, Kenneth D.
Jolly, Charles M.
Jolly, Charles S., Jr.
Jones, Bruce R.
Jones, Charles T.
Jones, Daniel T., Jr.
Jones, Earnest J.
Jones, Floyd S.
Jones, Harold L., Jr.
Jones, James D.
Jones, Kenneth W.
Jones, Paul D.
Jones, Philmon
Jones, Richard W.
Jones, Robert J.
Jones, Thomas H.
Jones, Thomas T., Jr.
Jones, Walter K.
Jones, William T.
Jordan, William F.
Journey, John E.
Joyce, Robert E.
Juck, Leonard P.
Julich, Paul, Jr.
Junger, Walter W.
Justice, William N., Jr.
Kadlecik, John, Jr.
Kahl, Herbert S.
Kahl, Martin F.
Kammerer, Roger E.
Kane, William J., Jr.
Kanocz, Michael, Jr.
Kappel, Jacob, Jr.
Karasek, Robert G.
Katapski, Stanley W
Kaus, Eugene J.
Kearney, Thomas F.
Keatley, Roger L.
Keeler, Clyde E., Jr.
Keene, David R.
Keim, John R.
Keller, Harry L.
Keller, William E., Jr.
Kelley, David G.
Kelly, Ralph E.
Kelly, Richard M.
Kelly, Thomas E.
Kemerley, Richard K.
Kemmis, Edward D.
Kemper, George R., Jr.
Kendig, Dennis R.
Kendrick, Edgar T.
Kennedy, Delbert E.
Kenner, William W., Jr
Kent, Arthur L., Jr.
Kent, James M.
Kentner, Raymond L.
Kerchner, Henry A.
Kerr, Samuel L.
Kiehl, Richard M.
Kiemel, Raymond E.
Kight, James
Kiker, Meek C., Jr.
Killian, Bobby P.
Kimball, Thomas R.
King, Claude E.
King, James F.
King, John C.
King, Wayne W.
Kinslow, George C.
Kirchgessner, Gerald P
Kirin, Michael J.
Kirk, Harvey O., Jr.
Kirk, Robert W.
Kirkpatrick, Loren K.
Kirkpatrick, William S
Klansky, Gerald J.
Klingensmith, Harry G
Klunk, Harold P.
Knack, John M.
Knapp, John R.
Knight, William A.
Knipper, William J.
Kniska, Nicholas E.
Knowles, Coleman R., Jr.
Knowles, Roger E.
Kobel, Alan D.
Koble, Ned A.
Koehler, Fred W.
Koliha, Joe J.
Komo, Raymond S.
Kopacz, John R.
Kraft, Leo W.
Krajewski, Joseph S.
Kreilling, William.
Kresty, Edward J.
Krohn, Orville E.
Krueger, Ronald L.
Kucinski, Julius W.
Kuhlmann, Norman K.
Kuykendall, Billy H.
Kuzmenko, Tom A.
Labarge, Roland L.
Lacey, Don C.
Lacy, Horace W.
Lacy, John J.
Ladd, Lawrence K.
Laing, Ivan A.
Lake, Donald E.
Lalonde, Robert R.
Lambert, Glynn P.
Lambert, Louis J.
Lambiasi, Louis C.
Lambka, Harvey L.
Lamontagne, Henry J.
Lamczyk, Everett E.
Lamey, Carl E.
Lamson, John C.
Lance, Robert F.
Landrum, Dale F.
Lane, Benny W.
Lane, Billy B.
Lane, Bobby
Lane, James V.
Lane, Warren R.
Lang, Elbridge W.
Langin, Charles E.
Langley, Robert C.
Lanthier, Richard G.
Larkin, Edward J.
Larkin, Joseph V.
Larsson, Thomas R.
Lasher, Jerry V.
Lastovica, Jerry L.
Latham, Irving C.
Latshaw, Clarence C., Jr.
Lauland, Thomas H., Jr.
Lauretta, Antonio
Laverty, Chester N.
Laverty, Robert C.
Layton, Lewis W., Jr.
Leach, Harold W.
Leach, William H.
Leahy, John J.
Leal, Jimmie V.
Leathers, James P.
Lee, John A.
Lee, John J.
Lee, Lendith
Lee, Richard R.
Legg, William E.
Lemoine, Stanley P.
Lenn, Donald S.
Lepak, Theodore W.
Lewandowski, Eugene S.
Lewis, Kenneth D.
Lexa, Gerald G.
Lidback, George S., Jr.
Lilley, John M.
Linardi, John N.
Lind, Paul A.
Lindbeck, John R.
Lindsay, Samuel E., Jr.
Lisenbe, Bobby M.
Listwan, Albert J.
Little, Allan G.
Littlefield, Arthur I., Jr.
Littrell, Roy L.
Lloyd, Burdell L., Jr.
Lloyd, Robert A.
Lockwood, Charles E.
Lockyer, Arron K.
Loeffler, Robert L.
Lofton, William A.
Logan, Bernard W.
Lohr, John L.
Lonetti, Richard P.
Long, Charles J.
Longhouse, Garland A., Jr.
Lorelli, Jerry N.
Lorentsen, Frederick A.
Loustaunau, Charles Jr.
Love, Ronald L.
Lovelace, Richard J.
Lowe, John W.
Lucas, David J., Jr.
Lucas, Harry A.
Lucas, Troy A.
Lucenius, Arne B.
Lucero, David A.
Lucht, Dean C.
Lucy, Jimmie L.
Luisa, Edward M., Jr.
Lukasiewicz, Frank W.
Lukawecz, Theodore
Lum, Allen J. A.
Lumpkins, Sellards L.
Lundberg, Helmer G., Jr.
Lunt, George L., Jr.
Lusignan, John H.
Lutz, Fred, Jr.
Lutz, Kenneth O.
Luxemburger, Maxwell C.
Lykens, William F., Jr.
Lynch, Daniel M.
Lynch, John F.
Lynch, Peter
Lynch, Robert L.
Lyons, Donald E.
Lytle, John T.
MacIver, Colin R.
MacCormack, Dana F.
MacDonald, Hazen E.
MacFarlane, Larry S.
Machovec, Richard A.
Mackins, Jeff G.
Macklin, Herman E.
Macky, Gerald
Macleary, Richard R.
Magers, Donald P.
Maiden, John E.
Majewski, Norbert L.
Mallette, Gerald O.
Mallon, Thomas W.
Malone, Loren J.
Maloney, John T.
Maloy, Thomas D., Jr.
Manbeck, Lewis D.
Manifold, Dale W.
Manley, James D.
Mann, Daniel I.
Mann, Thomas J.
Manning, Earl J.
Manning, John A.
Manning, Joseph R.
Manry, Tommy E.
Manz, Joseph C.
Marchette, Donald C.
Marek, Gaylord J.
Mariz, Robert J.
Marland, Daniel, Jr.
Marois, Armand
Marshall, John J.
Marshall, Russell H.
Martello, Herbert P., Jr.
Martin, Bobby O.
Martin, Donald J.
Martin, Francis L.
Martin, James J.
Martin, Joseph L.
Martin, Louie
Martin, Nelson R.
Martin, Paul S.
Martinez, Carlos
Martz, Ronald L.
Maruhn, Richard L.
Marvin, Horace W.
Mashburn, Lester E.
Maslyk, Edward G.
Mason, Michael
Masone, Vincent J.
Mastroberti, Michael P.
Matchett, John W.
Matkowski, Joseph R.
Matte, Joseph C.
Matte, Leland J.
Matthews, Gordon B.
Matthews, John T., Jr.
Mauricio, Roberto P.
Maxfield, Charles L.
Maxon, Don K.
Maxwell, Daniel M.
Maxwell, Donald M.
May, Kenneth N.
Mayfield, Sanford F.
Maynard, Frederick E.
Maynard, Fredrick
Maynard, Kenneth L.
Mayo, Harold D., Jr.
Mayo, Phillip
Mayo, William H., Jr.
McDonough, Donald T.
McIntyre, May
McMullin, Jack H.
McMullin, Thomas B.
McBride, Bobbie L.
McCabe, James J.
McCain, Daniel N.
McCallion, Frank E.
McCarter, William D.
McCarthy, Richard C.
McCartney, Joseph R.
McClain, "R." "L."
McClellan, Ramon V.
McCorkel, Charles C.
McCormack, James S.
McCormick, Donald W.
McCormick, Raymond D.
McCourt, Edward F., Jr.
McCourt, Thomas
McCranie, Cleo H.
McCue, John W., III
McCulloch, Billy R.
McDaniel, Joe E.
McElroy, Joseph A.
McElvain, Ronald R.
McEwen, Robert G.
McFadden, Bernard W.
McFarlane, Andrew B.
McGann, Joseph
McGinniss, Milburn
McGrath, Alvin L.
McGraw, Reginald K.
McInerney, James P.
McInnes, John M.
McIver, Wallace L.
McKay, Frederick R.
McKay, John E.
McKenna, Joseph C.
McKinney, Harry T.
McKinnon, Joseph R.
McLaughlin, John E.
McLaughlin, William J.
McLean, Albenious P.
McLemore, Kenneth
McManus, Raymond J.
McMenamin, Harry D.
McMillian, Milburn H.
McPartland, Paul D.
McSpadden, Bert L.
McWaters, Fred H.
Meade, Charles T.
Means, Charles E.
Means, John R.
Meath, Lawrence G.
Medearis, Eldon G., Jr.

Medina, Joseph M., Jr.
Meece, Ralph D.
Meech, Robert A.
Meek, Phillip E.
Meeker, Charles C.
Meeks, Joseph R.
Mendis, Alfons J.
Mentzer, John H., II
Meravy, John L., Jr.
Mercer, Edward F.
Merlino, John A.
Merna, Gerald F.
Merrell, Robert G.
Messier, Alfred L.
Metcalfe. Edwin A.
Metten, Robert L.
Meyer, William O., Jr.
Meyers, Donald J.
Middleton, Arthur U.
Migliacci, Joseph A.
Milburn, Carroll R.
Miles, William R.
Millard, James C.
Miller, Andrew P.
Miller, Burleigh W.
Miller, James E.
Miller, Jerry J.
Miller, Lester V.
Miller, Miles T.
Miller, Norman A.
Miller, Phillip M.
Miller, Ralph H.
Miller, Raymond R., Jr.
Miller, Richard E.
Miller, Robert L.
Miller, Thomas C.
Miller, Walter N.
Miller, William A.
Miller, William R.
Mills, Donald E.
Mills, Jimmie L.
Mills, Thomas C.
Milne, James E.
Milton, Ralph A.
Mitchell, Earl W.
Mitchell, Floyd G.
Mitchell, James G.
Moffett, Bobby G.
Mollendor, James J. C.
Moller, Harry R.
Moneypenny, Guy E.
Montgomery, Orrie G.
Moog, David C.
Mook, David
Mooney, John F.
Moore, Bill Z.
Moore, Clarence G.
Moore, Frank O., Jr.
Moore, William A.
Moore, William J.
Moorhead, Robert D.
Mora, Aurelio
Moran, Richard G.
Morgan, Robert Y.
Morgan, Francis T., Jr.
Morgan, Freddie M.
Moring, Joe D.
Morocco, Pasquale J.
Morris, Charles A.
Morris, Herbert R., Jr.
Morris, Kenneth A.
Morris, John R.
Morris, Richard L.
Morrison, Allen W.
Morrison, Arthur E., Jr.
Morrison, Jerald J.
Morrissey, John T., Jr.
Morrissey, Paul H.
Morrow, Edward
Morsch, John R.
Morton, Merrill T.
Morts, Harold D.
Moss, Lawrence W.
Mott, Dean V.
Moulton, Bruce L.
Moungelis, Stavros S.
Mounter, Paul H.
Mowatt, Donald L.
Mowry, George T.
Moxley, William H.
Mull, Robert L.
Mullins, Peter F.
Mulvey, William R.
Mumford, John V.
Munday, Ted L.
Mundy, Marion E.
Munn, Warren E.
Murphy, David B.
Murphy, Wilbur H.
Murray, Gilbert W.
Murray, Grover
Murray, John E.
Musser, Richard E.
Myers, Clair D.
Myers, Earl G., Jr.
Myers, Hugh G., Jr.
Myers, Larrie J.
Myers, Richard D.
Nagai, Hideo
Nagelin, Thomas F., Sr.
Nash, Gail L.
Nason, Gilbert L.
Natt, Frank, Jr.
Nazarchuk, Daniel A.
Neal, Theodore E.
Neeley, Gerard T.
Neill, Cecil D.
Nelson, Albert C.
Nelson, Edward A.
Nelson, George, Jr.
Nemeth, John W.
Netherly, Cecil
Neveu, Alfred C.
New, Walter
Neyt, Ronald J.
Nichols, James D.
Nickell, Scott G.
Nickle, Oliver A., Jr.
Nicoloroulos, John S.
Nicosia, Donald D.
Nida, Carl E.
Nienstedt, James F.
Nigro, Anthony
Nix, Joseph R.
Nixon, Joe A.
Nixon, William F.
Norbriga, Leabert F.
Norton, Frank J.
Norton, Patrick T.
Norton, William D.
Norwood, Thomas H.
Nozar, John J.
O'Connor, George R.
Oconnor, Charles F.
Odegard, Ralph P.
Odell, Frank E.
Oleary, Patrick J.
Olmstead, Howard W.
Olson, Leland M.
Olson, Roy C.
Olson, Thomas A.
Ondrak, Daryle M.
Oneill, Peter J.
Ordway, Ruel E.
Orlando, Louis D.
Oroark, Alfred W.
Orona, Louis, Jr.
Osborne, Hansel E.
Osenkoski, Stanley M.
Osgood, Carl J., Jr.
Oshields, Robert C.
Osullivan, Thomas T.
Oswald, Donald H.
Ota, Yoneo
Ott, Clair E.
Oubre, Melvin J.
Outrakis, Nicholas J.
Owen, Albert A.
Owen, James R.
Owen, Joseph C., Jr.
Owens, Charlie C.
Owsley, Gerald E.
Owsley, Robert E.
Oxford, Lynn D.
Pachucki, Robert J.
Page, Herbert M., Jr.
Pahl, Gerald S.
Painter, Billy G.
Pallang, Rodney L.
Palmer, Doil C.
Palmer, Ernest B., Jr.
Pancoast, Harry L., Jr.
Papciak, George J.
Paquette, Paul
Parker, Hubert L.
Parker, Joseph A., Jr.
Parrish, Julian W.
Parrott, Howard G.
Parton, Donald J.
Partridge, Gerald B.
Pascual, Ronald J.
Pase, Robert R.
Paskevich, Theodore
Patridge, James O.
Pattat, Albert W.
Patterson, Hobart D., Jr.
Patton, Dorris E.
Patton, Doyle M.
Paurazas, Edward J.
Pavlik, Alfred J.
Paxton, Jack T.
Payne, Courtney B.
Payne, Walter A.
Peabody, Verne D.
Pearce, Bruce W.
Pearce, Patrick A.
Pease, Delbert A.
Peck, Joseph E.
Peeples, Walter A.
Pelletier, Conrad R.
Pelletier, Perly A.
Pendarvis, Robert H.
Pendas, Gerard G.
Pendergast, Paul
Pendleton, Martin H.
Penman, Donald E.
Pennington, Earl
Pentony, Thomas J.
Perkins, Huette D.
Perkins, William N.
Perrin, Jack N.
Perry, Joseph
Perry, Richard P.
Perry, Ronald L.
Peter, James E.
Peters, Maxwell R.
Peters, Sterling R.
Peterson, Clarence F.
Peterson, George L., Jr.
Peterson, Gordon F.
Peterson, John W.
Peterson, Robert A.
Petronzio, John A.
Petry, Rudge
Petzel, Ronald J.
Peyer, Otto W., Jr.
Phelan, James M.
Phelps, Douglas R.
Phillippi, Lewis M., Jr.
Phillips, Clarence W., Jr
Phillips, Donald F.
Phillips, Ennis T., Jr.
Phillips, Kent W.
Phipps, Kenneth W.
Piconke, Ronald J.
Pier, Robert P.
Pieratt, John J.
Pierce, John F.
Pike, John E.
Pike, Ralph H.
Pinguet, Jean
Pinnell, Murry C.
Pitcher, Kenneth E.
Pitts, Edward F.
Pitts, James E.
Pitts, Michael G.
Plank, Adolph L., Jr.
Plant, Bernard M.
Plante, Leo G.
Platt, Charles L.
Plots, Robert F.
Pool, Glaston
Pope, Jimmy D.
Pope, Joe A.
Pope, Paul E., Jr.
Post, Raymond, Jr.
Postalwait, Ronzel E.
Pothier, Gerald T.
Potter, Donald D.
Poulin, Edward G.
Powell, Clayton A.
Powell, William B., Jr.
Powers, John A.
Prelgovisk, John A.
Prendergast, Thomas J.
Preston, Ralph A., Jr.
Price, Dwight L.
Price, Fred R.
Price, Jimmie
Price, Thomas L.
Price, Williams
Prokopchuk, Nicholas
Pruett, Bobby R.
Purnell, George W.
Purvis, Charles F.
Quan, Raymond J.
Quigley, Alvin J.
Quigley, William J.
Quinn, James E.
Quinn, John E.
Raber, William E.
Raffel, Richard R.
Ralph, John C.
Ralph, Nelson P.
Ramey, Perry A.
Ramirez, Joe P., Jr.
Ramirez, Roy G.
Ramsay, Jerrold A.
Ramsey, Bobby J.
Randall, David R.
Ratcliffe, Donald
Rau, Harvey L.
Ravan, George A.
Ray, Glen C.
Ray, James F.
Ray, Robert E.
Raymond, Ernest A.
Reale, Frank A.
Redifer, John L.
Redlinger, Robert E.
Reed, Jack M.
Reed, Thomas F., Jr.
Rehmann, Lawrence M.
Reid, Dewitt R., Jr.
Reid, Gawn W.
Reigle, Robert E.
Reigle, William A.
Reitmeister, William A.
Rempel, Robert H.
Renegar, Edwin J.
Renfroe, Luther L., Jr.
Renn, Earle L.
Renno, Robert E.
Reynaud, Junior G.
Reynolds, Charles D.
Reynolds, Oren C.
Rhoads, Richard T.
Rhode, Richard W.
Rhoderick, John C.
Rhodes, Davey L.
Rhyder, Frederick V.
Rice, Edwin A.
Rice, Lewis E.
Rice, Luther E.
Rich, Robert E.
Richards, Donald R.
Richardson, Harold L.
Richter, Robert L.
Ricker, Clarence J.
Rickman, Lester, Jr.
Ricks, Melvin R.
Ricks, Peter J., Jr.
Riddle, William N.
Riley, Harold J.
Riley, Patrick A.
Ringler, Jerry H.
Ripp, Robert W.
Risko, William
Robbins, Loraine W.
Roberson, James J.
Roberts, Leo W., Jr.
Roberts, Lewis C.
Roberts, Linton R.
Roberts, Thomas G.
Roberts, Thomas E.
Robinson, Clifford R.
Robinson, George N.
Robinson, Neil H.
Robinson, Robert B.
Robinson, Robert L.
Robinson, William R.
Robitaille, Edmund A.
Rodgers, Carl L.
Rodgers, John J., Jr.
Roe, Jerry D.
Roes, Harold L., Jr.
Rogers, Cecil W.
Rogers, Lionel D.
Rogers, Walter A.
Rogers, William S.
Rollins, Thomas E.
Romeo, Joseph F.
Rooks, Warren H.
Roos, Philip G.
Root, James P.
Roper, Clyde A.
Rose, William C.
Roser, George R.
Ross, Leonard H., Jr.
Rote, Richard E.
Roth, Mark C.
Roth, Thomas H.
Rothrock, Jack C.
Rotramel, Joseph R., Jr.
Roush, Donald G.
Roux, Roger P.
Rowe, Carlton A.
Ruckel, William W.
Ruder, Eugene J.
Rummel, Thomas R.
Runer, Jimmy T.
Rushlau, Gerald A.
Russell, Charles E.
Russell, Robert M.
Russell, William C., Jr.
Ryan, James A.
Ryan, John J., Jr.
Sabattus, Donald J.
Sabourin, Fernand H.
Sager, Hugh F.
Salazar, Danny M.
Salazar, Gerald
Salmons, Lloyd Y.
Sandoval, John, Jr.
Sangialosi, Samuel
Santiago, George
Sargent, Miles M.
Sarin, Mathew J.
Sauger, Peter P.
Saunders, Carleton F., Jr.
Savant, Richard L.
Sawyer, William F.
Saxton, Samuel F.
Scaff, Robert E.
Scarboro, Jimmy N.
Schaffer, Robert K.
Schauer, Theodore W.
Scheetz, Paul V., Jr.
Schlapfer, Robert E.
Schmehl, Lyle F.
Schmidt, Michael E.
Schmidt, Milford D.
Schmidt, Paul T.
Schmidt, Robert E.
Schmitz, William V.
Schneider, Louie F., Jr.
Schomisch, Erwin W.
Schoppaul, Elwyn K.
Schott, Michael L.
Schrader, Robert E.
Schuette, Charles E.
Schultz, Donald C.
Schultz, Frank W.
Schumacher, Herbert J.
Schuring, Clifford S.
Schuster, Harold R.
Schutz, Peter G.
Schwanke, Donald W.
Schwartz, Henry J.
Schwartz, John P.
Schwarzer, Bob
Schwelm, John H.
Scott, Billy H.
Scott, David L.
Scott, Eldon
Scott, Harmon Jr.
Scott, Jerome C.
Scott, Jesse M.
Scott, Keith A.
Scott, Wayne J.
Scroggin, Ronald L.
Seage, Frederick H., Jr.
Seal, Pinquard J.
Seaman, Arthur J.
Sebens, Mervin L.
Seder, Elmer C.
Seipel, Harry H., Jr.
Selby, Martin A.
Seliga, John V.
Sepulveda, Benny R.
Sexton, Gleason A.
Sexton, William H.
Seybold, Gerald C.
Shafer, Ronald L.
Shampoe, Clayton L., Jr.
Shamrell, Richard A.
Sharrow, Edward S.
Shaughnessy, John G.
Shaw, Donald R.
Shaw, Oscar E.
Sheckler, Herman D.
Sheehan, John F.
Shelkey, Lloyd E.
Shell, Isham G., Jr.
Shelton, James H.
Shelton, Jesse E.
Shelton, Jessie E.
Shepard, Dean S.
Sheppard, John L.
Sheppard, Victor L.
Sheridan, Robert L.
Sherman, Andrew M.
Sherrow, Bobby L.
Shick, Warren I.
Shifflette, Leonard R.
Shiver, Clements W.
Shiver, Henry D.
Shivers, Robert Lee
Shoaf, Richard A.
Shoemaker, William E.
Shook, Eddie H.
Shoop, Ronald H.
Shough, John G., II.
Shoultys, John J., Jr.
Shove, Louis D.
Shroyer, Russel E.
Shulgay, Peter
Shultis, Dean G.
Shupe, Franklin D.
Sickels, George, Jr.
Sigmon, Billy R.
Siler, Jerry E.
Silk, Thomas E.
Simkins, Joseph R.
Simmons, Harry A.
Simon, Edward J.
Simond, Roger C.
Sims, Jack
Sinclair, Harry L.
Sinclair, Watson R., Jr.
Skinner, Marion R., Jr.
Slane, Thomas J.
Slate, James C.
Sloan, Bobby B.
Sloan, Joe D.
Slocum, John J.
Smallwood, Gene G.
Smiley, Perry
Smith, Aaron A.
Smith, Alexander G., III.
Smith, Clifford E.
Smith, Curry L.
Smith, Donald F.

Smith, Donald W.
Smith, Glen D.
Smith, Guanie D.
Smith, Harold, Jr.
Smith, James C.
Smith, James J.
Smith, Jessie E., Jr.
Smith, Joe F.
Smith, John R.
Smith, John R.
Smith, Kenneth F.
Smith, Lawrence W.
Smith, Leo I.
Smith, Loyd M.
Smith, Ralph A.
Smith, Robert E.
Smith, Robert E.
Smith, Ronald L.
Smith, William E.
Snead, John J.
Snedeker, Charles W.
Snell, Leland N.
Snodgrass, Nathaniel L.
Sobkowiak, Aloysius N.
Soldner, Charles R.
Sommerhauser, James E.
Sordello, Vincent A.
Sorensen, Martin
Sorenson, Neil R.
Sorrell, Jerry E.
Sosa, Martin D., Jr.
Spacek, Lawrence L.
Spaeth, Leo M.
Spainhour, Harold L.
Spalding, Vincent A.
Sparkes, Peter A.
Sparks, Billy R.
Sparks, John H., Jr.
Sparks, Johnny L.
Spear, Winfield A.
Speeg, Roger V.
Speliopoulos, Philip P.
Spellins, William R.
Spencer, Ralph D.
Spiczka, Robert A.
Spikerman, Jack L.
Spitze, Robert R.
Staffieri, John P.
Stalcup, Gerald G.
Stamper, Thomas B.
Stanko, Stephen J.
Starbuck, James W.
Stashi, Donald I.
Statham, Dorrance E.
Staump, Frank A., Jr.
Stebbins, Jack L.
Steele, Lloyd M.
Steeves, William D., Jr.
Steffan, William J.
Steger, Lester H.
Stein, Timothy E.
Sterling, Earl W.
Sternberg, John C.
Stevens, Darrell T.
Stevens, Herbert W.
Stevens, Irvin J.
Steward, Ralph E.
Stewart, J. D. E., Jr.
Stickler, Melvin A.
Still, Cornelius F.
Stinson, Idus E.
Stirling, Gordon P., Jr.
Stitt, Charles D.
Stoffel, Donald F.
Stoltz, Floyd L.
Stone, Gerald A.
Stone, Richard C.
Stout, Arthur R.
Street, Douglas D.
Striano, John F.
Strickley, Benjamin J.
Strom, Rawlin D.
Strong, Charlie, Jr.
Strong, Richard H.
Strong, Richard E.
Struble, Richard H.
Strunk, Harry H.
Stull, Willard E.
Sturm, Donald R.
Sturza, Raymond P.
Styles, Worth A.
Suarez, Charlie F.
Sullivan, Charles A.
Sullivan, Frances H.
Sumner, Donald W.
Sumner, Philip D., Jr.
Sumrall, Tommy L.
Surles, Charles T.
Suthard, Richard C.
Sutherland, Frank S., Jr.
Sutler, Lawrence L.
Sutton, Gerald F.
Swan, Allan G.
Swanagin, Cecil E.
Swanson, Donald G.
Swanstrom, Carl R.
Sweeney, Richard F.
Sweet, Cyrus C.
Swidonovich, Eugene
Swindell, Harold W.
Switzer, Walter E.
Sylvers, Donald
Sylvester, Ira L.
Syska, Herbert P., Jr.
Tackett, Charles R.
Tafaoa, Togialuga
Taft, Norman F.
Taker, Lionel D.
Tallmadge, George E.
Tatum, James R.
Tauber, Gerald L.
Tawney, William H.
Taylor, Aubrey M.
Taylor, Charles R.
Taylor, Floyd E.
Taylor, Gilbert J.
Taylor, "H." "E.," Jr.
Taylor, Raymond E.
Taylor, Steve F.
Teasley, Jack G.
Templeton, Bobby A.
Templeton, Ralph D.
Templin, Charles J.
Tennant, Delbert M.
Terrell, Jack T.
Terrell, Thomas J.
Tetu, Gerard P.
Thacker, Darrell L.
Thayer, Dilver, Jr.
Thibault, Paul V.
Thomas, Benjamin G.
Thomas, Frank D.
Thomas, John H.
Thomas, Neil S.
Thomas, Velpeau C.
Thomas, William N.
Thompson, Chester R.
Thompson, David E.
Thompson, George P.
Thompson, James B.
Thompson, John C.
Thompson, John L.
Thompson, Lacy, Jr.
Thompson, Leon R.
Thompson, Melvin L.
Thorn, Orville L.
Thornton, Arvin L.
Thornton, Cecil R.
Thornton, James C.
Thrasher, Moris D.
Tieking, Harold L.
Tillie, Robert F.
Timmons, Robert W.
Timms, Earl R.
Tims, Franklin L.
Tims, Kenneth W.
Toepfer, Richard E.
Tolles, Oliver K.
Torres, Ferdinand J.
Torrey, Robert W.
Toso, Chester L.
Toth, Albert A., Jr.
Trader, Harold C.
Trudell, Edward P.
Trujillo, Luis L.
Tucci, Thomas J.
Tuleya, Robert W.
Tully, Fred, Jr.
Tunmire, David C.
Turl, Donald R.
Turnbull, Walter N.
Turner, Lawrence C.
Turney, Milas E.
Twiford, Richard D.
Tygart, Leonard D.
Tyler, Charles B.
Tyler, James E.
Tyler, James E.
Tyson, Francis D.
Underwood, Paul
Unger, James J.
Urquhart, Larry J.
Valdez, Michael F.
Valentino, John, II.
Van, Arthur V.
Van Kirk, Theodore R.
Vance, Allen L.
Vance, Ivan L.
Vance, Marshall C.
Vancott, Richard C.
Vandenberg, Wallace E.
Vandruff, Roscoe W., Jr.
Vanlandingham, Thomas C.
Vanorden, William L.
Varnadore, William E.
Vaughan, Isaac R.
Veigel, Robert E.
Venanzi, Vincent J.
Verbanic, Francis E.
Vernon, David D.
Vestal, Lavon H.
Vickers, Robert E.
Vido, Ronald E.
Vignere, Samuel E.
Villarreal, Michael D.
Villenueve, Joseph L. P.
Vincelette, Alan J.
Volz, Edward G.
Voronin, Bernard B.
Waddell, Howard L., Jr.
Wade, Gordon R., Jr.
Wager, Charles P.
Waggoner, William C.
Wagner, Charles I.
Wagner, James P.
Wahl, Edward P., Jr.
Waite, Carold R.
Waitt, Maurice G.
Waldron, John N.
Waldroup, Sam J.
Walker, Charles L.
Walker, Houston E.
Walker, James E.
Walker, Loren E.
Walker, Lowell A.
Walker, Pierre L.
Walker, Robert G.
Wallace, Bernie J.
Wallace, Robert T.
Walrath, Ernest H.
Walsh, Donald F.
Walsh, Edmund E., Jr.
Walters, Clyde T.
Wamble, Bobby L.
Wapp, Glen E.
Ward, Ronald E.
Ward, Thomas R.
Ward, William B.
Wargo, Edward A.
Warnack, Arthur
Warne, Richard E.
Warner, Tholow A.
Warner, Virgle C.
Watson, Carl D., Jr.
Watson, Henry L.
Watson, Leslie R.
Watts, Carl V.
Watts, Gerald A.
Watts, John R.
Weatherford, Delano C.
Weatherford, Louis E.
Weathersby, John M.
Weaver, Billie F.
Weaver, Billy J.
Webb, Richard D.
Weber, James E.
Weber, Thomas H.
Weckerly, William M.
Weddle, Robert O.
Weeks, Robert J.
Weeks, Sammy N.
Wehrly, Frank E., Jr.
Weigman, Charles J., Jr.
Weikel, Darvin A.
Weilant, George J.
Weins, Charles J.
Weisenburger, James L.
Weldon, Arthur J.
Weldon, Nolan W.
Wellington, Charles H.
Wells, Clair V.
Wells, Herbert D.
Wells, Howard R., Jr.
Wells, James W.
Wenger, William L.
Wesner, Gerhardt H.
Wesner, Howard F., Jr.
Westbrook, Jack S.
Westbrook, Raleigh B.
Westerfield, Frank B.
Wheatley, James M.
Wheeler, John W.
White, Billy D.
White, Jacky L. I.
White, Kenneth T.
White, Robert L.
White, Thomas L.
Whiteside, Donald A.
Whited, Robert L.
Whitehurst, Willis L.
Whiteside, Donald
Whiting, William A.
Whitlatch, Thomas H.
Whitten, Jesse J. M.
Whitten, Marvin A.
Whitworth, Jack R.
Widel, James O.
Widger, Richard O.
Wiener, Thaddeus D.
Wilcox, Neal D.
Wiles, Earl K.
Wilhide, Henry E.
Wilkerson, Kenneth J.
Williams, Charles R., Jr.
Williams, George J., Jr.
Williams, Irving D.
Williams, Leon T., Jr.
Williams, Samuel G., Jr.
Williams, Ted E.
Williamson, Leon
Willingham, Donald
Willner, Hugh L.
Wills, James E.
Wilson, Arthur G., Jr.
Wilson, Carl E.
Wilson, Jerry T.
Wilson, Jimmie J.
Wilson, John C.
Wilson, John P.
Wilson, Kenneth L.
Wilson, Kenneth L.
Wilson, Leroy L., Jr.
Wilson, Robert L.
Wilson, William H.
Wingard, Marqus M.
Wingfield, Robert L.
Winkleman, Guy H.
Winters, Harry L.
Wise, Donald L.
Witham, Merton T.
Witsell, Michael J.
Witten, Harry
Witthoeft, George H.
Wojciechowski, Pasquale A.
Wold, Howard A.
Wolford, Kirk S.
Wonson, Myles P., Jr.
Woo, Fang Y.
Wood, Albert F.
Wood, Charles M., Jr.
Wood, David D.
Wood, Samuel J.
Woodland, Edmund W.
Woodman, William E.
Woodral, Albert L.
Woods, Gary L.
Woods, Henry C.
Woods, James M.
Woods, John L.
Woods, Robert J.
Woog, Peter A.
Wooley, Neil R.
Wooliever, James E.
Wozar, Richard M.
Wright, Billy J.
Wright, Burl M.
Wright, Claude C., Jr.
Wright, James O.
Wright, Kenneth E.
Wright, Richard M.
Wright, William T.
Wuest, Karl E.
Wyant, Richard N.
Wyatt, Billy D.
Wyatt, James R., Jr.
York, James M., Jr.
Young, Arthur C.
Young, Austin Z., Jr.
Young, John L., Jr.
Young, Neil A.
Young, Robert W.
Young, William C.
Zakian, John F.
Zalipski, John M.
Zenns, Larry P.
Ziegler, Delphinus N.
Zimmer, John R.
Zumstein, Charles E.
Zumwalt, Donald L.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 25, 1966:

ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCE SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Subject to qualifications provided by law, the following for permanent appointment to the grades indicated in the Environmental Science Services Administration:

To be lieutenants

James P. Brown, Jr.
Walter L. Bradly
Ronald W. Harlan
Richard M. Petryczanko
Leonard T. Lynch, Jr.
William S. Plank
Richard V. O'Connell
Philip L. Richardson
Ralph H. Rhudy
Walter S. Simmons
Frederick G. Paulsen
Jeffrey L. Gammon
Gary E. Rorvig
Bobby D. Edwards
Donald R. Rich
Marshall A. Levitan
A. David Schuldt
George M. Ensign
George C. Chappell
John P. Vandermeulen

To be lieutenants (junior grade)

Thomas F. Scygiel, Jr.
Oliver R. MacIntosh, Jr.
Michael G. Kenny
Vincent Tabbone
William T. McMullen
Gary A. Eskelin
Theodore Wyzewski
Charles R. McIntyre
Edward M. Gelb
Roger A. Moyer
Fidel T. Smith
Kenneth F. Burke
Floyd S. Ito
Charles H. McClure
Christopher C. Mathewson
Claude O. Phipps
Roger H. Kerley
Paul M. Hale
Irving Menessa
William M. Noble
Stanley M. Hamilton
Leonard M. Larese-Casanova
Dennis E. Youngdahl
Kirk P. Patterson
Otto F. Steffin
Carl W. Fisher
Arthur P. Sibold, III
John O. Rolland
Phillip F. Dean
Steven M. Erickson
Joseph L. Scott
Lance W. Pape
Glen R. Schaefer
Harold D. Nilsson
Duane D. Helton
Lionel Greve
James L. Murphy
William M. Goodhue, Jr.
William S. Richardson
A. Conrad Weymann, III
David L. Sweetland
Gordon P. Dodge
George R. Knecht
Jack L. Wallace
Henry M. Coghlan II
Michael W. Chalfant
Roy K. Matsushige
Richard T. LeRoy
Larry K. Nelson
Arthur D. Ross
Colin L. Campbell
Richard F. Coons
Arthur J. Kuhn
John K. Callahan, Jr.

To be ensigns

Terry C. de la Moriniere
Thomas M. Wesik
Kenneth H. Voigt
David J. Lystrom
Jerome F. Ewen
James L. Ogg
Thomas E. Gerish
Fred S. Long
Todd M. Gates
Leonard D. Goodisman
Melvin N. Maki
Melvin S. Asato
Thomas W. Wells
Joseph R. Avampato
Gary L. Boyack

Robert H. Johns
James E. Walsh
Carroll D. North, Jr.
David M. Wilson
James R. Vandell
William H. Naylor
Stephen M. Mark
Thomas C. Kalil
Ernest D. Harden
Peter M. Hall
Kenith L. Harris
Michael Engel
James E. Clark II
Donald P. Henneuse
Dino J. Ferralli
Keith A. Boe
Randall B. Cummings

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Fino Introduces Bill To Deny Federal Funds to "Honor System" Local Welfare Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 25, 1966

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to establish a new condition of Federal aid to help pay for local welfare programs. Under the bill, localities would not qualify for Federal aid in meeting welfare costs unless they required investigation or some corroboration of applicants. New York City presently requires such corroboration, but it has been proposed that New York City welfare be put on the affidavit "honor system." Under the bill, such a welfare program allowing payments on uncorroborated affidavits would cease to be eligible for Federal aid.

I have read recently that a number of cities think that money will be saved if they forgo redtape and put welfare on an "honor" system, whereby one can get on welfare by making an affidavit. This strikes me as absurd. I am willing to grant that overinvestigation is unnecessary and unjustifiable harassment, but I feel that a certain amount of corroboration of need is much in order to justify the expenditure of public funds, particularly Federal funds.

I believe that the Federal Government ought to make sure that lax Federal statutes do not suffer a pipeline to be thrust into our national treasury by loosely run local welfare program. The first place to draw the line is in insisting on some corroboration of welfare eligibility before applicants are allowed to draw money from the local authorities.

To me, such a requirement is simple commonsense, but I am aware that among certain groups, it is considered unkind to require welfare applicants to prove their eligibility. The coddling of spongers, glorified in exotic sociological jargon blaming the middle class for the plight of the deprived, has become high fashion these days. It is a fashion I do not subscribe to. I think the taxpayers are entitled to know that welfare applicants have proven their eligibility for payments made.

I am disturbed to see the great rise in the New York City budget for welfare. The proposed $120 million increase will absorb about a quarter of the proposed new revenues. It is the biggest increase in the budget. If this increase reflects the additional costs the city welfare department anticipates from a switch to an open-enrollment plan for chiselers and spongers, then it is an increase that can and should be avoided. It is an unfortunate thing when welfare gets a budget boost six times the size of the budget boost for the police and fire departments.

I hope that my bill to provide a Federal set of minimum welfare eligibility standards is passed so that it can head off any local programs based on open enrollment for welfare chiselers and spongers. Such programs are bleeding heart sociology gone mad.

Retirement of Walter M. Hall of Boys' Clubs of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 25, 1966

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, it has been called to my attention that a fellow Indianian, Walter M. Hall, of North Webster, in Kosciusko County, will soon be retired from the staff of that great national youth-serving organization, Boys' Clubs of America, after having served the youth of our country in a devoted and dedicated manner for more than 36 years.

Walter M. Hall is presently director of field service for the Boys' Clubs of America and has been a leader in the boys' club movement, which is dedicated to the deserving youth of our land, for more than 35 years. He was appointed executive director of the Boys' Clubs of Columbus, Ind., in 1930. His outstanding work with this club attracted national attention, resulting in his appointment to Boys' Clubs of America's national staff as a field representative in 1936.

In 1941 he became the director of program and personnel service, responsible for recruiting and training men for professional careers in boys' clubs and for their subsequent placement. He conducted boys' club institutes, conferences, and conventions for boys' club professionals and laymen in many cities in the United States. Under his direction the standards and programs in boys' clubs were greatly improved.

Mr. Hall was appointed director of field service in 1949. He and his staff advise and assist some 680 Boys' Clubs of America with their programs and major problems. He works continuously with business, civic, and service groups interested in starting new boys' clubs. Under his direction there has been an average of 30 new clubs established each year throughout the United States.

Today, boys' clubs in some 430 communities serve more than 750,000 boys of all races and creeds. Their annual operating budgets approximate more than $23 million and their estimated assets total some $135 million. Mr. Hall, who received his undergraduate education at Indiana University and his graduate training from Columbia University, has contributed most significantly to this outstanding growth and development of the Boys' Clubs of America. Mr. Hall, along with his wife, Madeline, will retire to their cottage on beautiful Lake Tippecanoe at North Webster, and perhaps spend some time reminiscing over the great job he has done for the service of youth and his country through his efforts with Boys' Clubs of America over the many years of the past. I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues in all America this devotion of another great Hoosier.

Israel Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 25, 1966

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, today we are privileged to celebrate the 18th anniversary of Israel independence. As one of the oldest Middle Eastern States, and at the same time one of the youngest, it was 18 years ago that the state of Israel was established as a result of the dedication and courage of such leaders as Chaim Weizmann, David Ben-Gurion, and many others. Today Israel stands on the soil from which it was ejected nearly two millennia ago by the troops of the Roman Empire.

The Jews of the ancient states of Israel and Judah were driven into exile by Rome. They were spread among nations all over the globe, but were nevertheless united in their desire to return to Zion, which was recalled in all their prayers. Despite the differences in language and even social customs which grew out of hundreds of years of exile, this dream provided a strong bond among them.

Beginning in the latter half of the 19th century, a group of dedicated men began to work toward making the ancient dream come true again. In spite of the attempts of great and small powers to frustrate their dream, the bravery and devotion of the leaders of Zionism were finally rewarded.

Although the victory had to be defended upon the battlefield in 1948, the same courage which had characterized the political leadership showed itself among the military leaders and their men. It was obvious that a new nation, willing and able to defend its ideals and way of life, had been born.

In less than two decades, Israel has become a valued member of the world community. It has extended the hand of friendship to countries less fortunate than itself in Africa and Asia, and has provided vital technical and economic assistance to them. Israel has created an economy with industries employing thousands of highly skilled workers, while at the same time has turned thousands of acres of once nearly useless land into a showplace of modern agricultural techniques.

The economic progress, the political stability, and the many programs of social improvement for the benefit of its citizens—all testify to the dedication of the Israel people in making their country one of the most prosperous and modern in the world.

We value Israel's friendship most highly. I would like to take this opportunity to express my congratulations to the Israeli people on their past progress. And I join my colleagues in wishing them many, many anniversaries of similar prosperity and good fortune for the future.

Jewish War Veterans Adopt Units in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 25, 1966

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, as a part of their program to let our fighting men in Vietnam know that they have not been forgotten by the people back home, the Kings County Council Jewish War Veterans, in conjunction with the Crown Heights Post No. 108 JWV, adopted Company B, 1st Battalion, 2d Infantry, 1st Infantry Division, one of our Nation's fighting units in that country.

Gift packages were recently shipped to the men of Company B under this program. The company executive officer, 1st Lt. Donnie G. Christian, in acknowledging the adoption, said:

> Your adoption of this unit makes us even more proud to be Americans and to be here fighting for the greatest cause on earth—the freedom of man * * *. Your patriotism, love of country, and offer of assistance is deeply appreciated by every member of this command.

This new and unique adoption program was instituted by the Kings County Council JWV under the leadership of its commander, Leon Deutsch. Particular fighting units are adopted by the Kings County Council and the various Jewish War Veterans posts in Kings County. Joseph Flatow, Jr., vice commander and Americanism officer of the council is coordinator of the program and assists Commander Deutsch.

The generous cooperation of Brig. Gen. A. J. Montgomery, commander of the eastern area military traffic management and terminal service, made it possible to expedite the packages to their overseas destination by air shipment from McGuire Air Force Base direct to Company B in Vietnam.

The program is popular both with our Vietnam fighting men and the members of the various Jewish War Veterans posts in Brooklyn, who defray the costs of this program, and who feel privileged at the opportunity to express their gratitude to our fighting men in Vietnam for their sacrifices in the cause of freedom.

I am sure that more and more American organizations, veteran and nonveteran, will initiate similar programs. There is no better way of keeping high the morale of our members of the armed services.

Who Should Do the Testing of Products for Safety—The Manufacturer or You? Address by Congresswoman Leonor K. Sullivan at Consumer Assembly, 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 25, 1966

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, I want to congratulate all who have had a part in organizing and arranging Consumer Assembly, 1966, a 3-day conference now in progress at the Washington Hilton Hotel featuring a full review of all of the major consumer issues now facing the Congress and the American people. I think the work of this assembly will be of great help to all of us on Capitol Hill who are working for the advancement of consumer legislation.

It was my privilege today to address the luncheon meeting of the assembly, and to discuss two of the many sections of H.R. 1235, my omnibus bill to rewrite the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938. I was asked to talk specifically about the premarket testing of cosmetics for safety, and drugs and therapeutic devices for safety and efficacy.

Under unanimous consent, I submit herewith for inclusion in the RECORD the text of my remarks, as follows:

WHO SHOULD DO THE TESTING OF PRODUCTS FOR SAFETY—THE MANUFACTURERS, OR YOU?

(Address by Congresswoman LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, Democrat, of St. Louis, at luncheon session of Consumer Assembly 1966, Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., April 25, 1966)

I am delighted to have a part in this 3-day Consumer Assembly 1966. It is an excellent idea for bringing together into sharp focus in the Nation's Capital the broad range of issues now before the Congress and the executive departments affecting consumer well-being. David Angevine of the U.S. Cooperative League, who initiated this impressive project and worked so hard to make it into a reality, deserves the thanks of every man, woman, and child in this country—and of those future Americans who will be born into a safer environment when the objectives of this assembly are written into law.

When I say that every American should be grateful to Mr. Angevine and to everyone who worked on this assembly, I include many businessmen who may not, at this moment, be ready to concede that the consumer protections we are seeking are necessary or desirable. But just because the bankers and loan companies, the automakers and the drug processors, the cosmetic firms, and the grocery manufacturers and various other groups are fighting so vigorously against the kind of legislation most of us here regard as long overdue is no reason to assume they're really against these things. In fact, if we can go by past history and performance, there is some evidence that deep down in their hearts they want us to succeed.

If this sounds strange and unbelievable, just look back a bit on what has happened before. The food, drug, and cosmetic manufacturers fought bitterly for years against the legislation which eventually became the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938.

But secretly they must have thought all along that it was one of the finest pieces of legislation ever written by Congress, because, for the 28 years since the 1938 act was passed, they have successfully defended most of it against attack—from those of us who thought it was far from perfect. The same thing happened with the 1958 Food Additives Act. The food industry fought its enactment relentlessly for years; yet last year, the head of one of the biggest food manufacturing firms in the world proudly cited this wonderful act as proof that we didn't need any additional laws on food safety. The drug manufacturers, similarly, defended the 1938 act so effectively for so many years that it took the drama of the thalidomide tragedy to enable us to overcome their opposition and pass the Kefauver-Harris Act of 1962. The cosmetic manufacturers are still the most successful supporters and defenders of the 1938 act, as written, for they have so far staved off any significant changes in the sections applying to their industry—except for the changes they themselves wanted in 1960 in the color testing requirements.

Based on this history, I am sure that if we now pass the important bills consumers need and want—such as in consumer credit disclosure, in packaging and labeling, in automobile safety, and in closing the many loopholes still existing in the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, the same industries which are fighting us today will one day be coming before future congressional committees to cite the effectiveness of these new laws as proof of the fact that no further legislation will then be necessary.

BUILT-IN LOOPHOLES IN CONSUMER LEGISLATION

The moral of the story for consumer groups is this: No matter how effective a law may be at the time it is enacted, in meeting the problems then existing, in our fast-changing economy every good law needs periodic updating and improvement to meet new conditions and situations.

Moreover, it is an unfortunate fact that laws intended to protect consumers are frequently provided, at the time of passage with some built-in defects inserted deliberately for the purpose of giving a particular economic interest as escape route. The Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act is full of them—from the exemption for soap written in from the very beginning in 1938 to the provision of the 1962 act giving feed manufacturers the right to use cancer-causing coloring matter in their feeds for meat animals as long as no one can prove a residue is left in the meat after slaughter.

I have never been able to obtain a rational explanation from anyone in the feed business, or on the committee which handled the 1962 act, for the inclusion of this particular provision. Coloring matter serves absolutely no purpose in animal feeds except to identify which feeds are which, so that when the farmer is supposed to stop feeding certain hormones or other medicated feeds a certain number of hours before the animal goes to slaughter, it is easy to tell by the color that a certain feed is not to be used. But under what stretch of the imagination would this make it necessary to have a carcinogenic dye for this purpose? This is a mystery I have never solved; instead I just keep trying to repeal this provision and eventually, I am sure this will be done. Although I don't know why the feed industry wanted this provision in the first place, since I don't think any of them actually use carcinogenic coloring matter for this purpose, I do know that it went into the law with everyone's eyes open to the existence of this loophole.

But, in any event, let's not despair because of the opposition to the various "truth-in" bills or consumer safety measures from the industries which would be affected or further regulated by such enactments. We should just go on the assumption, as I said, that they really want us to succeed so that the loan companies, for instance, or the installment houses can on some future day go into the State legislatures and say that tightening of the State laws over usurious interest rates is not really necessary because the Federal Truth-in-Lending Act gave to the borrower all the protection necessary.

I am not going to go into "truth-in-lending" or all of the other consumer issues here, because, in your all-day sessions, you are covering these in detail. I have been asked to discuss specifically the importance of pretesting of products for safety, since this is one of the most important aspects of H.R. 1235, my omnibus bill to rewrite the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, particularly as regards cosmetics and the various medical and therapeutic devices.

A bit of background might be appropriate. The 1938 act was passed on a wave of public alarm over untested new drugs which had unexpected side effects, such as the case of one prescription drug which killed nearly 100 persons. This occurred just about the time a number of women were blinded by unsafe eye preparations. The need for Federal laws covering cosmetics had been recognized for a long time, but none existed. The need for tighter Federal laws over drugs had been developing ever since the original Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 outlawed narcotics and similar ingredients from the so-called patent medicines. For its day, the 1938 act was a good law insofar as new drugs were concerned; it required that they go through extensive pretesting for safety before they could be cleared for marketing. But all the law did about cosmetics and therapeutic devices was to give the Government the power to remove from the market those which it could legally prove were unsafe. And that is what we have been stuck with for nearly 30 years.

NEARLY 200 MILLION GUINEA PIGS

In other words, when you use any cosmetic item or medical type device—particularly if it is a new one just introduced—you are the key scientist who is doing the testing for safety. Many of us remember the stir created a generation ago by the book "Twenty Million Guinea Pigs," a shocking introduction to the hazards of the marketplace in consumer goods of all kinds. Yet, today, we are still the guinea pigs—only now there are nearly 200 million of us acting in that capacity.

There is hardly an American of either sex or of any age who does not frequently use numerous items officially designated as cosmetics or therapeutic devices, from baby powder to heating pads, from deodorants to electric toothbrushes.

For men and children, cosmetics are still rather new, but women have used cosmetics for so many thousands of years that the Bible has many references to such use. I read the other day about an 18th century bill introduced in the English Parliament which was aimed at women "beguiling men into matrimony by the use of scents, paints, cosmetics, washes, false hair, false teeth, Spanish wool, iron stays, hoops, high-heeled shoes, and bolstered hips" and making such marriages null and void and the penalty the same as for witchcraft.

Fortunately, it did not pass.

Generally speaking, mankind has always looked tolerantly, even enthusiastically, on the efforts by women to make themselves look more attractive. And the laws relating to cosmetics have been written, up to now, largely, if not exclusively, by men. I don't think any of the comparatively few women to have served in Congress ever were appointed to the committees which consider such legislation.

In writing laws dealing with cosmetics, the men in Congress have been more than just hesitant—they've been downright scared—to do anything which could be construed as interfering with women's inherent right to try to be more beautiful. In the 1938 act, coal tar hair dyes were given a special exemption—it doesn't make any difference how dangerous they are as long as the label carries a warning telling you to make a patch test each time you use it. But many women don't bother and some beauty shops are also careless about testing. Four years ago, the House Committee on Interstate Commerce held some very brief hearings on the safe cosmetics provision of my omnibus bill—the only such hearing in 14 years, I might add—and the gallant gentlemen on the committee constantly asked me to reassure them that I was not trying to get them to pass legislation to make women less beautiful. When I explained that the only handicap my bill would place in women's path to loveliness would be the elimination from commerce of beauty preparations which were not safe to use—including coal tar hair dyes containing poisonous or otherwise dangerous ingredients—one Member told me he had received hundreds of letters, and petitions signed by thousands of women in beauty parlors, pleading for the right to continue to color their hair. Of course, this was a false alarm because hair colors would not be outlawed—just unsafe ones.

Nevertheless, when the Kefauver-Harris bill came before the House, there was an amendment inserted by the committee which made clear that nothing in the bill's sections applying to prescription drugs should be construed as applying to coal tar hair dyes. I always knew that hair coloring could do a lot for a woman's looks or morale, but I never suspected that a Federal judge could conceivably regard it as a prescription drug. Yet—there is that amazing, ungermaine provision in the 1962 prescription drug act, just hanging there like a forlorn and irrelevant beacon of hope for American women, assuring them that Dr. Frances Kelsey would not examine into the formulas of hair dyes in her work on the safety of prescription drugs. This is a sample of how gallant the Congress can be on the subject of female beauty. Apparently, it's all right to lose your hair and infect your scalp from a poisonous hair dye—or go blind if it gets in your eyes—just so your inherent right to use unsafe hair dyes is not interfered with by any law dealing with prescription drugs.

FREQUENT CHANGES IN COSMETIC INGREDIENTS

We could do with a lot less gallantry of that nature where our health and safety are at stake. Yet the only cosmetics we can readily get at effectively and require proof of safety before they are put on the market are those which have characteristics of drugs—such as the antiperspirants or the glamorous skin tighteners which appeared briefly not so long ago featuring a "magic ingredient" which was derived from cattle blood and which are presently in limbo because they have been designated by the Food and Drug Administration as drugs subject to premarket safety clearance. Most cosmetics, however, do not come under that heading.

The research literature of the cosmetic industry, intended for the trade's own guidance rather than for the general public, and the literature of dermatology both are full of warnings about the possible toxicity of various chemicals being tried in cosmetic preparations and stressing over and over that only prolonged use by humans can establish their stability. This is not to say that most cosmetics are dangerous; most of them are safe. But people frequently become sensitive to a cosmetic they have safely used for some time. The question the manufacturer must decide after enough complaints of this nature is whether to change his formula until new complaints pile up, or just write off the complaints to extrasensitivity on the part of some customers, and pay an occasional insurance claim.

Occasionally a new product will be marketed which causes such agony and physical damage to some users that the Food and Drug Administration hears about it and moves promptly to take it off the market. Such was the case some years ago with the press-on artificial fingernails which, after several days or several separate applications, began to peel off the users' own nails. Such was the case with the home permanent containing a neutralizing solution which temporarily blinded some women and in one instance, ate away the entire membranelike tissue covering the cornea of one eye. Such is the case with hair preparations which occasionally cause baldness.

When it comes to therapeutic, prosthetic, and diagnostic devices, the same loophole-ridden procedures apply: Anyone can market anything, and if it turns out to be dangerous, it is up to the Government to find out about it and take it off the market. This provides a quick road to riches for charlatans and for quacks of all kinds, who dream up magic devices for curing whatever ails you. They promote quick sales before Uncle Sam catches up with them and prohibits further distribution. Worse than the quackery, however, is the fact that some of these devices are downright dangerous to use. This same loophole in the law applies also to medical devices used in good faith by legitimate practitioners—artificial hip joints made from the wrong plastic, which break within the body and have to be replaced; plates and screws used in mending broken bones and which fail or corrode and produce adverse reactions requiring additional operations. Like cosmetics, these materials do not have to be proved safe in use before they are sold. My bill would require their preclearance not only for safety but also for effectiveness as well, before they are marketed.

However, I have not proposed preclearance of cosmetics for effectiveness because, frankly, I think that would virtually destroy the cosmetic industry and take a lot of fun out of women's lives. We buy cosmetics knowing full well the glittering advertisements are a lot of bunk, but we can dream, can't we? Most of us know that the $5 jar of cream will do no more for us than the 50 cent jar—the perfume may be a bit more subtle—but those who can afford the $5 jar, and some who cannot, buy it anyway on the outside chance that perhaps it might be a bit more effective. At least they feel better about it. For those who want to save money and still be beautiful, it is possible to mix up a batch of creams or emollients in the kitchen, as our mothers and grandmothers often did. But I do not foresee any great revival of this old-fashioned idea.

COSMETIC INDUSTRY KNOWS NEW LAW IS INEVITABLE

But regardless of the effectiveness of cosmetic preparations in accomplishing the things we hope or trust or pray they will do for us, we are certainly entitled to reasonable guarantees as to the safety of the materials used, and we do not have that assurance now except to the extent that the manufacturer voluntarily tests his own products for safety. And he never tells us what he discovers about the dangers in his products. He doesn't even have to let the Food and Drug Administration know.

Until new legislation is passed, we will continue to do the testing at our own risk and expense for the manufacturer—we will continue to be guinea pigs for industry which markets billions of dollars worth of products each year.

After 14 years of trying to get safe-cosmetic legislation through Congress, I should be discouraged, I suppose, because the law is still so deficient. But so much has been happening on the consumer front in recent years—and this assembly today is a good illustration of what I am referring to—that I now have renewed confidence we are going to win the cosmetic battle, and many other consumer objectives as well. The cosmetic industry is already resigned to a pretesting law, even though it fights hard to delay the day of reckoning as long as possible and to make the new law as easy to live with as possible. But it is aware that such a law is inevitable, and that it is necessary. The industry lobbyists will do their best to load it down with escape clauses, of course. So we must be alert not to settle for less than an adequate statute.

If any of you like the idea of being a guinea pig for the cosmetic and medical device and over-the-counter drug industries—to do their testing for them so that they eventually find out through your experience, or suffering, which of their products are not safe enough to risk further insurance claims, or a bad public image—it is certainly your right under present law to continue in that role.

But I think most Americans, including every one here today, will prefer to require the manufacturer to have the testing done at his own expense before he sells the product—and then be able to stand behind it afterward. Many manufacturers do that now; some do not. It's time all of them were stopped from using the customer as an unwitting volunteer to test their products for safety, and from making the customer pay, in money and in possible discomfort, too, for that dubious privilege.

Israel Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 25, 1966

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 18th anniversary of Israel independence. It is hard to imagine a nation established under less auspicious circumstances. Formed by a group that had suffered the cruelest possible outrages, threatened by militant and hostile neighbors, and located in an area where only a fraction of the land was arable, Israel was a new nation for which many held out little hope in 1948.

The achievements of this small nation in the brief period of 18 years are truly remarkable. Irrigation, imaginatively applied, has transformed an arid desert into lush productive land. The amount of arable land is 360 percent greater than at the time of Israel's establishment.

Hard work and determination have produced an annual growth rate of 10 percent. Originally, one of the recipients of U.S. foreign assistance, Israel is now able to help other developing countries through technical assistance.

Yet all of the hard work and sacrifice that has made this splendid growth and accomplishment possible has not dimmed the enormous contributions of Israel to the world's cultural life.

Truly, Israel is a model of what can be achieved by small nations, under the most difficult conditions. This small country is a bastion of freedom, progress, and stability in a world marked for its uncertainty and turbulence. Israel has demonstrated to the world once again the tremendous power of a free and determined people. We congratulate Israel on this 18th anniversary of independence and wish that nation and its people continued growth and achievement.

Armenian Martyrs' Day—1915

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 25, 1966

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the 51st anniversary of the Turkish massacres of the Armenian people. The long and turbulent history of the Armenian people is full of calamities and tragedies, but the wholesale massacres of 1915 is the unprecedented national tragedy in their modern history.

In that year more than 1 million Armenians in Turkey were murdered, and many hundred thousand others lost their lives through famine and enslavement. Killed were the clergymen, teachers, writers, and leaders of the Armenian people. The young women were enslaved and the able-bodied men were murdered. The remaining Armenians were forced to march barefooted to their ultimate destruction in the distant deserts of Syria and Iraq.

The Armenians are perhaps the oldest of the civilized races in western Asia and were the first nation in the world to accept Christianity as their state religion. In the high mountains which are his home between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, the Armenian has toiled industriously and peacefully. Here they have maintained their culture and traditions against alien conquest.

As the Armenians observe the anniversary of their martyrdom in due solemnity, let us join them in their despectful remembrance.

John J. McFall's Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 25, 1966

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, one of our most capable and dedicated colleagues in the Congress is my esteemed good friend the Honorable John J. McFall. For 10 years he has given distinguished representation to the great 15th Congressional District of California. The citizens of that district recently honored him with a testimonial dinner at which the Honorable Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien spoke of John McFall's accomplishments and of his splendid record in the House of Representatives. I commend the Postmaster General's excellent speech to the attention of my colleagues.

The speech follows:

Address by Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien, Dinner for Congressman John McFall, at the Fairgrounds Agricultural Building, Stockton, Calif., April 16, 1966

Reverend De Vries, Congressman McFall, Chairman Wisdom, Chairman Darrah, Mayor Rishwain, and Dr. Barkett, I am delighted to be with you this evening.

And I am proud to be representing President Johnson who joins with you in this 15th Congressional District in expressing admiration and appreciation for a remarkable man, and a great legislator, your own Congressman John McFall.

Some time back I read the findings of a Gallup poll that admittedly surprised me.

According to the pollsters, 57 percent of the American people were unable to identify their Congressman.

I can think of a few Congressmen who might have derived a lot of aid and comfort from those figures.

But I can tell you that the man you are honoring tonight isn't one of them.

And it's obvious from looking at this fine crowd here in Stockton that you all know him and respect him.

And you should know and respect him.

I have become fairly well acquainted with Congress and I can tell you that John McFall has, during his almost 10 years of service, compiled an outstanding reputation for his knowledge, his drive, his fairness, and certainly for his continuous, constructive—and successful—efforts to advance the interests of his constituents and, more than that, the interests of this Nation.

California voters have proven themselves unusually sharp, so sharp indeed that they have punctured some rather large and overly inflated political balloons.

I'm told by an insider that during the annual Thanksgiving parade, given by Macy's Department Store in America's largest city and second largest State, they try to keep gas bags away from any visiting Californians.

Well, never fear, you don't have to go East, for you can get some pretty strange gas bags this coming November, long before Thanksgiving.

Thanksgiving will, naturally, come afterward.

Tonight I would like to spend a little time talking to you about America's No. 1 industry.

It is an industry that is of more than passing importance here in California.

It is an industry that has received unusual—in fact, unprecedented—support from the 89th Congress, and from leading Democrats like Lyndon Johnson and JOHN MCFALL.

What is that industry?

Automobiles, airplanes, construction, missiles, chemicals?

No, though the industry I have in mind is basic to the growth of all of these, and indeed every other industry.

I am talking about education.

In today's complicated world, the nation that invests in itself through education is the nation that is on its way to new greatness. Or as another Postmaster General named Benjamin Franklin once put it more colorfully: "If you pour your pocketbook into your head, it will never be stolen."

Education is the skeleton key of civilization.

It can open any door.

For me, as the son of immigrants, it opened the door to opportunity, just as it has for so many millions of Americans.

We have already done more to educate tomorrow's citizens than any other society in history.

But though we have done well, I think there is no doubt that we have not done as well as we could, or as well as we should.

This administration and this generation of Americans have committed their resources, their energy, their ideas, and their hearts to the proposition that every child in this land shall have a chance to broaden his horizons and lead a decent productive life.

President Lyndon B. Johnson summed up an entire nation's determination when he declared, "I wish to see an America in which no young person, whatever the circumstances, shall reach the age of 21 without the health, education, and skills that will give him the opportunity to be an effective citizen and a self-supporting individual."

That is our goal, and we will not rest until we have achieved it.

We are taking hundreds of thousands of deprived pre-school-age children under Project Headstart each summer and putting them in an environment that will prepare them for school and will encourage them to fulfill their potential.

And at the same time, we are going to improve their health and physical abilities.

We are now starting to send enthusiastic and specially trained teachers to poverty areas under President Johnson's National Teacher Corps.

We are putting food in millions of aching, empty stomachs through the school lunch program and the food stamp program, and we know from experience that in so doing, we will be providing countless children with their only decent meal of the day.

We are taking 5 million educationally deprived children from low-income families and giving them a second chance under the great new Elementary-Secondary Education Act of 1965.

We are going to build new schools for them, put books in their hands, establish remedial reading centers for them, and hire more teachers for them.

We are giving hundreds of thousands of school dropouts a new lease on life in Job Corps Centers.

We are finding part-time jobs for other young men and women to enable them to stay in school—or return to school—under the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

We are teaching new skills to hundreds of thousands of other school dropouts under the manpower training program.

Our first Postmaster General once remarked that "Well done is better than well said."

And I can tell you that JOHN MCFALL was following this precept when he stood up and was counted as voting for the President's elementary and secondary school bill, the Higher Education Act, the National Teacher Corps, and the other great new programs to give all our children the finest possible skeleton key to the doors of life.

Congressman MCFALL's whole career is an example of action designed to solve problems and help people.

Yes, my friends, education is the basic element of our time.

And JOHN MCFALL has signed up for the duration in this work.

He has done well by his country and his district, by you and your children in voting for a stronger educational system.

But, my friends, as we move forward in the fields of education, medicare, civil rights and many other areas at home, the overriding issue of our time is the preservation of peace and the protection of democracy wherever it is threatened.

The President, the Vice President, the Secretary of State, and others have explained time and again why we are in Vietnam and what we seek to achieve there.

As President Johnson said when he accepted the National Freedom Award: "Our purpose in Vietnam is to prevent the success of aggression.

"It is not conquest; it is not empire; it is not foreign bases; it is not domination.

"It is, simply put, just to prevent the forceful conquest of South Vietnam by North Vietnam."

Our objectives are clear—clear to anyone who examines the situation honestly.

But what is not at all clear is how we could pull out and still keep faith with our history and our heritage.

This Nation has been committed to the principle of self-determination since its birth.

If we abandon South Vietnam to naked Communist aggression we do more than just break a commitment to an ally, we break faith with almost 200 years' commitment to freedom; we break faith with ourselves.

I wonder if those who counsel us to pull out of Vietnam would apply the same selfish reasoning to our efforts to fight poverty, ignorance and tolerance at home.

Would they abandon the war on poverty because only one in five Americans is poor?

Would they abandon the fight for equal rights for all Americans because only a minority is deprived of them?

Would they say it is enough that most Americans can exercise their right to vote?

I cannot believe this generation of Americans is prepared to abandon principle, is prepared to abandon the sacrifices we and others have made, is prepared to abandon our efforts to show aggressors that violence does not pay in today's world merely because the task is difficult, the way rocky and full of pitfalls, the country far away, and the people yellow of skin.

This is not the American way.

We were never a nation of losers—and I don't think we are ready to become losers now.

This is particularly so when we do not seek to win land, or colonies, or any form of material gain.

Our is not a selfish fight—and I think that is something we can all be proud of.

What then do we seek to win?

The answer is simple to say—difficult to achieve.

For our goal is Vietnam is nothing more than an honorable peace—where freedom is safe, where human rights can thrive, where terror has no place.

We have undertaken the most intensive search for peace in history.

You cannot find in all the annals of man a nation with our overwhelming force that has searched more sincerely or more thoroughly for peace.

That search has taken many forms, and has been directed through many channels.

We have twice paused in our bombing of North Vietnam, the last one for 37 days;

We have asked no less than 115 nations to help us find peace;

We have requested the good offices of His Holiness the Pope, and the Secretary General of the United Nations, the North Atlantic Council of NATO, the Organization of American States, the Organization of African Unity, the International Committee of the Red Cross;

We have sent six special Presidential envoys to 34 countries on a peace-seeking mission;

We have stated we would discuss any proposals, without limit, without preconditions;

We have made it clear we would discuss peace formally in a conference, or privately;

We have submitted the matter to the Security Council of the United Nations;

We have brought our desire for peace to the direct attention of Communist China through numerous meetings of the Chinese Ambassador with our Ambassador in Warsaw and our Secretary of State has met more than 120 times with high officials of other governments in this unprecedented effort.

But it takes two to make peace.

And thus far Hanoi has spurned every gesture.

Some whose concern over the Vietnamese conflict causes them to ignore our unprecedented and sincere drive for peace have asked, "What is wrong with our policy?"

I think our Secretary of State gave a simple, direct, and irrefutable response when he said, "is it just possible that there is something wrong with them?"

With the situation existing that we are searching for and our adversary is spurning peace, it is obvious that our withdrawal would lead only to Communist domination by force of arms, not by the free choice of the people of South Vietnam.

Our concern in Vietnam is to see that the people are not denied that freedom of choice.

To that end President Johnson has asked for the help, the understanding, the commitment of every citizen.

He has asked for that help, that understanding, that commitment—and now I quote his own words—"so this united people may show forth to all the world that America has not ended the only struggle that is worthy of man's unceasing sacrifice—the struggle to be free."

We cannot abandon the struggle for freedom in Vietnam just as we cannot abandon the fight to make sure the blessings of our own freedom are shared fully by every American.

These responsibilities we must shoulder, at home and abroad, require courageous, dedicated, enlightened leadership, in Congress as well as in the executive branch.

During his five terms in Congress, JOHN MCFALL has continually displayed those strong qualities of leadership.

His fellow Congressmen certainly recognized this when they chose him to be zone whip for the California Democratic delegation—establishing him as one of a handful who lead the Congress—mold its policy—direct its activity.

His powers of persuasion and leadership have resulted in many direct benefits to this district, particularly in flood control, irrigation, and conservation.

We quite literally see concrete evidence of his effectiveness in the New Hogan, Comanche, and New Melones Dams—which serve to support his reputation of being a good dam builder, and vice versa.

Congressman McFall was a tower of strength in helping to pass important national legislation proposed by President Kennedy and President Johnson, legislation such as tax reform, economic opportunity, and medicare that have produced greater prosperity and assured wider participation in the bounty of this great land.

And there is no doubt that he will continue to serve you and America effectively if you give him your support, if you do what needs to be done to keep this man of action in Congress.

Continue to give him your votes and John McFall will continue to do the job!

Child Nutrition Act Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 25, 1966

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, too many children in too many American schools come to class every morning without having eaten an adequate breakfast. Some have eaten no breakfast at all. Hungry children are in no condition to learn.

In my district of Minneapolis there is a school where something is being done about this problem. I would like to draw attention to this special school feeding program as an example of the kind of thing that could be done under a bill that is now before Congress. The bill is H.R. 13361, the Child Nutrition Act of 1966.

An experimental school breakfast program is being conducted at Grant Elementary School in Minneapolis. Grant is in one of the poorer sections of the city. The breakfast program was started there as a result of a study of Grant sixth-graders' diets by Dr. Novak of the University of Minnesota. The study showed that three of every five children came to school most of the time without having eaten a proper breakfast.

BREAKFAST AND SNACK

The program is serving a nutritious breakfast and a mid-morning snack, including such vital foods as milk, fruit, fortified cereal, and enriched rolls, to about 400 children daily. It is a combined Federal, State, and local project drawing Federal assistance from title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the special milk program of the Department of Agriculture. Private foundations also contribute, and the breakfast cereal is donated by General Mills. The effects of the program on the health and development of the children will be evaluated by the University of Minnesota and cooperating agencies.

The Child Nutrition Act would provide, among other things, a school breakfast program as an important adjunct to the national school lunch program. The bill would authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out a pilot program to assist States through grants-in-aid and other means to initiate, maintain or expand nonprofit breakfast feedings for schools in poor areas.

ASSISTANCE FOR EQUIPMENT

Under the proposed act, which would embrace and extend the national school lunch program and the special milk program, the breakfast program at Grant School would be eligible for assistance to purchase equipment and to serve lunches as well as breakfast and milk. The school also would be eligible for foods donated as a result of the Agriculture Department's price support and surplus removal operations. The food served in breakfast programs would have to meet research-tested nutritional standards. The program would be supervised by experienced Steel and local school lunch personnel.

The Child Nutrition Act would provide for special food service programs for needy children in nonprofit institutions such as child day care centers, settlement houses and summer camps. To help State school lunch agencies meet the cost of supervising these new programs, the act would apportion funds to the agencies for administrative expenses.

I believe there is great need, Mr. Speaker, for this type of program in many areas—especially in urban areas where numerous children are denied adequate nutrition and in rural areas where children must travel long distances to school. In the interest of child nutrition in general, I believe this legislation should be passed.

Jets at National

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 25, 1966

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, on April 24, the scheduled airlines serving Washington National Airport, the fourth largest in the Nation in terms of traffic, were granted permission by the Federal Aviation Agency to operate short and medium range jet airliners from Washington National Airport. I would like to congratulate Gen. William F. McKee, Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, for bringing about this vast improvement in air service in and out of our Nation's Capital.

As an example, Northwest Orient Airlines, Inc., will now provide a 6:55 p.m., nonstop fan jet departure from Washington National Airport to the Twin Cities of Minneapolis-St. Paul, in my home State of Minnesota, arriving there at 8:24 p.m. This is a flight of only 2 hours and 29 minutes—a savings in time of almost an hour over the present Northwest nonstop service. Visitors to and from Minnesota will certainly benefit from this important decision.

Douglas Aircraft Expands Its Plant Complex in Appalachia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 25, 1966

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, as a part of President Johnson's program of economic development in Appalachia, Douglas Aircraft Corp. is locating a complex of satellite plants in Appalachia in the Fourth District of Tennessee which I am honored to represent in the Congress.

The latest announcement by Douglas officials was of the location of an assembly plant in Smithville, Tenn. The announcement was made at the dedication of a plant in Sparta, Tenn., recently, and other Douglas plants are being built in Monterey, Gainesboro, and Carthage.

The Honorable Wellwood E. Beall, executive vice president of operations at Douglas, emphasized during the dedication ceremonies that Douglas as a matter of policy will do its part in broadening the base of economic development in America—a trend which will help in solving both rural and urban problems.

To help achieve this broader development, Douglas is locating a number of smaller plants in smalltown America to, as Mr. Beall said, "protect and enhance the cornerstone of our democracy, the American small town."

I insert press clippings of the dedication of the Douglas plant at Sparta and of the announcement of the new plant at Smithville in the Record, together with a copy of my recent newsletter.

The articles and newsletter follows:

[From the Nashville Banner, Apr. 16, 1966]

EVINS SAYS SMITHVILLE TO GET PLANT

(By Lee Callaway)

Sparta.—Douglas Aircraft Co. officials Friday assured Representative Joe L. Evins that a new plant would be built at Smithville.

Evins, in Sparta for the opening of a 36,000-square-foot airplane parts plant here, told the Banner, "I have received assurances from representatives of Douglas that a plant will be built here," adding that he had been discussing its possibilities "for a long, long time" with them.

He said he had talked at length with Wellwood E. Beall, Long Beach, Calif., executive vice president of operations for Douglas, about the proposed plant in Smithville.

FIRST OF FOUR

"I am most pleased and delighted with Douglas' decision to locate another Tennessee plant at Smithville," Evins said. The Sparta plant is the first of four Douglas is building in the upper Cumberland section in middle Tennessee other than the Smithville plant. The others are at Carthage, Monterey, and Gainesboro.

A total of about 400 workers at the 4 plants will make small parts for 2 Douglas planes—wing leading edges and tail cones for the 4-engine DC–8 commercial jetliner, and vertical

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

stabilizers and fuselage panels for the Navy-Marine Corps A–4E strike airplane and the Navy TA–4E jet trainer.

Future work at the Tennessee plants—each of which has about 36,000 square feet of space—will include subassemblies for the new Douglas DC–9 twinjet short- to medium-range jetliner.

Operations in the four-plant complex have been underway last fall in temporary facilities under the direction of Ray W. Rice, Sparta manager of Douglas eastern manufacturing locations.

Beall and Gov. Frank G. Clement cut the ribbon at the dedication. Other participants in Friday's ceremonies included Representative EVINS; State industrial development director, Ralph W. Emerson; Sparta Mayor Harold Sims; and H. L. Thompson, director of facilities for Douglas Aircraft Division.

TOUR PLANT

Residents of Sparta and neighboring communities toured the new plant at an open house following the ribbon cutting.

At a dinner at the Sparta Country Club Friday night, Beall showed a Douglas film entitled "A Plan for Appalachia," which tells how the four new plants came into being.

"The story began a couple of years ago," Beall said, "when the President of the United States asked several of the Nation's industrial leaders, including Donald W. Douglas, Jr. (president of the firm), to contribute ideas toward the solution of a national problem that has become known as Appalachia. As we all know, the actual problem has no simple geographical boundaries.

"Our initial thought at Douglas was perhaps typical. We would just go to Appalachia, build a big plant, hire 500 or so people, and that would take care of our contribution."

SECOND THOUGHTS

"Fortunately, we had second thoughts. Closer examination and analysis, with lots of help, convinced us that such a move would compound the problem rather than help resolve it.

"What was needed was a reversal of the national trend toward urbanization. What was needed was an effort that would halt the drain of workers and youth from the Nation's small communities to urban areas, an effort that instead would take opportunity to these small communities and provide them with the economic ability upon which they would thrive instead of die, grow instead of wither away.

"Douglas, with your help and encouragement, has launched a program that shows the way to meet—and defeat—this problem. We believe it provides an example for the growth of American industry, a growth that can meet the needs of a dynamic industry and at the same time protect and enhance the cornerstone of our democracy, the American small town."

REVOLUTIONARY

Clement described the plan as "revolutionary," and predicted that other businesses would follow Douglas' lead. EVINS called the opening of the plant a "great occasion, a great leap forward for our section."

Thompson, Clement, and other speakers at the dedication praised the part played by Emerson in the planning and development of the Douglas project in Tennessee. Clement said initial contact between the State and the aircraft company was made on a State industry-seeking tour to California, led by Emerson. Douglas is headquartered in that State.

Other Douglas officials at the ceremony included G. R. Arterberry, Long Beach, Calif., manager of eastern manufacturing operations; and W. M. Humphreys, Sparta, production coordinator for the four plants.

[From the Nashville Banner, Apr. 16, 1966]

SPARTA AIRPLANE PARTS PLANT DEDICATED—DOUGLAS CONSTRUCTING THREE MORE IN REGION

(By Lee Callaway)

SPARTA.—Douglas Aircraft Co. officially became a partner in Tennessee's economy Friday with the opening of a 36,000-square-foot airplane parts plant here.

At the same time, the company took a step forward in implementing its plan to help revitalize the depressed region of Appalachia.

The plant here is the first of four Douglas is building in the upper Cumberland section of middle Tennessee. Others are at Carthage, Monterey and Gainesboro.

A total of about 400 workers at the 4 plants will make small parts for 2 Douglas planes—wing leading edges and tail cones for the 4-engine DC–3 commercial jetliner, and vertical stabilizers and fuselage panels for the Navy-Marine Corps A–4E strike airplane and the Navy TA–4E jet trainer.

Future work at the Tennessee plants—each of which has about 36,000 square feet of space—will include subassemblies for the new Douglas DC–9 twinjet short-to-medium-range jetliner.

Operations in the four-plant complex have been underway last fall in temporary facilities under the direction of Ray W. Rice, Sparta manager of Douglas eastern manufacturing locations.

Wellwood E. Beall, Long Beach, Calif., executive vice president—operations for Douglas, and Gov. Frank G. Clement, cut the ribbon at the dedication. Other participants in Friday's ceremonies included Fourth District Congressman JOE L. EVINS, State Industrial Development Director Ralph W. Emerson, Sparta Mayor Harold Sims and H. L. Thompson, director of facilities for Douglas Aircraft Division.

TOUR PLANT

Residents of Sparta and neighboring communities toured the new plant at an open house following the ribbon cutting.

At a dinner at the Sparta Country Club Friday night, Beall showed a Douglas film entitled "A Plan for Appalachia," which tells how the four new plants came into being.

"The story began a couple of years ago," Beall said, "When the President of the United States asked several of the Nation's industrial leaders, including Donald W. Douglas Jr. (president of the firm), to contribute ideas toward the solution of a national problem that has become known as Appalachia. As we all know, the actual problem has no simple geographical boundaries.

"Our initial thought at Douglas was perhaps typical. We would just go to Appalachia, build a big plant, hire 500 or so people, and that would take care of our contribution.

SECOND THOUGHTS

"Fortunately, we had second thoughts. Closer examination and analysis, with lots of help, convinced us that such a move would compound the problem rather than help resolve it.

"What was needed was a reversal of the national trend toward urbanization. What was needed was an effort that would halt the drain of workers and youth from the Nation's small communities to urban areas, an effort that instead would take opportunity to these small communities and provide them with the economic ability upon which they would thrive instead of die, grow instead of wither away.

"Douglas, with your help and encouragement, has launched a program that shows the way to meet—and defeat—this problem. We believe it provides an example for the growth of American industry, a growth that can meet the needs of a dynamic industry and at the same time protect and enhance the cornerstone of our democracy, the American small town."

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Thompson, Clement, and other speakers at the dedication praised the part played by Emerson in the planning and development of the Douglas project in Tennessee. Clement said initial contact between the State and the aircraft company was made on a State industry-seeking tour to California, led by Emerson. Douglas is headquartered in that State.

Other Douglas officials at the ceremony included G. R. Arterberry, Long Beach, Calif., manager of eastern manufacturing operations; and W. M. Humphreys, Sparta, production coordinator for the four plants.

[From the Nashville Banner, Apr. 18, 1966]

SMITHVILLE TO GET NEW DOUGLAS PLANT

SMITHVILLE.—Douglas Aircraft Co. officials, who dedicated a new plant Friday at Sparta, are planning another new facility here, Representative JOE L. EVINS told the Banner.

EVINS, who participated in the Friday ceremonies, said he had been discussing the possibilities of a Smithville plant with Douglas officials a long, long time and added that he has now received assurance that such a plant will be built.

The Sparta plant dedicated last week is the first of four Douglas is building in the midstate area to begin operation. The others, in addition to the Smithville plant, are at Carthage, Monterey, and Gainesboro.

Regarding the Smithville plant announcement, EVINS said he had conferred with Wellword E. Beall, Long Beach, Calif., executive vice president for operations of Douglas.

"I am most pleased and delighted with Douglas' decision," the Representative said.

CAPITOL COMMENTS

(By JOE L. EVINS)

The announcement of the decision by officials of the Douglas Aircraft industry of California to locate a fifth plant in our area—the great Fourth Congressional District of Tennessee—underscores an encouraging trend of economic development in Appalachia and in other sections of rural and small-town America.

Col. Wellwood E. Beall, executive vice president of operations at Douglas, announced recently that Douglas would locate its fifth plant in Tennessee at Smithville. The announcement was made at Sparta at a banquet following dedication of a Douglas plant there. Others are being built and currently are in operation at Monterey, Carthage, and Gainesboro.

Douglas is locating these manufacturing plants in our area in line with the President's recommendation for a broader based economic development which he—and Douglas officials—consider essential if this country is to make appreciable progress in solution of both rural and urban problems.

As Colonel Beall said during the Sparta dedication, "What is needed is a reversal of the national trend toward urbanization. What is needed is an effort that will halt the drain of workers and youth from the Nation's small communities to urban areas, an effort that instead will take opportunity to these small communities and provide them with the economic ability upon which they can thrive."

Colonel Beall also said this decentralization of industry will "enhance the cornerstone of our democracy, the American small town." This is most gratifying and most encouraging. This is a theme that your Representative has emphasized over a period of years.

In May of 1965, for example, during hearings of the Public Works Appropriations Subcommittee, I made this statement:

> "There should be a national effort to encourage a buildup of small towns to capture the best of the old—the community spirit and pride—and the best of the new. And by the new I mean modern industry and modern convenience and well-rounded economies."

In a letter to President Johnson last July this approach was reiterated as I urged advocacy of programs for development of smalltown and rural America.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman is preaching this gospel from coast to coast. Both Douglas Aircraft, which has located five plants in our district, and Lockheed—which is locating a plant in Shelbyville—subscribe to this theory of industrial decentralization. The growing acceptance of this concept points to a new era of growth for small towns and to new progress in all America.

"Let's Stop Being Polite to Those Who Cheat Us, or Uncomplaining About Those Who Give Us Poor Service"—Address by Congresswoman Sullivan Before Council on Consumer Information

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 25, 1966

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, earlier today it was my privilege and great pleasure to address a luncheon meeting of Consumer Assembly for '66 on the subject of pretesting of cosmetics for safety and of therapeutic devices for safety and effectiveness. This is but one of a wide variety of consumer issues being discussed and debated at this worthwhile national conference here in Washington this week.

Last week, another important national conference on consumer issues took place in my own city of St. Louis, sponsored by the Council on Consumer Information, an organization of outstanding leaders of the consumer movement in this country, and headed this year by your close friend, the Reverend Robert J. McEwen of Boston College. Father McEwen has served the State of Massachusetts in distinguished fashion as an official State adviser on consumer problems, and has been instrumental in bringing about important changes in your State laws intended to protect consumers.

I was scheduled to address the annual conference of the Council on Consumer Information last year at Berkeley, Calif., but because of other responsibilities was not able to fulfill that speaking engagement. I am delighted, therefore, that when the conference took place this year in my city, I could be present and participate.

In a 3-day meeting attended by educators, public officials, and representatives of nonprofit organizations from all areas of the Nation, the Council on Consumer Information surveyed the problems facing the consumer in the marketplace and the things which can be done, or should be done, to improve the safety of the products we use, as well as to improve the ability of the consumer to get his money's worth.

The theme of my remarks on "The Citizen's Role in Furthering Consumer Interests" was that, while there are many shortcomings in our laws which protect consumers, there is a great deal more the individual consumer can do to protect himself or herself in getting good value.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD my remarks at the National Consumer Conference in St. Louis last week and also the program of that conference, indicating the variety of important consumer issues discussed, and the outstanding caliber of the consumer leaders who took part.

The text of my talk follows:

THE CITIZEN'S ROLE IN FURTHERING CONSUMER INTERESTS

(Address by Congresswoman LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, at annual national conference, Council on Consumer Information, St. Louis, Mo., April 21, 1966)

Since this is the end of the second day of your 3-day conference, it is perhaps a bit late for me to welcome you to St. Louis. I am sure this city's welcome has been evident to you from the moment of your arrival. In my somewhat prejudiced opinion, St. Louis is unique and wonderful among American cities in many respects and for many reasons, but from the standpoint of your organization, one of its most important distinctions is the active and vigorous interest of this community in consumer issues.

I think we can properly claim recognition as the consumer capital among American cities, for it was this city which led the first real fight on air pollution. We have a long history of consumer activity. The St. Louis Consumer Federation has been a powerful factor in consumer affairs not only in St. Louis but throughout the country for many years, and to the extent that I have earned a right to speak for consumers in the Congress of the United States, I must honestly admit that the federation "made me what I am today" as a consumer-minded legislator.

Before I was ever sworn in as a Member of Congress in 1953, the consumer federation took me in hand and gave me a cram course in consumer problems and legislative issues for which I have always been grateful, for they succeeded in setting my course and direction in the Congress from that day forward. I am delighted to see so many similar organizations now being formed across the country, and in many of the States; but for years, the St. Louis Consumer Federation was almost alone in this field.

It is most fitting, therefore, that the national conference of the Council on Consumer Information is being held in St. Louis, just as it was most fitting for the first White House Regional Consumer Conference set up 2 years ago by Esther Peterson to be held in St. Louis. As I said then, this is a community which believes deeply in the validity of the consumers' rights in the marketplace, one which has vigorous leadership in consumer activities and which has newspapers, radio and television stations, and other media which compete strenuously with each other to be in the forefront in the promotion of consumer causes.

TREMENDOUS INCREASE IN INTEREST IN CONSUMER ISSUES

In the past 4 years, national interest in consumer problems has grown at amazing speed. The consumer message sent to Congress by President John F. Kennedy in March 1962, was a milestone in the development of that growth and interest. President Johnson has sent us two such messages, the latest one being just exactly a month ago.

Mrs. Peterson's office has provided a rallying point within the Government, at the White House level, for the dissemination of information and for the improvement of communication between consumer and Government and between consumer and businessman. And your organization, the Council on Consumer Information, under the leadership of Father McEwen and Professor Morse and Dr. Metzen and others who have contributed so much to public awareness of the issues, has performed a great national service.

Earlier this week, a subcommittee of the House of Representatives for the first time held hearings on the idea of setting up a Department of Consumers in the U.S. Government. The hearings were useful in spotlighting consumer issues. Next week, in Washington, many of us will meet again on the consumer front as the Consumer Assembly organized by David Angevine takes place in what I hope will be a focus of national attention.

In the past 4 years we have passed two outstanding new laws on drug safety—the Kefauver-Harris Act of 1962 and the Drug Abuses Control Act of 1965; our pesticides laws were strengthened very materially; both the House and Senate Commerce Committees are going deeply into the subject of automobile safety and the Senate has now passed a tire safety bill which can save countless lives on our highways.

This legislation is long overdue, of course; but there is real satisfaction to be derived from the fact that it has progressed so far so fast, for it is less than 3 years since former Congressman Kenneth Roberts, of Alabama, and I jointly sponsored the very first tire safety bill introduced in either House of Congress. Considering how long it usually takes for a new idea to come to a boil on the legislative burners, this is phenomenal speed. But there is still so much remaining undone that we have no basis for self-satisfaction.

PIERCING THE APATHY OF AFFLUENCE

I have made many talks to consumer groups about the need for a general overhaul of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938, as proposed in H.R. 1235—a bill of mine which has been pending forlornly for more than 5 years—and I shall discuss that issue again next week at the consumer assembly in Washington, so I am not going to use this time tonight to rehash with you facts which are already well known to everyone here. Instead, I would like to take time to talk about what I think is your most important assignment—that is, alerting the public to dangers, problems and solutions, and arousing the public to be concerned and to demand action.

If 1966 is to be the year of the consumer, we are going to need much more effective ways of carrying out this assignment of reaching and alerting the public. Although much has been printed in the newspapers about consumer issues, we still seem to be doing a great deal of our talking on consumer issues just to each other.

On economic issues, there is among the general public what might be called an apathy of affluence which we have not yet been able to pierce with sufficient skill and impact. I can remember—and it wasn't too many years ago—when an American citizen who felt cheated or defrauded or shortchanged or fast-talked out of some money got so indignant—so mad—that he not only yelled "ouch" but tried to do something about it.

Today, a great many Americans just shrug it off. When they do get mad it is often about the wrong things.

For instance, there is great indignation now over the high price of bacon and pork products, and certain other foods. As a member of the National Commission on Food Marketing, I have spent many, many hours in Commission hearings and executive sessions on food costs, particularly food distribution costs. We have variously been told that the farmer has been receiving too little and that the consumer has been paying too much and that the stores are not really making any money. Interestingly enough, there was some truth at some point in time in all of these different points of view, when vigorously presented to us by spokesmen for the separate interest groups appearing before us.

FAST-CHANGING SITUATION IN FOOD PRICES

But, like all such generalities, these claims were only partially true. The farmers had gone through a very bitter experience in raising an abundance of livestock and many of them lost substantial amounts of money when the price fell. The packers operated on a small margin. Stores frequently sold meat as a price leader, even while their costs were rising—in some instances rather alarmingly. And yet consumers felt they were paying too much—and sometimes were.

But how fast a situation can change. After a bad year of very low prices for hogs at the farm level because of abundant supplies, the farmers decided to cut back on hog production. After all, who wants to work hard producing something at a loss? Inevitably, the following year, hog marketings went way down, and pork products zoomed in price. As the price went up, farmers were again encouraged to raise more hogs, and this will mean a drop in wholesale and retail prices when the new production comes to market. We have been trying for many years to try to find ways to even off these hills and valleys of long-lead farm products, but there is still wide variation in prices from year to year because no one really is able to guess far ahead of time—when the decisions have to be made as to how much to plant or how many steers or hogs to fatten—what the market is going to be like at harvest time.

We have had enough experience with this annual phenomenon of surplus or shortage in individual farm commodities to have learned as consumers how to live with it intelligently—and buy those foods in good supply. But from the letters I receive, and the protests and complaints I read in the newspapers and hear over the radio, a lot of consumers shop with no reference at all to what is happening in the marketing of food. If bacon is inordinately high compared to what they are used to paying, they nevertheless often pay the higher price, and then cry they are being cheated.

They are cheating themselves.

COMPLAINTS ABOUT BACON—BUT NOT ABOUT EXCESSIVE INTEREST CHARGES

They are cheating themselves because they are ignoring information readily available to them. Just as there is nothing in the Bill of Rights which says that a pound of bacon must cost 79 cents even when supplies are short, so also there is nothing in the Constitution which requires a housewife to buy bacon when it is $1.19. So why buy it? Yet many go ahead and buy anyway, and complain about how the consumer is being robbed. Such consumers need a good scolding for not adjusting their buying habits as market conditions change. The Wall Street Journal recently told of a California housewife jabbing her finger at bacon marked $1.19 a pound and saying "that's ridiculous." What the article failed to say, however, was whether she was ridiculous enough to buy it.

If we could get people as mad about paying 36 percent interest on a small loan or 100 percent interest on a television set bought on time, as they are or were about paying $1.19 for bacon when pork products are comparatively scarce, we'd really be getting somewhere on consumer education and consumer interests. It doesn't take mathematical genius or even "truth in lending" to figure out that 3 percent interest a month is 36 percent a year. Yet people who should know better will nevertheless borrow money even frivolously at that enormous interest rate.

How about packaging? At one of our Food Marketing Commission hearings in New York, at which we took testimony from the women's editors and food editors of major magazines, an outstanding home economist who represented a leading publication of very high standards told me that their readers had shown virtually no interest whatsoever in the controversy over labeling and packaging of food products. She said they receive thousands of letters on homemaking problems and issues of interest to their readers, but about the only ones she could remember receiving about food packaging were complaints over the instructions for opening the packages. She was referring to protests that when you tried to push in the little spot on the package where it said "push here" you were likely to break a fingernail. But as to the slack fill of many packages or the misleading illustrations of contents, or confusing sizes of the cartons, or the poor legibility of required label information, or the widespread use of fractional ounce net weights which made it almost impossible for the average consumer to decide on the better buy between two sizes of the very same brand of a product—the readers of that magazine wrote not a word of protest. They didn't seem to care.

IS IT THAT THEY CAN'T ADD OR SUBTRACT?

I truly believe that the home economist who testified on this point was telling us the truth about the lack of reader letters on this issue. My question then must be directed to you—why don't more of her readers care about packaging abuses?

We were also told at that hearing that a comprehensive study of consumer purchasing habits in supermarkets showed that the average shopper swept through the 8,000 or more items on the shelves in less than 30 minutes, even if spending $25 or more. If that is true, it is no wonder that the manufacturer likes to make it difficult for the shopper to figure out price per ounce of his products; he doesn't have to make it easy, or even practical, for the shopper to figure out these mysteries because the vast majority of shoppers presumably wouldn't take the time to make the effort and apparently don't care.

I care and you care and many other consumers do care. But apparently not enough consumers care. How do we reach Mrs. Average Shopper and persuade her to start caring? Unless we can succeed in doing that, all of the discussions we have among ourselves about truth in this and truth in that will have no effect on various House and Senate committees because these issues still do not have enough zip behind them where it counts—in the marketplace itself.

I have a theory on the seeming apathy among consumers about figuring out the better buys in the stores or in shopping around for credit terms. It is not that they are lazy; in many instances they just don't know how to make mathematical computations. Millions of young people today simply can't add and subtract and divide. Mathematically they are functionally illiterate, if that is the way to describe it. The annual anguish over income tax computations is a good indicator of that situation.

Income tax time is often the only time many Americans actually try to work out a mathematical problem, and they suffer more over the figuring they have to do than over the taxes they pay. They really need the "truth in" bills to know what they pay for things.

But in the meantime can't we encourage them to learn to help themselves by persuading them occasionally to add up a restaurant check, or check a grocery list, or go over the items in an automobile repair bill, or doublecheck their telephone bills or bank statements? When I do those things—and ask questions about the items I consider doubtful—I know I am being considered something of a nut by the person waiting on me. Presumably not very many people do that sort of thing any more. Possibly it is no longer considered polite to check someone else's figures which are presented to you for payment.

OVERCHARGES MORE LIKELY TO BE FROM CARELESSNESS THAN DECEIT

Yet the same poor mathematical skill characteristic of so many consumers today is at least as common—and probably more so—among those who are employed to prepare our bills for goods and services. Under the circumstances, we are far more likely to be overcharged through carelessness than through deceit. But the tendency on the part of so many customers not to bother checking their bills or statements is a real incentive to the unscrupulous to take advantage of the customer deliberately. It doesn't take new laws to get at that problem; it takes just a tiny bit of effort and some courage to speak up for one's pocketbook rights.

I make such a point of doing this in the course of my own shopping that some of my friends are embarrassed to go shopping with me. I ask questions about unmarked items; I ask for the manager if a price seems out of line; I try to remember the price ranges of things I'm used to buying and I make a point of checking the prices on those items I buy infrequently. You don't have to be a Member of Congress to get the answers to such questions; the answers are available to every shopper who takes the trouble to ask the right questions of the right people in the stores. Why then are so many consumers reluctant to ask? Is it because they are still suffering from a kind of timidity hangover from World War II or Korean war days when you didn't dare antagonize the storekeeper for fear of not getting some scarce or rationed item in great demand? Whatever the reason—whether timidity, insecurity, inability to add and subtract and divide, or just plain neglect—the American consumer is often paying more than she thinks she is paying or expects to pay for lots of things and not doing a thing about it, except to complain about the prices of the few items whose customary cost she happens to remember from one shopping trip to the next.

I have made a rather large issue of this point tonight—of sloppy buying habits—because I think it is a fundamental cause of the lack of clearcut consumer demand for corrective legislation we really need. I have made the point so strongly to you men and women who are leaders in the consumer movement because I think your dedicated efforts to help consumers through legislation too often is handicapped and stalemated by the failure of the people you want to help to try to help themselves—the failure to use information already available to them.

PUBLIC NOT APATHETIC ABOUT DANGERS TO HEALTH AND SAFETY

Of all of the activities of the agencies now fighting the war on poverty, one of the most useful may very well turn out to be the neighborhood centers working on basic consumer economics. But it is not enough to try to teach people how to shop intelligently for installment credit; we must also teach them how to curb a human desire to buy things they can't afford, no matter how good the credit terms might be. One ironic success story I read about in the Washington war on poverty involved a readjustment in monthly payments for a poor family which had been terribly overcharged in interest and carrying charges on a color television set. Nowhere in the story, however, did I see any suggestion that a color television set was perhaps not quite as essential to that family as accumulating enough cash to participate in the food stamp program.

And this brings me to another aspect of the consumer battle, and one I consider far more important than helping people to get their dollar's worth, important as that certainly is. I am referring now to the safety of the consumer. The apathy of affluence which leads so many people to accept uncomplainingly minor economic aggressions committed against their purse does not hold true when it comes to dangers to the family's health.

People will respond to information about health hazards, and are effective in demanding corrective governmental action in this field, once they have the facts. It is in this area therefore that I think more of the consumer movement's efforts should be directed. When I first included in my omnibus food, drug, and cosmetic bill last year a provision to outlaw the sale in interstate commerce of flavored aspirin for children, I was amazed by the instant and enthusiastic response I received from people all over this country—families which had gone through the agony of child poisoning or death caused by these lethal little candy pills.

THE CANDY ASPIRIN MENACE

In the research which led me to include this provision in the bill, I had been appalled by the tremendous incidence of aspirin poisoning among children under 5—thousands upon thousands of poisoning cases a year, with more deaths than from any other single accidental ingestion cause.

Only—if I can use that word "only" in this context—only 150 or so childhood deaths are attributed to this cause a year, but this is a fraction of the number of near tragedies, each one of them a nightmare of horror for the family involved. And 150 needless deaths among young children is not an insignificant figure. I am glad in this connection to have President Johnson's support for at least limiting the number of such pills in a single container. I wonder how much more could be done through the groups and agencies you men and women represent to alert mothers of young children to the danger in each bottle of these "convenience" pills. Is it really too much trouble for a mother to crush half of an aspirin tablet and add some sugar or jelly to make palatable what the child knows is medicine, not candy? Will you help me in getting this across?

In inviting me to speak here tonight, your executive director, Dr. Metzen, suggested I discuss "The Citizen's Role in Furthering Consumer Interests." I have talked mostly about the failure of so many consumers to fight for and protect their own interests—because of apathy, ignorance, laziness, or lack of information. The laws we are considering in the Congress to aid and protect consumers are certainly important—more so, undoubtedly, because consumers themselves are not doing enough to protect themselves and effectively use the powers they can already wield in the marketplace. But the fact of political life is this: unless and until consumers generally show more concern over the sharp practices which victimize them in the marketplace, and speak up and do something about those practices, they are not going to be very much help to us or to themselves in getting through the kind of corrective legislation they need and should have.

DAILY ASSAULTS ON OUR DIGNITY AS BUYERS OF GOODS AND SERVICES

The citizen's role in this situation is to stand up and be a citizen—a responsible American citizen who not only knows his rights but fights for them against all comers. Let's stop being polite to those who cheat us, or uncomplaining about those who give us poor service. When we think about the way a comparative handful of freeborn citizens of Massachusetts stood up for their rights at Lexington and Concord on that April day nearly 200 years ago, it seems to me that the least we can do today is to refuse to suffer in silence the daily assaults on our dignity as buyers of goods and services.

I do not want to give the impression that I think we are cheated, defrauded and pushed around in every transaction. Not at all. Our economy is probably the fairest and most effective in the world in sharing the good things in life. Most businessmen want to make only a fair return based on honest dealing with the public. The faults in the marketplace are not based on villainy. Most businesses can convincingly defend most of the practices they follow. But few of them can successfully defend all of their practices, particularly on credit, and some cannot legitimately and morally defend any of their methods of operation. We must fight those particular ones at every turn—through legislation, where necessary, and through our own self-defense efforts as informed consumers.

When there is this kind of general dedication to the cause of the consumers by consumers, the legislation we need will be passed quickly. I have frequently told consumer groups that when it comes to legislation. Congress is like the accelerator of an automobile—that is, extremely sensitive to pressure. You make it go by putting your foot down. Not enough Americans who love to put their foot down to make their cars go faster have yet awakened to the fact that it's far safer for all concerned if they expended a little less pressure on their cars' accelerators and more effort in putting their foot down on gaps in our consumer laws. But people are learning—more of them are learning every day. Consumer issues are getting more and more attention everywhere in this country, in the press and other media.

If we can get more of the people to complain out loud—and preferably in the form of letters to their Congressmen and other public officials—about practices which offend them as consumers and as citizens, we'll pass the new consumer laws we need in Washington, and in the State capitals, and in the city halls. And we'll all be a lot better off—we'll get more for our money and live a lot longer, too. Those objectives are certainly worth the effort and dedication you who are leaders of the consumer movement in this country have been investing in a cause you can be proud of. As a Member of Congress who shares your goals and admires your courage and devotion, I salute you for what you are working so hard to accomplish in behalf of all the people of this country. Keep up the good work.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I submit the program of the 3-day conference in St. Louis, listing the participants in this outstanding consumer affair:

PROGRAM OF THE COUNCIL ON CONSUMER INFORMATION, 12TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, APRIL 20–22, 1966, SHERATON-JEFFERSON HOTEL, ST. LOUIS, MO.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20

At 12:30 p.m.: Luncheon. Presiding: Richard L. D. Morse, head, Department of Family Economics, Kansas State University. Speaker: David Swankin, Executive Director, President's Committee on Consumer Interests. Topic: "The View From Washington."

At 2:30 p.m.: Chairman: David Hamilton, professor of economics, the University of New Mexico. Speaker: Leland J. Gordon, Director, Weights and Measures Research Center. Topic: "Recent Developments in Consumer Economics." Question leaders: Mrs. Carla Williams, specialist for consumer programs, Administration on Aging, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Heinz Biesdorf, assistant professor, Department of Household Economics and Management Extension, Cornell University.

At 3:30 p.m.: Speaker: Arch W. Troelstrup, director of family economics, Stephens College. Topic: "The Consumer Movement in Western Europe." Question leaders: David W. Angevine, public relations director, Cooperative League of the U.S.A.; W. Lou Tandy, professor of economics, Central State University, Ohio; and John B. Moore, Department of Economics, Lindenwood College, Missouri.

At 7:30 p.m.: Chairman: Miss Phyllis Ilett, associate professor, home management, equipment, and family economics, the University of Tennessee. Speakers: Hon. Norman H. Anderson, attorney general of Missouri; Robert D. Brodt, assistant attorney general in charge of consumer frauds division, Illinois; and Gale P. Gotschall, Assistant General Counsel for Federal-State Cooperation, Federal Trade Commission. Topic: "Consumer Protection by the States—New Approaches, New Problems, Unmet Needs."

Question leaders: Joseph M. Klamon, professor of business management, Washington University; and Arthur C. Meyers, Jr., acting chairman, Department of Economics, St. Louis University.

THURSDAY, APRIL 21

At 8:30 a.m.: Chairman: Ramon P. Heimerl, professor of business education, Colorado State College. Speaker: David Schoenfeld, social studies teacher, Lincoln High School, Yonkers, N.Y. Topic: "Possibilities for Consumer Education at the Secondary Level—the Lincoln High School Story."

At 9:15 a.m.: Speakers: Heinz Biesdorf, assistant professor Department of Household Economics and Management Extension, Cornell University; Thomas M. Brooks, head, Department of Family Economics and Management, University of Connecticut; and James E. Mendenhall, education director, Consumers Union of United States. Topic: "Consumer Education at the College Level."

Question leaders: Mrs. Marie Davis Huff, director, home economics education, State Department of Education, Missouri; Mrs. Rose Shanight, home economics teacher, Eureka, Mo., High School; Stewart Lee, chairman, Department of Economics and Business Administration, Geneva College; and Herbert A. Tonne, chairman, Department of Business Education, New York University.

At 10:45 a.m.: Chairman Robert Cissell, associate professor, Department of Mathematics, Xavier University. Speakers: William A. Gates, director, St. Louis and St. Louis County Extension Centers, University of Missouri; Robert L. Gawf, program director, Consumer Education, St. Louis and St.

Louis County Extension Centers, University of Missouri; and Mrs. Evelyn Buck, home economist, Consumer Education, St. Louis Extension Center, University of Missouri. Topic: "Consumer Education for Low-Income Families in St. Louis."

Question leaders: Hayes Beall, director, Peace Corps/Cooperative Projects, Association for Cooperative Education; Milton J. Huber, associate professor, Center for Consumer Affairs, University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee; John N. Orms, education director, Missouri Credit Union League; and G. R. Westwood, executive director, Central Missouri Counties' Human Development Corporation.

At 1:30 p.m.: Chairman: Herbert A. Tonne, chairman, Department of Business Education, New York University. Speaker: George Fersh, associate director, Joint Council on Economic Education. Topic: "Achieving Personal Economic Competence Through Economic Education."

At 2:30 p.m.: Speaker: Ray G. Price, professor of education, University of Minnesota. Topic: "Teacher Preparation for Consumer Education—Current Developments and Future Needs."

Question leaders: Mrs. Marie Davies Huff, director, Home Economics Education, State Department of Education, Missouri; Mrs. Rose Shanight, home economics teacher, Eureka, Mo., High School; Thomas M. Brooks, head, Department of Family Economics and Management, University of Connecticut; Ramon P. Heimerl, professor of business education, Colorado State College.

At 3:45 p.m.: Chairman: Gordon E. Bivens, professor of economics and director, Center for Consumer Affairs, University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee. Speaker: Edward Damon, public information specialists, Division of Consumer Education, Food, and Drug Administration. Topic: "Consumer Education—Then and Now."

At 4:10 p.m.: Speakers: Mrs. Faith Prior, family economics and home management specialist, Extension Service, University of Vermont; Edward J. Metzen, chairman, Home Management and Family Economics, University of Missouri. Topic: "Report on the First International Conference on Consumer Education."

At 6:15 p.m.: Annual dinner. Presiding: Stewart Lee, past president, Council on Consumer Information, chairman, Department of Economics and Business Administration, Geneva College. Presidential address: Rev. Robert J. McEwen, S.J., chairman, Department of Economics, Boston College.

At 8:30 p.m.: Chairman: Rev. Robert J. McEwen, S.J., president, Council on Consumer Information. Speaker: Hon. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, Member of Congress, Missouri. Topic: "The Citizen's Role in Furthering Consumer Interests."

FRIDAY, APRIL 22

At 8:45 a.m.: Chairman Roy C. Cave, director, Consumer Research Institute, San Francisco State College. Speaker: Monroe P. Friedman, associate professor and acting head, Department of Psychology, Eastern Michigan University. Topic: "Rational choice in the American Supermarket: An Empirical Study of the Effects of Packaging and Pricing Practices."

Question Leaders: Gordon E. Bivens, professor of economics and director, Center for Consumer Affairs, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; and Robert O. Herrmann, assistant professor of Agricultural Economics, Pennsylvania State University.

At 9:30 a.m.: Speaker: Colston E. Warne, president, Consumers Union of the United States and professor of economics, Amherst College. Topic: "Is it Time to Re-evaluate the Consumer Protection Activities of the Federal Government?"

Discussants: Milton J. Huber, associate professor, Center for Consumer Affairs, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; and Ralph R. Reuter, administrative assistant, Northeast Department, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, AFL–CIO.

At 10:30 a.m.: Business meeting. Presiding: Rev. Robert J. McEwen, S.J., president, Council on Consumer Information.

Chairman of 1966 conference: Dr. Edward J. Metzen, executive secretary CCI president, Missouri Association of Consumers, Chairman, Home Management, Family Economics, University of Missouri, Local arrangements committee: Mrs. Loretta Johnson, Consumer Specialist Food and Drug Administration; and Mrs. Rose S. Klamon, president, St. Louis Consumer Federation.

Officers: Executive secretary, Edward J. Metzen, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.; president, Rev. R. J. McEwen, S.J., Department of Economics, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass.; vice president, Gordon Bivens, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wis.; treasurer, David Angevine, Cooperative League of U.S.A., Washington, D.C.; director, Robert O. Herrmann, Department of Agricultural Economics, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa. and Ramon P. Heimerl, Colorado State College, Greeley, Colo.; publications chairman, Faith Prior, the Extension Service, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.; newsletter editor, Stewart M. Lee, Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pa.

Past presidents, Ray G. Price, College of Education, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.; Henry Harap, 900 W. Oregon, Apartment 208 W, Urbana, Ill.; Marjorie East, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa.; Leland Gordon, 3 Highgate Road, Granville, Ohio; Arch W. Troelstrup, Stephens College, Columbia, Mo.; Richard L. D. Morse, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kans.; Marguerite C. Burk, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minn.; Stewart M. Lee, Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pa.; Samuel L. Myers, 2210 Windsor Avenue, Baltimore, Md.; and Irene Oppenheim, New York University, New York, N.Y.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven. Matthew 5: 16.

O God, our Father, who art the source of light and life, whose glory is in all the world, without whom no one is strong, no one is good—make us one with Thee as we begin this day. May our faith in Thee make us strong, hold us steady, and keep us serene as we face the responsibilities and the tasks which confront us. May we always know that Thou art with us, may we always believe that Thou art leading us. Amid all our differences may we be one in spirit, one in purpose, and one in good will as we give ourselves in deep devotion to the welfare of our beloved country and for the good of all mankind. May the light of Thy spirit shine forever in our hearts. In Jesus' name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 13369. An act to authorize the disposal of molybdenum from the national stockpile.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 2421. An act to authorize the adjustment of the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands within the Columbia River at the mouth project in the States of Washington and Oregon; and

S. 2934. An act to provide needed additional means for the residents of rural America to achieve equality of opportunity by authorizing the making of grants for comprehensive planning for public services and development in community districts approved by the Secretary of Agriculture.

VOLUNTEER AMERICAN PHYSICIANS IN VIETNAM

Mr. DYAL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. DYAL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to invite the attention of the House to the tremendous job that American physicians are doing as volunteers in Vietnam.

Naturally, I am proud of the fact the State of California has contributed 13 of the original 86 physicians to serve in Project Vietnam. Dr. James H. Phelps, of Upland, a leading physician in San Bernardino County, recently returned from Vietnam after serving on this program and has been here recently in the Nation's Capital attending a conference of the People-to-People Health Foundation.

He has written me as follows:

> I would like to draw your attention to Project Vietnam which is a volunteer physician project wherein American physicians serve 60 days in South Vietnam. This project was initiated by President Johnson, is financed by the State Department and is administered by the People-to-People Health Foundation. One hundred and one American physicians have served in South Vietnam under the auspices of this project and eight more are leaving a week from today. Thirty-two are currently there. California is well represented, having contributed 13 of the original 86.
>
> I believe that the acceptance and appreciation shown to me by my Vietnamese patients was typical and that this is a highly successful project, worthy of congressional support.

BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY OF STATE OF ISRAEL

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, I join in the many expressions of good will being tendered to the State of Israel on this its 18th anniversary.

The 18 years that have passed into history are years of fulfillment for the Israel Nation. They are years in which the young state has again proven to the world the power of an idea. It is an idea, I might add, nurtured for centuries by the Israel people. This idea has come to full flower in the form of a democratic nation dedicated, in its own words, to the complete equality of social and political rights for its citizens, without discrimination of creed, race, or sex, including the freedom of religion and conscience, of language, education, and culture.

These are lofty aspirations which too frequently are sought but not quite attained. But in the young State of Israel they are aspirations which are vigorously practiced in the daily life of a nation surrounded by forces hostile to the development of democratic ideals.

All of us who cherish these basic freedoms salute the accomplishments of Israel and we wish her many more years of mature contribution to the family of nations.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce may sit during general debate today.

This has been cleared with the minority side.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

ALL-AROUND MAN

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, when I first met my friend Bill Boyer a number of years ago, my immediate reaction was, "Here is a man who is going places."

He has and he is.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, like the rest of our community, spoke some well-deserved words of praise this week when news of Bill's promotion to executive vice president of Republic Steel was made known.

He is an outstanding person, as the following Plain Dealer editorial points out, Cleveland is proud of him:

ALL-AROUND MAN

Promotion of Willis B. Boyer to executive vice president of Republic Steel Corp. elevates in that corporate structure a man also well qualified in the community's welfare framework.

Bill Boyer, at 51, has established himself as the type of business-civic leader upon whom a big city's progress largely depends. There is no substitute for the personal involvement of a dedicated man or woman in a local project and Boyer, through numerous connections, serves both Republic Steel and Cleveland.

He is a trustee of Western Reserve University. In 1964 when university hospitals wanted a chairman for its vital Centennial Planning Committee, it tapped Boyer who had been a trustee there since 1955. He has served in many other positions in welfare and fund-raising.

The French philosopher Rousseau said: "As soon as public service ceases to be the chief business of the citizens, and they would rather serve with their money than with their persons, the State is not far from its fall."

The energy and responsibility of people such as Bill Boyer provide the best insurance against a decline.

THE LATE HONORABLE LOUIS A. JOHNSON, FORMER ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the death of the late Louis A. Johnson takes from our midst a great American and an outstanding public official. In private and public life, Louis Johnson was honorable and trustworthy.

His public career started at an early age being elected to the house of delegates at 26 years of age.

In World War I he served with distinction and bravery receiving high decorations as commander of the French Legion of Honor. His interests in military affairs continued during his lifetime.

Louis Johnson always evidenced a deep and actual interest in the welfare of our veterans and their widows and dependents. His activity in the American Legion was widely known and appreciated. This was shown in 1932 when he was elected national commander of the American Legion. Under his leadership, the American Legion gained in strength and prospered. He advocated many measures that have been enacted into law for the benefit of all of our veterans and their survivors.

On the Federal level Louis Johnson held many responsible positions.

In 1937, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of War. He gave understanding leadership in planning industrial mobilization. He looked ahead in those days and saw the menace and danger to the world of Hitler and nazism. It was after World War II started that his leadership was appreciated.

For that, then, the Secretary of War Robert R. Patterson, praised him, stating that his early drive for mobilization had shortened the conflict by 18 months.

In 1942, my late friend resigned as Assistant Secretary of War, going to India as head of the U.S. mission to establish India as a supply base for the American forces.

He later served with distinction and courage in the important and responsible position of Secretary of Defense, being the second person to occupy this position.

I valued very much the friendship that existed between us. Both his private and public life is an inspiration for all others to follow.

I am deeply grieved in the passing on of Louis Johnson, who was my valued friend.

I extend to Mrs. Johnson and her daughters and other loved ones my deep sympathy in their bereavement.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 69]

Abbitt
Andrews, Glenn
Ashley
Beckworth
Betts
Blatnik
Brock
Burleson
Callaway
Conyers
Corman
Craley
Daddario
Dawson
Delaney
Dickinson
Dorn
Dowdy
Ellsworth
Everett
Foley
Ford, William D.
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Gettys
Grider
Halleck
Halpern
Hansen, Wash.
Harvey, Mich.
Huot
Jarman
Johnson, Okla.
Kelly
Lipscomb
Long, La.
McMillan
Mathias
Matthews
Miller
Mize
Murray
Nix
Ottinger
Pool
Powell
Resnick
Reuss
Rivers, Alaska
Roberts
Rooney, N.Y.
Roudebush
Roush
Roybal
Scott
Skubitz
Steed
Stubblefield
Teague, Tex.
Toll
Tupper
Ullman
Waggonner
Weltner
Williams
Willis
Wilson, Bob

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 361 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

ILLINOIS OFFICIAL SONG

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, today I have the honor to present the new version of the official song of my beloved State of Illinois. It is appropriately called "Illinois."

The original was written in 1891 by Charles H. Chamberlin, a Civil War veteran who was then in the Government service in Chicago. The music was adapted by Archibald Johnson from "Baby Mine," a song popular in 1870.

At the direction of the Illinois Sesquecentennial Commission, Win Stracke, a widely known folk singer, has written new verses for "Illinois." Norman Luboff, Hollywood composer and choral director, has written a new musical arrangement.

The original song became a nationwide hit, that was credited with winning for Chicago the Columbian Exposition of 1893, the world's fair commemorating the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' discovery of America.

The new version of "Illinois" has been hailed by Ralph G. Newman and VerLyn Sprague, chairman and director respectively of the Illinois Sesquicentennial Commission, as "a lilting song of the State's beauties and charms, its business and commerce, and its heroes, Lincoln foremost among them." The sesquicentennial will be in 1968.

I am extending my remarks at this point to include the words of the new "Illinois":

ILLINOIS

I

By the rivers gently flowing,
Illinois, Illinois,
By the prairies verdant growing,
Illinois, Illinois,
Comes an echo on the breeze
Rustling through the leafy trees,
And its mellow tones are these,
Illinois, Illinois,
And its mellow tones are these,
Illinois.

II

Out thy wondrous story,
Illinois, Illinois,
Can be writ the Nation's glory,
Illinois, Illinois,
On the record of the years,
Abr'ham Lincoln's name appears,
Grant and Logan and our tears,
Illinois, Illinois,
Grant and Logan and our tears,
Illinois.

III

Eighteen saw your founding,
Illinois, Illinois,
And your progress is unbounding,
Illinois, Illinois,
Pioneers once cleared the land
Where great industries now stand.
World renown you do command,
Illinois.

IV

Pledge in final chorus,
Illinois, Illinois,
That in struggles still before us,
Illinois, Illinois,
To our heroes we'll be true
As their vision we pursue
In abiding love for you,
Illinois, Illinois,
In abiding love for you,
Illinois.

Mr. Speaker, as my colleagues may have heard there is a primary contest in the Second Congressional District of Illinois and I am cheered to learn that my distinguished colleague from southern Illinois, KEN GRAY, will close the primary election campaign for me by singing in that rich voice of his the official song of Illinois.

The issue against me, very thinly disguised, seems to be that I am too old. That issue I have accepted head-on. I am not running away from a single year, a single day, a single hour of my 84 years, come this Thursday.

That is why my campaign will be closed with the singing of the official song of Illinois, the State that has never turned its back on age. Speaker Joe Cannon, for whom the oldest of our three House office buildings is named, served with brilliant vigor when he was 87. The great Adolph Sabath, a Member of this body for a longer period than any other Member in the history of the Congress, was the able, alert, and dynamic chairman of the Rules Committee. And at 86 Tom O'Brien was not only the most beloved Member of the House but also one of the most influential. At 86 he was as active and alert, as erect in stature, as keen in intellect, as the youngest of his colleagues.

So, Mr. Speaker, I am not running away from my 84 years and I do not think Illinois is ashamed of the fact that again one of her sons is the oldest Member of the House.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. I yield to the beloved and distinguished Speaker.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman from Illinois is one of the youngest Members of the House.

There are two aspects to the journey of life. There is the passage through life in terms of years, and there is the journey of life from the point of a person's outlook on life.

The gentleman from Illinois is still looking 5 and 10 years ahead in the service of the people of our country. He has a penetrating mind, the mind not only of making America stronger, but of making progress today and in the future.

So, to me, for whatever value my opinion might be worth to the people of his district, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. O'HARA] is one of the youngest and most progressive and forwardthinking Members of the House. That is my opinion as a Member of this great body.

NO IMMEDIATE TAX INCREASE

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, it appears unlikely there will be a tax increase, at least until after the election. The administration refers to it almost daily, more as a club over the public's head, and to give the impression it wants to do something about slowing down rampant inflation. A tax increase, however, to take spending power out of the hands of the individual, would not in itself decrease the demand for goods. This is particularly true if the money taken from the individual is then spent by the Federal Government. The only difference is the decision as to what is bought would be made by the Government instead of the taxpayer. Rather than new taxes, I think we should cut Federal nondefense spending. Keeping expenditures below income is the best way to strengthen the value of the dollar.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATION BILL, 1967

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 14596) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for other purposes; and pending that motion, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that general debate be limited to not exceeding 2½ hours, the time to be equally divided and controlled by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL] and myself.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Mississippi.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 14596, with Mr. KEOGH in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the unanimous-consent agreement, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN] will be recognized for 1¼ hours, and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL] will be recognized for 1¼ hours. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 15 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I believe this is the 16th year I have had the privilege of presenting this appropriation bill to the House of Representatives. Truly it might be termed "An act to promote the well-being of our urban population," for it is the 7 percent who remain on our farms which enables the 93 percent who live in towns and cities to work in our factories developing and producing the many manufactured products which make up our high standard of living.

We might term this "an appropriation for protection of the public health," for it carries funds for inspection of the meats and vegetables which go on our tables, restores funds, eliminated by the Bureau of the Budget, for the school lunch and school milk programs, which are helping to produce the largest and healthiest youngsters the Nation has ever known, while it continues funds to control pests and pestilence.

Or perhaps we should term this bill one "for the protection of industry and labor," for those few, the 7 percent, left on the farm have had to substitute for those who have moved to town, huge investments in machinery and equipment, thus becoming perhaps industry and labor's biggest market.

The producer of agricultural products spends nearly $30 billion a year for goods and services to produce crops and livestock; another $12 billion a year is spent for the same things that city people buy—food, clothing, drugs, furniture, appliances, and other products and services. Each year the farmer's purchases include $3.4 billion in new farm tractors and other farm vehicles, machinery, and equipment. It takes 120,000 employees to produce this farm equipment alone.

His annual purchases also include $3.4 billion for fuel, lubricants, and maintenance of machinery and motor vehicles. Farm production uses more petroleum than any other single industry. Each year the farmer buys products containing 320 million pounds of rubber—about 9 percent of the total used in the United States, or enough to put tires on nearly 6 million automobiles. He consumes 28 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity annually. He uses 5 million tons of steel in the form of machinery, trucks, cars, fencing, and building materials. Farm use of steel accounts for 40,000 jobs in the steel industry.

On the other hand, the bill might well be described as the Rural Development Act for 1967, for this bill provides funds to continue the rural development programs of the Farmers Home Administration, which in fiscal year 1965 made the following number of loans in rural areas, to be repaid with interest:

Farm ownership loans, 12,186; soil and water loans, 1,275; operating loans, 72,597; rural housing loans, 15,779; emergency credit loans, 22,290.

This has meant much to my own State where to date, 182 small towns and rural areas in 64 Mississippi counties have developed special projects for central water systems, totaling more than $20 million, since a loan program financed by the Farmers Home Administration began less than 4 years ago.

We are making the fastest progress of any other State toward complete coverage of our rural areas with modern water systems so essential to better living standards and more prosperity for all.

Fifty-three new Mississippi rural water systems built since 1962 already are in operation, 38 others are under construction and 65 more have been approved for early construction.

Modern water systems are important because they assure a constant supply of clean water in the homes of farm and rural dwellers who comprise a major segment of our working force and provide room for the people in our overcrowded towns and cities.

Mississippi's economic and social progress is getting a substantial boost through this program of FHA-insured water systems becoming available to more and more rural people in the State.

In this bill we have restored budget cuts recommended for the rural electrification program which truly has given to rural living everything but city problems.

Or we might term this measure "The Town and City Promotion and Development Act," for it is these programs which have made it possible to develop and expand industry so greatly, not only in my district across north Mississippi but throughout the country.

Or this bill could be cited as "The Insurance Act for Posterity," for carried here are funds for watershed protection and flood prevention, for the soil conservation program and the Soil Conservation Service which, together with our Extenison Service, mean everything toward providing for our children and our children's children a rich and improved land for the future.

All this is provided for a cost of about as much as we spend annually on trying to get a man to the moon.

Mr. Chairman, I have served on the Appropriations Committee for many years. In fact, only two members have served on the 50-man Appropriations Committee longer than I, Chairman **George Mahon**, of Texas, and **Mike Kirwan**, of Ohio.

Mr. Chairman, as you know it is my privilege to also serve on the Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works, which provides funds for the Atomic Energy Commission, the TVA, with its water control and power program for its region, and for every river and harbor in the United States.

Truly, Mr. Chairman, with all the problems we have today, it is a great privilege to stand here and urge that first and foremost we must look after the development and protection of our resources at home, including the public health, for it is on these things that all else depends.

We have therefore restored the following:

	Appropriations restored
Agricultural Research Service:	
Research facilities scheduled for elimination or reduction in 1966 at 24 locations and in 1967 at 70 locations throughout the country	$5,401,300
Control and eradication of various plant and animal diseases, including fire ant, phony peach and peach mosaic, soybean cyst nematode, sweetpotato weevil, barberry, golden nematode, gypsy moth, witchweed, brucellosis and scabies	7,803,100
Cooperative State Research Service:	
Payments to State agricultural experiment stations under the Hatch Act	8,245,000
Grants for facilities at experiment stations	2,000,000
Extension Service:	
The proposed shift of $10,000,000 in payments to States from formula provisions of section 3(c) to nonformula provisions of section 3(d) of the Smith-Lever Act not approved	----------
Soil Conservation Service:	
Decrease in soil survey operations ($3,600,000 reduction proposed—$1,600,000 approved)	2,000,000
Soil Conservation Service—Con.	
Reduction in new planning starts from 100 to 50 proposed. 100 new planning starts restored	----------
Reduction in funds for Public Law 566 watersheds and reduction in new starts from 80 to 35 proposed. Funds and 80 new construction starts restored	$1,444,600
Consumer and Marketing Service:	
Reduction of special milk program from $103,000,000 to $21,000,000 proposed. Reduction restored, with $53,000,000 of total to come from sec. 32 funds	82,000,000
Reduction in school lunch program from $157,000,000 to $138,000,000 proposed. Reduction restored	19,000,000
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service:	
The committee recommends that the proposed cut in the agricultural conservation program from $220,000,000 to $100,000,000 be disapproved and that the 1967 program be maintained at the present year's level of $220,000,000, plus $30,000,000 for administrative expenses	----------
Rural Electrification Administration loan authorization:	
Reduction in electrification loan authorization restored from $220,000,000 proposed to 1966 level of $365,000,000, with $72,500,000 placed in contingency reserve	----------
Reduction in telephone loan authorization restored from $85,000,000 proposed to 1966 level of $97,000,000, with $6,000,000 placed in contingency reserve	----------

THE BUDGET FOR AGRICULTURE

The bill includes total appropriations of $6,909,027,000 for the coming year, a reduction of $113,611,000 in the budget requests which total $7,022,638,000. The amount proposed is $527,578,500 more than appropriated for fiscal year 1966, due to restoration of capital impairment for the Commodity Credit Corporation.

As our domestic needs for food and fiber increase, and as our world commitments grow, the budget recommends that we give less financial support to that segment of our economy which is the very basis for our personal well-being and the key to our national prosperity and international strength. The budget proposals would seriously damage American agriculture, which is the key segment in the Nation's partnership of agriculture, industry and labor.

If the Committee and the Congress were to follow the recommendations of the 1967 budget for the Department of Agriculture, our whole economy would be endangered, as would our international commitments. If such a policy as the administration advocates were followed for only a few years, the United States would likely be a food deficit country instead of one of abundance.

ESSENTIAL ACTIVITIES WOULD BE ELIMINATED

A reduction of $5,401,300 is proposed in research activities of the Agricultural

Research Service. This would seriously impair valuable research in nearly every phase of agriculture, including costs of production, control of insects and diseases, soil and water conservation, agricultural engineering, commodity utilization, human nutrition and marketing efficiency. Under this reduction, less research attention would be given to many of the Nation's important food crops, the supplies of some of which are at low levels at present, including wheat, corn, grain, sorghums, rice, sugarcane, sugarbeets, fruits and vegetables, and livestock. Important research work at 24 locations throughout the country would be eliminated during the current year. The proposed cut would also terminate or curtail essential research activities at 70 additional locations in nearly every area of the Nation during the fiscal year 1967.

Although it is recognized that insects and diseases decrease the supply and increase the cost of food, the elimination or reduction of certain pest control activities is proposed. While these pests, which infest the soil and destroy crops are already doing billions of dollars of damage annually on millions of acres of land, the budget would reduce or terminate efforts to prevent their spread to other areas of the country. The proposed budget reduction of $7,803,100 would completely eliminate control programs for such insect and disease threats as the imported fire ant in 12 States, phony peach eradication and peach mosaic eradication in fruit growing areas of 13 States, soybean cyst nematode control in 22 States, and sweetpotato weevil control in 7 States. In addition, it would substantially reduce eradication programs for the golden nematode on Long Island, barberry eradication in 14 States, gypsy moth control in 7 States, and witchweed eradication in North and South Carolina. Also, brucellosis control operations would be curtailed throughout the Nation and sheep and cattle scabies eradication work would be substantially reduced.

A budget reduction of $8,245,000 proposed in research funds for the State experiment stations would adversely affect every State in the Union. It would eliminate essential research personnel at every land-grant institution in the country, with a damaging effect on the important long-range research programs of these institutions in their efforts to keep us one step ahead of insects and diseases. In addition, a cut of $2 million is proposed in grants for the construction of essential research facilities at many of the State experiment stations, so necessary to a rapidly growing Nation. A review of the testimony presented to the committee by representatives of Kansas State, Washington State, Cornell, and other land-grant universities, clearly shows that such cuts would adversely affect planning, training of graduate students, employment of trained personnel, and other aspects of a sustained research effort.

For payments to the State extension services, the budget proposes to reduce by $10 million the funds distributed under the formula provisions of section 3(c) of the Smith-Lever Act. This would seriously curtail the regular continuing functions of the extension service in each State and would make the extension activities at the State and county levels subject to the allocation of funds as determined by the Secretary. The long-range continuity and effectiveness of the county agent system, which is one of the main strengths of U.S. agriculture, would be adversely affected by this proposal.

As we talk of the dangers of water and soil pollution and the need to protect and conserve our soil and water resources, the budget recommends less attention to the protection and development of our watersheds. The most essential program for improving our soil and water resources, in which more than 1 million Americans participate, the agricultural conservation program, would be cut by more than 50 percent. If allowed to stand, this would not only destroy the main support for our nationwide soil and water conservation program, but it would reduce by 510 the number of soil conservation technicians available next year for the various activities of the Soil Conservation Service, including the small watershed and flood prevention projects throughout the United States.

Also the budget proposes to reduce funds for soil surveys and to curtail funds for Public Law 566 watershed projects. It proposes, further, to reduce new starts for watershed planning from 100 to 50, 10 of which are designated for the Appalachian region, leaving less than one each for the balance of the States. The budget also recommends that new starts for small watershed projects be reduced from 80 to 35, 7 of which would be in Appalachia. This would permit only 28 new starts in the rest of the United States, which would mean one new project each for about half of the States in the coming fiscal year. The result would be a costly delay in meeting the Nation's urgent need to protect and conserve our soil and water resources for the use of future generations of Americans.

At a time when many young Americans are being turned down for military service because of defects traceable to nutritional deficiencies, it is recommended in the budget that the special milk program be virtually eliminated. As we talk of helping to feed a hungry world, substantial cuts are requested by the budget in our own school lunch program. The reduction in the special milk program from $103 million to $21 million—a cut of $82 million—would deny supplemental milk to about 80 percent of our schoolchildren who are now benefiting from this program. Further, the reaction of those needy children selected for free milk could result in the complete abandonment of this valuable program. The budget reduction of $19 million in the school lunch program—from $157 million in 1966 to $138 million for 1967—would also deny wholesome mid-day lunches to many children who receive no other nutritious meal each day. Studies of national dietary habits indicate that the lack of nutritious and well-balanced meals is not restricted to families in the lower income brackets.

Budget reductions are also proposed in the ceilings on loan funds for the Rural Electrification Administration. The ceiling for rural electrification loans would be cut from $365 million for 1966 to $220 million for 1967—a reduction of $145 million. The rural telephone loan ceiling would be reduced by $12 million—from $97 million in 1966 to $85 million for fiscal year 1967. According to testimony presented by the Administrator of REA and other interested groups, the rural electrification system and the entire power industry is facing a recordbreaking demand for power which will require large expenditures to heavy-up the carrying capacity of rural systems. Present shortages of farm labor contribute to this need.

Testimony indicates that the demand for adequate rural telephones also is growing rapidly, as increasing numbers of farmers are coming to realize that modern farms cannot be operated without efficient telephone service. The proposed budget reductions ignore this growing need and demand for electricity and telephones in rural areas. Further, the proposal to establish a plan for supplemental financing, which is given as one reason for the budget cut, is far from a reality. Even if finally approved by Congress, it is apparent that loan funds would not be available from this source during the next fiscal year.

In determining the amounts considered to be essential for these purposes for the next fiscal year, it is important that we review briefly some of the conditions facing the 194 million American consumers as well as the economic strength of this Nation at home and abroad in the years ahead.

FARMING NO LONGER ATTRACTIVE

The number of agricultural producers providing food and fiber for our rapidly expanding population continues to decline and is now down, as I said, to about 7 percent of the people in this country. Trained and experienced farm labor is in increasingly short supply.

Long hours of hard work, more rigorous living conditions, hazards of weather, threats from insects and diseases, increasing financial risks, and decreasing financial returns, are causing farming to become less and less attractive to each succeeding generation of young people. Fewer and fewer farm children are returning to farming as a career. More and more of their parents are moving to "greener pastures" in town as the monetary return for their labor, investment, and managerial skills decreases on the farm.

As a business venture, farming is becoming less attractive as the necessary farm investment increases and the net return on the investment decreases. Figures from the Department of Agriculture show that average farm investment has increased nearly tenfold in the past 25 years, from $6,158 in 1940 to $59,519 in 1965. They also indicate that the average return on farm investment, including the value of the farmer's own labor and management skills, has dropped about 40 percent during this period, from 14.2 percent in 1940 to 8.6 percent in 1965.

It is entirely understandable, therefore, why fewer and fewer people are remaining on the Nation's farms, and why some 7 percent of our population on the farms is now feeding the 93 percent of urban dwellers in addition to themselves. This undesirable imbalance can be expected to be further aggravated as movement away from agriculture continues.

According to Department figures, an average of nearly 800,000 people have left the farms in each of the last 5 years. The farm population has decreased to about 12.5 million today, compared to double that number in 1950. The 1959 census, the latest official data available, shows that some 17 percent of all farmers in the United States were 65 or older. An additional 22 percent were 55 to 64 years of age. By 1970, it is estimated that nearly half of the farmers will be 55 years of age or over.

The trend away from the farm is also evidenced by the steadily decreasing amount of land used for agricultural production. The total land planted to crops in 1950 was 353 million acres as compared to 307 million acres in 1965, a reduction of 13 percent.

DECREASING FOOD SUPPLIES

Despite the surplus quantities of certain commodities in this country in recent years due to the efficiency of agricultural production, it should be noted that supplies now on hand and expected to be on hand at the end of the current marketing year in the United States are down substantially from previous years. For certain perishable commodities we are looking more and more to the rather undependable Mexican production to meet our needs. In view of our present situation in Vietnam, and our heavy commitments to India and certain other food-deficit countries, this decreasing supply of food available to feed American consumers—and foreign populations to the extent possible—is a factor to be given most serious attention by those responsible for agricultural planning and financial support.

Statistical data supplied the committee by officials of the Department of Agriculture indicate that carryover stocks of wheat have been reduced from around 1,400 million bushels in 1961 to 819 million bushels as of July 1, 1965, due to limitations on wheat output and expanded utilization, particularly for export and domestic feed use. The official estimate of wheat carryover at the end of the next marketing year indicates a supply of about 610 million bushels, a further reduction of 208 million bushels. This is sufficient to meet domestic and export needs for only 5 months. Large shipments to India will further reduce our ability to meet U.S. needs in the event of a national emergency.

Further, these officials point out that the supply of feed grains was reduced from nearly 85 million tons in 1961 to about 55 million tons in 1965. During the same period, corn supplies declined from around 2 billion bushels to about 1.2 billion bushels. The estimates of carryover at the end of the next marketing year represent a 3 months' supply of corn and barley, a 4 months' supply of oats, and a 9 months' supply of grain sorghum.

The situation is much worse for dairy products, as the number of dairy farmers decreases each year and as milk production decreases accordingly. Today's press is filled with articles showing the number of dairy farmers who are selling out their holdings, as land values for industrial and residential purposes offer more opportunity for profits than dairy farming.

A recent article in the Washington Post—March 15, 1966—contained the following statements:

> Dairy farmers who ship milk to Washington are selling their herds and going out of business at the rate of nearly 100 a year.
>
> Rising costs and Federally-set bulk milk prices that have not risen significantly since the controls went into effect in 1953 have caught the dairymen in the profit squeeze in which only the most efficient can survive.
>
> Other factors blamed in the reducing number of dairy farmers in the Washington area include drought conditions that have last for 4 years and the increasing value of farm land for housing developments under the pressure of urban expansion. Many of the farmers—whose average age is well over 50—have decided that they may as well retire.

The supply of dairy products on hand is now at the lowest point in recent years. As of June 30, 1965, we had 5,300 million pounds of milk and milk products on hand. The supply is expected to reduce further to 3,200 million pounds at the end of the present marketing year, a reduction of 2,100 million pounds. This represents only about a one-third month's supply for normal domestic purposes.

It is apparent that, unless we continue research and related programs to increase the efficiency of our farm production and provide the economic incentive to induce young and efficient producers to remain on the farm, food in the United States will be in increasingly short supply. The American consumer will be faced with food shortages in some items and much higher food costs generally. Further, our ability to help meet food needs essential to our foreign policy will be seriously affected.

It is also apparent that we must reexamine our national farm policies and programs which are reducing agricultural production despite increasing demands for food at home and abroad. The Federal Government is committed to annual and long-term contracts to leave land out of production, which are costing us around $1.5 billion per year. We are still paying out large amounts under long-range conservation reserve—soil bank—contracts entered into 10 years ago. In addition, we are faced with large amounts under more recent acreage diversion and cropland adjustment programs limiting production of some of our major crops. It would seem much wiser and more beneficial to everyone to use this money to produce ample food and supply it to the markets of the world.

AGRICULTURE REMAINS BASIC

In the opinion of the committee, the growing tendency to consider agriculture as a less essential part of our national economy, and to reduce funds needed for its continued support, threatens our Nation at home and abroad. It could have a serious effect on the future food supply of this country and could weaken our ability to meet our future responsibilities as a leader of the nations of the world.

History teaches us that the food-deficit countries of the world started on their decline by failing to give adequate attention to the protection and development of their basic natural resources. They failed to provide necessary protection and development through research, control of insects and diseases, conservation and other programs needed to assure the preservation of their capacity to meet the needs of their people for food, clothing, and shelter. This is true of nearly every country we aid today. We must not make the same mistake.

One of our major problems today is that, though agriculture is our best market for industry and labor, and the most economical supplier of the consumer, so few people are engaged in agriculture that its voice is weak in the legislative halls of a majority of the States and of the Nation. No longer does agriculture figure prominently in the planning of those who would appeal to the majority. This leaves a major task for those who recognize that the national welfare depends on a sound and healthy agriculture.

Many people realize the danger of a break in farm prices; but few seem to know that the real danger to our overall economy is a drop in agricultural purchasing power, which could come from a reduction in volume as well as a drop in price. And volume of production is dependent on the continuation of research, education, conservation, electrification, and improved production techniques provided for in this bill.

Many know that the few on the farm free the rest of us to provide the machines and gadgets of modern-day living; but there aren't many people who stop to realize that those who have left the farm have been replaced by machines and expensive materials, and that the man engaged in agriculture today has to have sufficient production and net income to buy the machinery, equipment, chemicals, and other materials necessary to produce efficiently. Many people now in our cities who make these products and provide these services fail to understand that they could be forced to go back to the farm, as happened in the depression of the late 1920's and early 1930's, if the few now on the farms are unable to continue to produce sufficient food to feed them.

PAST ACHIEVEMENTS OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

The efficiency of American agriculture has been a blessing to the consumers of the world. It has provided a plentiful supply of wholesome and nutritious foods which U.S. consumers have come to accept and take for granted. It has produced quantities in excess of domestic needs which have become a significant factor in our international programs of aid and assistance to the less fortunate peoples in other nations of the world.

The people of the United States for years have enjoyed a standard of living never before attained anywhere in the world because of the remarkable achievements of American agriculture.

These achievements have been made possible by cooperative Federal, State, and local efforts in the various agricultural programs of the Nation. The leadership of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the land-grant universities, and the State and local agricultural agencies, have developed an agricultural industry in the United States which is the envy of the entire world.

As a result of our high level of efficiency in agricultural production, and certain governmental policies which have failed to make U.S. commodities competitive in world markets, this country has had supplies of commodities which have been surplus to U.S. needs during certain periods in the past several decades. National policies and farm programs have been directed toward meeting this situation. It is pointed out that, while these supplies were surplus to domestic U.S. demands, they were by no means surplus to world needs. Also, it is the opinion of many responsible officials and experts in this country that it is much better for the United States to have too much rather than too little of the things necessary to feed, house, and clothe our people. The cost of handling and storing surpluses has been small, indeed, compared to the benefits to the American consumer and to the position of strength in world affairs which our agricultural production has enabled us to maintain.

A FIRM SUPPLY OF FOOD ESSENTIAL

Aside from the possibility of nuclear conflict, probably the foremost problem of the world today is hunger. Approximately half of the world's 3 billion people suffer from malnutrition. The World Food Congress was told in 1963 that around 10,000 persons die every day from starvation.

India had a food crisis in 1963. It has another serious food shortage today. That vast subcontinent has a year-round hunger problem; so do many other areas in the world. The present outlook is that hunger will grow more and more intense with the passage of time. The world's population increase is almost unbelievable. Each year, births exceed deaths by almost 60 million.

This alarming population expansion can be fully appreciated when it is realized that the population of the world, which reached the first billion by the year 1830, took only 100 years, 1830 to 1930, to reach 2 billion and only 30 years, 1930 to 1960, to reach 3 billion. It is expected to exceed 6 billion people by the turn of the century. The population growth in the United States increased from 13 million in 1830 to 123 million in 1930 and 179 million in 1960. It is expected to reach 340 million by the year 2000.

The ability of this country to provide the most abundant supply of wholesome and delicious food at the lowest cost ever known to the people of the United States—and in addition feed substantial numbers of hungry people throughout the world—has been one of our greatest strengths in meeting domestic needs and in dealing with world problems.

The failure of Communist agriculture, a failure which is chronic and deepseated, has tremendous implications to the hundreds of millions constantly plagued by hunger. The Communist inability to produce efficiently and abundantly is due in large part to a lack of adequate and well directed research and related agricultural programs, under a system which has tied the hands of Soviet agricultural scientists.

This must not be permitted to happen in the United States. We cannot allow any change in emphasis or direction which would weaken or damage our successful research, extension, soil conservation, and marketing programs which have given this country its efficient and productive agricultural system. These basic programs of the Department of Agriculture, the land-grant colleges, and related institutions, must be continued at least at present levels.

One of the most important issues facing the Congress and the Nation at this time is the matter of assuring a continued firm source of supply of food and fiber to the American consumer for the future—and to hungry peoples in other countries to the extent possible within the financial ability of this country. The importance of this matter cannot be overemphasized.

COMMITTEE ACTIONS ON BUDGET

The factors discussed above all point to difficulties ahead in maintaining an agricultural production system in the United States which will assure an adequate supply of food, clothing, and shelter for a constantly increasing number of consumers who are completely dependent on agriculture for their future well-being.

The committee feels that, with U.S. commitments in Vietnam and other parts of the world, it would be a serious mistake to agree to budget reductions which would weaken our highly efficient and extremely productive agricultural industry, which forms the base for domestic prosperity and plays a major role in our foreign policy. It believes that adequate funds must be provided for the programs of the Department of Agriculture, the land-grant colleges, and related institutions, if we are to assure that basic needs of the Nation's consumers and industrial workers are met. It recognizes that a bountiful food supply, together with protection of the Nation's resources, is dependent on maintaining appropriations at least at present levels for agricultural programs which support our highly productive agricultural plant and benefit our schoolchildren and consumers generally.

The committee is unable to go along with the drastic change in emphasis and direction proposed in the 1967 budget. As outlined earlier, it has restored the proposed budget cuts, and has provided for the continuation of the various programs generally at present-year levels.

As of January 1966 there were a total of 102,383 employees in the Department, including 28,000 for the Forest Service which is not included in this bill. This leaves 74,383 employees in agencies financed in this bill, of which 13,295 are part time or temporary, and 61,088 are regular full-time personnel. This does not include some 23,000 ASC county personnel not covered in civil service reports, or State personnel of experiment stations and the Extension Service.

At the appropriate time, I expect to offer two committee amendments. One will increase the administrative funds for the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service by $2 million and the other will reduce the funds for the cropland adjustment program by $35 million.

Also, under the bill as presented by the committee no additional passenger vehicles are allowed for the coming fiscal year. Data from the Department indicates that it had a total of nearly 30,000 vehicles as of June 30, 1965, of which about 2,600 were passenger cars and nearly 300 were station wagons and buses. Recent reports from the General Accounting Office indicate that additional vehicles are not needed.

RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

This committee has a long record of support for rural development. It has recognized the benefits to the Nation from programs to enable people to stay on the land instead of moving into the already overcrowded towns and cities, or to return to the land, while working in towns and cities. It has realized that, if the usual conveniences were made available in nonurban areas, more and more people would be attracted to live in such areas. The committee has recognized, too, the dispersion of many activities which makes rural development essential. For many years it has supported adequate funds for rural electrification, rural telephones, housing and development loans, and loans for water, recreation, drainage and other special community facilities. It has also supported efforts to encourage industrial development to provide supplemental income in rural areas.

Such rural development efforts, however, should complement established programs which enable our farm producers to feed and clothe our people with the world's lowest food cost of only 18 percent of disposable consumer income. They should not be dependent upon approval of a new organization, without a program of its own, which in the opinion of the committee, would only retard the successful efforts of the Farmers Home Administration and other action agencies.

The committee, therefore, takes note of the budget request of $3,468,000 for fiscal year 1967 for personnel for the Rural Community Development Service which has no substantive program to offer. This amount is nearly 5½ times as large as the 1966 appropriation for this agency. The major part of the increase is requested for additional personnel to establish field offices in 40 States throughout the country, to work with programs of other departments and agencies.

The committee is in favor of efforts to meet rural problems and will continue to support them. The committee believes, however, that such programs have been handled effectively in the past through the regular established agencies of the Department, which have been working successfully with rural people through the years. These old-line agencies have the funds, qualified technicians, and established field offices to meet the needs of rural areas. They can function more effectively if additional layers of supervision are not added between Washington and the rural areas to be served.

For example, the Farmers Home Administration has been in existence for 20 years. Its predecessor agencies, the Farm Security Administration and the Resettlement Administration go back to the mid-1930's. During this period, it has made an outstanding record of service to farmers and rural communities. It makes hundreds of millions of dollars of direct and insured loans and grants each year for nearly every phase of farm and rural community life. Programs and funds expected to be available in fiscal year 1967 are as follows:

	In millions
Loans to acquire, build or improve homes and service buildings on farms	$390.0
Loans to assist family farmers in reorganizing and improving their farming systems	300.0
Loans to acquire, enlarge, or develop family farms and to provide facilities for land and water use and conservation	247.0
Loans and grants in areas under 5,500 population for water or waste disposal systems, and recreation, drainage, or other special community facilities	236.0
Emergency loans to restore farm land and facilities damaged by natural disasters	68.5
Technical assistance and loans to public agencies in low-income rural areas to restructure their economy	1.2
Total	1,242.7

Legislation enacted by the Congress in the past 4 years has greatly broadened the scope of the Farmers Home Administration. Not only have services to family farmers been increased, but a substantial expansion has taken place in the development of services related to rural community development and rural poverty. This agency might well be designated as the Farmers Home and Rural Development Administration.

The Farmers Home Administration has about 7,000 employees and 1,681 field offices located throughout the country. FHA county office supervisors and home management experts are located in the same rural areas in which additional personnel is proposed for the new Rural Community Development Service. These employees are experienced and trained in rural problems and have been very successful in helping low-income rural families improve their standard of living and utilize the health, education, and welfare services available in their communities.

Other agencies of the Department of Agriculture, including the Soil Conservation Service, the Extension Service, the Forest Service, and the Consumer and Marketing Service have extensive field operations which are also giving attention to rural problems. Also, the Departments of Housing and Urban Development; Health, Education, and Welfare; Commerce; and Labor have large field organizations also providing financial and technical assistance to rural areas. A more detailed description of the activities of these various agencies and departments in rural areas will be found on pages 55 through 70 of part 4 of the committee hearings on the 1967 budget.

The committee for several years has approved a small force at the Washington level to "coordinate" the various programs for rural areas through the Rural Community Development Service. It has included $637,000 for the coming year to enable this agency to continue to coordinate and expedite this phase of the Department's work here in Washington. It has provided an additional $400,000 to the Farmers Home Administration to enable that agency to give additional attention to development of projects needed in rural areas through its existing field offices. Also, it has included money for Appalachia with the understanding that additional needs can be met from the regular programs available to all areas of the country. It has restored the proposed budget reductions for the old-line agencies to meet this and other needs of agriculture throughout the country. These nationwide programs are essential to keep other areas of the United States from facing the same conditions found in Appalachia and other low-income rural areas.

COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION

Any of you who have been here for some years know that I have made a career of trying to keep the Department and its operations throughout the world in a competitive position. We got them to export competitively for awhile, but the pressures caused them to stop. They carried out the law briefly. I say to you again that the primary reason for this $1 billion worth of cotton that we have on our hands is because the Department refused to carry out the law.

They have promised us again that they will put our cotton surplus on the markets of the world at the world market price and cut the surplus to 3 million bales per year.

I urge the Members of the Committee to keep in mind the fact that the Commodity Credit Corporation has a right to use the proceeds of those sales to carry out its obligations. So, we have $3.5 billion in the bill to restore the capital of the Commodity Credit Corporation. We cut the amount by $55,855,000, since we expect them to obtain that money by selling this cotton. Mr. Chairman, this needs to be done.

Mr. Chairman, may I say that over the years during which I have been the chairman of the subcommittee this is the first time I have heard from every last Member of this body in connection with one program or another which the budget reduced or eliminated. Mr. Chairman, I have heard from the delegation of the State of New York. I mention this because it does represent one of the largest States in our Nation, and the Members from that area urged our committee to restore the funds that we have cut.

In addition, Mr. Chairman, we had a resolution from the great State of California, signed by the dean of that delegation, urging our subcommittee to restore these cuts. Most Members of this House on both sides of the aisle have requested this committee to restore these funds designed to protect the health of the people, and meet the commitments which we have undertaken for our watershed programs, the electrification of our farms, and other essential activities. I feel we should have the support of every Member of this body in this respect.

Mr. Chairman, I do say with pride that we have done our best in this bill to restore those essential and basic programs directed toward providing our food supply and protecting our general health and welfare.

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH SERVICE

The bill includes $120,673,000 for fiscal year 1967 for the research programs of this agency. This is a decrease of $5,286,000 in the 1966 appropriation and a restoration of $12,693,000 to the budget request. The sum of $750,700 to provide for pay act increases pursuant to Public Law 89-301 is included.

The amount recommended includes an increase of $1,800,000 for staffing and operating new and expanded farm research laboratories and watershed centers previously authorized by Congress. In view of difficulties of recruiting competent research and scientific personnel, the committee has approved approximately half of the budget request for this purpose.

The committee has also included $100,000 to undertake a research program on equine infectious anemia or swamp fever of horses. Within the past year, there have been confirmed outbreaks in nine States, including Maryland, Illinois, and Washington. The disease is a potential threat to the Nation's horse industry valued at $3.5 billion. The Department has well-qualified scientists in this area and is especially well equipped to undertake this research. It should proceed to bring together existing data for immediate use, looking forward to a more complete research program next year.

A total reduction of $5,561,000 is recommended in the budget, based on the proposed closing or curtailing of numerous research stations throughout the country during this and the next fiscal year. The proposed budget cut consists of three types of research reductions:

Research projects closed in fiscal year 1965 for which final closing costs were incurred in fiscal year 1966	$159,700
Research laboratories scheduled for closing later in fiscal year 1966 (24 locations)	791,300
Research programs proposed to be eliminated or curtailed in fiscal year 1967 (70 locations)	4,610,000
Total reduction proposed in budget	5,561,000

The committee has not restored the reduction of $159,700 for projects terminated in fiscal year 1965, since these facilities have been closed, and including the funds would not serve to restore such activities. The balance of the proposed reduction, a total of $5,401,300, has been restored to the bill for the projects and laboratories scheduled for closing or reduction in fiscal years 1966 and 1967, to be financed from funds transferred from section 32. A complete list of research facilities and projects restored by this action will be found on pages 354–384 of part I of the committee hearings on the 1967 budget.

In essence, the committee's action is based on its belief that it would be a serious mistake to make any reductions which would weaken the ability of our agricultural system to assure an adequate supply of food and fiber to a constantly increasing number of consumers in the United States and abroad who must depend on an efficient and productive agriculture for their future well-being.

Experience clearly demonstrates the absolute necessity of continuous research to stay ahead of threats to our food supply from grain rusts, viruses, plant diseases, drought, heat, winter kill, and other problems. Agricultural scientists have presented ample evidence to prove that our research efforts must be at least 5 years ahead of the constant threat from existing pests and their hybridized descendants. For example, a new race of wheat rust, known as 15B, appeared suddenly in this country and wiped out 300 million bushels of wheat and Durum worth $500 million in the period 1950 to 1955. Previous research on a new variety of wheat called "Selkirk" provided a stopgap crop to partially offset these disastrous losses until research could develop newer and better varieties with resistance to race 15B and other rusts which would eventually adapt and attack "Selkirk."

The bill also provides $10,619,000 for the construction of 10 research facilities from section 32 funds, for which planning funds were provided last year and for which plans are expected to be completed during the coming fiscal year. This amount is more than offset by a decrease of $11,418,000 for nonrecurring planning and construction funds included in the 1966 appropriation bill and not needed again in the coming fiscal year. The new facilities funded in this bill are needed to meet urgent research deficiencies in the areas of food crops, livestock production, soil and water conservation, human nutrition and consumer needs.

Grain marketing research, Manhattan, Kans	$3,160,000
Cereal rust research, St. Paul, Minn	600,000
National Sedimentation Laboratory, Oxford, Miss	935,000
Range livestock research, Miles City, Mont	481,000
Meat animal research, Clay Center, Nebr	3,450,000
Nutrition and consumer use research, Grand Forks, N. Dak	583,000
Soil and water research, Pendleton, Oreg	380,000
Pasture research, University Park Pa	360,000
Soil and water research, Bushland, Tex	325,000
Barley research, Madison Wis	345,000
Total construction funds	10,619,000

A larger than usual number of Members of Congress and public witnesses presented testimony to the committee this year. Many of their statements were in support of the restoration of proposed research cuts. Others were in support of additional research programs needed to meet special problems in certain areas of the country. The Administrator of the Agricultural Research Service is requested to review the hearing record and to give careful consideration to these proposals in the allocation of funds made available through this appropriation and in the use of his contingency research fund.

There appears to be an urgent need for additional research attention to improved equipment for grain grading, soybean production, tile drainage systems in southern California, mechanization of production of dates and other commodities, and many other problems. The Administrator is requested to study each of these matters, bringing together existing research data and making it available to those who need it, and to undertake as much new research as possible within the limits of available funds. It is recognized that only a small beginning can be made in the coming year. But the problems are so important and the monetary values are so great that it is imperative that a start be made next year, looking forward to the inclusion of more adequate research funds in future budgets for these purposes.

Also, consideration should be given to the resumption of a small-scale cooperative research project on rabbit breeding either at the University of Arkansas or in California. In view of the great number of small, and in many cases, retired farmers who depend on rabbit production as an important source of income, some continuing research attention to their problems is warranted.

For plant and animal disease and pest control, the committee recommends an appropriation of $76,764,000 for fiscal year 1967, an increase of $1,217,000 over funds provided for fiscal year 1966 and an increase of $7,016,000 in the budget request. The full budget estimate of $438,300 for pay costs authorized by Public Law 89–301 is included.

The proposed budget reduction of $7,803,100 for various insect and disease control programs has been restored by the committee. The restorations are as follows:

Imported fire ant	$3,303,000
Phony peach and peach mosaic	190,600
Soybean cyst nematode	523,000
Sweetpotato weevil	296,600
Barberry eradication	371,700
Golden nematode	320,000
Gypsy moth	261,800
Witchweed	350,000
Brucellosis	1,702,100
Scabies	484,300
Total restorations	7,803,100

With greater threats from insects and diseases due to increasing travel and transportation between all parts of the world, with the supplies of certain basic foods reaching low levels, with farm labor in short supply, with increasing costs of production, and with the many other problems facing agriculture and the consumer, the committee believes it unwise to reduce our efforts to keep insects and diseases from destroying our food supply and from spreading to new parts of the Nation. It appears much more appropriate to intensify these activities in the hope of eventually eradicating these pests wherever possible.

The imported fire ant was introduced into the Mobile, Ala., area about 1920, probably from South America. By the end of 1953, the pest was known to infest 102 counties in 9 Southern States. A cooperative eradication program was initiated by the States affected and the Federal Government in 1957. The program has helped to prevent long-distance spread, has eliminated outlying infestations, and has protected other areas of the country. Crop losses and increased cost of production in infested areas fully justify continued efforts to control and eradicate this pest. Large potential losses warrant the continuation of a cooperative Federal-State program to prevent spread to the uninfested areas in the rest of the country. The Administrator is requested to plan a 3-year program to eradicate this pest if assurances of full cooperation are received from State and local authorities.

The damage to the supply of food and fiber of the Nation from the other insects and diseases for which funds for control and eradication have been restored is well documented. During the summer of 1965, 263,000 acres were defoliated by the gypsy moth in the Northeastern States and it appears that further spread is likely in 1966 unless increased control measures are taken. It has been possible to confine the golden nematode to a small area of Long Island through cooperative Federal-State control; however, a reduction in Federal participation in this effort would allow this insect to spread to potato growing areas in other parts of the country. The golden nematode has recently been discovered in Canada, which presents a new threat to potato growers in Idaho and the Northwest.

Crop losses from the soybean cyst nematode in 1965 exceeded the $3 million loss estimated by growers in 1964, and surveys reveal infestations in 15 new counties involving nearly 100,000 acres. Until a nematode resistant variety of soybean can be developed and distributed, the present control program must be continued.

Barberry is one of the most important sources of destructive stem rust diseases of wheat and feed grains. In view of present low supplies of these important food crops in this country, and in view of possible future world food shortages, it is essential that control of cereal rusts be continued at least at present levels.

Phony peach and peach mosaic are a constant threat to the growers of peaches and other fruits in the United States. Without adequate measures to control these diseases, the fruit industry in many areas would be wiped out. Both Federal and State participation are essential for satisfactory control programs.

The sweetpotato weevil is regarded as the most important pest of sweetpotatoes and failure to control it could result in a complete loss of the crop. Federal participation in its control appears to be necessary in view of the large area of the country infested. Additional infestations have been found in several States in the past year and increased concern has developed at local levels. This control work should be kept at present year levels to protect this segment of agriculture production.

Witchweed infestation is still confined to 35 counties in North and South Carolina. Some 661 new infested properties covering 17,118 acres were found in 1965. The present program should be continued to prevent further and possibly long-distance spread.

More than 18 percent of the country, including eight complete States, has been certified brucellosis free. Over 88 percent of the Nation's counties have achieved the modified brucellosis-free status. It is essential that eradication be completed in the rest of the areas of the Nation in the shortest possible time. A reduction in Federal support would not only be unfair to States and counties where the disease has been eradicated, but it would be a most unwise backward step, which could result in the loss of funds previously invested in this effort.

According to expert witnesses, there have been 15 new cases of cattle scabies reported since the submission of the 1967 budget. The potential loss in meat production, and the loss of gains made in sheep and cattle scabies control to date, indicate the wisdom of continuing funds for this purpose at the current level.

The funds recommended in this bill also include an increase of $600,000 for plant and animal quarantine inspection at our ports of entry. Half of this amount is provided to put USDA inspectors on the same Sunday overtime arrangement as is used for customs and immigration inspectors with whom they work side by side. The balance is to meet the ever-increasing threat to American agriculture from imported insects and diseases.

Nearly 8 million more people entered the United States during fiscal year 1965 than during the previous 12 months. Arriving 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, an increasing number of these entries are at inland ports for oceangoing vessels and interior airfields, thus increasing the hazard of quick spread of any introduced foreign pests within the country.

Indicative of the scope of the problem is the number of plant pests and prohibited plant material intercepted. During the fiscal year 1965, over 478,000 interceptions were made at ports of entry—21 percent over the average of the preceding 5-year period. More than half of these interceptions were found in the 36.6 million pieces of baggage carried into the country by 186 million persons who entered the country during the year. The remainder was found, for the most part, in the stores of planes and ships, in mail and in commercial shipments.

Air passenger traffic, as well as air cargo, continues on a steady upward trend. The growing volume of vehicular traffic from Mexico and Central America—29 million vehicles in fiscal 1965—adds to the risk of pest introduction, making it necessary to intensify efforts to prevent the entry of dangerous pests from those countries. Travel to and from Hawaii and offshore islands continues to be increasingly popular, placing additional responsibility on the inspection force to forestall the movement of several notoriously destructive pests to the mainland.

The bill also includes an additional $100,000 for diagnosis, control, and eradication of equine piroplasmosis and infectious anemia—swamp fever—of horses. These diseases pose a serious threat to the Nation's horse industry. Diagnosis and control must be started as soon as possible in view of recent serious outbreaks in Maryland and Florida and the threat to other areas of the country.

An increase of $400.000 is recommended in this appropriation to strengthen pesticide regulations under the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act. Increased concern over pesticides and pesticide regulation makes it imperative that the registration and enforcement work under the act be expanded. The increase will provide additional chemical laboratory tests at Beltsville and more field inspection in areas of high production, shipment and use of chemicals.

A proposed decrease of $321,300 has been approved, due to the elimination of 1966 nonrecurring screwworm survey funds. This survey, which is now underway in Mexico to obtain information on screwworm infestations threatening the United States, will be completed in fiscal year 1966 and funds will not be needed in fiscal year 1967.

Planning funds for relocation of the present animal quarantine station at Clifton, N.J., have been deferred until a site can be selected.

Mr. Chairman, as you know, this committee has been intensely concerned about our pesticide problems. Two years ago, we added nearly $27 million for additional research in this area. Last year, the committee had a full investigation made of the effects, uses, control, and research of agricultural pesticides. The final report was included in part I of the committee hearings on the 1966 budget for agriculture.

Numerous doctors and scientists were interviewed by our investigators during this study. I am pleased to include at the conclusion of my remarks today a list of those who provided information for this study and who have agreed to have their names published.

COOPERATIVE STATE RESEARCH SERVICE

An appropriation of $55,227,000 is recommended for this cooperative research program of the land-grant institutions for 1967. This is the same amount as provided for fiscal year 1966, including a transfer of $400,000 from section 32 funds for which a direct appropriation is recommended for fiscal year 1967.

The 1967 budget proposes a reduction of $8,245,000 for payments to the State experiment stations under the Hatch Act, together with a reduction of $2 million for grants for construction of facilities at research stations. As previously pointed out in this report, the committee has restored these amounts to last year's level. This results in a net restoration of $7,487,000 due to an offsetting decrease for research grants.

EXTENSION SERVICE

The committee recommends $89,824,000 for fiscal year 1967 for the various programs of this agency. This is an increase of $689,000 in appropriations for fiscal year 1966 and a decrease of $400,000 in the budget estimates.

For payments to States under the Smith-Lever Act, the full budget estimate of $75,917,500 is provided. Also, the budget request of $8,139,500 is recommended for retirement and employees' compensation costs for extension agents, and the estimate of $3,113,000 for penalty mail costs is included in the bill.

The budget proposal to shift $10 million from the formula provisions of sections 3(c) of the Smith-Lever Act to nonformula distribution under section 3(d) of that act is not approved. The language of the bill provides that the full amount included for payments to States, other than $1,570,000 for cooperative marketing work, shall be distributed under the existing formula provisions of the Smith-Lever Act. The proposed shift in funds would have seriously affected the regular continuing extension activities at the State and county level and would have adversely affected the long-range continuity and effectiveness of the county agent system.

SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

For conservation operations an appropriation of $109,235,000 is recommended for the coming fiscal year for technical assistance to soil conservation districts, communities and other cooperatives, and for related activities. This amount approved is an increase of $433,000 in the 1966 appropriation and is $215,000 over the budget estimate.

An increase of $807,000 is included to cover pay costs in fiscal year 1967 pursuant to Public Law 89–301.

The sum recommended includes $515,000 to provide staff assistance for an additional 18 districts which are expected to be organized in fiscal year 1967. Congress has encouraged the formation of new districts to expand soil conservation work to every area of the Nation. The provision of adequate funds to meet their needs in the early stages of their development is important to their successful operation.

The regular assistance to existing districts should be continued in the coming year and the number of technicians in predominantly agricultural areas should not be reduced to provide assistance to the new recreational type of programs.

An additional $750,000 is provided for technical assistance in the Appalachian region. In addition to the expanded assistance specifically provided for this region by these funds, the services of the regular soil conservation technicians are available to meet the soil conservation needs in this area in the same way and on the same basis as they are provided to all other regions of the Nation. The appropriation recommended also includes $51,000 for continuing the operation of a new plant materials center in Appalachia which provides seed and plants used for soil and water conservation purposes in the area.

The 1967 budget proposes a reduction of $3,600,000 for soil surveys needed for planning and technical assistance to conservation district cooperators. In view of the need to continue field mapping and publication of soil surveys as a basis for effective soil and water conservation activities, the committee recommends the restoration of $2 million of the proposed reduction.

For the watershed planning program, the committee recommends $6,142,000 for the next fiscal year, an increase of $289,000 over the appropriation for fiscal year 1966. The amount provided includes an increase of $29,000 for pay costs pursuant to Public Law 89-301. It also includes $260,000 for watershed work plans in the Appalachian region. In addition, planning assistance is available as needed in Appalachia from the regular planning activities of this agency.

The budget proposes to reduce the number of new planning starts from 100 authorized for the current fiscal year to 50 for fiscal year 1967. Of this number, it is proposed to allocate 10 to the Appalachian area, which would leave 40 for the rest of the Nation—less than one per State.

The committee does not agree with the proposed cut in new planning starts. In view of the large number of applications for planning received to date and still waiting for planning action, it believes that the limitation on new starts should be restored to at least this year's level of 100. Figures provided by the Department show that an estimated total of 2,540 applications will have been received by next June 30, with 1,059 still waiting for planning to be started. As of last June 30, there were 941 applications which had been approved for planning but upon which no work had been started.

An appropriation of $67,020,000 is included in the bill for watershed protection projects under Public Law 566 and the original pilot program. This an increase of $689,000 in the fiscal year 1966 appropriation and is $461,000 above the 1967 budget. An increase of $1,000,000 is included to accelerate river basin surveys and investigations, and $225,000 additional is provided to meet pay costs pursuant to Public Law 89-301. These are partially offset by a decrease of $36,000 due to completion of all but one of the original pilot projects, and a budgeted decrease of $500,000 for watershed protection loans.

The budget proposes to reduce the funds for installation of works of improvement in Public Law 566 watershed projects by $1,444,600. It also proposes to cut the number of new construction starts from 80 in the present year to 35 next year. Of the 35, seven are allocated to the Appalachian region, leaving only 28 new construction starts in the rest of the country for the coming fiscal year. The committee has restored the proposed reduction in funds and proposes that construction starts be restored at least to the present level of 80. With regard to the metropolitan water management project in the Tennessee-Mississippi area, such project shall include the Big Hatchie watershed in Tennessee and Mississippi in cooperation with the Corps of Engineers.

This action is taken in view of the need for additional protection of our soil and water resources. It is also based on the constant increase in demand for this program and large numbers of small watershed projects which have been and are still awaiting construction.

The number of uncompleted projects which have been approved for construction is expected to increase from 503 on June 30, 1965, to 552 on June 30, 1966, and to 627 on June 30, 1967. It will also be noted that the number of new projects approved is expected to increase from 66 in 1965, to 105 in 1966, and to 120 in 1967.

The full budget of $25,654,000 is recommended for the flood prevention watershed program for fiscal year 1967. The increase of $83,000 is provided to meet pay costs pursuant to Public Law 89-301.

ECONOMIC RESEARCH SERVICE

An appropriation of $12,032,000 is included in the bill for the next fiscal year. This is an increase of $250,000 in the funds provided for fiscal year 1966 and is a decrease of $515,000 in the budget request.

An additional $200,000 is provided for economic research in the Appalachian region, which can be supplemented by the regular research program of this agency to the extent needed. An increase of $154,000 is included for research on water management and use in agriculture, and $96,000 is approved for pay act costs pursuant to Public Law 89-301. These increases are partially offset by a reduction of $200,000 provided last year for a study of the food industry which will be completed in fiscal year 1966.

The need for expanded research on water management and use is reflected in the recommendation of the Federal Council for Science and Technology that Federal research be increased in all phases of water management. The Council especially cited the need for expanded research on economic aspects, which they considered to be the major deficiency in current programs. Cooperation of State experiment stations and State water resource institutes is expected in these studies.

STATISTICAL REPORTING SERVICE

The committee notes that this year marks the 100th anniversary of our crop and livestock estimates program. All segments of agriculture, from the producer to the consumer, benefit from the information made available through this program.

The bill includes an appropriation of $13,272,000 for the programs of this service in fiscal year 1967. This is a decrease of $795,000 in the 1966 appropriation and is $162,000 below the 1967 budget estimate.

An additional $116,000 has been approved for expansion of the long-range program for improving crop and livestock estimates, which was initiated 4 years ago to increase the accuracy and dependability of these estimates in view of their extreme value to those engaged in agriculture. An increase of $350,000 is included for improved data collection on farm employment and farm wage rates. Recent changes in farm labor use, supply and costs make it imperative that additional data be developed to guide farmers in meeting this problem. Also, $86,000 has been added to cover pay act costs pursuant to Public Law 89-301.

These increases are more than offset by decreases, including reductions of $150,000 resulting from management improvements, and $1,197,000 provided last year for a large-scale computer which will be purchased and installed during the present year, and for which funds will not be needed in the coming year.

CONSUMER AND MARKETING SERVICE

For consumer protective, marketing, and regulatory programs, for the coming year, an appropriation of $82,757,000 is recommended. This is an increase of $5,103,000 over funds authorized for fiscal year 1966 and is a reduction of $904,000 in the budget request.

An increase of $3 million is recommended for meat inspection and an additional $1 million is proposed for poultry inspection. This will provide about 275 additional meat inspectors and 85 additional poultry inspectors for the next fiscal year. Due to the continuing movement away from large packing plants in major centers, the number of meat packing and processing plants requiring inspection continues to increase.

Also, increased consumption of poultry due to population expansion, and a standard of living which permits a per capita increase in consumption, is resulting in an ever increasing volume to be inspected.

An additional $613,000 is included to provide for cotton micronaire readings as a part of cotton classing. On June 1, 1966, the Department amended the cotton standard to require micronaire readings of fiber fineness and maturity as a part of classing, in addition to the traditional grade and staple determinations. It is estimated that about 12 million samples will be tested in the coming year, at an average cost of 5 cents per sample.

For a number of years, the committee has believed that the enforcement of the Packers and Stockyards Act could be handled more effectively by a separate unit located directly under the Secretary's office. In its report on the 1964 appropriation bill, the committee called on the Secretary to take such action. This position had been concurred in also by the Senate Appropriations Committee. In view of present problems facing the meat industry, and in view of the increasing need for the Department to assure free, open, and fair competition and fair practices in the marketing of livestock and poultry, the committee feels that this change can no longer be deferred. Accordingly, it has transferred the funds totaling $2,400,000 for operation of the Packers and Stockyards Act from this appropriation to a separate heading later in this bill. With this transfer, it again urges the Secretary to place this unit under his direct supervision in the same way that the Commodity Exchange Authority is located.

The special milk program is aimed primarily at increasing the consumption of fluid milk by children. Nonprofit schools of high school grade and under, all nonprofit summer camps, and child-care institutions devoted to the care and training of children, are eligible to participate in the program.

The proposal to reduce this program from 103 million in fiscal year 1966 to $21 million for the coming fiscal year is one of the most drastic reductions presented to the committee in the 1967 budget. If approved, it would deny supplemental milk to about 80 percent of the schoolchildren now receiving such milk. In addition, the proposal to limit the program to needy children would place a stigma on those children to receive milk next year, which could substantially reduce the number of children who would participate.

The benefits of this program to the health and dietary habits of school children of this Nation are well recognized. Many witnesses have testified to the benefits to school attendance and an improved approach to learning by students receiving this milk free or at reduced prices.

The program has been so successful that it has been adopted in many other countries of the world. Large quantities of dried milk have been shipped abroad under our food-for-peace program for use in the schools of countries to which we are supplying aid and assistance. Further, as pointed out earlier, the number of young people turned down for military service due to physical defects resulting from nutritional deficiencies indicates the importance of continuing programs which contribute to the health and welfare of our schoolchildren.

The committee has restored the proposed budget cut by providing a direct appropriation of $50 million and by directing the transfer of $53 million from section 32 funds. The latest available data on the status of section 32 funds indicates that this transfer can be made without impairing the Department's ability to meet the primary purposes for which this fund was created.

For the school lunch program, the budget proposes a reduction of $19 million in this program—from $157 million in fiscal year 1966 to $138 million for fiscal year 1967. If approved, this would mean an average Federal reimbursement of 4 cents per meal in lieu of the standard reimbursement of 5 cents per meal which has been used in recent years to determine appropriation levels.

The budget proposal would reduce the funds for commodity purchases under section 6 of the School Lunch Act by $14,325,000 and would limit such purchases to the $45 million transfer from section 32 funds. Section 6 funds have been used to purchase foods for distribution to schools participating in the program to provide well balanced and nutritional meals. This has proved to be a valuable feature of the program and has provided high quality foods at lower prices than obtainable through small quantity purchases in local communities. This feature of the program will be even more valuable in the future as the supply of commodities decreases and prices increase accordingly.

Through the years, the school lunch program has contributed much to the welfare of all our people. It has been of great value to our educational system throughout the United States. Along with the special milk program, it has contributed significantly to the health of our schoolchildren. It has taught them proper eating habits and has improved their school attendance and study habits. It has provided the only balanced meal that some children receive each day.

As a major part of our international programs, we are doing more and more to help feed a hungry world. We are sending food abroad through Public Law 480, and we are making foreign currencies generated thereunder available in the recipient countries for programs of public assistance. As a part of our AID program, we are establishing school lunch programs in many of these countries, patterned after the program in the United States.

Believing that we cannot reduce the benefits of this program to our own schoolchildren at a time when we are planning to feed increasing numbers of people abroad, the committee has restored the funds for this program to the current year's level of $157 million, plus the transfer of $45 million from section 32 funds. It has provided adequate funds so that the section 6 purchases may be restored to the fiscal year 1966 level.

For the food stamp program, the bill includes the full budget estimate of $150 million for the coming fiscal year, to be financed by transfer from section 32 funds as proposed by the budget. This is an increase of about $50 million in the amount of funds available for fiscal year 1966.

The food stamp program is designed to benefit those families who are receiving some type of welfare assistance—primarily, the unemployables, the aged, the blind, the disabled, and mothers with dependent children. It is also authorized to help other families with incomes as low or lower than that of families receiving welfare assistance but who, for a variety of reasons, are not eligible for welfare assistance. This may include those living on small pensions, the unemployed, the underemployed, and those whose training limits them to unskilled low-paying employment.

Under the program, families must invest the money they would normally spend for food in the purchase of food stamps. In return, they receive additional stamps without charge. Thus the normal food budget continues to be spent for food and the Federal assistance results in the purchase of more food. The increase in retail food stores sales—averaging about 8 percent—in areas in which the program is operating, results in a further expansion in farm markets and acts as a stimulant to the overall economy of those areas.

During fiscal year 1966, the program is being expanded to about 1.3 million persons in approved areas throughout the country. The budget request will permit further expansion in 1967 to an estimated 570,000 needy people located in 150 or more areas. State welfare agencies request the areas in which they desire the program. With the continuing improvement in employment in larger and more industrialized areas, States have placed a priority on getting the program started in smaller and more rural areas within the State. As a result, there is a widening geographic dispersion of project areas within the various States.

FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SERVICE

For fiscal year 1967, the committee recommends an appropriation of $21,088,000, an increase of $336,000 in the 1966 level of operation and a reduction of $291,000 in the budget request.

The increase over 1966 includes $22,000 to provide full-time professional assistance for the recruitment of U.S. nationals for posts in international organizations such as the Food and Agricultural Organization, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. This small investment to protect U.S. interests in international agricultural matters is believed justified.

An increase of $250,000 is recommended for the Agricultural Attaché Service. This would provide approximately 10 additional assistant attaché positions in some of the larger and more important markets for U.S. commodities in certain areas of the world. Five of these would be assigned to Tokyo, London, Bonn, Paris, and Rome, where imports of U.S. agricultural products totaled $2 billion in 1964, approximately one-third of total U.S. agricultural exports. Five would be assigned to growing markets in Hong Kong, Iran, Liberia, Nigeria, and Kenya. In addition, five positions are provided to permit retraining and reorientation in the United States of attachés between assignments.

A net increase of $28,000 is included to assure compliance with Public Law 480 and to assure effective handling of funds used for market development programs. The tremendous sums of money and quantities of commodities involved in the Public Law 480 program, and the involved nature of many of the agreements with foreign countries, indicate the need for additional compliance checks and fuller protection of U.S. interests.

An additional $66,000 is provided for pay act costs pursuant to Public Law 89-301. This is partially offset by a reduction of $30,000 based on the unauthorized transfer to the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber in the current year, as discussed previously in this report.

In 1955, this committee created a sales manager for the Commodity Credit Corporation with a directive to the Secretary that a positive sales program be established within the Corporation to sell Government-owned commodities and avoid large storage and handling costs. It did not appear to be a sound method of conducting the Government's business for this $14.5 billion Corporation not to have an aggressive sales program headed by an experienced sales manager.

It was the committee's intention that the sales manager's primary area of responsibility would be sales for dollars. It was also intended that he would have the final decision with respect to sales for dollars in preference to sales for foreign currencies, barter contracts, or similar sales arrangements.

In 1961, the sales manager was transferred to the Foreign Agricultural Service and his responsibility was limited to export sales. Further, his ability to make final decisions on overseas sales was weakened by putting him under several extra layers of supervisors who are tied in closely with our international policies and are not in a position to make a maximum sales effort on a completely independent basis.

The committee believes that the sales organization of the Department should have far more independence of action than at present. It feels that a thorough investigation should be made by the Secretary of present sales policies, including direct sales by producer groups, the Federal Government, and larger firms. It also feels that the Secretary should order a study of methods of strengthening the operations and authority of the sales manager and his staff.

COMMODITY EXCHANGE AUTHORITY

The full budget estimate of $1,398,000 is recommended for the next fiscal year, an increase of $201,000 over the 1966 appropriation. The increase includes $11,000 for pay act costs pursuant to Public Law 89-301, and $190,000 for expanding trade practice investigations and market analyses.

The General Accounting Office recently reviewed the work of this agency and recommended that trade practice investigations be increased in number and frequency. Also, the steady increase in volume of market trading indicates the need for some expansion in this small agency, which has operated on a very limited budget through the years.

AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION AND CONSERVATION SERVICE

For the operating expenses of the various programs administered by the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, the budget requested $135,891,000 by direct appropriation and $77,545,000 by transfer from the Commodity Credit Corporation, a total of $213,436,000. The Committee recommends a total of $202,361,600, including $126,558,000 by direct appropriation and $75,803,600 by transfer from CCC.

The appropriation recommended is $279,500 above funds provided for fiscal year 1966, and $9,333,000 below the budget request. The CCC transfer is $11,691,400 less than authorized for fiscal year 1966 and $1,741,400 below the budget estimate. The combined reduction in the amounts proposed in the budget is $11,074,400.

As indicated earlier in my remarks, a committee amendment to be offered later will restore $2 million of this cut to make certain that adequate funds are available to State and county offices to support their regular personnel and to do the necessary performance checking and meet their other responsibilities.

The appropriation included in the bill provides $5 million for expenses related to the cropland adjustment program. These funds provide for conducting signups, processing requests and agreements, making farm visits, and related work of this new program. A reduction of $8,266,140 has been made in funds transferred from Commodity Credit Corporation for this purpose, as proposed in the budget. The net reduction is based on indications that signups will be much slower than originally expected.

The committee has approved further budget reductions for this agency based on reduced workload and increased productivity expected in the coming fiscal year. These reductions include $4,580,500 of appropriated funds and $3,425,260 of funds transferred from Commodity Credit Corporation, a total of $8,005,760.

The Washington and Commodity offices are expected to take their proportionate share of the reduction.

Employment and personnel practices followed during the past several years raise questions as to the operations of State and county ASC officers. A nationwide reclassification of county office managers and certain other county office personnel made during the past 2 years has resulted in an inequitable situation in certain States. A review of the number of grade increases made indicates the no uniform guide rules were followed. In several States, only 2 positions were upgraded, while the number of office manager increases exceeded 30 in 7 States and totaled 59 in one instance.

While not under the civil service classification system, these ASC county office people are considered regular Federal employees. They enjoy the fringe benefits provided to civil service personnel, including retirement, severance pay, annual and sick leave, insurance, and health protection. Their rates of pay and promotions should be handled in the same manner as for classified civil service personnel.

In view of the apparent inequities in county office reclassifications and other personnel actions, the committee urges an immediate review of the personnel practices of this agency and expects appropriate corrective action to be taken during the coming year. It appears that perhaps some change in the legislation affecting ASC county office personnel is warranted.

For the Sugar Act program, the full budget estimate of $80 million is recommended for fiscal year 1967, a decrease of $15 million in funds provided for the current year. The reduction is due in part to available balances from the 1966 appropriation and in part to a somewhat small production expected from the 1966 crop.

Payments are made to domestic producers of sugarbeet and sugarcane who comply with certain special requirements. To finance these payments, a tax of 50 cents per hundred pounds is imposed on all beet and cane sugar processed in or imported into the United States for direct consumption. During the period 1938-65, collections of $2.3 billion from excise and import taxes have exceeded payments by $545 million. Estimated collections through fiscal year 1967 of $2.5 billion will exceed estimated payments by $568 million.

For the agricultural conservation program, the full budget request for an appropriation of $220 million is included in the bill to make payments earned under the 1966 program authorized last year. Amounts due are legal commitments and funds must be provided to pay all contracts entered into under the program announced the previous year.

The committee has restored the 1967 program authorization to the regular level of $220 million—plus $30 million for administration under the appropriation for expenses, ASCS. It should be noted that an offsetting reduction has been made in the 1967 program authorization for the cropland adjustment program.

Restoration of the ACP authorization will permit the continuation of the main support for our soil and water conservation effort throughout the Nation at present levels. It will restore funds for this purpose to the established level authorized by Congress in past years. It will prevent the elimination of essential funds needed for conservation practices in our small watershed development program. It will prevent the elimination of some 510 soil conservation technicians who are now engaged in soil and water conservation work throughout the Nation, including technical assistance in the planning and construction of Public Law 566 watershed and flood prevention projects.

Conservation practices under this program are developed initially at the local level by ASC State and county committees, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Forest Service. Representatives of the land-grant colleges, the Farmers Home Administration, State conservation committees, and other State and Federal agricultural agencies also participate in these determinations.

The recommendations of these groups are used as the basis to formulate joint recommendations to the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service in Washington. From these recommendations, the various agencies of the Department in Washington develop and recommend to the Secretary of Agriculture a national program. State and local people then develop their local programs within the structure of the national program approved by the Secretary. No practices are adopted and put into effect in any State or county unless approved by the local conservation groups.

In the opinion of a majority of the members of the committee, these conservation practices represent the best possible use of Federal funds in the preservation of our soil and water resources for future generations. In addition, they provide the best possible protection for the land upon which we must depend for our present and future food production. The many problems facing agriculture, such as increasing costs, decreasing farm labor, and increasing financial risks, make it apparent that this Nation cannot afford to reduce its conservation efforts. The decreasing supplies of foods on hand, the rapidly expanding population, and the decreasing number of people on the farms, indicate that possible food shortages may face world consumers in the future, unless our agricultural production plant is protected from erosion and similar damages. With U.S. commitments in Vietnam and elsewhere throughout the world, we must continue to give adequate attention to our own natural resources to assure a firm source of supply of food and fiber to the growing populations of this country and the world.

For the Appalachian region conservation program, an appropriation of $2,200,000 is recommended for fiscal year 1967. This is approximately one-half of the budget request. To the extent that additional funds may be needed, the regular national programs are also available to meet the needs in this area. The regular programs have proved themselves through the years and should be of as much value to this region as to any other in the Nation.

The Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 authorized the Secretary to carry out a pilot program to determine how land not needed for crop production can best be used for conserving and developing soil, water, forests, wildlife, and recreational resources.

The pilot cropland conversion program has been offered in 41 counties of 13 States, involving differing geographic and agricultural situations. In addition, offers have been made for a limited number of agreements in other States and counties to convert cropland to recreational enterprises only. About 5,575 agreements involving 324,000 acres of cropland have been entered into.

For the coming fiscal year, the bill includes $7,500,000 for this program, the same amount as provided for fiscal year 1966. Adequate financial support for the regular established conservation programs of the Department should obviate the need for increased funds for this special purpose.

The cropland adjustment program is a new approach to conservation authorized by title VI of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965. Its purpose is to assist farmers, through long-term agreements, to divert land from the production of unneeded crops to uses that will promote the development and conservation of soil, water, forest, wildlife, and recreational resources.

In return for diverting the cropland to approved uses, producers receive adjustment payments. They also are eligible to receive cost-sharing assistance for establishing approved conservation uses. The period of a contract cannot be less than 5 years and not more than 10 years.

An appropriation of $125 million is recommended in this bill for the coming fiscal year. This includes $30 million to repay the Commodity Credit Corporation for funds advanced in fiscal year 1966, and $95 million to finance the program during the 1967 fiscal year. The reduction of $75 million in the budget request is based on the fact that sign-ups are going slowly and present indications are that the program will not develop as fully as planned. This amount will be further reduced by a committee amendment to $90 million.

The program authorization for 1967 agreements for which payments are to be made in calendar year 1967 is approved at $95 million, a reduction of $120 million in the budget request. The committee amendment will cut this to $80 million. A majority of the committee feels that under present conditions policies of paying producers to take land out of production is at best unsound and has contributed to our present low inventories of certain basic commodities. They also feel that future demands for food and fiber will require the eventual abandonment of programs designed to restrict production in favor of those which will support the production and distribution of increased supplies of food and fiber to the hungry people of the world.

For the conservation reserve program, an appropriation of $140 million is provided for the next fiscal year. This is a reduction of $6 million below funds provided for this purpose last year. The decrease below last year is due to the expiration each year of a certain number of long-term contracts entered into under the old soil bank program.

The appropriation for emergency conservation measures provides special funds for sharing the cost of emergency conservation measures to deal with cases of severe damage to farm and rangelands resulting from natural disasters. The criteria under which assistance may be made available are set forth in the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act. Funds are allocated for use only in those counties designated by the Secretary of Agriculture as disaster counties.

The budget estimate of $5 million is proposed for the next fiscal year. This is a reduction in funds available for the current year; however, there is no way to forecast disasters in advance of their occurrence or the extent of damage which might result. With an appropriation of $5 million, and estimated recoveries of about $7 million from prior obligations, funds totaling $12 million will be available for the fiscal year 1967 to restore damages following disasters.

RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT SERVICE

The Rural Community Development Service was established by the Secretary of Agriculture's Memorandum No. 1570 dated February 24, 1965, to provide leadership within the Department of Agriculture in formulating plans and evaluating operations pertaining to development of natural human resources in rural communities. It formulates plans for and evaluates operations performed by operating USDA agencies in conjunction with their regular programs.

This agency was originally created in 1963, with the consent of the Congress, to function as a small coordinating and expediting unit of about 33 people with a budget of $88,000. It was expanded to $118,945 in 1964, $181,872 in 1965 and $625,000 in 1966. Shortly after it was established, 3 field offices were created. Last year it was proposed to expand it to 20 field offices. The request of $3,468,000 for fiscal year 1967 contemplates 40 field offices and a total of 221 man-years in Washington and the field.

The committee does not agree with the tremendous expansion in personnel proposed for this agency next year. As outlined earlier in this report, it feels that the existing agencies of the Department which have established programs in operation, and which have the technical personnel and loan funds for use throughout rural America, are best equipped to provide needed assistance and guidance to rural areas through their existing field offices.

The committee agrees that a small staff in the Washington office to coordinate and expedite rural programs may be worthwhile. An appropriation of $637,000 is included for the Washington office of the Rural Community Development Service in fiscal year 1967. In addition, $400,000 is provided to the Farmers Home Administration for rural area development work to be handled through its existing field organization.

As indicated earlier, the committee was surprised and disturbed to learn during the hearings that 36 employees had been recruited into positions created in various agencies of the Department and assigned to the Rural Community Development Service without notice or approval of the Congress.

OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL

The bill includes $11,254,000 for the next fiscal year for this purpose, a reduction of $348,000 in the budget request. The recommended increase of $641,000 over the 1966 appropriation includes $141,000 for pay act costs pursuant to Public Law 89–301, and $500,000 for increased audits and investigations of the food stamp program and ASC county office activities. The food stamp program has been expanding during fiscal years 1965 and 1966 and a further increase is provided for fiscal year 1967. The financial integrity of this activity must be assured by thorough audits of its activities and by investigations and prosecutions of any abuses discovered. ASC county offices should also be checked periodically to assure the most effective conduct of the many programs administered by them throughout the country.

NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL LIBRARY

An appropriation of $2,147,000 is included in the bill for library services in the coming fiscal year. This is an increase of $412,000 in the 1966 appropriation and is $354,000 less than requested. The increase includes $200,000 to acquire, catalog, and maintain publications used by scientists and other personnel throughout the Department. An increase of this nature is required to enable the library to meet the needs of an ever-increasing research establishment within the Department.

An additional amount of $200,000 is included to undertake a program of greater automation of the procedures used to provide information to researchers. It is proposed to further automate routine library functions such as ordering of publications, receiving, and recordkeeping, cataloging, and circulation of information.

An increase of $12,000 is provided for pay act costs pursuant to Public Law 89–301.

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION

For loan authorization, the 1967 budget proposes substantial reductions in the ceilings on loan funds for this agency. For rural electrification loans, the budget request cuts the amount from $365 million for fiscal year 1966 to $220 million for fiscal year 1967, a reduction of $145 million. The reduction proposed for rural telephone loans is from the fiscal year 1966 level of $97 million to $85 million for the next fiscal year, a reduction of $12 million.

The committee has restored the 1966 ceiling of $365 million for electrification loans, of which $72.5 million has been placed in a contingency reserve fund to enable REA to meet additional demands as needed. Also, it has approved $97 million for telephone loans, including a $6 million contingency reserve to meet the needs as they develop. The problems of today, with increasing shortages of farm labor, call for more electricity and telephone service, not less.

According to testimony presented by the REA Administrator, the requirements of the rural electrification systems are expected to increase 2½ times in the near future—from 47 billion kilowatt-hours in 1965 to an estimated 116 billion kilowatt-hours in 1980. This is in line with expanding needs for electricity by all segments of our population. Average monthly kilowatt-hour consumption by farm and rural consumers increased by nearly 100 kilowatt-hours in the past 4 years, to a present average of 456 kilowatt-hours per month. There are now 5.3 million consumers being served on REA lines.

With the current attention being given to the improvements of our rural economy through the development of small industries and other revenue producing enterprises in rural areas, it is essential that ample sources of power be assured to such areas. Opportunities of this nature are directly affected by the ready availability of electric power at reasonable costs. Electricity provides a vital key to better living and greater economic opportunities.

The 1967 budget contemplates a dual financing plan which would provide additional capital to REA borrowers from private sources at prevailing interest rates. It is understood that such a plan would likely apply to those REA cooperatives which could afford to meet the higher interest costs. It is also understood that 2-percent money would continue to be made available to those borrowers which could not meet the additional cost due to sparsely populated service areas or high operating costs. In this connection, it is important to realize that consumer density on REA lines is about 3.3 consumers to the mile as compared to 33 consumers per mile for the larger private utility companies.

The committee is aware of the dual financing proposal and its possible effect on the need for REA loan funds for electrification purposes. It appears unlikely, however, that such a plan, even if adopted by Congress in this session, could be put into operation rapidly enough to provide any significant amount of loan funds during fiscal year 1967.

The primary function of the rural electrification system is to provide and distribute electricity to rural and farm customers at reasonable rates. The construction of power generating facilities is a secondary function considered to be necessary to preserve the bargaining position of REA cooperatives in securing power at reasonable rates and under reasonable terms. The Administrator of REA is expected to observe these basic concepts in carrying out his responsibilities under the law. The Congress has always attempted to protect the bargaining power of the REA with respect to negotiation of power contracts with private utility companies, through the approval of adequate loan funds to provide REA-financed power generation facilities where alternative sources of power are not available on proper terms. It charges the Administrator with the responsibility, in turn, to make certain that every reasonable and practical effort is made to secure power from private sources prior to approving loans for new power generation construction.

The rural telephone program is growing rapidly and is doing an excellent job of making service available to rural people. The expanding demand from nearly 100,000 new subscribers annually, and the need for improving and upgrading service in rural areas, has caused a steady increase in the receipt of telephone loan applications. These have grown from $78 million in 1963, to $102 million in 1964, and to $112 million in 1965. Applications on hand are expected to rise to $157 million by June 30, 1966, and $159 million of new applications are expected in fiscal year 1967.

The committee is cognizant of this increasing demand for telephone loans and is anxious to see this service provided to all who need it on a reasonable cost basis. In view of the present demands of the Federal budget, however, it has been unable to provide all funds needed to upgrade rural service as many would like. It will continue to look with favor on the expansion and improvement of rural telephone service as rapidly as our Federal financial position will permit.

FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION

Pursuant to the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, a direct loan account was established in fiscal year 1962. Collections of principal and interest on loans outstanding are deposited in the direct loan account and are available for principal and interest payments on borrowings from the Secretary of the Treasury and for making additional loans for farm ownership, soil and water conservation, and operating purposes. Such loans may be made only in such amounts as may be authorized in annual appropriation acts.

As of the end of fiscal year 1966, it is estimated that this account will have a balance on hand of $99,744,355. Estimated collections in fiscal year 1967 of $333,942,000 will provide a total of $433,686,335 for 1967 loan purposes.

From this amount, the bill includes loan authorizations of $390 million for fiscal year 1967, including $300 million for farm operating loans, the same amount as approved for fiscal year 1966 and the full budget estimate. It also provides $90 million for real estate loans, including $5 million for farm ownership loans, and $85 million for soil and water loans.

An increase of $55 million is included for soil and water loans, primarily for rural community water and sewer systems. Public Law 89–240 increases the single association loan limit to $4 million and permits loans for waste disposal facilities. This has greatly increased the demand for loans to public bodies, including both direct and insured loans in 1967 which will total $83 million—an increase of $20 million above the total of such loans in 1966.

The amount provided for farm ownership loans is a reduction of $40 million in the 1966 authorization. In view of the increased authority available for insured loans, it is estimated that most of the demand for farm ownership loans in 1967 will be met through the use of the insured loans authorized by Public Law 89–240. It is estimated that direct and insured loans for this purpose in 1967 will total $235 million, the same level expected for 1966.

No additional loan authorizations for land stabilization, conservation, and erosion control practices in the Appalachian region are recommended. The Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1965—approved April 30, 1965—provided an appropriation of $7.1 million for this purpose. Due to the lateness of the appropriation and the fact that State programs of work were not yet approved, as required by the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, no funds were used in 1965. Therefore, the full $7.1 million is available for this purpose in fiscal years 1966 and 1967. In addition, the regular programs of the Department are also available in this region as in every other area of the United States.

For rural water and waste disposal grants, a new program was established by subtitle A of the legislation adopted last session—Public Law 89–240—to provide grants for the development of water or sewer systems in rural areas. The amount of the grant may not exceed 50 percent of the total cost of the project.

The full budget request of $26 million is recommended for the next fiscal year, an increase of $6 million over the amount provided in the Supplemental Appropriation Act of 1966 to initiate this program. During the present year, 531 communities have been assisted through these loans to date. It is estimated that there are a total of 30,000 rural communities without adequate water supplies.

Title X of Public Law 89–117—Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965—approved August 10, 1965, amends title V of the Housing Act of 1949 to provide for the establishment of a rural housing direct loan account. This amendment also authorizes the transfer to the rural housing direct loan account of first, all funds, claims, notes, mortgages, contracts, and property, and all collections and proceeds therefrom under the direct loan provisions of title V of the Housing Act of 1949 and any unexpended balances of amounts borrowed from the Secretary of the Treasury under section 511 of the act, and second, all unexpended balances of appropriations for direct loans under title V, including funds authorized for direct elderly rental housing loans by section 515(a) of the act.

It is estimated that as of June 30, 1966, this account will have a balance of $105,393,359. Estimated collections of $71,599,000 in fiscal year 1967 will provide a total of $176,992,359 for loan purposes in fiscal year 1967.

The bill provides an authorization to use $15 million of this amount during the next fiscal year for rural housing loans covered by this account. This includes $10 million for building loans and $5 million for elderly rental housing loans which have been transferred to this fund as outlined above.

The rural housing for domestic farm labor is carried out under section 516 of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended—Public Law 88–560. The program provides for sharing up to two-thirds of the total development cost of farm labor housing projects.

The full budget estimate of $3 million is included in the bill for the coming year. This is the same amount as appropriated for fiscal year 1966. The committee intends that such grants be limited to public nonprofit organizations, and has retained language in the bill for this purpose.

The rural renewal program was authorized by section 102 of the Food and Agricultural Act of 1962. The program provides technical assistance to locally initiated and sponsored demonstration projects. Loans are made to local public agencies or groups for rural renewal development projects specifically related to conservation and land utilization. To be eligible for designation as a rural renewal area, the locality must be one of chronic underemployment on farms and unemployment in the surrounding communities and where agriculture or forestry contributes substantially to the economy.

The full budget request of $1,200,000 is recommended for fiscal year 1967, the same amount as provided for fiscal year 1966.

For salaries and expenses, the committee recommends an appropriation for the next fiscal year of $51,057,000, an increase of $1,396,000 over fiscal year 1966 funds and a decrease of $543,000 in the budget estimate. In addition, the committee has restored language in the bill which authorizes the use of not to exceed $500,000 of the funds available for the various new programs administered by this agency for the employment of temporary personnel to meet unusual or heavy workload increases.

The amount approved includes an increase of $500,000 for servicing additional loans under the various programs assigned to this agency. With the $500,000 authorized for transfer, a total of $1 million will be available in the coming year for this purpose. The increase is approved first to provide real estate appraisal and engineering assistance, second, to strengthen the county office staffs working directly with applicants for loans, third, to meet the added cost of county committee expense involved in reviewing applications and certifying loans, and fourth, to meet the other related administrative costs.

The sum of $150,000 is included in the bill to administer the conservation loan program in Appalachia. In addition, $400,000 is provided to cover pay costs pursuant to Public Law 89–301. A reduction of $54,000 is recommended due to unauthorized transfers, as previously described, to the Rural Community Development Service, $42,000, and the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber, $12,000.

An additional $400,000 is provided under this appropriation to enable this agency to handle community development projects in rural areas through its existing field offices. As outlined earlier in this report, the Committee feels that this agency is in the best position to carry out the Department's rural area development activities throughout rural America.

FEDERAL CROP INSURANCE CORPORATION

Crop insurance offered to agricultural producers by the Corporation provides protection from losses caused by unavoidable natural hazards, such as insect and wildlife damage, plant diseases, fire, drought, flood, wind, and other weather conditions. It does not indemnify producers for losses resulting from negligence or failure to observe good farming practices.

The committee recommends a total of $12,492,000 for administrative and operating expenses during fiscal year 1967, $8,342,000 by direct appropriation and $4,150,000 from premium income. This is an increase of $300,000 over 1966 funds and a net decrease of $54,000 in the budget estimate. It is proposed that one-half of the increase come from appropriated funds and one-half come from premium income.

The increase is provided to extend the program to 40 additional counties in fiscal year 1967.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

For Public Law 480, the bill carries the full budget request of $1.617 million for the next fiscal year, a net reduction of $41 million in funds appropriated for the current year. The amount recommended includes $1,040 million for title I foreign currency sales, a reduction of $104 million, $200 million for title II donations, a reduction of $98,500,000, and $377 million for title IV long-term credit sales, an increase of $161,500,000.

The projected decrease of title I sales of $104 million is due to two factors—lower support prices on wheat and cotton beginning with the 1966 crop—and a decrease in ocean transportation costs due to a change in the law which will require foreign countries to finance freight costs at foreign-flag rates for shipments in U.S.-flag vessels. Previously, Public Law 480 appropriations financed the entire cost of shipments in U.S. ships.

The reduction of $98,500,000 for title II donations results from an expected reduction in the quantity of shipments of corn, wheat, and dried milk to be made under this title in the coming fiscal year. Also, an unobligated balance of $83 million of 1966 funds will be available in fiscal year 1967.

The increase of $161,500,000 for long-term credit sales under title IV is due to the fact that the fiscal year 1966 appropriation is an estimated $115 million short of meeting obligations to be incurred under the basic legislation. This amount is added to the 1967 request.

For the International Wheat Agreement, an appropriation of $40 million is recommended for the next fiscal year. This is an increase of $12,456,000 over the 1966 appropriation and is a reduction of $20 million in the budget estimate. The full amount provided will be reimbursed to the Commodity Credit Corporation to cover prior year costs of this program. CCC will continue to finance this program under its commodity export authority, in the absence of the renewal of the International Wheat Agreement Act.

No additional funds are included in the bill for bartered materials for supplemental stockpile. The Committee feels that the expected carryover of about $28,000,000 of prior year balances should adequately finance this program in the coming fiscal year.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON FOOD AND FIBER

The National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber was established by Executive Order 11256, dated November 4, 1965, to assist the President's Committee on Food and Fiber, established in the same Executive Order, to carry out its primary function of appraising existing and alternative agricultural policies and related foreign trade policies.

The Commission must submit its final report and recommendations to the committee no later than 18 months after the date of its first meeting in January 1966, and must terminate within 90 days thereafter. It is anticipated that the Commission will make its final report and recommendations in July and terminate in October, 1967.

For the coming fiscal year, the bill includes $350,000 for the expenses of this new Commission, a reduction of $295,000 in the budget request. The amount recommended represents an actual increase of $150,000 over the $200,000 made available by unauthorized transfer to establish this group during the present fiscal year.

In view of the extensive study given to our food and fiber situation by various agencies of the Department through the years, and in view of the study of the food industry by the National Commission on Food Marketing during the past 2 years, the amount proposed for this additional study should be adequate.

DOCTORS AND SCIENTISTS INTERVIEWED DURING SPECIAL STUDY OF PESTICIDES BY COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Dr. R. J. Anderson, Deputy Administrator, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Robert J. Anderson, Assistant Surgeon General and Chief, Bureau of State Services, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Dr. F. S. Arant, Head, Department of Zoology-Entomology, School of Agriculture, Auburn University, Auburn, Ala.

Dr. Alfred W. Avens, professor of chemistry, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

Dr. Daniel Banes, Food and Drug Administration, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Mr. W. F. Barthel, Plant Pest Control Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Gulfport, Miss.

Dr. Warren R. Battle, chairman, Department of Soils and Crops, College of Agriculture, Rutgers, the State University, New Brunswick, N.J.

Mr. A. H. Baumhover, Tobacco Insects Laboratory, Oxford, N.C.

Dr. E. W. Beck, Entomology Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Tifton, Ga.

Dr. Frederick Bellinger, chief, Chemical Sciences & Materials Division, Engineering Experiment Station, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. W. L. Bendix, State veterinarian, Commonwealth of Virginia, Richmond, Va.

Dr. Morton Beroza, Entomology Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Beltsville, Md.

Dr. Frank R. Blood, professor of biochemistry and director of clinical laboratories, Central Laboratory Administration, Vanderbilt University Hospital, Nashville, Tenn.

Dr. Alexej B. Borkovec, Entomology Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Beltsville, Md.

Prof. James L. Brann, Jr., Department of Entomology and Limnology, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

Dr. Andrew W. Breidenbach, Division of Water Supply & Pollution Control, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dr. M. Alice Brown, Department of Public Health, State of California Health and Welfare Agency, Berkeley, Calif.

Dr. Marvin Brunson, field station, Department of Agriculture, Moorestown, N.J.

Dr. Philip A. Butler, director, Biological Laboratory, Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, Gulf Breeze, Fla.

Dr. T. C. Byerly, administrator, Cooperative State Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

Dr. G. M. Cairns, dean of agriculture, University of Maryland, College Park, Md.

Dr. Douglas G. Campbell, physician, San Francisco, Calif.

Dr. J. E. Campbell, Milk and Food Research, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Robert A. Taft Sanitary Engineering Center, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dr. G. E. Carman, chairman, Department of Entomology, College of Agriculture, University of California, Riverside, Calif.

Dr. Howard L. Carnahan, Crops Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, University of Nevada, Reno, Nev.

Prof. P. J. Chapman, head, Department of Entomology, Cornell University, New York State College of Agriculture, Geneva, N.Y.

Mr. Huston V. Claborn, pesticide chemicals research, Department of Agriculture Laboratory, Kerrville, Tex.

Dr. M. R. Clarkson, president, American Veterinary Medical Association, Washington, D.C.

Dr. J. W. Clayton, the Du Pont Co., Inc., Wilmington, Del.

Dr. George D. Coffee, chief, Bureau of Milk Control, District of Columbia Department of Public Health, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Donald L. Collins, New York State Science Service, New York, N.Y.

Dr. Oliver B. Cope, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, Denver, Colo.

Dr. H. C. Cox, director, Southern Grain Insects Research Laboratory, Entomology Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Tifton, Ga.

Dr. Donald G. Crosby, chairman, Agricultural Toxicology and Residue Research Laboratory, University of California, Davis, Calif.

Dr. Edwin A. Crosby, assistant director, Raw Products Research Bureau, National Canners Association, Berkeley, Calif.

Dr. Chester E. Cross, University of Massachusetts, Agricultural Experiment Station, Cranberry Station, East Wareham, Mass.

Dr. Jack M. Curtis, Food and Drug Administration, Department of Heatlh, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Dr. R. A. Damon, Jr., Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.

Dr. William J. Darby, Division of Nutrition, Departments of Medicine and Biochemistry, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

Dr. Edward Davens, deputy commissioner, Department of Health, State of Maryland, Baltimore, Md.

Dr. T. B. Davich, director, Boll Weevil Research Laboratory, Entomology Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, State College, Miss.

Dr. John E. Davies, director, Community Studies on Pesticides, Dade County Department of Public Health, Miami, Fla.

Dr. Joseph H. Davis, Dade County medical examiner, Miami, Fla.

Dr. George C. Decker, principal scientist and head, section of economic entomology, Department of Registration and Education, Illinois Natural History Survey, Urbana, Ill.

Dr. William B. Deichmann, professor of pharmacology and director of Research and Teaching Center of Toxicology, School of Medicine, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.

Mr. James E. Dewey, extension program leader, chemicals-pesticides, New York State Cooperative Extension Service, Comstock Hall, Ithaca, N.Y.

Dr. S. C. Dorman, associate director, Biological Research Center, Stauffer Chemical Co., Mountain View, Calif.

Dr. H. L. Dunton, head, Department of Agronomy, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Va.

Dr. William F. Durham, scientist director, chief, Wenatchee Field Station, Communicable Disease Center, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Wenatchee, Wash.

Dr. E. H. Dustman, director, Patuxent Wildlife Research Center, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, Laurel, Md.

Dr. Gaines W. Eddy, Entomology Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Corvallis, Ore.

Dr. Amy C. Einert, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

Dr. R. W. Engel, head, Department of Biochemistry and Nutrition, College of Agriculture, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Va.

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Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, president, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.

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Dr. Virgil H. Freed, head, Department of Agricultural Chemistry, Agricultural Experiment Station, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Ore.

Dr. O. E. Frye, Jr., executive director, Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission, State of Florida, Tallahassee, Fla.

Dr. Irwin H. Gilbert, Entomology Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Gainesville, Fla.

Dr. G. C. Graf, professor of dairy science, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Va.

Dr. O. H. Graham, investigations leader, Livestock Insects Investigations, Entomology Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Kerrville, Tex.

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Dr. George G. Grisco, professor of entomology, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

Dr. Robert M. Grodner, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.

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Dr. Gordon Guyer, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich.

Mr. Stanley Hall, Pesticide Chemical Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Beltsville, Md.

Dr. H. L. Haller, Office of Administrator, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Roy Hansberry, assistant director, agriculture research division, Shell Development Co., Modesto, Calif.

Dr. Thomas H. Harris, Pesticides Regulation Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Wayland J. Hays, Jr., medical director, Chief, Toxicology Section, Communicable Disease Center, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. Kirby L. Hays, professor of zoology-entomology, School of Agriculture and Agricultural Experiment Station System, Auburn University, Auburn, Ala.

Dr. Andrew Hedmeg, Louisiana State Board of Health, New Orleans, La.

Dr. A. M. Heimpel, principal insect pathologist, Insect Pathology Laboratory, Entomology Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Beltsville, Md.

Dr. H. E. O. Heineman, vice president, Pet Milk Co., St. Louis, Mo.

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Mr. J. D. Hoffman, Tobacco Insects Laboratory, Oxford, N.C.

Dr. Joseph Holmes, University of Colorado Medical School, Denver, Colo.

Dr. James G. Horsfall, director, Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station, New Haven, Conn.

Dr. Henry F. Howe, American Medical Association, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. C. E. Howes, head, Department of Poultry Science, College of Agriculture, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Va.

Dr. Carl B. Huffaker, professor of entomology, College of Agriculture, and entomologist, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

Dr. Hugh H. Hussey, American Medical Association, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Ross E. Hutchins, entomologist, State Plant Board of Mississippi, State College, Miss.

Dr. Don D. Irish, executive research, the Dow Chemical Co., Midland, Mich.

Dr. Martin Jacobson, Entomology Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Beltsville, Md.

Dr. William H. James, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.

Dr. W. R. Jenkins, professor, Department of Entomology and Economic Zoology, Rutgers University, College of Agriculture, New Brunswick, N.J.

Dr. Daniel Jobbins, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.

Dr. Howard Johnson, Bureau of Food and Chemistry, State of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Pa.

Dr. Ogden C. Johnson, associate secretary, American Medical Association, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Raymond E. Johnson, assistant director, Sport Fisheries and Wildlife Bureau, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

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Dr. G. C. Kent, professor and head, Department of Plant Pathology, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

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Dr. Wendell W. Kilgore University of California, Davis, Calif.

Dr. John A. King, manager, Research and Development, Agricultural Division, American Cyanamid Co., Princeton, N.J.

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Dr. Paul Kotin, associate director for field studies, National Cancer Institute, National Institutes of Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

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Mr. J. J. Lamb, Tobacco Insects Laboratory, Oxford, N.C.

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Dr. Arnold Lehman, Food and Drug Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

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Dr. John R. Lewis, associate director, Department of Drugs, American Medical Association, Chicago, Ill.

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Dr. Donald J. Lisk, professor of pesticidal chemistry, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

Dr. W. K. Lowen, the Du Pont Co., Inc., Wilmington, Del.

Dr. Joseph A. Luizzo, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.

Dr. William MacDonald, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.

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Dr. Bernard L. Oser, president, Food and Drug Research Laboratories, Inc., Maspeth, N.Y.

Dr. Charles E. Palm, dean, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

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Dr. William E. Ribelin, pathologist, Central Medical Department, Environmental Health Laboratory, American Cyanamid Co., Princeton, N.J.

Dr. Roy E. Ritts, Jr., M.D., American Medical Association, Education and Research Foundation, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. William E. Robbins, principal insect physiologist, Entomology Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Beltsville, Md.

Dr. William Rogoff, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Corvallis, Oreg.

Dr. Aaron A. Rosen, in charge, Organic Contaminants Unit, Chemistry and Physics, Basic and Applied Sciences Branch, Division of Water Supply and Pollution Control, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mr. V. K. Rowe, Biochemical Research Laboratory, the Dow Chemical Company, Midland, Mich.

Mr. Boyd L. Samuels, director, Harmful Residue Laboratory, Department of Agriculture, Commonwealth of Virginia, Richmond, Va.

Dr. Mary L. Schafer, research chemist, Food Chemistry, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dr. Milton Schechter, Pesticide Chemicals Research Branch, Department of Agriculture, Greenbelt, Md.

Mr. D. J. Schliessman, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. H. F. Schoof, Biology/Chemistry Section, Technology Branch, Communicable Disease Center, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Savannah, Ga.

Dr. D. R. Shepherd, associate director, Plant Pest Control Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Hyattsville, Md.

Dr. S. W. Simmons, scientist director, chief, Technology Branch, Communicable Disease Center, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. Ray F. Smith, chairman, Department of Entomology and Parasitology, College of Agriculture, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

Dr. Ira I. Somers, director, Research Laboratories, National Canners Association, Washington, D.C.

Dr. H. C. Spencer, Biochemical Research Laboratory, the Dow Chemical Company, Midland, Mich.

Dr. A. John Speziale, director of research, Agricultural Division, Monsanto Co., St. Louis, Mo.

Dr. A. A. Spielman, dean and director, College of Agriculture, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass.

Mr. James M. Stanley, agricultural engineer, Agricultural Engineering Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Blacksburg, Va.

Dr. Frederick J. Stare, School of Nutrition, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Dr. Frank L. Stark, Jr., Plant Industry Research and Development, American Cyanamid Co., Princeton, N.J.

Dr. Ordway Starnes, director, New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station, Rutgers, the State University, New Brunswick, N.J.

Dr. A. W. Steers, Food and Drug Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Allen Steinhauer, University of Maryland, College Park, Md.

Dr. Edward A. Steinhaus, dean, Division of Biological Sciences, University of California, Irvine, Calif.

Dr. Richard D. Stewart, director, Medical Research Division, the Dow Chemical Co., Midland, Mich.

Mr. Robert D. Sweet, professor of vegetable crops, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

Dr. John E. Swift, extension entomologist, Statewide Coordinator—Pesticides, Agricultural Extension Service, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

Dr. Clarence M. Tarzwell, chief, Aquatic Biology Section, Basic and Applied Sciences Branch, Division of Water Supply and Pollution Control, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dr. Carlton F. Taylor, professor and chairman, Plant Pathology Extension, Cooperative Extension Service, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa.

Dr. James G. Telfer, director, Department of Environmental Health, American Medical Association, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Yashura Tonada, professor of insect pathology, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

Dr. David C. Tudor, research specialist in poultry pathology, Department of Animal Sciences, College of Agriculture, Rutgers—the State University, New Brunswick, N.J.

Mr. Neely Turner, assistant director and State entomologist, Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station, New Haven, Conn.

Mr. Kenneth C. Walker, assistant to deputy administrator, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Leon W. Weinberger, Chief, Basic and Applied Sciences Branch, Division of Water Supply and Pollution Control, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Irma West, California Department of Health, Berkeley, Calif.

Dr. William E. Westlake, Department of Entomology, University of California, Riverside, Calif.

Dr. Ellsworth H. Wheeler, Amherst University, Amherst, Mass.

Dr. James R. Whitley, supervisor, water quality investigations, Missouri Conservation Commission, Columbia Fisheries Laboratory, Jefferson City, Mo.

Dr. Billy Ray Wilson, chairman, Bureau of Conservation and Environmental Science, College of Agriculture, Rutgers, the State University, New Brunswick, N.J.

Mr. Homer R. Wolfe, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Wenatchee, Wash.

Dr. Charles B. Wood, associate professor of food technology in horticulture, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Va.

Dr. John F. Yost, director, product development and registrations, Agricultural Division, American Cyanamid Co., Princeton, N.J.

Dr. John A. Zapp, Jr., the Du Pont Co., Inc., Wilmington, Del.

Dr. Mitchell R. Zavon, associate professor of industrial medicine, Kettering Laboratory, University of Cincinnati, and assistant health commissioner, city of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dr. Gunter Zweig, chemist, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of California, Davis, Calif.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 15 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I think the chairman of our subcommittee has very aptly phrased it when he said that our subcommittee from the very beginning of our hearings was certainly placed in a straightjacket to say the least. I do not know of any budget recommendations that have come to any one of the subcommittees on appropriations where we could see clearly so many phony cuts. The President presented a budget within certain guidelines, by cutting the popular programs—knowing full well that the Congress would raise those figures up to probably the current levels. The onus of raising the budget could then be shifted to the Congress while at the same time the President could bask in the sunshine of being a great economizer.

I must say that we will probably have more reworking of a specific appropriation bill in this subcommittee than in any other throughout the balance of the year simply because there was this variety of popular programs capriciously cut back by the administration and putting our subcommittee in this kind of a situation. We have had to take all the heat from Members of this House and from every State land-grant university; the extension services, and from thousands of school administrators, principals, teachers, PTA's and what have you for the proposed cuts in the school lunch program, the school milk program, and all the research activities around the country.

I must say, I think our chairman did an outstanding job in guiding the deliberations of the committee. Believe me, we bore down on the Department witnesses. As the chairman indicated, we have engaged in some figure juggling here by the use of section 32 funds.

The chairman has very ably pointed out to you what mechanism there is under that section where 30 percent of the custom receipts go into this fund and no more than $300 million of this can be carried over from year to year. But we are entitled to use up the 30 percent of those custom receipts for the purposes of enhancing our exports of agricultural commodities and increasing domestic consumption of them.

Mr. Chairman, may I point out that in this transfer under section 32, we have a total of $282 million involved.

It breaks down by categories as follows: $150 million for the food stamp plan.

That is a significant increase over this past year. It is a program that you all authorized without my vote and we predicted the cost would increase year after year. Again I say this program is funded at a level of $150 million and this is an answer to those who are so interested in these antipoverty programs and in getting surplus commodities to our underprivileged and destitute folks around the country.

As the chairman pointed out, so many of these items in this agricultural bill supposedly for farmers, in effect, are in many instances for the benefit of consumers and city dwellers.

The next biggest item in this transfer is $53 million for the special school milk program.

There is $45 million for the school lunch program.

There is $25 million in the area of research. A $6 million transfer of items for the Interior Department.

Then there is the Foreign Agricultural Service—a $3 million item.

The biggest increases in this bill are: First. The Rural Electrification Administration which was funded back up to the level of what the current fiscal year is—or a figure of $365 million with $72.5 million of this amount placed in a contingency fund.

This is a $145 million increase over the budget.

Personally, I would like to have gone along with the President's budget estimate.

The members of this committee and this House know the position that I have taken over the years with respect to the Rural Electrification Administration, particularly with respect to the increasing amounts of money that are going into the generation and transmission area rather than into lines of distribution to the farmers. As a matter of fact, over the past several years better than two-thirds of the appropriated money for the REA has been going into the area of generation and transmission.

We will have more to say about that at a later time.

I understand the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow] will offer an amendment at a later time to cut that figure, that is the figure presented to you today, back to the budget figure and I intend to support his amendment. Another significant increase here is not in appropriation but rather in an authorization under the ACP program. You all know that we pick up the tab for this year after we authorize it. We actually authorize a year ahead so that the people will know how much money they will have to play with in the coming year. The budget came up to us with a $100 million figure, although that program has been funded in the past several years at a $220 million figure. The subcommittee put the figure up to the going rate of $220 million for the coming year, although I have reserved on this and will probably support a reasonable amendment to cut that figure back to the President's recommended level.

As I indicated, all told the school milk program here will have an $82 million increase over the budget request and the school lunch program a $19 million increase over the budget request.

In the research field, covering a variety of items, there is a $19 million increase over the budget.

The biggest reductions that you will find in this overall bill will be in the cropland adjustment program. This is the one under which contracts of no less than 5 years nor more than 10 years are entered into. That program has not been going nearly as well as the people downtown originally had thought and conceived it would. In fact, I think a committee amendment will be offered to cut this program $35 million more than we have shown in our recommendation here today on the basis of the most up-to-date figures received today; so rather than a $200 million item here presented to us by the budget, we should end up with a figure of $90 million.

I should like to point out here that one of the reasons farmers are not getting into this kind of program is due to the feeling, "Why obligate yourself to a contract for a minimum of 5 years and a maximum of 10 years when you can get into the feed grains program and some of these direct-payment programs and in 1 year can do so much better financially.

In fact, in this Commodity Credit Corporation item you will see here a figure of $3,500 million. That is about the amount that the Government will pay in direct payment to farmers in this coming year. Think of it.

May I point out specifically that in the year 1960 direct payments to farmers totaled $693 million, and the net realized income of farmers in that year was $11,600 million. Six percent of net farm income back in 1960 came from direct payments from the Government.

In the year 1965, $2,450 million went out from the Federal Government in checks directly to farmers, and there was a net realized income throughout the country of $14,100 million. Payments from the Government made up 17½ percent of net farmer income in 1965.

Oh, Mr. Freeman downtown is making a lot of noise these days about the big increase in farm income and a bigger net income predicted for next year. Well, let us be optimistic and give the farmers another billion dollars of realized net income next year for a figure of $15 billion. On the strength of what the administration wants in money for direct payments, the net realized income of farmers in this year will be made up 22.3 percent from direct payments from Government. That is why net realized farm income is so high. It is coming by way of checks from Uncle Sam.

I also asked to have inserted in the RECORD, part 1, pages 106 and 107, the 10 largest recipients of payment throughout the country in a variety of categories, and they are very revealing. I call your attention to them.

For example, in 1965, under the feed grains program, of the 10 largest recipients, 6 were from California, 2 from Arizona, and 2 from Iowa, and those payments ranged all the way from $535,561 on the top down to $164,178 at the 10th largest one in the feed grains program.

Let us look now at the cotton program. There are five in Texas and five in Arizona. The largest payment was $98,282. The 10th largest in the cotton program ranged down to $38,201.

In the wheat program there were five recipients in the State of Washington, two in Montana, two in Kansas, and one in Texas. The largest payment was $234,541. The 10th ranking one was $48,546.

These payments were made under the agricultural conservation program, the emergency conservation program, Sugar Act, National Wool Act, conservation reserve program, and the Great Plains conservation program:

Feed grain, cotton, and wheat—10 largest payments (pt. 1, pp. 106–107): Names of cooperators who received 10 largest payments, 1965 crop

FEED GRAIN PROGRAM	
J. G. Boswell Co., Corcoran, Calif	$535, 561
South Lake Farms, Corcoran, Calif	432, 698
Salyer Land Co., Corcoran, Calif	407, 432
Westlake Farms, Inc., Stratford, Calif	284, 011
Five Points Ranch, Inc., Five Points, Calif	222, 226
Colfax Co., Five Points, Calif	176, 801
Amana Society, Middle Amana, Iowa	173, 780
Younker Farms, Buckeye, Ariz	172, 046
Gila River Ranches, Inc., Gila Bend, Ariz	168, 322
Charles Lakin, Emerson, Iowa	164, 178
COTTON PROGRAM	
Younker Farms, Buckeye, Ariz	98, 082
Arizona Farming Co., Pinal County, Ariz	64, 466
Harry Moore, Navasota, Tex	62, 798
Joe Hoover, Fabens, Tex	58, 874
Tom Moore, Navasota, Tex	54, 872
Pima Community Farms, Pinal County, Ariz	47, 083
Worsham Bros., Pecos, Tex	43, 942
A. K. Chims Farms, Pinal County, Ariz	39, 093
L. V. L. Ranches, Maricopa County, Ariz	38, 465
Clark & Roberts, Clarkville, Tex	38, 201
WHEAT PROGRAM	
Baughman Farms, Liberal, Kans	234, 541
State Department of Natural Resources, Ephrata, Wash	146, 814
Campbell Farming Corp., Hardin, Mont	133, 821
Lonneker Farms, Inc., Prescott, Wash	96, 298
W. T. Waggoner Trust Estate, Vernon, Tex	94, 861
State of Montana, Helena, Mont	82, 228
Broughton Land Co., Dayton, Wash	61, 373
Grote Farms Inc., Prescott, Wash	59, 099
McGregor Land & Livestock Co., Hooper, Wash	54, 572
W. Garvey, Colby, Kans	48, 546

What are the latest employment figures in the Department of Agriculture? We have thrown around a number of figures. We dug into some specifics, rather than using the terminology of man-hours or man-years. We inquired as to how many specific employees there were at any given period of the year on the payroll. Let me tell you what we found. As of June 30, 1965—and this is actual, so we are not estimating—there were 79,947 full-time employees, 31,864 temporary and part-time, or a total of 111,861.

Over and above that, there were 15,104 cooperative extension people. ASC county committee, all of whom are on a payroll of some kind, not full time by any stretch of the imagination, number 104,039. Actually, in numbers of people on a roll of one kind or another in the Department, there are 231,004 people.

U.S. Department of Agriculture employees

	Actual, June 30, 1965	Estimate, June 30, 1966	Estimate, June 30, 1967
USDA:			
Permanent full time	79, 997	84, 375	86, 250
Temporary full time Part time	31, 864	32, 400	31, 850
Total, USDA	111, 861	116, 775	118, 100
Cooperative extension	15, 104	14, 980	14, 900
ASC county committees	104, 039	[1] 100, 469	[1] 100, 469
Department total	231, 004	232, 224	233, 469

[1] Represents approximately 23,000 man-years.

With respect to the number of vehicles in the Department, you will find on page 38 of the bill under title V, general provisions, 421 passenger vehicles for replacement. But this is just part of the story.

I put the question to some of the people in the Department, How many vehicles do you have in the Department of Agriculture?

Motor vehicles on hand as of June 30, 1965

Agency	Passenger vehicles				Trucks				Total
	Sedans	Station wagons	Ambulances	Buses	1 ton and less (4 by 2)	1 ton and less (4 by 4)	1½–2½ tons	3 tons and over	
Domestic based:									
ARS	1, 060	85	1	6	3, 022	468	291	45	4, 978
ASCS					5		42		47
CCC					142	1		6	149
C & MS	44	16			8				68
ERS	12								12
FS [1]	586	132		3	8, 632	1, 740	860	401	12, 354
SEC	1								1
SCS	853	39			10, 684	345	12	2	11, 935
SRS	23								23
Subtotal	2, 579	272	1	9	22, 493	2, 554	1, 205	454	29, 567
Foreign based:									
ARS	10	1			121	19	6	1	158
FAS	1	1			13	21			36
Subtotal	11	2			134	40	6	1	194
Total	2, 590	274	1	9	22, 627	2, 594	1, 211	455	29, 761

[1] Does not include Job Corps vehicles.

The total for trucks and ambulances was 29,761. That is a vehicle for one out of practically every three regular employees in the Department of Agriculture.

If we analyze and break this down in some of the other departments, I believe we will find figures that may be likewise fantastic. The gentleman from North

Carolina [Mr. Jonas] has made a great to-do in some of the other subcommittees with respect to travel in Government. Here we find the Department of Agriculture in fiscal year 1966 has direct appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and Forest Service of $38,083,000. In the coming fiscal year 1967, there will be almost $38,200,000.

Now with respect to the Federal crop insurance item in the measure, the budget request for appropriated funds was for $8,546,000, and our subcommittee allowed $8,343,000. While the budget called for $4 million from premium income, our subcommittee raised the figure to $4,150,000.

From a personal point of view, on the basis of the testimony given to us and in light of some of the very loose practices that have been uncovered in some sections of the country with respect to the operation of the Federal crop insurance program, I would like to have seen a far bigger share of the operating costs coming out of premium income and personally would be willing to see a moratorium on any expansion of the program in the coming year until some of these loose practices have been tightened up.

For example, I would cite several indemnity payments that were made in the State of Iowa for a corn crop failure; and mind you, these indemnity payments are up in the $7,000 and $8,000 figure. In one case, a heavily planted 240-acre field was estimated to yield only 17 bushels an acre, allegedly due to corn stunt virus; although corn on nearby farms harvested for grain yielded from 80 to 120 bushels or more per acre.

Iowa State University reported no corn stunt virus in the State the year this indemnity was paid, and the crop was not a complete failure at all for the farmers were big cattle feeders and simply put all corn into silage. As a matter of fact, it seems to have been a general practice in some areas for some farmers to plant their corn extra thick, knowing full well that it would not head out for a good yield but would make in the end very good silage.

There has been a cloak of secrecy which pretty well shrouds the operations of the FCIC.

Last year Mr. Luft, FCIC, said:

> Information regarding indemnities paid in a county are on file in the crop insurance county office and available to interested parties from that source (pt. 3, p. 262).

This year Mr. Luft did an about-face in this exchange:

> Mr. Michel. I am going to suggest that maybe some people have been denied and I don't mean only a Congressman asking for it. I think the general public has a right to know.
>
> Mr. Luft. I think what you are referring to is the denial of looking into the personal files of a farmer, an insured?
>
> Mr. Michel. No; I am not talking about that. You call it personal, but it is public knowledge if the Government fraudulently pays a claim to a farmer in an indemnity payment. You can call it personal, but it is not personal, it is public business.
>
> Mr. Luft. Well, under a recent memo issued, which has always been the policy in our offices, we state that FCIC representatives may make information available that is posted at the courthouse. I am referring to the indemnities. But as far as the producer's file, your file and mine, you as an insured and I as a corporation, the personal forms in that file are personal property, and other than employees of the Government or perhaps a Congressman on a committee could see them, but under no condition will we release this information. This is confidential information between two parties (pt. 3, p. 202).

Then too, in part 3, page 205 of the hearings you will find a very interesting exchange between Mr. Luft and myself on the subject of advertising engaged in by the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, which reads as follows:

> *Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, advertising costs, fiscal year 1960 through 1965*
>
> | Fiscal year: | *Amount* |
> |---|---|
> | 1960 | $805 |
> | 1961 | 1,961 |
> | 1962 | 18,747 |
> | 1963 | 69,505 |
> | 1964 | 118,045 |
> | 1965 | 117,383 |
>
> Cost for advertising prior to fiscal year 1960 was not maintained as a separate item of expense, since this amount was insignificant.
>
> Mr. Luft. This is paid advertising?
>
> We also get a lot of public service; many people misconstrue much of the advertising that you hear and see on television, and hear on radio, and other advertising in newspapers. Much of that is public service that we do not pay for. If we paid for all of the advertising that you hear and see, I know it would be excessive.
>
> Mr. Michel. Well, I am, in effect, suggesting that since it is a program that is in some competition with private industry, that if it can't be sold on its own as public service, you have no business using the taxpayers' money to advertise a program that is subsidized in part by other people.
>
> Mr. Luft. We do, Mr. Congressman, we do take this advertising money out of premium income.
>
> Mr. Michel. But you are still asking for $8 million appropriated money to run your program.

One could go through a number of these items and find that possibly we could have made a few more reductions. Overall, as I indicated, I know our chairman was put in a real straitjacket, as were all the members of the subcommittee. I think we have come up with a prety good bill, although, as I have pointed out, I have reserved on the REA and the ACP, and I will have to support those amendments, when offered.

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHEL. I yield to my friend from Wisconsin.

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Could the gentleman submit for the record, in addition to the figure of the increased number of employees in the Department of Agriculture, a figure for the corresponding decrease in the number of farmers now occupying farms?

Mr. MICHEL. As a matter of fact, the record shows the number of farmers has been decreasing, I believe as shown in the report, in the neighborhood of 800,000 a year. The point the gentleman makes is a good one. As there has been a decline in farms and in farmers there has been a corresponding increase in the number of employees.

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Is that known as Freeman's formula for a fiscal fiasco?

Mr. MICHEL. That is the gentleman's terminology, and we will let it rest at that.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHEL. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. As the gentleman knows, for quite some time I have been concerned about the cereal leaf beetle. Can my colleague advise the House what progress is being made in this connection?

Mr. MICHEL. In the budget request which came up to us in the area of research, this whole area was cut back in a number of respects, concerning which our committee was quite interested. We put back into this measure a sizable increase in research, aggregating some $19 million throughout the bill.

I am sure we will continue the war against the cereal leaf beetle, exactly as it is necessary to do in respect to the soybean cyst nematode and the fire ant in the South and all the other pests and diseases.

A number of those are spelled out in the report.

It is ridiculous to cut back in areas such as those, in which we have made gains, and throw it all to the winds because somebody wants to look good as being a great economizer and, of course, I refer to the President himself.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Can the gentleman assure me, so far as he is concerned, that there are to be adequate funds for research on the cereal leaf beetle, and that they have been earmarked?

Mr. MICHEL. I believe, because of the fact that we have had this dialog and because we intend to continue the program at the current level, that there is sufficient money to do the job.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I appreciate the gentleman's assurance.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHEL. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I understand there is such a thing as a *National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber*, and that the directing geniuses of it, apparently a political organization, consider what they call a modest honorarium to be $100 a day plus expenses. Would the gentleman care to comment on that item?

Mr. MICHEL. Let me ask the chairman: Did we leave the figure at that, or cut it down to $82?

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, I am sure we provided the regular per diem of $83 something a day. That is current throughout the Government.

Mr. MICHEL. That is right. We settled on $82 or $83. It is an odd figure, but it is the acceptable figure now in a number of other bills. We did that, in order to be consistent.

I submit it is a high figure, and the gentleman may wish to make another observation about it.

Mr. GROSS. Were they allowed the more than half million dollars they wanted to run this Commission?

Mr. WHITTEN. If the gentleman will yield further, we cut that Commission $295,000, leaving them the sum of $350,000.

Mr. GROSS. That helps my anguish a little bit.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHEL. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN] a question. In his remarks he went into detail as to why they restored the money for the school milk program. I wonder if he would care to explain as to why the Bureau of the Budget suggested these cuts.

Mr. WHITTEN. I have never been accused of being too close to the Bureau of the Budget, so I could not answer the gentleman.

Mr. MICHEL. May I make one observation? Through the years I have been taking the floor and criticizing this program to the extent that I did not feel the Federal Government was obligated to subsidize the milk or the school lunch of my kids who are in school. We have four children. They drink 10 gallons of milk a week at the house. When they go to school I understand our two football players and basketball players drink at least a pint a day in school. They are getting a 4-cent subsidy as they pay only 1 or 2 cents for it. Now, I do not think it is right for me in my salary bracket to have this subsidy, but by the same token I do not see how there is any practical way to go to each individual school and schoolchild and say: "Let us see, Johnny. Your dad makes so many grand, you must pay the full freight, and, Jimmy, your dad makes only so much; so we are going to give you the whole bundle." Frankly, I wish there were a way to do it, but under this whole aura of civil rights bills with talk of discrimination and so forth, I do not see how you can do it on the one hand and still comply with the act and the nondiscrimination routine on the other hand.

Mr. Chairman, in view of my particular interest in the REA program I should like at this point to insert in the RECORD several appropriate tables:

REA borrowers short of general funds requirement

REA electric borrowers with general funds in excess of 20 percent of plant, as reported by borrowers in descending order of percent as of—			Change
	Dec. 31, 1964	Sept. 30, 1965	
Kandiyohi Cooperative Electric Power Association, Willmar, Minn	57.6	59.3	+1.7
Winnebago Rural Electric Co-op Association, Thompson, Iowa	55.8	53.3	−2.5
Oahe Electric Cooperative, Inc., Blunt, S. Dak	51.7	52.9	+.3
East Central Electric Association, Braham, Minn	42.3	49.0	+6.7
Tricounty Rural Electric Co-op, Inc., Napoleon, Ohio	47.3	47.3	
Tri-County Electric Cooperative, Leesburg, Va	43.9	43.1	−.8
Hawkeye Tri-County Electric Cooperative, Cresco, Iowa	36.2	42.4	+6.2
Southern Indiana Rural Electric Cooperative, Inc., Tell City, Ind	42.1	40.7	−1.4
North Central Electric Cooperative, Inc., Attica, Ohio	40.2	39.6	−.6
Teche Electric Cooperative, Inc., Jeanerette, La	32.1	39.6	+7.5
Trukee Public Utility District, Trukee, Calif	40.3	39.5	−.8
Norris Electric Cooperative, Newton, Ill	38.2	39.4	+1.2
Bartholomew County REMC, Columbus, Ind	42.4	38.4	−4.0
Shelby Electric Cooperative, Shelbyville, Ill	37.6	38.4	+.8
Darke Rural Electric Cooperative, Inc., Greenville, Ohio	36.7	37.3	+.6
Newton County REMC, Kentland, Ind	36.3	36.7	+.4
Upson County Electric Membership Corp., Thomaston, Ga	31.7	34.2	+2.5
Midwest Electric, Inc., St. Marys, Ohio	30.0	34.1	+4.1
Johnson County REMC, Franklin, Ind	34.5	34.1	−.4
Renville-Sibley Cooperative Power Association, Danube, Minn	37.3	33.9	−3.4
North Western Electric Co-op., Inc., Bryan, Ohio	34.1	33.7	−.4
Seward County Rural Public Power District, Seward, Nebr	34.2	33.5	−.7
Rural Electric Division, Bryan, Tex	36.7	33.2	−3.5
Dunn County Electric Cooperative, Menomonie, Wis	34.8	32.8	−2.0
Chippewa Valley Electric Cooperative, Cornell, Wis	36.1	32.2	−3.9
Morrow Electric Co-op., Inc., Mount Gilead, Ohio	35.4	32.1	−3.3
Taylor County Rural Electric Cooperative Corp., Campbellsville, Ky	36.7	32.1	−4.5
Brown County Rural Electrical Association, Sleepy Eye, Minn	28.8	31.9	+3.1
Marion Rural Electric Co-op., Inc., Marion, Ohio	28.0	31.6	+3.6
Edgecombe-Martin County Electric Membership Corp., Tarboro, N.C	33.1	31.5	−1.6
Allamakee-Clayton Electric Co-op., Inc., Postville, Iowa	34.4	31.0	−3.4
Excelsior Electric Membership Corp., Metter, Ga	35.1	31.0	−4.1
Mountain Electric Cooperative, Inc., Mountain City, Tenn	32.2	30.9	−1.3
Clay Electric Cooperative, Inc., Flora, Ill	33.6	30.6	−3.0
Alamo Power District No. 3, Alamo, Nev	30.3	30.3	
Wood County Electric Co-op., Inc., Quitman, Tex	32.5	30.1	−2.4
North Alabama Electric Cooperative, Stevenson, Ala	31.1	29.7	−1.4
The Minnesota Valley Electric Cooperative, Jordan, Minn	29.9	29.4	−.5
Rock County Electric Cooperative Association, Janesville, Wis	28.8	29.3	+.5
Woodbury County Rural Electric Co-op. Association, Moville, Iowa	30.6	29.3	−1.3
Tri County Electric Cooperative, Rushford, Minn	29.1	29.2	+.1
Nobles Cooperative Electric, Worthington, Minn	30.2	28.7	−1.5
Rural Electric Convenience Co-op, Auburn, Ill	30.2	28.5	−1.7
Laclede Electrical Cooperative, Lebanon, Mo	28.4	28.1	−.3
South Crawford Rural Electric Cooperative, Denison, Iowa	30.5	28.1	−2.4
Lyon Rural Electric Cooperative, Rock Rapids, Iowa	28.1	28.0	−.1
Goodhue County Cooperative Electric Association, Zumbrota, Minn	29.2	27.9	−1.3
Littlefield Electric Cooperative, Inc., Littlefield, Ariz	27.8	27.8	
Cedar-Knox County Rural Public Power District, Hartington, Nebr	27.4	27.6	+.2
Grundy County Rural Electric Co-op, Grundy Center, Iowa	23.6	27.5	+3.9
Marshall County REMC, Plymouth, Ind	21.4	27.4	+6.0
Union Rural Electric Co-op, Inc., Marysville, Ohio	26.5	27.3	+.8
Orange County REMC, Orleans, Ind	31.1	27.0	−4.1
Eau Claire Electric Cooperative, Eau Claire, Wis	32.3	26.9	−5.4
Lafayette Electric Cooperative, Darlington, Wis	25.4	26.9	+1.5
Richland Cooperative Electric Association, Richland Center, Wis	30.0	26.8	−3.2
Ida County Rural Electric Co-op, Ida Grove, Iowa	27.8	26.7	−1.1
Calhoun County Electric Co-op Association, Rockwell City, Iowa	28.3	26.7	−2.4
Morgan County Rural Electric Association, Fort Morgan, Colo	29.8	26.6	−3.2
McLeod Cooperative Power Association, Glencoe, Minn	24.7	26.5	+1.8
Hot Springs County Rural Electric Association, Inc., Thermopolis, Wyo	27.0	26.3	−.7
Illinois Valley Electric Co-op, Inc., Princeton, Ill	29.2	26.2	−3.0
Clark Electric Cooperative, Greenwood, Wis	25.7	26.1	+.4
Frontier Power Co., Coshocton, Ohio	27.4	26.1	−1.3
Plymouth Electric Co-op Association, Le Mars, Iowa	35.1	26.1	−9.0
Carroll Electric Co-op, Inc., Carrollton, Ohio	29.7	25.9	−3.8
Knox County REMC, Vincennes, Ind	26.3	25.8	−.5
Wayne-White Counties Electric Co-op, Fairfield, Ill	23.5	25.8	+2.3
Southwest Central Rural Electric Cooperative Corp., Indiana, Pa	27.7	25.7	−2.0
Clearwater-Polk Electric Cooperative, Inc., Bagley, Minn	33.2	25.6	−7.6
Pioneer Electric Cooperative, Inc., Greenville, Ala		25.6	New
Blue Earth-Nicollet Cooperative Electric Association, Mankato, Minn	26.5	25.4	−1.1
Edgar Electric Co-op Association, Paris, Ill	26.9	25.2	−1.7
Johnson County Electric Co-op Association, Cleburne, Tex	29.3	25.1	−4.2
Mountrail Electric Cooperative, Inc., Stanley, N. Dak	25.7	25.1	−.6
South River Electric Membership Corp., Dunn, N.C	27.4	25.1	−2.3
Fayette Electric Cooperative ,Inc., La Grange, Tex	26.4	25.0	−1.4
Capital Electric Power Association, Clinton, Miss	25.7	25.0	−.7
Lagrange County, REMC, Lagrange, Ind	26.9	25.0	−1.9
Umatilla Electric Cooperative Association, Hermiston, Oreg	42.2	24.9	−17.3
Illini Electric Cooperative, Champaign, Ill	28.6	24.9	−3.7
Elkhorn Rural Public Power District, Battle Creek, Nebr	27.6	24.8	−2.8
Southwestern Minnesota Cooperative Electric, Pipestone, Minn	26.2	24.8	−1.6
Redwood Electric Cooperative, Clements, Minn	20.3	24.7	+4.4
T.I.P. Rural Electric Co-op, Brooklyn, Iowa	23.0	24.6	+1.6
Deep East Texas Electric Co-op, Inc., San Augustine, Tex	25.2	24.5	−.7
Overton Power District No. 5, Overton, Nev		24.5	New
Federated Rural Electric Association, Jackson, Minn	26.2	24.5	−1.7
Farmers Electric Co-op, Inc., Greenfield, Iowa	23.8	24.5	+.7
The C. & W. Rural Electric Cooperative Association, Inc., Clay Center, Kans	25.0	24.2	−.8
Eastern Illinois Power Co-op, Paxton, Ill		24.0	New
Butler Rural Electric Co-op, Inc., Hamilton, Ohio	22.2	23.5	+1.3
Piedmont Electric Membership Corp., Hillsboro, N.C	25.2	22.7	−2.5
Traverse Electric Cooperative, Inc., Wheaton, Minn	23.5	22.7	−.8
D.E.K. Rural Electric Cooperative, Estherville, Iowa	21.9	22.5	+.6
Upshur Rural Electric Co-op, Inc., Gilmer, Tex	28.3	22.4	−5.9
Coastal Electric Cooperative, Inc., Waterboro, S.C	21.3	22.3	+1.0
Firelands Electric Co-op, Inc., New London, Ohio	21.1	22.3	+1.2
The Tippah Electric Power Association, Ripley, Miss	21.3	22.3	+1.0
Lyon-Lincoln Electric Cooperative, Inc., Tyler, Minn	21.6	22.2	+.6
Lincoln County Power District No. 1, Pioche, Nev		22.0	New
The D.S. & O. Rural Electric Cooperative Association, Inc., Solomon, Kans	20.5	22.0	+1.5
People's Cooperative Power Association, Rochester, Minn	22.4	21.9	−.5
Corn Belt Electric Co-op, Inc., Bloomington, Ill	22.9	21.7	−1.2
The Nemaha-Marshall Electric Cooperative Association, Inc., Axtell, Kans		21.6	
Humboldt County Rural Electric Co-op, Humboldt, Iowa		21.6	
Taylor County Electric Cooperative, Medford, Wis	30.6	21.5	−9.1
The Brown-Atchison Electric Cooperative Association, Inc., Horton, Kans		21.5	
Shelby County REMC, Shelbyville, Ind		21.5	
Logan County Co-op, Power & Light Association, Inc., Bellefontaine, Ohio	20.0	21.4	+1.4
Lincoln-Union Electric Co., Alcestor, S. Dak	22.1	21.3	−.8
Pella Cooperative Electric Association, Pella, Iowa		21.3	
Kankakee Valley REMC, Wanatah, Ind		21.1	
Holmes-Wayne Electric Co-op, Inc., Millersburg, Ohio		21.0	
Greenwood County Rural Electric System, Greenwood, S.C		20.9	
Todd Wadena Electric Cooperative, Wadena, Minn		20.9	
Metlakatla Indian Community, Metlakatla, Alaska		20.8	
Washington Island Electric Co-op, Inc., Washington Island, Wis		20.8	

REA borrowers short of general funds requirement—Continued

REA electric borrowers with general funds in excess of 20 percent of plant, as reported by borrowers in descending order of percent as of—	Dec. 31, 1964	Sept. 30, 1965	Change
Naknek Electric Cooperative, Inc., Naknek, Alaska	23.3	20.6	−2.7
Guernsey-Muskingum Electric Co-op, Inc., New Concord, Ohio	21.0	20.6	−.4
Pitt & Greene Electric Membership Corp., Farmville, N.C.		20.6	
Steuben Rural Electric Co-op, Inc., Bath, N.Y		20.6	
Coles-Moultrie Electric Cooperative, Matton, Ill	20.8	20.6	−.2
South Central Arkansas Electric Cooperative, Inc., Arkadelphia, Ark		20.6	
Tri-County Electric Cooperative Association, Inc., Lancaster, Mo	22.0	20.5	−1.5
Cooke County Electric Co-op Association, Muenster, Tex		20.4	
Butler County Rural Public Power District, David City, Nebr	20.6	20.4	−.2
Covington Electric Cooperative, Inc., Andalusia, Ala		20.4	
Trempealeau Electric Cooperative, Arcadia, Wis	21.0	20.3	−.7
Dairyland Power Cooperative, La Crosse, Wis		20.3	
Buchanan County Rural Electric Co-op, Independence, Iowa	21.3	20.3	−1.0
Rusk County Electric Co-op, Inc., Henderson, Tex		20.2	
Paulding-Putnam Electric Co-op, Inc., Paulding, Ohio		20.2	
4-county Electric Power Association, Columbus, Miss		20.2	
Lake Region Cooperative Electrical Association, Pelican Rapids, Minn		20.2	
Fort Belknap Electric Co-op, Inc., Olney, Tex		20.1	
Sequachee Valley Electric Cooperative, South Pittsburg, Tenn		20.1	
Belmont Electric Co-op, Inc., St. Clairsville, Ohio		20.1	

Last year the above list carried 148 co-ops—38 of that number have been dropped because they have fallen below 20 percent. However 28 new co-ops have been added this year because they have risen above 20 percent and the total of compliers is 138. Little change from last year and I call again upon the administrator to bear down and get us some significant improvement in this picture for next year's record.

REA electric loans and applications, fiscal years 1966 and 1967

	By purpose			
	Distribution	G. & T.	Consumer facilities	Total
FISCAL YEAR 1966				
Loans approved, fiscal year 1964	$158,863,833	$102,085,167	$510,000	$261,459,000
Loans approved, fiscal year 1965 through Apr. 10, 1965	92,450,000	176,900,000	140,000	269,490,000
Applications remaining on hand, Apr. 10, 1965	88,708,000	93,257,000	1,853,000	183,818,000
Applications expected, Apr. 11, through June 30, 1965	51,797,000	96,565,000	474,000	148,836,000
Applications expected, fiscal year 1966	190,000,000	208,000,000	2,000,000	400,000,000
FISCAL YEAR 1967				
Loans approved, fiscal year 1965	$150,436,564	$229,091,436	$445,000	$379,973,000
Loans approved, fiscal year 1966 through Jan. 31, 1966	68,449,827	106,870,173	230,000	175,550,000
Applications remaining on hand, Jan. 31, 1966	94,893,000	143,333,000	1,986,000	240,212,000
Applications expected Feb. 1 through June 30, 1966 [1]	76,628,000	108,060,000	1,475,000	186,163,000
Applications expected, fiscal year 1967	164,000,000	435,000,000	1,000,000	600,000,000

[1] Based on experience during 1st 6 months.

Source: Fiscal year 1966 hearings, pt. 4, p. 454, and fiscal year 1967 hearings, pt. 2, p. 163.

REA unadvanced electric loan funds

[In millions]

Years since loan was made	G. & T. borrowers	Distribution borrowers	Total
AS OF JUNE 30, 1963			
3 years or less	$373.1	$287.4	$660.5
3 to 5 years	39.5	49.5	89.0
5 to 7 years	15.2	24.3	39.5
7 to 10 years	10.6	6.8	17.4
Over 10 years	5.8	2.1	7.9
Total	444.2	[1] 370.1	814.3
AS OF DEC. 31, 1964			
3 years or less	390.5	285.4	675.9
3 to 5 years	111.7	33.6	145.3
5 to 7 years	18.2	15.3	33.5
7 to 10 years	13.5	10.7	24.2
Over 10 years	3.6	1.6	5.2
Total	537.5	[2] 346.6	884.1
AS OF DEC. 31, 1965			
3 years or less	391.9	266.3	658.2
3 to 5 years	142.2	23.8	166.0
5 to 7 years	6.8	10.8	17.6
7 to 10 years	24.9	12.6	37.5
Over 10 years	2.1	1.8	3.9
Total	567.9	315.3	883.2

[1] Includes $64,000,000 loaned to distribution borrowers for generation and transmission purposes.

[2] Includes $77,000,000 loaned to distribution borrowers for generation and transmission purposes.

Source: Hearings, fiscal year 1965, pt. 4, p. 46; fiscal year 1966, pt. 4, p. 470; fiscal year 1967, pt. 2, p. 166.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHEL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Chairman, I wish to commend the committee for its wise actions which are truly in the best interests of the American farmer.

Despite the beating that the American farmer is suffering at the hands of the Commerce Department, the Defense Department, and the Agriculture Department, the committee has refused to go along with this administration's "cheat the farmer" campaign.

Increased by the committee were the funds for the very effective school lunch and school milk programs. The committee has added $29 million for the special milk program which places the appropriation level for fiscal 1967 at nearly the same level as this current year. School lunch program funds were increased by $19 million over the administration's request, which is a $19 million increase over the present level. No program in recent history has waged a more effective war on poverty in our schools and rural areas. The only thing missing from this program is some type of fancy slogan which is probably just as well because the fancy slogan used in another assault on poverty only glosses over massive waste and maladministration.

Department of Agriculture officials predicted that school milk consumption would drop 1 billion half pints next year if the administration's plans were accepted. The obvious result would be that the Government would have to purchase more milk under the dairy price-support program, negating any real saving.

What possible justification can there be for reducing by even $1 a program which is a vanguard against poverty when even the administration has decided to step up its efforts in rural areas? If reductions are needed in the Agriculture Department, why not cut back in funds for the Commodity Credit Corporation which has deliberately driven down prices by dumping grain on the market instead of taking the milk money? Under the phony, paper economy proposal of the administration, instead of going into children's stomachs, the milk would be powdered and stored in warehouses at Government expense.

There can be no other conclusion after analyzing the proposed cutback than that the administration has been misleading the American people at the direct expense of our farmers and young people. For years, this program has been recognized as one of great value to the general health and welfare of our children. Time and again, campaigns have been launched to encourage people to increase their consumption of milk. Now suddenly we are told that the milk program for our children is no longer of such importance.

I am very pleased to see the committee's increase for this special milk program and school lunch program.

One of the most serious proposed reductions was in money for the REA programs which were not only scheduled to be cut back by $132 million for fiscal

1967, but also had an equal amount impounded from this year's authorization.

This is no time to cripple REA when communication lines and extensions are urgently needed to provide electrical distribution to the farms of South Dakota and the Nation. If the administration actually advanced this cut in an effort to economize, then I would recommend that we tighten our belts and go along, but while he proposed to cut the heart out of REA and the farmer generally, he asked for millions to pay the rent for city dwellers whose incomes vastly exceed the annual incomes of most farmers.

The committee has increased loan authorizations for the REA by $145 million and for the RTA by $12 million. This action restores the appropriation for these programs to the full 1966 level.

One of the oldest Federal grant programs is that to land-grant colleges. The recommended cut of $12 million in this program would have seriously affected many State colleges and universities. The fallacy of this reduction was especially apparent at this time when there is a need to increase the number of competent agricultural specialists.

Fortunately the committee has averted tragedy which would have resulted from these reductions and increased Cooperative State Research Service funds by $7.5 million. This figure is slightly higher than the 1966 appropriation.

One of the major actions of the committee is also most fortunate. In the President's budget, the number of new starts on watershed planning and construction projects were limited to 50 and 35 respectively. The committee has recommended that these be increased to their present number which would allow 100 new planning starts and 80 new construction starts. The committee has also increased planning funds by $289,000 over the 1966 level and has increased construction funds by $689,000.

Previously, I introduced legislation which would unlock some of the funds for 1966 appropriations for these programs and restore the number of new starts to their current level. Therefore, this action by the committee is most welcome.

The funds for consumer protection and marketing programs have been increased by more than $5 million. This increase includes $2 million for meat inspection and $1 million for poultry inspection. As more meat packing centers are opened the demand for inspectors has increased. In my district, for example, one medium sized plant has had to pay for its own inspection simply because it is far from a large packing center. This increase will alleviate this problem and offer the American consumer both greater protection and a better guaranteed standard of living.

The American farmer has been forgotten by everyone, it appears, except the House committee. Again I wish to commend the committee for its actions.

I also wish to highly commend Chairman WHITTEN for his statement and agree completely with his view that congressional checks must be maintained over these long-established and effective programs. As the chairman pointed out, the programs under the control of congressional allocation formulas were cut by the administration, whereas the programs handled by the executive branch administrators were greatly increased in the President's budget. It is reassuring to know the Appropriations Committee has seen through this fakery and has exercised its belief that the American farmer should not be the Great Society's whipping boy just because he has less voting power than the urban areas of the country.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to my colleague on the committee, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. NATCHER].

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Chairman, the Subcommittee on Agriculture of the Appropriations Committee once again brings to the floor of the House for your approval the annual appropriations bill for the Department of Agriculture.

We recommend a total appropriation of $6,909,027,000 for the fiscal year 1967. This is a reduction of $113,611,000 in the total budget requests which called for $7,022,638,000.

This bill provides the necessary funds for the operation of the Agriculture Department's activities. More than half of the total amount appropriated in the bill applies directly to benefits for the consumer. This bill contains money both for agriculture and services for consumers. We provide the necessary funds for our milk, school lunch, food stamp, and direct distribution of food to the needy programs.

We make adequate provision in the bill to continue our expanded tobacco research program. Several years ago we decided that additional research in tobacco was necessary. Realizing that this is a $10 billion industry, it was agreed that more research was necessary. In 1960 the sum of $250,000 was appropriated for additional tobacco research. At this time the Commonwealth of Kentucky appropriated the necessary funds to construct a laboratory building to cost $4½ million. In addition, the legislature apppropriated $50,000 additional funds for tobacco research. It was agreed that since the facilities were furnished at no cost to the Federal Government a new tobacco research facility would be established at the University of Kentucky in Lexington, Ky. Here we are today operating a very thorough research program and I sincerely believe that the benefits to be derived from this research will more than offset its cost. Twenty-one of our States produce tobacco and over 700,000 families are involved in the production of this commodity. Since the report of the Surgeon General, a number of developments have taken place that have caused our people some concern regarding the use of tobacco.

At the University of Kentucky we have a program underway to discover if tobacco and smoking result in the release of compounds which can cause serious physical and physiological problems to the user. Up to this time no one has discovered the compounds that may be concerned. Research is underway which will ultimately, we hope, discover and make a complete inventory of the chemicals that are present in the cured tobacco leaf and follow this process on through the burning process from the smoking of tobacco. In addition, tests are underway through a biological testing procedure to separate and test each of the compounds and to determine what effects, if any, they have upon experimental animals. When any compounds are discovered that are suspicious, then the attention of those in charge of this program will be directed to the different tobacco breeding stocks to discover which of the stocks is completely deficient or low in such compounds. We thereby, through the breeding process, after such discoveries, can produce tobacco which will contain none or substantially little amounts of any detrimental compounds which are identified. Three-fourths of the money contained in this bill for tobacco research will be devoted to the health related aspects of the tobacco problem.

This bill provides adequate funds for our Extension Service. Cooperative agricultural extension work was established by the Smith-Leber Act of May 8, 1914, as amended. This legislation authorized the Department of Agriculture to give, through the land-grant colleges, instruction and practical demonstrations in agriculture and home economics and related subjects and to encourage the application of such information by means of demonstrations, publications, and otherwise to persons not attending or resident in the colleges. The basic job of the cooperative extension service is to help people identify and solve their farming, home, and community problems through use of research findings of the Department of Agriculture and the State land-grant colleges. We know that our State and county extension work is financed from Federal, State, county, and local sources. In using these funds we employ our county agents, home demonstration agents, 4-H Club agents and State specialists who conduct the joint educational programs adapted to local problems and conditions.

Our Extension Service is recognized to be the world's largest and most successful system of informal education oriented to help people solve their problems and to develop opportunities in their homes, businesses, and their communities. Our Extension Service has achieved very effective results throughout our land, with a minimum of cost. During the year of 1966 our Extension programs reached directly more than 8,715,000 homemakers and many millions of others indirectly through mass media and indirect contacts. Our Extension agents worked directly with more than 3,800,000 farmers and 699,000 operators of agricultural marketing firms. The work of our Extension agent is more important today than ever before. This is one of our successful programs in agriculture and under no circumstances should we permit this program to be eliminated.

This bill makes adequate provision for our Soil Conservation Service. We have restored most of the funds reduced by the Bureau of the Budget for our Soil Survey Service which, by the way, has become more important each year. As we all know, our Soil Conservation Service was established in 1935 and this is the Service that assists soil conservation districts and other cooperators, watershed groups and Federal and State agencies having related responsibilities in bringing about physical adjustments in land use that will conserve soil and water resources, provide for agricultural production on a sustained basis, and reduce damages by floods and sedimentation. The major programs carried out by our Soil Conservation Service are in our conservation operations, watershed planning, watershed protection; flood prevention; Great Plains conservation and resource conservation and development activities. The amount recommended for this Service is $228,510,000, which is $1,525,000 over the amount appropriated for fiscal year 1966.

For Agricultural Research Service we recommend the sum of $197,437,000.

For Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service we recommend $706,258,000. This is an adequate amount to carry this Service through the fiscal year of 1967.

We have restored the necessary funds for our special milk and school lunch programs. Certainly there should be no reduction in these two programs at this time.

Mr. Chairman, our committee recommends this bill to the Members of the House.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I am glad to yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN].

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Chairman, it is highly heartening to see a bill before us that does not bear the stamp, "Written in the White House." This is a rare, but welcome, experience for those of us who have witnessed a long parade of legislation that was conceived downtown, written downtown, and for all practical purposes, passed downtown. But today we have a rare opportunity to regain a bit of control in the legislative branch of our Government, to put a little spunk back into Congress, and let the people's voice again be heard. It is a good feeling, and I hope it is but a harbinger of things to come. This is an encouraging day for the farmers, consumers, and the Congress.

As we all know, the bill under consideration today represents a substantial change from the budget recommendations submitted by the administration, restoring most of the programs slated for reduction by the budget recommendation, and cutting elsewhere on items considered in the committee's wisdom to be less essential to the future of American agriculture and the U.S. consumer.

I will not spend much of my time today in reiterating the points discussed in the committee report, since I am confident our distinguished chairman of the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee, Mr. WHITTEN, and the distinguished ranking minority member of that subcommittee, Mr. MICHEL, have presented persuasive facts and figures along those lines. They are to be highly commended for their diligent work on this bill, and it was a distinct pleasure to have had the privilege of serving with them on the subcommittee.

Perhaps we are quite familiar with the fact that this bill restores the funds for valuable research in insect control, plant and animal diseases, and research work at land-grant colleges. The long-range continuity and effectiveness of the county agent system has been restored. Funds are here for water and soil pollution control even though the budget recommended less attention to the protection and development of our watersheds. Activities of the important Soil Conservation Service have been maintained. The growing need and demand for electricity and telephones in rural areas is recognized in this bill. And we have recognized that the lack of nutritious and well-balanced meals is not restricted to families in just the lower-income brackets, by restoring the school milk and school lunch funds.

To have allowed these programs to be reduced or eliminated would have made a mockery out of the actions of past Congresses that rightly started these programs and saw them grow into successful operations. Research that was needed last year and the years before, is needed even more today. School milk and lunches, providing needed nutrition to millions of youngsters, do not suddenly outlive their usefulness. To have acted otherwise would have been tragic for the future.

The committee report sums it up succinctly by stating:

> If the committee and the Congress were to follow the recommendations of the 1967 budget for the Department of Agriculture, our whole economy would be endangered, as would our international commitments. If such a policy as the administration advocates were followed for only a few years, the United States would likely be a food deficit country instead of one of abundance.

Before proceeding further, it is wise to ponder a moment on the purpose of the appropriation we are making today, and its relationship to the Department of Agriculture. First of all, these moneys should provide for a healthy American agriculture, assuring some fair level of security for those who produce our Nation's food and fiber. And secondly, our investment in the Department of Agriculture should provide an adequate, high-quality supply of food for our people, at reasonable prices.

Mr. Chairman, the budget recommendations did not sustain either one of these objectives. In fact, the budget was a threat to the farmer because the moneys appropriated would too often be used to control the prices he receives. And it would be a threat to the consumer of the future because the research necessary to provide the food of tomorrow would have been curtailed. The bill before us today has rectified many of these deficiencies.

When a committee of Congress is at as much variance with administration requests as is apparent in this bill, there appear serious questions as to why the differences exist.

Some have said that the administration has no intention of scuttling the tried and proven programs that were slated for reductions under the budget; that the administration was confident that Congress would restore the funds, putting the "spending" label on Congress rather than itself. If such an explanation is true, then it is a cruel game to be playing with this Nation's greatest natural resource, agriculture. At best it is a brazen attempt to finance new and untried spending schemes at the expense of this Nation's future food supply.

Perhaps this battle of direction and purpose started a number of years ago, such as was revealed in our discussion on this floor a year ago when another agriculture appropriations bill was being debated. Some of these same budgetary reductions were in that bill, and also were restored, which should have given them some sort of indication on the mood of Congress in the matter. I recall saying at that time, during the discussion on the value of crop research and its relationship to today's abundance:

> We can go back all the way to the 1920's, and certainly it was true in the 1930's, that the wheat rust epidemics were so bad that many burned entire fields of wheat because they were not worth harvesting. Now, had our research people not been able to produce new rust-resistant varieties, and to have done so consistently and periodically with the cycles that are characteristic of rust, this Nation would not be producing any wheat today. The same is true of almost every crop you can think of.

Plant and animal diseases are never completely conquered. History has provided too many examples of age-old crop diseases being conquered, only to reappear in hybridized form later. Only continuing research can keep our crops, hence our food supply, free of disease and pestilence. As the report on this bill so aptly puts it, history teaches us that the food-deficit countries of the world started on their decline by failing to give adequate attention to the protection and development of their basic natural resources. This is true of nearly every country we aid today. We must not make the same mistake.

Dr. O. Meredith Wilson, president of one of our great land-grant institutions, the University of Minnesota, recently wrote:

> As a historian I think the record is clear: American achievements in agriculture are our most impressive achievements and perhaps our strongest weapons against propaganda of Communist countries. I find it hard to understand why Federal policy would want to abandon a clearly successful policy which has given us unquestioned leadership for other policies where our leadership is still in dispute.

I, too, find it hard to understand why Federal—administration—policy would want to abandon a clearly successful policy, were it not for the number of instances in which their attitude has not been in the best interests of American agriculture. All we have to do is look at the record.

This administration, Mr. Chairman, has consistently used its power to effectively keep a lid on needed farm income and depress farm prices. And then when the cost of living goes up, this administration completely ignores the costs of labor, packaging, and all the other expenses connected with food, and lays the blame on the farmer who represents the smallest part of the American food dollar.

While the Secretary of Agriculture was expressing pleasure over dropping farm prices, his statistical reporting services in his Department were forecasting lower farm income for the remainder of the year. However, the Department's Economic Research Service's "Farm Income Situation" report for April of 1966 reported gleefully that "the Nation's farmers likely will enjoy one of their most prosperous years in 1966. Realized net farm income this year probably will be up about a billion dollars over the $14.1 billion estimated for 1965."

But, do not stop reading, because in the very next paragraph it says:

> Government payments to farmers are expected to rise by close to a billion dollars over last year's total of $2.5 billion reflecting changes in farm programs.

So there you have it, Mr. Chairman, a frank admission that the billion-dollar increase in realized net farm income for the year, if it materializes, will be due to Government payments, not an improved market situation. It then becomes readily apparent that the market prices of farm commodities are not solely to blame for the rise in the cost of living. There are plenty of other reasons for the rise in the cost of living, such as the administration's continuing inflationary fiscal policies.

Exploring the farm income situation a bit further, it is interesting to note that in 1960 Government payments represented only 5.9 percent of net farm income, but will represent 23.3 percent in 1966.

The truth of the matter is that the American farmer is still living on but about 60 percent of the income his city cousins get, and that market prices for his products remain at low levels, with this administration making particular effort to keep them there.

It has been through the Department of Agriculture, which is supported by the moneys we appropriate today, that this administration has manipulated and controlled the farm marketplace to successfully beat down farm prices and keep them at depressed levels.

Huge quantities of Government-owned grain have been dumped on the market in an effort to depress both grain and livestock prices. Commodity Credit Corporation wheat has been used to depress prices, and often just the threat of such a Government sale has caused prices to nose-dive. Large amounts of corn have been sold from CCC bins. In fact, they have cleaned out the elevators in many areas where there is a real demand for feed, thus adding to the cost of supplying feed corn from long distances. To show the true intent of such corn sales by the CCC, you had only to note the confession by the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors on nationwide television on March 10 that the heavy corn sales were made to "hold down the price of corn. The Government's acquired large stocks of corn in its past price support operation, now we are releasing them into the market."

Even the Secretary of Agriculture, who calls charges of CCC dumping "political noise," admitted last year before the House Agriculture Committee that the purpose of heavy CCC feed-grain sales in 1961–62 was "to move our prices down far enough so that they would be way below the support level, the loan level, so that we could thereby get compliance."

This administration has moved in other agricultural areas, as well. For instance, prices to thousands of domestic sugarbeet and sugarcane growers are being held down by opening the door to unlimited imports of foreign sugar during the remainder of the first two quarters of this year. The prospect of expanded dairy imports is a factor in that industry, with the price of milk, butter, and cheese being forced downward. Prospects for the dairy industry would have been even worse if the administration had succeeded in cutting the heart out of the school milk program. It could have resulted in a decrease of a billion half pints of milk a year with the resulting lowering of prices, and represents another obvious maneuver to control the prices of dairy products.

Many of us noted the abrupt action to take pork and butter from the tables of our boys in service. The result, of course, reduces the farm price on these commodities. It seems inconceivable that it could be more important to hold down farm prices than to adequately provide a proper diet for our fighting men.

The beef industry also discovered how the administration operates to limit income. Only this time the tables were turned from imports to exports. Just 2 years ago when heavy cattle imports glutted the U.S. market and low prices were forcing many cattlemen to the wall, Secretary of Commerce Hodges advised the farmers to "quit whining" and go out and look for new foreign markets for beef and beef products. Livestock producers carefully built up an export market for hides used in leather products such as shoes. Prices on hides went up, but were still comparatively low when the Commerce Department, with no objection from the Agriculture Department, ordered exports restricted. The result was an immediate drop in hide prices to American producers.

The irony of the cattle hide story is that the export restrictions were justified by the administration to forestall a rise in the price of shoes in the United States. Shoe prices are going up anyway, which is ample proof of the folly followed by this administration in attempting to control farm prices as a means of controlling the prices of finished products.

Mr. Chairman, it occurs to me that contained in the bill before us are the very moneys that the Department of Agriculture will subsequently use to further depress farm prices, such as the funds with which to operate the Commodity Credit Corporation. It kind of makes me wonder if we should trust the Department with a single penny of the $6.9 billion figure on this package if they are going to continue using it to depress farm income. There also is a question of how wise it is to appropriate $3½ billion with which to pay our farmers under the support and retirement programs when whatever money they get will be offset by that same Agriculture Department's efforts to depress his markets.

The Department of Agriculture figures show that average prices received by farmers for the commodities they market were 13 percent lower in February 1966, than they were in the same month of 1951. On the other hand, Bureau of Labor Statistics figures show that in 1951 it took $9.54 to buy at retail the same food items and amounts which today cost $11.10, an increase of more than 16 percent. With farm prices down 13 percent and retail food prices up 16 percent, clearly the villain is not the farmer. I suggest the real culprit is this administration's inflationary policies.

Mr. Chairman, the obvious efforts to control and restrict farm prices and income is completely inconsistent with the purposes and objectives of the farm programs. Our farm programs, with price supports and diversion payments, are designed to create and maintain adequate market prices and have as their objective the principle of parity for our farmers. But the administration nullifies the gains made by the farm programs in a deliberate effort to restrict and control prices. The bill reported by the committee seriously questions the propriety of the Department of Agriculture working for and against agriculture at the same time, raising the question of whether past moneys have been properly expended. To have adopted the administration's recommendations would have only contributed further to the confusion and would have given the administration additional powers with which to control our agricultural economy. Those proposed agricultural budget cuts actually sustain the complete disregard exhibited by this administration for the well-being of U.S. agriculture, and reflect a complete lack of understanding of the strength of our Nation and the real reason for our abundance.

Mr. Chairman, this administration is tinkering dangerously with our greatest natural resource. And I seriously question the objective of such tinkering. What good does it do to have farm programs designed to strengthen agriculture and then turn right around and nullify the gains by departmental action? Why have workable programs such as school milk and school lunches, and then turn right around and recommend their extinction just to finance untried new programs designed to help but a few? Why would any group of Americans want to scuttle the important research so necessary to the maintenance of a pure food supply just to finance such items as rent subsidies or the teachers' corps? Just what good is a poverty program if we no longer have food?

As one educator wrote me recently:

> A reduction in agricultural research funds at this time, when world attention is being increasingly directed to a world food crisis, seems particularly incongruous to us.

The administration's entire approach to our domestic problems seems entirely incongruous to me.

I note that the administration's budget recommendations called for a shifting of funds for the valuable Extension Service, which has operated so well across our land. One of the reasons for such a shift was to direct funds toward poverty areas. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the Extension Service has proven itself not only of great value to the entire Nation, but is one of the few successful poverty agencies in existence today. A recent national study indicated that in the North Central States, for instance, about 34 percent of total extension time was invested in work with families whose annual incomes were below $3,000. These Extension Services, administered largely through our land-grant colleges and universities, have recognized the need for expanded work in resource development and poverty areas and have devoted additional attention to those areas. But under the budget proposals, they would be penalized for their foresight. Unfortunately, the transferring of funds from programs that are currently successful to other areas of the Nation that Washington considers in greater need, could well result in the creation of new poverty pockets in the areas where working programs had been in existence.

Mr. Chairman, the issue today is not over any individual money item in this bill. I suppose that each individual item recommended for reduction in the budget would not in itself have a great effect on the Nation. But put together and considered as a package, these reductions would have a tremendous effect on this Nation. To acquiesce to the administration's requests, coupled with the other inconsistencies we have noted in their relationship to U.S. agriculture, would give our tacit approval to a completely new direction or policy toward the production and producers of food and fiber. It is a matter of principle, the principle of maintaining the forces that have made U.S. agriculture the envy of the world, or of sacrificing these gains for the fulfillment of other, less basic, needs.

By approving this bill today we cannot reverse all of the momentum that has been put into force against the best interests of U.S. agriculture, the consumer, and our country's future greatness, but we can at least put a very big stumbling block in the way of the Federal planners who would move our agricultural ability from the firm foundation of experience to the shifting sands of bureaucratic contradictions.

It is to prevent that kind of maneuvering that your committee has responded in restoring those funds and in relying more heavily on the programs and the distribution of funds where Congress will have something to say about it.

Incidentally, that also means that the people will have something to say about it, and so the distribution may be uniform throughout the Nation, not in prescribed areas, not to prescribed individuals, as someone in Washington has determined, but, on an equitable basis and in accordance with programs that have been tried, proven, and found to be acceptable by the public.

So on that basis I very heartily recommend the bill to you.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. SISK].

Mr. SISK. Mr. Chairman, I, too, wish to commend the committee and the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN] on a very difficult and trying job well done.

I have appeared before his committee, along with many others of my colleagues, I am sure, particularly with reference to the school lunch program, the milk program, and other matters that were of concern. I particularly appreciate the actions taken by the committee in restoring these funds.

I do want to take this time, Mr. Chairman, to discuss briefly some of the language of the report with reference to research. Again, I wish to compliment the committee for its continued interest in research, because I think that there is no part of this bill which is more important, or is of greater importance to the American people, the urbanites as well as the rural people, than continued research and improvement in the food and fiber programs, making it possible for the farmer to do a more efficient job in production.

At the present time the American farmer is confronted with ever-increasing costs of production all across the board. One of the very serious problems of the farmer is the situation with reference to labor costs, because of developments, particularly in recent years, of difficulty involved in harvesting many of our specialty crops.

We have some very serious labor shortages. This has brought about an intensive effort to develop labor-saving devices to make it possible for each individual farm laborer to produce more per man. So I am particularly appreciative of the consideration which the committee has given in this area.

If I may have the attention of the chairman just briefly for one question, Mr. Chairman, I call attention to page 16 of the committee report, the second paragraph, under the heading "Contingency Research Fund," where there is a comment that—

> There appears to be an urgent need for additional research attention to improved equipment for grain grading, soybean production—

And a variety of things—

> mechanization of production of dates and other commodities, and many other problems.

In view of this great need to develop labor-saving devices and the fact that we have many individuals, as well as small manufacturers, who have been coming up with various types of mechanical vehicles for harvesting tree fruits, tomatoes, melons, and so on, is it my understanding that the funds that have been provided can be used for those purposes without the necessity of earmarking for a specific area or specific purpose of analysis in research?

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, may I say to the gentleman from California, we appreciate his remarks. This committee has in recent years cooperated fully with the people in his State in trying to meet this increasing need for mechanization. Labor just simply is not available, not necessarily because people are not there, but because it is impossible to get them to do this kind of work.

We have been very much pleased with some of the developments in this area from research done in the past. To meet the growing needs, which we recognize, each year we provide a contingency research fund of $1 million for use in these various fields where it is needed, without it having to be earmarked.

On the point that the gentleman makes, we have specifically directed the Department's attention to the area and have urged the administrator to use his general fund to carry out the work.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman very much for that statement, because we are developing a number of these mechanical pieces of equipment that are very helpful. We need tests and analyses and evaluation and cooperation of the Department to really make a determination and reduce the cost of equipment to the individual farmer.

We have a request pending with the USDA for research people to be made available to carry out tests and analyses of newly developed labor saving equipment in the Fresno area of California. We hope to secure Department engineers and research people and to work out a cooperative program with the Fresno State College Agricultural School located in the heart of the great San Joaquin Valley.

I am very appreciative that the committee has recognized the problem. Certainly we look forward to progress.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON].

Mr. RACE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOELSON. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. RACE. Mr. Chairman, I should like to commend the committee and the chairman for a job well done.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to rise in support of the Appropriations Committee's recommendation that $82 million be restored to the school milk program. I believe that the administration's proposal that the school milk program be reduced from $103 million to $21 million is false economy.

I have been greatly disturbed in recent months over some of the very unwise and foolhardy proposals and programs being pushed by the Department of Agriculture. The proposed slash in the school milk program certainly falls into that category.

The administration has been telling us in recent months that despite our grave obligations in southeast Asia, that our Federal budget will be able to support both "guns and butter." But, while we are supplying the guns for our fighting men in Vietnam, it would appear that the Department of Agriculture is proposing to eliminate the milk for our schoolchildren and even butter for our fighting men.

The Congress cannot allow a scuttling of the school milk program for two very important reasons.

The first is the most obvious. While some belt tightening may be in order because of our commitments in Vietnam, I do not believe that we ought to do such sacrificing at the expense of the nutrition of our schoolchildren.

Secondly, the dairy farmers in Wisconsin and throughout the Nation cannot afford to have another economic blow dealt to them. Just recently, the Department of Defense has substituted oleomargarine for butter in the diets of our fighting men and women and virtually eliminated almost 3 million customers for dairy products.

On March 31 the Department of Agriculture announced that almost a million additional pounds of foreign cheese would be dumped on the domestic market in an effort to drive down retail prices.

And now we are being asked to take away the school milk lunch program. This cannot be done. This is not economy—it is just plain poor judgment.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, I do not know if our Republican brothers are going to come up with the usual motion to recommit and to slash the appropriation by 5 percent, but if they do I should like to remind them that in this bill, many things are added to the budget, which were recommended against by the administration and the Bureau of the Budget. They are as follows:

A reduction of $5.5 million for the Agricultural Research Service; $7,803,000 for the insect and disease control program; $10 million under the Smith-Lever Act; $82 million under the school milk program; $19 million under the school lunch program; $145 million for rural electrification loans; and $12 million for telephone loans.

I suppose this adds up to a sum in the neighborhood of $250 million, though I have not added it up.

If the Republicans now come forward to ask to take off the 5 percent they have added on, they will be back where they started, where they have often been in the past.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOELSON. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MICHEL. There is really no intention over here, to my knowledge, to impose that kind of limitation on this particular bill, since the subcommittee did such a terrific job on the individual items.

Mr. JOELSON. I am happy to hear that, because in the past I have noticed that the same people who supported increased appropriations then came in, at the tail end, with a request to strike out a flat percentage figure.

I am very happy that this time Republicans and Democrats alike are in agreement, especially concerning the desirable school lunch and school milk programs. But it seems to me strange that those who cry the loudest for economy do not hesitate to add $250 million to the recommendations of the administration.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to my colleague, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER].

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Chairman, I am gratified that the item of $7,803,100 is included in this bill for carrying on the fight against man's chief enemy, the insect. This includes the necessary funds for the eradication of the vicious fire ant. The deadly pest, imported from South America several years ago, has resulted in the loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars to the farmers, as well as become a menace to wildlife, stock, poultry, and even human beings in my section of the country. Moreover, this pest is rapidly spreading to other sections of our common country.

The Department of Agriculture has finally come up with a means of not only fighting but eradicating this poisonous pest.

The money provided herein can be used with matching funds by the various counties of the infested areas to carry on the battle against the fire ant.

Mr. Chairman, while this is by no means a Mississippi fight, I am very proud of the part played by Mississippians therein. My colleague, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. ABERNETHY], the able Congressman from the First District, a member of the House Agriculture Committee, sponsored the legislation authorizing the use of these funds. Our esteemed colleague, the gentleman from the Second District of Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN], chairman of the House Subcommittee on Appropriations handling agricultural appropriations, has seen to it that the necessary funds, not only for this year but the past several years, have been appropriated to carry out the purpose of that legislation. And I hope that I may be pardoned for referring to the fact that it was my privilege, as a member of the House Rules Committee, to sponsor the clearing of the legislation through the committee to the floor of the House and handling the resolution on the floor in 1957. Furthermore, all of the Mississippi delegation, in both the House and the Senate, have cooperated fully in this matter.

It is regretted that the President did not include this item in his budget request. But I, along with the people of all of the States as well as Mississippi which are plagued with this deadly pest, are grateful to Congressman WHITTEN and the other members of the Appropriations Committee for including this necessary item in this bill.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MORTON].

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Chairman, I take this time to ask the gentleman from Illinois, a member of the subcommittee, whether the appropriation bill includes funds for the inspection of poultry for the protection of consumers?

Mr. MICHEL. On the meat and poultry inspection items, as I recall, there was a request for 300 additional meat inspectors—and we allowed 275—and a request for 107 for poultry—and we allowed 85.

Mr. MORTON. As the gentleman knows, there has been considerable pressure to put the burden of the inspection service on the poultry industry itself, and to take it away from the Government. As I understand it, the funds to be appropriated by this bill will provide for sufficient inspectors so that the burden of inspection will still be on the part of the Government and not on the part of the processor; is that correct?

Mr. MICHEL. The gentleman is absolutely correct. We pointed out at the time of the authorizing legislation years ago that, once authorized, it would be the burden of the Government year after year, to meet the needs for inspectors both for poultry and for meat.

Mr. MORTON. I appreciate the gentleman's comments.

I should like to ask the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN] if the organization of the inspection service will continue under this appropriation bill, as it has been in the past, separating the poultry inspectors from the red meat inspectors?

Mr. WHITTEN. May I say that the people from the Department have assured me that any consolidation would be limited to the supervisory level. Certainly the committee has no desire, and in fact I am opposed, to carrying any consolidation beyond the supervisory level. May I point out that under the basic law, to which I was opposed at the time, the Secretary has considerable authority to reorganize at his pleasure. However, we made our feelings known, and the Department has assured us that they will carry them out.

Mr. MORTON. I thank the chairman very much for that explanation.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I gladly yield to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HARVEY] such time as he may require.

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation. As Indiana's only Congressman serving on the House Agriculture Committee, I want to commend my colleagues on the House Appropriations Committee for the courageous manner in which they handled and restored recommended Johnson administration budget cuts in many of the programs.

It did not just happen that our Nation enjoys the distinction of being the best fed nation in the world; nor was it congressional indifference to agricultural problems that brought this about.

As a lifelong farmer myself, I can say to you that many of these programs are highly important, not only from the producer standpoint but from the consumer standpoint as well. One particular program that I have observed with a great deal of admiration over the years is the Cooperative Research Service, and I am pleased to note that the committee in its wisdom saw fit to provide the funds to continue this program at present levels.

If others are as concerned with problems of flood control and conservation as I am, no doubt you are encouraged by the committee's action on the small watershed program. Proposed cuts in this program would have done irreparable damage to necessary planning that is required months, and often years, in advance of construction.

At a time when we find our President blaming American housewives for feeding the fires of inflation, it is almost ironic that this same administration would propose to pass along USDA meat inspection costs to consumers. I would like to remind our President that there is no better planner or budgetmaker than the American housewife, and had the administration's recommendations on meat inspection been approved our wives would have been in for more unfair criticism.

In the area of the much-needed school milk and lunch programs for children, present and long-range national goals for our Nation's nutritional health can be achieved with this program operating at levels it has in the past.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I now yield 15 minutes to the distinguished ranking minority member of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow].

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, some days ago on April 15 the President took a short trip from the White House to the Department of Agriculture. The purpose of his little trip was to hand out awards to 37 Agriculture Department employees who had been credited with saving more than $26 million in Federal spending. That is good and I am glad the President gave a personal boost to his economy-in-government campaign by making these awards. I am delighted that Agriculture employees were able to find places where $26 million of savings could be effected. That $26 million, however, represents less than four-tenths of 1 percent of the $6.9 billion of Agriculture Department spending we are called upon today to approve for the 1967 fiscal year.

What intrigued me most about this celebration was the content of three brief sentences uttered by the President during the awards ceremony. He was quoted at that time as saying:

> I believe that waste is against our freedom.
>
> I believe waste is against the American people.
>
> So I have said that controlling waste is like bailing a boat—you have to keep at it.

Now I am certain that all of us would agree heartily with the President that waste in Federal activities is against the American people. To knowingly permit waste in any Federal activity would be to commit a maleficence that would shock and outrage taxpayers all over the Nation. For Congress to knowingly provide appropriations now for nonessential spending in the face of the war in Vietnam and the price inflation we are experiencing would be to shirk our responsibilities which, in turn, should outrage Americans everywhere.

Since January 24, when the President submitted his 1967 budget to Congress, I have been "bailing a boat"—the boat of our general economy. I have kept at it too, even though the success of my efforts might indicate that I should "abandon the ship" and let the big spenders in Congress and the wheelers and dealers downtown propel the economy pell mell to the shoals of runaway inflation, of increased taxes, and of wage and price controls. As discouraging as the situation may seem insofar as my economy efforts are concerned, I have no intention of deserting the ship of prudent fiscal responsibility.

ECONOMY EFFORTS ON APPROPRIATION BILLS

As a means of refreshing your recollection, let me briefly review those economy efforts.

During House debate on the second supplemental appropriation bill, I offered an amendment which would have deleted $12 million for the initial funding of the rent supplement program. The amendment was rejected by a teller vote of 153 yeas to 183 nays. My point of order against the National Teacher Corps provisions was overruled, but I was prepared to offer an amendment that would have deleted the $10 million initial funding of that program. However, my distinguished colleague on the Appropriations Committee, the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. Duncan] offered such an amendment, and it was rejected by a teller vote of 128 yeas to 156 nays. Thereafter, I offered an additional amendment to delete $41 million of impact school aid funds from the bill that had been added by the Appropriations Committee, even though the funds had not been requested by the President. That amendment was rejected by a voice vote. At the conclusion of debate on the bill, I offered a motion to recommit the bill to the Appropriations Committee with instructions to delete the rent supplement provisions from the bill. The motion to recommit was rejected by a record vote of 190 yeas to 198 nays.

When we had the Department of Interior and related agencies appropriation bill before us, I offered two economy amendments both of which were rejected by voice vote while we were in the Committee of the Whole. One amendment would have cut the $1,170 million of appropriations recommended by $7,293,000, which represented the total of increases in the bill above budgeted requests. The other amendment would have limited spending in fiscal 1967 to 95 percent of what the President proposed in his January budget to spend on the items provided for in the bill. Subsequently, this latter amendment was included in a motion to recommit and that motion was rejected by a record vote of 156 yeas to 232 nays.

More recently, with respect to the Treasury-Post Office appropriations bill I offered the Bow expenditure limitation amendment which was first rejected on a voice vote and later rejected on a motion to recommit by a record vote of 127 yeas to 244 nays.

As desirable as these programs may seem to some of you, we certainly could have done without them at least until the war in Vietnam has been concluded and until we have been able to reverse the inflationary forces that are already in the economic stream. Moreover, we should do without them and the amendments offered by the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. Duncan] and myself should have been adopted overwhelmingly by the House.

THE RECORD ON AGRICULTURE

For almost 35 years the Federal Government has been tinkering with farm production and the prices that are paid to farmers. The efforts of persons with very fine minds and the efforts of a multitude of bureaucrats have been devoted to solving the problems of farm prices and farm production. As we all know, those problems have not been solved and the prospects for their early solution appear remote.

It seems to me that the ultimate objective of research and legislation in the agricultural area should be an agricultural industry standing on its own feet in a free-market economy. But, what results have we gotten from our research and legislation?

We have spent literally billions of tax dollars in this area.

We have allowed farmers' incomes to lag well behind the incomes of other Americans.

While we have controlled the prices that farmers receive for the fruits of their labors, the prices they pay for land, equipment, pesticides, fertilizers, seeds, and other necessities of life have increased just as have the prices of other products manufactured in our otherwise free market economy.

We have controlled the production of cotton, which has resulted in greatly increased world production and the loss of markets for our own cotton.

We have given away and sold under Public Law 480 literally thousands of tons of food and fiber, and now we are proposing under our foreign aid program to expand our efforts to improve agricultural production all over the world which probably will result in further losses in worldwide sales of our agricultural products.

The administration is now urging minimum wage legislation that will increase farmers' payroll costs.

At the same time, they are in the process of deliberately reducing farm prices further by dumping surplus grain, by cutting military purchases of pork, by importing cheese, and by imposing export controls on hides.

While all of these things have been going on, we have been encouraging the farmer to lay down his hoe and sickle, sign up for the cropland adjustment program, and then go fishing.

It is amazing that farmers generally have been able to persevere in the face of all the Federal obstacles to success that have been foisted upon them for these many years.

THE AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATION BILL

The totals in the table, at the end of the report on this bill, indicate a budget request of $7 billion, a proposed appropriation of $6.9 billion, and a resultant cut of $114 million.

That would indicate a stellar performance on the part of the subcommittee chairman, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Whitten] and the members of his subcommittee. As most everyone knows, they were faced with the enormous task of restoring a number of longstanding and much favored programs in which the administration had proposed substantial cuts and other alterations. They have performed yeoman service in that regard and they are to be commended.

As a matter of fact, their performance would be a glittering one if all that glittered were gold in the $114 million cut from the budget estimate. Unfortunately, such is not the case and I want to explain why it is not. I do so not with any desire to detract, in the least, from the splendid job the subcommittee has performed, but just so we will all know that our actions here today will further impair the anticipated 1967 budget deficit of $1.8 billion and may very well add to the inflationary pressures that are already at work in the general economy. These inflationary pressures were again emphasized last week when it was reported that the consumer price index advanced another four-tenths of 1 percent in March, which followed a one-half percent increase in February.

We are not providing appropriations of just $6.9 billion as the table indicates. In addition to the $6.9 billion, we are proposing to use transfers of permanent appropriations, from section 32 funds, of another $282 million. The use of these funds is detailed in the text of the report and in the footnotes at the end of the table but they are not included in the table since they are outside the scope of this bill. The budget anticipated using $229 million of these funds, as has been provided; however, the committee has recommended using an additional $53 million for the special milk program. To the extent that section 32 funds are not utilized, beyond an authorized annual carryover of $300 million, they are appropriated into the miscellaneous receipts of the Treasury and help to reduce the deficit.

Additionally, the committee has provided contract authority of $220 million for the 1967 agricultural conservation program, which is $120 million more than the administration requested. The committee did offset this increase with a cut in the 1967 cropland adjustment program. Of course, the $220 million is not an appropriation but when the contract commitments are made next year they will constitute binding obligations which we will be called upon to liquidate with appropriations in the 1968 fiscal year.

The REA electric loan authorization has been increased by the committee to $365 million from the budget request of $220 million and the REA telephone program to $97 million from the request of $85 million. These are loans which will be repaid to the Treasury. But to the extent that cash is advanced on them in 1967 beyond the amount which was anticipated in the budget, the advances and attendant interest costs will increase the deficit. As we all know the cooperatives pay 2 percent interest on their loans while the Government is paying approximately 4 percent on its borrowings.

Now, let us turn to some of the reductions which the committee has made from the budget estimates. It has cut $75 million from the cropland adjustment program, $55,855,000 from the reimbursement for net realized losses of the Commodity Credit Corporation, and $20 million from the International Wheat Agreement. As much as I hope that these cuts will result in real savings, I would be less than candid if I did not point out that they are iffy at best and may very well not be sustained. Moreover, to the extent that they do not materialize, Congress will be called upon at a later date to appropriate additional funds for these purposes. These cuts may not materialize for the following reasons:

It has been reported that farmers are not signing up for the current cropland adjustment program at the level anticipated in the budget. If this situation continues, the $75 million cut may be realized. If a substantial increase should occur, however, in farmers' participation in the program, the cut could not be sustained.

With respect to the $55 million cut in the reimbursement of CCC's net realized losses, it has been said that the CCC can live within the cut, provided a concerted effort is made to sell in world markets, the approximate 1 billion bales of cotton now held as CCC inventory. At the moment, we have no way of knowing how much effort will be made or what success the Department will have in this regard. I am also told that if the wheat for India program which is estimated to cost $450 to $500 million is financed by CCC, this cut will not be sustained and Congress will be obliged to make further capital restorations to the CCC.

The $20 million cut in the International Wheat Agreement is contingent, of course, upon the demand generated by the program. To the extent that the demand goes beyond the recommended appropriation of $40 million, the $20 million cut will not result in any real saving.

THE BOW EXPENDITURE LIMITATION

If the Bow expenditure limitation amendment were adopted today with respect to this bill, it would limit spending in fiscal 1967 to 95 percent of what the President proposed in his January budget to spend on the items provided for in this bill. That would have the effect of eliminating spending in 1967 of the funds which the committee has provided to restore such long-favored programs as research by the Department, itself, by the land-grant colleges and by State agricultural experiment stations; certain soil conservation practices, and the restored levels of the special milk and school lunch programs.

Since these long-standing programs which are favored by the public and the Congress and which do much to assist the farmers, the schoolchildren and certain of the Nation's unfortunate poor, I will not offer the limitation as an amendment to this bill. I do want to serve notice now that the amendment will be offered on other appropriations bills that are still to be considered. I also urge each of you to give thoughtful consideration to the imperative necessity for your supporting the amendment or other budget-cutting proposals when they are offered. If we do not impose some expenditure limitations and effect some substantial appropriations cuts, we certainly can expect further inflation, increased taxes, and possibly wage and price controls. If these things come to pass, we shall have failed to discharge our constitutional obligations and keep faith with the folks at home and with our fighting men in Vietnam.

Mr. Chairman, again I wish to compliment the subcommittee, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN], and his associates on his side, and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL], who has done an outstanding job. I think this is a good bill, with some exceptions. I will offer an amendment.

There may be several amendments offered to bring this bill back to the budget figures so we can make some savings. But I do wish again to say that I think this subcommittee has done an outstanding job, and I certainly appreciate the efforts they have made.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. COHELAN].

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Chairman, I am greatly concerned over the administration's proposal to substantially reduce the school milk and school lunch programs. At a time when we are making urgent efforts to increase the quality of our educational offerings, this is a false economy indeed.

Let me make it perfectly clear that I am in complete sympathy with the administration's desire to make the school milk and lunch programs more extensively available to needy students from poor families. There is no question that we can and should place greater emphasis on this effort. But there are many legitimate questions and, in fact, every reason why we should not withdraw the benefits of these proven and worthwhile programs from other students to whom they are also important.

The school lunch program provides the only warm and nutritious meal which some students receive all day long. Yet, the proposed cut would reduce the Federal reimbursement to States and local school districts by one-fifth. In California this would mean a loss of $1.4 million in this next year alone. With ever-rising school enrollments, and with a Department of Agriculture projection that more than a million additional students today need this program, such a cut simply does not make sense.

It is interesting to note, furthermore, that the Consumer Marketing Service, which is responsible for the administration of this program, does not think so either. It recommended not a cutback of $19 million, but an increase of $15 million for this next year.

The situation in regard to the school milk program is even more absurd. Here the reduction proposed by the administration is fully four-fifths of the present funding level. What does this mean for a State such as California?

For each of the last 3 years, the Federal school milk figure for California has been approximately $9 million. Under this new formula, California would receive less than $2 million.

Just how is such a program going to benefit the poor it is designed to reach? Obviously it cannot. It is unworkable and unthinkable.

Mr. Chairman, I fully support the action of the Appropriations Committee, of which I am a member, in eliminating these proposed reductions and restoring the school lunch and milk programs to their present funding levels. I believe, indeed, that an increase in these programs to meet the requirements of growing school populations and to provide more adequate benefits for the needy children of poor families is called for, and I hope the committee and the Congress will favorably consider such a proposal.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Burke] as much time as he may desire.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Chairman, I rise to commend my colleague, the Honorable Jamie L. Whitten, chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee for Agriculture and the members of the Appropriations Committee for their farsighted approach to the funding for the school lunch and milk programs.

H.R. 14596 which was reported by the committee on April 22, 1966, will provide a direct appropriation of $50 million and will direct the transfer of $53 million to the special milk program. The committee has restored funds for the school lunch program to the current year's level of $157 million and has provided for the transfer of $45 million to the program.

It has been shown time and time again that one factor of mental development and achievement is an adequate diet. In the face of today's need for the physically and mentally well developed person, the nourishment of our children cannot be overlooked. For many of our children today, the hot lunch and milk provided in the schools is the only well balanced meal of the day. For others it helps to complete the meal planning of the family. To deny proper nourishment to any child in school or to increase the cost of this nourishment to a degree beyond the limits of the family budget is unthinkable.

The forward-looking attitude of the House Appropriations Committee in providing the necessary funds for these programs has assured further steps toward proper nutrition for our schoolchildren.

The entire purpose of the special milk program has been to increase the consumption of fluid milk by children. Nonprofit schools of grade 12 and under, all nonprofit summer camps and childcare institutions devoted to the care and training of our young are eligible to participate.

The school lunch program has contributed to the welfare of our children since its conception. This program has not only provided immediate nourishment but has helped establish proper eating habits among countless children.

I praise and strongly support the wise action taken by the House Committee on Appropriations to restore the necessary funds to the budget to continue these programs which supply our children with one of the fundamental needs of their lives and urge that swift and favorable action be taken by the House of Representatives.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield as much time as he may desire to the majority leader, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Albert].

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, I thank the distinguished gentleman for yielding. I take this time because I desire to compliment the gentleman from Mississippi and his committee for the concern that they have expressed over bringing about comparability of pay for county ASC employees. It would seem to me that these employees are entitled to the same consideration as other employees in the Department working in county offices, such as Farmers Home Administration, Soil Conservation Service, and the Agricultural Extension Service.

May I ask the distinguished gentleman, the chairman of the committee, whether he would be willing to recommend to the Department the establishment of an objective committee for the purpose of recommending pay rates which would bring about comparability of pay for these employees?

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, may I say to my colleague, the majority leader, that the committee, on pages 37 and 38, of the report, mentions these matters. We are in accord that these are Federal workers, and as such should be paid at a rate commensurate with others.

Our hearings showed what appeared to us to be favoritism in certain States as compared with others. In connection with trying to obtain comparability of average pay, I believe a review is needed to straighten out the pay structure from the top level down. Our committee calls for it.

These matters should be studied so that these full-time Federal workers may have fringe benefits and pay equal to others who are employed by the Federal Government.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTEN. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, does the gentleman not think it is about time the status of these employees be clearly defined since they receive all the benefits of Federal employees, including pay, fringe benefits, and otherwise?

If you leave them subject to employment other than civil service, it is going to cause trouble in the end, in my opinion.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I agree with my colleague from Iowa. We have been cooperating with other Members, including my friend from Iowa, to see that these benefits are made available.

I think it high time that they be given some protection from political pressures. As the gentleman knows, throughout the years—and it has not made any difference who has been in the White House, or what administration—there have been accusations that some employees have been taking part in political activities. At the same time, there has been some evidence that from Washington on down there have been some pressures because the employees did not have the protection of civil service.

I am in accord with the viewpoint of the gentleman that we should go the whole way if they are full-time Federal employees, and give them the benefits and status that were intended for them by the Congress.

Mr. GROSS. That is right. I thank the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Oklahoma consumed 4 minutes.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Conte].

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, I want to take this time to commend my good friend, the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Whitten], and the ranking minority member, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Michel], for the commendable job they have done in bringing up this bill, and restoring funds for the school lunch program and the milk program.

Mr. Chairman, ever since it first became clear to me just exactly what President Johnson was proposing in this year's agriculture appropriation bill—when I was first able to penetrate the fiscal doubletalk which shrouded the real impact of his proposals—I have opposed the cuts suggested in the school lunch and school milk programs, in the agriculture extension service support fund, and in the other areas where virtually fatal cuts have been proposed.

It was immediately clear to me, as it was to a great many of us in this body, to the press, and to the taxpayers of this country, that the bulk of the cuts proposed by the President were not offered with any reasonable expectation of acceptance. They were phony cuts—offered out of a desire only to be able to tell the voters that the Great Society has made an effort to trim the budget, no matter how irresponsible or how facetious that effort might be.

Cuts were proposed in programs that have served both the farmer and the consumer effectively for generations. I have been privileged to serve 8 years in this body and over that span I cannot recall a single word being raised in protest or criticism of either the school milk program or the school lunch program. Nor have I heard anything but praise expressed on behalf of the invaluable services rendered by our land grant colleges throughout the country through the agriculture extension services they have provided for the last 100 years.

I was pleased, in fact, to testify before the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee on this very point during their deliberations on this bill. I cited the record of service and achievement compiled by the University of Massachusetts, in my congressional district at Amherst. I stressed the contributions made to farming and agriculture throughout Massachusetts as a result of the university's fine extension service program. And I pointed out how a transfer of these support funds to a specific project type of program would very likely kill off the service in my State.

I will not repeat my testimony on that point. It is a part of the record of the hearings on this bill.

My own conviction on these points has been more than bolstered by the response of my constituents. I have received as much, if not more, mail on this issue in the last few weeks than on any other issue, except perhaps Vietnam. I have answered between 400 and 500 letters in the last 3 weeks alone. And today I will answer several hundred more to report on the action of this body on this bill.

Out of all this mail, I have not seen a single letter in support of the cuts proposed by the President in the school lunch or milk programs. I do recall one letter which did express willingness to accept the cuts, but only if the funds would be diverted to more urgent, higher priority programs. If the President wants a concensus on this issue, I can supply him with a pretty convincing one.

In my judgment, these cuts were never seriously meant to be accepted. They would have crippled several key domestic programs and created some very serious political headaches for the President's supporters in the coming elections.

It is my opinion that these cuts have been suggested only in an effort to demonstrate some attempt as fiscal integrity by the administration. The voters are now supposed to assume that, by rejecting these cuts, the House Appropriations Committee must bear responsibility for the huge budget deficit which looms ahead of us. The committee has accomplished at least part of what they were supposed to do; they have gotten the President off the hook.

But what the taxpayers will also learn—what emerges as a most significant point, is the fact that in spite of the restorations in every single one of these programs, we have still been able to reduce the appropriation sought in this bill by more than $113 million.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. MOORE].

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Chairman, I commend the subcommittee, its chairman, and the ranking minority member for the commendable job which has been done on this appropriation bill.

I should like to address a remark to the chairman of the subcommittee. As he will recall, I discussed with him at some length the proposed curtailment in the watershed planning and construction phase of this bill. Also I submitted our views on this matter to the subcommittee during their deliberations.

I was particularly concerned by the suggestion of the Bureau of the Budget that there be a reduction in the number of watershed projects proposed, a reduction compared to those permitted in the last fiscal year. Had this recommendation been followed the Wheeling Creek Watershed project in my congressional district would have been placed in jeopardy.

I wonder if the chairman of the subcommittee could advise me of the action taken in this regard.

Mr. WHITTEN. If my colleague from West Virginia will yield, I do recall his interest not only this year but also in other years. I know he did talk to me and to other members of the committee and he did urge that the restoration be made.

I say for the record that the committee recommends the full 100 starts. That would mean they could go ahead at the same level as this year.

To have gone along with the Bureau of the Budget on that would have been a backward step in meeting the needs of a program which means so much not only to the country today but also for the welfare of our children in the years ahead.

Mr. MOORE. I thank the chairman.

May I also make inquiry concerning the action of the subcommittee in the area of watershed construction starts. In this case it was suggested by the Bureau of the Budget that there also be a cutback. Do I correctly understand that the subcommittee has taken like action in this regard?

Mr. WHITTEN. We have. The Bureau of the Budget recommended 35 new starts. We have put it back to 80 new starts. This should enable that program to proceed at the going rate.

Mr. MOORE. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY].

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, this appropriation bill contains a number of items which are attractive and very popular, but we should not lose sight of the fact that it also contains a number of items which, if they knew the full story, the taxpayers would find difficulty digesting.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL], enumerated some of the typical direct payments to individual farmers authorized in previous legislation to be funded by this bill. The gentleman mentioned wheat, feed grains and cotton. Some of the direct payments to individual farmers will be as high as $250,000 a year.

The gentleman did not mention another example of direct payments. The appropriation bill would authorize $80 million for the sugar program. Last year we dealt with legislation authorizing the sugar program for a 5-year period. One would have thought, when hearing the arguments presented on behalf of the sugar bill last year, that the program was to be operated without any cost to the taxpayers. Yet now, less than a year later, we have before us an appropriation bill which includes $80 million for the sugar program.

The reason for this is rather evident. The sugar program has a little-known feature involving a direct payment, but it is not little in terms of dollars to some individual producers. The last listing I saw showing the largest payments under the sugar program had two annual payments to individual producers each exceeding $1 million. The top 25 payments, I believe, scaled down to the bottom figure of about $200,000. Several payments were close to the $1 million a year level.

These things should be kept in mind as we try to balance off the pros and cons of this appropriation bill.

I noticed in the bill a provision for the Federal crop insurance program. This raised a question in my mind. The figure to be appropriated is $8 million. I should like to ask the subcommittee a question about it.

I wonder whether this $8 million is entirely for the purpose of providing a revolving fund for the enlargement of the program, or whether some of that money will be used to help to meet the current operating and administrative costs of the Federal crop insurance program.

In asking that question, I am reminded that some of my constituents and others in the State of Illinois have complained about the operation of the Federal crop insurance program.

They contended it is heavily subsidized and that the premium rates are not high enough to cover all expenses. So I would appreciate a clarification on this point from anyone who chooses to respond.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, may I say to the gentleman that I was here when the crop insurance program was first started. It proved to be a failure in that they had too little experience at that time to set the program up on a sound basis. Subsequent to that attempt, we started the crop insurance program on an experimental basis with very few counties in it. There were 150 counties, I believe, at the outset. At the time it required a broad base for the purpose of trying to work it out and make it feasible. About 3 or 4 years ago by gradually increasing the experimental program, the program expanded to about 900 counties. We reached a point where we either had to offer it to those counties throughout the United States which wanted the program or stop it on an experimental basis. So this additional money will be spent in carrying the same program to about 40 new counties next year.

Now, I have had some complaints from my own area from friends in the insurance business. In each case I have written back to them and said, "If your company or any company you know of will take over this program, I will introduce a bill and make a speech to help you get it." I have yet to find any old-line insurance company that will take over this crop insurance coverage. It is true the Federal Government has been out some appropriated money in an effort to keep this program going.

Mr. FINDLEY. Can the gentleman from Mississippi tell me how close they came?

Mr. WHITTEN. I think maybe—and I will stand corrected on it if I am wrong—two-thirds is appropriated out of the Treasury and one-third is charged against premiums. I am talking about administrative costs.

Mr. FINDLEY. Does the $8 million in the bill represent the subsidy cost of the crop insurance program as anticipated for the next year?

Mr. WHITTEN. This year the Budget recommended an increase of $354,000, all from appropriations. Instead of that we provide an increase of $300,000, one-half from appropriated funds and the rest from premium income.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Now, if the gentleman will yield further, let me say that I do think, however, that if you match the total cost here with the amount of money that we have voted out of the Treasury when we have had crop failures and disasters in certain areas of the country, you will see it has been small indeed.

Mr. FINDLEY. I assume the gentleman is not opposed to having the premium rate set at a level which will cover all operating and administrative expenses.

Mr. WHITTEN. Provided that the increased premium would not thereby prevent the farmers from participating. I do not know whether it is sound or not sound, but in the last 8 or 10 years any time you have a disastrous crop failure, or other disaster, the Federal Government moves in with a broad Government contribution. All we can do in view of that is to maintain this program. I would not want to reflect the total administrative cost in the premiums if thereby we decreased the base to the point where the program is unsound.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I might make one further observation here to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] to the effect that the budget requested authority to borrow $10 million from CCC to cover any eventuality that might come by virtue of an excessive amount of claims in the coming year. That amount last year was carried in this bill as $250,000, and raised that figure to $500,000, in this bill. It is $9.5 million less than the budget requested.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHEL. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. FINDLEY. Will the interest rate cover the cost of money to the Government in the event that this course of action is followed?

Mr. MICHEL. Well, we would certainly hope so.

Mr. FINDLEY. I thank the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Montana [Mr. BATTIN].

Mr. BATTIN. Mr. Chairman, I only take this time to add my word to that of others in paying high respect to the subcommittee of the Committee on Agriculture for taking the recommended budget and approaching it realistically, restoring funds that have been recommended for deletion by the Bureau of the Budget and the administration.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the approach that has been taken—and certainly I have been honored in the past to appear before the committee chaired by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN], and my close friend and colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL], and have been treated with respect—through the years, the bill that has been brought before the House by this subcommittee and presented on the floor has been accepted by a vast majority of the Members of the House on both sides of the aisle.

Mr. Chairman, I just take this time to add my compliments and my words of encouragement and praise that this has happened again, and I hope that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union will stand up and be counted this time as it has been so counted in the past.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STALBAUM].

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this recommended agricultural appropriation but wish to direct my remarks specifically to that portion of the bill relating to the school milk and the school lunch program where the cuts which had previously been recommended to be made have been restored.

Mr. Chairman, I commend the committee on both items but particularly desire to commend the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN] and the other members of the subcommittee with reference to the school milk program where a brandnew concept was contemplated in the proposal that was made to the committee. Not only was there a proposed cut of some $82 million, but the proposal that was brought before the committee represented a far departure from that which had been in effect. Only children of families of limited means, through a means test, would be able to obtain milk under the program. All others would have to pay the full amount of the cost of the milk involved.

Mr. Chairman, I was joined in appearing before the subcommittee, I understand, by some 75 of my colleagues in the House of Representatives, recommending that these cuts be restored, and they were restored.

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased that the Committee on Appropriations has seen fit to move away from the means test and to make this product available to all children in the schools, because the operation of the program in the past has proven that it is well to continue the program in this manner.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I want to say that I support the bill and certainly want to commend the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN], and the other members of the committee for making this decision with reference to the school milk and school lunch program.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to my colleague the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN].

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, to maintain the school milk and lunch programs is to make an investment in this Nation's most valuable asset—our children.

The improved health that results from better nutrition will be a rich and rewarding dividend.

Many teachers have told me that for thousands of children from low-income families, this program provided the nourishment which made it possible for them to concentrate on their studies and obtain the education they need to build wholesome and successful lives.

I was one of the first Members of Congress to protest when it was proposed that the school lunch and milk programs be curtailed.

I am convinced that such curtailment would be false economy. The American people, who are spending billions of dollars in the conquest of space, do not wish to save a few pennies at the expense of our children's health.

Medicare, of which I was cosponsor, was a landmark in the recognition of our national responsibility to senior citizens. The school milk and lunch programs institution was a similar landmark in the recognition of our responsibilities to youth.

Both programs should go forward—not backward.

We must not retreat in our efforts to make a better life for all our people, young and old.

I commend the able and distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN] and members of the committee for their timely action in the restoration of these funds.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from California [Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN].

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation, the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1967. My principal reason for rising to speak today is to emphatically express to the Members of this House my total disenchantment with the manner in which the President appears to have manipulated this budget. While I realize these may be harsh words, I believe the American people must be forthrightly told the true story of what gives every appearance of political manipulation of the budget.

If one will carefully review the history of this year's budget you will arrive at one basic and continuing conclusion—the President has inserted all of his pet programs, and deleted items that have been very acceptable programs in the past. The school lunch and special milk programs are a glaring example.

Mr. Chairman, I do not think it is fair to the children of this country nor do I think it is fair to the school boards, teachers, and more particularly the school administrators to be subjected to this kind of treatment—keeping them in suspense while the behind-the-scenes wheeling and dealing goes on.

The people responsible for the preparation of their school budgets have written a multitude of letters expressing their concern over the discontinuance of the school lunch and milk programs. They feel the same way about the impacted area financial assistance deletion.

Mr. Chairman, these people must plan their budgets well in advance. Also, they cannot resort to deficit financing. In order to carefully plan for the financing of their educational programs, they should have at least a year's notice before any major changes in the income from the State or Federal Government takes place—commonsense suggests that we in the Congress and the executive branch have the responsibility to consider the effect any major legislative change at the Federal level of government will have on other political subdivisions of our federal system. Common decency suggests the local school districts have a right to demand this consideration.

I want to thank the members of this committee for honoring my repeated requests to reinstate the funds to continue the school lunch and milk programs—it renews my faith in the integrity of the House. The children and school people of the First Congressional District of California thank you.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. MATSUNAGA].

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 14596, the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill for 1967.

I commend the chairman and members of the Subcommittee on Agriculture Appropriations and the chairman and members of the Committee on Appropriations for the action they have taken in restoring cuts in appropriations for the special milk program and the school lunch program.

Thanks to these two sound programs over 70,000 schools in 1965 were able to offer well-balanced lunches and over 92,000 schools were able to offer special milk supplements to their students. In Hawaii, figures are particularly high. In fiscal year 1965, of our some 190,000 elementary and secondary school children, 126,155, or about 66 percent, benefited from federally subsidized school lunches, and our children consumed over 5,300,000 half pints of milk under the special milk program. For the children of Hawaii, as for many of the Nation's children, school lunches and school milk have become as much a part of the regular schoolday as their homework.

Now the school lunch and special milk programs are seriously threatened. The Bureau of the Budget has recommended that in fiscal year 1967, funds for these programs be severely reduced. The school lunch program would be cut from $103 to $21 million, and the milk program would be cut from $202 to $183 million. The probable results of such drastic cutbacks have aroused the concern of parents, educators, and school administrators all over the country and it is no wonder. A reduction in the Federal reimbursement rate would result in higher costs to the school districts. They in turn would be forced to pass these costs on to the children, many of whom would have to drop out of the programs.

In Hawaii, for example, the $174,000 allotted to us for the special milk program in fiscal year 1966 would be slashed to $36,000 in fiscal year 1967. This is a cut of nearly 79 percent and it is a cut for which our local school districts would simply be unable to compensate. We would have to charge our children a greater price for their lunch and milk, and for all practical purposes the aims of both programs would be defeated. Many children who want and need milk and a hot lunch would no longer be able to afford them. Participation in the school lunch program and the consumption of milk would decrease markedly.

Mr. Chairman, I do not accept the reasoning that most children can afford to pay the full cost of a school lunch and milk and that present programs should therefore be limited to the needy. I do not think that a child's participation in a federally supported school lunch or school milk program should be at all determined by the level of his family income. Nor, frankly, do I see how it could be without some kind of humiliating means test.

My colleagues on the House Committee on Agriculture and I are in complete agreement as to the great contributions which the school lunch and the special school milk programs are making to the health and vigor of America's youth. Last month we unanimously adopted a resolution to oppose the Bureau of the Budget's recommended cutbacks on these programs. We also offered our support and assistance to the House Committee on Appropriations and the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee in providing adequate funds for these valuable programs.

Mr. Chairman, it is gratifying to note that in the bill on the floor our Committee on Appropriations has in its wisdom restored the budgetary cuts in these two programs. In his state of the Union message, the President pledged that the Nation's children must not be the victims of a false economy. With such a pledge I am sure we are in complete agreement. Consistent with such pledge, the Nation's children ought to be assured of the continuance of these two vital programs in our schools. Our committee has pointed the way. H.R. 14596 now deserves our unanimous support.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DE LA GARZA].

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, coming from a basically agricultural area of Texas, I am deeply interested in all the facets of agriculture.

The appropriation that the chairman, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN], and other members of the subcommittee, are bringing forth today realizes fully the facts of agriculture and the legislative facts of the situation that we face today both in our country and the world.

Mr. Chairman, I want to commend very sincerely and very strongly our colleagues for the forthright action they have taken in behalf of the citizens of this country and especially in behalf of all who are concerned in agriculture, which is the backbone of our Nation.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON].

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the committee bill and want to commend the distinguished chairman and members of the subcommittee for an outstanding job.

The restoration of cuts in funds for the school lunch and milk program, and other restorations affecting vital programs like soil conservation and REA, are deeply appreciated. I testified for these restorations before the subcommittee and am sure the committee action will be upheld by the House.

Mr. MOELLER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 14596. Especially am I pleased to note that the committee has restored those funds necessary to carry on the school milk and lunch program at the 1966 level. Experience has demonstrated the worthiness of the school lunch program. Whether children come from poor or wealthy families the need for nourishing food is highly essential for both body and mind of a pupil.

If this Nation can provide for aid to hungry children abroad, it most assuredly can make the same provision for the children of America.

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 14596, the 1967 Department of Agriculture appropriations bill. Important actions have been taken by the Committee on Appropriations, on which I serve, which will insure the continuation of well established and proven agricultural and consumer programs.

The President's 1967 agriculture budget recommendations proposed reductions in research, soil and water conservation, the agricultural conservation program, extension activities, special milk and school lunch programs, and insect and disease control.

Since the administration's budget was submitted to Congress, we have heard from our constituents and from agricultural authorities at our land-grant colleges and universities and other farm organizations of the damaging impact of the proposed cuts.

At a time when many young Americans are being rejected for military service because of physical defects traceable to nutritional deficiencies, it seemed inconsistent to cut the heart out of the milk program, and at the same time, reduce the school lunch funds.

The administration's recommendations to have the United States lead the world in a war against hunger but at the same time reduce by 13 percent annual appropriations for agricultural research have puzzled many Members of Congress including myself. The American farmer holds the key to this Nation's strength that can unlock the doors that hide hunger, poverty, and political strife around the world.

I certainly concur with my colleagues in the Appropriations Committee who believe that, with U.S. commitments in Vietnam and other parts of the world, it would be a serious mistake to agree to budget reductions which would weaken our highly efficient and extremely productive agricultural industry.

It is significant and highly commendable that the committee has been able to restore proposed budget reductions without increasing the overall total appropriations.

Mr. Chairman, on March 25, 1966, I joined with other members of the Kansas congressional delegation in appearing before the Subcommittee on Agriculture Appropriations, Committee on Appropriations. Under unanimous consent, I include my statement made before the subcommittee following my remarks:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN GARNER E. SHRIVER, OF KANSAS, BEFORE THE AGRICULTURE SUBCOMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 25, 1966

Mr. Chairman, it is again a privilege for me to join with my colleagues from Kansas and with these interested citizens from my State in supporting the vital soil and water conservation programs. Your subcommittee and the other subcommittees have a difficult job this year in establishing priorities for appropriations. These are times when we must spend increasingly more for defense to back up our forces in Vietnam; and the administration is calling for increased spending on new domestic programs.

The Federal Government for many years has worked hand in hand with local and State bodies in the important job of soil and water conservation. Your subcommittee is to be commended for its leadership in assuring continued progress in this vital area.

Kansas by the actions of the State legislature this year continues to fulfill its responsibilities by appropriating the necessary funds for watershed planning and for direct assistance to soil conservation districts. County governments also are providing funds to soil conservation districts on a matching basis with the State.

Since the President's proposed fiscal year 1967 budget was submitted to Congress, there have been a multitude of protests registered by many constituents through their Congressmen regarding the cuts made in several longstanding agricultural programs.

I urge the subcommittee to restore reductions made by the administration in the school milk and school lunch programs and in the essential areas of agricultural research.

In establishing priorities, it would seem that time-tested soil and water conservation programs should be adequately funded to permit continuing progress.

Soil and water conservation practices are essential weapons in the world war on hunger which now is under serious consideration in the House Committee on Agriculture.

The budget for fiscal 1967 is not adequate to insure necessary accomplishments. For example, once again funds for the agricultural conservation program should be restored to include the proposed $120 million cut by the administration. Soil survey funds have been reduced by nearly $3 million. More than 20 million acres of soil in Kansas remain to be surveyed. In addition, there is a need to increase the conservation operation budget of the Soil Conservation Service to provide more adequate technical assistance to soil conservation districts.

You already have heard of the pressing need to increase available funds for watershed planning. There are 32 watershed districts in Kansas, representing over 3 million acres, waiting for planning assistance. Significantly, in Kansas the State legislature increased State funds for watershed planning in fiscal 1967 by 50 percent. I urge the subcommittee to increase Federal funds for watershed planning to $10 million and to $80 million for watershed protection.

The merits of the Great Plains conservation program are well regarded in Kansas. More than 1,725 farms and ranches including a total of 1,660,000 acres in Kansas were being operated under Great Plains conservation contracts at the beginning of this fiscal year. However, there are approximately 5,000 applications for assistance in the Great Plains States which have not yet been serviced.

We are aware of the great strides which have been made in soil and water conservation as a result of this longtime partnership between the Federal Government and local and State governments. However, we are constantly reminded by nature that the job is far from finished.

I am sincerely interested in economy and want to see unnecessary Federal spending reduced wherever possible. The cultivation and preservation of our soil along with conservation and development of our water resources are important to our defense effort. The ability of the American farmer to provide for the future food needs of our Nation may depend on our continuing investments in these agricultural programs.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 14596, making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year 1967, and I commend the members of the committee for their actions in restoring the funds needed to continue the highly successful special milk program and school lunch program. As stated in the committee report of the bill:

> The benefits of these programs to the health and dietary habits of schoolchildren of this Nation are well recognized.

Since the special milk program was initiated its acceptance has been remarkable. It is open not only to schools, but also to orphanages, settlement houses, summer camps, and similar nonprofit institutions devoted to the care and training of children. In fiscal year 1965, the special milk program was used by approximately 92,000 schools and child care institutions where 2,966,800,000 half pints of milk were consumed. At least three out of four children in school can obtain milk under the special milk program. Children who are in need of the nutritional values derived from milk so their bodies can grow strong and healthy. Any reduction of funds in support of this program is not in the best interests of these schoolchildren who participate in this program.

This is also true of the school lunch program. It has been of great value to our educational system throughout the United States. It provides nutritious lunches every day in the 70,132 schools participating in the program. Not only are the children, who receive the lunches, benefiting from the nutritional value the lunches provide, but they are also being taught proper eating habits, not to mention that in many cases, the lunches these children receive are the only balanced meal they get in a given day. Therefore any cutback in funds supporting the provisions of the school lunch program would be inconsistent to our programs of aid to help feed the hungry and needy children in foreign lands. Surely the needs of our own children should be our first concern.

The success of the school lunch program is evident by the tremendous increase of participation by schools across the land. Since 1947 the number of children receiving balanced lunches has almost tripled. By providing them with proper foods at lunch time it will help them to mature as much healthier, stronger, and possibly wiser adults. This is evident by the youngsters of 1947, the first to receive special balanced lunches, who are now making their way in life as healthy, ambitious citizens.

By continuing our support of the special milk program and school lunch program we are contributing much to the general welfare of this Nation. For the youngsters of today will be the leaders of tomorrow. If we wish to advance as a healthy, growing nation, with strength to meet the challenges of the future, then we cannot ignore our children that are in need of nourishment for their growing bodies. Both programs are dedicated to the benefit of all the children in our Nation, and I do not wish to deprive them of these benefits. I urge that we accept the bill now before us as reported by the House Appropriations Committee.

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Chairman, we hear a great deal today about revitalizing rural America, rural community development, regional planning for rural areas. And the issue is vital in my district, where only six communities have populations of over 6,000, and the remainder of the almost 450,000 people are spread over 7,220 square miles.

During the Easter recess, I met with the city officials of 18 communities in the Second District, to review Federal programs and local needs. In the course of these meetings, it became apparent that the most urgent need of the rural communities is for adequate sewer and water facilities.

Last year, in Congress, we offered these communities a solution to this problem. On September 23, we authorized $55 million annually for a new program of grants for the development of water supply and waste disposal systems in rural communities, and we appropriated $20 million for the remainder of fiscal year 1966 to begin implementation of the program.

It has taken a while to advise local officials of this program, to stimulate local interest and activity, and to get formal applications prepared. But at this time, 19 communities in my district alone have submitted their applications to the Farmers Home Administration for these grants. The FHA in Des Moines advises me that it has already received 145 applications from Iowa communities, and this represents only a portion of the total number of communities which need sewer and water facilities. It would take an estimated $28 to $30 million just to fill these pending applications in one State alone.

I am extremely disappointed that only $26 million has been appropriated today to continue this program, when twice that amount would scarcely be sufficient to meet present needs. We cannot expect to fill all these applications in 1 year. But, at the same time that we are asked to cut this program, which is just getting off the ground, we are being asked to provide regional planning funds for rural community development.

I am not protesting the merit of this latter concept. But it just does not make good sense to start a new, vitally needed program—one which attacks a very basic problem of rural community development like this sewer and water facilities program—only to cut it back just as it is getting established, to begin again elsewhere.

I am hopeful that the Senate will see fit to take steps to strengthen this important section of the agriculture appropriations bill, to insure the effective implementation of this vital program.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Committee on Appropriations' action on the agriculture appropriations bill and would like to say further that I feel this is, perhaps, the best committee report I have ever had the pleasure of reading. While bringing about a meaningful reduction in appropriations for Department of Agriculture spending, the committee has restored the agriculture programs the administration would have cut to the detriment of our entire Nation.

As the committee has said, and I quote:

> If such a policy as the administration advocates were followed for only a few years, the United States would likely be a food deficit country instead of one of abundance.

This is true. The House committee action was to restore the essential programs in agriculture and to cut out the fat. I am happy to say the committee has fulfilled its responsibility to the Nation in this regard, and I could not be more pleased.

The bill we have before us today will continue at fully effective levels our vital programs in research, insect and disease control, soil and water conservation, the agricultural conservation program, extension activities, special milk and school lunch programs, and loan ceilings for rural electrification and telephone programs.

I am sure, Mr. Chairman, that the action of our Appropriations Committee was fully responsive to the consensus of opinion in both this body and that of the entire Nation. The committee action is fully responsive to the resolution adopted on March 24 by the House Committee on Agriculture, on which I am privileged to serve, which opposed the administration's proposed budget cuts in agriculture and offered the House Committee on Agriculture's support and assistance to the Appropriations Committee and to each Member of Congress in providing adequate funds for these various programs.

I was especially pleased to note on page 21 of the Appropriations Committee's report in which the dean of agriculture of one of our large universities made the following statement:

> If sustained, the proposed reductions in Federal funds for land-grant institutions are likely to have long-range consequences of an undesirable character in addition to immediate effects on production. * * * Research is not a stream to be turned off and on on a short notice when crises are solved or to solve new ones. Efficient solutions to problems, including emergency problems, increasingly rests upon fundamental research. Results can be accomplished only if long-term governmental and institutional commitments are continued.

This quotation, Mr. Chairman, was taken from the testimony of Dr. Louis L. Madsen, dean of the College of Agriculture of Washington State University, in my district.

Dean Madsen's concern, which I completely share, was justified in every respect. This concern, shared throughout my district, was succinctly stated in a letter I have just received from the Kennewick Highlands Grange No. 1037 in my State. I would like to quote from just a small portion of this letter:

> Funds for the carrying on of research, extension, and teaching are allocated by the Federal Government for the solving of critical problems in animal husbandry, horticulture and agronomy. * * * Now the Federal Government has made drastic reductions in funds to the extent that highly trained personnel, extension work, and valuable and important laboratories are being entirely eliminated or greatly restricted.

The letter goes on to say:

> Of the laboratories to be eliminated, the one which will affect the State of Washington, not only now but for the years to come is the Western Wheat Quality Research Laboratory at the Washington State University. The laboratory, with its micromill, tested over 20,000 samples of wheat last year for milling quality, and over 70 percent were discarded from breeding program, the remaining 30 percent retained for further plant breeding for quality and yield. No other laboratories are in a position to do this work because of the growth of different varieties of wheat, or if they do, are not affected by the same plant diseases.

Now, I am happy to say, the Western Wheat Quality Laboratory at Washington State University will continue to operate, thanks to the action of our Appropriations Committee.

To each and every member of the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee and its chairman, and to each and every member of the full Committee of Appropriations and its chairman, and on behalf of the hundreds of concerned individuals in the Pacific Northwest and all around the country who have written to me, I wish to express congratulations for a job well done.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I have requested this time and the indulgence of the House to commend and applaud our Appropriations Committee for restoring funds in this agriculture appropriations bill for the school lunch and milk programs, for land-grant college activities, extension service, experiment stations, crop research, such institutions as the Rural Electrification Administration and for other vital agriculture and agriculture-related activities where deep reductions had been recommended by the Bureau of the Budget.

I commend especially the leadership of the Honorable JAMIE L. WHITTEN, of Mississippi, chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture, in the interest of our system of agriculture that has made this the best fed and best clothed nation on the face of the earth.

I have been in frequent communication with Mr. WHITTEN while this appropriations bill was in its formative stages. As chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, I have given to him and the other members of the subcommittee my full support in their efforts to protect from severe and damaging slashes in funds these various programs vital to the interests of agriculture.

On March 24, 1966, I offered a resolution in our 35-member Committee on Agriculture, vigorously opposing the Budget Bureau's recommendations for cuts in money for these programs. Our committee unanimously approved this resolution, and I personally presented a copy to the Appropriations Subcommittee. I was accompanied to the subcommittee hearing by Chancellor John T. Caldwell of North Carolina State University, and other prominent persons from North Carolina, who specifically pleaded against the proposed reductions in funds for our land-grant colleges, for Extension Service activities and for research.

With the permission of the House, I shall insert at this point in the RECORD the resolution of our Committee on Agriculture. The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Whereas the special school milk and school lunch programs have contributed to the health and vigor of America's youth without differentiation among children as to the economic status of their parents; and

Whereas the Budget Bureau now proposes an 80-percent reduction in school milk funds and the orientation of the milk and lunch programs primarily to children of needy families; and

Whereas to identify a child in its school as coming from a poor family in order for the child to qualify for a glass of milk or a lunch would be an affront to the child and the family; and

Whereas our land-grant colleges, extension, research, and agricultural experiment programs, conservation programs, plant disease and pest control and eradication programs, credit programs, the rural electrification program, rural telephone program, inspection and other programs have enabled our farmers in a system of free enterprise to achieve mastery of the arts of food and fiber abundance, so that America now is the best fed and clothed Nation on earth; and

Whereas funds for these and other undertakings in agriculture would be reduced severely under the Budget Bureau recommendations for the fiscal year 1967; and

Whereas to follow the Budget Bureau in this direction would slow down progress in rural America, to the detriment of our farmers and consumers; and

Whereas the Budget Bureau's retrenchment proposals come at a time when legislation is under consideration to export American know-how and show-how in agriculture, so that hungry people of other nations may learn to feed themselves; and

Whereas this effort to deal with the world food crisis requires expansion, not contraction, of our education and research and experimentation programs in agriculture: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House Committee on Agriculture vigorously opposes these Budget Bureau recommendations, and offers its support and assistance to the House Committee on Appropriations and the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee and to each individual Member of the Congress in providing adequate funds, through the legislative processes, for these programs so vital to the well-being of all Americans and so important to our aspirations to combat hunger and starvation in the free world.

Unanimously adopted March 24, 1966.

Mr. Chairman, the Appropriations Committee, in the bill presented to us today, has restored the funds for the programs considered by our Committee on Agriculture to be so vital to our agriculture and to the well-being of all the people of this Nation. I am confident that the House, in its vote today, will approve overwhelmingly the position taken by the Appropriations Committee, which under the able and brilliant chairmanship of Hon. GEORGE H. MAHON, of Texas, has endorsed the work and recommendations of its Subcommittee on Agriculture.

The wisdom of the Appropriations Committee, Mr. Chairman, is reflected in some funds denied as well as those indispensable funds restored.

I especially want to commend the committee for severely slashing the money requested by the Budget Bureau for the new cropland adjustment program. This is the program that has as its objective the retirement of additional millions of fertile cropland from the production of food.

Under existing farm production control programs the Government already is buying 60 million acres out of production.

Mr. Chairman, our Committee on Agriculture now is considering, and probably will approve this week, an administration-sponsored bill to launch a world war on hunger, through an expansion of our food-for-peace program. This legislation proposes that, whereas heretofore we have shipped our surplus foods to hungry people around the world, we will now produce food deliberately for this purpose. Our surpluses are disappearing. We actually are calling back into production some of the 60 million acres now in retirement.

Mr. Chairman, it simply does not make sense to me that at this time, when two-thirds of the world is hungry and 12,000 die daily of starvation, and with some of the acres already in retirement being returned to production, that we should proceed with this cropland adjustment program to take out additional millions of acres. It would be cruel and inhuman. It is immoral.

I have called upon the President, as the Nation's first major step in the new world war on hunger, to suspend immediately and indefinitely the operation of the cropland adjustment program.

In its action slashing the funds for this program, I commend our Appropriations Committee.

It is reassuring that we have such a group of men on this committee who have brought to us general appropriations legislation which comprehends the interest of our farm people, the health and well-being of all our people, and is responsive to the agonies of hungry people in the free world. It is especially encouraging to see here today the strength of the support behind this legislation by Members representing urban constituencies. Mr. Chairman, I yield the floor in confidence that this bill will pass, with the support of rural and urban Members alike, and devoid of partisan and political considerations.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I join my colleagues today who are voting to maintain without diminution the appropriations for milk for children. Months ago I spoke out against reducing this program, which makes it possible for so many youngsters to get milk daily at a price which their families can afford. The recent increases in the cost of living place special burdens on low- and middle-income families and we must be particularly careful to avoid further economic pressures on these families.

I do not believe that it is necessary to cut domestic programs because of the increased cost of our overseas activities. However, if budget cuts must be made, let them not be made in those programs which are essential. I consider the supplemental milk program to be in this category.

A number of us introduced legislation to insure that the supplementary school milk program remains unimpaired. I would hope that the action of this House on this appropriation would make mandatory legislation unnecessary.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Chairman, I rise to announce my support of H.R. 14596, the agricultural appropriation of 1966. While I certainly do not support everything in this bill, I want to commend the distinguished Committee on Agriculture for rejecting the administration's efforts to eliminate or cripple many vital programs.

These programs, which the President sought to eliminate or reduce include:

The special school milk program.

The special school lunch program.

The Agricultural Research Service.

The Cooperative State Research Service.

The Soil Conservation Service.

These Presidential recommendations would cut the heart out of some of the oldest and most valuable services provided by the Federal Government. The value they return to the Nation in knowledge, health benefits, and conservation are vastly greater than the relatively small sums they cost.

This is the second time this administration has launched an attack on the Soil Conservation Service, which does so much for the small farmer and landowner and so much for the cause of conservation.

The impact of the President's proposals on the traditional land-grant college program would be catastrophic.

In New Hampshire, the President's proposal would cut approximately $280,000 a year in educational, research, and extension service funds from the budget of the State university.

This would not be economy, Mr. Chairman, it would be the ruination of tried and true programs that have been giving wonderful service for many years at extremely low cost.

COMMITTEE ACTED WISELY

The Committee on Agriculture, fortunately, has acted wisely in rejecting these Presidential requests. In response to pleas from all over the country, including my own, it has recommended that the House restore the contemplated budget cuts to their present levels. I heartily endorse this decision. The funds involved are but a tiny fraction of this enormous bill and would not pay for even a week's interest on the national debt.

Considering our commitments in Vietnam and other parts of the world, it would be a mistake to weaken in this manner programs vital to American agriculture, which is so vital to our domestic prosperity. Our heavy obligations make it more important than ever to provide adequate support for the essential services of the Department of Agriculture, including funds to the land-grant colleges. It is essential that we continue full support for our schoolchildren, for agricultural research, particularly against plant and animal diseases, and that we support the excellent work of the Soil Conservation Service.

The President's proposal is a direct attack on the welfare of schoolchildren and would harm the interests of small farmers and landowners. His proposal to cut drastically aid to the land-grant colleges, in the words of President John W. McConnell, of the University of New Hampshire, would be "a violent rejection of the 1890 action of the Congress which stated that this support should continue 'for as long as this Nation shall live.'"

I strongly urge the House to support the committee and vote to restore these cuts, which the President has proposed.

OTHER PLACES TO CUT

I am a strong advocate of economy in the Federal budget but not of false economy. The budget is filled with places where the economy ax may be applied—and should be applied—with good effect. Some of them are in this bill.

I refer to the heavy subsidies paid to the big growers, the corporate farmers, the plantation operators producing cotton, tobacco, and feed grains. Least of all can I understand our Government paying tobacco subsidies and paying to promote the sale of tobacco overseas and including tobacco shipments in foreign aid deals, such as the emergency food shipments to India we recently approved. What sense does it make to have one agency of the Government warning about the health hazards of using tobacco while another is underwriting its production and use?

We should cut the budget of the Appalachia program, a special interest program financed by the rest of the country for the sole interest of one region.

We should trim the fat out of the war on poverty, particularly in regard to the inflated payroll of its topheavy bureaucracy. We should trim wasteful foreign aid. We should eliminate funds for some of the big power-dam projects that are planned. I refer particularly to the Lincoln-Dickey Dam in northern Maine, a $300 million hydroelectric project that is already obsolete before it is even started.

We should eliminate funds for the rent-subsidy program, a doubtful experiment at best, and certainly not one that should be undertaken with deficit financing and when the country is threatened with the possibility of still further tax increases.

These are but some of the areas that a really economy-minded administration could work effectively. But instead of this, it chooses to assault traditional, successful, valuable programs of proven worth.

I urge the House to reject this approach but also to seek real economies in overcostly programs such as those I mentioned above.

In addition, I want to state that particularly praiseworthy are Republican efforts, which I heartily endorse, to bar aid under Public Law 480 from going to countries that sell or permit their ships or aircraft to carry equipment, materials or commodities to Communist North Vietnam. I urge the House to adopt this proposal.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, I hope that this House will very carefully review this bill, providing appropriations for the Agriculture Department and related agencies for the next fiscal year and approve it in such amounts as will reflect economic prudence, while at the same time preserving in substance those programs which have long proved to be in the best national interest.

The esteemed committee chairman has, in his persuasively authoritative and thorough comments, clearly explained the various provisions of the bill and their vital importance to our continuing national health and progress and international commitments.

I particularly trust that my colleagues will approve full appropriations to prevent any unwise and unwarranted reduction in the special milk and lunch programs for the promotion of basic health and nutritional development of our American schoolchildren. Certainly any wholesale restrictions on these programs could obviously have a seriously adverse effect upon the health and the learning of tomorrow's citizens and national leaders.

Further than this it is extremely questionable, as emphasized by recognized authorities, that any deep retrenchment of the funds required for our land-grant universities to maintain projected long-range research programs in the areas of agricultural damaging insects and diseases would be an exercise of intelligent or wise economy since such action would undoubtedly cost the country a great deal more in the long run.

Mr. Chairman, it would seem only basic commonsense for us to maintain an agricultural production system in this country which will assure an adequate supply of food, clothing, and shelter for an ever-increasing number of consumers who are completely dependent on this industry for their future well-being. Our serious task here is to act with realistic, economic concern, not only for our present welfare but our future development and let us hope that we can act with such responsibility without dangerously weakening our highly efficient and extremely productive agricultural industry which forms the base for our domestic prosperity and plays a major role in our foreign policy. Let us exert our every legislative resource to insure that the basic and vital programs of the Agriculture Department are operated in the most economical and efficient manner while we also attempt to reasonably insure that the Nation's national progress and international influence is sensibly and substantially maintained for our own and the world's betterment.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Chairman, I want to compliment the very able and distinguished chairman and members of his Subcommittee on Appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for restoring the cuts in the special milk program and school lunch program. I was pleased to vote to sustain these recommendations in the deliberations of the full Committee on Appropriations last Friday.

The school lunch and special milk programs are particular activities that make incalculably great contributions to education, health, and the war on poverty. They contribute greatly to the national defense and strength of our Nation. These programs enable a child to eat a well-balanced, hot lunch at school for a moderate price, provide children with one-third to one-half their daily nutritional requirements.

Mr. Chairman, in many parts of my State and my congressional district, these programs provide some children with their only balanced meal of the day. If adequate funding were not provided, tens of thousands of children, now paying for lunch, would be priced out of the programs and too many other children, now receiving free lunches, might well be deprived of needed nutritional supplementation. I understand that the average lunch price in Massachusetts is 26 cents. However, this price is reduced for children of low-income families, and some children, because of family circumstances receive free lunches. All children are able to eat the same food, with their friends, with no stigma attached, without placing undue strain on their already strained family budgets. If the cut is not restored, this happy situation would not prevail.

Mr. Chairman, at a time when our Government is spending millions of dollars to rehabilitate school dropouts, is enlarging the food stamp program, and making a massive assault on poverty, it would be inconsistent to curtail a program that not only adds to health, energy, and vitality of schoolchildren but helps them to stay in school.

From across Massachusetts and from my congressional district have come many requests from all quarters for the continuation of these programs at the present levels. These communications have come from educators, parents, businessmen—in fact, from all walks of life—from people who simply believe that the Nation is better served, its present and future a bit more secure, its strength preserved when its children are healthier, happier, and better educated. These programs go a long way to accomplish these ends. They ought to be preserved and expanded. This committee has responded magnificently to this appeal.

Mr. Chairman, I express the gratitude of many of the people of my district for the emphatic and decisive action taken by the Subcommittee on Appropriations for the Department of Agriculture.

Under unanimous consent I include with my remarks a sampling of the many and excellent appeals that have been directed to me, asking the Congress to restore the funds in these most important programs—the school lunch and special milk activities:

Brookline, Mass.,
March 9, 1966.

Hon. Edward P. Boland,
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

As parents, school lunch directors and nutrition education supervisors representing all Massachusetts communities, we the undersigned have assembled to analyze the impact of President Johnson's proposed budgetary cuts for both the school lunch and special milk programs.

We strongly oppose the proposed curtailment of $23 million in the national school lunch program and $82 million in the special milk program. These reductions would have a deteriorating effect on the nutritional well-being of approximately 1,200,000 Massachusetts schoolchildren.

Nutritional need exists at all economic levels. Restricting these accomplished programs to needy children only, thereby requiring classroom teachers to apply a means test in order to determine eligibility is certainly not consistent with the President's recently expressed philosophy wherein he asks that scholarship aid be extended on the basis of ability to learn rather than on the ability to pay. We believe, in keeping with this stated philosophy, that school lunch and milk programs be permanently established on a basis of nutritional rather than economic need.

We abhor, therefore, any recommendation of the executive branch, which would have the effect of converting both the national school lunch program and the special milk program into welfare programs. These programs have become an integral part of the accepted educational process and, as such, should be strengthened rather than weakened as proposed. Educators believe "you cannot teach a hungry child."

We strongly urge you to join in our crusade to protect the health and physical fitness of all Massachusetts schoolchildren not only by advising the leadership of both Houses of your opposition to the proposed cuts but as well by acquainting the appropriate Agricultural Committee members in each congressional branch of your feelings.

John C. Stalker, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Education, Boston; Thomas P. O'Hearn, Archdiocese of Boston, Department of Education, Boston; Dorothy Reed, Georgetown; Elizabeth White, Granby; Marion Moore, North Chelmsford.

Dorothy H. Griffin, Medford; Anna Ramocki, Adams; Dorothy Pope, Westfield; Lucille Johnson, Bolton; Nell Odlum, Framingham; Lois Carley, Needham; Alfred Bettencourt, North Dighton; Berthana Richardson, Orleans; Marie Holland, Canton; Julius Candella, Wrentham; Bertha Hassard, Ashland; Evelyn Crew, Pittsfield; Sally Matera, Palmer; Elsie Campbell, Harvard.

Robert Thorburn, Concord; Esther Murphy, Lowell; Joyce Barry, Wellesley; Marion Williams, Falmouth; Marion Cronan, Brookline; Alice Hanley, Shrewsbury; Margaret Martin, Merrimac, West Newbury, Groveland; John C. Stalker, Boston; Frances Cullen, Hyde Park; Patricia Wunschell, Cohasset; Bertha Hassard, Ashland; Frances Speare, Hopedale; Ethel Wright, Lexington; Georgina Schlepegrell, Brockton; Ruth Sutton, Tewksbury; Gladys Burgank, Gloucester; Louise Watts, Weymouth; Dorothy L. Callahan, Milton; Ruth N. Edson, Methuen; Priscilla Richards, Boston; Dorothy Donohue, Springfield.

Ware Public Schools,
Ware, Mass., March 22, 1966.

Hon. Edward P. Boland,
Congressman from Massachusetts,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Boland: The school committee of the town of Ware has directed me to write to you relative to the proposed cuts in the Federal budget in the school lunch appropriation and the special milk program.

It is the hope of the school committee that the Congress will act to restore these cuts for the following reasons:

1. The desire to have the school lunch program an educational program in food and nutrition available to all children, rather than to change the school lunch program to a welfare program. Under the existing program, the economically disadvantaged are permitted free lunches.

2. The economic difficulty that would be encountered by large families that would not come under the economically deprived formula.

Thank you for your consideration.

Respectfully yours,

David M. Russell,
Superintendent of Schools.

The Cooperative School Service
Center, University of Massachusetts,
Amherst, Mass., March 22, 1966.

Hon. Edward P. Boland,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Boland: School administrators are showing great concern about proposed legislation to curtail Federal reimbursement and surplus foods for school lunch programs. Enclosed is a copy of a resolution unanimously passed by the superintendents of the school systems belonging to the Cooperative School Service Center at the University of Massachusetts, an organization consisting of 54 school systems in Western New England.

We respectfully request your support for this resolution, and trust that every effort will be made to maintain the present school lunch program.

Sincerely yours,

Clifford V. Jones,
Executive Secretary.

West Springfield Public Schools,
West Springfield, Mass., March 18, 1966.

Hon. Edward P. Boland,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Honorable Sir: What our children eat is important for building and repairing body tissues; to regulate and maintain body processes; and to supply energy for body heat and activity.

Children eating well-balanced meals daily have a greater chance to maintain good health. This is the aim of all school lunch menus, as they are planned to meet at least one-third of the children's daily nutritional requirements. Good food is basic.

A school lunch program has far reaching health and educational benefits for pupils now and throughout their lives.

Let us continue to serve our youth with the program.

Yours truly,

Chris Grammaticas,
School Superintendent.

Elementary school principals:
  Chester T. Somers, elementary superintendent, Alice R. Brutnell, Joseph J. DeLeo, Genevieve W. Cocchi, Dorothy Standish, Mary R. Godfrey, Donald F. Genrette, Paul E. Dion.
Secondary school principals:
  Robert C. Shields, J. Joseph French, Robert I. Ryan, James C. Bampos.

South Hadley Public Schools,
South Hadley Falls, Mass.,
March 22, 1966.

Hon. Edward P. Boland,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

My Dear Mr. Boland: It again becomes necessary for me to communicate with your office to bring to your attention a recent action of the South Hadley School committee.

At their meeting on March 14, they unanimously instructed me to bring to your attention their deep concern regarding the proposed cutbacks in the school lunch and special milk sections of the administrative budget. Their lengthy discussion concerning this legislation indicated a sharp disagreement with the proposed budget reductions.

Special note was made of Senator Proxmire's Senate bill which would continue the special milk program on a permanent basis.

It is our sincere desire that you do all in your power to prevent the proposed reductions and, at the same time, support those measures in existence or proposed that will continue these programs as have been in effect since 1946 and 1954.

Many thanks for your attention to the above issues.

Sincerely,

Gerald W. Hoar,
Superintendent of Schools and Secretary to School Committee.

The Public Schools,
North Brookfield, East Brookfield,
Mass., March 18, 1966.

Hon. Edward P. Boland,
Representative, Second Congressional District, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Dear Representative Boland: As superintendent of schools for the towns of North Brookfield and East Brookfield, Mass., I have many and varied responsibilities. One of them includes protecting and maintaining the school lunch program.

Consequently, I am opposed to the proposed reduction in the school lunch program. I speak for the school committees of both towns; the parents and taxpayers of both towns; as well as for all the 1,200 children involved. Because of this, I appeal to you to make yourself heard opposing this reduction in Federal funds.

Sincerely,

Martin D. Leach,
Superintendent of Schools.

Belchertown Public Schools,
Belchertown, Mass., March 4, 1966.

Hon. Edward P. Boland,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Representative Boland: This is to express my grave concern over the serious cuts in support for the school lunch program which are proposed by the administration.

We are already feeling the impact of reduced quantities of surplus foods. The outlook ahead is for even fewer such commodities.

The proposed reductions in milk and lunch subsidies mean that the local community will simply have to raise more money to keep an excellent program going or pass on the added costs to the children who can ill afford to bear them.

I strongly urge that you do everything possible to restore the proposed budget cuts so that local school districts may continue operating at least at present levels for the health and welfare of our young people.

Very truly yours,

Frank M. Dunn, Jr.,
Superintendent of Schools.

March 14, 1966.

Hon. Edward P. Boland,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Boland: This letter is regarding the proposed Federal budget cut of $98 million in the school lunch program and the special milk program.

Concerning President Johnson's proposed cut, we feel such a cut would jeopardize the health and welfare of our Nation's children. All children regardless of financial background should benefit from getting enough milk every day, and they should have the opportunity to buy this milk at low cost. Also, all children should be allowed to have a good, well-balanced lunch at low cost.

The school lunch program and special milk program play an important part in the educational process of our children. The proposed cut would mean the end of hot meals in many schools and an increase in the prices by possibly 50 percent. Due to this increase in prices, many children would have to bring lunches from home which would not be able to match pricewise or nutritionwise the value of the school prepared hot lunch.

It is indeed unfortunate that the children of this country will be the first to suffer from this proposed budget cut. Since this Nation spends vast amounts of money on health, welfare, and education programs for the rest of the world, it can certainly afford to continue its support for school lunch programs. Let charity begin at home and provide our Nation's children first.

Since the school lunch program is nonprofit and meals are priced on a cost basis, this proposed budget cut would mean still further losses to the schools due to reduction in cash reimbursement or surplus commodities. Already there has been a serious depletion in surpluses and foods once considered as surplus commodities are no longer available to the school lunch program. Many of these surpluses are the high-protein foods that are essential to children's diets.

We urge you, Congressman, not to sacrifice our children's nutrition; speak out against this proposed budget cut.

Yours very truly,

Genevieve T. Hudzikiewicz,
Mary Mruk.
Helen Pekula.
Valentine School, Chicopee, Mass.

Springfield Girls' Club, Inc.,
Springfield, Mass., March 18, 1966.

Hon. Edward P. Boland,
The House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: The proposed cut in Federal funds for special milk programs for children has just been brought to our attention by John C. Stalker, Director of the Office of School Lunch Programs.

The Springfield Girls' Club serves children from needy and low income families throughout the year and especially in its summer camp program. For the past several years, we have enjoyed the privilege of being able to give these children an extra daily allotment of fresh milk because of this fine special milk program.

It would seem to us that the future nutritional needs of children are being overlooked—even the health of our future citizens being jeopardized—by the discontinuance of this program.

Agencies such as ours—and there are many of them—trying to meet overwhelming needs with small budgets can attest to the value of the milk program. We trust that you will do everything in your power to restore this aid to us.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Bernice G. Leslie,
Executive Director.

Camp Norwich,
Huntington, Mass., March 7, 1966.

Representative Edward Boland,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

My Dear Mr. Boland: The Camp Norwich Board of Directors has just been advised by Mr. John C. Stalker, Director of the Office of School Lunch Programs, that the special support for the milk program and the USDA commodity program is being reduced for the fiscal year starting July 1, 1966.

During the past several years the Camp Norwich Board of Directors has been particularly pleased that it was able to participate in both of these programs in order to provide a more nourishing diet to the campers. The reimbursement moneys were credited directly to the camp program to provide a reduction of normal fees as a further benefit to the people participating in this private agency program.

We would urge a reconsideration by the Congress of this reduction in support, so that young people who are attending camp and summer schools may continue to benefit from these programs. Your attention to this matter is solicited.

Respectfully,

RAYMOND J. FERGUSON, Jr.,
Executive Secretary.

PIONEER VALLEY
GIRL SCOUT COUNCIL, INC.,
Springfield, Mass., March 17, 1966.

DEAR SIR: I should like to request that you do all within your power to support the restoration of funds for the special milk program and for USDA commodities for use in summer camps.

My special interest lies with the camps operated by the Pioneer Valley Girl Scout Council of Springfield, Mass., where for many years the special milk program and the use of surplus foods have helped to keep camp fees within the reach of girls from lower income groups. An increase in fees which might be necessitated by loss of these aids could create real hardship for many families, or make it impossible for many children to have the advantages of summer camp.

Any effort you may be able to make in this area will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

BERTHA MEAD,
Mrs. Milton Mead,
President.

AGAWAM JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL,
Agawam, Mass., March 17, 1966.
Hon. EDWARD P. BOLAND,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BOLAND: For the 20 years of its existence, I have worked in the school lunch program at the Agawam Junior High School. During this time I have seen the local program grow to the point where it is definitely filling a need. Curtailment of the Federal funds and the resulting increase in the cost of a meal, I am sure, will make it impossible for students who need a hot lunch to afford to get one.

Sincerely yours,

FLORENCE WOJNAROWICZ,
School Lunch Manager.

SAFE DEPOSIT BANK & TRUST CO.,
Springfield, Mass., March 11, 1966.
Hon. EDWARD P. BOLAND,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BOLAND: I should like to request that you do all within your power to support the restoration of funds for the special milk program and for USDA commodities for use in summer camps.

My special interest lies with the camps operated by the Pioneer Valley Girl Scout Council of Springfield, Mass., where for many years the special milk program and the use of surplus foods have helped to keep camp fees within the reach of girls from lower income groups. An increase in fees which might be necessitated by loss of these aids could create real hardship for many families, or make it impossible for many children to have the advantages of summer camp.

Any effort you may be able to make in this area will be greatly appreciated.

Respectfully,

WHITNEY C. STILES,
Treasurer.

CHAPIN STREET PTA,
Ludlow, Mass., April 18, 1966.
Hon. EDWARD P. BOLAND,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BOLAND: The Chapin Street PTA of Ludlow is deeply concerned with the proposed budget cuts in the special milk program which will reduce the school lunch appropriation by $19 million. The proposed cut in the school lunch budget would mean an increase in the prices of the lunch. This could well mean the end of the hot lunch program in Ludlow, as it is a certainty that many more children will carry their lunch to school.

We ask that you give this proposed budget cut your deepest consideration and vote against it. It can prove to be nothing but detrimental to the communities in which many children will no longer be able to avail themselves of this very worthwile program.

Very truly yours,

PHYLLIS BERNATOWICZ
Mrs. Stanley Bernatowicz,
Secretary, Chapin Street PTA.

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Chairman, in expressing my support for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies appropriation bill for fiscal 1967, I wish to extend commendations to the able chairman and members of the committee for their painstaking work on the measure before the House. My colleagues are aware that the administration singled out agricultural activities for drastic budget reductions for the next fiscal year. As a result of these proposals, the committee was faced with an unusually large number of congressional and public witnesses seeking restoration of many of the proposed reductions. Throughout the many hours of hearings, the members demonstrated patience and understanding of public desires.

The bill before the House truly represents the "will of the people." And equally important, it will allow the Nation to maintain its unparalleled leadership role in the field of agriculture. In addition, many longstanding and popular Federal-State directed agriculture programs will be continued for the benefit of rural America.

I was particularly pleased to note that the committee has reversed the direction proposed in the 1967 budget. The restoration of $12,204,400 for Agriculture Research Service is important to the Pacific Northwest. Under the proposed reductions, wheat research would have been virtually eliminated in our area. These funds will allow the research programs to continue with far-reaching benefits. Funds were also restored for Cooperative Research Service, special milk and school lunch programs, and the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service was approved at the present year's level. I concur with the above actions.

I also favor the committee's disapproval of the administration proposal to shift $10 million in payments to States from formula provisions of section 3(c) to nonformula provisions of section 3(d) of the Smith-Lever Act. My support is further directed to the committee's action restoring the rural electrification and telephone authorizations to the 1966 level, with appropriate contingency reserves.

Mr. Chairman, the committee authorized $380,000 beyond the administration budget for construction of a soil and water laboratory at Pendleton, Oreg. This facility will conduct research to develop technology to insure the preservation of our most fertile soils and the better utilization of soil moistures. I want to extend my thanks to the chairman and members of the subcommittee for their understanding cooperation and assistance in getting this project underway. It is of great importance to me and the citizens of my congressional district.

I urge my fellow Members to join in supporting the total appropriation of $6,909,027,000 included in this bill. It is vital to our continued leadership in the field of agriculture, and to the well-being of the citizens of rural America.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise to support H.R. 14596, and especially to congratulate all those who rallied to defend the school lunch program.

Food for children is our best investment. Children are not only our individual pride and joy, they are the Nation's hope for the future. During their school years—years of rapid growth and development—they build the muscle, the nerve, the heart and the brain with which they will serve themselves and their Nation for all the years and decades they will have on earth. The deficiencies of diet, the malnutritions of that period, comes back later to haunt us as a nation. All too frequently we pay the bitter cost in terms of youth unable to pass health examinations; in illness, hospitalization, and even death during the productive years of life; and perhaps most serious, in a lack of robust health and energy of people who otherwise would make more adequate contributions to society.

Fully restored, this fund is not actually a costly program. In fiscal year 1966 the Federal contribution per lunch was about 10 cents, of which 4½ cents was cash and 5½ cents was in the form of usable commodities. This is indeed a small price to pay to assure one good meal of vital protective and energy foods for a growing child. These programs have done more than any other Federal program to improve diet for millions of our children. To continue, even to expand the program would be consistent with our laudable efforts in fighting malnutrition.

Even so, it is not easy to buck the budget proposals in the face of the various and several understandable pressures for economy more generally. Hence those who have stood firm for food for our children are to be thanked and congratulated for their hard sense and courage in a good cause.

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, the action of the House of Representatives this afternoon is extremely gratifying to those of us who have been working so hard on behalf of the restoration of funds vital to agricultural programs.

The school lunch and milk programs have proven themselves over the years and I would have hated to have had anything happen to them.

I am sure all Iowans are pleased with this action of Congress. Not only are we concerned for the health and welfare of our schoolchildren, but we are concerned for the long-term effects that soil and water conservation will have on our Nation.

The administration efforts to reduce expenditures are necessary and commendable, but I am afraid that I cannot agree that the recommendations of the Bureau of the Budget were wise. Economy in Government is important, but it would have been extremely shortsighted and false economy to make cuts in programs that are so vital to the productive capacity of our country.

The actions of some of my colleagues distressed me a great deal. Minority efforts to cut funds for soil conservation, REA loans, and the FHA program were ill conceived and politically inspired. I do not believe Iowans favor this kind of economy. I am pleased with the passage of this bill.

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Chairman, most of the programs funded in H.R. 14596, the Department of Agriculture appropriations bill for fiscal year 1967, are programs to assure adequate market prices to farmers through the Commodity Credit Corporation; or to support research to stimulate future productivity of farm lands; or to aid rural communities to develop needed economic resources. However, two particular programs in this bill directly affect not only farmers but also a very broad cross section of American citizens; the special milk program and the school lunch program.

The Federal Government has contributed to school lunch programs since 1936. Since then, probably a hundred million children have had the benefit of a daily half-pint of milk, and of very reasonably priced hot lunches. In 1965, for example, daily hot lunches were served at reduced cost to 18 million children in 71,000 public and nonprofit schools.

President Johnson early this year suggested that the special milk and school lunch programs be limited to children of poor families, and that the funds thereby saved be used to provide hot breakfasts also. His proposal has evident merit. But educators in my district tell me that they are most anxious to avoid any legislative requirement to identify the children of the poor to their schoolmates, for they believe all the children will be detrimentally affected. Therefore, I support the Agriculture Committee's recommendation to continue the special milk and hot lunch programs as presently authorized.

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Chairman, the passage of H.R. 14596 making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture is good news, not only to school administrators and teachers, but to parents and children in schools throughout the United States. We owe a debt of gratitude to the members of the subcommittee and to its chairman, Congressman WHITTEN.

The restoration of funds for the school lunch program and the special milk program deserve universal approval. In Ohio, we are especially grateful for the restoration of funds for the extension service and research.

When I testified before the subcommittee on March 21, I was able to present a complete picture of the disastrous effects if the reduction recommended by the Budget Bureau was allowed to stand. I received valuable information concerning the operation of the program and pointing out the need for continuation of adequate appropriations from the following:

Harold T. Nichols, superintendent of Newark city schools; Leroy Watt, superintendent of schools, Wooster City schools, Wooster, Ohio; W. H. Hauenstein, superintendent, Rittman public schools; Roy D. McKinley, superintendent of schools, Coshocton public schools; David V. Shelby, superintendent, Cambridge city schools; Richard H. Jordan, superintendent of schools, Loudonville-Perrysville Exempted Village School, Loudonville, Ohio.

Wallace E. Blake, superintendent, Zanesville city schools; J. L. Baird, superintendent of schools, Ashland city schools; Harold Sebold, superintendent, Licking County public schools.

John R. Lea, county superintendent, Wayne County public schools; Earl J. Weikel, superintendent, Ashland County public schools; Walter C. Havey, superintendent, Coshocton County schools; Robert P. Murphy, county superintendent, Guernsey County public schools; E. J. Miller, county superintendent, Holmes County public schools; A. O. Tom, Muskingum County public schools.

These statements were of great assistance to me in my attempt to present an effective argument before the subcommittee.

I am also happy that the House adopted the amendment to prohibit the sale of agricultural commodities to any nation which sells or furnishes or which permits ships or aircraft under its registry to transport to North Vietnam any equipment, material, or commodities so long as North Vietnam is governed by the Communist regime. Certainly we should not help in any way those nations who help our enemies. This was a good amendment and I hope a similar amendment will be adopted to the foreign aid bill and any other bill providing for assistance to other nations. I was happy to vote for the amendment and the bill as amended.

Mr. SCHISLER. Mr. Chairman, I am happy to see the appropriations bill for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies passed in a form which will not impair what I consider some of the finest programs carried on in the Nation. I have been opposed to a lot of suggestions made in recent weeks for cutting this and that out of the appropriations measure.

I was particularly concerned about proposed reductions in the budget that would have curtailed our programs for milk and school lunches. I was likewise opposed to budget reductions that would have affected such vital programs as agricultural research, insect and disease control, soil and water conservation, agricultural conservation, agricultural extension services, and rural electrification and telephone programs.

Some days ago I filed a statement with the Appropriations Committee of this House expressing strong opposition to the proposed cuts for the school lunch and special milk programs. I did not feel that it is sound or just economic policy to take funds from present projects in order to support the child nutritional program or the food stamp program.

I fully recognize the need to extend benefits of the lunch and milk program to children not now covered. But I do not agree that such undertakings should be financed by cutting an existing program of long-established value.

All children are entitled to share in the benefits of a nutritional program, irrespective of their family income level. As a former schoolteacher, and a former administrator, I am very familiar with the value of milk and a hot lunch every day for all students.

For a Nation with an abundance of foodstuffs to such an extent that we can send billions of tons of surplus around the world, it seems absurd that we cannot supply milk and lunches for our own schoolchildren. I agree that we should include those children from low-income families in certain areas of the Nation who are not presently sharing in this nutrition program. But let us do this by increasing, not decreasing, food and milk funds so that all children will be covered.

Because of my strong feeling and concern about this matter, Mr. Speaker, I introduced a bill that would have accomplished the same objective that became a reality here today with the passage of this appropriation bill. The purpose of my bill was to forestall any cutbacks in these vital school programs. The support of so many colleagues in favor of the appropriation bill has made any further action unnecessary because we have achieved our goal by restoring the cuts in the budget.

No segment of our population is more important to the country than our children. No better program relating to nutrition has ever been undertaken by the Federal Government than the milk and hot lunch projects. In many instances, the milk and hot lunch consumed at school turn out to be the only major nutritional benefits available to thousands of children during the day.

The special milk program has been in operation in our schools since 1954. While it requires extra work on the part of teachers and school administrators, it has enthusiastic support from school personnel because its benefits are readily apparent. I helped administer such a program in connection with my duties as a teacher and principal. I am very much aware of what this program can do for the health and welfare of our children, and I know that parents are very much in favor of it.

I was also opposed to reductions which might have seriously crippled certain services and activities in the agricultural field. I enumerated these earlier, Mr. Speaker, and I shall only say again that restoration of most of these proposed cutbacks have reaffirmed our support for programs that have proven successful over the years. This means that our farmers will continue to utilize the vital specialized services offered by the Department of Agriculture. I am not interested now or in the future, Mr. Speaker, in participating in any efforts that might create a situation leading to a food deficit in this Nation. Rather, I am determined to see us maintain our present abundance. Agriculture is the very basis of our personal well-being and the key to our national prosperity and international strength, and I want to see it stay that way.

Passage of this bill today, Mr. Speaker, represents a victory for every schoolchild who participates in the school lunch and milk programs. It likewise represents a victory for every farmer interested in a sound and healthy program for agriculture.

Through the mail that has come to us from our home districts and through our personal visits to our districts in recent weeks, we have determined the feelings of the people on these vital issues, Mr. Speaker. By voting as we have here today, we are working the will of the people, and therefore, Mr. Speaker, we know this is a good program.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Chairman, the Appropriations Committee has acted wisely in restoring the funds for the school milk program and the school lunch program. These programs benefit many of the Nation's youth who otherwise would not know the nutritional value of our agricultural abundance.

As early as February 10, I delivered a speech on this floor, deploring the Budget Bureau's decision to recommend that the school milk and school lunch program be pinched thin. The special milk program was to be reduced from $103 to $21 million; the school lunch program from $157 to $138 million.

I deplored that cutback in the same way in which I have deplored the other self-administered cuts in the Great Society's programs. The Budget Bureau boasts that it has reduced spending for new Great Society programs from the $3.9 billion authorized last year, to $2.3 billion.

Mr. Chairman, today the House will play Florence Nightingale and refuse to let the Great Society's school milk and school lunch program go unaided when slashed by the administration. These programs will be restored to full strength.

In the same spirit I call on my colleagues to join me in an effort to continue to assist Great Society programs. In the name of the sick and the poor and the needy I urge that this action serve as a precedent and not an exception.

I also call on our Republican colleagues on the other side of the aisle to join in this effort. In a recent press conference, the distinguished minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Ford] pointed out that the Republicans were working to restore the funds for the school milk program. One is tempted to think that this effort was prompted by an interest in the farmer rather than by an interest in the schoolchildren themselves. This bill appropriates $6.9 billion for agriculture. The committee has restored other proposed cuts in addition to the milk and lunch programs. I suspect that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr Bow] will not offer his 5 percent across-the-board amendment today.

But perhaps the Republican effort on the school milk and lunch programs is genuine. I challenge my Republican colleagues to prove that their impulses were truly humanitarian, by voting for a restoration of funds for education, for medical facilities, and for housing when the pertinent appropriations bills are before the Appropriations Committee and later before the House.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Chairman, I want to compliment the committee upon providing funds for the continuation of the school lunch and milk programs.

In my opinion, these programs are extremely vital, and I cannot conceive of any sound reason for cutting them. Further, I am shocked that anyone in this Government should move to cut funds that mean so much to so many of our schoolchildren and to local communities throughout the country.

Congress can and will restore these funds, and provide adequate funds for these valued, worthy programs, I am sure. But, unfortunately, we do not have the power to compel Government departments to spend funds which we appropriate, and that to my mind is a serious defect in this free government of ours that will have to be remedied constitutionally one of these days—the sooner, the better—if this Government is to be rid of dictatorial features, entirely alien to democracy.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time and ask that the Clerk read.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

COOPERATIVE STATE RESEARCH SERVICE

Payments and expenses

For payments to agricultural experiment stations, for grants for cooperative forestry and other research, for facilities, and for other expenses, including $48,113,000, to carry into effect the provisions of the Hatch Act, approved March 2, 1887, as amended by the Act approved August 11, 1955 (7 U.S.C. 361a–361i), including administration by the United States Department of Agriculture; $2,500,000 for grants for cooperative forestry research under the Act approved October 10, 1962 (16 U.S.C. 582a–582a–7); $2,000,000 in addition to funds otherwise available for contracts and grants for scientific research under the Act of August 4, 1965 (79 Stat. 431); $2,000,000 for grants for facilities under the Act approved July 22, 1963 (77 Stat. 90); $310,000 for penalty mail costs of agricultural experiment stations under section 6 of the Hatch Act of 1887, as amended; and $304,000 for necessary expenses of the Cooperative State Research Service, including administration of payments to State agricultural experiment stations, funds for employment pursuant to the second sentence of section 706(a) of the Organic Act of 1944 (5 U.S.C. 574), and not to exceed $50,000 for employment under section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a); in all, $55,227,000.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I take this time only to engage in a bit of colloquy here with my distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Whitten] with reference to this item of cooperative State research where we have an amount aggregating $48,113,000 and several other items. We do not single out here $400,000 for production research for soybeans. Surely it would be the contention of the chairman; would it not, that that work would go forward with roughly that amount of $400,000, for production research on soybeans?

Mr. WHITTEN. May I say to my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois, it was the intention of the committee in transferring these funds from the individual item over to this item, to be certain that the work is carried on in the increased amount the gentleman mentioned. I would take this time to say that one of the bright spots in overall American agriculture is the soybean and I think this would be a very fine investment and it certainly was the intention of the committee to do as the gentleman suggests.

Mr. MICHEL. I thank the gentleman, and would say further for the record, Mr. Chairman, the Nation's farmers are being urged to plant more soybeans this spring to meet an unprecedented need for this versatile crop. Its vital oil and protein supply is in great demand.

This is significant to farmers of my own district, who produced 10,547,000 bushels of soybeans on 373,800 acres in 1964, according to the latest U.S. Department of Agriculture figures available for county production.

Undoubtedly, figures for 1965 will show an increase in production in my district in 1965 when Illinois production soared to 174 million bushels, an increase of 30 million bushels over 1964, putting the State far ahead as the leading soybean producing State in the country.

And yet more soybeans are needed. The National Soybean Crop Improvement Council of Urbana, Ill., in conjunction with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, is urging farmers to plant more soybeans this spring and increase their yields with better methods and management. The goal of a nationwide drive is 3.5 million more acres, nearly 10 percent more than last year's national planting of 34.5 million acres.

There is a great need for soybean's rich protein not only for livestock and poultry feeds and many other product uses, but to feed the undernourished millions of the world in the war on hunger.

The National Soybean Crop Improvement Council points out also advantages to the farmer in growing soybeans. Requiring less cost and labor than many other profitable crops, soybeans have definitely come into their own as a "money" crop.

By improving control of weeds and insects, better selection of adaptable seeds, improved harvesting practices, yields of from 10 to 15 bushels above the national average of 25 bushels to the acre are possible the council points out in a special issue of its publication, Soybean News, which is available to farmers.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION AND CONSERVATION SERVICE

Expenses, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

For necessary administrative expenses of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, including expenses to formulate and carry out programs authorized by title III of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1301–1393); Sugar Act of 1948, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1101–1161); sections 7 to 15, 16(a), 16(d), 16(e), 16(f), and 17 of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 590g–590q; 7 U.S.C. 1010–1011); subtitles B and C of the Soil Bank Act (7 U.S.C. 1831–1837, 1802–1814, and 1816); and laws pertaining to the Commodity Credit Corporation, $126,558,000: *Provided*, That, in addition, not to exceed $75,803,600 may be transferred to and merged with this appropriation from the Commodity Credit Corporation fund (including not to exceed $30,008,000 under the limitation on Commodity Credit Corporation administrative expenses): *Provided further*, That other funds made available to the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service for authorized activities may be advanced to and merged with this appropriation: *Provided further*, That no part of the funds appropriated or made available under this Act shall be used (1) to influence the vote in any referendum; (2) to influence agricultural legislation, except as permitted in 18 U.S.C. 1913; or (3) for salaries or other expenses of members of county and community committees established pursuant to section 8(b) of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended, for engaging in any activities other than advisory and supervisory duties and delegated program functions prescribed in administrative regulations.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. WHITTEN

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WHITTEN: On page 20, line 24, strike out "$126,558,000" and insert "$128,558,000."

The **CHAIRMAN.** The gentleman from Mississippi is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I offer the amendment on behalf of the committee. The committee made a reduction of $11,074,000 in this agency, including CCC transfers for administrative expenses. A further review of the workload of the agency, particularly with reference to performance under contracts signed by the Government, which will cost in excess of $1 billion annually, causes us to believe that perhaps we had been a little too tight on this item. In order to make certain that there are sufficient funds to make adequate performance checks and to keep the county and State offices at a level where this job can be performed, I have offered this amendment after checking with members of the subcommittee.

I also announce at this time that subsequently an amendment will be offered to reduce the amount of the cropland adjustment program by $35 million. So while we would increase the amount of this program, later we shall offer an amendment which will save $35 million, which comes from the fact that we are convinced that the funds will not be needed.

Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the amendment be adopted.

The **CHAIRMAN.** The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi.

The amendment was agreed to.

The **CHAIRMAN.** The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 21, line 2:

Sugar act program

For necessary expenses to carry into effect the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948 (7 U.S.C. 1101–1161), $80,000,000, to remain available until June 30 of the next succeeding fiscal year.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FINDLEY

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FINDLEY: On page 21, on line 23, strike the period, and insert a colon and the following: "*Provided*, That none of these funds shall be used to make payments exceeding in the aggregate $100,000 to any sugar producer."

The **CHAIRMAN.** The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendment.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, last year an amendment was offered to impose a $50,000-a-year top on the amount that any farmer could get under any single farm program. The figure placed in this amendment is twice that. It is $100,000 a year. Almost any figure from that figure on down would have been quite appropriate, in my view.

These past few months I have asked my constituents in a survey if they would favor a $3,000-a-year limitation on direct payments to farmers. The answer is overwhelmingly affirmative, about 5 to 1. I am sure they they would certainly be in accord with a limitation.

It seems to me that paying $100,000 a year out of the U.S. Treasury to a single sugar producer is a very generous act, particularly at a time like this, when we have budget problems and when there are inflationary pressures which can be traced directly to Government fiscal policies. So I hope that this body will be in accord with this moderate limitation upon payments to any single sugar producer.

As I mentioned a little earlier today, the top 25 payments to sugar producers ranged from a high of over $1 million a year to a low of over $100,000 a year. This amendment would apply, at the most, to about 25 or 30 individual sugar producers in this country. They would not be impoverished, because the Department of Agriculture would still be authorized to make the very munificent payment of $100,000 a year.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I come from a small farm area. I grew up on a small farm. I do not believe there is anyone in Congress who has a deeper and greater feeling for the small farmer than I do. But the secret of success of our economy has been that farming, like automobile building, and many other things, has gotten to a point where it is done on a commercial scale. If we attempt here to push back the amount of participation in producing sugar, sugar will be sold at $1 a pound. I say that advisedly.

The sections which will be affected run from Hawaii to Puerto Rico, through the beet areas of the West, throughout the United States, and Southern States into Florida.

Let me explain to you what is involved. This is about the only nation throughout recent history which has had an adequate supply of sugar at a reasonable price. Even when other things have gone up tremendously, sugar has been in ample supply and has been reasonably cheap, as compared with prices in other countries.

The Government levies a processing tax on sugar, which is a part of this retail price. Nothwithstanding that, the retail price is at a very low level, comparatively.

These payments of taxes go to the Treasury and form a basis for paying out money to the producers in line with the amount produced. If we were to limit the amount that went to a single producer, this would make the sugar producers break down into very small operations. I say again that sugar prices will probably become $1 a pound, as they are in some other places in the world.

While the amount is large which may be paid, that amount has been collected by taxes. The largeness of the payment is brought about by the big operations of the operators.

Let us not go back and try to feed a nation of 194 million people with a horse, or mule, and a plowshare. Let us not go back to building automobiles by hand. That is what this amendment would lead to. I hope the amendment will be defeated.

The **CHAIRMAN.** The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY].

The amendment was rejected.

The **CHAIRMAN.** The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Agricultural conservation program

For necessary expenses to carry into effect the program authorized in sections 7 to 15, 16(a), and 17 of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, approved February 29, 1936, as amended (16 U.S.C. 590g–590(o), 590p(a), and 590q), including not to exceed $6,000 for the preparation and display of exhibits, including such displays at State, interstate, and international fairs within the United States, $220,000,000, to remain available until December 31 of the next succeeding fiscal year for compliance with the programs of soil-building and soil- and water-conserving practices authorized under this head in the Department of Agriculture and Related Agencies Appropriation Acts, 1965 and 1966, carried out during the period July 1, 1964, to December 31, 1966, inclusive: *Provided*, That none of the funds herein appropriated shall be used to pay the salaries or expenses of any regional information employees or any State information employees, but this shall not preclude the answering of inquiries or supplying of information at the county level to individual farmers: *Provided further*, That no portion of the funds for the current year's program may be utilized to provide financial or technical assistance for drainage on wetlands now designated as Wetland Types 3 (III), 4 (IV), and 5 (V) in United States Department of the Interior, Fish and Wildlife Service Circular 39, Wetlands of the United States, 1956: *Provided further*, That necessary amounts shall be available for administrative expenses in connection with the formulation and administration of the 1967 program of soil-building and soil- and water-conserving practices, including related wildlife conserving practices, under the Act of February 29, 1936, as amended (amounting to $220,000,000, excluding administration, except that no participant shall receive more than $2,500, except where the participants from two or more farms or ranches join to carry out approved practices designed to conserve or improve the agricultural resources of the community): *Provided further*, That not to exceed 5 per centum of the allocation for the current year's agricultural conservation program for any county may, on the recommendation of such county committee and approval of the State committee, be withheld and allotted to the Soil Conservation Service for services of its technicians in formulating and carrying out the agricultural conservation program in the participating counties, and shall not be utilized by the Soil Conservation Service for any purpose other than technical and other assistance in such counties, and in addition, on the recommendation of such county committee and approval of the State committee, not to exceed 1 per centum may be made available to any other Federal, State, or local public agency for the same purpose and under the same conditions: *Provided further*, That for the current year's program $2,500,000 shall be available for technical assistance in formulating and carrying out agricultural conservation practices: *Provided further*, That such amounts shall be available for the purchase of seeds, fertilizers, lime, trees, or any other farming material, or any soil-terracing services, and making grants thereof to agricultural producers to aid them in carrying out farming practices approved by the Secretary under programs provided for herein: *Provided further*, That no part of any funds available to the Department, or any bureau, office, corporation, or other agency constituting a part of such Department, shall be used in the current fiscal year for the payment of salary or travel expenses of any person who has been convicted of violating the Act entitled "An Act to prevent pernicious political activities", approved August 2, 1939, as amended, or who has been found in accordance with the provisions of title 18, United States Code, section 1913, to have violated or attempted to violate such section which prohibits the use of Federal appropriations for the payment of personal services or other expenses designed to influence in any manner a Member of Congress to favor or oppose any legislation or appropriation by Congress except upon request of any Member or through the proper official channels.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. RUMSFELD

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. RUMSFELD: On page 22, line 8, strike out "$220,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$100,000,000".

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend the subcommittee on their work on this very important piece of legislation. It is reluctantly that I offer this amendment.

The amendment is simple. On page 22, line 8, it reduces the funds for the agricultural conservation program from $220 to $100 million. This represents a savings to the taxpayer of $120 million.

This $100 million is the recommendation which President Johnson sent to the Congress of the United States. My amendment, very simply, would approve the recommendation of the President of the United States in this area.

The program has been in operation for a long time. Its purpose, of course, is to demonstrate and to encourage farmers to institute practices primarily for soil and water conservation. Most of the practices which are currently being paid for under this program of $220 million a year are well established and have proved to be profitable on the average farm.

I want to make it clear that I support this principle of the agricultural conservation payments program, but I do believe it is time for us to reduce it. I believe this is particularly true in view of the financial situation in this country in this year and our commitments across the globe.

Yes, not only has President Johnson recommended this reduction, but I believe three Presidents of the United States have recommended similar reductions. President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and President Johnson all have recommended that this program, which was started in 1936, I believe, be reduced down to the $100 million level.

I believe it is correct to assume that these recommendations by three Presidents were based on the premise that $100 million would be sufficient to carry out the permanent type practices of this program which means so much in the conservation of soil and of water.

Also, the reduction is supported by the American Farm Bureau.

Clearly it is time for Congress to try to establish priorities in Federal spending. At some point we must look at our resources and look at our requirements and try to put those requirements in an order of priority, and then say, "Let us do those things which are urgent, to be sure, but let us set aside, reduce, or postpone some of those things which are of a less urgent nature."

This is the reason for my amendment.

Let me try to illustrate why I believe the administration was wise in recommending a reduction to $100 million for this program in the crop year of 1967. I wish to make it clear that I am not picking on any particular State. I have chosen the States of Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa because I believe those are three of the great agricultural States of this Nation.

The practice of liming soil has long since been demonstrated by the experiments of the USDA and of the State experiment stations to be profitable. But, in spite of that fact, what is the situation in those three States with respect to liming?

In Illinois liming represented 43.9 percent of the total ACP payments of $8.5 million to my home State of Illinois in 1964. It represented 44 percent of the total of $6.6 million paid out in the State of Indiana for liming material. In the State of Iowa it was a lesser amount, yet it was 25 percent of a total of $10 million which was paid to the farmers for liming materials.

I am not contending that no cost sharing program should be provided for liming. I am merely saying that it is wrong for the Federal Government to continue, year after year, to treat the land for soil acidity when this has long been established as a profitable practice. Clearly this program can be reduced this year, as President Johnson has recommended.

There is another point I want to make in connection with the program. It relates to the amount of money being utilized by this program for new type storage reservoirs.

I fully understand that storage reservoirs are a necessary part of water conservation, but the point I want to make is that the major portion of the money which is being paid out for storage type reservoirs is for livestock watering places, not for erosion control or irrigation water.

On page 67 of the latest report of the USDA on this program there is a table which shows the accumulative total of the various storage type reservoirs. I will give a few examples.

In Arkansas there are none in the erosion control category, there are 2,400 for conserving irrigation water, but there are 69,000 for livestock water.

In Texas, as an example, erosion control is 26,000, irrigation water is 930—yet, listen to this, 292,649 are for livestock water.

I contend, Mr. Chairman, that though there may be some reason for the Federal Government to subsidize farmers for digging water holes for their livestock, we would be hard pressed to justify such an activity on a sound basis to the extent recommended in this bill in this very, very difficult year. This is particularly true when we consider the fact that the primary purpose of this act as originally passed was soil and water conservation.

The **CHAIRMAN.** The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

(On request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD, and by unanimous consent, Mr. RUMSFELD was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. RUMSFELD. I will be happy to yield to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I want to congratulate the gentleman from Illinois for offering this amendment. I intend to vote for it. I intend to vote for it for the reasons given by the gentleman from Illinois, including the fact that this was the figure that was recommended in the budget by the President. President Johnson in this case, as have his two predecessors, urged that there be some limitation and some reduction in the expenditures on this program. I think President Johnson is right, and I believe his predecessors were right. I think we ought to approve this amendment and bring the amount down to the budgeted figure.

Mr. RUMSFELD. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Chairman, to conclude, there are a few important points. The people of this country want the Congress of the United States to act responsibly in the conduct of our fiscal affairs and in solving the fiscal problems facing us. There is increasing talk of a tax increase in this country. I think as each bill and each section of each bill comes before us this year we must ask ourselves if we are in fact establishing the proper priorities, and if we are in fact balancing each possible expenditure against what you do not want, I do not want, and which no one here wants, that is, an additional tax increase on top of the excise tax increases which we have already seen this year.

I think the fact that three Presidents of the United States have recommended a reduction from the $220 million level to $100 million is important and significant.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I think the very fact that the President of the United States in office today has said that this is how he feels we in this country should allocate our resources is significant. I urge Members of the House to consider the possibility that we may be voting on a tax increase later this year. Ask yourselves whether or not $100 million is sufficient for these programs which have been in existence since 1936 and have done a good job in providing the initiative and a start for these programs. I think clearly we can reduce them by $120 million as my amendment proposes to do. As a matter of fact, I suggest we cannot afford not to reduce them.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I have listened with interest to the presentation of my colleague from Illinois. May I say, having been in Illinois and in Iowa and in the area he mentioned, that they are to be congratulated on the very fine and fertile soil they have. But this is a nationwide program. It is a long way from Vermont to Florida, and from Florida to California and Oregon, and from there to my State and many other sections of the United States. I agree that this is a time when we have to put first things first, but here is a program where more than 1 million Americans put up an equal amount of money, plus their labor, in order to try to save the soil of our country for the future. Here is a program that finances 510 technicians to help carry out the programs of the Soil Conservation Service.

Yes, Mr. Chairman, the watershed program of this Nation is one of the finest steps we have ever taken toward leaving a rich country for our children and our children's children. I am proud that this subcommittee some years ago provided $5 million over the President's budget in order to set up 62 pilot watersheds to show the value of this program to the people of the United States.

Yet this amendment would cut out the Federal participation to the extent of about one-third in doing the work on those watersheds which everybody in the Congress has come to us and asked us to restore, unless it be the gentleman from Illinois; I do not remember him.

So this amendment is more far-reaching than it appears. This amendment would do drastic damage to the Soil Conservation Service and to the watershed program and would affect a million Americans who are spending their money and their time trying to preserve a rich country for the children that we hope to leave it to.

Mr. Chairman, I hope the House will defeat the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RUMSFELD].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. RUMSFELD) there were—ayes 30, noes 75.

So the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Appalachian region conservation program

For necessary expenses, not otherwise provided for, to carry into effect section 203 of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, $2,200,000, to remain available until expended.

Cropland conversion program

For necessary expenses to promote the conservation and economic use of land pursuant to the provisions of section 16(e) of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act (16 U.S.C. 590h, 590p), as amended, $7,500,000, to remain available until expended.

Cropland adjustment program

For necessary expenses to carry into effect a cropland adjustment program as authorized by the Food and Agricultural Act of 1965, including reimbursement to Commodity Credit Corporation, $125,000,000: *Provided*, That agreements entered into during the fiscal year 1967 shall not require payments during the calendar year 1967 exceeding $95,000,000.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. WHITTEN

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WHITTEN: On page 25, line 20, strike out "$125,000,000" and insert "$90,000,000"; and on page 26, line 2, strike out "$95,000,000" and insert "$80,000,000".

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is offered on behalf of the committee.

Mr. Chairman, at the time of the markup of the bill the committee was advised that the sum of $125 million rather than the $200 million recommended by the Budget, would be ample to carry out the cropland adjustment program, due to the slowness of the signups.

Subsequent to our markup, we have rechecked the matter and we are convinced that the amount suggested here of $90 million will be ample to carry out the commitments of the Government under this program.

For that reason, Mr. Chairman, I hope the committee will accept the amendment which, in effect, would cut out $35 million which we are convinced will not be needed.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment just to say very briefly that I support the committee amendment wholeheartedly. As a matter of fact I, frankly, would like to see it at a lower figure. I would point out that not only is the participation in this program up to expectations but as I predicted in an exchange with the Secretary of Agriculture, participation in the other feed grains programs will be down this year over last year. In my own district, for example, we found the following:

ASCS wheat and feed grain programs—Acreage participation

County	1965 base acres	1965 diverted acres	1966 base acres	1966 diverted acres	Participation in programs (percent)	
					1965	1966
Bureau	253,759	38,000	253,753	31,473	15.0	12.4
Marshall	97,979	9,955	97,606	7,393	10.2	7.6
Mason	137,780	24,191	136,264	23,711	17.6	17.4
Menard	85,364	11,361	84,560	8,765	13.3	10.4
Peoria	127,197	16,255	125,998	15,575	12.8	12.3
Putnam	37,903	2,297	37,903	1,301	6.1	3.4
Stark	85,751	10,657	85,029	7,223	12.4	8.5
Tazewell	174,972	18,324	173,967	17,750	10.5	10.2
Woodford	152,898	15,487	152,898	15,036	10.1	9.8

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHEL. I shall be glad to yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. STALBAUM. Am I correct in assuming that if we vote for the amendment, we are not, in fact, voting to reduce the program, but are merely voting upon this amount because it is all that appears to be needed with which to carry out the program?

Mr. MICHEL. The gentleman is absolutely correct. There is no intent to cripple the program. There was absolutely no testimony in the hearings that would justify a figure in excess of this one the committee brings to you.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MICHEL. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. GATHINGS. I want to commend the subcommittee for reducing this figure by the amount in the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi. The participation has fallen off because grain crops are needed to alleviate hunger and actual starvation in many parts of the world.

Mr. MICHEL. I thank the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN].

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Loan authorizations

For loans in accordance with said Act, and for carrying out the provisions of section 7 thereof, to be borrowed from the Secretary of the Treasury in accordance with the provisions of section 3(a) of said Act, and to remain available without fiscal year limitation in accordance with section 3(c) of said Act, as follows: Rural electrification program, $365,000,000, of which $72,500,000 shall be placed in reserve to be borrowed under the same terms and conditions to the extent that such amount is required during the current fiscal year under the then existing conditions for the expeditious and orderly development of the rural electrification program; and rural telephone program, $97,000,000, of which $6,000,000 shall be placed in reserve to be borrowed under the same terms and conditions to the extent that such amount is required during the current fiscal year under the then existing conditions for the expeditious and orderly development of the rural telephone program.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BOW

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendment offered by Mr. Bow: On page 31, line 5, strike out "$365,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$220,000,000".

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow] is recognized in support of his amendment.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, this amendment would cut the proposed REA loan authorization of $365 million by $145 million, down to the $220 million requested by the administration. It is being offered not only as an effort to support the President in holding down the 1967 budget, but also as an effort to see if we cannot make some headway toward giving the Appropriations Committee the opportunity of passing on individual REA loan proposals that involve the construction of generation and transmission facilities by electric cooperatives. On the average over the past 5 years, REA loans for generation and transmission facilities have totaled 54.1 percent of all REA loans. A number of the generation and transmission loans were undesirable, in my opinion, and should not have been made. To have its greatest impact on achieving some control over G. & T. loans, the amendment should provide for a cut of $197 million, which would be 54 percent of the $365 million authorization proposed. I have limited the amendment, however, to a proposed cut of $145 million.

REA LOAN AUTHORIZATION

The basic purpose of the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 was to promote, through the use of long-term Federal loans, the furnishing of electric energy to persons in rural areas not receiving central station service. This purpose, expressed in the act itself, was repeatedly reiterated in congressional committee reports and in floor debates during the early years of the program. It was intended to be, and was for the first two decades or so, purely a development program. Its objective was to provide Federal financial assistance to aid in the electrification of the farms and rural areas of the country that were not receiving the benefits of central station service. In 1936, nearly 90 percent of the 6.8 million farms in the United States were without such service. By 1940, although the total number of farms decreased to 6.1 million, the number of farms with electricity was three times that of 1936, and the percentage of farms without electric service fell under 70 percent. Ten years later—1950—77 percent of the farms were electrified. In 1964 more than 98 percent had central station electric service.

The electric companies participated, to some degree, in this progress, but the rural electrification program was providing the means and impetus for much of the sharp increase in electric service that took place in rural areas.

By the late 1940's, the Rural Electrification Administrator testified before congressional committees that the need for Federal assistance for the electrification borrowers would gradually diminish as they gained in experience and internal strength. The Administrator pointed out that the rural electric systems were moving toward a healthy self-reliance and less dependence on the Government.

The purpose of development programs, such as the rural electrification loan program, is to provide assistance to compensate for inherent disadvantages in a region until the area is sufficiently established to take its regular place in the economy and free market. This is the basic purpose and justification for development programs, be they domestic or international. To continue aid once the basic objectives are met, serves only to weaken and undermine the primary thrust of the program. The recipients can become strong, self-reliant, and able to assume equality in society only as they move toward the exercise of their own abilities and efforts.

The REA program has been an outstanding success. In the 30 years of its life, it has largely achieved the purpose for which it was created—the electrification of the farms and rural areas of America. The great progress that has been made is demonstrated by the data contained in the following table:

Number and percent of farms receiving central station service

Date	Number of farms	Farms receiving central station service	
		Number	Percent
Jan. 1, 1935	6,812,350	743,954	10.9
Apr. 1, 1940	6,096,799	1,853,249	30.4
Apr. 1, 1950	5,382,134	4,154,359	77.2
June 30, 1964	3,481,400	3,413,950	98.1

Today, there remain few farms and rural areas that want central station service that do not have it. It would seem that the point has been reached where needs consist almost entirely of supplying the normal load growth of existing customers unless the intent is to extend into new and different types of loads.

In accomplishing this remarkable progress the borrowers have also prospered in wealth, experience, and efficiency. At the end of calendar year 1964, the net worth of REA electric borrowers was 24.8 percent of assets; and revenues per dollar of investment in plant rose to 19.5 percent. Borrowers had made advance repayments of capital of $268 million on June 30, 1965, and only five borrowers were in arrears more than 30 days on debt payments totaling only $215,000. Three of these five borrowers paid off their delinquencies in less than 3 months after the end of the fiscal year. These records demonstrate their strong financial position. As for service, the average price of residential service to consumers was 2.23 cents per kilowatt-hour for co-ops compared to 2.31 cents per kilowatt-hour as a national average. In the last 10 years, the average monthly energy used by residential customers of REA co-ops has more than doubled and they buy more than two-thirds of all power sold by such systems. In 1964, the average number of kilowatt-hours used per residential customer was 5,472 or 25 percent more than the 4,367 average kilowatts used in 1964 by residential customers of investor-owned electric companies.

As the REA Administrator stated in his 1965 annual report:

> The strength of rural electric systems, with increased responsiveness to the needs of their members, continued to grow in fiscal year 1965.

He referred to the important and effective equalizers provided by the REA program to overcome the handicaps faced by the borrowers. The Administrator stated that in addition to the equalizers supplied by the REA program, other equalizers, "basic to the eventual achievement of parity of rates and service for rural electric systems, must be developed primarily by the borrowers themselves, through their own resources and those of their State, regional, and national associations."

I agree fully with the Administrator. Now that the co-ops have reached a state of maturity they should start moving more rapidly toward the use of their own abilities and resources, if they are to become self-reliant, independent enterprises and fulfill their proper ultimate role in our economy. This clearly does not mean that the basic program should be discontinued. Certainly where the only or cheapest way to provide the service for consumers in rural areas not receiving central station service is through REA loans, adequate funds should be provided. On the other hand, where REA funds are used to finance loans for tremendous facilities whose purpose is to serve large power-using industries like aluminum, as is the case in the recent Kentucky loan, which provides benefits and advantages to one company at the expense of others, then, I am convinced it is time for the Government to draw a sharp line and provide funds only for loans which come within the basic intent of the act.

Over the last 5 years, more than half of the REA electrification funds have been used for generation and transmission loans as distinguished from distribution and consumer facilities loans. This is confirmed by a table compiled from REA annual reports, which is at the end of my remarks. The table reflects that in 1965 more than 60 percent of the funds were used for generation and transmission facilities.

I am not going to say that each and every dollar loaned for generation and transmission over the past 5 years was either unnecessary or outside the intent of the basic act. It is obvious from the record, however, that most of them were questionable or at least controversial, and probably quite unrelated to rural electrification as such.

It would seem to me not only desirable but necessary that the conflict and confusion which have existed over generation and transmission loans during the last few years be brought to a halt. It is not in the interests of the co-ops, the electric companies, the Government, the Congress, or the country that they be continued. We should be able to resolve these matters wisely and fairly. When loan requests arise involving large sums of money for generation and transmission, opportunity should be afforded for adequate review and evaluation, both within and outside the Congress, to be sure the expenditure is justified and proper. We insist on such a procedure when the Government itself is proposing the construction of a project. How can we afford to do less when we are acting as a banker, financing work to be done by someone else? A project of such size should not be undertaken without adequate planning and analysis and this takes time. When found justified, such items can be handled individually as supplements to the regular annual appropriation for the agency or in appropriations for subsequent years. Quickie decisions are suspect on their face. Pressures for urgency usually stem from a desire to avoid careful analysis rather than from the existence of any real emergency. Furthermore, sound power planning dictates long leadtimes. This procedure would provide for an independent review which certain other loan programs require.

The advances for generation and transmission loans over the last 5 years have averaged 54.1 percent of the total electrification program—30.5 percent for generation and 23.6 percent for transmission. Assuming the 5-year average would prevail in fiscal year 1967, the amount that would be required for other than G. & T. loans would be 45.9 percent of the budget's proposed loan authorization of $220 million, or $100 million. If my amendment prevails, and I hope it will, there will still be $120 million of loan authorization provided in the bill that can be used for generation and transmission facilities loans.

The Rural Electrification Administration table on electric loans by purpose is as follows:

Rural Electrification Administration—Electric loans by purpose, fiscal years 1961–65

Fiscal year	Distribution		Generation		Transmission		Consumer facilities		Total	
	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent
1965	$150, 436. 564	39. 6	$126, 072, 074	33. 2	$103, 019, 362	27. 1	$465, 000	0. 1	$379, 993, 000	
1964	158, 863, 833	60. 8	47, 714, 639	18. 2	54, 370, 528	20. 8	510, 000	. 2	261, 459, 000	
1963	155, 411, 913	45. 6	113, 989, 206	33. 4	69, 377, 881	20. 3	2, 242, 500	. 7	341, 021, 500	
1962	103, 811, 846	39. 7	98, 885, 409	37. 8	56, 446, 745	21. 6	2, 230, 500	. 9	261, 374, 500	
1961	120, 472, 388	43. 9	77, 108, 401	28. 1	74, 830, 429	27. 2	2, 096, 000	. 8	274, 507, 218	
Total for 5 years	688, 996, 544	45. 4	463, 769, 729	30. 5	358, 044, 945	23. 6	7, 544, 000	. 5	1, 518, 355, 218	0. 5
5-year average	137, 799, 309	45. 4	92, 753, 946	30. 5	71, 608, 989	23. 6	1, 508, 800	. 5	303, 671, 044	. 5

Source: Annual reports of the Administrator, Rural Electrification Administration.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I thank the gentleman from Ohio. The ranking member of the Committee on Appropriations deserves great credit for offering this amendment, which would reduce the amount of the 1967 bill before us by $145 million. The figure that the gentleman includes in his amendment is the figure that was recommended by the President in his budget for the fiscal year 1967. I congratulate the gentleman from Ohio. I intend to vote for his amendment, and I hope that the amendment is adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from Mississippi rise?

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, my friend and colleague on the other side has presented just part of the picture. The President's recommendation took into consideration a dual financing program whereby the REA system could go into the private markets and borrow money. That bill has not passed, and it is not law. So we have to consider the amount of budgetary ceilings that were in the budget that came to us.

Let us see what the amendment would do. About 80 percent of the United States is served by the rural electrification system. So anything that would serve to cripple the REA would mean crippling about 80 percent of the geographic area of the United States.

Not only that, but we all know that you cannot keep people on the farm. As a result, they have had to turn to REA power and other sources of power to offset the loss in manpower.

I should like to point out that in areas covered by the REA system there is an average of about 3 customers per mile, whereas in areas served by private companies there is an average of about 30 customers per mile.

I should like to point out further that if we do not permit the REA to borrow moneys which is repaid with interest, as the amendment would keep it from doing, it would mean that the market for private power would be cut down.

Let me illustrate that point. About 35 percent of the power requirements of REA are bought from the private power companies. That does not include municipalities. In the fiscal year 1965 the REA Cooperatives bought $5.8 million more electricity from the power companies than they did the year before.

I should like to point out again that this figure is the ceiling that would be imposed by the Congress on how much the Administrator can lend. Under the basic law, he would not be permitted to lend except upon a proper showing of need and the putting up of the system as collateral security for the loan.

So I am just saying to you that, when we impose too low a ceiling, we are taking away the bargaining position of the REA Cooperatives and affecting their efforts to get reasonable rates and terms from the power companies. We would be ignoring the fact that the REA is buying more and more electricity each year from the private companies, and as they buy more and more current, the REA is having to put in larger lines to carry it.

Now that we have so few people down on the farm, and 800,000 of them have been leaving every year, and with the situation in Vietnam, and with nobody able to get anybody to do anything, now is a poor time to vote down a substitute for human labor—electricity.

Let us vote this amendment down.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, this bill provides for $365 million in new loan authorizations for the Rural Electrification Administration, an increase of $145 million over President Johnson's budget request. In view of the type of loans recently made by the REA Administrator, I find this sizable boost in loan authorization difficult to reconcile, at best, with the President's budget and I did as a matter of fact reserve on this item in the subcommittee.

The President's message states, "The Rural Electrification Administration is continuing to emphasize the negotiation of reasonable contracts under which REA-financed systems purchase power from other suppliers. Such contracts will reduce the need for generation and transmission loans."

During hearings on the 1967 agriculture appropriations bill it became apparent to me that the REA is not "continuing to emphasize the negotiation of reasonable contracts under which REA-financed systems purchase power from other suppliers." Indeed, our committee reiterates in our report:

> The primary function of the rural electrification system is to provide and distribute electricity to rural and farm customers at reasonable rate. The construction of power-generating facilities is a secondary function considered to be necessary to preserve the bargaining position of REA cooperatives in securing power at reasonable rates and under reasonable terms. The Administrator of REA is expected to observe these basic concepts

> in carrying out his responsibilities under the law. The Congress has always attempted to protect the bargaining power of the REA with respect to negotiation of power contracts with private utility companies, through the approval of adequate loan funds to provide REA-financed power generation facilities where alternative sources of power are not available on proper terms. It charges the Administrator with the responsibility, in turn, to make certain that every reasonable and practical effort is made to secure power from private sources prior to approving loans for new power generation construction.

It has become disturbingly apparent that the Administrator has not made certain that every reasonable and practical effort was made to secure power from private sources prior to approving loans for new power generation construction.

The Supreme Court of the State of Colorado recently declared that an REA-financed generating plant in Hayden, Colo., "requiring an investment of approximately $30 million, is not necessary to supply any present or foreseeable future electric requirements." The Colorado-Ute case clearly revealed the Administrators unsound judgment in releasing more than $22 million for construction of a generation plant at a time when the loan was being litigated in the courts. Incidentally I criticized this loan and the advance of funds way back in 1962 in remarks on this floor. I predicted the Administrator would get in hot water over this one.

According to the Colorado Supreme Court:

> Adequate electric service is already available in the State of Colorado for the needs and necessities of the proposed new customers of Colorado-Ute.

The court cited section 4 of the Rural Electrification Act which states:

> No loan for the construction, operation, or enlargement of any generating plant shall be made unless the consent of the State authority having jurisdiction in the premises is first obtained.

The court made clear that both Colorado-Ute and the REA recognized that construction of the Hayden plant during litigation was attended with substantial risk and that they engaged in the activity with full knowledge of the possible consequences. Despite this understanding, REA advanced the funds and Colorado-Ute spent them to construct the Hayden plant.

Mr. Chairman, the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 gives wide discretion to the Administrator for making loans. As a public official and guardian of funds entrusted to him he should exercise every degree of prudence in administering the program. Because Congress authorizes only lump-sum amounts for loans and does not designate the use of funds for construction purposes as it does with other Federal power agencies, the Administrator should lean over backwards to comply not only with the letter but with the spirit of the law and with the policy directives of the Congress. To do otherwise, in my judgment is incomprehensible, and endangers the status of the program. Unfortunately, however, the present Administrator has often sidestepped and stretched the intent of the law. Let me remind my colleagues that Colorado is not the only State where REA funds have been released while litigation is in process.

In Indiana, for example, the REA Administrator has, during the last year, advanced loan funds to the Indiana Statewide Rural Electric Cooperative for construction of a generation and transmission system while the very right to construct the facilities is pending in the higher courts of that State. This is a loan that has been shown to result in higher cost power to the distribution cooperatives. The 16 cooperatives to be served in Indiana by Statewide now receive their energy supply from electric companies at distribution voltages at an average rate of 8 mills per kilowatt-hour, and at transmission voltages the rate is 7½ mills per kilowatt-hour. Studies have been made which reveal that Statewide would have to charge about 10½ mills per kilowatt-hour in order to break even. The distribution cooperatives are required to make 35-year contracts with Statewide, and are denied the right to purchase power from any other supplier. It has been estimated that the distribution cooperatives would save approximately $1,900,000 annually by purchasing their power from existing suppliers. Furthermore, the 1965 loan was made contrary to congressional directions. It was approved without making any attempt to obtain the necessary power and energy requirements of the cooperatives from existing suppliers as required by both the Senate and House Appropriations Committees in their instructions to the REA Administrator in committee reports on appropriations bills.

I have never attacked the personal integrity of the REA Administrator and do not intend to do so now. However, it seems that in the circumstances of these situations the Administrator has demonstrated poor judgment in advancing Federal funds as he did. It would seem to me that when there are substantial sums of Federal money involved as there are in most of these REA generation and transmission loan situations, there must be some way of assuring that those who are responsible for the expenditure of Federal funds exercise reasonable care and diligence in their management. If the Administrator's judgment in the Indiana situation, and some of the other situations around the country, proves to be like his judgment in the Colorado-Ute case, then REA is in a sad state of affairs.

If the REA Administrator adheres to the directives of the Congress, and if he adheres to the principles which the President recognized in his budget message, it is clearly evident that the $220 million budget request is substantially adequate for REA loan authorizations for 1967. For, indeed, this figure was arrived at, and must be considered in terms relative to total demands on the Federal Treasury; it is not an isolated request.

The National Rural Electric Cooperative Association stated, during this year's agriculture appropriation hearings:

> NRECA requests that this committee recommend an authorization of $612 million in electric-loan funds for fiscal year 1967.

But its demands are coupled with a complete inability to reveal the basis of their estimations:

> This request is based on the latest loan-fund survey of our member systems.

What its member systems say they will need is scarcely a reliable basis for estimating their needs. My colleagues should make note of the fact that 1965 REA loans for distribution purposes totaled $150.4 million, with $69.8 million in distribution loan applications carried forward to fiscal year 1966. Why is there need for such a striking increase in funds for 1967, unless these funds are to be used for purposes not now eligible under the REA Act? I find it impossible to justify any increase in budget requests, particularly since 98.5 percent of the country's farms are receiving central station service. It is my sincere hope that Members will support the amendment and ask themselves, in considering 1967 new loan authorizations for REA, "What is the purpose of REA? Has it accomplished that purpose? What is to be the role of rural electrification in the future?"

I hope Members will support the amendment, which has been offered on the basis of good, sound judgment.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Bow) there were—ayes 36, noes 79.

So the amendment was rejected.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Rural housing direct loan account

> For direct loans and related advances pursuant to section 518(d) of the Housing Act of 1949 (79 Stat. 500), $15,000,000 shall be available from funds in the rural housing direct loan account.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FINO

Mr. FINO. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendment offered by Mr. Fino: On page 31, line 21, strike out "$15,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$10,000,000."

Mr. FINO. Mr. Chairman, I offer this amendment to cut the money which is going to be made available to finance the direct loan program of the Farmers' Home Administration. The figure proposed for the direct farm loan program in the bill before us is $15 million. I propose to reduce it to $10 million. The figure I am specifically referring to is the amount that can be made available for direct farm housing loans from the rural housing direct loan account.

I am offering this amendment because no Government-run loan program is more wastefully and improperly run than this program. As a member of the Housing Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee, I have had occasion to review some of the housing loan programs, and this one is clearly the worst.

Back in January of this year, the General Accounting Office reported on the Farmers' Home Administration direct loan program. The GAO determined that 20 percent of the loans which it investigated—I repeat, 20 percent—could have and should have been made by private credit. According to the GAO report, however, the county officials of the Farmers' Home Administration had no meaningful interest in enforcing the congressional requirement that direct loans be made only where private credit is not available. The county officials just went their merry way, making any loans they felt like. This is why I want to cut direct loan funds. They are badly misused.

To deal with this situation, I introduced a bill—H.R. 14139—on March 30 of this year to require a direct loan applicant to show proof that he has been refused private credit in order to qualify for a cheap Government loan. There is as yet, however, no sign that the Farmers' Home Administration has taken this warning to heart. I think their appropriation should be cut to teach them a lesson.

Cutting this appropriation will serve notice to the Farmers' Home Administration to play fair with private credit. Under the Housing Act of 1949, the Secretary of Agriculture can order any of these borrowers to refinance their unpaid balance with private credit sources. In my opinion, there are many Farmers' Home Administration loans outstanding that never should have been made. The Government can get out of these loans and avoid the need for part of this appropriation.

Now somebody might think I am advocating a sale of participations here. Not at all. I am advocating that the Government get out of certain loans. This is very different than keeping title to the loans and selling participations. The participation sales device is just a budget gimmick, and I completely oppose it.

Incidentally, it might be of interest that the administration wants to put $600 million worth of Farmers' Home Administration loans into the proposed Government-wide loan pool. Obviously these loans are not being refinanced to bring in private credit. That could have been done by letting private credit do the job in the beginning. This program is one to cut back on, rather than expand through pool loans refinancing.

In closing, I might say that this loan program has gone far beyond its original purpose. It no longer serves the precarious small farms of the depression. Now it often makes subsidized loans to people who can afford private credit. It has even made loans for ski slides and golf courses.

I urge a reduction in Farmers' Home Administration direct loan funds from $15 to $10 million.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, may I say that this $15 million really is a reduction. When we passed the original Housing Act many, many years ago we provided a fund of around $500 million for rural housing. That provision stayed dormant for many years, although it succeeded in getting some votes for the housing program. We in this bill put a limit of $15 million on the amount of direct loans for building and improving rural housing. We changed that from farm housing some years ago. To be eligible for such loan you must show you cannot get private financing.

I am familiar with the Federal Housing Administration, which insures under the FNMA program. Unfortunately, though, in rural areas the banks and other lending institutions are not going to do this kind of financing of houses that are built over scattered rural areas.

In order that those Americans who may happen to live a little far removed from their next door neighbors have the same privileges as those who live in the cities and get this money and insure their mortgages with the banks and lending institutions, we have approved this means of financing. So it is on that basis that this $15 million is provided, for those areas where the conditions that I described exist.

Mr. Chairman, I can agree that the General Accounting Office and our private financial interests ought to have made loans in this field. I felt they should have loaned me some money under certain circumstances. But they would not do that.

Mr. Chairman, we do not have it within our power to require financial interests to make these loans. Since we do not have that power, I believe it thoroughly sound to give those Americans who happen to live in areas where they are too far apart for private financial interests to insure the mortgage, this privilege. I say this because in our cities, such as the city from which my good friend, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fino] comes, they have this privilege. May I say that I traveled over numerous sections of that city, including Harlem, and many other areas recently. I realize that you have some problems there, and I do not understand them.

Further, Mr. Chairman, the sum of $5 million of this fund is for the housing for the elderly, a program which many people have supported, and which has progressed a lot better than many of us thought it might.

So, Mr. Chairman, I trust that the gentleman will not accept everything that the General Accounting Office says about what private institutions ought to do. I agree they ought to do it, but I can tell you they have not. As long as they will not do it, let us make it possible for all Americans, rural and urban, to have an equal opportunity to build and improve their housing.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fino].

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Federal Crop Insurance Corporation Fund

Not to exceed $4,150,000 of administrative and operating expenses may be paid from premium income: *Provided*, That in the event the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation Fund is insufficient to meet indemnity payments and other charges against such Fund, not to exceed $500,000 may be borrowed from the Commodity Credit Corporation under such terms and conditions as the Secretary may prescribe, but repayment of such amount shall include interest at a rate not less than the cost of money to the Commodity Credit Corporation for a comparable period.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FINDLEY

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Findley: On page 35, strike all language on lines 11 and 12, and insert the following:

"No funds appropriated by the Act shall be used to formulate or administer a Federal crop insurance program for the current fiscal year that does not meet its administrative and operating expenses from premium income: *Provided*,".

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, on that amendment I reserve a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi reserves a point of order.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Findley] is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendment.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, the Federal crop insurance program began on an experimental subsidized basis, so I am informed, in 1938. That was almost 30 years ago. Apparently it is still operating upon an experimental, subsidized basis. Each year we provide additional funds through the appropriations route to help bridge the gap between premium income and the operating and administrative expenses of the program.

There are a good many private insurance companies that are operating in the field of crop insurance, and I daresay more would come into the program and perhaps expand their coverage were it not for the unfair competition from the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Gresham's law held that bad money tends to drive out good money.

The Curtis corollary to Gresham's law holds that Government services or Government money tends to drive out private money and private services. That definitely is a sound theory in my view. It applies to insurance services as it does to direct lending. As long as the Federal Government is operating on a heavily subsidized crop insurance program, private insurance companies cannot effectively compete. The effect of my amendment would be to require that the premium rates charged to the farmers who do sign up under the Federal crop insurance program be placed at levels that will cover operating and administrative expenses of the program.

It seems to me it is high time that the Federal crop insurance program be placed on a self-financing businesslike basis.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Whitten] insist on his point of order?

Mr. WHITTEN. I do, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi will state his point of order.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the amendment offered by the gentleman from

Illinois on the ground that it is legislation on an appropriation bill.

May I say that the gentleman from Illinois gave the matter away, in my opinion, when he said that the purpose of his amendment was to set premium rates that the Government would charge. I think that shows clearly what is involved. This amendment provides that no funds shall be used to administer this program under certain conditions. The program now in existence is based on contracts to which the Government is a party. For us in this bill to try to prohibit the handling of existing contracts on the part of the Government would clearly be legislation. It not only would be legislation but it would interfere with meeting obligations under existing contracts and commitments on the part of the Government.

For that reason, Mr. Chairman, I submit that the point of order should be sustained.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Illinois desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. FINDLEY. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, the amendment I have offered is clearly a limitation of funds, requiring that no funds be appropriated for the administration or formulation of programs. Therefore, on the basis of that it seems to me that the amendment is in order.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, if I may make one observation, the amendment has to do with setting premiums and is quite clearly an affirmative action.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. KEOGH). The Chair is prepared to rule.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] has offered an amendment at page 35, striking out all language on lines 11 and 12, and the amendment would add a new paragraph; to which amendment the gentleman from Mississippi has made a point of order on the ground that it is legislation on an appropriation act.

The language sought to be inserted by the amendment reads as follows:

> No funds appropriated by the Act shall be used to formulate or administer a Federal crop insurance program for the current fiscal year that does not meet its administrative and operating expenses from premium income:

It might be said that the effect of any proposed amendment is truly not within the competence of the Chair. But a reading of this language indicates to this occupant of the chair that there is here sought an express limitation on the funds appropriated by the pending bill and the Chair, therefore, overrules the point of order.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word and rise in support of the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, now that the substantive issue is before the Committee, I wonder if the chairman of the subcommittee would not agree that this is a very desirable objective—granted that it had to be written in parliamentary language. Certainly the gentleman from Mississippi was correct that the object in mind is to relate this particular program to good sound insurance practice, which would mean that it would strengthen the program in the long run because it would put it on its own bottom where you are actually paying the premium that should be paid in order to get good crop insurance.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WHITTEN. I just wish to say I cannot question that this is a worthy objective. But I am just saying, having worked with this program here through the years, that I am very proud that we have gotten to the point where it is becoming more and more self-supporting. Let us not destroy it as we are making progress. If the gentleman will look at the bill before him, he will see that we are paying more and more of the administrative costs from the premiums. Just do not rock the boat and destroy the program by trying to go along too fast. We are working on that.

Mr. CURTIS. Let me commend the gentleman for his observation. I do agree with him and this amendment is what enables the job to be completed. I do not think that is rocking the boat. As the gentleman from Illinois, the author of the amendment has said, this program has been going on since 1938. I think it is now time to put it on a sound basis. I urge the membership to support this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from Mississippi rise?

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I realize that perhaps I am repetitious to some degree. But let me repeat again that, as big as our country is, periodically we have had tremendous crop failures and other types of disasters that have hit various sections of our country. In the last 10 or 12 years when that has happened the Government has rushed in to pay the total cost in most cases of trying to rectify the damage resulting from those natural disasters.

The crop insurance program, as it was first set up, was set up to cover the country without giving due consideration to a broad enough base to make the fund actuarially sound. For those reasons no private companies in the United States were interested. Nor will they be interested today in taking over this insurance program. I defy anyone to claim that they will. But we then started back on a pilot program to see if we could figure out ways to get enough participants to provide a broad enough base to make the program actuarially sound.

As we have done so, we have gradually worked up to where it is doing a marvelous job and, may I say, the cost is probably one one-hundredth of what it would cost us if we did not have crop insurance in these areas of disaster.

Your committee is now working very hard, and has been through the years, trying to counsel and assist in an effort to see that high-risk areas are not included so as to pull down the other areas.

In this bill we are once again calling on the Crop Insurance Corporation to reflect a little more of the administrative cost in its premiums. I urge the House to go along with the committee as we work in this direction. Let us not kill a program that is doing lots and lots of good, when the private companies offer no substitute. I hope the amendment will be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois.

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read:

The Clerk read as follows:

> Page 36, line 1:
>
> "COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION
>
> "*Reimbursement for net realized losses*
>
> "To partially reimburse the Commodity Credit Corporation for net realized losses sustained but not previously reimbursed, pursuant to the Act of August 17, 1961 (15 U.S.C. 713a–11, 713a–12), $3,500,000,000."

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FINDLEY

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendment offered by Mr. FINDLEY: On page 36, on line 6 strike the period, insert a colon and the following:
>
> "*Provided,* That no funds appropriated by this Act shall be used to formulate or administer programs for the sale of agricultural commodities pursuant to titles I or IV of Public Law 480, Eighty-third Congress, as amended, to any nation which sells or furnishes or which permits ships or aircraft under its registry to transport to North Vietnam any equipment, materials or commodities, so long as North Vietnam is governed by a Communist regime."

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi reserves a point of order.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, one of the most distressing aspects of the Vietnam war is the shipping that goes into North Vietnam to nourish and equip the Communist forces that are involved in direct engagement with our own boys. This flow of shipping comes in both free world and Communist bottoms. The purpose of the amendment is to try to tighten up a bit on that shipping.

It is my understanding that some of the shipping that goes into North Vietnam is carried on Communist ships, but is supplied or furnished by free world nations, and vice versa.

This amendment would cut both ways. It would cut off from concessional sale advantage under title I or title IV of Public Law 480 any nation that either sells, furnishes or provides any commodities, equipment or supplies to North Vietnam or permits ships under its registry or aircraft under its registry to ship the same.

This is a rather modest step, but a step which is presently available to the House. Even though it falls far short of what I am sure most of us would desire in cutting back on shipping into North Vietnam, it seems to me a healthy step in the right direction, and I urge support for the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Mississippi insist upon his point of order?

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I do.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, it is legislation on an appropriation bill in that it imposes new duties, new responsibilities, and determinations beyond the ability of the Secretary of Agriculture, who administers this program, to determine.

I serve on the Defense Appropriation Committee. I have tried repeatedly to get action taken in this area hoping to prevent all shipping in this area, particularly of all materials which help the enemy. In this instance, insofar as I can determine, my responsibility as chairman of this subcommittee is to point out the law as I see it though I am in accord with the objective. This amendment would require determination and action by the Secretary of Agriculture for which he lacks authority or means of determination. This is something the military should do. The Secretary of Agriculture does not have access to information. Neither, may I say, does the Congress. Many of these determinations have to do with information that is not readily made available to the public.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Illinois desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I feel that this amendment is in order for precisely the same reason as the amendment just ruled upon. It does provide a limitation on funds under certain conditions, and therefore certainly is completely within the rule.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is ready to rule.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] offers an amendment directed to page 36, line 6, which would add a new proviso, as follows:

Provided, That no funds appropriated by this Act shall be used to formulate or administer programs for the sale of agricultural commodities pursuant to titles I or IV of Public Law 480, Eighty-Third Congress, as amended, to any nation which sells or furnishes or which permits ships or aircraft under its registry to transport to North Vietnam any equipment, materials or commodities, so long as North Vietnam is governed by a Communist regime—

To which a point of order is made that it is legislation under the appropriation bill.

The Chair would state that it is satisfied that established precedents in accord with the pending question justifies its holding the language of the proposed amendment as a limitation on the appropriation, and therefore overrules the point of order.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Findley amendment. I feel that it is high time that this Nation put the other free nations of the world on notice that we will not tolerate their doing business as usual with the North Vietnamese and at the same time share the agricultural abundance of this Nation.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. ALBERT) there were—ayes 57, noes 75.

So the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Public Law 480

For expenses during fiscal year 1967, not otherwise recoverable, and unrecovered prior years' costs, including interest thereon, under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1701–1709, 1721–1724, 1731–1736), to remain available until expended, as follows: (1) Sale of surplus agricultural commodities for foreign currencies pursuant to title I of said Act, $1,040,000,000; (2) commodities disposed of for emergency famine relief to friendly peoples pursuant to title II of said Act, $200,000,000; and (3) long-term supply contracts pursuant to title IV of said Act, $377,000,000.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the necessary number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I should like to have the attention of the chairman of the subcommittee.

With respect to the Commodity Credit Corporation, did the subcommittee by any chance go into reports that there has been some hanky-panky or skullduggery in connection with Commodity Credit Corporation sales with respect to the futures market?

Mr. WHITTEN. No, we did not go into it. In my experience with the program through the years, I have never known of the Commodity Credit Corporation having anything to do with the futures market.

We have pointed out on numerous occasions that any corporation having that many "actuals"—that much "spot commodity"—could really make or break a futures market, in respect to how much it might throw on the actual market.

We did not go into anything having to do with the futures market.

Mr. GROSS. What I was referring to were alleged leaks out of the Department of Agriculture that had an effect on the futures market.

Mr. WHITTEN. I am proud to say that, under all administrations, I have never heard any indication along that line. The fact that I did not hear it does not mean it is not true, but I have never heard of any charge of that kind.

Mr. GROSS. Let me ask the gentleman a question about Public Law 480.

Will the $1,040 million provided in the bill cover the purchase of tobacco from Government-held stocks for use in famine relief in India and elsewhere?

Mr. WHITTEN. This has to do with foreign currencies, and it would not apply as the gentleman points out, in my opinion.

Mr. GROSS. From where is the money going to come to buy the tobacco which was authorized to be used for famine relief? Would it be in this bill, or in some other bill?

Mr. WHITTEN. The gentleman is telling me something when he says that tobacco is used for famine relief.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman will recall that in the famine relief bill for India the House provided for tobacco and cotton. I wondered then as now where the money was to come from to get the tobacco and the cotton to be shipped to India to take care of the starving people there, and whether the tobacco would be inserted between two slabs of cotton and served in a sandwich, or how it was to be used. I have never been able to get a good answer.

Mr. WHITTEN. I do not know that I can give the gentleman a good answer. I can tell the gentleman what I know about how the Commodity Credit Corporation works.

Insofar as I understand the two points the gentleman makes, that was sponsored on the basis that if these needs were supplied from the surplus in the hands of the Commodity Credit Corporation thereby India might be persuaded to produce more food crops and thereby relieve its own famine.

Insofar as the mechanics of handling it are concerned, the Commodity Credit Corporation now has on hand various commodities, of which tobacco is one and cotton is one. They have full authority to sell that cotton and tobacco in world markets at any price they may see fit. Where your money markets enter into it is in the replacement of capital impairment to the Corporation by reason of its assets which they have moved into this channel the gentleman described.

Mr. GROSS. That is what I am trying to get at; whether this is where the money comes from to make the reimbursement to the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Mr. WHITTEN. That is where the commodity comes from, leaving a money shortage which in turn has to be made up from capital restoration.

Mr. GROSS. For the life of me I cannot understand why, although the chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture said the tobacco was necessary to relieve the tension of the starving people and make them better able to assimilate the food given them—I still do not understand the reasoning back of it.

Mr. WHITTEN. I do not know anyone here that I would rather try to explain something to than the gentleman from Iowa. If I understood it, I might tell the gentleman, but I do not understand it. However, I can tell you it was offered on the basis that by providing for these needs or these demands it was hoped thereby the Indians would supply for themselves more food products to relieve their own famine.

Mr. GROSS. If I have another minute, I would like to go forward in the bill, to the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fibers and say to the gentleman that I appreciate the reduction which the committee made in the money for the purpose of support of this commission. However, I hope the committee will give serious thought to cutting it out altogether. I think the $350,000 in this bill is $350,000 too much. I think the committee has already developed evidence that there is altogether too much duplication in the studies already being made. We do not need this commission, and I hope it will be cut out.

Mr. WHITTEN. Again I do not find any argument with my colleague.

The **CHAIRMAN.** The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 507. No part of any appropriation contained in this Act shall remain available for obligation beyond the current fiscal year unless expressly so provided herein.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. KUPFERMAN

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. KUPFERMAN: On page 40 immediately following line 3, insert a new section as follows:

"SEC. 508. Money appropriated in this Act shall be available for expenditure in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, only to the extent that expenditure thereof shall not result in total aggregate net expenditures of all items provided for herein beyond 95 percent of the total aggregate net expenditures estimated therefor in the budget for 1967 (H. Doc. 335)."

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Chairman, to use agricultural terms, I believe that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. The sacred cow of agriculture must face the same loss of possible fat that the other departments of this Government must face.

Mr. Chairman, my Republican colleagues have offered amendments to the Department of the Interior and related agencies appropriation bill, 1967, as shown at pages 77–83 of the record of April 6, 1966, and the Treasury, Post Office, and Executive Offices appropriation bill, 1967, as shown at pages 73–88 of April 6, 1966, to cut those bills to the extent of 5 percent.

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me, and I would hope, that the appropriation for our city cousins are not considered less necessary than those for the rest of our country, our friends in the country.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I urge the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, the reason I rise in opposition to this amendment is in view of my 5-percent amendment which I have proposed on the other bills to which the gentleman from New York has alluded.

Mr. Chairman, I listened to what the gentleman from New York has had to say. I want to say that this amendment which I have previously offered will be offered to other bills. However, this subcommittee has worked hard and long to bring back to this House those programs which we have had in the past and which have been most beneficial, such as the school lunch program, the special milk program and research by the land-grant colleges State experiment stations and by the Department of Agriculture, itself.

Mr. Chairman, this is not a question of discrimination against the cities and in behalf of farmers. It simply gives back to the boys and girls in the cities their school lunch program and it gives back to them the special milk that brings good health to them.

Mr. Chairman, if we were to accept this amendment to the bill—and I said in general debate I was not offering the 5-percent amendment because it would limit spending in 1967 to 95 percent of what the President proposed in his budget to spend on the items in this bill—we would knock out all of the section 32 funds which cover the school lunch program and the special milk program, which I am sure this country wants and which I am convinced the President thought would be put back in when the bill came to the floor of the House for consideration.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to this amendment, but I still say to the members of the committee that the 5-percent amendment will be offered on other bills. We are not trying to discriminate against the cities. We are not coddling the farm people. This is for the benefit of all people and though I have differed with you today on some of these amendments, I shall continue to try to bear the brunt of keeping our economy good. However, I do not believe it is economy to take away from the health and welfare of the children of the Nation.

Mr. Chairman, I oppose the amendment.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. Of course, I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Is the gentleman suggesting, Sir, that the Secretary of Agriculture is so insensitive to the needs of children and students that he would cut, among other things, the school lunch program and the milk program?

Mr. BOW. Yes. I believe, perhaps, that is true. We have all seen the budget that came up here. It became the responsibility of the Congress to restore these funds.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I would point out that this amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. KUPFERMAN], if adopted, would virtually cut out the school milk program. It would cut the funds to 95 percent of the $21 million proposed by the budget. It would completely offset the committee restoration.

If they want to eliminate the milk program, the members of the Committee will vote for his amendment. But if the members of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union agree with the Committee on Appropriations that the school milk and lunch programs are worth while in the district represented by the gentleman from New York [Mr. KUPFERMAN] as well as our own districts, they will vote down the amendment.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITTEN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Is the gentleman from Mississippi suggesting also that the Secretary of Agriculture is so insensitive to the needs of children and to the needs of students that he would cut, among many other things, funds that could be used for the school lunch program and the milk program?

Mr. WHITTEN. I made no reference to the Secretary of Agriculture. I referred to my colleague, the gentleman from New York, who has had the floor.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. And, who would do the cutting, may I ask?

Mr. WHITTEN. The amendment would do it.

The **CHAIRMAN.** The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. KUPFERMAN].

The amendment was rejected.

The **CHAIRMAN.** The Clerk will read.

The Clerk concluded the reading of the bill.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I wish at this time personally to pay my respects to the presiding Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union on this bill, the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEOGH]. I wish to commend him for the fine job he has done through the years, not only in the many areas of his interests and efforts in the Congress, but in presiding over the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union on many of the annual appropriation bills having to do with the Department of Agriculture.

Certainly he has demonstrated, may I say to my colleague, as I have said many times before, that those who leave the House voluntarily are those that we can least afford to give up.

Mr. Chairman, I am making this statement at this time because I feel this so very deeply.

Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise and report the bill back to the House with sundry amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill, as amended, do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. KEOGH, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 14596) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for other purposes, had directed him to report the bill back to the House with sundry amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill, as amended, do pass.

The previous question was ordered.

The **SPEAKER.** Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gros.

The question is on agreeing to the amendments.

The amendments were agreed to.

The **SPEAKER.** The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time and was read the third time.

The **SPEAKER.** The question is on the passage of the bill.

For what purpose does the gentleman from Illinois rise?

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. FINDLEY. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman qualifies. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. FINDLEY moves that the bill be recommitted to the Committee on Appropriations with instructions to report it back forthwith with the following amendment: On page 36, on line 6 strike the period, insert a colon and the following:

"*Provided,* That no funds appropriated by this Act shall be used to formulate or administer programs for the sale of agricultural commodities pursuant to titles I or IV of Public Law 480, Eighty-third Congress, as amended, to any nation which sells or furnishes or which permits ships or aircraft under its registry to transport to North Vietnam any equipment, materials, or commodities, so long as North Vietnam is governed by a Communist regime."

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, on this vote I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 290, nays 98, not voting 44, as follows:

[Roll No. 70]

YEAS—290

Abernethy
Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Anderson, Ill.
Andrews, George W.
Andrews, Glenn
Andrews, N. Dak.
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Ayres
Baring
Barrett
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brock
Broomfield
Brown, Clarence J., Jr.
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burton, Utah
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Callan
Carey
Carter
Casey
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Chelf
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Cooley
Corbett
Craley
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtin
Curtis
Dague
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
de la Garza
Denton
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Diggs
Dole
Donohue
Dorn
Downing
Dulski
Duncan, Tenn.
Dwyer
Dyal
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Ellsworth
Erlenborn
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Fascell
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Fisher
Flood
Flynt
Fogarty
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Garmatz
Gathings
Giaimo
Gibbons
Goodell
Grabowski
Green, Pa.
Greigg
Griffin
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hagan, Ga.
Hagen, Calif.
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harsha
Harvey, Ind.
Harvey, Mich.
Hays
Hechler
Helstoski
Henderson
Hicks
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Huot
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jennings
Joelson
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Keith
King, N.Y.
King, Utah
Kornegay
Krebs
Kunkel
Kupferman
Laird
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Long, La.
Long, Md.
Love
McCarthy
McClory
McCulloch
McDade
McEwen
McGrath
McVicker
Macdonald
MacGregor
Machen
Mackay
Madden
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin, Ala.
Martin, Mass.
Martin, Nebr.
May
Meeds
Michel
Mills
Minish
Minshall
Moeller
Monagan
Moore
Morris
Morse
Morton
Mosher
Multer
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nelsen
O'Brien
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Konski
O'Neal, Ga.
Ottinger
Passman
Patten
Pelly
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pool
Pucinski
Purcell
Quie
Quillen
Race
Randall
Redlin
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Rivers, S.C.
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Fla.
Rogers, Tex.
Rumsfeld
Satterfield
St Germain
St. Onge
Saylor
Schisler
Schmidhauser
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Secrest
Selden
Senner
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, N.Y
Smith, Va.
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stalbaum
Stanton
Steed
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sweeney
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Tenzer
Thompson, Tex.
Thomson, Wis.
Trimble
Tuck
Tunney
Tupper
Tuten
Utt
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Walker, Miss.
Walker, N. Mex.
Watkins
Watson
Watts
Whalley
White, Idaho
White, Tex.
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wilson, Charles H.
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Yates
Younger

NAYS—98

Albert
Anderson, Tenn.
Annunzio
Aspinall
Bandstra
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brooks
Brown, Calif.
Burke
Burton, Calif.
Cameron
Celler
Clevenger
Cohelan
Culver
Dawson
Dent
Dingell
Dow
Duncan, Oreg.
Edwards, Calif.
Evans, Colo.
Farbstein
Farnsley
Farnum
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher
Gilbert
Gilligan
Gonzalez
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Griffiths
Hansen, Iowa
Hathaway
Hawkins
Holifield
Holland
Jacobs
Johnson, Calif.
Jones, Ala.
Karsten
Kastenmeier
Kee
Keogh
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Leggett
McDowell
McFall
Mackie
Mahon
Matsunaga
Miller
Mink
Moorhead
Morgan
Morrison
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Nedzi
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen, Mont.
Olson, Minn.
O'Neill, Mass.
Patman
Pepper
Powell
Price
Rees
Rogers, Colo.
Ronan
Roncalio
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Ryan
Scheuer
Sickles
Sisk
Smith, Iowa
Sullivan
Thomas
Thompson, N.J.
Todd
Udall
Ullman
Vivian
Young
Zablocki

NOT VOTING—44

Abbitt
Ashley
Beckworth
Betts
Burleson
Callaway
Conyers
Corman
Daddario
Delaney
Dowdy
Everett
Fuqua
Gettys
Grider
Halpern
Hébert
Herlong
Jarman
Johnson, Okla.
Karth
Kelly
Lipscomb
McMillan
Mathias
Matthews
Mize
Murray
Nix
Resnick
Reuss
Rivers, Alaska
Rooney, N.Y.
Roudebush
Roush
Roybal
Scott
Teague, Tex.
Toll
Waggonner
Weltner
Williams
Willis
Wilson, Bob

So the motion to recommit was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Rooney of New York with Mr. Mize.
Mr. Teague of Texas with Mr. Callaway.
Mr. Hébert with Mr. Roudebush.
Mr. Delaney with Mr. Bob Wilson.
Mr. Grider with Mr. Mathias.
Mr. Rivers of Alaska with Mr. Lipscomb.
Mr. Dowdy with Mr. Betts.
Mr. Waggonner with Mr. Halpern.
Mr. Williams with Mrs. Kelly.
Mr. Burleson with Mr. Ashley.
Mr. Daddario with Mr. Conyers.
Mr. Willis with Mr. Toll.
Mr. Resnick with Mr. Nix.
Mr. Reuss with Mr. Karth.
Mr. Abbitt with Mr. Fuqua.
Mr. Gettys with Mr. Matthews.
Mr. Jarman with Mr. Roybal.
Mr. Roush with Mr. Scott.
Mr. Weltner with Mr. Johnson of Oklahoma.
Mr. Herlong with Mr. Everett.
Mr. McMillan with Mr. Beckworth.

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington changed her vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. GIAIMO changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. MEEDS changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. FLOOD changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. ST. ONGE changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. HANLEY changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. VANIK changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. MADDEN changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. PUCINSKI changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. TENZER changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. CALLAN changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. HICKS changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. O'BRIEN changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. FOGARTY changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the instructions of the House in the motion to recommit, I report back the bill H.R. 14596 with an amendment.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 36 on line 6 strike the period, insert a colon and the following:

"*Provided,* that no funds appropriated by this Act shall be used to formulate or administer programs for the sale of agricultural commodities pursuant to titles I or IV of Public Law 480, 83d Congress, as amended, to any nation which sells or furnishes or which permits ships or aircraft under its registry to transport to North Vietnam any equipment, materials, or commodities, so long as North Vietnam is governed by a Communist regime."

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. **WHITTEN**. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 366, nays 23, not voting 43, as follows:

[Roll No. 71]

YEAS—366

Abernethy
Adair
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, George W.
Andrews, Glenn
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Aspinall
Ayres
Bandstra
Baring
Barrett
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bennett
Berry
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Bolton
Bow
Brademas
Bray
Brock
Brooks
Broomfield
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Clarence J., Jr.
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Callan
Carey
Carter
Casey
Cederberg
Celler
Chamberlain
Chelf
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Clevenger
Cohelan
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Cooley
Corbett
Craley
Cramer
Culver
Cunningham
Curtin
Dague
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dawson
de la Garza
Dent
Denton
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Diggs
Dingell
Dole
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Downing
Dulski
Duncan, Oreg.
Duncan, Tenn.
Dwyer
Dyal
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, Calif.
Edwards, La.
Ellsworth
Erlenborn
Evans, Colo.
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Farbstein
Farnsley
Farnum
Fascell
Feighan
Fino
Fisher
Flood
Flynt
Fogarty
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gathings
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gilligan
Gonzalez
Goodell
Grabowski
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Greigg
Griffin
Griffiths
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hagan, Ga.
Hagen, Calif.
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Iowa
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harsha
Harvey, Ind.
Harvey, Mich.
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler
Helstoski
Henderson
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Horton
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Huot
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jennings
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Keith
Keogh
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
King, Utah
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Krebs
Kunkel
Kupferman
Laird
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Leggett
Lennon
Long, La.
Love
McClory
McCulloch
McDade
McDowell
McEwen
McFall
McGrath
McVicker
Macdonald
MacGregor
Machen
Mackay
Mackie
Madden
Mahon
Marsh
Martin, Ala.
Martin, Mass.
Martin, Nebr.
Matsunaga
May
Meeds
Michel
Miller
Mills
Minish
Mink
Moeller
Monagan
Moore
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris
Morrison
Morse
Morton
Mosher
Moss
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
O'Brien
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Olsen, Mont.
Olson, Minn.
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Passman
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pool
Powell
Price
Pucinski
Purcell
Quie
Quillen
Race
Randall
Redlin
Reid, Ill.
Reifel
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Rivers, S.C.
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Tex.
Ronan
Roncalio
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Rumsfeld
Ryan
Satterfield
St Germain
St. Onge
Saylor
Scheuer
Schisler
Schmidhauser
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Secrest
Selden
Senner
Shipley
Shriver
Sickles
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Va.
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stalbaum
Stanton
Steed
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Sweeney
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Tenzer
Thomas
Thompson, N.J.
Thompson, Tex.
Thomson, Wis.
Todd
Trimble
Tuck
Tunney
Tupper
Tuten
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Vivian
Walker, Miss.
Walker, N. Mex.
Watkins
Watson
Watts
Whalley
White, Idaho
White, Tex.
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wilson, Charles H.
Wright
Wyatt
Yates
Young
Younger
Zablocki

NAYS—23

Adams
Bell
Cameron
Corman
Curtis
Findley
Fulton, Pa.
Hosmer
Jacobs
McCarthy
Mailliard
Minshall
Ottinger
Pelly
Rees
Reid, N.Y.
Reinecke
Rogers, Fla.
Smith, Calif.
Udall
Utt
Wolff
Wydler

NOT VOTING—43

Abbitt
Ashley
Beckworth
Betts
Burleson
Callaway
Conyers
Daddario
Delaney
Dowdy
Everett
Fuqua
Gettys
Grider
Halpern
Hébert
Herlong
Jarman
Johnson, Okla.
Kelly
Lipscomb
Long, Md.
McMillan
Mathias
Matthews
Mize
Murray
Nix
Resnick
Reuss
Rivers, Alaska
Rooney, N.Y.
Roudebush
Roush
Roybal
Scott
Teague, Tex.
Toll
Waggonner
Weltner
Williams
Willis
Wilson, Bob

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Rooney of New York with Mr. Betts.
Mrs. Kelly with Mr. Halpern.
Mr. Hébert with Mr. Roudebush.
Mr. Teague of Texas with Mr. Bob Wilson.
Mr. Dowdy with Mr. Mize.
Mr. Grider with Mr. Callaway.
Mr. Burleson with Mr. Lipscomb.
Mr. Daddario with Mr. Mathias.
Mr. Rivers of Alaska with Mr. Nix.
Mr. Williams with Mr. Toll.
Mr. Gettys with Mr. Matthews.
Mr. Roybal with Mr. Scott.
Mr. Ashley with Mr. Abbitt.
Mr. Herlong with Mr. Johnson of Oklahoma.
Mr. Delaney with Mr. Conyers.
Mr. Everett with Mr. Resnick.
Mr. Reuss with Mr. Weltner.
Mr. Waggonner with Mr. Roush.
Mr. Willis with Mr. Fuqua.
Mr. Jarman with Mr. Long of Maryland.
Mr. Beckworth with Mr. McMillan.

Mr. **BELL** changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. **FINDLEY** changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND REMARKS

Mr. **WHITTEN**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and to extend their remarks on the bill just considered.

The **SPEAKER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT WARNS BUSINESSMEN THAT FEDERAL RESERVE TIGHT MONEY POLICIES ALWAYS CAUSE RECESSION

Mr. **PATMAN**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. **PATMAN**. Mr. Speaker, every week hundreds of thousands of America's top business leaders read U.S. News & World Report, one of the more popular business and financial periodicals. The issue of April 18, 1966, is particularly noteworthy in pointing out that throughout the history of the Federal Reserve System—over 50 years—the Fed has invariably thrown our economy into a recession or depression in attempts to resist inflation, real or imaginary.

The article emphasizes that President Johnson is extremely wary of tighter credit and for good reasons. Interest rates are at record highs and Government bond prices at record lows, all because of tight money which threatens to be even tighter as the Federal Reserve pursues its drastic course.

My only serious disagreement with this article, which with unanimous consent I will insert at this point in the RECORD, is with the author's conclusion that the 1957–58 recession may be labeled "mild" in view of the fact that 5.2 million people—7.5 percent of the work force—were unemployed.

[From the U.S. News & World Report, Apr. 18, 1966]

WHEN MONEY IS TIGHTENED—WHAT THE RECORD SHOWS

The tightening squeeze on money is worrying President Johnson. A look back in history explains why. Time and again, a turn of the credit screws has been followed by a slump in business. Question being raised: Will history repeat?

President Johnson is wary about, even opposed to, any new moves to make money still harder or more expensive to borrow as a way to resist inflation.

This wariness on the part of the President is related to past experience. That experience indicates, over the half century of Federal Reserve System history, that each time money tightening was used to check inflation pressures a recession or depression followed.

That happened on seven past occasions. As a consequence, if new steps are to be needed to bring inflation under control, the White House will favor an increase in taxes or voluntary restraints on investment to do the job.

Telltale evidence: The experience with "tight money" as the restraining force in other expansion periods is being viewed now as a telltale record.

The Federal Reserve Board, governing body of the Federal Reserve System, first used its restrictive power over money in a decisive way starting back in 1919. The moves made and what then happened on that occasion as well as on the other occasions when Reserve Board action was taken to check inflation are described in what follows:

BOOM OF 1919–20

Action: A severe squeeze on credit was imposed to halt an upward spiral in commodity prices.

The discount rate, which is the Federal Reserve's charge on loans to commercial banks, was raised in three stages from 4 percent in November 1919, all the way to 7 percent by the following June.

Interest rates climbed sharply all along the line.

Businesses raising money on their short-term, promissory notes found themselves having to pay 8.125 percent interest, up from the previous 5.25 percent.

The money squeeze pushed up yields on U.S. Government bonds to 5.67 percent and on top-grade corporate bonds to 6.38 percent.

What happened: The boom managed to move up for 2 months beyond the initial action to tighten money.

Then, as the credit squeeze took hold, the boom turned into a slump.

In the depression that followed—

Stock prices plummeted 47 percent. Industrial production fell 32 percent. The number of people holding jobs declined by 3 million. The slump in buying by consumers and business triggered a drop of 44 percent in commodity prices. Once started, the decline in business activity ran for 18 months.

BOOM OF 1928–29

Action: Another crackdown on credit began in February 1928. The discount rate was pushed up in four steps from 3.5 to 6 percent by the summer of 1929.

All borrowers felt the squeeze. In 1929, the U.S. Treasury had to pay as much as 5 percent to borrow money for 90 days. People borrowing to buy stocks found the call-loan rate at 20 percent, up from the previous 4 percent.

What happened: Business activity reached a peak in August 1929. The stock market pushed on to a record high in September. The boom was already turning into a slump when the great crash hit the stock market in October.

The 43-month depression that followed was the most severe in U.S. history. Soon the depression was worldwide.

In the depression of the 1930's—

Stock prices declined 90 percent, and did not regain their 1929 highs for a generation. Bonds dropped sharply. The banking system collapsed. Industrial output dropped by half. Unemployment rose to 13 million. Wholesale prices fell 38 percent. Farm prices slumped 64 percent.

BOOM OF 1936–37

Action: Clampdown on credit took the form of a squeeze on bank reserves. Money managers doubled the amount of funds that big-city banks had to keep in reserve to back up deposits. Margin rules for buying stock on credit were tightened twice. President Roosevelt, alarmed at rising commodity and stock prices, reduced Federal spending.

What happened: Business slid into a short, but sharp, recession.

In a decline that lasted into mid-1938—

Industrial production fell by one-third. Unemployment rose to 10.5 million—1 worker in 5.

Stockholders saw the market nose-dive 48 percent. Prices of commodities, on average, dropped 15 percent.

BOOM OF 1948

Action: A variety of measures were used by money managers to check an inflationary boom. Within a 9-month period, the discount rate was raised twice, and bank reserve requirements were increased three times. Consumer-credit controls, lapsed since the days of World War II, were reimposed.

Interest rates moved up—though they were still at relatively low levels.

What happened: By mid-1948, factory output began to drop. The stock market, too, was at its peak. By December a general recession was underway.

In the decline lasting 11 months—

Output of industry dropped 8 percent. Unemployment rose to nearly 5 million at the bottom of the recession. Number of people with jobs declined by 2 million.

With the tightening of mortgage credit, housing starts fell from an annual rate of 1.5 million in April 1948, to 1.2 million in October and continued at the lower level for 6 months. On Wall Street, stock market prices dropped by 16 percent.

BOOM OF 1952–53

Action: Moves to restrict credit were mild in this period. Discount rate was raised from 1.75 percent to 2 percent. Even so, interest rates increased for all borrowers. Yields on U.S. Government bonds moved up to 3.09 percent, against the previous 2.61 percent.

What happened: By August 1953, business activity was falling off. The recession proved mild. It was due largely to military cutbacks following the Korean war, rather than to tight money.

The downtrend lasted 13 months—

Industrial output dropped 10 percent. The stock market registered a 13-percent decline.

About 2.5 million people lost jobs. Unemployment rose to 6.2 percent of the work force. Housing starts fell off.

BOOM OF 1955–57

Action: The economy came under vigorous restraint. Discount rate was raised seven times within a little more than 2 years—from 1.5 percent to 3.5 percent. Stock market margins were pushed up from 50-percent cash in buying stocks to a 70-percent cash requirement.

Borrowers found that all types of loans were harder to get—and more costly. The U.S. Treasury had to pay 3.66 percent to borrow money for 90 days. Top corporations were forced to pay more than 4-percent interest in the bond market, the highest in decades.

What happened: Another mild recession got underway. Actually, industry's output had begun to fall after March 1957. But credit-tightening moves were taken as late as August of that year, ushering in a general decline in business.

In the downturn that continued 9 months—

Industry's output fell 14 percent. Significantly, business spending for new plant and equipment declined sharply for the first time in the postwar period.

The cutback in capital outlays, from the third quarter of 1957 to the third quarter of 1958, amounted to 22 percent.

With lower spending on factories and machinery, new jobs were not created at the earlier pace. Unemployment climbed to 5.2 million—7.5 percent of the work force. Housing starts fell into a slump. The prices of stocks showed a decline of 19 percent. Despite credit restraint, wholesale prices continued to creep higher.

BOOM OF 1958–60

Action: Credit was tightened gradually over a 13-month period. Discount rate was raised five times, from 1.75 percent to 4 percent. Stock margins were pushed up to 90 percent, against the earlier 50 percent.

By early 1960, interest rates were highest in a generation.

What happened: A broad business decline began in mid-1960, just 9 months after the money managers had raised the discount rate for the fifth time.

In the recession that carried into early 1961—

Output of industry dropped 7 percent. Again, businessmen cut back on spending for new plants and equipment.

The housing industry, usually the first to feel the effects of costlier credit, quickly reacted: Housing starts fell 20 percent. Unemployment climbed above 5 million. The stock market reacted by falling 17 percent.

BOOM OF 1961–66

Action: Until last December, money managers followed a generally easy policy on money, providing the economy with a generous supply of credit. Since then, however, authorities have been following a deflationary policy on money. Discount rate now is at 4.5 percent, highest in 36 years. The Nation's money supply now is growing at only half the rate of recent years.

Interest rates are near record highs. Banks are being forced to ration credit. Borrowers of all kinds—from consumers to local governments—are finding it harder to get loans even if they are willing to pay higher rates.

What's happening: Boom still is very strong. Inflation pressures remain a problem. Prices keep moving up. Yet signs are appearing here and there that the combination of tighter money and higher social security and other taxes is beginning to have some effect.

Among these—

Housing construction is weak, and experts predict further weakening as a result of rising mortgage rates. A number of States and localities have had to postpone, or cancel, projects because of the high cost of borrowed money.

The stock market has slumped about 5 percent since its February high. Consumer buying on the installment plan declined in February for the third straight month.

Big question now: Will credit restraint check this boom as it has past booms? President Johnson clearly is concerned about such a possibility. He wants money managers at the Federal Reserve and tax planners in Congress to go slow at this time about tightening the screws any further.

The President's mood comes through in this comment:

"We are touching the brakes * * * but we don't want to put both feet on the brakes and turn us into a skid that is a recession or a depression. We have learned that lesson from * * * looking back down the road just a few years."

VETERANS SUPPORT PARTICIPATION SALES ACT OF 1966

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, lost in the tumult and loud cries of negative opposition from our friends on the other side of the aisle is the fact that the Participation Sales Act of 1966 will permit private capital alongside the Federal Government to aid in providing more and better aid for our young people's educa-

tion, assistance for our veterans programs, greater help for our farmers, and firm support for the homeowning public. It is, Mr. Speaker, an attempt to draw private enterprise in to assist the Government where necessary in providing for the welfare and future of our Nation.

Three veterans' organizations, the Disabled American Veterans—DAV—the American Veterans of World War II—AMVETS—and the Veterans of Foreign Wars in recent letters to me have wholeheartedly supported the Participation Sales Act as not only benefiting veterans, but aiding all our citizens. I urge my colleagues to read the following letters from the national commander of DAV, Claude L. Callegary, the national commander of AMVETS, Ralph E. Hall, and the commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Andy Borg, outlining these three great veterans organizations' support for this important act.

DISABLED AMERICANS VETERANS,
April 20, 1966.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PATMAN: The Participation Sales Act of 1966 will encourage greater use of this country's private capital assets in financing education and the general welfare through loan programs. One of the major lending programs is that authorized by veterans legislation.

The Disabled American Veterans—DAV—supports only that legislation which is designed for the benefit of the disabled veteran. Recognizing that adequate financing is a foundation of any continuing program, a review of this act shows that it warrants our endorsement.

The provisions of this act have been tested and proved by a Veterans' Administration lending program in which numerous members of the DAV have participated. This includes guaranteed loans and direct loans to disabled veterans, and the special program for partial Federal financing of special homes for certain disabled veterans. These are part of one of Government's largest lending programs, administered by the VA, which has sold almost $1 billion loans to private capital. The Participation Sales Act of 1966 would extend the same privilege of "pooling" loans to other Federal agencies.

We find that the new act in no way changes the veterans program administration, and that the VA will continue to deal directly with the veteran. It provides selling of mortgage loans through the Federal National Mortgage Association, which acts as marketing agent for the loans to private capital. This, in turn, permits use of the capital from sales of the loans.

The VA experience has shown that this practice has allowed loans to thousands of additional veterans.

The DAV support of the President's policy of defending freedom against communism in Vietnam is unwavering, as is the support of necessary expenditures to fight the war. As veterans who have suffered at the hands of enemies who would deny our freedom, we best understand that the primary responsibility of Government is security of our country.

Since the provisions of this act strengthen the method of financing by our Government, and encourages private enterprise participation in the loan programs, it is consonant with the aims of the DAV.

The goals of the DAV remain consistent: benefits for those who gave so much in service to their country. Adequate financing of those benefits is essential. Therefore, I urge you to support this legislation and its passage by Congress.

Sincerely,

CLAUDE L. CALLEGARY,
National Commander.

AMVETS NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS,
Washington, D.C., April 22, 1966.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Committee on Banking and Currency,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PATMAN: The President of the United States has called for passage of the Participation Sales Act of 1966, which, if enacted into law, will permit greater use of private capital assets in financing education and general welfare through loan programs.

One of the major Government lending programs is authorized by the loan provisions of veterans legislation. The validity of the principle embraced in this proposed law has already been tested and proved by this veterans lending program. Since 1964, nearly $1 billion in these loans have been "pooled" and marketed to private financial institutions through the Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA). This has permitted thousands of extra loans to veterans without extra Treasury borrowing.

The act would permit the same practice by other Federal agencies, in permitting "pooling" to market Government-backed loans to private capital. The officers of AMVETS have reviewed the proposed legislation and find that its passage will bring absolutely no change in the management of the VA guaranteed or direct loans to veterans on homes and businesses. The VA will continue to be the administering agency, and the veteran, as always, will deal will the VA.

We also find that, under the proposed law, Congress will retain full control of appropriations, and in many areas congressional control will be strengthened. No veterans' benefits funds can be diverted elsewhere.

The members of this organization fully recognize that fighting a godless enemy in Vietnam is costly, but necessary. Its cost is nothing compared to the human suffering if freedom is lost. This organization is on record strongly supporting the necessary expenditures for the Vietnam conflict and the President's policy of resisting the Communist conspiracy that has threatened to bury us. As veterans, we recognize that a primary responsibility of Government is security of our country.

We also stand firmly on the long-established principle that the veterans of this country are fully entitled to the benefits provided under present laws, and more. For without those who respond to the call to colors, there would be no freedom, no United States as we know it.

This organization is seeking liberalized expenditures in compensation for those who suffered wounds in wars, bigger pensions for those veterans who are in need, and greater aid to the widows and children of those who served. We further seek strengthening of veterans preference in Government jobs, another benefit granted veterans by the latest GI bill and previous veterans legislation.

Recognizing the need for adequately financing veterans benefits, including those rightfully extended to millions of veterans under the new GI bill passed by this Congress, and the need for financing other programs improving the general welfare, the AMVETS endorses the principles embodied in the Participation Sales Act of 1966.

The act obviously enhances and improves Government's method of financing, encouraging a greater partnership of private enterprise and Government. This improvement and this partnership is compatible with the goals of this organization, and we strongly urge its passage.

Sincerely,

RALPH E. HALL,
National Commander.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C., April 22, 1966.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Member of Congress, Chairman, Banking and Currency Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The Participation Sales Act of 1966, currently before the Congress, has been reviewed by national officers and staff personnel of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States believe that the proposed Participation Sales Act of 1966, will be of benefit to veterans desiring VA direct or guaranteed loans in the future.

The favorable effect of participation by private capital on Government loan program financing is evident in the marketing of $925 million in direct loans and vendee accounts by the Veterans' Administration. This has extended the limit of credit to permit thousands of additional loans to veterans without Treasury borrowing.

As intended, and as provided in the proposed legislation, agency control of individual loans will not be impaired. The Veterans of Foreign Wars believes this to be an absolutely essential stipulation to insure that veterans will continue to deal only with the Veterans' Administration with respect to current or future VA direct loans which may be committed to a pool as security for participations to be sold for the purpose of substituting private capital for Federal funds and credit.

It is of manifest importance to veterans and to this organization that the veterans loan program funding as administered by the VA nor be burdened by deficiencies resulting from inclusion of lower interest rate bearing loans of other Federal agencies. Each agency should be obligated to the fund for whatever deficiencies are attributable to their respective utilization of this procedure of selling assets. It is believed that the proposed legislation satisfies this requirement.

While the VA direct loan revolving fund is now clearly adequate to meet current needs, it is conceivable that in the future additional funds will be necessary to meet the increased demand for direct VA loans by qualified veterans in areas of direct loan eligibility. Increased marketing of VA mortgage assets through the pooling device conceived in the proposal under discussion would doubtless make more funds available for VA direct loans. Likewise, the loan guaranty revolving fund for payment of claims resulting from defaults on VA guaranteed private loans would be replenished and stabilized, thus insuring prompt payment of all proper claims to lending agencies, encouraging them to continue to participate in the guaranteed loan program.

Therefore, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States recommend enactment of the proposed Participation Sales Act of 1966.

Sincerely,

ANDY BORG,
Commander in Chief.

NATIONAL RAISIN WEEK

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, each year at this time my distinguished colleague from California, Representative HARLAN HAGEN, and I are privileged to invite your attention to National Raisin Week, the Nation's oldest food week observance. Happily, we are able to offer you a practical and enjoyable way to mark the 57th anniversary of National Raisin Week. Through the courtesy of the California Raisin Advisory Board, raisin pie will be served in the House Dining Room at lunch on Wednesday, April 27.

In addition, sample packs of taste-delighting, energy-giving raisins will be distributed to each of your offices on Tuesday, April 26, for your enjoyment and that of your hard-working staff members.

Most of you realize, I am sure, that all of the U.S. raisin crop, which totals more than 250,000 tons annually, is grown in the sun-washed San Joaquin Valley lying between the lofty Sierra Mountains and the coast range rimming the Pacific. You may remember, too, from previous National Raisin Week statements Representative HAGEN and I have been privileged to make, that this annual raisin crop is valued at more than $50 million in the field. The raisin industry as a whole, which includes some 100,000 growers, packers and employees, is rated a quarter of a billion dollar business.

If the raisin story can be considered a typical American success story—and I think that it can—it must also be recognized as a story of struggle and setbacks, of courage and sheer luck, of mistakes and lessons hard learned from these mistakes.

There are many different types of raisins. Perhaps the best known, and certainly one of the most popular, is the Natural Thompson Seedless raisin. During the last 5-year period for which figures are available, the sale of Thompson seedless raisins totaled more than $233 million. Nearly a quarter of a billion dollars in sales which would never have occurred had not Lady de Coverly been scorned, neglected, and deserted in 1873 by a Sutter County rancher named William Thompson.

Thompson longed for the grapes which he had eaten during his boyhood days in England. These were grown in a hothouse and, to him, were tastier than any grapes he could find in California. The name of this variety had escaped his memory, but he wrote to a nursery firm in Rochester, N.Y. The catalog which was sent to him contained the name of the fondly-remembered grapes which he desired to purchase. They were natives of Constantinople and bore the name: Lady de Coverly.

Three cuttings eventually arrived and were grafted on muscat vines. This was in 1872. The next year the Sacramento River overflowed its banks and washed away two of the vines. The remaining vine proved disappointing because of its failure to produce grapes.

Thompson pruned it as he did his muscats; that is, he cut the canes back to three buds, and provided no trellis. Eventually he became disgusted and refused either to prune or cultivate his Lady de Coverly vine. This inattention and neglect resulted in the vine, left on her own, climbing an adjacent tree. When Thompson next visited Lady de Coverly, she presented him with 56 pounds of grapes.

He saw the point, apologized to Lady de Coverly, and thereafter left her with three canes, 3 or 4 feet in length, and with a trellis. Soon cuttings from that vine were at a premium. The fact remains, however, that had this vine been destroyed, or had it lacked a tree during its testing period, one of the major industries of California and America might never have developed.

Lady luck's contribution to the raisin success story is important. But it is not nearly as meaningful or admirable as the courage and faith and strength which several California pioneer ladies gave to this then fledgling industry.

In December 1875, there were only 54 persons living in Fresno, or what was then called the Central California Colony. Water was brought in in 1876 and then began heavy advertising of the colony lands. A typical advertisement of that period reads:

> Better than city property—a homestead with an income: Persons of sedentary and confining situations may establish a healthful and delightful business and acquire an elegant and paying homestead in 4 or 5 years by moderate monthly payment * * * and need not retire from their present business until the new one has become a paying institution! 20 acres of raisins are worth $5,000 a year * * * a small monthly payment will secure a 20-acre tract in the suburbs of Fresno, a rapidly growing town—only 9 hours from San Francisco by rail.

Among the early investors in 1876 were four maiden ladies, San Francisco school teachers, including Miss M. F. Austin and Miss L. H. Hatch. Together they bought 100 acres without seeing the land. However, the organizer had agreed to plant and care for 2 acres of raisin grapes on each 20-acre lot, which was done.

In 1878 Miss Austin moved to the colony and added to the plantings. The following year Miss Hatch joined her. From the original 2-acre planting, Miss Austin packed her first raisins, 30 boxes, in 1878 and sold them under her name. These are claimed to be the first raisins from the colony.

The next year 300 boxes were sold and by 1886, when Miss Austin retired from personal packing, the yield was 7,500 boxes. Thereafter, the product of this pioneer colony raisin farm was delivered to other packers.

After the death of Miss Austin in 1919, Miss Hatch assumed the management.

Another pioneer settler of note in this colony was Mrs. Julia A. Fink Smith. She planted 5 acres of muscat vines in 1876. In 1878, together with her brother-in-law, she packed a few raisins. From this small beginning, Mrs. Smith and her brother-in-law built a large packing industry. Mrs. Smith, who was a California pioneer of 1852, and a public spirited woman, died in 1919 at the age of 92. She donated to the city of Fresno a children's playground which bears her name.

These examples, and there are many more like them, demonstrate how courage and faith and strength, on the part of women as well as men, created and built America's raisin industry.

I mentioned that the raisin industry, like virtually every major industry in this country, is also the product of mistakes and of the lessons hard learned from these mistakes. The California Raisin Advisory Board is living proof that success can be the proud child of failure.

Time does not permit a review of all of the efforts that were made, beginning with the earliest years of the raisin industry, to coordinate the interests and activities of all segments of the industry for the benefit of all. I would like, however, to conclude this salute to our raisin industry during this 57th National Raisin Week on a note of contrast.

Among the papers of Theodore Kearney found after his death was this document:

> Warning—here lies the body of M. Theodore Kearney, a visionary who thought he could teach the average farmer, and particularly raisin growers, some of the rudiments of sound business management. For 8 years he worked strenuously at the task, and at the end of that time he was no further ahead than at the beginning. The effort killed him.

An exaggeration? Certainly. And one which did not recognize or concede the fierce independence and love of liberty of the immigrants who settled the San Joaquin Valley. To them, every effort to coordinate the pricing and production of raisins, even though it was for their benefit, was an abdication of freedom.

Contrast this if you will, however, to the vigorous and demonstrably successful threefold program of coordinated merchandising, advertising, and publicity promotion being carried out today by the California Raisin Advisory Board.

In one area alone—the annual Halloween campaign—grower returns increased almost $32 million during the last 5-year reporting period over the previous 5-year period as the result of this program.

These figures testify eloquently to the importance and success of the California Raisin Advisory Board. So, too, does an article entitled "Promotion Puts a Glow in Raisin Future," which appeared in the July 3, 1965, issue of the California Farmer.

Citing the raisin industry and its product as proof that "prices of farm products do not always have to be slashed to bargain basement levels to maintain a place in the market," the article notes:

> Many food industry leaders are convinced the marketing record for raisins can be attributed almost entirely to the aggressive industry-wide research and promotion program of the California Raisin Advisory Board.

I am sure that my distinguished colleague, Representative HAGEN, will join me in seconding this tribute to the board. I know that he also shares my gratitude to the Members, Mr. Speaker, for their kind attention today and for their continuing support of America's California-based raisin industry.

IN RECOGNITION OF THE NATION'S FIREFIGHTERS

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, it is a great privilege for me to speak in behalf of the passage of Senate Joint Resolution 86, just as it was an honor for me to introduce the companion measure in the House of Representatives. It will authorize the President to proclaim May 4, 1966, as a day of recognition for the "personal sacrifice and devotion to duty of firefighters in the United States of America."

The profession of firefighting has come a long way since the first volunteer fire department was established by Benjamin Franklin in 1736. It has grown to meet the challenge of our maturing country. The bucket brigade has given way to the hook and ladder as the firefighters of America have moved to keep pace with the technological advancement of this century.

The meeting of this challenge of growth and improvement is in the tradition of firemen. Over the years their courage and dedication to their purpose has been unquestioned.

I think it is important, however, to note another very important aspect of today's modern firefighters. It takes more than courage in this day and age to effectively quell a fire. Training and an effort to stay abreast of new methods and techniques are equally important. This Nation's firemen have met this challenge as well. This is vital, because firefighting today is made more complex by our crowded cities and giant buildings, the spread of urbanization as well as the continuing problem of remote communities in rural areas.

The professional fireman and that modern descendant of the minuteman, the volunteer fireman, are some of the most important public servants in America.

I urge us to seize this opportunity to go on record as a nation in acknowledging and formally stating our appreciation of these friends and neighbors of ours, who steadfastly protect our homes, our communities and our lives.

A NEW PROPOSAL FOR A FEDERAL FIREARMS ACT

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the President in his message to the Congress on crime and law enforcement in the United States on March 9, 1966, pointed out the need for a Federal gun control law which would give to the several States a chance to enforce their own firearms laws and would close the loophole through which undesirables can flout their State law by way of mail-order purchases from out of State. This is a laudable purpose, and I believe all States would enjoy this support and protection of their own laws.

In his message, the President requested the Congress to enact legislation, such as S. 1592, to accomplish the above purpose. While the President's intent is clearly beneficent, S. 1592 was opposed in public hearings both in the Senate and in the House by most national sportsmen and conservation groups. I, myself, testified in strong opposition to S. 1592 in hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency. I remain opposed to it because I think it is unduly restrictive, that it goes far beyond what the President asked for, and because, contrary to providing a bulwark for the laws of the various States, it constitutes actually an invasion of important States rights.

Fortunately, Mr. Speaker, the matter can be accomplished simply. In my opinion, it was always the intent of the Federal Firearms Act to require federally licensed manufacturers and dealers to observe State laws. This intent can be made crystal clear by a relatively simple amendment to the Federal Firearms Act. This amendment will be welcomed by the States, will have the support of all law-abiding sportsmen and conservationists, and will do all that Federal law can do to prevent the circumvention of State firearms laws.

I have today introduced a bill to accomplish this purpose, and I urge its favorable consideration by the Congress.

Its wording follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 2 of the Federal Firearms Act (15 U.S.C. 902) is amended by redesignating subsections (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), (h), and (i) as subsections (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), (h), (i) and (j), respectively, and by inserting after subsection (a) a new subsection as follows:

"(b) It shall be unlawful for any licensed manufacturer or dealer to ship or transport, or cause to be shipped or transported any firearm in interstate or foreign commerce, to any person in any State where the receipt by such person of such firearm would be in violation of any statute of such State: *Provided, however,* That no conviction shall be obtained under this section if it can be shown by the dealer or manufacturer that reasonable efforts were made to ascertain whether or not the shipment would be in violation of State law."

THE CASE OF NEWCOMB MOTT

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, at noon yesterday the American Embassy in Moscow delivered a formal note of protest to the Soviet Government over the unsatisfactory nature of a recent report from the Russians on the death of Newcomb Mott of Sheffield, Mass. This long-awaited report, it was hoped, would clear up so much of the mystery surrounding the death of this young man, a constituent and neighbor of mine. But instead of clearing up our questions, instead of providing factual information so earnestly sought and rightly deserved by the parents of Newcomb Mott, the Soviet report has only heightened our confusion, our suspicions, and our doubts.

I endorse wholeheartedly the action of our State Department in lodging a formal protest with the Soviets over this grossly inadequate report, and over the cavalier attitude of the Russians in stating that they have no intention of cooperating with our Government any further in this matter.

I share the judgment of the Department that the Russian report is utterly and totally unsatisfactory in every respect. It fails to provide answers to any of the questions concerning Mr. Mott's death that I have asked repeatedly, that have been asked by the State Department, and by virtually every American—and that surely deserve to be answered.

The failure of the Russians to come to specifics over the apparent lack of supervision of Mr. Mott while on the train, the failure to disclose the train's destination and the reason for Mott's presence on that train, and all the other unanswered questions serve only to cloud the issue and to strain relations between our two countries even further.

It is outrageous to observe the Soviets advertising for American tourists to visit Russia, as they did recently with a special magazine supplement in the New York Times, and then fail to deal honestly and forthrightly in the Mott case.

The refusal of the Russians to offer a more explicit report on the details of Mr. Mott's detention, his transit aboard the fatal train, and the circumstances of his death, can only encourage us to confirm our worst suspicions.

It should also be obvious to any American entertaining ideas of travel in Europe that he can only count on his personal safety by avoiding all contact with the Soviets. I would personally urge all American tourists to forget about visiting the Soviet Union until such time as that government can provide better evidence of their intent to protect and deal fairly with foreign nationals within their borders.

A NATIONAL EYE INSTITUTE FOR NIH

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill which would amend the Public Health Service Act by providing for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health. I am pleased to be another sponsor of this legislation, which has been introduced also by several other Members of both Houses of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, it is true that diseases and disabilities of the eye are under study in the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness. Significant contributions to our knowledge of eye afflictions have been made by the devoted scientists at work there. But I believe that only a separate Eye Institute will enable us to focus really adequate attention on the problems connected with our precious asset of eyesight. I would like to mention three main reasons why eye research and training must receive greater stress through the establishment of a National Eye Institute.

First of all, the prevalence of blindness and eye disabilities is wider than most people seem to realize. The American Optometric Association has estimated that 58 percent of the population of our country has some visual deficiency. Three and one-half million Americans are handicapped by a chronic, permanent noncorrectable visual defect. Nearly 1 million of these individuals are functionally blind—that is, they cannot read ordinary newsprint, even with the aid of glasses. Ten million people throughout the world suffer from total blindness—including nearly 400,000 Americans. The rate of blindness in this country has increased from 1.75 per 1,000 persons in 1940, to 2 per 1,000 in 1960.

Mr. Speaker, the shocking fact is that about 80 percent of the individuals suffering from blindness are victims of a disease whose cause is unknown. Two of the three leading causes of blindness in the United States—cataracts and glaucoma—are among those diseases whose cause has not been discovered. Little understood prenatal conditions are the other main cause of blindness. Surely if ophthalmic research were stepped up, so that the causes and treatments of eye afflictions were better understood, the number of visually handicapped could be greatly reduced.

Second, the existence of a separate Eye Institute would help reduce the ignorance and fear about the problems and dangers connected with eyesight which now trouble large numbers of our population. Last December a Gallup poll found that, after cancer, blindness is the most feared affliction among the American people. Yet less than half of the people surveyed could identify glaucoma as a disease of the eye, and 1 out of 5 people had no idea what a cataract is. Questions related to other important eye diseases revealed that the public is similarly uninformed.

Early in April I had the privilege of speaking before the Greater Miami Fight for Sight League, a member organization of the National Council To Combat Blindness. The national council is dedicated particularly to the promotion of eye research, and altogether has contributed over $2½ million to over 100 institutions throughout the world for the support of research and training in eye disabilities. To this group I made the point that "I strongly believe that increased public awareness is a key to success in the fight for sight." The attention which eyesight problems would receive with the establishment of a separate Eye Institute would encourage more people to be attentive to the needs of their eyes and seek medical aid before their world is completely darkened. I believe that it would also stimulate private philanthropic support of organizations dealing with eye handicaps, so that all in all, enormous strides could at last be made toward the prevention and treatment of blinding diseases.

The third reason why I believe that a separate eye institute should be established arises from our shortage of ophthalmologists—eye physicians. These specialists are needed not only to treat patients but to conduct research, and the number trained in our country is far too small. The establishment of an eye institute would encourage more young people to become technicians in eye research or take up the study of ophthalmology, and would provide needed resources for the training of many.

In sum, Mr. Speaker, the establishment of a separate National Eye Institute is necessary. The relatively small investment of concentrated research on eye diseases would surely enable our scientists to discover the causes and cures of afflictions which now blind 30,000 more Americans each year. The public attention focused on a separate eye institute would help us reduce ignorance about eyesight problems, promote proper care of the eyes, and stimulate greater private support of eye research. The establishment of a National Eye Institute would also encourage more people to enter the field of ophthalmology, where today a critical shortage exists.

I hope that Congress will not fail to approve this measure.

MOST KEY U.S. HEALTH AIDS LEAVING IF NEW FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ADMINISTRATION REORGANIZATION PLAN APPROVED

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, on March 30, 1966, I had the opportunity to appear before and sit with the Executive and Legislative Reorganization Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations as it heard testimony from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and from the Secretary of the Interior on Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1966. This reorganization plan would transfer the newly created Federal Water Pollution Control Administration from HEW to Interior on May 10, unless the Congress expresses disapproval of the proposal before that date.

At those hearings I warned, as I have warned many times in the past, that these repeated transfers of the water pollution control apparatus of the Federal Government are seriously hurting the effort to clean up our Nation's waters. In 1961 we had a major transfer of authority from the Surgeon General to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Last year in October we authorized the creation of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare by Public Law 89-234, the Water Quality Act of 1965, as recommended by the administration. Now, the President proposes to transfer this new Administration to the Department of the Interior which is involved in water conservation, not health.

I stated my concern last year during the public hearings on the legislation which became the Water Quality Act of 1965, when it was before the House Committee on Public Works on which I am the ranking minority member. Unfortunately, my fears have been borne out. Water purity and public health is being sacrificed in the political struggles now ensuing in the executive branch resulting from this proposed new transfer. My amendment to the 1965 act requiring consultation with the Surgeon General on health matters is being circumvented and thus the function of the Public Health Service further downgraded by this reorganization plan.

On Sunday, April 24, the New York Times ran a most discouraging article entitled "Key U.S. Aids Quit Pollution Agency." The importance of the problem was signified by its appearance on page A-1 of the Nation's largest daily newspaper. The article states that the battle to clean up our Nation's water supplies is being imperiled by the exodus of key personnel from the new Administration. Alarmingly, the article also states that only about 75 of the 325 commissioned Public Health Service officers of the new Administration have indicated that they will remain with the new Administration after its transfer to the Department of the Interior.

This is most discouraging. It is most alarming. When will we ever have an effective water pollution control program free from power struggles within the executive branch? It has been one continuous struggle after another since 1961. Unfortunately, it will be the people of America who will suffer the consequences of the delays in cleaning up the Nation's waters while reorganization after reorganization is undertaken. Thorough investigation of this problem should be made by Congress before acting on Organization Plan No. 2.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD, I include this searching article, and I commend it to the attention of all Members of Congress:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 24, 1966]

KEY U.S. AIDS QUIT POLLUTION AGENCY—BATTLE TO CLEAN UP NATION'S WATER SUPPLIES IMPERILED BY EXODUS OF PERSONNEL

(By William M. Blair)

WASHINGTON, April 23.—An exodus of administrative, scientific and technical personnel, resulting from a governmental reorganization, is threatening to slow down President Johnson's efforts to clean up the Nation's water supplies.

Only about 75 of the 325 commissioned Public Health Service officers of the new Federal Water Pollution Control Administration have indicated they will remain and accept mandatory conversion to Civil Service status when the Interior Department absorbs the agency on May 10. Public Health Service officers hold commission similar to those in the armed services. They have a deadline of June 30 to decide whether to stay with the new agency.

Some authorities view the program as having slowed down already and confusion over transfer of the agency to the jurisdiction of Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall. Public Health Service officers, their morale battered by what they regard as unnecessary delay, confusion, and politics, are reluctant to complain publicly, but many of them are fuming privately.

SOME JOINING INDUSTRY

Some nationally and internationally known sanitary engineers of the Service's corps of officers have already decided to take early retirement and join private businesses or universities, or become consultants to the growing field of pollution abatement.

Others have accepted new health-work assignments within the Public Health Service. Still others are quietly sounding out possible positions in the Service. A number are waiting, hoping that the situation will be clarified to enable them to make a decision before the deadline.

The Public Health Service officers' position gives them many benefits not available under Civil Service, including higher pay in major positions, earlier retirement, income tax breaks, and medical services. Some younger members of the corps also have educational advantages, which enable them to obtain doctor's degrees on full pay through a training program.

Until last October, water pollution activities were under the Public Health Service in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. At that time, Congress passed the Water Quality Act and separated the water pollution administration from the Department.

In March, the President directed placement of the agency in the Interior Department in a reorganization plan. He also named James M. Quigley, former Democratic member of the House from Pennsylvania, as administrator. Mr. Quigley stepped down as an Assistant Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to take the job.

PRESSURE IS EXERTED

Behind the move was political pressure, including efforts by some conservation groups critical of the Public Health Service's pollution control efforts over the years. They have demanded stiffer enforcement policies applied to industry, States, cities, and other pollution sources.

Many Public Health Service officers complain that the fish and wildlife people are now in the saddle. The conservationists are more oriented to the Interior Department, which administers land policies, than to the Public Health Service.

One distinguished research director declared: "It's all mixed up and no man's situation is clear cut."

An engineer said:

"No one offered anything until the last month when some fairly decent civil service grades were presented to some key people."

"This may be an opportunity for some of the older men to accept earlier retirement and accept consultants' positions or teach and get more than if they stayed in the service," another observed, "but we're going to lose the younger men, the kind we ought to hold onto."

A widely known 44-year-old engineer commented that "we're all washed out emotionally to the point where we no longer are mad at anyone."

QUIGLEY ON THE FENCE

Most of the Service officers agree that Mr. Quigley has had "to sit on the fence" to a degree and that Secretary Udall cannot do too much until he is in full charge.

Nevertheless, as one officer, retiring after 26 years to enter private consultant work, said:

"If there is a system that would salvage some of the loss, it certainly is slow in getting underway."

Critics of the Public Health Service have labeled the officers corps an outmoded concept because professional personnel now is available in larger numbers for civil service careers. These critics have also viewed the Service as sometimes more interested in professional standing and liberal retirement benefits. Members of the Service, they charge, use it to establish themselves before moving into new careers while still able, a charge hotly denied by the officers.

There is a grudging admission by the critics, however, that the Service had performed a vital function and that it had moved firmly on water pollution control, once assured that strong congressional and executive branch support was forthcoming, including laws and directives.

CONFUSION HURTS MORALE

Some ranking civil service officials within the Water Pollution Control Administration concede that the shaken morale of the officers corps had spilled over into the civil service areas, mainly because of confusion over change and lack of knowledge about the Interior Department, particularly promotion policies at lower levels.

They agree that the main concern is whether the "head of steam" on pollution control built up by the President would bog down for 1 or 2 years in personnel problems, including difficult recruitment of replacements for professional people. Mr. Udall plans a major expansion of the agency including new field stations, which will require added personnel.

Among the widely known officers stepping out after 24 years of Public Health Service is Hays Black, 60. He is understood to be considering setting up his own consulting service. He would need 8 more years to get present retirement benefits if he chose to accept a civil service rating.

Mr. Black is a recognized international authority on industrial wastes and has served on joint international commissions and committees. He has been attached to the Robert A. Taft sanitary engineering center in Cincinnati.

STAFF IS LEAVING

The eight-man professional staff of the Taft Center's physical engineering and sciences branch will virtually disappear. Dr. Ernest C. Taivoglou, 43-year-old branch chief, has applied for retirement after 20 years' service and will head radiological activities at Georgia Tech. He has conducted extensive surveys and studies of uranium mine wastes including data interpretation.

A radiation chemist on his staff who has 3 years of service is accepting a job in private industry.

Dr. S. D. Shearer, 32, who has served 9 years in the Service, will remain with the Public Health Service, although it is understood that he was offered a post as chief of a laboratory section.

Another who has refused transfer to civil service and will stay with the Public Health Service is Dr. Jules B. Cohen, 32, who has 10 years of service. Four others have left and one is seeking a service post of his liking.

Keith S. Krause, 49, chief of the technical services branch, one of the key spots in Washington of the Water Pollution and Control Administration, also is considering retiring to accept a private post. Only this week, he took a physical examination required prior to retirement. He has had 20 years of service, the minimum of years required for retirement.

On the other hand, Dr. Gerald Berg, 37, chief of virology in the research program in Cincinnati, is converting to civil service.

Ralph Portges, 54, deputy in the technical advisory and investigations section, with 26 years of service, is leaving to become chief of water control for the Delaware River Commission in Philadelphia. Everett McLeaman, chief of the administration's Delaware River project, has requested reassignment within the Public Health Service.

Paul Eastman, regional director of San Francisco, is retiring. Gerald Svore, regional director at Dallas, will serve on loan when the agency moves to the Interior Department. This can be done under law on a 2-year term, renewable for 2 years but not for more than a total of 4 years. Dr. Graham Walton, a bacteriologist, 60, will remain with the Service. James Coulton, 46, chief of comprehensive programs of the technical services program, another key position, is retiring and moving to the Maryland Department of Health.

At the Taft Center's research section, headed by Dr. Paul W. Kiaber, who holds a medical degree, about 7 of 28 commissioned officers may transfer out of the Service and into the new agency under civil service. All are younger men with limited service. Five others have left for other posts. The remainder were said to be waiting and negotiating for new jobs within the Public Health Service.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. Speaker, yesterday I stated, and it was reported on page 8799 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, that the Postmaster General audited a meeting of the Committee on Banking and Currency. I did not personally see the Postmaster General in the committee room during the hearing. During the luncheon recess, I was informed that he had been present at the morning session. I called this to the attention of the committee during the meeting. No one disputed his presence there. Today the Postmaster General called me and said he had not been in the committee room during the meeting. I believe him. I want to correct the record in this respect. I sincerely regret this misunderstanding.

ISRAEL'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. REINECKE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, among the few pleasant surprises in the distracted postwar world was the birth and the remarkable growth of the State of Israel. It is the most significant event in the fast changing Middle East. It is of such momentous importance that it transcends Israel's geographic boundaries and the whole Middle East region.

For almost 2,000 years Jews were practically excluded from their homeland, and at the beginning of the 20th century only an insignificant minority of Jews lived in Palestine. The preponderant majority of the Jewish people were living in dispersion. During all that time while a handful among them cherished the dream of their return to the Promised Land, to most of them the idea seemed no more than a phantasy, and with the passage of centuries, it receded into the distant past. But the views and opinions of the few dreamers and planners for the future State of Israel prevailed, and in the end they became new Israel's 20th century prophets. These leaders were men of vision, and through sheer power of persuasion and perseverance, they were able to make their dreams prevail. Out of misery and hardships these great and gifted Jewish leaders molded and forged the State of Israel, which became a living reality 18 years ago.

One cannot help but look with increasing amazement at the Israeli's marvelous accomplishments during the last 18 years. Today's State of Israel is a sovereign and independent state, and has become a powerful instrument of stability and peace in the Middle East. Against insuperable odds, and after suffering indescribable hardships and sacrifices, the Israeli people have won their freedom and also their place among the sovereign states of the world. These patriotic citizens are determined to defend their homeland against its foes and for that reason they have had to turn Israel into a veritable armed camp. On the 18th anniversary of its independence day let us all salute Israel for continuing to be a force for peace and progress, and express our wish that her citizens will enjoy safety and prosperity in their reborn fatherland.

A PRIVATE FREEDOM ACADEMY

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DERWINSKI] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, for over two decades there has been a serious and fundamental cold war educational gap between the Soviet Union and its extended Red empire and the United States and the free world. The former has astutely developed an enormous apparatus in the psychopolitical warfare that we do not begin to match. Worse still, the nature, scope, and content of this type of training continue to elude the understanding and appreciation of most Americans who by background and outlook are not receptive to the animus, methods, and designs of political existence implied by such long-term warfare. How crucial this type of training is may be gleaned from the imposing face that with utterly inferior resources Moscow has been able to recreate and expand an empire far exceeding anything in the history of mankind—and all this in the span of 49 years.

A few in this country have for years pointed to this educational gap and have proposed measures to close it. This discussion on a U.S. Freedom Academy has covered over 10 years. Despite substantial evidence in support of this official academy, the matter is still being considered in Congress. The machinery of government often moves slowly, but private initiative fortunately is not so afflicted by institutional inertia. We Americans are indeed fortunate for this.

At long last, Mr. Speaker, a private freedom academy is coming into being at the Freedom Studies Center in Virginia under the sponsorship of the Institute for American Strategy with headquarters in Chicago. The work of its president, Mr. John M. Fisher, is a monumental contribution to the cause of freedom. I am privileged to serve on the congressional advisory board of this new and unique institution. For a concise view of the problem and the project, I earnestly recommend that every Member read the article by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, who is a professor of economics at Georgetown University and also a member of the planning board of the new center, on the subject "At Long Last—A Private Freedom Academy." The article appears in the spring issue of the internationally authoritative journal the Ukrainian Quarterly, and I include it in full as part of my remarks:

AT LONG LAST: A PRIVATE FREEDOM ACADEMY

(By Lev E. Dobriansky)

The embryo of a long-awaited and desperately needed Freedom Academy has finally come into being in this country. Under the name of Freedom Studies Center, the academy is the first of its kind in the United States. The unique institution will be administered on a private basis by the world-renowned Institute for American Strategy, which is headquartered in Chicago. Most appropriately, the academy itself is located near Boston, Va.—Boston and all this symbol signifies in the history of American democracy; Virginia, the State of Jefferson and other immortal apostles of national and human freedom.

Beyond question of doubt, this momentous undertaking would not have been possible without the knowledgeable understanding, vision, and genuine entrepreneurial excellence of Mr. John M. Fisher, president of the Institute for American Strategy. Aside from all the methodic and scientific planning he has been responsible for, the very breathtaking scenic beauty of the academy's site, covering 671 acres against a magnificent background of the Blue Ridge Mountains and yet only an hour and a half from the Nation's Capital, alone pays tribute to Fisher's decisionmaking acuity. It is difficult to conceive a more harmonious and impressive pattern of circumstances than that surrounding this new and unprecedented American institution.

As many know, for well over a decade certain well-informed citizens have urged the establishment of a Government-supported U.S. Freedom Academy.[1] In contrast to private initiative, the machinery of Government moves slowly, but this objective still is a most urgent and real one. Many of the selfsame citizens support with equal fervor the new private Freedom Academy because of the necessary principle of competitive complementarity. In the event that an official Academy is established, there would be no wasteful duplication of effort, no uncooperative rivalry, and no cross-purposed performances. On the contrary, to make up for much lost time and to fill in a chasmic educational gap, the combined resources of the two institutions would for some time to come be in short supply to meet the demands of the current situation. The need has been, is, and will continue to be a critical one.

In the initial period one of the chief tasks of the private academy will be to acquaint the American people with the total reality and science of political warfare. On this score, everything that has been said in official testimony favoring a U.S. academy applies to the new private academy. Through its international and national cooperating agencies the academy should be able to make a quick and solid impression on our people as to the basic type of war we have been pitted into for the past two decades. This is the essence of the educational gap for which we have already paid dearly in lives and treasure, and will continue to pay as long as it remains unfilled.

IT CAN'T HAPPEN TO US

One of the imposing symbolic values of the new academy will center on the real, possible truth that the tragic experience of some 27 formerly independent nations can happen to us. This is not a note of alarmism but rather of realism for the far too many ostriched in the vain optimism that it can't happen to us. It is virtually a truism that each of us can always profit from the experiences of others. Yet, strangely enough, this rule is not fully applied on a broad scale to the background of those who lived under conditions of Red tyranny and were harshly subjected to its disciplines of constant cold warfare.

Particularly true has been our disinclination to profit from the experiences of many different nationals from the Soviet Union itself. This was clearly brought out in the last important congressional investigation into the captive nations, which was over 10 years ago.[2] Yet, in over 90 percent of the case inquiries, whether they be into the experiences of those from Eastern Europe, Central Asia, the Far East, or Cuba, the results show a remarkable agreement concerning many essential views on the cold war, East-West relations, and Red preparedness. For example, this impressive consensus underscores the Red vision, whether Russian, Chinese, or of any satrap, of the United States becoming eventually isolated, subverted, and defeated in what has come to be known as the cold war—this to be accomplished by enemies with inferior physical power but superior psychopolitical strength.

The striking consensus also stresses the basic importance of Red political warfare schools, in essence institutions for the study of and training in the strategy and tactics of revolution. Those who experienced it point out that hundreds of thousands have been processed through these schools and returned to their positions in Government, education, secret service agencies, the armed services, the communications field, and so forth. The teachings of Lenin, Mao, and other conspiratorial minds are not held as utopian by those who have borne the full impact of their practical weight, particularly the now well-established truth that only a relatively few professional revolutionaries are necessary to deal in time and with cunning against any array of seemingly formidable forces. Over 10 years ago it was in response to this fundamental truth that the Sarnoff memorandum was submitted to the President and introduced by Senator Lyndon B. Johnson into the permanent RECORD of our national history.[3] As usual, nothing was done.

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[1] See "Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy," hearings, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, GPO, 1959, p. 181.

[2] See "Investigation of Communist Takeover and Occupation of the Non-Russian Nations of the U.S.S.R.," hearings, Select Committee on Communist Aggression, House of Representatives, 1954, p. 370.

A scan of the past 46 years summarizes well enough the background to the experiences of close to a billion people who have suffered Red totalitarian aggression. The territorial expansion of the Red empire, from Russia in 1917 to the Soviet Union by 1923, to all of Eastern Europe by 1948, to greater parts of Asia in the fifties, and to Latin America in this decade, is in itself all the convincing proof needed. This single, imposing fact proves several things at once: The primacy of psychopolitical power, the myopia of Western and U.S. policies, and the educational gap in the free world. Within these brief seconds of historical time 27 now captive nations, both large and small, have been seduced, and the end is not yet in sight.[4]

For Red totalitarianism the main bout is the cold war, a persistent and unremitting activity waged by cadres of professional revolutionaries whose lifetimes are dedicated to the tasks and missions they have been trained to execute. It is in them that the hope of the so-called world Communist movement primarily resides. Their very existence and constant replenishment and expansion give lie to the currently nurtured illusion of "polycentrism," notwithstanding the additional fact that the power center of the Red empire today and doubtless for many years to come is the Soviet Russian base within the Soviet Union. We have striven to match the Red imperiocolonialists militarily, soldier for soldier, missile for missile, but we stand far behind in the match where it has counted most and will continue to be the most determining, namely psychopolitical warfare—professional revolutionary for professional revolutionary.

Our cultural environment virtually precludes an adequate comprehension of professional revolutionism. At best we mistakenly think of it as some espionage or cloak-and-dagger type of activity. This is part and parcel of the educational gap which the academy will overcome. Suffice it to say that the private Freedom Academy will become quickly and fully appreciated as we Americans soberly grasp not only the spectacular successes of Moscow in the past four decades but also its heavy investment of time, people, and money—the elements of its enormous political capital—in the exciting venture of scientific political warfare. Soviet Russian successes have more than repaid this investment, and the end for future profitable returns for this steadily expanding investment is again nowhere in sight. The purpose, aim, and very significance of the academy are implicitly vested in a firm comprehension of the extraordinary psychopolitical capital investments made by the Red totalitarians who with inferior overall reserves are confident of conquering the world. Both record and time favor them.

Just a few more fundamental facts need be mentioned to nail the naive, optimistic notion that it can't happen to us firmly to the cross of historico-analytical truth. The world population today approximates 3.5 billion. Close to 1 billion have been curtained within the Red empire. The masters of this empire maintain it through the network of Communist Parties with a membership totaling some 50 million on the official rolls. Fantastic though it sounds, a little more than 1 percent of the world's population has been successful in dominating close to a third of that population. This is quite an impressive and little known ratio.

What is equally startling is the fact that all this was accomplished from a material position of clear-cut inferiority in terms of comparative economic wealth and military prowess. Some of the most significant advances in the long string of Soviet Russian conquests and takeovers were accomplished when the United States enjoyed atomic monopoly and air supremacy. The incredible mistakes made by us in the nonmilitary fields—area of psychopolitical combat—have by no means been paid in full as yet. Our experiences in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Vietnam are only a prelude to what is in store for us as the global Red network forges ahead with its cold war plans and activities. Whether the component parts of the syndicate operate in unison or competitively, the effects on the free world position will be the same. We should become used to the psychological disequilibrium of short-run gloating and long-run mourning. For instance, what has transpired in the Congo and Ghana is cause for short-run gloating; what has taken place in the Central African Republic, the Upper Volta, and Nigeria may be cause for longrun mourning.[5] Psychopolitical warfare thrives on asymmetry, not linear development.

In this going and especially successful enterprise, if so much had been accomplished with relatively low resources in the past, how much more can and will be achieved with higher levels of productivity and production in the Red totalitarian economies? Another incredible aspect of this is Western industrial abetment of this buildup during the convenient period of the necessary Red economic breather. From the Red cold war viewpoint, whether Hanoi's, Peking's, or Moscow's—or Warsaw's, Budapest's, or Havana's—it is psychopolitically profitable to drag the United States into a protracted Vietnam guerrilla war, if anything to intensify the strains and tensions of the overheated American economy and to test the abdominal fortitude of the American people for this type of psychopolitical warfare. In this real context, much of the controversy over Vietnam is both adolescent and absurd.

The plain fact is that in the now vast Red Empire, despite all its economic adversities and political difficulties, cold war resources are steadily becoming more available for intensified political warfare, both in the developed and underdeveloped sectors of the free world. One would have to be obtuse, indeed, not to recognize that even on the American terrain so-called teach-ins, racial conflicts, disarmament, and pacifist passions, youth restlessness on the campuses and elsewhere are usable instruments for Red political warfare. Upon careful analysis and examination, all this can be checked and reversed once the free world—meaning the American power center—seriously embarks upon a program of understanding the length and breadth of Red political warfare. This is where the Freedom Academy comes into play. On the basis of such trained understanding the United States, still the free world leader, could launch sensible plans of action that would place our psycho-political enemies on a perpetual defensive and eventually in complete disrepair.

Because of the cultural time lag this is admittedly a huge task, but one that must be undertaken if freedom is to be preserved, if the prospects of genuine world peace are to brighten, and if the possibility of cold war is to really emerge. Lest we forget—or come to know anew—there is no Communist nation in existence.[6] There are Red states, there are Communist parties and a tremendous apparatus of control, but not a single nation, including Russia as distinct from the U.S.S.R. itself, can be deemed to possess a Communist character. The peoples themselves have nowhere accepted communism through any broad democratic process of popular approval, and even if this were so, the question of specific machinations would be uppermost. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that well over 90 percent of the population in the Red Empire itself silently rejects the nonobject called communism. And this fundamental fact is an enormous asset for us in the unending struggle. But first, in tune with the basic rule of experience, we would psychologically have to surmount the comforting illusion that it can't happen to United States. The academy will stand as the monumental negation of this current illusion.

RED POLITICAL WARFARE

Not only that, the new academy will be the only institution in this country devoting itself to a serious study of Red political warfare. Whatever the brand, totalitarianism thrives on ideological deception and psychopolitical techniques of mass control. Communism, fascism, and national socialism partake of the totalitarian essence and, despite superficial differences, each species has spelled the negation of personal and national rights of free expansion. Each form of totalitarianism was and has been shaped by the political background and traditions of the country in which it was incubated and developed. Red totalitarianism was planted in Russia in 1917, and its whole imperiocolonialist development has conformed with the grooves and tortuous turns of centuries of Russian imperial expansion.

Soviet Russian totalitarianism has outlived German national socialism and Italian fascism; it has built within a short span of years an empire that far exceeds the wildest dream of Russia's past tsars. To understand this success story requires an intuitive knowledge of five centuries of Russian empire-building and all its varied methods and techniques of what today is called cold war aggression and conquest. Both the German Nazis and Italian Fascists had no such wealth of historical experience and achievement to draw upon. A working knowledge of Russia's long tradition in subversion and conquest deepens one's insight into and grasp of what is now loosely dubbed as "Communist warfare." [7]

The vast difference between the Russian past and present lies in the unique combination achieved by the Soviet Russians between the basic elements of a deceptive worldwide ideology, with its crass materialistic overtones, and advanced technology. The combination has made for incomparably more efficient methods, broader latitudes of tolerance for national forms, and the proportions of a global rather than a regional struggle. The present Russian totalitarians have perfected the methods of political warfare with practical faith in their boundless application. What the Chinese Red totalitarians have learned from the Russians still requires the refinement and efficacy which the unique combination brings into play.

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[3] Gen. David Sarnoff, "Program for a Political Offensive Against World Communism," CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 101, pt. 5, pp. 6039–6045.

[4] See Lev E. Dobriansky, "Why Captive Nations Week?" the New Guard, July 1965, pp. 12–14.

[5] W. K. Biddier, "Turmoil in West Africa," American Security Council Washington Report, Feb. 28, 1966.

[6] Lev E. Dobriansky, "Captive Nations Versus Red States," CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 111, pt. 19, pp. 26340–26341.

[7] See the excellent work by William G. Bray, "Russian Frontiers: From Muscovy to Khrushchev," New York, 1963.

Regardless of the obvious differences, the attack by each is totalistic; it is against society in its totality and not just against the military defense structure. As undoubtedly will be taught at the academy, all institutions and agencies are targets, and their continued strength and power will ultimately rest on a general understanding of the nature of this total aggression and on a rational, national will to resist and destroy it. What makes it extremely difficult for the average, educated American to understand here is the full-scale operation of this type of warfare. He knows about spies, he appreciates the existence of strong armed forces, he values skillful diplomacy, international intrigue, and to some extent adroit propaganda, but this, an insidious, wholesale attack upon society in toto, is something strange, almost unbelievable, in this day and age.

This typical reaction evaporates when essential facts are faced regarding the costs sustained by the Red totalitarians to wage this kind of warfare—costs of time, labor input, capital facilities, and priority concentration. Some $5 billion are poured annually into this endeavor by Moscow alone.[8] For decades the Russians have maintained special schools, offering instruction in political warfare and methodically perfecting the means and armament of such warfare. Reports on these schools have varied over the years, but this is understandable since the institutions themselves have undergone change, modifying curriculums, extending periods of attendance, expanding student bodies, and gaining in critical importance. The famous Lenin school, the Lenin Institute of Political Warfare, was established back in 1925 and graduated its first class in 1928. Its 3-year courses covered, among numerous other subjects, guerrilla warfare, armed uprisings, propaganda and agitation, communications, legal and illegal methods, and detailed country studies.

With eyes turned to the Far East today, it is well to reflect on the thousands upon thousands who have graduated from Moscow's Sun Yat-Sen University, the far eastern university which trains Communists from Asia. Ho Chi Minh is a crowning product of this institution, as is virtually every other top functionary in the Red apparatus in Asia. Soviet Russia's enormous contribution to the mess in Vietnam rests in this past training, not in placed missile sites in North Vietnam. Moscow's long-term investment is fraught with other pregnant returns when it is considered that the Reds today operate approximately 6,000 special schools in political warfare. Most of these are in the Red empire, the others in parts of the free world. In Prague, for example, a center exists for specialized training of Reds from Africa and Latin America. The cadres that are trained in propaganda, agitation, subversion, espionage, and infiltration, not to mention a host of other vital political warfare areas, are available to over 80 Communist Parties about the world and also to the Red governments and their political and subversive tentacles.

Thus, scattered about the globe are other potential leaders of holy wars of national liberation. It has been conservatively estimated that since 1928 about 150,000 men and women have been processed through these special schools. Those who had experienced this specialized training in Moscow and later defected the ranks have testified that the library at the Moscow political warfare center is comparable in size to the Library of Congress in its concentrated collection of materials on political warfare. While the West slumbered in this critical area, its enemies worked quietly, methodically, and confidently. Is it any wonder that we can offer only amateurs in this fundamental contest with professionals? The academy is the first concrete move to correct this appalling situation.

PATHS IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Just these few essentials of the contemporary situation are enough to show how formidable the task confronting us is. Yet, it is by no means insuperable. Although, as was the case in rocketry and space, the Reds enjoy an enormous leadtime in political warfare, this can be efficiently contracted and surpassed by virtue of the different dimensions and the democratic base we would respectively have to pursue and operate from. It has often been said that in this type of warfare the battleground is everywhere, involving directly or indirectly every citizen, every institution, and every agency.[9] No unit, whether economic, cultural, military, religious or ethnic, is overlooked. In short, there can be no real neutrals, and the paths in conflict management are infinite. For an open society this fact is a tremendous asset.

No great stretch of the imagination is required to envision the crimps, difficulties, and obstacles that would arise to thwart Red operations and plans as an informed citizenry and its official representatives develop a keen knowledge and understanding of Red totalitarian objectives, strategy, and tactics, an enlightened desire to participate in forms of action designed to curb and eliminate subversive Red influences, and a rational rededication to the principles, traditions, and ideals of our Nation. The development of patriotic revolutionaries everywhere, including the Red empire, would be a force of insuperable strength which the modern totalitarians could not possibly match and contend with. Such development would provide the soundest groundwork for a peaceful world community of nations, completely purged of the last remnants of history's imperialism and colonialism.

Put another way, the leadtime in psychopolitical education now enjoyed by the Red imperiocolonialists can be radically reduced by both an emotional and rational appeal to the natural instincts and propensities of all normal humans for liberty and freedom, national as well as personal. These instincts and propensities form an unbreakable foundation for any systematic psychopolitical education aimed at defeating the Red enemies. In the Red scheme of such education they are distorted, polluted, and atrophied, psychologically giving way to vicious appetites in the nature of man and all the dubious compensations that ensue.

Also contributing to leadtime contraction is the discipline of thought cultivated by the academy. This discipline would not be unlike that found in the managerial precincts of business enterprise, reflecting a total, entrepreneurial activity. It distinctly would be unlike that which prevails in the typical academic environment where departmentalized professionalism dilutes intelligible intercourse among scholars, teachers, students, and researchers even in the social science grouping, not to mention the others. As business draws its functional and operational knowledge from every abstractive discipline and applies it in toto, so the integrated knowledge of psychopolitical warfare must be built up in like manner with a concretist penchant for successful, practical application, with ideas to be drenched in positive action, with rounded thoughts to move political mountains. A more elaborate description of this vital point concerning overall discipline would stress a central intermeshing of abstract outputs, an orchestration of applicable knowledge, a constant shuttle, interplay, and feedback between developing ideas and hypothecated action. In this higher, organic thinking peace, freedom, and cold war victory cannot be contradictories.[10]

The academy's product will be the making of an anti-Communist (really anti-Red totalitarian) conflict manager—dedicated, highly intellectual, activist. In this area of political warfare study and instruction the academy is, as of now, the sole pioneer in our Nation, developing the frontiers of fourth dimensional warfare and giving the whole idea a fair opportunity to prove itself in practice. The realization of this opportunity is further tribute to a society fundamentally based on private initiative, courage, and creativity. The very establishment of the academy satisfies in part the reasons and motivations of the American people who in a Gallup poll in 1962 expressed their support for an official academy to the tune of 69 percent in favor, 14 percent opposed, and the rest indifferent.

What must be emphasized is the fact that the academy will not be duplicating the curriculum, training program, or special projects of any university, college, or existing governmental agency. This for the simple reason that none of them conducts a program of psychopolitical warfare education. The usual academic curriculums and special area studies equip students with a knowledge of countries, their people, institutions and so forth, but all this is largely abstractive, passive, contributory to intellectual understanding, but grossly deficient in the synthetic and operational use of such knowledge for purposes of psychopolitical warfare. Higher generalizations, principles, models, laws, and patterns have their necessary place, but they are two steps removed from the body of operational knowledge we are talking about—concrete, integrated, synthesized, motivating, certitudinal, and extremely useful. In most categorical terms, no such body of knowledge is offered at any of our service schools, the Foreign Service Institute, the National Interdepartmental Seminar, or the U.S. Information Agency.

For the crucial educational difference here, just ponder this point. With so much discussion about Red China today, it is well to recall that four decades ago information and data in the United States about China far exceeded what the Russian Bolsheviks possessed; yet Red Chinese revolutionaries in Moscow received, as events later proved, a far more valuable education, because the little they had was put to more effective use in the working context of their training for political warfare and victory. Even on the intellectual level, inferior resources can overcome superior ones, given the elements of intelligent use, strong motivation, and courageous conviction, no matter how invalid morally. At the academy moral power will be an additional weapon of superiority over the Red totalitarians.

THE FREEDOM ACADEMY

At long last, America has a freedom academy—the Freedom Academy, private and exclusive in terms of its purpose and operation. In terms of benefit and impact it is all-inclusive since, remember, the battleground is everywhere. In the organic context of psychopolitical warfare education the academy will be accommodating the needs of labor, business, education, the fourth estate, churches, women's groups, veterans' organizations, fraternals, ethnic groups, governments of all levels, foreign counterparts, and so on. None of these, at one time or another, has not been targeted for Red infiltration and subversion.

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[8] "A Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy," pt. 2, hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, 1964, p. 1418.

[9] For this truth scan hearings, "Freedom Academy," pts. 1–2 (1964) and 1965, Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. Congress, Government Printing Office.

[10] An excellent example of this is American Security Council, "Peace and Freedom Through Cold War Victory," Chicago, 1964, p. 122.

Long before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Lenin maintained small political warfare schools on the Isle of Capri, in France, and in Italy. For the negation of freedom the past 50 years tell their own success story. We have finally awakened to the need of preserving and expanding freedom through revolutionary professionalism. It is historically symbolic that the Freedom Academy is established in the very decade leading to the 200th anniversary of the true freedom revolution—the American Revolution.

THE 18TH BIRTHDAY OF ISRAEL

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Bell] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in saluting Israel on its 18th birthday—the 18th anniversary of the day statehood was attained.

In so few years, this small nation, comprised of hardy and courageous people of all races, has become one of the most progressive and one of the most democratic countries in the world, and only true democracy in the Middle East. Bordered by adversaries, accustomed to turbulence, and having won a land that was mostly rock and desert, the State of Israel has thrived and grown perhaps even more rapidly than envisioned in the hopes and dreams of its founders.

In 1948, precious little land of the total area of 7,821 square miles was cultivable. The Israelis have accomplished no less than an agricultural and economic miracle.

Once barren and rocky soil in the Galilee has been turned into flourishing farmland; reclaiming the land has been an arduous task, requiring patience and faith in the future of their endeavor; these attributes the Israelis have had in abundance.

No less difficult has been the cultivation of land in the heart of the hot and dry Negev, a desert area which comprises about 60 percent of the State of Israel. More of what was once impenetrable desert is being turned into flourishing acres every year.

Helping to accomplish this have been the methods devised for obtaining water where water is the most precious and scarce commodity. Without the ingenuity and unstinting efforts of the Israelis, their nation would still be one of desert and rock. But they have completed a system to divert water from Lake Tiberias in the north to the southern Negev.

The accomplishments of this tiny nation in achieving a viable and thriving economy and true democracy have been many, all deserving praise and some degree of awe. Perhaps the most striking feature of all, the proof of how far the State of Israel has come in only 18 years, is in the fact that this new and recently undeveloped country is now, with notable success, extending aid to other new nations. Nearly 70 African, Asian, and Latin American countries receive expert technical assistance from Israel, and, moreover, profit from the example of Israel's dynamic growth.

Israel today stands as a tribute to faith, to courage, to strength, to ingenuity, and to perseverance. The people of Israel deserve the highest praise and the support of all who can appreciate and understand how Israel has achieved the impossible.

PAUL SHANAHAN—DEVOTED PUBLIC SERVANT

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Shriver] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the State of Kansas on April 14, 1966, suffered the loss of a distinguished and devoted public servant when Paul M. Shanahan its secretary of state for 15 years died. Mr. Shanahan was a personal friend of mine and I know he will be greatly missed by all who knew and were associated with him.

He had served the people of Kansas in the State legislature for three terms and in 1949 was Republican majority floor leader. While in the legislature he sponsored the rural health and mental health programs which have established Kansas as a national leader in the field of mental health. Mr. Shanahan served two terms on the Kansas Legislative Council.

He was elected secretary of state in 1950 and he consistently won the endorsement of Kansas voters for the efficiency and excellent service which he rendered in that important office. In 1957, Mr. Shanahan served as president of the National Association of Secretaries of State.

Paul Shanahan was the product of a Kansas farm near Salina. His public service career began in 1937 when he became undersheriff of Saline County and then was elected to two terms as sheriff beginning in 1941.

Mrs. Shriver and I join in extending our heartfelt sympathy to his widow, Elwill, who was a source of inspiration and strength to Paul Shanahan in his loyal service to our State.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Wichita, Kans., Eagle on April 16, 1966. The editorial follows:

Paul R. Shanahan

The death of Secretary of State Paul Shanahan Thursday ended a distinguished career of public service dating back 30 years.

Born on a farm near Salina, Mr. Shanahan entered public office by being appointed undersheriff in 1937. Later he was elected to two terms as Saline County sheriff, during which time he served as president of the Kansas Peace Officers Association.

He went on to the Kansas Legislature, where he served three terms and was active in the support of public welfare programs, including rural health and mental health. He was majority floor leader of the house in 1949.

He had been secretary of state since 1950, and in that capacity he was a member of the Kansas Interstate Cooperation Commission and chairman of the State School Fund Commission. In 1957 he was elected president of the National Association of Secretaries of State.

An ardent and lifelong Republican, Mr. Shanahan was well known in political circles, but it was his unfailing courtesy and helpfulness that endeared him to members of the public who had dealings with him in his various official capacities.

He served Kansas effectively and loyally. He will be missed.

TRANSPORTATION PROPOSAL WARRANTS INVESTIGATION AND CAUTION

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Shriver] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, it has been with considerable interest that I have followed the hearings before the Subcommittee on Executive and Legislative Reorganization, Committee on Government Operations, on the proposal to establish a Department of Transportation.

Last year the Congress approved creation of a Department of Housing and Urban Development. This year's request from the administration would establish another department bringing together almost 100,000 employees and approximately $6 billion of Federal funds now devoted to transportation.

There are several aspects of this legislation which warrant considerable study and attention.

For example, should the navigation program of the Corps of Engineers be transferred to a new Secretary of Transportation? At the present time, practically all of our inland navigation systems for which the Corps of Engineers has been responsible have been authorized under a multipurpose concept.

In Kansas, we are interested in investigating the feasibility of navigation on the Arkansas River but it is only one reason for such a study. We also should investigate at the same time the need for flood control, water supply, conservation, and recreation. I therefore question the advisability of separating navigation activities of the Corps of Engineers when it is so strongly interrelated to the other areas of corps responsibility and decision.

I also have reservations about the proposed transfer of all the powers and functions of the Federal Aviation Agency to the Secretary of the new Department. Aviation continues to be one of the fastest growing and expanding industries in our economy. I do not see the wisdom of abolishing this Agency in the light of rapidly expanding use of air transportation.

Another concern which I have relating to this legislation is the dual responsibility it will give in the area of urban transportation. Last year Congress approved establishment of a new Housing and Urban Development Department which gave it the responsibility for urban transportation. Now two departments will be asked to cooperate in deciding how to handle such problems. We will have to wait a year while guidelines of cooperation are worked out. This can only result in confusion and frustration for local and State governments trying to work out their transportation problems.

Mr. Speaker, I recognize the need for continuing reorganization and streamlining of bureaus and departments of Federal Government. There are far too many examples of duplication and overlapping of services which lead to redtape, waste, and inefficiency. Congress has a great responsibility to exercise caution before creating a new Transportation Department, and it should not just act as a rubberstamp of approval without complete and careful consideration of all factors relating to transportation.

SECRETARIES WEEK

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, the week of April 24–30 has been established as Secretaries Week, with Wednesday, April 27, designated as Secretaries Day. Since 1952 a week has been set aside each year to honor the "first lady of business"—the secretary.

Miss M. Merle Law, CPS, of London, Ontario, Canada, president of the National Secretaries Association—International—visited Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor on February 14, 1966, and received a letter expressing his best wishes and congratulations. A copy of his letter follows:

FEBRUARY 14, 1966.

MISS M. MERLE LAW, CPS,
International President, The National Secretaries Association (International), Kansas City, Mo.

DEAR MISS LAW: To all capable, dedicated, professional secretaries actively assisting management to attain high goals of production and performance, may I express best wishes for the 15th annual observation of Secretaries Week, April 24–30, 1966, and Secretaries Day on April 27.

Management in all areas of endeavor—commerce, industry, government, education, and the professions—has come to rely on trained and qualified secretaries to keep the wheels of our economy running smoothly.

Congratulations to the members of the National Secretaries Association for their initiative in establishing Secretaries Week to proclaim pride in their profession, thereby setting an example which stimulates others to choose a secretarial career.

Sincerely,

JOHN T. CONNOR.

The Honorable Eugene P. Foley, Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Director of Economic Development, NSA's 1965 International Boss of the Year, is honorary chairman of this year's observance of Secretaries Week.

The overall theme for Secretaries Week is "Better Secretaries Mean Better Business." The purpose of this celebration is to recognize the vital role of the secretary in the function of business, industry, government, and education, and to remind secretaries of their responsibilities to their employers and to their profession. It is also an occasion designed to create interest among students to train for the secretarial profession, to acquaint working secretaries with the educational programs available to them, and to inform management of the efforts being made to increase secretarial proficiency.

Frequent requests to the association for a definition of a secretary prompted the National Secretaries Association to develop and adopt a definition that could be used by management, educators, and secretaries:

> A secretary shall be defined as an assistant to an executive, possessing mastery of office skills and ability to assume responsibility without direct supervision, who displays initiative, exercises judgment, and makes decisions within the scope of her authority.

Established in 1942 to promote the educational and professional standards of secretaries, the National Secretaries Association—International—is the world's largest association of businesswomen in one profession. It is a nonprofit, nonunion, nonpartisan and nonsectarian organization, with a membership of 24,469 in 567 chapters in the United States, Canada and Puerto Rico, and affiliate chapters in Mexico, Finland, Panama, Argentina, and France. It has gained wide recognition as a pioneer in the field of educational programs for secretaries.

All chapters of NSA observe Secretaries Week with special functions such as educational seminars, workshops, special civic projects, open meetings for all secretaries, and membership events.

LINUS PAULING DECISION UPHOLDS FREEDOM TO TELL TRUTH

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, it was good to learn that the scurrilous suit brought against National Review by Dr. Linus Pauling has been dismissed by a New York court. It is evidently all right to call a pro-Communist a pro-Communist and anyone who is interested in freedom of speech and believes that the public has a right to know, must certainly rejoice at the decision which was handed down.

Men like Dr. Linus Pauling can toe the Communist line as much as they like. No one wants to stop him from doing this no matter how many people might be misled. As a counterbalance, however, it should be equally proper for Americans to point out just what he is doing and the political and ideological color of those with whom he is cohabiting. The freedom of speech we all venerate does not carry with it the right to be taken seriously. Dr. Pauling can talk all he wants; Cyrus Eaton can praise Khrushchev or other Communists all that he wants; Frank Wilkinson can do likewise. It is a blow for justice and in informed press to learn that an American citizen need not shrink into fear of legal intimidation when he points out the pro-Communist and fellow traveling record of the Paulings, Eatons, and Wilkinsons.

The New York Times of April 20 carries an extensive article on this decision and I insert this at this point in the RECORD:

PAULING LIBEL CASE DISMISSED BY JUDGE

(By Robert E. Tomasson)

A $1 million libel suit brought by Dr. Linus C. Pauling against William F. Buckley, Jr., was dismissed yesterday by State Supreme Court Justice Samuel J. Silverman after the case had been before a jury for 6 weeks.

The justice ruled that Dr. Pauling, who has been awarded Nobel Prizes for biochemistry and for peace, had limited his legal remedies to sue over being called a Communist collaborator because he had "made himself a public figure engaged voluntarily in public discussion of matters of grave public concern and controversy."

"Perhaps," Justice Silverman said, "this can be deemed another sacrifice that he is making for the things he believes in.

The lengthy ruling, read in a room in the county courthouse here, ended a trial that had matched the views of two of the Nation's most articulate and antagonistic political commentators.

"Lest there be any misunderstanding," the justice said, "I do not hold that the charges against Dr. Pauling * * * are true or justified."

The ruling continued:

"It is clear that in all his (political) actions Dr. Pauling acted well within his legal rights. And if his conscience required him to take the actions and pursue the course of conduct that he has pursued for the last 20 years, then he has acted in accordance with his moral duty."

Justice Silverman based his decision almost exclusively on a unanimous 1964 ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court that a public official cannot recover libel damages for any criticism of his official conduct unless he can prove the statement was made with deliberate malice.

DEFINITION OF MALICE

The Court, in its landmark libel ruling in *Sullivan* v. *The New York Times,* defined malice as "the knowledge that it (the criticism) was false or with reckless disregard of whether it was false or not."

The 1964 decision threw out a $500,000 Alabama libel judgment against the Times and four Negro ministers that had been won by L. B. Sullivan, a Montgomery City Commissioner. Mr. Sullivan had contended that he was libeled by an advertisement in the Times.

CRITERIA IN 1964 CASE

Justice Silverman confined yesterday's ruling to the questions of whether the libel criteria established in the Times case could be extended to include public figures as well as public officials and, if so, whether Dr. Pauling had proved that the statements accusing him of being a Communist fellow traveler were malicious.

The justice held that the policy adopted by the Supreme Court "would seem to favor extending the doctrine * * * at least to a person who 'has thrust himself into the vortex of the discussing of pressing public concern.'"

The 1964 ruling of the Court, the judge said, "has shifted the balance sharply in favor of the freedom of public discussion."

He held that Dr. Pauling had failed to prove that Mr. Buckley knew that the statements were false.

Dr. Pauling's suit was also directed against the politically conservative magazine Mr. Buckley edits, National Review, and its publisher, William A. Rusher.

The libel charge grew out of two articles in the conservative fortnightly magazine "The Collaborators," published July 17, 1962, and "Are You Being Sued by Linus Pauling?" which appeared September 25, 1962.

The first of these said that Dr. Pauling was "once more acting as megaphone for Soviet policy by touting the World Peace Conference that the Communists have called for this summer in Moscow, just as year after year since time immemorial he has given his name, energy, voice, and pen to one after another Soviet-serving enterprises."

This article also said that "such persons * * * have given aid and comfort to the enemies of this country."

The second article described the scientist's libel suit as "a brazen attempt at intimidation of the free press by one of the Nation's leading fellow travelers."

Michael Levi Matar, Dr. Pauling's lawyer, said that he had made no decision on whether to appeal the ruling.

The obvious gloom that settled over Mr. Matar and Dr. and Mrs. Pauling as Justice Silverman read his decision was in sharp contrast to the exuberance of Mr. Buckley, who strode into the courtroom after the decision was rendered.

Mr. Buckley had deliberately stayed out until the decision was known.

It was understood that his lawyer, C. Dickerman Williams, was fearful that if he appeared, Mr. Matar might try to have him testify in the hope of reopening the case.

After greeting well-wishers and ignoring Dr. Pauling, whom he has never met, Mr. Buckley said, in part, that the decision vindicated National Review and, the freedom to criticize, and to name as such, fellow travelers in this country.

Dr. Pauling declined to comment other than to say that "I have not yet written my opinion."

ANDREW TULLY HITS NAIL ON HEAD IN ARTICLE ON RHODESIA

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashbrook] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, a recent column by Andrew Tully appeared in the Mount Vernon, Ohio, News. It hit the nail right on the head as far as our shameful doublestandard is concerned. One policy for a friendly nation, Rhodesia, and another standard for the Red captives or the tyrannical regimes in Asia and Africa.

Our policy is all the more shameful when you consider the cowardly position of the British. While our boys were dying in Korea to protect freedom, they were trading with the Red Chinese. While we were under the threat of Castro communism, they ship buses to Cuba. Now that we have 100 fatalities a week in Vietnam we see them carrying on business as usual and excelling in trading with our enemies.

Andrew Tully speaks out on Rhodesia. I commend this article to all of the Members of this body:

Cry for Rhodesians: Forget Red Captives

(By Andrew Tully)

Washington.—Don't give me all that jazz about human rights and self-determination, Buster. The reason the United States has joined the United Nations mob in the Rhodesian crisis is that our masters were scared to death the Commies would make racial propaganda hay out of any other stand.

Sure, we've got to go along with our principal—and perhaps only—ally in this mass. Britain needs our support if only to prevent Africa's black nations from descending on Rhodesia and plunging its white citizens into a blood bath. But we don't have to swallow a lot of hogwash which equates Prime Minister Ian Smith's stand with the racist philosophy of some barefooted sheriff in Mississippi.

In declaring their independence of Great Britain rather than be forced to accept a constitution turning over Rhodesia to its 4 million Negroes, Smith and his boys are asserting their rights, too. The point is not that there are only 225,000 whites in Rhodesia, but that Rhodesia was built by those whites and their forebears at the cost of considerable blood, sweat, tears, and hard cash.

RIGHTS

Rhodesia is their country because they made it, just as the American settlers created the United States. There were more Indians than whites in Britain's American colony in 1776, but King George III did not dispatch his Hessians to these shores to force us to hand over the country to the Indians. The Indians had no rights then, and they have precious few today, but this doesn't bother the bleeders who are all the time yakking about civil rights.

I suppose the blacks are underrepresented in the Rhodesian Government, and I know the inevitability of history will settle the score. But I am a touch nauseated by the self-righteous yowling set up by a United Nations membership which always pretend to be hard of hearing whenever some mischief-maker brings up the matter of Russia's satellites.

The Ghanians and the Ivory Coasters and, of course, the Russians, scream that Rhodesia's blacks are prisoners of "colonialism." But how about the populations of nine Eastern European countries who have been the captives of Communist colonialism since World War II? There hasn't been a tear shed in the U.N. in years for Poland or Czechoslovakia or Rumania or Latvia.

It is all very well, and probably noble, for the U.N. to insist on self-government for the African peoples. But it has never so much as passed a resolution even suggesting free elections for the countries of Eastern Europe. The Ghanians and Ivory Coasters and other assorted freeloaders demand that the U.N. use force to overthrow the Rhodesian Government, but they recoil at the very idea of speaking sharply to Moscow about the plight of its satellites.

The trouble is, of course, that the Eastern Europeans languishing in their Communist hoosegows are whites, and it is not "in" these days to fret about anybody whose skin is lighter than a heavy tan. A politician does not get his name in the papers wondering aloud what's going to happen, eventually, to the white settlers in Kenya and the Congo, except to be denounced for irrelevancy and, sometimes, immorality.

Ian Smith won't do. He's not abreast of the times. If his government were black and Communist, we'd be shipping him Vermont, postpaid.

THE FINDLEY AMENDMENT

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Walker] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I strongly support the amendment offered today by my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Findley]. It is a disgrace to our fighting men in Vietnam for our Government to give aid to any country which trades or deals with the Communists.

This amendment is one of the most constructive measures that has been presented in recent years in an effort to stop U.S. aid for any country which carries on such trade or dealings

It is unfortunate that so many Members of this body fought against the amendment until they realized that they would have to account for their action to the folks back home. Then, in large numbers, they began to switch rather than fight.

Such performance demonstrates further what I have been telling my people back home, that a number of my colleagues across the aisle operate on a double standard. They will vote for the administration's programs to appease communism until they have to answer to a rollcall where their constituents can check their record vote.

I think that this is proof within itself that the overwhelming majority of the Congressmen know that their constituents are bitterly against this war of appeasement being promoted by the so-called Great Society.

ARKANSAS RIVER BASIN COMPACT

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Skubitz] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, negotiations between the States of Kansas and Oklahoma have culminated in the ratification of the Arkansas River Basin compact. The Governors of both States have signed the ratification papers, but the approval of Congress and the signature of the President are necessary to make this compact binding and obligatory.

Therefore, I am introducing legislation today which would provide for the necessary consent of Congress. I hope that

Congress will act swiftly to assure passage of this important legislation.

PANAMA CANAL: 1966 ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. THOMPSON] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, more than 5 years ago, on March 7, 1961, I addressed this body quoting a major article in the Encyclopaedia Britannica on the Panama Canal by Capt. Miles P. DuVal, Jr., U.S. Navy, retired, the distinguished historian of the Panama Canal and authority on interoceanic canal problems.

It is, therefore, with much gratification that I have read in the 1966 issue of the Encyclopaedia Britannica an up-to-date revision by him of his 1961 Britannica article on the Panama Canal, which impresses me as the most comprehensive, yet fair and incisive treatement of its subject ever published in a work of general reference.

Captain DuVal has had a broad experience incident to an extensive naval career. This included duty in the Panama Canal organization as Captain of the Port, Balboa, C.Z., in charge of marine operations in the Pacific sector of the canal during the critical period immediately prior to and after U.S. involvement in World War II, 1941–44; service in the Asiatic-Pacific theater, 1944–46; and as head of the Panama Canal Liaison Organization and Isthmian Canal Studies, U.S. Navy Department, 1946–49. Since this background of experience coupled with his diligent studies of Panama Canal history and problems, as well as the authorship of two outstanding books and various professional articles, eminently qualified with the indispensable knowledge and understanding for the task of preparation and revision, the editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica could not have made a better choice.

I am grateful to the author of the article because he was kind enough to mention myself as responsible for the enactment of the so-called Thompson Act of 1950 under which the entire Panama Canal enterprise was reorganized and placed on a self-sustaining basis and has subsequently been operated.

It will be noted that the final paragraph of the article dealing with "Panama-United States Relations" and the bibliography are products of the joint authorship of Captain DuVal and Almon R. Wright, Senior Historian, U.S. Department of State.

Because the indicated article is so timely and exhaustive, I deem it to be of the utmost importance for consideration, within and without official circles, in connection with the study of the entire subject of interoceanic canals.

Accordingly, I quote it as part of my remarks:

[From the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1966 edition]

PANAMA CANAL

(By Capt. Miles P. DuVal, Jr., U.S. Navy, retired)

Panama Canal, a high-level artificial interoceanic waterway of the lake and lock type at the Isthmus of Panama connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, owned, operated, and controlled by the United States under treaty, for the transit of vessels of commerce and of war of all nations on terms of equality, with tolls that are just and equitable. The Canal Zone, through which it was built, is the constitutionally acquired domain of the United States granted in perpetuity by the Republic of Panama, for the construction of the canal, and its perpetual maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection.

By using the canal, vessels plying between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States can eliminate the Cape Horn route and save a distance of about 8,000 nautical miles, while journeys between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the North and South American continents can be reduced by 3,000 to 4,000 miles; vessels from Europe to western Asia and Australia can effect a saving of 1,000 to 2,000 miles. Hence the canal is of the greatest international importance, strategically and economically.

This article is divided into the following sections:

I. The waterway.
1. Description.
2. Navigation.
II. Canal Zone.
1. Area and tidewaters.
2. Sovereignty.
3. Administration.
4. Tolls.
5. Canal traffic.
6. Defense.
III. History.
1. Panama railroad, 1849–55.
2. French project, 1879–1904.
3. U.S. policy, 1850–81.
4. Isthmian Canal Commission, 1899–1901.
5. U.S. diplomacy, 1901–03.
6. Building the canal, 1904–14.
7. Principal engineering and construction projects after 1914.
8. Reorganization and policy determination.
9. Panama-United States relations.

I. THE WATERWAY

1. Description: The Panama Canal does not cross the isthmus from east to west as generally supposed, but from northwest to southeast, with the Atlantic entrance 33½ miles north and 27 miles west of the Pacific entrance. Located in one of the heavier rainfall areas of the world with its longest section formed by impounding the waters of the Chagres River valley by a dam at Gatun, its principal features include: twin-flight locks, dams and spillways at both ends of the canal; the summit-level Gatun Lake; an excavated gorge across the Continental Divide, renamed as Gaillard Cut, connecting Gatun Lake with the Pacific locks; a small Miraflores Lake between two sets of Pacific locks; and two terminals.

The Atlantic terminus is at Cristóbal on Libón Bay, a natural harbor protected against storms from the north by east and west breakwaters. The Pacific terminus is at Balboa, a sheltered artificial harbor with its Pacific entrance channel safeguarded from silt-bearing currents by a causeway from the mainland to the fortified islands in the Bay of Panama.

The canal length from shore line to shore line is 40.27 statute miles; and from deep water to deep water, 50.72 miles. From north to south, its main parts are:

1. Atlantic sea-level dredged channel of 500-foot bottom width from deep water to Gatun locks, about 7.4 miles.

2. Gatun locks in three steps from sea level to Gatun Lake, 85 feet above sea level.

3. Gatun Lake section with channels varying in width from 1,000 feet at Gatun to 500 feet at Gamboa where Gaillard cut begins, distance about 24 miles.

4. Gaillard cut of 300 feet minimum bottom width to Pedro Miguel locks at the south end of the cut, distance about 8 miles.

5. Pedro Miguel locks in one step (31 feet) to the intermediate Miraflores Lake, 54 feet above sea level.

6. Miraflores Lake with channel 750 feet wide to Miraflores locks, distance about 1 mile.

7. Miraflores locks in two steps to Pacific sea level.

8. Pacific sea level dredged section to the Bay of Panama, distance about 8.5 miles.

The controlling depth for the Atlantic dredged section from deep water to Gatun locks is 42 feet below mean low water; from Gatun locks to Pedro Miguel, 42 feet below the minimum Gatun Lake level of 82 feet; from Pedro Miguel locks to Miraflores, 42 feet below the minimum Miraflores Lake level of 54 feet; and from Miraflores locks to deep water in the Pacific, 42.4 feet below mean low water spring (maximum) tides.

The canal is equipped with modern aids to navigation. The Panama Canal has had no major operational improvement since opening to traffic in 1914 with the exception of the Madden Dam and power project, with its upstream lake to conserve water for lockages and maintenance of channel depths in Gatun Lake during dry seasons and to reduce the danger of floods from the upper Chagres in wet seasons, and of the enlargement of the Gaillard cut started in 1959.

Locks: No part of the canal attracts more attention than its massive locks. Constructed in duplicate to enable simultaneous lockages of vessels in the same or opposite direction, all locks have usable dimensions of 1,000 feet length, 110 feet width, and a depth to accommodate vessels drawing 40 feet in salt water. Each lock gate has two leaves, the leaves being floatable structures 65 feet wide by 7 feet thick, varying in height from 47 to 82 feet, weighing from 400 to 750 tons, and operated by 25 horsepower motors through gear arrangements.

Locks are equipped with unique safety devices, notably hydraulically operated fender chains and electric towing locomotives. The fender chains protect lock gates against vessels that may get out of control when approaching locks, and are dropped into grooves to permit passage. With the exception of small craft, vessels are not permitted to pass through locks under their own power, but are required to be drawn by towing locomotives, varying in number from 4 to 10, depending on ship characteristics.

The time required for passage through the locks depends upon many factors, including size of vessel and its handling features. Generally, lockage intervals are 80 minutes at Gatun, 40 minutes at Pedro Miguel, and 60 minutes at Miraflores.

Gatun Dam and spillway: The key structure of the Panama Canal is Gatun Dam, near the end of the Chagres River Valley. It is about 1½ miles long on its crest, one-half mile wide at the base, 400 feet wide at the water surface, 100 feet wide at the top, and its crest is 105 feet above sea level. It contains 22,958,069 cubic yards of material.

Located on a natural hill of rock near the center of the dam, Gatun spillway was designed to provide adequate control of Gatun Lake levels during the maximum known discharge of the Chagres River. The dam and spillway together with Gatun locks form the northern barrier that creates Gatun Lake.

Gatun Lake and Gaillard cut: Gatun Lake, at its normal height of 85 feet, has an area of 166 square miles and a shoreline of 1,100 miles; with a watershed of 1,285 square miles, which includes territory of the Republic of Panama. Its designed operating range is 5 feet, between water levels of 87 and 82 feet above sea level.

Gaillard cut, formerly called Culebra cut, is an artificial extension of Gatun Lake across the Continental Divide to Pedro Miguel locks, with its original bottom at a maximum of 40 feet above sea level, on an alinement that passes between Gold Hill and Contractors Hill. Its restricted channel and rocky banks make this cut the most hazardous part of the canal. A steady growth in vessel sizes and number carrying hazardous cargo has increased the frequency of transits requiring one-way navigation in Gaillard cut.

Pacific Dams, Miraflores Lake and spillway: Across the south end of Gaillard cut, a pair of one-lift (31 feet) Pedro Miguel locks and two flanking dams to nearby hills form the southern barrier closing the upper valley of the Rio Grande and holding the Gatun Lake water level. With crests 105 feet above sea level, the east dam extends about 300 feet to Cerro Luisa and the west extends about 1,400 feet to Cerro Paraiso. The east dam is a concrete wall, 260 feet long, covered with earth; the west is earth and rock, containing 699,518 cubic yards of material.

At Miraflores, a set of two-lift locks and two dams form a second barrier closing the lower valley of the Rio Grande and creating the intermediate Miraflores Lake. This lake, at 54 feet above sea level, has an area of 1.5 square miles. Its watershed is 38 square miles.

The major part of the east dam at Miraflores is the spillway, designed to handle free flow of water from Gatun Lake through one chamber at Pedro Miguel in event of accident. The west dam, with crest 40 feet wide and 70 feet above sea level extending 2,700 feet to Cerro Cocoli, is the second largest dam of the canal, containing about 2,388,423 cubic yards of material.

Terminal facilities: The Atlantic terminus affords safe anchorages in Limón Bay and convenient pier berths at Cristóbal. The Pacific terminus has mooring buoy, dock, and pier berths at Balboa; also an unprotected outer anchorage in the Bay of Panama. All piers are modern, 1,000 feet long by 200 feet wide, with enclosed sheds and railroad service, ample for storage of consignments and transshipment of cargo.

Both terminals are equipped for servicing of vessels, provisioning and repairs. The principal repair installations are on the Atlantic side near Mount Hope, with a 386-foot drydock. Larger marine and railway repair shops on the Pacific side are closed, with a 1,044-foot drydock in a standby status. Salvage tugs and other wrecking equipment are available.

2. Navigation: All vessels entering or leaving a terminal port, maneuvering in Canal Zone waters, or in transit, in general, are required to take pilots, who, at all times, have charge of navigation and movement. Transits are made under rigid traffic controls. The average time required to transit is from 7 to 8 hours.

II. CANAL ZONE

1. Area and tidewaters: The Canal Zone is a strip of land and land under water 10 miles wide with boundaries generally 5 miles from the center of the canal except for the western salient covering the mouth of the Chagres River, the arms of Gatun Lake extending into the Republic of Panama, and Madden Lake. Beginning in the Caribbean, 3 marine miles from mean low water as provided by treaty, the zone extends across the isthmus to a distance of 3 marine miles from mean low water in the Pacific, but excludes the Panamanian cities of Colón and Panama.

The Canal Zone includes all of Gatun Lake and surrounding shores up to the 100-foot contour and all of Madden Lake and its shores up to the 260-foot contour. The total area of the Canal Zone is 647.29 square miles—372.32 square miles land, 185.52 square miles fresh water, and 89.45 square miles salt water, including the Atlantic and Pacific coastal waters within the 3-mile limit.

The tides at the Atlantic and Pacific terminals differ in both magnitude and character. At Cristóbal on the Atlantic side they are irregular and small, with an extreme range of 3.05 feet. At Balboa on the Pacific side, they are remarkably regular with two highs and two lows every lunar day of 24 hours and 50 minutes, with an extreme range of 22.7 feet.

2. Sovereignty: Under the authority of the Panama Canal Act of 1912 and in conformity with treaty, President William H. Taft, by Executive order of December 5, 1912, declared that "all land and land under water within the limits of the Canal Zone are necessary for the construction, maintenance, operation, protection, and sanitation of the Panama Canal." Since title to all such land was acquired by the United States, the Canal Zone, in its entirety, is a U.S. Government reservation.

The only private enterprise activities permitted within the zone are on lands rented under revocable licenses, normally to shipping interests, agriculturists, and others directly connected with the canal or its operation. Areas assigned for other Government purposes, as of June 30, 1963, include 136.8 square miles for the Armed Forces, with 103.97 to the Army, 22.08 to the Navy, and 10.75 to the Air Force; 5.71 to the Smithsonian Institution as a wildlife preserve on Barro Colorado; 5.38 as the Madden Forest preserve, and 0.96 to the Federal Aviation Agency. Remaining land, largely mountain or jungle, totals 190.43 square miles. All areas continue subject to the civil jurisdiction of the Canal Zone Government in conformity with the Canal Zone Code.

3. Administration: The Panama Canal enterprise, as reorganized July 1, 1951, under Public Law 841, 81st Congress, approved September 29, 1950 (Thompson Act), consists of two main units, the Panama Canal Company and the Canal Zone Government, with the dominant mission of the safe, convenient, and economic transit of vessels. The Canal Zone is divided into two districts, the Balboa (or Pacific) subdivision and the Cristóbal (or Atlantic) subdivision.

Balboa and Cristóbal: These subdivisions are coterminous with the Balboa and Cristóbal Divisions of the U.S. district court. Their common boundary crosses the Canal Zone at right angles just northwest of Barbacoas Island. The Balboa subdivision includes all Canal Zone area lying southeasterly of this boundary, and the Cristóbal subdivision, all lying northwesterly of it.

Towns, except Gamboa, are clustered near the terminals convenient to canal and shipping activities, in which, directly or indirectly, most of the civilian population in the zone is employed. Gamboa, because it is the headquarters of dredging operations, is located north of Gaillard cut to prevent isolation of equipment from lake dumps in event of slides. All towns have the facilities of well-managed communities in the United States, with high standards of health, sanitation, and education. The canal administrative center is at Balboa Heights.

A long-felt defect in the 1903 treaty was failure to provide for adequate public crossings of the canal for the Canal Zone and Panama, both divided by the waterway. This condition was initially corrected by the United States through establishment of a toll-free ferry at Balboa in 1932 under legislation sponsored by Representative Maurice H. Thatcher, former member of the Isthmian Canal Commission for whom it was named; and finally, in 1962, pursuant to treaty, by the toll-free Thatcher Ferry Bridge to replace the ferries.

The civilian population in the 1960 census including dependents of the U.S. Armed Forces, was 42,122, with 11,499 in the Cristóbal district and 30,623 in the Balboa district. The population of the principal communities was 3,489 for Gamboa and 3,139 for Balboa.

The Panama Canal Company: This is a corporate instrumentality of the United States, operated under the management of its Board of Directors and charged with the maintenance and operation of the Panama Canal and the conduct of business-type operation incident thereto and to the civil government of the Canal Zone.

The basic law requires that the company be self-sustaining. Its obligations include its own operating expenses, the net cost of civil government, interest, and depreciation on U.S. investment in the enterprise, and $430,000 of the $1,930,000 annuity paid to the Republic of Panama, the remainder being provided by the Department of State, and thereby excluded in fixing tolls.

The Canal Zone Government: This is an independent agency of the United States, administered by a Governor of the Canal Zone, under the supervision of the President, or such officer of the United States as may be designated by him (Secretary of the Army). It performs the functions of city, county, and State governments, with certain attributes of diplomatic character in connection with the Republic of Panama. The Governor, who is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, is ex officio a Director and President of the Panama Canal Company.

The judicial functions of the Canal Zone Government are performed by two magistrate's courts, Balboa and Cristóbal, each presided over by a magistrate appointed by the Governor; and by a U.S. district court of the fifth judicial circuit, consisting of two divisions, Balboa and Cristóbal, presided over by one judge appointed by the President.

4. Tolls: The levy of tolls is subject to provisions of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (1901), the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty (1903), and the Thomson-Urrutia Treaty proclaimed in 1922. Exempted from transit tolls in accordance with treaty are vessels owned, operated or chartered by the Government of the Republic of Panama and war vessels of the Republic of Colombia; also vessels in transit solely for repairs at Panama Canal shops.

Tolls are assessed on the basis of Panama Canal net tonnage of actual earning capacity, a net vessel ton being 100 cubic feet of space. Tolls cover all normal transit charges, including pilot service. Vessels operated by the United States, including warships and auxiliaries, are assessed tolls.

Tolls in 1964 were 90 cents per net ton for merchant vessels, Army and Navy transports, tankers, hospital and supply ships, and yachts, when carrying passengers or cargo; 72 cents per net ton on such vessels in ballast without passengers or cargo; and 50 cents per ton of displacement for other types. The average measurement per oceangoing commercial vessel in fiscal year 1963 was 5,855 net tons and average tolls per vessel, $5,116.

The Panama Canal Company is authorized to prescribe and, from time to time, change rules for the measurement of vessels and tolls, subject to requirements for 6 months' notice, public hearings, and approval by the President of the United States, whose action shall be final and conclusive.

Fiscal year	Number of commercial transits [1]	Tolls revenue	Long tons of cargo
1929	6,289	$27,111,125	30,647,768
1933	4,162	19,601,077	18,161,165
1939	5,903	23,661,021	27,866,627
1944	1,562	5,456,163	7,003,487
1950	5,448	24,430,206	28,872,293
1955	7,997	33,849,477	40,646,301
1960	10,795	50,939,428	59,258,219
1961	10,866	54,127,877	63,669,738
1962	11,149	57,289,705	67,524,552
1963	11,017	56,368,073	62,247,094

[1] Oceangoing vessels of 300 or more net tons, Panama Canal measurement.

Source: Annual report. Balboa Heights: Panama Canal Company, Office of the President.

5. Canal traffic: Although the Panama Canal was conceived and built primarily as

an artery of world trade, its traffic, except during World War II, has had an irregular but sustained growth since 1916 in the number of commercial transits and cargo tonnage. Its traffic volume is extremely sensitive to wars and depressions, and to appreciable political, economic, or other upheavals in any part of the world, such as crop failures, strikes, destruction by tropical storms, development of foreign industries, and closure of the Suez Canal.

A significant feature of Panama Canal traffic is the pattern of its trade routes, of which eight are well defined.

The lowest traffic volume after 1933 occurred in 1944, when there were 1,562 transits by ocean-going commercial vessels with 7,003,487 tons of cargo. A high point in traffic history occurred in fiscal year 1962 when, for the 11th consecutive year, new records in the number of transits, toll revenue, and tons of cargo were made. Growing numbers of commercial vessels with beams over 80 feet were using the canal, thus emphasizing the need for increased capacity.

6. Defense: The Panama Canal Act of 1912 vests responsibility for protection of the Panama Canal and Canal Zone in the governor, this protection being the normal exercise of police authority within the Canal Zone. Defense against external aggression is a function of the Armed Forces, for which the commander in chief, Caribbean, is responsible. These include Army, Navy, and Air Force units, located in the Canal Zone and elsewhere.

The act further provides that "in time of war in which the United States shall be engaged, or when, in the opinion of the President, war is imminent," the President is authorized to vest exclusive authority and jurisdiction over the Panama Canal and Canal Zone Government in such officer of the Army as the President may designate. During continuance of such condition, the governor of the Canal Zone is subject in all respects to the orders and directions of the designated officer of the Army.

During war or emergency, elaborate security precautions are taken by both civil and military authorities, including careful examination of arriving vessels and use of specially trained security guards during transits.

III. HISTORY

The advantageous geographical location of the Central American isthmus was recognized by the early Spanish who, within a few years after the visit there by Columbus in 1502, followed with extended explorations focused on four main route areas: Tehuantepec, Nicaragua, Panama, and the Darién-Atrato. Not finding a strait, they promptly conceived the idea of constructing one.

Because of lower continental divides at Panama and Nicaragua, with penetration by large valleys, these two avenues became rivals for isthmian transit. At Panama, mountainous terrain and torrential rivers, notably the Chagres, at the time presented insuperable barriers to a canal. Lake Nicaragua, 3,089 square miles in area, with its then navigable San Juan River flowing into the Atlantic, reduced the magnitude of the task to cutting across the narrow strip which separated the lake from the Pacific.

Eventually, control of the Nicaragua route became a focal point of international conflict, with Great Britain and the United States in a diplomatic deadlock. This situation was prolonged by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) which deprived the United States of exclusive control over any isthmian canal that it might construct.

1. Panama Railroad, 1849–55: When U.S. westward expansion in the late 1840's required better means for transit, three North Americans of vision, John Lloyd Stephens (q.v.), William Henry Aspinwall, and Henry Chauncey, organized the Panama Railroad Co. Chartered in 1849 by the State of New York, this company under enormous difficulties, completed building the Panama Railroad in 1855—the first transcontinental railroad of the Americas. Running from Aspinwall (Colón) close to the line of the future canal, this 47.5-mile strategic rail link was the first concrete step toward construction of the Panama Canal, giving it a tremendous advantage over Nicaragua in the choice of route.

In view of the key functions that this celebrated railroad was later to fill in Panama Canal history, it is important to note a treaty of 1846 between the United States and New Granada (Colombia). This treaty was an offensive and defensive alliance aimed primarily toward securing a canal at Panama, even then recognized by President James K. Polk as the most practicable route. It provided that the United States should guarantee the "perfect neutrality" of the isthmus and its free and uninterrupted transit.

2. French project, 1879–1904: Meanwhile, French interests under the dynamic leadership of Ferdinand de Lesseps (q.v.), hero of the Suez Canal, decided to construct a canal across the American isthmus. An International Congress for Consideration of an Interoceanic Canal, consisting of 135 delegates, convened at Paris on May 15, 1879, to decide upon site and type. As president of the congress, De Lesseps applied the full force of his prestige and genius toward securing approval for a sea-level type of canal at Panama.

Adolphe Godlin de Lépinay de Brusly, an engineer who had studied the American isthmus, protested strongly at this trend. He understood the topography at Nicaragua and how its large natural lake, 105.5 feet high, would contribute toward construction of a canal at that location. He knew the surface features at Panama—the Continental Divide about 10 miles from the Pacific, the torrential Chagres River flowing into the Atlantic, and the smaller Rio Grande into the Pacific, both through valleys suitable for the formation of lakes. He emphasized the key problems at Panama as the control of the Chagres River and excavation of Culebra cut, recognized the lake idea as offering the best solution, and proposed a "practical" plan for building the Panama Canal. It called for a dam at Gatun and another at Miraflores, or as close to the seas as the configuration of the land permitted, letting the waters rise to form two lakes about 80 feet high, joining the lakes by cutting across the Continental Divide, and connecting them with the oceans by locks. This design, he explained, was not only best for engineering but also most advantageous for navigation.

Unfortunately for the French, De Lépinay's idea was ignored. His conception, however, and its dramatic presentation before the Paris Congress of 1879, established him as an architectural and engineering genius and the originator of the plan from which the Panama Canal was eventually built.

The French Panama Canal Company, despite De Lépinay's timely warning, launched upon its ill-fated undertaking. Ten years later, in 1889, its effort collapsed due to a combination of bankruptcy, lack of planning and disease. In France, it resulted in a sensational financial scandal. Yet, before failing, the company, to save money and time, was forced to change its plans from sea-level to a high-level lock type.

Reorganized in 1894 as the New Panama Canal Company, its officers realized that their only chance of assuring any return on the investment was to hold on until the United States could be induced to take control. Thus until 1904 they limited their activities to technical studies and such excavation as were required to protect the concession from Colombia. The total French excavation was 78,146,960 cubic yards of material, of which 29,908,000 were later useful to the United States.

3. U.S. policy, 1850–81: With active canal endeavors temporarily checked by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and transit facilities met by the Panama Railroad, U.S. efforts were generally restricted to exploration. It was not until Gen. Ulysses S. Grant became President in 1869 that major interest revived, with extensive naval exploring expeditions starting in 1870 and covering the more important canal sites.

With the objective of securing the best type of canal at the best site, and at least expense, the reports of these expeditions were reviewed by the first U.S. Interoceanic Canal Commission, 1872–76, consisting of Brig. Gen. Andrew A. Humphries, Chief of U.S. Army Engineers; C. P. Patterson, U.S. Coast Survey; and Commodore Daniel Ammen, Chief of the Bureau of Navigation of the Navy. Reporting to President Grant on February 7, 1876, the commission was unanimous in recommending a Nicaragua canal starting on the Atlantic side near Greytown, following the San Juan River to Lake Nicaragua, through the lake, and thence across the land to Brito. Thus, the United States became definitely committed to the Nicaragua route, then complicated by British control of its eastern terminus through their protectorate over the Mosquito kingdom.

Viewing an isthmian canal as "virtually a part of the coastline of the United States" and alarmed by the energetic measures taken by French interests at Panama, U.S. leaders determined to change American policy. This attitude found expression on March 8, 1880, when the Select Committee on Interoceanic Canals of the House of Representatives recommended a resolution by the Congress declaring that any form of protectorate on this continent was contrary to the Monroe Doctrine (q.v.), that the United States asserts and maintains its right to possess and control any artificial means of isthmian transit, and that the President be requested to take steps to abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. This objective was supported by former President Grant, who, in February 1881, publicly commended "an American canal, on American soil, to the American people."

4. Isthmian Canal Commission, 1879–1901: The French failure in 1889 rendered the canal situation less acute, requiring a new crisis to dramatize the issue. This was supplied by the historic voyage of the U.S.S. *Oregon* during the Spanish-American War in 1898, which emphasized the need for an isthmian canal. The result was that President William McKinley, in 1899, appointed an Isthmian Canal Commission, with Rear Adm. John G. Walker, U.S. Navy, retired, as president, to investigate all canal routes, particularly Nicaragua and Panama, and to recommend the most practicable.

In its first report on November 16, 1901, the Commission estimated the cost of a Nicaragua canal at $189,846,062, and Panama at $144,233,358; and the value of the French holdings at $40 million. But as the French company was demanding $109,141,500 for its property, the total estimate for Panama was $253,374,858. Because of the excess cost for a canal at Panama, it recommended Nicaragua as the only practicable route.

5. U.S. diplomacy, 1901–03: Meanwhile, the U.S. Government, under the leadership of Secretary of State John Hay, negotiated with Great Britain the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of November 18, 1901, which superseded the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and recognized the exclusive right of the United States to construct, regulate, and manage any isthmian canal. It further adopted the principal points in the Convention of Constantinople (1888) for the Suez Canal as rules for the operation and neutralization of the American canal. These rules provided that the canal should be free and open to vessels of commerce and of war of all nations on

terms of entire equality, with tolls that were just and equitable. The United States was also authorized to protect the canal against lawlessness and disorder.

The New Panama Canal Company in Paris, reacting to the Commission's recommendation for Nicaragua, on January 9, 1902, cabled Admiral Walker its readiness to accept the U.S. offer of $40 million for its holdings. Thereupon the Commission, in a supplementary report on January 18, 1902, canceled its first recommendation and recommended Panama as the most practicable and feasible route for an isthmian canal. Describing the previous concessions from Colombia as unsatisfactory and insufficient, the Commission emphasized the necessity for obtaining in perpetuity the grant of a sufficient strip of territory across the isthmus for canal purposes. Promptly transmitted to the Congress by President Theodore Roosevelt, the new recommendation started a memorable debate in the Congress known as the "battle of the routes." Out of it came the basic law for construction of the Panama Canal approved June 28, 1902, known as the Spooner Act.

This law authorized the President to acquire all French holdings including its Panama railroad stock at a cost not exceeding $40 million, to obtain from Colombia perpetual control of a strip of land for the maintenance, operation and protection of the Panama Canal and Railroad, and then, through the Isthmian Canal Commission, to construct the Panama Canal. The type contemplated by the act was high-level, with Atlantic locks and dams at Bohio to form a Lake Bohio. Provision was also made that in event of failure to obtain an adequate treaty within a reasonable time, the President should proceed with construction of a Nicaragua canal.

In harmony with the act, Tomás Herrán, Colombian chargé d'affaires in Washington, after many months of arduous labor, succeeded in negotiating a most favorable treaty for his country—the Hay-Herrán Treaty of January 22, 1903, which was ratified by the U.S. Senate on March 17, 1903.

Unfortunately, this treaty became involved politically in Bogotá. The Colombian senate, called into special session on June 20, 1903, for its ratification, rejected the treaty against urgent pleadings by Herrán in Washington and U.S. Minister Arthur M. Beaupré in Bogotá.

The Panama revolution, 1903: Panamanian leaders, fearing that after all Panama might still lose the canal to Nicaragua, determined to avert that possibility. A Panamanian agent was then dispatched to Washington to obtain promise of help for a plan of revolt. While no promise was given, the warship U.S.S. *Nashville* appeared at Colón on November 2, 1903. On the following day an uprising occurred, Colombian troops were prevented from crossing the isthmus to put down the rebellion and independence was proclaimed under the leadership of Manuel Amador. It was recognized, first by the United States, second by France, and soon afterward by other countries.

Then followed negotiation of the second basic canal convention, the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of November 18, 1903, with Panama instead of Colombia. By this treaty, in harmony with the Spooner Act, United States was granted in perpetuity exclusive use, occupation and control of the Canal Zone. Significantly the United States could exercise all sovereign powers to the entire exclusion of the exercise of such powers by Panama. That country was to receive $10 million in cash and a $250,000 annuity to begin 9 years after ratification of the agreement. The proclamation of this treaty on February 26, 1904, sealed the choice of the Panama route.

A few days later, on March 8, 1904, President Roosevelt recognized the contributions of Admiral Walker by appointing him as the first chairman of the first Isthmian Canal Commission for the construction of the Panama Canal. One member, Maj. Gen. George W. Davis, U.S. Army (retired), was the first Governor of the Canal Zone. John F. Wallace, a leading railroad engineer, not experienced in "frontier" work, was chosen as the first chief engineer.

The Canal Zone was formally acquired on May 4, 1904—a day subsequently celebrated annually in the zone as Acquisition Day.

6. Building the canal, 1904–14: Work under the United States started haltingly. Because of public clamor to "make the dirt fly," the commission weakened in its stand for thorough and comprehensive preparation and started work without proper equipment or plans. Though valuable time was thus lost, the commission made important contributions. It organized the Canal Zone Government, started sanitation under the supervision of William Crawford Gorgas (q.v.), and recruited the nucleus of an engineering and construction force.

Resigning on March 30, 1905, the Walker commission was succeeded by a new one headed by Theodore P. Shonts, a prominent railroad executive, with Wallace continuing as chief engineer. Though for a time conditions improved, Wallace, on June 26, 1905, suddenly resigned, throwing the working forces into confusion.

Battle of the levels, 1904–06: Of the difficulties of this period the gravest was increasing uncertainty as to the type of canal that should be built—the high-level lock type contemplated by the Spooner Act or a canal at sea level as had been suggested by Wallace in 1904.

Fortunately, President Roosevelt selected a great railroad builder, executive, and explorer, John F. Stevens, as the new chief engineer. Stevens' qualifications were unique. He had read everything available on the Panama Canal since the time of Philip II, discovered Marias pass in Montana, built railroads in the Rocky Mountains and supervised open mining operations in Minnesota. Thus, he had observed what occurs when the delicate balances of nature are upset, understood the hazards of cutting a ship channel through mountains, and was experienced in personnel and construction problems in undeveloped terrain.

Arriving on the isthmus on July 25, 1905, at a time of chaos, he rescued the project from possible disaster. He promptly provided housing for employees, established commissaries, adopted sanitation measures, ordered equipment and double-tracked the Panama Railroad. After planning the transportation system for the Culebra cut excavation and for relocation of the railroad to higher ground on the east side of the Canal, moving the Atlantic locks site from Bohio to Gatun to form Gatun Lake, recruiting competent leaders and forming the organization for building the Panama Canal, he found progress hampered because of delay on the decision as to type of canal, then being considered by an International Board of Consulting Engineers, of which General Davis was chairman.

In its report of January 10, 1906, this Board split—the majority of eight members headed by General Davis and including five Europeans, voting for sea level; and the minority, five Americans (Alfred Noble, Henry L. Abbot, Frederic P. Stearns, Joseph Ripley, and Isham Randolph), voting for the lock type.

The controlling features of the lock plan recommended by the minority were a dam at Gatun creating Gatun Lake 85 feet high as the summit level of Culebra Cut. Parallel flight locks were to be provided: three lifts at Gatun, one lift at Pedro Miguel, and two lifts at Sosa Hill, the last two sets being separated by an intermediate Sosa Lake. Though of different lock arrangement, this plan was the same type as recommended in 1901 by the Walker Commission.

Testifying before congressional committees in Washington in January and June 1906. and using the De Lépinay arguments of 1879, Stevens supported the high-level plan with a conviction that no one could shake, and strongly opposed the sea-level plan recommended by the majority of the International Board of Consulting Engineers. In the end, with the support of President Roosevelt. Secretary of War Taft, and the Isthmian Canal Commission, the views of Stevens prevailed against strenuous opposition concerned primarily with questions of "vulnerability." Congress, by act approved June 29, 1906, adopted the high-level lake and lock plan as proposed by the minority. This was the great decision in building the Panama Canal.

The transit since 1914, in both peace and war, of thousands of vessels of various types, completely establishes the wisdom of that decision. It secured for Stevens, who was mainly responsible for bringing it about, great fame as the basic architect of the Panama Canal. This fact was recognized in October 1962 at the time of the opening of the Thatcher Ferry Bridge by the dedication of a handsome memorial honoring the great engineer.

Pacific lock operation question, 1906–08: Though the high-level plan, as approved by the minority of the International Board of Consulting Engineers, placed all Atlantic locks at Gatun it divided the Pacific locks into two sets. Stevens, early in 1906 before adoption by Congress of the minority report, recognized the Pacific lock arrangement as faulty and recommended consolidation as a needed change.

Eventually, on August 3, 1906, Stevens approved a plan placing all Pacific locks in three lifts south of Miraflores with the terminal dam and locks between two hills, Cerro Aguadulce on the west side of the sea-level section of the canal and Cerro de Puente on the east side, a location later recognized by Lt. Col. George W. Goethals as offering the best site. This arrangement would have enabled lake-level navigation from the Atlantic locks to the Pacific, with a summit level anchorage at the Pacific end of the canal.

Regrettably, Stevens was under great pressure to start active construction. Advocates of the sea-level proposal, stung by their defeat in Congress, and also opponents of any canal at all, were ready to take advantage of any change in the approved program as evidence of weakness in the high-level plan. Together, these two forces represented a political and economic power that could not be ignored.

Stevens' foundation investigations, necessarily made in haste, proved unsatisfactory, and he did not dare to jeopardize the project by further delay. On August 23, 1906, apparently confident that this important question would rise again, he voided his plan but retained it on file, and proceeded with the approved plan for separating the Pacific locks, which he did not personally favor.

Later, after Stevens left canal service, Maj. William L. Sibert, a member of the Commission with a keen appreciation of marine needs in the design of navigational works, made more extensive explorations. Finding adequate foundations, he, likewise, on January 31, 1908, recommended the consolidation of all Pacific locks in three lifts at Miraflores to provide a Pacific terminal lake, but his well-reasoned proposal was not approved, and the canal was completed with two sets of Pacific locks, separated by Miraflores Lake.

Construction and completion, 1907–14: With canal type decided, construction organization effected, and a greater part of the plant installed by July 1906, real progress started. Thus, Stevens was able to assure the press in 1906 that the canal would be completed in 1914 and formally opened by January 1, 1915.

On January 30, 1907, after having brought design and construction to a point where work was in "full swing" and success a certainty, Stevens submitted his resignation to the President. Despite that action, however, Roosevelt, on March 4, 1907, in recognition of his tremendous contributions, appointed him as Chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission, making Stevens the first to hold the combined positions of Chairman and Chief Engineer.

Stevens was succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel Goethals, an outstanding Army engineer, who, with his associates, civilian as well as military, ably brought the project to completion substantially in accord with the Stevens plan. Such changes as were made, though important, were nonbasic. These included widening the bottom of Culebra Cut from 200 to 300 feet, increasing usable lock dimensions to a width of 110 feet and length of 1,000 feet, with a depth to permit passage of ships drawing 40 feet in salt water, rerouting the Panama Railroad around Gold Hill, relocation of locks from Sosa Hill to Miraflores, and redesign of Gatun Dam.

Other members of the Isthmian Canal Commission on April 1, 1907, were Maj. David D. Gaillard, Major Sibert, naval civil engineer Harry H. Rousseau, Lt. Col. William C. Gorgas, Jackson Smith, and J. C. S. Blackburn. Later changes included Lt. Col. H. F. Hodges (1908–14) to succeed Smith, Maurice H. Thatcher (1910–13) to succeed Blackburn, and Richard L. Metcalf (1913–14) to succeed Thatcher. Gaillard died on December 5, 1913, without a successor.

The building of the Panama Canal, one of the greatest engineering feats in the world, was indeed a monumental and unprecedented achievement. Its subsequent success, in both peace and war, entitle all who, in significant manner, participated in its planning, construction, sanitation, and civil administration, to highest honor. The canal was opened to traffic on August 15, 1914.

7. Principal engineering and construction projects after 1914: The Isthmian Canal Commission, abolished on April 1, 1914, was succeeded by a highly centralized permanent operating organization authorized by the Panama Canal Act of 1912, known simply as the Panama Canal. Though free, under the law, to choose the Governor from any source, President Woodrow Wilson, in recognition of the services of Colonel Goethals, appointed him as the first Governor of the Panama Canal.

The canal was launched into its era of operations under Governor Goethals, who served until late 1916 after the early slide crises. Goethals chose his principal engineer assistant as his successor and established a tradition of succession by advancement that lasted until 1952.

Madden Dam and power project, 1919–35: Faced with the problems of an unusually dry season, 1919–20, requiring conservation of water for lockages and maintenance of channel depths, and later by a great flood in 1923, endangering the waterway, together with growing traffic, Congress authorized the first important step toward increasing canal capacity, the Madden Dam and power project. Completed in 1935, it provided more water for lockages, controlled floods, improved navigation, and supplied additional power.

Third locks project, 1939–42: The second step toward greater capacity was for a third set of locks. Because of naval needs, in the critical period preceding World War II, Congress, on administrative recommendations, authorized the third locks project, at a cost not to exceed $277 million. The proposed layout contemplated a new set of larger locks, 1,200 feet long and 140 foot wide with 45 feet navigable depth, near each of the existing locks but at some distance away with the new locks joined with existing channels by means of bypass channels. At the Atlantic end, the project duplicated existing arrangements. At the Pacific end, however, the proposed channel, in addition to duplicating its faulty layout, contained three sharp bends of 29, 47, and 37 degrees in succession from north to south.

Work started in 1940 and was pushed vigorously until suspended by the Secretary of War in May 1942, because of shortage of ships and materials more urgently needed elsewhere for war purposes. No excavation was accomplished at Pedro Miguel; that at Gatun and Miraflores was substantially completed. About $75 million was expended.

Terminal Lake—third locks plan, 1942–43: Fortunately, suspension of work on the Third Locks project occurred while there was still time for canal officials to reexamine it in the light of needs demonstrated by war operating experience. These studies served to emphasize that the separation of the Pacific locks and failure to provide a summit-level lake at the Pacific terminus were fundamental errors of design, with Pedro Miguel locks as the principal obstruction to optimum canal operating conditions.

Out of the studies, including an evaluation of the sea-level idea, grew what proved to be the first comprehensive proposal for the economic increase of capacity and operational improvement of the Panama Canal—the Terminal Lake-third locks plan. It proposed the physical removal of Pedro Miguel locks, consolidation of all Pacific locks near Aguadulce, elevation of the intermediate Miraflores Lake water level from 54 feet to that of Gatun Lake to create a summit-level anchorage at the Pacific end of the canal to match, as far as possible, that in the Atlantic end. It would also include raising the summit level to its highest feasible height of approximately 92 feet, enlarging Gaillard cut and constructing a set of larger locks. Essentially, this was the same plan originated by De Lépinay, and later recommended by Stevens and Sibert.

Officially submitted and publicly presented in the Canal Zone, it aroused wide interest among engineers and maritime agencies, including the Secretary of the Navy, who on September 7, 1943, submitted it to the President. Soon after, in 1944, it was approved in principle by the Governor of the Panama Canal and recommended to the Secretary of War for thorough investigation, and later, in 1945, it was approved in general before the Congress by a succeeding Governor for the major modification of the existing waterway in preference to completing the original Third Lock project. A 1949 congressional investigation reported that it could be accomplished at comparatively low cost.

The Terminal Lake-third locks plan, being an enlargement of the existing facilities that does not call for additional land or waters, is covered by current canal treaties and does not require negotiation of a new one, a paramount diplomatic consideration.

Sea-level plan, 1945–47: The spectacular advent of the atomic bomb in 1945 injected new elements into the canal picture. At the request of Canal Zone authorities, Congress enacted public law 280, 79th Congress, approved December 28, 1945, authorizing the Governor of the Panama Canal to make a comprehensive investigation of the means for increasing its capacity and security to meet future needs for interoceanic commerce and national defense, including consideration of canals at other locations. This was the first time the terms "security" and "national defense" had been embodied in any Panama Canal statute.

The report of the inquiry with security and national defense as paramount considerations, recommended only the sea-level plan for major canal construction, initially estimated in 1947 to cost $2,483 million, a figure later substantially increased. Though the report covered the Terminal Lake-Third Locks plan, which it did not recommend, it offered a relatively minor program for improvement of present installations as a preferred alternative to the major operational improvement of the existing waterway as recommended in 1943 by the Secretary of the Navy.

With the exception of the two canal terminals, the 1947 sea-level plan would provide a virtually new Panama Canal of 60 feet minimum depth in navigation lanes and of 600 feet width between sloping sides at a depth of 40 feet on a new alinement somewhat removed from the present channel. The plan also provides a tidal lock (200 by 1,500 feet) and a navigable pass at the Pacific end, many miles of flood control dams on both sides of the projected canal, diversion channels, and spillways. Some of its features are not covered by current international conventions and would require a new treaty with Panama, with further concessions, attendant indemnity, and increased annuity charges.

The report of the investigation failed to receive Presidential approval. Transmitted to the Congress on December 1, 1947, without comment or recommendation, its submission, however, led to a recurrence of the 1902 and 1906 debates over route and type with almost identical arguments, but on the basis of the newer term, "security," rather than the old term, "vulnerability."

In voluminous discussions, many leading engineers, nuclear scientists, and other experts challenged the assumptions on which the principal 1947 recommendations and estimates rested. The Congress took no action until 1957, when an independent inquiry into the entire subject of increased facilities for interocean transit was authorized and a special board of consultants appointed.

Its final report of June 1960 included estimates for the Terminal Lake-third locks plan ($1,020,900,000) and the sea-level plan ($2,537 million) exclusive of any Panamanian indemnity. The board emphasized that the sea-level plan would present many constructional problems including interruption to traffic. A plan for a lake and lock canal at Nicaragua ($4,095 million) as an alternate route was submitted without definite recommendation. This report, otherwise inconclusive, recommended that the entire canal situation be reviewed in 1970 or earlier if warranted. The Congress, on administrative request, by act approved September 22, 1964 (78 Stat. 990), authorized further investigations to determine the feasibility and most suitable site for a canal at sea level between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

Meanwhile, the 1947 report served to focus governmental attention on administrative problems of the Panama Canal.

8. Reorganization and policy determination: On June 30, 1948, the Panama Railroad Company was reincorporated as a Federal corporation and, on February 28, 1949, the House of Representatives authorized an investigation into the organization and financial aspects of the Panama Canal enterprise.

All recommendations growing out of this inquiry were implemented except that for transfer of responsibility for canal supervision from the Secretary of the Army to the Secretary of Commerce, which the President delayed for further study. The resulting act of Congress, Public Law 841, 81st Congress, approved September 26, 1950, known as the Thompson Act, created the Panama Canal Company and the Canal Zone Government. Effective July 1, 1951, the act started major administrative changes, including a break in 1952 in the traditional selection for appointment as Governor. The law requires that transit tolls be established at rates to place the canal enterprise on a self-sustaining basis, a fundamental principle in canal policy with far-reaching implications for its future. (M. DuV.)

9. Panama-United States relations: Because of the previous history of Panama as a land of endemic revolution, the framers of the 1903 treaty, in order to guarantee political stability essential for future efficient operations of the waterway, insisted on its perpetuity, sovereignty and protective clauses. Subsequent events fully substantiated the wisdom of these 1903 treaty provisions, which remain largely unchanged. The canal was no sooner opened to traffic in August 1914, than the United States applied another provision of this treaty, that of obtaining additional lands. During World War I, in which Panama participated, the United States took possession of several areas of land, and in 1919 acquired a group of islands. Friction over this and other issues led to an attempt in 1926 to revise the convention of 1903, but Panama refused to sign any agreement. The attempt was renewed in October 1933, when President Harmodio Arias conferred in Washington with the U.S. President. Their basic agreement was refined and incorporated in four treaties, signed March 2, 1936. At the insistence of Panama, the United States was relieved of the obligation to guarantee the independence of the Republic and renounced the right to acquire any additional lands and waters outside the Canal Zone. By limiting the use of the zone commissaries to persons employed on the canal and the railroad, the negotiators sought to dissipate a long-standing grievance. It was agreed that Panama was to operate port facilities at Colón and Panama City, that equal opportunities between Panamanian and American employees should be observed, and that the United States should increase the annuity from $250,000 to $430,000. Agreement was also reached on constructing a transisthmian highway. The weakening of the diplomatic structure was further advanced in the 1955 Eisenhower-Remón treaty, which provided for the annual U.S. payment to Panama to be increased to $1,930,000, for equal pay for equal work to Panamanians and United States citizens (effective 1958), and for Panamanian concerns to be placed on an equal footing with U.S. companies in contract bidding; the United States obtained a 15-year lease for a military base at Rio Hato. The effect of these treaties has been the withdrawal of canal activities to the limits of the Canal Zone and the curtailment of activities within the zone.

The policy of the Canal Zone authorities in the ensuing years was to improve the living conditions of the Panamanians working in the zone and to make changes in the physical features of the canal that would benefit trade in general and Panama's well-being in particular. Among the new policies designed to improve the condition of Panamanian workers were equal wages for equal work, the establishment both of a minimum wage and a labor commission to hear disputes, and the making available of health and life insurance equally to Americans and Panamanians. Capital improvements included the enlargement of Gaillard cut to 500-foot width and 47-foot depth (not yet completed), the building of the Thatcher Ferry Bridge across the canal, the transfer of certain real estate properties to Panama, and the purchase of new towing locomotives.

But these changes lacked the emotional appeal that was attached to the display of the Panamanian flag. In 1958 and in 1959 the Canal Zone was invaded by Panamanians intent on raising their flag there, and in the latter year their attempt was turned back with injuries. President Eisenhower reviewed the Panamanian claim with sympathy, and in 1960 agreed to the raising of the Panamanian emblem at one point in the Canal Zone as evidence of titular sovereignty (never defined). From this beginning the United States made further concessions until the two flags were displayed almost equally.

A dispute over this very concession between Panamanian and U.S. students at the Balboa High School on January 9, 1964, caused considerable deterioration in relations between the two countries. The subsequent mob assaults on the Canal Zone produced a number of deaths, injuries by the score, and great property damage, requiring the use of U.S. Army units and a temporary replacement of civilian by military rule in the zone. The U.S. Embassy was evacuated, and many Americans left their homes for the sanctuary of the Canal Zone. Normal diplomatic relations were restored on April 3.

During the weeks of discussion the economy of Panama suffered. Trade between the Canal Zone and Panama declined; investment capital was less available; credit became tight and tourism almost ceased. On the other hand, the canal continued to operate without interruption. The enlargement of the Gaillard cut was not slowed down, the new towing locomotives began to arrive, and, of more immediate importance, the illumination of the locks promised to extend the hours of transit.

(See Panama: History for further aspects of Panama-United States relations; see also references under "Panama Canal" in the index.)

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WHO IS THE "WRONG-WAY CORRIGAN" AT OEO?

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL], is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, the Job Corps has been under fire for its superficial and inadequate testing, evaluation, and screening of applicants. It is the conviction of many of us that, at an average cost in excess of $8,000 per enrollee, assignment to a Job Corps camp should be based upon careful professional evaluation.

While constructive critics have been urging Job Corps officials to tighten up recruitment procedures, Job Corps officials have launched a series of new and experimental procedures that might well be called "Blind Man's Bluff."

All of the recruitment gimmicks have the purpose of speeding up the processing time and funneling applicants into Job Corps camps on a crash basis. One experiment, designed to enroll roughly 3,700 applicants, has been the waiver of the medical examination of applicants between April 14 and May 7.

As one recruitment announcement advertised, those who apply prior to May 7 "will not need a physical examination if they are in good health." How does OEO intend to determine an applicant's health unless he has been examined by a physician?

Other recruitment programs guarantee that Job Corps applicants will be sent to a camp within 24 hours after signing up, 3 days after signing up, 5 days after signing up, or 10 days after signing up. Whether the process takes 24 hours or 10 days seems to be determined by the area of the country the applicant comes from.

Mr. Speaker, how are these high-powered public relations devices going to improve the haphazard screening procedures that have caused so many problems in Job Corps camps? How are criminal records to be determined and analyzed for proper applicant assignment? How are epidemics of communicable diseases to be avoided at Job Corps centers? Why the assembly line, supermarket approach at this stage?

Mr. Speaker, poverty officials earlier indicated they had 152,000 applicants for the Job Corps and could not take care of them all. Four hundred and thirty-five thousand Li'l Abner comic books, designed to stimulate Job Corps applications, are gathering dust in a warehouse at taxpayers' expense. One of the reasons given for shelving the comic book approach was a backlog of Job Corps applicants. With a backlog of applicants, OEO launches a series of all-out recruitment programs. The poverty question of the day is, "Who Is the 'Wrong-Way Corrigan' at OEO?"

LI'L ABNER COMES TO WASHINGTON—AND STAYS—OR WHAT'S NEW IN DOGPATCH?

The OEO has gone from the sublime to the ridiculous. The war on poverty now has a comic book stockpile.

In 1964, OEO officials were scratching their heads over how to mass produce Job Corps recruits. Like a Mammy Yokum vision, inspiration struck—have one of America's most popular and creative comic strip artists, Al Capp, produce a comic book to promote the Job Corps. By June 1965, 501,000 copies of "Li'l Abner and the Creatures From Drop-Outer Space" were ready. With typical fuddle factory fanfare, OEO Information Chief Holmes Brown announced the book donated by Al Capp was valued by OEO at between $150,000 and $200,000. OEO personnel were thrilled and excited over Capp's creative contribution. Printing costs were $25,000. Cards were included in the books to be mailed by applicants to the Job Corps.

Then the winds began to change at OEO, Mr. Speaker. Rumor has it that a highly placed psychologist at OEO felt that distribution of books with cards enclosed amounted to pressuring youths into Job Corps enrollment. Some sages at OEO felt the story portrayed in the comic book was controversial and characters did not fit OEO's image. Besides, how were they going to code, screen, and mail to employment officers all the card applications? Nobody in the great Dogpatch on the Potomac, OEO, had thought of that before they printed half a million books.

Since July 1965, 435,000 Li'l Abner comic books have been gathering dust in Washington warehouses at a cost of $125 a month. We are longtime admirers of Li'l Abner and the genius of his creator, but we think even Dogpatch's Senator Phoghorn would demand some answers. Why does OEO continue to stockpile laughs while the taxpayer and the poor cry?

Some years ago the beloved Will Rogers remarked that every time Congress made a joke it was a law, and every time it made a law it was a joke. Mr. Speaker, "it ain't amoozin', it's confoozin'."

CONGRESS DERAILS L.B.J. PLANS TO SCUTTLE SCHOOL LUNCH

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK], is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the action of the Appropriations Committee last week in restoring the school lunch program and the action of the entire House today in ratifying this action is indeed good news to thousands of school personnel, parents, and taxpayers in my district. No issue has elicited more mail than the effort of the Johnson administration to slash four-fifths of the school milk program or a budget cut of $82 million which would spell the end of that worthwhile program. Hundreds of citizens have written to their Congressman and in the scores of meetings I have had with my constitutents back home, this has been one of the first issues that they bring up.

The school lunch program is one program which has operated efficiently and without burdensome redtape and controls. The school lunch program had a threatened $216 million cut which we have countered.

While these actions mark at least a temporary victory, the strange spectacle of cutting where it hurts continues. Only this morning, I voted on our Education and Labor subcommittee to knock out the President's plans to scuttle the National Defense Education Act student loan provisions for college students. One cannot help but wonder why good programs such as this are the target of so-called economy drives which are not directed against wasteful and overlapping programs in other departments.

I want to commend my colleagues on the other side of the aisle who put program above politics and joined those of us in the minority who opposed this Johnson administration effort at cutting a good program. This should serve notice to the President and the Bureau of the Budget that they will have to pick deserving areas for cuts and leave alone school lunch, research, student loans, extension service, and other programs which have worked so well in the past and have served the public in such an exemplary way.

THE NEGRO AND TITLE VII

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, this week the House will consider H.R. 10065, a bill to more effectively prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

In order that my colleagues can have as many facts as possible on the issues relating to fair employment, I am placing in the RECORD today "The Negro and Title VII," a pamphlet published in July 1965 by the Bureau of National Affairs.

"The Negro and Title VII" was the Bureau of National Affairs' survey No. 77 and was sponsored by the Bureau of National Affairs Personnel Policies Forum.

A survey was made through questionnaires of the personnel and industrial relations executives who make up BNA's Personnel Policies Forum to ascertain the practices in their companies regarding the recruitment, selection, placement, training and development of but one of the minority groups, specifically Negroes.

The results of the survey are described in this pamphlet, "The Negro and Title VII," and was based on replies from 140 executives of the forum. A list of the 1965–66 panelists, as well as a description of what the Personnel Policies Forum is, follow.

This survey, I am confident, will be of material assistance to my colleagues in enabling a more informed and thoughtful legislative judgment on the merits of H.R. 10065 which amends title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964:

WHAT IS THE PERSONNEL POLICIES FORUM?

The editors of the Bureau of National Affairs have invited representative personnel and industrial relations executives to become members of the 1965–66 panel of the Personnel Policies Forum. These panel members are top personnel officials in all types of companies, large and small, in all branches of industry and all sections of the country.

At regular intervals throughout the year Bureau of National Affairs editors ask the members of the panel to outline their policies and procedures on some important aspect of employment, industrial relations, and personnel problems. From these replies, the editors complete a survey report on the problem, showing prevailing practices, new wrinkles and ideas, and cross section opinion from these top-ranking executives.

In many cases, the comments, suggestions, and discussions are reproduced in the words of the panel members themselves. In effect, survey users are sitting around a table with these executives and getting their advice and experience on the major problems in this field facing all companies this year.

Results of each Personnel Policies Forum survey made during 1965–66 are printed in a special survey report which is sent, as part of the service, to users of these Bureau of National Affairs labor reports:

Labor relations reporter; labor policy and practice; daily labor report; white-collar report; retail labor report; and Government employee relations report.

THE 1965–66 PANEL

Northeastern States

Connecticut: S. H. Barber, General Electric Co., Plainville; James P. Counihan, Jr., Southern New England Telephone Co., New Haven; H. T. LeMay, Chandler-Evans Corp., West Hartford; C. H. Levey, Emhart Corp., Hartford; Eugene J. Shine, Plastic Wire & Cable Corp., Jewett City.

Delaware: Franklin B. Drumheller, National Vulcanized Fibre Co., Wilmington.

Massachusetts: Mrs. G. G. Burney, Sigma Instruments, Inc., Braintree; W. H. Eastman, John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co., Boston; Charles E. Hacking, Southwell Combing Co., North Chelmsford; A. H. Hardt, Mobil Oil Co., Boston.

New Jersey: William S. Bray, Continental Paper Co., Ridgefield Park; Eugene Cameron, Nopco Chemical Co., Newark; E. J. Dean, Jr., American Cyanamid Co., Wayne; James T. Dolan, Jr., New Jersey Natural Gas Co., Asbury Park; W. A. Foltz, Ingersoll-Rand Co., Phillipsburg; Paul S. Holbrook, Campbell Soup Co., Camden; O. D. Mann, Good Humor Corp., Englewood Cliffs; John J. McInerney, Frito-Lay, Inc., North Brunswick; L. W. Muth, Johnson & Johnson, New Brunswick; Kenneth E. Schweiger, Federal Pacific Electric Co., Newark; Lester E. Swavely, Jr., American Biltrite Rubber Co., Trenton.

New York: M. H. Bauman, Branch Motor Express Co., Brooklyn; Robert G. Belote, Rheem Manufacturing Co., New York; V. T. Buccilli, Art Steel Co., Inc., New York; E. O. Cole, Fairchild Camera & Instrument Corp., Syosset; John R. Corbett, American Smelting & Refining Co., New York; Richard S. Dean, Crowell-Collier Publishing Co., New York; Walter Denton, Rockefeller Center, Inc., New York; S. J. Eliser, American Oil Co., New York; Esmond B. Gardner, the Chase Manhattan Bank, New York; H. Harrow, the Welch Grape

Juice Co., Inc., Westfield; Andrew C. Hilton, Colt Industries, Inc., New York; Carl H. Horenburger, Seaboard World Airlines, Inc., Jamaica; J. R. Jansen, Cities Service Oil Co., Inc., New York; L. B. Keegan, American Sugar Co., New York; Louis A. Klos, United States Trust Co. of New York, New York; O. R. Lindner, Foster Refrigerator Corp., Hudson; Daniel McKnight, United Parcel Service, New York; Wallace Schneider, Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corp., New York; William H. Short, Jr., Stecher-Traung Lithography Corp., Rochester; W. P. Taylor, National Dairy Products Corp., New York; G. F. Truell, Graphic Controls Corp., Buffalo; Peter J. Wacks, Bell Aerosystems Co., Buffalo; Robert O. Wechtler, Neptune Meter Co., Long Island City.

Pennsylvania: Eli J. Adams, Lord Manufacturing Co., Erie; Robert E. Barnes, Rockwell Manufacturing Co., Uniontown; E. R. Brown, Koppers Co., Inc., Monaca; Gerald C. Burdick, Mesta Machine Co., Pittsburgh; Frank J. Buttner, United Gas Improvement Co., Philadelphia; Arnold F. Campo, International Salt Co., Clarks Summit; Robert G. Conrad, Standard Pressed Steel Co., Jenkintown; Raymond D. Davis, Baldwin-Lima-Hamilton Corp., Burnham; Philip T. Forsling, Magnetics, Inc., Butler; J. Frank Laird, Manufacturers Light & Heat Co., Pittsburgh; Fred Lewis, Union Mills Paper Manufacturing Co., New Hope; R. W. Murtaugh, West Penn Power Co., Greensburg; E. D. Riordan, the Crane Co., Johnstown; Winthrop T. Sargeant, the Beryllium Corp., Reading; A. W. Tramel, Philco Corp., Philadelphia; I. A. Varraus, Sharon Steel Co., Sharon; Thom Williams, Bovaird & Seyfang Manufacturing Co., Bradford.

Southern States

Alabama: James D. Lilley, Alabama Dry Dock & Shipbuilding Co., Mobile.

Arkansas: James W. Ault, D. H. Baldwin Co., Little Rock; Robert A. Bachmann, Daisy Manufacturing Co., Rogers; Burney W. Stinson, Dow Smith, Inc., Little Rock.

District of Columbia: Charles R. Weaver, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association; J. R. Wilson, Page Communications Engineers, Inc.

Florida: Mrs. Doreen Bobet, Lakeland General Hospital, Lakeland; C. W. Freeman, Honeywell, Inc., St. Petersburg; Niles F. McLaud, GEO Space Corp., Melbourne; Gilbert O. Pletts, Ryder Truck Rental, Inc., Miami.

Georgia: Ernest F. Boyce, Colonial Stores, Inc., Atlanta; Hoyt E. Crane, Jr., American Home Products Corp., Chamblee; J. C. Hogue, Brunswick Corp., Albany; William E. Lloyd, Great Southern Land & Paper Co., Cedar Springs; H. H. Long, Plantation Pipeline Co., Atlanta.

Kentucky: B. A. Easton, International Business Machines Corp, Lexington; James L. Jennings, Modine Manufacturing Co., Paducah; Henry J. Kleinholter, H. J. Scheirich Co., Louisville; Robert W. Moore, the Harshaw Chemical Co., Louisville.

Louisiana: A. N. Smith, Shell Chemical Co., Norco; R. O. Wheeler, Gulf States Utilities Co., Baton Rouge.

Maryland: R. Donald Armiger, Jr., Vitro Corporation of America, Silver Spring; William Doppstadt, ACF Industries, Inc., Riverdale; A. H. Ford, Bendix Field Engineering Corp., Owings Mills; J. E. Weer, the Baugh Chemical Co., Baltimore.

Mississippi: E. F. LaBerge, Masonite Corp., Laurel.

North Carolina: Charles W. Johnson, Broyhill Furniture Factories, Lenoir.

Oklahoma: Donald B. Camblin, Continental Oil Co., Ponca City; E. W. Harper, Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co., Oklahoma City; Kenneth G. Willis, American Airlines, Inc., Tulsa.

Puerto Rico: Enrique Irizarry, Jr., Puerto Rican Cement Co., Inc., Ponce; R. A. Orellana, Puerto Rico Telephone Co., San Juan; Rafael Rodriguez, Bacardi Corp., San Juan.

South Carolina: Henry G. Reriot, Horsman Dolls, Inc., Columbia; Russell J. Sims, Fouke Fur Co., Greenville; J. A. Wilkerson, Bowaters Carolina Corp., Catawba.

Tennessee: W. C. Davis, Gates Rubber Co., Inc., Nashville; B. D. Sites, The Magnavox Co. of Tennessee, Greeneville; Lloyd N. Williams, Magnet Mills, Inc., Clinton.

Texas: D. P. Brockie, General Dynamics Corp., Fort Worth; R. L. Geiler, Columbia Gulf Transmission Co., Houston; Carter B. Goodwin, Marathon Oil Co., Texas City; Richard R. Pearcy, International Minerals & Chemical Corp., Houston; R. R. Smith, Armco Steel Corp., Houston; Jack T. Wright, Houston Chemical Corp., Beaumont.

Virginia: Stuart M. Elsberg, Drug Fair Inc., Alexandria; Merrill W. Hall, Research Analysis Corp., McLean; W. H. Rosch, Atlantic Research Corp., Alexandria.

West Virginia—Wayne T. Brooks, Wheeling Steel Corp., Wheeling; A. E. Lewis, Borg-Warner Corp., Washington.

Central States

Illinois: Richard J. Anderson, Industrial Filter & Pump Mfg. Co., Cicero; Ray Bjorklund, Sundstrand Corp., Rockford; James Boetter, The H. M. Harper Co., Morton Grove; Robert M. Boyles, Midwest Rubber Reclaiming Co., East St. Louis; Milton H. Brown, Caterpillar Tractor Co., Peoria; John E. Class, Sweetheart Cup Corp., Chicago; David H. Cornelison, Lever Brothers Co., Chicago; John W. Dan, Schnadig Corp., Chicago; R. M. Erlanson, Anchor Brush Co., Aurora; M. D. Gentry, General Portland Cement Co., Chicago; A. Richard Gross, Thomason Newspapers, Inc., Des Plaines; J. M. Hopper, The Pure Oil Co., Palatine; John R. Hundley, Granite City Steel Co., Granite City; Ruel F. Lehman, Jr., The Peoples Gas Light & Coke Co., Chicago; Berk Luhmann, General Telephone Directory Co., Des Plaines; James A. Mann, Wyman-Gordon Co., Harvey; John Rank, Besly-Welles Corp., South Beloit; Roy Shay, A. E. Staley Mfg. Co., Decatur; E. D. Sukys, Sun Electric Corp., Chicago; R. H. Tenley, Penberthy Mfg. Co., Prophetstown; Thomas H. Young, Alton Box Board Co., Alton.

Indiana: Laurence E. Mullen, Sinclair Refining Co., East Chicago.

Kansas: Robert H. Ellis, Pacific Industries, Inc., Kansas City; J. E. Isaacs, Beech Aircraft Corp., Wichita.

Michigan: W. J. Bigham, Abitibi Corp., Alpena; E. J. Brankin, V–M Corp., Benton Harbor; K. C. Brown, Channing-Wolverine Cos., Battle Creek; G. Friedman, Soss Manufacturing Co., Detroit; Mr. Fay G. Knapp, Peerless Cement Co., Detroit; I. L. Malcolm, J. L. Hudson Co., Detroit; F. C. Peterson, The Dow Chemical Co., Midland; T. E. Rulison, The Wickes Corp., Saginaw; J. W. Williams, Rockwell-Standard Corp., Allegan.

Minnesota: David E. Babcock, Dayton's Department Store, Minneapolis; N. P. Goodrich, American Hoist & Derrick Co., St. Paul; K. M. Hargesheimer, Gopher Aviation, Inc., Rochester; Glenn Rausch, Thermo King Corp., Minneapolis.

Missouri: Lee B. Hawthorne, Jr., A. P. Green Fire Brick Co., Mexico; John W. Lehman, United Utilities, Inc., Kansas City; R. D. McGee, Walsh Refractories Corp., St. Louis; R. L. Middleton, Day-Brite Lighting Co., St. Louis; Max E. Thompson, Empire District Electric Co., Joplin; R. B. Waynne, Jr., Universal Match Corp., St. Louis.

Ohio: Albert J. Ball, Burndy Corp., Toledo; L. E. Bigler, the Aro Corp., Bryan; W. R. Boester, Cooper-Bessemer Corp., Mount Vernon; E. S. Bohlin, Carling Brewing Co., Cleveland; V. C. Borleff, the Yoder Co., Cleveland; Jack B. Bredt, the Glidden Co., Cleveland; R. D. Buol, the Western Automatic Machine Screw Co., Elyria; W. P. Carman, Titanium Metals Corp. of America, Toronto; M. F. Crotty, the Randall Co., Cincinnati; Malcom Daisley, Eaton Manufacturing Co., Cleveland; B. B. Deffenbaugh, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., Inc., Circleville, Andrew G. Egleston, Detroit Steel Corp., Portsmouth; C. G. Evans, the North American Coal Corp, Cleveland; F. A. Forsberg, the Ohio Bell Telephone Co., Cleveland; R. J. Franklin, Fruehauf Trailer Co., Avon Lake; D. J. Hobbs, Mosler Safe Co., Hamilton; R. V. Mens, the De Vilbiss Co., Toledo; Robert G. Montgomery, Mount Carmel Hospital, Columbus; H. G. Mouser, Capital Finance Corp., Columbus; J. H. Peak, the Pfaudler Co., Elyria; R. L. Pflugner, the Wheelabrator Corp., Cincinnati; F. J. Smith, Jr., Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp., Hannibal; Richard W. Stitt, Stouffer Foods Corp., Cleveland; R. S. Wagner, the Dayton Tire & Rubber Co., Dayton; Harold H. Wegman; Champion Papers, Hamilton; Harold F. Young, Preformed Line Products Co., Cleveland.

Wisconsin: Roger H. Debenham, Gisholt Machine Co., Madison; Darrell D. Gust, Dairyland Power Cooperative, LaCrosse; D. W. Harris, A. O. Smith Corp., Milwaukee.

Western States

California: Herman Adcox, Continental Airlines, Inc., Los Angeles; J. M. Benning, Aerospace Corp., Los Angeles; H. D. Burchett, Beech-Nut Life Savers, Inc., San Jose; John C. Denney, Peterbilt Motors Co., Newark; F. J. Doherty, United States Plywood Corp., Redding; J. B. Flock, Lear Siegler, Inc., Anaheim; Paul C. Gordon, I.T.T. General Controls, Inc., Glendale; Charles M. Heath, Kaiser Steel Corp., Oakland; Thomas H. Hemer, Hunt Foods & Industries, Inc., Fullerton; William P. Hopkins, E. B. Wiggins, Inc., Los Angeles; Gould Hunter, Watkins-Johnson Co., Palo Alto; R. M. Jones, Carnation Co., Los Angeles; R. M. Koshland, Levi Strauss & Co., San Francisco; W. O. McCarthy, Herald Examiner, Los Angeles; R. J. Micheletti, Diamond Properties, Inc., San Francisco; Herschel A. Phillips, Rexall Drug & Chemical Co., Los Angeles; E. G. Rippier, International Harvester Co., San Diego; Donald A. Strauss, Beckman Instruments, Inc., Fullerton; T. F. Sullivan, Richfield Oil Corp., Los Angeles; Allan Tanner, the Akron, Los Angeles; R. C. Thumann, Fibreboard Paper Products Corp. San Francisco; Emmett P. Ward, Paramount Pictures Corp., Hollywood; C. A. Wooten, Data Products Corp., Culver City.

Colorado: Russell C. Hargis, Adolph Coors Co., Golden; Daniel F. Looney, Alexander Film Co., Colorado Springs; Hugh Matlock, Climax Molybdenum Co., Climax.

Nebraska: Gerry Whiting, Northern Natural Gas Co., Omaha.

Nevada: J. K. Van Buskirk, Edgerton, Germeshausen & Grier, Inc., Las Vegas.

Oregon: Richard T. Walker, Tektronix, Inc., Beaverton.

Utah: S. R. Carpenter, First Security Corp., Salt Lake City.

Washington: Roscoe Boone, the Boeing Co., Seattle; Fred Bradshaw, Rayonier, Inc., Hoquiam; Earl P. Johnson, Marshall Field & Co., Seattle; J. L. Rondeau, Puget Sound Bridge & Dry Dock Co., Seattle; Worth M. Taylor, Pacific Northwest Bell Telephone Co., Seattle.

THE NEGRO AND TITLE VII

INTRODUCTION

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is now in effect. It's designed to insure equal employment opportunity to all persons regardless of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Its principal provisions for employers are those which make it unlawful to fail or refuse to hire, or to discharge or otherwise discriminate against, any individual with respect to compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Shortly before the effective date of the Civil Rights Act (July 2, 1965), the editors of Bureau of National Affairs decided to send a questionnaire to personnel and industrial relations executives who make up BNA's personnel policies forum to find out the practices in their companies regarding the recruitment, selection, placement, training, and development of but one of the minority groups, specifically, Negroes. The information that follows is based on replies received from 140 executives on the forum. In the survey, first in the 1965 series, "larger" company refers to one with over 1,000 employees; "smaller" company, to one with 1,000 or fewer employees.

Negroes are employed on a full-time basis in practically all forum companies. A much higher percentage of them, however, employ male Negroes than female Negroes; this is especially true in smaller companies, where over 9 in 10 of them employ Negro males, and less than half employ female Negroes.

What types of jobs are being held by Negroes in forum companies? They hold down blue-collar jobs in 94 percent of the companies, white-collar jobs in just over 7 in 10 companies. A third of the companies have Negroes employed as foremen or first line supervisors and nearly the same percentage have them working in middle management or executive positions. Negroes are employed in scientific, professional, or technical positions in exactly two in five forum companies.

The percentage of Negroes in the work force is less than many would expect. When asked what percentage of their companies' total work force is Negro, a sizable majority (58 percent) reported that it was 3.9 percent or less. Nearly 3 in 10 executives, however, reported the figure at 9 percent or more.

Has there been any increase in the number of Negroes in forum companies since the passage of the Civil Rights Act? According to over 3 in 5 executives there hasn't been, but many who reported otherwise were quick to point out that the increase had nothing to do with the passage of the law.

Positive steps to recruit Negroes reportedly are being taken in nearly three-fourths of forum companies. The principal method used by these firms is contacting Federal and State employment services for Negro help. The only other methods used by a majority of forum companies are to seek referrals from Negro employees currently on the payroll and to advertise in newspapers or magazines with a high Negro circulation.

Less than a fourth of forum companies have been approached by a civil rights group to hire Negroes, and those that have report very "courteous" or "pleasant" meetings.

Other highlights of the survey include these:

1. Nearly nine-tenths of panel members whose companies administer mental-ability tests don't agree that such tests are unfair to many Negroes—as has been claimed—because they are based on cultural and educational levels that some Negroes have not encountered and thus underestimate the Negro's learning ability.

2. The vast majority of panel members stated that no special steps were being taken to demonstrate to a Negro job applicant—any more than any other job applicant—that he was refused employment simply because he wasn't capable of doing the job or because he lacked the necessary qualifications for doing the job.

3. Very few companies have experienced problems in integrating Negroes into certain occupations.

4. Just a handful of companies are making a special effort to encourage Negro employees to enroll in training and development programs.

(NOTE.—The first questionnaire sent to panel members in 1965 concerned the training of first-line supervisors and will be published shortly. Because of the importance of the Civil Rights Act to many executives, it was decided to publish this survey first.

COMPOSITION OF WORK FORCE

What percentage of forum companies employ Negro workers? Male Negro workers? Female Negro workers? What types of jobs are held by Negroes in these companies? What percentage of the total work force is Negro? Has the number of Negro employees increased since the enactment of the Civil Rights Act? These and other questions were put to members of the panel to find out the status of Negroes in these companies today. The data that follow summarize the responses.

Negroes employed: Male and female

Almost all forum companies—98 percent of the larger and 92 percent of the smaller ones—employ Negroes on a full-time basis. From a sex standpoint, however, a much greater percentage of forum companies employ male Negroes. Males of this minority group are full-time employees in 95 percent of the companies, females in 70 percent. However, while 83 percent of the larger companies have female Negroes on their payrolls, just 46 percent of the smaller ones do.

The following table gives a percentage breakdown, by sex, of the forum companies that employ Negroes on a full-time basis:

Employment of Negroes by sex

[In percent]

	All companies	Larger	Smaller
Employ Negroes	96	98	92
Employ male and female Negroes	69	81	46
Employ male Negroes only	26	15	46
Employ female Negroes only	1	2	-------
Do not employ Negroes	4	2	8

Most panel members in those forum companies that do not employ Negroes, either male or female, submitted reasons for their companies' practices. Here's what they had to say:

"We are located in Bryan, the county seat of Williams County, Ohio. No Negroes live in the county. The nonwhite minority group averages less than 1 percent of the population."—L. E. Bigler, personnel manager, the Aro Corp., Bryan, Ohio.

"Our work force is composed presently of all white employees. Over the past 20 years we have had only one colored male employee. This man retired 6 years ago because of age. Our community is all white with the exception of this one retired Negro employee. Over the past years we have had three job applications from Negroes, and they were not qualified to do the work we had to offer."—R. H. Tenley, personnel manager, Penberthy Manufacturing Co., Prophetstown, Ill.

One executive whose company doesn't employ Negroes replied that there were no Negro residents or workers in the community. He added, however, that the company recently published a statement of policy with reference to no discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and that he believed that a "qualified Negro applicant, who met the company's hiring standards, including tests when applicable, would be accepted by the employees on the same basis as any other newly assigned employee."

Another executive whose company doesn't have a Negro on the payroll at the present time makes this comment:

"Our experience in hiring Negroes, though limited, has been good. For instance, F. A. was hired as an assembler learner, became a welding utility man, and then a drill press operator. He was with the company for 2½ years, but was laid off because of lack of work. We tried to rehire him, but he was working elsewhere.

"T. M. came to work as a drill press operator and was promoted to a turret lathe operator. After 4 years with us, he entered the Navy. A good man in electronics. After his Navy discharge he applied for rehire. I counseled him at great length, encouraging him to enter the electronics field. This he did and is doing well.

"J. P. was hired as a finish cleaner and rose to the top drill press classification in 2 years. He quit to accept a job in Washington, D.C. His problem—no social life in Bradford, Pa., for him.

"These men were all good employees, but J. P. was tops. We have few Negroes in the community. The latest census shows 75 in McKean County."—Thom Williams, manager of personnel, Bovaird & Seyfang Manufacturing Co., Bradford, Pa.

Types of jobs held by Negroes

It's one thing to know what percentage of forum companies employ Negroes, but we also wanted to find out what types of jobs are being held by Negroes in these companies. To this end, executives on the Panel whose companies employ Negroes were asked if members of this minority group were working (1) in blue-collar jobs; (2) in white-collar jobs; (3) as foremen or first-line supervisors; (4) in middle-management positions; (5) in executive positions; (6) in scientific, technical, or professional positions; (7) as salesmen; (8) as clerks in the employment office; and (9) as recruiters.

Replies from respondents whose companies employ Negroes showed that well over 9 in 10 forum companies (91 percent of the larger and all of the smaller ones) have Negroes in blue-collar jobs on their payrolls. In the white-collar field, however, the situation is quite different, especially in the smaller companies. To illustrate, just about the same percentage of larger companies that employ Negroes in blue-collar jobs have Negroes in white-collar jobs. In contrast, just 37 percent of the smaller forum companies have Negroes working in white-collar positions.

Following is a table which gives a percentage breakdown of forum companies that employ Negroes in blue-collar and white-collar jobs. It also shows the percentage of companies that employ Negroes as foremen or first-line supervisors, in middle-management positions, in executive positions, as salesmen, as clerks in the employment office, as recruiters, and in scientific, technical, or professional positions:

Types of jobs held by Negroes

[In percent]

	All companies	Larger	Smaller
Blue collar	94	91	100
White collar	72	89	37
Foremen or 1st-line supervisors	33	44	13
Middle management	22	28	9
Executive	8	11	3
Scientific, technical, or professional	40	47	25
Salesmen	18	25	3
Clerks in employment office	14	20	-------
Recruiters	8	13	-------

Percentage of Negroes in work force

A sizable majority of executives (58 percent), when asked what percentage of their company's total work force is Negro, replied that it was less than 4 percent. However, 27 percent (a fifth of those with larger companies and 39 percent of those with smaller ones) responded by saying at at least 1 in 10 of their company's employees is a

Negro. Following is a breakdown of the percentage of Negroes in the work force as reported by panel members:

Percentage of Negroes in work force

	All companies	Larger	Smaller
Less than 1 percent	7	8	6
1.0 to 1.9 percent	16	18	13
0 to 2.9 percent	20	20	20
3.0 to 3.9 percent	15	16	13
4.0 to 4.9 percent	6	9	
5.0 to 5.9 percent	7	9	3
6.0 to 6.9 percent	1		3
7.0 to 7.9 percent			
8.0 to 8.9 percent			
9.0 to 9.9 percent	1		3
10 percent	11	4	23
Over 10 percent	16	16	16

Of those executives who replied that the percentage of Negroes in their company is over 10 percent, two reported that it was 12 percent and two said 15 percent. Other percentages mentioned by executives were the following: 10 to 12, 11, 13, 14, 12–15, 16, 17, 18, 25, and 33⅓.

Highest job held by a Negro

As a corollary to the last inquiry, executives on the panel were asked to name the highest job held by a Negro in their company. For convenience, we have grouped the many job titles listed in the responses under a few broad categories. These, and the percentage of companies that report the employment of at least one Negro in each category, appear below. Job titles typical of each category also are shown.

Unskilled (13 percent—5 percent of the larger companies and 29 percent of the smaller ones): Enamel sprayer; lead janitor; truck driver; comb tender; pre-press worker; mill operator; chemical operator.

Semiskilled (3 percent): Rolling mill operator; machine operator.

Skilled (9 percent): Machinist; tool and die maker; electrician; press operator; welder; color maker.

Clerical (11 percent): General clerk; senior cashier; production control clerk; secretary; production control expediter; staff assistant; messenger-driver; shipper and receiver in charge: department clerk.

Sales (2 percent—3 percent of the larger companies, none of the smaller ones): Sales clerks, salesman.

Professional (18 percent—21 percent of the larger companies, 13 percent of the smaller ones): Engineer; design engineer; process engineer; chemist; senior editor; auditor; pilot; supervisory engineer; attorney; accountant; registered nurse; head nurse; scientist.

Technical (10 percent): Engineering draftsman; drafting technician; inventory analyst; systems analyst; marketing coordinator; market researcher; lab technician; electronics technician.

Foreman and assistant foremen (13 percent—18 percent of the larger companies, 3 percent of the smaller ones).

Managerial (18 percent—21 percent of the larger companies, 13 percent of the smaller ones): Assistant divisional manager; manager-research; industrial relations assistant; store manager; laboratory director; executive; unit personnel administrator; research section head; assistant data servicing manager; plant supervisor; director of industrial relations; buyer; sales supervisor.

Management trainees (2 percent—3 percent of the larger companies, no smaller ones).

Unclassified (5 percent) (job duties not specified with sufficient clarity to permit classification): group leader; "skilled machine operator."

Negro employment since the Civil Rights Act

In order to find out what effect, if any, the Civil Rights Act had on Negro employment, panel members were asked this question: "Since the enactment of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, has the number of Negro employees increased in your company?"

According to slightly more than three-fifths of the executives, there hasn't been any increase in the employment of Negroes since the passage of the law. This reply was given by 54 percent of the executives with larger companies and 76 percent of those with smaller ones. All of the remaining executives reported that there are more Negroes on their payrolls, but a few of them were quick to point out that the increase had nothing to do with the new law. As one executive phrased it: "The increase is due to participation in plans for progress, and not legislation."

Those panel members in forum companies in which the number of Negroes had increased since the Civil Rights Act was passed further were asked to give the percentage increase. Here's a summary of their replies: Just under 3 in 10 of these executives answered that the increase was small, insignificant, minimal, or the like; a fifth reported the increase as 1 percent or less; 12 percent set the increase somewhere between 1.1 and 2 percent; 16 percent reported increases between 2.1 and 5 percent; while virtually all of the remaining executives reported the increase as over 5 percent. The executives in the last category gave these percentages: 8 to 10 percent, 10 percent, 20 percent, and 25 percent. One executive, it should be noted, replied that his company had no Negro employee prior to the passage of the Civil Rights Act.

RECRUITMENT OF NEGROES

There's been a lot of talk recently concerning the difficulty in recruiting Negroes. Some companies have said that they haven't encountered any problem in finding qualified Negro employees. Others explain that their company hires on the basis of merit alone and without regard to an individual's race, creed, color, or national origin, but that the company has been faced with a problem of finding qualified Negroes. Many of these companies are members of the plans for progress program, others are not.

A few executives—whose companies have based employment strictly on merit—strongly object to the idea of going out and finding qualified Negroes, because this approach, they feel, is giving "preferential treatment" to the Negro population. One of these executives—whose company is a member of plans for progress but which did not agree to seek out qualified Negroes as did other such companies—leveled a strong jab at BNA's questionnaire, while expressing other viewpoints on the Negro question. Here's what he had to say:

"With all due respect to the Bureau of National Affairs, I believe that this is the most poorly conceived questionnaire that I have ever seen emanate from your great institution.

"Initially, the purpose of title VII of the Civil Rights Act was to create employment opportunities on the basis of merit, yet many of your questions are ill-conceived and imply preferential treatment for Negroes and I, personally, resent this approach on your part very much.

"The American public has been badly misled; employers have been duped; and our obligations under the plans for progress program is to employ, as we have for many years, on the basis of merit only. Currently, many of the people responsible for administering the progress under title VII and plans for progress are interested in statistical improvement in the percentages of Negroes on their payrolls. I must say that, in my opinion, the percentage of Negroes on our payroll will probably be reduced and not increased as a result of the necessity of upgrading our employment standards to keep abreast of technological changes occurring within our industry. If we were hiring Negroes for the first time, obviously our statistics would improve, but I resent the following and predict that there will be substantial opposition to these points:

"1. Paying a premium salary to Negro college graduates just for the sake of getting a Negro on the payroll.

"2. Seeking out Negroes by recruiting at all-Negro colleges.

"3. Seeking out, exclusively, Negro employment sources just for the purpose of getting Negroes on the payroll.

"4. The emphasis on culturally deprived being applicable only to Negroes, because it is equally applicable to culturally deprived whites.

"5. The lack of intestinal fortitude on the part of businessmen to make the merit employment concept a reality and not use it for the purpose of preference to Negroes.

"You will note in the document signed by President Johnson and our president and chairman of the board that we did not agree to seek out qualified Negro applicants as did many companies, since we feel that this is contrary to the American way of life and to the merit employment concept.

"Again, I must repeat that your questionnaire is 'lousy' and only misguides an already naive group of employers who yield to Government pressure as a price of doing business."—John R. Hundley, vice president, industrial relations, Granite City Steel Co., Granite City, Ill.

A few other panel members voiced their concern in this manner:

"I believe most people in the Northeast respect the Negroes' rights and view this as a moral issue. However, Government interference and pressure to get more Negroes employed at all levels regardless of qualifications—the so-called affirmative action required by Executive Order 10925—has caused some apprehension of title VII. The idea that employers will be pressured into discriminating for Negroes is a fear that I sense among groups of employees and applicants.

"We have set high, but not unreasonable, employment standards and uniformly require all applicants to measure up to these standards. This helps offset the fear that Negroes will be hired because of pressure rather than qualification and it makes good business sense to hire the best qualified people regardless of color. I believe this is basically what the Negro community wants and expects."—Gerald C. Burdick, director of industrial relations, Mesta Machine Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.

"We have not made any special efforts to seek out Negro applicants any more than we make extra efforts to seek out Mexicans, Jews, Catholics, Chinese, or what have you. Nor do we discriminate against anyone solely because of race, religion, etc. We have actively cooperated with the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, and have revised written policies and union contracts to specify company policy.

"We do not believe special considerations, specific quotas, or reverse discrimination is the answer. If the qualifications of Negro applicants are comparable to whites, they will be hired. We know that increasing pressure will be placed on us to hire Negroes because they are Negroes and not because they are qualified. The answer lies with the Negroes themselves to pull themselves up by their bootstraps, without reliance on special Government pressures."—Herman Harrow, director of industrial relations, The Welch Grape Juice Co., Inc., Westfield, N.Y.

The vast majority of executives didn't condemn the questions asked by BNA on its questionnaire and didn't score Government "pressure" or "interference," although conceivably many of them could have had thoughts along these lines but didn't go out of their way to express their feelings. Many of the respondents, however, did say that they have in the past, and will continue, to hire without regard to a person's race, creed, color, or national origin, thus implying that the Civil Rights Act and the Executive orders concerning the employment of Negroes weren't necessary in the first place.

To find out what forum companies actually are doing to recruit qualified Negroes, if anything, these questions were asked: "Has your company taken any positive steps to recruit qualified Negroes, and if so, what steps are being taken?" "Has your company taken any steps to insure that private employment agencies aren't being discriminatory in their referrals?" And "Has your company been approached by any civil rights group to hire Negroes?" The answers to these and other questions appearing on the questionnaire, as given by members of the panel, appear below.

Action taken to recruit Negroes

Close to three in four executives on the panel—77 percent of those with larger companies and two-thirds of those with smaller ones—reported that their company takes positive steps to recruit qualified Negroes. How do they go about it? The principal method, according to over four in five of these panel members, is by contacting Federal and State employment services for Negro help. The next most widely used method is to seek referrals from Negro workers currently employed by the company. The only other method used by a majority of forum companies is to seek referrals from such organizations as the NAACP, CORE, and the Urban League, which is the practice in just over three-fifths of forum companies. However, slightly more than one in eight of these executives reported that his company sought referrals only from the Urban League. Other methods used by at least one in five forum companies in which positive steps are taken to recruit qualified Negroes are to place advertisements in newspapers and magazines having a high Negro circulation to send recruiters to high schools and colleges with predominantly Negro student bodies, and to seek referrals from Negro clergymen.

The following table gives a percentage breakdown of the methods used by forum companies to recruit qualified Negro help:

Methods used to recruit qualified Negroes

[In percent]

	All companies	Larger	Smaller
Making contact with Federal and State employment services	83	86	75
Seeking referrals from Negro workers currently employed by the company	78	76	85
Seeking referrals from such organizations as the NAACP, CORE, and Urban League	62	78	25
Advertising in newspapers or magazines with a high Negro circulation	45	51	30
Sending recruiters to high schools and colleges with predominantly Negro student bodies	33	43	10
Seeking referrals from Negro clergymen	22	29	5
Other	22	24	15

Among the "other" methods used by forum companies to recruit qualified Negroes are the following: contacting local mayor's panel on equal employment opportunity; contacting other companies for Negro help; contacting influential Negro business and community leaders; seeking referrals from the Youth Opportunity Board; participating in and using the National Urban League Skills Bank; interviewing Negro applicants at times when the company is not hiring, so as to have applications on file when positions open; placing "Equal Employment Opportunity" on all advertisements; and by participating in the Cleveland occupational planning program and the Seattle Job Fair.

To illustrate, in detail, what certain forum companies have done to seek out qualified Negro employees, here are a few comments from panel members in these companies:

"We originally had no Negroes. With the advent of the Civil Rights Act, we hired some Negroes. We have an overall total of five, four of whom are in production and one in the accounting office.

"We started out by writing letters to all agencies that we contact or use in securing employees, outlining our policies in such matters, and calling on the local State employment office, local business school, chairman of the mayor's panel on equal employment opportunities, principal of the local Negro high school (the schools are integrated), the president of the local State vocational school (a Negro institution which has some white students). Letters also were written to the NAACP, and Urban League groups outlining our policies. Notwithstanding any of the above, there has been no appreciable number of Negro applicants." James Jennings, personnel manager, Modine Manufacturing Co., Paducah, Ky.

"We have invited representatives of various Negro groups such as HARYU (Harlem Youth Action project) and discussed the problem of attracting skilled Negroes. For example, of the hundreds of industrial engineers, skilled trades—screw machine operators, toolmakers, boring mill hands, draftsmen—we can count on one hand the number of Negro applicants. Negro leaders acknowledge that their people simply do not take advantage of the opportunity to learn such skills and trades—even though the schools are open to all and in most instances are free of charge. We encouraged the leaders to send likely trainee prospects to be interviewed for the few training programs we have. They sent one candidate who we placed in a clerical position, which offers a good opportunity for advancement." Robert O. Wechtler, manager of industrial relations, Neptune Meter Co., Long Island City, N.Y.

"All plant personnel managers and plant department heads with personnel responsibilities were informed orally in November 1963 of our policy on equal employment opportunity. (The policy is to provide equal employment opportunities for all persons regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.) This same policy also was sent at that time to all other managers and department heads in the company.

"The plant managers and department heads at all plants were informed in special meetings personally by the vice president, organization and personnel division, or one of his representatives (in April 1964) that it was not only their responsibility to see that no discrimination against minority members occurred in their plants, but that they were specifically to seek out qualified colored people and employ them until a significant percentage was working successfully in their plants.

"The company's policy regarding equal employment opportunity was presented to all employees in the employee publication in June 1964. Almost all of the plants with significant Negro populations in the community have now been integrated with no unfortunate incidents." Larger company executive.

"Prior to 1964, there were no Negroes in our employ. We have never found it necessary to recruit employees, as there was always an abundant supply of applicants coming in unsolicited. Contrary to the policy of many companies, we have been quite successful in employing many people from the same family. Hence, many of our new employees have come to us recommended by present employees. With the introduction of the Civil Rights Act, however, we were somewhat at a loss as to how to find qualified Negro help. We decided to stay with our present policy of hiring only from applications, but took care to interview all Negro applicants who could possibly qualify. There were very few Negro applicants and it was several months before we were able to hire our first Negro. We were extremely selective in hiring him, as this employee would have to prepare the ground for other Negroes. We were fortunate in our first selection, and have been able to integrate with no racial problems developing. After the first Negro was hired, she was able to refer other qualified Negroes to us, and we now have seven in our employ." Smaller company executive.

"Prior to 1964, the company had paid 'lip service' to integration and in a period of 5 years had only hired three Negro applicants. During the summer of 1964, the personnel director brought this to the president's attention. He in turn brought it up before the board of directors. The board formally issued an employment policy that there shall be no discrimination against any employee or applicant for employment by reason of race, color, sex, religion, or national origin. Meetings were then held with both the office and shop supervisors and with the union explaining the new policy. From that point on qualified Negro applicants were referred to supervision and, as a result, approximately 40 Negroes have been hired in the last 8 months. Except for a few minor cases, the integration has been successful."—Harold F. Young, Preformed Line Products, Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

Use of private employment agencies

Seventy-seven percent of forum companies (85 percent of larger companies and 62 percent of smaller ones) use private employment agencies to recruit employees. And three in four of these companies, according to replies from panel members, take some type of action to insure that the agencies they use aren't being discriminatory in their referrals.

What definite steps are taken? Virtually all forum company executives stated that the agencies are informed—mostly in writing, but in some cases orally—that applicants are to be considered on ability alone, that their company is "an equal opportunity employer," that applicants are to be referred without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin, or some such remark. A few of these companies also inform their agencies that they are not to discriminate on the basis of sex, either.

One executive stated that in addition to sending a letter to the agencies informing them that applicants are to be considered on the basis of ability alone, his company also makes telephone calls to the agencies to motivate special effort to find qualified Negroes. Another executive replied that his company requires a compliance statement of those agencies which are used.

One smaller company executive, who said that his company didn't take steps to insure that employment agencies weren't being discriminatory, stated that a local ordinance prohibits discrimination by employment agencies, and added that he knows "by experience that the agencies used do not discriminate."

Contact by civil rights groups

This question was put to panel members: "Has your company been approached by any civil rights group to hire Negroes?" According to the replies, many of their companies have been approached, but not as many as might have been expected. Just under a fourth of the panel members (35 percent of those with larger companies and 3 percent of those with smaller companies) said that their company had been contacted by at least one civil rights group. All of the remaining companies hadn't.

Executives in those forum companies that had been approached by certain civil rights organizations then were asked to describe their experiences. Many of them reported "courteous" or "pleasant" meetings. Here's what they had to say:

"Local human relations council met with us urging additional hirings. Very pleasant meeting. This took place over a year ago—no contact since. They were told that we would continue to hire only qualified applicants."—K. C. Brown, director of personnel, Channing-Wolverine Cos., Battle Creek, Mich.

"Local representatives of the NAACP discussed our situation in detail and requested us to hire more Negroes whenever possible. Approach was very courteous. We explained our policy and practice."—Daniel J. Hobbs, director of industrial relations, the Mosler Safe Co., Hamilton, Ohio.

"Contacted by CORE, NAACP, and special local groups. We gave them information they requested, outlined our policy and job requirements, and asked them to refer applicants."—L. C. Alten, staff supervisor, Ohio Bell Telephone Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

"Approached by NAACP. They have been very understanding and have not flooded us with applicants. We told them our standards are high for all jobs, consequently they do their own screening."—W. F. Carman, manager of industrial relations, Titanium Metals Corp. of America, Toronto, Ohio.

A few other executives on the panel reported that they had had problems in dealing with certain civil rights groups and that these problems, for the most part, have been resolved. Here are their comments:

"A civil rights group demanded that we hire a large number of Negroes in a short period of time with the threat of pickets. We did not yield and they did not picket."—Larger company executive.

"The Steubenville, Ohio, NAACP alleged we were delinquent in employing Negroes. This was resolved to the satisfaction of the Ohio Civil Rights Commission."—Wayne T. Brooks, Wheeling Steel Corp., Wheeling, W. Va.

"We were approached by NAACP and CORE. NAACP boycotted company products despite labor contract provisions which spelled out seniority rights of employees then on layoff."—E. S. Bohlin, director of industrial relations, Carling Brewing Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

"In the summer of 1964, discrimination charge was filed by several Negro schoolteachers alleging failure to interview for temporary vacation work. The charge was denied and it was shown that we had done no hiring or interviewing at the time of alleged applications. Settled by agreement to give these individual teachers preference in 1965."—Smaller company executive.

Effective sources for recruiting Negroes

Referrals by employees and contacts with Federal and State employment services are the two most effective sources for recruiting qualified Negroes, according to nearly two in five panel members. Of those who mentioned employee referrals, the total was divided this way: 14 percent explained that the referrals were from Negro employees, the rest did not specify the race of the employees who made the referrals, although it may be assumed that in some instances the referrals were made by Negro employees.

Other sources specified as being effective by panel members, mentioned by at least 1 in 10 of these executives, were contacts with the Urban League (no respondent mentioned the NAACP or CORE), Negro job applicants walking in off the streets, and recruiting at colleges, high schools, and vocational schools.

Below is a tabular presentation of the most effective sources for recruiting qualified Negroes as listed by panel members:

Most effective source for recruiting qualified Negroes

[In percent]

	All companies	Larger	Smaller
Employee referrals	38	27	61
By Negro employees	14	10	22
Not specified	24	17	39
Federal and/or State employment services	38	39	35
Urban League	16	22	4
Classified newspaper advertisements	15	16	13
Recruiting at high schools, vocational schools, and colleges	13	18	4
Walk-in job applicants	9	8	13
Private employment agencies	5	8	--------
Recommendations from influential community and business leaders	5	8	--------
ther	11	14	4

Included in the "other" category are the following: retraining centers, job clinics, community-sponsored workshops, your opportunity board, plans for action in changing times, and the clergy. Two respondents listed in this category explained that they haven't found an effective source, while one made this comment:

"We are opposed to recruiting Negroes and object to this question. It implies preferential employment. We engage in merit employment and do not seek out any particular group of people." John R. Hundley, vice president industrial relations, Granite City Steel Co., Granite City, Ill.

SELECTION AND PLACEMENT OF NEGROES

The material that follows covers a few key questions in the selection and placement of Negroes. In brief, this section shows that (1) nearly 9 in 10 panel members whose companies administer mental-ability tests do not buy the idea that such tests are unfair to many Negroes (as has been claimed) as based on cultural and educational levels that some Negroes have not encountered and as thus underestimating the Negro's learning ability; (2) panel members can see no particular reason for treating Negroes any differently from other job applicants when informing them that they lack the necessary qualifications to perform the job; and (3) there are very few problems encountered in integrating Negroes into certain occupations.

Administration of mental-ability tests

At least some job applicants are given mental-ability tests in 74 percent of forum companies—77 percent of the larger companies and 68 percent of the smaller ones.

Executives in those companies that give such tests to prospective employees were asked this question: "Do you believe—as has been claimed—that such tests are unfair to many Negroes because they are based on cultural and educational levels that some Negroes have not encountered, and thus underestimate the Negro's learning ability?" Just 1 in 8 of the panel members answered affirmatively, and virtually all of the rest gave a negative reply. A few of the executives didn't answer either "yes" or "no," but gave answers such as the following: "If such tests are validated against performance, their use is justified:" "This is a distinct possibility;" and "This may be true, however, you must have some sort of yardstick to measure ability if you are to consider the best applicant."

One executive who answered neither way, gave this reply: "Since we require a high school diploma, the use of a verbal-type test for mental capacity presented us particular problems; occasional 'doublechecks' with a nonverbal test usually correlated well. However, we observed a remarkable tendency of Negro applicants to score low on a mechanical aptitude test which was nonverbal."

Respondents who answered that mental-ability tests are unfair to Negroes for the reasons cited were asked to explain why. Here's what these executives said:

"The validity of these tests undoubtedly is established on the basis of the society group over which they are spread."—Larger company executive.

"On the Wunderlich many Negroes fail spelling because of lack of exposure to word meaning, but the same applies to culturally deprived whites."—John R. Hundley, vice president, industrial relations, Granite City Steel Co., Granite City, Ill.

"Many Negroes come from culturally deprived environments. We relax our standards somewhat. Also some Negroes have heard they have trouble with tests so they get tense and have trouble."—Larger company executive.

"In some parts of the country, such tests are unfair."—Larger company executive.

"I believe that this is true of some tests, but not all."—Smaller company executive.

Panel members who replied that such tests are not unfair to the Negro population gave a wide variety of replies, including the following:

"This might be a problem with other than local Negroes. Educational facilities here, however, seem to be about on a par as those for whites."—N. P. Goodrich, industrial relations manager, American Hoist & Derrick Co., St. Paul, Minn.

"Each person, regardless of color, must rely on his own individual abilities. To change the standards for some would result in confusion for all."—Daniel J. Hobbs, director of industrial relations, the Mosler Safe Co., Hamilton, Ohio.

"We fashion our tests to deal equitably with the individual's qualifications regardless of race."—Larger company executive.

"We believe that a greater percentage of Negroes fail these tests than do whites and that the reasons are primarily because of differences in culture and motivation. We believe, however, that these differences are important in job success."—Larger company executive.

"Negroes tested by us have done well, and were hired to fill skilled jobs."—Thom Williams, manager of personnel, Bovaird & Seyfang Manufacturing Co., Bradford, Pa.

"Negroes have scored as well as any other race."—Fred Lewis, personnel director, Union Mills Paper Manufacturing Co., New Hope, Pa.

"We use aptitude tests made up primarily of questions designed, through simplification, to determine how rapidly and accurately the applicant thinks, rather than how much knowledge he has."—Larger company executive.

Turning down Negro applicants

In devising the questionnaire, it was assumed that some Negro applicants who failed to meet the qualifications for a particular job would charge that the company was being discriminatory in its hiring procedures. What we wanted to know was if any special steps were being taken, or under consideration, to demonstrate to a Negro job applicant that he was refused employment simply because he wasn't capable of doing the job or because he lacked the necessary qualifications for doing the job.

According to the vast majority of panel members, no special procedure is taken or under consideration. Virtually all the executives explained the company's position as did the following panel member who stated: "A Negro job applicant will be given the same explanation as all other applicants who fail to meet the requirements, and that is that they have not met the minimum requirements established by the company or they do not have the required qualifications for the job."

A few executives, however, explained that certain steps were being taken to demonstrate to Negroes that they were turned down only because they weren't qualified. According to one executive, his company is showing them the results of the tests that are given to both whites and Negroes; another stated that the company frankly discusses with Negroes their aptitude and experience as compared with job requirements and available applicants; still another replied that the company conducts "skillful" interviews.

Integration problems encountered

Very few forum companies have experienced problems in integrating Negroes into certain occupations, replies from panel members indicate. When asked if problems were encountered along these lines, just 8 percent of the executives answered "Yes"—a tenth of those with larger companies and 6 percent of those with smaller ones—and all of the rest said "No."

Those executives who were faced with problems of this nature were requested to illustrate the various problems they had and then to explain how the company handled the situation. Their replies follow:

"In departments where no Negroes were employed there has been apprehension but no incident of any significance. Most employees believe it better to hire qualified Negroes than to be pressured into hiring unqualified Negroes because of Government or group pressure."—Gerald C. Burdick, director of industrial relations, Mesta Machine Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.

"At the clerical level, too many Negroes in one area often causes white versus black cliques."—Larger company executive.

"Only in very early efforts years ago. Some group resistance was encountered, which faded after Negroes actually came on the job. Firm management stand is essential to success."—L. C. Alten, staff supervisor, Ohio Bell Telephone Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

"In office: Although efforts were made to insure acceptance, the Negro girls were not willing to go the needed halfway but, instead, after introductions and invitations to coffee breaks, they grouped by themselves. Further efforts by responsible girls were of no avail."—Smaller company executive.

A couple of executives whose companies have encountered problems in integrating Negro employees into certain occupations offer advice on how to avoid the occurrence of future incidents. They explain their companies' practices this way:

"We sit down with the group involved and explain that a new Negro employee has been hired. We ask for the group's cooperation and any suggestions they may have that will help make this employee feel accepted."—J. H. Peak, industrial relations manager, Pfiauder Permutit, Inc., Elyria, Ohio.

"We had to overcome traditional southern thinking. Before placing the first Negro in a position other than custodial, we discussed the situation with supervision to anticipate particular questions and problems. Then we held a meeting with employees of that department, explaining that we—from a practical and job security viewpoint—had no choice if we were to continue to enjoy Government contracts. After placing the first Negro in a production job, the obvious resentment diminished to the extent that we now place male Negroes in all areas without any fanfare and in exactly the same manner as white employees."—Russell J. Sims, director of personnel, Fouke Fur Co., Greenville, S.C.

One executive explains that integration of Negroes into certain occupations isn't a problem because of a "general lack of community antipathy to integration, because of the strong policy in regard to equal opportunity, and because Negroes hired have been competent to perform the jobs on which they have been placed."

TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEGROES

What percentage of forum companies have Negroes enrolled in work-study programs? Apprenticeship training programs? Supervisory and management or executive programs? Tuition-aid programs? Scholarship programs? To find out the answer to these questions, panel members were asked a series of questions. A summary of their responses appears below.

Negro employees: Training and development

Executives on the panel were asked two questions. First, they were requested to indicate if their company conducted work-study, apprenticeship-training, supervisory-training, management or executive training, tuition-aid, or scholarship programs. Those executives whose company conducted such programs then were asked to indicate if Negro employees are enrolled in these programs, or to indicate if their company did not employ Negroes in jobs from which candidates for the various programs are selected.

Following is a table which shows the percentage of forum companies which conduct the six training and development programs listed above. Under each program listed also are the letters A, B, and C in parentheses. The (A) show the percentage of companies that have Negroes enrolled in the program; the (B) indicates the percentage of companies that do not employ Negroes in jobs from which candidates for the program are selected; and the (C) shows the percentage of companies that failed to specify whether Negroes are enrolled in the program or whether they employ Negroes in jobs from which candidates are selected.

Negro participation in training and development programs

[In percent]

	All companies	Larger	Smaller
Work-study program	38	48	16
(A)	20	27	4
(B)	16	18	12
(C)	2	3	--------
Apprenticeship-training program	56	66	32
(A)	36	41	24
(B)	16	21	4
(C)	4	4	4
Supervisory-training program	62	70	44
(A)	25	30	12
(B)	32	32	32
(C)	5	8	--------
Management or executive training program	52	61	32
(A)	15	14	16
(B)	33	41	16
(C)	4	6	--------
Tuition-aid program	79	79	80
(A)	56	57	52
(B)	17	16	20
(C)	6	6	8
Scholarship program	35	36	32
(A)	19	18	20
(B)	14	14	12
(C)	2	4	--------

Motivating Negro employees

Seven in eight executives on the panel (85 percent of those with larger companies and 92 percent of those with smaller ones) reported that their company isn't making any special effort to encourage Negro employees to enroll in various training and development programs. The majority of these executives said they encourage all employees equally.

All of the remaining panel members said that their company does make special efforts to get Negroes to enroll in these programs. How do they go about it? Among the methods mentioned are the following: house organ and bulletin board publicity, stressing that such programs are open to all regardless of race, publishing training opportunities in employee handbooks, etc.

Of those executives who stated that their company does not make any special effort to encourage Negro employees to enroll in these programs, one made the following remark:

"All employees are encouraged to participate in any self-improvement program that would benefit them. No special effort is made to single out the Negro for these programs since this might be considered an overt action indicating he is below par. It is my opinion Negroes and other minority groups must be made to feel they are equal. If this is done properly, these people will want to better themselves on their own by taking advantage of available programs."—J. H. Peak, Pfiauder Permutit, Inc., Elyria, Ohio.

Plans for progress orientation

To insure that all employees, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, get a fair shake, the training and development branch of American Airlines' maintenance and engineering facility, Tulsa, Okla., conducts a plan for progress orientation program. Following in full text is the facility's teaching guide, which may be of interest to those who plan similar programs:

"PLAN FOR PROGRESS ORIENTATION

"A. General introduction

"I am sure it is not necessary in this kind of meeting to spell out all of the reasons why the matter before us deserves our attention; yet it is worth reviewing some of the principles involved, because each of us is going to be called upon from time to time to answer questions and explain the company's position. To do this, we must have a clear understanding of the 'why' of American's policy with regard to nondiscrimination—and the plan for progress.

"Basically, it is a matter of human rights—a moral problem, if you will, which each of us must face at some point in time. We all accept the principle that no man has the right to interfere with the rights of another. To do so is unjust and, therefore, morally wrong. Perhaps the whole idea was never better expressed than in that single sentence in the Declaration of Independence: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights * * *.' This is undoubtedly one of the greatest challenges ever raised by man at bigotry, discrimination, and intolerance.

"It follows then that to the extent that American Airlines denies to any man the opportunity for a job merely because of the color of his skin, we are doing that man an injustice. We are violating one of the fundamental moral principles upon which our whole free society has been built. In this room there are undoubtedly members of many different religions; yet not one of us would advocate discrimination on that basis. In the same way it is our job as members of management to see to it that there is no discrimination against any man because of the color of his hair, or differences in his manner of speech—or for any other similar reason.

"We enjoy an excellent reputation for our record of good relationships among our people. You, as members of management, are certainly chiefly responsible for building and maintaining that reputation. Yet I think we'll have to agree that in some cases in the past, we may have fallen short in our responsibilities in this respect. There is no room whatever in the American Airlines organization for discrimination, intolerance, or bigotry—whether it is based on race, religion, or color. This is the fundamental principle confronting us. It is, if you will, the moral side of the issue. And on that basis alone, our course is clear.

"And yet, this isn't the whole story. There are other, additional arguments which must be considered, growing from the fact that the people of this country do not like discrimination, particularly when they are the object of discrimination. By and large, people will approve an institution that is doing the right thing, and disapprove any company that is falling short in some important respect. Call it a matter of public image, if you will, or the image which American presents to its many customers and to the public at large. We have always been known as America's leading airline from the standpoint of service, dependability, and technological progress. There is no earthly reason why we should not form the pattern for others to follow in the equal treatment of our employees, and those who seek employment with us.

"In following a policy and a program of equal opportunity, based on qualifications alone, we not only help to win the growing economic good will of the Negro businessman and vacationer, but of the public as a whole. Thus, as we contribute to the social welfare of our community, we can expect to continue to build the kind of reputation that ultimately pays off in a higher volume of business.

"There is yet another aspect of the problem which may affect our business. Let me read to you the Government contract clause of an order issued by President Eisenhower: 'In connection with the performance of work under this contract, the contractor agrees not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, religion, color, or national origin. The aforesaid provision shall include, but not be limited to, the following: Employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising, layoff or termination, rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post hereafter in conspicuous places, available for employees or applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of the nondiscrimination clause.' This means, in effect, that as a Government contractor we are subject to the provisions of this clause, just as are the large manufacturing and aerospace corporations who deal largely with government.

"There's another, broader problem that affects us just as surely, though a little less directly. Present estimates are that the Nation's 16 million Negroes have an annual income of about $15 billion. One out of every 10 people in this country is a Negro. If they all had equal opportunities to earn a better living, there would undoubtedly be many billions of dollars of additional purchasing power available. That would increase business activity, expand the demand for all kinds of products, including air transportation. It would help to create a healthier economy and therefore add to the prosperity of American Airlines and everyone associated with us.

"Another reason arises from the results of discrimination. In many cases, crime, juvenile delinquency, and other social evils are traceable to the conditions that have been created by prejudice and discrimination. The cost of dealing with these problems, apart entirely from their effect on the society in which we all live, is tremendous. And each of us individually has to pay a share of that cost.

"Then, too, American Airlines, like every other major corporation, is competing for the best available talent and experience to strengthen every phase of our operation. There are many highly qualified Negro people who could make a real contribution to this organization if they were selected on the basis of their qualifications regardless of the color of their skin.

"There is another even broader reason for offering job opportunities to Negroes, and it has to do with the greatest threat of our times—the slow spread of communism throughout the world. There can be no question but that one of the strongest supports of Communist activity in this country has been the fact that certain types of American citizens have been denied the full opportunities of our society. More than that, one of the strongest arguments of the Communists in other parts of the world has been that there is discrimination in the United States.

"This has helped to win for Soviet Russia the allegiance of people who might otherwise prefer our kind of democracy—and I would remind you that two-thirds of the world's population is colored. We all have a responsibility in this connection, to help eliminate the kind of discrimination that gives the Communists ammunition to play up racial bigotry and create anti-American sentiment.

"As we meet here today and discuss a problem like this, we may wonder just how difficult such an adjustment in many of our minds might be. The experience of all kinds of organizations—manufacturing, merchandising, and service, and other institutions such as colleges and universities—has generally been this: Once a program of nondiscrimination and equal opportunity is adopted, if it is properly handled, there are virtually no problems whatever. And, I think we have some evidence of this with our own experience to date. Negroes are in our employ as sales representatives, personnel representatives, ticket agents, ramp agents, reservations agents, mechanics, technical foremen, office and clerical workers, and various management/specialist positions —and, of course, as stewardesses. These employees are doing an excellent job of selling American, and are visual evidence of the company's nondiscriminatory policies. They have received numerous letters of commendation for excellent job performance from the public and from supervisors. Each in his own way, has set an example of the ideal toward which we are working.

"To sum up, we have a moral obligation here, and what we do about this obligation, how we face it, how we present it to our people, will either help our business, or damage our business, help our community, or hurt our community, help our Nation, or help our enemies. The choice is ours—yours and mine—and the course is clear.

"Now, in terms of an actual creative effort, and positive action toward the solution of the problem, we must understand that under no circumstances will Negroes be employed just because they are Negroes. All applicants must meet employment standards and be well qualified for their job assignments when hired. Negroes will be placed throughout the company according to their qualifications and abilities.

"As our hiring continues, the personnel division will talk with each supervisor requisitioning new personnel, to determine the advisability of placement of a Negro applicant, should one be thoroughly qualified to fill the vacancy. At the same time, we should make it absolutely clear to all of our people that we will not depart from purpose or policy, nor yield to outside pressures of any kind which may develop; that we simply plan to offer greater employment transfer, and promotional opportunity to the Negro employee, according to his qualifications and ability.

"We must solicit the cooperation and the understanding of all employees, and from the very few who might oppose this program, we must demand it.

"This, broadly, is the company's position. It is of the utmost importance that each of you understand it fully and that you prepare yourself to do your part when the time comes; to transcend whatever personal emotion of resentment or resistance you may feel as a result of attitudes which you may have developed long ago; to work in a positive and cooperative spirit to the good of your company, your community, and your country; to view what we have said here today not as a command directive which forces you to change values and traditions in which you may most sincerely believe—but as policy developed by your company to provide equality and justice to human beings, who, like yourself, wish only to better themselves in a fruitful, productive, and meaningful way.

B. The plan for progress—background

"Now, to discuss in detail the plan for progress, we will first distribute additional copies of the plan to you. You will recall that the plan was initially issued by mail to all management and specialist employees on March 15, 1963. We'll take a few minutes now, to present additional details and clarification concerning the plan for progress, and American's commitment to the ideals which the plan represents.

"American Airlines became the first domestic airline to participate in the plan-for-progress program, which was sponsored by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Mr. C. R. Smith and Mr. G. Marion Sadler signed a plan-for-progress statement along with corporate officers of other leading companies of the United States, at White House ceremonies on January 17, 1963.

"Since then, we have reemphasized—and pledge to continue—our policies for providing equal employment, transfer, and promotion opportunity for all persons, without regard to color, race, national origin, or creed. In addition these policies relate to equality in training, compensation, conditions and privileges of employment, layoff, recall, discipline, and discharge.

"There can be no question of the intent of the company to implement and enforce this policy; it applies to every unit and section, to every station and city, to every function, and there can be no evasion, no lipservice, no minimizing its intent or application. The policy applies to all employees, hourly, salaried, management/specialist, and management, and must be activated with no mental reservation on the part of any supervisor in the performance of his duties of managing. You, as a member of management, have the responsibility for the implementation of this policy. The meaning is clear and understandable, you should make certain that your employees know of this policy, and if they do not know of it, then you should make them aware of it, in a positive and constructive manner, leaving no room for interpretation or misunderstanding.

"C. The plan for progress—Specifics

"(a) General: The President of the United States has stated a national policy that all persons are entitled to equal employment opportunity, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.

"American Airlines intends to follow the President's policy, and has voluntarily embarked on this companywide program to expand and strengthen its efforts to promote equal opportunity.

"This is a long range and a continuing program, and many problems lie ahead—

not one of which is unsurmountable if approached openly, and with clear heads, clear thinking, and logic.

"(b) Policy: It should be thoroughly understood by your people that American Airlines continually seeks the best qualified applicants and employees in all categories of employment and work assignment, and that all such employment and assignment shall be made without regard, under any circumstances, to race, creed, color, or national origin. Further, that promotion, training, compensation, and conditions and privileges of employment, discharge, layoff, and recall, shall similarly be made without consideration to race, creed, color, or national origin.

"How long has it been since you recommended any of your employees for promotion to a better job? Are there employees working for you now who have done superior work, who hold potential for moves to positions of greater responsibility?

"Look around, when you return to your job, and make your recommendations, get them to the personnel division—but make certain, as you do this, that you have carefully considered everyone who may be qualified, and that you are not overlooking someone who has the potential we need, but who may have a darker skin, or a name unlike yours.

"(c) Dissemination of policy: Each member of management has been provided with a copy of our plan for progress. In the event yours has been misplaced, we are distributing additional copies in connection with this talk. How many of you have discussed the plan with your people? Do your people know and understand the plan? What is their attitude toward the plan? If you haven't discussed the plan with your people as yet, when do you plan to do so?

"(d) Recruiting: In addition to being an equal opportunity employer through the issuance of the plan for progress and this restatement of our policy of nondiscrimination, American will continue to cooperate with educational organizations and school systems with emphasis toward programs designed to raise the level of aspiration of all youths.

"(e) Transfer, promotion, termination, and recall: It has always been American's policy to promote from within the employees who have demonstrated by past performance that they are well qualified for promotion. When opportunities for transfer or promotion occur, careful measures must be taken to make certain that minority group employees receive equal consideration.

"Every effort will be made to insure that equal consideration is given to all qualified candidates without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

"(f) Training, compensation, facilities: Minority group employees will have equal training and demonstrate equal capacity in job performance with regard to compensation. Facilities will continue to be maintained on a nonsegregated basis.

"(g) Implementation of policy: As was stated earlier in this presentation, the responsibility for compliance with this policy of nondiscrimination rests with all members of management. It has been delegated from the office of Mr. C. R. Smith. We cannot avoid our individual responsibility in this area.

"In addition to the implementation of this policy, all supervisors should examine facilities, bulletin boards, and the work environment to make certain that no documents or printed matter not specifically authorized by the company or the union are posted.

"It should be generally known that the company will under no circumstance tolerate displays which tend to discredit or degrade minority groups, and that disciplinary action, when required, will be prompt, direct, and severe, in every case. As a member of management, you are requested to police this very carefully, and to take firm and deliberate action when circumstances such as this occur.

"D. Conclusion

"The responsibility for the general supervision and coordination in implementing this policy has been assigned to the vice president, personnel. You should feel free to call upon the personnel division regarding any problems or questions which you may have in regard to minority group relations. Remember, the personnel division exists to aid you in the discharge of your duties, and to assist you in meeting your obligations as a supervisor. The division can also be expected to maintain surveillance of the implementation of the plan for progress, and will from time to time, offer constructive recommendations concerning means of applying the plan. Above all, in order to succeed as it should, the plan requires constant team effort of all managers and supervisors. The success of the plan lies in your hands as management representatives of American Airlines. We have every confidence in your ability to see it through."

RECEPTION HAILED

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARBSTEIN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, all of America must cherish the relationship which gave rise to the warm reception given President Johnson in Mexico City, according to the New York Herald Tribune.

It adds that the United States can be very happy about this demonstration by a very close neighbor. The paper states:

> As President Johnson's reception revealed (and as many North Americans can testify after visits to Mexico) there is a good deal of genuine friendship extending across the Rio Grande.

Knowing that others will want to see the full contents of this article, I include it in the RECORD, at this point:

OLE, L.B.J.

There seems to be some dispute whether 1 or 2 million Mexicans turned out to cheer President Johnson. It's of little importance; there were awesomely many Mexicans and they were full of verve—and that is what counts. Perhaps the spontaneity of the President's sudden trip south of the border sparked a reciprocal emotion; perhaps the occasion for Mr. Johnson's journey—the dedication of a statue to Abraham Lincoln, most popular of American Presidents among the Mexicans—warmed up the atmosphere. But in any case, a United States that customarily feels bruised by the criticisms, if not the outright abuse, it receives from so many nations, can be happy about this demonstration by a very close neighbor.

Relations between Mexico and the United States have often been strained and not infrequently impossible. A full-fledged war in 1847 and a number of border incidents and forays right down to World War I, have left a reservoir of bitterness. On many hemispheric issues Mexico has made a point of being very candid toward the United States; geographically closest among the Latin American States to the colossus of the north, Mexico has repeatedly made it quite plain that it is not a client of Washington. Yet, as President Johnson's reception revealed (and as many North Americans can testify after visits to Mexico) there is a good deal of genuine friendship extending across the Rio Grande.

And this is good, both in itself and as a testimony to the fact that the United States does live in uncoerced harmony with its nearest neighbors. It shows that an unhappy past can be buried in the interests of a mutually advantageous future; that what distant nations see as an ogre of imperialism looks much less menacing on closer view. Our President's welcome in Mexico City must be a source of personal satisfaction to him—but all his countrymen can share in it, and must cherish the relationship which gave rise to it.

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT OFFERS NEW OPPORTUNITIES

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maine [Mr. HATHAWAY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, the 16 soil and water conservation districts in Maine have shown for many years that protection and improvement of our land and water can contribute in a direct way to community betterment and economic growth. As one example, 39 new businesses and industries employing 3,834 persons have located in these districts since 1960 as a result of district resource efforts. Some 49 others have expanded, creating jobs for an additional 1,410 persons.

Citizens of northeastern Maine now have an opportunity to bring about real gains in community improvement through the St. John-Aroostook resource conservation and development project. In this project, the cooperative energies of local people and organizations, State agencies, and the Federal Government are being directed toward providing new economic, recreational, and esthetic opportunities in the area with a base of improved natural resources.

Planning of the St. John-Aroostook project was authorized last November 10 as one of 10 new pilot resource conservation and development projects. Since that time more than 30 study group meetings, involving people from all over the project area, have been held to identify problems and opportunities, and many specific development ideas and proposals have been brought forth. A draft of the comprehensive project plan has just been completed, and the final plan should be completed by mid-May.

Some of the project objectives that probably will be included in the plan are an indication of the program's broad scope: First, use of soils information to guide land-use decisions on both rural and urban lands; second, diversification of the predominantly one-crop farm economy; third, acceleration of conservation land treatment on farm and other lands; fourth, development of new water areas to meet needs for recreation and for community, agricultural, and industrial water supply; fifth, sound development of private and community recreation facilities that will use local lumber and materials, furnish employment and enjoyment to local people, and considerable business to local communities; sixth, planning of alternative uses for presently idle land; seventh, development of sound waste disposal systems to overcome water pollution problems; eighth, development of considerable areas for wildlife habitat; and ninth, development of wood processing industries for local timber.

Assistance of the USDA Soil Conservation Service to the three soil and water conservation districts involved and other project sponsors has been very helpful. And I am impressed by the avid interest and cooperation being displayed by everyone concerned. It is evident that people in the project area desire keenly to make their hometowns, county, and State the best possible place to live, raise a family, and enjoy a satisfying, rewarding life.

I believe that these resource conservation and development projects are an intelligent and effective means of conserving resources while making them work for people.

POSTAL LAW REVISIONS

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Scheuer] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, an unfortunate myth which needs to be exploded regarding parcel post legislation is that the rate changes and revised weight limits will disrupt the jobs of private delivery agency employees. The evidence indicates that this is a mistaken view; however, the Post Office Department has given assurance that it will provide jobs for persons who may be affected by this proposed legislation.

The revision of postage rates on fourth-class mail seems to be necessary in common fairness to the postal patron and with due regard to the economics of our parcel post system. A Bronx resident can send a package through the mail to upstate New York that he cannot send to Brooklyn, if the package exceeds a certain size or weight.

I am submitting a short article for the Record which supports the necessity of this proposed legislation:

[From the New York Sunday News, Mar. 27, 1966]

Limit on Parcel Post Called Unfair to City

(By Daniel O'Grady)

New Yorkers are being discriminated against under existing postal law, according to Henry E. Platt, officer in charge of the Bronx general post office.

Under existing law, Platt noted, a person in the Bronx can send a 73-inch-long parcel to Auriesville, a small upstate community 186 miles from New York, but can't send the same sized package to Brooklyn.

Why? Because of the small volume of mail handled at Auriesville, Platt explained, it is classified as a third-class post office. Therefore, Congress has ruled, it can handle larger and heavier packages than the first-class post office in Brooklyn.

OTHER EXAMPLES

In addition, the Bronxite can send a 21-pound parcel to Churchville, an upstate New York community with a population of 755, but can't send a similar parcel to Buffalo.

Platt explained that local residents may not mail a package of more than 40 pounds or more than 72 inches in length and girth combined to a first-class post office that is less than 150 miles away.

Nor may they mail a parcel of more than 20 pounds or 72 inches to any other first-class post office more than 150 miles away, he said.

A bill to reform the existing parcel post laws is now pending before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

James L. O'Toole, president of the National Association of Postmasters, has announced that the association is making "an all-out fight" against size and weight restrictions.

The association has backed legislation to raise the limit for all parcels mailed between first-class offices to 40 pounds and 100 inches, regardless of distance.

CALLS PASSAGE VITAL

"It is vital to the economy of the parcel post system, which is now losing more than $100 million annually, that this bill be passed," O'Toole said.

The proposed legislation would yield about $40 million as a result of liberalizing size and weight limits. The remainder would be realized through a rate increase of about 8 cents. Without the legislation, a rate increase of 14 cents per parcel would be needed.

"This would represent a stiff increase of 17 percent," Platt said.

LARGER PARCEL POST PACKAGES

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Howard] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I am in support of the Post Office Department's proposal that it be permitted to carry larger parcel post packages. As you know, this plan is being opposed by the REA Express.

A distinguished weekly newspaper in my district, the Eatontown Sentinel, carried a very thoughtful editorial on March 25 which discussed this controversy. At this point I include the Eatontown Sentinel's editorial in the Record:

Expanded Parcel Post Service

The nerve of the REA Express in opposing the proposal to permit the Post Office Department to carry larger parcel post packages is colossal. Especially, when you consider the fact that the REA Express doesn't even try and serve a great deal of the area served by the post office.

The company has instigated a letter writing campaign by retired employees who, it was stated, would lose their pensions if the company went out of business. The New York Times said Sunday that the company had admitted the falsity of this statement.

The company has also stated that expansion of the parcel post system could force the company into bankruptcy. Of course, this is not to be desired, but had the company given the service one would normally expect of a company of this kind no competition by the post office would harm it.

The REA Express, formerly the Railway Express, serves a very limited territory. People living in Wayside, Tinton Falls, Lincroft—in fact in any community removed from the railroad—can get no service at all from REA Express. Why should these people be penalized for living a short way inland? Why should they be deprived of parcel post service by the post office because they live a few miles from the railroad?

Indeed, we see no reason why anyone should be permitted to stand in the way of a progressive move to extend on important service now being rendered by our Post Office Department. We trust that our legislators will not be moved by any tearful letters from former employees of a company who will not be affected in any way.

The post office is asking permission to handle packages up to 40 pounds in weight and 100 inches in combined length and width in areas now served by REA Express. But in areas not served by the agency, the post office would deliver packages up to 70 pounds and 100 inches in combined length and width.

Also, the parcel post rates would be hiked in order to wipe out an annual deficit of $107 million. This, it seems to us, is desirable, and we trust that the Post Office Department will get what it is asking for.

POLISH MILLENNIUM CELEBRATION IN CHICAGO

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Rostenkowski] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, on April 16, 1966, a banquet was held in the Sherman House, Chicago, Ill. commemorating Poland's millennium. Among the honored guests who spoke about this historical event was the Most Reverend A. J. Wycislo, the auxiliary bishop of Chicago. He made a most comprehensive observation of Poland's struggle through the years of its history seeking its place as a nation of self-governing people. I believe his remarks are worthy of the attention of this House. With permission granted, I include his remarks in the Record at this point:

Salutation

(By the Most Reverend A. J. Wycislo, auxiliary bishop of Chicago)

We are here this evening to remember, to commemorate the Christian birth of Poland 1,000 years ago. The political and religious history of Poland dates back to that well remembered event of the Baptism of Duke Mieszko in 966. The Christianization of Poland and its integration into the European community of nations began the history of Poland, which is a history of a Christian nation.

Poland's millennium of Christianity—"A millennium, that is not a trifle; that is not a yesterday, or 30 years ago or even 100 years, but 1,000 years of prayer and the profession of a faith in the living God; 1,000 years of dedicated and honest work that embraced all the children of God." (Cardinal Wyszynski, sermon 1956.)

Said Cardinal Wyszynski on September 8, 1961, "Our whole nation seeks a new spiritual strength which would unite us. All of us, here on the shores of the Vistula and Odre, and our brothers scattered over the whole world desire this. For so long and so often, in so many letters and speeches I have repeated again and again, that our strength is in the mother of us all, Our Lady of the Bright Mountain. How eagerly we desire that not only those Poles living within the borders of our nation, but all our brothers in every part of the world, united with us in the bond of faith, join together in this manifestation on our Christian beliefs; the 30 million here and the more than 12 million Poles who have carried the heritage of their faith to all parts of the world."

Poland, a nation of one language, one culture, one faith, one morality for 1,000 years. A nation that has proven time and again that it can manage its own politics ought to be able to celebrate the anniversary of its birth without someone else baking its cake. Yet, somehow or other this whole idea of celebrating a thousand years of Christianity has become confused by those people who interfere, who feel that the real focus of this point of Poland's history ought to be directed somewhere else. How can that be when the truth is so well known? The wedding of Poland to the West 1,000 years ago began an intimate relationship that cannot be erased from the annals of western civilization. Oh, it's true. In a moment of weakness, and we all remember this, that the West abandoned Poland not so many years ago. It happens in the best of families. But time fused in truth and justice ought to cure even that family rift.

No; way down at the bottom of this horrible misunderstanding about celebrating Poland's millennium of Christianity lies the apparently harmless little dogma of who is the boss. Cardinal Wyszynski said that "materialism digs its own grave because it can take no account of the spiritual hunger of people." The church in Poland will dominate because she, like the mother in Czestochowa is the "capital of the minds and hearts" of the Polish people.

We, who know Poland and the faith that is its very lifeblood know that it will not die. She is "immovable as an anvil under the blows of a hammer." (St. Ignatius of Antioch.) Polish stamina has been linked throughout history with religious devotion. Like the Irish at the other end of Europe, the Poles are Catholic by deliberate choice, and together with the Irish they have been the stanchest supporters of the one true faith in the Old World. It isn't that they never knew anything else. In the 16th century no country in Europe granted more religious freedom than Poland. The Jews found a haven there, and the Protestants were allowed to come and go, preach and teach as they pleased, but the Poles never wavered in their devotion to the religion of their fathers. They knew that the church had civilized Poland in the first place; that in the confusion of the 13th century it was their one centralizing and unifying element; that in the mounting disaster of the 17th century—when Sienkiewicz became familiar to the American public—when the Cossack rebellion, the Swedish conquest, and the Turkish Tartar invasions came in rapid succession, two great events saved Poland from destruction: a European league against Sweden and the wave of religious fervor that followed Czestochowa.

That is why today, there is no despair among the Poles who above all else realize that God will not wholly abandon a faithful people, who for all their faults, have never abandoned Him.

So it is, and why it is that we celebrate 1,000 years of Polish Christianity; why, on this particular evening that I stress the fact that Poland for a thousand years, ever since the spacious days of Boleslaw Chrobry, has been a great center of Western culture. I speak of the Poland of Copernicus and of Madame Curie, of Chopin and Paderewski, the inspiration of poets like Mickiewicz and Slowacki, of novelists like Conrad and Sienkiewicz, of heroes like Sobieski, Kosciuszko and Pulaski, the lovely Poland of Helen Modjeska, Matejko, Skarga; I speak of a Poland more uniform in language and custom than any other nation in the world—hostile politicians to the contrary notwithstanding. I speak of the Poland of Cardinal Wyszynski and more than 30 bishops whose intelligent and farsighted participation will go into the history of the II Vatican Council, of a Polish archbishop who devised the universal calendar that will rule the life of the church, and perhaps of the world, for centuries to come.

You could cut off Brittany from France, Catalonia from Spain, Wales from England, with no injustice done to anyone. The lines of demarcation are already there. But, when to appease rapacious neighbors, you divide the smiling plain that stretches from Poznan to Warsaw and down to the early spring flowers of the southern uplands you cut an organized body in half which must die or grow together again.

This is the Poland of our Christian heritage whose seamless robe and sacred soil are in enemy hands again. In the hands of people who are afraid to let bishops go to Czestochowa to kneel and pray, to lift up their hands without wrath or contentions; who wanted to go to Poland on May 3 to pray, not to fan flames of indignation—to pray, not to protest, to supplicate, not to deprecate, to improve, not to disapprove. So celebrate we must, this 1,000th birthday of Poland's baptism. To remember, to commemorate, to dedicate, this we must do because of the heritage that is ours; for what our fathers have planted, we must now reap and when we reap not only will America and the world know what Poles have done for her, but the land of our fathers will boast of our fidelity, our love, and of our understanding.

We are citizens with pride in this America, our native land, but we love the people and the nation from which we sprang.

We are here tonight because we must focus our vision on this life, on this 1,000th year, and set it in the perspective of our own lives, in the perspective of eternity.

We are here tonight because we must focus our vision on this, our way of life, on this 1,000th year of Poland's Christian birth, and set it in the perspective of our own lives here in America.

I know that faith enriches and preserves the culture of a people. Moscow, through its puppets in Warsaw is trying to destroy a faith and reorient a thousand-year-old culture of a people. How can that be? Must we let it be so, if this is what we believe: that out of the heritage of a Christian faith there is freedom and all the things we hold dear in our country; freedom and the right to live and worship, to work and reap the spiritual and material rewards of our labor?

Are not all those things that we Poles hold dear in America the common expression of everyone's aspirations, of all the people in America—and of the people in Poland, too? All the memories, the hopes and yearnings of our generation were they not the memories, the hopes and yearnings of our forefathers, and will they not be the aspiration of our children? If this America be our land now, if this be our sky, these our woods, the sand, the mud, the hills, the plains, our streets, our homes, our towns and our cities; if all this be our rightful heritage earned with the sweat of our brows and without compromise of a faith that comes from a thousand-year-old past what right, in Heaven's name, have we to deny the same things, by failing to help, the country of our origin.

Can we stand and watch a faith destroyed, a culture violated? Not if with high purpose in mind we go ahead with truth and in the tradition of the faith and culture that is Polish, simply make it known and respected and loved by all those who live with us in the free world.

WATER AND AIR POLLUTION

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Love] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. LOVE. Mr. Speaker, since becoming a Member of the 89th Congress, I have been more aware of the water and air pollution problems in this country and I have tried to determine the best method of the control and eradication of pollution. I have been concerned because I did not think we had adopted a sound, adequate, and effective way to do the job.

During the first session, I supported the House version of S. 4, now Public Law 89-234—Water Quality Act—as against the Senate version which called for immediate Federal control. I also supported the House version of S. 306, now Public Law 89-272—Clean Air Act—although I, privately, was of the opinion that it lacked effective means of getting the job done.

Recently, an officer, engineer, and other persons of my constituent, the Armco Steel Corp. of Middletown, Ohio, visited Washington and presented a comprehensive brochure to me and other Congressmen on its pollution abatement problems which made a tremendous impact on my thinking, particularly in the area of water pollution abatement along the Big Miami River which flows through my district. After an examination of their estimate of the tremendous cost of installing adequate air and water pollution abatement systems, I decided that the only way to encourage complete cooperation of those industries using the air, lakes, and streams is for the Federal Government to adopt a tax incentive program. I feel that such a program would be the only dramatic way to obtain effective abatement control in a short period of time.

Today, I have therefore introduced a tax incentive bill which would allow a 20-percent investment credit as well as a fast writeoff system for those who install facilities or equipment to control water or air pollution, all of which to be effective for those facilities placed in service after December 31, 1965.

I hope that my colleagues will see the wisdom of a tax incentive system to control and eliminate water and air pollution and will join with me in cosponsoring this legislation.

EXCLUSION AS TAXABLE INCOME OF REIMBURSED MOVING EXPENSES

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Fulton] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, today I am pleased to join with my colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Burke] in offering a bill to provide for the exclusion as taxable income of certain reimbursed moving expenses for employees who are transferred by their employers to a new job location.

Reimbursements for these expenses are provided by employers to enhance the mobility of their own labor force and to prevent any undue hardship being suffered by the employee through relocation.

In 1954, with the issuance of revenue ruling No. 54-429, the Treasury has required that all such reimbursements with the exception of the "barebones" cost of transporting the employee, his family, and his possessions from the old location to the new, must be reported as income and are subject to withholding at the time of reimbursement.

In 1964 the situation was eased when the Congress, at the request of the administration in the interest of tax equalization, granted to all employees, old or new and reimbursed or unreimbursed, a deduction for the "barebones" expense of moving.

However, the question of reimbursements beyond this for relatively old employees was left for "judicial interpretation." An attempt to secure interpretation failed when the Supreme Court declined to review a Federal court's finding in favor of the Treasury. The Justice Department, in its brief—for the United States in opposition, *England* v. *United States*, Supreme Court docket No. 603, October term, 1965, page 11—argued that Congress rather than the courts is the appropriate forum to initiate a change in the tax treatment of reimbursed—moving—expenses.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is designed to do just that. In addition to excluding the cost of moving the employee, his family and household goods to the new place of work which are clearly nontaxable under present law, this bill would treat as nonincome any reimbursement of funds expended by the employee for:

First. House hunting trip of the employee and spouse when both the old and new job location are located within the United States.

Second. Temporary living expenses at the new employment location while awaiting occupancy of permanent quarters. Reimbursement here cannot exceed a period of 30 days except that the period is extended to 60 days when a taxpayer is moved from or to a foreign country such as Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone, or one of the possessions of the United States.

Third. Selling commissions and other expenses incident to the sale of the employee's old residence or to the settlement of an unexpired lease on the employee's old residence.

Fourth. Out-of-pocket expenses incident to the purchase of a residence at the new job location.

Fifth. Other miscellaneous expenses directly attributable to the transfer but not to exceed the lesser of 2 weeks' pay or $1,000 in the case of a family man or the lesser of 1 week's pay or $500 in the case of a single employee.

This special exclusion would be afforded employees who are reimbursed for these items providing they have been with the same employer or related employer for at least 1 year at the time of transfer.

ROBERT EMMET, GREAT IRISH PATRIOT

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. Fogarty] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, during the Easter recess of the House our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania, Dan Flood, and I journeyed to Dublin, Ireland, to dedicate a statue of that great Irish patriot, Robert Emmet.

The funds for the Emmet statue were raised here in the United States and its presentation to the Government of Ireland and its people was under the leadership of Mr. Francis Kane, a well-known Washington, D.C., businessman.

At the formal presentation of the statue on Wednesday, April 13, 1966, the address was delivered by Congressman Flood and as part of my remarks today, Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit for the Record the splendid speech made on that occasion by our colleague from Pennsylvania's 11th Congressional District.

Mr. Flood's address follows:

In America as in Ireland, the memory of Robert Emmet is held in honor and affection. In his 25 years of life, this brave and brilliant young man took a leading part in two insurrections. He joined, as a student leader of the United Irishmen, in the rebellion of 1798; and then, in 1803, he led the ill-fated rising for which he was executed. Emmet's rising, though it failed of the immediate success for which he and his companions had desperately hoped, has for more than a century and a half been an inspiration to the youth of Ireland, and to those of Irish descent all over the world. In song and story, in poetry and speeches, the name of Robert Emmet has been made familiar and dear to all who value their Irish blood, and to all who have, through the years, hoped and prayed and worked for the independence of Ireland.

The life and death of Robert Emmet are to be counted among the spiritual foundation stones of the Republic of Ireland. It is most fitting that this statue to Robert Emmet, being presented today, should stand in the capital city of the land he loved with all the passion of his young heart, Dublin, the city of his birth, of his scholarly studies, of his heroic leadership, and of his tragic death.

As we stand here today before this statue, raised to commemorate the patriotic devotion of Robert Emmet, I am sure there is not one of us but thinks in his heart of those eloquent and affecting words that he spoke before his execution on September 20, 1803. Many of us have learned those words from our fathers. Others have become familiar with them through study in school, through the memorizing and dramatic recitation of these few solemn words, uttered by a patriot in defense of his character, immediately before his death on the gibbet. "Was I to suffer only death, after being adjudged guilty," he said, "I should bow in silence to the fate which awaits me; but the sentence of the law which delivers over my body to the executioner, consigns my character to obloquy. A man in my situation has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune, but also the difficulties of prejudice. Whilst the man dies, his memory lives, and that mine may not forfeit all claim to the respect of my countrymen, I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alleged against me."

After this opening, Emmet proceeded to demolish the imputation that he had, in calling upon the aid of the French in his rising, intended to deliver Ireland into the power of the French. Roused to fury by the thought that such an accusation should be presented to his countrymen, and possibly win their belief, he rose momentarily from the sad calm that marks most of his statement, to spectacular drama and vivid imagery, in repelling the supposititious invasion: "Were the French to come as invaders or enemies uninvited by the wishes of the people, I should oppose them to the utmost of my strength. Yes, my countrymen, I should advise you to meet them upon the beach with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other."

After rejecting with scorn this false imputation, and exposing the mockery of his trial, whose verdict had been determined in advance, Robert Emmet came to that solemn final statement, whose every word falls upon our hearts with the impact, at once melancholy and stirring, of a roll of drums: "I have but a few words more to say—I am going to my cold and silent grave—my lamp of life is nearly extinguished—I have parted with everything that was dear to me in this life, and for my country's cause with the idol of my soul, the object of my affections. My race is run—the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world, it is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph; for as no man who knows my motives dare now vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them. Let them rest in obscurity and peace, my memory be left in oblivion, and my tomb remain uninscribed, until other times and other men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written."

Now is that green and glorious time, looked forward to with confident hope by the patriot Robert Emmet at the time of his execution, when Ireland has taken her place among the nations of the earth. Robert Emmet's epitaph may not yet have been written in words, but it has long been engraved in the hearts of Irishmen. The memory of his bravery, his sacrifice, and his love of Ireland has inspired generation after generation to patriotic efforts, and his monument stands today, not only in the statue before us, but in the free people and Government of Ireland.

Surely, Ireland has had no dearth of patriotic heroes, and many among them have led risings with more tangible results, and more apparent chance of ultimate success. Yet the personality of Robert Emmet, and the tragic power of his story, has enlarged his influence upon succeeding generations, so that he is justly looked upon as in the forefront of the liberators of Ireland, one of the heroes cherished in his own land, for his love of country, and admired and honored in other lands, for his single-hearted devotion to freedom. Thus it is not inappropriate that I apply to the glorious memory of Robert Emmet, as to the memory of the many others who have fought and died for freedom, during the long history of Ireland, the words written for America by the American poet, Charles Malam, in the dark years of World War II:

"Freedom, wherein we shelter us together
Against the rage of time and prowling man,
Is as a house which in the angry weather
Looks out through storm to the horizon's span.
Whatever warmth and comfort there we know
Our labor and our heartbreak made it so."

ISSUE OF TAX-EXEMPT PUBLICATIONS AD COMPETITION STILL UNRESOLVED

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I recently called upon the President to support my proposal for a thorough reform of our existing tax system as a means of providing adequate Federal revenues, and at the same time, to insure that economic restraints are applied equitably throughout all sectors of our economy. At that time, I suggested that an excellent place to begin was the special tax privileges presently afforded large oil companies by existing depreciation allowances.

Today, I want to call to the attention of my colleagues an excellent article pertaining to another sector of our economy which is reaping an apparent special tax privilege which was written by Morton Mintz and which appeared in the April 12 edition of the Washington Post. I also want to point out that I have requested the Director of the Internal Revenue Service to explain the inexcusable delay in issuing a ruling in this matter.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot comprehend how special interest groups can be afforded such lucrative special privileges when, at the same time, economic restraints are being suggested for the millions of dedicated workers on our Nation's farms, in our Nation's factories, and in our Nation's small business establishments. If fair and just economic restraints are to be applied and if our tax system is to be made an example of our democratic principle of equal and just treatment for all before the law, I say we must reform our tax system. The time for ending special privilege has long been overdue.

The above mentioned article is as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 12, 1966]

IRS Weighs 6-Year-Old Question—Issue of Tax-Exempt Publications Ad Competition Still Unresolved

(By Morton Mintz)

"Piety," the U.S. Court of Claims once said in a tax-exemption case involving a religious publishing house, "is no defense to the assessments of the tax collector."

Piety may not be a defense, but bureaucratic delay can serve in its stead.

It is more than 6 years since a major tax-exemption question was forcefully raised before the Internal Revenue Service, and it is still kicking around.

The issue is the tax-free status of revenues from advertising in magazines and other periodicals that are published by exempt organizations and that compete with tax-paying publications.

GROSS $100 MILLION

The tax-free publications number about 700 and gross an estimated $100 million a year. They range from highly specialized trade publications to general and prestigious ones, including the National Geographic, Nation's Business, which is published by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and Banking, put out by the American Bankers Association.

"Our tentative conclusions are still under active review," IRS Commissioner Sheldon Cohen said in response to a recent inquiry. The issue is "a most difficult one" to resolve.

On January 19, 1960, the issue was brought to the fore by the Associated Business Publications, an organization then representing 164 tax-paying publishing enterprises and now called the American Business Press, Inc.

In a legal brief to IRS, the group's Washington counsel, Robert A. Saltzstein, protested the booming competition of tax-exempt publications "which are also commercial enterprises."

MANY EXEMPT

Their sponsors are exempt because they are organized as trade or business leagues, or for scientific, educational, religious, labor, charitable or other public purposes.

The American Medical Association is one such exempt organization. Its 12 journals for physicians and its magazine for laymen compete with publications that have no exemption. The AMA Journal has competed so well that, in some years, it has carried more pages of advertising than any other national weeklies except the New Yorker and the Oil & Gas Journal.

In 1964, the AMA grossed $10.3 million—44.8 percent of its total income—from sale of advertising, $2.8 million from sale of subscriptions to nonmembers and $1 million from sale of mailing lists.

In October 1964, Bernard D. Hirsh, director of the law department of the AMA, said in a speech here that "there is educational value" in the drug advertisements published by medical society journals. This is true, he asserted, "when the doctor knows that such advertising must meet rigid standards of acceptability for publication."

Two recent episodes cast doubt on the educational value and rigid standards of ads in the AMA Journal.

In one case, Wallace Laboratories pleaded no contest to falsely advertising a prescription product, Pree MT, in the journal. The firm was fined $2,000 in Federal court in Trenton, N.J.

The second case involved Peritrate SA, a quantity of which was seized by the Food and Drug Administration. FDA said that this Warner-Lambert Pharmaceutical Co. product also was falsely advertised in the Journal.

A New Jersey physician who inquired of the AMA whether it invested in drug stocks received no reply. It would be, he wrote a Senate subcommittee in 1964, "reassuring to know that the AMA is not judging drugs in the capacity of a shareholder." The AMA valued its investment portfolio in 1964 at $8.7 million.

OPERATIONS CHALLENGED

Lawyer Saltzstein told IRS that there was no quarrel with the grant of a tax exemption to a publication that has a substantial relation with the approved public purpose of its sponsor.

But, he argued, there is no justification for exempting a publication that sells ads to individual businesses. All it is serving, he said, is a private interest.

As for solutions, it matters little to him whether tax exemptions are erased where abuses exist, or whether the rule be simply that, with some exceptions, publications accepting advertising pay income taxes on their ad revenues.

During the 6 years since the brief was filed, Saltzstein has maintained a persistent effort to get a ruling out of IRS.

For 4 years and 7 months after the brief went to IRS, the Wall Street Journal took a definitive look at the situation and reported that IRS "is about to alter the situation," perhaps "even this summer."

ACTION AWAITED

As of that date—July 24, 1964—the journal said, the expectation was that IRS would rule against exempting ads in periodicals not related to the public purposes for which the sponsoring organizations were chartered.

The journal cited estimates that the number of tax-exempt groups selling ads in their publications had grown from 416 to 695 in the decade ended in 1962, and that revenues had increased from $30 to $73 million.

Since then, two summers and two winters have gone by without announcement of a ruling. "Our efforts," Commissioner Cohen said recently, "have entailed extensive and time-consuming analyses of legal questions and activities peculiar to different types of organizations with widely varying purposes, programs, and income sources.

It is hoped that these efforts will result in the development of published regulations * * * which will resolve the advertising question."

TRIBUTE TO SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE ORVILLE L. FREEMAN

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. MORRISON] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday on the floor of this House the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] recommended the removal from office of Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman.

I do not propose, Mr. Speaker, to utilize this floor for an argument on the tenure of any Cabinet member. Such debate here, at best, is academic. More often it is time wasting and politically inspired—there is an old political axiom that it is easier to run against an opponent whose name does not appear on the ballot.

However, I believe any man's record of public service should be reviewed in the light of his accomplishments and his failures, rather than in terms of what might have happened had he followed the advice of his critics.

I shudder at the thought of what rural America would be today if those who have consistently voted against the commodity and rural development programs inaugurated since 1960 had managed to make their negative philosophies prevail.

It was just about 63 months ago that a young Orville Freeman, after experience in public service at local and State levels, accepted what is recognized as one of the most difficult assignments in the Federal Government—the job of Secretary of Agriculture.

He rolled up his sleeves and went to work on the 21st day of January 1961.

Two great Presidents, three sessions of the Congress, and thousands of farm and town rural families have never seen those sleeves come down.

What did Orville Freeman find when he walked into that office on Independence Avenue?

He found an American agriculture demoralized by philosophical and economic neglect.

He found that after 8 years of not being cared about very much, the American farm family was generally viewed as a producer of surpluses, and as a steady applicant for subsidies.

He found widespread belief that because a solution to the so-called farm problem was impossible, seeking a solution was impractical.

Orville Freeman crisscrossed this Nation and mounted every available platform to tell the truth about American farm families. And he created understanding of abundance in terms of blessing rather than burden.

In cooperation with the Congress and our farmers, he developed commodity programs designed to continue food abundance without waste of human or natural resources.

At the same time he advanced ideas for a new look at rural America as a place for people as well as farms. No vision of the America that can be has caught on—in both city and countryside—as well as Orville Freeman's vision of using rural space to ease the population and pollution pressures that have been steadily rising in urban America.

Through all these months, his eyes have never left the basic objective of this administration and this Congress—parity of income opportunity for the families on the Nation's farms.

What is the record in this respect?

In 1960, the average realized net income per farm in the United States was $2,956.

In 1965, it was $4,182.

This year it will be in the neighborhood of $4,600.

In the home State of the gentleman from Illinois, realized net income per farm jumped from an average of $3,704 in 1960 to nearly $6,000 in 1965. This year, with normal growing conditions, it will be bumping the $7,000 mark.

While farm income has been rising, the unneeded and unwanted commodity surpluses of 1960–61 have achieved the status of needed, and wanted, food reserves.

More Americans are enjoying better diets because the retail prices of foods are reasonable for those who can buy, and because—under Orville Freeman's leadership—we have improved through food stamps and direct distribution the eating opportunities of low-income and no-income families.

At the same time, the use of America's food and fiber abundance abroad—through sales for dollars and the food-for-freedom program—has risen steadily.

In fiscal 1959–60 the cash sales of U.S. agricultural products abroad amounted to $3.2 billion. By 1964–65 they had jumped to $4.4 billion. Fiscal 1965–66 will see them at another record high, over $5 billion.

Figuring prominently in the rising return of dollars to our shores through agricultural commodity sales is an important crop in the State of Illinois, soybeans.

When the Secretary of Agriculture set out to encourage increased production of soybeans, the wails of anguish were not only heard—but sounded as well—in this Chamber.

Secretary Freeman was, it was charged, seeking to depress farm income. He was, it was charged, seeking to create another surplus.

Again, what actually happened?

In 1960, Illinois farmers produced a soybean crop of 129 million bushels, valued at $288 million.

By 1965 production had reached nearly 175 million bushels, worth in excess of $419 million.

In the entire Nation, soybean production advanced from 555 million bushels in 1960 to nearly 844 million bushels in 1965, and the value of the crop to farmers rose from $1.1 billion in 1960 to more than $2 billion in 1965.

Dollar returns from foreign sales of soybeans advanced from $335 million in 1960 to more than $650 million in 1965.

If that is a record of failure by farmers and Government in the utilization of our agriculture's ability to produce abundance that serves both farmers and domestic and foreign consumers, something simply has to have been lost in the translation.

What we have been watching unfold over the last 5 years is a record of achievements.

There are more of the type of family farms equipped to return decent and dignified living standards to their operators than we had 63 months ago.

There is new hope for an improvement in the quality of life for more families in the towns and small cities of rural America. This new hope is the result of a more equitable distribution of Federal resources in the improvement of utility, health, and education services.

Rural America, all of it, is on the move.

And Orville Freeman has been, and still is, one of the principal movers.

An able, aggressive, dedicated public servant he is—first and last—a friend of the farm family. He has done a magnificent job.

The time for a change in Secretaries of Agriculture is a little late winning recognition from the gentleman from Illinois.

The people recognized the need way back in 1960, and took effective action.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows to:

Mr. Betts (at the request of Mr. Gerald R. Ford), for the balance of this week, on account of death in his family.

Mr. Grider, for April 26, 1966, on account of duties in his district, Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. Abbitt (at the request of Mr. Smith of Virginia), on account of death in the family.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. Thompson of Texas, for 30 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Feighan, for 15 minutes, today.

Mr. Goodell (at the request of Mr. McClory), for 15 minutes, today, to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Kupferman (at the request of Mr. McClory), for 30 minutes, Thursday, April 28, 1966; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Ashbrook (at the request of Mr. McClory), for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Morrison (at the request of Mr. Pucinski), for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Stratton (at the request of Mr. Pucinski), for 60 minutes, on April 27; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Farbstein (at the request of Mr. Pucinski), for 20 minutes, on April 28, 1966; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Congressional Record, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. Rogers of Colorado.

Mr. Hall and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Bingham.

Mr. Michel to insert tables in his remarks made today in the Committee of the Whole on H.R. 14596.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. McClory) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Devine.

Mr. Horton.

Mrs. May.

Mr. Anderson of Illinois.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Pucinski) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Cameron in two instances.

Mr. Powell.

Mr. Callan.

Mr. Culver.

Mr. Miller.

Mr. Pucinski.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 2421. An act to authorize the adjustment of the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands within the Columbia River at the mouth project in

the States of Washington and Oregon; to the Committee on Armed Services.

S. 2934. An act to provide needed additional means for the residents of rural America to achieve equality of opportunity by authorizing the making of grants for comprehensive planning for public services and development in community development districts approved by the Secretary of Agriculture; to the Committee on Agriculture.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 13369. An act to authorize the disposal of molybdenum from the national stockpile.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 13 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, April 27, 1966, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

2345. Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, a letter from the Chairman, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, transmitting the second progress report of the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization for the period ending March 31, 1966, filed with the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States as designee of the President, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 87-846, and Executive Order No. 10587, as amended on February 26, 1963, was taken from the Speaker's table, referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. PATMAN: Committee on Banking and Currency. H.R. 5305. A bill to authorize revised procedures for the destruction of unfit Federal Reserve notes, and for other purposes; with an amendment (Rept. No. 1449); referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 13103. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide equitable tax treatment for foreign investment in the United States; with amendments (Rept. No. 1450). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MOORE: Committee on the Judiciary. House Joint Resolution 1001. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the month of May in each year as "Steel Mark Month"; with amendments (Rept. No. 1451). Referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAMS:

H.R. 14614. A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, in order to make unlawful as unreasonable and unjust discrimination against and an undue burden upon interstate commerce, certain tax assessments of common carrier property, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ASHMORE:

H.R. 14615. A bill for the relief of certain members and former members of the Army on whose behalf erroneous payments were made for storage of household goods; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H.R. 14616. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish in the Veterans' Administration a national veterans' cemetery system consisting of all cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are or may be buried; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. CLARK:

H.R. 14617. A bill to provide compensation to survivors of local law enforcement officers killed while apprehending persons for committing Federal crimes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DEVINE:

H.R. 14618. A bill to make provisions for necessary travel controls; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FASCELL:

H.R. 14619. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institute of Health; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HANLEY:

H.R. 14620. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide for payment for podiatrists' services under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HATHAWAY:

H.R. 14621. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands in the State of Maine to the Mount Desert Island Regional School District; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. ICHORD:

H.R. 14622. A bill to amend section 302 of title 37, United States Code, to improve military physician career inducements and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. JOELSON:

H.R. 14623. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to establish the position of Chief Veterinary Officer of the Service and provide for the rank of Assistant Surgeon General for said position; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 14624. A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act to prevent the discontinuance of certain commuter operations which could benefit from new governmental programs for the improvement of commuter services, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 14625. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to make certain veterans with service-connected disabilities incurred after January 31, 1955, eligible for assistance in obtaining specially equipped automobiles; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. McDADE:

H.R. 14626. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code to require that the daily ration of members of the Army and Air Force contain at least as much butter as the daily ration prescribed for members of the Navy; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. POWELL:

H.R. 14627. A bill to amend the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act for the purpose of providing additional protection for the interests of participants in and beneficiaries of employee welfare and pension benefit plans; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. SIKES:

H.R. 14628. A bill to amend the Federal Firearms Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DONOHUE:

H.R. 14629. A bill to assist in the promotion of economic stabilization by requiring the disclosure of finance charges in connection with extensions of credit; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 14630. A bill to amend the Older Americans Act of 1965 in order to provide for a National Community Senior Service Corps; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 14631. A bill to protect the public health by amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act so as to improve the safety and reliability of drugs; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 14632. A bill to protect children and others from accidental death or injury by amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act with respect to aspirins intended for children, safety closures on drug containers, and cautionary labeling of containers of articles subject to the act where necessary to that end, and by amending the Federal Hazardous Substances Labeling Act to ban hazardous toys and articles intended for children, and other articles so hazardous as to be dangerous in the household regardless of labeling, and to apply to unpackaged articles intended for household use, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 14633. A bill to regulate interstate and foreign commerce by preventing the use of unfair or deceptive methods of packaging or labeling of certain consumer commodities distributed in such commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 14634. A bill to protect the public health by amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act for the purpose of strengthening and facilitating mutual cooperation and assistance, including training of personnel, in the administration and enforcement of that act and of State and local laws relating to food, drugs, devices, or cosmetics, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SHIPLEY:

H.R. 14635. A bill to designate the main dam of the Carlyle Reservoir on the Kaskaskia River, Ill., as the "Eldon E. Hazlet Dam"; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. TUNNEY:

H.R. 14636. A bill to declare that the United States holds certain lands in trust for the Quechan Indians of the Fort Yuma Reservation, Calif.; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. DENT:

H.R. 14637. A bill to amend section 231 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 14638. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to liberalize the provisions of that title providing for a reopening of the national service life insurance program; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. FRASER:

H.R. 14639. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to permit, for 1 year, the granting of national service life insurance to certain veterans heretofore eligible for such insurance; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. LOVE:

H.R. 14640. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase the investment credit allowable with respect to facilities to control water and air pollution, and to permit the amortization of the cost of constructing such facilities within a period of from 1 to 5 years; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WIDNALL:

H.R. 14641. A bill to amend section 13a(2) of the Interstate Commerce Act, relating to the discontinuance or change of certain intrastate operations or services, in order to extend the time for State action prior to petitioning the Interstate Commerce Commission; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN:

H.R. 14642. A bill to amend section 13a(2) of the Interstate Commerce Act, relating to the discontinuance or change of certain intrastate operations or services, in order to extend the time for State action prior to petitioning the Interstate Commerce Commission; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BRADEMAS:

H.R. 14643. A bill to provide for the strengthening of American educational resources for international studies and research; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon:

H.R. 14644. A bill to amend the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 to extend it for 3 years and for other purposes; and to authorize assistance to developing institutions for an additional year; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. FULTON of Tennessee:

H.R. 14645. A bill to provide for the exclusion of "sick pay" benefits from gross income of employees until such time as they are not expected to work because, for example, they have reached the age for compulsory retirement, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 14646. A bill to exclude from income certain reimbursed moving expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 14647. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs, cats, and other animals intended to be used for purposes of research or experimentation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MACDONALD:

H.R. 14648. A bill to extend for 2 years the period for which payments in lieu of taxes may be made with respect to certain real property transferred by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its subsidiaries to other Government departments; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 14649. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act to provide for the inclusion in the computation of accredited service of certain periods of service rendered States or instrumentalities of States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. SKUBITZ:

H.R. 14650. A bill to grant the consent of the United States to the Arkansas River Basin compact, Kansas-Oklahoma; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WHALLEY:

H.R. 14651. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to establish in the Veterans' Administration a national veterans' cemetery system consisting of all cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are or may be buried; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. ASHLEY:

H.J. Res. 1089. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CAREY:

H.J. Res. 1090. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CASEY:

H.J. Res. 1091. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CORMAN:

H.J. Res. 1092. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DADDARIO:

H.J. Res. 1093. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.J. Res. 1094. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FRASER:

H.J. Res. 1095. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FULTON of Tennessee:

H.J. Res. 1096. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GILBERT:

H.J. Res. 1097. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GILLIGAN:

H.J. Res. 1098. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GRIDER:

H.J. Res. 1099. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HOLIFIELD:

H.J. Res. 1100. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. KARTH:

H.J. Res. 1101. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H.J. Res. 1102. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MOORHEAD:

H.J. Res. 1103. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MOSS:

H.J. Res. 1104. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MULTER:

H.J. Res. 1105. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. OLSON of Minnesota:

H.J. Res. 1106. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. PRICE:

H.J. Res. 1107. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. REES:

H.J. Res. 1108. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania:

H.J. Res. 1109. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. RIVERS of Alaska:

H.J. Res. 1110. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.J. Res. 1111. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SCHEUER:

H.J. Res. 1112. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SCOTT:

H.J. Res. 1113. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SISK:

H.J. Res. 1114. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey:

H.J. Res. 1115. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. UDALL:

H.J. Res. 1116. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WRIGHT:

H.J. Res. 1117. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FUQUA:

H.J. Res. 1118. Joint resolution to amend section 316 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to extend the time by which a lease transferring a tobacco acreage allotment may be filed; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. KING of New York:

H.J. Res. 1119. Joint resolution to authorize the President to issue a proclamation for the commemoration and observance of the millennium of the Polish nation in the calendar year 1966; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.J. Res. 1120. Joint resolution to authorize the President of the United States to proclaim August 28, 1966, as "Polish Millennium Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PUCINSKI:

H.J. Res. 1121. Joint resolution to authorize the President of the United States to proclaim August 28, 1966, as "Polish Millennium Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. REID of Illinois:

H.J. Res. 1122. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to permit voluntary participation in prayer in public schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RONAN:

H.J. Res. 1123. Joint resolution to authorize the President of the United States to proclaim August 28, 1966, as "Polish Millennium Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 14652. A bill for the relief of Fen Iang Kuo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14653. A bill for the relief of Dr. Henry B. So; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BARRETT:

H.R. 14654. A bill for the relief of Annette Mary Lynch; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 14655. A bill for the relief of Sun Lee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 14656. A bill for the relief of Georgios Komninos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HUOT:

H.R. 14657. A bill for the relief of Antonio Corsaro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOELSON:

H.R. 14658. A bill for the relief of Franz Soni; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KING of California:

H.R. 14659. A bill for the relief of Wayne Waitman and Deborah Waitman; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KREBS:

H.R. 14660. A bill for the relief of Andrew Gondor; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14661. A bill for the relief of Luis Donato Rodrigues; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McDADE:

H.R. 14662. A bill for the relief of Ella Winnifred Rich; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MACKIE:

H.R. 14663. A bill for the relief of Sidony Walters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts:

H.R. 14664. A bill for the relief of Paul D. Chisholm; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 14665. A bill for the relief of Hideo Yahashi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MORSE:

H.R. 14666. A bill for the relief of Gerau Amine Hanna; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 14667. A bill for the relief of Kyoko Sugita; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMITH of California:

H.R. 14668. A bill for the relief of Leonard Prado; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Salute to Tanzania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the people of Tanzania today mark their second anniversary as an independent and united Republic. On this occasion, therefore, I am happy to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Dr. Julius Nyerere, the President of Tanzania; and His Excellency Michael Lukumbuzya, Tanzania's Ambassador to the United States.

This union of the former independent states of Tanganyika—gained independence in December 1961—and Zanzibar—independent in December 1963—somewhat shocked some political observers. Indeed, many skeptics doomed the union to failure. However, they have proved wrong, and the Republic has continued. The concept of African unity has long been a goal of the majority of Africa's leaders, and a successful Tanzania may substantially assist in the realization of that goal.

As a result of the September 1965 elections Dr. Nyerere was reelected as President of Tanzania, and the Government has steadily continued its attack on the problems of poverty and illiteracy and sickness which afflict many of its citizens.

Agriculture, livestock, and fishing comprise the basis of the economy in both parts of the Republic. On the mainland the most important cash crops are sisal, coffee, and cotton. Zanzibar is a leading producer of cloves and coconuts. Mineral production on the mainland is growing at a rapid rate with gold, lead, mica, tin, iron, and tungsten found available.

Transportation problems and shortages of capital have thus far prevented their exploitation. In addition to those industries involving crop processing and the treatment of minerals, Tanzania has a substantial and still growing range of consumer goods industries such as aluminum, soft drinks, cigarettes, bricks and tiles, concrete, chemicals, and textiles.

Realizing the need for an educated citizenry, Tanzania has given urgent attention to expanding educational facilities, particularly at postprimary levels. Great Britain has assisted through supplying some teachers for Tanzanian schools, and American Peace Corps volunteers have played a significant role in educating Tanzania's younger citizens of tomorrow.

Tanzania has played a leading role in the international community, and is a very active member of the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth, the United Nations, and with Kenya and Uganda, of the East African Common Services Organization.

I am well aware of the awesome tasks which President Nyerere and his people have undertaken as they attempt to mold a modern and unified state, but I am also certain that they have the courage and determination to see their problems through. As they take a few brief moments to observe their second independence anniversary of a united republic, I extend my warmest greeting and best wishes for the future and congratulate them on a job well done.

"Mr. United" Retires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, as many of our colleagues know, Mr. W. A. Patterson is retiring this week as the chairman of the board and chief executive of United Air Lines.

This giant among the champions of the free enterprise system has guided his company from its infancy until now when it has become the largest domestic airline and one of the truly great transportation companies in the world.

Mr. Patterson, affectionately known as "Pat" to his close associates, through his dynamic leadership, has won the respect of all persons interested in the continued sound growth and progress in our air transportation system.

Over 38,000 United Air Lines employees will sorely miss the guidance, wisdom, and foresight of "Pat" as well as his qualities of humanity and compassion.

Railroad Mergers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, the Interstate Commerce Commission is now considering a proposed merger of the Union Pacific and the Rock Island Railroads. This proposal is of great concern to the people of the State of Colorado. Particularly to the people of the city and county of Denver because the economic interests of the State are vitally affected by the outcome of this proposal.

The history of the economic growth in the State of Colorado shows that there should be a transcontinental railroad through the State of Colorado. When transcontinental railroads were being constructed, none of them came through the State of Colorado or to the city and county of Denver. It became necessary for the public-spirited citizens of Denver to construct a spur line to a transcontinental railroad in order to have railroad service in Colorado.

When the economic development of the State became more secure, railroads were constructed from Council Bluffs, Iowa, and Kansas City, Mo., to the city and county of Denver. Thereafter the

Rio Grande Western Railroad extended railroad service to the West.

When the good citizens of Colorado brought about the construction of the Moffat Tunnel there was established a central gateway which maintained a competitive central transcontinental route. This has contributed to the continued growth of the State of Colorado.

It is absolutely essential that we should maintain a competitive transcontinental route through the State of Colorado, and it is my hope that when the cross-examination of witnesses in connection with this merger is conducted, a complete explanation can be obtained as to the intention and purposes of the railroads' operation in the State of Colorado in the future. It should be made clear that nothing must weaken the position of Denver and Colorado as a transcontinental rail gateway. Further, it should be made clear that the competitive situation should continue and not be diminished, as I believe that fully competitive transcontinental systems contribute to the economy of all the people of the West and assist our national defense transportation system.

There are alternative methods whereby competitive situations may continue in the future. One would be to permit the continued operation of the Rock Island Railroad to the city and county of Denver. Should it be necessary to dispose of the Rock Island Railroad, a competitive situation could continue by permitting the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad to acquire the same, as the Union Pacific has already agreed to dispose of that part of the Rock Island system south of Kansas City and Topeka, Kans. It is logical that there should not be a monopoly on rail transportation west of the Missouri River.

The continued economic growth of the city and county of Denver will depend upon the final decision in this case. Should the competitive situation be eliminated or weakened, then many employees in the industry will lose their jobs. The businessmen will be restricted and denied a competitive situation that could lead to their ultimate elimination from the economy of Denver.

It is my hope that the Commission will continue the competitive situation that now exists.

The 160th Anniversary of the Valspar Corp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, during 1966 the Valspar Corp., which has its national headquarters in the 16th Congressional District of Illinois, is celebrating its 160th anniversary as one of our Nation's oldest and largest paint firms. Of even greater historical significance, however, is the fact that Valspar's early founding makes it America's first varnish manufacturer.

The story of Valspar's founding and its subsequent growth is symbolic of the achievement possible only in our great free enterprise economy.

R. J. Baudhuin, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Valspar recently stated while announcing commemorative plans for the anniversary from corporate headquarters in Rockford, Ill.:

> Valspar has been a partner in American history for 160 years. This company has demonstrated that a commercial enterprise can be an integral part of the Nation's progress, both in peace and war. It is a role of which we are very proud.

Baudhuin pointed out that his observation was rooted in fact. He cited interesting data showing that the Valspar Corp.'s history from the turn of the 19th century has paralleled and participated in that of the country.

Founded in 1806, before the British recognized the independence of the American colonies, the company had a modest but symbolic start in the American adventure. Its birthplace was a shop in Cambridge, Mass., on the exact site where later stood "The Village Smithy," the old blacksmith shop which was the inspiration for Longfellow's famous poem. There the major item to be marketed was beeswax which was used on the ropes of sailing ships—forerunner of the varnishes developed later.

The first varnish ever to be commercially maunfactured in the United States was to come from the back of that little shop, not more than 14 years later after its doors were opened for business. This first batch of varnish was cooked in an 8-gallon crock in 1820 by two industrial pioneers, Franklin Houghton and David McClure, according to a formula they had purchased. Soon their varnish was in demand for the spars of sailing ships—ships that plied the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, carrying the trade of the struggling young Republic to an expanding horizon.

In 1857 Lawson Valentine, who was to hire the first chemist in the varnish business and to perfect the first free-flowing and smooth-drying varnish for widespread use, took over the company. It became known throughout the world, and is still recognized in many countries as Valentine & Co. The spars of the famous Yankee Clipper ships gleamed and braved the stormy seas and winds with coatings of Valentine varnish. In the Civil War, steam locomotives, too, as well as Clipper ships were protected with the company's finishes.

The corporation's present name, Valspar, represents this early history, combining the first syllable of the pioneering "Valentine" and the word "spar" the initial use of its product.

Up to the present space age, Valspar's finishes have continued to accompany men, materials, and machines that make American history. The company's protective coatings followed Admiral Peary in his Polar expeditions of the 1900's, insulating his party's skis, sleds, and snowshoes against the extreme elements. America's World War I aerial workhorse, the "Jenny," was covered with Valspar finishes, as were later airplanes, including Lindbergh's *Spirit of St. Louis*.

In 1932, they helped C. William Beebe set his diving record. They followed America through World War II. When men looked to space for new conquests and probed the unknown, Valspar assisted with new, revolutionary coatings.

Valspar's nonwhitening varnish was developed early in the 1900's and the current trademark, showing a man pouring boiling water on a table top to demonstrate the varnish's waterproof qualities, became famous at that time.

Today, the Valspar Corp. has 9 divisions, 8 factories, 10 sales offices and warehouses, and 4 foreign offices and affiliates. The Valspar name appears on varnishes, clears, paints, and allied products that are marketed nationally. In addition, through its divisions, the company sells products regionally under various trade names, mainly Keystone in the East, Rockcote in the Middle West, and McMurtry in the Rocky Mountain area.

Poland: A Millennium of Pride

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, this year two European nations are celebrating important and inspiring anniversaries. Seen in an historical light, their anniversaries bear some remarkable resemblances and some instructive contrasts. It was 50 years ago that a small band of Irish patriots staged an heroic though unsuccessful rebellion against British rule in Ireland. Five years later Ireland gained her independence and has swiftly become one of the more responsible countries in the community of nations.

The other country which deserves our congratulatory attention, of course, is Poland, now in her 1,000th year of civilization and nationhood. Besides the fact that both of these countries have given much to the world through their talented and energetic peoples, they have in common a Catholic heritage, which has proved a significant factor in their social development.

While under the grip of British despotism, the Irish Catholic priests did much to keep the spirit of Irish nationalism alive and dynamic. We see the same phenomenon now operating in Poland as the Catholic Church, represented by the indomitable Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, strives to keep a proud Polish people from being inundated by the factitious floodtide of an atheistic Communist regime. Communist boss, Wladyslaw Gomulka, has sought for years to suppress the traditional Polish Catholic Church and subject it and its followers to an acceptance of state supremacy in all matters. The church has firmly held its own though and refused to knuckle under. It was this same spirit of fierce national pride which a surprised Hitler found himself confronted with in attempting to quickly overrun and subdue the Polish nation in 1939.

As this year's millennium celebrations continue, Poland's church-state struggle will undoubtedly come into sharper focus. The regime has thus far tried to turn the festivities into a drive to promote loyalty to the Marxist state. Were it not for the deep tragedy of Poland's recent history, there would be certain aspects of comedy in this crude Communist campaign. Like his next door neighbor, Herr Ulbricht of East Germany, Gomulka has a penchant for political farce that fools nobody but himself.

In this glorious year, then, of Poland's millennium celebration, let a deep-felt hope be expressed by the free nations of the world that the people of Poland will stand firm in their belief of Christian ideas and political freedoms. Let Cardinal Wyszynski, in his lonely crusade, draw strength from that Frenchman, Alfred de Musset, who once observed, "Christianity ruined emperors, but saved peoples." Let the Polish people take inspiration from the example of Ireland and be convinced that the struggle for independence can be won.

To a nation which has given the world a Nicholas Copernicus, a Fryderyk Chopin, and a Wanda Landowska, I join with my colleagues in extending Poland grateful congratulations on this, her 1,000th anniversary.

Questionnaire Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CATHERINE MAY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, in early March of this year I polled my constituency for their views on 12 current issues, and I am pleased to say the response to my questionnaire, which is a project I have undertaken in each congressional term, was exceedingly heavy, as has always been the case in the Fourth Congressional District of the State of Washington.

I advised my constituency at the time their views were requested that I would place the tabulated results of the questionnaire in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the information of my colleagues and all branches of the Federal Government. I have also brought the questionnaire results to the attention of the President.

Several thousands of the questionnaires were completed and returned with accompanying letters in which my constituents expanded their views, and these letters are indeed helpful to me as their representative in Congress.

Under unanimous consent I am pleased to report the tabulation of opinion for the 12-county Fourth Congressional District of the State of Washington as follows:

4th Congressional District (all 12 counties)

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No answer
Do you favor:			
1. The President's course of action in opposing Communist aggression in Vietnam?	67	26	7
2. Postponing expansion of social welfare spending programs until Vietnam costs can be reduced?	78	18	4
3. Revision of and reduced spending in our foreign aid programs?	88	8	4
4. The President's proposal for U.S. financing of worldwide welfare programs in health and education?	15	80	5
5. A congressional investigation of waste and corruption in the new poverty programs?	88	8	4
6. Repeal of sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which permits States to adopt right-to-work laws?	20	73	7
7. Restoration of the recently reduced excise taxes on automobiles and telephones?	32	62	6
8. A tax credit to help individuals meet the increasing costs of higher education?	63	30	7
9. Further restrictions on law-abiding adults in the purchase or ownership of rifles, shotguns, and pistols?	23	72	5
10. Extending a minimum wage to farm labor?	50	43	7
11. The right of any State to apportion 1 house of its legislature on factors other than population?	59	30	11
12. Sale of wheat and other commodities to Russia and/or other Communist bloc nations?	29	65	6

Counties in the Fourth Congressional District are Adams, Asotin, Benton, Columbia, Franklin, Garfield, Grant, Kittitas, Klickitat, Walla Walla, Whitman, and Yakima.

Department of Agriculture and Related Agencies Appropriation Bill, 1967

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I voted against the motion to add to the agriculture appropriation bill the proviso:

> That no funds appropriated by this Act shall be used to formulate or administer programs for the sale of agricultural commodities pursuant to titles I or IV of Public Law 480, Eighty-third Congress, as amended, to any nation which sells or furnishes or which permits ships or aircraft under its registry to transport to North Vietnam any equipment, materials, or commodities, so long as North Vietnam is governed by a Communist regime.

Presumably, the objective of the supporters of this motion was to reduce the flow of equipment and supplies to North Vietnam. I fully agree with this objective, as does the administration. As a matter of fact, the administration through the use of quiet, behind-the-scenes diplomacy, has pursued that objective with notable success. The flow of supplies to North Vietnam from non-Communist sources has actually been slowed to a trickle.

The reason I voted against the proviso is that I do not believe it will serve its purpose, and that it is likely to do severe damage to other objectives of our foreign policy.

I cannot say positively what the damage will be, because there was no debate in the House when this motion was made, or when an identical amendment was previously proposed. Nor was there any discussion of such a proviso, so far as I have been able to discover, in the committee hearings on the bill.

In other words, when this motion came before us for a vote, we had been given no information on the following questions: First, what nations receiving aid in the form of agricultural commodities are now shipping any goods to North Vietnam, and to what extent? Second, to what extent would the addition of the proviso serve to reduce this flow, if there is any such flow? Third, what harmful effects might the addition of this proviso have on other aspects of our foreign policy? The executive branch was given no opportunity to furnish answers to these questions.

Thus, for all we know, this proviso might require the stopping of the aid we recently voted to meet near-famine conditions in India. We cannot expect a nonalined country such as India to take action in support of our military efforts in the Vietnam conflict Yet this proviso represents a kind of blackmail in an effort to force all countries receiving our agricultural commodities to do just that. It may be that India is shipping nothing to North Vietnam, or only an insignificant amount. In that case, the proviso would only cause embarrassment to the government of Mrs. Gandhi, which might well find it impossible to answer a question in Parliament whether it was going to "knuckle under to American pressure" by legislating against any shipment of Indian goods to North Vietnam.

The method of attaining the agreed objective here is about like a policeman shooting at a thief in a dark room which is also occupied by a number of innocent people.

One final point, Mr. Chairman. As drawn, the proviso would continue to apply even after the end of hostilities in Vietnam and the achievement of a peaceful settlement, "so long as North Vietnam is governed by a Communist regime." This is contrary to our frequently announced policy that we are not seeking to destroy or overthrow the present Government of North Vietnam.

I hope that the proviso, which I regard as at best unnecessary and at worst mischievous, will be deleted from the bill in the Senate and in the conference committee.

Culver Praises Clinton Engines Corp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, one of the least understood aspects of our efforts to assist the developing nations of the world to help themselves is the important role played by U.S. manufacturers. During 1965, for example, American business and industry supplied 92 percent of the commodities financed under the foreign aid program. We are, in fact, through the commercial import program of the Agency for International Development exporting goods and services, rather than dollars.

Last year, when aid procurement contracts with industries in the State of Iowa exceeded $2,200,000, one of the most important contributors was the Clinton Engines Corp., located in Maquoketa, Iowa. As the leading American exporter of gasoline engines of less than 10 horsepower, the Clinton Engines Corp. is in a strong position to importantly assist in development abroad. My most recent visit to the Maquoketa plant during the Easter recess of Congress offered further impressive evidence of the dedicated efforts of officials and employees which have brought the company to this position of leadership.

A chief benefactor of the productive ability and growing export sales operations of the Maquoketa firm is South Vietnam. Approximately $2 million worth of Clinton engines, ranging in size from 2.7 to 6 horsepower, have been shipped to South Vietnam and are being used effectively to help farmers in the problem of how to pump water short distances from canals to productive fields. Mekong River Delta solve the area's basic

As a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, I had the opportunity to visit South Vietnam and travel extensively across southeast Asia last fall. Perhaps the most vivid recollection from the trip was the firsthand inspection of famine conditions in India and throughout the area where the rate of agricultural development has failed to keep pace with population growth and the rising demand for more and better food.

It is painfully clear that progress and freedom in this troubled sector of the world are inextricably linked to the ability of the governments to provide a better way of life for their people by effectively dealing with the prevalent problems of hunger, disease, and ignorance. To assist in meeting these critical problems our aid efforts are being more heavily concentrated in the basic areas of agriculture, health, and education. In the specific field of food production, we are attempting to develop the agricultural potential of these countries by furnishing fertilizer, machinery, and technical knowledge, and by conditioning our assistance on the adoption of national policies which encourage agricultural growth.

The equipment manfactured by the Clinton Engines Corp. is importantly furthering the objectives of our foreign policy by reducing the cost of food production and increasing the ability of the South Vietnamese to meet their own needs at this difficult time. I am, therefore, extremely proud to bring these accomplishments to the attention of my colleagues, and commend the company for its outstanding contribution to the cause of stability and peace throughout the world.

Horton Recognizes National Library Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, last week, April 17–23, we celebrated National Library Week, a nationwide operation designed to encourage reading and the use of libraries. The observance was in its 9th year of sponsorship by the American Library Association and the National Book Committee, two distinguished nonprofit organizations.

One of the most important areas of library growth is in our Nation's public schools. The support given a schoolchild by a school library and an enthusiastic librarian is vital, especially for children from a deprived background—a fact recognized by Congress in the passage last year of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. I am proud to say that the city of Rochester, N.Y., with a population of over 300,000, has a library and a librarian in each of its secondary schools—and 3 of these schools have 2 librarians apiece. Although there are no libraries or librarians in the 45 elementary schools, every classroom has its collection of books whose total value comes to $3 a child—and an increase has been requested for next year.

Next year, moreover, there will be libraries, and librarians to go with them, in four elementary schools—three of them supported by title I funds from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

While I am discussing library services in Rochester, I might add that the city is noted for its contributions to the fields of library science and services. The Eastman Kodak Co. particularly has added greatly to the field of documentation by developing microreproduction systems, and the Xerox Corp. is actively exploring the field of teaching machines which can have great bearing on the future of school libraries.

As a member of the District of Columbia Committee, however, I have had occasion to contrast the school library situation here in Washington with that in my home area. Much has been done; much remains. The contrast is strongest in the allocation of money for library books: This Capital City of well over 800,000 can provide only 50 cents worth of books for every elementary child, and $1 worth on the junior and senior high school level. The city has sought to double both these allocations in fiscal 1967. Combined with funds from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, granting of this request would put the schools within hailing distance of those in Rochester—and all would still fall short of the ALA standards of an investment of $4 to $6 per student in library books.

Not only books but people count—trained, friendly librarians to show a child how to unlock the storerooms of knowledge. Although Washington's secondary schools now have one or more librarians apiece, about 50 of our elementary schools still have no central library facilities and no professional or voluntary library personnel. Their library books are dispersed, for want of staff, among the classrooms or packed away in storage.

For fiscal 1967 the city proposes to add 21 more elementary school librarians to the 43 now employed. This will still leave over half the elementary schools without librarians. These are primarily the smaller, older schools in the central area, so crowded with children that they lack a separate room of any kind for a library. For the following fiscal year, the school administration is trying to work out ways to use office space in these schools to create even a tiny working space for a librarian—even though the books might have to be rotated among the classrooms.

The schoolchildren in the District of Columbia deserve, in my opinion, the equivalent of what is provided for the children in our own districts. I support the goals of National Library Week, and hope to see them translated into fact for the schools of our Nation's Capital.

The Land of the Fee, or the Land of the Free?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, today the House's Public Works Subcommittee on

Rivers and Harbors opened hearings on bills to revoke the authority to charge admission fees at our Federal reservoirs. As one of the sponsors of this legislation I testified in support of H.R. 13759 and similar legislation. I believe adoption of this legislation is vital if we are to keep this the land of the free, instead of the land of the fee. Following are my remarks before the committee:

Mr. Chairman, I have before me petitions bearing the signatures of more than 23,000 persons who reside in the Seventh Congressional District of Missouri, expressing opposition to the present plan to charge admission fees to our Federal reservoirs, and supporting my bill, H.R. 13759, which would revoke the authority to impose these fees on flood control projects where recreation benefits constitute less than 50 percent of the benefit-cost allocation.

These petitions were circulated by private citizens and they were acquired within the last 3 weeks. I'm certain that, if enough time prevailed, at least five times that many could have been obtained.

In the case of every reservoir built, or now under construction, our people were never given the slightest indication that admission fees would be imposed for access to public-use areas. They regard the imposition of these entrance fees as a betrayal of past policy, and a contradiction of the agreements, which were entered into in good faith by the Federal Government, the States, and the individual citizens.

I have here a copy of the White River Leader, published in Branson, Mo., on August 20, 1954. It contains a speech made at a mass meeting in Branson by Col. Staunton L. Brown, detailing the plans and procedures to be followed in the construction program at Table Rock Reservoir, one of the reservoirs in which entrance fees are now due to be implemented. On the subject of recreation benefits, Colonel Brown said, in part: "It is a good project, one which has been studied for many years and shown to have a good cost-benefit ratio, one that will furnish more benefits than its cost. It will provide you a new recreation area which is not considered in our studies as a benefit to be reckoned in dollars and cents."

If the entrance fees to public-use areas are now imposed, and enforced, the previous assurance that these recreation benefits will not be reckoned in dollars and cents will prove to be hollow.

We all recall the debate during consideration of the Land and Water Conservation Act. An amendment was to have been offered to exclude Federal reservoirs because they are primarily flood control projects, rather than recreation projects. But when assurances were given that no charge would be made for the use of the water, the amendment was not pressed.

Under present plans, however, the only way the water can be used, without paying the entrance fee, is for the boatsman to either float his family down a tributary, or drop into the lake by parachute or plane. He may not have to pay to use the water, but he has to buy a permit to reach the water. I think the committee will agree with me that this evades the intent of the act, and was never intended by the Congress.

On March 31 of this year, during the debate on H.R. 2829, concerning the Manson Unit, Chief Joseph Dam project, I had a colloquy with the chairman of the House Interior Committee. I asked if the 50-cent-a-day, or annual $7 fees would be applicable for ingress into the area. The chairman replied: "I cannot speak about what is in the minds of the Secretaries involved, but if there is any development which would lead to the necessity for an entrance fee, an entrance fee could be charged in this particular project.

"On the other hand, a user fee will more than likely be charged. There is no question about the user fees. There is a question as to the entrance fees, because there has to be a road providing for ingress or egress, or proper public facilities, or such. In this particular instance * * * I would doubt if the entrance fees will be charged. I mean this is a small reservoir. There is a question about entrance fees, but I am sure users fees will be charged."

The chairman then reminded that the use of the water itself carries with it no fees.

I then remarked: "But that means the only way that you can gain ingress to the lake, which is free of charge is to float downstream on a contributing tributary."

The chairman replied: "I think my colleague is correct, providing the administrating authorities wish to go that far and incur the wrath of some of the users. I know a difficulty is going on at the present time."

That is an understatement, Mr. Chairman, and the administration has gone that far at our Federal reservoirs, and it surely is "incurring the wrath of some," indeed probably 99 percent of the users.

Mr. Chairman, as we all know, the Corps of Engineers was expected to develop its regulations for the implementation of these user fees last June, but they were unable to do so. I can only presume that, under pressure from the Secretary of the Interior, they were eventually required to promulgate regulations.

When I asked the Director of Civil Works to postpone the implementation of the entrance fees, he advised: "During 1965, the Chief of Engineers caused a series of studies to be made to determine at which of the numerous public access areas at reservoir projects not outleased to others it would be economically feasible to impose entrance fees during 1965. These studies indicated it was extremely difficult to make such determinations on an equitable basis. They also indicated that the cost of collection would be extremely high, if manned collection points were used at each access point.

"In an effort to cooperate with the program and to carry out the intent of the law, the Secretary of the Army approved 95 reservoirs * * * as designated areas. Visitors to corps-operated access points at designated projects will be expected to have one of the various required permits."

These regulations, Mr. Chairman, are a direct result of pressure from the Secretary of the Interior, according to a letter which I have from the Director of Civil Works of the Corps of Engineers, and which I will submit for the hearing record. He says:

"The regulations of the Secretary of the Interior for further implementation of Public Law 88-578 and published as part 18, title 43, CFR, specifically refer to the projects of the corps and set the range of fees for entrance, admission, and user charges."

Now, in advance of the effective date, they're threatening $100 fines for violators who are apprehended.

One organization, the Hermitage, Mo., Lions Club, already has felt compelled to cancel its free public boat races and fireworks display at Lake Pomme de Terre this summer, because of this fee. The club president asked permission from the Corps of Engineers to lift or waive the fee in the area planned for the display and race, and was turned down. I fear that many other public outings of this type will be deterred so long as visitors must pay the required entrance fee, and I'm confident this was never the intent of Congress.

Thousands of older people who live on small retirement incomes shouldn't have to pay an admission fee to gain access to these recreation areas, which their taxes have already paid for.

I am perfectly willing, Mr. Chairman, for my bill to be amended and strike out the word "user" fee, so that specific Government-provided facilities, such as shower rooms and other improvements, can be maintained and improved through "user" charges. But that is a much less restricted charge, than the broad admission, or entrance, fees that have been imposed.

I would like to provide, for the record, communications from a number of organizations in our district supporting my bill. They include:

The Regional Development Association of OZARKA;

The Hermitage Lions Club;

The Stockton Lions Club;

The Stockton Investment Development Corp.;

The Chambers of Commerce of Joplin, Carthage, Noel, and Warsaw; and

The Pomme de Terre League of Hermitage, Mo., Ozark Playgrounds Association.

I think these letters of support, in addition to the 23,000-plus signatures which are on the petitions I have here, are ample evidence that the people strongly oppose admission fees at our Federal reservoirs, and I hope this committee will take affirmative action on the bills many of us have introduced to carry out their will.

Thank you for holding these hearings and for the opportunity to appear before you.

Agriculture Has Made America Strong and Great

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, American agriculture has made this Nation strong and great.

History shows that countries to be strong must have a flourishing agriculture.

There is a lesson here for the underdeveloped countries of the world. Industrial development follows when a nation's agricultural production is in a strong productive position. The reverse order does not follow.

American agriculture has advanced more in the past 50 years than in all the prior years of our history.

What does this mean? It means that the American consumer and the world has benefited from abundant, wholesome food when, where, and how it is desired.

The United States is the world's largest exporter of agricultural products.

Of our 300 million harvested acres, 80 million produce for export. The land producing for export represents about the same acreage of cropland as that harvested in Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, and Illinois. The value of these foods is $6.2 billion.

Our agricultural abundance is a strong force for world peace. Our food is helping to relieve hunger and to promote economic growth in the newly emerging countries of the world.

Our agriculture is an efficient, progressive industry. One hour of farm labor produces more than five times as much food and other crops as it did in 1919–21. Crop production is 70 percent higher per acre. Output per breeding animal has doubled. Productivity of the American farmworker since the 1950's increased by 7.7 percent a year.

Output per man-hour in nonagricultural industries increased by 2.8 percent a year.

Today the farm worker produces food, fiber and other farm commodities for himself and 32 others.

Our strong flourishing agriculture has many economic ramifications:

It is the Nation's biggest industry—employs 6 million workers. This is more than the combined employment in transportation, public utilities, the steel industry, and the automobile industry.

Assets total $230 billion, about ⅔ of the value of current assets of all corporations in the United States; or about one-half the market value of all corporation stocks on the New York Stock Exchange.

Three out of every 10 jobs in private employment are related to agriculture. Six million people have jobs providing the supplies farmers use for production and family living. Eight to 10 million people have jobs storing, transporting, processing, and merchandising the products of agriculture.

Much of our industrial development in this country was built because of the needs of a strong agriculture. The farmer spends nearly $30 billion a year for goods and services to produce crops and livestock; another $12 billion a year for the same things that city people buy—food, clothing, drugs, furniture, appliances, and other products and services.

The following is a breakdown of the farmer's purchases each year:

For new farm tractors and other motor vehicles, machinery, and equipment, $3.4 billion. It takes 120,000 employees to produce this farm equipment.

For fuel, lubricants, and maintenance of machinery and motor vehicles, $3.4 billion. Farming uses more petroleum than any other single industry.

For fertilizer and lime, $1.8 billion and farmers are increasing their use each year.

Products containing 320 million pounds of rubber—about 9 percent of the total used in the United States, or enough to put tires on nearly 6 million automobiles.

Electricity: 28 billion kilowatt hours, or more than 4 percent of the Nation's total, or more than is needed annually by Baltimore, Chicago, Boston, Detroit, Houston, and Washington, D.C.

Steel in form of farm machinery, trucks, cars, fencing, and building materials, 5 million tons. Farm use of steel accounts for 40,000 jobs in the steel industry.

For all of these expenditures this is what the farmer receives: 37 cents of each $1 spent for food. This includes the 2.5 cents for the corn in a 29-cent box of cornflakes; 54 cents of each $1 spent for choice beef; 2.5 cents for the wheat in a 21-cent loaf of white bread; and about 11 cents from a 26-cent quart of milk.

And a mere 27 cents for the cotton in a man's $4 business shirt.

Because of the strong and productive agriculture we have in this country our consumers eat better for less money than any other people in the world. For example: 19 percent of our disposable income went for food in 1964. We spent 24 percent of our disposable income for food in 1930 and 22 percent in 1940. In 1947, food took 27 percent of our take-home pay.

In terms of an hour's work—1 hour in a factory buys more food today than it did 20 or 30 years ago. Pay for 1 hour's factory labor would buy:

Round steak: 2.4 pounds in 1964; 2 pounds in 1944; 1.4 pounds in 1934; or

Bacon: 3.8 pounds in 1964; 2.5 pounds in 1944; 1.8 pounds in 1934; or

Milk: 9.6 quarts in 1964; 6.5 quarts in 1944; 4.7 quarts in 1934; or

Oranges: 2.9 dozen in 1964; 2.2 dozen in 1944; 1.5 dozen in 1934.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it is evident that for America's self-interest we must keep our agriculture strong and flourishing.

Vietnam and Disarmament: A Paradox

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, last week I sent to my constituents a newsletter containing my views on how our Nation's policy regarding South Vietnam is related to the issue of arms control and disarmament.

Under unanimous consent, I include my statement at this point in the RECORD.

VIETNAM AND DISARMAMENT: A PARADOX

(By RONALD BROOKS CAMERON, member, Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives)

Unless the most pressing problem facing the human race is resolved during this third of the 20th century—it may well be the last third of the last century for humanity as we have known it.

With the rapid increase in technology and its almost universal application to destruction of fellow humans—there is today no doubt of the validity of Albert Einstein's comment that he had no idea what weapons would be used in a third world war but he knew the weapons in the fourth world war—"sticks and stones."

TOTAL WEAPONS CONTROL

To my mind, the objective of complete and total world control of nuclear weapons and ultimately all aggressive weapons should be the prime objective of our foreign policy, as well as the first order of each of the other 130 sovereign states of this earth.

Surely there is no question but that foreign policy must be based on that hackneyed phrase "enlightened self-interest." Hackneyed though it be, this phrase has acquired new urgency as a result of our rapidly increasing technology. Enlightened is the key word that has taken on this urgency—because of the technological advances in communications that were designed primarily for war but, thankfully, have collateral civilian benefits.

When it is possible to have instantaneous worldwide communications of voice, and soon of picture, it is obvious to all that it is not possible to keep secrets. When Russia makes a soft landing on the moon and England manages to secure all of the photographic benefits of the landing, is there any doubt that there are no secrets? That all mankind is fast becoming totally interdependent?

MANY PROBLEMS FACE US

In attempting to bring about arms control, there are myriads of practical problems—but the most serious of all of these problems is coming to a resolution in part because of the world's increased ability to communicate.

There is an old political joke about the public official being out front of his constituents just far enough to be leading and not so far that he is being chased.

This increased ability for leaders of each country to communicate with their constituents is making it possible for them to lead more rapidly—to get further in front—because of the ease with which the necessity to move can be explained—and understood.

Though progress toward arms control has been precious little, a world climate has been created in a few short years that makes it possible for world leaders to publicly discuss the subject without being subjected to the type of abuse and ridicule that was heaped upon the late Adlai Stevenson following his H bomb testing speech in October of 1956, a speech in which he said:

"It is no accident that the instinct of survival which is common to all men and all nations is slowly but surely compelling the most practical and hardheaded statesmen to give increasing heed to the prevention and abolition of war. In this nuclear age peace is no longer merely a visionary ideal, it has become an urgent and practical necessity," and "Effective disarmament means universal disarmament—an open world, with no secret armies, no secret weapons, and, in effect, no military secrets. Responsible statesmen do not risk the security of their countries for hopes which may prove illusory or promises that are worthless."

There were not many responsible statesmen on this issue in 1956. Those of us who remember that speech of October 15, can also remember the hue and cry that went up around the country—accusing Stevenson of being everything from an ivory-towered idealist to a Benedict Arnold.

But look at the situation only 10 years later. Once Stevenson brought the issue out for all to see—once frank and open discussion was encouraged by communication media around the world—once the responsible statesmen had a forum from which to discuss the issue, they have been able to convince their constituencies of the validity of nuclear arms control. Today, only 10 years since that speech, all but 15 nations of this earth have made a partial commitment to this concept by affixing their names to the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Agreement.

Of the 15[1] who have not signed—8[2] are not members of the U.N.—and they are all of limited significance save for 3—the same 3 who are the principal protagonists in South Vietnam—the Peoples Republic of China, North Vietnam, and France.

It must be kept foremost in our thinking on the subject that though 116 nations have taken this limited step towards a rejection of force in the settlement of international disputes—their primary motivation for taking such a step must have been survival. Their continued commitment to this agreement and commitment for further steps toward the objective of total disarmament must of necessity be predicated on the same motivation—but to secure such commitments there must be credibility that they will not only survive as humans but as nations.

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[1] Nonsignatories of limited nuclear test ban: Albania, Andora,* Bhutan, Cambodia, Congo, Cuba, France, Guinea, Lichtenstein,* Monaco,* Oman and Masquat,* Saudi Arabia, Peoples Republic of China,* North Korea,* North Vietnam.*

[2] Countries marked with asterisks (*) above are not members of the United Nations.

During the transition period, which may well take several decades, that they will not be consumed by a war of national liberation.

COMMITMENT BY EISENHOWER

One can, and most have, argued the validity of the actions and commitments of the Eisenhower administration to the country of South Vietnam. Our original "dog in the manger" attitude re the Geneva Accords on French Indochina, the subsequent failure to hold elections, de Gaulle's "execution" of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization in a fit of personal pique—as a spoil sport. Former Senator William Knowland's personal commitment to Chiang Kai-shek that helped drive Red China to bandit status. All of these things have been and should be debated, for hopefully we will learn from our past blunders. But during this debate we must be careful not to delude ourselves into believing that we can turn back the clock—we must recognize the realities of today.

Most of these acts happened prior to October 1956, when Stevenson opened the eyes of mankind, and all of them happened prior to the limited nuclear test ban agreement.

FORCE MUST BE REJECTED

Today the vital issue facing us is: how do we build on that limited agreement? How do we keep faith that force as a resolution of international disputes must be rejected and that those who so reject force need not fear for survival—either from nuclear pollution or wars of national liberation?

Surely we are not credible if we now turn our back in South Vietnam and allow the country to be consumed by terrorist invaders. As former President Eisenhower recently said, this would be giving "sanctuary to those responsible for sending guerrilla forces and supplies into South Vietnam in the effort to impose their will on the government and people of that country."

Retreat could well precipitate a repeat performance in Thailand, Korea, Indonesia, and possibly the Philippines—not to mention at least a half dozen countries in Africa and a similar number in South America.

And what of Europe? De Gaulle now has NATO in convulsive death throes as a result of his failure to sign the test ban agreement and his determination to have an "independent nuclear capability." Wouldn't our retreat from South Vietnam force West Germany to reconsider her commitment to disarmament? Wouldn't she question our commitment to her defense—and probably decide that she too needed "independent nuclear capability"?

And what of Russia? Is she capable of "eating crow"? That is what China would make her do. China would announce to the world that she was right and Russia was wrong—the United States was in fact a "paper tiger." To save face, would Russia have to move on Berlin?

The United States has many unique aspects—but one of them is not demagoguery. Each country has its Robert Welches of the right and its Robert Scheers of the left. Our capitulation in South Vietnam would bring them to the fore in each country of this earth and they could well force many world leaders to retreat from the limited progress we have made toward disarmament. These leaders would have to come closer to their emotionally charged constituents or run the very probable chance of being so far out in front that they are being "chased."

As distasteful as our involvement in South Vietnam is to all Americans—when the realities of today are recognized—it seems obvious that of the options available to us now—capitulation and withdrawal, retreat to enclaves, uncontrolled escalation, or continuation of our policy of measured response—only the latter one serves what should be our primary foreign policy objective—disarmament.

VISTA—A Source of New Hope for America's Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the organization of VISTA heralded the beginning of a new era in America's dedication to its citizens. Under the provisions of VISTA the volunteers are trained and sent to the areas of greatest need within our own country. It is the work of the VISTA volunteer to bring guidance and hope to people of poverty areas.

Recently, it was my privilege to address the graduating class of VISTA volunteers who completed their training course in Chicago's historic Hull House. The marvelous young and old people—30 of them—were willing to give up a year of their lives to bring enlightment and new horizons of hope for our Nation's less fortunate.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to include in the RECORD today my remarks to this unique graduating class:

My remarks follow:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, VISTA GRADUATION CEREMONY

You must have had a good reason for deciding to spend the next year of your life working and living with the poor of this Nation.

The reason could not have been a search for glamour—for there is none in poverty. It couldn't be money, because there is none to speak of in the pay that you receive from VISTA.

No doubt each of you has his or her own personal reason for joining VISTA. Basically, I think, it must have been a desire, and even a need to help other people.

I think that you have joined the organization which is taking the practical approach to relieving the problems of poverty in this Nation. It is a highly personal approach—where one person helps another to help himself.

There has been much discussion lately about the cycle of poverty, by which one generation bequeaths to the next the bitter legacy of deprivation, ignorance, and despair. I would think that one of your chief tasks will be to break this cycle—to help a young man go back to school, a young girl to find a job, or to teach a mother how to use the public services and help that were created to provide the aid that she cannot provide for herself.

Each time you help one person break the cycle of poverty, you provide avenues of escape for yet unborn generations. So what you will accomplish within this next year may not be fully measurable for years to come.

The dropout whom you talked into giving school one more chance may go on to college and his children may never know the rancid smell or bitter taste of poverty. The young girl whom you coached and rehearsed in applying for her first job may have escaped, once and for all, from the poverty trap, and the children she may have will have escaped with her.

None of you will change our economic structure to the extent that poverty will be obliterated overnight. It is predicted that our gross national product will soar far past the magic $700 billion mark this year.

Yet even this unprecedented prosperity will not reach down to lift up those who are untrained, unskilled and for the most part unemployable. They are the chronically poor. They were born poor and, unless somebody is willing to spend time, energy and patience with them, they will die poor. It looks as if that somebody may have to be you.

The poor, of course, are the Nation's responsibility—the Nation as a whole. That's why the war on poverty came into being. That's why we have such programs as the Manpower Development and Training Act, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps, and on-the-job training. In essence, these are salvage operations. They're trying to salvage human beings from the economic junkheap where chance, or bad fortune, or ignorance have relegated them.

Yet these training programs are worthless unless the persons for whom they were designed make use of them. But how do you convince a youngster of 19 or 20, whose conception of success, is the local numbers runner or pimp, that he has a chance to make it in that other America—that other America in this case being that place where about 170 million Americans live who are not caught fast in the poverty trap.

I'm not sure that I have the answer to my own question. I'm not sure that I can convince many youths that the promise of America is not just an empty phrase. But I know I try. I know it will take time. And I know that if I succeed, I will gain a tremendous amount of personal satisfaction for the time I can afford to personally invest.

Some of you here are older and I suppose the memory of the depression of the 1930's is still a nagging, even haunting memory. I know that it is with me, for poverty on that scope and scale makes a lasting and unforgettable impression. But perhaps this personal brush with the hopelessness and despair that poverty breeds has motivated you to become a VISTA volunteer. Perhaps your own experiences during those grim times enables you to have a special insight into the problems of those in desperate want.

Today, there seems to be a kind of nostalgic longing for the 1930's—much like the resurrection of the 1920's a few years back. Perhaps this nostalgia is based on the fact that things were simpler in the 1930's—less complicated, less fearful. The problem then was chiefly economic and nearly everyone you knew was in the same boat.

I fail to share this nostalgia for the 1930's; for a time when one-third of a nation was ill housed, ill clothed, and ill fed. Today, in 1966, that figure has been reduced. Now it is less than a fifth of the Nation that has been officially stamped as poor because its family incomes fail to exceed $3,500 a year.

I must confess that I am not enamoured of this $3,500 figure which serves as the line of economic demarcation between the poor and the not-so-well-off. It's purely an arbitrary, meaningless to a family of 8 or 10 because they are not just poor, they are virtually destitute if that's their total income.

Those of you who have personally experienced poverty may have a valuable insight into the hearts and minds of the poor. It should serve you well during the next year because you remember, you recall what poverty is like, and how it feels to be poor. But unfortunately, poverty need not be experienced to be abhorred. It is not picturesque; neither is it quaint. It is a degrading human experience; one of the most degrading that there is.

During your VISTA training at Hull House you have become familiar with the face of poverty. Chicago has its share on the West Side. Most big cities do. In fact, half of the Nation's poor—more than 5 million families—live in the blighted, rundown areas of cities and towns.

Perhaps your experience here in training has given you visible evidence of the fact that slums make up 20 percent of the average American city and that these same areas produce 45 percent of the Nation's major crimes.

Yet through the years that these grim statistics have come into being, Hull House, still under the lasting influence and inspiration of its founder, Jane Addams, has existed to serve the needs of the poor; to encourage them; to show them where to go and what to do; to teach them the need for helping themselves.

Regardless of where your year in VISTA leads you, I am confident that you will take part of Chicago with you in the spirit of Hull House and the philosophy of service for which it stands.

It is encouraging to me that the Office of Economic Opportunity and VISTA have availed themselves of the experience and knowledge that Hull House commands. For there is a great amount of wisdom that has been distilled from years of intimate knowledge of the poverty stricken and the problems that confront them.

As VISTA volunteers you will not be Hull House in miniature. You will be individuals, equipped for the most part only with commonsense and, I think, a great amount of compassion. You will make some of the rules as you go along, for there is no magic formula for helping the poor to lift themselves out of poverty. You will work under minimum supervision, and the most pressing deadline you will have is the deadline of how long the poor can endure the dismal conditions in which they live.

By becoming VISTA volunteers, you have assumed a grave responsibility—that of helping people to change their lives. Without you, these lives could continue at their present pace, in their present environment, at their present level of hopelessness and suffering. Whatever hope you bring, whatever help you render, will make the lives of some fellow citizens take a different and doubtlessly better course.

The year that you are about to spend in service to America will serve still another purpose. It will make some people uneasy. It will make them pause and wonder about themselves. The reason that they will wonder about themselves is because they are wondering about you. They are wondering whatever possessed you to give up a large slice of your most precious possession—your time—to go among the poor to find out if you could help them help themselves.

Perhaps you will make others feel a little guilty. I hope that you do. Because the next time they are asked to serve on a committee, or to take part in a community drive, your own selfless commitment and dedication may cause them to make an extra effort.

If during these weeks of training you have entertained some nagging doubts about whether you are needed, or whether anyone can make use of your talents, or whether VISTA is really doing something for the Nation's poor, I would like to tell you some interesting facts.

First of all, you're in demand. In fact, the demand reminds me of the old Army recruiting poster which had a stern faced Uncle Sam point a finger at the passerby with the admonishment: "Uncle Sam Wants You."

The Nation's poor need and want VISTA volunteers.

There are almost 2,500 of you now—either on the job or in training. The demand for volunteers has far outstripped the supply. In all, VISTA has received requests for more than 7,000 volunteers to serve local sponsors across the Nation—from Alaska to the Virgin Islands. I strongly hope that this demand will be met in time.

Perhaps a historian of some future date will be a bit puzzled as to why American citizens were asked by their Government to work among the poor during a time of record-setting prosperity. It is indeed a paradox that when this Nation is enjoying an economy of abundance unsurpassed in history, it is still grappling with the problem of dire poverty in the midst of plenty. If you will accomplish anything, you will help to make the Nation aware of this paradox and awake its conscience. You will help to serve as living testimony that there is indeed another kind of America—one of hunger and cold and illiteracy and desperation and hopelessness. You will make many of us painfully aware that we as individuals have a deep obligation to our fellow citizens.

You had to make a choice. You could either sit home and do nothing or you could plunge into the war on poverty up to your neck. You decided to take the plunge. By making this choice to become a VISTA volunteer, you have also chosen to be entered on the pages of American history in a chapter that will tell of a Nation's awakened conscience.

It is a proud way to be remembered.

Thank you.

Remarks by Vice President Hubert Humphrey at the Goddard Memorial Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, Vice President HUMPHREY has been chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council for a little more than a year. At about the time he took office, he candidly stated that he knew very little about the specific details of our national space program but that he intended to learn all that he could, and learn fast.

The speech which he delivered on March 16 at the National Space Club's annual Goddard Memorial Dinner, and which I include in the RECORD for the benefit and edification of my colleagues, shows that he meant what he said. He has learned fast. He has become, in a very short time and in a very real sense, one of the country's leaders in the enormous task of exploring space for peaceful purposes. His address clearly reveals his dynamic outlook and eagerness to demonstrate our leadership in every aspect of space exploration for the benefit of all mankind and to promote thereby our efforts to bring peace to the world.

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY AT THE GODDARD MEMORIAL DINNER, WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH 16, 1966

Today we commemorate the 40th anniversary of Dr. Robert Goddard's launching of the first liquid-fuel rocket.

As we all know so well, Dr. Goddard's recognition came long after it should have come. But today there is no question of his role in moving man into space.

On the occasion of this anniversary, President Johnson today received the Goddard Award. I was privileged to take part in that ceremony, as chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council.

Tonight I particularly wish to commend the National Space Club, which already has done so much to open up the space age, on the award of its first annual Dr. Hugh L. Dryden Fellowship.

When I addressed you a year ago I confessed myself a newcomer in space, but I promised to be a diligent student.

I have not yet been put into orbit. However, I have logged over a quarter of a million miles in 80 missions here on earth and many of those missions have included visits to NASA and Department of Defense field installations.

I have also visited a number of private industry installations vital to our space effort.

And of course I have chaired a number of Space Council meetings and followed closely all aspects of our activity in space.

Let me share with you tonight, 1 year later, a few of my thoughts concerning our space program. I will begin by saying that I have been deeply impressed by the dedication and high performance of those—both in Government and private sector—who participate in our national space effort.

Our space program is a superb example of the kind of creative partnership for progress between Government and the private sector which increasingly marks all areas of our national life.

I wish tonight to stress two things that have been very much on my mind regarding the space program.

First. I am impressed by the vital importance of maintaining the most meticulous standards of performance at every level of our space effort, from the worker on the shop floor right up to the top.

Although this tremendous enterprise involves hundreds of thousands of people, it is vital that each individual concerned in it fully recognize and fulfill his own individual responsibility for its success.

As you well know, the slightest slip-up, the smallest oversight in any one of millions of processes and procedures can put critically important projects—and human lives—in jeopardy.

I know that I am preaching to the converted here. But I feel this cannot really be said too often.

Second. I feel the necessity for cost consciousness.

This is the need, to put it another way, of getting the most space for the tax dollar.

These are times when we must exert high discipline in public expenditure. And our space program cannot be exempt from that discipline.

In this connection, I was interested to note the theme of the Fourth Goddard Memorial Symposium, sponsored by the American Astronautical Society, which many of you have been attending for the past 2 days.

Last year I spoke of the "year 2000." But the symposium this year chose to focus instead on the theme, "The Space Age in Fiscal Year 2001."

Certainly, Federal appropriations today have an important bearing on where we will be in the future.

I have examined the fiscal year 1967 space budgets with the greatest care. I honestly believe that much can be accomplished within them although other priorities, notably our effort in Vietnam, have required postponement of some objectives.

I also believe that we can and will achieve the goal set by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson: a manned landing on the moon before 1970.

My own confidence in our rapidly advancing science and technology is such that I can visualize many more dramatic achievements ahead, although I will fix no timetable for them.

1. The exploration of the lunar surface, and possibly the establishment of one or more permanent bases there.

2. The development of a whole family of earth-orbiting stations, manned and supplied by regular ferry services.

3. The building of spaceports in a number of places in this country for the departure and arrival of spacecraft.

4. The development of recoverable and reusable launching vehicles, and manueverable space vehicles, with a consequent drastic reduction in the cost of space travel.

5. The improvement of propulsion methods, with the use of nuclear as well as chemical energy, so that faster and more powerful rockets can make planetary trips in a week or less which today would require many months.

6. The launching of unmanned probes to every part of the solar system—and perhaps manned planetary expeditions as well.

We must not, however, become so totally fascinated by the wonders of outer space that we neglect the applications of space technology to a better life right here on earth.

A few days ago we orbited our first truly operational weather satellite—Essa II. I was pleased during my recent visit to the Goddard Space Flight Center to see the successful read-out of the first weather pictures it sent back. This is a satellite the entire world can tune in on—not only governments but, with a relatively small investment, colleges, or even individual citizens.

The time is not distant when we will be able to predict, and predict with accuracy, the weather everywhere on earth. We may even be able to control it—and thus open up many arid portions of the world to cultivation.

Global communication by satellites will become a fact in the very near future. It will be followed by direct broadcast of both voice and TV to home receivers throughout large sections of the world.

In the field of medicine alone, the benefits are already impressive. Improvements in medical instrumentation, resulting from electronic innovations in the space program, are already beginning to revolutionize the equipment of clinics and hospitals. It should be possible to monitor continuously and in detail the condition of hundreds of patients from a single location.

Other direct benefits will come in the form of wideband transoceanic communications, improved forest fire detection, and highly accurate navigation.

We have already made fantastic strides in devising more effective, reliable, and compact electronic equipment with a wide variety of applications. We have developed improved alloys, ceramics, and other materials. And there have been other innovations, such as the accelerated use of liquid oxygen in steelmaking, new coatings for the temperature control of buildings, and filters for detergents.

Our progress in space has already contributed to our national security. The use of communications satellites is backing up our effort in Vietnam.

In addition to the support of our Armed Forces by better communications, our peaceful application of space competence for national security takes many other forms.

Among them are more accurate knowledge of the weather, more effective mapping, earlier warning of impending dangers, and the detection of nuclear explosions in space or in the atmosphere.

There are some who claim, with all sincerity, that the terrestrial relevance of space science and technology has been much exaggerated. Concerning this, I would make two comments.

One is to the skeptics outside this hall. I think they have forgotten the fact that this whole field is still only in its infancy. The best is yet to come.

The other is to you. As you constantly enlarge the horizons of space science and technology, I urge that you be everlastingly alert to recognize those discoveries and innovations which can usefully be applied here on our own planet.

Moreover, it is not only technology that we have developed. Perhaps even more important, we have called into being rich human and intellectual resources—methods, capabilities, insights, and management techniques which can be brought to bear upon problems far removed from space.

In this respect, I want to commend the initiative of private companies and of Governor Brown of California, who have shown the way toward focusing the talents of the aerospace industries on matters as important to our everyday living as traffic congestion and garbage control.

I believe the technique of systems analysis—developed to its highest point so far in the aerospace industries—will be invaluable to us as we face up to the problems of urban life, to the pollution of our waters and our atmosphere, and to many other challenges of today and tomorrow.

I believe those of you here who are in the aerospace industry have a very real obligation to make your capabilities more widely known to State and local officials.

Why you? Because the technical and intellectual capabilities you possess in abundance were made possible by the tax dollars which have supported the space program.

Why you? Because your management and your workers are citizens of many of the communities which will directly benefit from such efforts.

Why you? Because it will be a practical demonstration to the world how democracy and free enterprise function effectively for the common good.

I shall conclude with a few observations on the international significance of the space effort.

I believe it is virtually impossible to overestimate the interest of peoples throughout the world in the unfolding space age.

For example, a USIA-sponsored space exhibit last month in Rangoon, Burma—a place most of us might have imagined to be remote from the space age—drew over 250,000 visitors.

Astronaut John Glenn was there, and Astronauts Walter Shirra and Frank Borman are currently winding up a successful swing around the free Asian capitals, Australia, and New Zealand.

Many countries with little or no space experience are showing their interest in a very concrete and practical way. They have realized the need to engage in space programs to develop their own scientific competence, and we are helping them to do so. Already we are cooperating with about 70 countries, and the State Department and NASA are pressing forward with new initiatives in international cooperation.

For what I now say, I may be accused of being something of a visionary—but I am encouraged to do so by being in the good company of other visionaries.

I believe that the exploration of space will have a profound effect upon how we look at our life here on earth. It will put all our affairs in a wider and more wholesome perspective.

Ever since Copernicus, we have known that our earth is a small planet in an immense universe. But while we have known this intellectually and theoretically, most of us have not really taken it to heart, not really felt it in the marrow of our bones.

As the full significance of that fact is brought home to us by the actual exploration of space, it will seem increasingly absurd that we have not better organized our life here on earth.

Our experience in space can be a powerful stimulus to all of us, wherever we live, to move toward the establishment of a world of law, where freedom and justice are assured to all—and where, in the words of the Prophet Isaiah:

"Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 27, 1966

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the Vice President.

Rabbi Max M. Landman, Temple Emanu-El, Palm Beach, Fla., offered the following prayer:

How good and pleasant it is when we dwell together in unity. Unto Thee, O God, we lift our souls in praise. As all creation reflects Thy glory, even so, man, fashioned in Thy image, reveals Thy majesty. In this citadel of lawmaking, we now stand to invoke Thy blessings upon these noble men and women who, by Thy will, have been chosen by the citizens of each State of our glorious country, the United States of America, to guide and guard the physical, moral, social, and spiritual life of our people. May the right choice and true application of thought always guide the work of their hands, so that they will continue to carry the lighted torch of understanding, of help and of peace to the four corners of the earth.

Bless our President, our Vice President and our leaders who make up the insoluble chain of democracy in our land. May the jewels of wisdom give them strength, courage, patience, and power, so that the whole world will be fashioned anew with peace on earth and good will to all Thy children. Then will all nations be more willing to use their efforts for the benefit of all mankind.

"Yehi ratzon shetishrei shechinah masei yedeichem": May Thy divine spirit rest upon the hearts of all the Members of this House, and may the dews of heaven and the fatness of the earth cover the land of our blessed country. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, April 25, 1966, was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States, submitting nominations, were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 86) to authorize the President to proclaim a "Day of Recognition" for firefighters, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 12617) to amend the act providing for the economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (H.R. 13369) to authorize the disposal of molybdenum from the national stockpile, and it was signed by the Vice President.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H.R. 12617) to amend the act providing for the economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE SUBMITTED DURING ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to the order of the Senate of January 12, 1965,

Mr. PASTORE, from the Committee on Appropriations, reported favorably, with amendments, on April 25, 1966, the bill (H.R. 14012) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes, and submitted a report (No. 1137) thereon, which was printed.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The VICE PRESIDENT announced that on today, April 27, 1966, he signed the enrolled bill (H.R. 1903) for the relief of Mrs. Sadie Y. Simmons and James R. Simmons, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. Mansfield, and by unanimous consent, the following committee and subcommittees were authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today:

The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution of the Committee on Public Works, and the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

On request of Mr. McGovern, and by unanimous consent, the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly Legislation of the Committee of the Judiciary was authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

On request of Mr. Mansfield, and by unanimous consent, statements during the transaction of routine morning business were ordered limited to 3 minutes.

RESIGNATION OF JACK VALENTI

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it was with surprise and regret that I read in yesterday morning's paper of the resignation of Jack Valenti as Special Assistant to the President of the United States.

I am delighted that Mr. Valenti is taking the position that he is, which I know he will fill with honor, dignity, and understanding, but I feel a sense of personal loss that he is leaving the White House because he has been so understanding to those of us in the Congress who have business with the President and so loyal to the President in carrying out his administrative responsibilities.

Jack Valenti is that rare individual who thinks well of everyone and ill of no one. He will be missed greatly, not only by the President but by all the rest of us who have come to know him in the course of our duties.

All I can say is that Jack Valenti is a gentleman in the finest meaning of the word. I wish him well in his new position and look forward to continuing our friendship and association in the years ahead.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, the production of motion pictures by the American system of free enterprise in the United States has a massive impact on humankind all around this globe.

Much of the actual production of motion pictures in this country occurs in the State from which I come. Now a prominent member of the White House staff and a very able young man from the State of Texas, leaves his responsibilities in the Government of our country to assume a heavy and proud responsibility as a representative of the motion picture producers of America.

Jack Valenti is my friend. He has performed unstintingly and with great courage the manifold duties which have been his lot working for the President of the United States. As he leaves to assume the burdens of a great industry, with its worldwide ramifications on the future of freedom itself, I join the majority leader in wishing him Godspeed in all the new burdens which he has now assumed.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with the remarks made by the majority leader and the distinguished Senator from California regarding Jack Valenti.

Jack Valenti and I have had many pleasant associations together. I have always enjoyed my friendship and fellowship with him, and I wish him well in his new work.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

Renotification Relating to Construction of Project for Air Force Reserve

A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations), reporting, pursuant to law on a renotification relating to the construction of a maintenance dock for the Air Force Reserve at L. G. Hanscom Field, Mass. (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Armed Services.

Report of Comptroller General

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on transportation of privately owned vehicles on foreign-flag vessels, the Military Sea Transportation Service, Department of the Navy, dated March 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

Report of Jewish Restitution Successor Organization

A letter from the Chairman, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization, for the period ended March 31, 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Disposition of Executive Papers

A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a list of papers and documents on the files of several departments and agencies of the Government which are not needed in the conduct of business and have no permanent value or historical interest, and requesting action looking to their disposition (with accompanying papers); to a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments.

The VICE PRESIDENT appointed Mr. Monroney and Mr. Carlson members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, with amendments:

S. 2621. A bill for the relief of Ioannis A. Vasilopoulos (Rept. No. 1138).

REPORT ENTITLED "WEATHER MODIFICATION AND CONTROL"—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE (REPT. NO. 1139)

Mr. MAGNUSON, from the Committee on Commerce, submitted a report entitled "Weather Modification and Control"; which was ordered to be printed.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

Miles W. Lord, of Minnesota, to be U.S. district judge for the district of Minnesota;

Cornelius J. McQuade, of West Virginia, to be U.S. marshal for the southern district of West Virginia;

Robert E. Hauberg, of Mississippi, to be U.S. attorney for the southern district of Mississippi; and

Eugene G. Cushing, of Washington, to be U.S. attorney for the western district of Washington.

By Mr. McCLELLAN, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

Alfred P. Henderson, of Arkansas, to be U.S. marshal for the western district of Arkansas.

Dan M. Douglas, of Arkansas, to be U.S. marshal for the western district of Arkansas.

By Mr. MORSE, from the Committee on the District of Columbia:

Neville Miller for reappointment as a member of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota:

S. 3276. A bill to establish the Fort Berthold Indian Scout Cemetery National Historic Site; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MOSS:

S. 3277. A bill to provide for the establishment and administration of the Canyon Country National Parkway in the State of Utah, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. Moss when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JAVITS:

S. 3278. A bill for the relief of Ernesto Sanchez Jerez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. METCALF:

S. 3279. A bill to amend the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act to make it applicable to the Atomic Energy Commission, the Federal Power Commission, and to permittees and licensees of such Commissions; and

S. 3280. A bill to amend the Migratory Bird Hunting Stamp Act of March 16, 1934, to increase by $2 the fee for such stamp; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. NELSON:

S. 3281. A bill to provide for the relief of the trustee of the bondholders of the Bankers Joint Stock Land Bank of Milwaukee, Wis.; the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SPARKMAN (by request):

S. 3282. A bill to amend title I of the Housing Act of 1949 to authorize financial assistance for urban renewal projects involving the central business district of a community with regard to certain requirements otherwise applicable; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. MUSKIE:

S. 3283. A bill to promote private financing of credit needs and to provide for an efficient and orderly method of liquidating financial assets held by Federal credit agencies, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. MURPHY:

S. 3284. A bill for the relief of Mohammed Aslam A. R. Munjee; and

S. 3285. A bill for the relief of Yoko Minegishi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COOPER:

S. 3286. A bill for the relief of M. Sgt. Ray S. Molen, U.S. Air Force; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOUGLAS:

S.J. Res. 157. Joint resolution to authorize the President to designate the week of May 2 through May 8, 1966, as "Professional Photography Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

PARITY PRICES FOR AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES

Mr. McGOVERN submitted a concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 88) relative to parity prices for agricultural commodities, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

(See the above concurrent resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. McGovern, which appears under a separate heading.)

CANYON COUNTRY NATIONAL PARKWAY, UTAH

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to establish a Canyon Country National Parkway in southern Utah.

The parkway would connect the spectacular Lake Powell country with Utah's newest national park—the magnificent Canyonlands—and would traverse some canyon and high plateau country now accessible only by packhorse.

The parkway would begin at the Glen Canyon damsite at Page, Ariz., just across the Utah border. It would run in a northeasterly direction along the north shore of Lake Powell through the Glen Canyon Recreation Area for about a hundred miles, with connecting spurs out into the recreation area to special points of interest. The parkway would branch off south of Canyonlands and proceed up the western side of the national park near the celebrated Maze country and then continue on north above Canyonlands to meet U.S. Route No. 70 at Crescent Junction, near Thompson, Utah. The entire parkway would total about 200 miles.

Since Lake Powell was filled 2 years ago, it has become a new and major recreation area. Its blue waters and sculptured shore make it a place of unbelievable beauty, and there is something for everyone in its excellent fishing, boating, water sports, and healing solitude.

Canyonlands National Park, established by the Congress in 1964, will be fully opened up in the next few years. Bids will soon be offered for the construction of development roads into the park. This area of incomparable grandeur will shortly be attracting tourists by the thousands each year.

There is no connecting link between the Lake Powell area and the Canyonlands area. There is no chance to see the unusual country which lies in between. The parkway would provide a way for Utahans and for tourists to enjoy both great attractions on one trip. It would enhance the splendor of both. The trip along the shore of Lake Powell would in itself be worth the trip to southern Utah—whether one had time or not to boat or fish or participate in the water sports the lake offers. As a scenic drive it would be unparalleled in western America.

At this time, when I am introducing a bill to establish a Canyon Country National Parkway, I would like also to discuss briefly plans I have for the further enhancement of the recreation potential of southeastern Utah. I am now drafting a bill, which I shall introduce shortly, to expand the boundaries of Canyonlands National Park.

At the time the Canyonlands bill was enacted certain areas were excluded because of the objections raised as to the amount of land the park would encompass. The boundaries were shaved back, and then shaved back again, in an effort to achieve a compromise which all interested groups in Utah and the Nation could support.

Frankly, we have learned since that time that we cut too deeply. Certain areas which should be under the protection of the National Park Service have been eliminated. Other areas which are needed for sound administration were left out. I propose that this be remedied now.

My bill will authorize the Secretary to accept from the State of Utah, Dead Horse Point State Park which abuts Canyonlands at its northeastern corner. I believe that my State now recognizes that Dead Horse Point properly belongs in Canyonlands National Park. Although considerable money has been spent by the State in the development of Dead Horse Point, and the improvements would, of course, be transferred to the National Park Service, and operation would be assumed by the Federal Government. My bill will therefore provide that the Secretary of the Interior may accept the transfer from the State of Utah of Dead Horse State Park and that it be incorporated as a part of Canyonlands National Park.

I shall also recommend that the Maze country on the western border of Canyonlands be added to the park itself. The Maze is probably one of the most inaccessible areas in the entire western part of the United States. Few white men have been in it—some parts of it have never been seen by white men. It it unique and striking, and should not be desecrated. Its very inaccessibility has protected it, but with Canyonlands being opened up and with plans now for a parkway which will skirt the Maze, it must now be brought under the protection of the Park Service so it can be preserved for generations to come.

The need to open up and properly administer the Maze area has been underscored by a recent trip along its boundaries taken by Superintendent Bates Wilson of Canyonlands and a group of local people. They were able to gaze out over the Maze area and to fully appreciate its potential. There was no doubt in the minds of any of the members of the group that the Maze is of national park stature, and should be incorporated within the boundaries of the park. It is all federally owned.

Mr. President, southern Utah is becoming one of the Nation's most popular playgrounds. In the past much of it has been accessible only to the rugged few who packed in. There are canyons by the hundreds waiting for those who want to explore them. There is sculptured beauty, and magnificent vistas, and sun and solitude.

We have only begun to develop Utah's recreational potential. To Zion National Park, and Bryce Canyon National Park, and Rainbow Bridge National Monument, Arches National Monument, Natural Bridges National Monument, and Capitol Reef National Monument, we have recently added Canyonlands National Park and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. But this is only a beginning. We need roads to make it possible to travel from one to another of these great attractions, and we need to open up much of the country which is now inaccessible. My bill for a Canyon Country National Parkway will continue the opening up of the area—and particularly the southeastern part of the State—and will help link some of these attractions which now cannot be reached one from the other.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KENNEDY of New York in the chair). The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3277) to provide for the establishment and administration of the Canyon Country National Parkway in the State of Utah, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. MOSS, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

PARITY FOR FARMERS IS A GOVERNMENTWIDE GOAL

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I send to the desk a proposed concurrent resolution of Congress which would make it explicit that the parity price and income goal for agriculture, already a part of our agricultural law, would be binding on all Government agencies, not just the Secretary of Agriculture, and to enjoin actions by any Government agencies which would be intended to prevent a farm commodity price from rising to parity.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the concurrent resolution remain on the desk for 5 legislative days so that Senators who wish to do so may join as cosponsors.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the concurrent resolution will remain on the desk for 5 legislative days, as requested.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I offer this concurrent resolution after strong efforts to dissuade certain officials from pursuing a policy which makes farmers the scapegoats of the current inflationary pressures.

On April 1, I spoke out publicly against administrative actions to freeze and roll back farm prices which are below the parity price goal written into the laws of our land. I mentioned five regrettable actions aimed at keeping down prices to farmers:

First. Announcement early this year that all Commodity Credit Corporation wheat was available at the minimum resale price level for unrestricted use, although the free supply of wheat was then ample to meet prospective requirements and wheat prices, plus certificate payments, were far under parity.

Second. Large sales of CCC corn which were made, according to the television statement of a member of the Council of Economic Advisers, for the purpose of encouraging increased hog production and rolling back pork prices.

Third. Announcement of a completely futile import limitation on cow and calf hides intended to hold down the price of shoes at the farmers' expense. Shoe prices were advanced anyway, but the export limitation has been implemented and not rescinded.

Fourth. Announcement of a new milk price support level, still leaving the support level substantially below current market level, with an accompanying relaxation of limitations on cheese imports intended to hold or roll back the market price of milk—the dairy farmers' take-home pay.

Fifth. A Department of Defense order to reduce its pork purchases 50 percent for the next 6 months, and to barter for meat supplies in Europe.

In my April 1 floor remarks, I said:

> If we need inflation control, then let us adopt means that are equitable to all segments of the economy and not take the whole cost out of those few segments where the existence of price support programs, security stockpiles, or import limitations, make it possible to depress prices by releasing stocks.
>
> As distasteful as it may be, we should approach inflation control on an equitable, across-the-board basis with measures that are equally applicable throughout the economy, and certainly not with measures that further distort prices and incomes that are already at subparity levels.

There was an announcement that hearings would be held on the hide export order to consider its recission or revision. I was hopeful of reconsideration of the whole attack on subparity farm prices. In the midst of the hearing, however, final quota figures on hides were announced for the first 6 months of this year, for the second 6 months, and the annual total. Further, it was announced that additional quotas would be put on export of bovine leathers and leather products.

I was shocked by the announcement being made while witnesses were appearing in good faith on the revision or recission of the export quota order. I continue to be amazed that such a procedure was followed in spite of the contention being made that it was only a followup on the original order. That is exactly what I thought it was at the time it occurred—a followup on the original order reflecting determination to move forward with the quota restrictions without any interruption for the hearings, second thoughts, or reconsideration.

As a consequence, I protested the procedure on the Senate floor, April 20, and attempted again to induce reconsideration of the farm price moves by questioning the legal propriety of all the steps which had been taken to freeze or roll back farm prices which were below parity. I called attention to several congressional declarations of policy—enacted by Congress and signed into law by a series of Presidents—making parity prices and parity income for farmers our national goal.

Whether or not congressional declarations of policy are enforcible in the courts, or can be avoided on technical, legal grounds, we have strong commitments in law to an indispensable group of our citizens to adopt and administer laws so they will get parity. We cannot morally justify disregard for those commitments to the farmers, and through them to the businessmen, the professional people and the workers who service farm requirements and depend on basic farm income for their own economic well-being.

Agriculture has been depressed in relation to the rest of our economy, Mr. President, since 1953.

During World War II, a period of across-the-board price controls, farm prices were allowed to go to parity and sometimes crept above that level. They stood at 100 percent of parity in 1949, 101 percent of parity in 1950, 107 percent of parity in 1951, and 100 percent of parity in 1952.

Farm prices tumbled below parity in 1953 and declined from the 100 percent level in 1952 to 80 percent of parity in 1960, when enormous stocks had been built up in the Commodity Credit Corporation. In the first 4 years of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman wrestled with these accumulated surpluses and worked with the members and the agricultural committees of Congress to halt the decline in farm income, dispose of the surpluses, adopt workable farm programs and reverse the trend of the parity ratio.

The reversal came last year when the parity ratio rose 1 percent for the year from 76 to 77 percent of parity. So far this year it has stood at 80 percent of parity in January, 83 percent in February, and 82 percent in March—still far below a price level that would give farmers equitable returns, but at least somewhat improved over 5 years ago.

I reiterate that Secretary Freeman has done an effective job in disposing of surpluses, encouraging revisions of farm programs into workable programs, and reversing the agricultural decline. He has fought through reversals and defeats that would have caused a man of less determination to surrender. I take a great deal of satisfaction in the voluntary wheat certificate program, which I proposed in 1963 after the wheat referendum had failed. There were those who proposed to end the wheat programs following the referendum. It would have been an easy, human reaction to the outcome of the referendum. But wheat producers could not have survived without a program, and our whole economy would have been injured by any such shortsighted course. Secretary Freeman, in spite of any disappointment he may have been caused by the wheat referendum, recommended the voluntary certificate program in January and it was enacted. It is not perfect and should be improved as should the feed grain and other programs, but in general, the program has been quite successful.

There has been real progress for farmers, to the benefit of the whole economy. Farmers have been coming back into the market for machinery, for repair and maintenance materials, for goods and services.

This progress has proceeded until the current period of inflationary pressures and the present rash of actions to freeze farm prices for the doubtful effect it might have in holding down food prices.

We are not rolling back wages and salaries. We are not going to cut the pay of classified Government workers this year. Instead, a bill is on its way through Congress with administrative blessing to increase Government wages a little and give Federal employees their form of parity—wages adjusted to the current economic facts. The bill is supposed to be a yardstick for wage increases—not decreases—in private employment.

We are not doing anything about the 3 to 8 percent increases in shoe prices announced at the spring shoe showings in New York after the hide export limitation went into effect, although the export order was supposed to keep those prices down.

We are not doing anything about the increases in milk and bread prices around the country without justification in recent farm price increases. I do not find any instance where the Department of Commerce is moving against its own clientele.

Selective price controls simply do not work.

They magnify injustices against the weaker, less organized segments of our economy. They fail because stronger, better organized segments move in to soak up the excess purchasing power created by the selective controls and move on to demand more and more.

The 10 or 15 cents saved shoe manufacturers by depressing hide prices is not being passed on to consumers; instead, from 15 cents to 50 cents per pair is being added to the consumer prices of shoes. This is an example of the failure of hit-and-miss controls. If anti-inflation action is needed, it should be on a broader, more equitable basis.

I have suggested reductions in unnecessary military spending which will not weaken the Nation's security. There is no real need, for example, for the six American divisions we are maintaining in Europe, as I suggested April 1. We could also reduce the rate at which we are building up overkill capacity.

We may have to consider a tax measure, even though this is an election year, and apply some of the excess purchasing power which is now causing inflation pressure to reducing our deficits and our debts.

I cannot stand by, Mr. President, and watch the farmer, who is still attempting to cling to the land on a depressed 82-percent-of-parity income, made the fall guy again in inflation control. I do not want to see 5 years of slow progress in agriculture halted and already low farm prices further depressed while the balance of the economy goes largely uncontrolled.

I cannot stand by while a Council of Economic Advisers without an agricultural economist in membership directs a soak-the-farmer strategy, or an ill-advised Department of Commerce plays what Barron's magazine has called the new skin game.

The New York Times stated in an editorial published yesterday morning that the Commerce Department's hide export quota order "is as wrong in principle as it was in procedure."

Barron's magazine, in its April 18 issue, denounced the export quota as a private bonanza for shoe manufacturers, shielding them from competition and laying a monopolistic base which would lead to future shoe and leather goods price management.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the concurrent resolution of the Congress which I have proposed, declaring our parity price goals just as binding on nonagricultural agencies of Government as on the Secretary of Agriculture, and enjoining actions to depress farm commodity prices which are below parity, be printed in full in the RECORD.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The concurrent resolution will be received, printed, and appropriately referred.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 88) was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, as follows:

S. CON. RES. 88

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring):

Whereas the Congress of the United States has frequently declared parity prices and parity of income for farmers a national objective; and

Whereas such congressional directives are a matter of law, as in section 2 of the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended by section 302 of the Agricultural Act of 1948, which directs that the powers conferred in the Act shall be exercised by the Secretary of Agriculture "to establish and maintain such orderly marketing conditions for agricultural commodities in interstate commerce as will establish, as the prices to farmers, parity prices as defined in Section 301(a)(1) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938;" and

Whereas agricultural prices March 15, 1966, were at 82 percent of parity; and

Whereas the Department of Commerce, the Department of Defense, the Tariff Commission, the Council of Economic Advisers and other nonagricultural agencies of the Government are involved in actions intended to freeze or roll back agricultural prices which are below parity: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the provision of the Agricultural Act of 1948 shall be construed, as Congress intended, as applicable to all agencies of Government, as well as to the Secretary of Agriculture, and that no action be taken by any agency of Government for the purpose of preventing the price of an agricultural commodity selling below parity from rising to parity.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I invite Members of the Senate to join me on the resolution and to lend their names to this effort to see that our commitments to American agriculture, which supplies us with an abundance of healthful food at the lowest real cost ever achieved, are not ignored. They may join by advising the bill clerk or calling me or my legislative assistant on extension 2321.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the editorials from the New York Times and Barron's, to which I have referred, printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 26, 1966]

QUOTA ON HIDES

In placing quotas on exports of American livestock hides, the Johnson administration hoped to strike a blow against domestic inflation. Instead, the administration has been taking a beating—domestically and internationally.

Its troubles started when shoe manufacturers complained about the rising prices for hides. The Commerce Department came up with the solution of placing controls on exports. This move had the effect of checking hide prices. But shoe manufacturers have decided to increase their prices anyway, while meatpackers and hide exporters complain that curbing their foreign sales will serve to increase the deficit in the Nation's balance of payments.

Meat and hide interests are particularly incensed that the Commerce Department heeded the pleas of the shoe industry at their expense. They point out that they have been under pressure from the administration to expand their export markets. Their reward for doing so is a restrictive quota.

Commerce has now decided to listen to complaints, but the damage has been done. Shoe manufacturers have raised their prices. Exporters report that they have had to cut back on their foreign orders. Packers are talking of slowing the rate of cattle slaughter, which might mean higher prices for hides and for meat. And the establishment of a quota system on exports to keep prices artificially low is no more in keeping with the administration's objective of trade liberalization than the imposition of import quotas to keep prices artificially high.

The decision is as wrong in principle as it was in procedure. It is time for the administration to take the curbs off hide exports by junking the quota system.

[From Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly, Apr. 18, 1966]

NEW SKIN GAME—DOMESTIC SHOEMAKERS SHOULD STICK TO THEIR LAST

Shoemaking once was labeled by an Elizabethan playwright, "the gentle craft." Today it's a good deal more. In the United States, as Barron's recently observed, the shoe industry aggressively has gotten in step with all that swings in modern living. From pointed toe to "beveled accelerator heel," its products boast a remarkable variety of color, texture and style. Gently but firmly of late, cobblers have been stamping out their old high-button production and merchandising methods, while turning increasingly toward automation, heads-up promotion, and sales appeals with a dash of sex. As a result, Americans find themselves better (and more frequently) shod, while footwear stocks have begun to climb.

So aggressive have the gentle craftsmen become, indeed, that only last month—after a triumphant march on Washington—they succeeded in selling a bill of goods to Uncle Sam. Not-so-barefoot boys with cheek, the shoemakers asked the Government to help curb the soaring cost of hides, their chief raw material. As a gesture against inflation, the Secretary of Commerce was quick to oblige. Specifically, his Department fitted an extraordinary set of export controls, effective early in March, upon calf and kip skins, cattle hides and leather tanned therefrom. Then, in belated response to a wave of protest from cattlemen, meat packers and merchants, Secretary Connor called for open hearings on his unprecedented move; they are scheduled to begin today.

What will emerge from the scuffle remains to be seen. What's already plain as an old shoe is that both Government and industry have put their worst foot forward. In a glaring breach of bureaucratic etiquette, not to mention due process of law, the Federal fiat came before, rather than after, public hearings. By buckling tight controls on a major export, Washington has worsened the deficit in the U.S. balance of payments. As for the industry, it wins no kudos, either. With scarcely a nod toward the administration's guidelines, it promptly raised its prices by as much as 8 percent. Moreover, the domestic cobblers sought and obtained a patently unfair advantage over foreign competitors. Willy-nilly, they also succeeded in turning the business of buying and selling hides into a kind of Government preserve—with Secretary Connor riding the range. Shoemakers, it's frequently suggested, should stick to their last. To that, we would add a footnote. They should also stop acting like freebooters.

That would be quite a change. In shoes both management and labor long have sought protection against foreign competition. Last winter, when Washington suddenly felt the chill winds of inflation, their big chance came. The industry buttonholed Gardner Ackley, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, who keeps watch on the Potomac for suspicious price movements (in symbolic redoubts like steel and aluminum, or among those who influence the Consumer's Price Index). Owing to a protracted drought in Argentina, a world scarcity had developed in hides, pushing up costs, said the cobblers, and threatening sizable price increases for baby's new shoes. Mr. Ackley, quickly persuaded, reached for the hot line to Commerce, which obligingly dusted off the Export Control Act of 1949. On March 7 the Secretary decreed that henceforth bovine skins could be shipped nowhere (except Canada) without a license. In turn, licenses were tied to quotas designed to reduce 1966 exports by 15 percent, or some 2.5 million hides, below 1965. For the past 6 weeks, only emergency licenses have been issued; U.S. export trade has stopped as dead in its tracks as a stunned steer. Today, even as hearings on the issue got under way at Commerce, the Department has promised finally to begin issuing quotas.

Surely this is curious procedure for a government supposedly based on law. Mr. Connor's arbitrary behavior points up the astonishing fact that under the 17-year-old (yet little known) Export Control Act, his Department need not honor accepted standards which give the regulated their day in court. Procedural niceties aside, what Commerce has done must be branded as wrong-headed from the standpoint of national policy. For the Department had an obvious alternative: it simply could have halted shipments to the Communist bloc. Iron-curtain countries, particularly Russia, have been America's fastest-growing market for hides, last year stepping up their take by 1.2 million pieces, or 170 percent. During the Argentine drought (not to mention the Vietnam war), we literally have been saving the Soviet's skin. Bad strategy, the curb on hide exports strikes us as equally poor commercial tactics. By shipping 14 million cattle hides last year, exporters contributed a badly needed $100 million to the credit side of the U.S. balance of payments. Now Washington has tied their hands.

The industry looks no better. Last month—barely a week before the latest round of shoe price hikes—Commerce Under Secretary LeRoy Collins told a House agriculture subcommittee that hide controls "will eliminate or minimize the need for further shoe price increases this spring." No one, of course, disputes the shoemakers' right to raise prices in a competitive market. But the market no longer is free. For the industry now has gained what it could not achieve on its own: a favorable position vis-a-vis foreign rivals, notably in Great Britain and Italy. Their supply of hides, of course, will shrink, and their costs will swell. Contrariwise, behind the new U.S. trade barriers, domestic shoemakers will enjoy an assured supply of relatively cheap raw materials. The quotas, moreover, violate the spirit of the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade, just when the United States is asking others to join in the Kennedy round. What's good for General Shoe may not be good for the country.

On closer scrutiny, indeed, it's an unmitigated evil. Surely the hide business would be hard put to find any good in it. Since early March, as noted, export trading has stopped cold. The sudden embargo has led to canceled orders and, perhaps, a lasting disruption of normal business relationships. Meanwhile, costs of stockpiling delayed or canceled shipments have mounted—and warehouse space has been taxed to the hilt. One trader in Houston reported that his hides, packed in railroad cars and stacked on docks, were drying out in the heat of the Texas sun. To be sure, the channels of trade presumably will begin to open up again, once quotas are set and licenses issued. But the former are likely to be fixed at 1964 levels—15 percent below last year's—at best. Moreover, they will be set on a semiannual basis; hence, this year's first half may well be over for many a merchant whose volume in January and February exceeded his 6-month quota.

The free market has suffered perhaps the worst tanning of all. For buyers confront the ugly prospect of a U.S. controlled export cartel. New blood will be scarce; while some quotas may be reserved for new firms, they scarcely will support the entry of well-capitalized competitors. The consequences of monopoly inevitably will follow: poor service (where scant incentive exists to expand a business), survival of marginal suppliers and sooner or later price fixing, in substance if not form.

All this seems a high price to pay for lining an industry's pockets. Shoemakers were not the first to contract an unholy alliance with government, nor (the way things are going) will they be the last. But it's high time the public, or its elected representatives, cracked down on this new skin game.

PRESERVATION AND MAINTENANCE OF HISTORIC STRUCTURES AND SITES—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 555

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment to S. 3097 and ask that it be printed in the Record following this statement.

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate the distinguished Senator from Maine [Mr. Muskie], for his work in preparing S. 3097 which offers Federal assistance to encourage and assist in the preservation and maintenance of historic sites, objects and structures, and also for his service on the Special Committee on Historic Preservation. The work of this committee, as published in the book "With Heritage So Rich," is an outstanding contribution to the field of historic preservation. And the photographs in this book, of Factors Row and Factors Walk in Savannah, Ga.; Commonwealth Avenue in Boston; the San Antonio River flowing through La Villita, Tex.—all serve to reinforce my belief that the architectural legacies of our past demonstrate the continuity and development of our traditions, testify to the genius of generations of Americans, and emphasize the need for immediate action to preserve our heritage.

I can hardly improve upon Sidney Hyman's definition of the objectives of historic preservation:

> We want the signs of where we came from and how we got to where we are * * * the thoughts we have along the way and what we did to express the thoughts in action * * * it is all these things and more like them that we want to keep before our eyes as part of our lived life as a people, and as connecting links between a past which millions of Americans helped to make and a future which we must continue to make.

The need for this proposed legislation is obvious. Indeed, it is only a modest beginning if we are to be able to save for the future the best of our past.

The amendment I offer today is intended to contribute to the worthwhile objectives of this legislation.

As I read through the report of the special committee I was struck again and again by the importance our leading conservationists place on the concept of area preservation. They point out that saving a building or a site without relation to its historical architectural context in many cases is not enough. Often the relationship that a number of buildings have to one another creates a whole immeasurably greater than the value of the individual structures considered separately—a certain historcal character distinguishing that area from surrounding areas. I can think of areas within my own State of Massachusetts—in Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard, and Salem, to name but a few—where we must try to retain that intangible character which sets the areas apart from those around it.

One way we can preserve that character is to create historic preservation districts. By doing this, we would be allowing local and State public bodies to develop preservation programs in areas within their jurisdiction—areas which include significant numbers of buildings or objects from an early period of our history, and which derive from them an identity or character of historic, architectural or cultural interest. As Albert B. Wolfe describes it:

> Historic district architectural control aims at preserving appearances without changing ownership or use.

The concept of area preservation, I might add, does not imply any attempt to make an area into a quaint "period piece," or a historical curiousity. A historic preservation district would also contain buildings and structures which are not of historical or architectural significance. Buildings would not be affected because they did not fit in with the period being preserved. And the preservation would be concerned only with external appearances, not with the activities going on inside the buildings. Indeed, the whole idea of a historic preservation district is to maintain an area as a living and functioning twentieth century entity while at the same time retaining its historic charm through a comprehensive plan of preservation. In this respect, it follows the European practice of maintaining historic areas as living parts of their communities.

The creation of historic districts is not new to this country. South Carolina established the Old and Historic District of Charleston in 1931. Since then 14 States, including my own State of Massachusetts, have passed historic districts enabling acts whereby communities can by local ordinance establish architectural controls for areas of particular significance. Of the States which do not have enabling legislation, there are a number whose constitutions do not require it before their cities can adopt such legislation themselves.

Massachusetts has established 10 historic districts. Among them are districts in Nantucket, Boston, Lexington, and Concord, just as in other States there are historic districts such as Church Hill in Richmond, Va., and German Village in Columbus, Ohio.

These districts differ in structure according to State law. But they all share the same objective—the restoration and preservation by comprehensive plan of the historic values of a particular area.

I believe, Mr. President, that the creation of historic districts should be an important part of our national policy toward historic preservation. And I believe that the Federal Government should offer financial support and assistance to those historic districts already in existence, and incentive and encouragement to other States and communities which want to set up historic districts.

The amendment I submit today is designed to accomplish these objectives. It would enlarge the scope of S. 3097 by authorizing the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to make grants of up to 60 percent of the total cost of a program to preserve selected historic districts.

Under this proposal, States and communities would be encouraged to create historic districts, and to develop comprehensive plans for their preservation. From these districts, the National Advisory Council on Historic Preservation would designate as eligible for Federal assistance those which the Council determined have particular historic, architectural, social, or cultural significance to the United States. These districts could then offer plans for approval by the Secretary, and upon approval they would qualify for Federal assistance.

The plans might include the acquisition and restoration of certain buildings, structures, and objects within a district, and the acquisition of specific scenic easements or other restrictions on private property use by a public agency. They might also include plans for site improvements such as the resurfacing of streets, the placement of street lamps, the relocation of certain structures and the landscaping of the area. Finally, these plans might provide for special tax relief by the local public agency to cover the costs of approved property improvements made by private owners, and the continuation of appropriate and compatible private uses and the elimination of incompatible private uses.

To see that these activities were coordinated with other preservation programs carried on by the Federal Government, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development would be required to consult with the Secretary of the Interior and other agencies in the administration of the legislation.

Mr. President, the report of the Special Committee on Historic Preservation upon which S. 3097 was based, stated as its principal conclusion:

> The new preservation must look beyond the individual building and individual landmark and concern itself with the historic and architecturally valued areas and districts which contain a special meaning for the community. A historic neighborhood, a fine old street of houses, a village green, a colorful marketplace, a courthouse square, an esthetic quality of the townscape—all must fall within the concern of the preservation movement. It makes little sense to fight for the preservation of a historic house set between two service stations, and at the same time to ignore an entire area of special charm or importance in the community which is being nibbled away by incompatible uses or slow decay.

My amendment is simply designed to place the support of the Federal Government behind this wise conclusion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment (No. 555) was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 555

On page 12, line 25, strike out "and".

On page 13, line 3, strike out the period and insert in lieu thereof "; and".

On page 13, between lines 3 and 4, insert the following:

"(7) prepare, maintain, and furnish at the request of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, or any other interested public official, private organization, or individual, a current list of those historic districts (as defined in section 301 of this Act) which the Council determines have particular historic, architectural, social, or cultural significance to the United States."

At the end of the bill insert a new title as follows:

"TITLE III—PRESERVATION OF HISTORIC DISTRICTS

"DEFINITIONS

"SEC. 301. As used in this title—

"(1) The term 'Secretary' means the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

"(2) The term 'historic district' means an area (A) in which there exists a significant number of buildings or objects dating from an earlier period of American history which are representative of such period, and are of architectural, archeological, or cultural interest, (B) which derives from the presence of such buildings or objects a certain identity or character distinguishable from surrounding areas, (C) which has been designated under State or local law as an area in which to carry out a program of historical preservation and (D) which has been included on a current list prepared by the National Advisory Council on Historic Preservation pursuant to Section 201(a)(7) of this Act.

"(3) The term 'State' means any of the several States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and any of the possessions of the United States.

"(4) The term 'local public bodies' includes municipalities and other political subdivisions of States; public agencies and instrumentalities of States, municipalities, and other political subdivisions of States; and public corporations, boards, and commissions established under the laws of any State.

"Authority to make grants

"SEC. 302. (a) The Secretary is authorized to make grants to local public bodies or to nonprofit private organizations to help finance approved programs for the preservation of historic districts. The amount of any such grant shall not exceed 60 per centum of the total cost, as approved by the Secretary, of carrying out any such program.

"(b) No grant shall be made under this section to defray ordinary State or local governmental expenses.

"(c) Any program for the preservation of a historic district assisted under this title shall (1) specify the activities to be carried out, and (2) justify the choice of activities in terms of specific preservation objectives, including comparisons of cost and usefulness where appropriate grants-assisted activities may include (1) the acquisition and restoration, or the acquisition and resale of restoration, of buildings and structures, and the acquisition of easements or other restrictions on property use by public agencies, (2) the restoration of buildings or structures by nonprofit organizations, (3) necessary site improvements, such as resurfacing of streets or the relocation of objects or structures, (4) the granting of special tax relief to cover the costs of approved property improvements made by private owners, (5) the continuation of appropriate and compatible private uses and the elimination of incompatible private uses.

"Any such program will be closely coordinated with related Federal, State, and local programs, and shall not include any activity receiving assistance under any other Federal program.

"Coordination of activities

"SEC. 303. The Secretary shall, in the administration of this title, consult with the Secretary of the Interior, and the heads of such other departments or agencies of the United States as may be concerned, in order to assure that policies and actions under this title will be coordinated with other related programs and activities administered by the Department of the Interior, or any other such department or agency.

"Records and reports

"SEC. 304. (a) Any State or local public body or private nonprofit institution receiving assistance under this title shall keep such records as the Secretary shall prescribe, including records which fully disclose the disposition of the beneficiary of the proceeds of such assistance, the total cost of carrying out the program for which assistance is given the amount and nature of that portion of such cost which is supplied by non-Federal sources, and such other records as will facilitate adequate fiscal control, fund accounting, and auditing.

"(b) Any State or local public body or private nonprofit institution receiving assistance under this title shall make such reports as the Secretary may from time to time require.

"Authorization of appropriations

"SEC. 305. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title. Any sums so appropriated shall remain available until expended."

AUTHORIZATION FOR COMMITTEE TO FILE REPORT

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Government Operations be given until June 30, 1966, to file the report entitled "Diversion of Union-Welfare Pension Funds of Allied Trades Council and Teamsters Local 815." This further extension is requested because certain current matters are still pending and should be completed in the next 60 days. The report probably will include information relating to these matters.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT RELATING TO REENLISTMENT OF CERTAIN ALIENS

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, on April 25, I introduced, for appropriate committee reference, a bill to amend the Immigration and Naturalization Act, allowing any alien who has been inducted into the U.S. Army to reenlist in the U.S. Regular Army.

Under provisions of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952, as amended by the Immigration Reform Act of 1965, foreign-born persons without permanent U.S. residence status who are inducted into the U.S. military forces are prohibited from reenlisting or extending service.

My bill would render alien inductees now in the U.S. military service eligible for reenlistment by waiving this requirement of permanent residence.

In addition, my proposal leaves intact the provisions of the Immigration and Naturalization Act that give naturalization rights to persons who satisfy three requirements: First, have served for 3 years in the U.S. Armed Forces; second, were honorably discharged; and, third, filed naturalization papers within 6 months of his separation from the service.

Alien GI's under my proposal may qualify for naturalization under these requirements, but my bill would add a fourth requisite: he must first reenlist in the Regular Army of the United States.

All the other requirements to citizenship, such as good moral character, are, of course, retained under this proposal.

My bill would take care of requests such as those I have received from several citizens of the Philippine Republic who entered the United States as contract laborers for the U.S. Navy at Guam, and one who entered on a visitor's permit at Washington, D.C.

All had been inducted into the U.S. Army and are now serving at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii.

All have expressed a deep loyalty to America and see a continuance of their service in our Armed Forces as their patriotic duty to their newly adopted country.

Mr. President, I feel that this is a meritorious bill, in that the commendable impulses of persons who are of proven worth to serve the Nation should be encouraged. I believe, to paraphrase Thomas Paine, that "Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom" should be given the opportunity to "undergo the fatigue of supporting it."

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 3275

A bill to amend section 328 of the Immigration and Nationality Act relating to naturalization through service in the Armed Forces of the United States, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 328(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1439) is hereby amended (1) by striking the period at the end of paragraph (3) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon, and (2) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(4) the petitioner may be naturalized without having been lawfully admitted for permanent residence, if (A) at any time subsequent to enlistment or induction, the petitioner shall have entered the United States pursuant to official orders of the Armed Forces of the United States, and (B) the petitioner, unless ineligible, shall have reenlisted in the Armed Forces of the United States within five years after the date of expiration of the original term of service for which the petitioner had enlisted or was inducted."

SEC. 2. Section 3253(c) of title 10, United States Code, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(c) In time of peace, no person may be accepted for original enlistment in the Army unless—

"(1) he is a citizen of the United States, or

"(2) he has been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence under the applicable provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act, or

"(3) he has been inducted into the Army and enlists on or before the date of the expiration of the term of service for which he was inducted, or within any period of five years immediately succeeding such date if he has resided continuously in the United States during such period."

ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILL

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the next printing of S. 2778, a bill to provide for inclusion of orphans and foster children under the provisions of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the name of the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] be included as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SMALL BUSINESS COMMITTEE WILL RECONVENE HEARINGS AMID CHANGING SITUATION IN LIVESTOCK EXPORTS

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I would like to announce that the Select Committee on Small Business will, on May 18 and 19, reconvene its hearings on barriers to expanding exports of livestock and meat products by small and other American business.

The scope of the proceedings will be influenced by recent developments in this country and abroad which I feel it would be appropriate to review at this time.

HISTORY OF COMMITTEE INQUIRY

As the Members of this body will recall, public hearings on this subject were begun in February of last year. Our inquiry explored the various barriers of expanding beef exports, including ocean freight rates. In September, the Small Business Committee and the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry held an executive session together to identify political barriers of the European Economic Community, and the consequent position of our negotiators in the Kennedy round tariff negotiations at Geneva. We expect that the record of this proceeding will be released in the near future.

On October 22, 1965, an interim report on the expansion of beef exports was filed with the Senate—Senate Report No. 939, 89th Congress, 1st session. In this report, your committee identified nine problem areas which must be dealt with in order that American meat products be assured their full potential in export markets. Information relating to these difficulties was gathered from many places, including foreign language sources, and made available to industry groups and Government departments and agencies concerned.

It was the intention of the committee that the data be analyzed so that industry groups and Government agencies could present their suggestions for administrative and legislative action during this session.

INCREASING EUROPEAN DEMAND FOR LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS

It is apparent to all that the export potential of perishable commodities such as meat products are subject to cyclical and seasonal changes as well as long-term trends. The short-range factors can and do affect world supply, demand, and price relationships quite substantially, and we have seen many developments of this kind during the past year.

Let us first examine the demand side of the equation. When our committee began its inquiry in 1964, the prevailing estimate by the Department of Agriculture of the potential demand in Western Europe for imported beef was approximately 200,000 tons a year. Later in the year, the Vice Chairman of the EEC Commission predicted that, by 1970, the demand for imported beef would reach 500,000 metric tons a year in the six nations of the Common Market alone.

In December of 1965, a detailed survey of market possibilities for beef in Western Europe was published by the American Meat Institute. This report concludes:

> The import gap would be in the neighborhood of 600 to 800 million pounds during the next 5 years. If present trends * * * in Western Europe continue: this import gap will not be closed, but will widen somewhat more after 1970. Definitely there will be a growing market for beef in Western Europe. A more difficult question is who will supply it and under what conditions?[1]

It thus appears that, although the authorities vary somewhat as to the quantities involved, they are in agreement that there are impressive possibilities for increasing commercial exports in Europe. Our committee hopes that the American meat industry will enjoy a fair share of these sales.

For the past 2 years, we have exported livestock and meat products at an annual rate of $487 million, up from $370 million in 1963. Thus, over the course of the next decade, the consolidation of existing markets is likely to result in export sales of between $4 and $5 billion for U.S. livestock industries. However, if we manage to resolve the various export problems described in the committee's interim report, we could be servicing a substantial portion of the import gaps predicted by the authorities. In this event, the American beef industry might add another $2 to $3 billion in immediate sales, in addition to developing valuable supplementary markets for our national production in times of surplus.

Furthermore, deficits in European meat production could widen even more as a result of the serious outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease that have been reported across that continent in recent months.

Unfortunately, the disease has required the emergency destruction of thousands of head of cattle in Switzerland, the Netherlands, Austria, Belgium, and West Germany. Furthermore, a particularly virulent type of the disease seems to be working its way west, through the Soviet Union and the nations of Eastern Europe, according to Agriculture Department dispatches and newspaper articles. See exhibit 1.

There have, in addition, been persistent reports of shortfalls in the agricultural production of the Communist countries which could further aggravate the demand-supply balance in meat and related commodities. See exhibit 2.

As the data in our committee hearing record bears out, these demand factors, together with the increasing prosperity of Western Europe, are supporting wholesale and retail prices that, in many cases, approach twice the posted prices for comparable grades and products in U.S. market centers such as Chicago. See exhibit 3.

In February of this year, the Journal of Commerce reported that single fixed price of beef, proposed by the EEC's executive commission for beef would raise wholesale and retail values even higher. See exhibit 4.

Such reports indicate the pace of the changes which are currently taking place, and the consequent opportunities presented to the beef industry in this country.

However, despite these disparities in production prices, we continue to receive reports such as the following:

> The delivered prices of U.S. beef in Switzerland permits its use only in the highest class restaurants.

See exhibit 5.

U.S. RESPONSE TO DEMAND-SUPPLY IMBALANCE

This leads us to a consideration of the supply situation within the United States. With respect to many commodities, its appears that the authorities are now speaking of our farm surpluses as reserves, rather than problems. We are beginning to calculate realistically the amounts of certain crops that we require at home for food and seed, in terms of the number of months or years supply which should be maintained in storage. Production is being encouraged in some commodities in order to fulfill these quotas.

The Nation is striving toward a new perspective between world agricultural supply and demand. See exhibit 6. This is illustrated by President Johnson's new departures in the food-for-freedom program and the increased emphasis of AID on agriculture in the developing countries.

Other evidence of the national reappraisal are work of the National Commission on Food Marketing, which expects to report back to the Congress sometime this summer, and the President's newly appointed Commission on Food and Fiber, which will continue its studies somewhat further in the future.

Recent articles have summarized the era of prosperity which lies ahead for American farmers because of the technological revolution in agriculture in our country, and growing food needs in both the developed and developing countries abroad. See exhibit 7.

Many Senators and Representatives have devoted considerable thought and effort to these vital questions.

IMPORTANCE OF MEAT PRODUCTION

The committee understands that the operation of these factors is pushing the prices of meat in this country close to alltime highs. Whether these levels are appropriate, under current conditions, is yet to be finally determined. The fact upon which all agree, however, is that the raising and sale of livestock and meat products will be important to the farmer in the coming era. Part of the picture will be commercial export markets. The committee does not wish to overestimate, nor to underestimate, the importance of such matters, but to give them appropriate attention and to assure that they are given appropriate attention by others.

In terms of our national farm prosperity, beef is an important cash crop across the Nation, accounting for about one-fourth of farm income. Further, the proportion of the sales price returned to the farmer for meat animals is very high in comparison to the return on other crops.

This means that the benefits of increased beef consumption will be shared by small as well as large farmers; dairymen and ranchers; feeders; and the two-thirds of the meatpackers which are small, as well as those which are large. As we are aware, however, about 100,000 farmers a year are being driven off the land—some 300 every day. Our committee hopes that a breakthrough in beef and veal exports can be achieved in time for our small farmers to enjoy it. Such a breakthrough will allow the small and family businesses in this field to gain strength so that they can participate in the future prosperity and, in turn, advance our national capacity to produce and market quality beef products.

U.S. SHARE OF PRODUCTION INCREASING AND EXPORTS DECREASING

The United States now produces nearly one-third of the world's beef. Furthermore, this share has been increasing during the past decade. The following tabulations make this clear.

Thus, we possess the largest productive platform from which to launch any efforts to fulfill increases in domestic or foreign demand. When it comes to international trade, however, we presently account for only 2.05 percent of the world's exports of beef and veal. Since the figure for 10 years ago was 2.40 percent, it can be seen in the following table that our export trend has been downward.

The sliver of the international market which we hold, in fact, amounts to less than one-half of 1 percent of U.S. production. This figure should be compared with consistent annual wheat exports of more than half of the country's crop, two-thirds of our rice and non-fat milk, and two-fifths of our soybean and tallow production, and one-third of our cotton, rye, and prunes—see Senate Report No. 939, 89th Congress, 1st session, October 22, 1965, page 2.

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[1] "Trends in Production, Consumption and Marketing Possibilities for Beef in Western Europe" by Dr. D. Alvin Carpenter (project No. 471201) joint U.S. Department of Agriculture, American Meat Institute, European Market Development Program, December 1965, p. 64.

Beef and veal—Production in selected countries, average 1956–60, annual 1961–64

[In millions of pounds]

Country	Average, 1956–60	1961	1962	1963	1964	Percent change (1956–64)
Argentina	4,984	4,729	5,244	5,744	4,586	−7.98
Australia	1,799	1,417	1,772	2,047	2,208	+22.73
New Zealand	559	555	643	643	641	+14.66
U.S.S.R. (Europe and Asia)	5,250	5,430	6,180	6,680	6,750	+28.57
Denmark	357	302	378	381	334	−6.44
France	2,952	3,538	3,673	3,613	3,406	+15.37
Uruguay	576	581	600	707	813	+42.70
Yugoslavia	300	351	498	485	423	+41.00
Ireland	188	285	244	244	204	+8.51
Netherlands	481	529	616	714	602	+25.15
United States	15,352	16,342	16,311	17,353	19,435	+26.59
Others	17,355	19,125	19,664	20,455	20,352	+17.26
Total	50,153	53,184	55,823	59,065	59,754	19.14
	Percentages of world production (productive platform)					
United States	30.61	30.72	29.21	29.37	32.52	--------
Argentina	9.93	8.89	9.39	9.72	7.67	--------
Australia	3.58	2.66	3.17	3.46	3.69	--------
New Zealand	1.11	1.04	1.15	1.08	1.07	--------
France	5.88	6.65	6.57	6.11	5.70	--------
U.S.S.R	10.46	10.20	11.07	11.30	11.29	--------

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, February 1966.

Beef and veal—Exports from selected countries, average 1956–60, annual 1961–64

[Pounds in millions]

Country	Average, 1956–60		1961		1962		1963		1964	
	Pounds	Export share (percent)	Pounds	Percent	Pounds	Percent	Pounds	Percent	Pounds	Export share (percent)
Argentina	1,207	36.81	873	25.29	1,202	26.52	1,613	30.58	1,296	27.74
Australia	549	16.74	610	17.67	855	18.87	969	18.37	995	21.30
New Zealand	318	9.69	298	--------	332	--------	400	--------	391	8.37
U.S.S.R. (Europe and Asia)	173	5.27	147	--------	297	--------	411	--------	138	2.95
Denmark	168	5.12	143	--------	200	--------	275	--------	200	4.28
France	89	2.71	287	--------	388	--------	265	--------	203	4.34
Uruguay	129	3.93	136	--------	182	--------	214	--------	331	7.08
Yugoslavia	47	1.43	96	--------	168	--------	183	--------	179	3.83
Ireland	107	3.26	240	--------	195	--------	197	--------	155	3.31
Netherlands	62	1.89	85	--------	107	--------	138	--------	164	3.51
United States	79	2.40	58	--------	53	--------	54	--------	96	2.05
Others	351	10.70	478	--------	552	--------	555	--------	523	11.19
Total	3,279	99.95	3,451	--------	4,531	--------	5,274	--------	4,671	99.95
U.S. share (percent)	2.40		1.68		1.16		1.02		2.05	

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, March 1966.

LACK OF LONG-RANGE PLANNING FOR BEEF

All of these factors have a bearing on the potential for expanding American exports of beef and beef products. However, as nearly as our committee can determine, these elements have not yet been comprehensively appraised. Disparities have not been satisfactorily explained and opportunities have not been fully exploited. In short, as a nation, we have not come to grips with the potentials and the problems relating to American beef production and exports.

DISLOCATIONS IN THE DOMESTIC MARKET

Our committee sees the need for such an approach as being timely, since dislocations are presently occurring in the economy which might very well be mitigated by planning of this kind.

One indication is that meat prices within the United States have been markedly higher during 1965 and into January and February of 1966. The Wall Street Journal on Monday, February 14, reported:

> [F]or consumers, who spend one-fourth of their food dollars on meat * * * a continuation of the record in high meat cost of 1965 (is predicted) by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The index of retail meat prices reached a record of 113.3 percent of the 1957–59 average in December, up from the year-earlier 99.8.

See exhibit 8.

A chart furnished by the Bureau shows that the changes in the yearly averages are somewhat less dramatic. See exhibit 9.

Equally relevant, however, is the fact that good steer beef, during the spring of 1964, had fallen more than 10 cents at Chicago to 31.5 cents a pound, giving rise to widespread distress among the American beef industry and a reported oversupply to consumers. Now, in less than 2 years, the picture seems to be completely reversed.

In assessing the demand-supply-price equation for beef, these wide supply and price swings are danger signals. They are clearly recognized by the consumer and the producer, and should not be ignored by the Government. See exhibit 10.

It thus appears that a long-term examination of our export and production policies is in order. It is surely to be hoped that our country will be wise enough to avoid shutdowns of our export promotion in periods of extraordinary demand at home and abroad, only to engage in wasteful "crash programs" in later years after our competitors have taken steps to develop these markets for themselves. See exhibit 11.

The recent action by the Department of Commerce imposing limitations on exports of certain beef products; namely hides, while it might have appeared temporarily necessary, has been seriously questioned by many farm and livestock organizations. The spokesmen for these groups have pointed out that export markets are already an important support for the overall price of U.S. cattle, through high-priced outlets for secondary commodities such as variety meats, lard, tallow, and hides. These beef products, in fact, account for 10 to 12 percent of the domestic market prices. The American beef industry, recognizing this, has devoted considerable effort to building and consolidating these byproduct markets. Quotas of this kind can thus have direct repercussions on U.S. prices, as well as indirect effects resulting from the undermining of our industries chances to capture a fair share of the foreign markets. It is well known that these markets are being aggressively cultivated by other countries.

I am pleased to note press reports of a Department of Commerce hearing on this matter, and I believe the committee will wish to look into this aspect of the export picture further at the hearing.

IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS

This is also a time when exports have never been more important to the balance of payments. Farm exports presently account for about one-fourth of all U.S. merchandise exports. The impact on national balance of payments is therefore very substantial. I would like to include in my remarks a table indicating that exports of U.S. agricultural products have totaled $43.5 billion since 1953:

Year	Exports	Share of total exports
	Millions	*Percent*
1953	$2,847	18.0
1954	3,054	20.0
1955	3,199	21.0
1956	4,170	22.0
1957	4,506	22.0
1959	3,955	23.0
1960	4,832	24.0
1962	5,034	24.0
1963	5,585	24.0
1964	6,347	25.6

Source: U.S. Foreign Agricultural Trade by Commodities, calendar year 1963, June 1964. ERS, U.S. Department of Agriculture; also October 1965.

These figures, however, should not be accepted without qualifications. Allowances should be made for the proportion which is sponsored by Government-financed programs such as Public Law 480, food for peace, AID and similar operations. Our committee would like to encourage a clear separation between the commercial and Government transactions, so that future policy decisions may have the benefit of this refinement in presentation.

COMMITTEE ASKING INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT FOR LONG-TERM APPROACHES

The committee is aware that arrangements for producing and marketing beef products must be viewed over the long term. I understand that the cycle for the rearing of beef cattle is about 8 years. The committee feels that we need to get this kind of perspective into the plans of all who are concerned with the potential markets I have described.

The committee's hearings and interim report have attempted to set forth the relevant data so that the Government departments and agencies and private industry could focus their thinking on possible long-term solutions. Considerable time has been and will be available for this type of consideration.

Accordingly, we shall ask the witnesses that appear before our committee to give us their best judgments where we will be 5 and 10 years from now, and how we should be getting there. We shall ask what approaches should be taken so that American business, including small business, can gain a full and equitable share of rapidly expanding commercial markets for beef and beef products overseas. Our committee would like to know what industry groups and Government agencies are for, what they are against, and how we might assist them.

Mr. President, we hope that such an approach in the testimony will enable your committee to make proposals for action which will be beneficial for many American industries, including the beef industry which produces these fine products; the American-flag steamship lines and airlines which have unequaled facilities for their transport; and advertising, marketing, and other export companies whose know-how can facilitate the growth of export markets. We feel that the consequent trade would benefit not only our economy, but those of our trading partners abroad.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the material to which I have referred as exhibits be included in the RECORD following my remarks as a background for the forthcoming hearings.

There being no objection, the material presented by Mr. SPARKMAN, was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXHIBIT 1

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SERVICE,
January 7, 1966.

From: Bonn.
To: Department of Agriculture, Washington.
Information: U.S. Mission, Brussels; Agriculture Officer, Hamburg; Mission, Geneva.
Subject: West Germany: foot and mouth disease.

In reply to our written inquiry, the Ministry of Agriculture of Schleswig-Holstein reports that from January 1 to December 12, 1965, 110 communities reported occurrences of foot and mouth disease on 239 farms; of these, on 184 farms, it was only hogs, on 11 farms only cattle, and on 44 farms both cattle and hogs. The result was that 174 cattle and 16,160 hogs were culled and the carcasses were disposed through usage by the nonfood industry. The prevalent type of virus was type C with only one herd of cattle reported infected with type O and two cattle and hog herds with type A. During this period, 15,837 cattle and 621 calves were vaccinated with trivalent vaccine. No hogs were vaccinated. All cattle in Shleswig-Holstein are vaccinated every 2 years.

The Ministry of Agriculture of Hesse similarly replied that only one head of cattle was affected and subsequently culled with the carcass disposed by the nonfood industry. No hog infections were reported. 100 cattle and 400 hogs were vaccinated.

A newspaper reports that foot and mouth disease has necessitated further emergency slaughtering of about a thousand head of cattle in Switzerland, the Netherlands, the U.S.S.R. and in some parts of Austria, Belgium, and West Germany. The newspaper further states that in South Baden alone about 600 head of cattle, hogs, sheep, and goats had to be slaughtered. In Holland, it is reported that about $5.5 million worth of livestock have been slaughtered due to this disease.

The West German Ministry of Agriculture reports that all five provinces in Holland are now infected with foot and mouth disease. The German border with Holland remains closed and the embargo on imports of livestock and meat capable of carrying the disease continues from Italy, Switzerland, U.S.S.R., Turkey, and Greece. Ministry officials believe that the requirements of the new German animal disease regulation, which became effective January 1, 1966, will prevent foot and mouth disease from entering Germany. However, in the event that serious outbreaks occur in additional countries, embargos on imports and/or the closing of frontiers might be required.

PAUL G. MINNEMAN,
Agricultural Attaché.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 10, 1966]

EUROPE'S CATTLE HERDS FACING FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE ON WIDE FRONT—WORST CONTAGION HAS HIT DUTCH, SWISS, AND SOVIET AREAS; SOME NATIONS RESTRICT MEAT IMPORTS

Much of Europe's cattle population is threatened by epizootics of foot-and-mouth disease, a killer of animals which forces destruction of affected herds.

Major outbreaks have already occurred in the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the Soviet Union. Minor infections in East Germany, Austria, and Belgium may lead to widespread cattle slaughter unless the stricken animals can be quickly isolated and destroyed.

West Germany has joined France and Belgium in banning imports of meat from the Netherlands because Dutch authorities have not been able to check the contagion.

In Washington, U.S. officials doubt that Europe's foot-and-mouth outbreaks will mean any immediate surge in this country's livestock and meat exports. Because of high U.S. prices, shipments to all foreign destinations are expected to decline in 1966, probably to less than $100 million, from 1965's estimated $106 million and 1964's $133 million. With prices higher, the decline in total shipment weight is even sharper.

From a longer-range viewpoint, though, Government analysts consider the disease a factor contributing to Europe's "meat deficit" the difference between its limited supplies and rising demand, which should mean larger imports from the United States, Argentina, Australia, and other countries in the years ahead.

Swiss officials describe the outbreak in Switzerland as "one of the worst ever." Except for the western part of the country, all of Switzerland is affected. "Several thousand infected animals, mostly cows and sheep, have been slaughtered," says one government official. Authorities have sealed off infected areas, banned cattle movements and cattle trade fairs, and begun animal inoculation programs. Some schools have been closed to keep children from carrying the disease to unaffected areas.

DUTCH CONTINUE EFFORTS

There is a big wave of foot-and-mouth disease in the southern part of the Netherlands, according to Dutch officials who say they are taking stringent measures to check its spread by slaughtering infected animals and halting cattle movements.

The Dutch Government also has stopped issuing licenses for cattle exports. Dutch officials say the disease was started by contact with pigs crossing the border from Germany into the Netherlands.

An epizootic—the equivalent in animals of an epidemic in humans—is said to be sweeping many parts of the Soviet Union and is particularly severe in the Ukraine. Several outbreaks also have occurred in Hungary, but official sources there claim infected areas have been isolated "with success."

Lesser outbreaks have hit West Germany, Austria, and Belgium. Only a few scattered cases of foot-and-mouth disease broke out in France and the Scandinavian countries.

Foot-and-mouth disease is one of the most highly contagious diseases to affect cattle and swine, its principal victims. It is caused by a virus that spreads upon contact and usually sweeps through an entire herd, striking heavily among the younger animals. It produces a high fever followed by eruptions on the mouth and feet.

The disease itself kills only about 5 percent of the animals it strikes, but it leaves them in such deteriorated condition that they become susceptible to other infections such as mastitis and pneumonia.

Farmers and ranchers dread the disease primarily because of the harshness of the measures necessary to bring it under control. Whole herds often have to be slaughtered and disposed of by burial or burning. Such a measure is required by Federal law in the United States. Areas where infection breaks out are usually quarantined and rigid inspection systems are set up.

NORTH AMERICAN SUCCESS

The United States is generally considered free of the disease, largely as a result of stringent controls on imports of animals. The last time it threatened was in 1953 when an outbreak occurred among cattle in Mexico. The United States-Mexican border was closed to cattle, reopening in 1954.

A cooperative program among the United States, Mexican, and Canadian Governments has largely eliminated the disease from North America in recent years, although in Mexico's case, 8 years and the slaughter of more than 1 million animals were required to curb the disease.

U.S. officials are following the European disease outbreaks with interest, describing them as serious although they aren't by any means the worst in history. In Western Europe, they believe, the disease is carried by the traditional virus for which animals can be immunized by vaccination. However, they say the more virulent "African" foot-and-mouth disease virus has been reported in Eastern Europe and they believe the Soviet Union is afflicted by both viruses.

U.S. officials confirming that most European countries are barring imports from each other to restrict spread of the disease, remark that 10 percent of the Common Market countries' imports in recent years have been from behind the Iron Curtain. Italy and West Germany, the two primary importers from Eastern Europe, have imposed quarantines against further shipments. As a result, U.S. officials see one bright spot at least: U.S. shipments of live animals to Italy should rise this year.

[From Foreign Agriculture Magazine, Feb. 7, 1966]

Foot-and-Mouth Disease Continues To Plague Europe

(By Roger Neetz)

Agricultural authorities in Europe are showing increasing concern over the widespread reports of foot-and-mouth disease on the Continent. In every country, control measures are being strictly enforced at the first sign of an outbreak, and to prevent the spread of the disease across borders, many countries have placed embargoes on the shipment of meat and livestock from infected areas. In January FAO published a report warning that continuing outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease could turn into a "nightmare" for the European livestock industry.

Foot-and-mouth disease is one of the most highly contagious diseases to affect cattle and swine. It is caused by a virus that spreads upon contact and usually sweeps through the entire herd. It produces a high fever followed by eruptions on the mouth and feet. The disease itself kills only about 5 percent of the animals it strikes, but it leaves them in such a deteriorated condition that they become susceptible to other infections to which they might be exposed, such as mastitis and pneumonia.

OUTBREAK IN SOVIET UNION

A serious outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease developed in the Soviet Union toward the end of last summer. The outbreak reportedly began in the southern areas of European Russia. Isolated press comments indicated that the disease spread rapidly into the south to the Transcaucasus, into the north beyond Moscow, and into the southwest to the Ukraine and Moldavia. In December a U.S. scientist visiting the Soviet Union reported that quarantine stations had been established along the highway outside of Moscow, and more recently, official press statements have indicated that quarantine measures have been extended as far west as Byelorussia.

Because of the apparent seriousness of the outbreak, a special commission, headed by Soviet Minister of Agriculture Matskevich, was set up to combat the spread of the disease. Preventive measures introduced by the commission restricted the movement of cattle in the diseased areas and established control points on highways and railroads. Transporting milk, feed, and livestock from infected areas has been restricted to insure the isolation of the disease.

Soviet officials claimed that the virus, identified as A–1, was uncommon in the U.S.S.R. Available vaccines proved ineffective. But the Soviets now claim that a new vaccine has been developed, and that it is being produced in quantity. The vaccine was tested in the Transcaucasus where the disease reportedly has been checked.

CONTROL UNCERTAIN

Although Soviet authorities have implied that the control measures and the new vaccine have been effective in arresting the current spread of foot-and-mouth disease in the Soviet Union, Western observers and veterinarians hold reservations about the future. Dr. Giuseppe Boldrini, Secretary of the European Commission for the Control of Foot-and-Mouth Disease, recently stated that the predominance of this variant strain in the new cases reported posed a serious problem on the Continent, since European cattle have little resistance to it.

Additionally, Dr. Erwin Eichhorn, Chief of the FAO Animal Health Branch, believes that supplies of vaccine to combat a serious outbreak of type A–1 foot-and-mouth disease are inadequate, and that it is unlikely an improvement can be effected in time for adequate protection.

No official statement about the number of infected animals or losses of livestock has been issued by the Soviets, but the serious efforts being made to control the disease suggest great concern. One estimate indicated that the outbreak in the Soviet Union covered an area containing about half of the total cattle population in the U.S.S.R. The actual loss in milk production, the weight loss of live animals, and the reduction of herds could be substantial and would seriously affect the livestock program in 1966.

DISEASE CONTINUES IN EASTERN EUROPE

Earlier in 1965 Hungary also experienced a serious outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease. The virus apparently was one of the classical strains, O, A, or C; and midyear reports indicated that it had been contained. But even with adequate control measures and vaccines for these varieties, the loss sustained by the agricultural sector was officially stated to have reached $29 million.

Other east European countries reported only a small number of new cases of foot-and-mouth disease in 1965, despite their proximity to the Soviet Union. None reported any incidence of type A–1. An outbreak of type O–1 developed in Rumania in May in areas adjacent to the Hungarian border, and before the outbreak was fully under control more than 2,000 hogs were destroyed. A U.S. Department of Agriculture official traveling in Rumania and Bulgaria last fall observed quarantine stations in both countries, but no outbreak of the disease was reported. Hungary also announced in January that it was free from foot-and-mouth disease. Both Poland and Czechoslovakia reported some cases early in 1965, but control measures were apparently effective in preventing further outbreaks.

WESTERN EUROPE SUFFERS FINANCIAL LOSSES

Western countries, however, reported an increase in the number of new cases during the latter part of 1965. Particularly serious outbreaks developed in the Netherlands and in Switzerland. In both instances the virus was identified as an indigenous type O or C, the latter being more predominant in hogs than cattle. Dutch officials stated that in the 2½ months after the disease broke out, 786 Dutch farms were contaminated and 57,377 hogs and 484 cattle were destroyed, a loss of approximately $5.5 million.

The first cases of the disease in Switzerland were reported last November. By the end of December some 500 farms were affected, and over 18,000 cattle, pigs, sheep, and goats had been slaughtered. Altogether foot-and-mouth disease is estimated to have cost Switzerland about $7 million last year.

In the beginning of 1965 the greatest number of new cases of foot-and-mouth disease were reported in Spain, West Germany, Portugal, and Italy. One estimate indicated that the outbreak in Spain, which started in 1964 and continued through February of 1965, had affected more than 400,000 head of livestock. However, through effective control measures, the number of new cases in these countries dwindled considerably, and recent reports suggest that the controls have remained effective.

VIGILANCE AT BORDERS

Currently, countries bordering Switzerland and the Netherlands are taking extra precautions to protect themselves from new outbreaks. Italy has closed off the import of livestock from East and West Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. France has stopped meat and livestock imports from Switzerland, Belgium, and the Netherlands. West Germany has introduced strong measures of control in areas adjacent to Switzerland and the Netherlands. Austria, despite strict border controls, reported the outbreak of the disease at two farms in areas adjacent to Switzerland early last month.

The full economic impact of the disease on the livestock industry in the affected countries of Europe cannot be easily determined, for much depends on the effectiveness of control measures. Some experts believe that with the advent of spring, mild weather, and the normal movement of livestock, the disease will become more pronounced. Moreover, protection against the exotic strains of foot-and-mouth disease is not fully guaranteed. Adequate warnings, however, have been given, and U.S. inspectors at international ports have been alerted to exercise a "special vigilance" to prevent the entry into the United States of meat contaminated by foot-and-mouth disease.

Exhibit 2

[From the Journal of Commerce, Feb. 16, 1966]

World Peril Seen in Red Crop Failure

(By Tom Connors)

Washington, February 15.—Consistent crop failures in the Soviet Union and Communist China pose important threats to the world's food supplies, an American agricultural expert told the House Agriculture Committee today.

At the same time, John J. Haggerty, vice president and research director of Agri Research, Inc., of Manhattan, Kans., maintained that the fighting in Vietnam and unrest in Indonesia hinder a glowing opportunity to improve those same supplies.

TESTIFIES AT HEARING

Mr. Haggerty, a former Department of Agriculture expert in international agriculture, testified at the second day of the Agricultural Committee's hearings on world population and food problems. The hearings are being conducted in connection with extension and expansion of Public Law 480, the basic authority for U.S. overseas food aid, which expires in December.

Mr. Haggerty's general premise was that while there is some hope for expanding the world's total of land under cultivation, the main emphasis must be on improving yields from land already being tilled.

In looking at lands now under cultivation, he said "it is in the Communist bloc of nations that the greatest problem is confronted, largely because of the ideological impasse which must be overcome before genuine and substantial progress in agriculture and food production can be foreseen.

INCENTIVES DESTROYED

"From the beginning of communism, the enforced collectivization of agriculture has tended to destroy the very incentives for progress and productivity."

Mr. Haggerty noted that in recent years food production in Western Europe has increased 14 percent while the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe made less than half that rate of gain.

"In the U.S.S.R., the 1965 wheat crop will not come up to the 1958–62 average, again necessitating heavy imports during 1966," he said.

"In mainland China, agricultural output is behind the levels of 10 years ago. As a consequence, per capita availabilities are disastrously low, requiring a volume of imports that threaten to exhaust the available world stocks unless production plans in the surplus producing countries are drastically altered upward."

Mr. Haggerty said that in Indochina and Indonesia, once known as the "rice bowl of the world," the tide has strongly shifted from the rice exporting status of pre-World War II to progressively increasing dependence upon rice imports, on a net regional basis.

"The great human tragedy of our times is that humanity can ill afford the costs in time, human life, energy, and capital now being expended in destructive conflict in that region, resources which are so vitally and so urgently needed to develop and amplify the means for sustaining life in this same region.

"Water conservation in the Mekong River basin, for example, to enable irrigation in the dry season and a system of double cropping of rice would do more to augment the basic food supply than any other single project that comes to mind," Mr. Haggerty declared.

A second expert witness told the Agriculture Committee that the problem of advancing agriculture in most underdeveloped countries is "an enormously complex one."

Max Millikan, director of the Center for International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said MIT studies point to the conclusion that unless all of the elements of agricultural development—water, seed, fertilizer, technology, credit, marketing channels and so on—are present, performance is likely to be very disappointing.

PROBLEM NOT INSOLUBLE

But, he concluded hopefully "the fact that the problem is complex does not mean that it is insoluble."

He laid particular stress on the need for the proper government priority for agricultural development, foreign aid to meet fertilizer, water, and seed requirements, and a general willingness to experiment and to adapt farming to local community needs.

"If these things are done, I am convinced that the necessary increases in the agricultural productivity in the underdeveloped world are quite reasonably achievable in the fairly near future," he asserted.

EXHIBIT 3

Beef prices: U.S. wholesale at Chicago, Milan, and Paris—Good steer, 600 to 700 pounds

[In cents per pound]

Month	Chicago, 1965	Chicago, 1964	Milan, 1964	Paris, 1964
January	36.0	34.5	57.6	48.5
February	34.9	33.4	56.8	49.7
March	35.6	33.4	58.6	50.5
April	36.5	32.8	61.0	51.4
May	39.2	31.5	64.1	54.2
June	40.8	33.0	65.7	54.6
July	40.1	35.0	66.1	--------
August	39.9	37.6	66.8	--------
September	39.1	38.4	66.2	51.2
October	39.0	36.8	66.6	51.3
November	38.2	36.0	65.2	51.6
December	38.1	35.2	65.6	54.4
Average price per pound	38.11	34.80	63.36	51.74

Sources: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Office of the Secretary, February 1966; "Expansion of Beef Exports," hearings before the Senate Select Committee on Small Business, Feb. 24 and 25, 1965, p. 242

EXHIBIT 4

[From the Journal of Commerce, Feb. 24, 1966]

EEC FIXED-PRICE SEEN BOOSTING BEEF VALUE

BRUSSELS, February 23.—The price of beef already at record levels in the Common Market will soar even higher under a single price being proposed by the community's executive commission.

The commission has recommended the six countries fix a common price for beef probably applicable next year at 265 deutsche marks per 100 kilograms ($662.5) a metric ton.

The commission has also suggested 1966 prices range between 242 and 257 deutsche marks ($605 and $624.5).

A market group led by agriculture expert Louis Rabot is touring Common Market countries sounding out government views on the price suggestions. They have visited Germany, Italy, and France and are scheduled in Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg by March 29.

The commission feels the recommended prices will stimulate breeding in the beef-short community. It could also affect cost-of-living indexes.

The commission has also proposed the "six" should fix their single milk price at 38 German pfennings per liter (9½ cents). Current milk prices run from 34.5 pfennings to 40 pfennings a liter (8.62–10 cents). The lower single community price would tend to reduce the present glut of dairy produce in the community.

Ministers meet here next week to discuss the price ranges and will discuss the single price recommendations later in March.

Beef production in the community has been lagging behind consumption since 1962. Greater prosperity accounts for the increased consumption which jumped from 6.25 million tons to 9.95 million tons in the past 10 years.

In 1965 the "6" imported 1,400,000 tons of beef and predictions are imports will jump by a further 100,000 tons this year despite increased local production.

EXHIBIT 5

[UNCLASSIFIED]

FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SERVICE, U.S.
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
March 18, 1966.

Bern, Switzerland: U.S. beef workshop Spiez, February 19, 1966(V).

It was with a great deal of satisfaction that those, who were in the forefront of planning developments of the Swiss market for high-grade U.S. beef, heard that the Swiss Butchers' Association had announced plans to conduct a workshop on U.S. beef. The Office of the Agricultural Attaché, American Embassy, Bern was requested to assist in obtaining the import of a trial order of U.S. meat. Through the cooperation of Mr. Ellard Pfaelzer, Special Consultant U.S. Department of Agriculture, and Mr. Lucas Koop, European representative, American Meat Institute, Rotterdam, the shipment of about one-half ton of chilled beef arrived in Zurich via Swissair on Monday, February 14. It was transferred by refrigerated truck to the Swiss Butchers' School in Spiez to await the workshop on the following Saturday, February 19.

The butchers' school is located in the basement of the Belvedere Hotel in Spiez. This workshop was attended by (1) officials of the butchers' association, (2) the butchers' school, (3) directors of several leading tourist hotels, (4) restaurateurs, (5) the European representative of American Meat Institute, Rotterdam, and (6) the Agricultural Attaché, American Embassy, Bern.

After an introduction by Mr. Rutishauser, president of the butchers' association, the group went to the laboratory and cutting room of the well-equipped butchers' school. The four grades of U.S. imported beef were on display as well as a Swiss local A grade. The U.S. grades included prime, choice, good and standard, both bone-in and boneless. Mr. Bopplie, the secretary of the association, explained each cut, giving relative prices and uses. The U.S. cuts were then trimmed to fit the Swiss restaurant type of cut and the amount and percentage of fat was calculated. Everyone was impressed with the quality of the U.S. beef. However, the out-turn of meat for serving compared with the total weight before the removal of the fat was a question in the minds of the entire group. The use of the fat trimmings was an important item of discussion.

After the discussion of the various beef cuts in the laboratory, a luncheon was served to the group. Each was given a chance to taste four separate servings of the various grades of loin—oven prepared. No identification was given of the meat at the time it was served. After the meal each guest was asked to rate the beef they had tasted. Based on a top score of 10 for each vote the results of the voting were as follows:

	Score
U.S. prime	136
U.S. choice	136
Swiss grade "A"	107
U.S. standard	82

The after-luncheon remarks by the various guests were of particular interest to exporters of U.S. beef. All agree that the flavor and quality of the U.S. beef was excellent. However, the delivered price of U.S. beef in Switzerland permits its use only in the highest class restaurants. The sincere attitude of the guests in their remarks on the quality, flavor and tenderness is worthy of note. All agree that Switzerland must import a sizable percentage of its beef—the main question is the price differential between the U.S. products and those available from other suppliers.

PRINT HUDSON,
Agricultural Attaché.

EXHIBIT 6

[From the Foreign Agriculture Magazine, Mar. 28, 1966]

DESPITE IMPROVEMENTS, WORLD STILL FACES FOOD DEFICITS IN 1970

Also see hearings before Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry on S. —, the food-for-freedom bill.

The world's farmers, in the years immediately ahead, can be expected to continue improving their food output—but, unfortunately, not fast enough to offset the rapid rise in population.

As a result, 1970 will dawn upon a remaining nutritional deficit in most of Africa and Asia and a big portion of Latin America, according to the World Food Budget, published at irregular intervals by the Economic Research Service.

In 1959–61, the food consumption of people in these areas—which contain two-thirds of the world's population—averaged 900 calories below the level of the other one-third of the world and 300 calories below the minimum nutritional standard of 2,300 required for normal activity and health. Daily consumption of protein was less than two-thirds that of diet-adequate countries.

Although both the quality and per capita intake of food is expected to increase by 1970, much of the improvement will need to come from higher imports—largely as food aid. Daily calorie intake is anticipated at 8 percent above the 1959–61 level of 2,000, and consumption of protein is expected to rise by 10 percent.

The forecast calorie gap between the nutritionally adequate and the diet-deficit nations in 1970 will be the equivalent of 54 million metric tons of grain. The deficit in animal protein will equal 6½ million tons of nonfat dry milk. Over 3 million tons of soybeans would be needed to meet the vegetable-protein deficit, while the fat deficit would require an equal amount of vegetable oils. Countries of the Far East account for about 93 percent of this gap, with 62 percent in Communist Asia.

The cost of the food deficit in non-Communist, diet-deficient countries alone is estimated at $2.5 billion—the equivalent of one-tenth of the grain, one-fifth of the milk and soybeans, and one-third of the vegetable oils produced annually in the United States.

EXHIBIT 7

[From the New York Times, Feb. 14, 1966]

ERA OF PROSPERITY LOOMS FOR FARMERS

(By Donald Janson)

DES MOINES, IOWA, February 13.—An era of hard-won prosperity appears to be dawning for the Nation's farmers.

The technological revolution in agriculture, underway for a quarter of a century, has shaken the structure of farming to its foundations and reshaped it as a modern industry.

Fading from the countryside are the small, general-purpose farms that once formed self-sufficient units for any family willing to supply the necessary force and manpower.

Remaining is the new family farm, a larger, more specialized enterprise demanding great technical and managerial skill to operate and vastly increased investments to turn a profit.

HOG PRODUCER OPTIMISTIC

It was the new family farm Severd V. Johnson, 34-year-old hog producer at Agency, Iowa, was talking about this week when he told the National Farm Institute here, "I don't think the future ever looked brighter."

And it was the new family farm Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman was talking about 2 weeks ago when he told a meeting of cattlemen in Kansas City:

"The farm economy is healthier today than at any time for more than a decade and it will continue to improve. Farmers and ranchers are sharing more fully in the Nation's prosperity than at any time in recent years."

There are several reasons for the glowing picture:

The Nation's robust general economy has meant greater consumer spending for farm products.

Dollar-sale farm exports have moved steadily upward. Rising prosperity in Europe and Japan promises a continuation of this trend.

Foreign aid exports to needy countries are increasing.

Government acreage controls have trimmed huge grain surpluses to manageable reserves, eliminating the price-depressing effects of oversupplies.

The affluence accruing to agriculture for all these reasons is being divided among a smaller number of farmers.

NOW 6.5 PERCENT OF POPULATION

The farm population, 17 percent of the national total two decades ago, has shrunk to 6.5 percent. Last year this meant a record income per farm of $4,150, nearly 40 percent higher than 5 years earlier.

Per capita farm income has risen 35 percent in the 5-year period, compared with 20 percent for the rest of the population.

Last year net income in agriculture, the Nation's largest industry, was $14 billion, up more than a billion dollars over the previous year.

What makes all this shape up as the dawn of a brighter era for farming, long a laggard on the past, are prospects for continuing the principal trends.

No longer is the emphasis of Government farm programs on staving off extinction for uneconomic units. Subsidiary programs now provide loans and other aid for easing the adjustment of these rural families to nonfarming occupations.

TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

For the surviving farmers the Department of Agriculture predicts a half-billion-dollar increase in net income this year. For the next 4 years, Mr. Freeman says, net income should average $2 billion more each year than it did a decade earlier.

The technological revolution has forced a radical change in the whole face of farming.

It has replaced men with machines in field and barn.

It has added vastly to productivity with costly fertilizers, herbicides, pesticides, and new seed varieties.

The mounting capital investment required has dictated addition of productive land to the old farmstead. "Expand or get out" has become the byword down on the farm, and the cost of staying in business is precisely what is eliminating the marginal farmer.

The formula for staying in business and qualifying for the brighter era ahead is well illustrated on the farm of Severd Johnson.

CORN YIELD RISES

The dark-haired Iowan added to his practical skills by taking a degree in agriculture at Iowa State University.

He now feeds 2,500 hogs and 150 head of cattle, five times as much livestock as the farm marketed when he took over its operation from his father 8 years ago.

He has added 367 acres of rich black Iowa soil for a total of 500.

Using the latest equipment and techniques, he has increased corn yield in the checkerboard of Johnson fields from 100 bushels an acre to a top of 155 last year.

His costs of production have edged steadily upward but profits have outrun them. "We have had a very gratifying increase," the young farmer said in an interview.

How striking the change in the face of farming has been is seen in some vital statistics.

The average value per farm of tractors and other assets is from $17,400 in 1950 to $60,000 last year. The size of the average farm has increased from 183 acres in 1939 to nearly 300 today, despite a substantial rise in the cost of acquiring land. And a good combine now sells for $16,000, more than the price of many an entire farm 25 years ago.

By 1980, R. B. Tootell told the Farm Institute, the typical family farm that is paying its way "will have a total capital requirement ranging from $100,000 to $250,000."

Mr. Tootell is governor of the Farm Credit Administration, an independent Government agency that lent $7 billion last year to farmers striving to keep pace with the technological revolution.

INSTITUTE WEIGHS FUTURE

The annual Farm Institute, sponsored by the Des Moines Chamber of Commerce, discussed the future of family farming under these circumstances.

Of the voices raised among the 500 farmers, farm economists, farm educators, Government farm specialists and farm equipment suppliers present, there was no dissent from the view that the emerging agriculture insures stronger family farming than ever.

Severd Johnson's spread is one of the million left in the country today that the Department of Agriculture can categorize as "adequate."

There are 3.2 million farmers, but only a million gross $10,000 or more in sales annually.

About 2.5 million farm families have been forced to leave agriculture in the last 25 years. This is 100,000 annually, 300 every day. The number of farms is down 50 percent since 1939 and is continuing to decline 3 percent a year. Empty houses and weed-grown yards dot the countryside.

But the Department of Agriculture notes that 95 percent of the decline has been in submarginal farms, those producing less than $2,500 worth of sales annually.

Those that remain in business buy up the land of neighbors who retire or who quit to seek jobs in town.

The growth in the size of farms has been moderate. There appears to be no basis for speculation that food production of the future will be controlled by a few huge farm corporations.

Most of the farms in the $10,000-plus category are expanded family farms like Severd Johnson's. Because of improved technology, he can handle his enlarged operations with just one hired man.

Only 5 percent of the Nation's farms, about 320,000, were in the $10,000 category in 1939. Now 30 percent are in this class. These farms account for 80 percent of all farm marketings.

So it is the million or so successful family farms that can look to a bright future. It is also these sizable farms, not the marginal operations, that have been most helped, over past periods of low prices and fluctuating demand, by Government subsidy programs.

Some economists believe the time is approaching when the programs can be phased out and farmers can attune their operations solely to the demands of a more dependable marketplace.

A WORD OF CAUTION

While the vision of a plateau of farm prosperity was prominent in the speeches at the Farm Institute meeting, a word of caution also ran through them.

Nothing could endanger the outlook faster, some speakers said, than sudden removal of Federal acreage controls and unleashing of the full productive capacity of American agriculture.

Farm organizations, suppliers interested in more business, and farm State politicians have been proposing that 55 million cropland acres now held idle be planted to stem starvation in underdeveloped countries.

American harvests last year were the largest in history despite crop controls and could be increased 20 percent in 2 years by removing acreage restrictions.

But committing all this capacity all at once, said Louis M. Thompson, associate dean of agriculture at Iowa State, "would undoubtedly depress world markets to uncomfortably low levels."

The greatest help to both the American farm economy and the food needs of the backward countries, Mr. Thompson said, would be to supply American know-how to help needy nations build their own modern agriculture.

Erven J. Long, of the Agency for International Development, explained why.

American agriculture needs a high level of dollar exports to prosper today, he said, and the level of farm products sold abroad depends upon the state of the economy of each importing country.

In the less-developed countries, he said, the economy in turn depends upon the progress of agriculture there.

"American farm prosperity would really go into orbit if the underdeveloped countries could attain the level of development of Canada or even of Japan," he said.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Apr. 5, 1966]

THE LAND RUSH—PRICES OF FARMS SOAR AS PROFITS RISE; MORE BOUGHT AS INVESTMENTS—SPREADING SUBURBS AND ROADS ALSO ADD TO THE INCREASE; NEXT: LAND MUTUAL FUND?—PLENTY OF JOY IN POCAHONTAS

(By James P. Gannon)

The land boom of the post-World War I era is having a rerun.

Some examples: An Iowa State University study shows farmland prices in Iowa rose 10 percent in 1965, the biggest jump since "the speculative land boom of 1920." A Greenville, Miss., realty agent, Henry Crosby, figures the cost of "second grade" land—usually slow to increase in price—climbed 25 percent in the past year. A Delaware realty man says farms there now bring "easily 10 percent" more than a year ago.

"It's a seller's market," says Glenn Buzzard, manager of the farm mortgage department for Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co. in Milwaukee. In Kansas City, R. V. Langford, president of United Farm Agency, which has a coast-to-coast network of 375 agents who handled 7,500 sales last year, says, "Demand for farmland in the last 6 months has been the strongest we've ever seen."

BUTTRESSING THE BOOM

The boom is being buttressed by farmers and city dwellers alike. For farmers, a combination of higher profits (the 1965 total hit a 13-year high) and the prospect of higher farm exports under the administration's food-for-freedom program is spurring expansion. For city people, signs of inflation and a jittery stock market are adding to land's appeal as an investment.

In addition, suburbs, highways and industrial parks are consuming more and more cropland, lifting values of nearby farms.

As prices are rising, the supply of farms is slipping far behind demand. "Farms used to sit on the market for 3 or 4 months, but now people look one day and buy the next," says real estate agent Bert C. Hanson in little Pocahontas, Iowa (population 2,011). "It's too easy. We're operating like the car dealers right after the war—not really selling, just taking orders."

Kelly Gatton, an agent in Oskaloosa, Iowa, complains, "I've been in this business 26 years and I've got the fewest farms for sale ever. I've almost out of listings."

UP, UP, UP

Increasing farm prices are nothing new, of course—they have been climbing almost uninterruptedly since 1940. But the size of the current increase is what's surprising. In the year to March 1, 1965, prices rose 6.3 percent, according to the Department of Agriculture's index; a year earlier, the rise was 6 percent and the year before that it was 4.7 percent. A 1965–66 rise of 10 percent or so—as talks with dozens of farm real estate men indicate—would be one of the highest since the 20.7 percent increase of 1920.

Though Agriculture Department figures for the latest year aren't out yet, William H. Scofield, head of farm real estate research for the agency, says the gains in Midwestern land values, at least, were "substantially larger than in recent years."

No figures are kept, but it's probable that farm investment by nonfarmers is at or near a record. Mr. Hanson in Pocahontas notes increasing demand from "businessmen who've made a bundle in the stock market and are looking for a safer place to put it."

Curt O. Hall, Jr., an Albany, Ga., land broker, says, "Everywhere you read about inflation" and that's causing increased interest in land. He says he is looking for a $175,000 piece of land for an Ohio stockbroker. "He said he thinks land is a real good investment, which is a peculiar twist coming from him."

Responding to increased investor interest, one company is considering establishing a "mutual fund" for rural land. Doane Agricultural Service, Inc., a St. Louis farm publishing and real estate concern, is studying the plan, which would allow investors to buy publicly traded shares in a fund that would reinvest its money in rural land.

A LAND FUND

Such a plan, says a Doane official, would permit an investor with limited funds to share in ownership of landholdings in far-flung regions, thus minimizing risks of loss from such things as drought and local depression. Getting "in and out" of the fund would be easier and faster than selling land, he says. Share owners also might be permitted to use fund-held lands for recreation and vacations. Doane officials expect to make a decision on the fund proposal by this fall.

In many cases, investor interest in land concentrates around growing urban areas where chances of quick price jumps usually are greatest. "Speculation is very intense within 50 miles" of Colorado Springs, Colo., says R. A. Burghart, Jr., a realty agent there. Land about 15 miles from downtown, which sold for $100 an acre 5 years ago, now brings up to $1,000 an acre, he says.

The farmers themselves aren't taking a backseat to the city people when it comes to farm buying, however. Armed with their high profits, they're bidding on practically all the land in sight. "The big thing now is that we're clean out of surpluses," says an Iowa real estate agent, overstating the situation somewhat. "Farmers think this world food picture might mean a bonanza."

Mr. Scofield of the Agriculture Department agrees that "talk of the American farmer feeding the world" is a new psychological factor influencing land values, but he warns this may be "dream optimism." Whatever their reasoning, though, there's no doubt farmers are putting a higher value on land. At a recent auction near Hutchinson, Kans., for instance, two 80-acre farms were sold to farmers for $18,000 and $22,000—50 percent above the appraised values.

Some brokers say the rise in prices may be slowed a bit by the recent tightening in mortgage credit; farm mortgage interest rates generally increased to 6 percent from 5¾ percent last month. But other brokers doubt if that will have a significant effect.

EXHIBIT 8

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 14, 1966]

COMMODITIES: MEAT PRICES EXPECTED TO KEEP RISING A BIT FOR SEVERAL MONTHS AS SUPPLY STAYS TIGHT

CHICAGO.—Livestock economists here in the Nation's meat capital are having trouble with their price charts. Price lines keep nudging higher, threatening to disappear off the top of the charts.

The question now: How long will the spiral continue? Unfortunately for consumers, who spend a fourth of their food dollars on meat, analysts here figure livestock and meat prices will rise slightly during the next few months before showing any significant decline.

Last week's quotes from the Chicago livestock market read like a textbook example of runaway inflation:

Hogs sold as high as $30.25 a hundred pounds, up 61 percent from a year earlier and the highest price ever for February.

Choice steers brought $28.50 a hundred pounds, up 11 percent from a year earlier and the highest for the month in 4 years.

Wooled lambs reach $30 a hundred pounds, a 14-year high, about 20 percent above the year-earlier price.

What these figures mean for consumers is a continuation of the record-high meat costs of 1965. The Bureau of Labor Statistics' index of retail meat prices hit a record 113.3 percent of the 1957–59 average in December, up from the year-earlier 99.8 percent. The index probably continued to rise in January, the Bureau says, though the figures aren't yet available.

HOG PRICES MAY SET RECORD

An official of Rath Packing Co., Waterloo, Iowa, says, "Hog prices could rise to record highs this spring," providing current pork-supply prospects materialize and pre-Easter demand for hams is strong. That would mean hog prices in Chicago topping the record of $31.85 set in 1948.

For beef, the outlook is for mostly stable prices, with some moderate ups and downs. One Iowa farm economist figures beef prices may ease slightly during the next few weeks but bounce back above current levels by midsummer.

Lamb prices in 1966 will average above 1965 levels, according to Agriculture Department forecasts, with most of the increase coming in the first half of the year.

The Agriculture Department said U.S. farms had 51.2 million pigs on January 1, down 4 percent from a year earlier, the smallest number since 1955. Cattle and calves on farms when the year started numbered 106.5 million, down from 107.1 million a year earlier. The drop in sheep and lamb population continued, officials said; at 26.4 million, the population was the lowest in this century and down from 26.5 million a year earlier.

MEAT SUPPLY DECLINES

Reflecting a decline in livestock marketings, production of pork so far in 1966 is down 22 percent from a year earlier, lamb and mutton output is off 18 percent, and veal production is down 9 percent. Beef production is up 2 percent, but beef prices remain strong because of the overall meat-supply decline.

Livestock raisers are holding back more animals from the market to expand production, thus accentuating the current supply tightness but promising future greater abundance, and perhaps lower prices.

"Hog raisers are holding back a more-than-normal amount of their gilts (young female pigs) for breeding," says one Chicago packer. Farmers are hanging on to more sows, too, to obtain another litter or two, as indicated by the 35-percent decline in the December sow slaughter.

An Illinois seller of feeder pigs—young porkers to be fattened for slaughter—comments, "I could sell 10 times as many as I have" at about double the year ago price. "The demand is tremendous," he adds.

Sheep raisers are holding breeding lambs to rebuild their reduced herds, packers say. Packers expect the sheep and lamb slaughter to drop a bit this year from 1965, and so the long decline in the sheep population is likely to be reversed.

NO MEAT BARGAINS SEEN

The prospect of larger meat supplies later this year should mean slightly lower food bills in the second half of 1966, but the meat bargains common in 1963 and 1964 aren't likely to show up at all this year.

"Some price relief for pork consumers is expected in the last half of the year," says William Lowman, vice president in charge of meat for National Tea Co., a big Chicago-based supermarket chain. This year's "spring" pig crop—those born from December through May and marketed in the second half of 1966—is expected to be 7 percent larger than the year-earlier crop, the Agriculture Department reports.

Pork prices probably won't start declining until around June, packers agree, but by year-end they will probably be 25 percent or more below the current high level. Lamb prices also are expected to ease in the second half of the year. The beef-price outlook is less certain, but most livestock analysts see only a small decline during the second half of the year.

The tight meat supplies will mean a slight reduction in the number of steaks, roasts and chops that the average American will eat this year. The Agriculture Department forecasts 1966 red-meat consumption at about 165 pounds per person, down nearly 4 pounds from last year.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 14, 1966]

Meat prices will extend their 1965 advances slightly in the next few months before showing any significant decline, according to livestock economists in Chicago. Hogs sold as high as $30.25 a hundred pounds last week, up 61 percent from a year earlier, and choice steer prices were up 11 percent. The Bureau of Labor Statistics' index of retail meat prices hit a record 113.3 percent of the 1957–59 average in December, up from 99.8 percent a year earlier, and the Bureau says the index probably continued to rise in January.

EXHIBIT 9

Consumer Price Index—U.S. Index of retail prices, beef and veal

[1957-59=100]

Month	1963	1964	1965	1966
January	109.3	102.2	103.1	109.4
February	108.9	102.2	102.4	--------
March	107.1	100.6	102.6	--------
April	103.5	100.5	102.6	--------
May	103.3	99.7	103.9	--------
June	101.8	99.0	109.6	--------
July	102.9	101.4	110.9	--------
August	104.9	101.7	110.1	--------
September	105.1	105.1	109.8	--------
October	104.8	104.6	109.1	--------
November	104.6	103.3	108.3	--------
December	103.3	102.9	108.9	--------
Average	105.0	101.9	106.8	--------

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, March 1966.

EXHIBIT 10

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 30, 1966]

LIVING COST UP 2.8 PERCENT IN FEBRUARY—FRUIT, VEGETABLES, AND MEAT LEAD RISE IN PRICES HERE

(By Richard Corrigan)

The cost of living in Metropolitan Washington was 2.8 percent higher last month than in February 1965, the Government reported yesterday.

In its quarterly index of Washington prices, the Bureau of Labor Statistics said that the cost of living had gone up 1.3 percent here since November, or about half again as fast as nationally.

Food prices led the way. Food cost 6.7 percent more than in February of last year, 3.6 percent more than last November, and 2.4 percent more than in January.

Meat, poultry, and fish prices were 18.7 percent above last year's levels. And fruit and vegetable prices increased nearly 11 percent just from January to February of this year.

Almost everything else in the index was up too, compared with the figures for February of 1965. Housing was up 2.3 percent; clothing 2.5 percent and medical care, 4.1 percent.

The only decrease was in private transportation, which fell by an unnoticeable three-tenths of 1 percent.

Based on 1957–59 prices, Washington's index now stands at 111.9. That means that what $10 would buy then cost $11.19 now.

The figures are arrived at by Bureau officials who price and shop around town. They spend according to the spending habits of wage-earners and low-salaried white-collar workers. Food is allotted one-quarter of the budget.

Food is the only item that the Bureau tracks monthly for its index of prices here. The winter storms, which slowed down distribution and damaged crops across the Nation, were blamed for the January-to-February increases in such produce as cabbage, lettuce, tomatoes, cucumbers, green peppers, oranges, apples, and bananas.

Most cuts of beef and pork also were more expensive, as were eggs, cheese, and other meat and dairy items. Frying chickens cost 20 percent more in February than in January. And dinner in a restaurant cost 4 percent more than a year ago.

The rise in medical expenses was blamed on higher hospital room rates and professional medical and dental fees.

Housing costs increased mainly because of higher prices for heating fuels and an advance in mortgage interest rates, the Bureau said. It costs 4.4 percent more to own a home this February than last February, and 1.5 percent more to rent.

Gas and electricity costs were up 7.7 percent from last November the Bureau said. And these costs were computed on the basis of price per unit, not on the basis of wintertime increases in usage, a Bureau spokesman said.

Although the cost of some clothing dropped, the higher cost of cleaning and washing clothes helped push the apparel index up. Shoes were 4.9 percent more costly than last year.

EXHIBIT 11

[From Foreign Agriculture, Apr. 11, 1966]

U.S. TRADE COMPETITORS INTENSIFY PROMOTION IN THREE BIGGEST AGRICULTURAL IMPORT MARKETS

U.S. agricultural attachés stationed in the world's biggest food-importing markets—the United Kingdom, West Germany, and Japan—report increased promotional activities by this country's top competitors. Most of them spent more money, expanded market development programs, and launched a number of new campaigns.

The reports highlighted 1965 activities of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Denmark, the Netherlands, Israel, South Africa, and France in the three markets. These countries along with a number of others, invest millions annually to open and develop markets for fresh and processed foods, feed, and agricultural raw materials. Increasing populations, growing economies, and improved diets have upped requirements in recent years substantially past the ability of domestic producers to meet the demand. The United Kingdom, West Germany, and Japan together spend $12 billion a year on imported farm products.

THE UNITED KINGDOM

Foreign promotion activities in the United Kingdom last year, reports Robert A. Anderson, U.S. agricultural attaché in London, show bigger investments and broader programs from Australia, New Zealand, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Spain. Only South Africa and Israel cut expenses.

Permanent trade centers and exhibitions, in-store promotions, and advertising remain the chief promotional tools for U.S. competitors in the United Kingdom. Norway opened a food center last year, and Denmark—with a food center in London for many years—opened one in Manchester.

Australia puts more than half its yearly promotion funds into the United Kingdom, and in 1965 carried on its biggest campaign yet. Food trade magazines revealed last spring that Australia would spend more than $2.8 million promoting its canned fruits in Britain during 1965. The Australian High Commissioner commented: "Nothing on this scale has ever been done in the United Kingdom canned fruit market."

Through the summer and fall posters were displayed at more than 500 sites throughout Britain, reaching every community with a population of more than 100,000. Trade press reports this past fall said 30,000 retail stores in Great Britain had participated in Australian promotions between July and December—12,000 during one 2-week period in October alone.

Most intensive New Zealand campaigns were for butter and cheese. Throughout the year a wide range of point-of-sale material was distributed to United Kingdom cooperative societies, buying groups, and large food retailers.

Denmark concentrated promotion on dairy and pork products, with its "Danish Bacon Mystery Shopper" campaign a feature. The mystery shopper visited the 30,000 United Kingdom stores which participated, awarding a basket of Danish products to consumers inquiring about Danish bacon.

Israel campaigned chiefly for Jaffa grapefruit and Spain for oranges.

WEST GERMANY

In West Germany, Assistant Agricultural Attaché Alexander Bernitz reports that nearly all foreign competitors increased investments last year but made no dramatic changes in programs. Most noteworthy were West Germany's new programs to promote its own products, with new emphasis on the slogan "From German soil—fresh to the table."

The German poultry industry launched a major $200,000 promotion campaign aimed at the domestic market, following upon the heels of strong efforts to improve quality.

In the planning stage is a market promotion association to provide the West German food industry with a central and coordinated approach to domestic market promotion. The organization will be responsible for the distribution and development of quality product labels, and operate along with organizations already promoting milk, eggs, and animal fat foods.

It is being organized under the joint sponsorship of a number of German trade groups. The German Government is contributing $1.25 million.

Italy, U.S. competitor for rice in Germany, sponsored a trip for German agricultural journalists to inspect Italy's rice industry.

Neighbor countries, the Netherlands, Denmark, and France, together spent more than $4 million in West Germany last year, maintaining media advertising at about the same level as 1964. The Netherlands increased its 1964 funds by $30,000 and Denmark by $11,000 in poultry promotion alone.

Plans for 1966 include stepped-up programs by both Poland and Ireland. A $900,000 investment by Poland for promotion activities in West Germany—$500,000 more than in 1965—will permit a more diversified program to include all Polish food exports instead of exclusively geese, as in the past.

Ireland will carry out a number of joint promotional campaigns in conjunction with German retail sales outlets. The Irish Trade Center and participating German firms will share public relations and advertising costs.

JAPAN

In Japan, third biggest world food importer, promotional efforts increased appreciably in the past year, according to James C. Fink, assistant U.S. agricultural attaché. This was particularly true for two important promotional techniques; visits by top officials, both to and from Japan, and trade shows and exhibitions.

Most prominent of the visitors to Japan was Prime Minister Keith J. Holyoake of New Zealand, with only slightly less high-ranking officials from Australia, Canada, Argentina, and Denmark. Japanese teams went to Denmark, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.

Big trade fair events in 1965 were the Tokyo International Trade Fair and Japan's first International Livestock Show. The Trade Fair, which alternates between Tokyo and Osaka, has been an annual event for more than 10 years and remains the outstanding activity of its type in Japan.

The 4-week livestock show was held near Tokyo, with breeding stock of cattle, hogs, and sheep imported from several foreign countries shown and subsequently sold.

A large-scale British exhibit last fall included a model British food store at which visitors purchased British-type foods, beverages, and tobacco.

Two foreign airlines sponsored restaurants featuring their national foods. Early last year Swiss Airlines offered typical Swiss meals in a chalet atmosphere in Tokyo's Imperial Hotel. The project proved so popular that a Swiss restaurant was established in Tokyo. Scandinavian Airlines is now using the same hotel to offer smorgasbord in Scandinavian surroundings.

New Zealand invested $285,000 to promote its products in Japan last year—chiefly for wool, meat, and dairy products.

In a concentrated effort to popularize mutton and lamb as table meats in Japan, the

New Zealand Meat Board donated 120 lamb carcasses to a nationwide organization of 1,200 young meat wholesalers and retailers for demonstrating and sampling.

Denmark's promotions in Japan were limited mostly to poultry. Among highlights last year was the 22-member team visit of Japanese poultry industry representatives to Denmark at their own expense. The Danish Embassy held an exhibit-type reception for representatives from importing firms, wholesalers, and the press.

France's promotions were chiefly for wines, cheeses, and gourmet foods. Last year France participated in the annual cheese exhibits, the Tokyo International Trade Fair, and the World Food Show. France reportedly will open a trade center this month in Tokyo; 8 to 10 shows will be staged a year.

Australia spent about $230,000 in Japan last year to promote food products. The country's pavilion at the 1965 Tokyo International Trade Fair—reportedly built for $120,000—displayed frozen meat, dairy products, dried fruit, and other food items.

South Africa participated in the same fair last year for the first time with a $15,000 exhibit of foodstuffs and oilseeds. An elaborate South African display is planned for the 1966 fair at Osaka, and South African businessmen have been advised to contact their Japanese customers in preparation for the exhibit.

[From Foreign Agriculture, Apr. 18, 1966]

TOP AGRICULTURAL EXPORTERS STEP UP PROMOTION FOR 1966

U.S. agricultural attachés report major U.S. farm competitors still concentrating heavily on Western Europe, but increasing efforts to build new markets.

Major U.S. competitors are stepping up promotion in world markets in 1966, according to U.S. agricultural attachés. Western Europe will continue to be the principal target, but new markets in North America and Asia will draw increasing fire.

Together New Zealand, Denmark, Australia, France, Canada, Netherlands, and South Africa will spend about $60 million to boost sales of such products as meat, grain, fruits, vegetables, dairy products, and wool.

NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand's primary concern this year, according to U.S. Agricultural Attaché W. Gordon Loveless, is finding new markets for lamb and mutton the United Kingdom cannot absorb. Strong efforts have already placed more meat in continental, American, and East Asian outlets.

New Zealand's dairy producers also face problems in the big British market as the United Kingdom becomes increasingly more self-sufficient in dairy products and reduces its dairy import quotas.

This year New Zealand will promote its products at trade fairs and food shows in Rome, Stockholm, Paris, and the first Asian fair in Bangkok.

With good prospects for sales this year, wool promotion will continue strong under the Woolmark campaign begun in 1965. The New Zealand Wool Board contributed $6.9 million for promotion to the International Wool Secretariat last year and is expected to maintain the same level of support for 1966. IWS handles nearly all of New Zealand's domestic and foreign promotion through the board in 19 offices around the world.

DENMARK

Denmark is investing $10.7 million this year—only slightly more than in 1965—to promote its products in foreign markets, chiefly pork and dairy foods. Some market development funds will go for research, which is now concentrated on new transportation methods for bacon and butter.

In recent years, reports U.S. Agricultural Attaché Arthur M. Rollefson, Denmark has been shifting its promotion emphasis away from Germany and other EEC members for a bigger push in EFTA countries and several overseas markets. The growing Swiss market will continue to get intensive promotion, but the United Kingdom—still Denmark's best customer—will come in for heaviest campaigns.

Promotion is largely handled by Denmark's Market Promotion Bureau of the Agricultural Market Board through commodity export boards. Government and commodity groups share financing—$10 million this year.

AUSTRALIA

Australia still puts more than half its promotion funds into cultivation of its traditional market the United Kingdom, but is now stepping up efforts to increase its share of markets in Japan, southeast Asia (particularly Malaysia), Canada, the United States, Germany, Scandinavia, Italy, and South America.

Commodities expected to come in for major attention, says U.S. Agricultural Attaché William L. Rodman, are meat, wool, dairy foods, and wine.

Australia's market development is financed and managed jointly by the government and the marketing boards. Most products are promoted under the theme: "Buy Australian Sunshine Foods." The program aims at area saturation at the retail level, with as many stores as possible in a given area at a given time advertising Australian products, each campaign featuring a seasonal food item.

Australia's campaign for spring lamb will continue through television, radio, and press advertising, and promotion for canned fruit chiefly through national women's magazines, selected area advertising, and in-store campaigns. Australia's Dairy Produce Board is now actively marketing its butter through United Kingdom retailers under the label "Kangaroo Brand." Previously, the board shipped butter in bulk to United Kingdom importers who packaged it and sold it under their own labels.

Australia's trade fair schedule for 1966 calls for participation in the Australian Trade Display in Rotterdam, the Indian Leather Fair in Madras, the Auckland Easter Show, Milan Trade Display, and the Osaka International Trade Fair.

FRANCE

France's most heavily promoted farm products this year will be meat, dairy products, vegetables, and wine, according to Assistant U.S. Agricultural Attaché Gerald W. Shelden.

French agricultural products are promoted in foreign and domestic markets almost entirely by SOPEXA (Société pour l'Expansion des Ventes des Produits Agricoles et Alimentaires). SOPEXA is a central promotion organization which coordinates and assists industry and producer groups to participate in foreign trade fairs, food fairs, and in-store promotions.

Funds used by SOPEXA are derived from taxes levied on agricultural producers and processors and made available by FORMA (Fonds d'Orientation et de Régularisation des Marchés Agricoles; see Foreign Agriculture, March 1, 1965).

This year FORMA has allotted $900,000 to back food promotion which may be increased by producer organizations which want individual products more heavily promoted.

Some commodities are promoted through their own organization instead of FORMA.

CANADA

U.S. Agricultural Attaché R. H. Roberts reports that Canada's 1966 promotional activities include a full schedule of trade visits—a highly popular promotion method with Canadians—and several trade fairs.

More than $1 million in promotion funds will finance the 1966 programs, most of it from Canada's Department of Trade and Commerce and semigovernmental trade organizations.

Tentatively, $50,000 has been allocated by the Trade and Commerce Branch for missions to the Far East on seeds and grains, to Europe on seeds, and possibly two missions to Latin America for commodities as yet unspecified. Some $20,000 will be spent on incoming trade visits from Europe and Latin America on livestock, seeds, and seed potatoes.

The Saskatchewan wheat pool sent two delegates to India from February 17 to March 6 and Canadian Wheat Board members are scheduled to visit Japan and southeast Asia.

Ontario is one of Canada's more active Provinces promoting for foreign markets. The Province is sending a food group to the United Kingdom this year and will exhibit in Glasgow, Manchester, and London.

Another $434,000 in Government funds will help send technical assistance to less developed countries which buy Dutch breeding cattle and poultry, seeds, hatching eggs, and certain other products. In the belief that effective utilization influences future sales, the Dutch Government considers the program basically market development and covers from 50 to 75 percent of the cost.

SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa may be expected to substantially broaden its overseas promotion for mohair in 1966 and slightly increase funds backing fresh citrus fruits, according to Edward J. Bell, U.S. agricultural attaché.

South African products will be shown at a number of trade fairs this year, including ones in Australia, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

THE NETHERLANDS

In 1966 the Netherlands—whose agricultural promotion budget increased 18 percent from last year's $4.08 million—will put a bigger emphasis on dairy products and poultry, while expenditures for ornamental products, potatoes, grains, seeds, and pulses will be about the same. Only promotion of eggs has been cut back because of the current short supply, according to Louis M. Smith, U.S. agricultural attaché at The Hague.

Dutch market development is financed almost entirely by product boards of the various commodities—$4.2 million this year—and by Government and private funds.

About 70 percent of the $196,000 available from the Ministry of Agriculture this year will go for exhibitions, 25 percent for publicity and 5 percent for trade missions.

NOTICE RELATING TO AMENDMENTS TO RULES OF CIVIL PROCEDURE FOR U.S. COURTS

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery of the Committee on the Judiciary, I wish to announce that the proposed amendments to the Rules of Civil Procedure for the U.S. District Courts which were transmitted to the Congress by the Supreme Court on February 28, 1966, have been referred for review to the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery. Any person who wishes to comment upon these proposed amendments should communicate his views as soon as possible to the subcommittee at room 6306, New Senate Office Building.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON THE PARTICIPATION SALES ACT OF 1966

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Banking and Currency Committee will continue hearings on the Participation Sales Act of 1966. Hearings were held on this proposal on Tuesday, April 26, relating to the President's message. Today a bill has been introduced by the junior Senator from Maine, S. 3283, and the committee will now consider this bill.

The hearing will be held at 10 a.m. at room 5302, New Senate Office Building. Persons who wish to testify should notify Matthew Hale, chief of staff, room 5300, New Senate Office Building, telephone number, 225-3921.

The hearings of the Housing Subcommittee, at which a long list of distinguished witnesses, many of them from out of town, were scheduled to appear, and which could not therefore have been cancelled without unreasonable inconvenience, will be held at 10 a.m., as scheduled, but it has been moved to room 6226, New Senate Office Building.

NOTICE CONCERNING NOMINATIONS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, the following nominations have been referred to and are now pending before the Committee on the Judiciary:

Almeric L. Christian, of the Virgin Islands, to be U.S. attorney, for the Virgin Islands, term of 4 years (reappointment); and

Antonio C. Baza, of Guam, to be U.S. marshal, district of Guam, term of 4 years (reappointment).

On behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, notice is hereby given to all persons interested in these nominations to file with the committee, in writing, on or before Monday, May 2, 1966, any representations or objections they may wish to present concerning the above nominations, with a further statement whether it is their intention to appear at any hearings which may be scheduled.

NOTICE OF RECEIPT OF NOMINATION BY COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I desire to announce that today the Senate received the nomination of James M. Nabrit, Jr., of the District of Columbia, to be the Deputy Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and Deputy Representative of the United States of America in the Security Council of the United Nations, vice Charles W. Yost.

In accordance with the committee rule, this pending nomination may not be considered prior to the expiration of 6 days of its receipt in the Senate.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 14596) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled joint resolutions, and they were signed by the Vice President:

S.J. Res. 18. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the week beginning April 23, 1967, as "Youth Temperance Education Week"; and

S.J. Res. 130. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the week of May 8 to May 14, 1966, as "National School Safety Patrol Week."

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H.R. 14596) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, April 27, 1966, he presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled joint resolutions:

S.J. Res. 18. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the week beginning April 23, 1967, as "Youth Temperance Education Week"; and

S.J. Res. 130. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the week of May 8 to May 14, 1966, as "National School Safety Patrol Week."

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE RECORD

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

By Mr. HARTKE:

Statement by him regarding donation of blood by students of Concordia Senior College, of Fort Wayne, Ind.

USE OF THE PROCEEDS OF FUND-RAISING ACTIVITIES

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, the Senate Ethics Committee is currently in the process of examining certain questions which have arisen as to the manner in which campaign funds have been handled by a Member of the Senate.

I have every confidence in the integrity and the ability of this committee to do its job and render an objective report to the Senate. This must be done because until these questions are answered they represent a reflection on every Member of the Senate.

I would like, however, to clear up some confusion which has arisen in the past few days concerning the tax status of political funds when all or any part thereof are diverted to the personal use of the public official.

This confusion has arisen primarily as the result of a statement released by the associates of the Member affected wherein they admitted the diversion of $100,000 of these campaign funds to the personal use of the Senator but claimed that instead of being classified as diverted campaign funds they really should be treated as nontaxable gifts. They gave the impression that this argument was based on an opinion they had obtained from the Treasury Department.

To confuse this picture further, officials of the Bureau of Internal Revenue have in the past couple of weeks been quietly approaching some Members of the Senate suggesting that perhaps the present law may be fuzzy on this point and that some clarifying legislation may be necessary.

In fact, a press release prepared by the Treasury Department for release under date of April 20, 1966, only added to this confusion.

I ask unanimous consent that this Treasury Department press release of April 20 be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE PUBLIC INFORMATION FACT SHEET, APRIL 20, 1966

The Internal Revenue Service has received inquiries on the tax status of funds received by Senator THOMAS J. DODD from fundraising affairs.

IRS is prohibited by law from discussing the tax affairs of any particular individual.

If a fundraising activity—such as a testimonial dinner—is held to honor an individual and to provide a gift out of respect, in appreciation of public service, or similar nonpolitical motives, and the donors intend the money as such a gift the funds are not taxable to the recipient.

The factual circumstances in any given transaction will affect its tax status.

The Supreme Court in *Commissioner* v. *Duberstein* (363 U.S. 278) has indicated that "what controls is the intention with which payment, however voluntary, has been made." If the transfer proceeds from a "detached and distinterested generosity," "out of affection, respect, admiration, charity or like impulses," it is a gift according to law.

One of the few court cases on the point of testimonial dinners was that of union leader, Max Kralstein, decided by the U.S. Tax Court in September 1962 (38 TC 810). The court said, in effect, because of diversity of interests of persons attending the fundraising affair, it was necessary to allocate the funds received according to the intent of the givers; some of the proceeds being gifts and some not.

When property or services—such as household furnishings, use of an automobile and similar items are made available to an individual—whether their value constitutes taxable income to the recipient is a question that also turns on the intent of the giver.

It has long been a position of the Revenue Service that political contributions are not taxable income to the recipient when they are held or used for present or future expenses of political campaigns. However, when a political candidate or officeholder diverts campaign contributions to his personal use, these funds constitute taxable income to him. This position is set forth in Revenue Ruling 54-80, C.B. 1954-1, page 11.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. In my opinion, however, these tactics are part of a deliberate plan to create confusion as to the effectiveness of existing law in the hope that they can get Congress to accept the premise that a loophole does exist and then proceed to rewrite legislation dealing with campaign contributions.

Do not overlook this important point. Once Congress rewrites the law all past transactions are in effect legalized since our enactment of new legislation would be interpreted as the opinion of Congress that a loophole does exist in the present law and that present law does not impose a tax on these diverted funds. This would be a neat trick to excuse past violations if they could get Congress and the public to accept it.

I flatly refuse to be a part of any such backstage plan. There is no doubt in my mind but that the present law is perfectly clear and that all we need is the will to enforce it.

I shall request to have printed in the RECORD today excerpts from the law along with different Treasury Department rulings confirming this point.

I shall also ask to have printed in the RECORD correspondence to show that the money solicited for the fund-raising dinners in question were actually collected as campaign contributions. The Treasury Department is well aware of this point.

Any effort to claim that campaign funds diverted to the personal use of a public official are not taxable is a farce—in fact as far as I am concerned even if the Member does pay tax on these diverted funds it is still improper.

To settle the point as to the existing law regarding the tax status of these political funds when diverted to the personal use of the public official or candidate I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD at this point excerpts from the Federal Corrupt Practices Act as appearing in title 2 of the United States Code, paragraphs 241 through and including paragraph 252.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHAPTER 8.—FEDERAL CORRUPT PRACTICES

SECTION 241. DEFINITIONS

When used in this chapter and section 208 of title 18[1]—

(a) The term "election" includes a general or special election, but does not include a primary election or convention of a political party;

(b) The term "candidate" means an individual whose name is presented at an election for election as Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress of the United States, whether or not such individual is elected;

(c) The term "political committee" includes any committee, association, or organization which accepts contributions or makes expenditures for the purpose of influencing or attempting to influence the election of candidates or presidential and vice presidential electors (1) in two or more States, or (2) whether or not in more than one State if such committee, association, or organization (other than a duly organized State or local committee of a political party) is a branch or subsidiary of a national committee, association or organization;

(d) The term "contribution" includes a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit, of money, or anything of value, and includes a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable to make a contribution;

(e) The term "expenditure" includes a payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift, of money, or anything of value, and includes a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable, to make an expenditure;

(f) The term "person" includes an individual, partnership, committee, association, corporation, and any other organization or group of persons;

(g) The term "Clerk" means the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States;

(h) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Senate of the United States;

(i) The term "State" includes Territory and possession of the United States. (Feb. 28, 1925, ch. 368, title III, sec. 302, 43 Stat. 1070.)

SECTION 242. CHAIRMAN AND TREASURER OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE; DUTIES AS TO CONTRIBUTIONS; ACCOUNTS AND RECEIPTS

(a) Every political committee shall have a chairman and a treasurer. No contribution shall be accepted, and no expenditure made, by or on behalf of a political committee for the purpose of influencing an election until such chairman and treasurer have been chosen.

(b) It shall be the duty of the treasurer of a political committee to keep a detailed and exact account of—

(1) All contributions made to or for such committee;

(2) The name and address of every person making any such contribution, and the date thereof;

(3) All expenditures made by or on behalf of such committee; and

(4) The name and address of every person to whom any such expenditure is made, and the date thereof.

(c) It shall be the duty of the treasurer to obtain and keep a receipted bill, stating the particulars, for every expenditure by or on behalf of a political committee exceeding $10 in amount. The treasurer shall preserve all receipted bill and accounts required to be kept by this section for a period of at least 2 years from the date of the filing of the statement containing such items. (Feb. 28, 1925, ch. 368, title III, sec. 303, 43 Stat. 1071.)

SECTION 243. ACCOUNTS OF CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED

Every person who receives a contribution for a political committee shall, on demand of the treasurer, and in any event within 5 days after the receipt of such contribution, render to the treasurer a detailed account thereof, including the name and address of the person making such contribution, and the date on which received. (Feb. 28, 1925, ch. 368, title III, sec. 304, 43 Stat. 1071.)

SECTION 244. STATEMENTS BY TREASURER FILED WITH CLERK OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

(a) The treasurer of a political committee shall file with the Clerk between the 1st and 10th days of March, June, and September, in each year, and also between the 10th and 15th days, and on the 5th day, next preceding the date on which a general election is to be held, at which candidates are to be elected in two or more States, and also on the 1st day of January, a statement containing, complete as of the day next preceding the date of filing—

(1) The name and address of each person who has made a contribution to or for such committee in one or more items of the aggregate amount or value, within the calendar year, of $100 or more, together with the amount and date of such contribution;

(2) The total sum of the contributions made to or for such committee during the calendar year and not stated under paragraph (1);

(3) The total sum of all contributions made to or for such committee during the calendar year;

(4) The name and address of each person to whom an expenditure in one or more items of the aggregate amount or value, within the calendar year, of $10 or more has been made by or on behalf of such committee, and the amount, date, and purpose of such expenditure;

(5) The total sum of all expenditures made by or on behalf of such committee during the calendar year and not stated under paragraph (4);

(6) The total sum of expenditures made by or on behalf of such committee during the calendar year.

(b) The statements required to be filed by subdivision (a) of this section shall be cumulative during the calendar year to which they relate, but where there has been no change in an item reported in a previous statement only the amount need be carried forward.

(c) The statement filed on the 1st day of January shall cover the preceding calendar year. (Feb. 28, 1925, ch. 368, title III, sec. 305, 43 Stat. 1071.)

SECTION 245. STATEMENT BY OTHERS THAN POLITICAL COMMITTEE FILED WITH CLERK OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Every person (other than a political committee) who makes an expenditure in one or more items, other than by contribution to a political committee, aggregating $50 or more within a calendar year for the purpose of influencing in two or more States the election of candidates, shall file with the Clerk an itemized detailed statement of such expenditure in the same manner as required of the treasurer of a political committee by section 244 of this title. (Feb. 28, 1925, ch. 368, title III, sec. 306, 43 Stat. 1072.)

SECTION 246. STATEMENTS BY CANDIDATES FOR SENATOR, REPRESENTATIVE, DELEGATE, OR RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FILED WITH SECRETARY OF SENATE AND CLERK OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

(a) Every candidate for Senator shall file with the Secretary and every candidate for Representative, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner shall file with the Clerk not less than ten nor more than fifteen days before, and also within thirty days after, the date on which an election is to be held, a statement containing, complete as of the day next preceding the date of filing—

(1) A correct and itemized account of each contribution received by him or by any person for him with his knowledge or consent, from any source, in aid or support of his candidacy for election, or for the purpose of influencing the result of the election, together with the name of the person who has made such contribution;

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[1] Sec. 208 of title 18, repealed by act June 25, 1948, ch. 645, 62 Stat. 862. Present provisions of said sec. 208 are covered by sec. 602 of title 18.

(2) A correct and itemized account of each expenditure made by him or by any person for him with his knowledge or consent, in aid or support of his candidacy for election, or for the purpose of influencing the result of the election, together with the name of the person to whom such expenditure was made; except that only the total sum of expenditures for items specified in subdivision (c) of section 248 of this title need be stated;

(3) A statement of every promise or pledge made by him or by any person for him with his consent, prior to the closing of the polls on the day of the election, relative to the appointment or recommendation for appointment of any person to any public or private position or employment for the purpose of procuring support in his candidacy, and the name, address, and occupation of every person to whom any such promise or pledge has been made, together with the description of any such position. If no such promise or pledge has been made, that fact shall be specifically stated.

(b) The statements required to be filed by subdivision (a) of this section shall be cumulative, but where there has been no change in an item reported in a previous statement only the amount need be carried forward.

(c) Every candidate shall inclose with his first statement a report, based upon the records of the proper State official, stating the total number of votes cast for all candidates for the office which the candidate seeks, at the general election next preceding the election at which he is a candidate. (Feb. 28, 1925, ch. 368, title III, sec. 307, 43 Stat. 1072.)

SECTION 247, STATEMENTS; VERIFICATION; FILING; PRESERVATION; INSPECTION

A statement required by this chapter to be filed by a candidate or treasurer of a political committee or other person with the Clerk or Secretary, as the case may be—

(a) Shall be verified by the oath or affirmation of the person filing such statement, taken before an officer authorized to administer oaths;

(b) Shall be deemed properly filed when deposited in an established post office within the prescribed time, duly stamped, registered, and directed to the Clerk or Secretary at Washington, D.C., but in the event it is not received, a duplicate of such statement shall be promptly filed upon notice by the Clerk or Secretary of its nonreceipt;

(c) Shall be preserved by the Clerk or Secretary for a period of 2 years from the date of filing, shall constitute a part of the public records of his office, and shall be open to public inspection. (Feb. 28, 1925, ch. 368, title III, sec. 308, 43 Stat. 1072.)

SECTION 248. LIMITATION UPON AMOUNT OF EXPENDITURES BY CANDIDATE

(a) A candidate, in his campaign for election, shall not make expenditures in excess of the amount which he may lawfully make under the laws of the State in which he is a candidate, nor in excess of the amount which he may lawfully make under the provisions of this chapter and section 208 of title 18.[1]

(b) Unless the laws of his State prescribe a less amount as the maximum limit of campaign expenditures, a candidate may make expenditures up to—

(1) The sum of $10,000 if a candidate for Senator, or the sum of $2,500 if a candidate for Representative, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner; or

(2) An amount equal to the amount obtained by multiplying 3 cents by the total number of votes cast at the last general election for all candidates for the office which the candidate seeks, but in no event exceeding $25,000 if a candidate for Senator or $5,000 if a candidate for Representative, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner.

(c) Money expended by a candidate to meet and discharge any assessment, fee, or charge made or levied upon candidates by the laws of the State in which he resides, or expended for his necessary personal, traveling, or subsistence expenses, or for stationery, postage, writing, or printing (other than for use on billboards or in newspapers), for distributing letters, circulars, or posters, or for telegraph or telephone service, shall not be included in detemining whether his expenditures have exceeded the sum fixed by paragraph (1) or (2) of subdivision (b) of this section as the limit of campaign expenses of a candidate. (Feb. 28, 1925, ch. 368, title III, sec. 309, 43 Stat. 1073.)

SECTION 252. GENERAL PENALTIES FOR VIOLATIONS

(a) Any person who violates any of the foregoing provisions of this chapter, except those for which a specific penalty is imposed by section 208 of title 18, and section 251 of this title[1] shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both.

(b) Any person who willfully violates any of the foregoing provisions of this chapter, except those for which a specific penalty is imposed by section 208 of title 18, and section 251 of this title,[1] shall be fined not more than $10,000 and imprisoned not more than 2 years. (Feb. 28, 1925, ch. 368, title III, sec. 314, 43 Stat. 1074.)

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Next I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record, Revenue Ruling 54-80, dated 1954, regulation 118, interpreting this law.

There being no objection, the ruling was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

INTERNAL REVENUE BULLETIN, CUMULATIVE BULLETIN 1954-1, JANUARY-JUNE 1954

PART I.—CURRENT RULINGS, DECISIONS, ETC. INTERNAL REVENUE CODE

Chapter 1.—Income tax

PART II.—COMPUTATION OF NET INCOME

Section 22(a).—Gross income: General definition

Regulations 118, section 39.22(a)-1: What included in gross income. (Rev. Rul. 54-80.)

The portion of a political contribution received by a political organization or a candidate for political office which is diverted from political campaign purposes to the personal use of the candidate or other individual constitutes taxable income to such candidate or other individual.

I.T. 3276, C.B. 1939-1 (Part 1), 108, modified.

Advice is requested whether that part of the political contributions received by a political organization or an individual seeking political office which is diverted to the personal use of the candidate or other individual constitutes taxable income to such candidate or other individual.

Contributions to political organizations are customarily made with the intent and understanding that they be used for the expenses of a political campaign or for some similar purpose. Such contributions are not deductible for Federal income tax purposes by the donor. See I.T. 3276, C.B. 1939-1 (pt. 1), 108.

Where a political gift is received by an individual or a political organization and it is held or used for the purposes intended; i.e., for present or future expenses of a political campaign or for some similar purpose, it is not taxable income to the recipient. See I.T. 3276, supra. However, any amount diverted from the channel of campaign activities and used by a candidate or other individual for personal use constitutes taxable income to such candidate or other individual for the year in which the funds are so diverted. For example, a candidate seeking political office receives contributions totaling $1,000 from individuals and organizations for use in his campaign for election to such office. During the campaign the candidate expends $600 of the contributed funds for campaign purposes. He uses the balance of the campaign funds to reduce the mortgage on his personal residence. In such a case the candidate will be required to include in his taxable income the $400 which represents the portion of the fund which he diverted to his personal use. Such amount will be includible in taxable income in the year in which so diverted.

I.T. 3276, supra, is modified to the extent that it is inconsistent with the views expressed herein.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I now ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record another Treasury Department ruling, dated November 13, 1961, signed by Commissioner Mortimer Caplin and addressed to Senator Everett Dirksen.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

November 13, 1961.

Hon. Everett McKinley Dirksen,
U.S. Senate.

Dear Senator Dirksen: This letter relates to the treatment, for Federal income tax purposes, of campaign contributions received by an individual or a political organization, and is written to confirm our telephone conversation of November 2, 1961.

The basic rule applicable to this area of the law, as set forth in I.T. 3276, Cumulative Bulletin 1939-1 (part 1), 108, and Revenue Ruling 54-80, Cumulative Bulletin 1954-1, 11, is that a campaign or political contribution received by an individual or political organization is not includible in the income of the recipient, to the extent it is used for present or future expenses of a political or similar purpose; however, the portion of the contribution which is diverted to the personal use of the candidate or other individual is includible in his gross income in the year the funds are so diverted.

The aforementioned rulings were cited with approval in the leading case dealing with campaign contributions, *O'Dwyer* v. *Commissioner*, (C.A. 4th 1959) 266 F. 2d 575, where the Court held that Revenue Ruling 54-80 was declaratory of judicial interpretation of existing law, and thus concluded that political contributions were to be treated as income where the taxpayer failed to prove that they were not diverted to the taxpayer's personal use. (See also *Manson L. Reichert*, (1953) 19 T.C. 1027, affirmed on other grounds (C.C.A. 7th 1954) 214 F. 2d 19, and *Orland J. Ridenour*, T.C. Memo 1957-126, which are in accord with the rulings).

In sum, campaign or political contributions are considered gifts conditioned upon their being used for the purpose for which given.

With kind regards.

Sincerely,

Mortimer Caplin,
Commissioner.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. There has been no change in the law since 1954 and 1961 and these rulings are still in effect.

Next, to establish that the contributions and tickets purchased to these Connecticut dinners were normal political campaign contributions, I ask unanimous consent that a letter sent out by the treasurer of the dinner committee in solicitation of these funds be printed at this point in the Record.

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[1] Sec. 208 of title 18 repealed by act June 25, 1948, ch. 645, 62 Stat. 862. Present provision of said sec. 208 are covered by sec. 602 of title 18.

There is no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

October 16, 1963.

Dear ——— ———: In 1964, our friend, Senator Thomas J. Dodd, will campaign for reelection to the U.S. Senate. It does not seem necessary for me to stress the heavy financial burden that this campaign will involve. For this reason, it is necessary for those of us who respect and admire Senator Dodd to lend whatever aid we can to assist him in presenting a vigorous campaign. To this end, we have scheduled October 26 as a fund-raising date throughout the State, and we are fortunate enough to be able to announce that Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson will be here in Connecticut throughout the entire day to take part in the various activities planned for that day.

Here in Fairfield County, we have scheduled a cocktail party at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Archie Perry, 750 Verna Hill Road, Fairfield, between the hours of 3 p.m. and 5 p.m. The Vice President and Senator Dodd will be at Mr. and Mrs. Perry's home and an invitation to that party will be sent to you at your request. Inasmuch as Mr. and Mrs. Perry have been gracious enough to give us their home for this occasion and have underwritten the expenses in connection with the party, it is our hope that the various guests will see fit to make contributions of $100 or more. I hope you can find it within your means and power to help us assist the Senator by being present.

The cocktail party is followed by a dinner at the Stratfield Motor Inn. The dinner is scheduled to commence at 7:30 P.M. and one or more tickets will be sent at your request. We fully expect this dinner to be a gala affair and I would very much like to see you there with whatever guests you may elect to bring with you. The subscription for this dinner is $25.00 or more per person. Needless to say, I am very anxious for these affairs to be outstanding successes and I would consider it a great personal favor if you decide that you can take part.

I hope to talk with you personally about this matter within the next few days, but in the event that I am not able to make all the necessary phone calls, I hope you will not resent it if one of my secretaries calls you concerning it.

In the event you can reach your decision without a phone call, please feel free to send me your check for one or both affairs made payable to me as Treasurer, Dodd Dinner.

Cordially,

Paul.

THE WAR IN VIETNAM—OBSERVATIONS OF SENATOR RUSSELL OF GEORGIA

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, in an interview appearing in this week's U.S. News & World Report, our distinguished colleague, Senator Russell, of Georgia, made some extremely important and significant observations and statements in answering timely and urgent questions about the present and future course of the war in Vietnam.

The Senator from Georgia is widely and justly recognized as one of the best informed and most authoritative men in the world on our military affairs and problems. From his vantage point as chairman of the Armed Services Committee, and from his vast and illustrious experience in defense matters and other national affairs, he is uniquely qualified to speak with wisdom and authority on this very vital matter.

In addition, the high respect which all have for his personal and intellectual integrity, and his well-deserved reputation for sound, prudent, and conscientious judgments and conclusions, dictate that his landmark statements be given careful and searching consideration at the highest echelons of our Government, by the Congress and by the American public.

In a perceptive column in this morning's New York Times entitled "Clearing the Fog of Policy," the respected columnist, Mr. Arthur Krock, correctly states that Senator Russell's judgment "will be influential in shaping the attitude of Congress toward the administration's conduct of the war."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the interview with Senator Russell as reported in U.S. News & World Report, and Mr. Krock's fine column, printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the interview and article were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From U.S. News & World Report, May 2, 1966]

Exclusive Interview: Senator Russell on Vietnam: "Go in and Win—or Get Out"

(Note.—Some of the most influential Democrats in Congress are beginning to have second thoughts about the war in Vietnam—and about the administration's way of dealing with it. Is the time for half measures at an end? Should the United States buckle down and win, or turn around and bring its fighting forces home?

(Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat, of Georgia, is one of the best-informed men on U.S. military affairs, worldwide. As chairman of the Armed Services Committee, he has up-to-the-minute knowledge of operations in Vietnam. In this exclusive interview, the Senator answers urgent questions about the war and its future.)

Question. Senator Russell, do you sense that people are getting increasingly disturbed and impatient over the way the United States is trying to fight the war in Vietnam?

Answer. Yes. I think the attitude of the average person is that we should go in and win—or else get out.

I don't think the present method of waging war over there meets with the approval of the majority of people I come in contact with. These people I'm talking about feel that, if we have the means to get this war over, then we should bring it to a conclusion as speedily as we can.

If we have to be caught up there in tides of religious controversy and political controversy and philosophical disagreements to the point that the lives of American boys are endangered when they walk down the streets of a city they have come to save from the Communists—if that's the case—then it's time we reexamine our entire position, however painful that reexamination might be.

We can, of course, carry on this war at a great cost of life for a conflict of this size—and at a tremendous expense in dollars.

We can win it, eventually. But—unless we get some cohesion of purpose within South Vietnam—it will be a pyrrhic victory, because they will immediately go to fighting among themselves when we leave.

Question. Could we win the war, and then have to stay on to help them?

Answer. We could win, of course, but we would have to take the whole countryside, and practically make hostages of the South Vietnamese. I would be very strongly opposed to any such course, and I think most of the American people would be, too.

Question. You seem to be saying that this whole effort in South Vietnam is built on quicksand, so far as the United States is concerned.

Answer. Now please understand: I'm speaking as an individual Member of the U.S. Senate, and not attempting, in any wise, to express any policy of Government—either present policy or in the future.

For my part I think a very careful survey should be made in South Vietnam as to what people in the cities really think. If that survey shows that the majority of them are anti-American, I think we should withdraw now, because we can't possibly win if we are fighting an enemy in front of us while the people we are supposed to be helping are against us and want us out of their country.

It wouldn't be easy for us to extricate ourselves, but we could do it. Having absolute command of the seas and the air, we could accomplish a withdrawal without great loss.

IF AMERICA WITHDRAWS

Question. Would it be disastrous for us to pull out?

Answer. Not if these anti-American demonstrations continue, no.

I have often said that we couldn't just "tuck tail and run" as long as the Vietnamese were fighting at our side—and they have been very courageous in battle.

But I don't think you could expect anybody—Americans or anybody else—to stay in a country where it became very apparent that they were not wanted. It's not good manners to stay in a man's house against his wishes.

Question. Would an American withdrawal be disastrous all through southeast Asia?

Answer. I don't buy this so-called "domino theory."

Cambodia and Laos might go, along with South Vietnam, if we left. But I don't think that's any irreplaceable loss. Neither of them has any tremendous military value, either strategic or tactical. And they certainly have no great economic value. Heaven knows, we've poured out more foreign aid per capita in those countries than we have almost anywhere else in the world.

But to get back to your question: I don't think that, if we pulled out of South Vietnam, it necessarily means that most of Asia would fall to the Chinese Communists.

Thailand has an entirely different background. It's been a rather benevolent monarchy, and their people are accustomed to living under their own Government.

The Burmese have an entirely different set of ethics and tradition than those that prevail in South Vietnam.

You find different conditions in country after country. As a matter of fact, even the North Vietnamese have shown a great reluctance to let any Chinese in their country.

Question. If the United States stays on in Vietnam, do you see any prospect that other allied nations will give us more support?

Answer. Of course, these demonstrations have chilled a tremendous amount of work that had been done to get them in. I read somewhere that the Koreans are holding up on sending another division. The Philippines had just about decided to send combat elements and, naturally, they're standing back now to see whether they're going to send them into a trap where a man can't tell friend from foe.

It's very unfortunate, from the standpoint of the South Vietnamese, if they really want freedom from communism, that these demonstrations have been touched off against those who are giving the effort and blood in their behalf.

Question. What about India? Is that country a potential source of help?

Answer. No. India plays both ends against the middle, and you can depend on that any time, anywhere, in any controversy—they'll be working both sides of the street.

WHY U.N. CAN'T HELP

Question. The United Nations was created to keep peace. Couldn't it do something about the Communist aggression in Vietnam?

Answer. Personally, I think that, as a military factor in preserving the peace, the the United Nations is about as weak a reed as you could find to lean on.

It serves a useful purpose as a forum where men can talk rather than fight, where the force of world opinion can be felt—and, in that sense, it has been an instrument of peace. But, as far as actually stopping any military conflict of any size, I don't think the United Nations can do it.

Question. Could Britain be of more help to us out there?

Answer. We ought to bring pressure on our British cousins to keep them from sending any British-flag vesesls into North Vietnam. As a matter of fact, I think the British should have stopped their shipping already.

You see, this has been entirely unilateral—this question of assistance to and from our allies.

In the case of Britain, we have fallen over ourselves to accede to their requests in their difficulties with Rhodesia—which certainly are minor compared with what we face in Vietnam. But, at the same time, they claim they can't stop their ships' going into North Vietnam.

Well, I'd give them another chance to stop them, because I'm sure they can. Then, if they can't—or don't—we have the means of stopping them.

Question. Are you saying that the United States made a mistake in using its power to back Great Britain in Rhodesia while the British go on trading with the Communists?

Answer. Of course, I am opposed to our having anything whatever to do with this Rhodesian situation—and I'm all the more opposed to it when it's unilateral action on our part, without any quid pro quo whatever by the British in helping us with our much larger difficulties in Asia.

There's considerable potential danger in that Rhodesian situation, you know.

It's a rather remarkable commentary on present-day history—when men are supposed to be getting soft—that 220,000 people in a nation of about 4 million would undertake to maintain themselves not only there but against their mother country and against the power of the United Nations and the United States, as well.

Their courage may exceed their judgment, but they have, at least, shown a considerable desire to run their own country as they wish.

HITTING REDS HARDER

Question. Senator Russell, to return to Vietnam: If the United States is to continue in that war, what do you think should now be done?

Answer. For more than 6 months now—at every conference I have attended, no matter at what level—I have been vigorously urging that we apply greater force to the regime in North Vietnam. That's the source of all our trouble.

Long ago, we should have started applying pressure on Hanoi so that those people, like civilized beings, would come to a conference table and settle this thing.

Question. Does this pressure include closing the harbor at Haiphong?

Answer. Yes—closing the port, bombing the iron works in Hanoi, the fuel dumps, and any other resource that they have that can be utilized to any degree by them to kill American boys.

There are several things that must be done unless we are going to take 8 or 10 years to win the war. One of them is to blockade the coast completely, so they can't get any aid from the ouside. Another is to see that the two railroad lines from China into North Vietnam cannot function on the North Vietnamese side of the border.

These things should be done.

Of course, we can probably win the war with the present methods, if we don't care anything about the size of casualty lists or the cost in dollars—and are ready to spend 8 or 10 years doing it.

UNITED STATES AS A POLICEMAN

Question. Senator, this whole affair is clearly slowgoing, and with not much help from other countries. Do you think the United States is destined to continue being the policeman for peace in the whole world?

Answer. I'd be very much opposed to the United States serving as the world's policeman.

We are the most powerful Nation on earth. We have certain responsibilities that accompany that power, and I would not have us disregard them. But to take the initiative every time trouble arises and say, "We'll handle it," without having a thorough understanding that each of our associates will contribute according to his means—no.

I'm not in favor of any more of these unilateral adventures in enforcing peace in the world unles our own interests are directly involved.

[From New York Times, Apr. 26, 1966]

In the Nation: Clearing the Fog of Policy

(By Arthur Krock)

Washington, April 25.—Senator Russell, of Georgia, whose adverse examination of the administration's conduct of the war in Vietnam was published today in U.S. News & World Report, is not vulnerable to the usual official disparagements of its critics. As chairman of the Armed Services Committee, he is much better informed than most of them. He has supported every Presidential request for legislation to strengthen the Executive hand in Vietnam. And he has amply demonstrated his personal devotion to Mr. Johnson.

SENATOR RUSSELL'S INFLUENCE

Moreover, no Member of Congress is held in higher respect for the integrity of his character and the care he expends in reaching conclusions. So there can be little question that Senator Russell's judgment, as expressed in his published interview, that "we should go in and win or get out" in Vietnam will be influential in shaping the attitude of Congress toward the administration's conduct of the war. This influence will surely be manifest, whether or not the plight of the United States in this involvement will confine it to more intense, though still covert, pressure on the President to reexamine the policy on the following propositions set forth by Russell.

When American military personnel and civilians cannot move about safely in the streets of cities held by the Saigon Government, the time has come for a survey of the popular attitude toward their presence and its purpose of preserving the independence of the nation. If a majority inimical to this presence, despite its purpose, is indicated, the United States should withdraw. "We can't win if those we're trying to help want us out," except in the form of a "pyrrhic victory" (a victory gained at too great cost).

Withdrawal would be difficult, but wholly feasible because the United States has sufficient air and sea power to cover it.

Asian Communist domination as a consequence of American withdrawal would probably include Laos and Cambodia. But this would not be an "irreparable loss" to the non-Communist world, because Laos and Cambodia have "no great military or economic value." And their loss would not prove the "domino theory" (which Russell said he didn't believe in at all). For example, it would not dispel the anti-Peking determination of Thailand and Burma. And, so far as India is concerned, that nation "has always played both sides of the street" and will continue to do so.

HESITATION ON AID

The demonstrations against the United States and the Ky government in Saigon have already caused Asiatic governments to hesitate to give the United States the military assistance in Vietnam they were arranging to contribute. This prolongs the largely unilateral character of the burden the United States has assumed in Vietnam, a product of the unwise policy by which this Government is disposed to take the initiative in every time of trouble abroad, saying "we'll handle it."

That policy should always be conditioned on assurance that our allies will participate. A glaring example to the contrary is our acceptance of the contention of the United Kingdom that it can't even prevent British ships from trading with North Vietnam, while allowing this Government to be dragged into the internal quarrel of the Commonwealth in Rhodesia.

But, since the United States has heavily and almost unilaterally involved its military and economic power in Vietnam, the administration's failure to pursue the war with the force required "is the source of all our trouble." We should delay no longer in closing the port of Haiphong, bombing the Hanoi iron works, blackading the entire North Vietnamese coast, destroying the two railroads entering the country from Communist China—in short, destroy any degree of North Vietnamese resource "to kill Americans." Under the present policy, the war cannot terminate in even a pyrrhic victory in less than 8 to 10 years, at the steadily growing cost of American casualties and billions of dollars.

BASIC POLICY FLAW

But the basic overall policy flaw asserted by Senator Russell is that it commits the United States, as in Vietnam, to wasteful and bloody adventure "when our own interest is not directly involved."

President Johnson has been adamant in rejecting all such appraisals, as well as every one of the alternatives which Senator Russell proposed in the interview. But events may force him to the policy reexamination and revision which now has openly acquired its most influential congressional champion.

CELEBRATING 1,000 YEARS OF POLAND'S HISTORY

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, in the month of May throughout the world—and particularly in America—the sons and daughters of Poland and their friends—all lovers of liberty—will celebrate the Polish millennium—a thousand years of Poland's history as a nation.

In my State of Rhode Island, the observance will center about a magnificent Mass—on our Memorial Day, May 30—a Mass celebrated in the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul. The day will come to a close with a tremendous banquet at which all the dignitaries of our State will pay honor to a country we revere because we know and admire those sons and daughters of Poland who contribute so much to the community and the country.

A thousand years ago Poland's first historical ruler was converted to Christianity following his marriage to the Bohemian Princess Dobrava. That signified the entry of the dynasty and the people into the Western World—into the orbit of the church of Rome. So the

Polish border became the dividing line between the East and the West.

The drama of Poland's thousand years challenges the pen of the historian—who will always include the miracle of Czestochowa—whose Black Madonna helped a handful of Poles to resist foreign invaders for 40 days—helped them to victory—since which time that Madonna has been venerated as the Queen of Poland.

In the last quarter of a century, Poland has known invasion and persecution on a scale not surpassed in its thousand years.

But the flame of freedom still burns in Polish hearts—and in the prayers of their friends in America.

For shame that the Communist overlords of Poland should seek to banish Christianity from this historic celebration.

So it is to the greater glory of the 50,000 who bowed before the cathedral in Poznan as Cardinal Wyszynski celebrated Mass on Sunday, April 17.

The area before the cathedral was black with people—they were on every tree, wall, fence, or low building within sight. They joined in the singing and in the responses of the Mass.

And the crowd sang the patriotic hymns of Poland—their Poland—as the figure of the Black Madonna was taken from its place above the altar and carried in procession. The Madonna had been brought to Poznan from its shrine the night before; and all through the night the faithful of Poland came to pray before the shrine.

I like the reporter's story as he tells us that the Mass was a manifestation of confidence in the church—expressed in a silently joyous mood. Even those walking alone were smiling as they passed through streets where candles, crosses, and religious pictures contrasted with the grim military posters of communism.

Poland's celebration is one to touch every human heart; and in the great surge of ecumenism we see an inspiration in the faith of the Poles that survives every persecution.

TIME FOR HER TO GO

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the Federal bureaucracy is replete with little bureaucratic empires administered by firmly entrenched civil servants. A notable example is the U.S. Passport Office, a division of the Department of State, headed by Frances G. Knight. It is reported that Miss Knight is a competent administrator. The fact is that there are many able and competent civil servants. By her injecting her particular political philosophy in the operation of the Passport Office and her behind-the-scenes activities in behalf of political causes, she has become unfit for the important position she holds. Her comments with reference to a recent departmental reprimand are ample evidence of this fact.

She has characterized her immediate superior, Acting Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Philip Heymann, as a "32-year-old whiz kid." She has referred to the directorship of Abba Schwartz, Heymann's predecessor, as "the era of Schwartzism." The immediate cause for the reprimand was the fact that Miss Knight exceeded her authority in asking U.S. Embassy officials abroad to keep an eye on a Harvard professor traveling in Europe. Evidently, Miss Knight regards herself one of those superduper patriots who considers it her duty to judge the patriotism of other Americans. I do not like people who seek to play God with other people's patriotism. Let her do her judging in private life and not as Director of the U.S. Passport Office. The recent conduct and actions of this bureaucrat are really intolerable.

Incidentally, Mr. President, Abba Schwartz was an outstanding public servant. He was appointed to his position by the late President John F. Kennedy. He was an advocate of liberal travel policies. He was a respected, dedicated official who was a leader in opposing restrictive quotas limiting admission to the United States for certain nationality groups and was in favor of liberalizing our discriminatory and cruel immigration laws. In doing so, it is evident he incurred the wrath of Miss Knight. If this lady refers to Abba Schwartz' direction of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs as the "era of Schwartzism," may I say it is an "ism" that is infinitely more desirable than McCarthyism, rightwing extremism and other "isms" for which Frances Knight has manifested her affection and devotion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. INOUYE in the chair). The time of the Senator from Ohio has expired.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, there are no sacred cows in the Federal bureaucracy. No Federal employee is indispensable, Frances Knight notwithstanding. Her conduct in office should no longer be tolerated. Her tactics have been reprehensible and reminiscent of that era of witch hunting concerning which most Americans have a feeling of shame. The high position she holds is a nonpolitical position and should be administered by a civil servant who will not inject his or her personal politics into the operation of the U.S. Passport Office. It is time for Frances Knight to resign and the sooner she does so the better for the Passport Office, the State Department, and the Nation.

LOWELL MASON'S BEAUTIFULLY COMPOSED GRACE AT A LUNCHEON

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, for over 30 years, Lowell Mason, former member of the Federal Trade Commission and a prominent Washington attorney, has been host at a luncheon in the Nation's Capitol Building on the opening day of the Washington baseball season. His guests include members of the Supreme Court, the executive branch of the Government and Members of both the House and Senate.

This year, the luncheon could not be held on the opening day of the baseball season on April 11 because Congress had recessed for Easter. The luncheon was held on April 25.

Each year at these luncheons, Mr. Mason has given a beautifully composed grace, stressing our dependence on our Creator. This year he repeated the grace he gave at the first luncheon in 1934, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the grace was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOWELL MASON'S GRACE

Eternal Father, not because we know how to ask rightly, not because our lives are worthy, do we pray to You this day.

We pray for Thy presence at this gathering. As these leaders of men partake of food and fellowship, make us aware, this is the way it should be with all men to find happiness in each other's presence.

And yet to also find unrest deep enough within us to make Thy word a reality.

Teach us not to abandon in days of frustration, the ideals and aims we acquired in moments of high resolve.

Grant us faith stronger than circumstance and courage greater than our fears. Only by these things can we make Thy presence meaningful. Amen.

SENATE ETHICS

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, once again, the reputation of the Senate as an institution is being battered in the wake of allegations made against an individual Member of this body.

These allegations have been referred to our Senate Committee on Standards and Conduct which, I am sure, is making a full inquiry into all the relevant facts. Pending the committee's report, it would be inappropriate to express a judgment on the merits of this particular case.

But it is not too early to make the point—the public has already made it—that the reputation and prestige of the Senate as an institution is deeply involved. I am sure that every Member of this body shares my concern with the assumption, loosely voiced by some, that "the same thing can be said about any Senator or Congressman."

By "the same thing" is clearly meant the acceptance—apart from regular campaign contributions reported in accordance with existing Federal and State laws—of substantial contributions of money and other valuable gifts—transportation, lodging, entertainment, and the like—by Members of Congress and other public figures.

I feel strongly that both the giving and the receiving of such contributions are thoroughly bad public policy. I recognize that there are those who take a different view as to this. But no one can disagree as to the proposition that in the case of any public figure the full facts as to any and every such gift should be put on the public record.

The current controversy is additional proof, I believe, that the disclosure principle offers the most practicable and effective way to protect both individual

Senators and the institution of the Senate.

The members of our Select Committee on Standards and Conduct will do the best they can on the task assigned to them, distasteful though the task is to them personally. But it is significant that, as late as last Saturday, the committee said it first learned of the testimonial dinners from newspaper accounts. Both the Senator involved and the committee denied that they had discussed the dinners or the intent of contributors to them. Once again, the press was apparently first with developments.

For the last four Congresses, I have introduced a bill to require regular public disclosure of the financial interests and activities of Members of Congress and their staff and top officials in the executive branch. The advantages of the disclosure principle seem to me clear. It is, first of all, automatic as it were.

My bill would require that each Member of Congress make an annual report, to be open to the press and public, covering all his sources of income, including gifts of more than nominal value, his assets and liabilities and his transactions in real or personal property. Note that there would be no question of taxable income versus gifts—both would be included.

The knowledge that such reports would have to be made would in itself, I believe, have a salutary effect, for it would serve as an automatic "stop and think" signal.

The fact that the reports would be available to the public would provide a means of enforcement which is even now the real sanction behind ethical standards we espouse. The facts would be laid out to the public and it would be left to the public to judge the propriety or impropriety of official conduct.

In this connection, I again point out that, apart from election frauds, only twice in the last hundred years has the Senate acted even to censure one of its own Members for any cause.

To some, this record might imply virtue. The implication is, however, completely at odds with the low estimate of political morality expressed by the public time and again and exemplified by the statement I quoted earlier.

It seems to me time to face the fact—the Senate, like every other legislative body I know, has not and perhaps cannot police itself. Let us admit that and at last take action that will provide a realistic and effective way to protect the integrity of the legislative process.

My bill is currently before the Rules Committee. In the last Congress the committee did favorably report a bill which provided for limited disclosure. While it fell far short of fully implementing the disclosure principle, it was still recognition of its worth. Unfortunately, the Senate never got to vote on even this limited recommendation. It is my hope that, in the light of recent events, the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct, which was established at that time, will recommend a comprehensive disclosure requirement for at least the Senate.

Once we have adopted the disclosure principle, I believe that Senators will find it not only far less painful than they may now fear but also affirmatively helpful—in their own interest and that of the Senate as a whole.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial published in the New York Times for April 24, 1966, entitled "The Dodd Case"; also an article written by Roscoe Drummond, published in the Washington Post today entitled "Unsavory Dinners—The Case of Senator DODD."

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 24, 1966]

THE DODD CASE

The disquieting case of Senator THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut, and his lucrative testimonial dinners demonstrates the imperative need for Congress to formulate an ethical code for its Members and strict procedures for enforcing it.

In fairness to Senator DODD, it is too soon to arrive at any definitive judgment until the Senate Committee on Standards and Conduct carries out a full investigation. There are conflicting stories as to whether the testimonial dinners in his behalf were arranged to meet his campaign expenses or to supplement his private income. There are quite enough evils and ambiguities attending ordinary campaign fundraising. But money contributed to a public official simply to enable him to live on a more lavish scale than his salary permits is clearly wrong. Only a complete inquiry can make clear whether this was true in Senator DODD's case.

Recurring episodes of financial irregularities in the Congress generate a poisonous smog over the Nation's political life. Senators CLIFFORD CASE, of New Jersey, and PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, have long urged their colleagues to adopt full disclosure rules. A comprehensive revision of the almost useless laws regulating campaign fundraising is also needed. These reforms are essential to protect the good name of Congress. Men jealous of their own reputations ought not to procrastinate further in adopting them.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 27, 1966]

UNSAVORY DINNERS: THE CASE OF SENATOR DODD

(By Roscoe Drummond)

As Senator THOMAS J. DODD, Democrat, of Connecticut, is painfully finding out, the testimonial dinner to raise funds to cover between campaign costs of public life is a dubious, dangerous, and disorderly device.

It may not be the worst method of augmenting the income of elected officials who do not have independent fortunes, but it should be struck down by public distaste unless rigid safeguards against abuse are imposed by Congress.

The defense of the testimonial-dinner technique is this:

That the salaries and allowances given to Senators and Representatives are inadequate to take care of the costs of public life.

That elective office should not, in effect, be substantially limited to the wealthy.

That there is less obligation on the part of the Congressman if through a testimonial dinner many contribute small sums rather than a few giving him large sums.

That the testimonial-dinner gifts to Congressmen are a pretty common practice, not something recently thought up by the friends of Senator DODD.

Why, then, is it proving so embarrassing to Senator DODD, whom I have found to be a most honorable man, to have the news of his three big Connecticut testimonial dinners come out as if they involved scandal?

The main reasons are that few of the donors really know to what exact purpose they are contributing the money, that neither the contributors nor the public know how the money is being spent, and that there are no ground rules as to the ethical ways the funds can properly be used.

All this is why it is crucial that the Senate Ethics Committee come up with some positive reforms while it is looking into whether Senator DODD has been guilty of or the beneficiary of any improper practices. I would say that the very minimum reforms should be these:

1. Full public disclosure of the financial interests and income by all Members of Congress and top congressional employees—a measure long advocated by Senator CLIFFORD P. CASE, Republican, of New Jersey.
2. It should be mandatory that the precise fund-raising purpose of every testimonial dinner be publicly and fully stated.
3. The purposes for which such funds can be used should be set out and limited.
4. Funds so used should be periodically and publicly accounted for and certified by an outside public accountant.

If these rules had been in effect, Senator DODD would not be so embarrassed by the disclosures about his testimonial dinners. He is one of numerous similar beneficiaries in Congress. One labor leader reported that he receives a minimum of 100 invitations a year for political testimonial dinners and that his union keeps a special fund earmarked for such contributions.

Will the Senate Ethics Committee come to grips with the needed reforms and, even if it does, will Congress enact them into law?

Answer: Only if there is a strong voter demand. As Senator CASE has often pointed out, legislatures are very reluctant to police themselves—however much they enjoy policing others.

UNIVERSITY HIGH SCHOOL OF BATON ROUGE, LA.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, on March 22 and 23, a group of 47 seniors from University High School of Baton Rouge, La., visited Washington for a tour of their Nation's Capital.

I was honored to serve as their part-time host for much of the activity here. The students enjoyed the exceptional good fortune to chance upon the Vice President at one of those very rare moments when he was not already occupied. Their chat with him was certainly the high point of their trip and is an event that I know they will remember all of their lives.

The group consisted of Guss Lott, Bob Feldman, John Wade, Buck Mayse, David Walker, Chuck McMains, Roger Williardson, Bruce Meyer, Nardy Swyers, Bob Levy, David Cohn, Mac Kehor, Martin Kahao, Mike Staples, Joey Toups, Bill Evans, Richard Baker, Jay Baynard, Mickey Owen, Johnny Daigle, Lee Hall, Jack Jones, Dickie Sabatier, Charlene Prosser, and Michelle Favrot.

Also Diane Drake, Ellen Pressburg, Rachel Pitcher, Kandy Keyser, Becky McKeithen, Kay Kilgore, Pam Long, Kay Blitzer, Madeleine Hall, Toney Hall, Caroline Pierce, Carolyn Adams, Della Seal, Cheri Cangelosi, Bunny Epps, Linda Woodin, Frances Kean, Toni Terrell, Carol Carver, Susan Rockhold, Barbara Duff, Marcia Bradford, and Susanne Calhoun.

Serving as chaperons were Mrs. Ernest Epps, Mrs. Ben Downing, Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Evans, Mr. B. F. Beeson, and Mrs. W. C. Vick.

DECLINE OF CCC STOCKS

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, almost continuously since the Korean war American farmers have been producing greater quantities of food and fiber than could be absorbed by the domestic economy at price levels which would give them an equitable return on their investment and labor. As a result, the American farmer has not shared equally in the expanding prosperity of the past 10 to 15 years that has characterized the rest of the economy.

The farm problem has been a paradoxical one. Ever more efficient farmers have produced ever greater quantities of food and fiber. But as the resulting supply has been greater than the effective demand, the prices of farm products have been depressed. The spectacular upsurge in farm production efficiency has greatly benefited the consumer, but ironically the farmer has generally been penalized in the form of lower prices.

The domestic surplus of farm commodities has been made all the more paradoxical by the fact that throughout this period there has been a great shortage of food in many parts of the world.

While the Government has made a considerable effort to move American farm products abroad, most farmers have long believed that the full potential for farm exports was not being fully realized. As a consequence they took the initiative through various privately financed marketing organizations to expand farm exports. These efforts have been increasingly successful. Only within the past year has the rest of the Nation come to recognize just how great is the world need and demand for American farm products.

Mr. President, because of Government-imposed restraints on production and because of ever larger movements of American farm products abroad, there has been a decline in our surplus over the past 2 or 3 years. But it is only within the recent weeks and months that anyone has come to realize that except for a few commodity areas our once great surpluses are now gone. This means that the continued expansion in world need and demand will have to be met by expanded production at home.

Recognizing this, farmers are anxious to move away from an agricultural policy which for years has emphasized curtailment of production and restriction on the farmer to a policy of expansion and freedom.

The need for the easing of controls and the expansion of production is clearly evident. At the same time most observers recognize that this transition from restriction to expansion must be done carefully.

It would be a mistake to suddenly remove all production controls. Even though the world's needs are great, there are limits to the capacity of foreign countries to pay for expanded imports of American agricultural products, particularly at prices that would be fair and reasonable to the American farmer. There are also physical limits to our domestic transportation facilities and particularly in the transportation and distribution system of the underdeveloped countries. Thus, a sudden massive upsurge in American agricultural production could create a temporary glut on the market and thus, break farm prices.

Mr. President, we must recognize that we cannot feed the world. Although American farmers can supply a vitally important portion of the world's food needs, the great and growing demands for food must ultimately be met primarily by the underdeveloped nations themselves.

We must avoid the trap of assuming the role of the world's food supplier because the penalty for getting caught in it will be either that the American farmer ultimately will have to produce and sell at unfavorable and extremely low prices or that the American taxpayer will be shouldered with the cost of a food aid program that will make our previous foreign aid efforts look small by comparison.

Nevertheless, the need for expanded production to meet part of the expanding world food needs is generally recognized as is evident in several of the legislative proposals now before the Congress or already enacted into law.

Mr. President, but what is not generally recognized is that we need to expand production to meet our own domestic needs for national security purposes. In most cases our surpluses are gone. In fact, in several vital commodity areas our reserve stocks have fallen below the minimum level generally considered safe and adequate for national security reasons.

Mr. President, there has been a sharp decline in almost all our commodity reserves. The sharpest decline, however, has occurred in two of the most critical commodities, wheat and corn.

Since the end of January this year to the 1st of April, the CCC inventory of wheat has been reduced from 530,288,000 bushels to 343,978,000 bushels. This is the lowest April 1 wheat reserve level since 1953. There are, of course, several millions of bushels of uncommitted wheat available in addition to the CCC stocks, but total available wheat stocks are lower than at any time since the height of the Korean war.

The USDA for several months has been predicting that the total carryover of wheat; that is, uncommitted wheat in all positions including CCC stocks, would be over 600 million bushels. But it is becoming increasingly apparent that these earlier estimates are overly optimistic.

Without a significant increase in wheat acreage allotments this fall, the wheat reserves will be sharply reduced again next year. Total 1966 wheat production is currently estimated at 1,391 million bushels, the second largest crop in history. But disappearance of wheat for 1965–66 will be at least 1.5 billion. Disappearance will probably be higher in 1966–67. Thus, even with a bumper crop, disappearance will again be greater than production, with the result that carryover on July 1, 1967, may well be less than 400 million bushels.

This gives cause for real concern in that the USDA's own estimates place the minimum safe carryover of wheat for national security needs at 630 million bushels.

The decline in corn reserves has been even more drastic. Since the end of January this year the CCC inventory of corn has been reduced from 509,106,000 bushels to 174,562,000 bushels as of April 1966. This is the lowest April 1 inventory of corn since 1949.

Other reserves have been sharply depleted. The April 1 inventory of grain sorghum is the lowest for that date since 1959. The CCC inventory of butter is down by 50 percent from April 1, 1965. There has also been a 50-percent reduction in the CCC barley inventory between April 1, 1965, and April 1, 1966. The 10,690,000 bushels held by the CCC as of the first of this month is the lowest for that date since 1955.

CCC stocks of beans, rice, soybeans, dried milk and cheese are virtually nonexistent or totally depleted.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that certain statistical tables documenting the decline of CCC stocks be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, the above survey demonstrates, I believe, that there is a pressing necessity for expanded production to meet national security needs. But I fear that this need will not be recognized and acted on in time. With conditions as they are in southeast Asia, such a failure could well be disastrous.

There is a real danger that our reserves will be allowed to be dangerously depleted because of two major reasons. First, too many Government planners and policymakers are likely to be blinded by a surplus-control complex. So accustomed to thinking in terms of surpluses and the need for controls they may, quite unintentionally, err and not recognize soon enough the need for expanded production.

The second reason is the aggressiveness with which the administration has been pursuing its policy of indirect price control. One of the major objectives of this unauthorized control policy has been to keep down farm prices. An excellent example of this is the massive dumping of corn on the open market by the Commodity Credit Corporation.

From February 1 to April 1, 1966, the CCC has dumped 334,544,000 bushels of corn. Gardner Ackly, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, has stated that these sales were aimed at forcing a rollback in the prices of commodities which would, in turn, serve to increase pork production, thus, ultimately, bring about a drop in pork prices.

But as a result of the aggressive execution of this policy our corn reserves have been virtually depleted. This has been a foolhardy action, one which has been dictated by the narrow and shortsighted view of an administration bent on ward-ing off an inflation which its own spending policy has created. This ill-conceived action will come back to haunt the administration in the months ahead.

Mr. President, I want to reemphasize that a sudden removal of all production controls would not be in the best interests of farmers or the Nation. However, the time has come for fewer restrictions on production and greater freedom for the farmer is absolutely necessary. And, finally, it should be clear to all that any further dumping of CCC stocks as calculated effort by the administration to force down farm prices would be intolerable and foolhardy.

EXHIBIT 1

CCC Inventory as of Apr. 1

[Quantities in thousands]

	Wheat	Corn	Grain sorghum	Beans	Barley
	Bushels	*Bushels*	*Hundred-weight*	*Hundred-weight*	*Bushels*
1954	438,317	441,683	34	973	469
1955	675,537	613,811	4,803	147	7,115
1956	831,814	737,682	14,112	2,014	38,162
1957	771,890	925,317	28,215	1,811	33,856
1958	716,969	1,077,152	42,276	56	28,752
1959	749,239	1,116,137	154,361	18	69,805
1960	1,074,495	1,209,906	268,054	180	59,693
1961	1,078,115	1,429,035	307,693	1,838	50,742
1962	1,076,746	981,259	555,076	330	32,002
1963	1,010,410	748,116	512,451	515	27,999
1964	898,122	779,089	542,991	27	29,512
1965	641,824	693,719	551,373	59	20,927
1966	343,978	174,562	202,661	2	10,690

[Quantities in thousands]

	Rice	Butter	Dried milk	Cheese	Soybeans
	Hundred-weight	*Hundred-weight*	*Pounds*	*Pounds*	*Bushels*
1954		330,441	570,103	319,115	171
1955	5,214	355,142	225,005	407,097	1
1956	3,846	113,769	141,921	294,904	67
1957	1,433	27,540	130,378	207,023	16
1958	6,396	82,159	146,801	187,571	1,438
1959	2,990	41,803	119,632	11,071	11,676
1960	5,891	44,249	173,823	11,653	10,579
1961	333	72,230	264,565	197	174
1962	1,013	271,041	425,092	67,011	1
1963	2	439,437	698,713	80,164	9,406
1964	1,097	162,724	409,650	27,342	44
1965	654	69,237	228,580	8,330	10
1966	189	109	[1]2,371		

[1] As of Mar. 11, 1966.

Source: Financial Analysis Branch, ASCS, USDA.

CLASHES WITH ADVANCED SOVIET AIRCRAFT OVER NORTH VIETNAM

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, the latest reports of clashes with advanced aircraft over North Vietnam must be viewed with the gravest concern.

The Soviet Union has made these high-performance aircraft available to North Vietnam.

We do not know who is flying the planes.

We do not know where the planes are based—whether in North Vietnam or across the border in China.

But the Secretary of State has said—and a State Department spokesman repeated yesterday—that there will be no sanctuary.

Our planes will pursue hostile aircraft to wherever they go—even over the border of China—and that there is no sanctuary for Chinese bases.

What is occurring in North Vietnam is escalation of the war by them or us. The fact is that we are inexorably involved.

That fact and its implications must be faced.

What will be the Chinese response, if her territory is bombed or her airspace invaded?

Will the Chinese seek to strike at our bases in Vietnam, or Thailand, or aboard our aircraft carriers?

And if they do, what then will our response be—further bombing?

And if the scale of bombing increases, will China confine herself to air fighting—or will it send its troops to engage ours on the ground in South Vietnam or elsewhere?

Mr. James Reston reports today in the New York Times that our military planners are not concerned over the possible consequences of this escalation.

They are said to feel that "China and the Soviet Union will tolerate military defeats the United States clearly would not tolerate itself."

Such assumptions are not a sound basis for policy.

Similar assumptions about the Vietcong and North Vietnam have been proven wrong time and again in this war.

More importantly, there is still great political instability in South Vietnam.

And South Vietnam is where the war is being fought—the only area of Vietnam in which our goals can be accomplished.

Without a viable political structure in South Vietnam, the efforts and sacrifice of our fighting men will be wasted.

But no military action in North Vietnam or China can create or contribute to the creation of such a political structure in South Vietnam.

The extension of the war into China will not in my judgment give us success in South Vietnam.

Premier Ky and the Buddhist Tri Quang do not talk with one another.

Escalation of the war in the north, whatever else it is expected to achieve, will not bring these two gentlemen to the conference table with one another.

We must face the fact that what we need most is a unified effort within South Vietnam.

We must have some certainty that the people of South Vietnam can engage in such a united effort—that they have the will and the ability to organize their society and government to continue the fight.

This is where we should now be devoting our best efforts and talents. We must face the fact that there is no quick or easy answer to Vietnam.

There is some disagreement with our overall course in Vietnam.

But even accepting our basic policy, it appears to me neither prudent nor wise to undertake risks of a still wider war until our own houses are in order, and the necessary stability achieved in South Vietnam.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD two articles which appeared in the New York Times this morning. The first article, by James Reston, is entitled "Washington: There Is No Sanctuary"; and the other article, by C. L. Sulzberger, is entitled "Foreign Affairs: Vietnam's Coming Crunch."

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON: THERE IS NO SANCTUARY

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, April 26.—The official policy of the United States is that our bombers are now free to attack the bases of any planes that intercept our fliers in North Vietnam, even if those bases are inside Communist China.

"There is no sanctuary," the State Department spokesman said, for any planes getting in the way of our planes, and this is interpreted officially but privately as meaning that our pilots are free to pursue the enemy planes, no matter where they go and hit their bases if necessary.

This puts China and the Soviet Union in an interesting position. They are allied to North Vietnam and have promised to furnish whatever aid is necessary to defend that country from attack. They insist we are the aggressors in North Vietnam, just as we assert North Vietnam, with Soviet and Chinese help, is the aggressor against South Vietnam.

OUR SANCTUARIES, TOO?

In this situation, does the doctrine of no sanctuary work both ways? If we are free to attack their bases, are they then free to attack ours? The answer to that here is: "Let them try." For this Government is confident that it can wipe out all the planes in North Vietnam and in China too if the Chinese really commit their air force to the battle, leaving China and North Vietnam with nothing but the most massive armies in Asia.

Nevertheless, the risks are increasing just the same. They are not increasing because the United States is now flying closer to the China border. Actually, the U.S. Air Force and Navy were flying many more sorties high up into the northeast corner of North Vietnam before the bombing pause than they have been doing in the last few days. The risks are increasing because the new Mig–21 fighters promised by Moscow to North Vietnam are now entering the battle.

Officials here say privately that they do not know where these Mig fighters are based. They think in North Vietnam rather than in China, but they are not sure. The "no sanctuary" statement out of here was clearly intended as a warning to Peking not to assume that we would not follow them to their bases wherever those bases proved to be.

This danger used to deter officials here. For a long time President Johnson, who was approving all the bombing targets in North Vietnam, insisted that our bombers stop short of the effective flying perimeter of the Mig–17's and Mig–19's.

Gradually, however, deeper penetrations of our planes, were authorized not only into the Hanoi-Haiphong area, but north of there to hit the two main supply lines out of China into North Vietnam. The objective was to strike the narrower top of the Communist supply funnel rather than the broader bottom of the funnel below Hanoi.

For some months now, however, U.S. intelligence sources have reported that North Vietnamese pilots were being trained both in Communist China and the Soviet Union, and that the Mig–21's apparently promised to North Vietnam during the visit of Alexander Shelepin last winter were beginning to arrive in the Hanoi-Haiphong area.

Nevertheless, the raids north of Hanoi-Haiphong continued and are now meeting not only increased ground-to-air missile fire but air-to-air missiles from the Mig–21's.

THE UNKNOWN FACTORS

The risk now is not what is known but what is not known. We do not know who is flying the Mig's—the North Vietnamese, the Chinese, or the Russians. We cannot count on the markings on the Mig's, and we certainly cannot be sure that China will stand aside and allow the new Mig's to be destroyed or stay out of the war if we attack their "sanctuary" in China.

This is not regarded at the Pentagon and the White House as an unacceptable risk. In fact, our air power has run into so little opposition in the past that the men running the war from here have gradually come to believe that China and the Soviet Union will tolerate military defeats the United States clearly would not tolerate itself.

WHAT ABOUT SUBMARINES?

In short, we are assuming we can attack their sanctuaries and that they will not or cannot attack our sanctuaries in Saigon, or on the U.S. aircraft carriers in the China Sea; that the Russians will give North Vietnam Mig's and let them be destroyed, but that they will not give them submarines to carry the battle under the sea; that we are free to hit their bases anywhere in any country and that they will leave our airbases alone in Thailand.

Maybe these assumptions are right. The Chinese and the Soviets have been very cautious and have given us the freedom of both the skies and the seas so far, but if there are now to be "no sanctuaries," this could be a very dicey business.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS: VIETNAM'S COMING CRUNCH

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

SAIGON.—The Armed Forces have little intention of relinquishing control of South Vietnam's Government without a struggle. They contemplate creating their own party to present candidates for next September's Constituent Assembly. By this device Premier Nguyen Cao Ky hopes to get himself voted back into power in national elections.

All this emerges in a conversation with the frail, wiry air vice marshal who runs this tortured land. It indicates another, almost surely unavoidable clash between the ruling generals' junta and venerable Tri Quang's Buddhist activities. Ky is already dealing with Tri Quang's rival, venerable Tam Chau, in a clear attempt to split the opposition.

NO DEAL WITH BUDDHIST

Ky speaks about his tough plans with deceptive gentleness. His bland manner and well-cut blue suit belie his martial mustache and usual taste for gaudy uniforms. He denies he has struck any bargain with Tri Quang.

"I have made no deal," he says, "I haven't seen Tri Quang during the crisis. Why, I only met him once in my life—10 months ago. But the Buddhists have no reason to continue a fight. When we signed an election decree satisfying the aspirations of the majority of the people, that included them. If they continue fighting they will put themselves in a weak and wrong position."

NOT FACE BUT NEED

Ky confesses his government has been unable to "entirely reestablish" control over the dissident area of Hue and Da Nang, where Tri Quang's following is strong. The Premier intends to move further, for, he says: "This is not a question of face but of necessity. I have information that Vietcong agents have penetrated extensively, above all in Da Nang. They have infiltrated the 'struggle committee.'

"We must weed them out. We have offered an amnesty to the Buddhist demonstrators. I promised this to Tam Chau. But we must weed out the Communists. And we cannot pardon criminals—like those who killed."

The Premier professes not to worry about any Buddhist pressure for peace at any price. If they demand this, he argues, they will lose popular support. Furthermore, he claims, it is the Communist infiltrators who are responsible for the secession movement around Hue and Da Nang. Da Nang is the danger point.

But to regain the upper hand in that city, headquarters of General Thi's former I Corps, he will not restore to Thi his old command. He has offered Thi a chance to talk it over in Saigon. But Thi won't come.

So Ky works to consolidate his own position. He plans all measures to prevent intrusion of Communists in the forthcoming Constituent Assembly. "All measures" and "Communists" are words capable of broad interpretation here.

Ky says the armed forces now consider it a necessity to form their own political party soon because we have to elect good nationalists. Ky has no illusion that this can be a majority party, but thinks no faction in the scheduled assembly can gain that status. He wants the armed forces party to be "a stabilizing element."

KEEPING POLITICAL POWER

Finally, it is evident Ky is shedding the pretense that he expects to yield political power and resume his military command. "Personally," he says, "I would prefer to give up office. But my person is not free. It belongs to the people. I may have to continue. I think it is a necessity for the nation."

So there it is, a dangerous doctrine: the familiar thesis of the indispensable man. Ky sips bitter tea and peers through the window of his Prime Ministerial palace, protected by redbereted tommygunners. A helicopter squats in the courtyard.

A DUBIOUS FORMULA

Three things are evident. Ky is going to try to split the Buddhist opposition while moving against autonomous movements in Annam and ferreting out Vietcong infiltrators. He will attempt to build an armed forces political machine. When this is done he intends to offer himself as the only leader who can prosecute the war.

It would be insanity to imagine that Tri Quang, giddy with recent success, will commend this formula to his own Buddhist flock. And so, as the war grinds on and monsoon clouds mount overhead like leaden mushrooms, the political crunch shapes up. There seems slight room for compromise between Ky's stubbornness and Tri Quang's ambition.

CONTINUATION OF NEW HAVEN PASSENGER SERVICE

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I wish to call to the attention of the Senate the decision which was made by the Interstate Commerce Commission to continue the New Haven passenger service.

Mr. President, I think this represents an extraordinary breakthrough in recognition of the public responsibility of a great Government agency. We are often in the position where we criticize the Government agencies. Here is a case in which a very fine understanding of the public interests has been manifested by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The ICC has also allowed one of history's greatest mergers, that of the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads. This decision is understandable if we are to make progress in modernizing the great railroad systems. But also it is concerned with public interest. It would have been an adverse effect to have allowed the discontinuance of all New Haven service. It has called for a continuation of the commuter service within the auspices of this merger—a service which is so vital for the economy and the individual commuters who are involved.

Now—with the cooperation of the Federal Government—I rise to give appropriate credit to the wisdom and sensitivity of the public interest shown by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

HEIRLESS PROPERTY SETTLEMENT

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in 1962, the Congress enacted Public Law 87–846 authorizing the distribution of $500,000 resulting from the sale of World War II vested enemy alien property to settle claims to heirless property of victims of Nazi persecution. These funds have been distributed to both Jewish and non-Jewish organizations in accordance with the law. I have the last report of the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization dealing with the distribution of $500,000 allocated to it under Public Law 87–846, and I ask unanimous consent that the report be made a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JEWISH RESTITUTION SUCCESSOR ORGANIZATION,
New York, N.Y., April 15, 1966.

HON. EDWARD D. RE,
Chairman, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: We are pleased to advise you that the distribution of the $500,000, awarded to the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization, pursuant to Public Law 87–846 was substantially completed. The report which follows shows that $442,000 were actually disbursed by March 31, 1966, for relief, rehabilitation and resettlement programs benefiting victims of Nazi persecution who settled in this country.

Agudath Israel World Organization, New York, $50,000.

The above sum was allocated toward the cost of establishing a housing project for elderly Nazi victims. The organization acquired a suitable building in Manhattan which is currently being refurbished. The care and maintenance of the property has been assured by the sponsoring organization.

Catholic Relief Service—National Catholic Welfare Conference, New York, $50,000.

This allocation was reserved for one-time rehabilitation grants for needy and handicapped Nazi victims, with grants not to exceed $1,500 per family; $10,000 was spent to assist individuals in meeting special medical expenses.

Nehemiah Robinson Memorial Scholarship Fund, New York, $100,000.

This fund was established in memory of Dr. Nehemiah Robinson, who devoted a great part of his life to the cause of compensation for victims of Nazi persecution. The fund is being administered by United Help, Inc., in New York, a social agency serving exclusively the needs of Nazi victims in the United States. Scholarships for vocational and professional training are awarded to Nazi victims who have completed their secondary education.

From the inception of the program the fund has expended $34,854, of which $30,679 was spent for grants and $4,175 for loans.

From the inception of the program the scholarship fund assisted 70 undergraduate and 9 graduate students. Scholarship applications originated in over 20 different States of the Union. Recipients of grants are studying at more than 30 different institutions of higher learning.

United Hias Service, New York, $100,000.

The above sum was allocated for the resettlement of difficult-to-resettle families outside of New York City through one-time grants not to exceed $1,500 per family. This program is being carried out in cooperation with the local Jewish resettlement agencies.

From the inception of the program a total sum of $51,570 was spent; $11,550 was disbursed in 1964, and $40,020 in 1965.

Assistance was given to 73 individuals and/or families in more than 25 communities throughout the United States.

United Help, Inc., New York, $200,000.

This allocation was made toward the cost of establishing a housing project for elderly Nazi victims in the New York area, in which there resides the largest number of Nazi victims in any one city.

United Help has acquired land in Queens, N.Y., for the construction of a 19-story building with 216 efficiency and 72 one-bedroom apartments. The preliminary plans of the architects have been approved in principle by the New York State Division of Housing and Community Renewal. After final approval of the architects' plans and construction cost, approval of the project will be sought from the city planning commission and the board of estimate. Construction will commence as soon as all requisite approvals are secured.

It should be noted that more than 1,800 elderly victims of Nazi persecution are on the waiting list for the new apartments.

Sincerely yours,

SAUL KAGAN,
Executive Secretary.

REPORT ON EMERGENCY STRIKES OF THE LABOR COMMITTEE OF THE NEW YORK CITY BAR ASSOCIATION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the Committee on Labor and Social Security Legislation of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York has just issued a report on proposed amendments to the national emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

I find it particularly gratifying that this report endorses two proposals which I have made and which are incorporated in my bill, S. 2797, to strengthen existing laws with respect to national emergency strikes.

First, the report endorses my proposal to allow Taft-Hartley factfinding boards to make recommendations, as to the terms of settlement—recommendations which are prohibited under existing law.

Second, the report endorses the provisions of my bill which would extend coverage of the act to emergencies affecting "the health or safety of the Nation or a substantial part of the population or territory thereof." While the report takes no position with respect to a number of other proposals incorporated in my bill, I believe this report is an excellent analysis of the problems involved in national emergency strikes, and is worthy of most serious consideration by the Members of the Congress and the public at large.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this report be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Record of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, April 1966]

COMMITTEE REPORT—PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY PROVISIONS OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

(By the Committee on Labor and Social Security Legislation)

In his state of the Union message, the President recommended that the present national emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act be revised. He urged "* * * measures which, without improperly invading State and local authority, will enable us to effectively deal with strikes which threaten irreparable damage to the national interests."

This committee recommends that the national emergency provisions of the act (29 U.S.C. sections 176–179) be amended to apply to emergencies affecting a substantial part of the population or territory of the Nation as well as to nationwide emergencies and to permit factfinding panels appointed under the act to make recommendations for settlement of disputes.

1. PERMITTING FACTFINDING PANELS TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS

At present factfinding panels are provided for but prohibited from making any recommendations; an injunction prohibiting strikes or lockout during an 80-day cooling off period is authorized. This procedure has proved of value in some instances, but resort has frequently been necessary to pressures for settlement outside of the statutory scheme.

One potent weapon in inducing settlements has been the likelihood of additional legislation if no settlement were forthcoming. Congress has never adopted a general permanent abrogation of the right to strike or lockout in any private industry. Ad hoc legislation has, however, been enacted to deal with specific disputes where other measures were insufficient. The Adamson Act in 1916 mandated an 8-hour day on the railroads and prohibited wage reductions during a temporary period of observation by a commission; 39 Stat. 721 (1916), upheld in *Wilson* v. *New*, 243 U.S. 332 (1917), and now codified in 45 U.S.C. section 65 (1964). A threatened nationwide railway stoppage in 1963 was dealt with by compulsory arbitration limited to the particular dispute; 77 Stat. 132 (1963), upheld in *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen* v. *Chicago B & Q R.R.*, 225 F. Supp. 11 (D.D.C.), affirmed, 331 F. 2d 1020 (D.C. Cir.), cert. denied 377 U.S. 918 (1964).

To date a pattern has evolved of dealing with each situation while leaving the treatment of future crises open. The flexibility of this evolving ad hoc approach would be enhanced if factfinding panels appointed under the Taft-Hartley Act were allowed to make recommendations upon request of the President. Such recommendations may be of assistance to the parties in the settlement of the dispute. When made public such recommendations also tend to impose pressure on the parties to resolve the dispute. While providing for such recommendations is no panacea, it would strengthen the architecture of the present law.

Removal of the present prohibition contained in 29 U.S.C. 179, on recommendations by factfinding panels appointed under the Taft-Hartley Act has been frequently recommended in the past. E.g., Seidman, "National Emergency Strike Legislation," in Symposium on Labor Relations Law 474, 478 (Sloenko ed. 1961) referring to the views of Senator Taft; Williams, "Settlement of Labor Disputes in Industries Affected With a National Interest," 49 A.B.A.J. 862, 866–67 (1943); Rothman, "National Emergency Disputes Under the LMRA and the RLA," 15 Labor L.J. 195, 202–04 (1964); Givens, "Dealing With National Emergency Labor Disputes," 34 Temple Labor Quarterly 17, 44 (1960) cf. Wallen, "National Emergency Disputes," 12 Labor Journal 61 (1961). We approve those portions of S. 2796, 89th Congress, 2d session (1966), offered by Senator JAVITS which are designed to remove this limitation. In addition to recommending terms of settlement, the panel could recommend further procedures to deal with the dispute.

Further steps could thereafter be taken if such recommendations, the 80-day cooling off period and mediation proved unsuccessful. In this context, reliance on possible unspecified future sanctions may in some instances place more pressure on the parties than specific statutory provisions, a phenomennon labeled that of "inchoate law" by Adolf Berle. See Berle, "Legal Problems of Economic Power," 60 Columbia Law Review 4, 7–8 (1960); Berle, "Power Without Property," 91—93 (1959). On the other hand, the committee also believes that the President could be given authority in advance to invoke a number of possible procedures should an emergency dispute remain unsettled after 80 days.[1]

2. EXTENSION OF COVERAGE

We also recommend extension of the emergency provisions of the act to emergencies affecting "the health or safety of the Nation or a substantial part of the population or territory thereof" as proposed in section 3 of S. 2797. This position flows from the fact that local emergencies can frequently have a national impact.

The long continuing growth of transportation and corresponding extension of markets and economic interdependence make it certain that emergencies in any significant region of the country will have ever greater national impact as time passes.

Further, local emergency disputes are, of course, as serious for those affected by them as national emergency stoppages are to the country generally. State laws cannot be relied upon to deal with local or regional crises, since State power in this field is seriously restricted by the preemptive effect of existing Federal legislation. *Amalgamated Ass'n* v. *Werb,* 340 U.S. 383 (1951).

CONCLUSION

For these reasons, the committee recommends that the emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act be revised (1) to eliminate the present prohibition on the making of recommendation by statutory factfinding panels, and (2) to extend the coverage of the provisions to emergencies affecting the health or safety of a substantial part of the territory or population of the Nation.

Respectfully submitted.

William J. Asaacson, chairman; Irving Abramson, Jerome H. Adler, Albert X. Bader, William J. Brennan III, John D. Canoni, Samuel J. Cohen, Wilbur Daniels, Richard A. Givens, Alex J. Glauberman, Richard N. Goldstein, Robert C. Isaacs, Isadore Katz, Samuel M. Kaynard, Arthur Mermin, Francis A. O'Connell, Jr., Benjamin C. Roberts, Edward Silver, Donald W. Smith, Burton B. Turkus, Stephen C. Vladeck, John Whittlesey, Benjamin Wyle, William A. Ziegler, Jr., Max Zimny, Committee on Labor and Social Security Legislation.

GROWING CONCERN ABOUT ALCOHOLISM

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a growing concern is being manifested throughout the Nation with respect to America's fourth greatest health menace, alcoholism, a menace which costs U.S. industry some $2 billion annually and takes even a greater toll among its victims and their families. Indicative of this increasing sensitivity to the problem are two recent editorials which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat; they are appended hereto.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include as a part of my remarks two editorials from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Apr. 8, 1966]

PENNYWISE, POUND FOOLISH

The Federal Government, which puts the proverbial drunken sailor to shame when it comes to flinging billions in largesse overseas and wasting other billions on domestic boondoggles, spent less than $7 million last year in the fight on alcoholism, the Nation's fourth-ranking health problem.

In terms of dollars and cents, the cost of alcoholism in crime and highway accidents alone is incalculable, certainly vastly more than the pittance spent to combat it.

The incidence of alcoholism in this country is second only to that in France, points out Dr. Robert H. Felix, dean of St. Louis University's Medical School, "but the kind of alcoholism most prevalent here makes ours the worst problem in the world."

Noting that America has more than 5 million confirmed alcoholics, Dr. Felix told a meeting of the St. Louis council on alcoholism that the national crime and divorce rates, poverty and juvenile delinquency among the children of alcoholics are "significantly magnified by this illness."

Money alone can't solve this or any other problem in human behavior. But it can help put a substantial dent in it by providing for programs aimed at restoring alcoholics to useful citizenship.

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Apr. 9, 1966]

SICK, NOT CRIMINALS

Eighteenth-century London's Bethlehem Hospital lives in infamy in the word it gave the language—"Bedlam." Caged there like wild beasts, victims of mental illness were subjected to horrendous abuses and cruelties by a society sicker than themselves.

Twentieth-century America has hardly more to pride itself upon is its callous treatment of chronic alcoholics as public nuisances to be thrown in jail to sober up.

But a new era seems at hand in last week's unanimous ruling by eight judges of the U.S. Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia that "chronic alcoholism is a defense to the charge of public intoxication, and therefore not a crime."

The court's finding, in a test case begun in 1964 of a man arrested 60 times for public drunkenness, is the latest in a series of Federal appellate court reversals of lower court rulings.

It establishes public drunkenness as a symptom of a disease, not a criminal act, and makes a public inebriate liable to arrest and detention only if treatment and rehabilitation measures be provided for him, as for any sick person.

The futility of trying to cure an alcoholic by jailing him was pointed out in a book published in 1958, "The Revolving Door," by Dr. David Pittman of St. Louis, director of Washington University's Social Science Institute and president of the North American Association of Alcoholic Programs.

Dr. Pittman hails the recent Federal appellate court rulings and moves by Congress, State legislatures and the administration as paving the way for a new day in dealing with the problem of alcoholism.

It appears the drunk tank is about to go the way of the snake-pit, to well-deserved oblivion.

(At this point Mr. KENNEDY of New York took the chair as Presiding Officer.)

THE PROBLEMS OF URBAN LIFE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ON CAPITOL HILL

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, the problems of urban life, as they relate to the individual citizen, are becoming increasingly complex. Not only is the city dweller subjected to demands and pressures completely foreign to life in rural or less heavily congested areas, but also is becoming subject to actual physical hazard to an alarming degree.

This was well demonstrated just the other day, when an esteemed colleague of mine, Congressman JAMES C. CLEVELAND, of New Hampshire's Second District, was attacked in his office here in the Nation's Capital. Fortunately, he suffered a comparatively minor wound, although the results could have been tragic. Shocking as it is, that a Member of Congress does not even enjoy the security of his own office, and indicative as it is that law enforcement in the buildings and on the grounds of the Capitol needs to be strengthened, the real problem is one of immorality and disregard for the rights of others which seem to flourish in congested population areas.

As is pointed out in an excellent editorial appearing in the Plymouth (N.H.) Record for March 31, 1966, this indeed is a deplorable situation, and I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, while I assure the writer that our offices will never be locked during normal visiting hours, I most certainly agree with his observation that the occupational problems besetting a Member of Congress are almost overwhelming at times. The real point, however, is that all inhabitants of this city and the countless number of those who visit it should be freed of this growing menace to life and property. The attack on Congressman CLEVELAND, unfortunate as it was, may well serve a useful purpose in dramatizing this fact.

EXHIBIT 1

A DEPLORABLE SITUATION

The news from Washington that our Congressman, JAMES C. CLEVELAND, was attacked and robbed in his office by a building employee is shocking in that it demonstrates the increasingly hazardous nature of existence in these times and particularly the plight of the city dweller. Brazen disregard for the rules and laws of society, breakdown of the domestic structure, corruption of individual morals, easy money—are in evidence almost everywhere but have grown to such proportions as to create a most disturbing situation in present-day urban living.

Primary attention is being focused throughout the Nation on increased urbanization and the trend of Americans to seek a better life in metropolitan areas. Case studies are being conducted on the effect of city life upon Americans. Washington, D.C., with a highly transient population, is receiving much attention, especially since it is the only major city with more than 50 percent Negro population. Rabid urbanization in our country has produced more problems than we have been able to solve and our society is suffering because of the continuing trend, and our inability to cope with it.

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[1] See Wirtz, "The Choice of Procedures Approach to National Emergency Disputes," in Bernstein, Enarson & Fleming, eds., "Emergency Disputes and National Policy," 149 (1955); Cox "The Uses and Abuses of Union Power," 35 Notre Dame Law 624 (1960); Kramer, "Emergency Strikes," 11 Labor Law Journal 277, 232–34 (1960). One such possibility is the receivership proposal included in S. 2797, 89th Cong., 2d sess. (1966) offered by Senator JAVITS. Also of interest in this connection is the idea of economic sanctions against the parties without a stoppage, discussed in Marceau & Musgrave, "Strikes in Essential Industries: A Way Out," 27 Harvard Business Review 287 (1949); Goble, "The Nonstoppage Strike," 12 Current Economic Comment 3 (1950); Gregory, "Injunctions, Seizure, and Compulsory Arbitration," 26 Temple Labor Quarterly 397 (1953); McCalmont, "The Semistrike," 15 Industrial and Labor Relations Review 191 (1962); cf. Wall Street Journal, p. 1, col. 1, May 20, 1964 (nonstoppage strike procedure agreed upon in collective bargaining).

Distrust arises within our thoughts: must we all put on a defensive armor and revise our attitudes toward our fellow men? Shall we consider the stranger as a potential danger to our persons and pocketbooks? Is it not wise to ignore the appeal for assistance from the side of the highway, lest it be a boobytrap to lure us into trouble?

The occupational problems of being a Congressman are almost overwhelming, yet we doubt if any Member of Congress ever envisioned the time when he would be knifed and robbed in his own office. Mr. CLEVELAND is a dedicated public official; he gives the utmost in devotion to this congressional district. The attack upon him was deplorable. We hope he will not be forced to lock his office door from now on, for New Hampshire visitors to our National Capital report that it is a pleasant experience to walk right in and feel comfortable.

AFL–CIO SUPPORTS PROXMIRE SCHOOL MILK BILL

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I recently received a remarkably perceptive letter from Andy Biemiller, legislative director for the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations supporting my efforts to adequately fund the special milk program for schoolchildren.

I would like to read the entire letter into the RECORD because I feel that it does a marvelous job of outlining the reasons why so many Americans are up in arms about the administration's proposed 80-percent cutback in the program.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,
Washington, D.C., April 25, 1966.

HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PROXMIRE: We want to express our appreciation to you for the effort you have made this year to restore to meaningful levels the appropriations for the school milk and school lunch programs. Both these programs have had the full support of the AFL–CIO since their inception.

We have been particularly concerned this year lest domestic programs suffer budgetary cuts because of the demands of the international situation. We have consistently expressed the view that this Nation is rich enough to meet its commitments to its friends overseas as well as to provide for its citizens at home.

We certainly favor some of the new programs proposed by the administration, especially provision of funds for preschool breakfasts, the summer lunch program, and the acquisition of lunchroom facilities. But we do not believe that in order to achieve these desirable goals we must make budget cuts of the magnitude proposed. To cut the school milk program from last year's $103 million to the proposed $21 million is simply to eliminate the program.

Certainly for the schools with their fixed budgets it will mean either imposing a severe means test to segregate out the neediest children or raising the price of milk or lunch to the children.

In Jefferson County, Colo., schools, one of Denver's richest suburban counties, an increase in the price of milk from 2 to 3 cents resulted in a drop of 18 percent in milk consumption on a per pupil basis. When the Denver public schools raised the price of the hot lunch from 25 to 30 cents in 1963, a 16 percent drop in participation took place. Other examples from other communities indicate a range of 15 to 40 percent decrease in participation with rising prices.

Actually the school milk program ought to be made permanent and increasing appropriations ought to be provided to begin to cover some of the youngsters not now being reached. Your suggestion of appropriations of $110 million for 1967, $115 million for 1968, and $120 million for 1969 and thereafter seems to us quite realistic in terms of the number of children in school.

There are some 14 million children right now who cannot participate in the school lunch program because there is no program at their schools.

The school milk and school lunch programs have been models of Federal concern for child welfare. To cut them back now certainly does not meet the standards of a Great Society. Good nutrition is a basic need of all children and we support fully your efforts to restore funds for this purpose.

Sincerely yours,
ANDREW J. BIEMILLER,
Director, Department of Legislation.

Mr. President, I was delighted to hear that the House of Representatives yesterday indicated their concern over the school milk cutback proposal by rejecting it overwhelmingly. The agriculture appropriations bill passed by the House yesterday included $103 million for the school milk program. I intend to do everything in my power to increase this amount sufficiently to provide for expansion in the program. Needless to say, I shall also continue to press for hearings on the bill to make the school milk program, which expires on June 30, 1967, permanent.

PROBLEMS OF HUMAN EYE RESEARCH

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, as a nation we are deeply committed to supporting efforts to conquer crippling disease. No health problem is more difficult, nor more universal, than that of blindness caused by a variety of conditions. Stan Witwer, a veteran Florida newspaperman who recently underwent surgery for a detached retina, has become deeply interested in problems of the eye. Mr. Witwer, who is an editorial executive of the St. Petersburg, Fla., Times, has written a three-part series which I believe is worthy of the Senate's attention, inasmuch as it details some of the problems of eye research and the potential breakthroughs possible through adequate research support.

I ask unanimous consent that the series of articles by Stan Witwer, which appeared in the April 10–13 editions of the St. Petersburg Times, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times, Apr. 10, 1966]

(By Stan Witwer)

Medical research may be on the road toward producing an artificial eye that will permit the simulation of vision in thousands of persons now hopelessly blind.

Dr. Herbert E. Kaufman, professor of ophthalmology at the University of Florida College of Medicine, made this observation during recent testimony before an appropriations subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives.

He outlined exciting possibilities in the fight against blindness, including the eventual prevention of cataracts and the control of glaucoma, during an appeal for more financial support from Congress for vision studies.

He strongly made the point that these future possibilities would not occur unless research funds are increased and maintained at a higher level than now.

Dr. Kaufman pointed out that researchers at the University of Florida are beginning to understand the electrical activity of the retina of the eye and the electrical activity of the brain which occurs with vision.

"Ultimately," he told the subcommittee, "this knowledge may make possible the creation of an artificial eye to simulate sight by producing, artificially, this electrical activity which we now are beginning to learn to record.

"Such an achievement already has been attained in the case of cardiac disease in which the electrical activity of the heart is simulated by artificial 'pacemakers'."

Dr. Kaufman's trip to Washington was for the purpose of urging Congress to vote a minimum appropriation of $35.6 million to the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness, earmarked specifically for vision research and the training of researchers and ophthalmologists, during the 1966–67 fiscal year.

In what amounted to a stern warning, the Gainesville teacher-surgeon said, "Much of the investment in the fight against blindness to date may be totally wasted if progress cannot continue. If funds (principally from Federal sources) to these ophthalmic researchers are so restricted that opportunity is denied the emerging investigators, they will turn away from this area and much of our present progress will be irretrievably lost."

"Even if one does not consider the misery and despair of more than 1 million persons who cannot see," Dr. Kaufman said, "our previous accomplishments in preventing blindness prove that ophthalmic research is a bargain which we cannot afford to pass up. Even a little progress in research can save this Nation a fortune in the eventual expenditures for care of the sightless."

In terms of past accomplishments, he said, "the picture is not entirely black and discouraging. The last few years have seen a revolution in the prevention and cure of blindness, thanks to research, most of it supported by Federal funds. Yet, as we approach the point of dramatic breakthroughs in many vision studies, we find financial support lagging, placing the continuation of our progress in serious jeopardy."

In the past few years, Dr. Kaufman said, these strides forward have been made as the result of vision research:

Retrolental-fibroplasis, the leading cause of blindness in children, was found to have been caused by the administration of oxygen in high concentration to premature infants.

This finding has saved the sight of thousands of children.

Research has produced so much knowledge of the common cataract that some varieties in children can now be prevented. For adults, drugs have been developed which dissolve the attachments of cataracts and these, together with new operating techniques, have increased the safety of cataract surgery. Research may ultimately show a way for preventing cataracts.

New medications are proving effective in controlling glaucoma.

Retinal detachment at one time an almost certain prelude to blindness, now is a condition which can be managed with an extremely high degree of success. Blindness from this condition now is rare.

The first drug which permits effective treatment of virus infection of the cornea, was discovered by researchers at the University of Florida.

Research has brought increased understanding of blindness due to diabetes and new methods of treatment offer great promise in reducing this form of blindness, especially in young persons.

Research has made possible remarkable achievements in corneal transplantation, including the ability to preserve living corneal tissue. Once a dangerous and rarely successful operation, corneal transplanting now is highly successful.

Lagging funds for vision research, and the developing nationwide shortage of teachers of ophthalmology and ophthalmologists are discussed in the second article in this series.

[From the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times, Apr. 11, 1966]

(By Stan Witwer)

An ophthalmologist is a medical doctor who specializes in treating defects and diseases of the eyes and whose dedication is aimed at the prevention of blindness.

There are so few of them, comparatively, in this country that many persons do not recognize the word. There are tens of thousands of persons with serious eye problems who never have consulted an ophthalmologist or been treated by one, simply because none was available.

Fewer than 5 percent of the Nation's medical specialists are ophthalmologists.

Only 3.37 percent of the young men and women in the Nation's colleges of medicine are training to be ophthalmologists.

(Pinellas County, with 27 eye specialists for some 400,000 population, is one of the few areas in the country adequately "staffed" in this specialty.)

Fifty other Florida counties (of 67), however, have no ophthalmologists in private practice.

There is not one, for instance, between Jacksonville and Tallahassee, north of Gainesville.

Who needs the attention of ophthalmologists?

More than 1.2 million Americans who have no useful vision.

More than 1.5 million Americans who have sight in only one eye.

More than 10 million persons who have eyes that turn in or out.

The unestimated millions, many of them senior citizens, who have eye problems ranging from nearsightedness to developing cataracts, glaucoma, or other diseases.

One of every 10 patients seen in the Nation's hospitals—they are eye patients.

Is the problem critical? It is, says Dr. Herbert E. Kaufman, chief of the Department of Ophthalmology at the University of Florida's College of Medicine.

And it will become even more acute, he recently told a congressional appropriations subcommittee, with the advent of medicare in July because the elderly, as a group, require more ophthalmic care than anyone else.

Dr. Kaufman's testimony before the committee in Washington was in the nature of a plea for more Federal funds for vision research.

(Federal funds support the National Institutes of Health (NIH), which, in turn, provide most of the grants for research, traineeships, and development of clinics and clinical equipment in all branches of medicine. Specifically, Dr. Kaufman was asking for a minimum 1966–67 appropriation of $35.6 million for the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness, to be spent only for vision research. This would be double the present appropriation and more than four times the appropriation of 1964.)

In 1963, he told the committee, care of the blind cost this Nation $1 billion. Yet less than $9 million, from the combined resources of Government and private support, was spent for eye research and training of specialists.

The 1965 Federal allocation was $14.35 million.

Because of Congress failure to appropriate more funds to NIH, almost half of all eye research projects proposed for financing by colleges of medicine and other eye researchers, are disapproved by committees which know that no funds are available to support them.

Of those remaining projects which are approved by committees within the NIH, 3 of every 10 never are begun because funds are not available. This year, more than $3 million in approved projects will not be undertaken for this reason.

Dr. Kaufman outlined this chain of events:

Doctors, interested in becoming teachers in colleges of medicine, are influenced in their choice of specialties by the availability of research opportunities. Without funds for eye research, many of these doctors will choose other areas, such as heart, cancer, orthopedics, neurology.

This means limited research and a shortage of researchers and teachers.

The shortage of teachers limits the number of students in ophthalmology which a college can accept.

At present, of a total enrollment of 220 in the college of medicine, only 11 are training to be ophthalmologists.

Dr. Kaufman said, "Much tragic suffering, misery, and economic waste, caused by blindness, can be avoided through research. Vision studies, even though conducted on a comparatively small scale, already have made enormous contributions in this area.

"I must emphasize, though, that much of the progress we have made, and much of the investment in the fight against blindness, will be wasted if progress cannot continue."

The University of Florida, and through its medical school, the entire State, has a large stake in vision research. Some of the most dramatic recent accomplishments in handling eye problems are due, at least in part, to research at Gainesville. Major research projects are underway there now. These are discussed in the last article of this series.

[From the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times, Apr. 12, 1966]

(By Stan Witwer)

Will the day ever come when sight, for persons now hopelessly blind, will be made possible by artificial eyes?

In the visual sciences laboratory of the University of Florida's College of Medicine, ophthalmologists, engineers, a professor of psychology, a group of graduate students, and a computer are working on a project which may hasten that day.

They are seeking exact knowledge of the electrical functions of the eye and the brain which enable man to see. They are seeking a way to reproduce this electrical activity artificially. Their goal: Creation of an artificial eye.

Whenever man sees, touches, tastes, hears, or smells anything, the senses involved transmit electrical impulses which are interpreted by the brain. In the case of vision, it is the retina at the back of the eye which transmits the impulses.

A major obstacle in sight research has been the investigator's inability to distinguish between the several electrical responses of the brain to determine which is concerned only with vision.

This hurdle has been at least partially overcome, at the university, where engineers have developed computer equipment capable of filtering out all of the brain's electrical activity except that which is related to vision.

As a result, researchers are now able, for the first time, to study the visual apparatus of man. When these researchers are able to understand completely the kind of electrical information generated by the brain in response to vision, they will stand on the threshold of duplicating it.

Dr. Herbert E. Kaufman, head of the university's department of ophthalmology, says: "Certainly, the advent of an artificial eye would appear to be far in the future. But on the basis of our knowledge to date, this type of accomplishment seems far from impossible."

Meanwhile, a number of other vision research projects are underway at the J. Hillis Miller Health Center, in Gainesville, all aimed at, and dedicated toward, achieving one goal: The cure and prevention of blindness.

Dramatic breakthroughs have been made in developing new methods and techniques related to corneal transplants. This is surgery in which a damaged or diseased cornea, causing gradual loss of sight, is replaced by the cornea of a person who has willed his eyes to an eye bank. Ten years ago, such operations were only 20 percent successful. Today, 80 percent are successful, thanks to research, much of it conducted at Gainesville.

A method of examining corneal tissue with stains, developed by Joseph Capella, a research assistant to Dr. Kaufman, now makes possible a determination of which tissue is best for transplantation; which is most likely to live and remain clear.

University researchers, after more than 18 months' study, discovered that corneal tissue can be frozen in liquid nitrogen and stored for months before use with no damage. Formerly, corneal tissue had to be used within 48 hours after the death of a donor. Getting patient, surgeon, and tissue together on short notice posed many difficulties. And in times of critical emergency, tissue was not available. Now the tissue is frozen and stored, to be thawed and used at any time needed.

Last December, as an experiment, Dr. Kaufman, Dr. Morris Kaplan of the University of Colorado, and Dr. Humberto Escapini of San Salvador performed 56 corneal transplants in El Salvador—27 with fresh tissue and 29 with frozen tissue.

The frozen tissue was flown to Central America from Gainesville. The fresh tissue, provided by the International Eye Bank, was flown in each day. The three surgeons working side by side in a three-table operating room, operated each morning for 2 weeks.

An evaluation, several weeks after the mass surgery was performed, showed that approximately half the operations in each group should permit perfectly normal vision while the sight of most other patients was improved. No difference was noted between the performance of fresh and frozen tissue.

One of the patients was a 17-year-old boy who had been blind from birth. He can now see and is working in the Salvadoran coffee fields. His surgery was performed with frozen tissue.

Frozen tissue also was used successfully in a transplant on a 3-year-old child.

Project San Salvador, as it was termed, was made possible by a research grant from the National Institutes of Health.

The first drugs capable of treating virus diseases of the eye and, in fact, the first drug effective against any virus disease, were perfected in the visual sciences laboratory. This research is continuing, seeking even better drugs for the treatment of eye disease and also compounds which may be effective against such diseases as polio, hepatitis, and even the common cold.

Studies are underway which indicate that abnormal metabolism of certain substances by the retina of the eye may cause some types of retinal degeneration and even blindness. This research gives promise of showing a way to arrest retinal degeneration. It also may permit greater color vision for persons who are color blind.

Even though vision research, at the University of Florida and at other colleges of medicine, is in its infancy, it already has achieved what Dr. Kaufman describes as "a revolution" in the prevention and cure of blindness.

But there are clouds in the future. Late last month, Dr. Kaufman went to Washington to personally plead before a subcommittee of the House of Representatives for an increase in funds allocated each year for vision research.

Without such increased funds, he said, vision studies will bog down, the training of vision researchers and ophthalmologists will be slowed and "our fine accomplishments of the last few years could be wasted."

[From the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times, Apr. 13, 1966]

The Battle Against Blindness

The statistics that one of every 10 persons seen in the Nation's hospitals today is an eye patient must come as a surprise.

The fact that 50 of Florida's 67 counties do not have a single eye specialist in private practice is startling.

So is the estimate that Pinellas County has more than 75,000 residents with eye problems, necessitating at least one trip a year to a specialist.

In a series of articles this week, the Times reported a national shortage of eye specialists (ophthalmologists), teachers of opthalmology for colleges of medicine, researchers to seek out ways to treat and prevent eye diseases that often lead to blindness, and funds for vision research.

In one recent year (1963), these articles said, funds for eye research from private and Government sources combined was less than the cost of military aircraft lost in one day's fighting in Vietnam.

Doctors and researchers now are asking the Government for $36 million for eye research during the 1966-67 fiscal year. As one University of Florida ophthalmologist said, "Such an expenditure would be a bargain we cannot afford to miss, considering that it would hasten the day when research will find a preventive for cataracts, an ability to control glaucoma, new techniques in many areas of eye treatment and surgery, and, ultimately, an artificial eye capable of simulating vision."

Adequate funds for research would help solve all the other problems in the battle against blindness, this Florida teacher-surgeon predicted. More doctors would choose teaching careers, knowing that the vital support for research, which goes hand in hand with teaching, was available. More teachers would make it possible for medical schools to train more eye specialists.

We are hopeful that the Congress, in considering appropriations for the coming year, will see fit to approve this $36 million.

Certainly no expenditure would contribute more to alleviate the misery and suffering of tens of millions of persons not only in this country but throughout the world.

HOUSTON POST ENDORSES ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE PRINCIPLE

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on Wednesday of last week, April 20, 1966, this body defeated a proposal which would have had the effect of destroying the one-man, one-vote principle recently decided by the Supreme Sourt of the United States.

Because I was opposed to that proposal which would have counteracted the recent redistricting of the State senate that has taken place in my home State of Texas, I would like to have a recent editorial from the Tuesday, April 19, 1966, Houston Post under the title "New Attack on Majority Rule" placed at this point in the Record. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

New Attack on Majority Rule

Those politicians and special interests that long were able to control State governments through unequal legislative representation are making still another attempt to obstruct the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling that, under the Federal Constitution, representation in both houses of bicameral State legislatures must be on the basis of population.

Again using Senator Everett Dirksen, of Illinois, the Republican minority leader, as a front man, and with the help of a large San Francisco public relations firm, they are making their fourth major attempt to prevent application of the one-man, one-vote principle, which is basic to truly representative government.

They are trying to get Congress to submit a constitutional amendment for ratification by State legislatures that would permit geography and political subdivisions as well as population to be taken into account in apportioning representation in one chamber. Now before the Senate, the proposal is a modified version of the one that the backers were unable to sell last year.

First attempts to keep the Federal courts from putting the Supreme Court's ruling into effect were fairly forthright, but the current proposal has been dressed up in a specious appeal, to make it appear to be a "democratic" way of apportioning representation in the legislatures.

The provision that factors other than population might be taken into account in apportioning representation in one chamber was made subject to a State referendum, the argument being that a majority of the people of each State could decide whether or not they want unequal representation in one chamber of their State legislature.

The Supreme Court has said that they cannot now vote away their rights to equal representation in both chambers. The only route open to those fighting desperately to maintain their power and control over State government for their own purposes is to get the Federal Constitution itself changed.

They hope that in some States and in at least some cases they will be able to persuade and influence enough voters to vote away their constitutional right to permit them to retain or regain control.

As practical politicians, they know that very few voters normally ever take part in State referendums. The propositions to be voted upon can be submitted in ways to confuse and mislead many voters. And it may be possible to sway many of them by highly emotional appeals of one kind or another, such as the shopworn States rights slogans.

If representation in one chamber of a legislature can be based on factors other than population, it is easy enough to rig the representation so that this chamber can exercise a veto over all legislative action at the State level and thus thwart the will of a majority of the people of the State as expressed by the chamber in which representation is based solely on population.

The effect would be, as it has been in the past, to keep State governments from being responsive to the wishes of a majority of the people and permit control of those governments to vest in the hands of a minority representing geographic, economic, or some other special interests, either singly or in combination.

It is this control more than anything else that has been responsible for the decline in the role of State governments in the Federal governmental system during recent years, and it is a certain way to continue this trend. Advocates of strong State government and States rights should be the ones raising the loudest cries of protest against the schemes to restrict or prevent representative government.

ADVERSE IMPACT ON FARMERS OF ADMINISTRATION ACTIONS OR RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, the list of actions taken or recommended by the Johnson administration that have had or will have an adverse impact on farmers and related agricultural industries continues to grow.

One such proposal is that the cost of Federal meat inspection be assessed against the meat industry. For the most part it is likely that these inspection costs would be charged against the farmer in form of lower livestock prices. This would be most shortsighted and unfair in that the benefits of Federal meat inspection accrue to the consumer. This is a public service and the cost should be borne by the public.

Mr. President, the inconsistency and inequitableness of this proposal is effectively pointed out in an editorial by Mr. Ralph Foster in the April 16 issue of the Kansas Farmer.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

In the same issue of the Kansas Farmer, Mr. Foster points out that the massive dumping of the CCC grain over the past few months has been most frustrating and confusing to both grain growers and grain merchandisers. I agree with Mr. Foster that—

> Congress should listen with a more sympathetic ear to grain producers and the grain trade.

Mr. President, I ask that this editorial also be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Another Move To Sock the Farmer

Legislation introduced into the present session of the Congress at the behest of the administration proposes to assess the costs of Federal meat inspection on the meat industry.

Such legislation if passed has serious implications for the livestock producer. Federal meat inspection was established for the protection of the public, not the meatpackers.

It is unrealistic to think inspection costs would be borne by the industry. They would be passed on to the area of least resistance. Because the housewife would resist by voice and by reduced meat purchases, the producer could very well expect that inspection costs would come out of prices paid for his livestock.

Federal meat inspection is for all the people, not just meat producers, not just meat processors. It is a protective service like the Food and Drug Administration and should be borne by the public.

This is one place where we say that protection of health and welfare of the people is a proper function of government.

WE CAN'T HAVE IT BOTH WAYS

As we might expect, Secretary of Agriculture Freeman is defending the recent sales of CCC-held grain, particularly corn. At the recent National Farmers Union convention, Mr. Freeman said: "We can't have it both ways. CCC must sell on occasion if it is to buy when necessary to protect prices."

This is another way of saying we can't have our cake and eat it, too. As has been said in this column before, if we expect the Government to put a floor under prices, we must also expect Government to put a ceiling over prices. And that kind of a program means Government control of prices.

There is much complaint from farmers and farm organizations that CCC is dumping grain to hold prices down. Recent CCC sales of corn support that claim. These sales also support the claim that the Secretary of Agriculture, through CCC sales, is manipulating prices to increase signup in the feed grains program.

Large unannounced sales of CCC stocks, such as have been made recently, are frustrating and confusing to both grain growers and grain merchandisers. Requests to Congress from farm groups asking that the minimum at which CCC may sell Government stocks be raised from 105 to 115 percent of parity plus carrying charges seem not to have aroused much attention.

But from out here in the country where corn, milo, and wheat prices mean so much, we believe that Congress should listen with a more sympathetic ear to wishes of grain producers and the grain trade.

JET AIRPLANE SERVICE AT WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, last Sunday, April 24, Washington National Airport was open for the first time to commercial jet airplane traffic, which in my opinion is a great improvement of the service of that airport.

There appeared in the April 12 edition of the Atlanta Journal a very fine editorial commenting on the opening of National Airport to commercial jets.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON JET SERVICE

Washington is served by three airports, National, Dulles and Friendship.

National handles only relatively slow propeller planes. And while Dulles and Friendship handle jets, they are so far from town that the speed of the flight is canceled by the pace of the crawl into Washington.

Therefore word that National will be open to short-haul jets at the end of April is good news to Atlantans.

There is a lot of traffic between these two points, and the service is hard to brag on.

National is only a few minutes from downtown, and opening it to jets is going to make scheduling business in Washington a lot more pleasant.

The Washington Post reports opposition to the move on the part of people who live near the airport and fear the noise, and by politicians who fear a fall off in business at Friendship and Dulles.

But from our point of view, and multiply it by the viewpoints of citizens of other cities at a similar distance who visit Washington, jets at National are a blessing.

TAX CREDIT FOR COLLEGE EXPENSES

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I have long contended that my bill to give a tax credit for college expenses had the support of the overwhelming majority of the people of this Nation.

The truth of this contention was dramatically demonstrated by a recent nationwide poll conducted by the Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton, N.J. The poll was taken in preparation for the April 5 broadcast on CBS–TV of "The National Income Tax Test." Television viewers across the Nation learned at that time that 70 percent of those polled thought a tax credit should be given to help meet the costs of a college education. Only 17 percent opposed the tax credit while 13 percent had no opinion.

Even more important is the background material on the opinions given. The Columbia Broadcasting System was good enough to make available to me the full survey report. This report showed that 83 percent of the public in the $5,000 to $7,000 a year bracket favor the credit, which should put to rest the argument that my proposal is a rich man's bill.

The report also showed that 80 percent of the young people in the 18 to 29 age group favor the tax credit.

Of the persons polled, 74 percent had gone no further than high school and fully 87 percent had never finished college.

I also point out that the family income for 1965 of 69 percent of the persons polled was less than $10,000.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the introduction to the national survey findings for CBS News, the detailed report on the opinion question relating to the tuition tax credit, and the background characteristics of respondents be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTRODUCTION TO NATIONAL SURVEY FINDINGS FOR CBS NEWS

This report summarizes findings from the administration of the national income tax test to a nationwide sample of respondents age 18 and older.

The purpose of the nationwide survey is to provide normative information on the test items, descriptive information on how knowledge of test items is related to background characteristics of respondents, and summary information on the distribution of scores in the population.

DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE

The sample consists of 1,000 respondents selected by an area sample design to be representative of all members of the continental U.S. population 18 years of age or older. The sample design is the same as that used for gathering information for the citizenship test and the health test, and includes these characteristics—

The people to be interviewed were predesignated, a practice which removes control of sample selection from the interviewer.

Interviewers made a total of up to four visits to each designated respondent, if necessary, in order to complete the interview.

The background characteristics of respondents are in the appendix to this memorandum.

INTERVIEWING PROCEDURE

All interviews were conducted during March 1966. The interview includes 52 questions for the income tax test. Of these, 45 are fact questions and 7 are opinion questions.

The interview begins with several questions of interest to CBS News management on topics other than income tax. A report on the findings from these management questions is in a separate memorandum.

At the beginning of the interview, the interviewer read the special management questions and recorded the answers on the interview form. Then, the interviewer handed an answer sheet and pencil to the respondent, read the introductory remarks for the income tax test, and read the test questions aloud. Respondents noted their answers by marking the answer sheets.

A TAX CREDIT TO HELP PARENTS OF COLLEGE STUDENTS?

Of all the proposals for change which the public reacted to in this study, the most widely accepted is the idea of a tax credit for parents who are putting their children through college.

"Should a tax credit be given to help meet the costs of a college education?" (Question 29.)

	Percent
Yes	70
No	17
No opinion	13

When we take a look at the 7 in 10 people who would like a tax credit, there are some considerable differences among them:

Of all the groups, the group most interested in a tax credit for education is the people who are now in a middle income bracket: 83 percent of the public in the $5,000 to $6,999 income group favor a tax credit. This may be the group which wants the benefits of college training for their children and feels most strapped by the prospect of financing it.

People who are in charge of preparing the tax returns for their households, especially those who fill out a long form, are more interested in the tax credit for education than are people less involved in taxes.

The young people (80 percent of them) in the 18 to 29 age group want a tax credit more than older people do. This may be the group which has most recently experienced the benefits of college education, or has felt the deprivation of not having been beyond high school. At the same time these younger people are not earning enough money to feel comfortable about managing a college education some time in the future for their children.

Somewhat surprisingly, people who themselves have been to college are not notably more favorable to a tax credit than those who are less well educated. Perhaps this reflects the fact that people at all educational levels in our society recognize the importance of higher education.

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

The following data are based on all 1,000 respondents unless noted otherwise.

Question 52. Whose job is it to prepare the Federal income tax return in the household?

	Percent
Respondent's job	34
Someone else's job	59
Not reported	7

Question 53. What form of the tax return is used in this household?

	Percent
Long form	56
Short form	29
Don't know	15

Question 54. Do you own or rent your house or apartment?

	Percent
Own	63
Rent	31
Not reported	6

Question 55. Respondent's sex:

	Percent
Male	47
Female	53

Question 56. What was the last grade you completed in school?

	Percent
8th grade or less	24
Some high school	18
High school graduate	32
Some college	13
College graduate or more	11
Other or not reported	2

Question 57. Respondent's age:

	Percent
18 to 29	19
30 to 39	23
40 to 49	22
50 to 59	18
60 or older	18

Question 58. Family income for 1965:

	Percent
Under $2,000	10
$2,000 to $4,999	19
$5,000 to $6,999	19
$7,000 to $9,999	21
$10,000 to $14,999	14
$15,000 or more	5
Not reported	12

Region of country where interviews were conducted:

	Percent
Northeast	25
North Central	30
South	30
West	15

Type of form used for income tax by different income groups:

[In percent]

	Long form	Short form	Don't know
$4,999 or less	30	44	26
$5,000 to $6,999	60	35	5
$7,000 to $9,999	73	21	6
$10,000 or more	83	14	3

POVERTY AND OUR ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point an address delivered by Mr. William H. Crook, Director of the Southwest Region, Office of Economic Opportunity, at the Southwest District National Parks and Recreation Association Conference, in Albuquerque, N. Mex., on March 30, 1966.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POVERTY AND OUR ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS

(Address by Mr. William H. Crook to the Southwest District National Parks and Recreation Association, Albuquerque, N. Mex., March 30, 1966)

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

I am delighted to be here with you this morning. When Senator MONTOYA requested that I address your association I was happy for the opportunity to be of service. If the Senator supports your programs like he supports OEO we both share a valuable ally and I am appreciative of this chance to return one of the many services he has given in support of the war on poverty.

As Director of the Southwest Region of the Office of Economic Opportunity in the Executive Office of the President, I bring you greetings from President Johnson. Sargent Shriver also knows of my being here this morning and he sends his best wishes for a successful meeting.

Some of you might not see how the subject of beauty, parks, and recreation can possibly be tied to poverty. However, this is the subject that I have chosen to address.

"Crisis" is defined by Webster as "the decisive moment" and "the turning point for better or worse." It is a perpetually "in" word—one of the few remaining aristocratic words in a tired and strained vocabulary that was invented to serve man in a set of circumstances now gone forever. Though most words have been pulled and stretched beyond original shape and meaning, leaving us with a communications system less precise than that of some animals, the little word "crisis" has managed to survive with some of its integrity intact. It has survived commentators, preachers, politicians, wars, and stock market crashes; and yet it still expresses the same concepts of decision and action that Tom Paine had in mind when he used it to help salvage the American Revolution with his Crisis Papers. This radical, resilient little word is now, to my surprise, found in the usually tranquil company of people who are concerned with beauty.

The disturbing thing about about this word is that it does not just speak of the need for action, but often triggers the action itself. And it is being employed. Not in panic nor with shrillness, but in tones scholarly and with studied intention. You have referred to an "environmental crisis" that appears to be of singular concern to your profession. As a layman, I am not sure what an architect or a naturalist means when he speaks of an environmental crisis. I therefore feel free to grasp the initiative of ignorance and presume to tell you what a layman thinks a crisis of environment should mean to a National Parks and Recreation Association and how he thinks it can address itself to that crisis.

Critical aspects of contemporary environment are many and pronounced, but the two most obvious aspects are: (1) America is running out of nature; and (2) the forces of urbanized society are in conspiracy against the sensitivities of us all.

To support the statement that "America is running out of nature" is not difficult. The crisis faced in environment today is not the same as it was in the formative years of our Nation. A sparsely populated and open frontier confronted man with different problems than those that now arise in the densely populated centers of the land. This is particularly so as these problems affect the poor.

The affluent man may buy his piece of shoreline, his mountain view or his river frontage, and by so doing assure himself and his children those sublimities of nature which inspired the frontiersman and sharpened the esthetic sensitivities. But too many of our citizens, and particularly the poor, are being fenced out and pushed back from the surf, the sunset, and the autumn leaves. As the population of our country increases and land becomes proportionately more precious, the common man's access to nature will continue to diminish. He will be increasingly walled in and bricked up.

The historians may some day write that the most successful experiment in dehumanization was carried out not in the pavlovian jails of Russia or the death camps of the Third Reich, but in a designed and engineered something called "the city"—particularly in those parts of the city gone sour where the senses of man have gagged and rebelled at the touch and smell and sight and sound and taste of poverty. Here is environmental crisis at its worst.

Here is an environment oppressive in its totality—blunting the senses. An environment where there is never a time when a police siren cannot be heard somewhere in the vicinity; where the eye is edified by the choreography of a rat's leap from the baby's crib; where the nostrils are desensitized by the acrid, permeating smell of perspiration and stale urine; where everything that is touched is soiled, mildewed or broken; where, in fact, millions of Americans live and die in varying degrees of desperation.

A manipulated and desecrated environment has increased the burden on the human will. The poverty of the 20th century slums is a conclusive poverty. There is, I believe, an obstinate urge to beauty in the human race. So urgent and obstinate that no force or combination of circumstances has ever been able to extinguish it in the species. But there is every evidence that the overwhelming oppressiveness of a spoiled environment can destroy that urge to beauty in the individual. I do not know, gentlemen, what an environmental crisis is, if it is not the decisive moment when all the forces of a total environment work negatively upon the spirit of a man.

An environment gone rancid dulls the senses. The human spirit denied beauty and exposed only to the loathsome and the ugly, has but two alternatives; rebel or die. The morning inventory at the morgue and the night report at the precinct station tell of Americans who have tried one or the other of these exits. When their hostility is expressed lethargically, they become resigned parasites on the anatomy of society. Perhaps even this is a way of taking vengeance—a subconscious attempt to sap the life out of a society that has discarded them. On the other hand, when their antagonisms are overtly expressed, they become violent and destructive of life and property—and we have a Watts on our hands. It was this knowledge that led President Johnson to say, "Beauty is more than a source of pleasure and recreation. It shapes our values, it feeds our spirit. It helps make us the kind of men and women that we finally become, and the kind of men that we finally become makes this great Nation."

In the United States today, 32 million people live in a no man's land. Nearly half of these are children. Government economists have classified these people as "poor." Guidelines used to measure whether or not one is poor are cold, economic, statistical. For instance, an urban family of four with a total family income of $3,000 or less statistically satisfies the economic requirements for classification as poverty-stricken. Yet the poorness of this family cannot be summed up by statistics.

Reinhold Neibuhr contends that "poverty is not purely economic, but cultural," and Chancellor Murphy of UCLA defines poverty as a lack of "the intangibles—opportunity and the experience of beauty." If we deal as a people or a government only with the intangible of economic opportunity and neglect the other intangible—the experience of beauty—there will be no decisive conclusion to the war on poverty. The White House Conference on Natural Beauty was called by the President to emphasize the blight and waste within the Nation. The Economic Opportunity Act was signed by the President to counteract the blight and waste of human lives. Both emphases stress the necessity of involving the people themselves in any solution to be worked out. Federal and State programs may provide the tools, but community action at the local level will determine the success or failure of this bold and precedent-making program.

The most vital similarity between the two efforts is their common purpose—the objective of the beautification program is the enrichment of peoples' lives. The goal of the war on poverty is also one of life enrichment. Both programs are necessary if the young are to be provided with the opportunity to learn; the able-bodied with the opportunity to work, and every man with the opportunity to live in dignity. We are dealing with a problem more complex than billboards and automobile junkyards, utility poles and telephone wires.

We are dealing with the future fulfillment or failure of 32 million people subject to filth, hunger, ignorance, premature aging, and early death. The crisis is one of human worth. Planting hedges around junkyards, banning billboards from roadsides and going underground with telephone lines will have cosmetic effects, but the Nation is not just disheveled, it is sick, and it needs medicine as well as cosmetics. We must resist the temptation to act superficially out of a quick guilt. Unless the attempts to beautify our physical environment are coordinated with even more serious efforts to meet the gut needs of society, they will prove more detrimental than helpful. They will prevent diagnosis and treatment.

One can hope that the recent resurgence of interest in culture, in the arts and natural beauty, come from a renaissance desire within contemporary citizens. A desire not limited by social class, income level or educational background. I believe that this desire is pronounced among the poor; that they exhibit a deep passion for beauty. A desire that can be seen in the child who collects pieces of colored glass from the muck of the street. It can be seen in the mother who nails a cheap print on a greasy wall or guards and waters a bright geranium in the curtainless window.

There is an obstinate urge to beauty in man—in the bone and marrow of the species. It can be deadened and destroyed by environment. It is an important part of the soul of the Nation. It is an area of concern to you.

Mr. Paul Friedburg, a landscape architect known to all of you, suggests: "The low level of residential planning in the country is an indictment of our entire culture. The home is our most personal possession and should, therefore, represent our esthetic and social aspirations."

The obvious need for more attractive and adequate housing has often been the subject for discussion and action. This country is embarked on the biggest building campaign ever experienced by a nation. Estimates reveal that in the next 40 years, a new America will be built—every structure in the country will be duplicated. But what kind of an America will it be? This staggering building boom will but contribute to tomorrow's problems if you do not take bold and decisive steps now. The Great Society envisioned by our President, "the place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce, but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community," cannot be had by merely duplicating what now exists.

If a crisis is "the turning point for better or worse," and if a crisis does in fact now exist in our national environment, what, if anything, can be done? Before attempting to give an answer, let us ponder this "turning point" that seems to cause consternation. Have we just reached the point of turning for "better or worse?" How do we know that we have not already passed it and that our course is not now inexorably set? Can we be sure that man has not already gone too far in destroying the delicate balance of his total environment?

On the other hand, perhaps we are alarmists and there is no crisis, just a lack of confidence in earth's ability to cope with the multiplication of humans—this burgeoning population of vandals and wastemakers. Or the lack of confidence may be in the stoutness and flexibility of Homo Sapiens himself. It may be that his lungs will adjust to contaminated air, his genes will establish immunity to nuclear fallout; his intestinal tract will come to cope with insecticides and chemicals and that he will actually learn to enjoy a glass of detergent and sewage drawn fresh from the tap.

If, on the other hand, our concern is well-grounded and the moment of tide change is at hand, what effective action can be taken to influence the present remedially and the future preventively? Again let me delay the reply in lieu of a final question: Are there positive forces inherent in our society which can be mobilized as allies for this crisis? I think there are. Not the least significant among these is the urge to beauty already discussed; the thus-far irrepressible desire to create and to invent that has made this country great. These creative and artistic accomplishments of our people may appear from our vantage point to have been brought about by a few exceptional individuals. Because they are great and successful in our eyes, we forget the backgrounds from which most of them have come. Before they were considered exceptional, they were just unknowns in the farms and towns and cities of the Nation.

My job as Director of the poverty program in this region of the United States gives great satisfaction—the kind of satisfaction that makes a man sleep well when he knows that his efforts are directed toward assisting people less fortunate than himself. But there is more than satisfaction in this work—there is excitement. And it is important that the country share in this excitement. The stirring cry, "Gold in California," galvanized a people into action in 1849 and set this Nation in movement and challenged the spirit of adventure in hundreds of thousands. But the promises of wealth and adventure contained in that cry are nothing compared to the potential wealth of human genius, creativity, and talent that will be turned up and made available to the Nation and to all civilization as a result of the efforts now underway to eradicate poverty in America. It is impossible to estimate the wealth of dynamic energy, talent, wit, and wisdom now latent in these 32 million people who have been designated as "poor." The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 has set in motion the greatest gold rush in the history of man. At last this country has discerned where her true riches lie.

There is a different kind of "new awareness" in the country. It will also be an ally in the attempt to solve our environmental crisis. It is the awareness that too much has been destroyed, too much has been wasted, too much has been allowed to deteriorate and fall into ruin, too much was badly planned to begin with. This public awareness is, I believe, now being changed into affirmative action.

A third vital factor that will figure in a solution to the crisis is the leadership that the present administration is giving. The Congress demonstrated courage and boldness in writing, "It is, therefore, the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation."

Now, having pointed out some positive assets available to men who want to be a part of affirmative action, let me again ask the question, "What can be done about the 'environmental crisis'?" I believe that your role can be major and determinative.

I believe that you can do these things:

1. Support the local community action program in your individual cities and towns. Use your influence to see that the bounties of nature are available to all and by so doing, enrich the lives of the poor.

2. Remove from your advertising the middle-class image of the enjoyment of nature. Our parks and recreational facilities should serve all class levels.

3. Become familiar with the new Nelson amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act. The addition to the programs of OEO is aimed at beautification and preservation of our physical environment. By employing the poor and training them to work on creative, beautification projects a service is done both to the poor and to society as a whole.

The war on poverty (which is part of the answer to your environmental crisis) is a different kind of war than any ever fought before—and it calls for a different kind of mobilization. It requires full mobilization of the best brains, the most artistic talents, the greatest engineering know-how that this generation can produce. There is definitely a role for "Parks and Recreation," if you will assume it.

USE OF ANIMALS FOR RESEARCH

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, as a member of the Committee on Commerce, I am much interested in the legislation now pending before Congress to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of animals intended to be used for research.

I feel strongly that it is time for Congress to put a stop to the cruelty that unfortunately has been the result of much of the traffic in research animals.

In recent weeks, I have read several well-written, thought-provoking editorials in major newspapers noting the importance of having any regulatory legislation—such as S. 2322, the Magnuson-Clark bill—apply to research facilities as well as to animal dealers.

To exempt research facilities from the provisions of S. 2322 would be to deprive that bill of half of its impact. As the Christian Science Monitor points out:

> The laboratories should not be sacrosanct. It is a fallacy to assume that human nature, even on an intelligent and supposedly benevolent level, will always clean its own house without legal prompting.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following editorials be printed in the RECORD:

"Dachau, 1966 Style," from the April 5 Evening Star; "Laboratories Not Sacrosanct," from the April 6 Christian Science Monitor; and "Animals Deserve Consideration," from the April 18 Seattle Times.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Apr. 5, 1966]

DACHAU, 1966 STYLE

Supplying laboratories with animals for testing has become a major industry. More than 2 million cats and dogs a year, worth between $30 and $50 million, are included in the traffic. And Congress has become concerned over how these animals are being treated.

Judging from testimony documented by some appalling photographs, it is high time the public learned what is going on. Children's pets are being stolen to supply the market. Dogs are being jammed into filthy cages, starved and maltreated by unlicensed and unregulated dealers. One physician who has worked in both government and university laboratories estimates 30 to 50 percent of the animals die before they reach the research table.

The irony in all this is that the doctors are pursuing the noblest kind of goal in their experiments, that of scientific knowledge to relieve man's own suffering. But because the scientists resent any kind of Federal intrusion on their research (except large infusions of Federal money), they have formed a strong lobby against pending bills.

As originally written, legislation in the House would have authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to issue licenses, impose humane standards on both dealers and laboratories in handling and transporting animals, and would have required them to keep records of transactions, presumably to cut down on the thievery of pets by suppliers.

The bill emerged from committee, however, in a sadly weakened version. Laboratories have been exempted, the bill has been narrowed to include only cats and dogs—although the trade in other animals is important—and the backwoods farmer, just as capable of cruelty and pet-stealing, is to escape all licensing regulation.

So far the Senate Commerce Committee has not acted on the various proposals. It should insist on the original, tough language as embodied in bills by Senators MAGNUSON, CLARK, and SCOTT. These men differ on the degree of penalties for violators, but their goals are essentially alike—to prevent needless suffering by helpless animals. Unless this Senate version prevails in the ultimate showdown with the House bill, the cruel neglect and pet-stealing cannot be wiped out.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Apr. 6, 1966]

Laboratories Not Sacrosanct

The public conscience, once aroused, is a powerful force. The American people are demanding decent treatment for the millions of animals used yearly by experimental laboratories.

A wave of public protest, motivated by recent exposés of shocking conditions on dog dealers' premises, has resulted in a favorable report on the Poage bill. If and when it passes the Rules Committee, it will go to the House for a vote.

However, this bill, in the form in which it was sent to the Rules Committee, differs from the original bill in that it applies only to dogs and cats rather than to all vertebrate animals, and the humane standards apply only to dealers' premises, stopping short of the laboratories themselves.

This represents a trend which should be halted. With the dealers subject to some degree of regulation, the humanitarian aim is only half defined. A powerful segment of research scientists (notably the National Society for Medical Research, headed by Dr. Maurice B. Visscher of the University of Minnesota) objects to any laboratory regulation whatever. This society originally objected even to regulation of dealers and their premises. Such an attitude on the part of responsible scientists is incomprehensible.

Recent hearings have brought out the fact that conditions in the laboratories are often no better than on the dealers' premises. The laboratories should not be sacrosanct. It is a fallacy to assume that human nature, even on an intelligent and supposedly benevolent level, will always clean its own house without legal prompting.

Senate bills S. 3059 (identical with the original Poage bill) and S. 2322 (similar to it) are now being considered by the Senate Commerce Committee. The public should demand that these bills not be lessened in scope, and that the laboratories not be exempted.

The public should also demand action on the Clark-Cleveland bills, S. 1071 and H.R. 5647, which apply specifically to laboratory experimentation.

[From the Seattle (Wash.) Times Apr. 18, 1966]

Animals Deserve Consideration

The Times supports legislation pending in Congress to provide the Secretary of Agriculture with authority to enforce minimum standards of care, housing, and handling of animals used in scientific or medical experiments.

There are bills in both House of Congress aimed at that objective. One is Senate bill 2322, sponsored by Senator MAGNUSON and Senator CLARK, of Pennsylvania.

Some scientific groups are making a determined effort to have deleted from those bills all provisions dealing with the actual laboratory treatment of the animals.

But Dr. Samuel M. Peacock, Jr., senior medical research scientist at the University of Pennsylvania, who himself uses animals in experiments, notes that:

"The animal dealer for economic reasons and ignorance will not reform his methods unless he is forced to do so. The research institutions and universities will not improve their facilities unless forced to do so—for basically the same reasons."

Self-regulation by laboratory scientists, Peacock says, is a "farce."

Considerate treatment of dumb animals is one of the most telling signs of civilization. Congress should pass the Magnuson-Clark bill or some similar legislation.

We are assured by those who have studied the issue that medical research would not thereby be hampered.

THE SITUATION IN VIETNAM

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, the Vietnam situation occupies the attention of every American who is concerned with the future of the free world, and deeply troubled, as I am, about the expansion of Communist aggression throughout the world.

I am even more disturbed after watching and listening to the debate, discussions, demonstrations, and apparent differences of opinion which we have seen develop in the past few weeks.

It seems a vocal minority is trying to complicate and confuse our Nation's policy. At times they even seem to drown out the overwhelming support which exists throughout the country for our courageous stand against the Communist aggressors.

To those who would rather see our Nation hesitate or evacuate—perhaps they need a reminder of the determination and will of those who are suffering the most—the Vietnamese people.

This week I received a letter from a distinguished Californian, John Wayne, who is known and loved by millions of people throughout the world. John Wayne has not only distinguished himself in my former profession but also has demonstrated time and time again in deeds and words a dedication to this country and to our Constitution's principles of freedom and justice. He speaks out frequently on political issues and he speaks from knowledge, understanding, and good judgment.

He has written of the sacrifices the people of Vietnam continue to make on behalf of their battle for freedom. His letter is excellent and I wish to call it to the attention of all my colleagues, and I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Wayne's letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.,
April 15, 1966.

Senators RICHARD B. RUSSELL, JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, J. W. FULBRIGHT, CLINTON P. ANDERSON, GEORGE MURPHY,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATORS: May I remind you of some public information? Proportionately, the Vietnamese have lost twice as many fighting men in their battle for freedom as we lost in the Second World War. Not only that, but in the rural villages 20,000 leaders, mayors, etc., and their families, have been tortured and murdered by Communist guerrillas, yet in each instance someone else has had the bravery to step forward into their shoes.

Imagine the equivalent percentage of our leadership being murdered. That would be around 250,000, which would be enough to include every mayor, every Governor, every Senator, and every Member of the House of Representatives and their combined families. I am quite certain you have information available that makes it unnecessary for me to inform you of the ingenious ways in which they were tortured and killed. This does not sound to me like a people unwilling and uninterested in their fight for freedom.

May I remind you that there were as many people involved in the Watts riot in one section of just one city of our country as were incited in the whole country in Vietnam to parade against its present government. Please don't let our leadership's memory be so short that we forget that the man who is now inciting these people was the same so-called Buddhist monk whose brother is high in the Communist leadership. Of course, we have no proof that he is a member of same, but it was the machinations of this man that caused us to forsake the Diem government. If we don't back the opposing leadership to this rabble-rouser, if we forsake these people, a blood bath of two million souls is a certainty. A defeat and retreat in Vietnam would lose the respect of all free nations and completely destroy what is left of the once highly respected American image.

How ridiculous it seems that a group of obviously organized leftist agitators could have such a great influence on the international policy of what is supposed to be the most important nation in the world. It is as though our august body of the Senate were to bow to the irresponsibility of the Berkeley beatniks.

I pray, sirs, that you review these facts before you make any decisions that will bring this guerrilla-type warfare any closer to our homes. If they are successful with this method in Vietnam, I remind you that there is a man named Che Guevara who is now presumably training hard-core Communist guerrillas in different parts of South America for the same type of harassment to responsible government.

I also pray that you review these facts before making any statements that might damage our Government's present policy and destroy the freedom which is being bought by the blood and lives of the people of Vietnam, the United States, and her other proven allies.

Sincerely,

JOHN WAYNE.

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN BANKING AND ENGINEERING

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, there are many problems and many approaches to their solutions connected with life in the perilous world we live in today. It is in this context that Mr. D. G. Volkert, of Washington, viewed the challenges facing the banker and the engineer in an article printed in the American Banker last week.

Mr. Volkert, an engineering consultant, writes of the need for continued cooperation between these two great professions, banking and engineering, to help build the world we seek. I ask unanimous consent that his article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the American Banker, Apr. 18, 1966]

BANKING AND ENGINEERING TODAY FACE BIGGER CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

(By D. G. Volkert, president, David Volkert & Associates, Washington)

It is a stimulating but perilous world we live in, an environment of turmoil and of violent dimension—where change and constant crisis seem to have become a way of life.

Confronting us are the three great phenomena of our time: Communism in its many forms; the rising extremes of nationalism in the developing areas of the world, and the astounding explosion of science and technology which has brought us to the edge of space.

To further complicate matters, all three are interrelated and happening at the same time. It is within this environment that the challenges—and the opportunities—facing the banking and engineering professions have never been greater.

Historically, our professions have had a phenomenal impact on the social and economic development of man. Furthermore, the physical achievements of construction and design for which we, as engineers, have received great plaudits were, more often than not, made possible through support of banking houses.

The city of Venice owes much of its important construction to assistance extended by the Banco della Piazzo di Rialto and the Banco Giro.

The Bank of Amsterdam made possible much of Amsterdam's lasting structures, and also extended credit to the Dutch East India Co. for development of these islands' raw materials.

Earlier, the Medicis of Florence and the Fuggers of Germany, while largely interested in other areas of financial endeavor, made significant sums available to cities of that day for design and construction. These, in turn, became major business centers.

Similarly, in more recent centuries, the banking and engineering professions have worked together to provide the ways, means, and know-how which enable a town or country to obtain a much-needed school or hospital; another area to benefit from a dam for power and water conservation; a state to realize various undertakings ranging from highways to the development of industrial and recreational facilities.

The mutual efforts of the planner who envisioned the project, the engineer who determined its physical requirements, and the financier who estimated the economic characteristics all are combined to form the basis for a final decision concerning feasibility of the project.

Today the supply and demand for funds in engineering projects continues to mount.

As engineering consultants, we are called upon by bankers and those in Government and private industry for professional opinions on the need and feasibility of undertaking projects which are designed to raise our standard of living; increase our modes and paths of transportation; aid a friendly nation to achieve better living conditions; attain other goals which ultimately can lead to a better world.

Thus it is that the rapport between our two professions, so long established, has been maintained. Each profession—banking and engineering—has a necessary service to offer the other.

How then do we cope effectively with the three great phenomena of our age?

In the face of the first of these—the Communist threat—our job is to insure that we use our great fund of scientific and technical knowledge more effectively than our opponents use theirs.

Next, with our country facing uncertainties and difficulties brought on by the emergence of new nations all over the world, we must use our technological skills to show others the way to a high standard of living and political stability.

Finally, the engineer is part and parcel of the current revolution in science and technology—a revolution so new that, of all the men who have ever been trained in these fields on both sides of the Iron Curtain, it is estimated that 9 out of 10 of them are alive today.

It is necessary to turn the test-tube discoveries of science into usable products, tools, and processes that serve mankind. Today, it must be done faster than ever before.

Multimillion-dollar Government and privately sponsored research programs have helped to produce scientific knowledge on a scale we've never seen before. We must be ready to exploit new developments and techniques to the fullest.

It is not only our domestic economy, but also our national security that demands that we be able to convert raw discovery into planned perfection as quickly and efficiently as possible. A look at recent events will show how well we are doing this.

We have played a key role in man's drive to uncover new and more distant limits to his powers. We have helped man explore this planet and have prepared him to step beyond it. He is at the point of using for the benefit of man the same source of energy as the sun, of manipulating the weather, and of farming the oceans.

In this supercharged atmosphere of today's technological breakthroughs, there is constant expectancy of discovery everywhere and the guiding hands of the engineer and banker are felt in every field.

Possibly because we see this snowballing of scientific progress and technical application in so many different places and in so many different fields, we may overlook the one central quality upon which all of it is built—creativity; the bringing of something into being; the causing of something to exist where it did not exist before.

Few human attributes play a greater role in the progress of mankind than that of creativity, and this is especially true in the field of engineering. Creativity, whether it consists of inventiveness or resourceful professional leadership, is essential to the profession.

Without it, the best we can look forward to are copies or refinements of existing products and processes. Seldom would our imagination be excited by something new or revolutionary. Seldom would we take that giant step forward.

Because true creativity is destructive to that which is presently established and currently accepted, it leaves the status quo to its more complacent brothers. Our country has not moved into the space age by cherishing the status quo, nor has it emerged as the leader of the free world by cowering behind the established and accepted.

Today, we have more innovators in every field of engineering endeavor than ever before, refining the products of the laboratory into forms suitable for an appreciative but unscientific world.

Many new engineering developments are being brought about by a relatively small number of people. Greater numbers of trained personnel are needed to provide for expanding requirements.

Only with the help of those outside as well as inside the engineering field can this number be enlarged. The banking profession's role in this endeavor is an essential one, particularly in the field of financing basic research and developing of new products.

Great changes in social, economic, and technological fields are in the making. Individuals, municipalities, States, and nations repeatedly call for the best we can offer in engineering and banking.

The continued cooperation and interrelationship of our professions can provide a key to the progress that is necessary to meet the challenges stimulated by the three great phenomena of today.

ROBERT LaFOLLETTE BENNETT, WISCONSIN ONEIDA INDIAN TOP MAN IN BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the appointment of Robert LaFollette Bennett, a Wisconsin Oneida Indian as Indian Commissioner is welcome news for many reasons.

First Mr. Bennett has established an excellent record in a long career in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Here is a man with 33 years of experience in the Indian Bureau. He has served as Area Director for the Bureau in Alaska, and he has been Deputy Commissioner in Washington.

Obviously he knows the job he will assume intimately. This is a happy example of a strong career appointment.

Second, Mr. Bennett is an Indian. He understands the serious and difficult problems of the Indian as only one who has shared those problems can.

Just this past week I visited the Oneida Indians in Wisconsin. I spoke at a dinner celebrating the Oneida's first public housing unit. The Oneidas are a proud and gifted people. They spoke warmly and happily of the appointment of Bob Bennett as top man in the Indian Bureau.

And of course as a Wisconsin Senator I must note the middle name of the new commissioner is after our State's greatest statesman, that battler against vested interests, old Bob LaFollette.

Mr. Bennett's predecessor was also a fine and distinguished son of Wisconsin, Philleo Nash. Philleo Nash did an excellent job as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, just as he did as Wisconsin's Lieutenant Governor and our Democratic

State chairman. Wisconsin people regret very much to see him leave this vital post. We also welcome Robert LaFollette Bennett.

I ask unanimous consent that an article on Mr. Bennett from the New York Times of this morning be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 27, 1966]

DYNAMIC INDIAN AIDS ROBERT LAFOLLETTE BENNETT

WASHINGTON, April 26.—If Robert LaFollette Bennett throws as many ringers as Indian Commissioner as he did when he was horseshoe pitching champion of the Department of the Interior, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is in for an exciting time. Mr. Bennett, who will be sworn in at the White House tomorrow morning, has been described by Secretary Stewart L. Udall as "a dynamic leader who will quicken the pace of Indian advancement."

Mr. Bennett modestly waves aside the praise of his boss. He prefers to wait until he gets started.

Meantime, he is looking forward to the time when the Indian people are ready to make their own decisions and the reservation system as it is known today can be ended.

Mr. Bennett has worked with Indians all of his adult life. He started as a junior clerk in Utah with the Indian Bureau in 1933 after being graduated from Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kans., in 1931.

"The Indian people have to learn that expectations will be put on them," he says in discussing the problems he will face. "Heretofore, the Bureau would put a proposition to them and all they had to do was answer 'Yes' or 'No.' They were given no alternatives to enable them to make a decision."

AN INDIAN HERITAGE

Mr. Bennett is the first Indian to be Indian Commissioner in 97 years, and the first career man to occupy the office in decades. He is a member of the Oneida Tribe in Wisconsin, where he was born November 12, 1916.

His Indian looks come from his mother, who named her son for the late "Fighting Bob" LaFollette, the progressive Republican. One of his mother's closest friends, also politically minded but of different persuasion, countered by naming a son Woodrow Wilson Webster.

Mr. Bennett appears slightly amused when visitors are startled by the fact that his father was of Pennsylvania Dutch background.

His father was in Iowa erecting telephone lines when he read of an opening for a farmer at the Indian school at Wittenberg, Wis. It was there that his father met his mother, who was a seamstress making clothes for the children in the Indian boarding school from bolts of cloth provided by the Federal Government.

Mr. Bennett's father later became a mail carrier in the Indian community 9 miles from Green Bay, and his mother was the interpreter for nearly everyone in the community on legal and social matters.

His mother was one of the few Indians in those days to graduate from high school. Her father, Paul A. Doxtator, refused to send his eight children to school but finally compromised with the county judge and sent the four youngest children to the Indian school.

Mr. Bennett, a chunky 5 feet 8 inches, manages to work in some golf in his free time, and occasionally plays popular music on the piano. He was a member of the Haskell Institute's band and orchestra.

He served for 4 years as the Bureau's area director in Alaska before coming to Washington as Deputy Commissioner last year. He still hopes to complete an educational program he started in Alaska with a consolidated school in cooperation with the University of Alaska.

Mr. Bennett lives in nearby Bethesda, Md., with his second wife and two sons and a daughter, teenagers by an earlier marriage that ended in divorce. He has three other sons, all college graduates. His wife, Cleota, is a child welfare specialist with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Mr. Bennett never learned to speak in the Oneida tongue. "I had a heck of a time talking with my uncles," he recalls. "But mother insisted English was our language."

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVOLUTION, PART V

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, the article entitled "The Birth Control Revolution" in the Saturday Evening Post attributes a substantial part of the great shift in American attitudes on this subject to the leadership of industrialists, physicians, scholars, publishers, and other responsible persons who have become deeply concerned over the urgency and importance of this cause. Representing some of the most honored institutions in the country, these supporters of family planning have labored long and hard to increase public understanding of the world population crisis.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include following my remarks in the RECORD, part V of this article entitled "The Benevolent Conspirators."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BENEVOLENT CONSPIRATORS, PART V

While the Catholic Church has not significantly modified its official stand on the birth control issue, the fact that the Pope and his advisers have been considering changes has had an effect. For one thing, the possibility of future change has served to inhibit many of the Catholic politicians who have traditionally fought the operation of birth-control clinics. "The Catholic Church found what the Pope was going to decide," said Dr. Alan F. Guttmacher, the eminent obstetrician, gynecologist and president of the Planned Parenthood Federation. "They didn't want to hold the line against birth control and then discover that the Pope will say the sky's the limit." Several States repealed their antibirth control laws last year, and Connecticut's law was declared unconstitutional, with almost no opposition from church groups. Richard Cardinal Cushing, of Boston, whose autographed photo hangs in Guttmacher's office, has actually said he favors the legalizing of birth control. He reflects the new attitude of many Catholic prelates in saying that "Catholics do not need the support of civil law to be faithful to their religious convictions, and they do not seek to impose by law their moral views on other members of society."

The revolution in birth control is far more, of course, than a rebellion against rigid church teachings. It is a wave of human thought and emotion which was channeled into worldwide action by a group of what might be called "benevolent conspirators." They are industrialists, physicians, scholars, publishers, retired generals—men and women who are convinced of the urgency of the cause and are highly persuasive in advancing it.

Dr. Guttmacher recalls a routine mail appeal of several years ago which brought a $100 check from the president of a large corporation. "We followed this up with a personal contact," he said, "and now this man contributes $100,000 a year to the planned parenthood funds and is one of our most effective leaders. The movement also gained much momentum when Cass Canfield of Harper's became chairman of our executive committee 6 years ago. He is one of the most respected publishers in the United States, and his influence has been great."

Some years ago Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., became interested. She enlisted her husband, and their son, John D. III, continued the family's involvement. Dr. Guttmacher recalls that John D. III was distressed by the poverty and acute overcrowding he saw during a trip to the Far East in 1952. "He conceived the idea of the Population Council, and with Gen. Fred Osborn, then one of his advisers, set it up. It is now one of the strongest forces we have, especially for carrying on research.

Although the birth-control organizations operate no lobbies, their officers often inspire important moves by other groups, and they make frequent calls on members of State and Federal Governments. Last spring a large group of Nobel Prize winners of America and Europe addressed a statement to the Pope, urging him to "give due weight to the ever-growing opinion" in the world that unwanted children are a source of unhappiness and distress and that parents should be able to limit their families to the number of children "which can be cared for and cherished." Dr. Edward L. Tatum, a biologist of the Rockefeller Institute, and Dr. Peter B. Medawar, a British biologist, were the two Nobel laureates who moved the idea ahead and got 81 signers to the letter.

Dr. Guttmacher, when not touring the world on behalf of foreign birth-control programs, gets to Washington once or twice a month. There he may confer about family-planning services for the wives of military personnel or American Indians (both groups are entitled to such services under current Government policies), or push for wider use of antipoverty funds for birth control. (A total of $766,000 has gone to 13 birth-control projects.)

A change in Government attitude at the White House level has had much to do with speeding up the antipoverty clinics, Dr. Guttmacher believes. "President Johnson sent up a trial balloon early last year, saying he would 'seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion of world population.' I guess the balloon didn't burst because he sent up an even bigger one 6 months later when he said at the United Nations in June that $5 spent on population control is worth one hundred in economic aid. What else do you need for a green light?"

The turnaround in Government policy can be credited in large part to Gen. William H. Draper, Jr., now a vice chairman of Planned Parenthood, and a famous report he wrote in 1959. He was then Chairman of the President's Committee To Study the U.S. Military Assistance Program.

General Draper had first come into contact with a major population problem during a trip to Japan in 1948, where he saw the tremendous congestion caused by the repatriation of millions of Japanese from Manchuria and the Chinese mainland. "In 1958, members of our committee—a high-level group of responsible citizens—visited all the countries receiving aid from us," General Draper recalled recently, "and in some we found the standard of living was actually going down because of the high birth rate. We agreed unanimously in our recommendation, that 'the United States should assist those countries with which it is cooperating in economic-aid programs, on request, in the formulation of their plans designed to deal with the problem of rapid population growth.'

"Of course, the recommendation was carefully worded," General Draper pointed out, "and there were two words—'on request'—which saved it."

But at the time the Draper report was submitted, even those two words didn't save it, a fact that shocked its authors. "We never thought the recommendations would not be accepted," General Draper said, "and then I picked up the paper one morning and read that President Eisenhower had said that the last thing he wanted our Government to do was to give birth-control advice to foreign countries." Even before Eisenhower spoke, Draper said, "the Catholic bishops blasted the report, and that was the worst thing they could have done, because it did become a big issue, and all the candidates were asked how they stood on it, Kennedy coming off very well."

The idea had been planted, and it took root. Though Eisenhower refused to involve the Government in foreign birth-control programs, he approved of private organizations in this field. Later he changed his mind on Government participation. In a Saturday Evening Post article of October 26, 1963, he explained he had rejected the Draper recommendations because he felt that using Federal funds on population-control problems abroad "would violate the deepest religious convictions of large groups of taxpayers." But, he wrote, "as I now look back, it may be that I was carrying that conviction too far." In 1964 General Draper persuaded Mr. Eisenhower and another former President, Harry S. Truman, to be honorary cochairmen of Planned Parenthood-World Population, thus lending their influence to foreign as well as American phases of the program. All this made it easier for President Lyndon Johnson to make birth control a national policy.

NEW MEXICO SCIENTISTS CONTINUE OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTIONS TO NUCLEAR SCIENCE

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, this afternoon, two of my fellow citizens from New Mexico will receive one of the highest honors of the Atomic Energy Commission, the E. O. Lawrence Memorial Award, at a ceremony here in Washington.

Both of these men are employed by the AEC at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory in Los Alamos. Only three other scientists from the entire Nation will be similarly honored, and this fact once again highlights the great scientific resource which the Los Alamos Laboratory is to our country.

The New Mexicans who are being honored today are Dr. Harold M. Agnew, a Weapons Division leader, and Dr. Ernest C. Anderson, a member of the Los Alamos biophysics staff.

Dr. Agnew's citation praises his "highly significant contributions to the development of nuclear weapons and his outstanding success in working with the armed services to assure the maximum safety and effectiveness of atomic weapons systems."

The citation of Dr. Anderson says that he has made "outstanding contributions to nuclear medicine, biological research, archeological dating," and biophysics measuring equipment.

I think the specialties of these two distinguished scientists symbolize well the dual dedication of the Los Alamos Laboratory to national defense and to the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Mr. President, I am proud of Dr. Agnew and Dr. Anderson, and of the great scientific facility which they so ably serve.

EXPERIENCE SHOWS THAT GI BILL PAYS OFF; SYLVIA PORTER RECOUNTS BENEFITS TO NATION

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in increased taxes paid because of better jobs, increased manpower provided the Nation through better training or in simple economic terms of increased income, the previous GI bills have more than paid for themselves.

The cold war GI bill, the educational provisions of which will become effective on June 1, 1966, will no doubt prove to be just as valuable as previous GI bills. This important point was recently brought out in an article by Sylvia Porter, entitled "Expense of GI Bill Pays Off," which appeared in the Evening Star of Thursday, April 21, 1966. Every cold war GI should prepare now to go to school either this June or this September, to either high school, a trade school, or college for undergraduate, graduate, or postgraduate work. It pays. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Apr. 21, 1966]

EXPENSE OF GI BILL PAYS OFF

(By Sylvia Porter)

In just 40 days the Veterans' Readjustment Act of 1966—the new GI bill—will go into effect. It will offer in the first year alone $327 million in educational assistance to U.S. war veterans who have been discharged from military service in the past decade or who will be discharged this year.

The cost of the new law—which also includes other benefits ranging from home loans to free medical care and job counseling services—is expected to total $5 billion in the initial 5 years.

Obviously the 1966 GI bill will be a financial boon to the nearly 5 million veterans who will be eligible for assistance in the first year, and to millions more in the years ahead. But what can we, the taxpayers footing the bill, expect, as a return on this massive investment?

PAST OFFERS HINTS

Of course, there is no way to predict the precise dollars-and-cents return on tax money we now provide to cover high school and college education costs, vocational training, graduate and professional study, correspondence and adult education courses, many other programs to boost veterans' education and job skills.

But as a hint of the potential payoff, look back to the return on the $19 billion, we invested in the education of 10.2 million Korean and World War II veterans under the previous GI bills.

In all, World War II's GI bill helped educate and train 450,000 engineers, 360,000 teachers, hundreds of thousands of mechanics and metalworkers, tens of thousands of doctors, dentists and other professionals in seriously short supply. Millions of these beneficiaries simply could not have afforded to return to school without financial help after they had finished military service. Many educators, in fact, attribute today's unprecedented technological-scientific advances to the extra education and training so many veterans received under the original GI bill.

INCOMES BOOSTED

As a direct result of their education, millions of World War II and Korean war veterans have been boosted not only up the job ladder but also up the income ladder. The median yearly family income of veterans is $7,861—a full 30 percent more than the average $6,041 for nonveterans.

The unemployment rate for veterans in recent years has consistently been only about half that for nonveterans—meaning huge savings for us in welfare costs and enormous gains in labor productivity.

As a direct result, too, of their higher earnings, it's estimated that veterans have been paying $1 billion more each year in Federal income taxes than they would have paid if they had not received educational assistance under the previous GI bills. Thus in income taxes alone over the 2 decades of the old GI bills, the profits from the education of Korean and World War II veterans have dwarfed the investment.

AFFECTED 550,000

Under the 1966 GI bill, about 550,000 are slated to receive education or training in the first year—beginning with the approaching summer school term. Those who complete college can look forward to a median family income of $10,600 (half will earn more, half less)—or $3,400 more than the median for those who do not go beyond high school. Over a working lifetime this will figure out to an extra $150,000 per college graduate.

"Education is an investment, not a cost," President Harry Truman's Commission On Education noted in the 1940's. "It is an investment in social welfare, better living standards, better health, and less crime. It is an investment in higher production, increased income and greater efficiency."

This statement is even more valid today than it was then—and the experience of the millions who benefited so much from the first laws foretells what will be the experience of those who take advantage of the new one.

THE ICC DECISION ON THE PENNSYLVANIA-NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD MERGER

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, history's largest railroad merger—a combination of the giant Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads—has received the conditional approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

I approve the decision and applaud the condition imposed. The Penn-Central must agree to take over both the passenger and the freight operation of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad.

I have lived with the crisis confronting the bankrupt New Haven for a long, long time. I am pleased that the Commissioners saw fit to override the recommendation of the ICC hearing examiners and are requiring that the merged railroad take the bad with the good—the unprofitable passenger service along with the lucrative freight operation.

This condition precedent to merger—which I understand is acceptable to the Penn-Central—is equitable, and I have urged that it be imposed since the merger was called to our attention.

The Committee on Commerce held extensive hearings a year ago last March here in Washington and in New Haven, Conn., to explore the crisis which confronts passenger train service throughout the Nation and particularly in the East.

I was the chairman of those hearings, and I learned firsthand the problems which perplex the New Haven. I stated then that there was nothing wrong with the New Haven which cash could not cure—cash and technical know-how. The merger will provide both.

The distinguished chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Mr. Webb; his colleagues on the Commission; the Governors of the States involved; and the trustees of the New Haven appeared and testified.

We explored then the possibility of the inclusion of the passenger service of the New Haven in the proposed merger. I expressed the hope that the Governors would meet with the trustees and with representatives of the two great merging railroads and work out an agreement to continue essential passenger service.

The Governors did meet after that with the trustees and with officials of the Penn-Central and did reach agreement to continue the service. For the first time since the problem arose, the States agreed upon a formula to defray the cost of operation and now, apparently, the Penn-Central is willing to accept the passenger service—some passenger service—as a condition of merger.

I do not believe that this service will prove a difficult burden. I say this because several months ago I was advised by a prominent railroad executive that the merged roads could in time operate the New Haven passenger service on a break-even basis. I think that there is merit in his appraisal.

Yesterday the ICC also ordered the New Haven to continue commuter service and half of the long-haul passenger operation. The Commission directed that all parties, including State and local authorities, should cooperate in making a reasonable effort to achieve a satisfactory resolution to the problems still afflicting the New Haven passenger operation.

The question of how many long-haul passenger trains will run each day between Boston and Providence and New York still remains unanswered. The Commission warned that it will give close scrutiny to the good faith and the efficacy of the cooperative efforts of the parties in any future case involving a proposal to discontinue passenger train service operated on the New Haven lines.

The States by their agreement with the New Haven trustees to continue service temporarily have demonstrated their good faith and responsible attitude. I am confident now that essential New Haven service can continue. The approval of the merger conditioned upon the inclusion of the New Haven passenger service is a great victory for the States. State authorities must now prosecute every effort to reach agreement on extended service. In time, I am certain that passenger train service in the East will flourish again.

BALTIMORE PIONEERS ON LABOR-MANAGEMENT FINANCED CHILD-DAY CARE CENTERS

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, in order to make ends meet, many families find it necessary for the wife and mother to work. In other families, a mother is the sole support of her children. In either case, there is a serious possibility that the children may be neglected or inadequately supervised. More than one life of juvenile delinquency and crime began as the child of a working mother.

I was therefore delighted to learn that the first joint labor-management child care center was established in Baltimore earlier this month.

The men's clothing industry in Baltimore, in cooperation with the Baltimore Regional Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has pioneered to establish nurseries for preschool children of mothers working in the men's clothing industry.

I salute the employers for their vision and foresight. They are helping to meet an important social problem and at the same time are making it easier for the employees who have young children to maintain reliable attendance records.

I also salute Sam Nocella, manager of the Baltimore Regional Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, who has been a prime mover behind this program. In this day and age when labor unions are often under attack, it is a pleasure to know that in my own city of Baltimore we have responsible, constructive, and imaginative leadership among the representatives of those working in an important industry.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the announcement of this joint board and an article published in the Baltimore News-American of April 14 be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the announcement and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[An announcement by the Baltimore Regional Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America]

BALTIMORE, MD., April 14.—The first labor-management supported child care centers in the United States for children of working mothers were projected last night by the health and welfare fund of the Baltimore Regional Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Trustees of the fund, representing the men's clothing industry in the four-State board, met at the Baltimore Regional Joint Board headquarters at 1505 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, Md., and agreed to develop such facilities, for children 2 to 6 years old, in Baltimore, Md., Chambersburg, Pa., and a third, as yet unspecified, location.

Both labor and management will contribute to the existing joint fund to support the nurseries for preschool children of mothers in industry, according to Sam Nocella, sponsor of the program and chairman of the trustees of the fund.

Addressing last night's planning conference were Mrs. Frances Millett, who operates a child care center at the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, and Mrs. Sadie Ginsberg, national representative to the U.S. national committee for early childhood education and vice president of the national committee for day care of children.

Mrs. Ginsburg spoke of visits to institutions for preschool children in Italy, France, Israel, Denmark, Sweden, and other countries of Europe and Asia. "It was embarrassing," she said, "to see superb facilities for children of working mothers behind the Iron Curtain, while we, in the United States, have nothing comparable."

"The child care centers we plan will alleviate much pain in the hearts of working mothers," stated Mr. Nocella, manager of the Baltimore Regional Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America union which represents some 16,000 persons in clothing manufactures in Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and Pennsylvania.

There are some 31 million female workers in the United States today, Mr. Nocella said. It is estimated 38 percent of the female working force are married, "yet there is no effective technique in this country to care for their children while they work," he stressed.

"We expect our centers to serve as models for similar facilities throughout the Nation," Mr. Nocella stated. "These might be supported either directly by the employer," he suggested, "or through a fund operated jointly by the union and the employer, as ours is."

The health and welfare fund of the Baltimore Regional Joint Board, sponsored jointly by labor and management, presently supports a program of physical examinations for union members. It will be expanded to handle the unique child care program.

Trustees of the fund include Mr. Nocella and Dr. Leon Sachs, impartial chairman.

Employer representatives are Ted S. Decker, John Grue, Philip Kasakove, Richard Mumford, and Sidney Snyder.

Union representatives on the fund are Sarah Barron, Frederick Mattucci, Richard Shockey, and John Suthard. Attorney for the expended fund will be Jacob Edelman who is attorney for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union in Baltimore.

"In addition to performing a service to mothers currently employed," Mr. Nocella said, "the child care centers should serve to attract more capable women to jobs in industry."

In United States, today, Mr. Nocella stated, "some mothers leave their children in commercial day care centers which charge more than the working mothers can afford. Many leave their children with relatives or friends or teenage baby sitters. Too many must leave the little ones all alone to wait until mommie comes home."

"This is the true situation in our rich country," he said, "in our United States, where so much time and talk is devoted to explaining just how much we love our children."

"The Amalgamated must speak for the children of working mothers," Mr. Nocella continued.

"We must further address ourselves to the problem of older children of working mothers who are left motherless, after school hours. This national problem, the root of much juvenile confusion, must be tackled by a Federal-State approach whereby, for example, the existing school facilities would be kept open, with capable supervision, to occupy these youngsters until their mothers can call for them," he concluded.

[From the News American, Apr. 14, 1966]

CLOTHING WORKERS HERE GET UNITED STATES FIRST EMPLOYER-FINANCED DAY CARE CENTER

(By Rea Murdock)

The first employer-financed day care centers for children of working mothers in the

United States will open under sponsorship of the Baltimore Regional Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, it was announced today.

Sam Nocella, chairman of the trustees for the Joint Board's Health and Welfare Fund, said management and labor trustees agreed last night to develop such facilities for children from 2 to 6 years old in Baltimore, Chambersburg, Pa., and a third facility either at Hanover, Pa., or Staunton, Va.

All facilities will be convenient to huge clothing manufacturing firms which employ large numbers of women.

A director will be hired and suitable locations will be sought immediately, Nocella said.

The money to pay for the child care centers will come from a 1-percent payroll assessment which employers are already paying into the health and welfare fund to provide a program of physical examinations for union members.

The 1 percent produces $600,000 annually and has accumulated a $1.3 million reserve not being used up by the physical examination program.

"The last time child care was industry financed was in World War II by Kaiser Industries, a program that has been abandoned," Nocella said. He added that institutions for preschool children paid for by employers are common in Italy, France, Israel, Denmark, Sweden, and other countries.

"The child care centers we plan will alleviate much pain in the hearts of working mothers," Nocella said. As manager of the Baltimore Regional Joint Board of Amalgamated, he represents some 16,000 clothing workers in plants in Maryland, Delaware, Virginia and Pennsylvania.

Trustees voting for the novel labor-management plan were Nocella, Dr. Leon Sachs, former Hopkins professor and impartial chairman, and the employer trustees, Ted S. Decker of L. Grief, Inc., John Grue of Mavest, Philip Kasakove, Raleigh; Richard Mumford, Schoeneman and Sidney Snyder, Cambridge Tailors.

Union trustees were Sarah Barron, Frederick Mattucci, Richard Shockey and John Suthard.

Nocella concluded "We must further address ourselves to the problem of older children of working mothers who are left motherless after school hours. This national problem, the root of much juvenile confusion, must be tackled by a Federal-State approach whereby, for example, the existing school facilities would be kept open with capable supervision to occupy these youngsters until their mothers can call for them."

GOLD RESERVES AND THE GROWING DANGER

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, for some years, I have been presenting to the Senate the danger to the United States that is growing because of our apparent inability to control our continuing unfavorable balance of payments.

Recently, there appeared an article written by an outstanding authority on fiscal and monetary problems—Miss Sylvia Porter.

In this article, Miss Porter states that since 1934, when the United States set its price for gold at $35 an ounce, only one major currency has come through without legal devaluation; and has survived wars, inflations, and recessions without a formal diminishing of value in relation to gold and other currencies. That currency is the U.S. dollar.

Miss Porter lists the reasons why the President's hope, expressed last January, that we could balance our international accounts in 1966, is now dead. Then she states:

> Despite the excellent response U.S. businessmen and bankers have made to the President's pleas for voluntary limits on dollar-draining investments and bank loans overseas, these other adverse factors easily could put the deficit above 1965's total.

She adds:

> This could spell great danger.

That is true, and I also agree with her conclusion; namely, that the U.S. dollar "must continue to triumph even if policies must be adopted to make sure it does."

I ask unanimous consent to have this thought-provoking article entitled "World's Stable Currencies" printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star,
Apr. 20, 1966]

WORLD'S STABLE CURRENCIES

(By Sylvia Porter)

Question. What "ties" the U.S. dollar to the Guatemalan quetzal, Haitian gourde, Honduran lempira, and Panamanian balboa?

Answer. These five are the oldest of 91 currencies in the world, according to the forthcoming 1966 "Pick's Currency Yearbook." On March 31, each had "lived" 32 years and 2 months without legal devaluation. They had survived wars, inflations, and recessions—without a formal diminishing of their value in relation to gold and other currencies.

What this really means, of course, is that only one major currency has come through—the U.S. dollar.

Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, and Panama are not money centers. Nor are they factors in the growth of world trade or the rehabilitation or development of nations.

GOLD PRICE HOLDS

In January 1934, the U.S. Government set its price for gold at $35 an ounce. Today the Government still stands firmly by this pledge. While inflation has slashed the buying power of the dollar since the thirties, the official value of the dollar—in relation to gold and other currencies—remains where it was fixed more than 32 years ago. Throughout this entire era, therefore, the dollar has been as good as gold, freely interchangeable into gold at $35 an ounce, a foundation of the free world's monetary system.

This superb record demands reemphasis, for a background is developing which may revive doubts among our foreign creditors about our ability or willingness to maintain the dollar's longstanding relationship with gold.

Because of the business boom, soaring incomes and profits, the outflow of dollars to Vietnam, and the accelerating rise in prices and wages, the balance of payments again is in bad shape.

The President's hope in January was that we would balance our international accounts in 1966—defined as $250 million in the black or in the red. The deficit was $1.3 billion in 1965 and $2.8 billion in 1964.

Now that hope is dead.

Exports of goods are not expanding as projected because industry is so busy producing goods to meet demands at home and price rises are cutting a bit into our competitive position. Imports are mounting because Americans are prosperous and eager to buy foreign-produced goods.

TOURISTS ARE PROBLEM

Tourism is a grave leak—and unless today's trends are checked, the 1966 gap between what U.S. tourists spend abroad and foreign tourists spend here could reach a record $2 billion.

Despite the excellent response U.S. businessmen and bankers have made to the President's pleas for voluntary limits on dollar-draining investments and bank loans overseas, these other adverse factors easily could put the deficit above 1965's total.

This could spell great danger. It could seriously set us back in our drive to reform the free world's monetary system to take some of the burden off the U.S. dollar.

It could spur qualified owners of dollars into stepping up calls on our gold reserve—and following France's lead in turning in more accumulated dollars for our precious metal.

We cannot tolerate another dollar crisis on top of already pressing problems of prosperity. The need to avert this could tip the decision scales in favor of further tax-credit restrictions that would curb spending. It could compel the administration to propose a "head tax" on tourists to discourage overseas travel.

The U.S. dollar has triumphed through a generation of brutal tests. It must continue to triumph—even if painful policies must be adopted to make sure it does.

COMPETITION BY STATES FOR FEDERAL GRANTS

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, it long has been my conviction that many of our Federal windfall programs do violence to the principles of frugality, thrift, and fiscal prudence. There perhaps is no better evidence of this than the fact that 18 of the 50 States in the Union contribute more in the payment of taxes than is received back in the form of Federal grants.

The basic inconsistencies of such a system, whereby one State benefits at the expense of another, is pointed out in an excellent editorial entitled "N. H. Put on the Defensive," published in the Concord, N.H., Daily Monitor for Saturday, April 23. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in full at the close of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, as is pointed out so well, the competition for Federal handouts is morally disruptive and tends to encourage the perpetuation and expansion of unsound programs and inequitable distributions under those programs. We in New Hampshire have every reason to inquire as to the propriety or necessity of contributing $1.05 for every $1 we receive back from Washington.

EXHIBIT 1

NEW HAMPSHIRE PUT ON THE DEFENSIVE

New Hampshire is one of 18 States whose Federal tax burden exceeds what they get back in the form of grants, according to an analysis made by the tax foundation. Without figuring administration costs, New Hampshire contributes $1.05 for every $1 it gets back, the study shows.

The 5-cent difference adds up to an out-of-pocket cost of $1,700,000 on $34,700,000 of grants to this State.

Federal grants are an important part of the revenues of the State and its political subdivisions. Bulk of the grant money goes to the State. The total grants are equal to about one-third of the annual State budget.

Federal grants keep growing in amount and are expected to be $1.3 billion higher in the fiscal year starting July 1 than the $13.3 billion for the current year. Only 10 years ago such grants were only $4.1 billion a year.

Three of the New England States, Maine, Vermont, and Rhode Island, get back more than they contribute but for New England as a whole the burden is $58.6 million. As usual, the South and the West are the beneficiaries.

Federal grants are a fact of life. They are a growing national grab bag from which the unconscionable get the most and the more principled States the least. The competition, however, is a gradual destroyer of morality and it encourages perpetuation and expansion of unsound programs and inequitable formulas for the distribution of grant funds.

Every State must protect its own interests and in doing so should have in mind the interests of the Nation as well. In respect to the latter, with 32 States benefiting from a burden placed upon 18 States, the chances of changing or abolishing specific programs is probably dim. However, to abandon such an effort is to surrender to forces which in the long run can destroy the character of the country and its people and seriously undermine the form of Government we cherish.

New Hampshire has only this year set up a watchdog on Federal grants (there are some 100 or so). It is probably too early to expect a report on his official observations. But at some point the State and its people are entitled to a frank disclosure of what he is learning.

Is the State getting back all that it should? Are grants which have to be matched well or ill advised so far as New Hampshire is concerned? If this State does not accept a grant does the amount allocated to this State lapse, or do the more greedy States get a windfall? To what extent is the State coerced into uneconomic or ill advised programs by Federal grants?

These and other questions are valid inquiries and whether the Federal or State administrations are Republican or Democratic should not be allowed to color the answers.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR DOUGLAS, OF ILLINOIS

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, the most rewarding experience I have had since coming to the Senate has been the opportunity to work with and learn from the distinguished senior Senator from Illinois, Mr. Douglas. Under his firm leadership, guided by his wise counsel, and always cheered by his wry wit, I was privileged to work for the defeat of the proposed constitutional amendment that would have permitted the perpetuation of "rotten borough" legislatures.

Paul Douglas' quick and supple mind grasped both the essential weaknesses of the Dirksen amendment, as well as all of the more technical defects. He saw both the forest and the trees. He was an inspiration to all of us who fought to retain the principle of fair and equal representation.

Senator Douglas is standing for reelection this year. I have no doubt that the voters of Illinois will demonstrate the good judgment to return him to the Senate. I was fortified in this belief by an article in the Washington Post of April 14. In that article, Robert Albright, a well-known and justly renowned reporter, tells how Senator Douglas is waging a vigorous and effective campaign. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Douglas Woos Voters: 74-Year-Old Senator's Vigor Belies Age in Campaign Against Percy

(By Robert C. Albright)

Carmi, Ill., April 13.—White-maned Paul Douglas knows only one way to run for reelection—straight ahead at full speed, meeting each issue and opponent head on.

They said the 74-year-old Democratic Senator was going to slow down a bit in this fourth "run for the roses" against a much younger Republican opponent, 46-year-old Charles H. Percy.

Yet, his Easter week warmup consisted of a grueling 15-hour day of campaigning across southern Illinois, and a spring back again the next day at the same pace. Somehow each afternoon he managed to find time for a 30-minute nap.

During the first day's lap he made half a dozen formal speeches, three radio and TV appearances, plus countless stops at wayside restaurants, laundromats and feedstores to shake hands and talk politics.

He also roughed up his prospective opponent a bit, though he had planned to stick strictly to his own 18-year Senate record.

Douglas reminded his audience that Percy currently is traveling abroad.

"He's taking a quick course on Eastern Europe," Douglas said. "He'll probably come back a 1-day expert on Budapest, a 1-day expert on Belgrade and 1-day expert on Moscow."

Then quickly he added: "He really isn't a bad fellow."

In 1939 Douglas taught Percy a course in labor relations at the University of Chicago. Said the old professor: "I had a large class, and I don't recall what his grades were."

Percy, former head of Bell & Howell, is leader of a new liberal Republican breed. In 1964 the disastrous Goldwater for President campaign pulled him down to defeat by 179,000 votes, by incumbent Democratic Gov. Otto Kerner. If he loses to Douglas this year, it could stop him for keeps.

But Percy has two things going for him in this campaign—his comparative youth and the deteriorating political situation on Vietnam.

Typically, Douglas is meeting both issues head on. In answer to the age issue, he is campaigning for a fourth term as hard as he did for his first, in 1948, when he had Adlai Stevenson as a gubernatorial running mate. On the Vietnam issue, Douglas declared his support for President Johnson's Vietnam policies more than 3 weeks ago at Danville, Ill., and never budged from that position on this trip.

At Denton's Cafe near McLeansboro, a group of Democrats was waiting to discuss with him problems ranging from acute water needs to means of obtaining community facilities.

Douglas himself turned the discussion to southeast Asia, saying:

"Tell me, how do we stop this Vietnam war? What else could we do but what we are doing? I think the President is right. He is trying to limit the war."

Slowly a consensus developed in the meeting in favor of the Senator's position. Many of those who spoke up voiced concern but said they still believed Douglas' course was right.

Douglas appeared happiest while campaigning on the Federal bread and butter issues and goals he has fought for over the last two decades.

He countered GOP charges of inflation, asserting that real income has gone up 25 percent since the last quarter of the Eisenhower administration, enough to offset price increases.

He didn't need to raise the civil rights issue. Dixie-oriented southern Illinois knows he's foursquare for civil rights, and votes for him anyway.

Everywhere he tells the story of landmark medicare, housing, food stamp, area redevelopment, community facilities and education legislation—Douglas' goals for a quarter of a century—which have finally been realized under the Kennedy-Johnson administrations.

These programs, he says proudly, "have brought the greatest development and progress that southern Illinois has ever known."

KIRKWOOD, MO.—ALL AMERICA CITY

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, it was good news to learn that Flat River, Mo., has been named an All America City, and that Kirkwood, Mo., has been cited for honorable mention by Look magazine and the National Municipal League.

This is a great recognition for these two fine communities and a matter of pride for all Missourians. Throughout my State, towns and communities are hard at work planning, building, meeting the challenges that confront urban America.

Flat River and Kirkwood have shown determination and excellence in their efforts to meet these challenges.

Flat River's award is based on five important progressive programs accomplished by its citizens:

First. Change to council-manager government and all old debts paid.

Second. A comprehensive program for planning and zoning was adopted.

Third. Revival of business district—new building in back and other business activities.

Fourth. Community betterment program and winning of first five-star city award.

Fifth. Sewer and school improvement programs.

This Saturday, April 30, the citizens of Flat River will celebrate their award with a parade, a public meeting, and an All America City Ball. I know I speak for many other Members of the Senate when I congratulate Flat River and Kirkwood and wish the people of these two outstanding towns every success in the months and years to come.

THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION DECISIONS ON THE PENNSYLVANIA-NEW YORK CENTRAL MERGERS AND THE NEW HAVEN RAILROAD CASE

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, the Interstate Commerce Commission decisions announced today in the Pennsylvania-New York Central rail merger case and the New Haven Railroad passenger service case are in the highest tradition of public-interest regulations.

By requiring that Pennsylvania and Central include the New Haven's freight and essential passenger services in its merger, the ICC has laid the foundation for a long overdue, urgently needed program of restructuring and rejuvenation of rail service in Massachusetts and New England as a whole. And, by ordering interim continuance of most rail passenger operations now performed by New Haven, the Commission has further assured that this restructuring and revitalization program will proceed on a basis of cooperative and constructive efforts aimed at the preservation and strengthening of essential New England rail services.

In a statement of January 17, in which I urged that the ICC neither sanction New Haven's sweeping passenger discontinuance plan nor exclude the passenger and freight services of this vitally needed carrier from a Penn-Central merger, I stated that rapid and fair inclusion of this basic Northeastern rail resource in a powerful Penn-Central system would achieve the following two important goals:

First, streamlining of New Haven's passenger operation along truly essential lines; and second, cooperation between the involved States and rail interests to work out terms of assistance designed to ease remaining passenger deficit problems related to service over the New Haven lines.

The ICC's decision today in the New Haven passenger case, I am pleased to note, provides definitive but flexible guidelines by which these goals may be obtained. It calls upon the carriers to make a "reasonable effort" toward improving their passenger operations, in terms both of higher service standards and more imaginative investment steps. It asks that affected State and local interests be willing to extend a "reasonable level of support" for deficit rail passenger operations deemed essential in the public interest. It provides for continuation of New Haven's principal passenger services for a limited period, both as a spur to action, and to speed implementation of any plans which are worked out.

And, most important, it urges both sides to join in contributing to a constructive, responsible resolution to those problems which continue to impede the growth and improvement of vitally needed rail passenger services. Each of these points were contained in my statement of Januray 17.

The record is clear that Massachusetts, along with other States served by the New Haven, already has demonstrated a willingness to assume its share of the cost and effort involved in underwriting continuance of essential rail passenger services. And I have no doubt that this willingness will be further demonstrated as our State joins with its sister States and with the strong privately owned Penn-Central system to restructure and revitalize essential New England rail passenger operations.

On January 17, I pointed out that we in New England see a powerful, healthy Penn-Central system as an important force in the future growth of our area and that, at the same time, Penn-Central will need a dynamically growing New England.

The maintenance and improvement of essential rail passenger service is a prerequisite to that growth. As the ICC has stated in the New Haven case, the decision rests with the railroads and with appropriate public authorities whether to take the "farsighted, often hard steps" necessary to reinvigorate essential rail passenger services. The people of Massachusetts already have shown their determination to take those steps. I am certain that the Pennsylvania-New York Central system, the largest and wealthiest rail network in the world, will do no less.

PROPOSED FREEWAY THROUGH ROCK CREEK PARK IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, for some time now I have spoken out on the need to protect this Nation's shrinking parkland from further encroachment by highway building and other public projects.

My concern has extended to projects, particularly highway building projects, which would scar or destroy parkland in such widely separated places as the redwood forests of California and West Potomac Park in the District of Columbia.

In the case of West Potomac Park, I repeatedly have urged that the highway planned for this area be placed completely in a tunnel.

I also have urged that the long-overdue principle of "compensation in kind" be adopted with regard to the taking of parks and other open spaces. Under this principle, every acre—every foot—of parkland swallowed up for public projects would have to be replaced in like amount—and like quality—by other open space.

The urgency of applying this principle to protect our precious and limited parkland is underscored by the renewed threat to Rock Creek Park in our Nation's Capital. According to recent newspaper reports, some regional planners view the area of the park as the ideal location for a freeway connecting Washington with the Maryland suburbs.

The reasons for turning down this scheme were summed up admirably in a recent editorial in the Washington Post. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ASSAULT ON THE PARK

A freeway down Rock Creek Park would constitute a wanton desecration of civic values. The idea is periodically revived, of course, because it is otherwise very difficult to put a road through that quadrant of Washington without passing under the windows of one or another indignant Congressman. But when the parkland has been once paved, it is lost forever.

The current attempt to invade the park originated in the Montgomery County Planning Board. It is another example of planners deliberately overriding those qualities of urban life that they are supposed to protect. Since the Council of Governments is emerging as the regional planning agency for Metropolitan Washington, it is deeply distressing to find the Council even entertaining this outrageous scheme. Roads are essential to Washington. But Rock Creek Park is equally essential, and it is not necessary to sacrifice one to the other. The city must insist upon both. The park is inviolable.

JOSEPH CARDINAL BERAN IN OMAHA

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, last Thursday, April 21, 1966, will long live in my memory and in the memories of my fellow Nebraskans. The occasion was the arrival of Joseph Cardinal Beran at Eppley Field, Omaha, on his first trip to this country.

His welcoming party included the young and the old, many of Czechoslovakian descent. I was one of these. This was a time when tears fell. Tears of both great joy and sadness.

There were tears of sadness because the man cannot be separated from the life he has led. He is in exile after being imprisoned for 17 years by Nazis and later by Communists.

Cardinal Beran is no longer a prisoner behind bars. But he is not free, for his homeland is not free. Nor for this reason are any of us, truly.

In presenting Cardinal Beran with an honorary doctor of laws degree from Creighton University, the University president, the Very Reverend H. W. Linn, S.J., recalled that while a prisoner at Dachau, the cardinal, "urged his followers to remain informed, to educate themselves in the history of their land and to resist all attempts to coerce their beliefs."

It is men like Cardinal Beran who send forth the message that provides the fertile ground in which the hopes and spirits of the millions of people now suffering under the yoke of tyranny continue to live.

Although through an interpreter the cardinal said that he was unable to discuss political matters, his presence alone signifies a troubled world. His presence also represents the yearnings of a great number of this world's peoples for the day when self-determination is a right and not only a dream.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have placed in the RECORD the following two articles from the March and April 1966 issues of the American Bulletin published by the Czechoslovak National Council of America which movingly tell about the man and his times and several articles from the Omaha World-Herald which record his visit to Nebraska.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) American Bulletin, March 1966]

DEFENDER OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Three years ago the free world had news of Archbishop Beran of Prague for the first time in twelve years. Men of freedom everywhere were relieved to know that the archbishop was alive, that he had survived the long years of Communist internment, and that he was relegated from complete isolation to retirement under restrictions in Mukarov, a small settlement near Prague. In January

1965, the Archbishop of Prague was elevated to cardinal and in February people of the free world saw the archbishop on television arriving by plane in Rome. Boarding the plane in Prague, it is said, the archbishop was told by the Communists that he is never to return to his native land.

Thus, the Communist regime solved the problem of what to do with its famous prisoner. At the time of the Communist seizure in 1948, the archbishop was one of their strongest adversaries. It was not difficult to crack down on the churches by force; the Communist problem was how to gain control of the church so that it would serve Communist ends, how to infiltrate the clergy, how to bluff the outside world by presenting a semblance of religious freedom in Czechoslovakia under communism.

The stumbling block to the Communist ruse was Archbishop Beran, survivor of Nazi prisons, a frail little man of great spiritual strength.

Following the mysterious tragic death of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Jan Masaryk, the executions of Milada Horáková, Gen. Helidor Pika, and other brave patriots, the possibility of removing the archbishop permanently was also seriously considered.

SHOULD THE ARCHBISHOP BECOME A NATIONAL MARTYR?

It was decided rather to remove him to places unknown. Cut off from all contacts with the outside world, it was hoped that he would gradually be forgotten or would die a natural death.

But the archbishop survived, just as he had said he would 18 years ago. Since his release, the cardinal has taken up again his stand on religious freedom; at the ecumenical council in Rome, he was one of the most active crusaders. In his plea to the Council Fathers at the final session, he recommended a strong declaration. His seven points were intended to eliminate any suppression of religious liberty.

EVERY MAN HAS THE RIGHT TO WORSHIP ACCORDING TO HIS CONSCIENCE

"Here I humbly bear to add my testimony," he explained. "From the very moment in which freedom of conscience was radically restricted in my country, I witnessed the grave temptations which under such conditions confront so many.

"In my whole flock, even among the priests, I observed not only grave danger to faith but also grave temptations to lying, hypocrisy, and other moral vices, which easily corrupt people who lack true freedom of conscience.

"In my country, the Catholic Church at this time seems to be suffering atonement for defects and sins committed in times gone by in her name against religious liberty, such as in the 15th century the burning of the priest Jan Hus and during the 17th century the forced reconversion of a great part of the Czech people to the Catholic faith, under the rule 'whoever's territory it is, that also is his religion.' "

Clearly, Cardinal Beran is showing the way to religious tolerance and universal justice. He has made a number of trips from Rome. In April, he is coming to the United States and Canada. His main concern is the moral revival of the young generation. While Communist indoctrination has failed, it has left the young people without any goals other than personal survival and advancement in the Communist jungle.

Joseph Beran was born on December 29, 1888, in Bolevec, now a suburb of Pilsen, Bohemia. His father was a smalltown public-school teacher. Young Joseph was a brilliant student, especially interested in history and theology. In 1911 he went to Rome to study at the Pope's university. Here he was ordained a priest and received his doctorate. Coming home, his first parish was in Zlutice, a small community, where he worked arduously, for he was always interested in "little people." His teaching talent soon became apparent when he joined the faculty of a girls' school in Prague. In 1928, he was a member of the faculty of theology at the University of Prague. His teaching was not bookish, but lively and thought-provoking. At this time, he wrote "Psychology and the Confessional," on liturgy of the 15th and 16th centuries, on celibacy, in which work he examined all aspects of the question. He succeeded Msgr. Otto Stanovsky as rector of Vysehrad, where he made a profound lasting impression on the young students at the seminar. In addition to the time devoted to the office of rector and to teaching, he was also very active in public; he always showed a lively interest in the community and in national life; for instance, he had a warm appreciation for the national Sokol movement, etc. His observations were realistic, his interests humane.

When the Nazis stormed into Prague in 1939, Dr. Joseph Beran soon became known as "the patriotic priest," who celebrated mass in Czech and who even conducted services for the victims of Nazi concentration camps. The singing of the ancient St. Wenceslas hymn, invoking the patron saint to protect the Czech nation, was in itself daring.

The Czech priest was arrested by the Nazis on June 6, 1942, and sent to Terezin and 3 months later, to Dachau. To all who met him there, he was a source of comfort and strength. In 1943 he contracted typhoid, the deadly plague ravaging the camp, but miraculously survived.

American tanks finally rolled into the infamous camp of horror in the last days of the war.

Dr. Joseph Beran returned to Prague on May 26, 1945. The announcement of his elevation to the archbishopric of Prague soon after was welcomed by citizens of all faiths, for his reputation as a war hero was widespread. People were satisfied that the high office, vacant for 6 years, was now to be filled by a patriot. The press, with the exception of Communist newspapers, gave many accounts of his quiet heroism at block 28 of Dachau prison; many stories were told by former prison inmates of all faiths about this frail gentle priest who had been such a source of comfort to them all.

Archbishop Beran undertook to erase the marks of war, especially on the young generation. There was a very friendly relationship between the archbishop and President of Czechoslovakia and Minister Jan Masaryk (both non-Catholics). President Benes presented Archbishop Beran with two war decorations.

Unfortunately, time was running out fast. From the very first, the Archbishop saw through Communist intrigue and understood their ultimate goal. After the Communist takeover in February 1948, the archbishop spoke out clearly: "I have no intention of resigning myself to silence. My good people know me." He asked them to remain true to the heritage of Masaryk and Benes.

Two weeks after Communist seizure, Jan Masaryk, the beloved son of the late President Liberator, was found dead under his window of Cernin palace under mysterious circumstances. His tragic death shocked the nation profoundly and to this day most Czechoslovaks believe it was murder. The archbishop was seen kneeling in prayer at Masaryk's bier and later word spread quickly by grapevine that the archbishop wishes it to be known "should I be found one day dead under my window, you'll know that it was not suicide."

After his resignation, the sick President retired to his country home and Gottwald, the Communist President, made greater demands on the archbishop, who resisted and fought back by pastoral letters to the clergy.

Not long after, President Benes died and the archbishop paid him a fine tribute for "his honesty, indefatigable labor for the country;" he held up the President's exemplary personal life and concluded his tribute with the Lord's Prayer.

The next Communist move was to found the so-called Catholic action, which was to infiltrate the clergy, bring pressure to bear on the bishops to submit to the government's demands, and to undermine the church. In a pastoral letter the archbishop disclosed the far-reaching dangers of the Communist plot, warned against participation in the Communist movement, and implored the priests to remain true to their mission.

The Communists circulated a forged letter in the archbishop's name to confuse the issue. The archbishop protested. Sooner or later, he knew that he would become their prisoner. The editor of American Bulletin recalls an incident in the summer of 1948 at a monastery by Mariansbad, at a dinner in the refectory following mass and commemoration services for the war dead: sitting at the center of a long table, flanked by high church dignitaries but with Communist town officials at both ends, the archbishop turned to the American visitor, across the table, and said: "When you return to the United States, please remember the unfortunate Czechoslovak people and tell Americans of their suffering. I have hung my prison garb on a peg in my room where I can see it every day, so that I would remain humble and dedicated." Then raising his voice slightly and looking straight at the Communists, the archbishop concluded: "Just as I know that I shall soon put on my prison clothes once more, so I know that I shall outlive even this."

There were some traitors among the clergy, chief among them Dr. Joseph Plojhar, who went over to the Communists. Things were fast coming to a climax. On June 18, 1949, the archbishop, living under police surveillance, with a government installed plenipotentiary in his consistory, left the palace, escorted by the Communist secret police, for the famous Strahov monastery. Here he solemnly declared "before God and nation that I have concluded no agreement contrary to the rights of the church. Should anyone one day pretend that I have given my signature to anything of that kind, refuse to believe him."

The same pledge was repeated outside the archbishop's palace where a demonstration of the faithful took place.

The following Sunday, an enormous crowd had gathered in the early morning at St. Vitus Cathedral on Hradcany hill. During his sermon, his words against the anti-Catholic action were drowned out by catcalls of Communist demonstrators and the workers' militia. The faithful answered by singing the St. Wenceslas hymn and by crying out "Long live the archbishop." With the aid of microphones, the Communists yelled their slogans. Finally, the police dispersed the angry crowd.

This was the last time the archbishop addressed his people. He remained under guard in his residence until finally on March 10, 1951, Radio Prague announced his removal from Prague "because of his negative attitude toward the laws concerning the church."

Archbishop Beran disappeared entirely from view for the next 12 years. From time to time a wild rumor spread through the land that he was dead. During this time, the Communist regime took over. Hundreds of priests and nuns were assigned to heavy manual labor or imprisoned. High church dignitaries were tried and found guilty of high treason and sentenced from 10 years to life imprisonment. The rulers were drunk with success. Their main goal of course was the indoctrination of the young.

But the archbishop survived his second prison just as he had said, and the Communists have failed utterly to win the young. Now the cardinal is coming to the United States primarily to speak to Americans of Czech and Slovak descent. He is leaving Rome on April 11, and will first be welcomed by the citizens of New York, and then proceed on to Texas, where he will be escorted by Bishop Morkovsky. Cardinal Beran will arrive in Chicago on April 23 and stay several days, making 1-day trips to various cities, and finally will end his tour in Toronto, Canada.

In the United States, as elsewhere, Cardinal Beran will be welcomed not only by the representatives of the Catholic Church but by the people of many faiths who cherish freedom and who see in the Czech prelate a symbol of courage and brotherly love, a champion of human rights.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) American Bulletin, April 1966]

Our Welcome to the Cardinal

In his first speech on American soil to Americans of Czechoslovak descent at a banquet given in his honor in New York, H. E. Joseph Cardinal Beran credited the late President John F. Kennedy with freeing him after 14 years of Communist confinement. However, 2 more years were to elapse before the archibishop of Prague was given his freedom.

On being "freed" in 1963—better said transferred from complete isolation to confinement—Archbishop Beran was told by his jailers that President Kennedy had asked Khrushchev for his release in return for an unspecified American favor.

"We were told that President Kennedy, while bestowing some gift to the Russians, did so under the condition that the imprisoned bishops in Czechoslovakia be released. Moscow evidently ordered the Prague government to release the archbishop.

Upon his elevation to cardinal on January 25, 1965, by Pope Paul, the archbishop was finally permitted by the Prague rulers to leave for Rome. The archbishop fully intended to return to his homeland, although it might mean imprisonment anew. Knowing his undaunted spirit, determination, and love for his people, the Communists decided to have him out of the country, in a plane, before informing him officially that he is never to return.

A prisoner under the Nazis for 3 years in the infamous torture Camp Dachau and for 16 years under the Communists in Czechoslovakia—altogether almost 20 years—the cardinal is at least a free man.

But is he really free, when banished from his homeland? To him, an exile, the Iron Curtain might seem impenetrable and yet, when asked at a news conference in New York, if he expected to return to his native country, Cardinal Beran replied through an interpreter that not returning was a condition of his release, but he added: "I have been an optimist under much worse conditions, and I am an optimist now."

The cardinal arrived by plane from Rome in New York on Monday, April 11, and was welcomed by Cardinal Spellman at the airport with these words: "Cardinal Beran represents so much to the world. He is an example and an inspiration."

Undoubtedly, Cardinal Beran means a great deal to Americans of Czechoslovak descent, who irrespective of their church affiliation look upon the archbishop of Prague as a shining example of courage and strength in opposing evil in any form and at the same time of tender concern and love for suffering mankind.

A large crowd welcomed the famous visitor at the airport, including a group of children in national costumes. In the evening a testimonial dinner was given him at the Waldorf Astoria by the Czechoslovak Society for Arts and Sciences, an organization founded a few years ago, for the most part by Czechoslovak escapees who had fled their country when the Communists seized power. The cardinal was very pleased that hundreds of Czechoslovaks, by now American citizens, have made their mark in American universities, research laboratories, creative and art centers, etc., thus contributing their share of their Czechoslovak cultural heritage to the free world. He was particularly pleased with the Czech songs sung by opera star Eva Líková.

On the second day of his 18-day tour of the United States, a testimonial dinner was given him jointly by 26 New York organizations of Americans of Czechoslovak descent at Hotel Roosevelt. An excellent speaker, blessed with the ability of expressing important thoughts concisely, he electrified his audience.

The cardinal will visit Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington; then, as a guest of Bishop Morkovsky, he will tour Texas for a week; his next stop will be in Omaha, Nebr.; on April 23, he will arrive in Chicago for a 4-day visit. After visiting Cleveland and Detroit, he will proceed to Toronto and Montreal, returning to Rome on May 11.

[From the Omaha World-Herald, Apr. 21, 1966]

Busy 2 Days for Cardinal—Czech Prelate Is To Start Visit Today

Josef Cardinal Beran, Czechoslovak prelate touring the United States for the Czech Catholic Alliance of America, was to arrive in Omaha Thursday afternoon.

Cardinal Beran, imprisoned 17 years under Nazis and later Communists, will stay at the chaplain's quarters at Notre Dame Academy, 35th and State Streets, during his 2-day visit.

His schedule for Thursday includes a 5 p.m. private reception and dinner at Indian Hills Inn, a 7 p.m. Mass at St. Cecilia's Cathedral, 40th and Burt Streets, followed by a public reception in the social hall.

Friday morning he will say mass at Notre Dame Convent. He will receive an honorary doctor of laws degree at Creighton University at 2 p.m., visit St. John's Seminary in Elkhorn at 4, and attend a reception and dinner at Boys Town at 5.

The 77-year-old prelate is to leave Omaha at 9:15 a.m. Saturday for Chicago.

[From the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald, Apr. 22, 1966]

Long-Imprisoned Czech Cardinal Is Welcomed by Omahans

(By Jean Kelly)

"Hey, everybody. This way." A schoolgirl in waist-length, blonde curls rushed toward Josef Cardinal Beran's plane.

More than 200 Omahans, many of Czechoslovakian descent, were at Eppley Field Thursday afternoon to greet the 77-year-old prelate on his first trip to the United States.

The Boys Town band, under the direction of Ira George, struck up a rousing number as Cardinal Beran descended. Costumed high school girls, members of the Omaha Beseda group, stood tip-toed for a better look at crowds pushed close.

The diminutive prelate, attired simply in a black suit, smiled broadly between mumbled greetings in Czech. He accepted a bouquet of flowers from women of St. Wenceslaus Church and kisses of welcome from Archbishop Gerald T. Bergan, Senator Roman Hruska and the Reverend Anthony F. Tuma, his unofficial host during the 2-day visit.

The cardinal made his way to the lobby followed by a two-man flag brigade sponsored by the Czech Club of Omaha. One carrier had an American flag; the other a Czechoslovakian flag.

At one point he stopped to pick up 4-year-old Raymond Vankat, of 5601 South 15th Street. The boy turned shy, but his mother beamed.

Cardinal Beran, in a brief press talk interpreted by the Reverend Jaroslav Polz of his party, said he was "satisfied beyond expectation with the freedom you have."

The Czech prelate, imprisoned for 17 years by Nazis and later by Communists, is in exile. He left Czechoslovakia 15 months ago to receive the red hat of cardinal in Rome and was told by the Communist Government not to return.

Asked if a proposed conference between Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, who arrived Thursday in Rome, and Pope Paul could ease church relations, the cardinal said, "No comment."

His interpreter said the cardinal "is unable to speak about political matters," the future of the church in Czechoslovakia, or about his homeland in general.

However, the prelate did recount his experiences when released from the Dachau concentration camp in 1945.

"I remember how the Americans liberated us 3 days ahead of time," the cardinal said. "We had heard they were coming, but they came early to prevent execution of the prisoners."

Cardinal Beran said an American soldier gathered all the prisoners and asked that they join in the Lord's Prayer in their own languages.

The cardinal will stay at the chaplain's quarters at Notre Dame Academy, 35th and State Streets.

He attended a reception and dinner at Indian Hills Inn and celebrated mass Thursday evening at St. Cecilia's Cathedral.

This morning he said mass at Notre Dame Convent. He was to receive an honorary doctor of laws degree at Creighton University at 2 p.m., visit St. John's Seminary in Elkhorn at 4 and attend a reception and dinner at Boys Town at 5.

He will leave Omaha at 9:15 a.m. Saturday for Chicago.

[From the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald, Apr. 22, 1966]

Omaha Priest Particularly Warm in Greeting Beran

A priest from the Omaha archdiocese extended a particularly warm welcome to Cardinal Beran Thursday.

The Reverend Karel Kucera, chaplain at St. Anthony's Hospital in O'Neill, Nebr., had not seen the cardinal since he fled from Czechoslovakia 10 years ago.

Father Kucera left the archdiocese of Prague when persecutions in his country became severe, according to Bishop Daniel E. Sheehan, auxiliary bishop of the Omaha archdiocese.

"He came here and accepted several duties in the archdiocese," Bishop Sheehan said. "However, it was not until last year's meeting of Cardinal Beran and Archbishop Bergan at the Second Vatican Council that Father Kucera's transfer became official."

[From the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald, Apr. 23, 1966]

A Model for Us All—Creighton University Bestows Degree on Cardinal

Josef Cardinal Beran Friday afternoon was presented an honorary Doctor of Laws Degree from Creighton University by the Very Reverend H. W. Linn, S.J., university president.

The degree, presented at the Eppley College of Business Administration, cited Cardinal Beran for "courage and conviction * * * a model for us all."

Father Linn said the Czechoslovakian prelate, while prisoner at Dachau concentration camp under the Nazis and later under political harassment from the Communists, "urged his followers to remain informed, to educate themselves in the history of their land and to resist all attempts to coerce their beliefs."

His voice continued to echo in Czechoslovakia, Father Linn said.

Participants in the convocation ceremony were the Most Reverend Gerald T. Bergan, Archbishop of Omaha; the Most Reverend Daniel E. Sheehan, auxiliary bishop of the archdiocese; the Reverend Joseph F. Eagan, S.J., spiritual director at Creighton University; the Reverend R. C. Harrington, S.J., vice president of academic affairs at Creighton; the Reverend Anthony F. Tuma, pastor of St. Wenceslaus Parish, and Harry N. Langdon, assistant professor of speech at Creighton.

[From the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald. Apr. 23, 1966]

CARDINAL FULFILLS BOY'S WISH BY GIVING HIM PARTING HUG

(By Ellis Rall)

Mrs. George Kurmel, 5211 South 60th Street, had promised her 5-year-old son Daniel that he would see Josef Cardinal Beran during his brief visit in Omaha.

Saturday morning at Eppley Airfield, Danny and his mother were among those bidding farewell to the cardinal as he boarded a plane for a 3-day visit in Chicago.

Cardinal Beran, Roman Catholic prelate from Czechoslovakia, spotted Danny in his bright red shirt. He halted, lifted the tot in a friendly bear hug and planted a kiss on his forehead.

Mrs. Kurmel beamed. Danny took it in stride. Later he managed a silent nod that he was pleased.

The cardinal exchanged greetings individually with the well-wishers before he boarded the plane.

He arrived in Omaha Thursday and was presented an honorary doctor of laws degree Friday at Creighton University.

An interpreter said the cardinal would have no parting remarks but that he enjoyed his visit in Omaha.

MOBILE MANPOWER EMPLOYMENT UNITS

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, an amendment to S. 2974 was offered by me before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower providing the employment service centers with what I consider an important tool for reaching out and assisting many disadvantaged citizens. S. 2974, as my colleagues are aware, seeks to amend and update the Wagner-Peyser Act.

My amendment was added to section 5, which deals with "services to the disadvantaged," and would provide for the use of mobile manpower service units or traveling employment centers. These mobile employment centers, equipped with counselors and specialists, having job-market data and complete information on the many services and programs which might be applicable to these individuals, will actually go into the needy neighborhoods.

What has bothered me for so long, as well as many others, is that despite the many programs enacted, and the range of services available, in far too many cases, the persons in need are not familiar with these opportunities.

Prior to the senseless eruption of violence that shook the Watts community, there was not an employment office located in the community. The State was, however, able to immediately thereafter establish an employment center in the area. The McCone Committee in its report on the Watts riots on pages 42 and 43 states:

> All of these programs are worth while and, if properly administered, contribute constructively to a partial solution to the unemployment problem. But the very diversity of approaches reflected in this listing of programs points up the importance of coordination. Although many different types of employment are being reached, the several programs are not visible, and all of the needy are not as well informed as they should be concerning their purpose and existence. This fault we believe, could be remedied by establishment of permanent and convenient local centers where many of the programs will be located and the unemployed can go for desired and necessary training. We find that, largely because of dispersal, the programs now in existence are not being used to do the most good for the most distressed.

I still wonder if we are reaching these citizens, if all or most of the programs are "visible" and if the needy are "as well informed as they should be concerning their purpose and existence." The concept embodied in my amendment will enable an alert and active mobile manpower unit to seek, root out, provide guidance, hopefully employment, and if not, direct them to the training programs necessary to prepare them for future employment. There are known areas in many cities such as Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, and Los Angeles, where this type of program would be most helpful.

I believe this approach has a great deal of promise and potential. I would say, however, to the approximately 2,000 manpower service offices throughout the country, we will not find out by sitting in the employment centers. Move out into the target neighborhoods, seek those in need of assistance, and I am certain that your labors will produce results beneficial to the individuals, the community, and the Nation.

ECONOMIC INEQUITIES

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I would like to bring to the attention of the Senate an article appearing in the March 17 issue of the Lafayette, Ind., Journal & Courier written by Mr. William D. Pardridge.

Mr. Pardridge is writing a series of articles entitled "Economic Inequities," of which one will appear in a selected newspaper in each of the 50 States. Mr. Pardridge will then combine the 50 articles, along with comments made in the RECORD, into a book. Any profit made from the sale of the articles and the resulting book will be donated to our 50 State universities.

The article Mr. Pardridge chose to appear in the Lafayette paper involves a subject about which I am very much concerned—fiscal policy versus monetary policy. In his article Mr. Pardridge states:

> If wages, prices, and profits are not meshed together in a realistic framework of money and credit, then the best of intentions is doomed to failure.

The lack of coordination between fiscal and monetary policies in our Government is all too prevalent. The Federal Reserve Board raises the discount rate and touches off the worst money squeeze since the last Eisenhower recession. In testimony before the Joint Economic Committee, the fact is brought out that the so-called quadriad does not communicate or cooperate with one another over economic policy. And on top of this money squeeze, the Treasury Department insists on floating large sales of participations through the Fannie Mae to further constrict the supply of money available to the private sector.

With all this talk of inflation and higher taxes that is being circulated today, one would wonder if it could have been avoided had there been effective coordination and cooperation between the heads of the various agencies of the Government which dictate fiscal and monetary policy.

As a member of the Finance Committee, I am still awaiting the commencement of the hearings into the reasons for these high interest rates which our able chairman promised us earlier in the year. There are many questions in my mind as to how we got into our present money squeeze, and I would like to have the opportunity to ask them of those in the Government who set our fiscal and monetary policy.

In this context, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Pardridge's article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Lafayette (Ind.) Journal & Courier, Mar. 17, 1966]

ECONOMIC INEQUITIES: KITING OF FIGURES AND MONEY SUPPLY TO MATCH PROSPERITY, TAX NEEDS FRAUDULENT

(By William D. Pardridge)

American economic thought is in sad shape.

The Washington economists who spread false hopes and issue wishful pronouncements are the forefront of a general retreat to intellectual stagnation.

These leading exponents of somebody else's thinking spring from the well of the whole American economics profession.

That well has run dry, and nobody in charge has the courage to dig new wells. Self-criticism is a dirty word. The very thought of systematic error is outlandish.

The root of this killing evil is in rote education and the rigidity of academic structures that do not accommodate individual thought.

Some educators buy this critical position, but they are an appalling minority. And when they do speak out, their utter ignorance of communication impact aborts their message in its tracks.

From out of this intellectual woodwork has come professional sufferance of the economic inequities that blanket the economy and drastically reduce our national well-being.

Economic inequities are laws and policies—both public and private—that work against an equitable relationship between the production of economic wealth and the consumption of economic wealth. Economic inequities destroy any balance between these two bases of economic activity that are likened to wages and prices.

Economic profit is indeed a creative incentive in an open society of political and economic freedoms. But that profit basis is much more than incentive to produce in order to consume.

Aggregate profit is the final economic source of all Government expenditures in a growing economy—be it free or dictatorial.

If economic profit—not money profit—is curtailed by an imbalance of wages and prices, then there is less in the bin to use for Government expenditures of all types—for Defense, for the Weather Bureau, for the welfare state, or whatever.

If wages, prices, and profits are not meshed together in a realistic framework of money and credit, then the best of intentions is doomed to failure.

The wrong stock of money and credit can make or break any equitable relationship between wages, prices, and profits.

Tragedy comes to a nation when the stock of money and credit is blindly expanded to meet excessive costs of Government that the total economic profit cannot support.

The old saying that "figures don't lie, but liars can figure" strips naked the mumbo-jumbo of economic policies based on "legislated wealth" as distinguished from earned wealth.

The statistics of our economy have become so complicated that citizens rely on charts and pictures for information.

Such reliance is a gross error, and it is a missing link between modern economic analysis and general public understanding.

Take the much-hawked decrease in the unemployment rate.

Suppose there are 80 million folk in the total work force, and 4 million of these are unemployed, then the unemployment rate is obviously 5 percent.

Now, if only 800,000 members of that work force are transferred to artificial, nonproducing Government welfare jobs—and to the war in Vietnam—then the unemployment rate could automatically drop to the much ballyhooed 4 percent.

Workers would go into the Armed Forces, thus creating vacancies in the employed work force. And the heretofore unemployed would (1) go into these vacancies of impressment, (2) also join the Armed Forces or (3) leaf-rake their way into Government handout jobs for the poor.

But none of this is economic. All of it is administrative flim-flam.

Such a gimmick of social statistics is very handy, and it makes the charts look like peaches and cream. Actually, the peaches are rotten and the cream is sour.

The opposite of economic inequities is a logical system or policy of economic equity, wherein wages, prices, and profits are in a natural balance that is maintained by a gyroscopic supply of money and credit.

But in Washington, commonsense is a real sin.

RIOT IN RETROSPECT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD certain letters to the editor which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on April 23, 1966.

There being no objection the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

RIOT IN RETROSPECT

SIR: Thank you very much for your April 13 editorial "Glen Echo Riot."

I wish to express my indignation over the arrest of a householder—while he was deprived of proper police protection, and his automobile was being demolished—for the illegal discharge of a firearm. What is a respectable citizen supposed to do? Consider also the fact that many insurance policies do not cover damage to property caused by riot. Even worse is the situation of the unsuspecting and innocent people on their way home from work who were tied up in traffic and had to suffer the danger and indignity of having their automobiles smashed and, in some instances, their persons injured along the "line of march." I, for one, have resolved that I am not going to be caught defenseless in a situation such as that.

NORMAN C. PAULSON.

SIR: The Star is to commended for not only its forceful editorial as regards the Glen Echo riot, but also for its fair presentation of letters to the editor.

I believe, however, that one important fact has not been brought to light. As a result of this riot, residents of the Mohican Hills, Glen Echo Heights, and Tulip Hill areas will probably have their property insurance rates increased. Therefore, these residents will have to foot the bill for damage caused by totally and completely irresponsible people.

It also stands to reason that if this riot was spontaneous (as some leaders seem to believe) what is going to happen when July and August, with their heat and humidity, roll around, and these irresponsible people who incited the Glen Echo riot get restless?

E. W. S.

SIR: I was appalled when I read that the Glen Echo rioters were being investigated.

Have these investigators lost the modern concept of justice? The police handled the situation superbly, as they only arrested a man defending his property. This is in line with our modern concept that the criminal should be rewarded because he is a victim of circumstances, and the victim of the crime punished because he is trying to keep the criminal from getting what he wants. We all know, or should know, that the victim of circumstances should have everything he desires.

The investigation should have been directed against those selfish and self-centered property owners who opposed the teen-agers who were only exercising their inalienable right to destroy the property of others if they considered it amusing. The arrested property owner will be duly, and I hope severely, punished, and thus be a lesson to others who may be tempted to do the same.

ALBERT WILLIAMS.

UPPER MARLBORO.

SIR: Your editorial on the Glen Echo riots and David Lawrence's column on April 13 were excellent. Of the papers in Washington I think that yours alone is waking to the fact that the situation has gone about as far as it should.

Two significant points were brought out: The arrest of the householder who fired his gun into the ground to scare off vandals who were pounding on his car illustrates how the rights of most citizens are infringed. A person can no longer defend himself, his family or his property against attack. The second point is Commissioner Tobriner saying the causes are elusive. The cause may be but not the prevention of another one. The only cure is the fear of punishment.

J.B.

SIR: As I read the Star's story of the yegg rolling at Glen Echo on Easter Monday, I was struck by the similarity of the President of the United States standing by his mirror fearful of his image should he unleash the full force of the U.S. military might against the Vietcong, and the police held in restraint by their superiors and inhibited in their efforts to curb the hoodlums at Glen Echo.

What do policemen have to do in order to use the equipment provided them to enforce law and order? They were probably deterred for fear of the wail "police brutality," but when people act like brutes why shouldn't brute force be used against them?

FRANCIS C. THOMAS.

SIR: One legislator asserts that because of riot in Glen Echo, Washington is not ready for home rule. His next edict, I'm sure, will be designed to strip the power of self-government from practically every State in the Union, for, by his own words, one requisite for home rule is a riot-free State or district. Even his own home State is not above censure and, using his own yardstick, is unworthy of self-government.

GROVER L. SMITH.

DR. STARK REFUSES TO SIGN

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point a story which appeared in a Parkersburg, W. Va., newspaper on April 3, 1966. The clipping was sent to me by a constituent, with no indication of the identity of the Parkersburg newspaper in which it appeared.

It concerns a physician who has informed the Ohio Department of Public Welfare that being asked to sign a statement of compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is "offensive and degrading," that no one in his office "has ever been discriminated against on any grounds" and that he intends, in the future, rather than sign the statement of compliance, to render "services free" to all welfare and old age pensioners.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

"OFFENSIVE AND DEGRADING": DR. STARK REFUSES TO SIGN

Dr. Jack J. Stark, area physician, whose offices are in Belpre, has informed the Ohio Department of Public Welfare that being asked to sign a statement of compliance with the Civil Rights Act is "offensive and degrading" and that he will not sign any such an agreement "no matter what subterfuge may be used."

Pointing out that no one in his office "has ever been discriminated against on any grounds whatsoever," Dr. Stark said:

"I shall henceforth notify all welfare and old-age pensioners that you will not pay their bills and that I will render them the services free, and I will tell them why."

The physician, a resident of Vienna, made his sentiments known by letter after receiving the following communication from John W. Main, chief of the division of busness administration of the Ohio department:

"We regret very much that we are not in a position to pay the enclosed bills without assurance of compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as required by Federal law and regulations.

"Alternate methods of providing this assurance are indicated on the enclosed cards. Following the adoption of either method, that is, by signing and returning the agreement form or by entering the prescribed statement on the invoices themselves, and the return of the invoices, we shall immediately place them in process for payment."

Dr. Stark's written reply in full, mailed to the Ohio Department of Public Welfare this weekend, was as follows:

"DEAR SIR: I have just received the bills submitted to you for service to welfare patients with your refusal to pay the same. The payment is contingent upon my signing a statement of compliance with the Civil Rights Act.

"No one in this office has ever been discriminated against on any grounds whatsoever. To ask me to sign the fact that I will comply with such an act is offensive and degrading.

"I shall not sign any such statement no matter what subterfuge may be used. I shall henceforth notify all welfare and old-age pensioners that you will not pay their bills and that I will render them the services free, and I will tell them why.

"I would appreciate it if your department would notify your clientele that I am not eligible to receive your funds any longer.

"Very truly yours,

"JACK J. STARK, M.D."

HANDICAPPED YOUNGSTER DEMONSTRATES DETERMINATION TO BE PRODUCTIVE CITIZEN

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, in this day of ever-increasing dependency upon government, it is gratifying, indeed heartwarming, to learn of individuals who ask for nothing more than a chance to become independent, self-supporting, productive citizens.

Miss Karren Radcliff, a 19-year-old York, Nebr., resident, is a paraplegic, having been paralyzed from the waist down as the result of an automobile accident in 1963. Instead of giving up and letting others support her, she finished high school and is now enrolled in various extension courses with a view toward becoming a certified public accountant.

In addition to these accomplishments, this determined young lady is preparing for the grand opening on this coming Saturday of her new business known as "Karren's Community Business Service," which will provide a variety of mailing systems, statement preparation, copying services, and advertising aids to the businessmen of the York area.

Miss Radcliff was aided in her self-employment efforts by a business organization known as Community Business Services Associates working in cooperation with the U.S. Vocational Rehabilitation Administration and the division of rehabilitation services of the Nebraska State Department of Education.

Its goal is to aid in the self-employment of handicapped persons by establishing them in their own businesses. The program has been tested in 20 States, including Nebraska.

Mr. President, Miss Radcliff, and others like her, are to be commended for the splendid example they are providing their communities. I salute the organizations and individuals involved in the program for their realistic approach to the rehabilitation of the handicapped.

SIGNIFICANCE OF AGRICULTURE AND FARM FAMILIES IN OUR NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD following my remarks an article from the April 13 issue of the Stuttgart Daily Leader. This article makes a very concise presentation of the significance of agriculture and farm families in our national affairs.

I believe that we too often tend to forget our complete dependence upon the fruits of the soil and the efforts of those who produce agricultural commodities.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Stuttgart (Ark.) Daily Leader, Apr. 13, 1966]

AGRICULTURE'S ASSETS ARE TWO-THIRDS VALUE ALL CORPORATIONS IN UNITED STATES

LITTLE ROCK.—Agriculture's assets are about two-thirds the value of assets of all corporations in the United States. Farming employs more workers than the combined jobs in transportation, public utilities, the steel industry, and the automobile industry, says T. E. Atkinson, extension economist.

The productivity of the U.S. farmworker since 1950 has increased approximately twice as fast as output per man-hour in nonagricultural industry.

Modern farming makes farmers good customers. They spend about $29 billion a year for goods and services used in producing farm products—$3.1 billion for new tractors and other machinery; $3.3 billion for petroleum products; and $1.6 billion for fertilizer. U.S. farmers used about 320 million pounds of rubber and 30 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity. In addition to the above, farmers spend about $15 billion a year for the same things city people buy—food, clothing, drugs, appliances, and many others.

Atkinson explains that a 1964 compilation of information relating to agriculture by the Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives, 88th Congress, 2d session, provides the following additional information about farmers and consumers.

As taxpayers, U.S. farmers contribute about $1½ billion in real estate taxes, one-third billion dollars on personal property taxes, $1½ billion in State and Federal income taxes, over one-third billion dollars in sales taxes, and nearly two-thirds billion dollars in taxes on motor fuels and vehicle license fees.

To most of us, farming is food. Each of us in 1963 consumed about 171 pounds of red meat; 38 pounds of chicken and turkey; 175 pounds of fruits; 230 pounds of vegetables; 634 pounds of dairy products (whole milk equivalent); and 100 pounds of potatoes and 6 pounds of sweetpotatoes.

We can choose from as many as 6,000 different foods when we go to market—fresh, canned, frozen, concentrated, dehydrated, ready-mixed, ready-to-serve, or in heat-and-serve form, Atkinson said.

Farming is also shelter to a large portion of the population. Farmers and other small woodland owners control over half of the Nation's commercial forests. It takes 1 acre of forest about 20 years to grow wood for the lumber of a five-room house. Perhaps you don't associate your paper with farming, but one large New York paper uses the equivalent of the annual growth from 6,000 acres of forest for its Sunday issue alone—one-half million acres annually.

What does the farmer receive? In 1963 farmers received $1.01 an hour in contrast to an average of $2.46 an hour in a factory and $2.17 an hour in food marketing. Stated differently, the gross received by farmers is 2.5 cents for the wheat in a 22-cent loaf of bread; 2.5 cents for the corn in a 28-cent box of cornflakes; 56 cents of each $1 spent for choice beef; 11 cents from a 25-cent quart of milk; 28 cents for the cotton in a man's $4 dress shirt; and about 25 cents for each $1 worth of pine lumber.

In spite of these spreads between the farmer and the consumer, processed farm products are cheap when compared with any prior period or with most other consumer goods. For example, while food costs were increasing 24 percent, rent went up 47 percent and medical care 69 percent.

If measured in labor, pay for 1 hour's factory work in 1963 would buy 2.3 pounds of round steak, 9.5 quarts of milk, 11.4 loaves of bread and 2.7 dozen oranges. At no other time in history would an hour of factory work buy this much food, Atkinson said.

GEORGE NEIL HIGGINS, OF FERNDALE, MICH.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, probably one of the biggest boosters of higher education is the president of Higgins Pontiac Co., of Ferndale, Mich., who, over the past several years, has sponsored the college educations of over 130 young men and women from his community.

Earlier this year, George Higgins' efforts on behalf of these youngsters, his reputation as a business leader, and his contributions to his community were cited by the Saturday Evening Post in its Benjamin Franklin Quality Dealer Award.

For the past 7 years, the award has been presented by the magazine which joins with the National Automobile Dealers Association and the Automotive Trade Association Managers in commending an automobile dealer for "citizenship, community service, and contribution to the automotive industry."

Certainly, I think such a tribute should not go unrecognized. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at this point in my remarks, the citation to Mr. George Higgins which appeared in the January 29, 1966, issue of the Saturday Evening Post be inserted in the RECORD.

As one who has had the good fortune over many years to know George Higgins, to have had his friendship and counsel, I am delighted to bring to the attention of my colleagues the recognition so properly given him.

There being no objection, the citation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

For 35 years, George Neil Higgins has had the respect due an ethical and successful business leader. But in his concern for the civic good he has made an equal contribution. For George Higgins has, over the decades, personally sponsored the education of over 130 of his young neighbors, assisting them toward their own futures as responsible American citizens and contributing members of the community.

As president of Higgins Pontiac Co. of Ferndale, Mich., he has furthered the industrial growth of his area. And while his contributions are outstanding, they are typical of the dedicated service independent franchised automotive dealers render their customers and communities across the Nation.

We at the Saturday Evening Post are convinced that dedication to service in both business and community life lies at the heart of our free enterprise system. And that the manner in which Mr. Higgins conducts his business in Ferndale is important throughout our country.

The purpose of the Benjamin Franklin Award is to focus national attention on the admirable qualities Mr. Higgins and the 20 winners of honors awards and merit awards represent. We are proud to join with the National Automobile Dealers Association and the Automotive Trade Association Managers in presenting this seventh Benjamin Franklin Quality Dealer Award.

THE PLIGHTS OF CUBAN REFUGEES

Mr. HART. Mr. President, in recent weeks there has come to my attention the case of a Cuban refugee couple now in Mexico City whose minor child is in the United States. The parents are unable to qualify for immigrant visas because of the labor certification requirement of the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965.

As Senators know, Cuban refugees who proceed directly to the United States are not required to have this labor certification.

On March 22 I asked the Department of State for a report on the number of Cuban refugees residing in other countries whose applications for immigrant visas are being blocked because they cannot meet the labor certification requirement. I inquired also as to whether the Department was considering the possibility of some relief in these cases.

I have received a reply from Assistant Secretary of State Douglas MacArthur II, dated April 19, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I was pleased to learn from Mr. MacArthur that possible avenues of relief are being explored for those refugees who are separated from members of their families in the United States. The primary goal of the airlift which began last December is the reuniting of the families of refugees already in this country. It is my hope that some way will be found to facilitate this reunion in those cases where relatives were able to leave Cuba for destinations other than the United States.

EXHIBIT 1

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., April 19, 1966.

HON. PHILIP A. HART,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR HART: Thank you for your letter of March 22, 1966, in which you expressed your great concern over the plight of Cuban refugees who have come out of Cuba to other Western Hemisphere countries and are unable to qualify for visas because of the labor certification requirement of section 212(a)(14) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended. You referred specifically to the visa case of Mr. and Mrs. Raul Ruiz.

The great majority of Cuban refugees who leave Cuba for third countries proceed to Mexico or Spain. Therefore, statistics relating to the Cuban refugees who are applying for visas at our Embassies in Mexico City and Madrid will best indicate the magnitude of this problem.

The American Embassy in Mexico City has reported to the Department that an estimated 370 to 400 Cuban refugees had visa applications pending at that office as of the end of March. About 50 new applications are received each week. Of the approximately 400 Cuban refugees whose visa applications are presently pending, the Embassy estimates that from 150 to 175 are ineligible because they are unable to meet the labor certification requirement. The Embassy added that over 90 percent of these ineligible Cubans have relatives in the United States, although the relationships are not such as to exempt them from the requirements of section 212(a)(14). As is the case with Mr. and Mrs. Ruiz, at least 50 percent of these ineligible Cubans have minor children in the United States in parole or indefinite voluntary departure status.

The American Embassy in Madrid reports that it has 1,900 Cuban immigrant visa cases presently pending, with approximately 700 Cuban applicants arriving in Spain every month. The Embassy estimates that 1,700 of these Cubans will require labor certifications, but no estimate is made as to the number of Cubans who will be unable to meet this requirement. Of the 1,700 Cubans who require a labor certification, 20 families have minor children in the United States, and 1,400 have other relatives in this country.

The Department shares your concern over the problem faced by these refugees who are separated from their families in the United States, and is presently exploring with other interested agencies possible avenues of relief.

If you have any further questions concerning this matter, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,
DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

STEAMSHIP RATES FOR MILITARY CARGO MOVING ON GREAT LAKES

Mr. HART. Mr. President, over the past 6 years all of the Great Lakes Senators have repeatedly requested that lower and equitable steamship rates be secured for military cargo moving by way of the Great Lakes. Replies from the office of the Secretary of Defense, Military Sea Transportation Service and other Department of Defense representatives have indicated that efforts have been and were being made to obtain lower rates from American-flag lines.

Shipping contracts for military cargo are negotiated for the lines by the Atlantic Gulf American-Flag Berth Operators—AGAFBO.

I was astounded to learn today of the testimony before the Federal Maritime Commission of the Secretary of AGAFBO, that to the contrary, his organization had not been requested to negotiate or adjust the shipping contract rates from the Great Lakes since 1960.

The evidence is clear that on high volume military cargo, such as vehicles manufactured in the Great Lakes area, the steamship rate for military cargo from the Lakes remains substantially higher than on similar commercial cargo. On the other hand, on other coasts they are the same or lower than commercial rates. It appears that although our industry can save hundreds of thousands of dollars by using the Great Lakes, the Department of Defense has made no real effort for several years to effect similar substantial savings for the Government and eliminate a highly discriminatory situation.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Robert C. Moot, has testified in the same Maritime Commission proceedings that DOD is turning to competitive bidding to achieve lower ocean freight service costs. These efforts at cost reduction are most commendable.

We have learned, however, that little or no consideration is being given to the Great Lakes in this planning. Obviously to be truly competitive, bid requests must include a call for bids from the port or port range nearest the origin of cargo, including the Great Lakes. Unless this is done the savings in inland transportation costs will not be realized and the lowest total overall transportation costs cannot be obtained for the Government. If this cannot be accomplished administratively, then it will be necessary to insure legislatively that none of this country's great seacoasts are the subject of discrimination.

This situation illustrates vividly the point made by the able senior Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], before the Committee on Government Operations, that a new Secretary of Transportation must be charged with the responsibility of insuring that all departments and agencies act in accordance with a unified national transportation policy. This point becomes especially important when we realize that the U.S. Government is the largest ocean shipper in the world.

The Great Lakes and their neighbor States are of enormous economic importance to the United States, containing over 40 percent of all industry and contributing about the same percentage of all taxes to the U.S. Government. Surely such an area must and should receive fair and equitable treatment.

I ask unanimous consent that an article printed in the Journal of Commerce of Tuesday, April 26, 1966, and an article printed in the Journal of Commerce of Wednesday, April 27, 1966, regarding this problem, and also a chart showing military tonnages shipped via the St. Lawrence Seaway from 1959 through 1965 be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Journal of Commerce, Apr. 27, 1966]

LACK OF NEGOTIATION SCORED: AGAFBO LAKES RATES ASSAILED, DEFENDED

(By Alan F. Schoedel)

A Great Lakes port official said yesterday that he was "astounded" by testimony given in New York on Monday that the Military Sea Transportation Service has never in 6 years asked for any reduction of steamship rates on U.S. military cargo shipped from the lakes via St. Lawrence Seaway.

In the current Federal Maritime Commission hearings on military rates of the Atlantic-Gulf American-Flag Berth Operators, Richard Hansen, secretary of AGAFBO, testified that MSTS had reached a pilot, experimental agreement with American-flag vessel operators for lakes service in 1959, the year the seaway was opened.

RENEWED IN 1960

It was renewed in 1960 without change, and has stayed that way, Mr. Hansen said.

Repeating his testimony yesterday, the AGAFBO official said the decision to extend rates and conditions was made before the start of the 1960 seaway season, and that since then MSTS has made "no formal requests for adjustments."

In a statement issued from Toledo, Louis C. Purdey, executive director of the Toledo-Lucas County Port Authority, pointed out that on Monday another official of the Lake Erie had submitted evidence showing the steamship rates on military cargo from the Great Lakes are substantially higher than the commercial rates.

"I am astounded to learn from the testimony of the secretary of AGAFBO that since 1960, MSTS has not requested the negotiation or adjustment of contract steamship rates for military cargo out of the Great Lakes," said Mr. Purdey.

"Toledo and other Great Lakes ports and their Senators and Representatives have been informed repeatedly since 1961 that the Department of Defense was making every effort to obtain lower rates on military cargo from the lakes.

"We are shocked to now discover that in the past 6 years apparently no moves have been made in that direction by either MSTS or AGAFBO."

Defending the unchanged AGAFBO rates from the Lakes, Mr. Hansen said at the hearing yesterday that although marine terminal facilities and canal operations in the Seaway and Welland Canal have been improved since 1959, the geography hasn't changed.

A trip into the Great Lakes still involves a longer voyage for the ship; special expenses, such as tolls, pilotage and additional insurance, and, finally, the problem of the 27-foot draft limit.

Many ships of AGAFBO member lines—the organization represents U.S. steamship companies that transport military freight—can sail full and down from east coast and gulf ports, but cannot get out of the Lakes with a full load, he said.

In 1962, MSTS and the berth operators discussed a possible agreement setting a contract on military cargo from the Great Lakes to the Mediterranean, Mr. Hansen testified.

Largely because of the agency's desire for a discount rate and because of the losses American Export Lines was then experiencing in the Lakes-Mediterranean service, no actual negotiation of rates got under way, he said, and since then MSTS has never made a serious request concerning this route.

The entry of Toledo into the investigation of AGAFBO rates, now nearly ended, apparently comes too late to become a serious factor in this particular case.

R. Stanley Harsh, the Government's hearing counsel, yesterday raised the question of whether the AGAFBO lines intended to make any reply to the Toledo charges, justifying their rates on military cargo from the lakes.

Almer C. Maddy, AGAFBO counsel, replied that he preferred to stand on the record, and pointed out that the FMC always has the power to disapprove rates if it feels they are unduly high.

The Toledo testimony on Monday underscored the sharp decline in shipments of military cargo from the Great Lakes from a total of 151,000 measurement tons in 1962 to 36,000 tons last year, despite the fact that the Midwest produces fantastic quantities of military equipment.

[From the Journal of Commerce, Apr. 26, 1966]

IT HAPPENED AT THE FMC: NONEXISTENT LAKES SERVICE RATES HIT

(By Alan F. Schoedel)

The chicken-or-the-egg dilemma of Great Lakes ports seeking more military cargo but now able to offer only limited American-flag service came to the fore again yesterday as the Federal Maritime Commission resumed its investigation of rates charged by member lines of the *Atlantic-Gulf American-Flag* Berth Operators (AGAFBO).

An official of the Toledo-Lucan County Port Authority charged that the present conference rate structure discriminates against the lake ports.

On military cargo leaving North Atlantic ports, AGAFBO members charge the government less than the commercial rate, but from lake ports this relationship is reversed, said David W. Oberlin, manager of trade development for the Toledo port agency.

However, he acknowledged under cross-examination that there is at present no U.S.-flag line in the Great Lakes conference to northern Europe, the trade on which the testimony centered, and that the only American-flag liner service which Toledo and other ports now can offer has been a monthly sailing by American Export Isbrandtsen Lines.

St. Lawrence Seaway reports submitted by Mr. Oberlin showed that military cargo moving via the Seaway reached a peak of 151,000 measurement tons in 1962, and declined steadily after that to 36,000 measurement tons last year.

Mr. Oberlin declared that in 1964, a year in which only 84,800 tons of military cargo moved down the Seaway, the east coast ports handled more than 3.2 million tons of cargo from the Midwest which could have been shipped via lake ports.

Attorneys for AGAFBO members challenged Mr. Oberlin's testimony on the grounds that the statistics he presented did not differentiate between liner cargo—the freight with which the hearing is concerned—and that transported from the lakes in full shiploads and in "controlled ships," such as those of the Military Sea Transportation Service.

W. B. Ewers, counsel for Moore-McCormack Lines, cited testimony given in another case by a high officer of the Military Traffic and Marine Terminal Service, to the effect that liner military shipments from the lakes actually increased slightly from 1963 to 1964, rising from 33,410 to 33,841 measurement tons.

The same source, Mr. Ewers declared, indicated that only about 2,000 long tons of military cargo was diverted from lake ports in 1964. But Mr. Oberlin, with indicated support from hearing examiner C. W. Robinson, immediately challenged the precise definition of the word "diverted" as it was used in the other case.

Did it take into account, asked Mr. Oberlin, all the volume of military cargo that might have moved via lake ports if they had a long-time pattern of competitive rates?

THIRTY-DOLLAR SAVINGS CITED

John McWilliam, counsel for the Toledo port, submitted a statement by R. J. Hart, traffic manager of Kaiser, Jeep International Corp. of Toledo, to the effect that the company saved an average of $30 per vehicle when it shipped via Toledo and the seaway, as compared with Atlantic Coast ports.

The company has just received a Government contract amounting to more than $90 million, to produce 17,676 trucks, all of them to be manufactured at its Toledo plant.

Mr. Oberlin repeatedly declared the belief of his organization that, "since commercial shippers can and do enjoy cost savings" by using the seaway, the Government should be able to do the same.

Conference commercial rates for Jeeps are $26.50 per measurement ton from the Great Lakes and $31.05 from Atlantic Coast ports, Mr. Oberlin said. AGAFBO rates on the same vehicles shipped as military cargo to the Hamburg-Bordeaux range are $26.50 from the Atlantic Coast, $31.40 from the Great Lakes, he said.

When stevedoring rates are included, the rates on such military cargo are $29.92 from the east coast, $36.12 from the Great Lakes, he declared.

The rate structure, said Mr. Oberlin, is discriminatory against the Midwest ports. Their terminal cargo-handling rates could be lower if a greater volume of military freight came their way, he contended. At present, he acknowledged, the disparity in terminal costs is about $7 per vehicle in favor of the Atlantic coast.

Mr. Ewers pointed out that military testimony had given several reasons why cargo was shipped via the east coast, such as that lakes services could not make the overseas delivery date required, that there was insufficient cargo to induce the vessel operator to call at a given lake port, or that the military had no terminal contract with the port.

Mr. Oberlin admitted that the Atlantic coast has a great deal more liner service than the lakes, and that service to Toledo is not adequate to handle shipments of all vehicles produced under the aforementioned Kaiser Jeep contract.

The lake ports' problem, Mr. Oberlin said, is that large quantities of military cargo are generated in their hinterland, but they can't try to attract it because the lines do not offer the necessary competitive rates. Without the service, he indicated, the lake ports can't get the cargo.

"All of this cargo originates right in our own backyard, but for some strange reason it is more economical for the Government to ship it through the east coast, and it's more economical for the commercial shipper to ship it through the Great Lakes," he said.

Military cargo tonnages shipped via St. Lawrence Seaway

Year	Measurement tons	Approximate gross tons
1959	91,000	22,000
1960	76,000	19,000
1961	59,000	18,000
1962	151,000	52,000
1963	131,000	49,000
1964	[1] 84,800	41,000
1965	36,000	13,000

[1] For comparative purposes, a total of 3,291,851 measurement tons of military cargo moved via the east coast ports during the 1964 seaway season.

TARIFF NEGOTIATIONS AND THE AMERICAN SELLING PRICE VALUATION

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, New Jersey has more plants for the production of synthetic organic dyes, pigments, and intermediates than any other State. Of the Nation's 138 establishments of the dye and intermediates industry in 1963, New Jersey had 42—more than twice the number of any other State. This industry provided jobs for some 26,000 workers in 1963—nearly 10,000 of these jobs were located in New Jersey.

The producers of dyes, pigments, and intermediates have a $74 million annual payroll in New Jersey. Moreover, in 1963 they spent $37 million for plant construction and equipment, and $168 million for materials. These payments are of obvious importance to New Jersey's economic life. When the stability and growth potential of an important industry like this and the welfare of its workers are threatened by proposed Government policies, it is my duty as the senior Senator in the State to give these matters very careful attention.

The dye and intermediates industry exists in the United States because a distinguished and thoughtful statesman from New Jersey acted contrary to his normal liberal trade convictions in providing a unique type of tariff protection for the industry. President Woodrow Wilson, finding himself handicapped in World War I by the lack of a dye and intermediates industry, took the leadership in securing enactment of legislation to provide a system of customs duties for the products of this industry which could not be manipulated in any degree by the members of the European dye cartel.

This procedure is known as the American selling price because the value for duty purposes of imported dyes and intermediates is determined by reference to the U.S. selling price of the competitive product made in this country. Since the export, or foreign value of the foreign-produced dye is not used in U.S. customs determination, unlike most other products subject to ad valorem duties, the powerful European producers cannot manipulate dutiable value to serve their own ends. Until the American selling price value system was established, U.S. producers had repeatedly been driven out of business by members of the European cartel.

Now it appears that pressures exerted in behalf of the European dye industry have marked the American selling price for elimination in the Kennedy round. On March 12 the Honorable W. Michael Blumenthal, the U.S. Deputy Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, declared in a public address in Rome, Italy:

> The United States is willing to negotiate on ASP in the Kennedy round.

Again, on March 16, 1966, speaking in Bad Godesberg, Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Blumenthal publicly stated:

> The United States is prepared to negotiate on ASP in the Kennedy round.

He also said on that occasion that concessions on ASP could be included in the final agreement in the Kennedy round if the United States received a fully reciprocal quid pro quo. Mr. Blumenthal could not have been more definite in signaling a U.S. intention to bargain away the American selling price customs valuation procedure in the present trade agreement negotiations.

The Kennedy round, of course, is the name given the hoped-for multilateral trade agreement negotiations commenced under the auspices of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in May 1963. The tariff bargaining session was convoked upon the initiative of the United States after the President was armed for the purpose with the considerable negotiating authority provided in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. I supported that legislation, and I supported our Government's strenuous efforts to carry out broad-gaged multilateral negotiations under its authority in the Kennedy round.

The point of my remarks today, however, is that the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 did not authorize the President to negotiate for such a basic change in our customs valuation rules as the elimination of the American selling price.

The key delegating language in the act is found in section 201(a)—and the words used are those previously used in all of the trade agreements legislation commencing with Cordell Hull's pioneering act of 1934. These words empower the President, after concluding an agreement, to proclaim such modification or continuance of any existing duty or other import restriction as may be necessary to carry out the agreement. These words have never been construed to include a change in customs valuation procedures. The report of the Ways and Means Committee of the House on the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 definitely states that this language "does not include the elimination of import restrictions which are not duties"—House Report No. 1818, 87th Congress, page 34.

The State Department admitted in a document filed with the Committee on Finance of this body in 1951 that the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, itself a trade agreement negotiated under delegated authority in trade agreements legislation, could not contradict U.S. law providing for the use of American selling price. Thus, the Department acknowledged that article VII of GATT prohibiting the use of the value of domestic articles for customs valuation could not become operative so far as the United States was concerned without specific legislation to abolish the use of ASP. Compare hearings, Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, part 2, pages 1197, 1198.

After the United States entered into GATT, the Executive Department tried on two occasions to secure the enactment of legislation which would abolish the ASP. In both cases Congress declined to act—H.R. 8304, 81st Congress, 2d session, and H.R. 1535, 82d Congress, 1st session. Then, in the Customs Simplification Act of 1956, Public Law 927, Congress specifically reenacted the American selling price valuation basis.

What are we to think, then, of Mr. Blumenthal's recent public statements announcing that the United States will negotiate the elimination of the American selling price valuation procedure? Subsequent to Mr. Blumenthal's remarks, I am advised that spokesmen for the Executive Department, including representatives of Governor Herter, the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, have stated that the Special Representative does not now intend to attempt the elimination of the American selling price rule for dyes, pigments, intermediates, other benzenoid chemicals, and rubber-soled footwear through the use of the President's power to proclaim modifications in duties in implementation of a trade agreement. Rather, these spokesmen are reported to have said that the Executive Department will "come to the Congress" and ask for legislation to ratify an agreement which promises the elimination of the ASP subject to congressional ratification.

These reports, if correct, announce a procedure which would put Congress into the position of being confronted with a fait accompli. If we failed to enact such after-the-fact authority, the President might be embarrassed and consequences which we are incapable of measuring could be inflicted upon our trade relations. On the other hand, if we ratify such an agreement by enacting suitable legislation after the fact, we will be proceeding in a manner possibly most harmful to the domestic interests which we have the duty to uphold as elected representatives of our States. Furthermore, it will be almost impossible for us to evaluate the consequences to our trade relations of our refusal to act.

Congress should not again be so circumscribed in its consideration of such an important matter. Out of respect for the legitimate interests of the 10,000 citizens of New Jersey who are employed in the dye and intermediate plants in my State, as well as the 25,000 workers employed in these establishments throughout the Nation, I join in the sentiments expressed by Senator RIBICOFF and 12 other Members of this body in Senate Concurrent Resolution 83 which was introduced on March 21, 1966.

That resolution advises the Executive Department of the sense of the Congress that no agreement should be entered into in the Kennedy Round which would require congressional ratification after the fact. The President and his Special Representative for Trade Negotiations should limit themselves to the precise scope of the considerable authority delegated to the President in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and not venture beyond into areas which would require supplementary legislation by the Congress.

The Congress will have enough to do in the next year or two in evaluating the manner in which the authority delegated in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 has been used, in considering an extension of that act, without being required to deal also with requests to legitimize the negotiations entered into ostensibly under the authority of that act.

This problem is of urgent interest because of the continuing rapid rate of increase in imports of dyes, pigments, and intermediates subject to valuation on the American selling price basis. From 1962 to 1964 imports of these products increased by 32 percent. In 1965, imports increased even more rapidly, rising 41 percent to a level of 13 million pounds.

In 1964, imports had penetrated the domestic market to the extent of more than 4 percent by quantity and more than 7 percent by value. The very large increase which followed in 1965 demonstrates that the foreign producers are able, notwithstanding the ASP system of customs valuation for such products, to enter the American market for dyes and pigments to a significant degree and at an accelerating rate. Certainly the ASP in the light of these data cannot fairly be regarded as a formidable trade barrier.

I urge the members of the Committee on Finance promptly to act, and act favorably, on Senate Concurrent Resolution 83. I shall give my support to the legislation when it reaches the floor.

MOTION PICTURE "AND NOW MIGUEL" DEPICTS LITTLE-KNOWN WAY OF LIFE OF NEW MEXICO PASTORES

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, last night, I had the pleasure of previewing an outstanding motion picture which tells the story of a sheep-raising Spanish-American family in the mountains of northern New Mexico.

"And Now Miguel" is based on the book of the same name by Arthur Krumgold which won the Newbery Medal as the best literature for children in 1954.

It is a simple story of a young boy's desire to follow in the footsteps of his father and grandfather before him.

The film points out that Miguel is the descendant of "pastores" who have been raising sheep in the rugged highlands of our State since the days of the conquistadores, and is thus able to tell some of the history of this little-known aspect of American life.

The entire picture was filmed in New Mexico. Many of the people in the picture, and the sheep as well, are native New Mexicans. There are scenes at San Ildefonso Pueblo and Abiquiu Pueblo, which have been Indian villages since long before the first Spanish sheepherder arrived.

The grandeur and beauty of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains and the high, dry plateau country north and west of Taos are beautifully depicted.

Throughout the movie, there are glimpses of sheepshearing, lambing, wool bargaining and buying, and the unending guerrilla warfare betwen the herdsmen and the wild animals which prey on their flocks.

It was my privilege to act as cohost for the preview of "And Now Miguel" with the senior Senator from New Mexico, Senator ANDERSON, at the Motion Picture Association studio here.

Our most distinguished guests were the Vice President of the United States and his wife and the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS]. I think I can say for all of them that it was an evening that we all enjoyed thoroughly.

"And Now Miguel" will have its world premier in Albuquerque on June 1. I wish it the success that it so richly deserves.

THE SOUTHERN CATTLE INDUSTRY AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, several times during 1965, I addressed the Senate on the potential for business and economic advancement in the South based upon the development of our cattle and livestock industries.

The nine States of the Southeast last year experienced a beef deficit of about $400 million, and a pork deficit of about $300 million; that is, production in this region was that much lower than consumption. Earlier today, I related to the Senate some estimates by agricultural authorities of similar meat deficits in Western Europe.

Over the period of the next 10 years, such levels of demand would support domestic sales of approximately $7 billion and export sales of roughly a similar amount. The growth of population and prosperity, both at home and abroad, can be counted upon to increase the long-term demand for high quality American livestock and meat products. Meanwhile, recent outbreaks of hoof-and-mouth disease in Europe will make foreign demand especially intense in the next few years.

The South is favored by nature for cattle raising and exports. It possesses a warm climate, abundant land and water, and several outlets to the sea.

It is interesting that Alabama presently ranks 20th in this country in the number of beef cattle, with about 1,450,000 head. Just ahead are other Southeastern States: Tennessee, Louisiana, Florida, Mississippi, and Kentucky. Livestock production in this region is thus in a position to grow in response to the needs which I have described.

During the past year the South has witnessed significant decreases in overland rail rates for feed gains, and air cargo and ocean freight rates for beef and cattle. The stage may thus be set for what could be a golden era in our economy, extending beyond our farms, to the processing, transportation, storage, financing and insurance businesses which are needed to service such production and trade.

Such developments will benefit consumers as well as producers by bringing a greater supply and variety of meat products into the area. The increased business will be felt by small farmers as well as large farmers, and smaller as well as larger meatpackers.

We know that growth has been taking place in some segments of the southern farm economy, but it has been uneven. For instance, in the Alabama poultry industry, cash receipts for broilers and eggs increased from $112 million in 1958 to $182 million in 1964, an increase of over 60 percent. During the same years, receipts from the cattle industry actually declined from $94 million to $76 million, partially because of lower cattle prices. However, even with higher prices in 1965, Alabama's marketing of cattle and calves was estimated to total about $85 million, which is still below the 1958 figure.

Further, although Alabama rates second in the South in new feed lot installations, with over 32 such facilities in the past 3 years, the number of cattle on feed in Alabama is lower in 1966 than it was in 1960.

These figures are set forth in a fine report furnished by the Economic Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. I ask unanimous consent that this report be included in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, there have been new initiatives in the export field, as described in a recent article in the Foreign Agriculture magazine with respect to livestock export programs of the State of Florida. I would like to request that this article, too, be included in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 2.)

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, cattle shipments from the port of Mobile in my own State last year included the largest shipment of live animals ever to leave the United States.

It is my hope that the States of the South, such as Alabama, will be in the forefront of developments in the beef industry. As I announced previously, my Senate Small Business Committee will soon reconvene its hearings to examine some of the problems involved in developing livestock markets, particularly overseas. I hope that southern thought and action from many sources will be brought to bear in order to make the most of these opportunities for economic progress.

EXHIBIT 1

JANUARY 25, 1966.

INFORMATION ABOUT THE CATTLE INDUSTRY IN ALABAMA SUPPLIED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Meat animals, cattle particularly, account for an important part of cash receipts from farming in Alabama. In 1964, cash receipts from meat animals totaled $109 million, 18 percent of total cash receipts from farm marketings in Alabama. Receipts from cattle and calves amounted to $75.9 million, 12.5 percent of total cash receipts.

Cash receipts from some other agricultural commodities, however, are larger in Alabama than receipts from cattle and calves or meat animals in total. In 1964, poultry and eggs accounted for 31.3 percent of total cash receipts and cotton for 25 percent.

There has been a moderate growth in the cattle industry in Alabama. The January 1 inventory of cattle and calves in the State was 1,691,000 head in 1958 and in 1964 was 1,775,000 head. The inventory increased to 1,810,000 head on January 1, 1965, up 7 percent from 1958. The live weight of cattle and calf production in the State also has gone up, from 471 million pounds in 1958 to 487 million pounds in 1964. Alabama ranked 21st among the 50 States in live weight of farm production of cattle and calves in 1964. Production in Alabama in relation to production in other States is shown in table No. 11 of the May issue of the Livestock and Meat Situation, a copy of which is enclosed.

Although production was larger in Alabama in 1964, the $75.9 million cash receipts from farm marketings of cattle and calves were smaller than the $94.2 million received in 1958 because of widely different prices in the 2 years. Cattle prices averaged higher in 1958 and lower in 1964 than in most other recent years. Because of generally higher cattle prices in 1965 than in 1964, it is probable that cash receipts in Alabama from marketings of cattle and calves in 1965 more nearly approached the 1963 level of $85 million and accounted for a slightly larger percentage of total cash receipts than in 1964.

The percentage of total cash receipts from farming in Alabama accounted for by cattle and calves declined from 19.6 percent in 1958 to 12.5 percent in 1964. The changes in cattle prices mentioned above contributed to this decline. However, production of broilers and eggs in the State increased substantially during this period and added considerably to total cash receipts. Cash receipts from broilers and eggs increased from $112.8 million in 1958, 23.5 percent of total receipts, to $182.2 million in 1964, 30 percent of total receipts in the State. Since expansion of the cattle industry was more moderate, cattle, and calves accounted for a smaller part of much larger total cash receipts in 1964 than in 1958.

The Department of Agriculture cattle on feed reports have included an increasing number of States over the years. Alabama was first included in the January 1 report for 1960, and was included in the quarterly reports beginning with October 1, 1961. A table showing the number of cattle and calves on feed in Alabama follows.

M. L. UPCHURCH,
Administrator.

Cattle and calves on feed in Alabama: Number of head on Jan. 1, 1960 and 1961 and quarterly from Oct. 1, 1961

Year	Jan. 1	Apr. 1	July 1	Oct. 1
	Number	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*
1960	40,000			
1961	38,000			23,000
1962	40,000	24,000	15,000	22,000
1963	40,000	25,000	15,000	22,000
1964	37,000	23,000	10,000	19,000
1965	44,000	29,000	16,000	19,000
1966	37,000			

EXHIBIT 2

[From Foreign Agriculture magazine, Mar. 28, 1966]

LIVESTOCK GETS EMPHASIS IN FLORIDA'S PROGRAM TO WIDEN OVERSEAS MARKET FOR FARM PRODUCTS

The State of Florida recently launched an agricultural export drive aimed first at expanding shipments of livestock, especially breeding cattle, but intended eventually to promote all Florida agricultural products overseas.

An important vehicle for this promotion is the Florida International Agricultural Trade Council, a nonprofit corporation that works closely with the Florida Department of Agriculture (FDA). Orginally an association of individuals and groups with an interest in the livestock industry, the council recently added a representative of Florida's poultry industry to its board of directors and hopes to include other commodity groups.

Begun 3 years ago, the council program moved into higher gear last year with two events marking the growing interest in export markets by Florida's livestock industry.

ENDORSED LIVESTOCK SHIPMENT

First was the shipment of 330 head of beef and dairy breeding cattle to Venezuela from Tampa last June. Though not the largest shipment of cattle from the Sunshine State, this one was endorsed by Florida's Department of Agriculture and cattle breeders throughout the State as representative of the service Florida cattlemen can provide foreign buyers.

FDA, in cooperation with the shipper and FAS, sent a livestock marketing specialist to care for the cattle en route to Venezuela and after arrival, note how transportation could be improved, and meet with ranchers and FAS personnel.

According to John D. Stiles, Director of FDA's Division of Marketing, "This shipment was a real rallying point for Florida cattlemen and generated much interest in the State in expanding exports of all products."

Second impetus for Florida's export drive was the visit to South America last summer of State Commissioner of Agriculture Doyle Conner and a group of Florida cattlemen. The commissioner became convinced that the Latin American market for Florida cattle could be widened substantially. Not long afer his return, the State took on a livestock specialist to deal solely with the export and promotion of Florida cattle, pigs, and horses.

Following this, brochures were published in Spanish and Portuguese to inform Latin American buyers of the types of Florida livestock available to them and to invite them to visit Florida and see for themselves. In December, FDA ran an ad with a similar message in the Spanish-language agricultural publication, La Hacienda.

EXPANDING LIVESTOCK PROMOTION

This year will see wide expansion of Florida's export program, with the initiation of a number of new projects.

Representatives from FDA and the Florida Cattlemen's Association attended the Verona Cattle Fair in Italy March 13–21, where 10 head of Florida Brangus, Braford, Charolais, and Santá Gertrudis cattle were shown and Italian brochures showing the types of Florida livestock available were distributed.

Florida breeders plan to attend every big Latin American livestock show. Whenever possible, Florida products other than livestock will also be exhibited. First will be the Central American Cattle Fair—largest show of this type in the area—in April. Commissioner Connor will head the delegation to the fairgrounds in Guatemala City. Central American cattlemen will be invited to visit Florida for livestock fairs, tours, and meetings with breeders.

About 200 Latin American cattlemen will be invited this year to attend the beef and dairy cattle short courses held at the University of Florida each spring. Slated for early May, the courses will emphasize marketing, and an FAS marketing specialist will address the group. Unique in this year's program will be simultaneous translation into Spanish of all proceedings. Florida is the only State to invite large groups from other countries to such seminars.

LATIN AMERICAN OFFICIALS HERE

Sometime this summer Florida plans to hold a conference for Latin American Secretaries of Agriculture aimed at giving them an opportunity to exchange marketing ideas with Florida agribusiness leaders. FDA officials hope the conference will further Florida's relations with Latin America and better meet the needs of its livestock buyers.

Florida's biggest livestock market is for breeding cattle, both dairy and beef. In 1964, the latest full year for which figures are available, the State exported 1,763 head of beef breeding cattle—ranking second after Texas—and 1,065 head of dairy breeding cattle. Purebred Brahmans, at 1,471 head, led the beef category while Holsteins, at 583, and Brown Swiss, at 397, were tops among dairy cattle exports.

All but about 80 of these cattle were shipped to Latin America, with Venezuela top market for both beef and dairy cattle. In 1964, that country imported 479 head of beef and 439 head of dairy breeding cattle from Florida. Other big markets for beef cattle were Nicaragua, El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Guatemala; big ones for dairy cattle were the Dominican Republic and the Bahama Islands.

Realizing the growing importance of the export market to Florida growers and breeders, the Trade Council asks all its members to subscribe to a "code of ethical practices in the marketing of products." Those signing affirm that they will ship only quality products which comply with all health regulations and conform to buyers' specifications.

FLORIDA'S BIG CHICK-EGG EXPORTS

The recent addition of a poultry industry representative to its board of directors was the council's first step toward diversifying the commodities it promotes in overseas markets.

Demand in the Caribbean and Latin America for U.S. baby chicks and hatching eggs has developed in Florida a large export business in these products. Heretofore, promotion has been carried on by individual firms, some of which have their own foreign representatives, as well as by exporters with an active trade between Florida ports and southern markets.

Movement of Florida's baby chicks and hatching eggs is primarily via Miami International Airport, which also serves as an outlet for producers in many other States.

The United States exported about 11.6 million baby chicks and 4.1 million dozen hatching eggs to the Caribbean and Central and South America in 1964, much of which moved through Florida. In addition, Florida seaports, especially Miami and Jacksonville, are major outlets for U.S. exports of ready-to-cook poultry to the Caribbean and Puerto Rico.

FRUIT AND VEGETABLE MARKETS

The export market is also important to the Florida fruit and vegetable industry. Promotion of citrus products is handled by the Florida Citrus Commission, which cooperates with FAS in market development. Operations were suspended after the freeze damages of December 1962, as supplies were short and prices high. Now, with plentiful supplies and lower prices, the citrus industry is making a renewed effort to expand the overseas market for processed citrus and fresh grapefruit. Major emphasis is being put on concentrated orange and canned grapefruit juices.

Canada, primary market for Florida's fresh produce, takes large quantities of fresh winter vegetables and significant amounts of fresh and processed citrus. The Canadian market is quite similar to that of the United States, and special promotion is not considered necessary.

Europe has taken small quantities of Florida's fresh celery and a few other winter vegetables. In attempts to expand this market, transportation has proved a major stumbling block, but the State recently began to promote its fresh produce in Europe in cooperation with Pan American Airways and Trans World Airlines. The Caribbean market is small but important for seasonal vegetables.

IMPROVED PORT FACILITIES

Stepped-up activity to sell more Florida products—agricultural and otherwise—abroad has led to a corresponding move toward improving the State's port facilities. With ample ports, a relatively stable water level throughout the year, storage space, and equipment for easy loading and unloading, Florida also hopes to attract northern shippers during the winter.

This year, millions of dollars will be poured into diversifying facilities at the State's 14 major seaports. At Tampa, Florida's principal port for agricultural exports, a project is underway to expand warehouses and provide pens and loading facilities for 500 head of cattle. These will be designed for easy expansion as it becomes necessary. Tampa in 1965 reported a record cargo year, doing a thriving export business in cattle and a new moneymaker—phosphate.

Two other west coast ports, Pensacola and Panama City, have earmarked some $5 million for diversification. In Pensacola, plans also include massive storage facilities and the first trade center on Florida's gulf coast.

Over on the Atlantic, the ports of Palm Beach, Port Everglades, and Jacksonville expect to add new terminals and wharves, with a $100 million expenditure anticipated for Jacksonville alone. Miami, where new facilities were opened last year is reporting substantial rises in cargo revenue as a result. A project to ease shipment of livestock is also underway at Miami International Airport.

DEVELOPING MARKETS FOR THE SOUTHERN LIVESTOCK INDUSTRY

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, as a member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and also as a delegate of the Congress to the Kennedy round tariff negotiations in Geneva, I have followed closely the prospects for the development of meat production and livestock exports from this country, and particularly States of the South. I have spoken before the Senate on several occasions on these matters, and have referred to predictions by prominent agricultural authorities of an agricultural boom in the South in years to come.

In this connection, I note that the Senate Small Business Committee, under the chairmanship of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] is about to resume hearings to explore long-range thinking on the problems and possibilities of commercial sales abroad by the American meat industry. The Senator from Alabama and I have long been in agreement on the significance of these possibilities and their potential benefit for businesses throughout the States of the South.

Export markets are important to the meat producers and processors today as a high-price outlet for many meat products, such as variety meats, which are not as popular with our housewives as choice cuts of meat. These growing markets are also available at times when marketing conditions at home are unfavorable. For instance, in 1964, exports of livestock and meat products rose some $370 million to $487 million, a jump of almost one-third. In 1965, despite two prolonged waterfront strikes and markedly higher prices for meat in this country, the export sales for livestock products remained at this high level of $487 million.

Undoubtedly, the work of the Small Business Committee in securing ocean and air freight reductions averaging 25 percent, and focusing attention on overseas possibilities, is reflected in the maintenance of this level of exports.

As Senator SPARKMAN has pointed out, there are many formidable barriers to consolidation of our present markets, and even greater problems to be resolved if the American beef industry is to increase its role in servicing the mounting demand in Western Europe. Those of us from States with farm economies are aware that the cattle-raising cycle extends over 8 years and the period of gestation for a calf covers a year and a half.

It therefore seems to me that hearings, which will emphasize careful thinking and planning in livestock raising and exports over the next 5 or 10 years, will serve a very useful purpose. Our businessman are aware of the meat production deficits which have been reported to be as high as $700 million during 1965 in the nine States of the Southeast. With the best available information on foreign market potential, as well as domestic, our livestock industry, its managers and investors, will thus be in a better position to take advantage of the opportunities for economic progress.

I would like to commend the Senator from Alabama for his forward-looking approach, and his Committee on Small Business for what it has already accomplished in this field. I shall be pleased to join in doing what can be done in this body to advance the new era of prosperity in southern agriculture.

PENN-CENTRAL MERGER

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I am gratified that the Interstate Commerce Commission, in its decisions providing for the merger of the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads, established the conditional provision that the newly merged company absorb the remaining passenger service and all freight operations of the bankrupt New Haven Railroad.

In fact, an interim arrangement in the paralleled decision has provided that the New Haven Railroad will be required to operate through the end of 1966, serving the major interstate passenger trains between Boston and New York, plus considerable commuter service in both the New York and Boston areas. The latter is particularly important to my own Rhode Island, where as the ICC figures showed, some 8,500 persons a week use the railroad to travel to Boston and back. I am happy also to note that an important element in local commuting in Rhode Island, a train designated as the 508, is among the trains which must be continued under the ICC's interim plan. I regret, of course, that the Commission had to permit discontinuance of 40 of the New Haven's 74 scheduled daily through passenger trains because they can no longer be required by public convenience, but I was pleased to note at the same time that the Commission found that the New Haven's passenger service in general is "an essential component of the commerce of New England," and that there was, therefore, no basis for the wholesale discontinuance of the service as sought by the railroad's trustees.

Looking ahead, the ICC wisely calls for a "sound restructuring" of the New Haven's passenger service within the framework of the new merged company, and it calls for cooperative efforts by State and local authorities and the new merged railroad to provide continuing passenger service with public financial support where needed. I hope that these cooperative efforts will be brought to an early fruition. Should they require the formal framework of an interstate public authority we have pending in Congress a bill which I proposed last year for this very purpose.

Finally, I was most pleased to note that the ICC decision of continuance of New Haven service took account of my efforts over the past 4 years to modernize and update our rail passenger service to provide truly high-speed ground transportation. The Commission wisely noted that the Federal Government now is engaged, as a considerable result of my concern, in a $90 million program of research and development and demonstrations of new rail passenger equipment, especially on the northern end of the New Haven line. The Commission properly observed that the successful adaptation of this new experimental equipment "could have great significance" in meeting the transportation problems of New England. I am indeed glad that the ICC took cognizance of these parallel developments because they do, in fact, hold promise of an entirely new kind of railroad service that may attract increased greater patronage at considerable reduced operating costs. Such factors certainly will figure prominently in the restructuring of the New Haven's service which must result from today's decisions.

THE GETTY CASE REVIVED

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, under the heading "The Getty Case Revived," I wish to make certain brief remarks prior to requesting to have printed in the RECORD certain matters in connection therewith.

Mr. President, last week there occurred in Oregon the second edition of the serious controversy which erupted initially about a year ago, involving the status of State Director Russell Getty of the Bureau of Land Management.

Many charges concerning an alleged plot to have Mr. Getty transferred to a new Bureau of Land Management position out of the State of Oregon were headlined in the newspapers of Portland, Oreg. These stories were followed up in some quarters by demands that Director Stoddard of the Bureau of Land Management be either dismissed or suspended.

In respect to this controversy I wish to say that, I do not "shoot from the hip." I endeavor to get the facts before I take a position on any issue. Following this policy, I wrote to Secretary Udall on April 26, asking for a full report on the most recent allegations in this case.

I ask unanimous consent that my letter to Secretary Udall and copies of the relevant newspaper items be printed in the RECORD, together with a wire addressed to me under date of April 22, by Vernon S. White and my reply of that date to him.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

APRIL 26, 1966.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,
Secretary of Interior,
Department of Interior,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: On April 21, 1966, an article appeared in the Oregon Journal of Portland, Oreg., under the caption, "New Row Breeding on Getty." This article indicated, in effect, that there have been conversations between Warne Nunn, assistant to the Governor of Oregon, Dean Arnold Bolle, of the University of Montana, and Lyle Baker, of Portland, Oreg., concerning the status of Russell Getty, State director of Portland, Oreg., Bureau of Land Management.

The Journal article alluded to an alleged proposal by Bolle and Baker to have Getty transferred out of the State of Oregon to some other bureau of land management position. A copy of the Oregon Journal article is enclosed.

On the following day, April 22, 1966, the Oregonian, of Portland, Oreg., contained a similar item under the heading, "Current Attempt To Remove Getty Involves Behind-Scenes 'Politics.'"

On April 23, the Oregonian published articles, entitled "Land Swap Report Discussed by Baker," "Udall Denies Change in Status of Getty," and a third item entitled, "Three Oregon Solons Ask Office Rental Account." In another portion of the Oregonian for April 23, there followed a story entitled, "Hatfield Calls for Dismissal of BLM Head." On April 24, an article entitled, "Two BLM Officials Hear Getty Removal Slated," appeared in the Oregonian. Copies of all of these items are enclosed.

A reading between the lines of these newspaper stories creates the inference that Dean Bolle, as a friend of Bureau of Land Management Director Stoddard, sought an arrangement to bring about State Director Getty's transfer from the State of Oregon and that this proposal was in some way related to the report on the Point Reyes-Curry County land transfer proposal which is now being prepared by the General Accounting Office.

In view of the seriousness of the charges set forth in these newspaper articles, as well as the demands for the dismissal of Director Stoddard which have emanated from Oregon sources, I would appreciate receiving a full report on this entire matter at your earliest convenience. I would like to have answers to all of the charges contained in the enclosed press items and, in turn, I shall place your report in the Congressional Record so that it will be available to the public.

In supplying the report, I believe it is important that you include a statement by Dean Bolle so that we may have the advantage of his version of the stories that have appeared in 'the Oregon press with respect to him.

A specific point which deserves particular attention is this: In the enclosed Getty Pratt article of April 22 appear there statements:

"Getty has said Bolle offered him the job as assistant director of the BLM in Washington, D.C., with an increase in pay. The forestry dean then apparently returned to Missoula confident the deal had been made and called Nunn the following day to say Getty was on his way.

"However, Getty reported the whole conversation to Stewart Udall, the Secretary of the Interior, and the whole situation washed out."

However, an A. Robert Smith story of April 23, was also in the Oregonian and said this:

"Informed of reports that Baker had advanced a scheme for shifting Getty to Washington, Udall said he had never heard of any such scheme from either Getty or from Charles Luce, whom Udall designated last year to intercede as a stabilizing force in the Stoddard-Getty dispute."

In my opinion, it is important that the conflicting reports as to what Mr. Getty did or did not say to you, as mentioned in the two newspaper extracts quoted above, would be particularly helpful in setting the record straight.

In view of the fact that I have begun to receive a large volume of correspondence on this latest development involving the Bureau of Land Management in the State of Oregon, I would appreciate a full and detailed report so that it can be made available to the general public, as well as to the constituents who have communicated with me on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Wayne Morse.

[From the Oregon Journal, Apr. 21, 1966]

New Row Brewing on Getty

(By Doug McKean)

Another explosion within the Bureau of Land Management, again involving the controversy over Russell Getty, local BLM director, appeared in the offing Thursday as Oregon's Democratic congressional delegation asked for an accounting of funds to the University of Montana and to a local research office of the university.

U.S. Representatives Robert Duncan, Al Ullman and Edith Green, in a letter to Charles Stoddard, head of the BLM, asked for a complete accounting of funds or expenses allocated to Arnole Bolle, dean of the University of Montana School of Forestry and to Lyle Baker, who occupies an office in Portland.

Friday's letter followed one sent April 13 by Duncan to Stewart Udall. The April 13 letter asked that Udall check rumors that Getty would be transferred out of his present position "the day after the election."

Warne Nunn, assistant to Gov. Mark Hatfield, said Baker, who runs the University of Montana timber marketing research office in the Terminal Sales Building, called on him, said that an audit report would be "critical" of Getty, that this might reflect on Gov. Mark Hatfield and said it was important to get Getty out of the State.

Baker said any conversations with Nunn were in the "interests of the timber industry and the State of Oregon."

Nunn said later that both Bolle and Baker called on him and Bolle said the situation between Getty and Stoddard is deteriorating and that it would be to the interest of the State that he leave. Nunn quoted Bolle as saying he believed he could arrange a transfer.

At Bolle's request, Nunn said, he arranged a meeting between Getty and Bolle.

Getty, through a spokesman, said he was trying to keep the situation from causing more trouble and would have no comment.

Professor Bolle said he knows Stoddard and merely hoped as a "third and disinterested" party he might be able to help in a troublesome situation.

He denied that he offered to get Getty a transfer and said no BLM funds are used in operation of the Portland office, which is run by Baker.

Bolle denied that he had made any attempt to get Getty out of the State and that he merely asked Getty if there was anything he could do and what he (Getty) wanted to do.

He said he has an "informal" relation with Baker, who had told him he had connections in the big lumber companies of Oregon and could interest them in providing research money for the university's forestry school.

The office which Baker occupies also has the names Montana real estate developers on the door and the building directory lists the Summit Turf Club as also occupying that office.

The Montana Governor's office said the real estate developers are also interested in establishing a horse race track in Montana.

A spokesman for the Governor said the university has no record of a BLM grant for Bolle and Baker but that the Montana BLM office does have a "Bolle-Baker" account.

[From the Oregonian, Apr. 22, 1966]

Current Attempt To Remove Getty Involves Behind-Scenes "Politics"

(By Gerry Pratt)

The Washington, D.C., pressure to remove Russell Getty from his job as director of the Bureau of Land Management in Oregon is on again. This time it has come in a series of political dealings that have officials in Oregon and Montana involved.

Getty is the BLM director who incurred the displeasure of BLM's Chief Charles Stoddard last year when Getty opposed a Stoddard project to swap off Oregon BLM timberlands for a parcel of Point Reyes, Calif., land in a deal later known as the "Sweet Swap."

The attack on Getty began to simmer again about 3 months ago when an approach was made to Governor Mark O. Hatfield's office to make a deal to sit still about the removal of Getty from Oregon.

Warne Nunn, administrative assistant to Hatfield, states that Lyle Baker, a Portland part-time television broadcaster, former advertising salesman, made the approach on behalf of Stoddard. His deal, according to Nunn, was that a General Accounting Office report on the "Great Swap" was being made for Senator Wayne Morse and was about to come out with findings that would be detrimental to Hatfield and to Getty.

"Baker said that if we would go along with a Getty transfer, the GAO report could be kept quiet," Nunn said. The report, made at the request of Senator Morse has not been made public.

The University of Montana entered the Getty get-out picture when Dean Arnold Bolle of the university's school of forestry showed up in Salem with Baker for a second meeting. Baker had originally introduced himself to Nunn and presented a card identifying him as a special assistant to the dean of the University of Montana's forestry department.

Bolle asked Nunn to introduce him to Getty and Nunn called Getty to say the dean was coming to see him. Bolle, introducing himself as a longtime and close friend of BLM Director Stoddard, then went to Getty and began discussing Getty's transfer.

Getty has said Bolle offered him the job as assistant director of the BLM in Washington, D.C., with an increase in pay. The forestry dean then apparently returned to Missoula confident the deal had been made and called Nunn the following day to say Getty was on his way.

However, Getty reported the whole conversation to Stewart Udall, the Secretary of the Interior, and the whole situation washed out.

Of interest to the University of Montana officials now is how their forestry dean became involved in the Getty affair and how Baker is able to operate an office in Portland on the 13th floor of the Terminal Sales Building under the title: "University of Montana."

There are several other names on Baker's office door under the university's; these include Lincoln Green of Montana, a California-backed real estate promotion in Montana.

On the lobby index the office is also listed as the headquarters of "Summit Turf Club," a horseracing organization Baker has told his friends he is working with to build a race track in Montana.

Dean Bolle, who admitted Thursday: "We are paying Baker out of some outside research funds," said he was unaware of the University of Montana office in Portland and was at that time trying to contact Baker to remove the name.

UNIVERSITY RECORDS SHOW PAYMENT

Bob Pantzer, financial officer for the university, reported that the university had paid "three or four thousand dollars," to Baker.

"These have been paid out of the university's foundation funds at the request of Dean Bolle who told us he expects to have the money restored from some other outside source," Pantzer stated.

However, a spokesman for Gov. Tim Babcock's office said Thursday, a search of the university's payroll and voucher system failed to reveal any record of payments to Baker.

Dean Bolle admits he went with Baker to Hatfield's office to talk of the removal of Getty from Oregon. He said Baker had made the contact and that "I was reluctant to follow up. But I was a third party and they felt I could put oil on troubled waters. You get the feeling you can play God a little bit," he said.

Bolle said he told Getty there might be some reasonable way to work out the conflict between Getty and Stoddard, the BLM director. "Getty was feeling bitter and caught in the bind," the dean recalls.

"What he really wanted was a raise in the BLM at a raise in salary, not a lateral transfer because that would be a punishment. I told him I would pass the word on. But before I could do anything I found Getty had gone to Washington and told the Secretary (Udall) that I had offered him the job of Deputy Chief of the BLM. I suppose he read into it what was not there."

Getty's version is that Bolle appeared as an oldtime close friend of Stoddard's and "simply said he was hopeful he could work out some way to get me out of the State with an honorable promotion. He told me it would be embarrassing to the Governor and to Senator Morse if I stayed.

"I told him it was impossible," Getty says. "I didn't feel anybody but the Secretary should be offering me a promotion, even if he clearly represented himself as a friend of Stoddard's."

CONFLICT STILL UNSETTLED

Evidence of the bitter conflict that still remains in Washington over Getty's sticking it out in Oregon was brought home a week ago by Ray Dorner, Douglas County commissioner and vice chairman of the O. & C. Association.

Dorner said that while he was visiting Stoddard on O. & C. business, the BLM Chief called him aside and told him that he had had Getty psychoanalyzed. "He whispered in my ear, 'You know what, he's paranoiac. * * *'"

Getty, asked about the remark, said: "If I have been psychoanalyzed, Im not aware of it. That's the interesting part of it. I may need to be, but it hasn't happened, not to my knowledge."

Dorner was uneasy about recounting the incident Thursday: "I did want to report this back to my association board as part of my analysis of the O. & C. situation," he said.

The O. & C. advisory board in Oregon was one of the organizations that opposed the swapping off of Oregon sustained-yield timberlands to pay off the California land owners. Their fear is that Oregon's timberlands could be used for further purchases of parklands around the country, upsetting the carefully planned sustained yield program of Oregon's public timberlands. It was on this basis that Getty originally opposed the "sweet swap."

[From the Oregonian, Apr. 23, 1966]

LAND SWAP REPORT DISCUSSED BY BAKER

(By Gerry Pratt)

Lyle Baker, the contact man in the attempt to remove Russell Getty from his post as director of the Bureau of Land Management in Oregon, admitted Friday that he had discussed the contents of a General Accounting Office report on the "sweet swap" before the report was even released to the Senator for whom it was intended.

Baker called at the Oregonian Friday morning to tell his story of the dealings that led up to an attempt to remove Russell Getty from the BLM in Oregon. In this he recalled his visit to Salem and a conversation with Warne Nunn, Gov. Mark Hatfield's assistant who has said Baker tried to make a deal to suppress the report.

"All I told Nunn was this," Baker said. "I understand the GAO report will reveal all the full facts and I don't think that which has come out in the newspapers previously will agree with the GAO report."

Asked how he managed to form that impression of a report which to this day is still a Government secret, Baker replied: "That's a hell of a good question. That's all I got to say. You wouldn't sandbag me, would you?"

Governor Hatfield vigorously opposed the removal of Getty from Oregon after the BLM director had incurred the wrath of the BLM Chief Charles Stoddard over a Stoddard deal to swap off BLM sustained yield timberlands in Oregon for the Point Reyes parklands in California.

Getty and Hatfield's stand was that such tampering with the sustained yield timber harvest of Government holdings in the State would endanger the whole timber economy of Oregon.

Baker, who came to the Oregonian with Jean Martin King (Mrs. Baker), whose name is on his office door along with the University of Montana's, said he entered the Getty affair at the request of Dean Arnold Bolle of the University of Montana, a longtime and close personal friend of BLM Chief Stoddard.

FUNDS OFFERED FOR LABOR

Bolle has arranged to pay Baker for his work in Oregon out of a University of Montana foundation which reported this week they were prepared to pay Baker up to $5,000 for his work on Dean Bolle's request. The dean had apparently promised the foundation that there would be some funds returning from Baker's work to the foundation.

However Baker said Friday that fund raising was not part of his duties with the university and that he had not raised a nickel for the university. Asked how the university was to replace the foundation money being paid him, Baker replied: "That is the university's problem." He said, "I don't think that's a fair question," when asked how much money the university had paid him so far.

Baker said Bolle is a member of Stoddard's National Advisory Board to the BLM and as such had realized the situation in Oregon was not only confused but perhaps there was something we could do to assist in straightening it out.

"Dean Bolle told me, 'Why don't you investigate it as long as you are down in Portland.'" With these instructions Baker said he made his initial pass at the Governor's office where Nunn said Baker was told the Governor was more interested in having the GAO report published than he was in suppressing the report. Baker never did get to see Hatfield.

A month later Baker appeared in Salem with Dean Bolle and then went to see Getty in a series of negotiations to get Getty out of the State.

Dean Bolle told the Oregonian Thursday that he did not know Baker had an office in Portland and that he was attempting to contact him to have him remove the University of Montana sign from his door. An Associated Press story from Missoula Friday quoted Bolle as stating he had by then contacted Baker and asked him to remove the sign. Baker denied this.

SIGN TO REMAIN ON DOOR

Baker said he had talked with Bolle earlier Friday and that the dean had not asked him to remove the door sign and that it would remain on his door. Baker further objected to this column identifying him as a former advertising space salesman. "I was assistant publisher and marketing director, and I would like that corrected," he said.

Asked about his activities with the Summit Turf Club and the Lincoln Green of Montana real estate promotion, also listed on that office door, Baker turned to Mrs. Baker and said, "That's your particular activity, Jean. As you know, there are two names on that door, and as you know, my wife has been an active and effective public relations and advertising executive."

To which Mrs. Baker explained she was handling the publicity and public relations for both projects.

As a team, both Bakers have also done public relations and promotion work for Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall. This was in Montana a few months ago during Udall's appearance there. However, Baker insisted this was work he performed "for my dean (Bolle) and it was done gratis." The work included arranging press conferences and television appearances for the Secretary of the Interior during his stay in Montana.

Udall was expected to hold a press conference in Washington Friday to discuss the Stoddard-Getty-Baker tieup and perhaps it will help explain Baker's calling card, left at the Oregonian: "Lyle Baker, Special Assistant to the Dean, School of Forestry, Wood Products Marketing Institute, University of Montana, Missoula." In the corner is the university seal which says it was founded in 1893.

[From the Oregonian, Apr. 23, 1966]

UDALL DENIES CHANGE IN STATUS OF GETTY

(By A. Robert Smith)

WASHINGTON.—Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, Friday disavowed any suggestion of a transfer or change in the status of Russell Getty as Oregon State director for the Bureau of Land Management.

Udall told a news conference he had asked Assistant Secretary Harry Anderson to get the facts with respect to reports from Oregon of Government funds being used to underwrite Lyle Baker, a Portland public relations man, in an attempt to move Getty out of Oregon.

Udall said he requested the investigation after receiving a telephone call on the matter about 10 days ago from Representative ROBERT B. DUNCAN.

Anderson, in an interview after Udall's news conference, said he had not completed his investigation. He reiterated Udall's position concerning Getty's status, saying, "My position is that I want Getty to stay in Oregon." Anderson has jurisdiction over BLM and related land agencies.

STATUS UNCHANGED

Udall said he was "surprised, even a bit amazed" that anyone should believe "half-facts or rumors" about a change in Getty's status. He said that was settled last year, when he overruled BLM Director Charles Stoddard, who had given Getty an ultimatum to take another job in the Washington office or resign.

Stoddard, Friday, in an interview, affirmed that Getty's status will not be changed. He said the Interior Department would have a formal statement on the matter in the near future.

"This is a smear from start to finish," declared Stoddard. Both Udall and Stoddard spoke highly of Arnold Bolle, dean of the school of forestry at the University of Montana, who reportedly engaged Baker. Udall said Bolle "is close to the Montana Senators" and well thought of in academic circles.

Stoddard denied that he ever engaged Baker as a consultant. A check of BLM records showed no evidence that Baker has been on the BLM payroll in any capacity.

BLM records Friday showed that the University of Montana has received five financial grants during the past year from BLM totaling $33,900. The university has reported paying Baker some $5,000.

FUNDS UNCONTROLLED

BLM officials said they had no control over the expenditure of these contract funds. BLM records show that the contracts with the university were granted for the following purposes and amounts:

Thirteen thousand dollars for a study of the economic and social effects of multiple-use; $15,600 for research on club moss control; and $2,000 for a similar purpose; $3,000 for evaluation of fire protection methods; and $300 for "Dog Creek waterspreader."

Interior officials, in a word disavow Baker and any activities he has undertaken respecting Getty.

Informed of reports that Baker had advanced a scheme for shifting Getty to Washington, Udall said he had never heard of any such scheme from either Getty or from Charles Luce, whom Udall designated last year to intercede as a stabilizing force in the Stoddard-Getty dispute.

AUTHORITY LACKING

Anderson, on the same subject, said: "I don't know where Baker has any authority to promote Getty."

Anderson, who took office since last year's timberland swap dispute that triggered the Stoddard-Getty dispute, said he had told both men, "here is a job to be done in Oregon, and this job is bigger than personalities. Let's get the job done."

Asked whether he had succeeded yet in getting Stoddard and Getty to work together, Anderson smiled, puffed on his pipe, and declined comment.

Meanwhile, Representative WENDELL WYATT, Republican, of Oregon, joined Oregon's three Democratic Congressmen in requesting an accounting of funds paid to the University of Montana, Bolle and Baker. WYATT also asked Udall to investigate a report that Stoddard had told an Oregon county official that Stoddard had had Getty psychoanalyzed.

[From the Oregonian, Apr. 22, 1966]

Three Oregon Solons Ask Office Rental Account

(By A. Robert Smith)

Washington, D.C.—Three Oregon Members of Congress Thursday asked for an accounting of Government funds used to finance a Portland office occupied by Lyle Baker, "under the apparent auspices of the University of Montana."

In a letter to Charles Stoddard, Director of the Bureau of Land Management, the Congressmen said they understood the Portland office was under the direction of Arnold W. Bolle, dean of the School of Forestry at Montana.

While the letter made no mention of it, the Congressmen were reacting to reports from Oregon that Stoddard had used Government funds to finance Baker in an attempt to get Russell Getty, Oregon State director of BLM, out of Oregon.

Stoddard and Getty were the principals in a major bureaucratic feud involving a proposed timberland deal a year ago.

Thursday's letter was drafted by Representative Robert B. Duncan, and cosigned by Representatives Edith Green and Al Ullman, Democrats. They asked Stoddard:

"Will you please advise at the earliest possible time if Department (of Interior) funds have been or are being used directly or indirectly in the establishment and operation of this office or in the conduct of studies or research or of any other activities in the State of Oregon by the above individual."

The congressional letter also asked for an exact accounting of all payments to Baker and Bolle during the past 2 years with a description of specific services rendered.

[From the Portland Oregonian, Apr. 23, 1966]

Hatfield Calls for Dismissal of BLM Head

Gov. Mark O. Hatfield Friday proposed that Charles Stoddard, chief of the Bureau of Land Management, be fired as a final solution in the long battle between the chief and his Oregon director, Russell Getty.

Hatfield's blast came amid stories of a new attempt by Stoddard's friends to have Getty transferred out of the State of Oregon.

Stoddard and Getty clashed first in May last year over a BLM attempt to swap off BLM sustained-yield timberlands in Oregon for Point Reyes, Calif., lands in a deal known as the "Sweet Swap." Hatfield opposed the swap as threatening the entire sustained-yield timber harvest program in Oregon.

DETAILS REPORTED

He said Friday after the Oregonian reported the details of the Getty-get-out scheme, "I cannot believe the Secretary of the Interior (Stewart Udall) will wish to be a party to continued dealings of the type apparently engaged in by one of his chief administrators."

Naming Stoddard, Hatfield added "there is need for a change in the Washington, D.C., office of the BLM."

Hatfield's administrative assistant, Warne Nunn, revealed earlier this week that Lyle Baker, a Portland public relations man who claimed to be acting on the advice of the University of Montana School of Forestry Dean Arnold Bolle, had approached the Governor's office seeking to make a deal to get Getty out of the State.

DISAVOWAL GIVEN

At the same time Hatfield was letting loose his blast, Udall in Washington disavowed any suggestion of a transfer of Getty from Oregon.

Udall told a press conference he had asked his Assistant Secretary, Harry Anderson, to "get the facts" with respect to reports from Oregon of Government funds being used to underwrite the plot. This apparently was the first suggestion made that Government funds may have been involved in the $5,000 the University of Montana said it was paying Baker out of university foundation funds.

Udall said he was surprised, even amazed that anyone should believe "half facts or rumors" about a change in Getty's status.

Stoddard, in an interview of his own Friday, said "this is a smear from start to finish." He said the Interior Department would have a formal statement on the matter soon.

DENIAL MADE

Stoddard denied that he had ever engaged Baker as a consultant.

Baker, who came to the Oregonian Friday, said in a statement reported in Business Editor Gerry Pratt's column, that he had acted as a public relations man for Secretary Udall in Montana late last year.

He said he did this "gratis" at the request of Dean Bolle. Baker introduces himself still as a special assistant to the dean.

It was with Dean Bolle that Baker visited Governor Hatfield's office to seek a deal to remove Getty. Baker stated, according to Nunn that there was a Government Accounting Office report to be issued for Senator Wayne Morse which would be detrimental to Hatfield and Getty.

Later Dean Bolle himself called on Getty, posing as a close and longtime friend of Stoddard's, and proposed a Getty transfer to Washington, D.C.

April 22, 1966.

Vernon S. White,
Managing Editor,
Western Timber Industry,
Portland, Oreg.:

With reference to copy of your wire addressed to Secretary Udall, I assure you that I never base my actions, as a Member of the U.S. Senate, upon unconfirmed newspaper reports.

Am requesting Secretary of Interior to supply the facts concerning the BLM matter mentioned in your telegram and in the Oregon press. As soon as Interior Department comments arrive, I shall make them available to the public through the Congressional Record.

Wayne Morse.

Portland, Oreg.,
April 22, 1966.

Senator Wayne Morse,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

(Copy of telegram sent to Hon. Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior.)

Again urge your immediate dismissal of BLM chief, Charles Stoddard. Exposure of Stoddard's surreptitious attempt to deprive Orgeon of services of distinguished State Director Russell Getty cripples public support for BLM programs vital to economy of Pacific Northwest.

Western Timber Industry,
Vernon S. White, *Managing Editor.*

[From the Oregonian, Apr. 24, 1966]

Two BLM Officals Hear Getty Removal Slated

(By Gerry Pratt)

The Interior Department and its Secretary, Stewart Udall have disavowed "any suggestion of a transfer or change in status" for Russell Getty, the Bureau of Land Management director in Oregon. But at least two Oregon BLM officials already have been advised Getty will be replaced "after the election is over."

Getty has been the target of the BLM chief in Washington, D.C., since last May when he opposed the swapping off of sustained-yield Government timber units in Oregon to pay for a Point Reyes, Calif., park project in a deal known as the "Sweet Swap."

At that time Getty, who was voted the outstanding Federal employee in Oregon by his fellow workers, was saved by the intervention of Udall.

Udall's statement this past week that there was no intention of moving Getty out, came on the heels of an attempt to make a deal with Getty and with Gov. Mark O. Hatfield by Lyle Baker, a Portland man, and Dean Arnold Bolle of the University of Montana School of Forestry, a close and personal friend of Charles Stoddard, BLM's chief.

The two Oregon officials who were advised Getty will be replaced are Thedore Conn, Lakeview attorney, and Henry Gerber, Klamath Falls cattleman. Conn is the wildlife representative on Oregon multiple-use board and Gerber is the chairman and cattle representative. Both act as advisers to the BLM as delegates to the bureau's National Advisory Council from Oregon.

Conn explained how they became involved in the Getty affair.

"OREGON GETTING SHORTCHANGED

"We were concerned about how things were going in Oregon. We felt Oregon was getting shortchanged and things were not as they should be. The relationship between our State director and Washington was such that Oregon was suffering. So we made an appointment to see Under Secretary (Harry) Anderson and told him we felt things were not right in Oregon and Oregon people and Oregon property were suffering," said Conn.

"We wanted to get the train back on the track. Anderson assured us that was what they wanted also. That was on November 17. On November 18, Director (BLM chief) Stoddard told Gerber if there was anything we could do to get Governor Hatfield off his [Stoddard's] back, it would help.

"Henry Gerber said, 'Yes,' we would be glad to get that job done if you would try in the Washington end to get us back on the track in Oregon * * *," Conn recalled.

Conn and Gerber then both made a point of explaining that they felt the "lines are strained and we are not getting what we should and it's detrimental in Oregon."

Conn's concern is over the future of Oregon's public lands, not so much for any individual involved, he states. "This public land is bigger than any individual and we want to see the hatchet buried," he told Stoddard.

"GET HATFIELD OFF MY BACK

"Stoddard then told Conn and Gerber: 'I'm willing if you will get Hatfield off my back.' "

Gerber then went to talk to Warne Nunn, the governor's administrative assistant, Conn says.

It was more than 2 months later that Gerber and Conn faced Stoddard again, this time at the recent Riverside, Calif., meeting of the Advisory Council. Gerber and I arrived at Riverside and hunted Chuck Stoddard up, and said: "We think we have the Governor off your back," Conn recalls. "How are things going?"

"He [Stoddard] said, 'I think you have too, But the situation between the Washington office and the Oregon office are no better. The communications have fallen down. The only way I can work is through the district managers.' "

Conn was startled. "This disturbed me greatly," he recalls. "I told Stoddard, 'I thought we had this worked out. Is there anything more that can be done?' "

"He [Stoddard] then said, 'You know this is in the hands of the secretary. I don't know what will be done, probably nothing, prior to the election."

"I said, that bothers me," Conn recalls.

"He then said, 'Don't worry too much. We will send you a good man, after the election.' I think that is pretty nearly verbatim," the Lakeview attorney said. "I then said that there was nothing more we could do now, and that was the end of the conversation."

CLASH SAID HURTING STATE

Conn, as the wildlife adviser on the National Advisory Council to the BLM representing Oregon, claims Oregon already has suffered because of the Stoddard-Getty clash. "He [Stoddard] took the wildlife representative from the State office of the BLM and left Oregon without an employee in the wildlife field in the State office," Conn claims. "That is one of the things I complained about. I talked to Russ Getty about that. After I had been complaining, and I did complain, we most recently hired one," Conn said.

"Very frankly Mr. Pratt," Conn added, "I think the public land problem as far as the State of Oregon is concerned is bigger than any one of these individuals."

In the meantime, Getty reamains on the job, so does his immediate boss Stoddard—and Stewart Udall, who has the final say, indicates things are going to stay that way, perhaps to the detriment of Oregon.

THE LIBERAL POSITION IN 1966

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, last Friday evening, April 22, former Ambassador to India John Kenneth Galbraith made the principal keynote address at the annual convention of Americans for Democratic Action here in Washington. The title of his speech was, "The Liberal Position in 1966."

This stimulating and thought-provoking address is worthy of the attention of all readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LIBERAL POSITION IN 1966

(Keynote address by John Kenneth Galbraith at the annual convention of the Americans for Democratic Action at Washington, D.C., April 22, 1966)

I am delighted by your invitation to give this keynote address. This is a good year in which to launch a liberal convention. Almost everyone now describes himself as a liberal. Candidates praise their most obscure liberal tendencies. Even conservatives confess to flashes of liberal perception. These are truly the years of the liberal. We have no problems of quantity. Perhaps there is a slight continuing problem of quality.

This also is a time of introspection as to liberal goals. In both domestic and foreign policy we are by way of completing a chapter. We are making our way, with some uncertainty, into the next.

I am naturally pleased to speak to liberals in this moment of strength. And I am not at all reluctant to supply the missing elements of direction.

As I have said, on both domestic and foreign policy we are at the end of a chapter. Goals to which we have been committed for these last 20 years have ceased to be serviceable. Thus, further pursuit as we have already learned will be both frustrating and damaging. An act of will will be required to release ourselves from these old commitments. Liberals, no less than others, develop a deep vested interest in what they believe and urge. We have often been accused of a rather loose attitude toward economy of public funds. But, with all mankind, we are deeply devoted to economy of thought.

II

On domestic policy, the heart of the liberal program in these last 20 years, in natural reaction to the miseries of the thirties, has been to minimize unemployment and insure the greatest possible growth in economic output. The test of domestic failure or achievement has been the amount of unemployment and the annual increase in the gross national product. We have shared this goal with conservatives; remarkably in these years liberals and conservatives have pursued the same objectives in both foreign and domestic policy. The only difference in domestic policy is that we sought to do by deliberate action—by public expenditure, deliberate deficits, tax reduction—what conservatives hoped to accomplish by balanced budgets, incantation, regular prayer and the sense of national dedication instilled by speeches by Richard Nixon.

High production and low unemployment have not become unimportant. It is only that we now have them. It cannot be the highest function of the modern liberal to work avidly to accomplish what has already been done.

Also we are learning that these seemingly admirable goals can acquire some exceedingly conservative overtones. We achieve full employment and rapid economic growth by insuring a sufficient volume of demand in the economy—a volume that keeps production up to the current capacity of labor force and plant. Under liberal tutelage, conservatives have learned that this can be accomplished by cutting taxes. And without our help, they have then learned that defense, war, and the ancient hostility to whatever helps the poor are excellent excuses for cutting socially desirable expenditures.

Indeed, one of our singular achievements in these last years has been in showing conservatives, who most of us had thought safely immune to any modern ideas, how they can have Keynes without liberalism and full employment without Shriver.

Economic growth as a goal has a more serious shortcoming. Though it is a condition precedent for solving most social problems, there are many it doesn't solve. And it creates new ones. To be specific, economic growth does not provide the new and improved public services that are required by a higher level of private consumption or which mark our progress toward a more civilized existence. Nor does economic growth solve the problems of environment and especially of urban environment. On the contrary, it makes them infinitely more urgent. And, thirdly, economic growth does not help those who, for reasons of race, educational deprivation, early environment, location, health, age, family situation, mental retardation, are unable to participate fully in the economy and in its gains.

These three areas of need define the domestic program of liberals in the year ahead. I wish to say a word about each. But first let me note that on none of these tasks are we starting from scratch. On every one there has been a substantial beginning in these last years. For this we can all be grateful to the practical liberalism of Lyndon Johnson. We owe more to his sound empiricism than to the compelling forces of liberal doctrine. Later in these remarks I will have something to say about foreign policy. It will not be unfavorable to the President. It will, however, be wholly candid on the overage ideas and the tired men on which our foreign policy, as it is known, depends. I hope that all liberals will keep these things in perspective. The antique doctrines and humorless misachievements of the unimaginative men who got us into the jungles of Vietnam must not be allowed to obscure the merits of far more liberal and astute achievements here at home. Our gains under the Johnson administration on civil rights far outweigh our losses on behalf of Marshal Ky. I hope that all liberals will have this need for perspective much in mind this November.

III

The first liberal task is to work for necessary and urgent public services. These are still the very center of the liberal program. Increased private living standards must be matched by improved public services unless we are to have an obscene contrast between the two. Schools must be as well financed as television, hospitals as well financed as the sales pitch for cigarettes. Efforts to insure a minimal supply of breathable air must be in some relation to the output of automobiles.

But much more important, public services are highly progressive in their incidence. Almost all—public schools, public colleges, and universities, public parks, good and well-paid police, good health services, good public transportation, even clean streets—render their greatest service to the poor. No one who calls for curtailment of public services should suppose the effect is neutral. And no liberal should fail to point out that it is the poor who pay.

I might add that it pains me to see liberals resisting taxes, including sales taxes, which would allow of better public services. The income tax is certainly more progressive than the sales tax. But the sales tax, combined with the services it provides, is far more progressive than no tax and no service.

The problem of environment, and especially that of urban environment, must be the next focus of liberal effort.

Liberals have always found the problems of the Federal Government invested with a peculiar glamour. We have, regularly, left city government to the hacks with whom, on occasion, we have united to nominate a President. The problems of environment—of air and water pollution; of roadside commerce and billboards; of land development and urban sprawl—have seemed commonplace and sectarian. They involve new and disagreeable controls—we desperately need, for example, effective controls on urban land use, for space is now our scarcest resource. But these things involve rows. Better save one's energy for the big picture. Along with questions of beauty and esthetics they can be left to the middle class conservationist. After all, the soul of the liberal belongs solidly to the proletariat.

These attitudes can no longer be afforded. This is the age of the urban crisis. Liberalism will be tested by what it can do in the cities. The day is coming when no one will be considered really ready for higher office until he has been a successful mayor.

Liberals must also work to correct a grave and growing defect in our federal system—a defect which gives the revenues from increased income and output to the Federal Government and which gives the resulting tasks—the handling of people, traffic, offal, and needful—to the cities. It would be hard to imagine a worse design. The remedy is an arrangement that passes funds from the Federal Government to the localities. Needless to say, we cannot have any more Federal tax reduction so long as the cities are as impoverished as now.

Our third task is to insure that the largest possible number of our people participate in the gains of our economy. This, in substantial measure, is what improved public services and improved environment serve to accomplish. It is what a sound educational system of uniform quality will accomplish. And a good health service. And decent housing. And good community surroundings. And good and fair law enforcement. And sound and well-enforced laws against discrimination. More than we realize, the present problem of poverty stems from the past neglect of the public sector of the economy.

But more immediate efforts to mitigate poverty—the work of the Office of Economic Opportunity—deserve our strong support. This work is encountering the fierce criticism of those who, as a matter of principle, rally in opposition to all efforts on behalf of the poor. We must seek ways of strengthening this effort. And let us abandon what does not work—for experiment was intended. But let us not be impressed by the statesman who reacts to instability in Indochina by appropriating a few more billions and to instability in a Job Corps camp by asking for its abolition.

We must also now consider measures for guaranteeing minimum levels of income for the poor. Most of the men and women who now survive on inadequate income would work if they could. Idleness is less coveted as a career than most well-to-do people imagine. And it may not be all that more damaging to the poor than to the rich. Our present system of means tests is costly and an affront to human dignity. Often it has the worst of effects on incentives, for a small job means a large loss in welfare payments. So this is the next large item on the liberal agenda. It will be good, in a nostalgic way, to hear once more those worried warnings from right wing philosophers as to what it was that ruined Rome.

Now let me turn to foreign policy.

IV

On foreign policy we have also had a 20-year agreement on goals. Since the breakup of the wartime alliance, the goal to a singular degree has been to fight international communism. Conservatives have strongly applauded this goal. Communists are casual about property rights. The right wing of the Republican Party sets these well above human rights, and a moderate Republican is a man who believes them identical. Freedom, in one current of our political thought, means freedom to make money. Communists are clearly opposed to that. These considerations have caused quite a few thoughtful right wingers to suggest that socialists be made honorary Communists.

But liberals long accepted anticommunism as a goal of our foreign policy. Some have long doubted that individual liberty is compatible with democratic centralism. Some draw on their experience with the Communists in the unions. More were wounded by Stalin. During the war years they had accepted the current picture of Stalin as an amiable and avuncular figure. They had believed that our association with him would endure. Then came the great disillusionment which was hardly lessened when the Soviets themselves erased Stalin's name from their sacred tablets. The right gleefully pounced on the error—and the erring. Once burned, American liberals were determined never to let it happen again. ADA was born of these attitudes. Henceforth, quite a few decided, they would be second to none in their war with communism—only more intelligent.

We differed on method. In the third world of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, aid and reform have bulked large in the liberal program. As one moves to the right, one again encounters the old objection to helping the poor. And communism as John Foster Dulles saw it, was a problem not in social deprivation but moral degradation. This manifested itself in all-powerful, all-embracing conspiracies. These attitudes are still influential. Mr. Dulles' followers still make nostalgic pilgrimages to meetings of the treaty organizations he established. Liberals have been rightly skeptical of this arming of the indigent. They have doubted that communism would be effectively suppressed by either 19th century diplomacy or 20th century weapons.

But it has been common ground that our own military power must be great; that Communist ambition is unremitting; that it is always probing for weak points and will be dangerously encouraged by any success; and that any non-Communist leader, however repugnant, would, as a matter of expediency, have to be supported against the Communist conspiracy.

With some dissent from the extreme right, it was also agreed during these years that foreign policy should be entrusted to the permanent diplomatic and military establishment and to the New York foreign policy syndicate. The latter—the Dulles, McCloy, Lovett communion with which, I am sure, Secretary Rusk would wish to be associated and of which Dean Acheson is a latter-day associate—has now provided the grace notes for American foreign policy for 20 years. It has credited itself with a uniquely perceptive and aroused view of, as it has always called it, the international Communist conspiracy. With the permanent establishment it has now guided our foreign policy for so long that many Americans unquestionably imagine it to have tenure. Liberals have turned up, on occasion, in the aid program and at the United Nations. Elsewhere, when they have happened into high office in past years they have considered it their principal function to bless with their liberal reputation whatever the State Department wished to do.

For a long while the country went along. Foreign policy, until very recent times, had no strong clientele group in the United States. Unlike, say, the Department of Agriculture there was no community with a strong pecuniary interest to scrutinize action. This gave great power to the syndicate and the permanent establishment. Truth tended to be what it proclaimed. If there seemed to be dissent it was sufficient to warn of the risks of inviting another Munich. Silence then ensued.

V

Now this chapter has also come to an end. The old coalescence on the old and simple goal of anticommunism is past. And, I venture to think that the old syndicate is not far short of honorable retirement. Its policies can no longer be afforded.

The first factor making for change has been the arrival of a new generation. It has, I would judge, an adequately sophisticated view of communism. But it is unscarred by the memories of Joseph Stalin and Joe McCarthy. So it is not subject to the searing fears which caused an older generation to be equally fearful of communism and of seeming to be soft on communism. Reflecting the great expansion of the educated and educational community, it is also a client group on foreign policy of no small size. And it does not accept the official truth on foreign policy with the acquiescence that so many would like to associate with sound Americanism. It will be, henceforth, a powerful force influencing foreign policy.

The growing pluralism of the Communist world has also done great damage to the old coalescence. It requires a policy as between Communist powers. No longer can it proclaim a holy war against all. It is not surprising that more intransigent members of the old guard still speak rather doggedly of a Sino-Soviet bloc.

Soul searching has also been caused by the number of initiatives that, under the old auspices, have been launched against the Communists in these last years and which then—when the realities were faced—have had to be reversed.

We launched the great drive to expel the Soviets from the U.N. under article 19 of the charter. And we reversed course because the reality was that we wanted them to stay.

And we launched a crusade on behalf of Generals Wessin y Wessin and Imbert in the Dominican Republic. And we reversed it because the reality was that right wing dictatorships promised to be more damaging than the risk of communism. Not surprisingly the man who handled this was sent to Portugal.

We launched the MLF and then reversed this because the reality was that our allies feared the proposal more than they feared the Soviets.

The archons of the old coalition are now busy, in person, saving NATO. We can only hope that the alliance will survive its salvation.

The meaning of all this is that we have long had a policy of getting along with the Soviets. Having lived on the same planet with the Russians without coming to blows for 50 years, there is a growing disposition to keep on trying. We have become interested not in how to promote conflict but how to reconcile diverse interests without conflict. This, to the old establishment was heresy. Peaceful coexistence was a snare and a delusion. Occasionally, and I think increasingly, the State Department responds to suggestions for keeping peace with cautious approval. But not for years has it been imagined that a Secretary of State could be the source of any such suggestion.

Let me look at some affirmative steps for escaping from this outworn legacy. Inevitably I must conclude with some references to the crowning accomplishment of the old policy. That is our defense of that bastion of freedom, as an anarchist would define it, in Vietnam.

VI

The test of policy henceforth must be not the negative one of what fights communism but the affirmative one of what serves the interests of the United States—and the survival and well-being of all people. As occasion and good judgment require, this will mean that we will oppose what the Communist nations seek. And as circumstances and good judgment require, it means that we pursue policies that reflect a common interest in improved well-being and survival.

We must affirm, what we long ago learned, that the only good foreign policy is a liberal policy. The United States has a reliable association with nations only if it has a clear identification with the needs and aspirations of their people. Liberalism does not stop at the water's edge. The assumption that it did—that foreigners would make do with despots, incompetent generals and social indignity—was the worst single error of the old syndicate. I hope we have now learned that despots, even though not offensive to well-mannered Americans, rarely go down well with their own people.

The foregoing means that we cannot have a good foreign policy that is run by conservatives—however venerable their service or however estimable their motives. This is a contradiction in terms. It is also denied by all recent experience.

Let us also note moreover that liberalism, in this land, is not exactly a minority position. It is an odd concept of democracy that leads us to work hard to elect liberal governments in order to put our foreign policy under those who couldn't care less. Let us note well that the reputation of what would have been counted the most successful liberal administration since Roosevelt is in danger of being ruined by a foreign policy of men who have never raised their hands on behalf of any liberal cause in their life.

Liberals should, I think, stand equally opposed to the divine right of wealth and the divine right in the field of foreign policy of Sullivan and Cromwell, Millbank, Tweed, Hope, Hadley and McCloy, Lucius Clay, Henry Stimson, Nicholas Murray Butler, and the more impeccably traditional members of the permanent foreign policy establishment. And they are justified in pointing out that this tradition, however execellent in its time, can now get a president and the country into a lot of trouble.

This is not to say that the permanent foreign policy establishment is irrevocably conservative. It will respond, I think, to good and liberal leadership. Its younger members especially are politically sophisticated, liberal, and anxious for such leadership. It is a good instrument, and would welcome better employment.

There is, perhaps, some need to discover that the only menace to its peace of mind is not from the extreme right.

Liberals are also committed, in international affairs, to the rule of law. This is a principle and not a tactic. We support the United Nations as an instrument of law and not as a forum for cold war polemics or as a last resort in error.

Liberals do not believe that difficult or controversial questions can best be resolved by putting them in deep freeze or pretending they do not exist. Such has been our policy on China. Nor, at this stage, are we to be impressed with infinitesimal gestures that could have been made 10 years ago. We should make it wholly clear that when China is willing to recognize the separate existence of Formosa and accept the charter of the United Nations we will support her admission to the United Nations and will accord her recognition.

I see no reason finally why liberals should regret their past commitment to the aid program and to the principle of helping the poor to help themselves. That policy has served us well. We are, despite all misfortune, well regarded in the poor lands. The reason is not the power of our arms, the subtlety of our propaganda or the acuity of our intelligence organizations. It is not even the eloquence of our past ambassadors. The reason is the aid program.

VII

Let me now say a word about the most annoying, though not I venture the most important, of our problems—that of Vietnam. Vietnam will be the graveyard of the old policy. It is worth hoping that the policy is all that gets buried.

Let me also be clear that most of what I say is not meant to be in criticism of the President of the United States. The President is rightly held responsible for his administration. But, he cannot be held responsible for his inheritance. President Johnson inherited a good part of the Vietnam involvement. And he inherited, in the old policy, the attitudes which have led to our present misfortunes. I am among those who regard the President as a force for restraint—and for change in the old policy. I do confess to believing that he could do with more and better help.

Our Vietnam involvement was a textbook manifestation of the old policy. The elements are all there.

The reaction was automatic. We did not consider whether we defended viable institutions or fought on favorable terrain. None, I believe, suggests that this is a disciplined warrior race that we must have on our side.

It was assumed that we faced a unified conspiracy directed according to changing preference by Hanoi, Peking, or international communism, in general.

There being no serious social foundation for the insurgency, those who do the fighting are the servants of the external authority. They have no personal stake in the insurrection and can be ignored as a factor in any settlement.

No social issue being involved, military measures, it was long felt, would suffice for solution.

Until the moment of their collapse, governments on our side are bastions of liberty and their leaders are pillars of freedom.

Americans could be counted on to believe what they were told, particularly about the power and integrity of the people on our side, and the menace with which we deal. Always, as ever, there is Munich.

None of these propositions has survived the experience. And I think it well that we should reflect on this experience for those who do not learn their history are doomed to repeat it. And, I would judge, only Gerald Ford and John Towers really yearn to repeat this experience. But liberalism is a practical faith. We must always start from where we are. How do we escape from this entrapment?

We must, first of all, escape from the entrapment of our own propaganda. Vietnam is not important to us. Nor is it a bastion of freedom. Nor is it a testing place of democracy. It is none of these things. Had it been lost in 1954 no one would now be thinking of it. Far too many of our officials have been so persuaded because, much in the manner of a man shouting down a well, they have heard their own voices. Let us resolve to stop talking this nonsense.

We must abandon the notion—as I am sure most sensible people have in Washington—that we are going to roll the Vietcong back from vast areas that they have controlled now for up to 10 years. We must not invest lives, even those of other people, in an enterprise of such dubious and temporary value to the Vietnamese who might survive.

Our policy now must be to remain on the defensive in whatever area we can hold with the present force. This may well be rather small. But it will provide a refuge for those who have joined our enterprise. This will also sufficiently establish the one valid way in which resistance serves our policy which is to show that whatever our error in getting in we cannot easily be shoved out. Conceivably this might then prevent some future probe. However, we may remind ourselves that the world did not lose respect for the Russians because they retreated in Cuba.

There can be no real doubt as to the military feasibility of this policy. Military men always describe as unfeasible what they do not wish to do. If we can clear and hold all of South Vietnam with a large force, one can hold a very limited area with a smaller force.

We should, and this is a vital step beyond present policy, now permanently suspend air attacks on the North. This is not for humane reasons although I am not opposed to humanity. Nor is it because air power is both indiscriminate and ineffective, although this is also true. We are paying heavily for the myth of air power. We need only compare the promises of the last year with the performance. We should stop because these attacks, and the temptation to extend them, involve the one major and intolerable risk which is war with China or conceivably Russia. The temptation to extend these attacks is especially strong when things go wrong politically in the South as they so often do.

It will be no comfort, if we find ourselves involved with the Chinese on the Asian mainland, that it resulted from a miscalculation. All must remember that the phrase "calculated risk" is a military euphemism for total ignorance as to the outcome of a particular action.

Next we must face seriously the likelihood that there will not again be a government in Saigon which is seriously capable of prosecuting the war along with us. A government that reflects the interest of the people will reflect their suspicion of foreigners, their struggle for a national identity, and their terrible war-weariness. It will not fight. A government that works with us and fights the war will not have the support of the people. It will not last. This is not a defeatist assessment. It accepts, only, the developing evidence of these last months and years.

Under these circumstances the purpose of the holding action is to allow of the best possible bargain between the non-Communist groups in Vietnam and the Vietcong. There is now no longer doubt as to whether negotiations are desirable or not—although they may not be conducted by us. The ultimate bargain will not be brilliant. But by any reasonable calculation that is not our fault. We remained as long as we were wanted.

In this part of the world the writ of a central government often runs only to the airport. What counts is local control of the countryside. What we should welcome, and in the end will have to welcome, is a regional settlement, as in Laos. The central government will, at best, be only a loose federalism of areas under different control. But that is about all Indochinese governments ever have been.

Let me stress again the present importance of restraint—and of supporting the President in restraint. Some will certainly suggest covering their disappointments in the South with more muscular action elsewhere. The purpose of this, like the demand for manpower to pacify the whole country, is now, however subjectively, to bale out the reputations of those who for so long have been committed to this ill-starred enterprise. Let us resolve to save their reputations and reward them most handsomely but in some other way.

We have paid rather heavily for the myth of the older policy in Vietnam. But fortunately the cost in money has so far been larger than that in lives. And fortunately, also, the lessons—the dangers of automatic and unselective reaction to communism in accordance with formula, the dangers of unlimited commitment, the dangers in supporting governments that are unsupported by their people, the shortcomings of military solutions—are all brilliantly clear. Perhaps, as a happy concluding thought, these inhospitable jungles were well designed to stimulate a more liberal, more rational, more discriminating, more collectively motivated and somewhat less paranoic view of our mission in the world.

THE CASE AGAINST HOME RULE

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, as the debate continues in Congress, in the news media, and among the public concerning home rule for the District of Columbia, I would like to offer for discussion pro and con arguments on the question, as they appear in the spring edition of Legal Issue, the publication of the Catholic University Law School.

One article, entitled "The Case Against Home Rule," states my arguments based on a historical point of view and on personal observation through the years I have been in the Congress and, particularly, while I have served as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee for the District of Columbia.

The second article, entitled "Home Rule for the Capital City?" was written by Tilford E. Dudley, the chairman of the Citizens Council of the District of Columbia.

I congratulate the students of the Catholic University Law School and the staff of the Legal Issue for having presented both sides of this important question.

I ask unanimous consent that the articles be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Case Against Home Rule

(By Senator Robert C. Byrd)

Proponents of home rule for the residents of the District of Columbia weave support for their position with the threads of historical precedent, court opinion, our democratic traditions, popular demands, and with the promise of more efficient government.

In his article, "Home Rule for the Capital City?" Tilford E. Dudley succinctly synthesizes these several strands and claims that the case for home rule is quite evident from a reading of both history and the opinion of the Supreme Court (*District of Columbia* v. *John R. Thompson Company* (1953) 346 U.S. 100, 109; 135 S. Ct. 1007, 1012).

There is no need to dispute Mr. Dudley in his interpretation of history on this question. It is necessary, however, to disclose an equally valid interpretation of that history. It is further necessary to examine the operation of the District's present government in order to vindicate the benefits this form of government produces for our Nation's Capital. It is finally necessary to indicate some faults contained in the last home rule bill passed by the Senate (July 22, 1965).

FUGITIVE CONGRESS

The framers of our Constitution provided for the establishment of a seat for the National Government and gave to Congress the "power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such District."

This mandate in the Constitution is historically presumed to emanate from an embarrassing episode visited upon the Continental Congress while it was sitting in Philadelphia. Toward the close of the Revolution, Congress was surrounded and humiliatingly demeaned by a body of disgruntled mutineers of the Continental Army. Congress petitioned the authorities of both Philadelphia and Pennsylvania to provide it necessary protection from this unruly mob. Neither lifted a finger in defense and the Congress removed the seat of Government to Princeton, N.J.

This degrading spectacle of a fugitive Congress remained fresh in the minds of the Constitution's framers and prompted them to make provision for a "Federal city" safe from the recurrence of similar incident. In *Grether* v. *Wright* (1896), 75 F. 742, 756–7, Circuit Judge William Howard Taft, later Chief Justice, well stated the intention behind the creation of the District of Columbia. He said:

"The framers of the Constitution had no particular concern in regard to the municipal control or organization of the people who lived or were likely to live in any 10 square miles in the United States, except as they should form a city in which it would accord with the dignity and power of a great nation to establish its seat of government. It was meant that so powerful a sovereignty should have a local habitation the character of which it might absolutely control, and the government of which it should not share with the States in whose territory it exercised but a limited sovereignty, supreme, it is true, in cases where it could be exercised at all, but much restricted in the field of its observation. The object of the grant of exclusive legislation over the district was, therefore, national in the highest sense and the city organized under the grant became the city, not of a State, not of a district, but of a nation."

Taft's opinion makes it quite clear, inter alia, that (1) the fundamental objective in the District's creation was to afford the country a National Capital separate in every way from the States, and (2) that Congress was given free rein to determine what methods and structure of municipal control or organization should prevail.

It is true that Congress permitted forms of home rule to exist from 1802–71. During that period the District's residents were governed by several units of government, including those of Georgetown, the city of Washington, and the counties of Washington and Alexandria, until the latter was retroceded to Virginia in 1846.

It is also sadly true that this arrangement failed to provide a viable government for the District. Instead, the District stagnated in the slough of partisan politics, competing governmental units, and friction between local governments and the Congress.

These sorry conditions, aggravated by financial woes, prompted Congress in 1871 to abolish the several units of government functioning in the District and to establish in their place a territorial-type government. The continued threat of financial bankruptcy plagued this government from its inception. Congress, ultimately tiring of recurring debacles, swept it away in 1874 and instituted congressional control of the District's affairs. This became the permanent government of the District, as we know it today, by an act of June 11, 1878 (20 Stat. 103).

One fundamental reason for the assumption of congressional control of the District was the desire to transform Washington into a city of the beauty and attractiveness befitting the Nation's Capital. Attention to this important detail had been shamefully neglected during the era of home rule. Local District of Columbia governments, overwhelmed with local problems, did not adequately concern themselves with maintaining the dignity and beauty of Washington.

For some, like myself, the above observations lead to the conclusion that Washington is a city sui generis, unique, belonging to every American citizen no matter where he lives, and that it should remain that way. The only sure guarantee of its status as a Federal city is to leave its control in the hands of Congress.

BENEFITS OF CONGRESSIONAL CONTROL

Those who push for home rule accuse Congress of not adequately heeding the demands and needs of the District of Columbia residents and of not having the time necessary to legislate for a municipality.

Mr. Dudly pointed his finger in my direction to support the accusation of congressional neglect and recalcitrance. He asserted opposition by me to the institution of programs of aid to dependent children of unemployed parents in Washington and intimated an obstructive position on my part regarding new programs in education to cope with the dropout problem. This indictment obfuscates my position on the questions of public welfare and education.

It has been my belief that Washington, as the Nation's Capital, should be a model city for the rest of the Nation. It is unfortunately true that Washington ranks only second in public education expenditure among 17 U.S. cities comparable in population with it. Ideally, as a model city, it should rank first in this and other essential categories.

In the effort to realize improvement, some recommend a mere pumping of additional money into welfare and educational programs but might it not be more profitable to investigate alternative goals in these areas?

For example, I have said elsewhere (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Mar. 14, 1966, p. 5642):

"There should be no sparing of money, where needed, to promote the interests of education in the Nation's Capital. The money, of course, should be spent wisely, and to the best advantage of every child, whatever the child's potential. The slow learner should be given every opportunity to proceed as rapidly and to go as far as his limited abilities will carry him. The child that has been blessed with a keener intelligence should be encouraged to move forward to the full extent of his capabilities and, be he black or white, should not be impeded in his intellectual growth and development by being forced to slow his pace to match the pace of other children born less fortunate."

This idea suggests an emphasis upon tailoring the educational program in the District to fit the needs and capabilities of each student rather than dwelling upon programs with a more ephemeral value, such as the balancing scheme much touted these days.

On the matter of public welfare an inordinate amount of criticism has been directed at the use of investigations to determine whether or not those on relief are complying with the letter of the law. These investigations are not made for the purpose of embarrassing or harassing anyone. It is unfortunate that such investigations prove necessary, just as it is equally unfortunate that in our affluent society people must rely upon public welfare in order to survive. So long as welfare programs are necessary, however, so long must every effort be made to insure that such programs, conceived in the public interest, are implemented in the public interest.

Last year Daniel P. Moynihan, a former Assistant Secretary of Labor, submitted a report on the Negro family. His investigations indicated to him that a core reason for the poverty-stricken status of many Negroes and for the unfortunate proliferation of Negro families on public welfare rolls was a deteriorated family situation. He was most careful to attach no moral judgment to his findings. He was most careful to acknowledge that this critical situation stemmed from the deplorable economic and wretched social position in which far too many of our Negro citizens find themselves. His recommendation was that every effort be made to correct the conditions which foster family disintegration.

One very substantial benefit to be derived from action upon his recommendations would be to remove, with time, families from the welfare rolls. This has been of long concern to me, and the Moynihan report reinforces a conviction that Washington, in fulfilling its role as a model city, should take the lead in correcting the conditions which fragment families, regardless of what color their skins may be, and doom children to misery, delinquency, and a lifetime of despair.

The purpose of dwelling upon these two items is to counter the accusations that the present form of governing the District fails to focus attention on the problems which confront resident Washingtonians. Congress is aware of these problems, and members of the District of Columbia committees in both Houses do their utmost to insure maximum attention to local District of Columbia needs. The District commissioners also devote unstinting effort in coping with the task of administering our Nation's Capital.

Certainly there is room for improvement, as there is in any form of governing. Whatever improvement is necessary, however, can be made within the presently existing framework. There is no absolute need for home rule and its concomitant dilution of Washington's status as a national city governed by a nationally elected Congress.

As an alternative to home rule, the District should be given representation in the Congress. Congress can provide by statute that the District be represented in the House by a nonvoting delegate. Such a procedure has a long tradition in the Republic. Territories were permitted to send delegates to Congress and these delegates were privileged to debate issues though prevented from voting on legislation. Even today Puerto Rico is represented in the House by a nonvoting Resident Commissioner.

Specific precedent exists for permitting such representation to the residents of the District. In 1871, when Congress consolidated the several units of the District's government into one, the District was provided a Delegate to the House of Representatives. As Delegate for the District's residents, he sat on the Committee for the District of Columbia, representing their interests, presenting their grievances, introducing legislation to meet with their local needs, and generally assuring them a voice in their government.

Should there prevail the attitude that the District be afforded voting representation in Congress it would be necessary to amend the Constitution, since it provides voting representation only for States, and, of course, the District is not considered to be a State.

FAULTS IN THE PRESENT BILL

During the 1st session of the 89th Congress the Senate passed a home-rule bill containing two particularly objectionable provisions.

The first of these provisions would have permitted partisan elections for mayor and council. Partisan politics in American cities has a deplorably sordid history. Corruption is a familiar byproduct of this kind of politics. Such a state of affairs would be thoroughly undesirable in the Nation's Capital.

When the Senate bill reached the House, an amendment to it providing for nonpartisan elections was proposed. Even that, however, might fail to prevent distasteful politics if home rule were granted the District. The recent tactics of the Free D.C. Movement smack of just the kind of politics we do not need in our Nation's Capital. Such behavior is contrary to our best democratic traditions. Each citizen, including a businessman, is privileged to his own opinion on home rule, and coercive tactics, such as the movement's proposed boycott of merchants opposed to home rule, stand outside acceptable political behavior in our country. If such apparent irresponsibility were to characterize the leadership of local government under home rule, then nonpartisanship seems of questionable value.

Nonpartisan elections would overcome one problem not adequately coped with in S. 1118's provision for partisan elections. A large percentage of the District's population is in the employ of the Federal Government and partisan elections would subject them to pressures, undoubtedly, to vote for the ticket of the party in executive power. Today that would mean a Democratic hegemony.

Another potential drawback to partisan politics is the possibility, sometime in the future, of friction between the leaders of the District of Columbia government and the leadership in Congress when these are of different parties. That the possibility of such friction is not mere speculation is attested to by just such a situation in 1840, when the Whigs elected a mayor and touched off a political quarrel with a Democratic Congress which placed the city charter in jeopardy.

A second ill-advised provision of last year's home rule measure fixed by formula the annual Federal payment appropriated by Congress to the District. Its effect was to take from Congress the power of appropriation. As noted in House Report No. 957 (89th Cong., 1st sess.), "no other Federal, State, or local agency is relieved of appearing before the Appropriations Committees of Congress to secure money from the U.S. Treasury."

The provision for a fixed Federal payment unquestionably reflected the constant criticism that Congress does not appropriate enough funds annually to the District and thus fails to pay the proper share of the Federal Government in the cost of running the District. Mr. Dudley was very wont to point out that "the District budget runs over $350 million and at least 87 percent of this comes from District taxpayers."

What he failed to point out was the financially unique position Washington enjoys because it is our National Capital. No other American city receives the benefit of Federal largesse to quite the degree that Washington does. For example, millions of dollars in payroll to Federal employees benefit local business and supplement the city treasury through local taxes. I am advised that, in 1965, expenditures of Federal funds in the District of Columbia, exclusive of the Federal payment to the District's general fund, totaled more than $176 million. It is estimated that $72,162,000 of this total was for services provided by the Federal Government which were essentially local in nature. Furthermore, Washington draws an estimated 9 million tourists annually, who spend on the average of $50 per person. All of these federally derived benefits enlarge the monetary share which the Federal Government provides for meeting the District's operating costs.

The current system for governing the District of Columbia precludes the debilitating effects of partisan politics, provides efficient government, adequately insures that the Federal Government meets the needs of local residents, retains congressional control of appropriations, and maintains Washington's status as a Federal city. There is no need for home rule, especially if the District receives representation in Congress.

HOME RULE FOR THE CAPITAL CITY?

(By Tilford E. Dudley)

Most of the people of the Nation probably believe that the residents of Washington, D.C., enact their own laws the same as the voters in all the other cities in the United States. And most of the residents of Washington believe that they have the legal right to run their city as they think best, being prevented from doing so only by some political conspiracy. Both are wrong.

The basic legal provision is in the U.S. Constitution which states in section 8 of article 1: "The Congress shall have power * * * to exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States."

It is clear that the Congress has complete authority to run the District of Columbia in any way that it wishes.

HISTORY OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA GOVERNMENT

In 1790, Congress accepted 10 square miles along the Potomac River which had been ceded to it. In 1802, Congress incorporated the city of Washington and provided for the annual election of a city council. The President of the United States appointed the mayor. This was the beginning of home rule for the city. (Georgetown had been incorporated by the Maryland Assembly in 1789.)

In 1812, Congress strengthened the city charter. It provided for a board of aldermen and a common council. These bodies jointly elected the mayor. In 1820, Congress provided that the mayor would be elected every 2 years by the people; i.e., the free white male citizens who paid their taxes.

In 1867, the District experienced the same throes of extending the suffrage as the South is experiencing today. Congress voted that every male person, except paupers and comforters of rebels, with a year's residence in the District, could vote without any distinction on account of color or race. President Andrew Johnson vetoed the bill. Congress passed it over his veto.

In this post Civil War period, there was considerable growth and a need for sanitation, public roads and other facilities that three separate governments could not provide. Coordination had become essential.

Accordingly, in 1871, Congress provided for a government for the entire District of Columbia. The President was empowered to appoint a Governor and a secretary of the District, with the consent of the Senate. A legislative assembly was created. It consisted of a council of 11 members appointed by the President and a house of delegates elected annually in their respective 22 districts. The Governor had a veto which could be overridden by a two-thirds vote of each house. A delegate to Congress was elected. A board of public works was created, consisting of the Governor as president, plus four persons appointed by the President of whom one was to be a civil engineer.

This was the period of Governor Shepherd, whose monument stands today in front of the District Building. He led a vigorous drive to build the desperately needed public works. But costs rose, debts accumulated; bickering broke out. The financial crisis caused Congress to step in.

In 1874, Congress took the franchise away from the people. It created a commission of three persons, appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate, who took the powers of the preceding city corporation. Salaries of all employees, except teachers and firemen, were reduced 20 percent. The President was directed to detail an officer of the Engineers Corps to take over the duties of the previous board of public works.

Four years later, in 1878, this emergency form of government was continued indefinitely, with little change. The President was directed to appoint two District residents as Commissioners, and to detail an officer of the Corps of Engineers to be the third Commissioner. The Commissioners were to submit to the U.S. Treasury annual estimates of projected work and costs. Taxes collected were to be paid into the U.S. Treasury; Congress was to make the appropriations. This is the government of today.

OPERATION OF TODAY'S GOVERNMENT

Today the law of the District of Columbia consists of the common law, the early laws passed by Congress, the laws passed by the city councils and legislative assemblies except as they may have been amended or repealed, the laws currently passed by the Congress, and the regulations issued from time to time by the Commissioners pursuant to authority given by Congress.

With Congress acting as the city council, it naturally spends a disproportionate amount of Federal time on relatively minor matters. For example, it was the National Congress that took the awesome responsibility of making illegal (1) the throwing of any stone in a street or avenue; (2) urging dogs to fight; and (3) allowing a female dog to go at large while in heat. It was the National Congress that levied a dog tax of $2 and then, in 1945, raised it to $3. And Congress has provided that dogs wearing tax tags shall be permitted to run at large, except that if the Commissioners are advised of a rabies threat, they may issue proclamations requiring muzzling or leashing.

The District Commissioners, of course, cannot issue any regulations in opposition to the acts of Congress. However, they are also prevented from issuing regulations in areas where Congress has passed legislation, even though not inconsistent with the regulations. For example, there is much public sentiment in the District favoring the requirement of licenses for the owning and possession of firearms. There is no congressional legislation in opposition but there is legislation regulating the sale of firearms, the carrying of pistols in public and the possession of pistols by drug addicts and felons. It is believed that Congress has thus preempted the field; i.e., has passed all the regulations necessary, and that the Commissioners cannot regulate further.

In addition, the Congress and officials of the Congress can use its power of appropriation to accomplish nonfinancial purposes. For example, the Congress has passed national legislation offering to share with the States the costs of certain welfare programs called aid to dependent children of unemployed parents. The District wishes to participate but Senator ROBERT BYRD, of West Virginia, is opposed to the program. He is chairman of the District Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations and has been able to prevent any appropriation for the District's share. He has thus prevented participation.

In 1962, a riot at the District of Columbia Stadium caused an inquiry into causes of delinquency, with well-publicized recommendations for remedies. One was for the Board of Education to hold late afternoon and early evening classes designed especially to interest the dropout and potential dropout. The School Superintendent announced such a program and stated that he had certain savings in his budget which would permit the funding of the new operation. But no such program had been described in the budget for that year. Informal permission to transfer the unused moneys was requested of Senator Byrd. He refused, stating that the item should be presented to him in the budget for the following year. And so a year was lost.

The general public believes that Congress appropriates for the District because it is Federal tax money that it is contributing to the District operation. This is 87 percent false. Over half the land in the District is tax exempt because it is owned by the United States. Additional exempt land is owned by embassies and charitable organizations. Further, much of the expense of the District is because of the Federal Government, as, for example, the police costs for parades, demonstrations, and dignitaries. Toward this expense the United States makes a contribution. The highest has been $45 million which is substantially less than the tax loss and the extra expenses. The District budget runs over $350 million and at least 87 percent of this comes from District taxpayers.

CONSTITUTIONALITY OF HOME RULE

The fact that the city of Washington had home rule from its beginning in 1802, indicates to most people the intention of our founders that Congress have the constitutional authority to do what it did, merely to delegate the authority to run the District to municipal bodies.

For those who cannot read history, there is a decision by the Supreme Court, involving the validity of an ordinance passed by the legislative assembly established by Congress in 1871. This ordinance forbade the refusal by any restaurant to wait upon any well behaved person without regard to race or color. The John R. Thompson Co. did so refuse and claimed that the Congress could not delegate its authority and that the ordinance was thus invalid.

The Supreme Court concluded: "There is no constitutional barrier to the delegation by Congress to the District of Columbia of full legislative power, subject of course to constitutional limitations to which all lawmaking is subservient and subject also to the power of Congress at any time to revise, alter, or revoke the authority granted." *District of Columbia* v. *John R. Thompson Company* (1953) 346 U.S. 100, 109; 73 S. Ct. 1007, 1012.

CONGRESS AND CURRENT HOME RULE LEGISLATION

The residents of Washington, D.C., have repeatedly shown their desire for some form of home rule. In the late 1940's, the newspapers conducted informal polls which showed strong preponderance for home rule. In the Democratic and Republican Party primaries, the question of home rule or local self-government has usually been on the ballot. The vote has always been favorable. The latest such vote was in 1964. In the Democratic primary, the vote was 64,580 for home rule to 4,368 against. In the Republican primary, it was 8,094 to 7,733.

The Senate has passed a home rule bill some seven times. In 1965, it passed a bill supported by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations which provided for an elected city council, the power to tax and to appropriate, an elected mayor, an elected delegate to Congress, a board of education elected on a nonpartisan basis, and an automatic formula for appropriation of the Federal contribution.

When the Senate bill went to the House, it was buried in committee and had to be pried out by a discharge petition. This required signatures from 218 Congressmen—a majority of the House. When the bill reached the floor of the House on September 27, 1965, there were three votes on general issues of whether the House would consider the bill. The votes were 213 to 183, 222 to 179, and 234 to 155—all in favor of home rule. The House commitment on the principle thus seemed solid.

Informal polls, however, showed that the proposed Senate bill did not have majority support. The automatic appropriation drew especially heavy fire. Weakening amendments were therefore agreed to and this strategy did reduce the opposition. However, when the bill came up for final voting on September 29, the House seemed glad to adopt an amendment by Congressman Sisk setting aside the Senate bill and providing for a referendum, election of a board to draw a charter, and ultimate submission to the people and to Congress. The motion to kill the Senate bill with the substitute passed by 227 to 174.

The current talk, between sessions of the Congress, is to develop a compromise which will be a slight improvement of the Sisk bill, get the Senate to pass it, and send it to the House in the hope that the House will accept its own child, even with its face washed. If so, the District might have elected officials and some form of home rule by 1968.

The basic argument for home rule is one of principle. If you believe in democracy, in government of, by and for the people, then you have to believe in home rule for the District. There is no alternative. We in the United States believe in a people's form of government. Whether it is more or less efficient, liberal, wise, or corrupt is beside the point. It is our basic commitment. We must apply it in our own Capital City or abandon it—an unthinkable alternative.

Some opponents argue that local home rule conflicts with the concept of the Federal city. This is a strawman. Nobody advocates changing or belittling Congress' exclusive legislative jurisdiction over the District. The issue is whether Congress, which makes no pretense of representing the citizens of the District or being responsible to them, should itself determine local as well as Federal matters, in the manner of a benevolent dictator, or whether it should let the local people have a say on their own local matters.

WHERE HOME RULE WORKS

In all of our States, the capital cities have their own elected city governments. No State legislature has insisted on appointing mayors, city councils, or city commissioners. There has been no significant conflict, lack of protection, or other imagined horror. Whether it be Charleston, W. Va., Boston, Mass., Atlanta, Ga., or Springfield, Ill., the democratic system of local self-government has worked satisfactorily. This is also true of all nations that believe in democracy as opposed to dictatorship. If the citizens of London can be trusted to manage their affairs without interfering with the Parliament, cannot the citizens of Washington, D.C.? Surely the Americans are as respectful of their National Government as those living in Paris, Rome, Athens, or Bonn. When did we develop this inferiority complex?

Lack of popular participation in government has various undesirable effects. City employees need be honest and reasonably efficient but not necessarily pleasing to the helpless citizenry. Residents acquire frustration and a feeling of hopelessness in getting anything done through city government. Rules pile up, layer on layer, in the district building. And the procedure for getting anything done, including worthwhile civic undertakings, turns out to be a labyrinth. Anyone with a "good idea" finds that he needs to go through the proper department of the District government, then the Commissioners, then the Budget Bureau and the White House, then the House District Committee and the Senate District Committee and the Conference Committee of the Congress, and also the District Appropriations Committee and the Senate Appropriations Committee, and again the Conference Committee of the Congress, and the White House. There can be subtractions to these major steps, if the proposition is so unusual as not to involve both policy and money, but there are also many additions for subcommittees of each committee and for congressional hearings. The average citizen, trying to help his community in his spare time, soon gives up in despair and goes back to his major business of earning a living.

For example, take the obvious need of a government college and/or university in the District. In every State in the Union, there is a public, accredited, tax-supported university with little or no tuition for the residents. But not in the District, except for the inadequate and about-to-die Teachers College and specialized Howard University. In the Nation's Capital, you have to pay $1,400 tuition to a private university or move into a State with a democratic form of government. Where the people have a vote, they have a university.

Or take another less significant but irritating issue, that of tax returns. The District income tax law, enacted by Congress, calls for returns similar to the Federal income tax returns, also enacted by Congress, but yet different enough to make the taxpayer do over certain schedules and thereby waste considerable work and build up indignant frustration over the waste. Over a period of several years, the Citizens Council and the related departments of the District government have developed a proposal to base the District tax on the Federal return. The District Commissioners have recommended the proposal to the Congress. There it sits, in the House and Senate District Committees. There is no opposition but, after all, it's of no concern of the folks back home.

Many examples could be given of the unfairness to conscientous Congressmen and local residents of the present complicated and disorganized system. There are also questions of conflicts of interests, such as in taxing cigarettes and a payroll tax on suburbanites. To me, however, the basic question is whether Congress has enough faith in people to let them govern themselves. Unfortunately, the answer to date is faith in people in all other places, even in undeveloped countries, but not in people here.

THE GOVERNMENT'S LOSS

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, it is always regrettable when the Government loses the services of a man who is capable and who is dedicated to the service of this country.

We are experiencing such a loss in the resignation of Jack Valenti, who is leaving the White House as Special Assistant to the President.

I and many of my colleagues have known Jack Valenti since his early days of White House service. I believe they will agree with me that he has shown himself to be a capable and hard-working public servant and, above that, a true gentleman.

Perhaps my feelings are best summed up by an editorial about Mr. Valenti in the Washington Post of April 27 which said:

> His service to the President has been of a kind that mere money could not buy.

I could think of no statement more accurate or true.

The Post's editorial tribute to Mr. Valenti is so well taken that I would like for all Members to see it, and I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Valenti's Resignation

The resignation of Jack J. Valenti, as assistant to President Johnson, leaves a void in the White House establishment that will not be filled easily. He served the President in a way that most administrators wish they were served and in a way that few of them are served. He had the personal qualities that permitted him to subordinate his own wishes and inclination completely to the desires of the President. The President's word was his law—and he was often able to anticipate the "word" because he so well understood the moods and wishes and impulses of the Chief Executive.

One can hardly begrudge the hard-working Valenti the handsome position he has been given by the Motion Picture Association. He now will have many bosses, instead of just one; but it is to be doubted that he will find his burdens increased in proportion to the number of officials he now must serve.

His service to the President has been of a kind that mere money could not buy. But money more commensurate with the duties involved ought to be made available for the officials like Valenti who so greatly contribute to the smooth operation of the Federal Government. No doubt he will be worth a great deal to the Motion Picture Producers Association; but he was worth a great deal more to the people of the United States than he ever received while serving them at the White House.

VISIT TO THE SENATE BY MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to call to the attention of the Senate that we have as guests today three members of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea, our friendly and wonderful ally which has 23,000 of its soldiers serving with our soldiers in Vietnam. Korea is a country which shares the same aims and concerns which we share. Our countries are friends in war and peace.

We have three distinguished guests present this afternoon. I ask them to stand as I introduce them.

It is my honor to present to the Senate Mr. Chung Tae Sung, Mr. Han Byung Il, and Mr. Hak Jin Oh, Congressmen of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea.

(The distinguished visitors rose in their places and were greeted with applause, Senators rising.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is very happy to welcome you here today.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

SECOND SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1966

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the pending business be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The Legislative Clerk. A bill (H.R. 14012) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I yield to the majority leader.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, after discussing the matter with the distinguished minority leader, the distinguished chairman of the Supplemental Appropriation Subcommittee, and the distinguished ranking member of that committee, the Senator from Colorado, that the vote on the rent supplemental——

Mr. PASTORE. Subsidy.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Subsidy—be taken at 3:30 and that the time between now and then be at the disposal of the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee [Senator Pastore], and the ranking Republican member [Senator Allott].

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President——

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I object.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is no unanimous consent?

Mr. PASTORE. Not yet. Mr. President, we will come back to that.

Mr. President, the bill before the Senate is the second supplemental appropriation bill for 1966, H.R. 14012. It was reported to the House of Representatives on Friday, March 25, and passed by the House on Tuesday, March 29.

The Subcommittee on Deficiencies and Supplementals began hearings that same day. Hearings continued through Thursday, March 31, and the subcommittee recessed awaiting additional estimates for consideration in this supplemental bill.

These additional estimates were received at noon, Wednesday, April 20, and hearings were held Thursday morning, April 21.

The committee held its executive markup session on Monday, April 25, and the committee bill, report, and hearings are available to Senators today.

The following recapitulation will highlight the bill and major committee amendments:

Increased pay costs totaling $1,168,478,120—41.7 percent—to meet increased pay pursuant to legislation effective October 1965;

Mandatory Federal contributions to the States for public assistance, $381 million—13.6 percent;

Veterans' compensation and pensions, $288 million—10.3 percent;

Elementary and secondary education activities in the amount of $184 million—6.6 percent;

Asian Development Bank, $140 million—5 percent. This is a Senate committee amendment;

Payment to the trust fund for health insurance for the aged, in the amount of $125,800,000—4.5 percent;

Post Office Department, $121,799,000—4.3 percent—which includes $25 million by committee amendment;

Payment for military service credits, $105 million—3.7 percent;

The President's disaster relief fund, $75 million—2.7 percent, including $30 million added by the committee;

Other disaster or emergency needs for the Farmers Home Administration, the Corps of Engineers, and certain Department of the Interior agencies, $46,329,000—1.7 percent—which includes $33,042,000 added by the committee;

Payments to school districts, $41 million—1.5 percent; and $39 million—1.4 percent for Vocational Rehabilitation Administration grants to the States.

This listing totals $2,715,406,120, or 97 percent of the $2,801,126,003 recommended by the committee.

The details describing these and other items are to be found in the committee report acompanying the bill and include references to all items in the bill.

The bill, as it came from the House, contained $12 million in contract authorization for the rent supplement program of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The budget request had been in the amount of $30 million. The committee has voted to eliminate the item from the supplemental bill for fiscal year 1966. It is my intention at the appropriate time to resist the committee amendment, and I have already given notice to the committee of my desire to do so.

I shall be very happy to answer any questions that Senators may wish to ask.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PASTORE. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, as I understand, the Senator from Rhode Island will ask unanimous consent to have the bill treated as original text except for the amendment on rent supplements.

Mr. PASTORE. Rent supplements; that is correct.

Mr. JAVITS. May I ask the Senator, too, about the following: I had in mind offering an amendment if the committee amendment striking out this provision failed. I had in mind an amendment which would at least increase the amount to what is really needed and/or—and I use those words in the conjunctive sense—doing something about this proviso.

I have no desire to impede the affairs of the leadership in terms of time, but I ask the Senator from Rhode Island, in arranging for whatever unanimous consent he desires, to bear those two things in mind, so that they will be provided for.

Mr. PASTORE. Will the Senator indulge me for a moment while I propound a parliamentary inquiry? This is a very sensitive point of nicety that I think ought to be resolved at this moment.

Mr. President, the committee has recommended an amendment to delete the $12 million that was passed by the House. Now I shall make a unanimous-consent request that the Senate accept the committee amendments en bloc, without prejudice, so that amendments may be made thereto. But I shall except from that unanimous-consent request the committee amendment with reference to the deletion of the $12 million item. The question arises—and that committee amendment will be before the Senate at the proper time—if the Senate sustains the committee—in other words, if the majority are in the affirmative—and the committee action is sustained with reference to the deletion of the $12 million, may the Senator from New York at that time propose an amendment to allocate $30 million for the same purpose?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Kennedy of New York in the chair). If that amendment were agreed to and the item were thereby thrown out, the Senator from New York could offer an amendment de novo involving the same subject, to be considered by the Senate.

Mr. PASTORE. In other words, if the Senate should sustain the deletion of $12 million, the Senator from New York may originate a new amendment asking for $30 million instead of the $12 million that already has been deleted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. As long as he makes some other changes to insure that the change is substantative.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to make another parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. PASTORE. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. On the other hand, Mr. President, if the amendment is rejected and the provision as it came from the other body thereby remains intact, may the Senator from New York move to strike the figure of $12 million and insert another figure?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the motion to strike is rejected, then the House amendment will be open to amendment on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a further parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York will state it.

Mr. JAVITS. Also, there would then be open either to amendment or to a point of order the proviso contained in the amendment which is before the Senate. Is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The House language is not open to a point of order.

Mr. JAVITS. But it is open to amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

Mr. JAVITS. Therefore, I suggest to the Senator from Rhode Island that I would be willing to work out a unanimous-consent agreement which would protect my right to endeavor to deal with this question, once we have something before us with which we can deal.

Mr. PASTORE. If I may say a word—and I hope I may have the attention of the majority leader and the minority leader when I say this—because of a situation which concerns several Senators, it is desired to have a vote at 3:30 p.m. on the committee amendment.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PASTORE. May I finish my statement? Then I shall be happy to yield.

I understand that the Senator from New York expects to offer an amendment after that vote is taken. Therefore, we can enter into a unanimous-consent agreement as to any other amendments that he desires to offer de novo after 3:30 p.m., and I do not think there would be any objection to that.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York will state it.

Mr. JAVITS. As I understand then, no amendments to this section, no amendment de novo, and no substitute would be in order until the committee amendment had been voted up or down.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee amendments must be disposed of first. The committee amendments are open to amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. During the course of the debate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. JAVITS. I again ask the Senator from Rhode Island if he wishes a unanimous-consent agreement to protect the right to debate and vote on amendments to the committee amendments before the hour set for the vote on this committee amendment—to wit, 3:30 p.m.?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PASTORE. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I am wondering whether the purpose could be served if in the unanimous-consent request to agree to all committee amendments en bloc, all committee amendments were agreed to with the understanding that the Senator could then offer as his first amendment the House amendment dealing with rent supplements. Then the amendment would be open to debate by the Senator from New York.

Mr. PASTORE. No; the Senator from Rhode Island does not choose to do that.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Otherwise, if I understand correctly, the amendment of the Senator from New York, after we have disposed of the other amendment, might be subject to a point of order.

Mr. PASTORE. It might be, but I cannot subscribe to the idea that we should agree to the committee amendments and then begin to consider an amendment de novo. I was not born yesterday. The vote will be on the committee amendment, and if it is a tie vote, it will not carry.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. That is what I have in mind.

Mr. PASTORE. That is what I have in mind, too.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Rhode Island yield, without losing his right to the floor?

Mr. PASTORE. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the vote on the rent supplement committee amendment be taken at 3:30 p.m. today, provided, however, that debate on any amendment to the said committee amendment be limited to 40 minutes, to be equally divided and controlled by the sponsor of said amendment and the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore], the manager of the bill, or whomever he may designate; and that the time on the committee amendment be divided and controlled by the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore] and the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. Allott].

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask, in addition, that notwithstanding the time limitation of 3:30, the time shall be used and a vote had on any amendment to the committee amendment.

Mr. PASTORE. That would all depend. If the Senator offered five amendments and we took 40 minutes apiece—

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I could object to the proposal, but I do not want to. I think my good faith in the Senate is pretty well established. I understand what we are trying to do, and I shall cooperate in doing so, but I am not going to lose any rights because of it.

Mr. PASTORE. I do not want the Senator to lose any rights. No one is accommodating me by voting at 3:30. We may be accommodating other Senators. I am not pressed for time.

Mr. JAVITS. The phrase is entirely satisfactory provided it does not cut off the right to offer an amendment and the right to have a vote. I can assure my colleague that I think it will work out practically.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, with that assurance, I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent at this time that the committee amendments be considered and agreed to en bloc, with the exception of the committee amendment on page 5, line 1 through line 17, and that the bill, as thus amended, be considered for the purpose of further amendment as original text, provided that no point of order shall be considered to have been waived by reason of agreement to this request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The committee amendments agreed to en bloc are as follows:

On page 2, after line 2, to insert:

"CHAPTER I"

On page 2, after line 3, to insert:

"DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

"Farmers Home Administration

"For an additional amount for the 'Emergency Credit Revolving Fund,' $30,000,000, to remain available until expended."

On page 2, line 9, to change the Chapter number from "I" to "II".

On page 3, after line 6, to insert:

"CHAPTER III"

On page 3, after line 7, to insert:

"FOREIGN OPERATIONS FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT

"Asian Development Bank

"For subscriptions to the Asian Development Bank, as authorized by the Asian Development Bank Act, to remain available until expended, $140,000,000, of which $20,000,000 shall be available for the first installment on paid-in capital stock, $20,000,000 shall be available for the second installment on such stock, and $100,000,000 shall be available for the entire subscription to collable capital stock."

On page 3, line 18, to change the Chapter number from "II" to "IV".

On page 3, after line 19, to insert:

"NATIONAL CAPITAL HOUSING AUTHORITY

"Operation and Maintenance of Properties

"For an additional amount for 'Operation and maintenance of properties', $12,000".

On page 4, line 4, to strike out "$10,180,000" and insert "$12,681,000".

On page 4, after line 5, to insert:

"GENERAL OPERATING EXPENSES

"For an additional amount for 'General operating expenses', $3,000,000."

On page 4, line 20, after "(Public Law 89-41)", to strike out "$45,000,000" and insert "$75,000,000".

On page 5, line 18, to change the Chapter number from "III" to "V".

On page 6, line 8, after the word "protection", to strike out "$1,028,000" and insert "$1,245,000".

On page 6, line 12, after the word "facilities", to strike out "$827,000" and insert "$892,000".

On page 6, line 14, after the word "Construction", to strike out "$900,000" and insert "$1,711,000".

At the top of page 7, to insert:

"OFFICE OF TERRITORIES

"Administration of territories

"For an additional amount of 'Administration of Territories', $2,500,000, to remain available until expended."

On page 7, line 8, after the word "resources", to strike out "$148,000" and insert "$193,000".

On page 7, line 12, after the word "resources", to strike out "$658,000" and insert "$712,700".

On page 8, after line 1, to insert:

"FEDERAL COAL MINE SAFETY BOARD OF REVIEW

"Salaries and expenses

"For an additional amount for 'Salaries and expenses', $18,000."

On page 8, line 10,, to strike out "$18,000" and insert "$68,000".

On page 8, line 14, to change the Chapter number from "IV" to "VI".

On page 10, line 10, after "$950,000", to insert a comma and "of which $100,000 for interest payments shall remain available until expended and $850,000 for advances shall remain available until June 30, 1968".

On page 10, line 23, after "$184,000,000", to insert a comma and "to be available from March 1, 1966, and all obligations incurred during the period from such date to the date of enactment of this Act, are hereby ratified and confirmed if in accordance with the authorization for the purpose: *Provided,* That in addition whenever the Commissioner of Education shall have approved an application for a project in accordance with said title II subject to the amount of entitlements available to the States for such purpose, the cost of such project shall constitute a contractual obligation of the Federal Government".

On page 11, line 21, after "1965", to strike out "$10,000,000" and insert "$9,500,000".

On page 14, line 20, to change the Chapter number from "V" to "VII".

On page 14, after line 21, to insert: "SENATE".

On page 14, after line 22, to insert:

"CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE SENATE

"Inquires and investigations

"For additional amount for 'Inquiries and Investigations', $200,000."

On page 15, line 16, to change the Chapter number from "VI" to "VIII".

On page 15, line 23, after the word "general", to strike out "$7,000,000" and insert "$7,350,000".

On page 16, after line 15, to insert:

"BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

"Upper Colorado River storage project

"For an additional amount for 'Upper Colorado River Basin Fund', $1,400,000, to remain available until expended, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation 'Loan Program', Bureau of Reclamation."

On page 17, line 1, to change the Chapter number from "VII" to "IX".

On page 17, after line 13, to strike out:

"In addition to the amount heretofore made available in the appropriation under this head for the current fiscal year for compensation and expenses of witnesses (including expert witnesses), not to exceed $25,000 shall be available in such appropriation for such compensation and expenses."

And, in lieu thereof, to insert:

"For an additional amount for 'Fees and Expenses', including not to exceed $25,000 for compensation and expenses of witnesses (including expert witnesses), $200,000, to be derived by transfer from the appropriation for 'Salaries and expenses, general legal activities', fiscal year 1966."

On page 18, after line 12, to insert:

"1967 ALASKA CENTENNIAL

"For expenses necessary to carry out the provisions of the Alaska Centennial Act of 1966, including administrative expenses, to remain available until June 30, 1968, $4,600,000, of which not to exceed $4,000,000 shall be available for grants to the State of Alaska, and not to exceed $600,000 shall be available for appropriate participation by the United States in ceremonies and exhibits are a part of the Centennial celebration."

On page 19, after line 2, to insert:

"INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

"Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center

"For expenses necessary to conduct the studies and submit the reports, and for related expenses, required by section 2(b) of the Act of February 19, 1966 (Public Law 89-355), as to the proposed participation by the United States, by foreign countries, and industry in Interama, $160,000, to remain available until expended."

On page 20, line 16, to change the chapter number from "VIII" to "X".

On page 20, line 20, after the word "Operations", to strike out "$269,904,000" and insert "$294,904,000".

On page 21, line 4, to change the chapter number from "IX" to "XI".

On page 21, at the beginning of line 10, to insert "Senate Document Numbered 87 and", and in line 11, after the word "Congress", to strike out "$10,251,798" and insert "$10,828,683".

On page 22, after line 6, to insert: "Senate:".

On page 22, after line 7, to insert: " 'Compensation of the Vice President and Senators', $8,065;".

On page 22, after line 9, to insert: " 'Salaries, officers and employees', $543,105;".

On page 22, after line 10, to insert: " 'Office of the Legislative Counsel of the Senate', $7,425;".

On page 22, after line 12, to insert: "Contingent expenses of the Senate:".

On page 22, after line 13, to insert: " 'Senate policy committees', $9,940;".

On page 22, after line 14, to insert: " 'Automobiles and maintenance', $840;".

On page 22, after line 15, to insert: " 'Inquiries and investigations', $116,865, including $3,460 for the Committee on Appropriations;".

On page 22, after line 18, to insert: " 'Folding documents,' $945;".

On page 22, after line 19, to insert: " 'Miscellaneous items', $32,065, including $16,200 for payment to the Architect of the Capitol in accordance with section 4 of Public Law 87–82, approved July 6, 1961;".

On page 25, after line 10, to insert: " 'Senate office building', $31,000;".

On page 25, after line 11, to insert: " 'Senate garage', $600;".

On page 30, line 24, after the figures "$89,000", to insert: "to be derived by transfer from the appropriation for 'Registration and voting statistics', Bureau of the Census, fiscal year 1966;".

On page 31, line 4, after the figures "$50,000", to insert "to be derived by transfer from the appropriation for 'Registration and voting statistics', Bureau of the Census, fiscal year 1966;".

On page 31, line 8, after the figures "$320,000", to insert "to be derived by transfer from the appropriation for 'Registration and voting statistics', fiscal year 1966;".

On page 31, line 12, after the numerals "1967", to insert "to be derived by transfer from the appropriation for 'Registration and voting statistics', fiscal year 1966;".

On page 31, line 16, after the figures "$125,000", to insert "to be derived by transfer from the appropriation for 'Registration and voting statistics', Bureau of the Census, fiscal year 1966;".

On page 31, line 20, after the figures "$160,000", to insert "to be derived by transfer from the appropriation for 'Registration and voting statistics', Bureau of the Census, fiscal year 1966,".

On page 32, line 1, after the figures "$100,000", to insert "to be derived by transfer from the appropriation for 'Registration and voting statistics', Bureau of the Census, fiscal year 1966,".

On page 32, line 6, after the figures "$90,000", to insert "to be derived by transfer from the appropriation for 'Registration and voting statistics', Bureau of the Census, fiscal year 1966;".

On page 32, line 12, after the figures $500,000", to insert "to be derived by transfer from the appropriation for 'Registration and voting statistics,' Bureau of the Census, fiscal year 1966;".

On page 32, line 16, after the figures "$1,200,000", to insert "of which $754,000 is to be derived by transfer from the appropriation for 'Registration and voting statistics', Bureau of the Census, fiscal year 1966;".

On page 33, line 2, after the figures "$222,000", to insert "to be derived by transfer from the appropriation for 'Registration and voting statistics', Bureau of the Census, fiscal year 1966,".

On page 34, after line 14, to insert:

"ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISION

"The limitation contained in section 606 of the Department of Defense Appropriation Act, 1966 on the funds available for the operation of overseas dependents schools is hereby increased to the extent necessary to meet increased pay costs authorized by Public Law 89–391."

On page 36, line 15, after the word "Administration", to strike out "(increases of $75,000 in the limitation for administrative expenses and of $1,575,000 in the limitation for nonadministrative expenses)", and in lieu thereof to insert "(increase of $575,000 in the limitation for nonadministrative expenses);".

On page 44, line 9, after the word "Operations", to strike out "$9,500,000" and insert "$8,000,000".

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, the exception to which I referred in my unanimous-consent agreement which was just agreed to relates to the rent supplement program. The committee voted to strike this item. I voted in the negative at the time. I gave notice to the members of the committee that I would pursue further the restoration of this $12 million on the floor of the Senate.

That is the reason for my making this exception. That is what I propose to do.

It is my understanding that the amendment on page 5, line 1 through line 17, automatically becomes the pending business for the consideration of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The remaining committee amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 5, line 1, strike the language down through line 17, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Office of the Secretary

Rent Supplement Program

For rent supplements authorized by section 101 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, $100,000; *Provided*, That the maximum payments in any fiscal year for rent supplements required by all contracts which may be entered into under such section shall not exceed $12,000,000: *Provided further*, That no part of the foregoing appropriation or contract authority shall be used for incurring any obligation in connection with any dwelling unit or project which is not either part of a workable program for community improvement meeting the requirements of section 101(c) of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended (42 U.S.C. 1451(c)), or which is without local official approval for participation in this program.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to suggest the absence of a quorum without losing my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK read as follows: Page 5, line 9, strike the figure "$12,000,000", and insert in lieu thereof "$20,000,000."

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. INOUYE in the chair). The Senator from New York is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, it is high time that we face up to our responsibility in respect to this rent supplement program. It is high time that we assert some measure of our feeling that when we deliberately and after very intensive debate legislate a program, it shall not be completely nullified by the appropriation process, although it appears it is already partially nullified.

It is high time that we decide this matter, for we have had two separate legislatures here for too long. We have had the Congress and we have had the Appropriations Committee. We will either be honest men with a conscience and limit the appropriation process to what it is supposed to be—which is to determine how much money should be spent for something and how much is justified—or we will stop fooling ourselves and turn everything over to the Committee on Appropriations.

It was a devastating blow to a balanced housing program to have this rent subsidy program go down the drain the last time with $450,000 in planning funds. However, we were able to grin and bear it.

I should like to pay outstanding tribute to my colleague, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], who has been leading this fight and who led it manfully at that time. He said: "Let us try it this way, and let us assume that it will bear out the investment which we are making, and use patience in getting the Congress to understand that we are not trying to rush into anything, that we are really genuinely and honestly trying to get the program well understood, to be absolutely positive the people really want it before we put up money for it."—a very hardheaded attitude on the part of a true liberal. That is the way I feel about the Senator from Rhode Island.

Now, Mr. President, everything promised has happened. We have tried it. We have used the planning funds. We have made the surveys of practicality and of buyability, as it were, by the people who want it. We have found that it is a very useful thing, and that it can be spread widely around the country. All of that evidence is in.

And when it is all in, Mr. President, all we do is strike it out; and we even add insult to injury by striking out what is to us not just a minimum figure, but only a token figure, for all practical purposes.

Mr. President, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Mr. Weaver, testified that the survey taken in the last year had shown that there is a demand for at least 100,000 units; $12 million, Mr. President, will purchase at the very best 20,000 units. He said that not only is there a demand for 100,000 units, but that that demand comes from 350 localities. That testimony is found at page 438 and page 451 of the record.

Then, Mr. President, under very intensive questioning by Senator PASTORE—who, I repeat, has been very hardheaded about this matter—the Secretary testified that if we appropriated but $12 million, we would be so fractionalizing the situation around the country as to very materially reduce the likelihood that we could really prove anything in the way of the practicality of the program alleviating the housing problems of people of low incomes. The program would be reduced to such "bits and pieces," as he put it, around the country, so very heavily broken up, and it would pose almost impossible problems of how to distribute that money among the 350 localities without cutting off many which really wanted to try it out.

Senator PASTORE, not satisfied with that, pressed the Secretary as follows—the questioning was so intelligent that I ask the privilege of quoting it.

He said:

> In view of the fact that you went before the committee and asked for $30 million and they gave $12 million, I was wondering what would be a reasonable halfway, in-between point that would obviate this being a burdensome experiment as against being not the program you would like, but a reasonable program that would be in the public interest without any unnecessary waste of money.

The budget request was for $30 million; this was all in the budget, and there were no problems about the fact that we were going outside the President's budget. The budget request was for $30 million, which the House cut to $12 million.

Here is what Secretary Weaver said in response to Senator PASTORE's honest and challenging question:

> This is very hard to answer, but I would certainly feel that it would have to be more than the $12 million and off the top of my head I would say at least around $20 million to give us the leeway to have in these areas—

Then Senator PASTORE interrupted and said:

> You say that $12 million will build 20,000 units?
>
> Secretary WEAVER. Yes.
>
> Senator PASTORE. 20,000 units over the whole complex of this great, vast land of ours would not be a great number of units, would it?
>
> Secretary WEAVER. No, sir.
>
> Senator PASTORE. You would have to concentrate more or less in a few sections, would you not?
>
> Secretary WEAVER. Yes. What we would probably have to do in order to keep the morale up and the interest would be just the opposite—we would have to spread it so thin across as many areas as possible.
>
> Senator PASTORE. Doesn't that add to the administration of the program?
>
> Secretary WEAVER. It adds to the administrative cost—

And so on. In other words, are we going to do anything, really, or are we just going to spread this so thin that it will tend to defeat itself?

After all, we will have to vote; those of us who will vote for this program will have to stand against the Appropriations Committee's majority now, narrow as that majority was. If we are to stand against it anyway, my purpose in offering this perfecting amendment is that we stand against it, in decency and responsibility, for something which will improve the program.

That is my whole argument. If there is not a majority in this Chamber, Mr. President, for the $12 million, then, obviously, there is no majority for the $20 million. But I respectfully submit that anybody who feels that this is a practicable program, and wants to try it out, should vote for the $20 million rather than the $12 million, because in that way according to the best testimony we have, we will at least give it a fair shake, and by voting for the $12 million, you will be running yourself down the drain; you will be for it, but not for it enough to make it really stand up and be a success.

That is the essence of the argument, and that is why I have taken the position I have.

Mind you, I do not know what Senator Pastore will do. I hope and pray that he will vote for my amendment. But even if he votes against it, I still say he is a hero, he is a leader in this field, and he is all for it.

But it seems to me to be my duty, in all logic, if there is a majority in the Chamber—and we shall soon find out—who favor any appropriation at all, to say to my fellow Senators, "If you are for it, at least be for it to the extent that it will have a reasonable chance to be successful, and be a program of which we could all be proud."

I know some will draw conclusions that by the offer of this amendment, we weaken our position. Mr. President, we have all been here a long time. We understand that every vote stands on its own. It seems to me that in all logic, decency, and self-respect, the majority—if there is a majority—should have an opportunity to say, "We are not only for this, but we are for it to the extent of giving it a chance to be a program we can be proud of."

If we are for it, we might as well be for it to the extent that it succeeds, rather than be for it only to the extent that it will have a built-in guarantee of possibly—I shall not say probably—not succeeding.

What is involved, Mr. President, $8 million? If we are going for the $12 million, Mr. President, I think those of us who are going to go for it may very well consult our own best judgment—this is for our side—and go for the $20 million. Because that seems to be the hard-rock minimum that will really give us a program, and not just a collection of bits and pieces.

Mr. President, a large group of us, consisting of both Democrats and Republicans—15 Senators—issued a joint statement in opposition to the rider on the rent supplement bill attached by the House of Representatives. The statement was signed by Senators Case, Clark, Douglas, Hart, myself, both Kennedys, Mondale, Morse, Muskie, Nelson, Neuberger, Tydings, and Williams of New Jersey. That is the class of opinion to which I am appealing.

This statement said that we strenuously objected to the local veto proviso in the amendment. I shall not move to strike it; I am following my beloved colleague's advice. He thinks it is wiser not to press the matter. He thinks we can live with it; that it is not good, but he thinks that we can live with it.

All right, I accept that. But I cannot, in all honesty and candor, look myself in the face if I do not at least try to make it a respectable program, instead of a bits-and-pieces program, as long as I am going to vote for it anyway.

This group of 15 Senators was ready, not just to go for $20 million; they were ready to go for $30 million. The statement says, "We therefore urge that the Senate strike the local veto rider from the language of the appropriation bill. In addition, we hope that the entire $30 million requested for the program will be appropriated."

In other words, they went for the total budget sum, not just the $20 million.

In conclusion, there is no need to take a great deal of time about this. We have discussed the program from A to Z time and again. We all understand exactly what is in it. I appeal to the majority, if there is a majority—if there is not, we are licked altogether—"at least vote for something responsible and respectable. At least vote for a program which has a chance to succeed, instead of running it down the drain, by determining to vote against diluting it into a program of bits and pieces too small to do any good, by voting the minimum amount which the Secretary says will give it a chance to succeed."

I repeat, Mr. President, we are really doing ourselves a favor by setting up the program for $20 million rather than $12 million.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I am placed in a rather awkward position, because I think by the unanimous-consent agreement I have been designated as the keeper of the time for the opposition. Certainly I do not wish to be in opposition to this kind of amendment. I want my distinguished fellow Senator from New York to know that I sympathize greatly with his position, and I agree with it. The only thing that disturbs me a little bit is the practicality of the situation.

The committee voted 15 to 12 to knock out the $12 million. The serious question here on the floor of the Senate is, How does the membership of the Senate feel with reference to the restoration? Of course, now we are talking, not only about restoration, but about going $8 million above that.

I do not think that I should be the one who should guide the time in opposition. I do wish to speak for about 4 or 5 minutes.

If it is agreeable to the distinguished Senator who is the ranking member of the subcommittee [Mr. Young of North Dakota], I should like to have him manage the time after I have taken about 5 minutes.

How much time do we have?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Twenty minutes to each side.

Mr. PASTORE. I shall take 5 minutes, and allocate the remaining 15 minutes to the distinguished Senator from North Dakota to do what he wishes in opposition to the proposed amendment.

Is that satisfactory to the Senator?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Either way, though I would be perfectly happy to have the Senator from Rhode Island do it.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I believe that what I should do at this juncture—because we shall have sufficient time to argue the merits of the program a little later, or before we come to a vote at 3:30 o'clock—is to point out to the Senate exactly what kind of program we are talking about this afternoon.

Are we here to glorify and embellish the rich, or are we in this Chamber this afternoon to give a little consideration to the poor?

Who must these poor be before they can be considered at all for the program?

They must fall in the category of qualifying for public housing. That is the first qualification. Over and above that, before anyone can come under the program, he must be a person who has been displaced by governmental action.

By that, it means that if we build a highway or freeway through a slum, or have taken some action which displaces someone, then that is another consideration.

But, we do not even stop there.

There is another condition which includes the household head or spouse, if 62 years of age, or even older, and that would be another requirement.

Then, we do not even stop there.

There is another requirement, too, that the household head or spouse must be physically handicapped. The next to the last category includes living in substandard housing. The last category is for persons who occupy or did occupy living units destroyed or extensively damaged by a natural disaster. They would be included.

This afternoon, we are talking about the poor in relation to this program. Before we set a date for the hearings, I received many telegrams from several distinguished clergymen who were very much interested in the program. I believe that we should recite for the Record what these men had to say.

Their names are:

Reverend Street; Mr. Marshall; Reverend Walker; Reverend McManus; Reverend Goodwin; and the Reverend Wendt.

This is what I said to these gentlemen:

> Senator Pastore. All right, gentlemen. Will you step forward and take these seats? We will hear you one at a time. I have you listed in this order: Reverend Street, Mr. Marshall, Reverend Walker, Reverend McManus, Reverend Goodwin, and Reverend Wendt.

This is what Mr. Marshall said:

> Mr. Marshall. I purposefully made my remarks brief. I thought this would be appreciated but I would be glad to answer questions if there are any.

What he brought out was the fact that this would take care of the poor, and that was his objective.

We had the representatives of the Friends Neighborhood Guild; the Philadelphia Housing Authority program; the Private Enterprise Housing programs; and we had a clergyman from New Orleans, and several ministers from the South. Every one of them testified how important this program was and why we should raise the figure from $12 million to $30 million, which is the authorization amount.

Well, when it came to the markup of the bill, the Senator from Rhode Island was somewhat surprised. The vote was 15 to 12.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Rhode Island has expired.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 1 additional minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, the vote was 15 to 12 to delete the whole program which, to me, was a very sorrowful thing to happen.

I would hope that this afternoon, if we cannot get the $30 million, at least we can restore the $12 million. That is all I have to say at this time. I am going to vote for the amendment of the Senator from New York because the committee already knows how I feel about this matter, and I have made my position abundantly clear.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I will be glad to yield any time to the opposition on this amendment.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. How much time does the Senator require?

Mr. PASTORE. The time for the opposition is being managed by the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG].

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I need 10 minutes.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Colorado.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I rise to speak in opposition to the amendment, and I will also speak in favor of the amendment of the committee.

Let me say at the outset that the position I have taken has not led me to go around getting a lot of Senators to take the same position which I have taken. I have not asked a single Senator to vote with me or to take the position that I have taken.

When I offered the amendment in committee the other day to strike the $12 million, which was stricken, I did not ask a single Senator either before or during the course of that meeting to vote with me.

I have taken this position because I believe that it is right.

First of all, I invite the attention of the Senate, at least to the Senators who are now in the Chamber, to the fact that this particular item comes before the Independent Offices Subcommittee on Appropriations, of which I happen to be the ranking minority member, and the distinguished Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the chairman.

The particular item that we are talking about now has never been before that subcommittee. This is a fact which should be borne in mind by every Senator.

I do not claim for myself that I am an authority, by any means, on any or all parts of public housing; nor do I believe that the chairman of that committee, if he were present in the Chamber at the moment, would make any such claim or assumption.

However, in dealing with these matters over a period of years, as we both have, I believe that we have learned a little about them.

How did this matter come up before the Senate last year?

First, it was up on an authorization. At that time, I am sure that everyone here will remember the utter and stark confusion of Members of the Senate as to who was to be embraced within the bill, and to be eligible for subsidy under it.

I believe it was finally decided by the majority here that people who earned even up to $12,000 in income could draw a rent subsidy.

When the matter went before the Supplemental Appropriations Subcommittee, headed by the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island, last year, the agency had already promulgated regulations to control the appropriation which they thought they were going to receive at that time.

The Senate did appropriate money by a narrow vote of 41 to 37. The House had refused to appropriate money. When we went to the conference committee, the House made it clear from the beginning that they were not going to appropriate any money for this program in that particular appropriation bill.

But the matter was so confused that when it did come up late in the fall before the Senate, the HHFA, now the Department of Housing and Urban Development, had to withdraw, the day before it came up before the Senate, every regulation they had published to implement the proposed appropriation because they found out that they were more confused than anyone else.

Mr. President, not having had this matter before the regular subcommittee for appropriations in 1966, we are now asked again to have the supplemental subcommittee—not the subcommittee which has to deal with this matter and bear the responsibility for it year after year, but the supplemental subcommittee in testimony taken before the supplemental subcommittee—act upon this, and act upon the statements made by Mr. Weaver.

I can understand the interest of some people in the program, and I am not going to say that it may not have merit. I say that it has no merit today, because we have not had an opportunity to get Mr. Weaver, the Secretary of HUD, before the regular subcommittee to question him and find out exactly what he means when he talks about the various things that he is going to do under the act.

For example, when he talks about "substandard," I do not know what he is talking about. From the testimony, I would assume that he is confused as to the legislative authority by which appropriations may be made. Taking all this into consideration, I say to these people, and I say to my friend, the Senator from New York, who is advocating this particular amendment, that if he is genuinely interested in this approach to public housing—and that is what it is, it is a new way to handle public housing—he will serve himself and he will serve his constituents better if he will permit this matter to come before the regular Appropriations Subcommittee. A hearing is now set for HUD on May 17.

In all likelihood they will have an appropriation bill by the first part of the next fiscal year, or by July 1. This committee has never delayed in its actions on these matters and I see no reason why it should do so this year.

Now, if this particular idea has merit, if, in fact, it will save money for the taxpayers, if, in fact, it calls upon the private sector of the economy to do a thing that has been done by the Government before in the matter of public housing; if all of these things are true, then I am sure that each and every one of us want the best, hardest, leanest kind of program we can get, so it will work. That is my position.

My position also is that the committee charged with the responsibility for this particular appropriation should have a right and should have the opportunity to call the Secretary of HUD before it to inquire into all phases of this matter, to inquire into his interpretation of the regulations, to inquire what they mean because that committee and that committee alone will be charged, so far as the Senate is concerned, with the responsibility for the success or failure of this program.

We will have these hearings shortly. For this reason I must say that I do oppose very stringently the amendment of the Senator from New York. If he and the others whose names he read are genuinely interested in making this program work they will let it go through the normal courses and processes of the appropriate channels.

There is a great reluctance on the part of every member of the Appropriations Committee to act upon matters which do not have to be acted on in a supplemental bill. There is no overwhelming crisis that is going to come to a head in the next 2 months—May and June.

When we put this bill before the Independent Offices Subcommittee, which I am sure will be by July 1, then I think we will have had an opportunity to get all of the background. Since we are starting a program of such immense proportions, at least $150 million for 40 years, we will have a chance to look at it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield 4 minutes to the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I want to answer the allegation made here this afternoon that this did not come before the Subcommittee on Independent Offices of which I also am a member.

I want to say to my distinguished friend from Colorado I think that the Subcommittee on Supplementals and Deficiencies has just as much right, just as much jurisdiction, if I may use the word, as the Subcommittee on Independent Offices.

Why did it come before the Supplemental and Deficiency Subcommittee? It was because this law was passed not too long ago by the Senate and the Senate authorized a certain amount to expire by June 30, 1966. The regular bill before the Subcommittee on Independent Offices is to begin with appropriations available on July 1, 1966.

So that is the reason why it came before the Supplemental and Deficiency Subcommittee. What did the Senator from Rhode Island do? He invited every member, 27 of them, on the entire Appropriations Committee to come there.

There is argument this afternoon that if Senators are against it, they should say that they are against it. If Senators say, "I don't like this program; I don't want it; I am going to vote against it whether you make it 5 cents or $5 billion," I say to Senators, "All right, you are sincere in your position." But when Senators come on to the floor and say that JOHN PASTORE did not have a right to hear this, that it was not heard well, and that it was not heard fully, I say, "By what right do you think there is more jurisdiction in your subcommittee than there is to mine?"

Mr. President, that is enough.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I wish to answer the chairman of the subcommittee. The one committee of the Congress charged with this is the Independent Offices Subcommittee. Of course, the Senator had a right to hear the matter, but his is not the subcommittee that is charged primarily with hearing items on housing and home finance.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ALLOTT. I decline to yield at this time. Mr. President, the fallacy of this matter lies exactly where we are to date. We are appropriating almost $25 billion in our supplemental appropriations this year. This is the answer to this matter and it should be considered by regular committees in the regular course, regardless of what the Senator from Rhode Island may think.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes in support of the position taken by the ranking member of the Independent Offices Subcommittee on Appropriations, which handles this type of legislation.

There is $2.8 billion in this supplemental bill. I am the ranking Republican on the committee and I say to the chairman that he did the very best job that he could covering the 75 items. But it cannot be done half as good as had the regular committees handled these items.

In addition, when the regular committee takes up the bill they can approve the $35 million being requested, plus an additional $30 million if need be.

Mr. President, this is not a small bill at all.

If the authorization is entered into the cost of this program, over a 40-year period, which is authorized, it will be approximately $6 billion. That amount is not peanuts. If we had a little more time, I am sure Mr. Weaver, the Administrator, would agree he could improve the program greatly.

What a difference there was in the testimony this year and the testimony last year when he had time to think it over. Why not wait for 3 or 4 weeks when we could improve and make this a better program?

It may seem to some to be inappropriate for me to be speaking on this subject since we do not have a big slum area in my State; but we do have America's first citizens, the American Indians. This measure would not cover them. There is no worse housing in America than the Indians have, so I have an interest in housing. I am not opposed to the principle of helping poor people, but I believe people trained in welfare programs should rightfully have some voice in this program if it is to be a success.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, how much time have I remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 5 minutes remaining.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 4 minutes.

Mr. President, I speak as a Senator from the State which has the largest and most populous city in the United States, the city of New York, for which we ought to be very proud rather than, as I often find, apologetic.

Mr. President, there is only one theme which I have. The Senate is the conscience of the Nation. If our committees are slow, take time, and have not deliberated the matter enough we cannot absolve them, but we must bail them out of it by acting ourselves.

The Senator from Rhode Island was right. The appropriation called for $30 million prior to July 1, 1966.

Carry this matter over to when the regular legislative committee acts and there are destroyed the people who have a right to look to this program for some relief. That is what I am here to talk about.

The Senator from Colorado said:

> If you are well advised, you will wait; there is no overwhelming crisis.

There is an overwhelming crisis. Do people have to be killed to prove it, as they did in Watts, Harlem, New York, and Rochester? How many people have to be killed in order to prove that there is an overwhelming crisis? What is $8 million in view of the entire $2.5 billion?

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. PASTORE. The Senator knows those clamoring for delay this afternoon would not vote for it in the final analysis even if it were for 20 cents. They do not believe in the program and this is a delaying tactic to kill it.

Mr. JAVITS. The Senator from Rhode Island sits on this committee. Who knows better than he, and he has just spoken.

I like this program because it is dignified for the poor and it deals with the poor who are making an effort to support themselves.

The Secretary testified it does not extend to welfare clients. It extends to people who earn money. It does not put the poor in ghettos. It distributes them around with other people so they can learn to live like other people and aspire to be like other people.

One of the vicious things about public housing is if they get somewhere in life they have to be moved out. Here is an automatically adjusting answer: Get somewhere in life; here you stay where you are, but you pay your rent. It seems to me that this is a program well worthy of trial and we should give it a break.

My entire argument is dominated by the Secretary who said, "You get into a situation where you have to do teeny-weeny things." If Senators are for this bill they should vote for it. Do not make it a teeny-weeny vote or a teeny-weeny thing.

Mr. AIKEN. Does not the Senator feel that without rent controls, the sum of $15 or $20 million, or whatever it might be, would be completely gobbled up?

Mr. JAVITS. I do not.

Mr. AIKEN. Without being a benefit to the people it is intended to help.

Mr. JAVITS. I do not. I tell the Senator that 90 percent of the program will be for new construction; the Secretary testified to that. It is necessary to have this kind of bill to bring about that new construction, and the new construction will be fully safeguarded against exactly what the Senator fears.

Mr. AIKEN. Would the program apply only to new construction?

Mr. JAVITS. The Secretary testified that 90 percent would apply to new construction.

Mr. AIKEN. Would it be written into the contract that the rents could not be raised?

Mr. JAVITS. Exactly.

Mr. AIKEN. The Senator knows, I know, and everybody else knows that we get more complaints about increases in rents than about increases in any other prices.

Mr. JAVITS. The program would be operated on a contractual basis and would be fundamentally based upon the rent-paying ability of the family itself.

Mr. AIKEN. I would like to help the people whom the Senator has in mind, but I have had the fear that without controls the program would fail.

Mr. JAVITS. I can assure the Senator that I do not see any such really practical danger in this program. I think this is the first time we have had a chance to get off the rabbit-track of public housing and really make a new effort to do the right thing. I say let us do it reasonably and practicably, instead of in a teeny-weeny way.

Mr. President, how much time have I remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York has one minute remaining.

Mr. JAVITS. I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I want to reply to two things. First of all, the

$30 million for this year would not be lost under the formula. The amount that can be authorized and appropriated next year is $65 million—the $30 million plus $35 million. The fund will accumulate in that way.

Second, I say again to the chairman of the subcommittee that I have never questioned his integrity, I do not do so now, and I wish he would not imply that he is questioning mine. When he says I have made up my mind, he is wrong. I have talked with other Senators who think the same way I do, who will not vote for this proposal today, but who may vote for it after July 1, if we ever get to meaningful hearings and have a right to go into this in full with the Secretary.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself the remaining time.

We had meaningful hearings on the authorization bill; we had meaningful debates; and we passed the bill. Then we had meaningful hearings and meaningful debates, and appropriated planning funds. The planning funds were used, and a report was made which said that the program was practicable and meaningful. If we decide to do anything about the program now, this is the way to do it. We say we still have to have other meaningful reports, other meaningful hearings, before we finally decide what we ought to do about it.

In the meantime, let Senators who question my use of the term "crisis" take a walk in Harlem or in Bedford-Stuyvesant, in Watts, or in the slums of Rochester; then they will see what our delays are doing to the people. I do not say it must be done all at once, like a shot. A program is in beginning, ready to go. It is practicable. There are applications for it. What are we holding it up for? I think we are holding it up because we are against it.

Mr. PASTORE. I assure the Senator that this program has been given all the time it deserved. I do not care what committee it goes before from now on. No committee could give it more time than we have. It could not give it more conscientious attention than we gave it. On that I stake my honor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has expired.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Is the amendment subject to further amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. This amendment is subject to further amendment.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, if the Senator from Illinois offers another amendment, how much time will be allotted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Twenty minutes to each side.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I am reluctant to offer a further amendment; but if there were no objection to a unanimous consent request for about 4 minutes, I would be quite content and not offer another amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. There is no objection, of course. The minority leader may take as much time as he wishes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I want to conform to the rules.

Mr. President, the very distinguished and eloquent Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] said that if any Senator were against this proposal, why not proclaim it? Well, let me be as candid as my feeble endowments can interpret the English language. I say I am against it.

Mr. PASTORE. Good for you.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I notice from the transcript of the hearings that there probably are 51 cities, with populations over 250,000, that would be eligible. There are another 20 cities, with a population under 250,000, which would be eligible.

Mr. President, this is a coincidence. I live in a modest sized community in Illinois that bears the name Pekin. It got its name in this way: About 130 years ago a farmer came to that area when there was a controversy about naming the town. The settlers left it to his wife to name it. She took down maps, followed that parallel of latitude, and discovered that the town was on the same parallel of latitude as Pekin, China. That is how my town got its name. Officially, by the census, its population is 28,146. I think it is probably 30,000.

In my hometown a family that had an income of $4,200 would be eligible. In Omaha, Nebr., a family having an income of $4,700 would be eligible. In the great metropolitan center of the Empire State, meaning New York, a family having an income of $6,100 would be eligible.

There is a very interesting qualification. The bill provides that increases in income due to the temporary employment of a secondary member of the family or to the part-time employment of a student member of the family need not be reported. Those are flexible limits.

As I recall from reading an article in Reader's Digest, the FHA, which would make the determination, in 87 out of 89 projects went away beyond the actual cost of the land involved and submitted an excessive estimate for the purposes of the loan. I do not propose to have an agency like that undertake to administer this kind of program, which in years to come could cost not a mere $12 million or $9.5 million or $30 million, but could run into the hundreds of millions of dollars. The potential for abuses is enormous.

It is rather ironic that we take the cream of our youngsters and send them to Vietnam, where their housing facilities are ramshackle, to say the least, and where in most cases there are no housing facilities at all. But we bleed here because if a family has an income of $4,200 or $4,700 or $6,100, we will dip into the Federal till. Why not go back to the administration of President Roosevelt, whose mellifluous tone went over the country when he talked about one-third ill fed, one-third ill clad, one-third ill housed? Let us send the amendment back. Let us add the grocery bill and the clothing bill as well as the housing bill, because they are parts of creature necessities.

This proposal ought to be defeated and the position of the committee sustained. If I had the right to do it, I would strike it out entirely.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. DIRKSEN. It is something that is going to be noxious in American life before we get through.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from New York. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from New York will state it.

Mr. JAVITS. Do I correctly understand that a "yea" vote is a vote to substitute $20 million for $12 million, and that the vote will come later on whether to strike out the whole provision?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from New York is correct.

The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "yea." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "nay." I therefore withhold my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. RUSSELL], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] is paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL]. If present and voting, the Senator from Arizona would vote "yea," and the Senator from Massachusetts would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER] is paired with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. RUSSELL]. If present and voting, the Senator from Oregon would vote "yea," and the Senator from South Carolina would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE] is paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nevada would vote "nay," and the Senator from Connecticut would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH] is paired with the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING]. If present and voting, the Senator from Idaho would vote "nay," and the Senator from Alaska would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] is absent because of death in his immediate family and is paired with the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN]. If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts would vote "nay," and the Senator from Arizona would vote "yea."

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] is detained on official business, and if present and voting, would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 18, nays 69, as follows:

[No. 67 Leg.]

YEAS—18

Case
Clark
Douglas
Hart
Inouye
Javits
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
McGee
Mondale
Morse
Muskie
Pastore
Pell
Proxmire
Ribicoff
Tydings
Williams, N.J.

NAYS—69

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Bartlett
Bass
Bayh
Bennett
Boggs
Brewster
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Cooper
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dominick
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Fulbright
Gore
Harris
Hartke
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Jackson
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
McCarthy
McClellan
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Monroney
Montoya
Morton
Moss
Mundt
Murphy
Nelson
Pearson
Prouty
Randolph
Robertson
Scott
Simpson
Smith
Sparkman
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—13

Bible
Church
Dodd
Gruening
Hayden
Mansfield
McNamara
Miller
Neuberger
Russell, S.C.
Russell, Ga.
Saltonstall
Smathers

So Mr. JAVITS' amendment was rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Who yields time?

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I understand there are other amendments.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator yield time to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. PASTORE. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Wisconsin.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I speak as a member of the Housing Subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency, which heard all the witnesses when this legislation was considered, and as a member of the Appropriations Committee that acted on this proposal last Monday.

This rent subsidy program has been seriously maligned and misunderstood. It suffers unfortunately and unfairly by its label. We are all against subsidies especially for something new like rent. But, Mr. President, this is a private enterprise proposal. It is a substitute, not a supplement, for public housing. Public housing is a rent supplement program under Government auspices; but this proposed rent subsidy program is privately sponsored, privately built, privately managed, and privately owned.

Furthermore, it will save public money on two counts. The agency's figure is $50 per month average Government subsidy for public housing, and $40 per month for the rent supplement.

Finally, Mr. President, I would point out that when a tenant qualifies for public housing, he pays 20 percent of his income in rent; but the rent supplement program is more conservative, he is to pay 25 percent of his income in rent before he receives a nickel of Federal money. So the ill-housed will receive a chance to live in decent housing. But at a lower, I repeat, lower cost to the Federal Government than public housing.

Mr. President, this is a program that makes sense. It is economical. It is a private enterprise proposal. It seems to me it is one that will work, and should be approved certainly in the modest amount of $12 million.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Texas.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I am opposed to the amendment to provide funds for the rent supplement program, primarily because of the timing involved. Due to the Vietnam war, and due to the present inflationary trend, either of which I point out, show no sign of abating, we should not be initiating or experimenting with vast new Federal assistance programs, which are not necessary or of a lower priority nature.

Today, we are being asked to provide several millions of dollars, perhaps ultimately many billions of dollars, for a program whose merit we know little about. At the same time, we are fighting a war in Vietnam and are experiencing inflation here at home. Now is certainly not the time to be experimenting with the hard-earned dollars of the American taxpayer. If anything, we should be looking for many ways to cut back our domestic spending on the national level to help combat inflation. I do not feel it wise, when economy in government is so important, to be asking for vast sums of money to use on a program where there are so many unanswered questions.

I have other reservations regarding the rent supplement proposal—foremost among them, of course, is the fear of stifling the incentive of the individual for homeownership, and the possibility we would be making Government wards of the people involved. If the Government will pay part of the rent of a man, then there will be little incentive for him to work harder to improve his environment by owning his own home.

Not only would this proposal weaken the incentive from homeownership, but also it may serve as a powerful incentive for a family to discontinue its homeownership and become a renter with Federal subsidy. Mr. President, this would undermine one of the basic principles of America today, that of private homeownership, which has been one of the truly great developments of the past 25 years.

If we accept the principle involved in the rent subsidy program, perhaps we must next expect to accept a Federal program for subsidizing the purchase of clothing, and ultimately a Federal program for a guaranteed annual income, whether a person works or not.

We certainly have an opportunity today to let the American people know that we will not put up with such a program.

I call, therefore, Mr. President, for defeat of this proposal. It is one that would increase domestic spending on an unknown quantity in an already dangerous period of inflation. In addition, it would threaten a great foundation of America, private homeownership in freely associative communities.

Mr. PASTORE. I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Alaska.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, since coming to the Senate, save and except on one occasion, so far as my memory serves me, I have voted for all public housing measures designed for metropolitan centers.

But I have had very close to my heart the needs for legislation to assist people in remote areas, far from the cities of this country, and I am thinking particularly of the Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut people of Alaska.

As the Presiding Officer knows, as a member of the Subcommittee on Housing of the Banking and Currency Committee, that subcommittee this morning began hearings on a bill which I had introduced over a year ago, and heard several witnesses from Alaska testify who know the situation in Alaska relative to housing.

Existing Federal laws do not have adequate application to some of the remote areas of Alaska. I suppose that remarks could be broadened to include other parts of the country.

In Alaska, as has been stated by the Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration, some of the Eskimo people and some of the Indian people live in worse situations, worse housing than any slum in any city.

Mr. President, I think that the rent subsidies program is defensible. I voted for it last year. I will say, I had some substantial doubts as to my position earlier this week. But now that the Banking and Currency Subcommittee on Housing has taken the matter to which I refer under active consideration, I intend to revert to my original position, and support the rent subsidy program.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and ask unanimous consent that the time for the quorum call to be equally divided on both sides.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President——

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Maryland.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from Maryland is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. **TYDINGS.** Mr. President, I rise to support the motion of the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] to restore an appropriation of $12 million for the rent supplement program.

The essential purpose of rent supplements is to provide decent, safe, and sanitary housing for low-income families. The immediate goal is housing, but the long-range effects will be reflected in reduced crime, lower rates of mental illness, improved educational achievement, improved health and physical fitness and a sense of self-respect among the most disadvantaged and disaffected elements of our society.

It is hard for those of us, who live in decent housing, to understand how substandard housing can sap the human spirit. Substandard housing means more than just a building that is either dilapidated, overcrowded, unheated, vermin infested, without running water or toilet or bath facilities. Usually there is a combination of these factors.

Before we vote on this measure we must ask ourselves whether inadequate housing would affect our self-esteem, our family life, our children's ability to become educated, our physical and mental health? What would be our chances of not succumbing to the temptation of crime either out of frustration or hostility?

Let me outline what the psychological and sociological studies of inadequate housing indicate.

The most obvious effects of inadequate housing upon its inhabitants is, of course, in the area of physical disease. The high rate of infectious illness, the higher rates of infant mortality and the incidence of death can be directly linked to poor housing. One sociologist has established five typical categories of illness associated with inadequate housing:

First. Acute respiratory infections—colds, bronchitis, grippe—related to inadequate heating or ventilation, inadequate and crowded sleeping arrangements.

Second. Certain infectious diseases of childhood—measles, chickenpox, and whooping cough—related to similar causal factors.

Third. Digestive diseases—typhoid, dysentery, diarrhea—related to poor facilities for cold storage of food and to inadequate washing and toilet facilities.

Fourth. Injuries resulting from home accidents related to crowded or inadequate kitchens, poor electrical connections, and poorly lighted and unstable stairs. How many times do we pick up the newspaper and read about a house that burned down in a slum area with three or four children burned to death in it?

Fifth. Infections and noninfectious diseases of the skin related to crowding and inadequate facilities for washing.

Controlled studies, concluded this observer, "confirm that improved housing reduces the incidence of illness and death."

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. **PASTORE.** How much time would the Senator like to have?

Mr. **TYDINGS.** Mr. President, may I have an additional 5 minutes?

Mr. **PASTORE.** I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Maryland.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from Maryland is recognized for 3 additional minutes.

Mr. **TYDINGS.** But physical illness is not the only illness that is produced by bad housing conditions. What of mental illness? We need not read the case histories to imagine what the stress and insecurity, the unsettledness and anxiety of inadequate, overcrowded housing will do to ones peace of mind. One never really gets used to cockroaches and rats, to insufficient bed room, to the absence of doors between rooms, to a disturbing and disrupting noise level, to being constantly forced to adapt to those immediately about you.

As one psychiatrist has put it, there is a terrific mental strain arising from constantly having to get along with other people. He points out that in the strain of having to adapt constantly to others there is a challenge to the integrity of our personalities. He points out that for any adult this is a tremendous strain, and that "there are children who have never known any other situation."

And what of the children forced to live with the complaints and instability that almost always accompanies inadequate housing? One psychiatrist has listed some of the consequences for the growing child of the overcrowding which accompanies inadequate housing. First, there is a challenge to his sense of individuality because he is so rarely alone and has so little opportunity to look to himself for the real satisfactions of life. Second, there is a challenge to his illusions about other people because he is brought into unavoidable contact with adult weakness and greed. He finds it difficult to build up identifications with hero parents or other ideals.

Such conditions are a kind of quicksand which keep a child from escaping to a better kind of life and home. How will the child in the environment I have been describing make use of the kind of schooling that will give him the ability to escape from his surroundings? I am not only talking about the fact that poor housing neighborhoods often have poor schools within them, but about study conditions. Where will he go to study? How will he go about his studies? Indeed, why will he feel the need or the urge to study? Who will encourage him? Where will he get his ideal? Certainly not from the adults whose own self esteem has been dealt a severe blow by the mirror image of their surroundings and by a home which is much less a castle than a moat.

And what will be the feelings of the members of such a household toward the society round about them? They will not be the feelings of respect for the society that allows such conditions to exist. They will be hostile feelings, in which right and wrong may seem irrelevant. Indeed, how would one tell those who have no job, no security, no decent home to support the laws of a community which oppresses them?

I might add that the District of Columbia has experimented with rent supplements on a very small scale. Where the families were taken out of the slums, almost without exception the family was able to raise itself and to improve its condition. The father of the family got a better job. They endeavored to raise themselves to the level or standards in the community in which they resided. The rest of the community did not realize the families in question were being assisted by rent supplements.

I think that this great pioneering and imaginative effort in the field of housing is tremendously important.

I hope the Senate will adopt the very modest amendment of the Senator from Rhode Island.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Who yields time?

Mr. **PASTORE.** Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the pending amendment be set aside without prejudice so that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] may offer an amendment on another section in the bill.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Is there objection?

Mr. **ALLOTT.** Mr. President, I have one request of the distinguished chairman of the committee. I wonder if we could arrange for time on that also.

Mr. **PASTORE.** Not to exceed 5 minutes.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. **KENNEDY** of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be read.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 11, line 22, beginning with the word "That," strike out all through the words "*Provided further,*" on lines 1 and 2 on page 12.

Mr. **KENNEDY** of Massachusetts. Mr. President, the amendment I have sent to the desk on behalf of myself and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON] this afternoon does not affect to any extent the changes in the amount of money appropriated to the National Teacher Corps, but it affects the provision which was written in by the House Appropriations Committee requiring that there be a matching formula of 90-10 for the National Teacher Corps.

In February of last year Senator Nelson and I introduced the concept of the National Teacher Corps. It was considered by the Education Subcommittee, of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and in the House committee. It was accepted by these committees and passed by the Congress.

The President also submitted to the Congress a message relative to the Teachers Corps program. The administration had considered the question of having matching funds in the program, and they decided there should not be matching funds for basic and fundamental reasons. The Education Subcommittee in the House of Representatives and the Senate committee considered whether there should be matching funds, and both of them rejected it for a very basic reason. It was the same reason used and considered by the committees in the House of Representatives and the Senate when they considered the elementary and secondary education bill.

It made little sense, on one hand, they felt to give funds to the poorest school districts and then expect them to make some contribution. For that very basic reason we see some $1.5 billion appropriated by Congress and the Senate under title I of the elementary and secondary education bill in a nonmatching fashion. That means that each school district in our country has approximately $40,000.

The idea and the concept of the Teachers Corps is to help and assist the poorest districts.

It was at the request of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] that it was written into the Senate report that the Teachers Corps program has a first priority to assist the poorest districts. This was accepted by the Education Subcommittee. This is the concept and purpose for which this legislation was introduced and sponsored.

We feel that requiring that there be matching funds runs counter to the idea and purposes for which this program was introduced.

Another point in striking difference is the 90–10 formula. The 90–10 formula has no place in the present legislation. The 90–10 formula that was put in by the House Appropriations Committee dealt with paying teachers' salaries. That is not what this supplemental bill is referring to when it refers to the Teachers Corps. It refers to training teachers and not salaries.

So as a procedural matter, this should not be considered at the present time. If it is to be considered, it should be at a later time when the funds come before Congress on the question of appropriations for teachers' salaries.

I draw the analogy in requesting poor districts of this country to pay for this kind of service to our expecting that disadvantaged countries of the world would use AID money for the Peace Corps. We do not use the matching approach when we gave funds in the secondary and elementary education bill, and we should not in this measure.

This is not only the position assumed by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON] and myself, but also by the National Education Association, which has written to me that the proposal that poor school districts match salaries, even to the extent of 10 percent would be a deterrent to those school districts that we need to help most. Many of them have low salaries.

For these reasons I hope that the amendment will be accepted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the the amendment.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I offer an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. PASTORE. We yielded 5 minutes at the request of the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts. We have another pending amendment set aside by unanimous consent that is to be voted on at 3:30.

If this further amendment, the pending amendment, is put in, what is the time situation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We have to get time by unanimous consent or charge it to one side or the other.

Does the Senator from Illinois make his unanimous-consent request for time on this amendment?

Mr. PASTORE. If the Senator from Illinois will yield to me, we have an agreement here to vote on the $12 million—on the rent subsidy at 3:30.

I have already committed myself to 40 minutes of time on my side, which I will have to restrict somewhat because we have only an hour left and there is equal time on the other side, as well.

If we interpose it with this new amendment there will be 40 minutes that they will be entitled to. That will be 40 minutes taken out of the hour, which leaves 10 minutes to discuss the rent subsidy.

I would hope that I could consult with the distinguished Senator from Illinois to see if we cannot set the pending amendment aside and after 3:30 they can proceed to amend the amendment.

The Senator tells me he needs 2 minutes, but I do not know what is in his hand. I might need 4 hours for rebuttal.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PASTORE. I yield.

Mr. COTTON. Some of us on the subcommittee dealing with HEW would want, as a matter of record, at least a minute. I never heard of a unanimous-consent agreement to allow the proponents of an amendment 5 minutes and no time for the opponents, somewhere along the line. I do not know what the substitute of the distinguished Senator is, but if it comes down to the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts somebody ought to allow us 2 minutes.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I withdraw my amendment at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has a right to withdraw the amendment.

Who yields time on the pending amendment, which is the $12 million amendment?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from West Virginia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I was one of those members of the Committee on Appropriations who voted the day before yesterday to delete the $12 million allowed by the House of Representatives for the so-called experimental rent supplement program. In reality, the modest beginning would constitute a little foot in a big door, because, although we would only be appropriating $12 million this year, we would actually be obligating future Congresses to appropriate moneys to carry out contract obligations running over the next 40 years. The rent supplement provision, which passed the Senate last year and which I opposed, authorizes appropriations for rent supplements in amounts, ultimately, up to $150 million annually. Thus, although the bill which was before the Senate Appropriations Committee on Monday would have appropriated only $12 million, that very small beginning could grow to $150 million a year, and, whatever the amount appropriated, the law authorizes the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to enter into 40-year contracts for rent subsidies.

What appears to be a $12 million appropriation in 1966, in reality is a Trojan horse, in that this Congress will obligate future Congresses over a 40-year period to fund up to $150 million annually in what would likely become a multibillion-dollar program in totality, and I am unwilling to be a party to the so-called experiment.

Moreover, the Secretary of HUD will set maximum limits for admission to rent supplement units in each locality. He will establish in each locality maximum per unit rentals. In short, the Federal Government will, in large measure, set the regulations for construction, determine the rents, and certify persons eligible for rent supplements. The landlord-tenant relationship will be jeopardized.

Individuals who are eligible for rent supplement payments will be required to pay 25 percent of their rent-base income toward the required rent. The difference between the amount paid by the tenant and the fair market rental will be paid monthly as a rent supplement by the Federal Government.

I feel that the Federal Government has a proper role in assisting individuals and communities in acquiring certain basic needs, but there is a limitation not only upon the resources of the Federal Government, but there are also constitutional and practical limitations. When the Federal Government acts in such a way as to destroy the industry of the individual and his incentive to work and to save, the Government is destroying the character of the Nation. I have supported and will continue to support programs which I deem to be reasonable and necessary to help people to help themselves and to assist people who, because of physical or mental incapacities, are unable to provide for themselves, but, in my judgment, the rent subsidy program would start us down a road which has no end and will engage us in a program which will grow to unmanageable proportions. There are many Americans who, from time to time, need assistance in getting on their feet, but this is a program which will make them wards of the Government.

Millions of Americans work and toil and save to provide homes for themselves and their children. Under this so-called experimental rent subsidy program, these same Americans will be taxed to pay the rents of many Americans who have never shown the initiative to prepare for the proverbial "rainy day" and who will become even less interested in doing so when Uncle Sam provides an additional handout.

I support the committee amendment to strike the rent subsidy provision from the bill.

Mr. PASTORE. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from New York.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I wish to commend the Senator from Rhode Island for his untiring efforts on behalf of the rent supplement program.

This program, as it was conceived and proposed by the administration, was a farsighted effort to house low-income people apart from the monotony of public housing and the degradation of the ghetto. Congratulations are due both to the President and to Secretary Weaver for their efforts on its behalf.

Unfortunately, however, the appropriation bill which we are now passing sacrifices many of the best features of the substantive legislation as we enacted it in the Congress last year. First, the $12 million appropriation is entirely inadequate to the housing needs of this country. "A decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" was set as the goal of national policy in the Housing Act of 1949; but up to 40 percent of the people in many of our urban ghettos still live in totally inadequate housing—dirty, rat-infested, without adequate plumbing or heat in the winter. Responding to this need with an appropriation of $12 million only insures that these conditions will continue.

Perhaps more important, this appropriation bill places control over the program in the hands of local officials who have not been able to make progress toward housing desegregation in the past. This limitation is especially unfortunate since no part of the financial support for this program comes from local authorities; it is a private program to which the Federal Government give some assistance.

This limitation was not contained in the substantive legislation. It is my hope that the regular appropriation bill, and appropriations in subsequent years, will not repeat it. I am glad to vote for this bill for the housing which it will make available to those now without adequate housing. But I will continue to work to fund the program adequately, and to remove all inappropriate limitations from its use.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point some telegrams I have received bearing on the question now before the Senate.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ATLANTA, GA.,
April 27, 1966.

Senator GEORGE H. SMATHERS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Private enterprise along with all of our members in your State and throughout the United States are in full support of the administration rent supplement bill now before Senate. We urge your support of this bill as your vote will be a vote for the poor people of the United States.

Q. V. WILLIAMSON,
President, National Association of Real Estate Brokers, Inc.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
April 26, 1966.

Hon. GEORGE SMATHERS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Strongly urge you support restoration of funds for FHA rent supplement program. Our association sincerely believes this program is far superior to public housing. Will be privately owned, subject to full local taxation and financed in private unsubsidized market. We are convinced that program will be far less costly than publicly owned tax-exempt public housing. FHA rent supplement program deserves chance to prove that it is effective device for housing low-income families.

JOHN C. WILLIAMSON,
National Association of Real Estate Boards.

ORLANDO, FLA.,
April 26, 1966.

Senator GEORGE SMATHERS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Strongly urge your support of funds for FHA rent supplement program. National Association of Real Estate Boards and Florida Realtors believe this program a more effective and less costly device for housing low-income families and will ultimately replace public housing. Program deserves a fair trial.

WALTER B. DECKER,
President,
Florida Association of Realtors.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
April 26, 1966.

Senator GEORGE SMATHERS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

The members of our association request your favorable consideration of the appropriation for the rent supplement program. It is a needed tool in our industry.

JOHN KOELEMIJ.
President, FHBA.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
April 26, 1966.

Senator GEORGE A. SMATHERS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

National Council of Churches, Division of Christian Life and Mission, is deeply disturbed by report Senate committee has dropped appropriation for rent supplement program. Strongly urge your active support on Senate floor for full restoration of this item. We believe rent supplement makes creative use of private initiative in effort to meet housing needs of low-income families in manner which will contribute to their personal growth and strengthen their family lives.

NORMAN J. BEUGHER,
Chairman, Division of Christian Life and Mission, National Council of Churches.
EUGENE CARSON BLAKE,
Chairman, Commission on Religion and Race, Division of Christian Life and Mission, National Council of Churches.

Mr. PASTORE. I yield 15 minutes to the Senator from Colorado.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I do not speak as an opponent of the rent supplement program. I want to make this very clear. It may well be that once the proper legislative action is taken I will be counted among the supporters of the rent supplement program. My interest in voting against the appropriation of funds to start the program at this time is based on the very real worry that if we move ahead now on this supplemental bill, we will be doing a disservice to the rent supplement program.

Appropriations for the rent supplement program have never been considered in hearings before the Independent Offices Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations. Both in the last session, and now, the administration brought its proposal to the Congress at a time when it can only be considered by the Subcommittee on Deficiencies and Supplementals of the Senate Committee on Appropriations. I say again that this is not where it belongs. For years all appropriations requests under the various housing acts, and all appropriations for what is now the Department of Housing and Urban Development, have been first considered by the Senators on this side and the Representatives in the other body who are assigned to the Independent Offices Subcommittees. While I, for one, do not claim to be an expert in this field, I at least have shared with the other Senators on the committee years of experience in considering and voting on budget requests for the various housing programs. This observation, about which I feel very strongly, is not meant in any way to reflect on the excellent and hard work done by the chairman of the Subcommittee on Deficiencies and Supplementals and its members. The senior Senator from Rhode Island has given every consideration to the other members of the subcommittee and to other Senators who are in my position of having a deep interest in various subjects before the committee, but who are not members of that subcommittee. In fact, I think in this instance we have placed too great a burden upon the very capable shoulders of the senior Senator from Rhode Island. Let us, I say to him, take this program under consideration before the subcommittee where it belongs. Let us hold extensive hearings on the rent supplemental program in the Independent Offices Subcommittee. We are scheduled to have the Department of Housing and Urban Development before us on May 17, and we are scheduled to complete our hearings on independent offices on May 25. It is fair to say that there is every chance we shall have a bill before the beginning of next fiscal year.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development has requested $35 million for the rent supplemental program for fiscal year 1967. The Secretary of HUD has testified that he would prefer to start the rent supplements as a sizable program. He has testified that the $12 million to start this program, voted by the House, because it is less than the $30 million requested, will "add to the administrative costs in the first place and add to the management costs in the second place, because when you get a lot of small units to manage, this is where the real diseconomies come in."

> This is why—

And I continue to quote from Dr. Weaver's testimony before the Subcommittee on Deficiencies and Supplementals—

> This is why we would try, at the beginning, to have a sizable program.

When asked by Senator PASTORE if $12 million was not too little with which to start this program and was not too little to commence a "reasonable program that would be in the public interest without any unnecessary waste of money," Secretary Weaver answered:

> I would certainly feel that it would have to be more than the $12 million and off the top of my head, I would say at least around $20 million to give us the leeway.

Mr. President, we have it here in the hearings—page 451—in the words of the very man who is charged with running this program, that $12 million is not a sufficient amount with which to start this program efficiently and effectively. I really do not believe, therefore, that a vote against commencing this program now is necessarily a vote against the concept of the rent supplement program. To the contrary, I would say to those who wish to strongly support the rent supplement program that a better result will follow if we do not now start with a halfway measure, with much less than full Appropriations Committee support and, I might say, Senate support. The action this Congress takes on the rent supplemental program will have its effect over the short run as we build up the annual levels of activity to over $100 million a year in the next 3 years, and in the long run, when we consider that appropriations action now, whatever the sum may be—$12, $20, or $30 million—will bind each Congress and each Appropriations Committee over the next 40 years at least to appropriate a like sum of money.

I should like to spell this out in a different way, Mr. President. Whatever funds are appropriated by Congress in the 4 years of authorization under the authorizing legislation will have to be met and matched by every succeeding Congress for the next 40 years. Once sums of money are voted for this program, congressional control leaves the program. This is the significance of contract authorizations. The parties with whom the Department of Housing and Urban Development enters into contracts will have a legal call on the funds of the United States for each year up to the amount contracted for. Let us be sure we have built the proper legislative base, prepared the proper law, and that the Department of Housing and Urban Development has perfected the proper regulations before we start this program.

We do not want to get into a situation similar to the one in which we were involved last year. At that time the Senate considered the appropriation bill, and the Department had to recall all of its regulations the night before the matter came up in the Senate.

Think a minute what might have happened if Congress had been stampeded into voting for the rent supplement program in the closing days of the last session. Some of us said then, and we now know, that sufficient and proper planning had not gone into this program, that the loosely drawn regulations were at best unsuitable for such an intricate program, and that instead of helping those who need housing and cannot afford it today, we would have done a disservice to them, by starting an incompletely prepared program, with all of the disastrous effects which come from such action.

Mr. PASTORE. Will the Senator yield for a short observation on that very point?

Mr. ALLOTT. I yield.

Mr. PASTORE. I think the Senator would be interested in knowing that the rules and regulations that were promulgated and withdrawn were drawn at the behest of the chairman of the Subcommittee on Deficiencies and Supplementals after very exhaustive hearings, and the new rules that have been promulgated have been submitted and gone into in great detail.

The Senator is correct in saying that the rules were withdrawn at that time, but I want him to know that it was the subcommittee of which I have the honor to be the chairman that was responsible for the withdrawal.

Mr. ALLOTT. I am glad that the Senator was so perspicacious.

Mr. PASTORE. I do not want any credit from the Senator from Colorado, but that is the fact.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, it has been said that if we do not vote funds now, we will forever lose the ability to vote whatever amount we wish up to the $30 million authorized for fiscal year 1966. This is not true, as I read the act. I have had confirmation from officials at the Department of Housing and Urban Development that the authorization is cumulative; that is, that the Congress may at any time in the future vote the appropriation of $30 million that is authorized for fiscal year 1966. So, nothing will be lost, ultimately, if we do not vote funds now. The $30 million authorized for fiscal year 1966 could be added to the $35 million authorized for fiscal year 1967, and $65 million could be voted for the next fiscal year, and so on. Let me ask this: If the rent supplement program is successful, and I do not here argue that it cannot be, then what is to keep this Congress from amending the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 sometime before fiscal year 1969 to continue the growth of the program on an annual basis? Do we really delay the program by not voting this $12 million now? Perhaps for a few weeks. Do we reduce the program from the total of $150 million a year, which it is authorized to reach starting July 1, 1968, to $120 million? Not necessarily. Secretary Weaver wants to start the program with a larger amount of funds than the $12 million voted by the House of Representatives. I believe we know that no matter what action is taken here, it is highly unlikely that more than $12 million would be voted now by the Congress. Let us take the administration request before the regular committee where it belongs and if the program has the merits, let us start it this July 1 with sufficient funds. And, as we gain experience with this program over the next 2 years, let us then consider whether it should be extended, and to what extent. This program may be even more effective than its strongest supporters claim. There is time to let it prove itself. Let us not lose the opportunity to start the program properly by hasty and halfway measures now, which, at the most, will start the administrative machinery rolling about 8 weeks earlier. This program is designed to go on for 40 years at least, and it may go on forever. The Senate should take every opportunity to ascertain that it is properly launched.

I could go on, but I will close with one or two more points.

Both the authorization bill and the appropriation request contain the words "substandard housing," as one of the alternate requisites for beneficiaries under the program. What is "substandard housing?" We know what it is in extreme cases, but should we not develop the legislative record so that it is clear to us and to the Department of Housing and Urban Development and to potential beneficiaries exactly what this term means in tangible form? There are many questions left unanswered on the present legislative record. To take another example, Secretary Weaver was asked how the program would work if a person had no income at all, or no work available to him by which to earn income. The Secretary's answer follows:

> If he had no work available to him, if he were on welfare or relief he might well qualify for this. It would depend upon how much money he had, whether he had enough so that the Government would not have to pay all of his rent, so that he could pay some part of his rent, a reasonable part of it.

Secretary Weaver went on to say that a recipient "has to have enough income so that the one-quarter of his income will be a reasonable amount of the total rent." Now, I find nothing wrong with these statements and I am sure that Secretary Weaver can clarify them, because I think it is important that we know what is meant by a "reasonable amount." Further, Senator COTTON tried to pin this down a little more closely in the hearing. At page 455 of the hearings appears the following question and answer:

> Senator Cotton. But if a particular tenant were allowed to move in by the owners of the tenement and he only received $500 a year, the Federal Government would be obligated to make up all the remaining, up to the rent?
>
> Secretary Weaver. No. There will be a limit as to what proportion of the rental will be made up by the Government. That will be a maximum. In addition, to that there will be variations. In some instances a tenant will pay 90 percent of the economic rent. In another case 60 percent. Another one 70 percent. Another case, down to 30 and there will be a cutoff.

We can see from these few statements that there will be a maximum percentage of a tenant's rent that the Department of Housing and Urban Development will pay. We see also that it can go as high as 70 percent, but we do not know whether it can go higher, or how high it actually can go.

I believe that it can be as high as 90 percent, according to the statement of the Secretary.

Let me stop here to say that hard and excellent work has been done by the Department of Housing and Urban Development in perfecting their regulations for this program since they came before the Subcommittee on Deficiencies and Supplementals in the last session of Congress. But, I am not sure, and I know this feeling is shared by some other Senators, that all the imperfections in the prior planning, which were so apparent then, have been cleared up. It may be that they have. It may be that extensive hearings and study of this program by the Independent Offices Subcommittees of the two Houses will add little to the legislative record, to clarification of the program, and to its perfection. But I emphasize again, how important I feel it is that the proper and traditional committees be given a chance to consider this program.

One final comment. The House has added a rider which would require, and I quote: "local official approval for participation in this program."

The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development is adamantly opposed to this rider. He came before the Subcommittee on Deficiencies and Supplementals and opposed this rider but did not offer a substitute or an amendment. He was asked to submit proposals and has submitted various alternate language proposals. These were not considered in the hearing. I understand that the senior Senator from Rhode Island now proposes that the Senate vote for the House funds for the rent supplement program with the rider.

Mr. President, I submit that this important issue which goes to the very essence of this program, if we are to believe that it is the local authorities on whom the success or the failure of this program will finally depend, should not be settled in this fashion. The congressional Independent Offices Subcommittees should have the opportunity to consider the effect of the various proposed language riders affecting local control, and their proposals should be brought before the two Houses.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I yield 1 additional minute to the Senator from Colorado.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I repeat that my desire to support the Appropriations Committee which voted upon a rollcall of 15 to 12 to eliminate all funds to commence this program at this time is not founded on total opposition to the rent supplement program. And, I would also emphasize, particularly to those who strongly support this program, that we may well be helping, not hurting it, by delaying its commencement for 8 or 10 weeks so that the proper Appropriations Committees can study it and develop the record before bringing it before this body.

I believe that the Senate should sustain the action the committee took this week and I hope that the Senate will do so.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I understand from the Parliamentarian that we have a half-hour remaining before the vote and that the time is about equally divided between the proponents and opponents.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. PASTORE. That means that the Senator from Rhode Island is in charge of 15 minutes and the Senator from North Dakota is in charge of 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time is equally divided; 16 minutes to the side.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I have four or five additional speakers on my side. The reason that I mention this is that I hope they will make their remarks as brief as possible and place in the Record anything they desire to put in the Record.

At this time I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Maine.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, last year the issue of rent supplements was thoroughly discussed and debated in both Houses of the Congress.

On the Senate side, it was first considered in the Committee on Banking and Currency, of which I am a member. As originally presented by the administration, it was designed as a program for lower middle-income groups. In committee, that concept was abandoned and the program was redesigned as an alternative to public housing and to serve the same groups as are eligible for public housing.

It was debated in that form here in the Senate and finally approved by the Senate in that form.

The rent supplement program enlists private enterprise in the task of housing low-income people to a degree never before realized. Projects under the program will be privately initiated, privately financed, privately built, privately owned, and privately managed.

A majority of the Senate was persuaded that this was a program worth trying because, first, it might be a more effective program than public housing, and second, it would be less costly.

The reasons that persuaded us to support this program last year still obtain.

Subsequently, in last year's session, funds to implement the authorization act were requested. These funds were denied. They were denied for the reasons suggested in this language from the conference report:

> Funds for rent supplements are denied at this time without prejudice. Congress has only recently authorized legislation for this program and the new department should have more time to develop sound plans and criteria which can be reviewed when funds are sought early next year.

During the appropriation hearings and in the Senate and House floor debates, it was clear that the Congress expected that the $450,000 provided for administrative expenses of the Federal Housing Administration would be used for certain preparatory work in connection with the program. The Congress expressed the expectation that in the next session, the executive branch would request appropriations based on firm indications of interest in and need for rent supplement projects.

The Department, in following the expressed intention of Congress, carried out its obligations to discuss proposals with potential sponsors interested in the program, and received preliminary proposals and expressions of interest covering nearly 70,000 units.

The preparatory work, therefore, has been done. The Senate has twice indicated its approval of the program. The amount sought is only 40 percent of that authorized last year. It seems to me, Mr. President, that the time has come to act.

The rent supplement program is designed to assist only low-income families and individuals, and among them only such as belong to one or more of the following, statutory categories—that is, those displaced by governmental action, 62 years of age or older, physically handicapped, living in substandard housing, or living or formerly living in housing destroyed or extensively damaged by natural disaster.

To assure that only low-income people are helped, income limits for eligibility will be established in each community. In no case will these limits be above those established for Federally-aided low-rent public housing in the same community. In addition, allowable asset limitations will be established which are below those generally applied in public housing.

To assure that only housing of modest design is encouraged, maximum mortgage limits will be established in each community which will rule out frills and luxury features. A maximum economic rent level for each size unit will also be established.

This, Mr. President, is a reasonable and modest approach to the housing problems of groups whose housing needs have been our concern since 1937.

It is an alternative to public housing which is worth considering.

If it works, it will cost the Government less, and that, too, is a consideration.

The amount of the rent supplement payment that may be made on behalf of a particular family will never be greater than the amount of the subsidy that would be paid for that same family in a public housing unit. As to average costs, it is estimated that the average subsidy cost under rent supplements would run about $40 a month per unit—the level of the subsidy for public housing units currently being built runs about $58 a month per unit.

There are several reasons for the lower subsidy cost in the rent supplement program. Land and construction costs in the rent supplement program would be less than in the public housing program. There will be available to sponsors of rent supplement projects a much wider range of selections of sites, including suburban and outlying land, and generally no clearance would be involved. In addition, certain special construction requirements that add to the cost of public housing would not apply to housing constructed under the rent supplement program.

Under the rent supplement program, the occupant would be required to pay 25 percent of his income for rent compared to the general 20 percent requirement under the public housing program.

These factors alone—lower land and construction costs and greater payments by occupants—will offset the advantages of low-interest rate loans through tax exemptions in the public housing program. In addition, of course, the tax exemption accorded income on bonds issued in the public housing program involves a very substantial loss of revenue to the Treasury and this represents a cost that must be borne by other tax sources. It is estimated that the tax exemption of the income on public housing bonds now costs the Treasury $48 million a year in revenues.

Finally, the local property tax exemption accorded public housing represents a very substantial local contribution and is, also, a part of the economic cost of public housing.

For these reasons, Mr. President, I urge the Senate to support the amendment.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Who yields time?

Mr. **PASTORE.** Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from New York.

Mr. **JAVITS.** Mr. President, I again wish to identify myself with those who have spoken in opposition to the committee amendment, which I hope will be rejected.

Mr. President, I am in a sense a big city Senator. I believe, Mr. President, that this is a critically important program for the big cities, and, more than that, the big cities are watching what we do in this program, as a symbol of what we intend to do in respect to the major crisis now confronting them.

The President has called this new rent supplement program an effort to really improve the American cities. It ties directly into the demonstration cities program. It is the first real alternative to public housing in 30 years.

But what is more important than anything else, Mr. President, is that it represents an earnest showing of good faith on the part of Congress that we really intend to try to do something about the problems of the poor city dwellers.

Mr. President, I cannot conceive of a situation in which, in an agricultural bill, we would do quite so much soul searching as is evidenced here about any such item as this, because we are accustomed to spending billions for agriculture. This is for the advantage of the cities; and we had better become accustomed to giving them a hand, lest they do something about it themselves which may not be nearly as pleasant, efficient, or economical.

Finally, Mr. President, $12 million is just about the rock bottom sum which will give us some semblance of a program. The record now shows the need for at least 97,000 units, of which this sum will supply only 20,000. I say to my fellow Senators, this is the time to show evidence of our good faith. If we do not, I fear the time will come when we will rue the day that we did not.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Chair recognizes the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. **YOUNG** of North Dakota. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

Mr. President, I support the action of the Appropriations Committee which voted by rollcall to eliminate funds to commence the rent supplement program during this fiscal year. I do not believe that the supporters of the rent supplement program can claim that very much has been lost by the action of the committee. In the first place it is not realistic to suppose that we could vote funds above the $12 million voted by the House and sustain it in conference. Second, Secretary Weaver stated in the hearings before the Subcommittee on Deficiencies and Supplementals that $12 million was inadequate to properly commence this program, and we do not know what amount will be adequate. Third, the Independent Offices Subcommittee will be conducting hearings all during the month of May and at that time the Department of Housing and Urban Development will have ample opportunity to testify on this program. As of this moment they have requested the appropriation for contract authorization for the full $35 million authorized in the House bill for fiscal year 1967. According to legal counsel they could amend and request to add $30 million additional if no funds are voted now for fiscal year 1966.

I agree with the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT], who is ranking minority member of the Independent Offices Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee that it is in that committee where the hearings should be conducted, where the legislative record should be made, and where the action on this proposal should be initially taken. I believe that Senator ALLOTT has raised sufficient questions concerning how this program will work; questions concerning the definition of "substandard" housing and questions concerning what proportion a tenant will be required to pay of the total rent due each month, and there are other questions that can well be brought out in a hearing before the Independent Offices Subcommittee. The question before us now is not a $12 million question—it is a $150 million question per year for 40 or more years to come or a total cost if fully implemented of $6 billion. It is a question of properly launching a very intricate and very new program. I do not believe that this program should be launched without ever having hearings before the proper appropriations subcommittee. I do not believe that those that would vote to restore $12 million to this bill can claim that all is lost or, in fact, that very much of anything is lost if there is an 8-week delay in launching the rent supplement program.

Mr. **PASTORE.** Mr. President, may I inquire of the Chair what the time situation is at this point?

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** There are 22 minutes remaining. Each side has 11 minutes.

Mr. **PASTORE.** I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. **DOUGLAS.** Mr. President, as I understand the parliamentary situation, it is as follows:

The House passed an appropriation, or, more precisely, contract authority, of $12 million for the rent supplements program, and attached a rider to it. The Senate Appropriations Committee adopted an amendment eliminating the entire provision. The question now before us is, shall we agree to the committee amendment; namely, shall we approve the killing of this measure?

I hope that we will all vote no, and try to save the little that is now in the bill. I had hoped that we could approve $30 million, which would have provided for about 50,000 families. If we are successful in defeating the pending question, we will have only $12 million, which will provide for no more than 20,000 families.

This program of private housing built by private industry for nonprofit sponsors is the most important legislative tool we have for providing housing for low-income families in communities which heretofore they have not been able to afford.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development already has received from churches and other nonprofit sponsors applications for housing for 100,000 families, 5 times the amount that would be made possible by the meager $12 million for which we are fighting. These applications for 561 proposed housing projects have come from 342 localities, in all 50 States. In Illinois, up to March 8, 1966, 18 projects were proposed in 8 localities which would provide housing for 3,786 families.

This program, enacted in the Housing Act of last year, is our best new hope to provide adequate housing for the poor. In 1949 the Congress and the Federal Government pledged itself to secure decent housing for every American. Our efforts under public housing projects have simply not met the problem. We have barely managed to stay even.

There are still 8½ million families who live in dilapidated housing while less than 600,000 units of public housing have been constructed since 1949.

STRONG INTEREST FROM SPONSORS

The interest expressed by the eligible sponsor organizations in rent supplements is very strong. As Senators know, the sponsors of rent supplement housing must be private nonprofit organizations, limited dividend mortgagors, or cooperative housing corporations. I have already pointed out that such groups, as of March 8, 1966, have expressed interest in sponsoring 561 projects, which would provide units to house 97,983 families. These expressions of interest have already come from 342 different localities, in all 50 States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. The $30 million in contract authority requested by the President for supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1966 would provide 50,000 units of rent supplements. In other words, it would provide housing for 50,000 families. This is only one-half the number of units for which sponsors have already expressed an interest.

The pending question, since it would only restore $12 million of the President's request, as appropriated by the House, would only provide about 20,000 units or one-fifth of the number for which the Department has already had strong expressions of interest and intent. I submit that this is a very modest restoration of contract authority and that it should trouble our consciences that the circumstances restrict our efforts to such a minimum contribution to the housing of our poor. The fact is, however, that the strong opposition to this which developed in the House and the action of the Appropriations Committee has led us to the judgment that it would be feasible at this stage to seek only the $12 million appropriated by the House.

FULL $30 MILLION IS NEEDED

I personally would like to see the full amount requested by the President included in the bill, and I so testified before the Appropriations Committee on March 31. But I am willing to join with the other Senators in asking for what it is practicable to get at this stage. The regular appropriations bill for fiscal year 1967 will be coming forward soon, and I intend to exert every effort that one Senator can to encourage the appropriation of the full $35 million in contract authority requested in the President's budget.

SUPPLEMENTS LIMITED TO THE POOR

Some of the opposition to this appropriation last year was based on a misunderstanding that the rent supplements might not be limited solely to the poor. I think that this has been entirely cleared up. Secretary Weaver has testified that this will be carefully controlled.

In order to be eligible a family must meet an absolute limitation on assets, regardless of where the family lives, of $2,000. For an elderly citizen, whose old-age needs are greater, the asset limitation will be $5,000. Assets include cash and automobile, but not furniture or clothing, which are about the only two types of assets, according to the Secretary that are not included in making this determination. Further, the rent supplement housing applicant would have to meet the local income limitation for eligibility for public housing. For example, in Chicago a family of four would not be eligible at all if its income was greater than $4,600. In Tulsa, Okla., the limit would be $3,000 for a family of four. And in Clinton, Tenn,. it would be $3,500. These are, I repeat, the income limits under public housing now in effect.

MUST ALSO BE DISPLACED, AGED, HANDICAPPED, VICTIMS OF NATURAL DISASTER

There may be some misunderstanding of how the program would work, but I think by now everyone understands that it is for the poor, and just being poor is not, in fact, sufficient evidence for eligibility. In addition to meeting the standards I have just mentioned, the rent supplement family must also belong to at least one of the five following categories: They must be first displaced by Government action; second, 62 years of age or older; third, physically handicapped; fourth, living in substandard housing; or, fifth, living or formerly living in housing destroyed or extensively damaged by natural disaster.

If the family meets such standards and the private nonprofit builder of a rent supplement unit would rent to the family, then the Federal Government would make up the difference between 25 percent of the family's income and the market rental value of the unit. For example, if the family income is $240 per month and the full rent on the living unit is $110, the family would be required to pay 25 percent of income or $60 toward the rent. The Federal Government would pay directly to the nonprofit sponsor the difference, or $50. But there are additional checks to see that this program remains one for the poor. Each year the resident must recertify his income. If his income has increased, the amount of the rent supplement would be reduced accordingly. Likewise, if there is a loss of income, the family can apply for an increase in the supplement and may receive it but only if the increase can be afforded within the ceiling fixed within the contract.

There is some additional misunderstanding that these supplements would be provided to any existing dwelling units available. That, of course, is not the case. While there is provision for using rehabilitated housing under the rent supplement program, almost all of the expressions of interest which the Department has received have been for new housing units to be constructed by the nonprofit sponsors.

RIDER IS UNWISE LEGISLATION IN AN APPROPRIATION BILL

An additional element to the pending question, of course, is that its defeat would also restore the rider attached by the House Appropriations Subcommittee, which would apparently require that rent supplement units be either a part of a workable program under the housing laws or have local official approval.

I strongly opposed that rider before the Appropriations Committee of the Senate. I think it is based upon a misunderstanding that these units would otherwise not have been constructed in accordance with local zoning and building ordinances. Of course they would have to be constructed in accordance with local law.

But it needs to be clearly understood that this is not a public housing program of direct grants of Federal money to localities which would be matched by local public funds. In fact, not one penny of local public funds is involved in this program. Units are to be sponsored by local nonprofit organizations, and they are to be built by private builders. We do not require that private builders seek the approval of local authority, other than living up to zoning and housing codes, to offer FHA subsidized financing. It is against all sound parliamentary procedure to have such legislation inserted in an appropriations bill which may hamstring this proposal, which a number of Senators and I have called "an FHA for the poor."

I hope very much that we will defeat the committee amendment which would eliminate any provision for rent subsidies, so that we will thereby affirm our support for at least this minimum program.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, if it is agreeable to the distinguished Senator from North Dakota, I should like to suggest to him a 2-minute rollcall, with 1 minute to be deducted from the time of each side.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. That is agreeable.

Mr. PASTORE. I suggest the absence of a quorum, the time for the rollcall, not to exceed 2 minutes, to be divided equally between the two sides.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I understand that the 2 minutes allowed for the quorum call have now expired, and I therefore ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, on March 29, 12 Senators issued a statement expressing their opposition to the rider to the rent supplemental program attached by the House to the supplemental appropriation bill, and to the reduction in the amount which had been asked for by the administration.

Because of the limitation of time, I believe the best way to summarize my reasons for voting against the committee amendment is to ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the statement issued by the 12 Senators.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATORS URGE UNCONDITIONAL FUNDING OF RENT SUPPLEMENT PROGRAM, MARCH 29, 1966

(A joint statement in opposition to the rider on the rent supplement program attached by the House to the supplemental appropriations bill)

We strongly oppose the legislative rider to the appropriation for the rent supplement program adopted by the House. We believe that this rider, which creates a local veto over the location of privately built rent supplement units, would render the program unworkable and effectively destroy it.

We also regret that the House failed to appropriate the full $30 million which the President requested.

Of the two matters, the local veto rider is by far the more grave. It would provide that no part of the appropriation may be used in connection with any dwelling unit or project which is not either a part of a "workable program" established for urban renewal purposes, or which is without local official approval for participation in the program.

We strenuously object to these limitations for the following reasons:

1. Not one penny of local public funds is involved in this program. There is no requirement that private builders seek the approval of local authorities in order to offer FHA subsidized financing. We can see no reason why private builders should be forced to obtain local approval for rent supplement projects, which are in essence an "FHA for the poor."

2. Most communities do not have "workable programs." In these communities the burden would be on the private developer to secure the approval of local officials for the site location for each individual rent supplement dwelling unit. We believe that in most cases this burden would be so great as to discourage the private enterprise initiatives which are essential for the success of the program. Rent supplements were designed to give private enterprise a chance to house low-income families. We do not believe the Congress should take away that chance before American industry has had the opportunity to use it.

3. A major objective of the rent supplement program, as adopted by the Congress in the Housing Act of 1965, was to permit the dispersal of decent low-income housing throughout an entire community through the free choice of individual developers and nonprofit and limited-profit associations. If it is adequately and unconditionally funded, it will help hundreds of thousands of families who have been caught in the helpless chain of poverty and ignorance to raise their children in an environment of decency and opportunity. The local veto rider, if it should become law, will be used to confine rent supplement housing to the areas in which the families entitled to rent supplements already live, thus frustrating the clear intent of the Congress. The problems of our cities will never be resolved if we establish walls or immovable curtains beyond which the poor and elderly cannot go to find decent housing.

4. The Committees on Banking and Currency of the House and Senate, and the House and Senate themselves, carefully considered the rent supplement proposal. The Congress established legislative authority and applicable conditions in the Housing Act. The House now has legislated revision of an act of Congress in an appropriations bill. This is a violation of all sound legislative procedure and the Senate should not permit this violation to stand.

We therefore urge that the Senate strike the local veto rider from the language of the appropriation bill. In addition, we hope that the entire $30 million requested for the program will be appropriated.

This statement is signed by Senator CLIFFORD P. CASE of New Jersey, Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK of Pennsylvania, Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS of Illinois, Senator PHILIP A. HART of Michigan, Senator JACOB K. JAVITS of New York, Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY of New York, Senator WALTER F. MONDALE of Minnesota, Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon, Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE of Maine, Senator GAYLORD NELSON of Wisconsin, Senator MAURINE B. NEUBERGER of Oregon, Senator JOSEPH D. TYDINGS of Maryland, and Senator HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, Jr., of New Jersey.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I thank my friend, the Senator from Rhode Island, for yielding me this time.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the committee amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I am waiting for the distinguished Senator from the great State of Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] to come into the Chamber to speak against the committee action which deleted the $12 million.

Earlier in the afternoon, he told me that he desired to speak on the amendment and that he would be willing to do it just before the vote.

I merely wish to say to Senators that this is—to use the vernacular—an old chestnut. I do not believe that there is a Senator in this Chamber who does not understand what this is all about. I believe that if we look down deep into our hearts, and examine our consciences, we will reach the conclusion that this is actually a philosophical outlook. There are people who sincerely believe that we should not undertake this kind of program. For their point of view I have the deepest and highest respect.

On the other hand, there are many other people who feel that we have now reached the point in our society where, as President Kennedy once said, "If a free society cannot take care of the many who are poor, how can it save the few who are rich?"

Much has been said about what the income of an eligible person might be in this program. No one can come in under this program unless he is eligible for public housing. Public housing, my dear friends, is for the poor. Beyond that, there are the other five categories I have mentioned which must be complied with before any person can be considered eligible under the program.

However, always remember this: No matter what the situation might be, the individual must pay one-quarter of his monthly income toward the rent himself, which means that, in any event, if a person makes $100 a week he himself must pay $100 a month toward the rent. Then, beyond that, of course, depending upon the size of the family and the accommodations necessary, the Government comes in and subsidizes the rest.

I realize that there are many people who feel we should not undertake this kind of program, but let me say to all Senators, especially those on this side of the aisle, that this is Lyndon Johnson's program.

I never knew Lyndon Johnson to be a starry-eyed dreamer. I never knew Lyndon Johnson to be a man who would want to waste the taxpayers' money. I have sat in this Chamber year after year while he sat in this very seat which I have the honor to occupy this afternoon, and if anyone has measured the dollar bill and rubbed two nickels together more closely than Lyndon Johnson has, find that man and I will shake his hand.

Mr. President, this is a poor man's program. That is what Senators are about to vote upon this afternoon.

The argument has been made that we have not investigated the problem enough. Well, I defy any man in the Senate to stand up and tell me that I did not give this particular item all the consideration and study that it needed. I attended every single meeting which was held. I invited every member of the committee to come to the meeting, and we went through the whole subject from top to bottom, north to south, east to west. I come before the Senate this afternoon to emphasize that this is a program for the poor.

I know that many Senators could not take the $20 million. I can understand that. The fact is, I urged strongly that the proponent of the amendment not pursue it. I thought what we should do, at best, this afternoon would be to give endorsement to the program. The amount is not important. The program itself is important—very important.

I ask Senators to override the action of the committee and to vote "nay" on this particular amendment and bring it back where the House put it—meaning the $12 million.

I appeal to Senators who could not take the $20 million. I understand why they could not. But do not let that affect the $12 million. That is the figure that was given by the House, and I hope that the Senate will sustain it.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The time of the Senator from Rhode Island has expired.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the distinguished Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG], the Senator in charge of time for the opposition, yield me 5 minutes so that I may grant that time to my distinguished colleague from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], who will make a very brilliant—and I emphasize and repeat, very brilliant—explanation of this proposed legislation and what it means?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, with the understanding that it will be a brilliant speech, I am glad to yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Rhode Island.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from Rhode Island is granted 5 minutes additional time.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], and it will be a brilliant speech.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, the Senator from Louisiana is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I want to thank my good friend, the Senator from Rhode Island, and let me say that I have been in the Senate now for almost 30 years and one of the first chores I undertook when I came here was to foster the public housing program. I am proud of the fact that I have supported every housing act since 1937.

I worked hard in support of the Housing Act of 1937, a measure which created the U.S. Housing Authority. I have been a leading advocate of minimum housing standards for the poor of this Nation ever since.

Mr. President, in the earlier years it was quite a task. The way by which we were able, on this side of the aisle, to have the program adopted, was to enlist the support of the late Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio. We worked on that program for many years before it was finally implemented by the House and Senate.

Mr. President, the existing public housing program provides for the creation of a housing authority in a State and that authority then proceeds to construct public housing with a subsidy paid by the Federal Government. The annual subsidy today for public housing amounts to approximately $210 million a year. The objections lodged by the opponents of the bill were that it would put the Government into the housebuilding business.

This new method, therefore, which is being proposed, would leave to private enterprise the right to construct housing for the poor and the subsidy payments to those who would construct these buildings would be paid in a similar manner and along the same lines as is presently provided in the Public Housing Act.

But, Mr. President, I wish to say this, that the amount to be paid by the users of the proposed housing units will be 25 percent of their family income in order to be eligible, whereas, under the Public Housing Act, they pay but 20 percent. In other words, to be eligible, a family must spend 25 percent of its income for housing before the supplement could be paid and then only to bring it up to minimum standard.

This is really and truly, as I see it, a continuation of the public housing program, with the accent on the construction of the buildings by private enterprise rather than by a housing authority created by the State.

Mr. President, that is all it is. I am hopeful that this program can be given a trial. The subsidy would be paid on new housing to be constructed or on housing in which there is a substantial repair job on existing housing.

Mr. President, I would emphasize that as to this program, the recipients of this rental must pay at least 25 percent of their income instead of 20 percent now provided for in the Public Housing Act. It encourages the recipient to help himself and his family. I firmly believe that this new program will inure to the benefit, not only of the poor of this Nation, but to their employers as well. A man who has a clean decent place to live and rear his family can be more productive in society. He can go to his work each day rested and prepared both physically and emotionally for the day's task. His children can gain more from their schoolwork if they arrive at the school each day after a good night's rest in a clean and uncrowded home. Mr. President, the benefits that can be realized by this program are almost unlimited.

This bill, Mr. President, would have the advantage of leaving on the tax rolls of the cities and counties, the rental property.

As Senators well know, public housing is not subject to property tax.

I hope, Mr. President, that this program will be given a trial. I know that if it is administered correctly, it will do great good to the poor people of this Nation.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I yield 3 minutes, or the remainder of the time, to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Allott].

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I have only one or two remarks to make in the concluding moments of the debate concerning this particular matter. My own respect for the distinguished Senator from Louisiana, of course, is very great, and I know of his longtime interest in public housing. But I would not want the misconception to prevail here that this is in any way a substitute for public housing.

The public housing expenditure will continue, as they have gone on before, and so the $150 million maximum, as it now stands, which we would devote to this program would be in addition to the other program, and as has been explained previously will continue for some 40 years.

There is no way for Congress under this so-called contractual authority that is contained in this authorization and appropriation to avoid those subsequent appropriations because they constitute and will constitute a legal claim against the Government.

I pay my tribute to the distinguished chairman. He still feels we are attacking him, but we are not attacking him at all.

I wish to reread one section of the Secretary's testimony before our committee. If there is anything that demonstrates adequately that we do have to go back to them and make them pin down their regulations and intentions, it is this.

Senator Cotton asked the Secretary:

> Senator Cotton. But if a particular tenant were allowed to move in by the owners of the tenement and he only received $500 a year, the Federal Government would be obligated to make up all the remaining, up to the rent?
>
> Secretary Weaver. No. There will be a limit as to what proportion of the rental will be made up by the Government. That will be a maximum. In addition, to that there will be variations. In some instances a tenant will pay 90 percent of the economic rent. In another case 60 percent. Another one 70 percent. Another case, down to 30 and there will be a cutoff.

What is the maximum? What is the minimum? Is it 90 percent? Is it 30 percent? Or is there no maximum and is there no minimum?

It is exactly questions such as this which have arisen and have prompted me to uphold the action of the committee, which voted on a record vote 15 to 12 to strike the $12 million House item from the bill.

I hope that when we vote the Senate will vote to sustain the action of the majority of the Appropriations Committee and not to uphold the figure of the House of Representatives.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ALLOTT. I am happy to yield.

Mr. MORTON. The first point which the Senator made so eloquently was that this does not in itself reduce what we are required to do in the public housing area.

Mr. ALLOTT. It in no way replaces the public housing bill.

Mr. MORTON. I thank the Senator. I think this would have merit if it replaced the public housing bill, but this is indeed a new program.

Mr. ALLOTT. It is entirely new and the Senator is quite correct.

Mr. MORTON. The position many of us have taken, regardless of the merit, is based on the fiscal position in which we find ourselves today with the strain on the Treasury and rampant inflation. This is not the time to endorse new programs, no matter how meritorious they may be.

Mr. ALLOTT. The Senator is correct. In addition, I believe this matter should come before that committee, for it has never come before the Independent Offices Subcommittee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The hour of 3:30 having arrived, and the yeas and nays having been ordered on the pending committee amendment, the clerk will call the roll.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, a "yea" vote means no money and a "nay" vote means $12 million, as voted for by the House of Representatives. Is that correct?

The VICE PRESIDENT. A "yea" vote supports the position of the committee.

Mr. PASTORE. It means no money.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. METCALF (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the junior Senator from Oregon [Mrs. Neuberger]. If she were present, she would vote "nay." If I were permitted to vote, I would vote "yea." I therefore withhold my vote.

The legislative clerk resumed and concluded the call of the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Bible], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening], and the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden], are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNamara], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. Neuberger], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Russell], are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut, [Mr. Dodd], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Bible], and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA], would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] is paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL]. If present and voting, the Senator from Arizona would vote "nay" and the Senator from Massachusetts would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. RUSSELL] is paired with the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING]. If present and voting, the Senator from South Carolina would vote "yea" and the Senator from Alaska would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] is absent because of death in his immediate family and is paired with the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN]. If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts would vote "yea" and the Senator from Arizona would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 45, nays 46, as follows:

[No. 68 Leg.]

YEAS—45

Allott
Bennett
Boggs
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Cooper
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dominick
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Gore
Hartke
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kuchel
Lausche
McClellan
McIntyre
Miller
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Pearson
Prouty
Robertson
Russell, Ga.
Simpson
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NAYS—46

Aiken
Anderson
Bartlett
Bass
Bayh
Brewster
Burdick
Case
Church
Clark
Douglas
Ellender
Fulbright
Harris
Hart
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pell
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Scott
Smathers
Smith
Sparkman
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough

NOT VOTING—9

Bible
Dodd
Gruening
Hayden
McNamara
Metcalf
Neuberger
Russell, S.C.
Saltonstall

So the committee amendment, to strike out lines 1 through 17 on page 5, was rejected.

The **VICE PRESIDENT.** The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I wish to ask the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island, the manager of the bill, about the language under the caption "National Teachers Corps," at the bottom of page 11 of the bill. A proviso under this item reads:

> *Provided*, That none of these funds may be used to pay in excess of 90 per centum of the salary of any teacher in the National Teachers Corps.

I wonder if I am mistaken in my understanding that none of this money is to be used for the payment of salaries in the National Teachers Corps.

Mr. PASTORE. The Senator is absolutely correct. This language was written into the bill by the House. It is a legislative admonition as to what Congress feels the program should be—a 90–10 ratio.

It does not apply to this provision. As a matter of fact, of the $9.5 million, $7.2 million is for training of teachers. The remainder of the money is for administrative money and travel expenses.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I wonder if I further understand that this entire program is for the selection and training and the enrollment of teachers.

Mr. PASTORE. The Senator is correct.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I wonder if this language appearing here is going to apply from now on.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, we cannot hear.

The **VICE PRESIDENT.** Will the Senate be in order? Senators who are conversing will please cease their conversing or go to the cloakroom.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, if the administration is going to train these teachers and enroll them, who knows to what extent this program will balloon? Who knows whether from now on we are going to pay for this by taking 90 percent out of the Federal till and 10 percent out of the State funds?

Mr. PASTORE. The Senator is correct.

Mr. DIRKSEN. That is correct?

Mr. PASTORE. That is correct.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I do not understand whether the House wrote that provision in. I do not understand why it is in there if none of these funds are to be used for the payment of teachers' salaries.

Mr. PASTORE. I answer that question very simply. The administration's plan was for 100-percent Federal money. That is the way it was presented to the House committee.

The committee did not go along with that. They felt that there should be local participation. Therefore the committee wrote in the proviso that no more than 90 percent can be Federal money and that 10 percent would have to be put up by the local authority in participation, as in the case of the interstate roads program.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Does the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island take the position that this is going to be permanent legislation and that, no matter how many teachers we select and train, 90 percent of the expense will be paid by the Federal Government and 10 percent by the State government from now on?

Mr. PASTORE. Depending upon the money that Congress will appropriate from year to year. But in the appropriation of this money, if this proviso remains as a legislative fiat, then in no case can the money that we appropriate—that we have a right to decide upon every single year—be used beyond 90 percent of what the allowance might be.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Then this is a permanent piece of legislation.

Mr. PASTORE. This is, I would say, a permanent piece of legislation, yes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment.

The **VICE PRESIDENT.** The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 11, strike out beginning in line 20 through line 6, page 12, and insert in lieu thereof the following:
>
> "For the National Teacher Corps for the purposes authorized in section 513(a) (1) and (2) of the Higher Education Act of 1965, $9,500,000, to recruit, select and enroll teachers in the Teacher Corps for training in accordance with the terms of the Act: *Provided*, That none of these funds may be used to pay in excess of 50 per centum of the salary of any teacher in the National Teacher Corps."

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, this differs from the text of the bill only in that it is a little more precise in reference to the Higher Education Act and the provisions therein.

I let the amount of money stand, but I change the formula from 90–10 to 50–50 because the States will get the benefit, and I think they ought to pay half of the cost, since the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island states that this has the effect of permanent legislation.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I hope sincerely that the Senate will reject the amendment.

I realize the sincerity and the purpose of my distinguished colleague, the minority leader. However, we must realize what the Teachers Corps is. It is a group of teachers which will be trained and sent to localities that are very poor, substandard in education, localities which in many instances cannot do the things that must be done to give the quality of education that the remainder of us are able to enjoy.

The moment that we place this on a 50–50 basis, we cut down and cut out those whom we seek to help, the poor municipalities. That is the reason why President Johnson suggested that it be 100 percent.

The House in its own good conscience and judgment made it a 90–10 formula, but if we make this a 50–50 formula, the one thing that concerns and disturbs the Senator from Rhode Island is that we may be sounding the death knell of the whole philosophy and purpose of this program.

I say to my distinguished colleagues: Let us try this. We can always change the formula. Let us see how the formula works. Let us see what localities it reaches. Let us discover the places that cannot obtain teachers because they cannot afford to pay enough, or the places that are not attractive enough for educated people to go.

That is the reason for this program. I think we would be doing a great injustice to the program otherwise.

I know it sounds good to say that we are cutting out 40 percent of the responsibility of the Federal Government. That argument has some purpose and that argument has tremendous weight. However, we must realize what this program is. If we change this formula to the extent that has been suggested by my distinguished colleague, I am afraid that we will do irreparable harm to the whole program.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PASTORE. I yield.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, a short while ago the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] offered an amendment to make this 100 percent. He proposed that the Federal Government should pay the whole freight.

We have been pursuing that course for too long, and we are piling up commitments and appropriations that only serve financially to aggravate the inflationary fever that is in the country.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Not yet. We have already approved a pay bill for $290 million, life insurance for $88 million, GI's for $255 million. I understand that the other House approved $41 million additional for impacted schools and $401 million was approved over there on yesterday for agricultural research, ACP payments and REA.

They now come along with $390 million for military pay, $218 million for Nike X, $23 million for the Coast Guard, $11 million additional for the Air Museum, $11 million additional for the airlift, $600 million for HEW; then, who knows what will happen so far as Vietnam is concerned?

We have taken a position on the minority side that there are two ways to check this fever that is giving concern to the President of the United States. And I want to help him if I can, without putting all these burdens upon the Federal Treasury.

Somewhere we will have to build a Berlin wall and say: "Thus far and no further."

The President has scolded the businessmen at the White House concerning capital expenditure. I spent 1½ hours with him the other evening and he told me the whole story. He has admonished the housewives of the country not only to be frugal, but also to walk into the grocery store and say to the proprietor: "How come the high prices?"

There ought to be a directive of the President of the United States to the Senate and to the House saying that it is time to put a cap sheet on these expenditures.

We have been trying in a small way to get this done. One will not find the fault on this side of the aisle either in the Senate or the House. The motions to cut and the motions to recommit have been made, but due to the imbalance from the 1964 elections the vote is on the Democratic side and the vote today will be on the Democratic side, 2 to 1.

If we want to help the President, let us start now and let us relieve the Treasury of some of this burden. This is the place in which the States can pick up 50 percent of the tab.

This program will not stop at this limit. The sky will be the limit before we get through.

Mr. President, I am going to raise my feeble voice on this floor on every occasion I can in order to give emphasis to the need for economy.

It reminds me of the man and wife who went to buy one of these little economy sized foreign cars and the lady in the family said: "Why, that costs almost as much as a big car." And the salesman said: "Well, if you want economy, you have got to pay for it."

It looks as though that is what we must do. I am going to speak my piece. The Senator may vote as he chooses on this, but I want to see that a part of this burden is lifted from the Federal Treasury.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, no one on this floor has more respect for the judgment, the sincerity, and the honesty of purpose of the distinguished minority leader. However, by the same token, if we are to argue the matter logically, why not provide for 100 percent to be paid by the States and leave the Federal Government out of it?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I am willing; I am willing.

Mr. PASTORE. I know the Senator is willing, but he is not suggesting that in his amendment at all.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I am trying to be gracious and temperate.

Mr. PASTORE. I know that and I appreciate it.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I know that the Senator does.

Mr. PASTORE. I appreciate it immensely.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I can see it in the eyes of the Senator.

Mr. PASTORE. Absolutely. When I turn my face I believe that the Senator can see my beam as well. However, the fact remains that we must measure this in terms of what we are trying to do and in terms of the existing needs. I believe this is the best asset we can develop in this country. Long after Vietnam is reposed in the recess of ancient history, we will still have the poor with us. We will still have those who have not had an opportunity for equal opportunity.

Many places in this country today are a scandal on the conscience of the United States of America. When we realize that in this land of ours one-fifth of our population lives on the edge of poverty, we begin to wonder why this is so. We are the one nation in the world that has more air-conditioned Cadillacs than can be found in the rest of the world. We have two cars in every family, a radio on every floor, and a television in every bedroom, and yet we have thousands and thousands of people in the United States of America who tonight are going to bed hungry.

This is the great paradox of our day and age. Here we are, the most affluent society in the world. We have one-sixth of the world's population. We occupy 7 percent of the landmass of the world. We have 40 percent of the wealth of the world—and we have the poor with us. One out of every four persons in the United States of America is poor.

Now, what are we trying to do? Many changes have taken place, yes, by edict of the Supreme Court. Now we are looking around to give a better opportunity—to whom? To our own.

We can spend billions and billions of dollars—and I agree—to help give freedom to the people of South Vietnam. But I say, today let us not be so parsimonious that we cannot give a nickel to our own.

(Several Senators addressed the Chair.)

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, frankly, I am wondering what this has to do with food in Vietnam. I thought this was a teacher training and enrollment program. I do not propose that we go out and eat the teachers.

What I am concerned about here is that, as we go along and indoctrinate more and more teachers, and the number grows—and the manager of the bill has said this is permanent—whether we have 5,000, 10,000, or 100,000, Uncle Sam pays 90 percent of the bill.

Where are the States? The burden will be there. I see that burden, and I wish to see it put in proper perspective. If it would make my friend, the Senator from Rhode Island, any happier, I could modify it and make it 10 percent out of the Federal till and 90 percent from the States. I thought I was tolerant. I thought I was forbearing in the matter. I thought I was reasonable. I was going to make it 50–50, like the fellow who sold those rabbit sandwiches, one rabbit to one horse.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I do not know that I have the floor, but if I do, I yield.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator has the floor.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield.

(Several Senators addressed the Chair.)

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. I believe I have the floor, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. No, the Senator from Illinois has the floor. To whom does he yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yielded to the Senator from Massachusetts. If he wishes, I will yield first to the Senator from Kentucky, and then to him.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. That is perfectly agreeable.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. COOPER. I have been listening to the discussion about financing the training of candidates for the Teachers Corps. I should like to ask a question about the operation of the Teachers Corps itself.

There are many persons throughout the country who do not accept or welcome the idea of a Teachers Corps established by the Federal Government, employing teachers selected by the Federal Government, paid by the Federal Government, going into school districts all over the country—districts where normally and traditionally teachers are chosen by the local school authorities.

I know this deals with the authority contained in the Higher Education Act of 1965, but I should like to direct to members of the committee, who are well acquainted with those provisions, a question about how the Teachers Corps would be operated. Who selects the teachers; who determines what school districts they will go into?

Mr. MORSE. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. COOPER. Do the local school districts have any authority to approve or reject the use of these teachers in their districts?

I live in an area where there are hundreds of school districts which need teachers, and which need every advantage of education that can come their way. I have known that all my life.

But throughout my years in the Senate, we have emphasized, insisted upon and honored local control of education and the control of teaching by the local school district. Today we have been talking about whether we will appropriate $9.5 million, and whether State matching will be 10 or 50 percent of the total. I say there is a more substantial question involved, and that is the premise upon which this whole program is based.

I know it could do good; I understand that. But what if it grows into some giant organization, with teachers selected by someone over in the U.S. Office of Education, who will then be sent into school districts all over this country, whether the local people want them or not?

Even though they might do some good, I think the concept itself requires close examination before we vote on funds to begin operation of such a program.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Let us get an answer right now.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I have the floor. I wish to refer the question to the distinguished Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG], who is a member of the committee and who has asked that question.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I asked the Commissioner. His answer was, "You call Washington and get the teachers. You bypass the State."

Mr. PASTORE. Will the Senator yield to me? I was at that same meeting. I have not had to see a doctor because of my hearing; I think I can hear very well.

But as a matter of fact, you do not even have to hear at all. All you have to do is read the law. It is right in the law, where it says you have got to get the permission of the State to begin with. It is right in the law. You cannot go into a State unless the State permits you in.

Unless the State puts up its 10 percent of the money, how can you go in? It is up to the States to decide. The sovereignty of the State is absolutely protected, right in the language of the provision.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Good. Then let us recognize the sovereignty of the States, and let them pay half the bill, 50–50.

Mr. MORSE. Will the Senator yield, and let me respond to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I wish to make one observation, then I shall take my seat.

Mr. MORSE. Oh, do not do that.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yes; I am getting tired.

Mr. MORSE. I think the Senator should yield, however, so that we can answer the Senator from Kentucky and the Senator from North Dakota. The confusion started because time is controlled.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I merely wish to observe, let me indoctrinate the teachers and send them out from Washington, and I will control every school in the 50 States of the Union, what they teach and how they teach it. Then you will have control with a capital C, and you will find that it has sneaked in through the back door.

That is it. The Senate can vote on my amendment, and vote it up or down. But the case has to be made.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON] and I introduced this concept of the Teacher Corps in February of last year.

We had long and considerable deliberations. We had long hearings with the Senate Education Committee. We met with the NEA. We considered this in debate on the floor of the Senate.

The proposal that the distinguished Senator from Illinois has talked about this afternoon is not, Mr. President, the Teacher Corps which is written into this legislation. It is not, nor does it deal with the amendment which I suggested some time before the rental subsidy vote came up today. It is a complete distortion of what is in the bill, and of the purposes of the amendment.

The distinguished Senator from Illinois has talked about local control. All he has to do is refer to section 516 of the Higher Education Act, which outlines in detail, right in the legislation—not what we say, Mr. President, not what any Member of the Senate says, but right in the legislation—the preservation of local control.

The distinguished Senator from Illinois talks about participation of the States, that since they are participating in these programs, therefore they ought to pay half.

Mr. President, this legislation is directed toward the local school district, the local school area which has these problems, not toward the State. And, Mr. President, the procedures which have been outlined and considered by the committee, talked about here, and considered in the House committee, and which were the subject of the message of the President of the United States, are extremely clear. The initiative comes from the local school community. The local school board makes an application, and, under the amendments which have been made in this legislation, it has to be with the approval of the State board. It comes to the Commissioner of Education, and then, and only then, will the Commissioner of Education act.

It is detailed specifically how he can act, that is all detailed in the bill.

But, Mr. President, no Commissioner of Education can send any teacher into any school district in this country without the approval of the local school district or the local school board.

Mr. President, the idea of title I of the primary and secondary education bill was that there was a need in this country. We did not have title I to say that the various school districts are going to have to match 10 percent from their local school resources. The $1.5 billion that was appropriated under title I comes to $40,000 per school district, and there has been wide latitude provided as to what will be done with the funds under title I. It can go for shoes for schoolchildren, for teaching materials, for various other things, or for teachers' salaries.

What we are trying to do, Mr. President, is direct the program where there is the most critical need. I must say that the suggestion which was made by my distinguished fellow Senator from the opposite side of the aisle, the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], and the idea, which was unanimously accepted and received by the members of the committee, and put into the report, that the Commissioner of Education is instructed that these programs go into the poorest areas and the poorest districts first. That was something which was unanimously approved by the full Labor and Public Welfare Committee and was written into the report. It was the intent of this legislation, and was made very clear. The fact that the Commissioner of Education will only send and consider applications that come from the poorest areas was the concept of the President of the United States when he sent up the message. That was the consideration which motivated the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin and myself in introducing the bill. That is its purpose. Local control has been preserved.

Mr. President, the proposal that has been made by the Senator from Illinois would scuttle this whole concept. If anyone is opposed to the Teachers Corps, I can understand why he will vote for this.

The National Education Association has written in detail to me and stated:

> The proposal that local districts match the salaries of the interns, even to the seemingly minor degree of 10 percent, will be a deterrent precisely to those schools who need help the most?

Mr. President, if we accept or follow the suggestion of the Senator from Illinois, there will be complete disruption of the program. It was the intention of the Senator from Wisconsin and myself to introduce an amendment which would provide at least for full financing, in order to increase the total amount of money which was appropriated.

I say to the Senator from Illinois—whom I do not see in the Chamber at the present moment—that his amendment is once again a false economy, because we did not change the figure of $9.5 million. All we said is that we would permit that to be used for 100 percent financing. The Senator from Illinois has not changed the figure. He has not reduced it. So his claims of economy are false.

Thus, Mr. President, either on the question of economy or the question of local control, or the question of the merits of the bill, and fundamentally on the description of the bill, the Senator from Illinois is completely mistaken. I should like to yield now, if I may, to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I concur with what the Senator from Rhode Island has stated and the Senator from Massachusetts. There has not been any bill in this Congress this session that has been as misrepresented as to its content as this one. This program is completely under local control. The fact is that there is more local control over this Teachers Corps team than local school districts have over their own teachers, because they can fire the Teachers Corps team on 10 seconds' notice, unlike their own teachers, who have tenure. So when the local school invites in a Teachers Corps team—and it has to be invited, and it has to be approved by the State superintendent of schools, and they control the whole curriculums, and they work with the university to make teachers out of these young folks, and if the superintendent of school says, "I do not like what you are doing. Goodby," they are off the payroll.

He cannot do that with his own teachers.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I have read his testimony. He does not say.

Mr. MORSE. He does not know what is in the bill.

Mr. NELSON. That is right. Those are the facts about this bill. The Senator from Illinois has mentioned time after time "State participation." Not a single penny of State money is in this bill. Every single penny of the matching fund comes out of that local school budget, not out of the State government treasury. Now another thing I believe which has been overlooked is that the Federal Government has no control over these teams. None. All that the Federal Government does is furnish the money. When the young folks apply and are accepted by the Federal Government, they then go into a college training program for 90 days—for 3 months of intensive teacher training, and then that team leaves and goes to the school which requests the team.

They teach in that school part time. Perhaps 75 percent of the time or thereabouts. The local school district and the local college or university works out a teaching and study program for these young folks who have a bachelor's degree but not a teacher's credentials. They get a master's degree after 2 years in teaching. A major portion of the purpose of the pending bill has nothing to do with helping local school districts. A major portion of its purpose is to attract to the teaching profession young folks who would not otherwise go in. They have bachelor's degrees, but they do not have any intention of going into teaching. So they get them into this program, into the Teachers Corps, and they learn the problems of deprived districts and then they become teachers. As a result, we will have recruited into the teaching profession an additional increment of teachers which this country badly needs.

(Several Senators addressed the Chair.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONTOYA in the chair). The Senator from Kentucky is recognized.

Mr. COOPER. Let me ask the Senator from Wisconsin, is this a program to develop better teachers, or is it a program to send teachers into certain school districts where teachers are needed?

Which is it? Or is it both?

Mr. NELSON. It has two puropses. One is to give additional teaching assistance to deprived schools, and other schools. The other purpose is to train them to become teachers. One of these objectives is a national purpose and we should not be charging a local school district for educating teachers.

Mr. COOPER. Does the local school district make application to the U.S. Office of Education?

Mr. NELSON. Yes. They apply for a team.

Mr. COOPER. Upon what criteria would the Office of Education approve the application of a specific school district—because obviously there will not be teaching teams enough to go around for every school district? Is the priority for approval based upon some kind of poverty classification?

Mr. NELSON. The emphasis in the programs is to provide Teachers Corps teams to deprived schools.

Mr. COOPER. If the application is approved, would the payment be made into the funds of the local school district? For example, would the salaries of the teachers be paid by the local school district from the funds made available to the local school district, or would their salaries be paid to them directly through some agency of the Federal Government?

Mr. NELSON. As I understand it, a grant for that 90-percent share would be made to the school district and the school district would make out the checks itself.

Mr. COOPER. I understand. Then could the school district, if it found that it did not like the caliber of the teaching of the teachers who were sent there, discharge the teachers?

Mr. NELSON. Yes. As I said a moment ago, a school district—and I worked hard on this provision, because I knew the issue would be raised, and I did not want the Federal Government controlling any teachers at all at the school level, and I had some objection to this. The fact is, by HEW—they can fire them at any time, on 1 minute's notice on any day they wish.

Mr. COOPER. Does the local school board have any authority in the selection of teachers? Or must the local board simply accept or reject the teacher sent to it by the Office of Education?

Mr. NELSON. The local school board would request a Teachers Corps team. They can accept or reject the teams and they can dismiss it at any time.

Mr. COOPER. I notice in the testimony of the Commissioner of Education that he said——

Mr. MORSE. On what page is that?

Mr. COOPER. On pages 186 and 187—next to the last paragraph:

> To place Corps members in the schools by this coming September, we will need to solicit proposals from local school districts.

That would seem to me to indicate that a determination will be made by the Office of Education as to the kinds of school districts to which it will make available teachers. So I return to my first question: Are there criteria which must be met to the satisfaction of the Office of Education before teachers would be sent into a particular school district?

Mr. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. COOPER. Here is another question: Can the State department of education disapprove the application of a local school district?

Mr. NELSON. Yes. Before a Teachers Corps team can go into any school district it requires the positive approval of the State superintendent or whatever the proper State authority is.

Mr. COOPER. My reason for raising these questions is that while I recognize the proposal has a worthy purpose, this is the first instance which I can remember—and I once served on the Education Subcommittee—in which the Federal Government would actually be selecting teachers and moving them into local school districts. That is a marked change, and a departure, from the idea which has always been expressed so confidently that we all favor and insist upon local control of education. I believe this debate does, therefore, have some significance.

Mr. NELSON. I believe actually, Senator, that when we use the word "selection" in terms of the Federal Government's selecting a team, it is really a clerical function. If we have a young lady or a young man with a bachelor's degree who wishes to participate in this program, he will make an application, but all his training will be in the university and under the control of the school district. That is the end of the Federal Government's having anything to do with it. Thus, it is a matter of clerical or mechanical function—the handling of it. It would have to be handled someplace.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President——

Mr. COOPER. The Senator from Oregon handled on the floor of the Senate the Higher Education Act of 1965, which included authorization of the Teacher Corps.

Mr. MORSE. I am trying to get the floor for a moment.

Mr. COOPER. I would be glad to have the Senator's views on the issue to which I directed my questions.

Mr. NELSON. I yield the floor.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I think that it can be read in the record in this testimony of Mr. Zellers and Mr. Howe as to how they interpreted it.

Mr. MORSE. On what page?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Pages 182 and 186.

In the hearings on this bill on page 186 these questions and answers appear.

> Senator YOUNG. Let me ask this question: Would it work this way? If a local school district wanted five teachers all they would have to do is call you and you would send them out there?
>
> Mr. HOWE. In effect, they would apply to the Chief of the Teachers Corps for allocation of Teacher Corps members, yes, sir, and the chances of our being able to send them exactly what they want are pretty slim because

> we are talking about a program here to train about 3,000 teachers who will serve all across the country.
>
> Senator Young. That is the mechanics. If you had to train teachers, the local district would call you and you would provide the teachers?
>
> Mr. Howe. These would be teachers trained during the summer in special university programs for the purposes of the program. We would select the districts whose requests we would honor primarily on the basis of the concentration of the disadvantaged children.
>
> We would also give some consideration to the geographical aspect of this, of course.

On page 182 there appears this question:

> Senator Young. The selection will be made by your office?
>
> Mr. Zellers. The preliminary selection; yes, sir. The selection of eligibles to go into the training program, that is, and we assume the training program will eliminate a certain percentage.

I thought that those excerpts should appear in the Record.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I want to take a very short time to explain the history of the Teacher Corps. The country is indebted to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Nelson].

I plead with the Senate this afternoon not to adopt the pending amendment because of the effect it is going to have on the substantive program that is involved.

I wish to say at the outset, to understand the importance of this question you must know how the concept developed in relation to the Teacher Corps. It was, in effect, a later thought that developed within the administration after the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from Wisconsin offered their amendments to both the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and the Higher Education Act of 1965.

Under title I of Public Law 89–10, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, we have an entire series of special services to school districts which may be selected by the participating school districts to be funded for use in schools having high concentrations of educationally deprived children. These funds may also be used to provide special education to handicapped children who for the purposes of the benefits of the act are considered to be educationally deprived.

I wish to say to my friend, the Senator from North Dakota, that the new Commissioner of Education, who was not in office when this bill was adopted, did go on to say on page 182 under the subhead:

> MATCHING BY LOCAL COMMUNITIES
>
> Mr. Howe. It is not a question of the States matching, but a question of the local community where the teachers are requested being able to match.
>
> Senator Young. Most States have school equalization funds, whereby the States help the local districts. If they don't they should.
>
> Mr. Howe. There is a great variety of practice in this, actually. Some States provide a high percentage of support for the schools and some a relatively low percentage.
>
> But by the time of year that this decision will be reached to make these special teachers available to local communities, most funds will be pretty well solidified in line items of either State or local budgets and there will be no flexible money to add an additional service.
>
> I should point out this entire Teacher Corps operation provides supplementary services over and above the regular staffing of the schools for the benefit of the kind of youngsters at which the program is directed.
>
> Mr. Cardwell. On that point it might be noted also this program was authorized in the last session of Congress and the local agencies had anticipated full Federal financing. They have not had an opportunity to prepare in advance for their share of the teacher salaries and the teachers point out they do develop a budget and often they work on tight budgets.

I am exceedingly sorry that those of us on the Committee on Education did not have an opportunity to correct the misconception that was left with the Senator by his understanding of the testimony given by the Commissioner on Education.

I think the Senator will see that as I relate what the program is, and the history of the program. In doing so, I refer back to title I of Public Law 89–10.

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 which was enacted prior to the consideration of a Teacher Corps in the Higher Education Act of 1965, provided, for example, for such additional services to school districts, so far as the 100-percent Federal aid was concerned, as the following:

> Inservice training for teachers.
>
> Additional teaching personnel to reduce class size.
>
> Teacher aids and instructional secretaries.
>
> Supervisory personnel and full-time specialists for improvement of instruction and to provide related pupil services.
>
> Institutes for training teachers in special skills.
>
> Employment of consultants for improvement of program.
>
> Programs to train teacher aids.
>
> Supplementary instructional materials.
>
> Curriculum materials center for disadvantaged children.
>
> Classes for talented elementary students.
>
> Special classes for physically handicapped, disturbed, and socially maladjusted children.
>
> Preschool training programs.
>
> Remedial programs, especially in reading and mathematics.
>
> Enrichment programs for grades 1, 2, and 3 on Saturday mornings and during summer.
>
> Programed instruction.
>
> Instructional media centers to provide modern equipment and materials.
>
> English programs for non-English-speaking children.
>
> Special audiovisuals for disadvantaged children.
>
> Programs for the early identification and prevention of dropouts.
>
> Increased guidance services for pupils and families.
>
> School-job coordinators.
>
> Home and school visitors and/or social workers.
>
> Early identification of gifted and handicapped among disadvantaged.
>
> Supplemental health and food services.
>
> Language laboratories, science and reading laboratories, laboratories for modern instruction in other subject areas.
>
> School health, psychiatric, and psychological services.
>
> Provision of clothing, shoes, and books where necessary.
>
> Financial assistance to needy high school pupils.
>
> School plant improvements—elementary school science laboratories, libraries, kitchens, and cafeterias.
>
> Equip elementary class rooms for television and radio instruction.

And the list continues.

I wish to point out that title I Public Law 89–10 provides for these special services to meet special needs in the elementary and secondary schools of this country as a supplement to their existing programs. The Teachers Corps program is in addition to Public Law 89–10 benefits. The Teachers Corps program is administered at the local level in the schools just as these services paid for by title I money are administered.

It causes me to say, Mr. President, that last year after the Senator from Wisconsin and the Senator from Massachusetts introduced two separate versions of a Teachers Corps training program, and I introduced the teaching master's fellowship program, the proposals of the Senator from Wisconsin, the Senater from Massachusetts, and the Senator from Oregon were merged into one amendment. That was done at the same time as the President went to the National Education Association convention at Madison Square Garden last summer. There he proposed in his own behalf a variant of a Teachers Corps and a fellowship program plus a grant program to strengthen teacher preparation at both the graduate and undergraduate bill at some institutions. In committee we then took the various proposed amendments and consolidated them into one amendment as a new title V to the Higher Education Act.

The amendment came to the floor of the Senate and it will be found that we adopted both the Teachers Corps and the fellowship amendment as well as the administration grant program. We went then to conference with the House on a number of provisions including title V. There was some division on the House side in conference. There was a proposal by some conferees on the House side that they thought that the cost of the Teachers Corps should be borne in part or in whole by the local school district that was asking for the service and paid for from title I of Elementary and Secondary Education Act funds.

Of course, if they were going to pay 100 percent of that cost or even 50 percent or 10 percent it would have greatly jeopardized the rest of the benefits under title I. Why? Please remember this vital statistic.

I have had printed in the Record in the debate on the floor of the Senate last year the large number of school districts in this country that under the School Act do not even get $36,000, and $36,000 is the amount of money that has to be considered for the establishment of a Teachers Corps in any school. It will cost $36,000.

If there had been followed the proposal that some in the House conference wanted to follow then the school district would have to decide whether it was going to have this program and none of the rest of title I at all.

There will be found in the debate last year the number of counties in the United States in which the total aid under the School Act would be around $40,000, $41,000, $42,000. Some may recall that I argued that if there were adopted a program in which the entire Teacher Corps would have to be paid by the local school district nothing would be left for those other needed services. One has only to read the hearings of the committee in regard to the need for these services to know that we could not follow the position of some conferees on the House side.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I would like to finish that point and then yield to the Senator.

It was at that point that the chairman of the House committee, Mr. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, asked me to get in touch with the President and find out the President's position because of the point of view that had been expressed by some House conferees, who were a minority. There is no question about the fact that the majority of the House conferees were in favor of the Teacher Corps. But the minority said unless their recommendation was adopted in conference they would make a fight against the entire program on the floor of the House.

I called the White House. The President was in the hospital, and I talked to Mr. Jack Valenti. Mr. POWELL wanted me to get a message to the President to find out his position on the Teacher Corps. Mr. Valenti said he was about to call the President. He called me back in a little over 15 minutes and said the President's advice to me was to hold firm for the Teacher Corps on the basis of his proposal at Madison Square Garden, and the proposal found in the Kennedy-Nelson amendment; that that was what he strongly supported. That is what the conference approved and that was what was adopted into law. It is a part of the law now.

We remember last year that, after it became a part of the law, funds were not appropriated for it in the House, and we ended up with a situation in which, although the Teachers Corps was adopted, no funds were provided other than a very small amount to start the administration of the act in the Office of Education.

Now I come to the procedure under the law. I stress the fact that the school district has 100-percent control over the hiring and the firing of the members of the Teachers Corps. As the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from Wisconsin have pointed out, the school district can hire them today and fire them tomorrow. It does not have to accept them in the first place. The total control of the Teachers Corps unit that is invited by a school district to any school rests with the school district and the administrators of the school. The Federal Government has no authority under the Teachers Corps law to impose any teacher group upon any school. The hiring and firing comes 100 percent within local control. This fact was made very clear in the debate when the authorization bill was before the Senate.

What is the Teachers Corps? The Teachers Corps is a group of people specially trained to handle certain problem children cases, many of them special cases. It is true that the Corps will go primarily into poor school districts, but poor school districts are not the only school districts in the country that have so-called problem cases. There is a great need for remedial, therapeutic, and special education teaching specialists. I do not like to use the term "problem cases" because of its negative connotation; nevertheless, I know of no more descriptive words. Perhaps "behavior problems" or "health related problems" or "learning difficulty" problems may be better terms.

The work of the Corps encompasses problems that arise from home environment or problems that arise from the intellectual ability of the child; that is, the child may not be retarded in the sense that he should not be sent to school, but lacks sufficient capacity to make progress with the rest of the class. As a result, in a year or two the child is a potential dropout; he stays in the same grade for 1, 2, or 3 years

The proposal is to have the educators of the country—that is, the authorities in the field of the educational process in the training of students—develop a group of teachers, who are recognized as experts in that field who will instruct a group of students in universities who are preparing for the teaching profession. It is a form of teacher training through daily practice under a highly skilled professional, of the various aspects of the teaching art. Everyone is aware of the practice-teaching programs that students training for the teaching profession have to undergo in order to qualify for their teacher certificates.

The school district would get such a corps of specially trained teachers. The funds are provided in the bill. The whole act is administered under a State plan. The State would have to adopt a State plan and place it on file, and it would have to be approved as qualifying under the objectives of the act. It would be placed on file at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which would select from applicants who had applied for the Teachers Corps program, those recommended for training by the participating institutions of higher education who would perform the academic training.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare would not send out the teachers. The Department would communicate with school districts, inform them of the teachers and teams available, the qualifications of the teacher, and the training that the teacher has had in the particular problems of the recipient school. The school board would then decide whether it wanted that teacher and the student assistance. The school board gets only the money from the Federal Government, and the school board has the authority to select the personnel from the pool of trained personnel that is available. The school board can hire the teachers and can keep them as long as it wishes. If the teachers do not meet the requirements of the school board, the board can fire them. The board would not be limited by any tenure laws at all.

In the hearing conducted by the Education Subcommittee yesterday, Dr. Briggs, the superintendent of schools of Cleveland, Ohio, made an eloquent plea for the Teacher Corps program. I was quite surprised by his testimony with respect to the problems of poverty that are growing in the city of Cleveland, as people of better means are moving to the suburbs. He made an eloquent plea for the support of the Teacher Corps program. He stressed the need of the progam in order to meet the special educational problems of educationally deprived children.

If Senators propose to consider the program on the basis of the local school district paying all or 50 percent or 10 percent of the cost, the school districts will be placed in the position of having to make a choice as to whether they are going to use the teacher program or any of the other programs that are enumerated under title I, all of which can be critically needed by a district.

With respect to the so-called behavior child, the child who has some psychological problems, or the "learning difficulty" child, all of us are aware of their need, for example, for remedial reading techniques or for audiovisual aids in helping these youngsters master their school work. These are very important factors.

It is unwise to say, "We will put the Teacher Corps off here by itself, and put you in a position so that if you have only $40,000 or $41,000, and you take a Teacher Corps program, $36,000 will have to be used for it, leaving $4,000, $5,000, $6,000, or $7,000 for the rest of title I." That is not fair.

I say most respectfully that no argument can be made in the name of inflation for supporting an amendment that would require a school district or a State to pay 50 percent. The same American dollars are involved, whether they are paid by the Federal Government or by the State government. In my judgment, it is a fallacious argument to refer to it as inflation.

The question is whether there is a need in 1966 to spend money for these boys and girls, in order to seek to rehabilitate them and to give them a chance to overcome whatever handicaps they may have. The Teachers Corps, in my judgment, is based on the major premise that these teams can become specialists in the handling of special problems of special children. The program encompasses a group of young people who are preparing to be special teachers in this special field.

I am at a loss to understand why we have the argument of inflation confronting us as a barricade. The same number of dollars are involved, whether they come from the Federal Government or the State government.

I am at a loss to understand why there is an argument that this program would establish Federal control. To the contrary, every precaution has been taken to prevent this. I would not have supported the bill if such a precaution were not in it. Under the bill, the local school district and the State have control. In the first place, the Federal Government only provides the money for financing the training program and for financing the sending of trainees, at the request of the school district, into the school.

(Mr. LAUSCHE and Mr. COOPER addressed the Chair.)

Mr. MORSE. I shall yield first to the Senator from Ohio and then to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I shall defer to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. COOPER. The amount does not concern me greatly. My questions were made in an effort to learn more about the nature of the proposed program, and about the exact procedures to be followed. I know that it was adopted in the law last year. I am grateful to the Senator from Oregon, who managed the bill in the Senate, and also to the Senator from Wisconsin and the Senator from Massachusetts, who were concerned with this particular section of the bill, for giving their interpretation of the nature of the control of the program.

I wish to make one point, which I still hold after hearing all explanations. In my opinion, there is one factor which distinguishes this program from other Federal programs dealing with education, in terms of control. This is the only Federal aid program dealing with education in which the teachers for elementary schools are first selected and trained by the Federal Government.

Mr. MORSE. The program for the training of the teachers is a Federal program, and the reason is obvious. It could not be done on a local school district basis since it also involves relationships with institutions of higher education.

Mr. COOPER. I understand that. The program also provides for the selection of those who will have the benefit of training and, therefore, who will finally be assigned to school districts.

Mr. MORSE. That is in the hands of the universities that conduct the program. It is in the hands of those back at the grassroots. It is a part of the program of an educational school at the University of Kentucky, the University of Ohio, the University of Oregon, Columbia University, or any other such institution of learning. They are training the people; the Federal Government is not training them. There should be no misapprehension that the Federal Government is training these teachers. The Federal Government is financing the training of the teachers. The teachers are being trained by the universities of the country just as, I submit, all our teachers are trained.

This training program is a part of the higher education training program in this country. The Federal Government does not pick a single human being or a single body for this program. The bodies are picked by the universities that set up the program and open the registration to persons who are interested, on a voluntary basis, to be trained as teachers in this special higher education program.

I now yield to the Senator from Ohio. I am happy that the Senator from Kentucky asked these questions, so that he would have an explanation of the program and knowledge of the way in which it operates.

Mr. COOPER. The statement has been made by those who were in charge of the bill providing the basic authority that they did not seek to have Federal control written into the bill. I am satisfied.

Mr. President, I have voted today against the rent subsidy program, and I have expressed my concern about Federal control of the Teachers Corps proposal. But, as the second supplemental appropriations bill provides needed funds for other programs which are vital, I shall vote for passage of the bill as whole.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I am very anxious from the standpoint of the children involved that we do not scuttle the program that the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from Wisconsin had the great wisdom to see far in advance of a large number of educators in this country.

Once the educators knew of the program outlined by the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from Wisconsin, they came and gave us testimony on the basis of which we made the recommendation last year.

I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, the purpose of my questions will be to establish what programs are now in existence on a Federal level to help in the development of an army of teachers for primary, secondary, and higher institutions of learning.

The Senator from Oregon is a member of the committee and I am quite sure that he has rather detailed information on this subject.

It is my understanding that the 1967 budget contains a figure in excess of $1 billion for the helping of primary and secondary education. This $1 billion is under title I and is intended to serve areas with concentrations of children from low-income families throughout the country.

Do we have this $1 billion program of assisting schools in the operation of their primary and secondary educational system especially to help the low-income families?

Mr. MORSE. My answer is, first, all the programs that are recognized in title I of the Education Act of 1965 are aimed at helping the children who attend impoverished schools but are not limited in the act as a whole to merely impoverished schools. The key point in title I, is that such schools serve areas having a high concentration of educationally deprived children. But, as I brought out in the debate last year, if we had a child with a hearing problem in such an area, money under title I could be used to send him to the wealthiest public school in the school district if that school had facilities he needed to overcome his problem. The act would apply to those children who need that remedial treatment. The same is true whether there is a problem relating to a physically handicapped child, with visual defects, or even problems involving his neuro-muscular system, the program should not be limited merely to the handicapped child in a poverty-stricken school district. It should extend to other districts also. This is a matter we are currently pursuing in our hearings on S. 3046.

All the programs under title I fall within the appropriated amount. It is for the Appropriations Committee to appropriate, but the authorization would cover about $1.7 billion for the whole program.

The testimony showed that we must pay attention to these special educational problems. If we get a problem of dropouts, and not the standard program of reading, writing, and arithmetic, we should stop the occurrence of dropouts and make improvement on the problem of retarded children. We must have the entire program.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The answer to my question is "Yes."

Mr. MORSE. Yes; but it is better to have it explained.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I did not mean to have any unfair implication.

Mr. MORSE. And the Senator never does. He would not think of it.

Mr. LAUSCHE. There is the Higher Education Act of 1965, and that higher education act is intended to provide teachers for various schools in the country.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator is correct insofar as title V is concerned, but I stress that universities train teachers, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare does not.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Then there is title IV(b) which deals with 100-percent loan forgiveness for student borrowers who subsequently teach in schools having large numbers of disadvantaged children.

Mr. MORSE. That is in keeping with one of the basic principles of our whole economy, a principle of which the Senator and I are so proud, the incentive motive.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Title IV(b) means that a student studying to be a teacher can borrow the money, and if that student agrees to go into an area in which there are impoverished children, his obligation to repay the debt is completely forgiven.

Mr. MORSE. If the teacher is employed in the State designated school receiving title I benefits. The Senator is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. There is title XI of the National Defense and Education Act which authorizes summer and fall session training institutes for teachers who are going to work with disadvantaged children.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I have thus far enumerated four categories of finances which are provided by the Federal Government.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The program that we are now discussing contemplates a somewhat different procedure. It contemplates that the Federal Government would allocate teachers to help in the development of other efficient teachers in training the handicapped or disadvantaged children which the Senator from Oregon identified.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator is correct. However, there is more to it than that, if I may supplement it by saying that the Teachers Corps program provides funds for two purposes. It will set up the programs in the universities that will register the individuals that are going to be trained for these specialties. However, in charge of those courses will be existing specialists, and there are not very many. That is one thing that our hearing records show—the need to get busy and get these specialists trained. However, there are some, and to the extent that they are available to be sent out, they will be sent out to the school districts which want them, along with apprentices, teacher apprentices to go into the school district to provide supplementary teaching services to the special problem children during the academic year.

Mr. LAUSCHE. There is another program in which the Federal Government finances 10,000 fellowships for persons who want to teach. The Federal Government would train them to be especially experienced in this field of teaching those people.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator is correct. That is also part of title V of the Higher Education Act, currently recommended to be funded, I believe, at a 6,500 level.

Mr. LAUSCHE. So there are five programs now in existence. Does any one of those five programs embody the philosophy in which the Federal Government receives an application to send teachers in, acts upon the application, sends the teachers in—teachers who may or may not be accepted, depending on the will of the recipient—and the Federal Government then pays the salaries of those teachers?

Mr. MORSE. No. The services of the other five programs do not meet the special needs of this particular service.

We must have a body of these specialists with some assistants to go into the impoverished area schools to help the superintendent and the principal and the teachers through supplementary teaching services handle the problem that they may have in that school. The Federal Government does not select them. The University of Ohio selects them. The University of Minnesota selects them. Columbia University selects them. For that is where they are. They are not down here in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The University of Ohio, Columbia University, and the University of Minnesota, and every other education department that has a desire to participate in this particular field makes known to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare the availability of any personnel that it has.

One of our real problems is that we will not have enough personnel to meet all of the demand for a few years, but we have some personnel. Let us use them. That is the plea.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I understand that the universities will teach them for 3 months, but the allocation of these developed teachers is to be made by the Federal Government in respect to applications filed with the Government.

Mr. MORSE. They will be given a list of who is available. In my judgment the part that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare would play in this would be pretty much that of a clearing house as to the availability of personnel.

Mr. LAUSCHE. What bothers me, and I shall be very frank with the Senator from Oregon, is that this is the first time in all these programs that the idea has been evolved that the Federal Government will send to local areas the teachers that are available for training in the particular field involved.

Mr. MORSE. It does not send them in. I do not like the semantics of the Senator. It does not send them in. It tells them who is available and they do the selecting.

Mr. LAUSCHE. That is not quite in conformity with what the Senator from North Dakota read.

Mr. MORSE. I do not think a program should be jeopardized by the response of the Senator from North Dakota and the response from the witness chair of the new Commissioner of Education. But let us look at his prepared statement on pages 186 and 187:

ASSIGNMENT OF TEACHERS

Senator Young. Let me ask this question: Would it work this way? If a local school district wanted five teachers all they would have to do is call you and you would send them out there?

Mr. Howe. In effect, they would apply to the Chief of the Teachers Corps for allocation of Teachers Corps members; yes, sir, and the chances of our being able to send them exactly what they want are pretty slim because we are talking about a program here to train about 3,000 teachers who will serve all across the country.

Senator Young. That is the mechanics. If you had to train teachers, the local district would call you and you would provide the teachers?

Mr. Howe. These would be teachers trained during the summer in special university programs for the purposes of the program. We would select the districts whose requests we would honor primarily on the basis of the concentration of the disadvantaged children.

We would also give some consideration to the geographical aspect of this, of course.

Senator Pastore. Any further questions on this?

Are you satisfied with the $10 million?

Mr. Howe. Yes, sir.

Senator Pastore. We will insert your statement.

(The statement follows:)

"STATEMENT BY COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION

"Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am pleased to appear before you to testify on behalf of the President's request for funds to begin operation of a National Teachers Corps. As President Johnson stated when he proposed the National Teacher Corps to the Congress: 'The National Teacher Corps draws on that spirit of dedication of Americans which has been demonstrated time and again, in peace and war, by young and old, at home and abroad. It will provide a challenge and an opportunity for teachers with a sense of mission—those best suited to the momentous tasks this Nation faces in improving education.'

"The National Teachers Corps legislation and the landmark Elementary and Secondary Education Act, both enacted by the 89th Congress, are based upon the principles that a good education is the key to a better future for the disadvantaged child, and that a good teacher is the vital and indispensable element in that good education. But today, we are faced with an alarming shortage of teachers, particularly in the schools which serve our less fortunate children.

"According to the National Education Association, the national supply of beginning teachers last September fell 118,000 short of the 248,000 needed. The National Teacher Corps will help us meet this need and will focus the training of its members in the schools with the greatest need. The request for funds to begin operations in fiscal year 1966 amounts to $13.2 million. These funds will be used to place approximately 3,750 corps members in teaching positions this September. The House has allowed $10 million for the program, a reduction of $3,200,000 from our request. It also provides that the Federal share for salaries of the teachers may not exceed 90 percent, and that State educational agencies must approve the corps programs of individual school districts. This reduction would decrease the number of corps members from 3,750 to 3,000. We are making no appeal for restoration of the funds, but we are strongly recommending an amendment to allow us to increase the Federal share above 90 percent if a local district can fully justify its inability to provide its share of the salary costs. Although no salaries will be paid from the 1966 supplemental request, this provision may preclude certain districts from participating in the program. While we agree in principle with local districts sharing the salary costs, the amendment would insure all eligible districts an opportunity to benefit from the corps.

"Preservice training for corps members will take place this summer at institutions of higher education. Beginning with the fall semester in September, teachers and teacher-interns will start teaching disadvantaged children, and the teacher-interns will enter part-time academic study leading to a graduate degree. The selection of training institutions and of participating schools, and the assignment of corps members will be directed toward obtaining a cross section of the circumstances and types of problems, both urban and rural, that are encountered in educating the disadvantaged.

"Included in the supplemental request are funds for the cost of 3 months' preservice training, institutional support for intern academic training, change of residence, and local school administration. Funds for salary compensation of corps members are included in the fiscal 1967 budget request.

"The National Teachers Corps will provide opportunities to recent college graduates to become teacher-interns, and at the same time continue their education toward advanced degrees. The corps will also seek to attract experienced teachers who will head teams of teacher-interns and provide the on-the-spot direction and guidance that may be necessary. By the use of teaching teams, I believe the National Teachers Corps will demonstrate a useful and effective approach in preparing able college graduates for teaching careers. It is based upon the principle that the way to learn teaching is to do it under expert guidance. In addition, this program will encourage the development of teacher preparation in the colleges and universities, with a specific orientation toward serving disadvantaged youth.

"Your prompt action on this supplemental request is respectfully requested to enable us to move forward to commence operation of the National Teachers Corps as already authorized by the Congress. To place corps members in the schools by this coming September, we will need to solicit proposals from local school districts and institutions of higher education; make arrangements for summer and academic year training and for teaching assignments; recruit and assign corps members for training and teaching posts. All this takes time and the time factor has now become critical. Local school districts will very shortly be making plans for the coming academic year; universities have not yet been selected for training corps members. After selection, they must prepare curriculums, recruit instructors, and provide facilities; teachers will soon be making their contracts for the next academic year; and college graduates will be making decisions on postgraduation employment or further education. We need to move ahead now.

"I and my staff will be glad to answer any questions you may have."

Mr. LAUSCHE. I do not hesitate to say that I have a deep apprehension about the initiation of a program that will give to the Federal Government the power to send an army of teachers to the communities.

Mr. MORSE. But it is not doing that.

Mr. LAUSCHE. This bill provides for the training of 3,000 at present. What it will be next year and in 1970 and 1972, no one can foretell.

Mr. MORSE. It cannot last longer than the authorization. The argument has been made this afternoon that it is a permanent program. It can be a permanent program only for the life of the law. That is only for the period of the authorization.

Mr. PASTORE. Will the Senator yield at that point? It can only be to the extent that we appropriate the money.

Mr. MORSE. Certainly; all the checks are there. This is not in perpetuity. I think it will go on for many years, because the Senator from Ohio will be voting for it for many years, after we bring forth the evidence, if he will let us get it started, as to the desirability of it.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, in response to what has just been said, I have been here for 9 years, and I cannot recall a single program of grants in those 9 years which, once instituted, has been either reduced or canceled.

Mr. MORSE. They are working so well; that is why.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The grants are increased each year. They grow and grow. And I think we can lay it down axiomatically that this is a $9.5 million program for the fiscal year of 1966, but in 1975 it will still be here, and the amount will have increased greatly.

I thank the Senator very much for not filibustering my questions. He answered them directly, and I appreciate it.

Mr. MORSE. I wish to tarry with the Senator for just a moment, because I always like to thank someone who has been particularly kind in behalf of my committee. I thank the Senator from Ohio for what I think is one of the finest compliments ever paid the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and its Education Subcommittee, that because we have done the job so well, apparently, in all the 9 years to which the Senator refers, and our authorization proposals show the great care we have taken in proposing sound programs, there has been no need for reducing grants, but they have been increased year by year because they are clearly so much needed.

I say to the Senator, give me your vote on this, and I tell you that in 5 years you will be standing up here urging more money for the Teacher Corps, to deal with underprivileged children.

Mr. LAUSCHE. There are two assumptions under which a program is continued; one, because it is meritorious; second, though not meritorious, because of its political dangers, there is a fear to either reduce it or eliminate it.

Mr. MORSE. I have much higher respect for the Senate than that.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. It was my privilege to serve under the able leadership of the Senator from Oregon as chairman of the subcommittee when we passed the basic legislation last year. I well recall the conference we had, too, with our friends from the House, and the difficulties they raised with the Teachers Corps program. We were concerned for a while, were we not, that we might lose it?

Mr. MORSE. That is right.

Mr. CLARK. The Senator from Oregon went directly to the President of the United States and received his strong endorsement for the legislation as it was passed, and as a result of that strong endorsement, we now have a Teacher Corps in being, on a sound and sensible basis.

To me, the pending amendment is a wicked amendment. It is an evil amendment, because what it purports to do is to change, in an appropriation bill, the fixed policy determined last year by the Congress of the United States at the recommendation of the President of the United States, in a bill which the President signed; is that not correct?

Mr. MORSE. That is correct.

Mr. CLARK. Now, it may well be that under the rules of this body, the pending amendment is in order. But I say that anybody who votes for the pending amendment had no business voting for the major legislation in the first place; that this is an effort, again, by the Appropriations Committee, to change the law as adopted by the legislative committees of the Congress, and to me this is wrong. I wonder if the Senator from Oregon agrees with me.

Mr. MORSE. I completely agree with the Senator, and I speak with great respect for the Appropriations Committee. I know how overburdened they are, and what a great group they have on the committee.

But as the Senator knows, from time to time I have felt that we work our heads off on a legislative committee, we come out with a program, we take the evidence, as we have taken it in this matter—we listened to the educational authorities, not one of whom the Appropriations Committee has had the opportunity to listen to—and we come forward with a substantive program. I think before that substantive program is changed indirectly by the Appropriations Committee, that we at least should be consulted with. We should be called in to find out what effect a proposal being considered in the Appropriations Committee would have on the substantive nature of the legislation.

Mr. CLARK. The Senator is aware—is he not?—that under our present archaic and utterly illogical rules, when appropriations are considered for programs initiated by certain legislative committees, members of those legislative committees sit ex officio with the Appropriations Committee? But not in this case. For some reason, the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare is considered sort of a poor sister or poor brother. We do not have the privilege given to many another committee of consulting before the Appropriations Committee, and with a vote, before the legislation is passed.

Mr. MORSE. Let me say this, meaning no reflection at all: I think it is just a matter of breakdown in communications, where everybody is busy, whether he is on the Appropriations Committee or any other committee.

We have the committee system—I do not know how we could run the Senate without the committee system—and we have a breakdown in communications. I did not have any idea that this particular problem was being considered.

I think the Appropriations Committee has been very considerate in trying to do the best it can on the basis of the information it had. It has before it the Commissioner of Education, and relies on him. In this case, on some points I think he and his staff were in error.

What I do think we should do, however, as members of the legislative committee, when the point is raised, as it has been raised here this afternoon, is not use an amendment to, in effect, set aside a large share of the purpose of the Teachers Corps program.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. Yes; I yield.

Mr. PASTORE. I do not wish to say that I resent this, but the fact remains——

Mr. MORSE. I did not mean it in any way that the Senator should have any basis for resentment.

Mr. PASTORE. I hope Senators are not finding any fault with what the Appropriations Committee did on this item.

Mr. MORSE. No, I am talking about the discussion we have had as to what was discussed in the Appropriations Committee as to the legislative meaning of the program.

Mr. PASTORE. The Senator from Rhode Island understood it, and understood it very well. I mean I have no doubts, I have no qualms about this.

The fact remains that the House voted a 90–10 formula, and wrote it into the law. Some people think it should be 100 percent. I think there is some reason for 90–10; I am willing to go along with it.

Mr. MORSE. I am perfectly willing to go along with 100 percent.

Mr. PASTORE. But the committee did not subscribe at all to this existing amendment. This is something brand new, and something I never heard of before until this afternoon. I think that the Appropriations Subcommittee went along with the legislative committee on this item. We have no faults to find here.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I have made my case. However, I ask unanimous consent that the full item in the Education Act of 1965, on page 443 of the print that I was using, setting forth the services that are available under title I of the bill, be printed in the RECORD. It begins on page 442 with the title "Uses of Funds by School Districts," and runs over, on page 444, to the beginning of the next topic.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

USES OF FUNDS BY SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Under the terms of the legislation, a local public school district may use funds granted to it for the broad purpose of programs and projects which will meet the educational needs of educationally deprived children in those school attendance areas in the district having high concentrations of children from low-income families. It is the intention of the proposed legislation not to prescribe the specific types of programs or projects that will be required in school districts. Rather, such matters are left to the discretion and judgment of the local public educational agencies since educational needs and requirements for strengthening educational opportunities for educationally deprived elementary and secondary school pupils will vary from State to State and district to district. What might be an acceptable and effective program in a school district serving a rural area may be entirely inappropriate for a school district serving an urban area, and vice versa. There may be circumstances where a whole school system is basically a low-income area and the best approach in meeting the needs of educationally deprived children would be to upgrade the regular program. On the other hand, in many areas the needs of educationally deprived children will not be satisfied by such an approach.

The committee received a wealth of evidence and testimony from educational specialists as to new techniques of instruction and educational innovations which were being developed as a result of research and experimentation in education. Many new devices employing audiovisual material, electronic equipment, use of educational television, and other similar equipment are being employed, some only in demonstration projects, and offer promise of increasing the educational opportunity of elementary and secondary students. Hopefully their use will broaden as a result of this legislation. To the maximum extent possible, this legislation gives encouragement to local school districts to employ imaginative thinking and new approaches to meet the educational needs of poor children.

The committee also received testimony from witnesses as to the following possible programs for educationally deprived children:

Inservice training for teachers.

Additional teaching personnel to reduce class size.

Teacher aids and instructional secretaries.

Supervisory personnel and full-time specialists for improvement of instruction and to provide related pupil services.

Institutes for training teachers in special skills.

Employment of consultants for improvement of program.

Programs to train teacher aids.

Supplementary instructional materials.

Curriculum materials center for disadvantaged children.

Classes for talented elementary students.

Special classes for physically handicapped, disturbed, and socially maladjusted children.

Preschool training programs.

Remedial programs, especially in reading and mathematics.

Enrichment programs for grades 1, 2, and 3 on Saturday mornings and during summer.

Programed instruction.

Instructional media centers to provide modern equipment and materials.

English programs for non-English-speaking children.

Special audiovisuals for disadvantaged children.

Programs for the early identification and prevention of dropouts.

Increased guidance services for pupils and families.

School-job coordinators.

Home and school visitors and/or social workers.

Early identification of gifted and handicapped among disadvantaged.

Supplemental health and food services.

Language laboratories, science and reading laboratories, laboratories for modern instruction in other subject areas.

School health, psychiatric, and psychological services.

Provision of clothing, shoes, and books where necessary.

Financial assistance to needy high school pupils.

School plant improvements—elementary school science laboratories, libraries, kitchens, and cafeterias.

Equip elementary classrooms for television and radio instruction.

Purchase of musical recordings of classical nature, and recordings of poems and addresses.

Mobile learning centers.

Educational summer camps.

College coaching classes.

Arts and crafts programs during summer vacation.

Summer school and day camp.

Summer programs for development of language skills.

Full-day summer school.

Shop and library facilities available after regular school hours.

Work experience programs.

On-the-job training for high school students.

Field trips for cultural and educational development.

Expansion of libraries in major disciplines.

Scheduling of concerts, dramas, and lectures; mobile art exhibits and libraries.

Saturday morning special opportunity classes.

Bookmobiles—home oriented.

Afterschool study centers.

Preschool pupil transportation.

Pupil exchange programs (semester, year, summer).

The above enumeration is not intended in any way to limit the possible uses of funds by the local school district in improving public elementary and secondary education. It should be noted that a school district is required to develop programs and projects designed to meet the special educational needs of all educationally deprived children in the school attendance area, regardless of whether such children are presently attending school. Such programs could take the form of special part-time programs, or programs to return to school, children who have dropped out. However, the listing is illustrative of the many possibilities for uses of funds which are already being considered and conducted by educators.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. I was glad to yield to the Senator from Rhode Island, and I assured him that I would be brief.

But may I say to the Senator from Oregon that in my judgment, this pending amendment should be opposed by every Senator who voted to support the Appalachia program, because this takes money out of the poor school districts in Appalachia. It should be opposed by every Senator who voted for the poverty program, because this takes money out of the most poverty-stricken school districts in the country. It should be opposed by every Senator who voted for civil rights, because the schools which would be penalized by the proposed Dirksen amendment are, to a large extent, schools were our Negro children are being trained.

And this amendment should be opposed if for no other reason than that it would continue the present short supply of schoolteachers, which is one of the great detriments to having a proper educational system in our country.

Mr. MORSE. I agree with the Senator. I put my position this way: It should be opposed by those who really want to be of help to boys and girls with special problems.

Let me say, the money that is involved here is a widow's mite compared with the huge sum of money that we will spend in keeping these children, when they become adults, in prison or on welfare, or in mental hospitals, or in connection with various governmental behavior control programs. Because here is the place to get them adjusted to life. Here is the place to try, at least, to cure the problems that are making them the special cases that they are.

This does not amount, in my judgment, considering the human values involved as well as the economic values to our country, to a pittance compared with what the other costs I have mentioned would be.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, we have been listening to some of the proponents of the Teacher Corps give us an outline of what they say is in the Teacher Corps legislation.

By and large, I would say that there were many facts brought out which have been helpful to the debate; but it seems to me that some other points should be made, and I would like to make them because the basis for these points was originally created by a question from the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER].

Last year, on October 20, when the Senate was debating this bill, I warned about what I thought were some of the problems surrounding the Teacher Corps. I wish to repeat some of those points. We have had testimony before the Education Subcommittee, of which I am a member, and we have had testimony just recently—today, yesterday, and last week—pointing out that one of the problems with title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is the fact that in processing the new projects and the new applications, experienced teachers—who were formerly going into the ordinary curriculum—were being moved over, and the curriculum itself, on the established programs, were being downgraded. This has happened in my State. It has also happened in many other States. It is creating a problem because of a shortage of personnel.

I would predict, as I did last fall, that one of the great problems in the National Teachers Corps is going to be the pirating of teachers from one district to another. We are going to have, for example, a school district which feels it is short of teachers and therefore wants and requests the Federal Government to supply the funds to bring in more teachers. We will have then created a prestige corps, and another district will lose its teachers, by having them pirated by the first district which made the application. We will have a pirating of teachers all over this country. This is one of the points I made last year during the discussion on the original bill.

In addition, as I pointed out to the Senate last fall, no matter how we slice it, no matter how we look at it, when a local school district has teachers who were brought in under this program and whose salaries, expenses and training have been paid for by the Federal Government, there is going to be a second separate category of teaching personnel imposed on this country. I would say that no matter how we look at it, if we have in any single district one teacher being paid by the Federal Government and another teacher whose salary is coming out of the local school district, we will have created two categories of teachers. We will have created an overlay of Federal control and Federal responsibility which was not there before.

I completely agree with what the Senator from Oregon has said, that the local school district can fire these people any time they wish to do so. They do not have to take the team sent to them. They would say, "We need teachers in this district." The State board of education would say, "We also need teachers." They would apply to Washington, and Washington would send them back a team, and in the team would come. This could be a team which has little or no experience in the area. They may have been trained in another area and not know the customs and problems of the area they are to teach in. There is nothing in the bill, so far as I know—and if I am wrong I hope that the Senator from Wisconsin or the Senator from Massachusetts will correct me, which says that the National Teacher Corps has to teach only in areas where there are deprived children, or only in areas where there are problem children. They can teach in any State where the local school district wants them, regardless of what or where it may be.

Thus, what we are doing, it seems to me, is just as clear as it can be. We are implementing a program where there is a possibility of pirating of needed teachers from one area to another. Second, we are creating an overlay of Federal teaching in local and secondary schools which will have a major impact on the educational system of this country.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator knows how much I appreciate the work he does on the Education Subcommittee, and the great help he is to us in raising critical problems—just as he is doing this afternoon in debate. But I want the RECORD to show that I disagree with the conclusions he has reached.

I recognize that from the standpoint of policies title V of the Higher Education Act is going to have to be implemented by various regulations that are being worked out but I reject completely his fear that this will lead to teacher-pirating.

For example, if a school district in Mankato, Minn., has made a request for the special type of help that the Teachers Corps is trained to perform, it does not mean that they can get an English teacher out of Ann Arbor, Mich., to come to Mankato to teach there under this program.

Mr. DOMINICK. There is nothing that would prevent it, let me say to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. I believe that the Senator is in error. Let me point out the procedure by which this program is implemented. First, there has to be submitted to the program the State plan, in which there will be incorporated in it this need for the kind of special teaching required.

The school district then has to submit its case for funds for this kind of special training. It does not get the money unless, on the basis of the program for which it requests the teacher and her assistance, it is found that it substantiates the case.

To take a hypothetical case, say we had a problem in some school district for retarded children, but not so retarded that they could not attend a public school. They would not need to be sent to a home for retarded children because their IQ's, although not high—perhaps a low average—would enable them to attend a public school, under proper guidance. I make the case for a Teacher Corps team which could help such a group of students. They have got to make that kind of representation before they could get the teacher, of course. Should they seem to use the teams and teachers improperly, then of course a question of such a use of the funds could arise. Which I am sure would be covered under the regulations and agreements entered into.

Mr. DOMINICK. I will say to the Senator that I fully understand his purpose in this matter, but I would also say that there is nothing in the legislation which says that this is the way it has to work. It simply says that they make an application, the State approves it, and then if there are teachers available, they are made available to the local district together with the money. We would hope that in order to get approval of the Teachers Corps going into that area, there would be a special need; but that does not indicate that the teacher, once there, under the control of the school district, cannot do something else, and perhaps be placed in a totally unrelated teaching assignment.

The point I am making is, that we will be creating a situation where we will have two levels of teachers. I emphasize that I believe we are going to have a substantial pirating of teachers from other school districts. Of course, this does not make any difference to other people, but I believe it is a problem of serious concern, particularly at a time when we have many problems in the educational field, sometimes created by the impact of title I on secondary and elementary schools.

Mr. MORSE. Let me point out, if the Senator will yield to me further for half a minute, that they have to make their application. Take a look at what they have to do in their application. They have to establish the need for special teachers, to meet their special needs. That application is what is binding. Then, of course, if they walk out on that application, they fall under the jurisdiction of their State authorities. Do not forget that the State authorities have supervision over them, not the Federal Government.

If there is any misuse of funds different from what they applied for before, they would have the responsibility.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I wish to say one word——

Mr. DOMINICK. Let me say before I sit down, that I can conceive of nothing more difficult for the Office of Education than to be suddenly faced with a situation where it has sent in a team at the request of the local district, which through Federal funds, has been paying it—and the teachers, who have been sent in under the Teacher Corps, are trying to do some of the job that has been asked for them, and the school board has also asked them to do some work. There are then two choices.

They will either refuse to do what has been asked by the local authorities or they will do it. If they refuse, they are subject to being fired. If they do do it, then I gather from what the Senator from Oregon said, it is possibly a misapplication of funds which should be cut off. I cannot think of a more embarrassing spot to put the Office of Education in than that.

These are some of the problems which the Teacher Corps bring to mind. It is another reason why I believe that if we would proceed slowly on this program, we will be far better off.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN].

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered; and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS] and the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. RUSSELL], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS], and the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] is paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL]. If present and voting, the Senator from Arizona would vote "nay," and the Senator from Massachusetts would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] is absent because of death in his immediate family and is paired with the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN]. If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts would vote "yea," and the Senator from Arizona would vote "nay."

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE] are detained on official business.

On this vote, the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON] is paired with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE]. If present and voting, the Senator from Kansas would vote "yea," and the Senator from New Jersey would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 22, nays 64, as follows:

[No. 69 Leg.]

YEAS—22

Allott
Bennett
Cooper
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dominick
Fannin
Hickenlooper
Hruska
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
Miller
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Pearson
Simpson
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—64

Aiken
Bartlett
Bass
Bayh
Boggs
Brewster
Burdick
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Church
Clark
Douglas
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fong
Fulbright
Gore
Hart
Hartke
Hill
Holland
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pell
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Robertson
Russell, Ga.
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—14

Anderson
Bible
Byrd, Va.
Carlson
Case
Dodd
Gruening
Harris
Hayden
McNamara
Neuberger
Russell, S.C.
Saltonstall
Smathers

So Mr. DIRKSEN's amendment was rejected.

Mr. PASTORE. I should like to have the attention of Senators. There are two more amendments to be offered. They are not controversial, so far as I know. I have no desire to ask for a yea-and-nay vote on the final passage of the bill, unless Senators desire to have one. I think we ought to know now whether they do, so that we can expedite the bill. It can be disposed of within 15 or 20 minutes.

Mr. COTTON. I wished to ask for the yeas and nays on final passage.

Mr. PASTORE. Does the Senator desire to do so?

Mr. COTTON. I do.

Mr. PASTORE. I ask for the yeas and nays on the final passage of the bill.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PASTORE. I yield to the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I was necessarily absent from the Senate, at a hearing before a House subcommittee, at the time that the debate on the rent supplement program occurred. Had I been here, I would have propounded some questions to the Senator from Rhode Island, to make certain that my facts were correct.

The Senator from Rhode Island may recall that the rent supplement program was provided for legislatively in the Housing Act of 1965. I was the floor manager of the bill at the time, and I remember the facts from the legislation. But I wonder whether these facts were brought out before the Senator's subcommittee.

I am aware that the Senator from Louisiana touched on the fact today that there has been a desire, over a long period of time, to get away from public housing or to devise some other kind of program that might someday be a substitute for it.

Mr. PASTORE. That is correct; and to bring private industry into this endeavor.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The housing proposed to be built under this act is to be built by private enterprise, and such housing is to go on the tax rolls in its respective communities.

Mr. PASTORE. That is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The housing is privately sponsored, privately built, privately managed, and privately owned, and the selection of tenants is made by the sponsors, subject to income and other qualifications set by FHA.

Mr. PASTORE. That is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Was this fact brought out also? I recall that a pertinent fact in our discussion last year was that actually this type of housing is cheaper for the Government than public housing. The figures given us at that time, as I recall, were that for public housing, the average monthly subsidy would be $58, whereas under the rent supplement program it is estimated to be $40 a month.

Mr. PASTORE. It was not brought out specifically in those amounts, but it was brought out in a general way that rent supplement housing is cheaper.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wonder whether it was brought to the attention of the committee that 9 million families are now occupying substandard housing in this country.

Mr. PASTORE. That is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mrs. Marie McGuire, who is the Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration, gave information to our committee that applications for 500,000 public housing units are now on the waiting list.

Mr. PASTORE. Perhaps more.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is the number she gave us.

In other words, without rent supplement, additional public housing will be needed.

Mr. PASTORE. Additional public housing will be needed, unless these people are expected to live in slums.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do I understand correctly that the effect of the vote in the Senate today is to accept the House language?

Mr. PASTORE. That is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And it clearly spells out income and asset limits. The income must be that which would qualify families for public housing.

Mr. PASTORE. Not in the act; but the rules and regulations that have been promulgated do bring those facts out.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is it not true that this provision is in there, also:

> That no part of the foregoing appropriation or contract authority shall be used for incurring any obligation in connection with any dwelling unit or project which is not either part of a workable program for community improvement meeting the requirements of section 101(c) of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended (42 U.S.C. 1451(c)), or which is without local official approval for participation in this program.

Mr. PASTORE. The Senator from Rhode Island was not in complete sympathy with those provisions, but they are in the bill.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words, these projects, or any part of these projects, cannot be imposed upon any community, without the consent and approval of the local governing body.

Mr. PASTORE. That is absolutely correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator is aware that there is another provision in the Housing Act. It was included at my insistence, at the conference in connection with the 1965 Housing and Urban Development bill. It provides as follows, and it relates to rental of private existing housing for public housing purposes:

> The provisions of this section shall not apply to any locality unless the governing body of the locality has by resolution approved the application of such provisions to such locality.

Mr. PASTORE. That is correct; but that is in the Housing Act.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is in the Housing Act, but it is similar to the provision in the bill just passed. I merely call attention to the analogy.

Mr. PASTORE. It amounts to approximately the same thing.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD telegrams I have received with respect to this proposal.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senator JOHN SPARKMAN,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Eight hundred and forty-nine members of the Alabama State Homebuilders Association urge you to support funding of rent supplement programs Wednesday.

Rent supplement program is private enterprise and private home builder's last, best chance to provide good housing for low-income families under local government, not Federal public housing.

Your support is essential for private enterprise and all home builders.

THEO M. COMPTON,
President Alabama State Homebuilders Association.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.,
April 26, 1966.

Hon. JOHN SPARKMAN,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

The Alabama Real Estate Association supports the rent supplement program and hopes you will lend every effort toward having the Senate appropriate sufficient funds to make it workable.

FRANK E. BUTLER, Jr., *President.*

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
April 26, 1966.

Hon. JOHN SPARKMAN,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Strongly urge you support restoration of funds for FHA rent supplement program. Our association sincerely believes this program is far superior to public housing. Will be privately owned, subject to full local taxation and financed in private unsubsidized market. We are convinced that program will be far less costly than publicly owned tax-exempt public housing. FHA rent supplement program deserves chance to prove that it is effective device for housing low-income families.

JOHN C. WILLIAMSON,
National Association of Real Estate Boards.

ATLANTA, GA.,
April 27, 1966.

Senator JOHN SPARKMAN,
U.S. Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Private enterprise along with all of our members in your State and throughout the United States are in full support of the administration rent supplement bill now before Senate. We urge your support of this bill as your vote will be a vote for the poor people of the United States.

Q. V. WILLIAMSON,
President, National Association of Real Estate Brokers, Inc.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
April 26, 1966.

Hon. JOHN J. SPARKMAN,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

We strongly urge your support of the motion to authorize initial appropriations to fund the essential rent supplement program for low-income families in accordance with the President's request.

NATHANIEL S. KEITH,
President, National Housing Conference.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.,
April 26, 1966.

Senator JOHN SPARKMAN,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Recommend a vote for rent supplement bill. Failure of this bill prevents nonprofit corporations building homes for the poor under title 221B.

Father PAUL DOWNEY,
Lady of Fatima Church.

Mr. PASTORE. I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 5, after line 17, insert the following:

FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD

LIMITATION ON ADMINISTRATIVE AND NONADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES

Included in the expenses of any functions of supervision which shall be considered as nonadministrative expenses, as stated in the third proviso under this head in the Independent Offices Appropriations Act, 1966, are expenses necessary for special studies of the savings and loan industry to be completed by December 31, 1968, including services as authorized by Section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a) which may be of any duration not beyond such completion date.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, this amendment does not provide for additional money. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board asked that it be authorized, within the law, to use $500,000 for a study of the savings and loan industry. In the beginning, this was opposed by many people within the industry. As a matter of fact, at the executive meeting the committee refused to accept the language, by a vote of the committee on the recommendation of the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, the distinguished Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], because he thought the matter should be considered by his committee. Since then, he has studied the proposal and is convinced that it is a good one. He recommends it and supports the granting of the authority. For that reason I am now proposing this amendment.

I yield to the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I wish to endorse what the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island has said. Unfortunately, I was not informed of this matter, and the information came to me from the national organization, which thought that the investigation was to be punitive in nature. We learned, on the contrary, that it was to be a friendly, constructive investigation.

A panel composed of outstanding men already had been selected. They were in the field of economics, not in the savings and loan or banking business. They were students. They believed that their study could help a rapidly expanding industry.

The savings and loan men are remarkable. They have built millions of homes, and we want to promote their work. I held the matter up when I thought it was not to be a friendly investigation, but I learned that the investigation would be friendly. I found that no Federal appropriation will be involved, but that the industry will use some of its own money, which has been collected from premiums.

I endrose the proposal.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Rhode Island.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a memorandum on the Federal Home Loan Bank Board Special Study.

There being no objection, the memorandum was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMORANDUM ON FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD SPECIAL STUDY—SECOND SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS BILL, 1966

1. The purpose of the proposed special study is to strengthen the savings and loan industry and the legal and regulatory framework within which it functions. The study would cover the following major fields: (a) The structure and operations of the industry with emphasis upon its safety, (b) the supervisory functions of the Board and their streamlining and improvement, and (c) the operations of the bank system in extending advances to member institutions.

It is also anticipated that the role of the industry as a financial intermediary and its position in the money and capital markets, particularly in the light of recent developments, would be evaluated.

2. President Johnson requested Chairman Horne to undertake such a study at the time he asked Mr. Horne to serve as chairman of the Federal home loan bank board.

3. The design of the study and its implementation was worked out by the board in conjunction with the Bureau of the Budget, and an exploration was made to see if economists of first rank could be obtained to advise on and conduct the study. Expressions of willingness to serve on an advisory panel were obtained from Dr. Frederick E. Balderston, University of California (formerly California savings and loan commissioner); Dr. Kermit E. Gordon, the Brookings Institution (formerly Director, Bureau of the Budget); and Prof. John Lintner, Harvard University. A tentative agreement to serve as director of research under the advisory panel was obtained from Prof. Irwin Friend, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. The participation of professional people of this caliber is essential to assure the greatest possible value from the study.

4. When these preliminaries had been completed, the President transmitted, as part of Senate Document No. 85, language to permit such a study to be conducted by the Board as part of its nonadministrative expenses. No appropriation of funds is involved, but simply the inclusion of this study under the existing limitations on expenditures of funds available to the Board for nonadministrative expenses.

5. It is understood that the Senate Subcommittee on Deficiencies and Supplements recommended adoption by the Committee on Appropriations of language to permit this study, in the form attached hereto as exhibit I.

6. The Senate Committee on Appropriations, in Report No. 1137 to accompany H.R. 14012, noted that: "At the request of the Committee on Banking and Currency, the committee denies the request without prejudice in order to allow consideration of this request by that committee."

7. Conducting of this study, in accordance with the request of the President, does not require new substantive legislation, but merely its inclusion through amendment in the existing language of limitation on Board nonadministrative expenses.

8. The chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee is urged to request or permit floor amendment of the second supplemental appropriations bill to include the language approved by the Appropriations Subcommittee and state that, having received further information bearing on the matter, its previous objection is withdrawn.

Included in the expenses of any functions of supervision which shall be considered as nonadministrative expenses, as stated in the third proviso under this head in the Independent Offices Appropriations Act, 1966, are expenses necessary for special studies of the savings and loan industry to be completed by December 31, 1968, including services as authorized by section 15 of the act of August 2, 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a) which may be of any duration not beyond such completion date.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I send to the desk another amendment and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 33, line 7, after "$38,000" insert the following: "to be derived by transfer from the appropriation for 'Registration and voting statistics', Bureau of the Census, fiscal year 1966."

Mr. PASTORE. This is a conforming amendment. It is noncontroversial, and I move its adoption.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, a question arose about the language with regard to the Teacher Corps.

A statement was made by Mr. Howe on page 185 of the transcript of hearings on the second supplemental appropriations bill, and I should like to find out if the Senator in charge of the bill agrees with the statement made by Mr. Howe.

Mr. Howe was asked whether the payment of these funds that were indicated in the appropriation would be used during the training period for the payment of teachers' salaries.

Mr. Howe responded:

> Our interpretation has been that the intent of the House was to have this language apply to payment of full salaries of teachers once they have gone into actual operation in a local school district and not to extend to the payment stipend while in training. That has been our interpretation and that was the basis for our earlier statement to you.

Senator PASTORE said: "I realize that."

Is that the interpretation of the Senator in charge of the bill?

Mr. PASTORE. That is my understanding.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. I have nothing further. I thank the Senator.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, there are several worthy items in this second supplemental appropriation bill which I recognize the need for and fully support. These meritorious items include additional funds for veterans' readjustment benefits, supplemental funds for vocational education and vocational student loan insurance fund, and additional badly needed funds for payments to federally impacted school districts under Public Law 874.

If these items were presented in a separate bill, there would be no hesitancy on my part in supporting them. However, on balance, considering the very undesirable items in this bill as a whole, I must vote against it.

I am particularly disappointed that the Senate failed to follow the recommendation of the Appropriations Committee in denying funds for the rent subsidy program. The Appropriations Committee exhibited much wisdom in denying funds for this program, after considering it very carefully and at some length in both open hearings and executive session. I opposed the legislation authorizing this program and I cannot support the appropriation now contained in this bill for the rent subsidies.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open for further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment of the amendments and the third reading of the bill.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass? On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS], and the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] would each vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] is absent because of death in his immediate family, and, if present and voting, would vote "yea."

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. BOGGS], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE] are detained on official business and, if present and voting, would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 72, nays 12, as follows:

[No. 70 Leg.]

YEAS—72

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Bartlett
Bass
Bayh
Brewster
Burdick
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Church
Clark
Cooper
Curtis
Dominick
Douglas
Ervin
Fong
Fulbright
Gore
Hart
Hartke
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Moss
Murphy
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Robertson
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Symington
Talmadge
Tower
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NAYS—12

Bennett
Cotton
Dirksen
Eastland
Fannin
Hickenlooper
Miller
Mundt
Simpson
Stennis
Thurmond
Williams, Del.

NOT VOTING—16

Bible
Boggs
Byrd, Va.
Carlson
Case
Dodd
Ellender
Gruening
Harris
Hayden
McNamara
Neuberger
Russell, S.C.
Russell, Ga.
Saltonstall
Smathers

So the bill (H.R. 14012) was passed.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments, request a conference with the House of Representatives thereon, and that the conferees on the part of the Senate be appointed by the Chair.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair appoints the following conferees: Senators PASTORE, HOLLAND, HAYDEN, RUSSELL of Georgia, ELLENDER, HILL, YOUNG of North Dakota, SALTONSTALL, and MUNDT.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that in the engrossment of the bill, H.R. 14012 the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to make technical and typographical corrections.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, with the passage of the second supplemental appropriation which includes the funding of the rent supplement program and the Teachers Corps through the end of this fiscal year, the Senate today witnessed an exemplary demonstration of great skill and undaunted conviction by the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] whose flawless management of the measure, more than anything, assured success.

But the highly able handling of the measure was only typical of the chairman of the Subcommittee on Deficiencies and Supplementals. For when he backs a measure he does so with all of his boundless energy, with all of his superb eloquence, and with all of his able capacities. Today's success is ample testimony to the great achievements which can be obtained when those capacities are devoted to a single objective. Success is a certainty and the Senate is grateful indeed.

But, as is usually the case, many, many Senators are to be commended for their vigorous support and their fine contributions to today's success. Among them are the distinguished Senators from New York [Mr. JAVITS] and Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], both of whom were strong and articulate in their support. Similarly the Senators from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE], Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] and Oregon [Mr. MORSE] backed the measure with their typically able advocacy.

Moreover, the Senators from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] and Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON] earned high marks for their splendid efforts in its behalf.

And to those Senators who rose to oppose the supplemental or parts of the appropriation or to question its effect we owe our gratitude for their selflessness and cooperation in assisting to bring unimpeded and orderly Senate action. I am referring to the ranking minority member of the subcommittee, the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG], to both Senators from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT and Mr. DOMINICK], to the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] and, of course, to the astute minority leader [Mr. DIRKSEN].

To the Senate as a whole I express my sincere thanks for the cooperation they have afforded the leadership in expediting this measure.

THE HANFORD DUAL-PURPOSE REACTOR

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, start-up of the 800,000-kilowatt Hanford atomic steamplant April 8 represents a victory for perseverance over adversity, for conservation over waste, and for the cooperative approach to developing our region's resources.

This is a significant and important step in putting the resources of the atom to work for the citizens of the State of Washington and the Nation. The Hanford dual-purpose nuclear steamplant, which is the world's largest atomic powerplant, began producing the first of an eventual 800,000 kilowatts of power which will be integrated into the Bonneville system. When this facility went on the line, it was a victory for conservation over waste, for the cooperative approach to resource development, and for perseverance in the face of many disappointments.

The history of the Hanford dual-purpose plant began in 1958, when Congress authorized the new production reactor—NPR. It was intended that convertibility features would be built into this plutonium-producing facility so that byproduct steam could be used to produce electric power.

In 1961, the northwest congressional delegation, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and others, asked Congress to provide funds for a Federal steam plant to use this byproduct steam for the production of electric power. There was strong objection to this proposal from other congressional delegations.

At that point, a group of public utility districts in my State of Washington, organized as the Washington Public Power Supply System, came forward with a proposal to finance, construct and operate the plant. This plan did not involve the use of Federal funds. What it did use was the steam produced at the federally operated Hanford plant to add 800,000 kilowatts of power—more than the output of Bonneville Dam—to the power supply of the Northwest.

On August 1, 1962, the Senate passed the AEC's authorization bill which contained an authorization for the Hanford generating plant. A conference committee with the House retained the steam plant authorization; and the conference report was accepted on September 14, 1962.

Passage of the authorization represented a victory for the supporters of Hanford in the Congress, for the WPPSS, and for its able managing director, Owen W. Hurd. Passage, in addition, has given the people of the Northwest a valuable power asset, which was obtained by the perseverance of those who labored to make Hanford a reality.

VICTORY FOR CONSERVATION

The generation of power from Hanford this month also represented a victory for conservation. Production of plutonium inevitably creates, as a byproduct, vast quantities of steam. The steam could have been wasted into the Columbia River—thereby raising the temperature of the water and raising the possibility of damage to fish resources—or it could be harnessed to produce electricity.

Because it is being harnessed, we are making good public use of a valuable resource, and the U.S. Treasury will receive in payments for this byproduct steam a large portion of the cost of the new production reactor.

It has been estimated that, if Hanford's NPR continues to produce plutonium for the next 24 years, WPPSS will pay the Atomic Energy Commission some $125 million for the byproduct steam—$125 million out of the total cost of the NPR of $195 million. So the power users in the Northwest will be making an important contribution to the Treasury by using electricity from Hanford.

Owen Hurd and WPPSS deserve congratulations, not only for having financed and built this giant plant, but also for having done so at about $20 million under the original cost estimates. The costs of Hanford's output are being averaged into rates charged by Bonneville Power Administration which is marketing the power under a three-way agreement, and this $20 million savings will have an important impact upon power costs in the region.

COOPERATIVE APPROACH TO RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

This three-way agreement is unique. The output of Hanford will go not only to the 16-member utility districts of WPPSS but to 76 electric utilities, 71 publicly owned, and 5 privately owned. Bonneville will deliver the power over its backbone grid system. This represents an important step toward greater cooperation among the utilities which serve the electric consumers of the Pacific Northwest, and one which will have important ramifications for the future.

This is also one of the outstanding examples of cooperation in a region that is far ahead of the Nation in practical and harmonious relations between public and private power. Supplying the region's needs for electric energy has evolved in a cooperative effort involving, first, the Federal agencies which construct and operate multipurpose water resource projects, second, BPA, which serves as the transmission and marketing agent for these Federal projects, and third, the region's 112 electric utilities, which include publicly, cooperatively, and privately owned systems. This diversity of ownership avoids the crippling effects of monopoly and is more responsive to public and consumer interest. It allows each segment of the industry to have a voice in decisions, to demonstrate what it can contribute, and to provide a system of checks and balances. The pattern that has evolved allows each segment to do what it can do best, thereby providing the most efficient and economic overall operation.

FUTURE THERMAL GENERATION

Our area will have to begin adding large amounts of thermal generation within less than the next 10 years in order to keep up with fast-moving residential and industrial loads.

Bonneville Administrator Charles F. Luce, in a recent speech to the Northwest Public Power Association, declared that if all of the presently authorized, licensed, or recommended hydro projects are constructed on present schedules, the region will be able to meet its load growth only through 1975–76. So by 1975 the region must seek sources of electricity in addition to hydro—at the rate of about 1.5 million kilowatts per year.

This means steamplants; plants fired by coal from Cle Elum, Centralia, Montana, or Canada, or by atomic fuel. These plants increasingly will carry the base load, take care of the 24-hour needs of the people, while stored water behind the hydro plants will be released at times of peak need. This will make hydroelectric peaking power more valuable than ever before.

But if we are contemplating the addition of a million and a half kilowatts of power each year after 1975, clearly atomic power is going to account for a large share of this capacity.

Presently, the people of the Northwest, because of an abundance of hydroelectric sites, are enjoying the benefits of low-cost power in abundant quantities. This power has enabled us to meet the needs of population and industrial growth. In the future, according to the recent National Power Survey of the Federal Power Commission, reductions in the cost of processing nuclear fuels and building costs will make nuclear generation competitive in nearly all parts of the country. The citizens of the Northwest, and of the Nation, will continue to enjoy the benefits of reasonably priced power as the challenges of growth are met.

The Hanford dual-purpose project is also a hopeful step in utilizing facilities which had as their initial purpose the building of our Nation's defense. If the nuclear nations of the world ever agree on a disarmament plan which would suspend the production of material used in the producing of nuclear weapons, the Hanford plant will still be generating electrical power for peaceful purposes.

This makes the Hanford project a pioneer installation, and one which will have important lessons for us in the Northwest as new nuclear plants reach the drawing boards. With the coming of new methods of generation, more cooperation and imaginative planning will be required if the power needs of the future are to be met. Hanford is a most important step in continuing the highest use of our national resources.

Moreover, the pattern of cooperative development exemplified by the Hanford atomic steamplant may well prove to be our most valuable asset in accomplishing the monumental tasks ahead. I am proud to be a part of this team.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, at 5:52 p.m., Friday, April 8, the first power from the Hanford Steam Electric Generating Plant flowed into the Bonneville Power Administration system. It was only 25,000 kilowatts, but even that small initial amount meant that the Hanford plant was "go." Today, 200,000 kilowatts are flowing continuously into the Bonneville system. By this fall the amount will be the full 800,000-kilowatt capacity of the plant, or the equivalent of two Bonneville dams.

The Hanford atomic steamplant marks the fruition of years of effort to assure another peaceful use for the awesome might of the atom that buttresses our Nation's defense. It marks the fulfillment of the hopes and faith of the people of the Northwest, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Bonneville Power Administration, the Washington Public Power Supply System and the Congress that the byproduct steam of the new production reactor at Hanford need not be wasted, but instead used for the benefit of man. And, in many ways, it is a turning point in the power history of the Northwest.

First, the Hanford plant assures that the Pacific Northwest will not face a firm power shortage next fall and winter. The power supply situation in the region during the 1966–67 water season will be touch and go. Under critical water conditions, only with Hanford can the firm power demands on the BPA system be met, and even then certain emergency steps will have to be taken. If water conditions are median, the Hanford plant also will make it possible for BPA to serve its interruptible loads through the year.

Second, the Hanford plant has opened a new era of industrial growth in the region—industrial expansion that might have gone abroad but for the assured supply of low-cost power that Hanford provides. I recall that in 1961 BPA had large surpluses of firm power that it would have liked to sell to industries—and industries were knocking at the BPA door. But this surplus of power was only temporary—it had to be held for load growth of preference customers because there was no new power scheduled to come on the line in time to meet that load growth. Only Hanford could be brought on the line in time, and there was great hope that if Hanford were approved it would free some of the then-surplus power for industrial growth.

I recall the consternation and discouragement that hit BPA's potential industrial customers when our efforts failed in 1961 to gain authorization for a Federal steamplant to utilize the byproduct steam from the NPR. Industrial inquiries fell off to zero as industries made plans to go elsewhere for lack of Northwest power. Some, in fact, went abroad.

Then, in 1962, when Congress approved the arrangement by which Washington Public Power Supply System would finance, build, and operate the steamplant through agreements with the AEC and BPA, there was a dramatic upturn in industrial interest in the Pacific Northwest. Industries took the authorization not only as assurance of a limited amount of firm power available for them, but also as a sign that the Federal power system was going to grow again and that there would be more power available for industry.

Industrial inquiries multiplied. Then came completion of the Canadian Treaty and several new Federal hydro starts. As a result, in the past 3 years, BPA has contracted or committed more than 1 million kilowatts of firm power to industry—the greatest industrial spurt in the history of BPA.

Third, the Hanford atomic steamplant is the first large steamplant whose operation is being integrated into the all-hydro-operation of the Columbia River power system for which BPA markets power. Thus it is a pioneer plant not only in terms of its dual purpose nature, but also in terms of utility operations in the Pacific Northwest.

Fourth, and finally, the Hanford atomic steamplant marks the start of the transition of the Pacific Northwest from an all-hydropower operation to a combination of steamplants to carry baseload growth and hydro for peaking. By 1975, approximately, all the region's economic hydro to carry baseload will have been developed. Economic hydro for peaking purposes can be installed until about the year 2000. By 1975 the region's load growth will be about 1.5 million kilowatts on peak and about 900,000 kilowatts of average energy. By 1975, then, the region will need the equivalent of a new Hanford atomic steamplant, or more, every year.

This will be a difficult transition, and the experience our region gains from integrating the output of the Hanford atomic steamplant into its hydropower operation will prove most valuable.

I am pleased to join my colleagues in both the Senate and the House to congratulate Owen Hurd and the Washington Public Power Supply System, Charles F. Luce and the Bonneville Power Administration, and the 76 participating privately and publicly owned utilities on this historic occasion, and to thank my colleagues in both Houses for their foresight and wisdom in authorizing this, the world's largest atomic steamplant.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, it is my pleasure to join with my good friends, the distinguished Senators from the State of Washington, in proper recognition of the national contribution which the Hanford atomic steamplant is now making.

This tremendous installation, which is the world's largest of its kind, represents impressive evidence to all the world of the great gift to peace and industry which the atom is capable of rendering. There is more involved here than just another source of power for the Northwest. The huge production which will be realized will be an important addition to the power available to the intertie system. It will augment the power capability of the Northwest to meet its growing needs at a cost which will insure the future prosperity of industry in the area. It comes at a time when the hydroelectric resources are being tapped nearly to capacity.

My own State of Nevada looks forward to the beneficial effects of the intertie system and to the peaceful uses of atomic energy of which Hanford is an integral part.

The experience which will be gained by integrating the output of the atomic steamplant with the hydroelectric power will be most valuable and useful to the entire Nation.

The success of this project is also a tribute to the excellent work of my distinguished colleagues from the State of Washington who have labored long and diligently to make it a reality.

Senator JACKSON first introduced the pioneering legislation in 1950 while he was in the House and, through his association with the subject, as a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, has been in a position to exploit the opportunity that existed.

Senator MAGNUSON also has rendered enormous service in shepherding this project by means of his important and invaluable assistance in the appropriations field.

I have no doubt that the great benefits which will accrue from this impressive source of atomic energy will benefit all of the West and, indeed, contribute toward the economic strength of the entire Nation.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I want to add my remarks to those of other members of the Commerce Committee, which has a particular interest in the question of electric power through its jurisdiction over the Federal Power Commission, concerning the production of electricity by the Hanford, Washington, nuclear reactor.

The Hanford dual-purpose reactor is the world's largest atomic steamplant. Its first nuclear-produced electricity surged into the northwest power pool at 5:52 p.m. on Friday, April 8, an event which has been precisely noted because it may truly be called an historic occasion.

When the power of the atom was first revealed in all its fury, the prospect of harnessing its tremendous forces for peaceful use was only a dream of the future. Since then the skill of scientists and the dedication of both public and private leadership have brought the dream to fulfillment. There is no longer any question of practicality, whether it be in the powering of nuclear submarines or the production of electricity. In this development there has been the closest of cooperation between the Government and the private sector.

Our hope for the future in the realm of the atom is not in the mushroom cloud but in the transformation of the lethal to the useful, of megatons to kilowatts. It is for this reason that the new step forward accomplished by the event noted today is one worth noting. For surely it is as great a step to turn the atom's awesome energy into power, heat, and light as it is to beat swords into plowshares.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, it is especially pleasant to be able to celebrate today the victory which the consumers won in 1962 with authorization of the Hanford project of Washington public power supply system.

I am one of those who supported a Federal steam facility at Hanford. When it was impossible to obtain authorization for a Federal plant, the Washington public utilities districts came up with a feasible alternative which I was happy to support. The Hanford plant not only is the largest nuclear powerplant in the world, it is also a major addition to the power system of the Pacific Northwest, with its output available to all of the region's utilities, public and private. This month it began putting power into the Bonneville Power Administration system.

It is a little ironical that the Montana Power Co. is one of the leading participants in the Hanford project today, after opposing its authorization back in 1962.

I am aware that the private utilities in the Northwest tried to project an image of neutrality on this issue—while the national private utility lobby was going all out to beat Hanford in Congress—but they did not entirely succeed in covering up their secret opposition.

Now that Hanford power has been contracted to Montana Power Co., I think it is interesting to look back at a meeting of the Pacific Northwest Electric Light & Power Association back in September of 1961.

As reported by Walter Mattila in the Portland Reporter of September 25, 1961, the private power convention brought an end to "the long silence of the Northwest private power utilities in their national lobby's fight against the Hanford atomic power project."

It was George O'Connor, vice president of Montana Power who broke the silence for his private power colleagues as he told the convention:

> A courageous and forthright position by the electric utility industry has its reward in the fact that the House of Representatives repeatedly, in spite of the exertion of tremendous pressure from many sources, refused to permit the Government to go into the thermal generation of power at the Hanford atomic plant.

Mr. O'Connor took a few swipes at the generation and transmission loan program of the Rural Electrification Administration, and then called for a united front by the utilities to fight "Government competition."

So I am happy that Mr. O'Connor and his friends at Montana Power have seen the light and decided that power generated by a group of customer-owned electric utilities, using steam provided by the Federal atomic plant, is not contaminated by its public ownership.

When a group of private power companies in the Northwest get together to build a generating plant—as in the case of the Mountain Sheep project, for example—there are no kilowatts available to other utilities. But when the public agencies of Washington State produce low-cost power, it is made available to all. This emphasizes to me the importance of maintaining a pluralistic electric industry through a good, strong, public power segment.

Montana Power Co. will not allow any municipal utilities or other local public power agencies to be formed in my State—although rural electric cooperatives have managed to survive.

I am glad to have some vigorous public agencies in our neighboring State of Washington, developing resources and providing low-cost power at the wholesale level. Perhaps some day the consumers of Montana Power Co. will be able to enjoy some of the benefits of public power through something other than the "trickle down" theory.

I particularly want to congratulate Owen Hurd and the other leaders of Washington public power supply system for making the Hanford powerplant possible. I know that the project came into being only after a long, hard, and often discouraging fight. That makes the victory even greater.

NUCLEAR POWER AND THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the Pacific Northwest has produced the first power from the world's largest nuclear powerplant at Hanford, and I believe we should look at this accomplishment not only as an important technological "first," but also as a turning point in the electric system of the Pacific Northwest.

Hanford is the region's first major thermal generating unit, being introduced into a power complex that up to now has relied almost exclusively upon the rich hydroelectric resources of the region.

Does Hanford mean that the Northwest's hydro development is coming to an end?

I would answer "No" to that question. But Hanford certainly presages a change in the manner of hydro development in the future. I believe that it will make it more important than ever to develop our remaining sites, since under a large, integrated, mixed hydro and thermal system, the thermal plants, both atomic and coal-fired, will be used to carry the base load, the 24-hour demands of the region, and water can be released through the hydro plants at times of peak needs. So-called "peaking" power is more valuable to a utility, and generally more expensive, than round-the-clock power. Under these circumstances, the Northwest has many hydro sites which can be developed at a cost which will be economical for peaking power, if not for base load purposes.

Alex Radin, general manager of the American Public Power Association, made this point very convincingly in a speech to the Northwest Public Power Association at Port Angeles, Wash., recently.

He pointed out that a fourfold increase in power needs is expected in the Northwest by 1980, as compared to 1960 loads. Of this 1980 load, Washington is expected to account for 52 percent, Oregon around 31 percent, and Idaho, Utah, and Montana the remainder. The utilities in the Northwest will have to plan for this huge increase in generating capacity, and much of it may be nuclear power.

Pacific Northwest utilities will be "writing on a clean slate," he pointed out. The Northwest has no present pattern of thermal generation and there is no necessity for compromising optimum plans to fit existing plants. And he added:

> The opportunity to apply the principles of comprehensive development which you founded and fostered in the area of river basin development is a challenge to your planning ingenuity—a talent which you have repeatedly demonstrated with such achievements as the Hanford project, the Columbia River Power Exchange, and the Northwest-Southwest intertie.

Although cooperation and coordination with the Bonneville Power Administration is a foregone conclusion, Mr. Radin told the public power representatives, much of the initiative and implementation will depend upon the public utility districts and municipal electric systems.

"Build big" is the lesson we have learned from our experience with nuclear power to date, Mr. Radin said, adding that this is an advantage to the Northwest. He said:

> Not every region can construct giant generation. Political, legal and geographical barriers may get in the way. But in the Northwest you have the obvious advantage of an integrated regional power system laced together with an extra-high voltage transmission system available for common use and operated under coordinated control. You have major hydroelectric facilities which can supply massive blocks of peaking power in the future. You have a large load and relatively rapid growth. Your region possesses the large land area and the cooling water supplies necessary to permit construction of major nuclear power facilities. In short, you are a dream candidate for the introduction of huge atomic stations.

Hanford, therefore, can serve as a training ground for the builders and operators of the huge nuclear powerplants of the future. The lessons which are learned at Hanford may substantially affect the future course of the Northwest's power economy.

Mr. Radin raised some questions which I believe we will have to consider as the Northwest begins to shift from an all-hydro to a combination power system.

How will the output of future thermal plants be marketed? Today, local public agencies throughout the Northwest have access to Federal power via the Bonneville Power Administration. They are accorded a preference in the sale of such power in accordance with longstanding Federal law. What happens to the preference clause when non-Federal entities assume an increasingly significant share of the bulk power supply? Can such power be marketed through BPA? Will owners of thermal stations pull back on BPA power and release their share to smaller systems? If so, what happens when the load growth outruns this supply? Is it possible to create a non-Federal regional agency in which all utilities can "buy a piece of the action"?

What protection can be afforded to insure that a few generating giants do not monopolize the benefits of bigness? How do you preserve the "competition by comparison" which has furnished a yardstick which continues to help consumers enjoy the advantage of low-cost power? Will the owners and operators of thermal additions adopt the mandate of the Bonneville Act that facilities "be operated for the benefit of the general public" and that rates shall be "reasonable and nondiscriminatory" and encourage "the widest possible diversified use of electric energy"? What kind of utility responsibility will these suppliers have toward those to whom they sell?

These are some of the questions raised by the spokesman for the public power systems, and they are questions which will need to be answered as we approach the completion of major hydro developments. I ask unanimous consent that the full text of Mr. Radin's remarks on "Nuclear Power and the Northwest" be included in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I would like to point out that we must move promptly ahead with hydrodevelopment in the region, since it will become increasingly valuable as peaking energy, as the years go by.

The Washington Public Power Supply System has done a commendable job of pooling the resources of many small utilities to undertake tasks worthy of the giants of the industry. The Packwood Lake hydroproject of WPPSS has been completed, and now the great Hanford nuclear plant is coming on the line. This is one type of cooperative development for regional planning, and I am sure that other patterns will develop.

The important task will be to coordinate the building of future generating plants in such a manner as to protect the region's resources and to bring greatest benefit to its people. Owen Hurd and the other WPPSS people have demonstrated their determination to go forward in coordination with the Federal power system, and I hope and trust that all of the uitilities in the region will follow this route in the future.

Exhibit 1

Nuclear Power and the Northwest

(Remarks of Alex Radin, general manager, American Public Power Association, Washington, D.C., at the 26th annual convention of the Northwest Public Power Association, Port Angeles, Wash., April 6, 1966)

This year the Pacific Northwest will bring on the line the world's largest nuclear powerplant. The unique Hanford project represents not only a conservation victory in putting waste heat to work. It is also a symbolic first step in the introduction of a major block of thermal power into what is basically an all-hydroregional generating complex.

Will future steam station additions consist of nuclear units? If so, how large will they be? Who will build them? When will they be constructed? Where will such plants be located? How will they be integrated into the existing system? What will these projects cost in terms of power prices?

The answers to these questions will depend—in whole or in part—on you, and the answers you give will be vital to the future of each of the utilities represented here, and to all the people of the Northwest. I would therefore like to discuss with you today some of the factors you might consider as you make the decisions which will determine the shape of this next stage in the electrical development of the Northwest, and in the progress of your region.

FPC's "National Power Survey" predicts that in 1980 the Northwest's loads will total 40 million kilowatts—a fourfold increase over 1960. The survey suggests that Washington will account for around 52 percent of the 1980 load (half of which is in the Puget Sound area), and Oregon around 31 percent, with the remainder distributed throughout Idaho, Utah, and Montana.

FPC projections indicate that by 1980 the power supply for the Northwest will include about 2,400,000 kilowatts of conventional steam capacity (6.1 percent of the total), and about 4,400,000 kilowatts of nuclear capacity (11.1 percent of the total). The remainder will be hydroelectric capacity. Among the possible combinations of thermal units, FPC considered nuclear power in major units located on the lower Columbia River and in the Puget Sound area, construction of a large generating plant in the area of the Cle Elum coalfields, transportation of coal by unit train from Cle Elum to several plants in the load areas along Pudget Sound, and construction of major mine-mouth facilities in Wyoming with delivery to load centers in southern Idaho displacing power from Snake River sources which could then be moved north and west to Oregon and Washington load areas or transmission via extra-high-voltage lines directly to principal distribution points in the Northwest network. In addition, importation of steampower from other areas and the future role of natural gas as a Northwest fuel may deserve consideration.

My comments on thermal generation in the Pacific Northwest are not premised on the idea that you are witnessing the final stages of hydroelectric development in this region. In addition to the installation of new generators in existing dams and the expansion of present projects, there are numerous sites throughout the Northwest which remain worthy of development. Even in the face of increasing costs and decreasing economic feasibility these sites can stand on their own feet and when integrated into the Columbia River power system can provide substantial benefits.

Furthermore, the opportunity to develop low-cost hydrosites is not limited to the confines of the Pacific Northwest. FPC studies do not reflect the possibility of importing hydroelectric power from Alaska. In noting this omission, the "National Power Survey" declared:

"Studies should be made, however, of the possibilities of utilizing Alaska's large hydroelectric power potential for local use and for future export to the Pacific Northwest under arrangements mutually beneficial to Canada and the United States. Some Alaskan sites could be developed to produce large amounts of power at costs estimated to range from 2 to 2.5 mills per kilowatt-hour at points of generation, based on Federal financing."

Five of the most favorable Alaskan sites could alone provide more than 10 million kilowatts of hydroelectric capacity, the FPC pointed out. As you know, studies by the Department of the Interior made in connection with creation of the Northwest-Southwest intertie suggested that direct-current techniques would permit transmission of Alaskan power 1,800 miles to the Northwest at reasonable cost.

Even closer to home, although more limited in potential, importation of surplus hydroelectric power from Canada provides further opportunity to supplement Northwest generating capacity. The North American Water and Power Alliance would insure development of power potential in both Alaska and Canada to the advantage of the Northwest.

Discussion of these various alternatives is beyond the scope of my time and my topic today. But, I would like to speak briefly about some of the factors which will affect planning for introduction of further nuclear units into the Northwest. First, I would like to make a few general observations.

NO ECONOMICALLY COMPETITIVE NUCLEAR PLANTS OPERATING TODAY

There are no economically competitive commercial nuclear power plants operating in the United States at the present time. While there are 13 operable nuclear power plants in this country, their size ranges from 10,000 kilowatts to 200,000 kilowatts, and the total combined capacity is about 1 million kilowatts. Recent studies indicate that the average investment cost in these reactors is about $200 per kilowatt. There is difficulty in determining average power costs because of the experimental nature of some of these plants, the presence of Federal subsidies, and variations in the type of financing, but 9 mills per kilowatt-hour is a reasonable figure.

A "second generation" of nuclear plants with a total capacity of approximately 2,800,000 kilowatts is under construction. These are principally pressurized or boiling "light" water reactors and are distinguished by an increase in size to 400–500,000 kilowatts of capacity.

Some 15 additional nuclear plants with an aggregate capacity of 10 million kilowatts are currently contemplated to begin production around the end of the decade. They range in size up to nearly 900,000 kilowatts.

While there is always a necessity to probe behind projected cost figures for particular projects to determine the validity of average power cost figures for nuclear plants, frequently quoted figures today for proposed large atomic stations approach $100 per kilowatt of capacity and are below 4 mills per kilowatt-hour.

SIZE IMPORTANT IN COST DETERMINATIONS

Size plays a dominant role in these cost estimates. This fact is readily apparent from present published price lists which show a $240 per kilowatt price tag for a 100,000 kilowatt turnkey nuclear plant and a $107 per kilowatt figure for a 1 million kilowatt station. These cost computations are reflective of the fact that many construction expenses for basic components are similar for either large or small plants.

While the turn to nuclear power over fossil-fired plants in many parts of the country has been widely publicized, it should be pointed out that the advent of the atomic age poses problems which not yet been entirely solved. As far as operating plants go, we are still in the first-of-a-kind stage, and bugs remain to be worked out through construction and operating experience. Nuclear power is unique in that its waste product possesses properties which pose long-term physical and genetic dangers to the general public and require unusual monitoring and control techniques plus special disposal practices which are still in the process of perfection. Economics of nuclear power are in a state of flux because of inadequate experience, and salesmanship rather than statistics continues to influence many cost projections. Some essential elements of nuclear power cost calculations remain cloudy, including the ultimate cost of reprocessing fuel, the long-term availability of reasonably priced domestic uranium, and the price for plutonium produced as a byproduct of fission. Furthermore, while it is necessary to plan now for power facilities to be built a decade away, the rapid rise of nuclear power from a scientists' scheme to a practical powerplant in less than 20 years suggests that we must keep an eye on other developments in the field of generation which may appear exotic now but could introduce a new engineering era.

But as electric utilities you are faced now with the practical problems of planning for the introduction of 1 million kilowatts of thermal power a year into the region's generating system beginning within the next decade, and it appears likely that much of this will be nuclear capacity. I would like to suggest these points for your consideration:

NUCLEAR POWER PRESENTS UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY FOR NORTHWEST

1. Your opportunity in tackling this job is truly unique. You will be writing on a clean slate. The Northwest has no present pattern of thermal generation. You are not faced with the necessity of compromising optimum plans to fit existing facts in this particular field. The opportunity to apply the principles of comprehensive development which you founded and fostered in the area of river basin development is a challenge to your planning ingenuity—a talent which you have repeatedly demonstrated with such achievements as the creation of this organization and the Washington PUD Association, the development of your own individual utilities, the creation of a regional operating entity in the Washington Public Power Supply System, and the successful prosecution of projects such as Hanford, the Columbia River Power Exchange, and the Northwest-Southwest intertie.

I think that it is worth noting that this challenge differs in a rather fundamental way from some of the tasks you have taken on in the past. In this case, basic responsibility does not presently lie with the Federal power marketing personnel. Although cooperation and coordination with the Bonneville Power Administration is a foregone conclusion, much of the initiative and implementation will depend on you and your associates. Patterns of the past might be more desirable but it is necessary to face the facts of the future. If the right kind of job is to be accomplished—if your region's low-cost power is to be preserved—if the permanent public interest in the production of electricity is to be properly protected, will probably depend, in the last analysis, on the people in this room.

2. If there is one single lesson to learn from experience with nuclear power to date it is: build big. The key to low-cost power in this decade is in realizing the economies of scale and applying them to the reciprocal rule of promoting increased consumer use of electricity.

Not every region can construct giant generation. Political, legal, and geographical barriers may get in the way. But in the Northwest you have the obvious advantage of an integrated regional power system laced together with an extra-high voltage transmission system available for common use and operated under coordinated control. You have major hydroelectric facilities which can supply massive blocks of peaking power in the future. You have a large load and relatively rapid growth. Your region possesses the large land area and the cooling water supplies necessary to permit construction of major nuclear power facilities. In short, you are a dream candidate for the introduction of huge atomic stations.

But if you are to build big, you must first think big. The mistakes of the past in the electric industry have usually been errors of conservatism in planning.

PUBLIC AGENCIES HAVE ADVANTAGE OF LOWER FIXED CHARGES

3. A clear benefit in construction of nuclear power plants exists for local public power in the form of fixed charges which are lower than those of private power companies. Atomic stations are capital sensitive. The cost of reactor vessels, containment features, biological shielding, monitoring equipment, fuel cores, plus siting, engineering, and licensing, come high. The major projected saving is in the anticipated fuel cycle costs. Thus, it is desirable to minimize the cost of building a nuclear plant in order to keep down the price of power produced. For this reason the financial structure of the nuclear power plant owner becomes significant. "First costs" tend to dominate nuclear power and therefore economy favors the utility system with the lowest fixed charges.

For instance, 14 percent fixed charges on a $62,500,000 plant operated at 80 percent plant factor contribute 2.5 mills per kilowatt-hour to the final cost of generation. If the fixed costs are only 10 percent, the contribution by fixed charges would be about 1.75 mills per kilowatt-hour, and at 6 percent the contribution would be only slightly greater than 1 mill per kilowatt-hour. These savings can permit a reduction in the price of power either directly or by permitting a greater investment in order to obtain improvement in operating or fuel costs.

Last year in an address before the National Reclamation Association, Paul Shaad, general manager of the Sacramento Municipal Utility District, which is currently considering construction of a large nuclear power plant, pointed out that 4 mills per kilowatt-hour power is forecast from the widely acclaimed Oyster Creek nuclear power plant of Jersey Central, a private power company. He noted predictions that nuclear power generation costs can be expected to drop below 3.5 mills per kilowatt-hour by 1980 as fuel-cycle cost drops to about 1 mill per kilowatt-hour, capital costs drop to $100 per kilowatt, and operating crews are reduced from about 60 to 10 persons.

"All of these studies and predictions are based on privately financed plants and I have no quarrel with this," he said. "But if you will carry through these same studies using municipal or public finance, you will arrive at figures in the 2.5- to 3-mills-per-kilowatt-hour range * * * It is true that these low figures are reached only with relatively large plants working into large loads. But with the advent of EHV transmission and with the existence of such large transmission systems as already exist under Federal sponsorship in the Northwest and the TVA areas, or as planned under private sponsorship by such organizations as WEST and the California Power Pool, the benefits of size can be made available to all."

4. As you know, a number of local publicly owned power systems are already involved in nuclear power projects. In addition to WPPSS, Los Anegles, and Sacramento, the list includes the city of Piqua, Ohio; the Puerto Rico Water Resource Authority; and Consumers Public Power District in Nebraska. These latter three are all demonstration plants built under cooperative arrangements with the Atomic Energy Commission and are relatively small in size. However, all of these systems have accumulated experience which is of potential value to the Pacific Northwest as it considers future nuclear installations. I am confident that they would be pleased to contribute information if requested to do so.

Perhaps of even more significance to your situation here is the recent action of the Tennessee Valley Authority in calling for bids from General Electric and Westinghouse on a nuclear powerplant using a light water reactor and containing one or two generating units of about 1 million kilowatts each. Simultaneously TVA invited bids on one or two conventional units of similar size plus offers on long-term coal contracts. Scheduled date of completion of the plant selected after comparative analysis is 1970. Bids were received on March 29, and are currently under evaluation.

TVA's system is composed of about 12 million kilowatts of coal-fired steam capacity and approximately 4 million kilowatts of hydroelectric capacity, for a total of 16 million kilowatts. Nameplate rating of hydroelectric projects in the Pacific Northwest is roughly comparable in terms of overall capacity, amounting to about 15 million kilowatts at existing dams.

TVA anticipates expanded use of pumped storage and planning is underway for a 1-million-kilowatt plant. Although TVA's pumped storage plans are not dependent on development of nuclear power, James E. Watson, TVA's assistant manager of power, declared recently that "the nuclear prospects fit beautifully into the pump-storage picture." He said: "If things develop the way we now see, a nuclear plant will someday be producing energy incrementally for about a mill per kilowatt-hour. With such low-cost incremental production, it would be a shame to cut back generation during the off-peak night-time hours. With a pump-storage project such low-cost nuclear energy can be used to pump water to a reservoir on the top of a mountain for use the next day to carry peak loads."

QUESTIONS RAISED BY MARKETING PROBLEMS

5. A key question in any coordinated and cooperative program to introduce nuclear power into the Northwest on a major scale is the marketing of the output of such plants. Today local public agencies throughout the region have access to Federal power via the Bonneville Power Administration. They are accorded a preference in the sale of such power in accordance with long-standing Federal law. What happens to the preference clause when non-Federal entities assume an increasingly significant share of the bulk power supply? Can such power be marketed through BPA? Will owners of thermal stations pull back on BPA power and release their share to smaller systems? If so, what happens when load growth outruns this supply? Is it possible to create a non-Federal regional agency in which all utilities can "buy a piece of the action"?

What protection can be afforded to insure that a few generating giants do not monopolize the benefits of bigness? How do you preserve the "competition by comparison" which has furnished a yardstick which continues to help consumers enjoy the advantages of low-cost power? Will the owners and operators of thermal additions adopt the mandate of the Bonneville Act that facilities "be operated for the benefit of the general public," and that rates shall be "reasonable and nondiscriminatory" and encourage "the widest possible diversified use of electric energy"? What kind of utility responsibility will these suppliers have toward those to whom they sell? I think that these are some of the questions which you must consider.

I do not have specific suggestions to answer the questions I have raised. But I do wish to present these thoughts:

(a) TVA has been described as "a corporation clothed with the power of Government but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise." You have already fought the battle of a Columbia Valley Authority, and I am not suggesting an identical approach. The history, character, and other elements unique to a particular region must be considered in fashioning a program for any given area of the country. But it seems to me that the elements contained in the description of TVA which I have cited are significant. Planning requires power if ideas are to be implemented. The final goal is results not only reports. Any agency which takes on the task of coordinated development of thermal power either must be able to carry forward its plans, or be assured that the responsibility will be carried forward by others.

(b) With power there must be responsibility. You have operated for many years with the benefit of the guidelines laid down in the Bonneville Act. The instructions written into the statute are not empty words. They represent a statement of public policy, and they are enforcible. This is surely a key consideration—the ability to assure equity. Any agency which is utilized for embarking upon a vast thermal program for this region likewise should be held accountable to the public for its public service responsibilities.

(c) You should not contemplate a piecemeal approach, but should plan on regional solutions. Once the goals are determined, opportunity for participation should extend regionwide and on a basis of equality consistent with established public policy. To build big, you must build together.

(d) Another factor you should keep in mind is the importance of maximizing the advantages of the Bonneville system. Before this audience it is not necessary for me to dwell on the many benefits of the Bonneville system. Just as you worked with Bonneville at Hanford, it is essential that you work with Bonneville in future thermal projects, so that you and everyone in the region realize the most advantage from the Bonneville system.

For example, I understand that there exists the very real possibility of using the Hanford formula for perhaps as much as 8 million kilowatts of thermal capacity. The Hanford formula may not be the long-range answer to the thermal power needs of this region, but it should very definitely be given careful consideration for the first nuclear units.

I would also stress that it is not too early for the public agencies of the region to begin planning for their thermal power needs, even though current studies show that the deficiencies from the Bonneville system for public agencies will not occur until 1981–82. It will take considerable time to set up the administrative arrangements that will be needed to finance, build and market the power from new thermal units. I think you need not be reminded that Grant, Chelan, and Douglas Counties did not wait until their own systems were faced with insufficiencies to build their large hydro projects—and in retrospect each of these agencies is grateful that it did go ahead.

These additional factors also argue for proceeding now with the planning for new thermal capacity by public agencies:

(1) The lower cost financing of public agencies—so important a factor in nuclear power—make it imperative for local public agencies to provide regional needs, if possible, in order to retain the region's advantage of low-cost power.

(2) Introduction of thermal power at the time of the region's first insufficiencies—in the early 1970's—will postpone the period of insufficiency for the public agencies.

(3) The need for introducing thermal power into the region in massive blocks in the next two decades provides a real opportunity for leadership by the local public agencies.

Your leadership in setting up a thermal generating plan on a regional basis will help insure that the beneficial features of institutional competition continue to work to the advantage of the people of the Northwest. I do not believe that a single "monster" agency is essential, or even desirable, in obtaining your goals. The important objective should be unified planning and a coordinated program of action. I hope that you will formulate the best possible plan, present it to the public, and seek to put it into operation, inviting participation of all those who share your public interest aims.

NORTHWEST HAS VITAL STAKE IN CONTINUED LOW-COST POWER

6. It is apparent that the Northwest has a clear, keen interest in the protection and perpetuation of a source of low-cost power. In your part of the country, electricity is a raw material in the production process of many industrial enterprises, and a vital ingredient in agriculture and lumbering. It has meant not only the alleviation of labor on the farm and in the forest, it has also meant the creation of new jobs, the boosting of individual income, and the expansion of tax revenues.

The advent of commercially competitive nuclear power poses the possibility that availability of a cheap fuel, like natural gas in the oilfields, or coal in Appalachia, or falling water in the West, may become a less important factor in the future in determining the availability of low-cost-electricity. This is so because of the ease of transportation of fabricated nuclear fuel and its relatively small bulk. In other words, one of the promises of nuclear power is that there will be no more high cost fuel areas.

This is not, of course, literally true. Transportation is still involved. Accessibility of reprocessing facilities is a cost factor in movement of irradiated fuel. And in any event, construction costs of nuclear plants will vary from location to location and fixed charges will vary from utility to utility. But the price peaks may be smoothed out.

The point is, I think, that the Northwest which has long considered low-cost power an economic advantage to the area, must use all possible means to keep costs down in nuclear units if it is to continue to use power prices as a drawing card for attracting new business and assuring consumers of the lowest rates in the United States.

7. I have one final thought. It is seldom that an opportunity comes along where the problem is recognized so far in advance that a reasoned solution can be formulated before you are in the midst of the situation and are forced by necessity to apply emergency or forced-draft measures. You have such an opportunity. I urge that you make the most of it. You may wish to designate task forces within your own organization to begin investigation of various aspects of the problem; to seek out advice from competent planners who have dealt with similar situations; and to engage in discussions with other segments of the industry, including the Bonneville Power Administration and private power companies.

There are many ideas to explore in the field of nuclear power. What are the advantages of "reactor farms"? Could the Northwest gain economic benefits from radiation of food in conjunction with power reactor operation? What about the possibilities of sale of isotopes produced in reactor operation?

Local publicly owned electric systems throughout the Nation will be following with interest your efforts in tackling this new challenge. Irrespective of the route you follow, I hope that you will keep one factor paramount in your consideration. In my opinion, the single most important aspect of your power program has been the consideration given to making the benefits available throughout the region—to small as well as large utilities, and to all consumers.

Attaining maximum economic efficiency from a power system can be relatively simple. But making the benefits of such efficiency available to the maximum number of people requires dedication of purpose, determination, and imagination which present far more difficulties than the technical problems. As you approach this challenging new problem, I hope that you will always keep foremost in mind the fact that, as public agencies, you have a responsibility to see that the benefits of your work and your building accrue to all the people of this region, and that the protection of the rights of the small is a more important hallmark of success than achieving the benefits of bigness.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** (Mr. TYDINGS in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

JOANNA K. GEORGOULIA

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 518) for the relief of Joanna K. Georgoulia, which was, strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

> That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended, Joanna K. Georgoulia may be classified as a child within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of the Act, upon approval of a petition filed in her behalf by Mr. and Mrs. George H. Jules, citizens of the United States, pursuant to section 204 of the Act.

Mr. MANSFIELD. On June 24, 1965, the Senate passed S. 518 to grant to the alien child to be adopted by citizens of the United States the status of a nonquota immigrant, as an eligible orphan.

On April 5, 1966, the House of Representatives passed S. 518 with an amendment to conform the language of the bill to the provisions of the recent amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act.

I move that the Senate concur in the House amendment to S. 518.

The motion was agreed to.

DAY OF RECOGNITION FOR FIREFIGHTERS

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 86) to authorize the President to proclaim a "Day of Recognition" for firefighters, which were, in line 4, strike out "of each year", and insert ", 1966", and to amend the title so as to read: "Joint Resolution to authorize the President to proclaim May 4, 1966, as a 'Day of Recognition' for firefighters."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the House amendment to Senate Joint Resolution 86.

The motion was agreed to.

AUTHORIZATION FOR MILITARY PROCUREMENT, FISCAL 1967

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1102, S. 2950, and that it be laid before the Senate and made the pending business.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill will be read by title for the information of the Senate.

The **LEGISLATIVE CLERK.** A bill (S. 2950) to authorize appropriations during fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, and evaluation for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Armed Services with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

TITLE I—PROCUREMENT

SEC. 101. Funds are hereby authorized to be appropriated during the fiscal year 1967 for the use of the Armed Forces of the United States for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles, as authorized by law, in amounts as follows:

Aircraft

For aircraft: for the Army, $612,400,000; for the Navy and the Marine Corps, $1,422,200,000; for the Air Force, $4.016,300,000, of which amount $55,000,000 is authorized only for procurement of, or for maintaining a production capability for, the F-12 aircraft.

Missiles

For missiles: for the Army, $510,000,000, of which amount $153,500,000 is authorized only for preproduction activities for the NIKE-X antiballistic missile system; for the Navy, $367,700,000; for the Marine Corps, $17,700,000; for the Air Force, $1,189,500,000.

Naval vessels

For naval vessels: for the Navy, $1,756,200,000, of which amount $150,000,000 is authorized only for the construction of a nuclear-powered guided missile frigate.

Tracked combat vehicles

For tracked combat vehicles: for the Army $359,200,000; for the Marine Corps, $3,700,000.

TITLE II

Research, development, test, and evaluation

SEC. 201. Funds are hereby authorized to be appropriated during the fiscal year 1967 for the use of the Armed Forces of the United States for research, development, test, and evaluation, as authorized by law, in amounts as follows:

For the Army, $1,528,700,000, of which amount $14,400,000 is authorized only for research, development, and tests related to preproduction activities on the NIKE-X antiballistic missile system.

For the Navy (including the Marine Corps), $1,748,600,000;

For the Air Force, $3,053,800,000; and

For Defense agencies, $549,059,000.

SEC. 202. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Department of Defense during fiscal year 1967 for use as an emergency fund for research, development, test, and evaluation or procurement or production related thereto, $125,000,000.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. **NELSON**. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate adjourn until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 8 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, April 28, 1966, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 27, 1966:

BOARD OF PAROLE

Gerald E. March, of Maine, to be a member of the Board of Parole for the term expiring September 30, 1971. (Reappointment.)

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

Francis M. Wheat, of California, to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the term of 5 years expiring June 5, 1971. (Reappointment.)

UNITED NATIONS

James M. Nabrit, Jr., of the District of Columbia, to be the Deputy Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and Deputy Representative of the United States of America in the Security Council of the United Nations, vice Charles W. Yost.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 27, 1966

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

In solemn truth I can see that God is no respecter of persons, but that in every nation the man who reverences Him and does what is right is acceptable to Him. And Jesus went about doing good. Acts 10: 34, 38, Phillips translation.

O God, Creator of the world, sustainer of life and the Father of all men, in quietness and reverence we lift our hearts anew to Thee, praying that Thy grace may cleanse us, Thy power may strengthen us, and Thy love develop in us greater good will. Forgive our selfishness, our narrowness, our prejudices, and our pride. Set us free from the bonds which separate us and draw us together in Thee as one people in spirit and in truth. May we become like Him who went about doing good, always good, nothing but good: even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. **FOGARTY**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Appropriations have until midnight Friday to file a report on the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare and related agencies appropriation bill, 1967.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Rhode Island?

There was no objection.

Mr. **LAIRD**. Mr. Speaker, I reserve all points of order on the bill.

NATIONAL UNICEF DAY

Mr. **CAMERON**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. **CAMERON**. Mr. Speaker, the day after Halloween night is All-Saints Day, and judging from the contributions that American children annually collect for UNICEF through their "trick or treat" drive, I would say that a goodly number of those saints are the youngsters of this country.

In introducing legislation to annually designate October 31 as National UNICEF Day, I wish to emphasize the multifaceted good that this 20-year-old U.N. organization has showered on the children of the world who are so often faced with hunger and disease.

Not only has UNICEF sponsored programs of medical care, disease prevention, and nutrition, but it has helped bind together over 100 of the world's diverse countries in a common effort toward a peaceful goal.

It comes as no surprise that UNICEF received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1965 for its resounding success in the field of humanitarianism. We should feel particularly proud that our country has so long been a cooperative participant in UNICEF's efforts. Our active support has evidenced itself in the annual purchases we make of UNICEF greeting cards and calendars. And, of course, the Halloween "trick or treat" campaign prompted the action called for in my resolution. Anything we can do to encourage the acceptance of this international project as a permanent feature of our lives should be supported, and I hope that Congress will lead the way in voting unanimously for the resolution.

APPOINTMENT OF DR. JAMES M. NABRIT, JR., AS U.S. DEPUTY REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. **O'HARA** of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. **O'HARA** of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, as one who has enjoyed a rich friendship for many years with Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr., and served with him at the United Nations, I was very happy to learn of President Johnson's appointment of this outstanding American as the U.S. deputy representative to the United Nations. He will succeed Ambassador Charles W. Yost, who is retiring after a distinguished career of 33 years in the Foreign Service to become senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. Ambassador Yost will carry with him into retirement the gratitude of the American people for services well and faithfully performed on the highest level of efficiency and their every good wish.

Ambassador Nabrit will be second only to Permanent Ambassador Arthur Goldberg in our representation at the United Nations. He is numbered among the great Americans of our times and with the accomplished and charming Mrs. Nabrit has been participant in many activities. Since 1960 he has been president of Howard University. He is now on leave as Howard's president to perform his ambassadorial duties.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce be permitted to sit this afternoon during general debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

A MOST EXCITING AND UNUSUAL PHENOMENON

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction that I rise to describe a most exciting and unusual phenomenon which I observed on my way to my office this morning. The event gave me a rare thrill and I am most anxious to share it with my distinguished colleagues.

I am well aware that what I observed suggests the incredible and that few of you in this body will perhaps accept my word for it. But I can assure you my eyes did not fail me and, if you can accept my story, I am sure you will agree this is indeed a time for rejoicing.

Mr. Speaker, at a time when birdwatchers are propelled into raptures over sighting of early robins and migrating flocks of game birds overhead, when gardeners wax poetic over blossoming jonquils and daffodils, and when every park bench becomes a rendezvous for young love, I, too, observed a startling "first" this morning.

On my way through Rock Creek Park, I observed a man pouring bituminous concrete. Yes, it is true. He was actually pouring asphalt there among the blinking safety lights and the jungle of steel barricades that have come to be an accepted way of life for so many of us commuters.

Yesterday morning, I had a hint of what was to come. As I picked my way among the lights and crumbled pavement, I first noticed two men in bright orange vests. One carried provisions in the form of a box of popcorn. The other carried two bottles of soft drink. A little further on, I spotted another man carrying several steaming cups of coffee. I rounded a turn and there, sure enough, was a derrick operating over the chopped-up pavement.

I figured it was an official resumption of work on what is surely destined to become the eighth wonder of the world when I noticed the team of observers in their official workmen's overalls and orange vests, braced against their shovels, carefully watching the derrick. Hardly daring to hope, you can imagine my thrill when, this morning at that very spot, I saw steaming asphalt poured on the roadway.

If what I saw does, in fact, mark the resumption of work on the parkway, in keeping with the promises of the National Park Service, then I must extend my compliments and congratulations to those officials. In spite of the fact that it is costing us an additional $40,000 to have that man out there pouring asphalt, and to support his team of observers and provisioners, I say hats off and three cheers.

I must also say my hopes have been rekindled that, unlike the men of ancient Greece and Egypt, we will live to see both the beginning and the completion of this manmade wonder.

COST OF JOB CORPS PER GRADUATE

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, since I pointed out Monday the cost of the Job Corps per graduate, I have been the recipient of some flak from its defenders. I did not question the aim of the program, I was merely making sure the taxpayers know the size of the weapon being used.

It is interesting to note that the Job Corps is asking $355 million for fiscal 1967. Adding the $278 million of this year, the total is $633 million, well over half a billion dollars. Programs should be judged by results rather than intent. It is obvious that the Job Corps would have to graduate 70,000 by end of fiscal 1967 to meet the administration's stated cost of $9,000 per enrollee—a long way from the 1,061 turned out to date.

We are spending $484 per year on the average per school student. We are spending 18 times as much per individual in the Job Corps. With the war in Vietnam costing us $20 million per day, there is a reasonable question as to the desirability of going into this program on such a scale. Perhaps if there were more Indians and fewer chiefs, the cost of training the underprivileged would more nearly equal the cost of schooling.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently, a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 72]

Abbitt
Ashley
Beckworth
Betts
Blatnik
Bray
Burleson
Callaway
Conyers
Corman
Delaney
Diggs
Dorn
Dowdy
Farnsley
Fisher
Fuqua
Griffin
Gubser
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Harsha
Holifield
Jarman
Johnson, Okla.
Kelly
McMillan
Mathias
Matthews
Mize
Murray
Nix
Rees
Reuss
Rivers, Alaska
Rivers, S.C.
Roberts
Rooney, N.Y.
Roudebush
Saylor
Scott
Sikes
Teague, Tex.
Toll
Watson
Williams
Willis
Wilson, Charles H.

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall, 385 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 10065) to more effectively prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. (Mr. Albert). The question is on the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 10065, with Mr. O'Brien in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Powell] will be recognized for 1 hour and the gentleman from California [Mr. Bell] will be recognized for 1 hour.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. Powell].

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to thank the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Dent] for the great work he did on this piece of legislation and also to congratulate my colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. Hawkins] as the author of this particular piece of legislation.

Mr. Chairman, I rise to explain the purpose of H.R. 10065, a bill to more effectively prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Mr. Chairman, I insert at this point a compilation of the FEPC bills which I have introduced since January 24, 1945:

COMPILATION OF FEPC BILLS INTRODUCED BY CHAIRMAN POWELL SINCE JANUARY 24, 1945

H.R. 1743. To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to Committee on Labor, January 24, 1945 (91 Congressional Record 461).

H.R. 806. To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to Committee on Education and Labor, January 10, 1947 (93 Congressional Record 263).

H.R. 3105. To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to Committee on Education and Labor, April 17, 1947 (93 Congressional Record 3674).

H.R. 21. To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to Committee on Education and Labor, January 3, 1949 (95 Congressional Record 14).

H.R. 4453. To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to Committee on Education and Labor, April 29, 1949 (95 Congressional Record 5382).

Reported by Committee with amendment (H. Rept. 1165), August 2, 1949 (95 Congressional Record 10647).

Debated, February 22, 1950 (96 Congressional Record 2162).

Passed House; title amended ("to establish a Fair Employment Practice Commission and to aid in eliminating discrimination in employment because of race, creed, or color"). February 23, 1950 (96 Congressional Record 2301).

Ordered placed on Senate Calendar, February 23, 1950 (96 Congressional Record 2298).

Objected to April 19, 1950, August 8, 1950, December 15, 1950 (96 Congressional Record 5332, 11962, 16596).

H.R. 6818. To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to Committee on Education and Labor, January 17, 1950 (96 Congressional Record 503).

H.R. 552. To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, or national origin.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to Committee on Education and Labor, January 3, 1951 (97 Congressional Record 33).

H.R. 170. To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to Committee on Education and Labor, January 3, 1953 (Congressional Record, vol. 99, pt. 1, p. 56).

H.R. 2295. Civil Rights Act, part of which is to prevent discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to Committee on the Judiciary, January 29, 1953 (Congressional Record, vol. 99, pt. 1, p. 664).

H.R. 4358. To amend the National Labor Relations Act so as to make certain discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, color, or national origin by employers and labor organization an unfair labor practice.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to Committee on Education and Labor, March 31, 1953 (Congressional Record, vol. 99, pt. 2, p. 2589).

H.R. 389. Civil Rights Act, part of which ("Federal Fair Employment Practices Act") is to prevent discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to Committee on the Judiciary, January 5, 1955 (Congressional Record, vol. 101, pt. 1, p. 39).

H.R. 690. To prevent discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, January 5, 1955 (Congressional Record, vol. 101, pt. 1, p. 45).

H.R. 9704. To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to Committee on Education and Labor, January 7, 1958 (Congressional Record, vol. 104, pt. 1, p. 37).

H.R. 619. Omnibus Human Rights Act, part of which (Federal Equality of Opportunity in Employment Act) is to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, January 7, 1959 (Congressional Record, vol. 105, pt. 1, p. 41).

H.R. 13023. To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, August 17, 1960 (Congressional Record, vol. 106, pt. 12, p. 16643) .

H.R. 540. Omnibus Human Rights Act, part of which (Federal Equality of Opportunity in Employment Act) is to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry; also provides for an Equality of Opportunity in Employment Commission.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, January 3, 1961 (Congressional Record, vol. 107, pt. 1, p. 46).

H.R. 2999. Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Act. To prohibit discrimination in employment in certain cases because of race, religion, color, national origin, ancestry, or age.

Introduced by Mr. Powell; referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, January 29, 1963 (Congressional Record, vol. 109, pt. 1, p. 1207).

For 21 years now, I have been working in Congress to wash the stench of racial discrimination from America's factories and hiring halls.

It was 21 years ago that I first introduced H.R. 2232, a bill to outlaw racial discrimination in employment.

Five years later on February 23, 1950, at 3:30 a.m. in the early morning, I watched the House write legislative history in the passage of its first FEPC by a vote of 240 to 177.

FEPC or the concept of federally enforceable fair employment, finally became the law of the land as title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. That title was originally H.R. 405, sponsored by our beloved former colleague, James Roosevelt, and reported out of this committee with no objections.

Today, I rise again with the bipartisan cooperation and assistance of all the members of the Committee on Education and Labor to ask that the House take another giant step forward in helping many deprived Americans to fully participate in the banquet of life.

Only last week, my distinguished colleague on the other side of the aisle, Congressman Griffin, from Michigan, declared that the "Congress should be considering pending legislation to provide additional reforms in the area of civil rights."

The bill before us today is one such desperately needed reform in the area of civil rights.

Republicans and Democrats alike agree that the passage of this bill, H.R. 10065, is essential to wiping out racial discrimination in employment. There can be no partisan politics in the fulfillment of the rights of man. Three years ago, when H.R. 405 was reported out of this committee, five of my distinguished Republican colleagues, Congressmen Ayres, Quie, Goodell, Bell, and Taft wrote in support:

> There is no more crucial right than the right of equal opportunity to work for a living and to acquire the material blessings of life for self and family * * *. Promises without fulfillment have contributed substantially to the racial crisis we face today * * *. This bill is of vital importance to all Americans. We urge its passage without delay and with nominal partisan rancor.

In the bill before us today, H.R. 10065, bipartisan concern and support has likewise been happily involved. Not only does this bill use Republican language in many sections, it is a distillation of H.R. 8998 and H.R. 8999 last year jointly sponsored by former Congressman Roosevelt and our colleague, Congressman Reid, of New York.

As H.R. 10065, it was opposed by only two votes when it was reported out of this committee on July 25, 1965, under the sponsorship of Representative Hawkins, of California.

Many of you here recall the long sessions in February 1964 when we considered and passed title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Why, it can be fairly asked, are we back again to revise that legislation

The act we passed then applied to less than 4 percent of the employers and to only 32 percent of the workers in this country as of July this year. We have been using a flyswatter to destroy a tiger.

NEW CUTOFF POINT

The new title we propose would set the cutoff point as of July 2, 1967, at employer units containing 8 or more workers, extending the coverage to 37.2 million workers and 786,000 employer units which are not presently covered by title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Even if we pass today's amendment, we shall still leave uncovered 49 percent of the total U.S. work force of 73 million workers and 76 percent of the U.S. total of 2,514,000 employer units. But we will have nonetheless moved forward.

NEW ENFORCEMENT POWERS

A second important change in the new title VII gives the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission the same powers possessed by every other Federal regulatory commission. At present, the Commission is fettered by its lack of authority to enforce its own decisions.

As a great conciliator of disputes, the Commission uses the sweet reasonableness of the conference table. Friendly persuasion should always precede enforcement. But what happens when the gentle voice of negotiations is unheeded? This has already happened as 22 percent of the companies investigated at length by the Commission during the past 8 months have stubbornly refused to discontinue their practices of racial discrimination.

Should they be permitted the private luxury of flouting the law with impunity? To those who fear the specter of "big brother" in barring employment discrimination, I submit that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is already a neglected stepsister in a field where 31 State FEPC's have greater enforcement powers.

H.R. 10065 would strengthen the Commission in the same manner.

The bill would transform the Commission into a quasi-judicial body with power to: First, issue and hear complaints, and, second, enforce appropriate orders by petitioning to Federal courts of appeal with such orders subject to judicial review. The Commission's responsibility to conciliate first would remain, but it would also have the same meaningful authority that other Federal regulatory commissions possess, to deal with the nonconciliatory.

DISCRIMINATION IN UNION APPRENTICESHIPS

I must underline the fact that this bill is not aimed solely at management. From my point of view, the most outrageous offenders against minorities in America have been the craft labor unions.

This is particularly disgraceful because the reason for forming unions was to protect, not injure the underdog.

Instead, a profusion of "sweetheart" contracts sadly exists with certain labor unions conspiring with employers as sub rosa contractors to screen out minority group members. From white father to white son and white uncle to white nephew, the craft has been handed down while the jobless black man has been forgotten, only to swell the ranks of the Nation's hard-core unemployed.

Although Negro workers constitute 11 percent of our work force, they represent only 2 percent of all the apprentices in union apprenticeship programs. This is a national disgrace.

Section 17 of H.R. 10065 begins to repair this gross defect in our society's fabric by commanding the Commission to conduct a continuing survey of apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs. This will help to guarantee that the new manpower programs passed to open the door to minorities will not be prejudicially slammed in their faces.

Let me make one important concluding point. In the next few weeks, the House will consider two major pieces of legislation to raise the standard of living of the American workingman—the minimum wage and the war on poverty.

But increasing the minimum wage and providing new opportunities for the poor without doing anything about employment discrimination is to shovel the sand of futility into the ocean of hypocrisy.

In his manpower report to the Congress on March 8, President Johnson declared:

> With unemployment below 4 percent and falling, the attention of the Congress and the Nation must focus on the manpower prospects and problems which emerge as the products of unprecedented prosperity. * * * But we cannot rest on past accomplishments when the unemployment rate for Negroes was still 7 percent in February. * * * Nonwhite workers constitute 11 percent of our labor force, 20 percent of our unemployed and 25 percent of our long-term unemployed.
>
> What more can we do to break down the barriers of discrimination that waste valuable manpower resources?

Gentlemen, a great part of that "more" is the passage of this bill, H.R. 10065, which we have before us today.

It is my privilege and pleasure to yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, the chairman of the subcommittee [Mr. DENT] such time as he may consume.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, H.R. 10065, which has received absolute and enthusiastic support from the distinguished gentleman from New York, the chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, and which has been introduced by my able colleague from California, who has struggled tirelessly for the cause of equal opportunity for all people, substantially strengthens equal employment opportunity legislation. I wholeheartedly support this much-needed legislation and earnestly urge its adoption.

Three major weaknesses exist in the present law. It is limited in coverage to only 8 percent of the employers in the United States. It is devoid of the typical administrative enforcement provisions. It is inadequate in its treatment of apprenticeship and job training programs.

H.R. 10065 would extend coverage to employers with eight or more employees and labor organizations with eight or more members. This would take effect immediately with regard to labor organizations, but would be staged over 2 years with regard to employers. Coverage would continue to extend to employers with 100 or more employees until July 2, 1966; employers with 50 or more employees would be covered for the year beginning July 2, 1966; and, employers with 8 or more employees would be covered after July 2, 1967. Ultimately more than three-quarters of a million employers with 37 million employees will be covered. The 2½ million employers with fewer than 8 employees, that is the Nation's smallest employers, will not be affected.

The second major deficiency of the existing law is the lamentable weakness of its enforcement provisions. The present act vests no enforcement authority in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and its provisions for enforcement by aggrieved persons are complicated. The principal enforcement weapon of title VII is lawsuits by aggrieved individuals. Lawsuits by the Attorney General are provided for certain aggravated cases.

Title VII in its present form places major emphasis on the role of the Commission as conciliator. H.R. 10065 will not change this, for this is as it should be. Intelligent and earnest conciliation is absolutely vital to the achievement of equal job opportunity as the President's Committee's plans for progress have demonstrated.

But methods of polite persuasion are inadequate standing alone. Divorcing conciliation from enforcement is like separating business agreements from the law of contracts. Voluntary compliance may work in the majority of cases, but who doubts the effect of the consequences of noncompliance.

H.R. 10065 provides for administrative hearings such as are found in 29 States and such as are customary in independent Federal agencies. If procedures for obtaining voluntary compliance fail, the Commission shall have power to institute an administrative proceeding by filing a complaint against the respondent. A hearing would then be held before the Commission, a member of the Commission, or a designated agent—who would be a hearing examiner. The hearing would be conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act with respect to adjudicatory proceedings. If the hearing is not before the full Commission, the hearing officer would forward the record and his recommended decision to the Commission, and the Commission or a panel of three members would review it, giving an opportunity to the parties to make further argument and, in its discretion, to offer further testimony. The Commission would then make its findings of fact and if it found that an unlawful employment practice was committed, it could issue a cease and desist order and also authorize affirmative relief, including hiring, reinstatement, and back pay. Such cease and desist orders would be enforceable in the U.S. courts of appeals, which would also have jurisdiction to review Commission orders on petition of the party aggrieved, that is, the respondent or the complainant, as the case may be. The standard for judicial review would be the customary standard of whether the findings were supported by "substantial evidence."

In addition to the enforcement authority placed with the Commission, H.R. 10065 retains the provision for suits by the Attorney General in cases of patterns or practices of discrimination, as now provided in title VII. However, two changes are made. First, the Commission, rather than the Attorney General, must have reasonable cause to believe that the pattern or practice exists, and must recommend suit to the Justice Department. The Department, of course, retains control over litigation and where the Attorney General determines that suit would be imprudent, he need not follow the Commission's recommendation. Second, the Commission may recommend a pattern or practice suit only where there is no agreement with the appropriate State agency ceding jurisdiction or, if there is such an agreement, where the Commission determines that the State agency has failed or is unable to remedy such pattern or practice. Of course, where there is no appropriate State agency with which to enter into an agreement, the Commission may recommend that the Attorney General bring suit.

State agencies have had some 20 years of experience with fair employment practices laws. Presently 36 States and some 80 local governmental units have enacted laws in this area. On one point there is near unanimity of opinion—there is a need for statutory procedures to compel compliance. Twenty-five of the 36 State laws have always provided enforcement procedures. Among the six States which initially relied exclusively upon voluntary procedures, four have subsequently amended their statutes to provide enforcement powers. Experience in Kansas, Wisconsin, Colorado, Indiana, Baltimore, and Cleveland indicate that on the State and local level programs relying solely upon voluntary compliance have generally been ineffective.

Among the States with enforcible fair employment practices laws there is a substantial preference for administrative enforcement. Twenty-seven States provide for enforcement through administrative agencies.

The experience of the State and local agencies, and the experience on the Federal level of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, demonstrate that conciliation is most successful when the parties know that effective machinery for enforcement is readily at hand.

The bipartisan Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity has endorsed and firmly supports the enforcement provisions of this bill. The Chairman of the Commission states:

> Stronger enforcement authority in the Commission will be necessary to achieve the progress toward equal employment opportunity which the Congress expects and the Nation demands.

Enforcement provisions for equal employment opportunity legislation have undergone scrutiny and constructive efforts for several years. In the last Congress the Committee on Education and Labor reported a bill with administrative enforcement procedures with substantial bipartisan support. In fact, only four members expressed dissenting views in the Committee's report and only one of them is still with the Committee. Last Congress bill was the product of a bipartisan effort, and this Congress the same bipartisan approach was followed. Only 2 of 31 members of the Committee expressed minority views in the Committee report. The very language of the bill originated from members of both political parties and, in fact, it would be difficult today to pinpoint the source of many of the provisions of the bill.

The third major improvement over existing legislation can be pinpointed as to its origin. It is the development of our distinguished colleague from New York [Mr. REID], a longtime and venerable foe of arbitrary discrimination and a champion of human rights. This provision provides for a continuing survey of the operation of apprenticeship and other training programs, and authorizes the Commission to examine records of such operations. This is a specific area in which compliance with the act is particularly sensitive and important if the act is to have any real meaning. Apprenticeship and job training programs are the doorway to many careers. Barring access to these programs or discriminating in their operation results in segregated occupations. Access to many trades is dependent upon the reasonable requirements of specific training or apprenticeship, but the utilization of these otherwise reasonable qualifications becomes an unacceptable bar to employment when the training itself is barred because of an individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The proposal of the gentleman from New York will aid in eliminating unjust, arbitrary discrimination from such programs and will remove one of the most crushing and dispute-producing bars to job opportunity.

It is much too late in our history to debate the wisdom of a Federal policy of equality of opportunity in employment. It is unnecessary to discuss the just and obvious grievances of many Americans regarding invidious discrimination. It would only be stating the obvious to relate unfair and unjust bars to employment to street demonstrations and even riots largely fomented by economic oppression and practical subjugation. But it is not too late to act. And act we must—now.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of H.R. 10065 and the commencement, at once, of a truly meaningful attack on unfair, unwise, and invidious employment practices.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, this bill could be called the Roosevelt-Goodell-Reid bill, because they all contributed substantially in getting this legislation to the floor of the House.

Mr. Chairman, in 1963, during the first session of the last Congress, our committee favorably reported H.R. 405, a bill to eliminate racial and religious discrimination by creating an administrative agency, empowered to conduct quasi-judicial proceedings and to issue cease and desist orders and other appropriate remedies.

I, with several other members of the committee on this side of the aisle, supported the measure.

Unfortunately it never became law.

Instead, the last Congress saw fit during the second session to follow a completely different enforcement procedure in its inclusion of title VII in the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

I am pleased that the pending measure is designed to abandon the enforcement approach of title VII, and in practical effect, to return to that of our earlier bill, H.R. 405, of the 88th Congress.

Title VII of the present law denies the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission which it establishes any powers of enforcement.

Its procedure for enforcement requires the aggrieved individual himself to seek relief in the Federal courts except in certain types of cases where the Attorney General is authorized to bring the suit.

This places an almost impossible burden on the victims of discrimination.

Most of these are individuals who possess extremely modest financial resources, and all of them, like the great majority of average Americans, are awed, not to say intimidated, by the prospect of becoming participants in a lawsuit which they themselves are responsible for conducting to a conclusion.

The pending bill removes this frightening burden from the individual by giving the Commission quasi-judicial functions and powers and by charging it with the responsibility for prosecuting the case, issuing cease and desist orders where necessary, and other forms of appropriate relief.

The Commission is also authorized to petition the U.S. courts of appeals for enforcement of its own orders—in other words, the Commission performs most of the important functions which in title VII are left to the victim of discrimination to perform for himself.

There are several other respects in which the pending bill will prove to be far more effective than title VII.

Title VII requires compliance with a number of conditions as a preliminary to filing suit in a Federal court.

This necessarily results in considerable delay before relief is ultimately granted.

And as we all know "justice delayed is justice denied" particularly where the seekers of justice are the poor, the inarticulate, and the victimized.

These preliminary requirements are eliminated in the committee bill.

Again, title VII will ultimately apply only to employers and labor unions employing or having memberships of 25 or more.

Victims of discrimination by employers and labor unions having fewer employees or members are excluded from the coverage of title VII.

This means that hundreds of thousands of individuals are denied protection.

The pending bill, however, is designed to provide protection, ultimately, to those who suffer discrimination by employers or labor unions having eight or more employees or members.

This constitutes a substantial broadening of coverage and offers protection to many of the thousands of individuals who will receive none under title VII.

Finally, the provisions of title VII which authorize the Attorney General to initiate and prosecute actions before the Federal courts in cases where a pattern or practice of discrimination exists, are preserved in the pending bill.

This assures that the full weight of the Federal Government will be brought to bear on situations of longstanding discriminatory conduct in employment or union membership.

Mr. Chairman, I would point out that my own State of California enacted legislation creating a fair employment practice commission in 1959.

In many respects California's commission operates under the same procedures that we are recommending to this body today in H.R. 10065.

The California statute provides the commission with the power to initiate investigations when it has reason to believe that a discriminatory practice exists.

Just as H.R. 10065 provides, an attempt is made to correct the situation through conciliation and persuasion.

If that fails, then the commission is empowered to issue a cease-and-desist order through court proceedings.

California has met with marvelous success under this law.

Over 700 complaints have been filed annually.

Only one-third of the complaints required remedial action.

It is interesting to note that only about 3 percent of the total actions taken were initiated by the commission itself.

I emphasize, however, that even though the power of the commission to initiate action is not commonly used, it is a necessary deterrent and encourages voluntary compliance through conciliation.

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 10065 will go a long way toward the elimination of employment discrimination.

I therefore urge bipartisan support of these amendments.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from California yield for a question at this point?

Mr. BELL. Yes, I yield.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. The genteman from California described the very successful operating experience of the California Fair Employment Practices Commission and the number of cases that have been filed and successfully brought to a conclusion under that statute.

However, Mr. Chairman, what assurance do we have, if this bill that is pending before the House today is passed, that the commission in California will be able to continue to function and adjudicate charges involving questions of employment discrimination?

Mr. BELL. In this bill the Federal Commission must cooperate with the States. In other words, there is in the bill itself—and the gentleman can see from reading section 9 of the bill wherein it is stated that the Federal Commission shall cooperate with the States, and may utilize the services of local agencies in the administration of this act. In addition, the Commission shall enter into written agreements with a State or local agencies, for cooperative efforts in the operation of the intent of this legislation.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Well, if the gentleman will yield further, as I read the language of this bill, it provides that the Federal Commission could, if it desired, conclude an agreement ceding jurisdiction to a State commission, but such agreement must be terminable at any time, however, at the will of the Federal Employment Practices Commission. Is that not so?

Mr. BELL. The bill does say that they shall work with the State organization, but during this cooperative effort, the bill does indicate, that if the State organization is willfully attempting to stall or forgo the intended action of the Commission, there is a provision on page 28 of the bill that the Commission can rescind any agreements.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I would suggest to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Anderson], if the gentleman will look at the report, on page 21, and also at the section itself which appears on page 27 of the bill, he will see that all we have really done is put the word "shall" into the language instead of "may" and have made it mandatory upon the part of the Federal Government to cooperate with the States; whereas before they could cooperate if they so desired. However, now they must cooperate, which really, in my opinion, answers the point which the gentleman is trying to make, that they do not have to at the present time but they really must now.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman from California will yield further, there are some 31 States, I believe——

Mr. BELL. That is right.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. That have their own fair employment practices statutes at the present time. Obviously the statutes in the States vary to some extent. How is the Federal Government going to determine whether or not a particular State has a statute that it considers adequate with which to deal with these rights so that there is no necessity to deal with the Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission?

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from California yield to me in order to respond to the question of the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. BELL. I yield further to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DENT. If the gentleman from Illinois will take a look at page 26 of the act before him, the gentleman will find that it spells out specifically in language that leaves no room for doubt, and may I quote just a few sentences?

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. From where is the gentleman from Pennsylvania reading?

Mr. DENT. I am reading on page 26, line 17, section 8 under the title of "Effect on State Laws," which states as follows:

> Nothing in this act shall be deemed to exempt or relieve any person from any liability, duty, penalty, or punishment provided by any present or future law of any State or political subdivision of a State, other than any such law which purports to require or permit the doing of any act which would be unlawful employment practice under this act.

In other words, this is not a purely preemptive law, taking away from the States rights that the States now enjoy to enforce under the law in the 31 States to which the gentleman has alluded.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GOODELL. I believe the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Dent] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. Powell] will agree with me that as a matter of legislative history it is not intended, where there is a State law that is operative which will have effect in a given case which comes to the attention of the Commission, that that State, if it will proceed effectively and expeditiously, shall take care of that and the Commission shall withhold action so long as the State is moving to meet the problem and moving toward the solution of it.

It is our intention that the States where they have an operating commission and a fair employment practices law shall be the first and the prior agency to act. If they do not act, the Federal Commission clearly under this bill will have the power to move in.

Mr. DENT. That is exactly the understanding and we want the record to so state in order that there is no misunderstanding on that point. I am sure the gentleman from California [Mr. Bell], the ranking member of the committee, agrees to that.

Mr. BELL. I certainly do agree.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. If the gentleman will indulge me further in just one additional question. The point I am trying to get at is this. The determination is still going to be made in every instance by the Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission as to whether or not a particular State is operating effectively in this area.

If they make that determination, then and only then will they conclude in a formal agreement ceding jurisdiction to the State commission, and that agreement further is terminable at any time if the Federal Commission decides that it should be terminated for one reason or another. Is that a correct statement?

Mr. DENT. That is a correct statement. To further clarify the situation, let it be stated that up until now, operating under the present Civil Rights Act, 419 cases, that is 10 percent of the total number of cases, have been deferred for State action by the FEPC.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Reid].

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the bill H.R. 10065. I believe that this Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1966 is essential. It is clear that the original title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 did not and does not have adequate teeth.

In my judgment, this legislation is of paramount importance to the Nation.

First, as has been stated, it provides important and increased coverage. Ultimately, it will cover a sum total of 37,090,000 protected employees. The present legislation covered employers as of June 2, 1965, if they had 100 or more employees; on June 2, 1966, it will cover employers if they have 75 or more employees; on June 2, 1967, if they have 50 or more employees; and on June 2, 1968, if they have 25 or more employees. Upon enactment of this bill, employers with 100 or more employees will be covered. This figure will be reduced to 50 or more employees after July 2, 1966, and, finally, to 8 or more employees after July 2, 1967. Labor organizations with eight or more members will be covered immediately upon enactment.

Second, I would like to point out that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has indicated in testimony before the committee, and this view has been backed up by testimony from expert witnesses, that administrative enforcement machinery is necessary. The bill we have before us today is patterned largely on the New York State Commission for Human Rights and the experiences of that commission.

George Fowler, chairman of the New York State Commission for Human Rights, testified on July 20, 1965, as follows:

> Our experience in New York leads me to believe that an agency operating under the present title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, without administrative enforcement machinery, will not and cannot be as effective as one which has the power to issue an enforceable order after a hearing.

I think this point is clear. But I might add, Mr. Chairman, that in New York, from 1945 through 1965, the facts indicate that some 13,008 cases have been effectively handled by the New York

State Commission for Human Rights, with an additional 406 cases still pending at the end of 1965.

Interestingly enough, only 150 of these cases were ever ordered for a public hearing and the overwhelming majority of these never went to court. They were either settled or discontinued before, during or following the completion of the hearing. Something on the order of a half dozen cases actually reached the courts.

I insert at this point in the RECORD a table indicating the disposition of complaints filed with the New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1945–65:

Disposition of complaints filed with New York State Commission for Human Rights, 1945–65

Disposition	Total	Employment		Public accommodations	Housing	Education
		Age	Other			
Probable cause; specific complaint sustained:						
Adjusted after conference and conciliation	2,818	163	1,441	399	813	2
Ordered for hearing or consent order issued	[1] 183	1	82	17	83	
No probable cause found as to specific complaint but other discriminatory practices or policies found and adjusted	1,842	82	1,656	43	61	
No probable cause found; specific complaint dismissed and no other discriminatory practices or policies found	6,685	345	5,001	496	827	1
Withdrawn by complainant	463	25	236	51	147	4
Lack of jurisdiction; specific complaint dismissed	1,017	49	427	77	456	8
Total closed	13,008	665	8,843	1,083	2,387	30
Open, Dec. 31, 1965	406	33	204	14	153	2
Total filed	[2] 13,414	698	9,047	1,097	2,540	32

[1] 33 of these complaints were settled by a consent order without being ordered for public hearing. Of the remaining 150, their status as of Dec. 31, 1965, is as follows:

Settled or discontinued before hearing	74
Settled during hearing	33
Hearing completed	26
Pending	17

[2] Includes 8 complaints not related to employment, public accommodations, housing, or education.

So the experience in the State of New York, the State which has had the most experience, demonstrates that conference and conciliation and administrative enforcement procedures are effective. They do the job and they can work.

The provisions of this bill, which I had the privilege initially of coauthoring with our former colleague, James Roosevelt, in H.R. 8999 and H.R. 9061, give enforcement powers that provide as follows:

First, a requirement that the Commission in the first instance "endeavor to eliminate any unlawful employment practice by conference, conciliation and persuasion."

This is basic; this is important; this is the central thesis.

However, if the Commission fails to effect the elimination of such an unlawful practice the Commission has the power to serve a complaint and notice of hearing before the Commission, and if, after a hearing, the Commission finds that the respondent engaged in an unlawful practice, it now will have under this legislation power to issue an order "requiring such person to cease and desist from such unlawful employment practice" and to take appropriate affirmative action such as requiring reinstatement with or without back pay. The order may also require respondents to make reports showing compliance.

Normally that is all that will be required. If, however, compliance is inadequate, the Commission may petition the U.S. court of appeals or the district court, if the court of appeals is in recess, for enforcement of the Commission order and for appropriate temporary relief or restraining order.

Further, a person aggrieved by any order of the Commission may seek and obtain review by the U.S. court of appeals.

I believe the enforcement procedures are sound and equitable, and I believe they will work.

Another central part of this bill will tackle much more effectively than has been the case the problem of discrimination in apprenticeship training. Time and again, as Members know, and as members of the committee have heard, progress in apprenticeship training has been minimal or virtually nonexistent. In testimony before the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on the War on Poverty on March 9 of this year, Secretary Wirtz indicated that amongst all of those undergoing apprenticeship training in these United States today only 2 percent are Negroes. This is shocking. It represents a clear waste of qualified human resources. This legislation specifically directs that:

> SEC. 17. (a) The Commission shall conduct a continuing survey of the operation of apprenticeship or other training or retraining programs, including on-the-job training programs, to determine if the employers, labor organizations, or joint labor-management committees controlling such programs are engaged in unlawful employment practices with respect to the operation of such programs.

Our concern is with the admission of qualified individuals to apprenticeship programs. They must be qualified on the merits. If they are, they should not be denied the opportunity on grounds of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Further, this legislation makes abundantly clear that the Commission for the first time shall make a full and complete quarterly report to the Congress containing the results of such survey during the preceding 3 months, and such report shall be made available to the public upon request.

I believe this will open the books and records of apprenticeship training programs and labor-management programs to the public with the requirement of reports to the Congress. This is the area where we have some of our most hard-core unemployment, and the facts should be known clearly and unmistakably to one and all to guarantee and insure for all qualified equal opportunity access to apprenticeship training.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. BELL. I commend the gentleman from New York [Mr. REID] for the excellent and effective work which he has done in this bill, as well as in the subcommittee.

Mr. REID of New York. I thank the gentleman from California. Both our States have effective commissions against discrimination. It has been a privilege to serve with the gentleman and with Members on both sides of the aisle who share this clear commitment—as I am sure the Congress will by its vote today—to equal opportunity.

This Nation is engaged in a war on poverty. We are expending billions of dollars and countless man-hours in an effort to train the underprivileged of our society to assume gainful and rightful employment. We will have perpetrated a morally reprehensible hoax if we have trained these Americans merely to have them denied the basic human right to seek and obtain employment on their own merits.

Mr. Chairman, we can assure effective administrative enforcement of our policy of equal employment opportunity by passage of this legislation.

We cannot afford to give less than a full measure of aid to those Americans who are willing to help themselves but who have been denied that basic opportunity.

I strongly urge Members on both sides of the aisle to support this legislation.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I want to say that the gentleman before us today, the gentleman from New York [Mr. REID] has been one of the most cooperative and one of the most sincere workers in this effort ever since he has been a Member of Congress.

I am very happy to have been associated with him in his efforts to make this legislation a reality. He and the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL], the ranking minority member, have contributed a great deal.

Mr. REID of New York. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Chairman, I merely add that the intent of this legislation is not to preempt effective State legislation, such as exists in the State of California and the State of New York. It is to encourage these commissions to do the job which they are doing to the fullest, and to place primary and initial reliance on the State commissions where their authority is sufficiently broad to insure their citizens the same protection afforded by the Federal legislation and where they are operating effectively to implement their laws. The Commission, however, must have the authority to enforce the Federal law where the State agency either has insufficient authority or has failed to enforce its laws effectively.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the sponsor of the bill, the gentleman from California [Mr. HAWKINS], such time as he may consume.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, H.R. 10065 has received absolute and enthusiastic support from the distinguished gentleman from New York, the chairman of our Committee on Education and Labor, and also from Mr. DENT, the chairman of the subcommittee, as well as from Mr. BELL, Mr. REID, and Mr. GOODELL, and others on the other side.

It is a product of 20 years of experience with similar legislation, both Federal and State. Congressional hearings on the subject have involved over 500 witnesses, 90 days of open hearings, and more than 5,000 printed pages of testimony.

Three major weaknesses exist in the present law. It is limited in coverage to only 8 percent of the employers in the United States. It is devoid of the typical administrative enforcement provisions which experience has proved the most effective. It is inadequate in its treatment of apprenticeship and job training programs.

H.R. 10065 would extend coverage to employers with eight or more employees and labor organizations with eight or more members. This would take effect immediately with regard to labor organizations, but would be staged over 2 years with regard to employers. Coverage would continue to extend to employers with 100 or more employees until July 2, 1966; employers with 50 or more employees would be covered for the year beginning July 2, 1966; and, employers with 8 or more employees would be covered after July 2, 1967. Ultimately more than three-quarters of a million employers with 37 million employees will be covered. The 2½ million employers with fewer than 8 employees, that is the Nation's smallest employers, will not be affected.

The second major deficiency of the existing law is the lamentable weakness of its enforcement provisions. The present act vests no enforcement authority in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and its provisions for enforcement by aggrieved persons are complicated. The principal enforcement weapon of title VII is lawsuits by aggrieved individuals. Lawsuits by the Attorney General are provided for certain aggravated cases.

Title VII in its present form places major emphasis on the role of the Commission as conciliator. H.R. 10065 will not change this, for this is as it should be. Intelligent and earnest conciliation is absolutely vital to the achievement of equal job opportunity as the President's Committee's Plans for Progress have demonstrated.

But methods of polite persuasion are inadequate standing alone. Divorcing conciliation from enforcement is like separating business agreements from the law of contracts. Voluntary compliance may work in the majority of cases, but in some it will not work at all, and in all cases it will work better if the power to enforce is present.

H.R. 10065 provides for administrative hearings such as are found in 29 States and such as are customary in independent Federal agencies. If procedures for obtaining voluntary compliance fail, the Commission shall have power to institute an administrative proceeding by filing a complaint against the respondent. A hearing would then be held before the Commission, a member of the Commission, or a designated agent—who would be a hearing examiner. The hearing would be conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act. If the hearing is not before the full Commission, the hearing officer would forward the record and his recommended decision to the Commission, and the Commission or a panel of three members would review it, giving an opportunity to the parties to make further argument and, in its discretion, to offer further testimony. The Commission would then make its findings of fact and if it found that an unlawful employment practice was committed, it could issue a cease-and-desist order and also authorize affirmative relief, including hiring, reinstatement, and back pay. Such cease-and-desist orders would be enforcible in the U.S. courts of appeals, which would also have jurisdiction to review Commission orders on petition of the party aggrieved, that is, the respondent or the complainant, as the case may be. The standard for judicial review would be the customary standard of whether the findings were supported by "substantial evidence."

In addition to the enforcement authority placed with the Commission, H.R. 10065 retains the provision for suits by the Attorney General in cases of patterns or practices of discrimination, as now provided in title VII. However, two changes are made. First, the Commission, rather than the Attorney General, must have reasonable cause to believe that the pattern or practice exists, and must recommend suit to the Justice Department. The Department, of course, retains control over litigation and where the Attorney General determines that suit would be imprudent, he need not follow the Commission's recommendation. Second, the Commission may recommend a pattern or practice suit only where there is no agreement with the appropriate State agency ceding jurisdiction or, if there is such an agreement, where the Commission determines that the State agency has failed or is unable to remedy such pattern or practice. Of course, where there is no appropriate State agency with which to enter into an agreement, the Commission may recommend that the Attorney General bring suit.

State agencies have had some 20 years of experience with fair employment practices laws. Presently 36 States and some 80 local governmental units have enacted laws in this area. On one point there is near unanimity of opinion—there is a need for statutory procedures to compel compliance. Twenty-five of the 36 State laws have always provided enforcement procedures. Among the six States which initially relied exclusively upon voluntary procedures, four have subsequently amended their statutes to provide enforcement powers. Experience in Kansas, Wisconsin, Colorado, Indiana, Baltimore, and Cleveland indicate that on the State and local level, programs relying solely upon voluntary compliance have generally been ineffective.

Among the States with enforcible fair employment practices laws there is a substantial preference for administrative enforcement. Twenty-seven States provide for enforcement through administrative agencies.

The experience of the State and local agencies, and the experience on the Federal level of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, demonstrate that conciliation is most successful when the parties know that effective machinery for enforcement is readily at hand.

The bipartisan Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity has endorsed and firmly supports the enforcement provisions of this bill. The Chairman of the Commission stated:

> Stronger enforcement authority in the Commission will be necessary to achieve the progress toward equal employment opportunity which the Congress expects and the Nation demands.

Enforcement provisions for equal employment opportunity legislation have undergone scrutiny and constructive efforts for several years. In the last Congress the Committee on Education and Labor reported a bill with administrative enforcement procedures with substantial bipartisan support. In fact, only four members expressed dissenting views in the committee's report and only one of them is still with the committee. Last Congress' bill was the product of a bipartisan effort, and this Congress the same bipartisan approach was followed. Only 2 of 31 members of the committee expressed minority views in the committee report. The very language of the bill originated from members of both political parties and, in fact, it would be difficult today to pinpoint the source of many of the provisions of the bill.

The third major improvement over existing legislation can be pinpointed as to its origin. It is the development of our distinguished colleague from New York [Mr. REID], a longtime and venerable foe of arbitrary discrimination and a champion of human rights. This provision provides for a continuing survey of the operation of apprenticeship and other training programs, and authorizes the Commission to examine records of such operations. This is a specific area in which compliance with the act is particularly sensitive and important if the act is to have any real meaning. Apprenticeship and job training programs are the doorway to many careers. Barring access to these programs or discriminating in their operation results in segregated occupations. Access to many trades is dependent upon the the reasonable requirements of specific training or apprenticeship, but the utilization of these otherwise reasonable qualifications becomes an unacceptable bar to employment when the training itself is barred because of an individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The proposal of the gentleman from New York will aid in eliminating unjust, arbitrary discrimination from such programs and will remove one of the most crushing and dispute-producing bars to job opportunity.

It is much too late in our history to debate the wisdom of a Federal policy of equality of opportunity in employment It is unnecessary to discuss the just and obvious grievances of many Americans regarding invidious discrimination. It would only be stating the obvious to relate unfair and unjust bars to employment to street demonstrations and even riots largely fomented by economic oppression and practical subjugation. But it is not too late to act. And act we must—now.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the adoption of H.R. 10065 and the commencement, at once, of a truly meaningful attack on unfair, unwise, and invidious employment practices.

In closing, I should like to make a statement in reference to one subject which has been discussed on this floor, the question of ceding to the States.

I believe we should understand, in considering that portion of the bill in title VII, the committee heard from witnesses who came from various States, including California and New York. It was determined that we would do everything to encourage and support State legislation. For that reason we sought the change which is advocated in this proposal. Some States have excellent programs. There are some 31 States which do have effective laws at the present time, which are being ceded to.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. HAWKINS. Yes. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. You have made the statement that it is the intention to have a Commission cooperate with State and local agencies, as is set forth in section 9(b) of this bill. Now, would that require in the first instance that the Commission determine whether a State has an effective plan and try to set up cooperation between respective States and the Commission as it relates to discrimination? Is that what you have in mind?

Mr. HAWKINS. Yes, Mr. ROGERS. I would read this to mean that the Commission would determine whether a State has an effective law on the statute books. If that condition prevails, then the Commission under this act is mandated to seek to enter into a written agreement with that State.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. And if the State would then take the action to eliminate the discrimination or handle the complaint, then the Commission itself would let the State commission do it?

Mr. HAWKINS. We would further presume that the Federal Government, through its Commission, would continue to cooperate with that State and not in any way interfere with the handling of those cases. To state it alternatively and to state why you cannot just completely leave it up to the States, we intend to avoid the situation where a State might, let us say, put a statute on the statute books for that only. Obviously there must be some discretion as to whether that State has an effective law. Assuming it does—and I have indicated that some 31 States now have effective laws, which are already being recognized to the extent that they are now being ceded cases by the Commission—then we would assume those 31 would then sign agreements with this Commission and be given the initial right to handle all of these cases rather than the Commission.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. When you say "the initial right," you indicate perhaps the Federal Commission would continue to have at least jurisdiction if in their opinion some action is not taken by the State to eliminate that discretion?

Mr. HAWKINS. Yes. There is contained in the act also the power to recede from such agreement. In other words, the Commission, if it has experience with a State in which the State, let us say, fails to live up to its agreement to prosecute such cases or changes its law and so forth, then the agreement could be receded from. So the power to take away is also lodged with the Commission.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. And further under this law at the request of the Commission to the Attorney General of the United States they would request and he would have authority to institute an action in Federal court in the event that the State agency did not take adequate steps to eliminate a pattern or practice of discrimination?

Mr. HAWKINS. Where such cause is found by the Commission, the Attorney General in those instances would have that authority.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. This would not give to this Commission or to the Attorney General any authority to help carry out a State antidiscrimination law. As an example, in my State there is a penalty of $250 to refuse to serve persons because of race or color. This would not authorize the Attorney General of the United States to represent that person and institute an action against the person who may have discriminated against him, would it?

Mr. HAWKINS. No. I agree, and I say that this act does not give that authority to the Attorney General.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I thank the gentleman for his answer.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. HAWKINS. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. I believe the gentleman indicated that under title VII a rather small minority of employers of the country are subject to the present law. If we should adopt the provisions of the present bill, all employers of eight or more employees would be covered. Can the gentleman indicate what percentage of total employers would then be subject to this law and what percentage of the total employees of the country would then be subject to this law?

Mr. HAWKINS. As I recall, if this bill is enacted only 49 percent of the employees would be exempt and some 37.5 million employees would be covered.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. HAWKINS. I am glad to yield further to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. That is, out of 70 million or thereabouts?

Mr. HAWKINS. Out of about 73 million, I believe.

However, Mr. Chairman, I shall yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT], who I believe has possibly more accurate statistics on that question.

Mr. DENT. As I understand the question, the gentleman asked as to the percentages?

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Yes, I did.

Mr. DENT. And, they have not been given to you.

As of the 2d of July 1965, 2.4 percent of the total were covered. On the coming July 2, 1967, 4 percent will be covered. When the bill is in full effect, 24 percent, or 786,000 will be covered in the employers who have 8 or more employees.

Then, there will be 58,000 covered in the employers who have 100 or more employees, and 120,000 employers covered in the 50-or-more-employees category.

The total coverage, then, would be 30.4 percent of the work force.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Of the work force?

Mr. DENT. That is right.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. And, about a majority of the employers—about 51 percent of the employers?

Mr. DENT. Yes. The reason for that is that you have the "under eight" not covered.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. MARTIN].

Mr. MARTIN of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to H.R. 10065, a bill which would repeal title VII of the Civil Rights Act, enacted in 1964.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act did not become effective until July 2, 1965; thus we must consider the following circumstances.

Mr. Chairman, only about 2½ days of hearings were held on this bill under the then chairman of the subcommittee the gentleman from California, Mr. Roosevelt. The first hearing was conducted on June 15, 1965. The session was called to order by Mr. Roosevelt at 6:05 p.m. The reason for this, as stated by the subcommittee chairman, was that the chairman of the full committee insisted upon action on this legislation before consideration of the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Further hearings were held, briefly, upon the mornings of July 19, 20, and 21 of last year, only 2½ weeks after title VII itself became effective.

Mr. Chairman, we had only a few witnesses during that period of time. Two of the chief witnesses were Andy Biemiller, representing the AFL–CIO, and Clarence Mitchell, representing the NAACP.

Mr. Chairman, I want to point out, from the hearings, the brief colloquy which occurred between Chairman Roosevelt and Mr. Mitchell in respect to the suggestion that further hearings be held this year, after the Commission itself had had more of an opportunity to evaluate how title VII was going to operate, and I quote from Mr. Roosevelt while he is speaking to Mr. Biemiller and to Mr. Mitchell:

> Mr. ROOSEVELT. You gentlemen have brought to us a number of suggestions to expand H.R. 9222, some of which I am sure you will recognize are somewhat controversial. If we proceed with a thorough examination of them, it is really a practical question as to whether we would not then have to hold rather longer hearings. My colleagues all seem to agree they would like to look forward to an early adjournment date. We, therefore, are confronted with a very serious time problem. Would it be wise to take H.R. 9222 as the basis of immediate action, and take the suggestions which you have made here and incorporate them in a further amendment in the next session? Or would you feel that we would have lost our golden opportunity, and we had better do it now or never?
>
> Mr. MITCHELL. Well, I just made a quick check with my colleagues—

That is Mr. Biemiller—

> and I think we are in agreement, as we usually are, that we would like to see it done right rather than done on a piecemeal basis. This is usually the problem in civil rights legislation. We undertake to do what is practicable, but what is practicable does not always do the job. We would agree among ourselves that we would like to see the amendments that we proposed enacted into law, even if it meant that we had to have hearings that might be a little longer, and consideration that might be a little more extensive.

After we adjourned the committee meeting that morning, I walked out with Chairman Roosevelt—this was after the meeting had concluded—and Mr. Roosevelt advised me it was then his intention to carry over the hearings until this year and call in the Commissioners from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to get the benefit of their experience after several months of operation of title VII itself.

Then it developed on July 22 at a full committee meeting, the gentleman from New York, Chairman POWELL, advised the subcommittee that the common situs picketing legislation would not be brought out of the full committee until the full committee had acted on this fair employment practices legislation.

So, as a consequence of this directive, Mr. Roosevelt changed his mind and on the morning of July 26, at 9:30 a.m. the subcommittee was called into session. This bill was reported out of the subcommittee after about 2 minutes of discussion. It was then taken up 30 minutes later in the full committee and reported out of the full committee with very little discussion in the full committee. That is how we happen to have this bill on the floor today.

You will recall further that this was not brought up through the regular channels after a hearing by the Committee on Rules for them to make a determination on the rule itself, but it was brought up last year under the 21-day rule when we were in session almost until midnight and we had seven bills before us under the 21-day rule.

As I recall, four of those bills were granted a rule. This bill was one of those that came out under the 21-day rule.

You know it seems that the same pattern is being followed this year as was followed in the committee last year in regard to the common situs picketing bill. Perhaps it is only a coincidence, but this legislation is being debated today and it will undoubtedly pass the House today—I doubt very much if it will pass the other body before the Congress adjourns—but we have exactly the same sequence that we have in the full committee. I understand the common situs picketing legislator is going to be scheduled for next Tuesday or next Wednesday on the floor of the House for consideration.

So you see we have the same sort of pattern being followed, and I believe the chairman of the full committee made a statement this afternoon that we were going to have two pieces of labor legislation on the floor of the House within the next 2 weeks and the only two that might be available are the common situs picketing bill and amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act. So evidently the chairman of the Labor Committee has a great deal to say as to what legislation is scheduled on the floor of the House and the pattern that is followed.

Due to the fact, Mr. Chairman, that this bill has had inadequate hearings and we have not had the benefit of testimony from the Commissioners who have had a sufficient length of time in which to evaluate this program, I must reluctantly oppose it and vote against its enactment today.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 3 minutes in order that the record may be made at this point. Let me also state some facts in the chronology of action on this legislation.

The first hearings were held on June 15, 1965. Later they were held on July 19, 20, and 21. The statement was made that there was a delay asked by the Commissioner and other interested parties, the request being that the new Commissioner be given an opportunity, and that the civil rights section of the FEPC, or that section of civil rights dealing with FEPC, be given an opportunity to become operative enough so that we could determine whether or not amendments were needed.

That is true. However, the Commissioner at that time was a brandnew Commissioner, Franklin Roosevelt, Jr., appearing before his brother, James Roosevelt, the then chairman of the committee. The delay was requested and a delay was given.

This legislation reached the floor of the House on August 3, 1965. The 21-day rule was invoked. The legislation was not called up until this moment simply because the very person who had asked for the time has now agreed that this legislation is needed.

The Commission favors the legislation. There is no need for further delay in it. It is not part of a pattern. I do not know of anyone that has any knowledge as to when the situs picketing bill will come up except the gentleman from Nebraska, and while he is at it, perhaps he will inform me when he will allow us the opportunity to vote on the Fair Labor Standards Act amendment, since he is now taking over drawing the schedule for the House. I am happy he has done so, so we can get ready for the consideration of that measure.

Mr. MARTIN of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. MARTIN of Nebraska. The gentleman knows that the Rules Committee has always been very accommodating in hearing Members of Congress who wish to testify in regard to legislation. The gentleman will recall that we have three more witnesses, I believe, who wish to testify before the Rules Committee. The Rules Committee does not make a habit of cutting off witnesses.

Mr. DENT. I am sorry we brought up the question of minimum wage. I know that the gentleman is a member of the Rules Committee and he is one of the remaining witnesses who will testify on the bill before the Rules Committee. That kind of tactics could cause a lot of delay if all members of the Rules Committee would ask to appear before their own Rules Committee. That is the gentleman's privilege. He may appear before it. But my experience with the gentleman is that he has been appearing regularly before the Rules Committee against the bill.

Mr. MARTIN of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. DENT. I have no more time to yield to the gentleman at this point. I will yield later to him if I have time. At this time I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN].

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 10065, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1966. I wish to take this opportunity to commend the chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee, as well as the gentleman from California [Mr. HAWKINS], for their part in bringing this bill to the floor and presenting us with a bill which will strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission which was created by title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

This bill was favorably reported out of committee last August. I think it is high time that we were taking action on it. I am delighted that it is here today. Simple justice demands that Federal law be more effective in insuring that there be no discrimination because of race, color, religion, or sex in all phases of employment, from the application for a job to firing, with special emphasis on apprenticeship training programs and other training programs which open up the doors of opportunity for people to improve their skills and to gain employment.

When I was first elected to the Congress, I introduced far-reaching legislation designed to end discrimination in employment once and for all. It would have expanded the scope of the Civil Rights Commission, giving it authority to investigate complaints of discrimination in employment, housing, and every other area of our national life. The Commission would have the power to issue cease-and-desist orders upon an administrative finding of discrimination and to order an employer or union to take corrective measures.

When Congress finally passed a strong Civil Rights Act in 1964, we included title VII which attempted to deal with equal employment opportunity through another route.

Today we must make it clear that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will have the enforcement power to deal effectively with instances of discrimination in employment.

Superficially, title III seemed promising. It established for the first time through Federal action a right to equal opportunity in employment and created a five-member bipartisan Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to help implement this right. Title VII bars unions and employers from discriminating in employment, and in apprentice and training programs, and prohibits unions from keeping segregated seniority lists. Beginning in July of last year, the act covered employers of 100 or more workers, and unions with 100 or more members. In July of this year employers and unions with 75 or more workers or members will be covered. The coverage will be expanded in 1967 to employers and unions of 50 or more workers, and finally, after July 2, 1968, to those with 25 or more workers or members.

After that 1968 date, about 30 million of the Nation's labor force will be covered. Still not covered will be agencies of the Federal, State, and local governments—except the U.S. Employment Service and State local employment services receiving Federal funds—private clubs, educational and religious institutions, and, of course, employers with 24 or fewer employees.

Under title VII, actions are limited for the most part, of action on complaints of individuals. The emphasis is on voluntary compliance with the act. If voluntary compliance, either through efforts of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, or through those of State and local fair employment agencies, is not forthcoming, an individual may take his case to a Federal court. In its discretion, the court may allow the U.S. Attorney General to enter the case if he certifies that it is of general public importance. The Attorney General may also initiate a suit if he has reasonable cause to believe there is a pattern or practice of resistance to title VII.

If the court finds discrimination, it will order the employer, employment agency, or union to take corrective measures, which may include hiring or reinstating employees with or without back pay.

Although the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has been functioning for only a short time, certain deficiencies in title VII are glaringly apparent and cry for correction.

First, there is the lack of enforcement power in the Commission itself.

Second, there is the exemption of firms and unions with less than 25 employees or 25 members. Time and again it has been found that flagrant cases of discrimination are to be found precisely among small businesses in cities and towns around this country.

This bill would do much to plug these loopholes. It is a good approach. There are other loopholes which still remain.

For instance, it would be important to cover the political subdivisions, State and local governments. The Civil Rights Commission reported last fall on how the failure to have antidiscrimination laws resulted in segregation in police and law-enforcement agencies, and the effect of this on civil rights activities.

This is another loophole which should be closed.

Of course, the emphasis under this bill will be on conciliation and persuasion. Nevertheless, persuasion and conciliation are not going to be successful unless they are backed up by enforcement machinery. That is what this bill does.

It grants the Commission directly the power to issue orders to persons subject to the act to desist from unlawful employment practices and to grant affirmative relief. The Chairman of the Commission, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Jr., pointed out that his commission is the only quasi-judicial Government agency that lacks such enforcement power.

The committee in reporting the bill stated with equal emphasis:

> It is imperative that effective enforcement authority be granted to the Commission. While the justification for this is not new, it is compelling. The history of similar programs established without enforcement provisions is proof enough. A hollow declaration of rights without the means of asserting such rights is a sham which degrades the law and makes a mockery of the declared national policy.

This bill also transfers from the Attorney General to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission authority to make a determination that there is reasonable cause to believe that discriminatory practices exist. On this basis, the Attorney General can be asked to move in a civil action.

Again, this bill will cover firms with eight or more employees after 2 years, and bring under its coverage now labor unions with eight or more employees. Thus, instead of 21 million members of the Nation's labor force being covered, over 37 million will be covered when this bill is put into effect.

All of us are aware that discrimination in employment is not an isolated issue. Full employment depends on equality of employment. Equality of employment is also related to equality of housing and equality of educational opportunity. Job discrimination is sufficiently serious and sufficiently pervasive throughout our whole economy so that it is essential that there be a Federal commission with a proper staff and sufficient authority to fight discrimination wherever it exists.

I might point out this is not a sectional problem. Discrimination in employment is found in every part of the Nation. It is prevalent not only among employers, but it is also found among labor unions. It is found in employment agencies. These practices are not only immoral they are very costly to the Nation.

We lose the talents of those who are denied the best employment of which they are capable. Discrimination in employment discourage the youth of this Nation, with a resultant increase in school dropouts, juvenile delinquency, crime, and welfare costs.

Reference has been made to the record of my own State of New York in the steps that it has undertaken ever since 1945 to implement a fair nondiscrimination employment policy. New York's Ives-Quinn law, passed in 1945 and amended regularly to broaden its coverage, was far reaching enough that title VII of the Civil Rights Act actually had little additional impact on the operations of the Employment Service in my State. But this is not a matter which can be left to the individual States. A third of the States do not have fair employment practice laws. Where States do have such laws, they vary greatly in coverage and effectiveness. State agencies, further, have difficulty in dealing with the operations of firms doing a large volume of interstate business. It is a national problem. It needs a national solution.

I, therefore, urge that we do more than proclaim our good intentions. I urge that we pass a meaningful bill, an effective bill, one which is designed to deal with the problems of discrimination in employment in a realistic and positive way. Let us approve this bill today.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANDERSON].

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I feel a little bit like a voice crying out in the wilderness today, but I want to join the gentleman from Nebraska in expressing my dismay at what I regard as the wholly incredible fashion in which this bill is being brought to the floor of the House of Representatives. I believe, when we deal with a bill of this importance and of this scope, affecting—I believe the figure has been mentioned—39 million workers in this country, that we have a right to expect something better on which to base our judgment than the fragmentary hearings that are before us here today.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI], a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, when these hearings opened on the 15th of June of 1965, which was even before title VII had begun to be effective on the 2d of July of last year, asked a question as to whether or not the new Chairman of the FEPC was going to be there to testify. He said:

> I think we can all agree it is somewhat a rather strange procedure to be amending an act here now that hasn't even seen a single hour of daylight.

The gentleman from California [Mr. HAWKINS] said that there were 500 witnesses who testified on this bill. The gentleman was not talking about the bill before us today, but was talking about some other piece of legislation, about which I do not happen to know anything because I am not a member of the Committee on Education and Labor. I did not have an opportunity to sit there and to listen to that testimony.

I speak today as one who has no bias against civil rights legislation. I am proud of the fact that I have supported on final passage every single civil rights bill which has been introduced and has come to the floor of the House since I came to Congress in 1960. But when I vote to pass an important bill I like to have something better than the record of hearings I have on the so-called Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1965.

I tried to develop in a colloquy with the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT] and the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL] the question as to whether State agencies which are functioning in my own State of Illinois and in other States will continue to function and to do the job they are doing today. The gentleman assured me, "Oh, yes, under section 9(b) there is perfectly adequate reason to believe agreements will be entered into between the new Federal Commission and the State commissions." But I am more than a little disturbed when I consult what fragmentary record there is available and find a statement by Mr. Fowler, the Chairman of the New York State Commission for Human Rights. I understand that New York has one of the strongest civil rights acts or fair employment statutes in the country. Mr. Fowler said, as shown on page 62 of the record of the hearings, that he could not go along with this bill:

> I cannot support this change. * * * The Federal Commission will be able to process a complaint from its inception through to a conclusion in the Federal courts, without ever notifying the State agency involved or giving the State agency a chance to act. This procedure may have the effect of weakening State agencies.

This is important, and I underscore it:

> This procedure may have the effect of weakening State agencies.

I wonder, considering the tremendous task which we admittedly face in this country to assure equality of opportunity to all our citizens, which I wholeheartedly support, whether we should take action which may have the effect of weakening the efforts already being made, which have gone on for a number of years in New York, in Illinois, and in 31 States of the Union to correct conditions of that kind. I do not know.

I have been given bland assurances on the floor today that such fears are groundless. I respect the gentlemen who answered my questions, but I fervently wish I had something in the record of hearings on this bill to give me that information. When I vote on this bill—and it is a landmark piece of legislation—I really wish I could have the proper quantum of evidence on which to base a decision which is destined to be so important.

I appreciate the fact that a majority of the Republican members of the House Education and Labor Committee do support this legislation. I am also satisfied that I can rely on their credibility and therefore accept the assurances they have given me to the effect that under section 9(b) an agreement is mandatory between the Federal Government and the Illinois State Fair Employment Practices Commission whereby the latter will assume jurisdiction over any complaints arising out of all allegations of discrimination because of race, color, or creed. Again, I would express the hope that in the future the committee, when it undertakes to report out basic legislation of a fundamental and important nature, will provide such assurances in the form of full and complete hearings. This is surely the best way to fashion sound legislation.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL].

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation.

In 1963, when I was the ranking minority member of the subcommittee, Congressman Roosevelt and I cosponsored legislation to give the Commission the power to issue cease-and-desist orders, as contrasted with the court enforcement provision that ultimately went into title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

I will, at the beginning of the 5-minute rule, offer an amendment which will restore this bill to the form taken by the Roosevelt-Goodell bill in 1963. I feel that we should give this Commission a model operating agency that has proven effective in the administration of other laws and other problems. We should in this case follow the pattern that we did with the NLRB. In the 1930's we set up a National Labor Relations Board that was the prosecutor, investigator, judge, and jury. By the mid-1940's we determined that there should be an Office of General Counsel that did the prosecuting and that the Board should exercise its pseudo-judicial functions and not be a prosecutor at the same time.

I think we have in effect created a model-T commission in this act by patterning it after the 1930's NLRB under the Wagner Act. It is my view that in the years ahead we will move to the kind of commission that I will propose today.

It will set up an Office of the Administrator who will be in charge of conciliation and investigation and, if necessary, prosecution before the Commission. The Commission will have the power to issue cease and desist orders. I believe this is a cleaner and a better way to handle the problem.

Mr. Roosevelt, as chairman of the subcommittee back in 1963 and 1964, was in agreement with this view. We had a bipartisan bill. At that time our bill was considerably stronger than the bill that was finally incorporated in the Civil Rights Act as title VII.

Assuming that my substitute, the Roosevelt-Goodell bill, will be turned down, it is my hope that we can have hearings on this kind of a proposal in the next year so that we may move in this direction if experience seems to indicate it would be wise. I would say also that I am sorry we have not had full hearings this year on the operation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission went into effect last July 1. It has court enforcement procedures. We have had no hearings whatsoever with reference to the experience of the Commission or our experience under the Equal Employment Opportunity Act. This is unfortunate. The bill we have before us is a bill based upon hearings held last July when the present act had been in effect since the 1st of July. Obviously those hearings could not tell us anything about the experience under the act thus far. There is really no good reason why we could not have had full and complete hearings this year on the operation of the act thus far. Perhaps they would have resulted in no changes at all in the present proposal, but at least we would know the areas in which we are acting today are based upon facts as they are available to us.

I would like, if I may, as a matter of legislative history—and I have discussed this with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle—to clarify several points in which we are in complete agreement, I believe. No. 1, it is not the intention of the Congress that the Commission shall be able to go into an area and set quotas for hiring. The decisions made by the Commission will be based upon the individual cases and the facts of those cases as they are presented. I would read a section that I had originally intended to offer as an amendment. I have since determined that we have complete agreement on both sides of the aisle. It should not be necessary to have an amendment, but I have discussed it with members of the Commission, and they agree. At this time I will read the language and ask my colleagues on both sides of the aisle if they agree it is our legislative intent. The language reads as follows:

> Beginning on page 11, line 9, section 3(j) is amended to read as follows:
>
> "(j) The existence of any imbalance with respect to the total number of percentage of persons of any race, color, religion, sex, or national origin employed by any employer, referred or classified for employment by any employment agency or labor organization, admitted to membership or classified by any labor organization, or admitted to or employed in, any apprenticeship or other training program, in comparison with the total number or percentage of persons of any such race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any community, State, section, or other area, or in the available work force in any community, State, section, or other area, shall not constitute or be evidence of an unlawful employment practice under any of the provisions of this Act."

I would ask the gentleman from California [Mr. HAWKINS] if the gentleman agrees that this is a matter of legislative history?

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, may I say that we are not only in agreement with the intent of the section that the gentleman just read, the proposed section which the gentleman has just read, but I would construe that to be already prohibited by the law.

And, Mr. Chairman, I call attention to the act itself, section 3 of the act, under paragraph (J) wherein it states:

> Nothing contained in this Act shall be interpreted to require any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee subject to this Act to grant preferential treatment to any individual or to any group because of the race, color, religion, sex, or national origin of such individual or group on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons—

And so forth. Mr. Chairman, I would certainly say that that part of the existing act, which is not only affected or repealed by this proposal, would certainly indicate that we agree with the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL] not only as to the intent, but also we believe that the law itself prohibits it.

Mr. GOODELL. I agree with the gentleman, and that is the reason I do not intend to offer this amendment, because I believe it would be redundant in many respects to some of the language that is contained in the bill. As a matter of repeating our legislative intent, I have again brought this matter to the attention of the House.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, in order to further clarify the legislative intent I fully concur with what the gentleman from New York has said, and also what the gentleman from California [Mr. HAWKINS] has said in reading from section 3 of the bill. I believe that language clarifies this point and I further believe that the gentleman from New York is correct in his interpretation.

Mr. GOODELL. I thank the gentleman from California.

Mr. Chairman, I would reiterate here that in simple terms what this means is that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, when it comes into an area, will look at the specific facts reported in a specific complaint and will determine whether the individual complaining appears to have been discriminated against.

In other words, Mr. Chairman, it will not look at patterns and other situations in the community or in the plant. But it will look at the facts that are applied and which are applicable to this individual. That, I believe, is important, because we are setting up a system here that has great power, as I want it to have great power, so they can go into matters of this kind and correct injustices.

Mr. Chairman, on the other hand, we do not want them going in saying that, "You have to have 5 percent of one race or another or 10 percent of one race or another."

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Does the gentleman agree with the gentleman from California [Mr. HAWKINS] that the legislation, if enacted as it now reads, would not permit a complaint to be based upon an alleged racial imbalance?

Mr. GOODELL. Yes, I agree with the language which the gentleman has read. Also, I feel very strongly that the legislation, as it will be amended, may well continue to preclude this kind of operation about which I am talking.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. I am sorry I stepped out for a few minutes, but does the gentleman plan to offer an amendment that repeats that injunction?

Mr. GOODELL. No. I read the language of the amendment I had prepared last year to clarify this and the gentleman from California has agreed that the law as it is presently written and as it will be amended today will provide exactly this and that it is not necessary to have an amendment.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HAWKINS. May I set forth a set of facts and ask you for your interpretation of the effect of the amendment that you proposed which you have withdrawn?

Let us assume that X company in its employment has considerably more Negroes than whites despite the fact that the general population let us say is the opposite. Let us suppose that a single Negro goes to the factory gate and applies for a job and is refused employment. He alleges discrimination. Let us say that it is upheld that that is discrimination. Would you say, therefore, that X company cannot on the basis that it is already employing considerably more Negroes than whites, and the proportion in the population being the opposite, that they could not then justify their particular pattern so as to prevent that particular type of case being prosecuted under this law?

Mr. GOODELL. I agree one hundred percent. It works inversely here. That would be no defense for a company. If there is an individual case of discrimination present, then the company cannot say that they have a very sizable percentage of Negroes on their work force. This would not be a defense. The case brought before the commission would depend on the proof of the facts as they apply to a particular individual case with reference to that individual's problem and his qualifications for the job for which he was applying or the promotion that he was seeking. That will be the kind of evidence that will have a bearing on such cases and that is the kind of evidence that is pertinent with reference to the decision of the commission. The pattern or the practices in the company or in the general area or in the community are irrelevant.

Mr. HAWKINS. I agree with the gentleman from New York and thank him.

Mr. GOODELL. I would ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT] to state for the record and I am sure he would agree with that statement; would he not?

Mr. DENT. I agree with your position on the proposed amendment which we discussed. I think all of us are in agreement and we do want the record to so state.

Mr. GOODELL. I want to say, I think in spite of the fact that we did not have hearings this year on the experience under the present law, this bill should be supported. I believe the experience in States that have strong commissions has been very, very good. We have enough experience from those States and we did have hearings and they were rather full hearings in 1965, 1963, 1962, and for some years back with reference to proposals of this nature.

I would like to clarify one other point with reference to the equal pay for women act and its relationship to the prohibition of discrimination on the basis of sex in this bill and in this act.

I had a rather major role in the equal pay for women act and getting it under the Fair Labor Standards Act. In that bill and in that act we carefully specify the various standards under which discrimination on the basis of sex or certain types of discrimination would be proper. We talked about seniority, effort, and a variety of other factors that properly distinguish one job from another in job evaluations that have been historically accepted in industry.

I believe this act is working out very well. I visited a number of plants where they have a large number of women and where they have had complex problems in negotiating between labor and management and bringing the Labor Department in for advice and guidance. I believe we are going through a very wonderful transition here where we are not hurting the male workers and we are bringing the women workers up to a position of equal pay when they do equal work. But because the Equal Pay Act is working so effectively, I think we ought to make it absolutely clear in the legislative history today that we do not intend that employees who are covered under the Equal Pay Act will be involved in operations of this Commission. Where the Equal Pay Act with all the standards that are set forth covering women's employment and bringing their pay up to an equality for equal work, it is not our intent that the Commission created by this act shall move in and try to enforce other standards of their own incidentally.

Once again, I believe I have discussed this with both sides and we are in agreement that the Equal Pay Act should have a priority in this situation.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DENT. The main thrust of the Equal Pay Act is that after they have had an opportunity to become employed, they are treated on an equal basis so far as earnings are concerned. The main thrust of this legislation is to see that they get the job on an equal-opportunity basis to begin with. Therefore we agree that the Commissioner should not in any way interfere in the workings of another act or statute that has for its main thrust something entirely different from this.

Mr. GOODELL. I agree with the basic statement that the gentleman has made.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. BELL. I should like to commend the gentleman for his outstanding work and leadership in this committee and the work that is being done on this bill. He has been an outstanding member of the committee and an outstanding lawyer in working out problems involved in this legislation.

Mr. GOODELL. I thank the gentleman. We have had very distinguished leadership from our side of the aisle on this subcommittee in the person of the gentleman from California.

Has the gentleman available 2 or 3 additional minutes?

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, how much time do we have remaining?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California has 10 minutes remaining.

Mr. BELL. I yield 5 additional minutes to the gentleman from New York.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 5 additional minutes.

Mr. GOODELL. I would take this time also to clarify a point of legislative history, if I may have the attention of the gentleman from California. We discussed this earlier in response to some questions with reference to the jurisdiction of State commissions. The language in the bill on page 27 provides that the Commission shall—not may, but shall—cooperate with the State and local agencies.

Then the bill provides, on line 18, further:

> In furtherance of such cooperative efforts, the Commission shall enter into written agreements with such State or local agencies as consent thereto and such agreements shall include provisions under which the Commission shall refrain from processing a charge in any cases or class of cases specified in such agreements—

And so on. Then the final provision is:

> The Commission shall rescind any such agreement whenever it determines that the agreement no longer serves the interest of effective enforcement of this Act.

It is our intent, as I understand it, that where there is a State law that can do a job of eliminating discrimination, the State should do so and the Federal Government should stay out.

It is also our intent that the Commission shall have the final judgment as to whether a State is able to do the job and is willing to do the job. We would hope the Commission would proceed in a way that would encourage all States to set up their own fair employment commissions, because it is our feeling that you can do a more effective job, if you want to do an effective job, locally with your State people and your State agencies.

We also are not so blind as to expect that a number of the States will proceed to do so in the field of civil rights and fair employment practices. But we need this Federal power standing behind to push the States into enforcement.

In the case of New York, California, Illinois, Michigan, and some other States, we have very strong and effective fair employment commissions. I believe it is our hope that the Commission will cede jurisdiction to the fullest extent possible to the State agencies where the State agencies are overlapping in the jurisdiction and can handle the problem.

Does the gentleman from California agree with that under section 9(b) authority?

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. Yes, I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the gentleman's construction of that section, and indicate further that it was the intent to accomplish what he has expressed; that is, to encourage those States that have moved ahead even of the Federal Government.

Furthermore, I think it should be indicated for the record that of the 36 States which today have laws, and 80 local governmental units, at least 25 of those 36 States have enforcement procedures which basically cover more employees with a stronger enforcement procedure than even this bill proposes. It is in recognition of the fact that these States are moving ahead that we wish to cede this jurisdiction to them. That was the reason for making this cooperative agreement mandatory rather than discretionary, as the present law in title VII does. I agree with the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GOODELL. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Chairman, I was just calling the attention of the gentleman to page 6 of the report, which I do not believe has been referred to yet, which stresses:

> (1) Close cooperation between the Commission and other Federal, State, and local agencies has been one of the prime goals of the committee in the drafting of this act. Duplication of effort and expense are to be avoided whenever possible.

I think it is very clear from the entire legislative history of this act that the Federal Government is not intending to preempt effective State commissions, provided they are effective and provided there are laws in the several States, as there are in some 30, for commissions that can do the job.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman an additional 3 minutes.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Chairman, I would just add that the legislative intent about urging States to do an effective job, provided they have the law and the effective commission, is clear. But the Federal Government must have the residual rights, if the States, either by law or in the operation of their commissions, do not do the job in a forthright way to insure equal job opportunity under the law.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman has stressed a point which I think is very important.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from New York has been chairman of the distinguished commission of New York for 3 years, and has done an outstanding job.

It should not be interpreted from the language of section 9(b) that the Commission must enter into an agreement with a State that has an ineffective law with reference to fair employment practices. The Commission is given the responsibility here to enter into an agreement with the State to the extent that the State can do the job.

I would like to ask the gentleman from California one other question in this connection. Will there be States—presumably—which have effective laws against discrimination in certain areas, but not as broad as the Federal law? Is it not our intention that where a State has an effective law to do part of the job, that we will have them take over the measure of jurisdiction that they can and are able and willing to enforce, and that the part that the State commission does not cover will fall under the Federal Commission's authority?

What it amounts to is that there is not a requirement that the Federal Commission cede 100 percent authority to the State commission. The State commission does not have to have a law that is equal in all its provisions to the Federal law in order to have some cession of jurisdiction.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, that is exactly right, and I agree with the gentleman. I point out there will be obviously some States, for example, that will not cover certain classes that are covered under the Federal law, let us say "sex."

Obviously, the Commission could not defer to the States and sign an agreement, because the State might not have a law against sex discrimination. Obviously we are speaking only of those where an agreement can be entered into in equal class.

Mr. GOODELL. I thank the gentleman.

Does the gentleman from California agree with that interpretation, as a matter of legislative history?

Mr. BELL. I agree with the interpretation of the gentleman from California [Mr. HAWKINS].

Mr. GOODELL. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. COLLIER. Is it the gentleman's understanding that whenever and wherever the word "employer" appears in this act this means the Civil Service Commission and the agencies of the Federal Government?

Mr. GOODELL. Is the gentleman asking whether the Federal Government is covered, as an employer?

Mr. COLLIER. That is, in sum and substance, what I am asking.

Mr. GOODELL. No. I believe the Federal Government would be covered under other provisions of law, but the Federal Fair Employment Commission would not proceed against other Federal agencies.

Mr. COLLIER. I would presume that the very best place for a precedent in this field to be set would be the Federal Government, certainly. I would assume from the language that the word "employer" would mean any employer, including Federal agencies.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT] to speak on that question.

Mr. DENT. In order to sustain the position, I refer to page 2 of the bill. The gentleman asks a question about the Federal Government being covered. I suggest that the gentleman read the language on page 2, line 8, which says "the United States, a corporation wholly owned by the Government of the United States, an Indian tribe, or a State or political subdivision thereof."

Mr. COLLIER. I was asking for an interpretation of the language which the gentleman has read.

Mr. DENT. It is very specific.

Mr. COLLIER. We should all have a common understanding.

Mr. GOODELL. I appreciate the gentleman's question. The answer is very clearly "No." The Federal Government is not covered as an employer.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

All time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Chairman, I am astounded that a committee of the Congress would bring forth such a monstrosity as H.R. 10065. Already a majority of the Congress has written into our statutes title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Enactment of that title was bad; to enact H.R. 10065 would be horrendous.

As our young Americans today defend the principle of individual freedom in military combat it ill behooves Members of this body to destroy freedom so recklessly as is proposed in this bill. Are we today willing to depart so far from the principle of freedom of choice by individuals who employ others in their business operations? I would hope not.

Totalitarianism anywhere is indefensible. Totalitarianism in our beloved America, as is proposed in this legislation, is even more abhorrent in view of the history of the United States in combating such doctrine throughout the world.

My vote today shall be for freedom as I proudly cast it against approval of H.R. 10065.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, although I cannot be present when the vote on H.R. 10065 is taken later in the day, I want the RECORD to reflect that if I were here I would vote for passage of the bill.

I wish to make it clear, however, that I am not altogether satisfied with the legislation in its present form. For example, if the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is to have adjudicatory powers, then I believe a separate and independent agency should perform the role of prosecutor. Unfortunately, under the pending bill, the Commission would function as investigator, conciliator, prosecutor, judge, and jury. I hope that this defect in the present legislation can be corrected.

In a number of other important respects the legislation strengthens the machinery and purposes of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. On balance, therefore, I believe the pending legislation deserves support.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY] may be granted 1 minute in order to ask a question.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has 20 minutes remaining.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I am happy to yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Washington.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I rise to direct a question to the author of the bill, the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. HAWKINS].

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 gave women the same protection against discrimination in employment as is given to other individuals on the basis of race or creed. This particular portion of that title was and is very important not only to workingwomen but to all women.

I should like to ask the distinguished author of this bill whether under the legislation before us today, or any amendments to be considered, the present provisions against discrimination in employment on account of sex will be affected in any way?

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, if the gentlewoman will yield, we are simply extending jurisdiction. Certainly we are not in any way adversely affecting existing provisions. Many of the fine ladies who have been worried about this bill being debated at this time, and worried that it might lead to an amendment, can be assured that certainly such was not our intent. Certainly we would never under any circumstances do anything to hurt the ladies.

Mrs. MAY. I thank the gentleman for that reassurance.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 minute, and I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL] for an answer to the question.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, in further response to the question asked by the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY], we had a colloquy earlier and had an agreement that to the extent the Equal Pay for Women Act was effective in covering the women and protecting the women in respect to equal pay for equal work we did not expect this Commission to move in and try to supersede or intervene, because procedures are working out quite well under the Equal Pay for Women Act, which were carefully laid out in the legislation.

It is quite possible that someone might assume that this bill would give away jurisdiction. It probably does give the Commission, technically, authority to move in and to overlap jurisdiction under the Equal Pay for Women Act.

However, we do not feel that this was done, and the Equal Pay for Women Act is working out quite well.

Mrs. MAY. I thank the gentleman from New York for that explanation.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'HARA].

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say to the gentlewoman from Washington and the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL] that while certain features of this act and of title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, cover some of the same discriminatory practices as the Equal Pay Act and some others in addition, I could not agree that the committee has any particular intent as to which of the acts should apply in those areas subject to the sanctions of both acts. It would be up to the administering agencies to work out some modus operandi under which they would handle complaints that might be a violation of both acts. I do not believe, though, we should say as a matter of legislative intent that we do not cover any practice that is covered elsewhere. Perhaps there is some overlapping. So be it.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WAGGONNER].

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the gentleman from Pennsylvania yielding me this time. I would like to ask some questions of the gentleman from Pennsylvania or the gentleman from California, the author of the bill [Mr. HAWKINS].

To try to put in proper perspective where we stand now on the legislative intent of this proposal I would like to ask first of all, am I correct in assuming that this bill repeals title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964?

Mr. DENT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DENT. It does.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Does this proposal, H.R. 10065, retain the Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity provided for in the Civil Rights Act of 1964?

Mr. DENT. It does.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Would the gentleman as concisely as possible tell me what is provided for in this proposal not provided for in title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964? What does this bill do that title VII does not do?

Mr. DENT. Well, it extends the coverage to employers of 8 or more rather than 25 or more as was contained in the previous act. It sets up machinery for enforcement that was not contained in the previous act, and it makes it mandatory by substituting the word "shall" for the word "may" in compelling the Commission to cooperate with the States in every instance in the enforcement of this particular act. It does not in any way supersede or displace the State acts but makes it possible and practically mandatory, in other words, that we do operate and cooperate with the States that now have such legislation.

Mr. WAGGONNER. The gentleman said that this act sets up machinery for enforcement which does not exist in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Am I correct in assuming that authority for administering this act is placed directly in the five-man Equal Employment Commission and is removed from the due process of law in that the courts must accept the findings of the Commission with respect to questions of fact as conclusive?

Mr. DENT. We never remove any violation of any law from the courts when a violation is found. The only thing it does do is give an opportunity for conciliatory explorations on the part of the Commission and an employee aggrieved does not immediately have to go to court for any kind of justice in the matter of discrimination. He can appeal to the board at a hearing and get the usual board action we have under other agencies and commissions of the Government rather than put enforcement directly in a court action.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Louisiana has expired.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WAGGONNER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania makes reference to the "board."

Mr. DENT. Commission.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Is the gentleman referring to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission?

Mr. DENT. That is right.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Could the gentleman from Pennsylvania tell me under what conditions the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, having the authority which this act grants seek the services of the Attorney General? Under what conditions and when could the Attorney General become a party in such disputes?

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, they are both Federal agencies. Only where there is a practice or a pattern of discrimination that the Attorney General may feel—and I would imagine it would be that when the Commission has reason—it must have some reason, cause, or concern to believe—a person or group of persons—and I believe the language itself is not clear and I would like to at least give the gentleman a part of the language which I believe does cover the gentleman's question wherein it states, "engaged in a pattern or practice of discrimination." At that point they could intervene.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Louisiana has again expired.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WAGGONNER. In effect, then, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission would make an initial determination, in instances where it felt discrimination did exist guided by the Administrative Procedure Act.

Mr. DENT. That is right.

Mr. WAGGONNER. And only an appeal to the Federal courts then would set aside an opinion of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission?

Mr. DENT. That is true. In any case where a Commission has a finding and a determination of fact, that would be true in this particular case.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. COHELAN].

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Chairman, the requirement for a strong Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, with appropriate and effective enforcement powers, is urgent.

For years some of us have urged such a Commission, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 included a provision which some of us had long supported. This was the establishment of a Federal enforcement Commission to redress the discrimination which has so regularly plagued our Negro fellow citizens.

For the ugly fact remains that discrimination in employment because of race and color is a pervasive practice. It exists in almost every area of employment and in every area of our country. And it falls with special cruelty on minority groups.

The unemployment rate of Negro workers continues to be twice that of the working force as a whole. And this discrimination and unemployment create an atmosphere of frustration, resentment, and unrest which forms the basis for some of the most basic and serious problems confronting our communities today.

THE 1964 ACT IS INADEQUATE

Unfortunately, the legislation establishing the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission 2 years ago fell far short of what we had originally proposed. Its fine title and objectives were not matched by its tools. Its ability to deter discrimination was emasculated before it even got underway.

It established the principle of equal employment opportunity enforcement at the Federal level but it left us with the question of whether we could afford to be satisfied with "tokenism." It left us with the question of whether the symbol of equal employment is enough or whether we must be prepared to provide the machinery which can really make it work.

NEW POWERS ARE NEEDED

If we are concerned with results—and morally, socially, and economically I believe we must be—then we have to correct the two glaring weaknesses of the present act. These flaws, which would restrict and restrain the efforts of even the most dedicated men, are first, its limited coverage, and second, the weakness of its enforcement provisions.

As originally enacted, only the employees of organizations with 100 or more workers were covered. Obviously, this standard is inadequate and unreasonable. It must be raised substantially and this legislation before us today would do so. By July of 1967 it would include all organizations employing 8 or more workers, and this would mean protection for the employees of approximately 92 percent of this Nation's employers.

Perhaps even more important, this bill grants the enforcement power which is missing in the present act.

Many problems of employment discrimination can best be worked out through informal and voluntary means. Such has been the experience in my own State of California.

ENFORCEMENT ESSENTIAL

But the record is very clear that conciliation is most successful when the parties know that effective machinery for enforcement and compliance is at hand. Of the 35 State fair employment laws now on the books, 28, again including California, have always provided enforcement procedures, and 4 of the remaining 7 have subsequently added them. So this bill, by including compliance machinery, is being wholly consistent with what in practice has been found necessary and effective at State and community levels.

JOB OF THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

The serious and persistent employment problems confronting minority group members, and Negroes in particular, will not, of course, be resolved solely or even primarily through commissions such as this, no matter how effective they may be. We desperately need to concentrate on creating more jobs, on providing better education and on developing more broadly based job training programs.

But equal employment opportunity commissions are important if new jobs and better training are not to be thwarted at the employment office. The time has come—it is long past due—when we should mobilize all of our resources to insure first-class citizenship for every American.

Mr. Chairman, I urge that this bill be approved as a matter of fairness, equity, and responsibility. I urge that it be approved so that the constitutional guarantee of equal opportunity may be realized by all of our people.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California [Mr. BURTON].

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Chairman, I would like at this time to pay tribute to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. HAWKINS]. Congressman HAWKINS has been a leader in the broad area of civil rights, although today we deal with the more limited area of equal employment opportunities, throughout his entire career of legislative service. I might add, Mr. Chairman, that it has been a most distinguished service, both in the House of Representatives and in the State Legislature of California, where he was the father of the California fair employment practices law.

It is most appropriate that such a skilled and dedicated colleague of ours be the author of this legislation and the floor manager in the House of Representatives for this very important and desirable bill.

Mr. Chairman, this bill opens further the door of opportunity in all phases of our economic and social life. It makes it possible for those formerly deprived to make greater contributions as citizens and removes an atmosphere of frustration, resentment, and unrest. It provides for a more effective utilization of our manpower. The Council of Economic Advisers has estimated that employment discrimination combined with poorer educational opportunities costs us, as a nation, up to $20 billion a year in potential production.

The human cost cannot be calculated.

With the passage of this bill, the less skilled and those entering the labor market for the first time are encouraged to prepare for useful careers. Higher motivation can be accomplished where achievement is recognized and the shadow of discrimination is removed.

The improvements in this bill over section VII of the Civil Rights Act are real. The Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Act is continued but statutory procedures are added for compliance. Such enforcement powers are universally given investigative commissions; otherwise, a mere statement of policy would be without practical effect. Effective conciliation by the Commission is not possible when an employer knows that the Commission has no power beyond making an investigation. All State fair employment practice laws provide for such enforcement. Under H.R. 10065, the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is given equal power, which is reviewable in the courts.

If the Commission finds that a respondent has engaged in an unlawful employment practice, it will have authority to issue a cease-and-desist order or any appropriate affirmative order, including an order to reinstate or hire an employee, with or without back pay. Such an order could be enforced on application to a U.S. court of appeals, or to a district court, if a court of appeals were not sitting at that time. Such order could be reviewed by a U.S. court of appeals upon application of any party.

Another change in H.R. 10065 from present law is to extend coverage from employers employing 25 or more persons to employers employing 8 or more. This adds somewhat less than 11.5 million to coverage to a total of 37 million employees covered by the act. This bill is sound. There is no logic in excluding this substantial area of business.

Mr. Chairman, I urge support of this vital legislation.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, this is an ill-timed and unnecessary bill which was introduced, briefly considered, and reported in order that the chairman of this committee could make a personal political display in connection with the unfortunate action of the House in repealing section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

I do not agree with any part of title VII of the so-called Civil Rights Act of 1964. It is a naked use of Federal power to compel by law that which should only come from the natural and voluntary process of persuasion.

This bill enlarges the powers of the Equal Opportunity Commission created in the 1964 act. It empowers the Commission of five, collectively or individually, to initiate complaints, hear complaints, judge complaints, and mete out punishment for the least understood and most indefinable of crimes. No limitation of the Commission's powers appears in the bill. The respondent or victim in the unlawful employment practice charge is given the opportunity of appealing to the courts when he feels unjustly punished.

There is no tyranny in the history of this century—and it is in many ways a bleak history of totalitarian brutality of both the "left" and the "right" on a massive scale—which has not pronounced grand aims of human betterment to be achieved through force. It is not consistent with the historic American design of individual freedom and choice that a government have the powers to compel all things that a majority believes to be morally right. Such objectives are better and more surely reached without governmental compulsions.

This bill would extend the compulsory process—which is at heart a totalitarian device—by taking power from the courts and vesting it in a politically oriented administrative tribunal. By narrowing the scope down to the smallest enterprise in the smallest town which employed eight or more persons, another totalitarian form becomes familiar; namely, that all means of earning a living are the specific property of government. Justice Douglas suggested what could become the end of private enterprise when in his "sit-in" decision he declared:

> When a person is issued a license by a State or local government, he becomes subject to certain rules and regulations and supervision of his performance.

I am aware that the great American experiment cannot endure with two classes of citizenship. I have not, however, and shall never accept the doctrine that, as government extends its mantle over the economic lives of all its people, it requires a surrender of all private rights. I reject the principle that to be touched at all by government is to become automatically clothed with a public interest requiring that the individual touched become a vassal to whatever the majority may demand.

When an individual risks his own capital and employs eight people, his capital, and his alone, is at stake and it is not a matter of public concern that he fail or not fail. The prerogative should be entirely his and whomever he hires is an important part of his success or failure. The proprietor of a business is entitled to a full responsibility for his business venture. It is wrong that a public Fair Employment Commission sit with him on his executive board and direct his employment. They are not a stockholder in his enterprise simply because he might have borrowed from a national bank, or Government directly, or may manufacture a product and paint it with a lacquer which has traveled once across a State line.

Most responsible Americans, and absolutely including the decent and responsible citizens of my State and region, believe in fair employment practices. We may be a long way from that goal—in New York as well as in Alabama—but attempts at compulsion which reach into the private lives and businesses of our citizens harvest more rancor and resentment than equality of employment opportunity.

The President has pointed out that unemployment today among Negro young people is five times that of the white, which was not true 30 years ago. These statistics suggest that something more important than discrimination is at work. Employment today requires increasing degrees of education and skill. Manual and unskilled jobs are disappearing at an accelerated rate.

Education and training of all our people is the only sound approach to equal employment opportunities. As a Congressman I have and will continue to support constructive legislation such as manpower development and vocational rehabilitation. I even expressed clearly in the debate on the floor of the House my approval of the poverty bill, provided it was not turned into a political fiesta.

This Nation shall endure; the land and the people, God willing, shall be here a hundred years and a thousand years from today. The question is whether freedom shall endure and whether individual and personal responsibility and liberty shall endure, and it is not an easy question to answer in the affirmative. If we vest such powers in government, for whatever purposes, that all things are coerced, then we shall have destroyed the fundamentals of personal liberty. In that awful result, neither Negro nor white citizen will enjoy the fruits of liberty; neither will share the unique spiritual and moral benefits of freemen in a free society. The light we all helped light and keep lit shall have been extinguished in a drab world of enforced conformity.

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from Pennsylvania yield for a question?

Mr. DENT. We have to yield.

Mr. DEVINE. I would like to invite your attention specifically to section 3 of this legislation. For the purpose of making the legislative history, this section 3 as you know covers discrimination because of sex and so on. Is it the intent of this legislation to follow the historic employment practices in those instances where certain factors constitute bona fide occupational qualifications? What I am thinking of in this regard has to do with the historical and traditional qualifications of those very lovely persons, the stewardesses on airlines. Will this require any different standards to be set or may the airlines still follow the patterns of employing attractive young ladies in an age bracket of say between 21 and 35?

Mr. DENT. I would say that many of us would be concerned about that. As I understand, if you will look at page 5 of the report of the committee referring to subsection paragraph (d) it quotes from sections 3 and 4 of the act and it describes acts that are unlawful employment practices under this act. Subsection (e) of section 3—and I believe that is the subsection you are talking about—provides—quoting the report:

> Subsection (e) of section 3 provides that notwithstanding any other provision of the act, the employment of persons of a particular religion, sex, or national origin in limited situations where religion, sex, or national origin is a bona fide occupational qualification on that specific business, shall not be an unlawful employment practice. This language is meant to apply in those rare circumstances where a reasonable, good faith, cause exists to justify occupational distinctions based upon religion or national origin, or the more common circumstances, widely accepted by contemporary standards, where a reasonable, good faith, and justifiable ground exists to perpetuate occupational distinctions based upon sex.

I believe that the language of the report is clear in that respect, that hostesses, for instance, will not be replaced by hosts.

Mr. DEVINE. I appreciate the gentleman's explanation. I would then say that it is not the intention of the authors of this legislation to require an equal number of men who are qualified to fill positions traditionally held by women, to be employed.

Mr. DENT. I think the language is clear not only in respect to women in that instance but also I understand that in some particular restaurant operations which cater to certain types of food dispensing will hire, for example, in a place that features sukiyaki, Japanese, and Japanese-type persons.

Mr. DEVINE. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentelman from Michigan.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. With respect to the question put by the gentleman from Ohio, the provision of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, title VII, setting forth exceptions with regard to bona fide occupational qualifications is retained in this legislation with the same meaning, but I do not think any one of us wants to set ourselves up as the judges. The Congress is not the judge of what are "bona fide occupational qualifications." I do not think it would be wise for us to go through a roster and say what is a bona fide occupational qualification and what is not. That is a subject to be decided by the Commission and by the courts in the light of all the evidence presented to them on the particular occupation involved.

Furthermore, I say to the gentleman his comment that you would not have to hire equal numbers of men and women for a particular job is inappropriate. Under other provisions of the act already referred to by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, we have made it clear that there shall be no quota system and no righting of imbalances, and no enforcement based upon an alleged imbalance.

With respect to the airline stewardesses, whether or not that is a bona fide occupational qualification is something I would prefer to leave to the courts and to the Commission.

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. DEVINE. My only purpose in asking the question is that perhaps you would give some direction to the Commission as to the intention of the authors of this particular legislation and the intention of the Congress that airline stewardesses are not to be considered as being disturbed by this particular legislation.

Mr. DENT. I think the language of the report is very clear.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 10065, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1966. So much has been said by so many in support of this worthwhile legislation that I shall be very brief in my remarks.

Mr. Chairman, as a Member of this body, I have consistently supported legislation which has created equal opportunity for all Americans. As a member of the Education and Labor Committee, I have worked in behalf of hundreds of measures which, in my view, extended an opportunity to those who previously had opportunity denied to them. This Nation will remain great and its greatness will be in direct proportion to its ability to fully utilize the energy and talents of all our people. By giving children from the slums the chances to better their lot in their lives, we are helping to build a better America. Probably no other committee of this House has hewed more faithfully to the line that opportunity should be extended to all Americans than the Committee on Education and Labor. I am proud to have been able to play a small part in this process.

Today, Mr. Chairman, we are implementing the far-reaching principles embodied in the Civil Rights Act. By striking at discrimination in employment we are, in effect, broadening opportunity for those Americans who suffer discrimination through no fault of their own but because of race, color, sex, religion, or national origin.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly support this measure and I urge all Members, those from the South as well as those from the North, to join with us today in support of this significant piece of legislation.

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Chairman, I rise to support H.R. 10065, reported by the Committee on Education and Labor, to strengthen and make more effective our present law on equal employment opportunity.

Speaking at the White House Conference on Equal Employment Opportunity last August, President Johnson called our present law "a key to hope for millions of our fellow Americans," a key with which "we can begin to open the gates that now enclose the ghettos of despair."

We wno support this bill, too, think of it as a key, one which will unlock more doors faster and with less burden on those discriminated against than the present act. Persuasive evidence discloses that the pervasive evil of race discrimination is not yielding and will not yield to the present enforcement of the law.

It will not yield because the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission can only investigate and conciliate; it cannot issue orders directing the discriminating employer or union to cease and desist. Imagine if you will, the plight of the workingman in this country if the National Labor Relations Board could only say "please" to an employer or union and if we had to rely on enforcement by suit of the aggrieved party.

Imagine. We have a law, a national law, directed against racial discrimination in employment and, except for a specialized circumstance, we rely on the people among us most unable to bring suit to enforce that law in court.

We are capable, Mr. Chairman, of developing a better key than that.

In the second place, such discrimination will not yield because the coverage of the act is not extensive enough. The act will eventually reach all employers with 25 or more employees and unions with 25 or more members. The bill would make that figure eight.

We are in urgent need of this legislation, Mr. Chairman. The events of the last year indicate that unrest and despair is growing in the racial ghettos. Even with the substantial reduction in the unemployment rate, the rate for Negroes in every occupation continues far above that for white workers. Negro income increases at a much lower rate than income earned by whites.

And at this point technology and automation are wiping out many of the unskilled jobs in which Negroes have found jobs, however inadequate they have been. The demand for unskilled and semiskilled labor is falling and that for professional, managerial, clerical, and sales jobs is growing.

But that demand is of little help to the Negro, because to too many people in this country these jobs are simply not for Negroes and for too many million others who would under ideal circumstances hire Negroes the price of voluntary compliance means harassment and undercutting either by competitors or customers or both.

Thus, the problem quite simply is one of a choice between effectively applying a national policy of nondiscrimination across the board or allowing a willy-nilly, catch-as-catch-can sort of enforcement which means spotty results and, worse, loss of faith in the efficacy of the law and in the good faith of the Federal Government.

We must move forward, not only because of the justice and morality of the cause but because of the inevitable explosion from the seething discontent if we do not. We must move forward because this matter of jobs is only one link in the whole chain of wrongs with which the Negro has so long been bound.

It is agreed, I think, that in the development of the young, of learning and will to learn, we must look for improvement of the instruction in the next generation and the next. We advance that hope by this legislation, because, as so many have pointed out, discrimination is so endemic it causes too many Negro youngsters to drop out of school or discontinue plans for advanced education since they can see no point in it. As Dr. Hansen, the District Superintendent has explained it:

> Education is a difficult enough process under any condition, because educational effort is primarily an expression of hope on the part of the student. The Negro pupil is obliged to be more hopeful than the white student. He is asked to have faith and confidence which at the moment he is in school seems unreasonable and unjustifiable.

With this legislation, we have a chance to make more reasonable and more justifiable that hope. We have a chance to bring more justice into the marketplace.

Let us do it.

The bill, if enacted, should facilitate general and widespread compliance. The policy is not only just and fair and truly American, but it should contribute mightily to the more effective utilization of our total manpower and thus be a boon to the entire economy.

I think it should also be made completely clear to this body that H.R. 10065 in no way affects or changes the congressional mandate to the Commission to deal with discrimination because of sex on the same basis as it deals with racial discrimination. As of February 25, 1966, some 747 of the 4,200 complaints received and analyzed by the Commission dealt with discrimination focused upon the sex of the employee involved. That is between 15 and 20 percent of the Commission's entire caseload. I know we can expect that, with the passage of H.R. 10065, this proper emphasis on protecting women and men from being refused employment or promotion or training or from being fired or laid off because they are women and men will continue.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I rise to support H.R. 10065, to amend title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1965, pertaining to the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. This bill is the result of 10 months of experience with title VII. It is intended to improve on the provisions enacted last year by expanding coverage and improving enforcement.

There is no doubt in my mind about the need and desirability for these modifications. In the area of enforcement, I can cite a concrete—perhaps I should say paper—example involving the newspapers in my community. Those of my colleagues who reside in the North where many newspapers have voluntarily agreed to refuse to print racially classified advertising may not appreciate the fact that such discriminatory practices are still very much used in other areas. In San Antonio, it is most common to find racially classified help wanted ads in the daily newspapers.

These ads will state, "Help wanted, Anglo only," or "white only" or "Latin only." They are obnoxious to read. They insult the integrity of the ethnic groups referred to and convey a distinct sense of racial prejudice. They should not be permitted because they are wrong.

Such racially classified advertising is also unlawful, in my opinion, under title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1965. But because of the difficulties of enforcement under the present language, complaints against such violations often go unheeded. It would be better, of course, for newspapers such as the ones in my community which permit racially classified advertising to voluntarily prohibit their further use. But since voluntary compliance has not been forthcoming and does not seem likely it is incumbent upon we Members of the Congress to do everything we can to make sure that the laws we have enacted and the policies we have framed can be fully implemented.

It is a rudimentary element of fairness in any society that employment opportunities be equally distributed to those persons, regardless of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, who are qualified to do the job.

If we are to have a truly great society we must rid ourselves of those outdated and primitive practices which assure to a self-appointed dominant group or ruling class special privileges or more than equal opportunities. We often boast of being a free people, not afraid of competition. Let us give substance to that boast by enabling the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to do the job it was intended to do.

I might add, as I have stated on other occasions, that the Southwest section of the Nation has been generally overlooked with respect to the special problems of discrimination that are found there. Previously I have spoken at some length of the problems of poverty in the Southwest. The problems of discrimination for the minority groups in this region are, of course, interrelated. Inasmuch as discriminatory practices prevent otherwise qualified persons from pursuing job opportunities, it is more than a matter of interrelationship. It is a matter of cause and effect. There are many Negroes in the Southwest and the serious problem of racial prejudice against the Negro has been widely recognized. We in Congress have condemned and acted against these practices. But there are also substantial numbers of persons of Mexican descent and other Spanish-speaking peoples who suffer from prejudice and discrimination. The problems for these people are not necessarily the same as for the Negro. But the results in terms of denial of equal opportunities, in jobs, housing, education, and other areas, are often similar. It is no accident that the high rates of unemployment for the Negro in Texas apply equally for the person of Mexican descent. In fact, many studies show that the rate of unemployment is even higher for the person of Mexican descent than it is for the Negro. Of course, the unemployment rates are higher for both the Negro and the person of Mexican descent than they are for the dominant ethnic group.

Yet the American of Mexican descent has often been overlooked in the implementation of those programs enacted by Congress in order to fight poverty and discrimination. I intend to speak at greater length on this matter.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Chairman, this bill is really a vote of no confidence in the great American free enterprise system. We today have virtually full employment. We are producing over one-half of the world's automobiles, radios, and television sets. Our economy is moving ahead; it is the most dynamic economy in the world. We enjoy good relations between capital and labor. We are winning the cold war in the field of economics with Russia and China. Our Communist enemies believe in peonage, slavery, and colonialism.

If we adopt this bill, we will be turning the clock back to a socialized, centralized Government and dictatorial control over our economy from Washington. Free people, full employment, and economic opportunity are the answers to the employment problems of the world. We cannot move forward by adopting totalitarianism. This country has become the arsenal of democracy and the heart and core of the free world through the private enterprise system. We have become great with a minimum of Government control. To me, it would be a blow to democracy and progress if we would adopt this bill which would further encircle private enterprise and labor with the strong oppressive arm of a Federal bureaucracy.

Indeed, under this bill, Government agents could sit in on the management of businesses large and small. Government agents could sit in on labor meetings. They could become Gestapo-type regulators of employment. They could become an instrumentality of harassment, intimidation, and prejudice.

This bill is un-American and I will vote against it.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, I most earnestly hope that this bill before us, H.R. 10065, to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin will be overwhelmingly approved by this House.

We have heard, this afternoon, compelling testimony, and concrete evidence from recognized authorities, that employment discrimination in this country, because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin is, unfortunately, widespread throughout every area of the country—North, South, East, and West.

Mr. Chairman, this corrective legislation is not directed at or upon any single section of the country and it is trusted that no one, after listening to the evidence this afternoon, will think otherwise.

Certainly, at this critical and challenging point of our history, it is imperatively important that this Congress project a redeclaration and implementation of a national policy on equal employment opportunity predicated upon individual merit, competence, and capability. It is equally imperative that effective enforcement authority be granted to the Employment Opportunity Commission as, otherwise, a mere declaration of policy would be a hollow mockery.

Mr. Chairman, this country and the free world is now, indeed, being very gravely challenged, on all fronts, by the Communist philosophy and way of life. Perhaps there is no other area of our own life in which we are more vulnerable to this challenge than this boasted area of equal opportunity for all. We have, in this hour, an historical chance to make this boast a reality. In the national interest, both now and for the future, let us seize this opportunity and adopt this measure without further delay.

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, the consideration of H.R. 10065 by this body at this time is both unwise and untimely. First, I feel it unwise because it, in my estimation, is as unconstitutional as the Civil Rights Act itself, because it further usurps the power from the States and further centralizes the strength of the already power-heavy administration.

Another point that I would like to emphasize in my opposition to this proposal is the typical "ramrod" tactics used in getting this measure through the committee.

According to reports from several of my colleagues sitting on the Education and Labor Committee, this proposal was a result of "congressional blackmail." That is, the proposal itself would likely not have been considered when it was, but the chairman of the committee had announced that another prominent piece of legislation would not be seriously considered until this measure was favorably acted upon.

Mr. Chairman, I feel that it is not in the best interest of the American people to allow this type of congressional activity. To allow any single Member of this body to use any measure as a club with which to brow-beat other members of the committee into yielding to his desires is certainly not the nature of this distinguished body.

Mr. Chairman, I respectfully urge that my colleagues join with me in rejecting this proposal and in doing so, denounce the methods responsible for getting this measure to the floor.

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to speak in support of H.R. 10065, for with others I introduced similar legislation last year.

The intent of this bill is to strengthen the power of the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to carry out the role the Congress delegated to it in 1965—that is, to assure each American that he or she will be employed on the basis of ability to do the job, and not be denied the opportunity to market his skills because of national origin, sex, or color.

Mr. Chairman, during the few months the Commission has been in operation, cooperation from employers has been exceptional.

Why, then, is this legislation needed?

First, Mr. Chairman, H.R. 10065 will ultimately bring almost 16 million additional employees under the protection of the Commission. The bill should be passed for this reason alone.

Second, this bill establishes procedures to discourage, as well as prevent, unlawful employment practices, with emphasis on informal, voluntary, and conciliatory methods of eliminating unlawful employment practices. As a former businessman and corporate officer, I am very pleased at the emphasis such methods are given in the bill, for I am convinced that most businessmen personally support the concept of equal opportunity in employment.

Third, the commonsense approach taken in regard to Federal-State cooperation in section 9(b) of this bill deserves support. The Commission is directed to seek agreements with State or local agencies to cede Federal jurisdiction where a State or a local agency has the power and determination to eliminate discrimination in employment. Thus, State and local agencies are given the first opportunity to assume responsibility. But if this responsibility is not accepted, the Federal Commission has the right and the duty to take action. This is a creative approach to Federal-State relations, and I wholeheartedly approve of it.

Fourth, Mr. Chairman, this bill deals bluntly and effectively with discrimination in apprenticeship and training programs. H.R. 10065 explicitly prohibits labor organizations or employers from discriminating in apprenticeship and training programs.

Finally, it directs the Commission to conduct a continuing survey of these programs, to check whether unlawful practices are being committed. The emphasis on this subject certainly is needed. The unfortunate person who is rejected for trade and industrial jobs for lack of a skill which he is prevented from acquiring will never escape this limbo until discriminatory practices in the selection of persons to be trained are stopped. The hope that, at long last, opportunity to gain access to industrial and trade training will be open to all possessed of the ability and the desire to succeed, is a hope that must be honored.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, the bill before us today, known as the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1966, is entirely premature and, in my opinion, void of any basic understanding of what is going to be involved in its enforcement. There is no question in my mind that it can open the door to create one type of discrimination while under the guise of curing another, and I could cite instance after instance of the accuracy of this statement.

In the first place, we should remember that title VII of the Civil Rights Act dealing with equal employment opportunity and nondiscrimination became effective July 2, 1965. That is less than 10 months ago, and certainly no one has had an opportunity to see how the present law works. Certainly we have a responsibility to do this before we pass new and far-reaching legislation which has some dangerous implications.

In the State of Illinois, for example, we have a Fair Employment Practices Commission. At present the State commissions have Federal jurisdiction of 60 days in which to process cases before they go to Federal authorities. This certainly seems like a reasonable time because of the complexities of many of these problems. Specifically, for example, they now have the notorious Motorola case. Under the bill before us today, this right would be denied. While it is true that the Federal Commission can enter into an agreement with the State that would allow the particular State involved to process its own cases, the fact remains that the bill stipulates that "the Federal Commission shall rescind such agreement whenever it determines that this agreement no longer serves the interest of effective enforcement of this act." Hence, this bill in essence eliminates the State from the fair employment field. Remember, if you will, that there is no obligation on the part of the Federal Commission to enter into any agreement with the State, regardless of whether such State commissions are or are not effectively dealing with the fair employment problem. It is entirely a matter of Federal discretion. If there is any question in anyone's mind as to why I take this position, I call the attention of the House to the fact that title VII of the civil rights bill makes such agreements possible, but that a progressive State like Illinois and the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission have not yet entered into such an agreement. I submit that this problem of discrimination in employment, whether it be racial, on the basis of age, or even on the basis of sex, is a sensitive one and, admittedly, one into which we have moved belatedly but I fear that the provisions of this bill will create strife in a field where past success has been measured by compromise rather than by public hearings, cease-and-desist orders, or similar other arbitrary proceedings.

While everyone is certainly opposed to discriminatory practices in the field of employment such as we have experienced from time to time over the years, we have laid a sound foundation in the Civil Rights Act to deal with it and should move cautiously and carefully before upsetting a proposal which has been in effect less than approximately 10 months. Discrimination against older workers is a serious problem with which the bill does not reckon and is one which is as prevalent as instances of discriminatory practices because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

I believe this bill will open the door to harassment of employers by the unqualified and shiftless workers who hide behind the discrimination argument when they are either denied employment because of their past record or when they are discharged because of unsatisfactory performance. Certainly everyone understands that the small businessman who hires only a few people simply cannot satisfy all the demands of various groups; yet, under this bill, he would be subject to Federal action if he failed to hire someone from each of the categories provided in this bill in order to show that he is free from bias.

Beginning July 2, 1966, under this bill, employers with 50 or more employees will be covered and those with 8 or more would be covered beginning July 2, 1967. I wonder how many of the Members of this House are aware that under the provisions of this bill there need not even be a specific grievance filed against an employer nor need he be faced by his accuser which has long been recognized even in Supreme Court decisions as fundamental in any allegation of a violation of the law. Instead, any Commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission may himself file a complaint or a charge against a small businessman for alleged discriminatory practices, be it on the basis of race or any other factor stated in this bill. This type of thinking is frightening to me.

Even as one who believes deeply in the need for sound equal employment opportunity and who supported the civil rights bill which embraced such provision, I regret that the Congress is moving so hastily in the direction that it appears to be today. It would seem to me that good judgment would dictate that we give title VII of the Civil Rights Act at least another year and 2 months to operate so that we would be in a better position to determine the type of implementary legislation which might be necessary. Such legislation might then be tailored to those areas where State commissions have either not been established or are operating ineffectively. Was this not the position of many of the proponents of this bill when we dealt with voting rights legislation, even though the formula was in itself discriminatory and based upon conclusion rather than actual evidence in many cases? The fact remains that it was directed to those areas from where the States had multiple complaints.

In conclusion, let me say that under this bill the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will have the power of policing, as well as being the complainant, and the judge and jury in cases involving alleged discriminatory practices which will reach down to those places with only as many as eight employees by July 2, 1967. It seems to me we ought to think about what we are doing in enacting this legislation, lest the cure becomes more infectious than the disease itself.

Mr. WHITE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, the House will probably approve H.R. 10065, a bill altering existing law on equal opportunity employment practices. I oppose passage of this bill at this time for the following reasons.

I would like to state for the record that I deplore discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and I favor proper measures conducive to working out fair employment practices in industry and business in my district and throughout the United States. I particularly favor cooperative, voluntary arrangements.

This particular legislation, however, is submitted prematurely. The subcommittee completed hearings on H.R. 10065 only 2½ weeks after the effective date of title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1965. H.R. 10065 repeals that title. Very brief hearings were held by the subcommittee, and during those hearings both Clarence Mitchell, of the NAACP, and Andrew Biemiller, of the AFL–CIO, stated their belief that it was then too early to make corrections in the law, and that they would favor hearings in depth and an overall review of the legislation once actual data was available. The subcommittee decided to report this bill immediately, however, and the full committee reported it out with only the briefest consideration. Thus there was no time for proper experience with the newly enacted bill, or for an opportunity to analyze the workings of that bill.

The 1965 act provided for coverage for firms with 100 or more employees on the date of enactment, with 75 or more employees on July 2, 1966, with 50 or more employees on June 2, 1967, and with 25 or more employees on June 2, 1968. The Congress, in approving this legislation, felt that implementing the provisions in these increments would best allow for realistic working out of problems, provide employers with adequate advance notice, and allow for administrative and technical problems to be resolved as the coverage was extended. I believe in giving legislation the chance to work before immediately amending it and altering the intent of the Congress.

I know from direct experience that implementation of the current law has not been easy, and that there are many questions to be resolved in the Southwest section of our country. This new legislation would compound the problems of a new agency which is still resolving many difficulties, including those of proper representation of minorities on the Commission itself.

The new bill changes the law so that any employer in interstate commerce with 50 or more employees on June 2, *1966*, will be covered, and on June 2, 1967, any firm with 8 or more employees. Labor unions would be covered on the date of enactment. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will receive power to issue antidiscrimination orders, a power now held by the courts, where it more properly should be.

In my district I have encouraged employers to exert every effort toward fair employment regardless of the number of employees and whether or not the firm is engaged in interstate commerce. Very fine progress has been made, and we are well on the road to working out this difficult problem.

If the Congress finds, after due consideration and evaluation, that a piece of legislation is inadequate or faulty, then I believe that the Congress should correct such defects to the satisfaction of the people. It may be that major revision of the Civil Rights Act of 1965 will prove necessary to effectively implement the goals which that legislation represents. Hasty action on one section of the law, however, without regard for working data and experience, does not make for wise lawmaking or thoughtful attention to these important questions.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, how can we judge the need of the present legislation based on 10 months' experience by the EEOC?

The Commission may be young in the matter of time, but it is no infant in the matter of experience. I do not call receipt and handling of more than 5,000 complaints a lack of experience.

In the first place, the experience of State agencies for over 20 years has proven the need for strong enforcement powers in any FEP legislation. Second, the Federal Commission has now had enough experience to show that what has been true at the State level is true at the Federal level as well.

As of March 25, 1966, the EEOC had received 4,900 complaints, and investigations had been completed on 821; conciliation was attempted with 31 companies, and 7 have proven unsuccessful. Conciliation efforts are underway with another 91 firms and, if the current ratio of success and failure is any criteria, then soon we will add 22 more failures to the books. And keep in mind these are failures at conciliation in cases where employment discrimination was found to exist after thorough investigation, the discriminatory practices were discussed with company officials, but the company refused to take the steps necessary to end job bias.

Looking at this from the individual complainant's side, the attempted conciliations to date, 31, have involved complaints from 99 persons, while the conciliation failures involved 40 people whose grievances were found to have merit: that is 40 percent. Now, carrying that out to the number of cases which have already been found to warrant investigation—that is, approximately 2,000—we would find that close to 800 individuals may not be able to gain redress for their grievances because the company refuses to conciliate.

And what is left for these individuals? They can take the company to court within 30 days.

In answer to the criticism of Mr. MARTIN concerning the position of the Commissioner, I include the Commissioner's statement at this point in the RECORD:

STATEMENT BY HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR., CHAIRMAN, EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION, BEFORE THE GENERAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR, JULY 21, 1965

Gentlemen, I was pleased to receive and accept your invitation to appear here today. I have followed with interest your very ambitious schedule this session and I know it is true to say that, under the forceful and effective leadership of Chairman POWELL, no committee of the Congress in recent sessions has been more engaged or successful in promoting needed social gains than the Committee on Education and Labor. Also, I know I speak for many Americans when I commend you on your work and accomplishments this session.

My fellow Commissioners and myself, along with those contributing legal services to the Commission, have studied closely H.R. 9222. I look forward to our discussion and your questions on this bill. But first, Mr. Chairman, since your subcommittee was in effect the birthplace of the legislation which established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, I would like to tell you briefly of our activities since my fellow Commissioners and myself were sworn to duty on June 1.

We are temporarily located at 1730 K Street NW., and expect to remain there for a few weeks until our permanent quarters at 1800 G Street NW. are made available. Our staffing of top policymaking positions has proceeded slowly because of the close review being given to the highly qualified persons recommended to us. This task is now nearly completed and my colleagues and myself are very proud of both the dedication and talent which we have been able to gather around us.

Four task forces headed by Vice Chairman Holcomb and Commissioners Jackson, Hernandez, and Graham have moved us well along the road in the areas of initial responsibility. Procedural rules and regulations have been published; planning for the President's national conference is underway; a research program is being developed, and proposals for recordkeeping and reporting systems are being studied. Posters and other publications have been designed and drafted and consultations on future relations have been held with the directors of 32 State human rights agencies. In addition, our budget was prepared and testimony on it has been given before the appropriate Senate subcommittee. A 4-day seminar for 65 field representatives recruited temporarily from several State and Federal agencies has been conducted and these persons stand ready to assist the Commission during the next few months while our own field staff is formed. Also, a program to insure the prompt handling of complaints has been developed. And finally, in addition to the leadership they have provided in these areas, the Commissioners have participated in employer, union, and civil rights conferences in many sections of the country securing first hand the thoughts and suggestions of leaders in these fields.

Now let me turn to the business at hand, H.R. 9222. While it is not yet possible to draw from the experience in action of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, we have done considerable research into the problems encountered and accomplishments made by State FEP commissions during the past 20 years.

As you know, New York and New Jersey enacted the first modern State fair employment practices laws in 1945. Since then 33 States and some 80 local governmental units have enacted legislation in this area. These laws have differed, both in coverage and enforcement procedures. From the body of experience developed in the social laboratories of the States, we can get some idea of what can be expected from the Federal law.

One point on which there is surely general agreement is that there is a need for statutory procedures to compel compliance. Of the 33 State laws presently on the books, 23 have always provided enforcement procedures. Of the six States which initially relied exclusively on voluntary procedures, four have since amended their statutes to provide enforcement powers. The history of the Kansas Commission seems to be a case in point. Under the initial State statute, action was confined to investigation and confidential mediation which, during the first 8 years, proved ineffectual. As a result, the statute was rewritten to enable the commission to hold public hearings and to issue cease and desist orders in addition to ordering the respondent to hire or reinstate a complainant with or without back pay. Similar experiences in Wisconsin, Colorado, Indiana, Baltimore, and Cleveland also indicate that on the State and local level voluntary programs have generally been ineffective.

Among those States with enforceable fair employment practices laws there is a substantial preference for administrative enforcement. While 5 States merely make employment discrimination a criminal offense, the laws of 27 States provide for enforcement through administrative agencies. Such agencies have powers of investigation and conciliation, and also authority, where conciliation fails, to hold public hearings, and, where appropriate, to issue cease and desist orders enforceable in the courts.

Title VII differs markedly from the State statutes I have discussed; it is in some ways unique. While title VII provides a procedure for enforcing compliance, the principal enforcement weapon is lawsuits by aggrieved individuals. Lawsuits by the Attorney General are provided for certain aggravated cases. Thus, unlike the comparable State commissions, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission itself has only a limited control over the compliance procedure.

Title VII in its present form places a major emphasis on the role of the Commission as a conciliator. This is as it should be, for intelligent, patient, understanding conciliation is an absolutely vital part of the job of achieving equality of opportunity in employment. But to divorce the conciliation function from the enforcement function, as Title VII has done, seems to me a questionable decision. Education, conciliation, and enforcement should not be viewed as alternative means of effecting compliance; they serve to complement each other. The experience of the State and local agencies, and the experience on the Federal level of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, demonstrate that conciliation is most successful when the parties know that effective machinery for enforcement is readily at hand. Mr. Theodore Kheel, a distinguished labor relations arbitrator, in a report prepared for the President's Committee spoke of the Committee's enforcement and voluntary programs as follows: "Enforcement and persuasion are not separate and distinct, nor incompatible, but related parts of the same program. They are opposite sides of the same coin. Both are necessary and indispensable to the other."

Discrimination in employment is a wrong to the individual victim; it is also a wrong to society. Fair employment legislation should not only offer effective redress to the individual; it should establish and protect the public right to seek enforcement. The enforcement provisions in H.R. 9222 are the type which the States have found necessary to make their laws effective. For that reason alone they merit the serious consideration of this committee. While no one can state with any assurance what the Commission's experience will be with the enforcement procedures of title VII and while we intend to use our present authority as wisely and effectively as possible, I must say in all candor that it seems likely that some stronger enforcement authority in the Commission will be necessary to achieve the progress toward equal employment opportunity which the Congress expects and the Nation demands.

Now I would like to identify several provisions in title VII and H.R. 9222 which, from the Commission's study of the statute and very brief experience, appear to deserve consideration relative to possible future amendment.

For example, clarification of the Commission's reporting and recordkeeping powers with respect to persons under the jurisdiction of State and local agencies. Section 709(d) of title VII in its present form apparently assumes State reporting and recordkeeping requirements which do not in fact exist.

Also, you may want to give consideration to clarifying, limiting, or deleting the exemption provision in section 702 for educational institutions. Not only is the scope of the term "educational institution" rather vague, but it is hard to find compelling justification for the special treatment which the section extends to the employment policies of these institutions.

Further, it appears that additional consideration should be given to the matter of employment discrimination based on sex. As you know, the sex provisions of title VII were added to the civil rights bill on the floor of the House. Debate on the amendment was in fairly general terms. As a result legislative history is lacking as to the application to particular situations of the general principle of nondiscrimination on account of sex. While the Commission has the initial responsibility for interpreting the statute as it stands, and we will bear that responsibility to the best of our ability, we would welcome such clarification as Congress may choose to give of its intent with respect to sex discrimination. I would suggest that attention be focused on three particular areas of difficulty: The relationship between title VII and State or local laws and regulations respecting the employment of women; the status of private retirement and pension plans which provide different terms or benefits for men and women; and the relationship between title VII and the Equal Pay Act.

I know that as the Commission's experience grows, other areas of mutual concern in addition to those touched on above, will be identified. In this regard I want this committee to know that the Commission is ready to cooperate in every possible way.

I hope our appearance here today proves of some help to you in your deliberations on H.R. 9222. On behalf of my fellow Commissioners and myself, thank you for your courtesies.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired. All time has expired. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk proceeded to read.

Mr. **DENT** (interrupting the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered as read and open for amendment or discussion at any point.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Mr. **GROSS**. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, we have had some unhappy experiences here with the chairman of the Committee on Labor and Education in drastically cutting down time for debate on previous bills. I have no desire to prolong consideration of this bill. My suggestion to the gentleman would be, so that reasonable debate will not be precluded by the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL], that the gentleman from Pennsylvania ask unanimous consent as we come to each section of the bill that further reading of that section be dispensed with, and that the section be open to amendment at any point. That would not then preclude Members, if they do desire, from having a few minutes to speak to each section of the bill.

Mr. **DENT**. There is no objection to that, and I certainly agree to that.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania as modified?

The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of this Act—

(a) The term "person" includes one or more individuals, labor unions, partnerships, associations, corporations, legal representatives, mutual companies, joint stock companies, trusts, unincorporated organizations, trustees, trustees in bankruptcy, or receivers.

(b) The term "employer" means a person engaged in an industry affecting commerce who—

(1) has one hundred or more employees,

(2) after July 2, 1966, has fifty or more employees, or

(3) after July 2, 1967, has eight or more employees for each working day in each of twenty or more calendar weeks in the current or preceding calendar year, and any agent of such a person, but such term does not include (A) the United States, a corporation wholly owned by the Government of the United States, an Indian tribe, or a State or political subdivision thereof, and (B) a bona fide private membership club (other than a labor organization) which is exempt from taxation under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954: *Provided,* That it shall be the policy of the United States to insure equal employment opportunities for Federal employees without discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin and the President shall utilize his existing authority to effectuate this policy.

(c) The term "employment agency" means any person regularly undertaking with or without compensation to procure employees for an employer or to procure for employees opportunities to work for an employer and includes an agent of such a person; but shall not include an agency of the United States or an agency of a State or political subdivision of a State, except that such term shall include the United States Employment Service and the system of State and local employment services receiving Federal assistance.

(d) The term "labor organization" means a labor organization engaged in an industry affecting commerce, and any agent of such an organization, and includes any organization of any kind, any agency, or employee representation committee, group, association, or plan so engaged in which employees participate and which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of dealing with employers concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours, or other terms or conditions of employment, and any conference, general committee, joint or system board, or joint council so engaged which is subordinate to a national or international labor organization.

(e) A labor organization shall be deemed to be engaged in an industry affecting commerce if (1) it maintains or operates a hiring hall or hiring office which procures employees for an employer or procures for employees opportunities to work for an employer, or (2) the number of its members (or, where it is a labor organization composed of other labor organizations or their representatives, if the aggregate number of the members of such other labor organization) is eight or more and such labor organization—

(1) is the certified representative of employees under the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, or the Railway Labor Act, as amended;

(2) although not certified, is a national or international labor organization or a local labor organization recognized or acting as the representative of employees of an employer or employers engaged in an industry affecting commerce; or

(3) has chartered a local labor organization or subsidiary body which is representing or actively seeking to represent employees of employers within the meaning of paragraph (1) or (2); or

(4) has been chartered by a labor organization representing or actively seeking to represent employees within the meaning of paragraph (1) or (2) as the local or subordinate body through which such employees may enjoy membership or become affiliated with such labor organization; or

(5) is a conference, general committee, joint or system board, or joint council subordinate to a national or international labor organization, which includes a labor organization engaged in an industry affecting commerce within the meaning of any of the preceding paragraphs of this subsection.

(f) The term "employee" means an individual employed by an employer.

(g) The term "commerce" means trade, traffic, commerce, transportation, transmission, or communication among the several States; or between points in the same State outside thereof; or within the District of Columbia, or a possession of the United States; or between points in the same State but through a point outside thereof.

(h) The term "industry affecting commerce" means any activity, business, or industry in commerce or in which a labor dispute would hinder or obstruct commerce or the free flow of commerce and includes any activity or industry "affecting commerce" within the meaning of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959.

(i) The term "State" includes a State of the United States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Guam, Wake Island, the Canal Zone, and Outer Continental Shelf lands defined in the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to section 1?

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GOODELL

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GOODELL: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That, for the purposes of this Act—

"(a) The term 'person' includes one or more individuals, labor unions, partnerships, associations, corporations, legal representatives, mutual companies, joint stock companies, trusts, unincorporated organizations, trustees, trustees in bankruptcy, or receivers.

"(b) The term 'employer' means a person engaged in an industry affecting commerce who—

"(1) has one hundred or more employees,

"(2) after July 2, 1966, has fifty or more employees, or

"(3) after July 2, 1967, has eight or more employees

for each working day in each of twenty or more calendar weeks in the current or preceding calendar year, and any agent of such a person, but such term does not include (A) the United States, a corporation wholly owned by the Government of the United States, an Indian tribe, or a State or political subdivision thereof, and (B) a bona fide private membership club (other than a labor organization) which is exempt from taxation under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954: *Provided,* That it shall be the policy of the United States to insure equal employment opportunities for Federal employees without discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin and the President shall utilize his existing authority to effectuate this policy.

"(c) The term 'employment agency' means any person regularly undertaking with or without compensation to procure employees for an employer or to procure for employees opportunities to work for an employer and includes an agent of such a person; but shall not include an agency of the United States, or an agency of a State or political subdivision of a State, except that such term shall include the United States Employment Service and the system of State and local employment services receiving Federal assistance.

"(d) The term 'labor organization' means a labor organization engaged in an industry affecting commerce, and any agent of such an organization, and includes any organization of any kind, any agency, or employee representation committee, group, association, or plan so engaged in which employees participate and which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of dealing with employers concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours, or other terms or conditions of employment, and any conference, general committee, joint or system board, or joint council so engaged which is subordinate to a national or international labor organization.

"(e) A labor organization shall be deemed to be engaged in an industry affecting commerce if (1) it maintains or operates a hiring hall or hiring office which procures employees for an employer or procures for employees opportunities to work for an employer, or (2) the number of its members (or, where it is a labor organization composed of other labor organizations or their representatives, if the aggregate number of the members of such other labor organization) is eight or more and such labor organization—

"(1) is the certified representative of employees under the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, or the Railway Labor Act, as amended;

"(2) although not certified, is a national or international labor organization or a local labor organization recognized or acting as the representative of employees of an employer or employers engaged in an industry affecting commerce; or

"(3) has chartered a local labor organization or subsidiary body which is representing or actively seeking to represent employees of employers within the meaning of paragraph (1) or (2); or

"(4) has been chartered by a labor organization representing or actively seeking to represent employees within the meaning of paragraph (1) or (2) as the local or subordinate body through which such employees may enjoy membership or become affiliated with such labor organization; or

"(5) is a conference, general committee, joint or system board, or joint council subordinate to a national or international labor organization, which includes a labor organization engaged in an industry affecting commerce within the meaning of any of the preceding paragraphs of this subsection.

"(f) The term 'employee' means an individual employed by an employer.

"(g) The term "commerce" means trade, traffic, commerce, transportation, transmission, or communication among the several States; or between a State and any place outside thereof; or within the District of Columbia, or a possession of the United States; or between points in the same State but through a point outside thereof.

"(h) The term 'industry affecting commerce' means any activity, business, or industry in commerce or in which a labor dispute would hinder or obstruct commerce or the free flow of commerce and includes any activity or industry 'affecting commerce' within the meaning of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959.

"(i) The term 'State' includes a State of the United States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Guam, Wake Island, the Canal Zone, and Outer Continental Shelf lands defined in the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act.

"EXEMPTION

"SEC. 2. This Act shall not apply to an employer with respect to the employment of aliens outside any State, or to a religious corporation, association, or society with respect to the employment of individuals of a particular religion to perform work connected with the carrying on by such corporation, association, or society of its religious activities or to an educational institution with respect to the employment of individuals to perform work connected with the educational activities of such institution.

"DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, SEX, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN

"SEC. 3. (a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer—

"(1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

"(2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

"(b) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer for employment, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or to classify or refer for employment any individual on the basis of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

"(c) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for a labor organization—

"(1) to exclude or to expel from its membership, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;

"(2) to limit, segregate, or classify its membership, or to classify or fail or refuse to refer for employment any individual, in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities, or would limit such employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee or as an applicant for employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

"(3) to cause or attempt to cause an employer to discriminate against an individual in violation of this section.

"(d) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for any employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining, including on-the-job training programs to discriminate against any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in admission to, or employment in, any program established to provide apprenticeship or other training.

"(e) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, (1) it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to hire and employ employees, for an employment agency to classify, or refer for employment any individual, for a labor organization to classify its membership or to classify or refer for employment any individual, or for an employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining programs to admit or employ any individual in any such program, on the basis of his religion, sex, or national origin in those certain instances where religion, sex, or national origin is a bona fide occupational qualification reasonably necessary to the normal operation of that particular business or enterprise, and (2) it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for a school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning to hire and employ employees of a particular religion if such school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning is, in whole or in substantial part, owned, supported, controlled, or managed by a particular religion or by a particular religious corporation, association, or society, or if the curriculum of such school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning is directed toward the propagation of a particular religion.

"(f) As used in this Act, the phrase 'unlawful employment practice' shall not be deemed to include any action or measure taken by an employer, labor organization, joint labor-management committee, or employment agency with respect to an individual who is a member of the Communist Party of the United States or of any other organization required to register as a Communist-action or Communist-front organization by final order of the Subversive Activities Control Board pursuant to the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

"(g) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to fail or refuse to hire and employ any individual for any position, for an employer to discharge any individual from any position, or for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer any individual for employment in any position, or for a labor organization to fail or refuse to refer any individual for employment in any position, if—

"(1) the occupancy of such position, or access to the premises in or upon which any part of the duties of such position is performed or is to be performed, is subject to any requirement imposed in the interest of the national security of the United States under any security program in effect pursuant to or administered under any statute of the United States or any Executive order of the President; and

"(2) such individual has not fulfilled or has ceased to fulfill that requirement.

"(h) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to apply different standards of compensation, or different terms, conditions, or privileges of employment pursuant to a bona fide seniority or merit system, or a system which measures earnings by quantity or quality of production or to employees who work in different locations, provided that such differences are not the result of an intention to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, nor shall it be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to give and to act upon the results of any professionally developed ability test provided that such test, its administration or action upon the results is not designed, intended, or used to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. It shall not be an unlawful employment practice under this Act for any employer to differentiate upon the basis of sex in determining the amount of the wages or compensation paid or to be paid to employees of such employer if such differentiation is authorized by the provisions of section 6(d) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended (29 U.S.C. 206(d)).

"(i) Nothing contained in this Act shall apply to any business or enterprise on or near an Indian reservation with respect to any publicly announced employment practice of such business or enterprise under which a preferential treatment is given to any individual because he is an Indian living on or near a reservation.

"(j) Nothing contained in this Act shall be interpreted to require any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee subject to this Act to grant preferential treatment to any individual or to any group because of the race, color, religion, sex, or national origin of such individual or group on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of any race, color, religion, sex, or national origin employed by any employer, referred or classified for employment by any employment agency or labor organization, admitted to membership or classified by any labor organization, or admitted to, or employed in, any apprenticeship or other training program, in comparison with the total number or percentage of persons of such race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any community, State, section, or other area, or in the available work force in any community, State, section, or other area.

"OTHER UNLAWFUL EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

"SEC. 4. (a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to discriminate against any of his employees or applicants for employment, for an employment agency to discriminate against any individual, or for a labor organization to discriminate against any member thereof or applicant for membership because he has opposed any practice made an unlawful employment practice by this Act, or because he has made a charge, testified, assisted, or participated in any manner in an investigation, proceeding, or hearing under this Act.

"(b) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer, labor organization, or employment agency to print or publish or cause to be printed or published any notice or advertisement relating to employment by such an employer or membership in or any classification or referral for employment by such a labor organization, or relating to any classification or referral for employment by such an employment agency, indicating any preference, limitation, specification, or discrimination, based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, except that such a notice or advertisement may indicate a preference, limitation, specification, or discrimination based on religion, sex, or national origin when religion, sex, or national origin is a bona fide occupational qualification for employment.

"EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

"SEC. 5. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission created by section 705 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is hereby established as an independent agency to be known as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and shall consist of an Equal Employment Board (hereinafter referred to as the 'Board'), and, in addition thereto, an Office of the Administrator of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (hereinafter referred to as the 'Office') which shall be headed by an Administrator of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (hereinafter referred to as the 'Administrator').

"EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY BOARD

"SEC. 6. (a) It shall be the function of the Board to hear and determine complaints involving unlawful employment practices brought before it under this Act by the Administrator, and to issue appropriate orders in connection therewith to enforce this Act.

"(b) The Board shall be composed of five members, not more than three of whom are members of the same political party, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Members currently serving on the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on the date of enactment of this Act shall continue to serve for the remainder of the terms for which they were originally appointed. The successors to such members shall be appointed for terms of five years each, except that any individual chosen to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the member whom he shall succeed. The President shall designate one member to serve as chairman of the Board, and one member to serve as vice chairman. The vice chairman shall act as chairman in the absence or disability of the chairman or in the event of a vacancy in that office.

"(c) A vacancy in the Board shall not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the Board, and three members thereof shall constitute a quorum. The Board shall have a seal which shall be judicially noticed.

"(d) Each member of the Board shall receive a salary of $27,000 per year, except that the chairman shall receive a salary of $27,500. The Board shall employ a Secretary of the Board and such other officers and employees as it deems necessary.

"(e) The Board shall at the close of each fiscal year report to the Congress and to the President concerning the action it has taken; and shall make such further reports on the cause of and means of eliminating discrimination and such recommendations for further legislation as may appear desirable.

"(f) All officers, agents, attorneys, and employees of the Commission shall be subject to the provisions of section 9 of the Act of August 2, 1939, as amended (the Hatch Act), notwithstanding any exemption contained in such section.

"(g) The principal office of the Board shall be in the District of Columbia, but it may meet or exercise any or all of its powers at any other place.

"ADMINISTRATOR OF THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

"SEC. 7. (a) The Office shall be composed of the Administrator and such officers and employees appointed by him as may be necessary to enable him to carry out his functions. The Administrator shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a term of four years, and shall be eligible for reappointment. The Administrator shall receive a salary of $27,500 per year.

"(b) The Administrator shall have power—

"(1) to cooperate with and utilize regional, State, local, and other agencies, both public and private, and individuals;

"(2) to pay to witnesses whose depositions are taken or who are summoned before the Administrator or any of his agents the same witness and mileage fees as are paid to witnesses in the courts of the United States;

"(3) to furnish to persons subject to this Act such technical assistance as they may request to further their compliance with this Act or an order issued thereunder;

"(4) upon the request of any employer, whose employees or some of them refuse or threaten to refuse to cooperate in effectuating the provisions of this Act, to assist in such effectuation by conciliation or other remedial action;

"(5) to make such technical studies as are appropriate to effectuate the purposes and policies of this Act and to make the results of such studies available to interested governmental and nongovernmental agencies; and

"(6) to refer matters to the Attorney General with recommendations for the institution of a civil action by the Attorney General under section 10, and to advise, consult, and assist the Attorney General on such matters.

"(c) Attorneys appointed under this section may, at the direction of the Administrator, appear for and represent the Board or Administrator in any case in court.

"(d) The Administrator shall, in any of his educational or promotional activities, cooperate with other departments and agencies in the performance of such educational and promotional activities.

"PREVENTION OF UNLAWFUL EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

"SEC. 8. (a) The Commission is empowered, as hereinafter provided, to prevent any person from engaging in any unlawful employment practice as set forth in sections 3 and 4.

"(b) Whenever a verified written charge has been filed by or on behalf of any person claiming to be aggrieved, or a verified written charge has been filed by the Administrator where he has reasonable cause to believe a violation of this Act has occurred, that any person subject to the Act has engaged in any unlawful employment practice, the Administrator shall notify the person charged with the commission of an unlawful employment practice (hereinafter referred to as the "respondent") of such charge and shall investigate such charge and if he shall determine after such preliminary investigation that probable cause exists for crediting such written charge, he shall endeavor to eliminate any unlawful employment practice by informal methods of conference, conciliation, and persuasion. Nothing said or done during and as a part of such endeavors may be used as evidence in any subsequent proceeding.

"(c) If the Administrator fails to effect the elimination of such unlawful practice and to obtain voluntary compliance with this Act, or in advance thereof if circumstances warrant, the Administrator shall issue and cause to be served upon the respondent a complaint stating the charges in that respect, together with a notice of hearing before the Board, or a member thereof, or before a designated agent, at a place therein fixed, not less than ten days after the service of such complaint. In the event the Administrator shall fail or refuse to issue such complaint within a reasonable time, tht person filing such charge may petition the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, or a district court of the United States within any district wherein the unfair employment practice in question is alleged to have occurred or wherein such person resides or transacts business, and such courts shall have jurisdiction to require the Administrator to issue such complaint. No complaint shall issue based upon any unlawful employment practice occurring more than six months prior to the filing of the charge with the Board unless the person aggrieved thereby was prevented from filing such charge by reason of service in the Armed Forces, in which event the period of military service shall not be included in computing the six-month period.

"(d) The respondent shall have the right to file a verified answer to such complaint and to appear at such hearing in person or otherwise, with or without counsel, to present evidence and to examine and cross-examine witnesses.

"(e) The Administrator shall have the power reasonably and fairly to amend any complaint, and the respondent shall have like power to amend its answer.

"(f) All testimony shall be taken under oath.

"(g) At the conclusion of a hearing before a member or designated agent of the Board, such member or agent shall transfer the entire record thereof to the Board, together with his recommended decision and copies thereof shall be served upon the parties. The Board, or a panel of three qualified members designated by it to sit and act as the Board in such case, shall afford the parties an opportunity to be heard on such record, including oral argument, at a time and place to be specified upon reasonable notice. In its discretion, the Board upon notice may take further testimony. In the event a member of the Board conducts the hearing specified in subsection (c) of this section, such member shall be disqualified from participating in further proceedings before the Board concerning the case in which he has been acting as hearing officer.

"(h) With the approval of the member or designated agent conducting the hearing, a case may be ended at any time prior to the transfer of the record thereof to the Board by agreement between the parties for the elimination of the alleged unlawful employment practice on mutually satisfactory terms.

"(i) If, upon the preponderance of the evidence, including all the testimony taken, the Board shall find that the respondent engaged in any unlawful employment practice, the Board shall state its findings of fact and shall issue and cause to be served on such person and other parties an order requiring such person to cease and desist from such unlawful employment practice and to take such affirmative action, including reinstatement or hiring of employees, with or without back pay (payable by the employer, employment agency, or labor organization, or any of them, as the case may be, to the extent responsible for the discrimination), as will effectuate the policies of the Act: *Provided*, That interim earnings or amounts earnable with reasonable diligence by the person or persons discriminated against shall operate to reduce the back pay otherwise allowable. Such order may further require such respondent to make reports from time to time showing the extent to which it has complied with the order. If the Board shall find that the respondent has not engaged in any unlawful employment practice, the Board shall state its findings of fact and shall issue and cause to be served on such person and other parties an order dismissing the complaint. No order of the Board shall require the admission or reinstatement of an individual as a member of a union or the hiring, reinstatement, or promotion of an individual as an employee, or the payment to him of any back pay, if such individual was refused admission, suspended, or expelled or was refused employment or advancement or was suspended or discharged for any reason other than discrimination on account of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

"(j) Until a transcript of the record in a case shall have been filed in a court, as hereinafter provided, the case may at any time be ended by agreement between the parties, approved by the Board, for the elimination of the alleged unlawful employment practice on mutually satisfactory terms, and the Board may, upon reasonable notice and in such manner as it shall deem proper, modify or set aside, in whole or in part, any finding or order made or issued by it.

"(k) The proceedings held pursuant to this section shall be conducted in conformity with the standards and limitations of sections 5, 6, 7, 8, and 11 of the Administrative Procedure Act.

"JUDICIAL REVIEW

"SEC. 9. (a) The Administrator shall have power to petition any United States court of appeals or, if the court of appeals to which application might be made is in vacation any district court within any circuit or district, respectively, wherein the unlawful employment practices in question occurred for the enforcement of such order and for appropriate temporary relief or restraining order, and shall certify and file in the court to which petition is made a transcript of the entire record in the proceeding, including the pleadings and testimony upon which such order was entered and the findings and the order of the Board. Upon such filing the court shall conduct further proceedings in conformity with the standards, procedures, and limitations established by section 10 of the Administrative Procedure Act.

"(b) Upon such filing the court shall cause notice thereof to be served upon such respondents and thereupon shall have jurisdiction of the proceeding and of the question determined therein and shall have power to grant such temporary relief or restraining order as it deems just and proper and to make and enter upon the pleadings, testimony, and proceedings set forth in such transcript a decree enforcing, modifying, and enforcing as so modified, or setting aside in whole or in part the order of the Board.

"(c) No objection that has not been urged before the Board, its member, or agent shall be considered by the court, unless the failure or neglect to urge such objection shall be excused because of extraordinary circumstances.

"(d) The findings of the Board with respect to questions of fact if supported by substantial evidence on the record considered as a whole shall be conclusive.

"(e) If either party shall apply to the court for leave to adduce additional evidence and shall show to the satisfaction of the court that such additional evidence is material and that there were reasonable grounds for the failure to adduce such evidence in the hearing before the Board, its member, or agent, the court may order such additional evidence to be taken before the Board, its member, or agent, and to be made a part of the transcript.

"(f) The Board may modify its findings as to the facts, or make new findings, by reason of additional evidence so taken and filed, and it shall file such modified or new findings, which findings with respect to questions of fact it supported by substantial evidence on the record considered as a whole shall be conclusive, and its recommendations, if any, for the modification or setting aside of its original order.

"(g) The jurisdiction of the court shall be exclusive and its judgment and decree shall be final, except that the same shall be subject to review by the appropriate United States court of appeals, if application was made to the district court or other United States court as hereinabove provided, and by the Supreme Court of the United States as provided in title 28, United States Code, section 1254.

"(h) Any person aggrieved by a final order of the Board may obtain a review of such order in any United States court of appeals of the judicial circuit wherein the unlawful employment practice in question was alleged to have been engaged in by filing in such court a written petition praying that the order of the Board be modified or set aside. A copy of such petition shall be forthwith served upon the Board and thereupon the Administrator shall file in the court a transcript of the entire record in the proceeding certified by the Board, including the pleadings and testimony upon which the order complained of was entered and the findings and order of the Board. Upon such filing, the court shall proceed in the same manner as in the case of an application by the Administrator under subsections (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), and (f), and shall have the same exclusive jurisdiction to grant to the petitioners or to the Board such temporary relief or restraining order as it deems just and proper, and in like manner to make and enter a decree enforcing, modifying and enforcing as so modified, or setting aside in whole or in part the order of the Board.

"(i) Upon such filing by a person aggrieved the reviewing court shall conduct further proceedings in conformity with the standards, procedures, and limitations established by section 10 of the Administrative Procedure Act.

"(j) The commencement of proceedings under this section shall not, unless specifically ordered by the court, operate as a stay of the Board's order.

"(k) When granting appropriate temporary relief or a restraining order, or making and entering a decree enforcing, modifying and enforcing as so modified, or setting aside in whole or in part an order of the Board, as provided in this section, the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity shall not be limited by the Act entitled 'An Act to amend the Judicial Code and to define and limit the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity, and for other purposes', approved March 23, 1932 (29 U.S.C. 101–115).

"(l) Petitions filed under this Act shall be heard expeditiously.

"CIVIL ACTIONS BY ATTORNEY GENERAL

"SEC. 10. (a) Whenever the Administrator has reasonable cause to believe that any person or group of persons is engaged in a pattern or practice of resistance to the full enjoyment of any of the rights secured by this Act, and that the pattern or practice is of such a nature and is intended to deny the full exercise of the rights herein described, and no agreement has been made under section 9(b) with the appropriate State agency in the State in which such pattern or practice occurred, or if such agreement has been made but such State agency has failed or is unable to remedy such pattern or practice, the Administrator may request the Attorney General to, bring a civil action in the appropriate district court of the United States by filing with it a complaint (1) signed by him (or in his absence the Acting Attorney General), (2) setting forth facts pertaining to such pattern or practice, and (3) requesting such relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order against the person or persons responsible for such pattern or practice, as he deems necessary to insure the full enjoyment of the rights herein described.

"(b) The district courts of the United States shall have and shall exercise jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section, and in any such proceeding the Attorney General may file with the clerk of such court a request that a court of three judges be convened to hear and determine the case. Such request by the Attorney General shall be accompanied by a certificate that, in his opinion, the case is of general public importance. A copy of the certificate and request for a three-judge court shall be immediately furnished by such clerk to the chief judge of the circuit (or, in his absence, the presiding circuit judge of the circuit) in which the case is pending. Upon receipt of such request it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the circuit or the presiding circuit judge, as the case may be, to designate immediately three judges in such circuit, of whom at least one shall be a circuit judge and another of whom shall be a district judge of the court in which the proceeding was instituted, to hear and determine such case, and it shall be the duty of the judges so designated to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to be in every way expedited. An appeal from the final judgment of such court will lie to the Supreme Court.

"In the event the Attorney General fails to file such a request in any such proceeding, it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the district (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) in which the case is pending immediately to designate a judge in such district to hear and determine the case. In the event that no judge in the district is available to hear and determine the case, the chief judge of the district, or the acting chief judge, as the case may be, shall certify this fact to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) who shall then designate a district or circuit judge of the circuit to hear and determine the case.

"It shall be the duty of the judge designated pursuant to this section to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date and to cause the case to be in every way expedited.

"EFFECT ON STATE LAWS

"SEC. 11. Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to exempt or relieve any person from any liability, duty, penalty, or punishment provided by any present or future law of any State or political subdivision of a State, other than any such law which purports to require or permit the doing of any act which would be an unlawful employment practice under this Act.

"INVESTIGATIONS, INSPECTIONS, RECORDS, STATE AGENCIES

"SEC. 12. (a) In connection with any investigation of a charge filed under section 8, the Administrator or his designated representative shall at all reasonable times have access to, for the purposes of examination, and the right to copy any evidence of any person being investigated or proceeded against that relates to unlawful employment practices covered by this Act and is relevant to the charge under investigation.

"(b) The Commission shall cooperate with State and local agencies charged with the administration of State fair employment practices laws and, with the consent of such agencies, may for the purpose of carrying out its functions and duties under this Act and within the limitation of funds appropriated specifically for such purpose, utilize the services of such agencies and their employees and, notwithstanding any other provision of law, may reimburse such agencies and their employees for services rendered to assist the Commission in carrying out this Act. In furtherance of such cooperative efforts, the Board shall enter into written agreements with such State or local agencies as consent thereto and such agreements shall include provisions under which the Commission shall refrain from processing a charge in any cases or class of cases specified in such agreements and under which no person may file a complaint under section 8(b) in any cases or class of cases so specified, or under which the Commission shall relieve any person or class of persons in such State or locality from requirements imposed under this section. The Board shall rescind any such agreement whenever it determines that the agreement no longer serves the interest of effective enforcement of this Act.

"(c) Except as provided in subsection (d), every employer, employment agency, and labor organization subject to this Act shall (1) make and keep such records relevant to the determinations of whether unlawful employment practices have been or are being committed, (2) preserve such records for such periods, and (3) make such reports therefrom, as the Board shall prescribe by regulation or order, after public hearing, as reasonable, necessary, or appropriate for the enforcement of this Act or the regulations or orders thereunder. The Board shall, by regulation, require each employer, labor organization, and joint labor-management committee subject to this Act which controls an apprenticeship or other training program to maintain such records as are reasonably necessary to carry out the purpose of this Act, including, but not limited to, a list of applicants who wish to participate in such program, including the chronological order in which such applications were received, and shall furnish to the Commission, upon request, a detailed description of the manner in which persons are selected to participate in the apprenticeship or other training program. Any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee which believes that the application to it of any regulation or order issued under this section would result in undue hardship may (1) apply to the Board for an exemption from the application of such regulation or order, or (2) bring a civil action in the United States district court for the district where such records are kept. If the Board or the court, as the case may be, finds that the application of the regulation or order to the employer, employment agency, or labor organization in question would impose an undue hardship, the Board or the court, as the case may be, may grant appropriate relief.

"(d) The provisions of subsection (c) shall not apply to any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee with respect to matters occurring in any State or political subdivision thereof which has a fair employment practice law during any period in which such employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee is subject to such law, except that the Board may require such notations on records which such employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee keeps or is required to keep as are necessary because of differences in coverage or methods of enforcement between the State or local law and the provisions of this Act. Where an employer is required by Executive Order 10925, issued March 6, 1961, or by any other Executive order prescribing fair employment practices for Government contractors and subcontractors, or by rules or regulations issued thereunder, to file reports relating to his employment practices with any Federal agency or committee, and he is substantially in compliance with such requirements, the Board shall not require him to file additional reports pursuant to subsection (c) of this section.

"(e) It shall be unlawful for any officer or employee of the Commission to make public in any manner whatever any information obtained by the Commission pursuant to its authority under this section prior to the institution of any proceeding under this Act involving such information. Any officer or employee of the Commission who shall make public in any manner whatever any information in violation of this subsection shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not more than one year.

"INVESTIGATORY POWERS

"Sec. 13. (a) For the purposes of any investigation or survey provided for in this Act, the provisions of sections 9 and 10 of the Federal Trade Commission Act of September 16, 1914, as amended (15 U.S.C. 49, 50), are hereby made applicable to the jurisdiction, power, and duties of the Commission, except that the attendance of a witness may not be required outside of the State where he is found, resides, or transacts business, and the production of evidence may not be required outside the State where such evidence is kept.

"(b) The several departments and agencies of the Government, when directed by the President, shall furnish the Commission, upon its request, all records, papers, and information in their possession relating to any matter before the Commission.

"NOTICES TO BE POSTED

"Sec. 14. (a) Every employer, employment agency, and labor organization, as the case may be, shall post and keep posted in conspicuous places upon its premises where notices to employees, applicants for employment, and members are customarily posted a notice to be prepared or approved by the Board setting forth excerpts from, or summaries of, the pertinent provisions of this Act and information pertinent to the filing of a complaint.

"(b) A willful violation of this section shall be punishable by a fine of not more than $100 for each separate offense.

"VETERANS' PREFERENCE

"Sec. 15. Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to repeal or modify any Federal, State, territorial, or local law creating special rights or preference for veterans.

"RULES AND REGULATIONS

"Sec. 16. (a) The Board shall have authority from time to time to issue, amend, or rescind suitable procedural regulations to carry out the provisions of this Act. Regulations issued under this section shall be in conformity with the standards and limitations of the Administrative Procedure Act.

"(b) In any action or proceeding based on any alleged unlawful employment practice, no person shall be subject to any liability or punishment for or on account of (1) the commission by such person of an unlawful employment practice if he pleads and proves that the act or omission complained of was in good faith, in conformity with, and in reliance on any written interpretation or opinion of the Board, or (2) the failure of such person to publish and file any information required by any provision of this Act if he pleads and proves that he failed to publish and file such information in good faith, in conformity with the instructions of the Board issued under this Act regarding the filing of such information. Such a defense, if established, shall be a bar to the action or proceeding, notwithstanding that (A) after such act or omission, such interpretation or opinion is modified or rescinded or is determined by judicial authority to be invalid or of no legal effect, or (B) after publishing or filing the description and annual reports, such publication or filing is determined by judicial authority not to be in conformity with the requirements of this Act.

"FORCIBLY RESISTING THE COMMISSION OR ITS REPRESENTATIVES

"Sec. 17. The provisions of section 111, title 18, United States Code, shall apply to officers, agents, and employees of the Commission in the performance of their official duties.

"Sec. 18. The President shall, as soon as feasible after the enactment of this Act, convene one or more conferences for the purpose of enabling the leaders of groups whose members will be affected by this Act to become familiar with the rights afforded and obligations imposed by its provisions, and for the purpose of making plans which will result in the fair and effective administration of this Act. The President shall invite the participation in such conference or conferences of (1) the members of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, (2) the members of the Commission on Civil Rights, (3) representatives of State and local agencies engaged in furthering equal employment opportunity, (4) representatives of private agencies engaged in furthering equal employment opportunity, and (5) representatives of employers, labor organizations, and employment agencies who will be subject to this Act.

"REPEAL OF TITLE VII OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964; EFFECT THEREOF

"Sec. 19. (a) Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is repealed.

"(b) All orders, determinations, rules, regulations, and certificates which have been issued or made by the Commission, the Attorney General, or any court of competent jurisdiction, under any provision of law repealed or amended by this Act, and which are in effect at the time this section takes effect, shall continue in effect according to their terms until modified, terminated, superseded, set aside, or repealed by the Commission or the Attorney General, as the case may be, or by any court of competent jurisdiction, or by operation of law.

"(c) Proceedings pending before the Commission at the time this section takes effect shall be continued before the Commission, but the provisions of this Act shall apply with respect to such proceedings.

"(d) The provisions of this Act shall not affect suits commenced prior to the date of enactment of this Act by an aggrieved person pursuant to section 706(e) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, or by the Attorney General pursuant to section 707 of such Act, and all such suits shall be continued by such aggrieved person or the Attorney General, as the case may be, proceedings therein had, appeals therein taken, and judgments therein rendered, in the same manner and with the same effect as if this Act had not been passed.

"(e) Such of the unexpended balances of appropriations available for use by the Commission to carry out title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 shall be available for use in connection with the exercise and performance of the powers and duties vested in and imposed upon the Commission by this Act.

"(f) Nothing in this Act shall change the status of the officers and employees under the jurisdiction of the Commission on the date of enactment of this Act.

"SURVEY BY ADMINISTRATOR OF APPRENTICESHIP OR OTHER TRAINING PROGRAMS

"Sec. 20. (a) The Administrator shall conduct a continuing survey of the operation of apprenticeship or other training or retraining programs, including on-the-job training programs, to determine if the employers, labor organizations, or joint labor-management committees controlling such programs are engaged in unlawful employment practices with respect to the operation of such programs.

"(b) Notwithstanding any provision of section 11, in conducting such survey, the Administrator shall at all reasonable times have access to any records maintained by an employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee pursuant to (1) the regulations prescribed by the Board under the second sentence of section 9(c), or (2) any fair employment practice law of a State or political subdivision thereof.

"(c) The Administrator shall make a full and complete quarterly report to the Congress, containing the results of such survey during the preceding three months, and such report shall be made available to the public upon request. Section 11(e) shall not apply to the publication of any report under this subsection.

"SHORT TITLE

"Sec. 21. This Act may be cited as the 'Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1965'."

Mr. GOODELL (interrupting the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the substitute amendment be dispensed with, and that it be printed at this point in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, because the amendment that I am offering permeates the whole bill in various places, and requires the change of words in a large number of the situations, it is offered in the form of a substitute, but as a practical matter it is a simple amendment to the legislation—of serious consequence, but simple to describe.

It would separate the functions of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to judge, prosecute, conciliate, and investigate. It would set up an Administrator who would have the responsibility of investigation, conciliation, and prosecution before the Commission. The Commission would have all the powers that the present Commission has, with the exception of those that are granted to the Administrator.

This is patterned after the present National Labor Relations Board, where the General Counsel has the authority to prosecute before the Board.

It is my view that we are saddling very important and good legislation with an archaic—if you will, model T—type of structure. We are giving the Commission the same kind of authority and responsibility that the old NLRB had in the 1930's, where all these functions were combined under one board. I think administrative history and experience since the 1930's have demonstrated the value of separating these functions and the fairness of separating these functions.

In 1963 there was pending in the Rules Committee essentially the bill that I have incorporated in this substitute. It was sponsored by Mr. Roosevelt. It had full hearings before our subcommittee. We reported it out in the form that I now offer as a substitute. It separated the functions between an administrator and a commission.

At that time it was called too radical a bill. Mr. Roosevelt and I together wrote to the Judiciary Committee. We joined on a bipartisan basis, to ask the Judiciary Commission to incorporate an equal employment opportunity section in the general Civil Rights Act of 1964. We did this because we were quite sure our equal employment opportunity proposal that was before the Rules Committee would not be acted upon by the House and by the Senate in a year when we had major civil rights legislation in a different form.

As a result, a watered-down version of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was put into title VII of the Civil Rights Act. That is the situation that we are moving to correct here. But, unfortunately, in my opinion, we are moving to correct this situation by going back to a full Commission with authority and responsibility for doing all the job. We are not accepting the proposal that emerged from our hearings and our careful deliberations in 1963 in the Roosevelt subcommittee.

I believe that if this substitute is rejected today, we will, within a very limited period of time, come back to change the structure of this law, and to change the responsibilities of the Commission.

The Administrator would be appointed by the President for a term of 4 years, subject to Senate confirmation, very comparable to the General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board. It would take no power, no authority, away from the Federal agency as a whole. It would simply separate the responsibilities and the authority between an Administrator and a Commission.

I believe it is the sensible approach to strengthening the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and I hope it will have the support of the membership today.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

First I should like to direct a question to the gentleman from New York, the sponsor of the substitute amendment.

I wonder whether the gentleman from New York can tell us, since he has indicated he is making really only one change in the bill, but has offered the amendment as a substitute, if the remainder of his substitute amendment is identical, word for word, with the bill before us?

Mr. GOODELL. Yes, it is. I have a number of other minor points, which were discussed in the legislative history. It was proposed to me that perhaps I should incorporate them in this substitute amendment. I have not. The only change made in the substitute is to separate the authority between the Administrator and the Commission and related changes to that.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. The remainder is, word for word, the bill which is before us?

Mr. GOODELL. That is correct.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. I will say to the gentleman that I feel better about the substitute, with that assurance, because I would have been very worried about the interpretation which might have been put by the courts on any changes made in the bill before us other than the one the gentleman is talking about.

I should like to direct my attention to the change which the gentleman described. I believe on a theoretical basis that a good deal could be said for the type of change which the gentleman suggests; that is, separating the functions of counsel from that of Commission in its adjudicatory role.

The gentleman has pointed to the NLRB as an example. I find that a little difficult to take, because I have become sort of a defender of the NLRB, without willing it, and have been called upon frequently to defend the NLRB from attacks mostly from the gentleman's side of the aisle. The critics contend that the NLRB, after which he wants to model this Commission, has not produced fair results and has not carried out the intent of the Congress. Although I contend it has, I am not persuaded that the structure of the NLRB has produced any greater public confidence in its decisions than in the decisions of other quasi-judicial agencies.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GOODELL. I would say in one sentence, I believe the NLRB we now have is an improvement over the Wagner Act NLRB of the 1930's. I believe there are many ways in which we could today improve the performance of the NLRB.

What we will be doing under this bill is going back to the 1930's and setting up a little NLRB to enforce, in instances of discrimination in employment, under the type of structure of the Wagner Act.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. The gentleman is entitled to his opinion. That may be correct; I am not prepared to argue about it.

We will not be going back to the 1930's, however. What we will be doing is following a tried and true, proven system which has been used by the States in their fair employment practice laws.

I should like to point out to the members of the committee that to date, after nearly a year of operation under the present enforcement procedure, which the gentleman from New York and I agree is cumbersome and impractical, there has not yet been one single enforcement procedure completed.

We both want to change that. My preference would be not to use this Commission to demonstrate new ways of doing things. Its functions are urgent and critical. Let us instead adopt that system which has proved to be successful in the States, and then get the Commission rolling and get the law implemented.

Then, perhaps, we could consider the suggestion of the gentleman from New York in a broader context, not merely with respect to equal employment opportunities but also with respect to the Administrative Procedure Act generally. Should we, as a matter of principle, make this change throughout Federal administrative tribunals? That is the context in which we ought to take up this question rather than in the context of trying again something new with the kind of legislation we have before us now.

We should stick with methods which have proved to be successful in the States, the method provided in the bill before us today, of which the gentleman from California [Mr. HAWKINS], is the author.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. As an admitted and acknowledged expert on the NLRB, would not the gentleman agree that introducing this procedure that the gentleman from New York is suggesting would bring in, by the very nature of the procedure, tremendous delays and additional legal costs?

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. First, I want to disclaim I am an expert on the NLRB. I make no such claim. I thank the gentleman for his kind words, but I dispute them.

I am not so sure that it would result in any particular delay. It would result in certain additional difficulties, but the gentleman from New York contends that they would be worth it in improved results. I am not at all sure of that. I say, let us take up that question as one which is distinct by itself and not appropriate to to this bill only.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I think the gentleman from New York's proposal has a great deal of merit. I think it deserves serious consideration by the committee. I believe this would work in a similar manner as the present NLRB is working. I see a distinct advantage in having definitive areas of authority in a program like this, separating the administrative officer's authority and duties from those of the quasi-judicial body. So I want to say, Mr. Chairman, that I support the gentleman's amendment.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, in addition to what my distinguished colleague from Michigan [Mr. O'HARA] said in opposition to this amendment, may I say that I, too, would like to commend the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL] for the wonderful work that he has done in this particular field. Perhaps I think there is some merit in his offering this suggestion, but I submit if reforms are needed in the administrative procedures, we should not entertain those reforms at this particular time without giving it more thorough discussion.

I also submit that some 36 States in following the Federal pattern of leadership have enacted State laws and have done so as a result of the Federal pattern. So, if we at this time switch that leadership or change that leadership and change to a different pattern, it seems to me we throw into some confusion and chaos the pattern of administrative procedure as it exists in these States. We would actually be enacting a law which sets up or continues a commission with the power to cede jurisdiction to the States and having a pattern which is basically different from those of the States. I would say, therefore, while this proposal may have some merit to it—and I certainly think it does—it is both untimely and also conducive to creating confusion and chaos.

For that reason I think it should be opposed.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Goodell].

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

EXEMPTION

Sec. 2. This Act shall not apply to an employer with respect to the employment of aliens outside any State, or to a religious corporation, association, or society with respect to the employment of individuals of a particular religion to perform work connected with the carrying on by such corporation, association, or society of its religious activities or to an educational institution with respect to the employment of individuals to perform work connected with the educational activities of such institution.

DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, SEX, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN

Sec. 3. (a) It shall be unlawful employment practice for an employer—

(1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

(2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

(b) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer for employment, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or to classify or refer for employment any individual on the basis of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

(c) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for a labor organization—

(1) to exclude or to expel from its membership, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;

(2) to limit, segregate, or classify its membership, or to classify or fail or refuse to refer for employment any individual, in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities, or would limit such employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee or as an applicant for employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

(3) to cause or attempt to cause an employer to discriminate against an individual in violation of this section.

(d) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for any employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining, including on-the-job training programs to discriminate against any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in admission to, or employment in, any program established to provide apprenticeship or other training.

(e) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, (1) it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to hire and employ employees, for an employment agency to classify, or refer for employment any individual, for a labor organization to classify its membership or to classify or refer for employment any individual, or for an employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining programs to admit or employ any individual in any such program on the basis of his religion, sex, or national origin in those certain instances where religion, sex, or national origin is a bona fide occupational qualification reasonably necessary to the normal operation of that particular business or enterprise, and (2) it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for a school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning to hire and employ employees of a particular religion if such school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning is, in whole or in substantial part, owned, supported, controlled, or managed by a particular religion or by a particular religious corporation, association, or society, or if the curriculum of such school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning is directed toward the propagation of a particular religion.

(f) As used in this Act, the phrase "unlawful employment practice" shall not be deemed to include any action or measure taken by an employer, labor organization, joint labor-management committee, or employment agency with respect to an individual who is a member of the Communist Party of the United States or of any other organization required to register as a Communist-action or Communist-front organization by final order of the Subversive Activities Control Board pursuant to the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

(g) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to fail or refuse to hire and employ any individual for any position, for an employer to discharge any individual from any position, or for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer any individual for employment in any position, or for a labor organization to fail or refuse to refer any individual for employment in any position, if—

(1) the occupancy of such position, or access to the premises in or upon which any part of the duties of such position is performed or is to be performed, is subject to any requirement imposed in the interest of the national security of the United States under any security program in effect pursuant to or administered under any statute of the United States or any Executive order of the President; and

(2) such individual has not fulfilled or has ceased to fulfill that requirement.

(h) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to apply different standards of compensation, or different terms, conditions, or privileges of employment pursuant to a bona fide seniority or merit system, or a system which measures earnings by quantity or quality of production or to employees who work in different locations, provided that such differences are not the result of an intention to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, nor shall it be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to give and to act upon the results of any professionally developed ability test provided that such test, its administration or action upon the results is not designed, intended, or used to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. It shall not be an unlawful employment practice under this Act for an employer to differentiate upon the basis of sex in determining the amount of the wages or compensation paid or to be paid to employees of such employer if such differentiation is authorized by the provisions of section 6(d) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended (29 U.S.C. 206(d)).

(i) Nothing contained in this Act shall apply to any business or enterprise on or near an Indian reservation with respect to any publicly announced employment practice of such business or enterprise under which a preferential treatment is given to any individual because he is an Indian living on or near a reservation.

(j) Nothing contained in this Act shall be interpreted to require any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee subject to this Act to grant preferential treatment to any individual or to any group because of the race, color, religion, sex, or national origin of such individual or group on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of any race, color, religion, sex, or national origin employed by any employer, referred or classified for employment by any employment agency or labor organization, admitted to membership or classified by any labor organization, or admitted to, or employed in, any apprenticeship or other training program, in comparison with the total number or percentage of persons of such race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any community, State, section, or other area, or in the available work force in any community, State, section, or other area.

OTHER UNLAWFUL EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

Mr. DENT (interrupting the reading of the bill). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that section 2 be considered as read and open to amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, at the time this bill was before the committee I suggested that we add to section 2 a prohibition on discriminating because of age. This bill has done a great deal of good throughout the country. It now bars discrimination because of race, religion, national origin, or sex. But age is excluded. We see here from the first year of operation of the Commission that age continues to be a serious problem. The commission points out that out of 4,893 complaints handled to date by the Commission, 1,359 were not recommended for investigation or referred to a State or local agency. The main reason for rejecting these cases has been because they were not covered by title VII mainly because they involved age discrimination complaints.

Mr. Chairman, it is significant that the commission lists age as the No. 1 reason.

Certainly, Mr. Chairman, as we look over the want ads today in this era of labor shortages and job surpluses, we find repeatedly advertisements for employment which restrict the prospective employee to an age, usually under 40.

So, Mr. Chairman, this continues to be, perhaps, one of the most serious problems in this particular period when we have record-breaking employment, and still we have 3.5 million people unemployed.

Mr. Chairman, it is rather significant that the two extremes in the unemployed field are represented by those who are beyond 45 and by those who are under 21 years of age.

Mr. Chairman, our study here in the District of Columbia shows 46 percent of those unemployed in the District of Columbia are between the age of 18 and 21, young people who for the most part are not being employed because of their draft status. It is not that the employers are afraid they will lose these young men to the draft, but they assume a legal obligation for a period of 2 years while the young man is serving his obligation and must have a job waiting for him when he comes back. They do not want to assume this legal obligation. Therefore, they take the easy way out and do not hire him.

Also, Mr. Chairman, as we know, more and more concerns are adopting the policy of not hiring people who are beyond the age of 40. This is because of the cost of the various pension plans and other benefit plans. Some of the insurance people sell employers a package of insurance dealing with health, welfare, and retirement pension, based upon a single premium for employees up to the age of 40. However, the premium escalates after the age of 40.

So, certainly, Mr. Chairman, we have a problem.

I am not going to offer an amendment to put "age" into the bill now, because this is a very complicated problem. But, Mr. Chairman, I wonder if I may have the attention of the chairman of the subcommittee handling this legislation, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT], who I know agrees with me that the problem of age is a serious problem.

I wonder if we cannot get some agreement to the effect that the committee is going to look into the extent of this problem, and see what legislation is necessary in order to deal with this problem, or whether there are other ways of dealing with it, not necessarily in the field of legislation?

Certainly, Mr. Chairman, this is a problem, and it would seem to me that the committee would perform a great public service by looking into the extent of the problem and seeing what solutions can be developed in order to meet it.

Otherwise, Mr. Chairman, this legislation will continue to have a very large hole in it so long as there is discrimination because of age. We really are not carrying out the great promise of America.

I hope the committee can bring before the House a plan which will eliminate discrimination because of age.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, SEX, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN

SEC. 3. (a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer—

(1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

(2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

(b) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer for employment, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or to classify or refer for employment any individual on the basis of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

(c) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for a labor organization—

(1) to exclude or to expel from its membership, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;

(2) to limit, segregate, or classify its membership, or to classify or fail or refuse to refer for employment any individual, in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities, or would limit such employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee or as an applicant for employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

(3) to cause or attempt to cause an employer to discriminate against an individual in violation of this section.

(d) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for any employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining, including on-the-job training programs to discriminate against any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in admission to, or employment in, any program established to provide apprenticeship or other training.

(e) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act (1) it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to hire and employ employees, for an employment agency to classify, or refer for employment any individual, for a labor organization to classify its membership or to classify or refer for employment any individual, or for an employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining programs to admit or employ any individual in any such program, on the basis of his religion, sex, or national origin in those certain instances where religion, sex, or national origin is a bona fide occupational qualification reasonably necessary to the normal operation of that particular business or enterprise, and (2) it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for a school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning to hire and employ employees of a particular religion if such school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning is, in whole or in substantial part, owned, supported, controlled, or managed by a particular religion or by a particular religious corporation, association, or society, or if the curriculum of such school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning is directed toward the propagation of a particular religion.

(f) As used in this Act, the phrase "unlawful employment practice" shall not be deemed to include any action or measure taken by an employer, labor organization, joint labor-management committee, or employment agency with respect to an individual who is a member of the Communist Party of the United States or of any other organization required to register as a Communist-action or Communist-front organization by final order of the Subversive Activities Control Board pursuant to the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

(g) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to fail or refuse to hire and employ any individual for any position, for an employer to discharge any individual from any position, or for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer any individual for employment in any position, or for a labor organization to fail or refuse to refer any individual for employment in any position, if—

(1) the occupancy of such position, or access to the premises in or upon which any part of the duties of such position is performed or is to be performed, is subject to any requirement imposed in the interest of the national security of the United States under any security program in effect pursuant to or administered under any statute of the United States or any Executive order of the President; and

(2) such individual has not fulfilled or has ceased to fulfill that requirement.

(h) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to apply different standards of compensation, or different terms, conditions, or privileges of employment pursuant to a bona fide seniority or merit system, or a system which measures earnings by quantity or quality of production or to employees who work in different locations, provided that such differences are not the result of an intention to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, nor shall it be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to give and to act upon the results of any professionally developed ability test provided that such test, its administration or action upon the results is not designed, intended, or used to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. It shall not be an unlawful employment practice under this Act for any employer to differentiate upon the basis of sex in determining the amount of the wages or compensation paid or to be paid to employees of such employer if such differentiation is authorized by the provisions of section 6(d) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended (29 U.S.C. 206(d)).

(i) Nothing contained in this Act shall apply to any business or enterprise on or near an Indian reservation with respect to any publicly announced employment practice of such business or enterprise under which a preferential treatment is given to any individual because he is an Indian living on or near a reservation.

(j) Nothing contained in this Act shall be interpreted to require any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee subject to this Act to grant preferential treatment to any individual or to any group because of the race, color, religion, sex, or national origin of such individual or group on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of any race, color, religion, sex, or national origin employed by any employer, referred or classified for employment by any employment agency or labor organization, admitted to membership or classified by any labor organization, or admitted to, or employed in, any apprenticeship or other training program, in comparison with the total number or percentage of persons of such race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any community, State, section, or other area, or in the available work force in any community, State, section, or other area.

Mr. DENT (during reading of section 3). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that section 3 be considered as read and open for amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to section 3?

If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

OTHER UNLAWFUL EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

SEC. 4. (a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to discriminate against any of his employees or applicants for employment, for an employment agency to discriminate against any individual, or for a labor organization to discriminate against any member thereof or applicant for membership because he has opposed any practice made an unlawful employment practice by this Act, or because he has made a charge, testified, assisted, or participated in any manner in an investigation, proceeding, or hearing under this Act.

(b) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer, labor organization, or employment agency to print or publish or cause to be printed or published any notice or advertisement relating to employment by such an employer or membership in or any classification or referral for employment by such a labor organization, or relating to any classification or referral for employment by such an employment agency, indicating any preference, limitation, specification, or discrimination, based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, except that such a notice or advertisement may indicate a preference, limitation, specification, or discrimination based on religion, sex, or national origin when religion, sex, or national origin is a bona fide occupational qualification for employment.

Mr. DENT (during reading of section 4). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that section 4 be considered as read, and open for amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. In there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to section 4?

If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

SEC. 5. (a) The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission created and established by section 705 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is hereby continued as an agency of the United States, and shall be composed of five members, not more than three of whom shall be members of the same political party, appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Members serving on such Commission on the date of enactment of this Act shall continue to serve for the remainder of the terms for which they were originally appointed. The successors to such members shall be appointed for terms of five years each, except that any individual chosen to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the member whom he shall succeed. The President shall designate one member to serve as Chairman of the Commission, and one member to serve as Vice Chairman. The Chairman shall be responsible on behalf of the Commission for the administrative operations of the Commission, and shall appoint, in accordance with the civil service laws, such officers, agents, attorneys, and employees as it deems necessary to assist it in the performance of its functions and to fix their compensation in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. The Vice Chairman shall act as Chairman in the absence or disability of the Chairman or in the event of a vacancy in that office.

(b) A vacancy in the Commission shall not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the Commission and three members thereof shall constitute a quorum.

(c) The Commission shall have an official seal which shall be judicially noticed.

(d) The Commission shall at the close of each fiscal year report to the Congress and to the President concerning the action it has taken; the names, salaries, and duties of all individuals in its employ and the moneys it has disbursed; and shall make such further reports on the cause of and means of eliminating discrimination and such recommendations for further legislation as may appear desirable.

(e) The Federal Executive Pay Act of 1956, as amended (5 U.S.C. 2201–2209), is further amended—

(1) by adding to section 105 thereof (5 U.S.C. 2204) the following clause:

"(32) Chairman, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission"; and

(2) by adding to clause (45) of section 106(a) thereof (5 U.S.C. 2205(a)) the following: "Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (4)."

(f) The principal office of the Commission shall be in or near the District of Columbia, but it may meet or exercise any or all its powers at any other place. The Commission may establish such regional or State offices as it deems necessary to accomplish the purpose of this Act.

(g) The Commission shall have power—

(1) to cooperate with and, with their consent, utilize regional, State, local, and other agencies both public and private, and individuals;

(2) to pay to witnesses whose depositions are taken or who are summoned before the Commission or any of its agents the same witness and mileage fees as are paid to witnesses in the courts of the United States;

(3) to furnish to persons subject to this Act such technical assistance as they may request to further their compliance with this Act or any order issued thereunder;

(4) upon the request of (i) any employer, whose employees or some of them, or (ii) any labor organization, whose members or some of them, refuse or threaten to refuse to cooperate in effectuating the provisions of this Act, to assist in such effectuation by conciliation or such other remedial action as is provided by this Act;

(5) to make such technical studies as are appropriate to effectuate the purposes and policies of this Act and to make the results of such studies available to the public;

(6) to refer matters to the Attorney General with recommendations for the institution of a civil action by the Attorney General under section 7, and to advise, consult, and assist the Attorney General on such matters.

(h) Attorneys appointed under this section may, at the direction of the Commission, appear for and represent the Commission in any case in court.

(i) The Commission shall, in any of its educational or promotional activities, cooperate with other departments and agencies in the performance of such educational and promotional activities.

(j) All officers, agents, attorneys, and employees of the Commission shall be subject to the provisions of section 9 of the Act of August 2, 1939, as amended (the Hatch Act), notwithstanding any exemption contained in such section.

Mr. DENT (during reading of section 5). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that section 5 be considered as read and open for amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to section 5?

If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

PREVENTION OF UNLAWFUL EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

SEC. 6. (a) The Commission is empowered, as hereinafter provided, to prevent any person from engaging in any unlawful employment practice as set forth in section 3 or 4.

(b) Whenever a written charge has been filed by or on behalf of any person claiming to be aggrieved, or a written charge has been filed by a member of the Commission, that any person subject to the Act has engaged in any unlawful employment practice, the Commission shall notify the person charged with the commission of an unlawful employment practice (hereinafter referred to as the "respondent") of such charge and shall investigate such charge and if it shall determine after such preliminary investigation that probable cause exists for crediting such written charge, it shall endeavor to eliminate any unlawful employment practice by informal methods of conference, conciliation, and persuasion. Nothing said or done during and as a part of such endeavors may be used as evidence in any subsequent proceeding.

(c)(1) If the Commission fails to effect the elimination of such unlawful practice and to obtain voluntary compliance with this Act, or in advance thereof if circumstances warrant, the Commission shall have power to issue and cause to be served upon the respondent a complaint stating the charges in that respect, together with a notice of hearing before the Commission, or a member thereof, or before a designated agent, at a place therein fixed, not less than ten days after the service of such complaint. No complaint shall issue based upon any unlawful employment practice occurring more than one year prior to the filing of the charge with the Commission unless the person aggrieved thereby was prevented from filing such charge by reason of service in the Armed Forces, in which event the period of military service shall not be included in computing the one-year period.

(2) The respondent shall have the right to file a verified answer to such complaint and to appear at such hearing in person or otherwise, with or without counsel, to present evidence and to examine and cross-examine witnesses.

(d)(1) The Commission or member or designated agent conducting such hearing shall have the power reasonably and fairly to amend any complaint, and the respondent shall have like power to amend its answer.

(2) All testimony shall be taken under oath.

(3) The member of the Commission who filed a charge shall not participate in a hearing thereon.

(4) At the conclusion of a hearing before a member or designated agent of the Commission, such member or agent shall transfer the entire record thereof to the Commission, together with his recommended decision and copies thereof shall be served upon the parties. The Commission, or a panel of three qualified members designated by it to sit and act as the Commission in such case, shall afford the parties an opportunity to be heard

on such record at a time and place to be specified upon reasonable notice. In its discretion, the Commission upon notice may take further testimony.

(e) With the approval of the member or designated agent conducting the hearing, a case may be ended at any time prior to the transfer of the record thereof to the Commission by agreement between the parties for the elimination of the alleged unlawful employment practice on mutually satisfactory terms.

(f) If, upon the preponderance of the evidence, including all the testimony taken, the Commission shall find that the respondent engaged in any unlawful employment practice, the Commission shall state its findings of fact and shall issue and cause to be served on such person and other parties an order requiring such persons to cease and desist from such unlawful employment practice and to take such affirmative action, including reinstatement or hiring of employees, with or without backpay (payable by the employer, employment agency, or labor organization, as the case may be, responsible for the discrimination), as will effectuate the policies of the Act: *Provided*, That interim earnings or amounts earnable with reasonable diligence by the person or persons discriminated against shall operate to reduce the backpay otherwise allowable. Such order may further require such respondent to make reports from time to time showing the extent to which it has complied with the order. If the Commission shall find that the respondent has not engaged in any unlawful employment practice, the Commission shall state its findings of fact and shall issue and cause to be served on such person and other parties an order dismissing the complaint.

(g) Until a transcript of the record in a case shall have been filed in a court, as hereinafter provided, the case may at any time be ended by agreement between the parties, approved by the Commission, for the elimination of the alleged unlawful employment practice on mutually satisfactory terms, and the Commission may at any time, upon reasonable notice and in such manner as it shall deem proper, modify or set aside, in whole or in part, any finding or order made or issued by it.

(h) The proceedings held pursuant to the preceding subsections of this section shall be conducted in conformity with the standards and limitations of sections 5, 6, 7, 8, and 11 of the Administrative Procedure Act.

(i) (1) The Commission shall have power to petition any United States court of appeals or, if the court of appeals to which application might be made is in vacation, any district court within any circuit or district, respectively, wherein the unlawful employment practice in question occurred, or wherein the respondent resides or transacts business, for the enforcement of such order and for appropriate temporary relief or restraining order, and shall certify and file in the court to which petition is made a transcript of the entire record in the proceeding, including the pleadings and testimony upon which such order was entered and the findings and the order of the Commission. Upon such filing, the court shall conduct further proceedings in conformity with the standards, procedures, and limitations established by section 10 of the Administrative Procedure Act.

(2) Upon such filing the court shall cause notice thereof to be served upon such respondent and thereupon shall have jurisdiction of the proceeding and of the question determined therein and shall have power to grant such temporary relief or restraining order as it deems just and proper and to make and enter upon the pleadings, testimony, and proceedings set forth in such transcript a decree enforcing, modifying, and enforcing as so modified, or setting aside in whole or in part the order of the Commission.

(3) No objection that has not been urged before the Commission, its member, or agent shall be considered by the court, unless the failure or neglect to urge such objection shall be excused because of extraordinary circumstances.

(4) The findings of the Commission with respect to questions of fact if supported by substantial evidence on the record considered as a whole shall be conclusive.

(5) If either party shall apply to the court for leave to adduce additional evidence and shall show to the satisfaction of the court that such additional evidence is material and that there were reasonable grounds for the failure to adduce such evidence in the hearing before the Commission, its member, or agent, the court may order such additional evidence to be taken before the Commission, its member, or agent, and to be made a part of the transcript.

(6) The Commission may modify its findings as to the facts, or make new findings, by reason of additional evidence so taken and filed, and it shall file such modified or new findings, which findings with respect to questions of fact if supported by substantial evidence on the record considered as a whole shall be conclusive, and its recommendations, if any, for the modification or setting aside of its original order.

(7) The jurisdiction of the court shall be exclusive and its judgment and decree shall be final, except that the same shall be subject to review by the appropriate United States court of appeals, if application was made to the district court or other United States court as hereinabove provided, and by the Supreme Court of the United States as provided in title 28, United States Code, section 1254.

(j) (1) Any person aggrieved by a final order of the Commission may obtain a review of such order in any United States court of appeals of the judicial circuit wherein the unlawful employment practice in question was alleged to have been engaged in or wherein such person resides or transacts business or the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, by filing in such court a written petition praying that the order of the Commission be modified or set aside. A copy of such petition shall be forthwith served upon the Commission and thereupon the aggrieved party shall file in the court a transcript of the entire record in the proceeding certified by the Commission, including the pleadings and testimony upon which the order complained of was entered and the findings and order of the Commission. Upon such filing, the court shall proceed in the same manner as in the case of an application by the Commission under subsection (i), and shall have the same exclusive jurisdiction to grant to the petitioners or to the Commission such temporary relief or restraining order as it deems just and proper, and in like manner to make and enter a decree enforcing, modifying, and enforcing as so modified, or setting aside in whole or in part the order of the Commission.

(2) Upon such filing by a person aggrieved the reviewing court shall conduct further proceedings in conformity with the standards, procedures, and limitations established by section 10 of the Administrative Procedure Act.

(k) The commencement of proceedings under this section shall not, unless specifically ordered by the court, operate as a stay of the Commission's order.

(l) When granting appropriate temporary relief or a restraining order, or making and entering a decree enforcing, modifying, and enforcing as so modified, or setting aside in whole or in part an order of the Commission, as provided in this section, the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity shall not be limited by the Act entitled "An Act to amend the Judicial Code and to define and limit the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity, and for other purposes", approved March 23, 1932 (29 U.S.C. 101-115).

(m) Petitions filed under this Act shall be heard expeditiously.

Mr. DENT (during reading of section 6). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that section 6 be considered as read and open for amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GLENN ANDREWS

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GLENN ANDREWS: On page 16, line 22 through line 23, strike out the words "or a written charge has been filed by a member of the Commission", and on page 18 strike out all of lines 13 and 14, and on line 15 strike out "(4)" and insert "(3)".

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I am interested in the third set of responsibilities that have been imposed on this Commission, and I refer particularly to the language contained on page 16 of the bill, lines 22 and 23 which states: "or a written charge has been filed by a member of the Commission,".

According to my interpretation of this language, this gives the Commission or any member of the Commission the right and the responsibility to go touring around through the country looking for whatever they may find in the way of what they judge to be an unlawful employment practice. It would, to my way of thinking, allow him to walk into any firm and say: "You have an imbalanced ratio of employment."

I do not know whether this is what is intended by this language. But if you put in the hands of the Commission the judicial function and the prosecuting function and if you put into their hands such a police function, it will allow them to walk down through any section of any city and to walk into any building and simply say: "You do not have the proper sort of balance so far as the races are concerned in your organization, and therefore I charge you with an unfair employment practice."

I think there are three powers involved in the functions of this Commission. We have tried to eliminate one of them already. But it seems to me the investigation, or police function of this Commission, should be limited by taking out of this proposed bill their authority to walk into any organization, on their own volition, and simply say, "You are guilty of unfair employment practices."

Where there is no grievance or complaint registered I think that is most un-American that this Commission should have the right and the power to be able to initiate the complaints, hear the complaints, judge the complaints, and mete out the punishment for the crime.

Perhaps some may say that that is a figment of my imagination and that this could not happen. I call your attention to the activities of other commissions, particularly having to do with integration in the public schools. I think the commissions that have been involved in that have been going into some States saying, "You do not have the proper sets of ratios." I do not think it is beyond the realm of possibility to see this Commission doing exactly the same thing. If that is what this committee intends by this bill, since they have written this language in the bill, my suggestion is that that language be stricken from the bill.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I believe if the gentleman had been aboard and had listened to the discussion of the bill during debate he would have learned that this act does not intend to put into the hands of the Commission the enforcement machinery whereby they could create a situation where they would declare it to be an unlawful practice because of an imbalance in the numbers of persons employed according to race, color, creed, or sex or anything else. That, of course, answers the major part of the argument he made against the Commissioner being permitted to go into a situation and on his own volition enter a plant. You find it necessary—and the committee found it is necessary to give to the Commission this power simply because we are dealing with a great number of persons who have not in many instances the courage, as it were, the physical courage to go in and make a written complaint or employ anybody locally to make an open complaint. But they would have the courage to contact a Commissioner and have him make the complaint for them in writing. That is all that is intended here. The Commissioner will not be running around all over the country on a white horse going into everybody's business and trying to create conditions at any time and demanding that a balance be made in a situation where a number is greater than another number because of color.

The situation with reference to school integration is entirely different. It is based entirely on the basis of nonintegration on account of color alone. It is a different situation.

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. If it is the intention of the gentleman by this language in the bill to hide a complainant, is it not unreasonable to really feel that his complainant will be unsafe if he walks into the Commissioner's office and registers a complaint? Will he not ultimately have to be identified by the Commissioner?

Is that the point of the language in the bill? Do you intend to hide the complainant when a Commissioner goes in and makes the complaint himself? Do you intend that they hide the complainant or the aggrieved person?

Mr. DENT. I do not quite get the gist of your discussion. You speak of a complainant walking into the Commissioner's office. That is the point. He would probably live in a place far distant from where the Commissioner is situated and he would not be able to walk in. He can write and ask that the Commissioner make an investigation without making a specific complaint. Who would make the investigation? The agent or the Commissioner. But the agent would not then make the written complaint against the employer. The Commissioner himself would not be allowed to be seated on the panel considering the complaint, which is a safeguard that we gave to the so-called employer, as it were, against whom the complaint might be made.

I note that you intend to strike that provision from the act also.

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. That has a very definite bearing on the problem. It is the same thing. It is an auxiliary to the amendment. Let me ask the gentleman this question: Is there any provision in this bill which would prevent any member of the Commission from using the power as I have just described it? Your assurances that the Commissioners will be kind and good is really hard to take when recently we received from the Secretary of Commerce all sorts of assurances under the highway beautification bill as to what he intended to do, and shortly after the passage of the bill we saw him going out and doing something else. Is there anything in this bill which would prevent an individual Commissioner from walking into an establishment in any State of the Union and saying, "You have been guilty of unlawful employment practices. I have no complaint at all, because I am trying to hide the complainant because he is filled with fears of reprisals. I simply feel that you have been guilty of unfair employment practices."

Is there any provision in the bill which would prevent this arbitrary use of the Commissioner's power?

Mr. DENT. I do not think anything in the bill would prevent the action which you have described. But the history of the matter is contrary to your proposal, for the simple reason that up until now there has not been any such occurrence, and to date there has not been any suspicion that it will happen in the future. You are building up a case for a condition that has not existed and will not exist.

But if you ask whether the Commissioner has a right to go in and investigate a condition and then make a written complaint, that is what the bill now provides.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Alabama.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I take this time to clarify one action that is being taken in this bill. We are deleting old section 706(b) and 706(c). Those are the provisions of the present law that require a 60-day waiting period on the part of the Federal Commission to permit the States to take action. They are also the sections which require notification to the State when Federal action or complaints are underway. I would merely like to clarify, as a matter of legislative history, what our intent is. We have taken out the 60-day requirement only because we wanted to free the Commission to go into situations where they felt it was obvious that no action was going to be taken. We did not feel that they should be prevented during this period from moving in and giving expeditious justice.

However, in States such as California, New York, Illinois, and a variety of others that have effective laws upon these subjects, it is not our intent that the Federal Government should proceed without notifying the States.

It is not our intent that they should proceed without giving an ample period to the States to act themselves—it might be 60 days, it might even be 90 days or more, depending on the circumstances. In some ways this gives more flexibility to the Commission in permitting the States and pressing the States to take action.

I would ask the gentleman from California and the gentleman from Pennsylvania, particularly, if they agree with me on this point?

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. Yes, I yield to the gentleman. I am not offering an amendment to restore these sections.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the intent that has been expressed by the gentleman. I certainly believe that we should give deference to the States that have moved even ahead of Congress in enacting the FEPC laws. I would certainly hope, if this motion is adopted, that this matter will be handled by rule and regulation, and that among those rules will certainly be a period of time in which they will be set up in those instances in which there is no agreement.

However, I cannot envision, in such States as you have mentioned, any reason why the Commission will not have written agreements with those States which would set this out. But, assuming that that does not happen—which I cannot really envision not happening—I certainly believe that, in lieu of that, there will be some provision whereby a State, such as New York or California, with which the Commission will not have an agreement, will be given a certain period of time in which to act.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I would say with reference to the old section 706 proceeding, it requires, when a complaint of charges is filed, that they notify appropriate State or local officials. I think it is our intent that State or local officials should be notified, in these instances where they have any agency of any kind that might move into the situation. The intent of this is only to make sure that there is not an undue delay in States where there is obviously no intention to do the job.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, I would hope that we would not by implication say that in States that drag their feet, without enacting these laws, they would neither ask nor receive such favorable treatment, because they have not moved to have such acts on their statute books. This does not imply that this Commission in those instances has to wait for any particular period of time, inasmuch as those States have not acted to have an effective law on the statute books.

Mr. GOODELL. Exactly. We are deleting these two sections to give the Commission flexibility. We expect the Commission to proceed as they have in most instances where there is a State law.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, the Commission has assured the committee that it intends to follow the very procedure the gentleman mentioned.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I have taken this time to explain because, for instance, Mr. George Fowler, the New York State chairman, has expressed concern, and there was concern expressed earlier, that these two sections might damage harmonious relationships between States that have been doing an effective job and the Federal Commission.

I believe, with this legislative history, that will not come to pass.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to be proposed to section 6?

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, how many amendments are at the desk?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would say he has no present knowledge of any amendments, but they could be offered.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire of the gentleman from California if he has any amendments?

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, there are no further amendments on this side.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of this, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered as read and open for amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Chairman, I object. We agreed it would be read.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

CIVIL ACTIONS BY ATTORNEY GENERAL

SEC. 7. (a) Whenever the Commission has reasonable cause to believe that any person or group of persons is engaged in a pattern or practice of resistance to the full enjoyment of any of the rights secured by this Act, and that the pattern or practice is of such a nature and is intended to deny the full exercise of the rights herein described, and no agreement has been made under section 9(b) with the appropriate State agency in the State in which such pattern or practice occurred, or if such agreement has been made but such State agency has failed or is unable to remedy such pattern or practice, the Commission may request the Attorney General to, bring a civil action in the appropriate district court of the United States by filing with it a complaint (1) signed by him (or in his absence the Acting Attorney General), (2) setting forth facts pertaining to such pattern or practice, and (3) requesting such relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order against the person or persons responsible for such pattern or practice, as he deems necessary to insure the full enjoyment of the rights herein described.

(b) The district courts of the United States shall have and shall exercise jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section, and in any such proceeding the Attorney General may file with the clerk of such court a request that a court of three judges be convened to hear and determine the case. Such request by the Attorney General shall be accompanied by a certificate that, in his opinion, the case is of general public importance. A copy of the certificate and request for a three-judge court shall be immediately furnished by such clerk to the chief judge of the circuit (or, in his absence, the presiding circuit judge of the circuit) in which the case is pending. Upon receipt of such request it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the circuit or the presiding circuit judge, as the case may be, to designate immediately three judges in such circuit, of whom at least one shall be a circuit judge and another of whom shall be a district judge of the court in which the proceeding was instituted, to hear and determine such case, and it shall be the duty of the judges so designated to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to be in every way expedited. An appeal from the final judgment of such court will lie to the Supreme Court.

In the event the Attorney General fails to file such a request in any such proceeding, it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the district (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) in which the case is pending immediately to designate a judge in such district to hear and determine the case. In the event that no judge in the district is available to hear and determine the case, the chief judge of the district, or the acting chief judge, as the case may be, shall certify this fact to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) who shall then designate a district or circuit judge of the circuit to hear and determine the case.

It shall be the duty of the judge designated pursuant to this section to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date and to cause the case to be in every way expedited.

Mr. DENT (interrupting the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that section 7 be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to be proposed to section 7? If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

EFFECT ON STATE LAWS

SEC. 8. Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to exempt or relieve any person from any liability, duty, penalty, or punishment provided by any present or future law of any State or political subdivision of a State, other than any such law which purports to require or permit the doing of any act which would be an unlawful employment practice under this Act.

Mr. DENT (interrupting the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that section 8 be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to be proposed to section 8? If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

INVESTIGATIONS, INSPECTIONS, RECORDS, STATE AGENCIES

SEC. 9. (a) In connection with any investigation of a charge filed under section 6, the Commission or its designated representative shall at all reasonable times have access to, for the purposes of examination, and the right to copy any evidence of any person being investigated or proceeded against that relates to unlawful employment practices covered by this Act and is relevant to the charge under investigation.

(b) The Commission shall cooperate with State and local agencies charged with the administration of State fair employment practices laws and, with the consent of such agencies, may for the purpose of carrying out its functions and duties under this Act and within the limitation of funds appropriated specifically for such purpose, utilize the services of such agencies and their employees and, notwithstanding any other provision of law, may reimburse such agencies and their employees for services rendered to assist the Commission in carrying out this Act. In furtherance of such cooperative efforts, the Commission shall enter into written agreements with such State or local agencies as consent thereto and such agreements shall include provisions under which the Commission shall refrain from processing a charge in any cases or class of cases specified in such agreements and under which no person may file a complaint under section 6(b) in any cases or class of cases so specified, or under which the Commission shall relieve any person or class of persons in such State or locality from requirements imposed under this section. The Commission shall rescind any such agreement whenever it determines that the agreement no longer serves the interest of effective enforcement of this Act.

(c) Except as provided in subsection (d), every employer, employment agency, and labor organization subject to this Act shall (1) make and keep such records relevant to the determinations of whether unlawful employment practices have been or are being committed, (2) preserve such records for such periods, and (3) make such reports therefrom, as the Commission shall prescribe by regulation or order, after public hearing, as reasonable, necessary, or appropriate for the enforcement of this Act or the regulations or orders thereunder. The Commission shall, by regulation, require each employer, labor organization, and joint labor-management committee subject to this Act which controls an apprenticeship or other training program to maintain such records as are reasonably necessary to carry out the purpose of this Act, including, but not limited to, a list of applicants who wish to participate in such program, including the chronological order in which such applications were received, and shall furnish to the Commission, upon request, a detailed description of the manner in which persons are selected to participate in the apprenticeship or other training program. Any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee which believes that the application to it of any regulation or order issued under this section would result in undue hardship may (1) apply to the Commission for an exemption from the application of such regulation or order, or (2) bring a civil action in the United States district court for the district where such records are kept. If the Commission or the court, as the case may be, finds that the application of the regulation or order to the employer, employment agency, or labor organization in question would impose an undue hardship, the Commission or the court, as the case may be, may grant appropriate relief.

(d) The provisions of subsection (c) shall not apply to any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee with respect to matters occurring in any State or political subdivision thereof which has a fair employment practice law during any period in which such employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee is subject to such law, except that the Commission may require such notations on records which such employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee keeps or is required to keep as are necessary because of differences in coverage or methods of enforcement between the State or local law and the provisions of this Act. Where an employer is required by Executive Order 10925, issued March 6, 1961, or by any other Executive order prescribing fair employment practices for Government contractors and subcontractors, or by rules or regulations issued thereunder, to file reports relating to his employment practices with any Federal agency or committee, and he is substantially in compliance with such requirements, the Commission shall not require him to file additional reports pursuant to subsection (c) of this section.

(e) It shall be unlawful for any officer or employee of the Commission to make public in any manner whatever any information obtained by the Commission pursuant to its authority under this section prior to the institution of any proceeding under this Act involving such information. Any officer or employee of the Commission who shall make public in any manner whatever any information in violation of this subsection shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not more than one year.

Mr. DENT (interrupting the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that section 9 be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to be proposed to section 9? If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

INVESTIGATORY POWERS

SEC. 10. (a) For the purposes of any investigation or survey provided for in this Act, the provisions of sections 9 and 10 of the Federal Trade Commission Act of September 16, 1914, as amended (15 U.S.C. 49, 50), are hereby made applicable to the jurisdiction, powers, and duties of the Commission, except that the attendance of a witness may not be required outside of the State where he is found, resides, or transacts business, and the production of evidence may not be required outside the State where such evidence is kept.

(b) The several departments and agencies of the Government, when directed by the President, shall furnish the Commission, upon its request, all records, papers, and information in their possession relating to any matter before the Commission.

Mr. DENT (interrupting the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that section 10 be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to be proposed to section 10? If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

NOTICES TO BE POSTED

SEC. 11. (a) Every employer, employment agency, and labor organization, as the case may be, shall post and keep posted in conspicuous places upon its premises where notices to employees, applicants for employment, and members are customarily posted a notice to be prepared or approved by the Commission setting forth excerpts from, or summaries of, the pertinent provisions of this Act and information pertinent to the filing of a complaint.

(b) A willful violation of this section shall be punishable by a fine of not more than $100 for each separate offense.

Mr. DENT (interrupting the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that section 11 be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to be proposed to section 11? If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

VETERANS' PREFERENCE

SEC. 12. Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to repeal or modify any Federal, State, territorial, or local law creating special rights or preference for veterans.

Mr. DENT (interrupting the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that section 12 be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to be proposed to section 12? If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

RULES AND REGULATIONS

SEC. 13. (a) The Commission shall have authority from time to time to issue, amend, or rescind suitable procedural regulations to carry out the provisions of this Act. Regulations issued under this section shall be in conformity with the standards and limitations of the Administrative Procedure Act.

(b) In any action or proceeding based on any alleged unlawful employment practice, no person shall be subject to any liability or punishment for or on account of (1) the commission by such person of an unlawful employment practice if he pleads and proves that the act or omission complained of was in good faith, in conformity with, and in reliance on any written interpretation or opinion of the Commission, or (2) the failure of such person to publish and file any information required by any provision of this Act if he pleads and proves that he failed to publish and file such information in good faith, in conformity with the instructions of the Commission issued under this Act regarding the filing of such information. Such a defense, if established, shall be a bar to the action or proceeding, notwithstanding that (A) after such act or omission, such interpretation or opinion is modified or rescinded or is determined by judicial authority to be invalid or of no legal effect, or (B) after publishing or filing the description and annual reports, such publication or filing is determined by judicial authority not to be in conformity with the requirements of this Act.

Mr. DENT (interrupting the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that section 13 be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to be proposed to section 13? If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

FORCIBLY RESISTING THE COMMISSION OR ITS REPRESENTATIVES

SEC. 14. The provisions of section 111, title 18, United States Code, shall apply to officers, agents, and employees of the Commission in the performance of their official duties.

Mr. DENT (interrupting the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that section 14 be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to be proposed to section 14? If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 15. The President shall, as soon as feasible after the enactment of this Act, convene one or more conferences for the purpose of enabling the leaders of groups whose members will be affected by this Act to become familiar with the rights afforded and obligations imposed by its provisions, and for the purpose of making plans which will result in the fair and effective administration of this Act. The President shall invite the participation in such conference or conferences of (1) the members of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, (2) the members of the Commission on Civil Rights, (3) representatives of State and local agencies engaged in furthering equal employment opportunity, (4) representatives of private agencies engaged in furthering equal employment opportunity, and (5) representatives of employers, labor organizations, and employment agencies who will be subject to this Act.

Mr. DENT (interrupting the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that section 15 be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to be proposed to section 15? If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

REPEAL OF TITLE VII OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964; EFFECT THEREOF

SEC. 16. (a) Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is repealed.

(b) All orders, determinations, rules, regulations, and certificates which have been issued or made by the Commission, the Attorney General, or any court of competent jurisdiction, under any provision of law repealed or amended by this Act, and which are in effect at the time this section takes effect, shall continue in effect according to their terms until modified, terminated, superseded, set aside, or repealed by the Commission or the Attorney General, as the case may be, or by any court of competent jurisdiction, or by operation of law.

(c) Proceedings pending before the Commission at the time this section takes effect shall be continued before the Commission, but the provisions of this Act shall apply with respect to such proceedings.

(d) The provisions of this Act shall not affect suits commenced prior to the date of enactment of this Act by an aggrieved person pursuant to section 706(e) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, or by the Attorney General pursuant to section 707 of such Act, and all such suits shall be continued by such aggrieved person or the Attorney General, as the case may be, proceedings therein had, appeals therein taken, and judgments therein rendered, in the same manner and with the same effect as if this Act had not been passed.

(e) Such of the unexpended balances of appropriations available for use by the Commission to carry out title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 shall be available for use in connection with the exercise and performance of the powers and duties vested in and imposed upon the Commission by this Act.

(f) Nothing in this Act shall change the status of the officers and employees under the jurisdiction of the Commission on the date of enactment of this Act.

Mr. DENT (interrupting the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that section 16 be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to be proposed to section 16?

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, it is inconceivable to me that this body would, on an afternoon such as this, sit idly by with so few present and with an air of indifference see passed into law a piece of legislation as far sweeping and as far reaching as is this proposal.

It is a matter of record if we are to believe the hearings that insufficient evidence exists to warrant repeal of title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VII has not had a chance to work.

The main difference it appears to me between title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and this proposal lies in the authority to be given the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Granted to five men, who are appointive and not elective, is to be raw power and authority which we here in the Congress day in and day out complain about in one Federal agency or another. It will be misused as it is even now misused.

Mr. Biemiller of the AFL–CIO and Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP, during the hearings in the committee on this proposal, themselves said that sufficient experience with title VII of the Civil Rights Act did not exist to warrant changes at this time. This legislation is premature.

I say to you in all sincerity that that situation still exists today, although this statement was made months ago.

Mr. Chairman, if we grant this Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, these five men who are appointed, the authority proposed in this act, we are going to see this authority abused and we are going to have the equal of that which exists now in the Department of HEW wherein appointive and not elected officials are going to do what HEW has been doing in proposing new guidelines for school integration. It seems over there in HEW they have lost sight of the fact that schools were created to educate the youth of this land and not to accomplish somebodys version of social reform. I question their concern for education. It is a matter of do as I say or else whether statutory authority exists or not. I know as I stand here and speak I am being termed a racist, but this bill is nothing else. There is no real concern for any race except the Negro. No other has been mentioned. Religion is mentioned for window dressing. The truth is most of you cringe with fear when there is a tinge of civil rights. No Federal agency should have the authority granted this Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, but because it has the tinge of civil rights, emotion sweeps aside reason and judgment. We are making a mistake when we in the name of preventing discrimination destroy the great cornerstone of freedom of choice which has been the bedrock of individual freedom. If it is wrong to say you cannot it is wrong to say you must. We make a serious mistake in extending Federal power at the expense of private rights. You are being short sighted. In the long run the public interest will not be served. This is, however, a matter of political expediency with too many. It is in fact the price required for passage of minimum wage legislation and common situs picketing legislation. Labor unions are not the offenders some believe in this matter.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I am glad to yield to my friend from Texas.

Mr. PICKLE. I think the gentleman is making a good point in the debate at this stage. I do not know that I support all of the statements he has made with respect to "racism," but I would like to point out that I am not sure but what we may be traveling too fast in this direction. I supported the civil rights measure in 1964. That was not an easy vote to cast coming from the Deep South and Southwest, but I think it is one of the best votes I ever cast. I supported as such, title VII of the Civil Rights Act. I think that section has worked reasonably well. It has in my part of the country. I am concerned about the speed with which we are moving in this direction. You are reducing it down to eight persons now. We all agreed in 1964 that it should not be at that rate of acceleration. Arbitration and negotiation between employers and employees has worked out well in my section of the country. Now I have great concern that we are moving too fast. I certainly agree with the general objectives of this measure, but I think perhaps we are exercising too much speed.

Mr. Chairman, I think the gentleman from Louisiana is making a good point.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Louisiana has expired.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WAGGONNER] may proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. HALEY. Does not the gentleman from Louisiana think we have now reached a point in the Congress where for some people some kind of civil rights or so-called civil rights is thought to be necessary?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I would certainly agree with the gentleman.

Mr. HALEY. And certainly this is moving along at a rapid pace where the legislation that has been passed by the Congress has not had an ample chance to work for many of its provisions are yet to be implemented.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, I think the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PICKLE], and the gentleman from Florida [Mr. HALEY] have both amply stated the crux of this matter here today. We are moving too fast at this point, and we do have insufficient evidence to warrant this acceleration of the fair employment practice legislation. We should look with caution upon deserting prerogatives which are ours and giving to appointive officials authority which is going to give them life-and-death authority over businessmen both large and small in this country. The legislation as proposed gives power to the Commission to petition U.S. courts of appeals or U.S. district courts for enforcement of their orders and the court is restricted to conducting further proceedings under the limitations of the Administrative Procedure Act. The court has no authority. Absolute authority is vested in the Commission. Read section 6, subparagraph (i)(4) on page 21 which clearly states:

> The findings of the Commission with respect to questions of fact shall be conclusive.

Vote for this bill and add your support to a drab world of enforced conformity. Freedom, however, cannot continue to endure if you continue to support such legislation.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, the first time I spoke in favor of the fair employment practices bill was in 1950 when FEPC first came to the floor of the House.

It was a hotly contested bill, a time for a showdown for the opposition had been bitter and we had relentlessly sought to bring the bill to the floor in spite of the opposition of the Rules Committee. Our recourse was the Calendar Wednesday procedure.

At that time I remember very vividly that Calendar Wednesday fell on Washington's Birthday. The House waited tensely and expectantly through the reading of Washington's Farewell Address.

At the end of the address one of the gentlemen from Georgia got up and declared that in accordance with the great tradition of the House he moved that the House do now adjourn. He hoped thereby to avoid consideration of the FEPC bill.

That was the beginning of daylong and nightlong fight. As a result of various types of dilatory tactics, we were not able to begin reading the bill until 11 o'clock that night, when our late, great, and beloved Speaker, the Honorable Sam Rayburn, finally overruled as dilatory a point of no quorum. Thereupon, we went into the Committee of the Whole and passed the bill at 3 o'clock in the morning.

That day is past. The bitter opposition to civil rights which marked that debate has in great measure disappeared. We have made progress. But we still hear statements made on this floor that we are moving too fast. Moving too fast? How fast have we moved since 1950? How much time do the gentlemen who oppose this bill want? This bill will bring nearer to fruition the great American ideal of equality of opportunity. The chance to make a living is the birthright of every American and this bill will do much to assure its fulfillment.

Mr. Chairman, even at that time the facts showed that great corporations which were operating under FEPC laws in various States when queried pointed out that they had excellent cooperation under the FEPC State laws. It helped labor relations and community relations. None of the fears that had been voiced in opposition to the bill had been justified.

So I say, Mr. Chairman, we have not moved too fast and that we are not moving too fast. This is the time to move ahead. It is time that we provided for equal opportunity for employment of all Americans. I urge passage of this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to section 16? If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SURVEY BY COMMISSION OF APPRENTICESHIP OR OTHER TRAINING PROGRAMS

SEC. 17. (a) The Commission shall conduct a continuing survey of the operation of apprenticeship or other training or retraining programs, including on-the-job training programs, to determine if the employers, labor organizations, or joint labor-management committees controlling such programs are engaged in unlawful employment practices with respect to the operation of such programs.

(b) Notwithstanding any provision of section 9, in conducting such survey the Commission shall at all reasonable times have access to any records maintained by an employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee pursuant to (1) the regulations prescribed by the Commission under the second sentence of section 9(c), or (2) any fair employment practice law of a State or political subdivision thereof.

(c) The Commission shall make a full and complete quarterly report to the Congress, containing the results of such survey during the preceding three months, and such report shall be made available to the public upon request. Section 9(e) shall not apply to the publication of any report under this subsection.

Mr. DENT (during reading of section 17). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that section 17 be considered as read and open for amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to section 17? If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SHORT TITLE

SEC. 18. This Act may be cited as the "Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1965".

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. DENT

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. DENT: On page 36, line 14, strike out "1965" and insert "1966".

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I do not desire to speak on this amendment but move its adoption.

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. O'BRIEN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10065) to more effectively prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 506, he reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 73]

Abbitt
Ashley
Beckworth
Betts
Boggs
Burleson
Callaway
Curtis
Delaney
Dingell
Dowdy
Fuqua
Griffin
Halpern
Harsha
Jarman
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Okla.
Karth
Kelly
McMillan
Mathias
Matthews
Mize
Murray
Nix
Pool
Reuss
Rivers, Alaska
Roberts
Rooney, N.Y.
Roudebush
Scott
Sisk
Teague, Tex.
Toll
Williams
Willis
Wright

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 393 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. WAGGONNER moves to recommit the bill H.R. 10065 to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were refused.

The motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 300, nays 93, not voting 39, as follows:

[Roll No. 74]

YEAS—300

Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Aspinall
Ayres
Bandstra
Barrett
Bates
Battin
Bell
Berry
Bingham
Blatnik
Boland
Bolling
Bolton
Bow
Brademas
Brooks
Broomfield
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Clarence J., Jr.
Burke
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Byrne, Pa.
Cahill
Callan
Cameron
Carey
Carter
Cederberg
Celler
Chamberlain
Chelf
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Cleveland
Clevenger
Cohelan
Conable
Conte
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Craley
Culver
Cunningham
Curtin
Daddario
Dague
Daniels
Dawson
de la Garza
Dent
Denton
Derwinski
Devine
Diggs
Donohue
Dow
Dulski
Duncan, Oreg.
Dwyer
Dyal
Edmondson
Edwards, Calif.
Ellsworth
Erlenborn
Evans, Colo.
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Farbstein
Farnsley
Farnum
Fascell
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Flood
Fogarty
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gilligan
Gonzalez
Goodell
Grabowski
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Greigg
Grider
Griffiths
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Hagen, Calif.

Halleck
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Iowa
Hansen, Wash.
Harsha
Harvey, Ind.
Harvey, Mich.
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hungate
Huot
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Keith
Keogh
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
King, Utah
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Krebs
Kunkel
Kupferman
Laird
Langen
Latta
Leggett
Long, Md.
Love
McCarthy
McClory
McCulloch
McDade
McDowell
McEwen
McFall
McGrath
McVicker
Macdonald
MacGregor
Machen
Mackay

Mackie
Madden
Mailliard
Martin, Mass.
Matsunaga
May
Meeds
Michel
Miller
Minish
Mink
Minshall
Monagan
Moore
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris
Morrison
Morse
Morton
Mosher
Moss
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
O'Brien
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Olsen, Mont.
Olson, Minn.
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pike
Pirnie
Powell
Price
Pucinski
Quie
Race
Randall
Redlin
Rees
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Resnick
Rhodes, Pa.
Robison
Rodino
Ronan
Roncalio
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal

Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Rumsfeld
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Saylor
Scheuer
Schisler
Schmidhauser
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Secrest
Senner
Shipley
Shriver
Sickles
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stalbaum
Stanton
Steed
Stratton
Sullivan
Sweeney
Tenzer
Thomas
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Todd
Tunney
Tupper
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Vivian
Walker, N. Mex.
Watkins
Weltner
Whalley
White, Idaho
Widnall
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Yates
Young
Younger
Zablocki

NAYS—93

Abernethy
Andrews, George W.
Andrews, Glenn
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Baring
Belcher
Bennett
Brock
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Casey
Clawson, Del
Collier
Colmer
Cooley
Cramer
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dickinson
Dole
Dorn
Downing
Duncan, Tenn.
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Everett

Fisher
Flynt
Fountain
Gathings
Gettys
Gurney
Hagan, Ga.
Haley
Hansen, Idaho
Hardy
Henderson
Herlong
Hull
Jennings
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Kornegay
Landrum
Lennon
Lipscomb
Long, La.
Mahon
Marsh
Martin, Ala.
Martin, Nebr.
Mills
O'Neal, Ga.
Patman
Pickle
Poage

Poff
Pool
Purcell
Quillen
Reid, Ill.
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rivers, S.C.
Rogers, Fla.
Rogers, Tex.
Satterfield
Selden
Sikes
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Va.
Stephens
Stubblefield
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Thompson, Tex.
Trimble
Tuck
Tuten
Utt
Waggonner
Walker, Miss.
Watson
Watts
White, Tex.
Whitener
Whitten

NOT VOTING—39

Abbitt
Ashley
Beckworth
Betts
Boggs
Bray
Burleson

Callaway
Curtis
Delaney
Dingell
Dowdy
Fuqua
Griffin

Hall
Halpern
Hébert
Jarman
Johnson, Okla.
Kelly
McMillan

Mathias
Matthews
Mize
Moeller
Murray
Nix

Passman
Reuss
Rivers, Alaska
Roberts
Rogers, Colo.
Rooney, N.Y.

Roudebush
Scott
Teague, Tex.
Toll
Williams
Willis

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Rooney of New York for, with Mr. Hébert against.

Mr. Moeller for, with Mr. Teague of Texas against.

Mr. Dingell for, with Mr. Dowdy against.

Mr. Delaney for, with Mr. Scott against.

Mrs. Kelly for, with Mr. Williams against.

Mr. Roudebush for, with Mr. Callaway against.

Mr. Nix for, with Mr. Murray against.

Mr. Ashley for, with Mr. Matthews against.

Mr. Toll for, with Mr. Abbitt against.

Mr. Reuss for, with Mr. Passman against.

Mr. Boggs for, with Mr. McMillan against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Rivers of Alaska with Mr. Betts.

Mr. Willis with Mr. Mize.

Mr. Burleson with Mr. Hall.

Mr. Beckworth with Mr. Halpern.

Mr. Roberts with Mr. Bray.

Mr. Rogers of Colorado with Mr. Curtis.

Mr. Fuqua with Mr. Mathias.

Mr. Jarman with Mr. Griffin.

Mr. MAHON changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT CURBING THE POWER OF THE SUPREME COURT

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a joint resolution for amending our Constitution, which, in my opinion, will do more to promote public confidence and respect for our Supreme Court and our judicial system than any action taken within our memory.

This amendment is extremely simple in that its only provision is to require a two-thirds concurring vote of the Supreme Court in nullifying, as unconstitutional, an act of the Congress or an act of a State legislature.

Sober reflection of this resolution will lead to the inevitable conclusion that it is entirely consistent with our American concept of justice.

Why should an act of the Congress, after due process of legislative study and debate, and agreed to by a majority of 535 Members, be subject to overturn by 5 members of the Court, and in many cases, an actual minority of that Court?

Why should the unanimous vote of a 12-man jury be required to resolve a case involving only 1 man or 1 issue be required, and then permit an issue involving an entire State, or even the well-being of the entire Nation, be resolved by 5, or less, members of the Supreme Court.

Mr. Speaker, and Members of the House, passage of this resolution would stop, once and for all, any possible contention that any action by our Supreme Court is capricious or taken without due consideration of the case at hand. It would demonstrate that actions by the Court are the actions of a preponderant majority.

I urge the early adoption of this resolution and its submission to the several States for their ratification.

The amendment is as follows:

ARTICLE —

The Supreme Court shall not have the power to decide that an Act of the Congress, an Act of the legislature of any State, or any provision of a State constitution, or any part thereof, is invalid because it is in violation of any provision of this Constitution, except upon the concurring votes of at least two-thirds of the members of the full Court.

DECISION OF INTERNATIONAL COURT ON SOUTH-WEST AFRICA MAY RAISE QUESTION OF SANCTIONS

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include the testimony of Representative BINGHAM before the Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include the statement of the Honorable JONATHAN B. BINGHAM at the hearing on American relations with South Africa before the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Congressman BINGHAM before his election to the House was a delegate to the United Nations with ambassadorial rank. His statement follows:

TESTIMONY OF REPRESENTATIVE JONATHAN B. BINGHAM BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE OF AFRICA OF THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, APRIL 26, 1966

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity of appearing before this distinguished subcommittee and should like to compliment you, Mr. Chairman, and the members of the subcommittee for holding these hearings on the critical problems now facing us in southern Africa.

There is a tendency these days for us to concentrate our attention in the foreign field almost exclusively on the grim situation which confronts us in Vietnam. It is natural enough that this should be so, since a de facto war is going on in Vietnam and lives are being lost there, including the lives of Americans.

But it would be wrong and shortsighted of us to forget that there are other areas of the world where at some time in the not too distant future there may be explosions of violence of an intensity and destructiveness far surpassing what is happening today in Vietnam. It is imperative that we seek ways to use our influence as a nation, both politically and in economic terms, in an effort to find ways to prevent such an explosion in southern Africa. I take it that it is to such and end that this distinguished subcommittee is directing its efforts in these hearings.

My purpose today is not to discuss South Africa as such. Other witnesses have dealt at length with the seemingly intractable problem of South Africa's racial policies. I should like to commend in particular the statement submitted by Mr. Waldemar A. Nielsen of the African-American Institute. It seemed to me that his recommendations for immediate action that might be taken by the United States in an effort to press upon the Government of South Africa the dangerous isolation of its present course were constructive and wise.

QUESTION OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

Until very recently, the question of whether or not economic sanctions should be applied to South Africa in an effort to compel that country to abandon its racist policies has been largely a theoretical one. Whatever the merits of the arguments on both sides of the issue there has been little likelihood as a practical matter that such sanctions would be imposed. Economic sanctions would have limited impact unless the United Kingdom were to go along and any such action on Britain's part would inevitably be a grievous blow to Britain's own economy.

Clearly, an effective program of sanctions against South Africa could not be conducted on a voluntary basis. Even if strong recommendations are made by the United Nations, countries whose trade with South Africa is important to them simply will not stop that trade if they know other countries are proceeding to trade. Thus, in recent years countries that have made the most vigorous appeals at the U.N. for economic boycotts against South Africa have themselves continued to sell their products to South African buyers. This has been true of various Communist countries, as well as of numerous nonalined countries.

Perhaps South Africa's exports are hurt more than is generally supposed by the cumulative effect of an informal boycott by people who, like myself and my wife, will not knowingly purchase a South African product. But certainly such hit-or-miss action is not going to have any concrete results in terms of changing South Africa's stubbornly held policies.

From time to time at the United Nations, speakers from Asia and Africa and from Communist states have urged that the Security Council should make a finding that a threat to the peace exists in South Africa under chapter 7 of the charter, so as to lay the foundation for the imposition of mandatory sanctions, but until now there has been no very solid basis for such action.

Now, in this year of 1966, this situation may well change because of dramatic new developments in Rhodesia or with respect to South-West Africa, or both.

SIGNIFICANCE OF RHODESIA PRECEDENT

The efforts of the United Kingdom to bring down the racist Smith regime in Rhodesia, and the weaknesses of a program of voluntary sanctions against Rhodesia have already caused the British, with the support of the United States, to take the precedent-shattering step of asking the Security Council to authorize the use of force to prevent tankers from unloading oil in the port of Beira for transshipment to Rhodesia. While the resolution did not specify that chapter 7 was being invoked, it was understood that such drastic action could not be authorized except under chapter 7. By this step, an important bridge has been crossed. If the Smith regime does not fall soon (and that seems unlikely) we may well soon see the development of a full-blown program of mandatory sanctions applied against the Smith regime in Rhodesia. Since South Africa will probably not cooperate with any such program, the next step might be the imposition of at least limited sanctions against South Africa itself. These would not be aimed at the policy of apartheid as such, but rather at the refusal of South Africa to carry out the decisions of the Security Council.

The other development this year which may provide a foundation for a program of mandatory sanctions against South Africa would be a decision of the International Court of Justice in the South-West Africa case which the Security Council would decide to enforce against South Africa under the provisions of article 94 of the charter.

This case (strictly speaking, two identical cases brought by Ethiopia and Liberia against South Africa) is probably the most potentially significant case ever brought before the World Court. A decision is expected shortly. While it would be wrong for me to attempt to predict what the decision will be, I believe it would contribute to these hearings for me to discuss briefly the background of the case, to explain its significance, and finally to discuss what line I believe the United States and the United Nations should take if the decision is at least partly favorable to Ethiopia and Liberia.

Background: South-West Africa is a huge and largely barren area, two-thirds the size of South Africa itself, with a population of about half a million, more than 80 percent of them black. A former German colony, it was conquered by South Africa during World War II and became a mandate under the Treaty of Versailles, with South Africa undertaking certain obligations as "the mandatory." Most important in the case before the World Court is South Africa's promise "to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants."

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA SOLE EXCEPTION

Under the Charter of the United Nations, it was contemplated that all League of Nations mandates would be converted to trust territories under the provisions of the charter. This expectation was realized in the case of all the mandates except that of South-West Africa. The Government of South Africa refused to enter into the necessary trusteeship agreement with regard to South-West Africa, in spite of repeated pleas in resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations. In 1947 South Africa submitted to the U.N. General Assembly a report on the administration of South-West Africa for the year 1946, but this was the last such report it submitted and by November of 1948 South Africa was insisting that the mandate has expired.

Pursuant to a request from the General Assembly, the International Court of Justice in 1950 rendered an advisory opinion to the effect that the mandate was still in effect and that the supervisory functions formerly exercised by the League of Nations were now the responsibility of the United Nations.

In an effort to exercise these supervisory responsibilities, the General Assembly established various committees on South-West Africa, but the Government of South Africa gave to these committees very limited cooperation.

In November 1960 the Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia, being the only two African states south of the Sahara (except for South Africa itself) which had been members of the League of Nations, instituted so-called contentious proceedings in the International Court. The essential questions presented in these cases are whether, and the degree to which, South Africa is subject to United Nations supervision in its administration of South-West Africa and whether its application of the apartheid system to the territory is a violation of the mandate.

CLOSE VOTE OF EIGHT TO SEVEN

In 1961 South Africa formally challenged the jurisdiction of the Court and in December of 1962 the Court, by eight votes to seven, ruled against South Africa on this point and decided that it had jurisdiction to judge the merits of the dispute.

Elaborate written pleadings have been submitted to the court and extensive oral proceedings were conducted during the year 1965.

During the course of the proceedings, South Africa made very considerable efforts to show that the Government policies of South Africa, including apartheid, as applied to South-West Africa did in fact promote the well-being of the inhabitants of the territory. Indeed, South Africa invited the Court to make an on-the-spot inspection of the territory and of other African states for the purpose of judging the facts.

Ethiopia and Liberia, speaking through their able and distinguished counsel Ernest A. Gross (a former American Ambassador at the United Nations) argued that the racist policy of apartheid was inherently unlawful and in conflict with the obligations of the mandate and in support of this position pointed to the overwhelming acceptance by the international community of nations of the principle that apartheid is in conflict with international standards and legal norms.

Thus as the applicant states, Liberia and Ethiopia, view the case, there are no substantial issues of fact before the Court since the existence of laws and regulations applying the policy of apartheid in the territory, and the methods and measures by which they were put into effect, are uncontested facts of record.

In November 1965 the case was closed and shortly thereafter the Court decided against making an inspection either of South-West Africa or of other independent states in Africa. The final judgment of the Court is expected sometime before the middle of July.

SIGNIFICANCE OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA CASE

Because the legality of apartheid has been so squarely presented as an issue before the Court, the Court has an opportunity to make a decision affecting the conduct of governments comparable in importance to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Brown* v. *Board of Education.*

A decision against South Africa on this point would not, of course, have the effect of declaring apartheid illegal in South Africa itself. But it would mean that, since the international community as represented by the Assembly of the United Nations has repeatedly condemned apartheid, the continued application of the policy of apartheid can be effectively prohibited in a situation where the administering power has international obligations.

In an excellent article in the April 4, 1966, issue of The Nation, the editors of that distinguished publication summarize the importance of the South-West Africa cases as follows:

"The South-West Africa cases are important for the resolution of the dispute between the United Nations and South Africa on the issue of apartheid; they are important as a battle against vestiges of the colonial system, insofar as South African governs South-West Africa as a dependent possession; they are important in the struggle to build up a human rights law to help in the fight against racial discrimination, and they are important to enhance the prestige of the World Court and to strengthen the capability of the organs of the United Nations to promote, by their formal acts, the growth of international law."

ENFORCEMENT OF COURT'S DECISION

It would be inappropriate for me to attempt to predict what the International Court will decide in the South-West Africa case. It is possible to say, however, that there are many possible alternatives before the Court. At one extreme, the Court might hold that South Africa is in no effective sense subject to the supervision or control of the Court or of the United Nations with regard to its administration of South-West Africa. At the other extreme, the Court might declare that apartheid is in violation of the continuing obligations of the mandate and that South Africa should proceed not only to eliminate apartheid in South-West Africa but to take steps toward the realization of self-determination for the inhabitants of South-West Africa. In between these extremes are a variety of possible combinations.

Most of the possible decisions the Court might make would present South-West Africa with the question of whether or not to abide by the Court's decision. Although South Africa participated in the proceedings before the Court with great energy and attention to detail, it has never, to my knowledge, clearly indicated that it would accept the Court's decision.

The issue of South-West Africa is regularly debated each year in the Fourth or Trusteeship Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations. In 1961 and 1962 I was privileged to be the U.S. representative on that Committee. Regularly, the delegation of South Africa has contended that the General Assembly should not attempt to deal with the issue of South-West Africa because it was "subjudice," i.e., it was currently under consideration in the International Court. Nevertheless, when asked whether this claim meant that South Africa would abide by the decision when made—and I for one put such a question to the South African delegate—the answer was evasive.

While we do not know whether or not South Africa will obey the Court's decision, it is high time, in my view, that our Government and others should be giving consideration to the question of what steps should be taken to enforce the judgment of the Court, if in fact the Government of South Africa refuses to obey it.

In this regard, it is important to recall that article 94 of the U.N. Charter reads as follows:

"1. Each member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.

"2. If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment."

If the Court does render a decision of major significance in the history of the development of the enforcement of international standards of conduct, it would, in my judgment, be of the utmost importance that the United Nations Security Council take all necessary steps to see to it that the decision is obeyed. Any other course would be to affirm the helplessness of the international community to enforce its own decisions. A strong decision of the Court, allowed to remain unenforced, would be almost worse than a weak decision.

MANDATORY SANCTIONS A POSSIBILITY

Presumably, the steps the Security Council might take in enforcing a decision of the Court might well include sanctions, and these sanctions would not be voluntary but would be mandatory.

If in fact the decision of the Court accepts the view of Ethiopia and Liberia that apartheid is an illegal violation of the mandatory powers obligation, such sanctions would then in effect be aimed at the system of apartheid, at least to the extent that it is practiced in South-West Africa. This would give to the imposition of sanctions against apartheid a far more solid legal foundation than any conceivable set of circumstances in which sanctions might be sought to be imposed against South Africa because of the practice of apartheid in South Africa proper.

A word of caution should be noted here: For this situation to arise, in which mandatory sanctions are ordered to be imposed within a framework of impeccable legality, it is important that the various United Nations organs concerned should cooperate in the attainment of this objective and should not take any rash steps which might be incompatible with it, for example, a declaration that the mandate has terminated.

This is not a purely theoretical danger. For years now, a number of states at the U.N. have felt that the mandate is a relic from the distant past and is inappropriate to the situation of today when one African territory after another is obtaining independence; these states have urged that the General Assembly, acting on recommendation of the Fourth Committee, should declare the mandate at an end and call upon the Government of South Africa to proceed forthwith to grant full independence to South-West Africa. In fact, the resolutions on this subject adopted by the General Assembly in recent years have paid less and less attention to the South-West Africa case and to the existence of the mandate and have tended to deal with the situation in South-West Africa as if it were simply another "non-self-governing territory" and not a mandate or trust territory under international supervision.

Nevertheless, under pressure from the United States and other member states, including particularly Ethiopia and Liberia, the Afro-Asian nations at the United Nations have been dissuaded from pushing through any resolution that would clearly and unequivocally express the thought that the mandate is terminated. Thus, no damage has as yet been done to the concept that the decision of the Court in the South-West Africa cases will be valid, insofar as the United Nations is concerned, and subject to the enforcement procedures of article 94 of the charter.

POSSIBILITY OF RASH ACTION

I see this danger, however: If the decision of the International Court falls short of what Ethiopia and Liberia have been seeking, there may be a strong tendency at the United Nations on the part of the newly independent states particularly to ignore the Court's decision and to proceed to declare the mandate at an end and South-West Africa independent. This, in my judgment, would be a grievous mistake, since any such course of action would destroy the value of the precedent of a decision of the International Court, in a difficult case with political overtones, being accepted and enforced by the international community.

In other words, if the member states of the United Nations truly want to extend the application of the rule of law to international affairs, they will have to accept the decisions of the International Court as valid and enforcible, whether or not they accept the reasoning behind them.

In this sense, the South-West Africa cases, and the manner in which the decision in these cases is accepted and, if need be, enforced, may well prove to be a landmark in mankind's long march toward establishing the rule of law in international society.

A HOUSEWIFE LOOKS AT THE GREAT SOCIETY

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, not long ago I received a letter from a Granby, Mo., housewife which offered a different perspective on the so-called Great Society.

Mrs. Cecil C. Stafford is one of those millions of Americans who do not believe we can rid the Nation of poverty by robbing its people of the pleasure of individual accomplishment.

I thought her letter so persuasive that I forwarded it to the President in accordance with her wishes.

A short time later, Mrs. Stafford received a reply from the White House. As might be expected, the White House missed the entire point of the letter and suggested several ways in which the Stafford family might get on the Federal gravy train.

I believe Mrs. Stafford's further response is worth the attention of my colleagues, who every day are being asked to approve larger and larger domestic expenditures, and who, by so doing, place greater and greater burdens on the average family, which is trying to make its own way in life. The entire exchange of correspondence follows:

GRANBY, MO.,
January 26, 1966.

MR. DURWARD HALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HALL: It has been interesting to me, as I have heard bits of news concerning the new national budget, that the only cutbacks I have heard discussed are the reduction in milk and lunch subsidies for schoolchildren. This it is said will save millions of dollars. The theory here is to concentrate on the poor children even to include breakfast as well as a hot lunch, and I suppose increase the charge to the rich children.

MR. HALL, our family has been blessed with good health (except for a handicapped child who to our sorrow lived only 10 years). My husband has never been out of work (25 years this summer with North American Aviation). He has what in this area is considered a good income. We neither drink, smoke, or frequent expensive nightspots. We attend church and support various charitable activities. Each year we see larger amounts coming from our paycheck. We have just received a 25-cent-an-hour raise to be spread over 3 years, this I believe will just about cover the raise in social security tax. The union (we are not under union) also bargained and got the company to pay more on our insurance, yet, more was taken out after the new contract than before (the insurance rates went up).

We have one daughter through college and teaching school, as well as 13-, 10- and 8-year-old children. We hope to give these children a college education. However if the costs of college continue to rise (as predicted) and we continue to have increased taxes, we are not going to have the money to educate our children.

It seems we are the middle man, above the poverty level (so no one gives us anything). And we are below the rich people who have enough in reserve to be prepared for the added expense of three college educations in a 10-year period.

I am getting just a little tired of seeing men and women sitting around collecting welfare and producing children. Living in rural areas where they could have gardens, a cow and chickens, yet not lifting a hand to do so. Example:

1. One-quarter mile from us is one family. A family of nine children (last count). The father is probably 70 years old, the mother may be 35, the children from 1 to 17. Big healthy children. No garden, no cow, no chickens. Welfare.

2. One-quarter mile in another direction, a widow lady almost 70 years old, 5 feet tall, 200 pounds, has a heart condition, lives alone, has a garden each year, makes jam and jelly by the gallon, as well as canning all her garden vegetables. She has lived her whole married life on the 120 acres she now lives on alone. Without welfare.

My husband and I have a theory "you can do anything you want to do." I believe the average person will work for anything if he wants it enough. But now no one has to work to get things—if he can "get on welfare." So the children never learn to work because their parents don't work. If my children saw their parents sitting around the house all their lives why should they not expect to do the same?

Now it seems as if they aren't even going to have to get up and fix breakfast for their children. Now I love children, and can't stand the thought of them hungry—but, can't we just give them the eggs and oatmeal and at least let them cook it for their children? Maybe I am just upset because I have a hidden desire to sleep in the morning instead of getting up and cooking oatmeal for my children. But how far are we going to go with this give, give, give business.

I am about ready to decide these children should be put in State homes, their mothers be put to work in these homes and their fathers put to work, or left to care for themselves.

Please don't think I am blaming you, but if you could get word to L.B.J. for me I would appreciate it.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. CECIL C. STAFFORD.

P.S.—I am told that since the youth program began it is practically impossible to get anyone to put bailed hay in the barn. Who wants to lift those heavy bales when you can get $1.25 an hour for "goofing off" for someone who doesn't care whether you do a good job or not, since the Government is paying your salary anyway. My 8- and 10-year-old boys helped their dad and I put our hay in the barn, 1 cent a bail to each of them, and they were proud of themselves and their salary. Maybe they will be physically fit enough to pass the Army tests in a few years so they can get shot at.

FEBRUARY 16, 1966.

Mrs. CECIL C. STAFFORD,
Granby, Mo.

DEAR MRS. STAFFORD: Occasionally among the hundreds of letters I receive each week, one comes along which can only be classified as "a real gem," such as a letter I received from you today (which incidentally is dated January 26 but not postmarked until February 12).

It is one of the finest letters I have ever read and you have said in a concise and precise term the nub of the problem. I will, of course, be happy to call your comments to the attention of the President, though I must forewarn you that they will probably receive scant attention, since the President is convinced the Great Society is what the voters want and principle apparently matters very little. I would like to go one step further and place your letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for all my colleagues to read and ponder. Before doing so, however, I would, of course, need your permission. In the event that placing your letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD would cause you any personal embarrassment, please let me know and I will insert it without your signature.

It hardly needs to be said that I agree wholeheartedly with your comments, and only hope those of us who still believe in individual incentive and responsibilities will have our numbers increased in the Congress next November.

Sincerely,

DURWARD G. HALL,
Member of Congress.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, February 17, 1966.

Hon. DURWARD G. HALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Thank you for your letter of February 16 enclosing a copy of Mrs. Cecil C. Stafford's recent letter to you regarding the administration's economic opportunity programs.

While Mrs. Stafford's criticisms were largely directed at the philosophy underlying the aim of the antipoverty program—to break the cycle of poverty handed down from one generation to the next—I am referring her letter to the appropriate officials of the Department of Agriculture so that her comments about the special milk and school lunch programs can be considered.

We have noted Mrs. Stafford's comments about the financial difficulty she anticipates in providing higher education for her children, and would like to suggest that she investigate the aid to college students provided by the National Defense Education and Higher Education Acts.

With our appreciation for your interest in making your constituent's letter available for consideration.

Sincerely,

HENRY H. WILSON, JR.,
Administrative Assistant
to the President.

GRANBY, MO.,
February 23, 1966.

President LYNDON JOHNSON,
Administrative Assistant,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.
(Attention: Mr. Henry H. Wilson, Jr.)

DEAR MR. WILSON: I am writing you in an attempt to better explain the thoughts I expressed in a letter directed to Mr. HALL and forwarded to the President's desk by him.

In your letter to Mr. HALL you indicated that I misunderstood the philosophy behind the antipoverty program (to break the cycle of poverty). I am sure much thought has been given to this by many people. But are you sure that giving more to more will increase independence? From my observations it works just the opposite. I don't believe any amount of money we can give these people will make a difference until we go into the homes and clean up the squalor many of them live in. No amount of Operations Headstart or youth programs can combat the influence of filth, laziness, foul language, immorality and ignorance in which these children spend most of their time. If babies were not income to these people, they would not have so many. A man on a salary considers how he will feed, clothe, and educate a child before he brings it into the world. The man on public assistance welcomes each new addition as a $30 to $50 a month tax free pay increase. Can't there be some sort of requirements as to living conditions before these people become eligible for help? If we as taxpayers are paying these people to care for their children can we not expect that they at least keep these children clean and decently clothed and fed. It takes much more work than money to sweep and scrub floors, wash, iron, mend and hem clothes, shampoo heads and bathe children. I have noted that a threat to withdraw Government contracts brings cooperation from manufacturers. Would withholding of assistance checks work the same with people?

There are numerous service organizations, social clubs, and church groups who would welcome the opportunity to cooperate in cleaning up some of these problems, but except for giving food and clothing our hands are tied. I have not had the opportunity to discuss this with a representative of the welfare service, I suppose their hands are also tied, but somewhere, perhaps way up there where you sit, something can be done. This is the reason for this letter. I am not a politician—I hope I don't appear to merely gripe. I am an example of a frustrated citizen, and there are more of us. I wrote Mr. HALL because he is our Representative, not because he is a Republican.

Thank you for your suggestion for aid in the higher education of our children still at home. Some of our friends have received help in this manner. I think this is a wonderful opportunity for those young people who, because of tragedy such as sickness or death of a parent, would be unable to continue their education. However, as long as Mr. Stafford and I are physically able we do not feel that our children should be a burden on the taxpayers. We believe the education of our children is as much our responsibility as their food and clothing. It has been a source of great satisfaction that we were able to educate our older daughter, the gratification of completing a job that began the day she was born. Perhaps it compares to winning a race (or even an election), it is a wonderful feeling, one that we hope to experience three more times.

Thank you for taking the time to read this—I hope sincerely that this great country can rid its people of poverty, but not rob its people of the pleasure of individual accomplishment. The man (or men) who can do this will be truly great.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. CECIL C. STAFFORD.

GRANBY, MO.
February 20, 1966.

Hon. DURWARD G. HALL,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HALL: Thank you so much for your response, I am overcome with surprise and pleasure that you took the time to even read my letter much less answer it personally. (The most I had hoped for was a form letter in reply.)

In explanation of the conflicting dates on the letter and postmark—it took me that long to become brave enough to mail it after I wrote it. You see this was my first correspondence with a Government representative. Though writing letters has long been an effective therapy for me most are never posted. I find it a harmless way of working off frustrations of many sorts, and the state of our country is becoming a source of frustration to me. If this is the case with me, who knows so little, I am sure your frustrations are many. I hope that you, and those who share your beliefs, will not become "weary of well doing." However, when I hear people express such shortsighted views on our country's well-being I should not blame you if you threw up your hands and returned to private life. But please don't, someone is going to have to be around to pick up the pieces when we finally become convinced it won't work. (And commonsense tells me it won't.)

You asked for my permission to use the before mentioned letter. I am pleased that you judge it worth "sharing." I certainly have no objections to you using it in any way you see fit—nor to you using my name. The thoughts I expressed to you are things which I believe, and except for estimates on ages and weights everything I said is factual. I have no figures on the social securitv tax increase either but from previous examples it is reasonable to assume that there will not be a decrease. Please correct any and all grammatical and (or) spelling errors, I would have been more careful had I known it would actually reach your desk.

Thank you again for your consideration. If Mr. Stafford and I can be of service to you in this locality we will be happy to help to the extent of our abilities.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. CECIL C. STAFFORD.

WIN THE PEACE BY WINNING THE PEOPLE

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, "Win the Peace by Winning the People" is the inspiring theme of a program for relief for the war-stricken people of Vietnam.

On Sunday, May 1, the people of Fort Wayne will join in a unique experiment in human relations sponsored by the International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers. This will be an open meeting at the War Memorial Coliseum on the outskirts of Fort Wayne, Ind., for all interested citizens. The purpose of the gathering will be to stimulate interest in the construction of a refugee settlement in Vietnam. Many of the civic- and social-minded organizations of the community are cooperating in this project. The money raised in connection with this effort will be used to create a resettlement village for the Vietnamese refugees and reunite their families and establish homes in an environment of safety and security.

May 1 also is Law Day and the Fort Wayne Bar Association is participating in this humanitarian endeavor.

The idea of this resettlement village was inspired by a group of the IUE members who recently visited Vietnam and saw at first hand the desperate plight of the more than 1 million Vietnamese refugees. From the heart and sympathies of the people of Hoosierland, there has come a great outpouring of contributions to help in the rebuilding of a good life for these people. Climaxing the relief effort will be this program on May Day.

Working with the people of Vietnam, Americans will see that these refugee villages have new schools, medical facilities, and tools to operate farms and provide jobs for their economic and social well-being.

It is a fine example of the humanism of Americans. Moreover, it illustrates the manner in which we have always tried to help our neighbors when they are in need. I am sure everyone throughout the Nation will take pride in this work of good will toward these Vietnamese.

I know that all good Americans will be watching with great interest this splendid evidence of community cooperation by the people of Fort Wayne. It will make it possible truly to lend a friendly and helping hand to the people of Vietnam who have suffered so much at the hands of the Communist aggressors.

DEPRESSED HOUSING CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I am sure most of my colleagues are aware of the present depressed status of the housing construction industry. I am sure there are many factors relating to this condition. However, the chief responsibility for this depressed economy rests clearly upon those who are responsible for the fiscal policies of our Nation.

Indications are ample that the housing industry is being made the whipping boy for the administration's own inflationary policies. These policies have not solved the problem, but rather have produced a tight home market resulting in depressing a vital segment of our economy.

On April 1, the Federal National Mortgage Association took action that will result in further depression of the home construction industry. By limiting their purchase to $15,000 per mortgage per family unit, FNMA has compounded the already tight situation.

Mr. Speaker, FNMA's decision will not only be detrimental to my district in Tennessee, but to the entire Nation. A survey of the present market makes abundantly obvious the unreality of such a decision.

Since the Federal Reserve Board increased their rediscount rate this past December, FNMA has served as a major support to the FHA and VA loan market.

I have received numerous communications from leaders in the homebuilding industry in Tennessee seeking my help in bringing this matter to the attention of the Congress, and the various appropriate Federal agencies.

As a result of these policies we are already suffering high rates of unemployment in the home construction trade. We must also consider further the unemployment impact, because it has been said that for each person employed in construction there are two and a half persons employed as an indirect result of the industry.

In regard to the Federal Reserve Board's action last December in raising the discount, as it would apply to the home construction industry, I am inserting at this point a letter I have received from the Federal Reserve Board:

BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE
FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM,
Washington, April 14, 1966.

Hon. JOHN DUNCAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. DUNCAN: The Board's action last December in raising the discount rate, to which Mr. Brown refers, was not directed specifically at the real estate industry. The fact is that the action was designed to prevent an excessively rapid expansion in money and credit at a time when general demands for goods and services were beginning to press on the available industrial capacity and labor resources of the economy. The cost and price stability of recent years has become increasingly precarious as the margin of available resources has narrowed, threatening the sustainability of the domestic expansion and the hard-won improvements in our international balance of payments.

Given the diversity of economic activity and the differing supply and demand factors involved, inevitably any action to moderate the pace of overall expansion must be undertaken in a situation where changes in individual types of activity are not proceeding at the same rate or necessarily in the same direction. Even within the construction industry as a whole, a moderate decline in residential starts has been accompanied by a massive increase in nonresidential building activity. And within residential building alone, the level and trend of activity have varied widely among individual cities. Shortages of skilled carpenters and related workers have been reported in some cities, such as Detroit, even as a number of western cities have continued to experience slack after an extended housing boom.

That problems have developed in some segments of the housing industry is undeniable. But these are attributable in large part to demographic factors, which recently have tended to limit household formation and particularly demands for single-family houses. Rising construction costs and land prices also have limited effective consumer demands, and overbuilding in some areas has been followed by periods of temporary retrenchment.

By and large, credit availability has not been a problem. Until very recently, the mortgage market of the 1960's was clearly a borrower's market: mortgage funds were unusually ample and both downpayment and maturity terms were liberalized further, while mortgage debt expanded rapidly and interest rates paid by borrowers remained under downward pressure.

In fact, many observers have blamed the ample availability of credit for a deterioration in the quality of loans made, and for stimulating a substantial rise in housing costs. While the over-all level of housing starts has not been exceptionally high in recent years, the uptrend in construction prices and costs has been pronounced, and land costs have continued to climb sharply. Over the past 5 years, for example, building costs—excluding land—have advanced 13 percent, faster than in the preceding 5-year period, on the basis of data used to deflate the current dollar figures for the construction component of the gross national product accounts. This advance in building costs contrasts sharply with the movement of prices of other goods and services, which from 1961 to 1964 showed remarkable stability. Moreover, the rate of rise in residential costs has been accelerating; during 1965 the increase was 3.8 percent.

A major factor in the over-all increase in costs has been the rise in wages for construction workers under conditions where productivity increases are, for various reasons, difficult to effect. Employment in contract construction as a whole increased to a record high last year and wage rates also rose further. In recent years, the wage rise has been more rapid than in most other sectors of the economy and at a rate higher than the 3.2 percent guidepost for noninflationary increases. Between 1960 and 1965, the rise averaged 3.6 percent per year, and in the fourth quarter of last year it was up 4.2 percent from a year earlier. (If allowance is made for increased pension and other benefits, the average would probably be up slightly further.) Moreover, many of the construction contracts signed last year provided for relatively large additional increases in 1966 and 1967.

This is not to assert that the construction industry is the only area in which inflationary developments have appeared. Nor is it to assert that a rise in interest rates is all that is needed to avoid inflation. Altogether, the entire armory of governmental economic weapons must be brought to bear on the problem of excessive demands in a situation with mounting defense efforts superimposed on a booming civilian economy. What is clear is that the economy as a whole, and construction activity as well, ultimately have more to lose from a general inflation than from higher taxes and higher interest rates.

Sincerely yours,

Wm. McC. Martin, Jr.

REGULATION OF DEALERS OF ANIMALS USED IN RESEARCH

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, the revelations in national magazines, the press, and other media of the abuse and stealing of animals by certain dealers who sell them to laboratories has shocked and outraged people throughout our country. Through the mail and by personal contact our constituents are demanding that effective legislation be passed to deal with the inhuman conditions under which certain dealers now collect, hold, and transport animals.

The bill reported by the Committee on Agriculture—H.R. 13881—has been described as being too weak to stop the present practices and it is a disappointment to many people. On the other hand, there is an alternative bill pending which has had overwhelming support in every part of the country. This is the bill I have sponsored—H.R. 13346—which is identical to the one introduced by the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Helstoski] and other Members of the House. Following are some of the objections to the committee's bill:

First. It permits the continued sale at auction and by body weight. I am informed by highly reliable sources, people who have witnessed such auctions, that this method of sale of dogs, cats, and other animals—such as pigeons—for research is where the worst abuses occur. It is also a method of sale in which a great many stolen and fraudulently acquired animals change hands quickly—then to be rushed to another part of the State or across State lines so that the frantic owner has no hope of recovering his animal.

Second. It fails to give the legislative intent of the humane standards the Secretary of Agriculture would be required to promulgate.

Third. It fails to require bills of sale as a safeguard against the theft and fraudulent acquisition of animals by dealers.

Fourth. It fails to require inspection of dealers' facilities and transport.

Fifth. It calls for the licensing of both the dealer and the laboratory. Since the licensing of the laboratory would be only in its capacity as a purchaser the dual licensing would seem to be unnecessary and confusing.

On the other hand, the bill I have sponsored along with other Members would do the following:

It would license dealers only and require laboratories to purchase animals from licensed dealers only; prohibit the sale of animals at auction or by weight; protect not only dogs and cats but also other animals whose suffering is no less than that of cats and dogs; provide the legislative intent of the standards the Secretary of Agriculture would be required to promulgate to insure the humane housing, handling, and transport of animals by dealers; require legitimate bills of sale to prevent the theft and fraudulent acquisition of animals by dealers; require Federal inspection of dealers' premises and transport of animals.

The features of the bill I have introduced along with others are the very minimum required to effect the regulation of dealers. I hope that its provisions will be substituted for the committee bill. At the appropriate time I hope to make a motion to recommit the committee bill, with instructions to report back forth with the text of my bill, H.R. 13346.

It speaks well for our country that the public is outraged by the activities of conscienceless dealers who steal and maltreat animals. The public voice on this subject is testimony of the fact that we as a nation are mindful of the rights not only of mankind but also of the defenseless and inarticulate creatures of the animal world.

OUR VIETNAM POLICY

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, it has often been stated that one of the purposes of our Vietnam policy is to prove to Red China that aggression, exemplified by "wars of national liberation" will not work. The assumption of such a statement, of course, is that the Vietnamese Communists are the lackeys of the Chinese, without independent national goals of their own. This is an assumption open to serious question, especially in view of the North Vietnamese delegation's attendance at the 23d Congress of the Soviet Communist Party—an international Communist meeting which the Chinese themselves vituperatively spurned. However, if one accepts this assumption the next obvious question is whether our policy is proving what is claimed it proves. An article appearing in the March 28 Evening Star concludes that the very opposite is the case. Since it is most important that our actions at least be fitting to our stated aims, I would like to include the full text of the article as one deserving thoughtful study:

[From the Evening Star, Mar. 28, 1966]

DIVIDENDS FOR COMMUNIST CHINA

(By Clayton Fritchey)

If, as the administration insists, both North Vietnam and the Vietcong are under the thumb of Communist China, there is little or no prospect of a negotiated peace, for, as matters stand, China has everything to gain and little to lose.

The United States is supposedly "containing" China, but in reality China is rapidly expanding both its economic and nuclear power (which is all that matters with a modern power), while at the same time bleeding and depleting the United States at an ever increasing rate, and at no cost to itself.

It is one of the most unfavorable positions the United States has ever found itself in. The huge, expensive military effort in Vietnam is, in the final analysis, primarily aimed at China, but so far it has cost China nothing of consequence, and probably won't unless the conflict escalates into a world war.

This side of that eventuality, Peking can keep on draining the United States indefinitely at no sacrifice to itself. The war in Vietnam has been escalating for 5 years, but all the Chinese have contributed so far is mostly encouragement to Hanoi and the Vietcong. Up to now, the war has cost Peking no casualties, and little in the way of supplies except relatively insignificant quantities of small arms and ammunition. For years the Vietcong was largely equipped with captured or surrendered American arms.

So now while China sits watchfully, but safely, on the sidelines as the fighting mounts in Vietnam, how is the United States faring? The answer is that American casualties are steadily rising, and no doubt will increase as more U.S. troops are poured into the battlefront.

The Chinese know, of course, that the defense budget exceeds $60 billion; they know we are alarmed over inflation, and are soon going to have to raise taxes on everybody. It is no secret that the war has bitterly divided the American people, and that its rising cost is beginning to injure the domestic economy.

Another dividend for the Chinese is the division between the United States and many of its allies and friends over the Vietnam policy, especially among such Asian powers as Pakistan, India, and Japan. Even more important to the Chinese is the way Vietnam has chilled the detente between Russia and the United States and prevented a united front against her.

Military observers here and abroad also are fearful that Vietnam is distorting our military posture around the world. "The Nation's armed services," newspaper correspondent, Hanson Baldwin reports, "have almost exhausted their trained and ready military units, with all available forces spread dangerously thin in Vietnam and elsewhere." Gen. James M. Gavin also feels the United

States has become so "mesmerized" with Vietnam that it has permitted the commitment there to become "alarmingly out of balance." Defense Secretary McNamara, however, firmly denies this.

There is no doubt, though, that China is profiting from the foreign reaction to U.S. policy. General de Gaulle, who is determined to remove France's forces from NATO, charged that American involvement in local conflicts was a danger to Europe. Because of escalation, he said, Europe could find itself drawn automatically into such a conflict unless she managed to have a European strategy of her own as distinct from the strategy that the United States now imposes on her through NATO.

Another depressing factor is that the United Statees will have to go it alone on any new escalation for most of our allies do not intend to share the cost either in money or men. In fact, instead of joining us in isolating China, they are now stepping up trade with her. Just recently, West Germany and a European consortium agreed to finance a new steel plant for Peiping.

In the face of all this, the President can only promise an increasingly painful war for the foreseeable future. Since this costs China nothing, why should it encourage Hanoi and the Vietcong to negotiate? After all, China has suffered setbacks everywhere else in the world during the last few years, so why should it try to bring to an end the only success it has going for it?

HOUSE SHOULD ACT ON ETHICS LEGISLATION

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the Nation is again very puzzled and shocked about the recent disclosures concerning the personal and political finances of a member of Congress.

Right or wrong, whatever the facts develop, this situation is highly embarrassing to every member of the House and Senate, and I am sure the careful and unbiased deliberations by the Senate Committee on Standards and Conduct will result in a fair decision to the persons involved and the public interest.

Since I entered Congress in 1949 I have worked for a code of ethics for all Government employees which had the teeth of enforcement and a positive deterrent to abuses. In 1958 a number of us were successful in enacting a code of ethics for Government service which includes all Government employees, including Members of Congress and their staffs. But this code of ethics does not have sufficient teeth to back it up. It is a set of principles to live by in our work for the public interest. It was a difficult bill to pass, even without adequate teeth.

During the Senate Rules Committee hearings in 1964, considering the case of the former secretary to the Senate majority leader, I urged the committee to adopt legislation which I have pushed for many years in the House. I am proud to say that my idea to establish a policing body in the Congress was adopted, at least in the Senate. Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky was successful in his efforts to set up a Senate Committee on Standards and Conduct, which I presented to the Senate Rules Committee.

Today, I am calling for speedy action on three legislative proposals in the field of ethics, which I have worked on over the last decade. I list them here and urge that the House give serious attention to the adoption of the proposals to prevent abuses of the Code of Ethics for Government Service:

First. House Joint Resolution 36, to establish a Commission on Ethics in the Federal Government. This Commission would have investigative powers and would advise senior officials in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of breaches of ethics for appropriate disciplinary action.

Second. House Resolution 18, to establish a House Committee on Grievances. This committee in the House of Representatives would be authorized to require Members of the House to make a full and complete disclosure of their personal income and investments, and would have investigative powers leading to recommendations for censure, expulsion, impeachment, or prosecution in case of wrong doings. I have joined other Members of Congress in filing a statement of assets with the Clerk of the House.

Third. H. R. 9626, a bill to tighten the lobbying laws by turning over the administration of lobbying procedures and reporting to the Comptroller General of the United States, to enforce the lobbying law, which is not now being done.

FISH PROTEIN CONCENTRATE PLANTS

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Keith] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, hundreds of millions of people all over the world are suffering from malnutrition—famine threatens in India and uncounted numbers go to bed hungry each night. Millions of children in underdeveloped areas suffer from a disease known as kwashiorkor, a severe form of protein deficiency. It is painful and debilitating and is a major cause of death. If these children could have adequate protein in their diets, this dread disease would vanish.

We in this country are nearing a technological solution to a large portion of this problem in our development of fish protein concentrate. This powdered extract from fish is 80 percent protein, and it can be produced for about 13 cents a pound. The product does not spoil. It is ordorless and tasteless and therefore can be combined with flour to make bread or added to soups or cereals. It can be made to taste like eggs, meat, or virtually any desired food. A mere million tons could fill the annual protein requirements of 100 million people.

Fish protein concentrate, or FPC as it is called, could well become a major part of the world's food supply. It can be made from the many species of fish that are now little used because they are too bony or otherwise inappropriate for human consumption. Moreover, the total world fishery resources are at present underutilized. For example our own coastal waters are yielding about 5 billion pounds of fish though they could sustain an annual yield of 28 billion pounds—a more than fivefold increase. If we can get fish protein concentrate into large scale production, we cannot only perform an important service to the world, but we can also give a boost to our fishing industry. Moreover, we have a balance-of-payments deficit in fishery products at this time of $500 million a year, and fish protein concentrate could help to right that situation.

This entire question is one which has long been of particular concern to me. In 1961 I visited Peru and Mexico to see some of the scientific work being done there with fish protein concentrate. I saw firsthand some of the remarkable results this protein rich food supplement can produce in starving children.

It has been nearly 5 years since my visit and I am still coming to Congress to ask that something be done. The program has been set back enormously by an absurd statement of the Food and Drug Administration in 1962 which termed fish protein concentrate unacceptable on esthetic grounds because it is made from whole fish. This statement has served to discourage much of the potential industrial growth in the production of fish protein concentrate as well as to make it virtually impossible to send it abroad to the hungry nations of the world. It is very poor public relations to give anyone food we will not eat ourselves.

Today the prevailing view is that this opinion of the FDA was irrational since we eat whole sardines and oysters without even processing or purifying them. The Bureau of Commercial Fisheries has been developing several processes and doing carefully controlled bacteriological and toxicological analyses simultaneously. The Bureau has submitted at least one of the methods to the FDA for approval, but we have yet to hear their decision. We are hopeful that at long last the response will be favorable. We cannot afford to wait much longer.

Before this country can really get into large-scale production of fish protein concentrate, however, engineering and economic feasibility studies must be done. Therefore I am filing a bill today to provide for the construction and operation of sufficient number of pilot plants to test the different processes for production of fish protein concentrate and to take into account types of fish and their availability in different areas. My bill, unlike others that have been filed, does not set a limit on the number of plants because I wish to assure adequate authorization for enough plants to test all methods of producing fish protein concentrate. Probably about five plants would be required eventually, each costing about a million dollars.

Naturally each time a process is ready to be put into pilot plant production, the Secretary of the Interior would have to come to Congress for the appropriation. And the total funds for plant construction would not be requested all at once, but rather over a period of several years, as laboratory research is completed on the various processes.

A number of possible methods of fish protein concentrate production exist, which fall into the basic categories of biological, chemical, and physical. Moreover lean and fatty fish may well require radically different reduction methods. We will not be able to determine the most economical methods until the pilot plants have been in operation. Therefore, in the interest of economy we must give them all a chance.

It may be asked why the Government should invest in plants as opposed to private industry carrying the ball alone. I have given considerable thought to this problem because my inclination would be to keep the Government out of this potentially profitable enterprise for industry. However, we are not dealing here with a simple problem of a commercial enterprise. We are also dealing with a question of international politics. Recently I made a tour of Russian fishing and oceanographic facilities for the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, and there is not any doubt in my mind that the Russians could easily preempt the fish protein concentrate field if they decided to do so. The state of their technology in fish protein concentrate is similar to ours. They produce large quantities of fish meal for fertilizer and animal feed. Moreover, their fishing industry is expanding rapidly—250 percent since 1953. They would probably have little trouble bringing in the necessary increased catch. If they did so we might lose a valuable tool in international politics. This then is another reason for urgency beyond the purely humane considerations we might have in supplying fish protein concentrate to protein-starved nations.

A pilot plant is not, by its very nature, an economical operation, and unfortunately, there is little indication that private industry is prepared at this time to undertake the major investment in large-scale research which would be required to determine which is the most economical method of producing fish protein concentrate. The bill I propose would limit Government participation to a maximum of 10 years from the date of the act. By that time all plants would have to be phased out.

Rapid development of fish protein concentrate is demanded by the world situation. The unnecessary delay that we have had should give some urgency to this project. The bill, incidentally, would call for an appropriation over several years of only a few million dollars. This may well be compared with the three and a half billion dollars that have been requested for the coming year alone in agricultural subsidies for products that will be sent abroad.

My bill differs from other bills that have been filed here in that it provides that fish protein concentrate will be eligible for distribution under the provisions of the Food for Freedom Act. Other bills refer to Public Law 480 of the 83d Congress. This statute is due to expire soon and probably be replaced by the food for freedom program. Fish protein concentrate must be included in any food assistance program for it to have its maximum value.

I feel strongly that passage of this bill would produce a great deal of benefit per tax dollar expended, in terms of international good will, improving our balance of payments and boosting our fishing industry. These are all worthwhile investments which, I believe, will pay off in the long run.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1965

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. Rhodes] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, at the April 26, 1966, meeting of the House Republican policy committee a policy statement regarding H.R. 10065, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1965, was adopted. As chairman of the policy committee, I would like to include at this point in the Record the complete text of this statement.

Republican Policy Committee Statement on Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1965, H.R. 10065

The Republican Party and the Republican Members of the House of Representatives stand second to none in their dedication to the cause of civil rights. Year after year, our actions with respect to strong and effective legislation have more than matched our words.

It may be that full and complete hearings would indicate that certain changes in title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 should be made. However, we question the advisability of considering this particular bill at this time. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act did not go into effect until July 2, 1965. The only hearings on the broad and sweeping provisions of H.R. 10065 were held almost simultaneously in June and July of 1965. At that time the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission clearly did not have sufficient experience under the new act to testify with any real authority. And yet, to date, no additional hearings have been scheduled or held. Certainly, guesses and speculation are no substitute for experience and facts.

This bill would transform the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission into an agency that would rival the old National Labor Relations Board under the Wagner Act and before the Taft-Hartley amendments. As a result, the employer, labor union, or employment agency that is charged with an unfair employment practice, would find that the same Commission that filed the charge, investigated the case, determined there was merit to the charge, attempted conciliation, issued a complaint, and conducted the hearing to determine the facts, would have the power to make the final determination of guilt or innocence and to issue an appropriate cease-and-desist order which could include a backpay assessment, reinstatement, initial hiring, or promotion. This is like having the prosecuting attorney after he has submitted his evidence, don a judicial robe and decide the case.

In the drafting of this bill, we should benefit from the experience that has been gained in the field of administrative law. Effective administration and fair and even-handed enforcement demand the separation of the investigative-administrative functions and the hearing and decision-making role. The Commissioners should hear cases and formulate policy. The administrative, investigate, and prosecutive functions should be performed by an independent general counsel or administrator. The National Labor Relations Board has had the greatest difficulty in overcoming the suspicion and distrust engendered during the time it was structured along the lines of the proposed bill. The same mistake should not be made with respect to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The work of this Commission is far too important for it to be handicapped with a "Model T" administrative procedure.

The representatives of the New York, Michigan, California, and Illinois Commissions also recommended the retention of section 706(b) and (c) of title VII, which allows States with effective nondiscrimination laws 60 to 120 days to act on all complaints within their States before the Federal Commission proceeds. As the chairman of the New York State Commission on Human Rights stated:

"We do feel, however, that a more harmonious relationship and more effective enforcement of the laws, both State and Federal, will result if the State involved receives notice of a charge and a stated period of time within which to act, before the Federal Commission becomes actively involved."

Despite these recommendations, the provisions of section 706(b) and (c) would be deleted by H.R. 10065. Certainly, careful thought and serious consideration should be given to a change of this type—a change that would so dramatically affect the role of the State Commissions.

We are also concerned by the manner in which this legislation was handled by the Democratic majority on the Education and Labor Committee. The unusual procedure, the extreme haste and pressure under which this bill was heard and reported last year is detailed and explained in this colloquy between Congresswoman Green and the then subcommittee chairman:

Mrs. Green. May I ask the reason for hearings at 6:15 this evening, why the apparent haste, and what is the chairman's wish as to further hearings and the speed with which you want final consideration of this?

Mr. Roosevelt. In answer to the gentlelady's well-put question, it is simply because the chairman of the full committee requested that certain steps be taken to bring this before the full committee at its meeting on Thursday of this week. He felt that if we could draw legislation which would have little or no opposition, that this might facilitate the passage of the repeal of 14(b), and that he would therefore request this subcommittee to hear views on legislation and pass on whether or not we would recommend this legislation to the full committee by Thursday of this week. Obviously there was no other way to do it except by this procedure * * * the chairman did make a statement which, in essence, said that unless some other action to improve the enforcement of title VII was taken, he would not take any action with respect to requesting consideration of the repeal bill by the Rules Committee.

All can agree that this type of procedure is an affront to the legislative process and an unwarranted reflection on this bill and the worthy purpose it seeks to accomplish.

We hope that as soon as possible adequate hearings based upon actual experience can be completed. When this is done, the action taken can be in keeping with the demonstrated need and such action will help, not harm, the cause of equal rights—a cause that all Republicans seek to serve and to support.

SECURITY OF CONFIDENTIAL BUSINESS INFORMATION SUBMITTED TO THE TRADE INFORMATION COMMITTEE

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, to firms who have provided or been asked to provide information to the Trade Information Committee, an interagency committee chaired by a member of the Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, and consisting of representatives from the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, Interior, Labor, State, and Treasury, the problem of confidentiality of sensitive business information is very important. The company secretary or general counsel concerned that his organization's business plans remain secret will be reassured to know that procedures have been established governing use of such material and are tightly enforced by Gov. Christian Herter, the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, and the Chairman of the Trade Information Committee, Mr. Louis Krauthoff.

I ask unanimous consent that my letter to Governor Herter asking how such material is treated and Governor Herter's reply be included in the RECORD immediately following my remarks.

MARCH 24, 1966.

Hon. CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, Washington, D.C.

DEAR GOVERNOR HERTER: Reports have come to my attention that certain U.S. industries are concerned that the materials supplied to your office through the Trade Information Committee (TIC) containing confidential business data are not adequately safe from perusal by other Government agencies. The implication is that it is possible that such confidential data could be used against the supplying firm in antitrust actions, or in cases where the administration might choose to take action against a firm for one reason or another. More specific is the allegation that such information is available to the White House when the White House chooses to obtain it.

In order to evaluate the soundness of such reports, I would appreciate having your account of the procedures used and conditions imposed when TIC obtains such confidential data, the storage of the data, its uses in the trade negotiations, and the possibilities of its being obtained and misused by persons outside your immediate office for purposes other than the negotiations.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

THOMAS B. CURTIS.

OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR TRADE NEGOTIATIONS,
Washington, April 18, 1966.

Hon. THOMAS B. CURTIS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR TOM: Thank you for your letter of March 24, 1966, concerning the manner in which the Trade Information Committee (TIC) handles confidential business information. In your letter you express several possible apprehensions about the handling of such information and also raise four specific questions concerning this matter.

Let me begin by answering your four specific questions. First, you ask about the procedures used and conditions imposed when the TIC obtains confidential business information. The pertinent procedures and conditions are set out in sections 211.7–211.9 of the published regulations of the TIC, a copy of which I am enclosing for your information. Basically, all information furnished to the TIC is available to the public except business information which is alleged by a private party, and found by the TIC, to be confidential, in accordance with the definition set out in the regulations.

All information, including confidential business information, is available to this Office and to the agencies represented on the TIC and to such other agencies as the TIC may designate. The agencies represented on the TIC are Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, Interior, Labor, State, and Treasury. The other agencies designated by the TIC are the Tariff Commission and the Office of Emergency Planning. The former is involved because of the technical support it provides to our preparation for and participation in the Kennedy round. The latter is involved because it is responsible for examining the allegations made by industries that their products are essential to the national defense of the United States and should therefore not suffer reductions in tariffs.

Second, you ask about the storage of confidential business information provided to the TIC. Such information is stored in filing cabinets which are safeguarded by the staff of the TIC during office hours and are locked at night in a guarded building.

Third, you ask about the uses of confidential business information of the TIC in the trade negotiations. Such information provides especially valuable data on both the sensitivity of firms to import competition and the opportunity for establishing and expanding export markets. Like all other information made available to the TIC, it is reviewed and analyzed in Washington in connection with the formulation of offers of, or requests for, trade concessions.

Fourth, you ask about the possibilities of the confidential business information of the TIC being obtained and misused by persons outside this Office for purposes other than negotiations. While no procedures are foolproof, I think the chances of misuse are very slim indeed. Under our procedures no such information may be divulged or made available to any person who is not employed by this Office or any of the agencies represented on, or designated by, the TIC, who is not directly involved in trade agreements work, and who, in the course of his duties, does not have a clear need to know such information.

Let me now turn to the several possible apprehensions you express in your letter. First, could the confidential business information of the TIC be used against the supplying firms in an antitrust or other kind of action? Being unrelated to trade negotiations, such a use would be completely improper, and I believe that we could successfully resist any attempt made by another agency to obtain the information for such a purpose. Second, is the confidential business information of the TIC available to the White House when it chooses to obtain it? Section 224 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 provides that the President shall make offers for tariff reductions only after he receives, among other things, a summary of the TIC hearings. I believe it is implicit in this provision that the President should have access to all information gathered during the TIC hearings so that he may exercise his negotiating authority on an informed basis. But I can state that neither the President nor any member of the White House staff has requested or received any confidential business information possessed by the TIC for any purpose unrelated to trade negotiations.

In general, let me assure you that my Office is fully aware of the importance of maintaining the security of confidential business information, which is of special importance to us in negotiating effectively with our trading partners. I believe that we can assure U.S. firms that the confidentiality of their information has been and will be fully respected.

Best, as ever,

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Special Representative.

STOPPING ILLEGAL SALE OF FAMILY PETS

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ELLSWORTH] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, many instances of inhumane abuse have come to the fore during the congressional consideration of legislation to regulate the source and transportation of animals intended for use in scientific research.

I have been concerned about two major questions in connection with this legislation: First, that proper controls be written so that the theft and illegal sale of family pets and their abuse in transit be stopped immediately; and second, that the legislation be drawn in such a manner that scientific research will not be impeded.

H.R. 13881, which will soon come to the floor, will achieve these goals. The bill is designed and intended to bring to an end the racket of unprincipled "dealers" who steal any animals they can catch and transport them by any means available. It is equally clear that while the bill will provide regulation as to source of animals and insure humane treatment during their transport to medical facilities, Congress does not intend that it hamper or restrict scientific research. This is altogether proper for the contributions of medical research are of immeasurable value to human health and happiness.

In my opinion, H.R. 13881 merits support.

THE BALANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PAYMENTS: FOURTH QUARTER AND YEAR 1965

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ELLSWORTH] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, although continually inundated by the vast quantity of material published by our Government, I never cease to be amazed at the wealth of useful and important information tucked away in Government publications. Take, for example, the Survey of Current Business, published monthly by the Department of Commerce. Back on page 16 of the March issue, following the regular 40-page section on current business statistics, in fact, in the very last section of the publication, there is an article entitled "The Balance of International Payments: Fourth Quarter and Year 1965."

From my experience on the Joint Economic Committee, I would think this article deserves more prominent display, especially in view of how frequently the subject arises in economic discussions, the sense of urgency usually attached to it and the experience and ability of the article's authors. But it is relegated to the anchor position in the Survey, behind other articles which paint a somewhat rosier if less interesting picture of the economy.

The article itself strikes one as being a fair-minded appraisal of our not-too-encouraging balance-of-payments position at the end of last year and the prospects for the future. And though the entire article is worth reading for its valuable and detailed information on our balance of payments, one section is particularly timely: that covering private merchandise trade.

The administration has maintained recently that an improvement in our trade surplus, for years one of the brightest spots in our international payments position, is in the offing this year. Undaunted by the 46-percent decline in our balance on private trade from calendar 1964 to 1965, administration officials have predicted a $1 billion improvement in our export surplus this year. An interesting analysis in this article relating GNP changes to imports, coupled with recent economic predictions by Government officials, lends very little credibility to this hopeful dream.

Last year's 15.5-percent rise in imports, the largest percentage increase since 1959, is a good example of the high degree of sensitivity of changes in imports to large changes in GNP. Over the past 8 years, whenever GNP has increased more than 3.5 percent a year, the change in imports not only has been positive but has been proportionately greater than the change in GNP. In 1959 and 1962, when GNP increased 8.1 and 7.7 percent, respectively, imports rose 18.2 percent and 11.5 percent. In 1965, when GNP rose 7.6 percent, imports increased about 15.5 percent, twice as much as the percentage increase in GNP. This relationship between GNP increase and import growth continues when we review the GNP and accompanying import growth for the other years since 1958, indicating that a fast-growing economy tends to increase its purchases from abroad more than proportionately.

In view of this analysis, it is interesting to contemplate what the increase in our imports will be in 1966. Reports appear in the newspapers almost daily that administration economic experts have revised their predictions of 1966 GNP substantially upward since the year began. Labor Statistics Commissioner Arthur M. Ross presented a figure of $735 billion as his own estimate of 1966 GNP, according to a speech reported in the March 25 edition of the Washington Post. Employing Commissioner Ross' estimate, the analysis noted in the survey, and a little arithmetic, we can take quite an interesting, if discomforting, look at our balance-of-payments prospects for this year.

A GNP of $735 billion for 1966 would be an 8.7 percent increase over 1965 in current dollars. If imports increase by only the same percentage amount, an assumption the Survey article points out is quite conservative, private purchases from abroad will grow to $23.36 billion. If we duplicate the percentage increase registered last year, when the increase in import growth was more than twice the increase in GNP on a percentage basis, then imports will grow to $24.82 billion in 1966.

Now let us take a look at exports. Last year, nonmilitary merchandise exports, other than those financed by Government grants and capital, grew 4.9 percent. The inflation abroad that the administration has been counting on to boost our exports to Western Europe, Canada, and Japan did not materialize in 1965. In fact, our own wholesale price index rose more last year than that of Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, or Switzerland. And there is little reason to expect that our price performance will improve this year, considering the way the administration has continually dragged its heels in proposing effective measures to restrain inflation. In fact, increases in our wholesale price have been accelerating thus far this year.

In addition, there is less incentive in a booming domestic economy to increase export sales. At present, many American companies are having their hands full just satisfying domestic demand for their products. Add to this the possible adverse effects the "voluntary" capital restraints program may have on exports, particularly to American business branches and affiliates overseas, and it appears we will be lucky if we repeat last year's sluggish gain. If exports do increase as much as last year, they will reach $24.73 billion in 1966.

Thus we face a possible decrease in our surplus on merchandise trade, excluding exports financed by Government grants and capital, from the $2.08 billion figure for 1965 to $1.36 billion this year. Or we may even have a $98 million deficit if imports grow at the same rate relative to GNP growth as they did last year.

This possibility of a 34-percent decline, or more, in our private trade surplus should be enough to make everyone concerned with our position in world trade take pause. It has been the trade surplus in recent years which has allowed us to make our large foreign aid commitments without having astronomically large payments deficits. If the world's leading trader and key currency country cannot achieve balance in its international payments, but, in fact, increases its overall deficit as a result of a deteriorating trade balance, the international position of the dollar will be threatened and the entire system of international trade and payments imperiled.

The remedy is obvious, if difficult for the administration to acknowledge. Effective measures to cool somewhat the domestic economic boom and halt price inflation is essential to place the United States again in a competitive trade position. In addition, hard bargaining at the Kennedy round trade talks in Geneva to increase the access of U.S. goods to the European Common Market, particularly agricultural products, is called for.

The bleak prospects for our balance of payments this year proclaims that the time is past for half-baked restrictive measures, and ultimately ineffective and unfair entreaties to business and labor to ignore explicit cost pressures. The time for naive and ill-conceived "voluntary" restraints on capital flows is also running out, for they do more harm than good to our payments position over the long run. At the most, they can only postpone urgent consideration of imaginative and effective measures to make our merchandise and service exports more attractive to foreign consumers and our capital markets more attractive to investment.

TIMING THE TAX RISE

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ELLSWORTH] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding article appears in today's New York Times entitled "Timing the Tax Rise." Since inflation is no longer a threat but a reality, steps must be taken to bring the forces of inflation under effective control. However, as this article points out, the time has passed for tax increases to be used as an effective tool in controlling inflation.

TIMING THE TAX RISE—FEELING IS GROWING AMONG ECONOMISTS THAT JOHNSON HAS WAITED TOO LONG

(By M. J. Rossant)

The suspicion is growing among economists that the Johnson administration has missed the boat on tax increases.

Many economists, including some former members of the Johnson administration, have called for tax increases to contain inflation.

But some economists believe that the administration has waited too long to make up its mind. They now fear that imposition of tax increases will do little to check inflation this year and might be an undesirable brake on economic activity in 1967.

William F. Butler, vice president and chief economist of the Chase Manhattan Bank, is one of those who thinks that "the time is running out very fast on tax increases." As he sees it, the expansion would have benefited if tax increases had been in effect but could be jeopardized if taxes are increased this summer or fall.

William C. Freund, chief economist of the Prudential Life Insurance Co., takes a similar view. He urges that the administration take action on taxes quickly if it acts at all, because "enactment later in the year would only shut the barn door after the horse has been stolen."

Mr. Freund explains that there is a considerable timelag before tax increases begin to bite, so there is a risk that belated tax increases will act as a brake just when the economy is slowing of its own accord. He adds that "if a tax increase is made effective only at the end of the year it might be worse than none at all."

Still another critic of the administration's reluctance to make use of fiscal policy to combat inflation is Pierre A. Rinfret, chairman of Lionel D. Edie & Co., Inc., a firm of economic consultants.

In February, Edie's survey of corporate expenditures of new plant and equipment indicated that business would be increasing their outlays by 19 percent this year, a rise that threatened to intensify pressure on prices and wages. This week, Mr. Rinfret reported that a recheck of the corporations queried in the original survey showed that they are sticking to or raising their sights even though President Johnson has called for restraint on capital spending.

Mr. Rinfret now expects a capital spending to show a rise to 20 percent this year mainly because "companies expect higher prices." Noting that price increases are running far ahead of wage increases, he stresses that inaction has produced "the worst kind of taxation—forced savings through inflation."

In charging the administration with fumbling its opportunity to raise taxes, these economists are hitting where it hurts. For the administration's new economists have made a great deal of their ability to act with flexibility and timeliness. According to the critics, they have been at fault on both counts.

President Johnson has held off a decision because he felt that the economy might have been braked too much by a tax increase. But his criticis contentd that he has taken a bigger gamble in waiting than in acting.

They argue that moderate doses of fiscal and monetary restraint would have kept the boom in balance, avoiding inflationary excesses that could result in a recession. Instead, they say, there has been an undue reliance on monetary restraint, which has not prevented inflation from taking hold.

Mr. Edie and others who criticize the administration's "wait-and-see" attitude on taxes agree that the present feverish pace of the economy is likely to undergo a slowing down. But he holds that the braking impact caused by an economy making full use of its resources may well be accompanied by even tighter credit conditions and additional pressure on prices.

In essence, these critics believe that the administration should have been as flexible in restraining the economy as it had been in stimulating it. As Mr. Freund put it, "I don't believe that the new economics is really new or on trial. What is on trial is the willingness of our political leaders and th general public to adopt a flexible attitude."

In his view, though, there is precious little time left in which to demonstrate flexibility.

A MORE UNFAIR DRAFT

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ELLSWORTH] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, on March 2, just 8 weeks ago, 30 Republican Members of this House joined to urge an immediate congressional investigation of the draft.

At that time, we pointed to evidence of inefficiency and inequity, and asked the Committee on Armed Services to begin a prompt examination. As far as I know, nothing has been done. Meanwhile, complaints about inefficiencies and inequities in the draft continue to mount. As an example, I include at this point a Life magazine editorial, from the issue dated April 29, 1966.

A MORE UNFAIR DRAFT

"Everyone will now be mobilized, and all boys old enough to carry a spear will be sent to Addis Ababa. Married men will take their wives to carry food and cook. Those without wives will take any woman without a husband * * *. Anyone found at home after the receipt of this order will be hanged."

—Emperor Haile Selassie as Italians invaded Ethiopia in 1935.

A copy of Haile Selassie's crisp edict hangs in the New York City headquarters of the Selective Service System, and many of the young men who stop to read it can reflect that the System that has caught them is not nearly as fair as the emperor's.

America's Selective Service System has become so selective, even with the Vietnam buildup, that this year's registrant has only one chance in six of being drafted (see Life editorial, Oct. 15). For the individual who is that one in six, the system is unfair—and he has good cause to complain when his friends slip untroubled into America's affluent civilian society.

Until recently, the best way to fend off the draft has been to get and hold on to student status. Federal guidelines (used by local boards) have suggested that a college freshman in the top half of the males in his class in a given school should be deferred. This incredible formula equates a Caltech physics major with a water-ski specialist from Nowhere State.

Now, to pile discrimination on illogic, the Selective Service System has scheduled a series of qualifying tests for this spring. Supposedly, the tests would give students ranking in the bottom half of their classes a second chance to obtain deferment. Actually, the tests will discriminate against just those students who stand to gain the most from higher education—Negroes and members of other minorities. Standard achievement tests, of the type about to be used, always favor the white middle-class students because the questions are drawn from and reflect the language and situations of their society.

A chance to make a quick buck has not escaped the notice of some of the faster presses in the publishing business. A number of manuals, designed to help a student score high on the test, have appeared in bookshops and are selling faster than Ian Fleming. Their covers make the pitch that for $1.95 or $2.95, "this vital book can help you to draft deferment."

There is something basically abhorrent in the idea that any man can help send his neighbor off to be shot at instead of himself simply by paying $1.95. Still, it is only a logical outgrowth of the unfairness built into student deferments. It takes money to stay in school, so, by and large, the students who avoid the draft that way are the ones with parents who can afford the tab. The system isn't much different from the one that prevailed in the North during the Civil War—just more expensive. In 1863 a draftee could hire a substitute for $300. Today his family does the same, in effect, by paying college bills that can run over $3,000 a year.

As long as the armed services can use only a sixth of the men available this year, a better way must be found to pick them. It shouldn't be because they are expendable—fair game because they are a little short of education or of money.

Perhaps a lottery is the answer. We have used that system before—with the famous fishbowls of the two World Wars. Rough as lottery justice is, it would be fairer than the system we have today.

WHY INVOKE NEW RESTRICTIONS WHEN OTHERS ARE NOT ENFORCED?

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WALKER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, April 24, 1966, there appeared an announcement in the Washington Post that the Department of Interior had set new restrictions on public demonstrations in the vicinity of the White House. These restrictions would prevent public demonstrations of any nature—picketing, camping, and even the passing out of leaflets in certain areas surrounding the White House.

I do not see why the Department of Interior bothers to set new restrictions. The administration does not enforce the laws already existing. The most recent lack of proper enforcement of the law came when a group of so-called poor people, who have refused to accept work, were allowed to set up camp in Lafayette Square in pure defiance of a law which prohibits camping in that area. This is clearly a case of the executive branch of the Government allowing its "consensus government' to take precedence over the law of the land.

The new restrictions set for demonstrations around the White House are very similar to restrictions that prevailed in many States before leftwing civil rights demonstrators started their open defiance of any law they did not like. And, in many cases, the Justice Department stepped in and prohibited the State law enforcement agencies from enforcing the statutes designed to protect the law-abiding citizens of the community.

The stated excuse for this new restriction was for the security of the President. I feel that there was a more important reason—to keep those opposed to Presidential actions from embarrassing him by demonstrating against his various vote-buying schemes.

I would urge my colleagues to use their influence to insist upon the proper enforcement of all laws, regardless of the political views of those defying the law.

"HANFORD DAY," WASHINGTON

The **SPEAKER**. Under previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, on June 25, 1962, it was my privilege to arrange for a discussion on the floor of the House of the merits of the then proposed inclusion of electric generating facilities at the new production reactor at Hanford, Wash. The members of our Washington State congressional delegation were joined by our friends from Oregon in fully discussing the merits of the project which, my colleagues will remember were not without controversy. In 1962 some doubts were expressed as to whether this project could be the kind of success that those of us in the States of Washington and Oregon foresaw.

Today, Mr. Speaker, it gives me the greatest pleasure to inform the House that its subsequent support and approval of the world's largest nuclear steamplant was completely justified.

The Washington State congressional delegation will be discussing the Hanford project during this special "Hanford Day" hour so that the Congress will be fully informed on the current status of the Hanford project, and so that we of the Washington State congressional delegation may, in some measure, pay tribute to the Congress for its support of the project back in 1962, and so that we may also express our personal congratulations to the managing director of the Washington Public Power Supply System, owner and operator of the plant.

As the representative of the district in which the Hanford project is located, I want to express the gratitude of all of the people of the district to Members of the House who made this huge atomic powerplant possible.

This month, the Hanford powerplant of Washington Public Power Supply System fed its first 200,000 kilowatts of power into the Bonneville Power Administration grid system. Both of Hanford's 430,000-kilowatt generators are expected to be in full operation by September, adding a new block of low-cost power to the Pacific Northwest.

To me, Hanford's success demonstrates what a determined group of local citizens can do if they refuse to accept defeat; it shows that while it may take time to bring all of the facts in a complicated subject such as this atomic powerplant to the attention of all of the Members of Congress, such an effort is worthwhile.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. HANSEN] may extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, today I join my colleagues with a genuine sense of pride and accomplishment to talk about the Hanford nuclear steamplant. First I would like to express my appreciation to those of you who, 4 years ago, joined to support this project and joined in spite of those who tried to recreate a spirit of regionalism. The Northwest will always be grateful to the unselfish vision of this Congress and the Nation will be stronger.

Northwest hydroelectric projects built on the abundant rivers and streams which bless that lovely area of our Nation have, since the early 1930's provided the bulk of the region's power supply. Steamplants are few and far between. But, this all-hydropower supply era has come to an end.

Load and resource forecasts indicate that by 1975, just 9 short years from now, the Northwest's firm power requirements necessitate the scheduling of power from thermal sources in addition to other hydro sources and imports not presently specifically scheduled. By 1975 Bonneville Power Administration average firm energy capability is expected to be increased by 3 million kilowatts. But BPA loads at that time are expected to exceed those resources available to BPA. It is estimated that Pacific Northwest average energy deficits will amount to about one quarter of a million kilowatts.

During the 10-year period between 1970 and 1980 more than 5 million kilowatts of additional average firm energy will be required to meet expected regional requirements including 1 million kilowatts to serve new BPA industrial loads Since firm hydropower to serve loads must be based on a critical water year maximum use of installed capacity to serve firm loads can only be achieved by firming up additional energy available in better than critical years. The firming up of this energy by thermal sources could postpone this power insufficiency as well as helping to meet the region's immediate needs.

It is prudent and logical, then, that the first generation of thermal plants in the Northwest should be dedicated to this task. Since no Federal agency possesses or is likely to be granted the authority to add steamplants necessary to firm up these Federal hydroresources, other means to accomplish this same purpose must be considered. The Hanford marketing arrangements have demonstrated practical means of integrating thermal power with the Federal hydrosystem to meet firm power requirements in a manner which will result in an equitable sharing of benefits and risks, orderly scheduling, optimum sizing, selection of plant location based on applicable criteria, maximum transmission coordination, and lowest cost financing.

Any discussion of load forecasts, power needs and resources becomes a rather complex subject. But, the primary point is this: If our region and our Nation are to continue to grow, prosper, and expand both socially and economically, we must provide the power resources which are basic to this expansion.

The Hanford project, when it was originally proposed, was done with this purpose in mind, that is, to firm up the power supply for the Northwest region. The Hanford steamplant is the vanguard project of a new era of power supply production in the Northwest, an era which had to come about if the region is to continue to progress.

There is much to be said about this plant. It is the largest nuclear plant ever constructed. Its electrical capacity, I understand, is sufficient to meet the power needs of two cities the size of Washington, D.C. Its heat source, the new production reactor, is the largest atomic plant in our Nation and the first dual-purpose reactor which our country has built. All of the people in our State of Washington are proud that just a few days ago the first nuclear-produced electricity flowed into the BPA transmission system. And, they have a right to be proud for it was through their grassroots effort that truly made this project a reality. Without this support, Mr. Speaker, I do not hesitate to state that the Hanford project would never have come about.

It is deeply gratifying to me as a Member of Congress to witness such dedication on the part of a great many people which resulted in making reality out of a dream.

I join in extending my hearty congratulations to Owen Hurd who with many others has done so much for the Northwest and the region in meeting electrical needs, to his staff, and to the member public utility districts of his organization for the accomplishment they have made. Someone once said that the impossible just takes a little bit longer. I like to think of Hanford in those terms.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to note that Mr. Owen W. Hurd, managing director of the Washington Public Power Supply System, and the president of the system's board of directors, Mr. Walkley, are in the Capitol at the present time, and I would like to extend to them my heartiest congratulations for their efforts in getting the job done, not only personally but on behalf of the people I represent and of the taxpayers of this Nation.

Much credit for the conception, authorization, and completion of the Hanford powerplant is due to Owen Hurd and his staff at Washington Public Power Supply System. They refused to lose faith in the project during the gloomy days of 1962 when the House was reluctant to approve the project.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, will my distinguished colleague from the State of Washington yield?

Mrs. MAY. I am delighted to yield to my colleague from the State of Washington.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join with my able colleagues in this discussion involving the world's largest nuclear-powered steamplant located on the Hanford Reservation in our State of Washington.

Much has been said about this project and its value to our State, the Northwest, and the Nation. My own constituency benefits from it through the facilities of Seattle City Light and Puget Sound Power & Light. There is no doubt but that what has been said is true; the Hanford project is a source of pride to us all.

When this legislation was considered in the House of Representatives in 1962, I am frank to admit that I, like many Members of this body, had certain reservations about the proposal which provided that the Washington Public Power Supply System could build and operate this facility. My main worry at that time centered upon the financing of the project. In 1962, just as today, our domestic monetary situation was such that each and every one of us has a responsibility to protect, as well as possible, the value of our dollar. The supply system's proposal basically provided that they would and could build this project without any Federal monetary participation. In this day and in that day of Government subsidy, handouts and the like, this proposal to me was indeed a remarkable one and I was incredulous that it could be carried out. Yet, the people, the great American people, through 16 public agencies, provided interim financing for this project and the supply system floated a $122 million bond sale on the private market to finance this project. Believe it or not, not one single red penny of Federal funds has been used in the building of this project.

To me, this is remarkable. As I mentioned, I realize this project is important to the maintenance and the strength of our Northwest power supply and I am well aware also of the importance this project will play in the security of our Nation and that it will enhance greatly our country's prestige abroad. But we should not forget the fact that the people themselves had the confidence to push for the authorizing of this project and the courage to provide the necessary financing and the sheer determination to see that the project was constructed properly. Today their efforts have been fulfilled with the generation of the first power by this mammoth facility. I know my constituents would want me to extend to Mr. Owen Hurd, the managing director of the supply system, the 16-member public utility districts who comprise the makeup of the organization and the people of the Northwest our heartiest congratulations for making this plant a reality.

Mrs. MAY. I thank my colleague from Washington for his remarks stressing some very important points to our congressional colleagues with reference to this project.

The 2-year debate over the Hanford nuclear powerplant issue was, by its very nature, beset with complexities. It involved the adding of a giant nuclear steam electric generating plant to our Nation's largest atomic reactor located on the AEC Hanford Reservation in Washington State. On several occasions this proposal was rejected by the House of Representatives and yet, because it was a sound concept, because it was vital to the continued growth and progress of the people of the region and because the people in a true pioneer spirit refused to let the project die, the Hanford nuclear steamplant was authorized. Today, the steamplant is producing electric power bringing a new concept to Northwest power production.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. MAY. I am delighted to yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I too would like to join my colleagues in this discussion of the world's largest nuclear steamplant.

I was not a Member of this Congress when this project was considered by the House of Representatives, but I was a staff member of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs at that time.

I know what determined effort on the part of the Members of the Washington State delegation in both the House of Representatives and in the U.S. Senate was behind the very great realization of this production reactor. In the Senate, Senator JACKSON and Senator MAGNUSON worked tirelessly to obtain authorization.

There were many points at which the situation appeared hopeless but the goal was never abandoned.

This project received several negative votes in the House of Representatives. First of all, a proposal for Federal construction was turned down flatly. Then, the Washington Public Power Supply System's proposal received several additional negative votes.

During these long months of consideration, all controversial points were clarified and this deliberation and clarification resulted finally in the approval and authorization of the project. In this regard I think the Congress can be rightfully proud of their conscientious participation in the planning and development of this nuclear steam reactor. They did it in a manner that is a credit to them and to the legislative process. No question was left unanswered. Every aspect of the project was examined carefully.

Now we have a reality with a synchronization of the first nuclear-produced electric power flowing into the Bonneville Power Administration transmission system and into the Northwest power pool.

As a member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, I am particularly interested in conserving our power and developing our power resources in the best possible manner for the greatest number of people. The people whom I represent share this concern with me. The Hanford plant is a resource which should have, by some means or in some manner, been constructed. It would be a waste of natural resources not to construct and authorize the project. Energy produced by the new reactor in the form of steam was being dumped as a waste product before the construction of the nuclear-powered reactor.

There is a parallel here I think with the recent vote on authorization of the third powerplant at the Grand Coulee Dam. Unless this third powerplant is built, we will be wasting in the early 1970's a riverflow which otherwise would generate needed electrical energy.

The Pacific Northwest needs the Hanford project's power. Load forecasts of both the public and private agencies confirm the need. Without the Hanford electric generating plant the Pacific Northwest may not have the firm power capability to meet its power needs during the 1966–67 critical water year.

It has been stated that there is a surplus of power in the Pacific Northwest, but the facts are that this surplus consists of secondary or dump energy and not reliable firm power. In other words, the Pacific Northwest is in the paradoxical position of having a surplus of secondary energy but a shortage of firm power.

The steamplant will have an electric capability of 800,000 kilowatts during periods of reactor use for production of both plutonium and power and this will be increased to 860,000 kilowatts during "power only" operation. As integrated with Federal hydroelectric plants, there will be created a total of 900,000 kilowatts of dependable firm power during the dual-purpose operation and over 1 million kilowatts during "power only" operation. Thus, the Hanford nuclear steamplant will help to insure an adequate and continuing low-cost power supply for the Northwest.

The Hanford project was a challenge. It was a difficult challenge with many first-of-a-kind problems. The people of the West and the people of the Pacific Northwest in particular, welcome challenges. They are proud of their success in meeting this one. For their dedicated actions and the subsequent favorable action of the Congress has provided this Nation with a project which reflects credit to their efforts.

Again, I am pleased to have this opportunity to join with my colleagues in congratulating Mr. Owen Hurd, his staff and the public utilities which make up his organization for a job well done. I think each of the members of the Washington State delegation, and all the Members of this body and the other body who served at the time this project was authorized, can congratulate themselves for their foresight and their judgment, which is proved by the events of this year.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Washington.

Mrs. MAY. I thank the gentleman from Washington.

For the benefit of my colleagues and others who might read the record of this special order, it would be interesting to discuss briefly the history of this reactor-steamplant complex. I insert in the RECORD at this point the background history that I have prepared:

The Hanford steamplant had its beginning in the billion-dollar plutonium production program at the Hanford Reservation. This 575-square mile site was selected to become an element of the highly secret Manhattan project in World War II. Eight plutonium production reactors were designed for single purpose usage only, that is, for the production of plutonium. In 1955–56 the General Electric Co., as the Atomic Energy Commission Hanford project prime contractor, engaged in conceptual studies of an improved and advanced production reactor design. In 1957, primarily as a result of a need for increased weapons grade plutonium production capability, conceptual studies were authorized by Congress and $3 million appropriated for this purpose. In 1958 the design and construction of a convertible plutonium production reactor at Hanford was authorized. This reactor, called the new production reactor or NPR, was unique in design having the capabilities of producing plutonium only or, with the addition of a steamplant, producing electric power, and it could perform these functions either singly or simultaneously.

The original construction of this reactor did not include the addition of a steamplant. However, extensive studies which began in 1956 and extended through 1963 resulted in a number of compelling justifications and incentives for the steamplant addition and these incentives included local, regional, and national benefits. In 1961 the AEC included a budget request to authorize Federal construction of the NPR power conversion, that is, the addition of a federally financed steam generating plant. However, the House turned down this request several times, and it was agreed that a substitute for Federal financing was the only hope for the ultimate success of this needed project.

In November 1961, the Washington Public Power Supply System, a combine of 16 public utility districts located throughout our State of Washington, submitted a proposal to build the steamplant. From the outset the objective of the supply system's proposal was to achieve for the region and the Nation the same benefits which would have resulted had the Federal Government built the steamplant. It was expected that the supply system's proposal would meet with the approval of Congress because first, the requirement for Federal funding was eliminated; second, all risks involved in the undertaking were transferred to the power users of the region; third, the supply system's proposal afforded an opportunity for substantial Federal benefits.

Contracts were entered into between the supply system, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), Bonneville Power Administration (BPA) and 76 public and private utilities in the northwest region. It was originally assumed that congressional action could be excluded by the BPA and AEC disclosing to and receiving the concurrence of congressional Appropriations Committee of BPA plans to enter into the proposed power plans and exchange agreements with WPPSS and participants. However, the General Accounting Office Solicitor ruled that the AEC did not have this assumed authority and this opinion started a legislative struggle in 1962 that far exceeded the intensity and effort that characterized attempts to obtain approval for Federal construction of the steamplant. Due to the basic soundness of the supply system's proposal and its obvious advantages to the Federal Government, the final approval of the proposal was achieved after two affirmative votes in the Senate and two negative and one affirmative votes in the House. President John F. Kennedy signed the authorizing bill into law on September 26, 1962. This law authorized the AEC to enter into the proposed contract with the supply system and stipulated that 50 percent of the project output should be offered for sale to private utilities and 50 percent to public agencies. Also, it was made clear that no Federal funds could be utilized in constructing the steamplant.

I have mentioned a few of the people to whom we owe great credit. Certainly a great many individuals performed outstandingly during this period, and although I understand a previous commitment has prevented the then chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Mr. HOLIFIELD of California, from participating directly in today's discussion, I should like to express our gratitude to that distinguished chairman for his continued faith in the Hanford project and for the invaluable leadership he displayed in helping to bring about House approval.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, back in 1962, there were a good many people who did not expect to celebrate the generation of power from Hanford, as we are doing here today. And I will admit that all of us who supported the project had some dark moments, as Congress rejected, first, the Federal generating plant, and then, on several occasions, the proposal by Washington Public Power Supply System which finally resulted in construction of the largest nuclear powerplant in the world.

Everyone associated with Hanford, and I include the members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, both Republicans and Democrats, the Pacific Northwest's congressional delegation, Owen Hurd, and other WPPSS leaders, have demonstrated a rare degree of perseverance in bringing this project to completion. The late President Kennedy put the full force of his office behind his personal endorsement of Hanford.

Opposition to the Hanford project was often bitter; sometimes it was irrational. And so I believe we must also pay tribute to great good sense of the Congress in coming to see the value of this project, despite a blizzard of conflicting statements, letters, fact sheets, editorials, and other documents which created more heat than light.

From the very beginning, many members of the Joint Committee were determined to use the vast quantities of waste steam to be produced at the Atomic Energy Commission's new production reactor at Hanford. The alternatives were clear to us: the steam could be discharged into the Columbia River, resulting in the waste of a great resource on which could be placed a specific dollar value, and in the process creating possible pollution problems; or the steam could be used to generate electricity, taking the place of a conventional boiler, huge amounts of fuel, and great expense.

The answer seemed clear. As chairman of the Joint Committee, I came before Congress in 1961 as the committee's direction to get approval for Federal construction and operation of electric generating facilities associated with the NPR. That proposal was defeated.

Then the Washington Public Power Supply System, made up of public utility districts in the State of Washington, came in with its proposal to build and operate the NPR generating facilities at its own expense and without any Federal expenditure. AEC would sell the otherwise wasted NPR byproduct steam under contract to WPPSS at a price, approved by the Federal Power Commission, which would result in the receipt of up to $125 million by AEC over the life of the arrangement.

Participating utilities would turn over the entire output of the generating facilities to Bonneville Power Administration under appropriate power exchange agreements for distribution to public and private utility consumers.

At extensive hearings, the Joint Committee went over the proposed arrangements in great detail with witnesses representing all of the contracting parties. The committee was convinced that the arrangements were sound, and that they would bring great benefits to the Government. And amendments spelling out the arrangements in detail were introduced in the House, with the happy result that the Hanford project was authorized.

Compromises were involved in the Hanford fight; there were some who were not entirely happy with all of the details as they were ironed out; but the important fact is that the project was authorized, it has been financed, it has been built, and this month it produced its first power.

It is a matter of great pride to me to have helped in the creation of the world's largest atomic powerplant. It is gratifying to know that substantial income will be coming into the Treasury as the result of this project, and that additional power for the Pacific Northwest will stimulate new and expanded industry as well as providing for the needs of residential consumers. I am deeply pleased that a valuable resource is being used for a productive purpose.

I am obliged to add that the private utility companies of the Pacific Northwest, who enjoy 50 percent of Hanford power on an equal basis with the publicly owned systems are in a most happy position. Although the former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. John McCone, offered the waste steam from Hanford to these investor-owned utilities, there were no takers. No one stepped forward until WPPSS, composed of relatively smaller utility systems, undertook to finance this giant enterprise through the sale of revenue bonds. WPPSS has carried through its obligation to obtain financing, to accomplish the construction of the project, and to provide a 50-percent share of Hanford's output to the private utilities, although the publicly owned systems in the Pacific Northwest had indicated their willingness to buy more than 100 percent of it.

I can only hope that the private utilities will demonstrate an equal degree of cooperative spirit toward the public power systems in their planning for future additions to the electric power supply of the Northwest region.

It should be noted that Hanford not only represents a great regional resource in terms of additional power supply, it also will provide a training ground for the people of the area who already are looking toward the introduction of more thermal power into the predominantly hydrosystem which now provides for the region's needs. There is every reason to believe that much of this thermal power will come from giant nuclear-fired generation plants, and Hanford will lead the way.

Mrs. MAY. I also extend the thanks of all of us to another member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Mr. HOSMER of California. I recall the wonderful initiative displayed by Mr. HOSMER in bringing to the attention of the House the fact that the second Hanford proposal was a "do-it-yourself" project in which Federal funds would not be spent for construction.

It was this difference that gained the approval of the project by the House.

Mr. HOSMER must certainly share prominently in the credit due to outstanding Members of the House for the role that he played.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. MAY. I am delighted to yield to the gentleman from California, whose name I have just mentioned.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the gentlewoman from Washington is most kind and overly generous in her remarks about me. It should be pointed out that it was her effort and that of her colleagues from Washington, including the former Representative at that time, Jack Westland, who was also a member of the Joint Committee, that enabled the Congress, in its conscience, to enact this Hanford measure.

It was a long struggle, and a particularly difficult one because, as the Hanford project was first presented, it was a project that would have placed upon the Federal Treasury and the taxpayers of the United States the entire technical and economic and other risks of the scheme. That was proposed, and I think properly so, and I think properly defeated.

That defeat only generated in the State of Washington and amongst its able Representatives here a new desire to carry forward this project on a basis of the assumption of risk by the people of the State of Washington, who were to benefit from the project. That was the form in which this bill was enacted.

However, when the bill came back to the Congress in its new form, it came with the same old name. The resistance that had previously been generated for the so-called Hanford project had to be dissipated, and the entire membership had to be informed that this was indeed a project of the same name, but it was a totally different project from that which Congress had previously rejected.

After the bill came back and it was passed, it was a model partnership effort between the Government of the United States and public bodies of the State and municipalities.

Now, after these 4 years, it is becoming an economic reality, and it is making a contribution to the betterment of the economy of the United States of America. On the production side, as distinguished from the power side, the reactor itself, about which the gentlewoman has been talking today, and the generators that are owned and operated by WPPSS were required in order to replace the older reactors at Hanford in order to produce fissionable material for the U.S. atomic energy program. Therein comes the dual purpose and characterization of this reactor. It turns out now not only to have the purpose of producing fissionable material, but also the purpose of producing power for peaceful uses.

If the United States ever should engage in an international treaty barring the further production of fissionable materials for weapons use, nevertheless this installation could still function economically as a single purpose, power-producing, peacetime project.

I believe in this sense we in the Congress as well as the people of Washington, as the generators start to turn, can all take satisfaction from working together to bring about something of value to our country and something of value to the world by way of demonstration of the peaceful possibilities of atomic energy.

I thank the gentlewoman from Washington for permitting me to speak.

Mrs. MAY. I thank the gentleman from California.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. MAY. I am glad to yield to my colleague.

Mr. FOLEY. I should like to associate myself with the remarks of the gentlewoman from Washington in expressing appreciation to two very distinguished Members from the State of California, the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD] and the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. HOSMER].

As I stated in my earlier remarks, I was a staff member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the U.S. Senate at the time the bill reached the House. Although not a Member, I followed it very carefully—perhaps anxiously—and I know what strenuous efforts were exerted by the junior Senator from Washington, Mr. HENRY M. JACKSON, and by the senior Senator from Washington, Mr. MAGNUSON, on behalf of this project.

I also know of the work done not only by the Washington State delegation but also by people such as the gentlemen from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD and Mr. HOSMER].

I believe it should be said with respect to the gentleman from California [Mr. HOSMER] that his initial doubts and concerns about this project were, as always, ably expressed, but that when he determined sufficient changes had been made in the original bill—I believe the gentlewoman will bear me out on this—his support of the project was as unstinted, as open and as vigorous, if not more so, than his criticism and objection had been. I believe we all feel that his actions in that final battle were most important and valuable to the success of the project. The tribute paid to the gentleman here by the gentlewoman from Washington is most deserved.

Mrs. MAY. I thank the gentleman for joining me.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. MAY. I am glad to yield to my colleague from Washington, Mr. MEEDS.

Mr. MEEDS. I thank the gentlewoman.

Mr. Speaker, I also should like to join in expressing sincere appreciation first to the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY], for this opportunity of joining in this tribute to a very worthwhile project.

It should be stated, I believe, that the Washington delegation as composed at the time of the passage of the legislation should be complimented, wherever they are and without regard to politics. All of them took a very vigorous and active part, including my predecessor, Jack Westland, in the passage of this legislation and the enabling action.

I certainly believe that the activity and the actions of the Members of the other body, the senior Senator from Washington, Mr. MAGNUSON, and the junior Senator from Washington, Mr. JACKSON, should not be overlooked, for they played a very important role in regard to this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I also should like to speak in terms of specifics as to what the reactor and what the power means to us in the Pacific Northwest.

I have the great privilege of representing the Second Congressional District, in which Snohomish County Public Utility District is located. This is the largest single public utility district in that area, and it is the largest single public utility customer of the Bonneville Power Administration.

The Snohomish Public Utility District was one of the original instigators of this Washington power supply system and, as such, is to be a beneficiary from what is happening now at Hanford. Last year, Mr. Speaker, for instance, we consumed 400,000 kilowatts of power in the Snohomish County Public Utility District. Next year we hope that we will consume 1 million kilowatts of power there.

In the Second Congressional District, which I represent at this time, we are presently consuming 1 million kilowatts over the total production of this reactor. In 20 years from now in my congressional district we will be consuming 4 million kilowatts of power. Certainly the addition of these kilowatts at Hanford is very important to us and to our entire State.

Mr. Speaker, I also think we ought not to miss the opportunity to point out the unique combination and cooperation which we have in our State between public power, private power utilities, and the Federal Government. This is a growing example of this cooperation, because in this instance we find the Bonneville Power Administration, the public utility districts such as the ones which I have spoken of, and, of course, the private power companies who are also investors in this reactor project.

So, Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to take this time to pay my compliments to those involved in the passage of this legislation and to thank the Members of Congress, including all of those who are unable to be with us today, for their activities in this field and also to compliment the Snohomish County Public Utility District for their farsighted efforts as original participators in this action.

Mr. Speaker, today we are celebrating the production of the first power from the giant Hanford atomic powerplant in central Washington. As a citizen of Washington, where low-cost power has played a major role in developing our State's industrial economy, I am very happy to extend congratulations to my fellow Washingtonian, Owen Hurd, and all of his coworkers in Washington Public Power Supply System.

Our public utility districts started out as largely rural electric systems, delivering Federal power from the Columbia River dams to rural and domestic consumers. They performed this task so well, and provided the power users with electricity at such economical rates, that Washington people today enjoy a higher level of all-electric living than the people of any other State.

These small districts have grown along with the populations they serve. And they have had the courage to undertake projects of enormous size, looking toward the future growth of the State.

Hanford represents a major addition to the Northwest's power supply, conceived, financed, and built by many of these utility districts, joining together in our State's unique joint operating agency, Washington Public Power Supply System.

In my own district, I have observed what the coming of low-cost power has meant to the prosperity of its citizens. Rates for electricity in the Second District are the lowest in the Nation, and naturally our citizens use more electricity than almost anyone else in the United States.

Last year the demand for power in the district was more than a million kilowatts. In 20 years, this demand will quadruple—to 4 million kilowatts—or more than four times the capacity of the Hanford plant when it is completed.

Low-cost power has stimulated the growth of industry in northwest Washington. Anacortes and Ferndale now have large oil refineries; International Aluminum Co.—Intalco—is planning an expansion. Our pulp and paper mills, such as Georgia-Pacific, Scott, Simpson-Lee, and Weyerhaeuser will grow with low-cost power. Development of industry on the Olympic Peninsula will require an abundant supply of low-cost power.

I would like to note two examples to indicate how my district depends upon an ample supply of electricity at low rates.

In the Bellingham-Anacortes area, the economy historically has been based on lumber, fishing, and farming. As the Douglas-fir timber was cut, many of us began to feel concern for the future of the area. But pulp and paper mills, served by the investor-owned utility, expanded the use of hemlock, and spruce. Then came three big oil refineries, two at Anacortes, and one at Ferndale, all big oil users. Georgia-Pacific Corp. contracted for 16 kilowatts of Bonneville power for a chlorine and caustic soda plant, and last year Bonneville signed a contract with Intalco for 135,000 kilowatts to start one aluminum potline with an investment of $60 million. This potline will employ 400 persons directly and another 800 indirectly. Intalco is now planning a second potline, to be put into operation by 1967, with another $40 million investment and 230 additional direct jobs.

So the availability of low-cost power has enabled the Bellingham-Anacortes area to balance its economy, with pulp and paper mills, refineries, metals, and chemicals industry. These new industries give jobs to the people of the district and pay substantial State and local taxes.

In Snohomish County, the Snohomish County Public Utility District last year purchased all of its power supply—over 400,000 kilowatts—from Bonneville, more than any other utility district in the State. The district used about 20 percent of these power purchases to serve the big pulp and paper mills in the county—Scott and Simpson-Lee and Weyerhaeuser. These mills employ 3,100 persons directly and last year paid $2.7 million in State and local taxes. Low-cost power produced by the Federal Government and distributed to a progressive and well-managed public utility district have combined to bring to Snohomish County a stable industrial base which is of great importance to the economic well-being of the entire county.

The Hanford nuclear steamplant is now another welcome source of the power needed to keep the economy of the Pacific Northwest moving and growing.

According to the authorizing legislation which allowed this plant to be built, private power companies were to be given the authority to purchase up to 50 percent of the project's power output. The other 50 percent was to be sold to public agencies who before authorization, had already oversubscribed the project's power output 118 percent. This was later adjusted to 50 percent when 5 Northwest investor-owned firms agreed to purchase 50 percent.

It is interesting to me to note that a total of 76 utilities located in the States of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana, public and private, have purchased Hanford's power output. These 76 agencies represent nearly every utility in the Northwest. The unique financing and marketing arrangements which were necessary to allow this to be done, I believe, are almost as complex as the steamplant itself. For these arrangements are precedent setting and their success have demonstrated a practical means of integrating thermal power with the Federal hydro system to meet firm power requirements in a manner which will result in an equitable sharing of benefits and risks in a project of this type. And, keep in mind, this is the first project of this kind to be built in the Northwest.

According to the marketing agreements entered into between the supply system, the Bonneville Power Administration and the 76 power purchasers, the project's output is sold at cost to the purchasers, who, in turn, have agreed to exchange the nonfirm steamplant power to BPA for an amount of firm power, whose value at BPA rates would equal their payments to WPPSS. Under these arrangements, both private and publicly owned utilities participate together establishing a sound approach which has brought about a new, compatible and efficient concept of marketing electric power from non-Federal projects but in a manner which will provide the same benefits that a Federal project would provide.

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the RECORD, a listing of the Hanford electric generating project participating utility system:

HANFORD ELECTRIC GENERATING PROJECT PARTICIPATING UTILITY SYSTEMS

COOPERATIVES

Oregon

Blanchly-Lane County Cooperative Electric Association.
Central Electric Cooperative, Inc.
Columbia Basin Electric Cooperative, Inc.
Columbia Power Cooperative Association.
Consumers Power, Inc.
Coos-Curry Electric Cooperative, Inc.
Douglas Electric Cooperative, Inc.
Eastern Oregon Electric Cooperative.
Harney Electric Cooperative, Inc.
Hood River Electric Cooperative.
Lane County Electric Cooperative, Inc.
Midstate Electric Cooperative, Inc.
Salem Electric.
Surprise Valley Electrification Corp.
Umatilla Electric Cooperative Association.
Wasco Electric Cooperative, Inc.
West Oregon Electric Cooperative, Inc.

Washington

Benton Rural Electric Association, Inc.
Big Bend Electric Cooperative, Inc.
Columbia Rural Electric Association, Inc.
Inland Power & Light Co.
Nespelem Valley Electric Cooperative, Inc.
Orcas Power & Light Co.

Idaho

Clearwater Power Co.
Idaho County Light & Power Cooperative Association, Inc.
Kootenai Rural Electrification Association, Inc.
Northern Lights, Inc.

Montana

Flathead Electric Cooperative, Inc.
Lincoln Electric Cooperative, Inc.
Missoula Electric Cooperative, Inc.
Ravalli County Electric Cooperative, Inc.

PUBLIC AND PEOPLES' UTILITY DISTRICTS

Oregon

Central Lincoln Peoples' Utility District.
Clatskanie Peoples' Utility District.
Northern Wasco County Peoples' Utility District.
Tillamook Peoples' Utility District.

Washington

Public Utility District No. 1 of Benton County.

Public Utility District No. 1 of Chelan County.

Public Utility District No. 1 of Clallam County.

Public Utility District No. 1 of Clark County.

Public Utility District No. 1 of Cowlitz County.

Public Utility District No. 1 of Douglas County.

Public Utility District No. 1 of Ferry County.

Public Utility District No. 1 of Franklin County.

Public Utility District No. 2 of Grant County.

Public Utility District No. 1 of Grays Harbor County.

Public Utility District No. 1 of Klickitat County.

Public Utility District No. 1 of Lewis County.

Public Utility District No. 3 of Mason County.

Public Utility District No. 1 of Okanogan County.

Public Utility District No. 1 of Pacific County.

Public Utility District No. 1 of Skamania County.

Public Utility District No. 1 of Snohomish County.

Public Utility District No. 1 of Wahkiakum County.

MUNICIPALITIES

Oregon

City of Bandon.
Cascade Locks.
Drain.
Eugene.
Forest Grove.
McMinnville.
Milton-Freewater.
Monmouth.
Springfield.
Vera Irrigation District No. 15.

Washington

City of Cheney.
Coulee Dam.
Ellensburg.
Grand Coulee.
Richland.
Seattle.
Tacoma.

Idaho

Village of Bonners Ferry.

PRIVATE UTILITIES

The Montana Power Co.
Pacific Power & Light Co.
Portland General Electric Co.
Puget Sound Power & Light Co.
The Washington Water Power Co.

Snohomish Public Utility District is one of the member districts of Washington Public Power Supply System, and therefore has earned a great deal of the credit for taking part in the planning, financing, and construction of the Hanford plant.

With other districts, Snohomish Public Utility District accepted the challenge that was presented when Congress refused to authorize a Federal generating plant to use waste steam from the new production reactor at Hanford.

Joining with 15 other districts, Snohomish helped to finance the early engineering studies which resulted in a formal proposal to build the generating facilities. During the long fight in Congress to authorize the Hanford powerplant arrangement, all of the member districts of Washington Public Power Supply System gave time and money to the undertaking, without the certainty that they would be able to build the plant.

The member districts and many other consumer-owned electric systems agreed in writing to take the output of the Hanford plant before the $122 million bond issue could be sold to finance it.

It took courage, as well as foresight, on the part of these utilities to commit themselves and their consumers to something that appeared at times to be more dream than reality.

But Hanford is a reality today, and it is a tribute to the sponsoring organizations and, particularly, to the men who make up these organizations. They have every right to be proud of their accomplishment.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Washington for yielding.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Washington.

I think I should mention that we would be remiss if we did not mention our colleagues in the other body. I would like to make mention at this point that a special observance of the Hanford project is taking place in the other body today which will bring the Hanford Day successes to the attention of that body and, of course, the leaders in that discussion will be our senior Senator, Mr. MAGNUSON, and our junior Senator, Mr. JACKSON.

Of course, Mr. Speaker, congressional approval of the Hanford project was by no means the end to the hard work of Mr. Hurd, managing director of the supply system.

Now, the proposed and tentative commitments and agreements had to be fully executed, financing accomplished, engineering and design firmed up and schedule established before construction would be started. On September 26, 1963, President Kennedy visited the project site and before some 40,000 people broke the first earth marking the project's construction.

Construction of the project has lasted nearly 2 years and reached its partial climax on Tuesday, March 29, 1966, at 4:16 p.m., Pacific standard time, when nuclear steam was used for the first time to roll the first of two 400,000 kilowatt units. On Friday, April 8, 1966, at 5:52 p.m., the first nuclear-produced electricity was synchronized into the Northwest Power Pool and sent into the Bonneville system. This unit will undergo a series of tests and checks during the next several weeks. The second generating unit is expected to "roll" in June. It is expected that both units will begin full commercial operation in the fall.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. MAY. I will be delighted to yield to my colleague, Mr. HICKS.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, at this point, if I may, I want to associate myself with the remarks of all of my colleagues here in the House that have gone on heretofore concerning this Hanford project.

Mr. Speaker, I, like my colleagues, am pleased to join in this discussion of the world's largest nuclear steam plant project. Much has been said about the role this plant will play in meeting the power supply needs of our region. Much has also been said about the other benefits this project will provide and about the manner in which it was constructed. Hanford certainly is a credit to us all. But, there is one point regarding the project that I would like to stress and that is this: the Hanford project makes sense on the grounds of national security. The dual purpose reactor, it has been pointed out, is unique in design in that it manufactures plutonium necessary for our nuclear armament program and, through utilization of the steam generated in the process of this plutonium production, it can produce electric power; and it can perform these functions singly or simultaneously. In other words, as has been pointed out, this dual purpose reactor is both a plowshare and a sword.

Let us suppose, Mr. Speaker, that the day finally arrives when we reach an effective arms control agreement, the type of agreement which would call for an end to the production of plutonium. This reactor and our other production reactors would then stop producing plutonium for weapons but, in the case of the new production reactor, it would be continued to be operated for power production and thus, our investment in it would be protected. Let us suppose further that the arms agreement was broken. In such an event, the dual purpose new production reactor could, in a matter of hours and at a minimum of cost, be put back to work producing plutonium. Several other nations including Russia have dual purpose reactors in operation. The new production reactor is our country's first dual purpose reactor. It gives me, personally, a greater feeling of security to know that in this nuclear age of ours we have matched Russia in this field and so, I point out again, Mr. Speaker, that the addition of the Hanford nuclear steam plant has made a substantial contribution, in effect, to our country's national security. Also, it has enhanced greatly our country's prestige amongst the free world nations. I believe this is another factor in this monumental facility that we cannot afford to overlook.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Washington for yielding.

Mrs. MAY. I thank the gentleman for his remarks.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Washington [Mr. ADAMS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pleasure that I join my colleagues in the House of Representatives and the Senate in acknowledging the initial power contribution of the Hanford steamplant to the Bonneville Power Administration system.

It was just 3 years ago that contracts were signed by the Atomic Energy Commission, the Bonneville Power Administration, the Washington Public Power Supply System, and 76 public and privately owned utilities, which led to the building of the world's largest nuclear powered steamplant. The initial contribution to the system this month of 200 megawatts of power, although the Hanford project is still in the construction phase, is the first step toward an eventual supply of 800,000 kilowatts. This power will be vital to the Nation, and particularly to the citizens of the Pacific Northwest, in meeting the challenges of industrial and population growth.

The Pacific Northwest is approaching an era of change in the generation and distribution of electrical power. Within the next decade we must begin supplementing our hydroelectric power. The recent national power survey by the Federal Power Commission shows that, in the future, new nonhydro sources of electrical energy will have to be developed to keep pace with the growing Northwest.

This does not mean, however, that we are witnessing the final stages of hydroelectric development in the Northwest. A number of sites remain which can—and should—be developed and integrated into the Columbia River power system.

The Hanford project is the first step in the eventual diversification of power generation in the Northwest. According to the Federal Power Commission, by 1980, the Northwest will be using electrical power produced by more nuclear plants, plus coal burning facilities, and that supplied by further development of our hydroelectric sites.

The challenge for the Northwest today is to plan for the transition from what has been primarily a hydroelectric system to one of diverse generation methods. Hanford represents the first major response to the challenge of diversification, and with careful, reasoned planning the citizens of the Northwest will continue to enjoy the benefits of abundant, low-cost power from future nuclear plants. We are fortunate to be in a situation where the problem is well defined in advance. There will be no necessity for stopgap or emergency measures; the future, not the present, will guide power planning in responding to the challenge of diversification.

It is important to note that the Hanford dual-purpose project, which includes the production of plutonium and electric power, represents an encouraging step toward public and private power cooperation. While the Washington Public Power Supply System is building the generating facilities, the power produced will be available on an equal basis to public and private power utilities. This is of particular importance for the people who live and work in the Seventh Congressional District, which I represent. My district is served by both public and private power utilities. The benefits of increased power availability will be shared throughout the district, and its people may continue to expect an abundant supply of reasonably priced electric power as a result of the cooperation shown by all those who are participating in the Hanford project.

Hanford is more than just a power producing project. If Congress had not had the foresight and judgment to authorize the dual-purpose facilities, the steam produced in the production of plutonium would have been disposed of as waste into the Columbia River. By putting this waste steam to work in producing electric power, the Hanford project is conserving a valuable natural resource. The utilization of this resource is in harmony with all the principles of resource conservation, which the people of the Pacific Northwest have followed in the development of river basins and forest lands.

The Hanford dual-purpose project is the realization of fruitful utilization of our energy resources, and it is also a demonstration of our Nation's leadership in developing the atom for peaceful purposes. In the event of a future disarmament agreement which suspends the production of nuclear weapons material, the Hanford facility will not be lying idle. This valuable asset which has served us well in building our defenses will continue to be used for peacetime purposes.

On behalf of the people of my district, I would like to congratulate those people who made it possible to construct the world's largest nuclear powered steamplant. The citizens of the Pacific Northwest owe a debt of gratitude to Owen W. Hurd, the managing director of the Washington Public Power Supply System, and to those Members of Congress who labored to make the Hanford project a reality.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to tour the Hanford plant last fall, and I can certainly agree as to the impressive size of this project. It is huge, and again, the construction of the world's largest nuclear steam plant project, in itself, is testimony to the ingenuity of American know-how.

No discussion of the Hanford project would be complete without paying tribute also to the many leaders of the Tri-City area of Washington who went all out to make Hanford possible.

Glenn C. Lee, publisher of the Tri-City Herald, made Hanford a crusade; he assigned his top man—Managing Editor Donald A. Pugnetti—to devote as much time as necessary to digging into the facts of the Hanford proposal and to cover its progress in Washington. For his outstanding work in reporting on the Hanford fight, Mr. Pugnetti won the 1962 Thomas L. Stokes Award, given each year to a newspaperman writing on natural resources or energy policies in the tradition of the late columnist.

Mr. Pugnetti's award citation declared that his news stories and editorials "were instrumental in bringing about congressional approval of the use of waste steam from the giant Hanford reactor for the generation of electricity."

> In his vigorous, imaginative, and persistent pursuit of the public interest against long odds and entrenched opposition, Pugnetti acted in the best traditions of Tom Stokes, which the annual Stokes Award seeks to commemorate and perpetuate—

The distinguished panel of judges declared.

> So too, did his paper and its publisher Glenn C. Lee, and we commend them for it.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent at this point in the RECORD to include an editorial that appeared on April 14 of this year, in which the Tri-City Herald paid tribute to its own Mr. Hurd, the managing director of the Washington Public Power Supply System.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PEPPER). Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Washington?

There was no objection.

The editorial referred to follows:

NUCLEAR KILOWATTS

> Sometimes words are inadequate. So they were for the successful test of the first generator for the Hanford steamplant.
>
> How can you describe the hopes and dreams, the frustrations and the triumphs, the planning and the work that go into such a great project?
>
> It is sufficient, perhaps, to Owen Hurd, managing director of Washington Public Power Supply System, and the many, many others who have had a hand in building the world's largest dual-purpose reactor, that everything seems to be working properly and that the end appears in sight, at last.
>
> The problems—political, economic, engineering and human—which have been met and solved can only be guessed, they cannot be detailed.
>
> The idea of building a reactor that could produce both plutonium and steam to turn turbines for generating electricity was conceived nearly 10 years ago.
>
> Mr. Hurd only touched on the long gestation when he said:
>
> "With the generation of the first nuclear power, several years of legislative battling, months of construction involving numerous first-of-a-kind problems and many anxious moments were culminated."
>
> There will be more problems before both generators begin full production for the Northwest. But it's doubtful any in the future can be half so troublesome or worrisome as those already met and overcome.
>
> The Tri-Cities, the Northwest, and the Nation can be proud of the Hanford steamplant. So can the Washington Public Power Supply System.
>
> Its success in building the world's largest atomic power plant makes the Washington Public Power Supply System the logical choice to build the Northwest's next nuclear plant—at Hanford of course.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I hasten to add that many other individuals and groups in the Tri-Cities area and throughout the State of Washington gave their support to the project. The Chambers of Commerce of Richland and Pasco in the Tri-Cities area fought for Hanford and rallied support that was most effective. Prominent newspapers throughout the area rallied in support of the project.

Hanford will play its part in keeping the power flowing as it is needed, and the entire region will benefit as a result.

It is a matter of particular pride to me that the Hanford fight was a bipartisan effort, and that the tough-minded decision to utilize a resource, the waste steam from AEC's reactor, came as a result of concern for the public interest, without regard to the pressures that were generated during the controversy.

This is a tribute to the foresight of Congress, as well as to the thousands of people of all political persuasions who gave their full support to this great project.

Mr. Speaker, I say without hesitation that if I can point to any one reason why this project was authorized it would be because of the fact that the people of the Northwest and throughout the Nation who knew the importance of this project and realized its need would simply not let our elected representatives turn it down. Today their faith in us and our legislative processes have been justified. The project which was once a dream, is now a productive reality. It was built for the people, by the people through the Washington public power supply system. And the Federal Government did not lend or give a single penny to help it along. Today, this plant is working, justifying all the feasibility reports which were made on it previously. It is benefiting our State, region and Nation not only through its contribution in meeting the present and future power supply needs of the Northwest, but through the contribution this nuclear age facility is making to the prestige of our Nation throughout the free world.

Again, we can take pride in the fact that we played a part in providing a significant advancement in our country's efforts to develop the peaceful purposes of the mighty atom.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. WYATT] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Washington?

There was no objection?

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, the introduction of power from the Hanford stream plant into the electrical grid of the Bonneville Power Administration this month is a historic occasion. Although I was not in Congress at the time of the authorization of construction of this facility by the Washington public supply system, I am proud of the fact that the Northwest delegation gave this project its full support, regardless of party.

Gov. Mark O. Hatfield was a strong supporter of the Washington public supply system plan. He pointed out in a letter to Republican Congressmen of other States that Hanford was neither a Republican versus Democratic issue, nor a private power versus public power issue. He said:

> Both parties have a moral obligation to prevent the waste of our national resources. This is the basic issue involved in the Hanford proposal. It is not a question of public versus private power, but of power or no power. It therefore becomes a moral issue of utilizing or wasting a resource. Favorable action would assure full public and private benefits, conserve wasted energy, and enhance the important fishery resource.

Today Hanford is a reality because of this unified effort aimed at insuring that a national resource was not wasted.

Washington columnist A. Robert Smith summed up the story following congressional approval, and concluded:

> The moral of all this is probably that the Northwesterners, working with bipartisan cooperation, won out in the end because they showed political craftsmanship of a high order and resisted all temptations to stand up and beat their breasts indignantly about the terrible forces arrayed against them.
>
> The triumph of the Hanford project was probably the best example of legislative statesmanship affecting the Northwest since Congress enacted the Alaskan statehood bill 5 years ago.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from Oregon [Mrs. GREEN] may extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the authorization and construction of the Hanford project—the world's largest nuclear powerplant—is an achievement of significance not only for the Northwest but also the Nation.

President Kennedy recognized this fact when he signed the AEC authorization bill in 1962. A strong supporter of the Hanford project, the President noted during the White House ceremony the action of Congress making it possible for steam produced at AEC's new plutonium production reactor to be transformed into electricity and distributed to the homes and factories of the Pacific Northwest. He stated:

> It is a source of great satisfaction to me that a way has now been opened for the efficient utilization of this energy resource for the benefit of this growing region. To have permitted this resource to be wasted would have been in conflict with all principles of resource conservation and utilization to which we are committed.

President Kennedy pointed out to those present at the White House that Hanford represents a project for peacetime application of atomic energy. And he said:

> It will give the United States a freer margin for superiority in the peacetime use of atomic energy. I think it will benefit, in that way, the entire country, north and south and west, so I want to compliment those Members of Congress and the Joint Committee and the Interior Committee and others who have played an important role in the great passing of this legislation. I particularly congratulate CHET HOLIFIELD and Senator JACKSON for their part in this effort.

What are the benefits of the Hanford project? President Kennedy summed them up when he declared:

> The proposal of the Washington public power supply system to utilize the Hanford steam for the production of power presents an opportunity, clearly in the public interest, to obtain the maximum benefits from the public investment already committed for this facility and to demonstrate national leadership in resources development while furthering national defense objectives.

The President declared:

> The arrangements contemplated by this legislation will provide assurance that the interests of taxpayers, consumers, and other producers of electric power will be adequately protected.
>
> Enactment of this legislation is a highly significant achievement, and the Members of both Houses of Congress—in particular the members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy—are to be congratulated on the success of their unremitting efforts to bring about the utilization of the major national resource represented by the byproduct energy of the Hanford reactor.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that the complete text of President Kennedy's remarks be incorporated in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

Hanford is a notable landmark in the history of conservation of energy. It will be remembered in the same way that Bonneville and Grand Coulee are remembered—as part of the continuing struggle to insure that our national resources are put to their highest use. I am proud to have played a part in making the Hanford project a reality.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT UPON THE SIGNING OF H.R. 11974, ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION 1963 AUTHORIZATION BILL (HANFORD REACTOR)

I am pleased to sign H.R. 11974, the Atomic Energy Commission 1963 authorization bill.

One portion of this legislation—for which we have waited for quite some time—will make it possible for the steam produced by the Hanford new production reactor to be transformed into electricity and distributed to the homes and factories of the Pacific Northwest.

It is a source of great satisfaction to me that a way has now been opened for the efficient utilization of this energy resource for the benefit of this growing region. To have permitted this resource to be wasted would have been in conflict with all principles of resource conservation and utilization to which we are committed.

This project is for peacetime application and atomic heat for electricity which will produce a million kilowatts, approximately. It will be four times larger than any other project in the world. It will give the United States a freer margin for superiority in the peacetime use of atomic energy. I think that it will benefit, in that way, the entire country, North and South and West, so I want to compliment those Members of Congress and the Joint Committee and the Interior Committee and others who have played an important role in the great passing of this legislation. I particularly congratulate CHET HOLIFIELD and Senator JACKSON for their part in this effort.

As I stated in my letter of July 13, 1962, to Chairman HOLIFIELD, of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, the proposal of the Washington Public Power Supply System to utilize the Hanford steam for the production of power presents an opportunity, clearly in the public interest, to obtain the maximum benefits from the public investment already committed for this facility and to demonstrate national leadership in resources development while furthering national defense objectives.

The arrangements contemplated by this legislation will provide assurance that the interests of taxpayers, consumers, and other producers of electric power will be adequately protected.

Enactment of this legislation is a highly significant achievement, and the Members of both Houses of Congress—in particular the members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy—are to be congratulated on the success of their unremitting efforts to bring about the utilization of the major national resource represented by the byproduct energy of the Hanford reactor.

Congratulations to all those involved.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. ULLMAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, as we celebrate the completion of the Hanford powerplant here today, I am sure that many Members of the House are remembering the long and discouraging struggle which preceded the authorization of this project.

A good many of us recognized the need for some practical application for the vast quantities of steam which would be produced by the Atomic Energy Commission's new production reactor, which was authorized in 1958. In the process of splitting the atom, this reactor creates enormous quantities of heat which represents raw energy.

It was proposed that this steam be utilized in a new Federal steam generating plant, to be operated in conjunction with the reactor. When sufficient support for a Federal plant could not be mustered in the House in 1961, it appeared that the steam would simply be dumped into the Columbia River—a waste of raw energy of enormous proportions.

The members of Washington Public Power Supply System, all operating public utility districts, came up with their plan to build the Hanford project, pledging their own funds and credit, in order to use this waste steam for a constructive purpose. Certainly all of us here in the House owe a debt of gratitude to these progressive and public-spirited utility operators.

Next, the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, under the leadership of the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD], gave its active support to the proposal. With the economic feasibility of the plan firmly established by studies conducted by the Atomic Energy Commission, Hanford supporters went to work to win the approval of Congress.

Most of us remember the many rollcall votes on the Hanford issue here in the House, as the Senate continued to support the project and the House failed, by small margins, to vote the necessary authorization. The tug-of-war continued during the long, hot summer of 1962 and it was not until September of that year that the House approved legislation permitting AEC to enter into the proposed contract with Washington Public Power Supply System. The legislation stipulated that 50 percent of the project's output should be offered for sale to private utilities and 50 percent to public agencies. Although some of the private utilities, nationwide, fought the authorization of Hanford while it was in Congress, it is gratifying to know that the utilities of the Northwest have joined the effort by agreeing to purchase a portion of the power output. Not all of the private utilities seem to believe that public power is poisonous, at least not after it has been purified by being intermingled with the private variety which they themselves produce.

It took a great deal of courage for a group of 16 public utility districts, some of them quite small and serving sparsely populated areas, to undertake a project of the magnitude of Hanford, and in case some of the doubters who thought in 1962 that it could not be done are still around, I want to thank Owen Hurd and the rest of the Washington Public Power Supply System people for making it possible for me to say, "I told you so."

While the Hanford plan had some enemies, it had some very good friends, including President John F. Kennedy, who supported the project through the summer of 1962 and signed it into law in September of that year. A year later, President Kennedy personally visited the Hanford site, waved an atomic wand, and started an unmanned crane which moved the first shovelful of earth for the project's construction. I was proud to have the privilege of being with him on that occasion.

Hanford will provide many benefits to the Pacific Northwest and the Nation, in addition to the supply of low-cost power which is its primary purpose. It can serve as a technical training ground for nuclear powerplant operators and technicians of the future; it can demonstrate the feasibility of large-scale nuclear units in integrated, predominantly hydroelectric systems.

Not the least of its benefits will be the sense of pride which the American people can feel in this plant, the largest nuclear powerplant in the world.

And I personally take a good deal of pride in prudent management of resources, which I believe is involved in this development of economical electric power, using byproduct steam—a resource which almost was wasted.

Hanford has demonstrated a new kind of joint action in the electric utility industry and, although it is not in itself intended as a model for other developments—involving as it does a unique situation—I believe it does indicate that there are many types of agreements and arrangements which can be called into use where there is determination to get a job done.

It is perhaps the resourcefulness of the Hanford sponsors which offers the best model for future joint efforts by utilities which involve Federal, non-Federal public, and private power entities. New techniques and mechanisms will be needed as our electric industry becomes more and more interconnected and interdependent, and the Hanford project has indicated that it is possible to develop arrangements which protect all parties concerned—and this includes the American consumers, who are most directly concerned of all.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PRICE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, the first unit of the Washington public power supply system's Hanford steamplant began producing power on April 8. It was a milestone event in a decade-long struggle to put waste heat to work at AEC's new plutonium production reactor.

If any single Member of Congress deserves credit for this achievement, I believe that it is the distinguished gentleman from California, the chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, CHET HOLIFIELD.

CHET HOLIFIELD, believed in the dual-purpose concept of Hanford. He encouraged the technical and economic studies which were necessary to insure its feasibility. He stimulated the interest of others in this worthwhile project. He fought for the conservation principles involved. He laid his reputation on the line to secure congressional approval. He never gave up in his efforts to secure authorization.

This month's production of power at Hanford is, in a way, a personal accomplishment for CHET HOLIFIELD. He helped engineer this project in the areas where the problems were the most difficult. He succeeded in convincing a majority of his colleagues that he was right, and he got a number of them to actually change their minds in the face of previous record votes.

Hanford is in large measure a monument to CHET HOLIFIELD. Because of his continuing, and unrelenting work, it is today a reality.

The two units at Hanford have a combined capacity of 800,000 kilowatts during the use of the AEC's new plutonium production reactor for the production of weapons grade plutonium and other products. Should AEC decide not to continue use of the new power reactor for such purposes, Washington public power supply system would lease the new power reactor and continue its use for the production of power, in which case the output would be increased with a power-only capability of 860,000 kilowatts.

Although nuclear plants with a greater capacity than the Washington public power supply system Hanford steam plant are planned, it is expected that its distinction as the world's largest will be retained for several years.

The modifications and additions to the AEC convertible new power reactor to achieve optimum power production have been made by Washington public power supply system at a cost expected to exceed $12 million and at no expense to the Government. In addition, Washington, public power supply system purchases the waste byproduct heat from the new power reactor. Steam payments by Washington public power supply system to the AEC will amount to $30 million in the first 10 years of dual purpose operation and $6.7 million per year thereafter.

The Hanford steam plant transmission lines required for integration with the Northwest power pool and new power reactor additions and modifications were financed by a Washington public power supply system $122 million revenue bond issue secured by contracts with both Northwest public and private power distributors. Through exchange arrangements with the Bonneville Power Administration, the power output of the Hanford plant has resulted in an addition of 900,000 kilowatts of dependable power to the region and will exceed 1 million kilowatts during new power reactor power-only operation.

Hanford is an outstanding example of cooperation of Federal and local public agencies which has achieved many benefits to the Nation, the region, and the local community through utilization of an energy resource which would have otherwise been wasted.

The people of the Hanford area, the Pacific Northwest, and the Nation, owe CHET HOLIFIELD a debt of gratitude for his statesmanlike activities on their benefit in generating the support necessary to bring into being this worthy project.

REPORT ON VIETNAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PEPPER). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. STRATTON] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, during the Easter recess a special subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services made an on-the-spot inspection trip to the combat fronts of Vietnam. I had the honor to be chairman of that group, which included the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN], the gentleman from California [Mr. LEGGETT], the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. STAFFORD], and the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HICKS]. Our visit was directed by the distinguished chairman of our full committee, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS], in line with a continuing policy of our committee to keep ourselves fully and currently informed of the progress of all our military activities in Vietnam. Specifically, Chairman RIVERS requested our subcommittee to pay particular attention to our river patrols, our barrier patrols, the development of port and airfield construction, troop morale, the adequacy of equipment, ammunition, and clothing, and any research and development projects that ought to be accelerated to meet urgent needs of our forces in Vietnam.

Carrying out Chairman RIVERS' assignment, our subcommittee left Friendship Airport on Thursday, April 7, and returned to Dulles in the early hours of April 19, having spent slightly more than 10 days on our journey. Of those 10 days, 4 were spent in South Vietnam, 2 in Thailand, and the remaining 4 in transit to and from southeast Asia. Because of the political demonstrations that had been taking place in parts of South Vietnam before we were scheduled to leave, Ambassador Lodge expressed some concern about the safety of our group and suggested that the visit might be postponed until conditions had been stabilized. Chairman RIVERS, however, felt that the visit was most essential if the full committee was to discharge its constitutional responsibilities properly, and arrangements were finally worked out so that the subcommittee concentrated its attention entirely on military activities in the field and completely avoided both Saigon and Da Nang.

During the course of our 4 days in South Vietnam we traveled partly by plane but mostly by armed helicopter. We visited all four major Vietnamese Army Corps areas, two special forces camps, three separate American Army divisions in the field, including one that was then engaged in jungle combat operation, inspected a major portion of the area being held by Marine Corps forces, inspected the brilliant South Korean combat division now fighting in Vietnam, spent a night on board the carrier *Enterprise*, inspected the huge American supply base at Cam Ranh Bay, visited six major tactical airfields, including the field at Tan Son Nhut the day after the recent Vietcong mortar attack, accompanied the Navy and the Coast Guard on a demonstration of river patrol tactics, spent one night with American troops in the field while artillery shells whizzed overhead, and visited a major field hospital.

During this period we also conferred with two Vietnamese corps commanders, and one Province chief, with the assistant commander of the Republic of Korea's crack Capital Division, with three American division commanders in field command posts, with the general in command of our military supply operations at Cam Ranh Bay, with the deputy commander of all our air operations in Vietnam, and with the admiral in charge of our Navy carrier operations. We also conferred in the field with Lieutenant General Walt, commander of the Marine Amphibious Force, and visited several Vietnamese hamlets in company with him. General Westmoreland came from Saigon to the Bien Hoa Air Base to confer with us for more than 2 hours. On the way out to Vietnam we met for 2 hours in Honolulu with U.S. Pacific Commander, Adm. U. S. Grant Sharp and his full staff.

In Thailand we met with Gen. Joseph Stillwell, commander of the Military Assistance Command, Thailand, and with the U.S. Ambassador to Thailand, Mr. Graham Martin, the U.S. Ambassador to Laos, Mr. Richard Sullivan, and the U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines, Mr. William Blair. In Japan on the way back we also met for an hour with Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer. Besides these individuals the subcommittee talked with a large number of American soldiers, sailors, and airmen of all ranks, as well as with Vietnamese military and civilians, in various locations and assignments.

Mr. Speaker, a good deal has been happening in recent weeks in Vietnam, and judging from what has been said here in the House and in the other body, these events have caused some concern as to our position in Vietnam. Without going into all the details of the various matters on which our subcommittee has been asked to report in detail to Chairman RIVERS and the members of the full committee, members may find of interest some of the general observations and conclusions which our group arrived at as a result of our rather extensive survey of Vietnam.

I think I speak for all the members of our group, Mr. Speaker, in saying that we have come back from southeast Asia tremendously impressed with the progress of the fighting there and with the prospects for achieving a satisfactory solution to our problems there.

The war in Vietnam is going very well indeed, much better in fact than most of us realize in just reading the day-to-day press accounts. We have been losing sight of the forest for the trees, I am afraid. We have had our attention called to one specific battle after another. But we have been missing the most essential news, which is that our forces are giving an excellent account of themselves, and have clearly begun to break the back of the Vietcong aggression in all parts of South Vietnam. The area controlled by friendly forces has dramatically increased. The oil spots are very definitely spreading. Many of the highways and other lines of communication are now being opened up. What is even more important, the vast underground network of tunnels and hidden sanctuaries, even ringing the capital at Saigon, from which the Vietcong have operated with impunity for years, is now being successfully broken up and disrupted by the aggressive, persistent, and increasingly more shrewd and ingenious application of American and allied military power.

Make no mistake about it, we certainly can win this war in Vietnam and we are winning it. And I am convinced myself that we will win it a whole lot sooner than many of us now think possible. There are, of course, enemy sanctuary areas that have not yet been penetrated. There may be more enemy attacks to come. The infiltration routes from the north have not yet been fully interdicted. We may even need still more American troops to wind up the job more quickly. But it is now perfectly clear that our forces have largely taken over the initiative. We are building up the steady momentum of victory. The enemy's elaborate military organization has been seriously disrupted. We must certainly make sure that we press this present advantage fully and quickly through to a successful conclusion. Let us make clear our view that the Vietnam war is not, as some have suggested, an open-ended situation in Vietnam. We are not the French in Vietnam and the sooner we realize that fact the better. Our position is vastly better than theirs.

Contrary to popular impression, the Vietcong forces are not just a ragtail outfit of poorly armed and poorly equipped soldiers, carrying only a rifle and a small bag of rice. These forces are carefully organized, very fully supplied, mostly with Red Chinese and Soviet weapons, even carrying several changes of uniform or disguises. They are supported by vast underground staging and rest and rehabilitation networks. In these tunnel structures are located elaborate military hospitals, with top-grade surgical instruments, and even printing presses for turning out propaganda material. But we have met this force, Mr. Speaker. And we are today outthinking and outguessing them, even at their own special game of guerrilla warfare.

One of the items on which Chairman RIVERS asked us to report specifically, was the adequacy of our equipment in Vietnam. To answer this question we visited our major supply bases at Cam Ranh Bay and we questioned almost every officer or man we met on the matter of shortages. We have been hearing a lot lately, Mr. Speaker, about possible shortages in Vietnam. Let me say that our committee, searching as carefully as possible, could find no serious shortages in Vietnam, none certainly that have impaired our combat capabilities or washed out combat missions. On the contrary, our supply situation is moving along with amazing success. A few months ago ships were backed up for weeks waiting to come alongside to be unloaded in Cam Ranh Bay The day we were there there was one pier berth actually unoccupied at the base. As anybody knows who has had any practical experience with warfare, you cannot always put your hands, at every moment in every possible location, on all the items you might like to make use of. Some things run out more rapidly than others, and have to be resupplied. You may find yourself using one kind of ammunition more rapidly than some other. Vietnam is no exception to this rule. Some items have occasionally been in short supply in some locations. But these shortages have only been temporary. The problems have been mostly in distribution or unloading. Adjustments have occasionally been made, and schedules, shifted around but the job has continued. What was truly amazing to the committee was the remarkable speed with which we have built up our supplies to the present level so as to support a vastly increased troop commitment. This has been another remarkable American achievement, and we can be justly proud of it.

Of course, Mr. Speaker, as we all know, the problem we face in Vietnam is not exclusively a military problem. The military aggression of the Vietcong, masterminded and directed from North Vietnam, must be broken as we are now in the process of breaking it, with increasing speed and effectiveness. But South Vietnam will not be completely free and secure until an orderly society can be created there, and a start made on building a stable economy and political structure. This is the "other" Vietnamese war to which Vice President HUMPHREY has recently referred. How did our subcommittee find that other war progressing?

Clearly, it will take a longer time to win this other, nonmilitary war. The problems which face any South Vietnamese Government are monumental, as indeed they are in almost any other Asian nation. The jobs to be done in ending poverty, improving education, wiping out disease, creating an effective working democracy are, indeed, staggering in their scope. Headway is being made in this war, too, but it will not be completely won this week or this year, or perhaps for many a year to come.

But it was the firm impression of our subcommittee that there has been a tendency here in America to overlook the clear distinction that exists between the military operations against the Vietcong, now progressing so successfully, and the longer, tougher, essentially civilian job that lies ahead of building, indeed, creating, a free society in Vietnam. Because the problems of building this free society almost from scratch are so obviously vast and could take so long to solve completely, we have been inclined to think that the war itself is equally interminable, something that could possibly go on and on for years without any end. That, our subcommittee believes, is a serious and dangerous mistake to make, one that could undermine the support which our forces in the field deserve to have from us back here at home.

As I have already said, we believe we can win the military war in the foreseeable future. This will not, of course, automatically solve all the remaining questions of public order, economic prosperity, and representative democracy. But it is not correct to suggest that until all those problems have been solved the military victory itself cannot be won. If the American people can understand that the military war, in which we are primarily involved, is being won and that our fighting men need not be bogged down indefinitely in Vietnam until the last economic and political problem has been solved, then I believe they will be far more willing to give our commitment there the fullest and most enthusiastic support.

In the military war our forces are taking, as I have indicated, an increasing share of the leadership and responsibility, with the results we have already noted and with a successful conclusion, the so-called light at the end of the tunnel, clearly in sight. But when it comes to the other aspects of Vietnam—maintaining local security and order, building a successful economy, establishing a working democracy, then we can and must look primarily to the Vietnamese forces and people themselves to take over the major burden of the job. Of course, we will have to continue to help them in this. But we should also be able to look toward other agencies, the United Nations perhaps and other Asian countries, Japan, for instance, that has had such dramatic economic success, giving South Vietnam substantial help and assistance.

I do not think we need to be too disturbed at the prospect that it could take some time before all of these security and economic and political problems are solved in Vietnam. After all, even here in America we have not entirely solved our problems of poverty and general education. And there are still American cities in which one cannot feel completely safe and secure walking down the street at night.

At the present time American forces in Vietnam are engaged chiefly in search-and-destroy missions against the Vietcong. We sweep through an area and rout out all the Vietcong personnel and installations we can find. But because of limits in the total personnel available, we cannot remain indefinitely in all these areas—not just searching and destroying but also clearing and holding, as it is called. Thus when our forces finally do pull out, we can expect that the Vietcong may move back into the searched area and constitute a renewed threat. Does this mean then that we face an impossibly revolving threat which can only be fully countered when there are enough forces available to us to sit indefinitely in all key areas in South Vietnam? We do not believe this is the case. Combat commanders reported to us that once an area has been subjected to a thorough search-and-destroy operation, even though friendly forces might later move out of the area, the nature of Vietcong activity thereafter does not revert to the same level as before the initial search-and-destroy activities were undertaken. And the extent of Vietcong aggression can be further reduced by maintaining systematic patrolling in these areas.

This would suggest, therefore, that once the Vietcong aggression has been crushed, it will be possible to shift the burden of local security, of holding the areas that have been once cleared of Vietcong, to the Vietnamese forces themselves. Eventually this shift could also mean a substantial shift in the character of our own military commitment in Vietnam, as we move from purely military operations to the longer jobs of "pacification" or "rural reconstruction" or "revolutionary development." In that connection we were most impressed with the job the South Korean Capital Division has been doing in this regard. They have done a magnificent fighting job. They are also doing a magnificent job of aiding and assisting the civilians in the area of their responsibility.

Mr. Speaker, much has been said in recent weeks about the impact of the recent Buddhist riots in Vietnam on our current military commitment. A number of individuals, many of them very distinguished, have been quoted as saying that if the Vietnamese Government asks us to get out of Vietnam then we ought to get out.

In my judgment, we make a serious mistake in talking about getting out of Vietnam, in the light of what necessarily must be at best, very hypothetical circumstances. Talk of getting out is bound to have a defeatist effect, not only on our forces in the field but also on the people here at home. It is especially disturbing to hear it suggested at the very time when our military operations are progressing so successfully.

Mr. Speaker, I want to conclude by saying how much all of us were impressed by General Westmoreland. He is an outstanding officer and we are extremely fortunate to have him on the job in Vietnam. The high morale of all American troops in his command, the highest perhaps in our military history, is a great tribute to his leadership and personal dedication to the complex task our country faces there. One occasionally hears disparaging remarks about the nature of the "military mind." Let me say that if General Westmoreland is any example, let us just hope we have a lot more military minds. Here is a man with a firm, clear grasp not just of military matters, but the whole tangled web of interrelated cultural, economic, and political factors involved in South Vietnam.

I also want to add a special word of commendation for General Walt of the Marine Corps. He is a vigorous, inspiring field commander, with the utmost devotion of his troops. His interest in the Vietnamese people is the kind of leadership we need.

After speaking with General Westmoreland and General Walt, our committee came back home with the feeling that perhaps we have been regarding Vietnam too much as a problem and too little as a great opportunity. Here, after all, is a most challenging task, to help a country get on its feet and grow into a prosperous and self-determined democracy, to solve the complex problems that attend the emergence of any new nation, and to use our power and our influence to give freedom one more genuine foothold in the Asian hemisphere. This, after all, is what we in America have always tried to do down through our history, to use our resources and energy not merely to enjoy freedom for ourselves here at home but to help others enjoy the same benefits and privileges we enjoy in other corners of a rapidly shrinking world.

Seen in this light, Vietnam is something that can well call forth the very best in our Nation and in our people, and present a challenge to which we can rise to prove that American ideals and objectives are still more vigorous, more stable, more productive, and more fundamentally rewarding than those espoused by any other form of government in the whole world.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STRATTON. I am very happy to yield to my distinguished colleague from Michigan, a very valuable member of our subcommittee.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman. I would like to say at the outset that I have listened with great interest to what the gentleman from New York has had to say. I feel he has made a very thorough report of our activities during the Easter recess. I would particularly like to commend him for the manner in which he discharged his duties as chairman of our subcommittee. I was proud to be with him on this mission at all times. I would also say not only to the chairman of our subcommittee but with respect to the other members as well that our business was carried on with objectivity and with absolutely no political considerations from the time we left until we returned. As far as this war is concerned, this was not a Republican and Democratic committee out there. This was a red, white, and blue committee visiting our troops in the field.

There are a few things the gentleman from New York made reference to that I would like to underscore. What he has said about the talk we occasionally hear about "getting out" is what I have reference to. I subscribe wholeheartedly to the gentleman's statement. I would say this in addition thereto: While we were in Thailand we talked with our military people there. We were told the situation is growing worse in that country. I am satisfied that we are going to have to face the threat of Communist aggression if not where we are grappling with it now successfully, then later in Thailand. We are told incidents are increasing and terrorist activity is being stepped up in the northeast sector. This is no secret. Those who are bent on expanding communism in this area are going to be continuing their efforts there. This is no time for us to back down and get out. This is a time for us to see this job through.

I, too, was impressed with the morale of our troops. Everywhere we went we talked with our people, and in spite of the heat and all kinds of difficulties and the hardships that our boys were enduring, I felt the morale was high. I was proud of them and every Member of this body and all Americans should be proud of our servicemen who are doing this job and doing it without complaint. It was my privilege to visit Vietnam last year. There has been a tremendous change in this 10-month period. A big buildup has taken place.

Mr. Speaker, it is obvious that we are digging in and that we intend to stay, as the President has said we intend to stay.

I was impressed with what we observed there in connection with the pacification program.

We visited a village with General Walt when sick call was being held in one of the little huts. We saw a line of Vietnamese people waiting to be treated by a medical corpsman who was administering to the ills of the natives of the village.

Mr. Speaker, I was much impressed with our efforts and feel that these programs must continue to have our attention if we are to hold this land. In other words, we must win with the people themselves.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to say a word with respect to what the gentleman from New York said about certain shortages here and there. Yes, we did raise this question everywhere we went, because our chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS], had directed us to raise this question in all areas we visited. I cannot speak about the areas to which we did not go. I know nothing of what the situation is there. But we were not told of any serious shortages in the areas that we did visit.

However, General Westmoreland did say this in explanation of this entire situation. He said:

> About a year ago we had a change in policy. We decided on this buildup.

He said that he needed more troops desperately at that time and that he knew supplies would be inadequate but that he had to take the risk. He further said that they had a lot of ships that were backed up in the harbor. He told us that they had to pay demurrage in order to have these floating warehouses which could be utilized if necessary.

So, he described it thusly. He said "for the past year I have been in the business of distributing shortages." But in fairness, I must say that no one at any of the places we visited told us of serious shortages at those specific locations.

There is one other matter I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues.

After the base at Tan Son Nhut was shelled by mortar fire at 1 o'clock in the morning, we stopped by that same afternoon to inspect the damage.

There were some four planes destroyed. I believe 29 were damaged. Seven of our boys were killed. There were other injuries there, too. The oil dump at Tan Son Nhut was a roaring inferno. Flames were blazing as high as this building.

In addition, two of the Blue Eagle planes that were based at Tan Son Nhut had also been hit. As we stopped by our Blue Eagle planes I recognized Lieutenant Commander Henderson who is commanding officer of one of the crews and he invited me to fly a mission with them that evening.

These Blue Eagle planes are the airborne television platforms that we have in Vietnam at this time. After I came back from my first visit to Vietnam a year ago and at the urging of some of our very highest ranking officers in Vietnam, who told me they felt that the television concept was one that would be of great assistance to our effort there, I made some inquiries as to the status of this project. It was quite difficult. The USIA did not want to tell me anything about it. I wrote several letters. Finally I had to make a speech on the floor of this House. I had to get the assistance of my chairman, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS], before I could get the classified information on the television studies that had been made. But we finally got them. We determined that it was sound. I wanted to do whatever I could to push it and so did several of my colleagues.

When we met with Ambassador Lodge before he went to his second assignment, we told him of our interest in this and our desire to help if we could. He sent us a cable after he had been out there 3 or 4 weeks and said that the program had been reviewed and approved and we were going to go ahead with it.

During the Christmas holiday I visited the Blue Eagles at Andrews Air Force Base where they were being fitted out. They are Constellation planes. There is nothing in them but electronic gear for television and radio transmission. So because of my longstanding interest in this project, I was terribly disturbed to find that one of our Blue Eagles had taken a direct hit at Tan Son Nhut. The starboard tail had been knocked off and it was also hit on top of the fuselage. The other plane had 40 shrapnel holes in it.

The boys were there and they were ready to fly it; and I went with them.

We flew over Saigon for 5 hours in a tight circle 8 miles in diameter transmitting television signals to the ground simultaneously on two channels—channel 9 for the Vietnamese and channel 11 for our American troops.

I would say that one criticism that we heard in many places where we saw television sets was that the movies were too old. I do think something should be done about this and I intend to pursue it.

But with respect to the Vietnamese language transmission on the Blue Eagle, I would just like to take a minute to tell my colleagues about the content of this program. The news program told the people what had happened that day in

Vietnam. I saw B-52's on the television screen dropping bombs. I saw General Westmoreland making a statement for the Vietnamese people. I also saw General Taylor on television. On the same program I heard some Vietnamese music. They had a humorous show, something like a Bob Hope show. Then they also had a magic act that was done very well.

But I would say this about the political difficulties we are having in Vietnam—if that Government is unstable it is because the people are not informed. They do not know what is going on in their country.

This struggle, in its final analysis, is nothing but a struggle for the minds of men. We in this country have the greatest potential for reaching the minds of men of any people anywhere in the world.

We can help to get a message to the Vietnamese people about this war through this medium.

But we must do more. One of our planes is grounded. We have only one that is flying now and it is on a limited schedule. So it will not be long before I will come to my colleagues of the House with some recommendations for more and better equipment. If it is worth doing, it is worth doing well. We should have first-class equipment. We should have planes that fly higher and planes that we can base in remote areas.

As far as cost is concerned, the whole project so far has not been more than the cost of one B-52 raid. We have just put up $12.3 billion on a supplemental request. We have tried everything. Things have not been working too well, and that is why we are in the trouble we are in today and why we are having to send more troops to Vietnam.

I say that this is worth trying, and it is my hope that we shall have the support of Members of the House in doing so. I feel confident that my colleagues on the subcommittee will fully realize the value of this program and will also be giving it a push.

There are many other things we could comment on, but I do not want to encroach further upon the time of my colleagues.

Again, Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the chairman of our subcommittee for the manner in which the business of our subcommittee was conducted.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the gentleman for his generous remarks and assure him I am certain that the members of the subcommittee will support him in his recommendations with regard to the Blue Eagle Project.

I wish to yield to the distinguished chairman of our committee, but I do not want to do so without first expressing to him, not only on behalf of myself, but all members of the subcommittee, our appreciation for making it possible for us to see the fighting fronts in Vietnam as representatives of a distinguished and able committee.

I yield to the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I wish to congratulate the gentleman from New York and thank him and his subcommittee for taking time from their justified recess at Easter, at great sacrifice of time and energy, to make this trip. I have listened to most of what the gentleman had to say this afternoon. I was interrupted for a couple of telephone calls. But his report is fascinating, and I am sure it will receive wide approval. I look forward to the full report, which the gentleman will render to the full committee.

The chairman, the gentleman from New York [Mr. STRATTON], and each member of his committee deserve the thanks of the House and of our committee and the country for the fine effort they have made and the very compelling and requiring schedule that they have had to fulfill. I look forward to this report. But at this time I wish to congratulate him on an excellent report, and also to congratulate each member of his subcommittee. I have been rewarded by taking time to be present this afternoon, and I wish to thank you for what you have said and what you have done.

To each of you I say you have made a great contribution to your country and you deserve the thanks of this Congress and the Nation.

Mr. STRATTON. I wish to thank the distinguished chairman once again for his very generous remarks.

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STRATTON. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from California, a distinguished member of the subcommittee.

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this time to commend the gentleman from New York on the very scholarly manner in which he has presented, I believe, most of the thoughts which the committee has synthesized of our views on South Vietnam.

Some of these views we have exchanged in aircraft and on the sea, and so on. But by and large we have kept pretty well together.

The message we bring back to the people of the United States is that we have a different kind of show going on in South Vietnam today than we had a year ago. A year ago we had some 20,000 troops that we were supporting. Now we have a quarter of a million troops, and we are still supporting them. We are supporting the people of South Vietnam in their efforts to keep free and to have their own, self-determined program in that area.

I had much serious trepidation when I went to South Vietnam, representing the great, liberal area of California. I suspected many times that perhaps there was much more sympathy in the south with some of the socialistic programs than actually was the case. We have determined by our on-the-spot investigation that there is a strong feeling among the people of Vietnam that they do not want occidentalism, they do not want communism—they do want to get rid of their poverty, but they want to do it their way.

That is the message that we got in Thailand. We learned there from General Stilwell that they are making a very impressive effort in that area to resolve their problems. They are upgrading their economy. We know that some of our efforts now in the military sphere are going to have a tremendous fallout, such as the roads and railways we are putting in there, which are going to draw Thailand together and bring the back country to a point where they can enjoy their government services.

It is important that we look at the whole area as a vital cog in the development of southeast Asia. If we keep our commitment with Thailand, we are not going to have the problems that we currently have in South Vietnam. The comments and conclusions with respect to the nonopenhandedness of the South Vietnamese encounter is important for the American people, because there is a $700 million gross national product economy merging with a $1 billion gross national product economy. Of course, not to have inflation is impossible in either economy.

But to say that we are going to fight for 20 years in this encounter is not realistic. We still have the greatest military and psychological warfare machine. We have the greatest army in history. I do not think it will take us 5 years, or 10 years, but probably we cannot resolve it in 1 year, either. We are going to resolve it. Our American people must know that.

Our fighting men on the front are going to take cognizance of that. Their morale is excellent. They know who is with them, and who is against them.

At one time, perhaps, the Vietcong could be farmers by day and soldiers by night, but with the big U.S. presence occupying most of the ricelands and most of the flat areas in the Mekong, and all up and down the coast, the Vietcong have had to determine whether they will be farmers or fighters.

I know we were all pleased to find that many of them were determining of late, about 100 percent, to be farmers. These are what we call the ralliers.

Up in the 2d Corps area, 3,000 came over to the Government in just 3 months of this year. So we have made excellent progress in that area.

At this point I will include in the RECORD a nonclassified statement prepared by Lt. Col. Richard E. Shade which sets forth in detail our itinerary over South Vietnam:

MONDAY, APRIL 11, 1966

Bangkok to Pleiku, 0620 to 0915 (all times local), VC-54. Met by Maj. Gen. W. O. Kinnard, commanding general, 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile), in behalf of Ambassador Lodge and General Westmoreland. Went by vehicle to 2d Corps Headquarters (ARVN). Called on Maj. Gen. Vinh Loc, commanding general, 2d Corps Tactical Zone. Briefed by corps advisers, G-2 Lt. Col. Howard R. Ross; G-3 Maj. Arthur J. Wehr, Jr.; G-5 Maj. James R. Bukoski. Colonel Timothy, senior adviser, was absent and was represented by Lt. Col. Robert K. Loomis.

Pleiku to Plei Me, 1055 to 1135; UH-1 (Helo). Accompanied by Maj. Hugh B. Harrison, 2d Corps advisory team protocol, and Lt. Col. William A. Patch, special forces "C" detachment senior adviser in 2d Corps. Met and briefed in bunker in the camp by Capt. William H. Willoughby, Jr.

Plei Me to An Khe, 1155 to 1235; UH-1. Landed at base camp of 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile). Luncheon at commanding general's mess with commanding general, and staff. Briefing—introduction by Major General Kinnard; G–2 Maj. Ephrim Martin; G–3 Maj. Zachary Whaley; G–5 Lt. Col. Monroe Kirkpatrick. Viewed captured equipment prior to briefing. Met constituents after briefing.

An Khe to Canh Van, 1520 to 1540; UH–1. Landed at headquarters, Republic of Korea, Capital Division. Met by Col. Gilbert C. Russi, line officer. Met with ADC, Brig. Gen. Lee Nam Jou. Short honors ceremony extended followed by call on ADC. Briefed on division history and operations in Vietnam by Lt. Col. Suk Ryung. Quick tour of captured equipment.

Canh Van to Qui Nhon, 1645 to 1655; UH–1. Boarded Navy C1A (COD).

Qui Nhon to U.S.S. *Enterprise,* 1700 to 1850. Ship was on "Yankee" station in South China Sea (overflew cruiser firing). Met by Rear Adm. T. J. Walker, commander, Carrier Division 3; Capt. R. W. Rynd, Chief of Staff; Capt. J. L. Shipman, commander, Air Wing 9; Capt. J. L. Holloway III, commanding officer, USS *Enterprise;* Capt. F. S. Petersen, executive officer, *Enterprise.* Supper in the admiral's mess. Briefing by Admiral Walker on Carrier Division 3 operations. Briefing by Captain Holloway on *Enterprise.* Tour of nuclear reactor. Remained overnight.

TUESDAY, APRIL 12, 1966

Further tour of ship.

U.S.S. *Enterprise* to Chu Lai, 0920 to 1030, C1A. Met at Chu Lai by Lt. Gen. Lewis W. Walt, commanding general, IIIMAF; Maj. Gen. Lewis G. Fields, commanding general, 1st Marine Division; Maj. Gen. Keith B. McCutcheon, commanding general, 1st MAW. Party helo lifted to hill 69, met and briefed by Lt. Col. Paul X. Kelley, commanding officer, 2d Battalion, 4th Marines, and Maj. Ernest L. DeFozio, battalion executive officer. Observed and fired weapons. Choppered to Vienh An No. 2 village civic action project of 1st Battalion, 7th Marines. Col. Louey N. Dasey, director civil affairs office, and Maj. J. S. Ready, his assistant, met, briefed, and conducted tour of village. Party then went to Logistical Support Unit and had lunch with constituents. Then briefed at MAG 12 by commanding officer, Col. Leslie E. Brown.

Chu Lai to Cam Ranh Bay, 1410 to 1540, VC123. Met and given unscheduled briefing by commanding officer, 12th TFW, Col. Levi R. Chase. Proceeded by UH–1's to Cam Ranh Bay logistical area. Briefed by Brig. Gen. Arthur L. Friedman. Helo tour of entire logistical area and adjacent Army and Air Force facilities.

Cam Ranh Bay to Can Tho, 1750 to 1920, VC123. Met by Col. George A. Barten, SA, 4th Corps. Had extremely informal discussions and remained overnight.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 13, 1966

Attended daily staff briefing. Met with Lt. Gen. Dang Van Quang, commanding general, 4th Corps tactical zone. Then briefed by corps advisory staff: G–2 Lt. Col. John W. Goldsmith; G–3 Lt. Col. Alfred G. Hill; G–5 Lt. Col. John V. Swango.

Can Tho to Vung Tau, 0940 to 1015, VC123. Met by Capt. J. T. Shepherd, A.C. of S. for oper., COMNAVV and Lt. Cdr. Donald G. McMillan, senior adviser, 3d coastal region. Went by vehicle to CSC on hill above Vung Tau and briefed. Traveled by vehicle to Cat Lo. Briefed and luncheon. Then boarded river patrol craft and observed firing demonstration.

Vung Tau to Binh Ba, 1310 to 1325, UH–1. Landed at advance field CP of 1st infantry division. Met by Maj. Gen. William E. Depuy, commanding general, and briefed by General Depuy on the current division operation.

Binh Ba to Jungle Position, 1350 to 1410. Overflew the area where an infantry company had been hit hard 2 days before accompanied by Brig. Gen. James F. Hollingsworth, ADC. Landed in area of 3d Bde. in jungle. Met and briefed by Col. William D. Brodbeck, commanding officer, 3d Bde.; Lt. Col. Lee S. Henry, commanding officer, 1/16 Infantry and Lt. Col. Howard L. Sargent, Eng.

Jungle Position to Phouc Vinh, 1450 to 1535. Landed at Phouc Vinh, 1st Bde., 1st Infantry Division, for fuel but since division had failed to notify that Codel was not to stop there, members went to CP location to visit constituents, accompanied by Brig. Gen. Charles M. Mount, Jr., ADC, and Col. Edgar N. Glotzbach, commanding officer, 1st Bde., 1st Infantry Division.

Phouc Vinh to Tan Son Nhut, 1610 to 1700. By UH–1 party overflew Phu Loi (1st Infantry Division, Artillery) and Di An (1st Infantry Division command post) and landed at Tan Son Nhut (Saigon). Met by Col. George Budway, airbase commander and was briefed and visited the airbase for a survey of the damage inflicted by the indirect fire attack on the base at 130030 April.

Tan Son Nhut to Cu Chi, 1805 to 1825, UH1. Landed at division command post of 25th Infantry Division and was met by Maj. Gen. F. C. Weyand, commanding general, and members of his staff. Party split into small groups and remained overnight with battalion elements of the 25th Division.

THURSDAY, APRIL 14, 1966

Party visited in battalion area and was then briefed by General Weyand at 0900 hours.

Cu Chi to Tay Ninh, 0945 to 1035, UH–1. Party had chance meeting with Col. William McKean, commanding officer, 5th Special Forces, at Tay Ninh Airport, and then went to "B" Detachment where briefing was introduced by Maj. Leonard Ochs, commanding officer; S–2 Capt. Howard Holmes; S–3 Capt. Nickolas Gilbert; CA/Psy. Ops., Capt. W. A. Rice. (Tay Ninh just south of war zone "C" which the party was very interested in.)

Tay Ninh to Bien Hoa, 1110 to 1158, UH–1. Party landed at Bien Hoa Airbase and was met by Maj. Gen. Gilbert L. Meyers, U.S. Air Force, deputy commander, 7th Air Force, and Col. Robert A. Ackerly, 3d TFW Commander, Col. Wiltz P. Segura, 3d TFW XO. Went to refresh. Was joined by General Westmoreland, COMUSMACV, and had lunch at officers' mess with COMUSMACV. Had long discussion with General Westmoreland after lunch.

Bien Hoa to 93d Evacuation Hospital, 1510 to 1520. Met by Lt. Col. Thomas Kelly, hospital commanding officer. Given short briefing and met constituent patients.

93d Evacuation Hospital to Bien Hoa Airbase, 1610 to 1620, UH–1. Returned to airbase and met by commanding officer and staff. Went on short tour of base.

Bien Hoa to Bangkok, 1700 to 2015, VC–123. Party departed RVN for Thailand.

Mr. Speaker, this indicates that we contacted a considerable number of bases and people of all of the units of the service. Certainly the graphic portion should not, but the written portion should go into the Record to show where we went and what we did in Vietnam.

I would like to comment just a word on our pacification program. In a measure, this is a misnomer. This indicates that we go into areas which allegedly are friendly, to pacify them and make them our friends.

I believe the bulk of the people are our friends.

We found that many of the people who have been under Vietcong control want to support the Government. They want protection, but they need a little more know-how—how to develop politically, how to develop economically, how to get Government services, how to provide defense, and so on.

This is what we mean by pacification.

In the Mekong area, the 4th Corps area, where the South Vietnamese were doing the job themselves, with 160,000 ARVN troops, and only 5,000 Americans, we pacified last year more than 600 villages. Our target for this year is more than 600.

As the gentleman indicated in his report, those areas tend to stay pacified. That is good.

I personally talked with Chaplain Riley in the 4th Corps area. He pointed out that he had a tremendous local pacification program. He worked with the Vietnamese, teaching English to the young Vietnamese people and other things. I contributed to his nonprofit organization, which he had going there as a U.S. Army venture separate and distinct from the AID undertaking.

At this time I should like to include in the Record an analysis of this pacification program and this separate program going on in the 4th Corps area.

Operation Education Foundation,
Care of G–5, Advisor Section,
Headquarters, 4th Corps, Advisory Team 96,
APO San Francisco, January 30, 1966.

Subject: Operation Education Foundation.
To: All servicemen

1. This foundation is a nondenominational, charitable, nonprofit organization that is dedicated to assisting the children of Vietnam to obtain an education. The idea of the foundation was formulated by Chaplain Riley, our 4th Corps chaplain with the help and advice of the senior adviser and deputy senior adviser.

2. A constitution outlining the purpose of the foundation and the operational guidelines was drawn up and approved by the MACV Judge Advocate General's office. The primary objectives of the foundation, within financial and material resources available, are:

(a) Provide tuition and other assistance as required to deserving children in order that they may have an opportunity to receive an education.

(b) Supply textbooks and educational materials.

(c) Augmentation of teachers salaries.

(d) Encourage and assist in the construction of new schools, additional classrooms, and educational facilities.

3. Many of the above requirements are met by the various military and civilian agencies now operating in the Republic of Vietnam and by the Vietnamese Government itself. However, many of the children do not have even the basic items of clothing necessary to go to school, and in many instances can not pay the very small fee required for tuition. Others are in areas where teachers and school facilities are not available. It is these groups that the Foundation will assist primarily.

4. For approximately $5 per month we can pay the tuition and other necessary expenses of keeping a small child in school. As our foundation funds increase (hopefully), we will attempt to assist in furthering the education of young adults.

5. Through the efforts of Mr. Jim Lucas and the attached copy of the article from the Fort Worth Press, Fort Worth, Tex., the foundation has received approximately $400 from people in Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas. Other contributions have come from members of the 4th Corps staff sections and several of the sector advisory teams. Most of the contributions have been in $2, $5, or $10 donations.

6. Any amount you can give will be appreciated and will help to assure some small Vietnamese child of a better life both for the present and the future. Cash, checks, money orders, or piasters are acceptable. Checks should be made payable to Operation Education Foundation.

7. At the present rewriting of this letter, March 24, 1966, Operation Education Foundation has received approximately $2,200 through contributions from Georgia, Florida, Virginia, and members of our advisory teams here in Vietnam. We are agreeing to open 10 new schools in Vinh Binh Province in which 600 children will receive an education for a period of 21 months. The total cost will be $4,600 for teacher training and salaries, and student school kits. U.S. Agency for International Development has provided the new classrooms. Province board of education will provide upkeep, utilities, and exercise supervision, and operational control. The total cost for 600 students for 21 months is $7.40 per child.

8. Contributions may be made at the pay table or to any of the below listed officers or advisers to the foundation:

Chaplain Office: Chaplains Riley or Campbell.

G–5 office: Lieutenant Colonel Swango, chairman, board of governors.

Signal section: Sergeant Major Montague, vice chairman.

G–3 office: Master Sergeant Robinson, treasurer.

G–1 office: Sergeant First Class Lovell, secretary.

JOHN V. SWANGO,
Lieutenant Colonel, Infantry,
Chairman, Board of Governors.

I also should like to say a few words as to a few conclusions I have made, and comment on some of the things General Westmoreland told us. I was much impressed with this soldier, as were all of the members of our committee. Frankly, I found him to be as much a "dove" as he was a "hawk." He well understood the limitations of his military machine. He understood the importance of developing political integrity within the South Vietnamese people. And I was impressed by his nine rules, which he had prescribed for all of his military personnel, and the fact that he was consolidating his military personnel outside Saigon and outside the major establishments.

The rules go like this:

The Vietnamese have paid a heavy price in suffering for their long fight against the Communists. We military men are in Vietnam now because their Government has asked us to help its soldiers and people in winning their struggle. The Vietcong will attempt to turn the Vietnamese people against you. You can defeat them at every turn by the strength, understanding, and generosity you display with the people.

This little dialog is carried by every member of our Armed Forces in South Vietnam:

1. Remember we are guests here: We make no demands and seek no special treatment.

2. Join with the people. Understand their life, use phrases from their language, and honor their customs and laws.

3. Treat women with politeness and respect.

4. Make personal friends among the soldiers and common people.

5. Always give the Vietnamese the right-of-way.

6. Be alert to security and ready to react with your military skill.

7. Don't attract attention by loud, rude, or unusual behavior.

8. Avoid separating yourself from the people by a display of wealth or privilege.

9. Above all else, you are members of the U.S. military forces on a difficult mission, responsible for all your official and personal actions. Reflect honor upon yourself and the United States of America.

I am satisfied that some people go Communist by a swift coup and learn somehow to live with the system. I also have come to appreciate that in South Vietnam nothing has happened quickly. While the Vietcong use a carrot from time to time, they have the great bulk of the population terrorized in South Vietnam due to the length of the encounter. The fighting Vietcong are highly motivated, great soldiers but their fanaticism at almost all levels has made them much like animals. Whether peace can ever be negotiated with them I think is questionable—I personally believe it certainly is as important to negotiate with the Vietcong as it is to Hanoi—both are equally aggressive and important.

I am satisfied that the war effort in South Vietnam will be larger before it gets smaller; that it is always possible with highly emotional people that a minority element might gain control of the Government by election and ask the United States to leave. I do not think this will happen; that the United States is making steady progress on all fronts, that people are respecting our intentions more every day; that at the current attrition and interdiction rate the Vietcong and North Vietnamese cannot continue their effort. The end I do not think will come in 1 year but it will not be 5 years either.

I am glad to see our efforts at all levels with the people of Thailand. Bangkok is a thriving city; rural development is underway. The war of aggression will be won, I think, in Thailand before it really starts—by the Thai people themselves.

I am satisfied that we are carrying on a highly sensitive war that could be carried on by a highly nimble and sensitive, compassionate military establishment. The great bulk of the people of southeast Asia strongly support us, virtually unanimously in many quarters.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for allowing me to participate in this discussion. I believe we have a message we can more precisely articulate in a formal report. I hope we can give widespread voice to our views.

Mr. STRATTON. I thank the gentleman from California for an eloquent contribution. He certainly was one of the hardest working and most tireless researchers of the group. I believe that has been reflected by his remarks.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the documents referred to by the gentleman from California may be included in the RECORD at the appropriate places.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STRATTON. I yield to the distinguished former Governor of Vermont, a very distinguished member of our committee.

Mr. STAFFORD. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to be associated with the very full report which the distinguished chairman of our subcommittee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. STRATTON], has made to the House this afternoon.

I concur with substantially all that the chairman has told the House. I think it has been a very good report. In view of the limited amount of time that is left on this special order, I will not attempt to elaborate as to my own views It was a pleasure to be on this subcommittee and to have this opportunity to see firsthand the development of our military assistance effort in Vietnam in the company of the other distinguished and very pleasant members of the committee. I think no little bit was contributed to the success of our visit to Vietnam by the presence of our escorting officer, Colonel Burgett, who made sure that we got where we wanted to go, and also to the presence of Gen. W. G. Thrash of the Marine Corps assigned to us as an observer from the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

Let me say that we did find the airport construction and seaport construction was going along in very good shape and supplies were getting through as needed. There were no significant shortages, as my colleagues indicated, that we found. Morale seemed to be very good. It was my personal impression the limitation of the tour of duty to 1 year in Vietnam was an important factor in the high morale.

We did note at the airports the construction of the steel revetments loaded with earth was a substantial limiting factor in the damage inflicted on airfields and on aircraft by night mortar attacks. This program of revetment construction seemed to be going along pretty well.

Cooperation between the authorities of the Republic of Vietnam's army and our own authorities appeared to be good. As my colleagues indicated, the war in Vietnam from a military standpoint is going well. We have the initiative. As the distinguished gentleman from California indicated, though, Americans should not think of this war as purely a military effort, because we are truly making a major effort.

Once the Vietcong have been driven out of a village in the area we are making an effort toward the peaceful redevelopment of that village. We are giving the inhabitants medical care and getting schools working again and providing better sanitation practices and restoring local government to them. This is not just a military effort. A major effort is being made to redevelop a peaceful economy and local self-government of the Vietnamese people.

Further I can say that from the observations I made of the Vietnamese in many of their villages and in one or two of their cities, I am genuinely of the impression that they much prefer the presence of the American troops and the authority of the Republic of Vietnam to that of the Vietcong. After all, we are bringing to them medicine and restoring their schools and local self-government and so on. We are not taking things away from them. As things have gone downhill in the defeats of the Vietcong, they have been taking the rice of the Vietnamese peasants and often also impressing the older male children into their armies. So, whenever there is a free choice, I am convinced that the people of Vietnam will prefer the American and their own Government of the Republic of Vietnam on every occasion.

The desertion rate of the Vietcong is increasing. That is a good sign, I think.

Now let me say lastly that my own impression, and I believe the rest of the subcommittee's, was that the fate of southeast Asia, not just Vietnam but Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand, pretty much depends on what happens in Vietnam. As we take this thing through, I am optimistic that, as the chairman of our committee has pointed out, we can bring it to a successful conclusion within a reasonable time. Peace and independence can be maintained for the Republic of South Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my chairman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Vermont for a very eloquent statement and say that I subscribe wholeheartedly to his comments. It is unfortunate that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD does not provide for photographs, because I think we could embellish this account with a number of photographs not only those taken by the official photographer from the command in Thailand but also with home movies which the gentleman from California took and which will perhaps be available for showing sometime to Members of the House who might be interested in it and a few slides that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] and I took also with our color cameras.

I see the distinguished gentleman from Washington, also a very capable and able member of the subcommittee, rising and I will be very happy to yield to him for such comments as he may care to make.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, you will notice that as we go down the seniority list on this subcommittee the time for talk grows shorter and shorter. Therefore, I shall follow that program and just take a moment or two.

Mr. Speaker, I want to join in the remarks of my distinguished colleagues and join in the accolades which have been given to our subcommittee chairman, the gentleman from New York [Mr. STRATTON], and also in his remarks thanking the chairman of our full committee for making it possible for all of us to go to South Vietnam.

Also, Mr. Speaker, I want to join in the remarks of all of my colleagues who have preceded me.

Mr. Speaker, I believe I can subscribe wholeheartedly to all of the remarks which have been made by the gentleman. However, I want to underscore just two matters which have been referred to by my subcommittee chairman, one having to do with the military mind and to take a moment or two to talk about the demonstrations that have been going on recently in South Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, I think probably I am one who was inclined to feel that the military mind was concerned only with matters purely military. However, I was most gratified during my time in South Vietnam to find that our military, from General Westmoreland right down through the captains in the companies, are genuinely concerned with the pacification or civic action programs. They realize that it would be a hollow thing to chase the Vietcong out and then not do anything about giving the Vietnamese people an opportunity to improve their way of life.

Mr. Speaker, for one to go into these villages—and we were not in the cities, we were in the villages—and see them and smell them permits one to understand that it has been and is a rather hopeless situation under which they live. One can well understand why it has been such a fertile field for the Communists and for the Vietcong. Our people are not only running the Communists, the Vietcong, out of there, but they are showing the Vietnamese people a better way of life and are giving them the opportunity to have a better way of life.

Mr. Speaker, that leads to the demonstrations that have taken place there recently, and that in and of itself proves how well our military effort is now growing, because without our military effort being able to keep the Vietcong off, these people would not be able to demonstrate. What they are doing right now, as was explained to us while we were over there, is to use the demonstrations as their way of political action. The Buddhists are demonstrating in an effort to gain a dominant position in the political hierarchy that will be established when they do obtain a civilian government. It was prophesied to us that the Catholics would soon be demonstrating for the same purpose. Before we were back in this country we heard on the news reports that the Catholics were doing just exactly that.

So, Mr. Speaker, I believe everything is going as well in Vietnam as we can reasonably expect. We may get to the conference table sooner than many of us had thought, though I doubt that it will happen in the next few months.

I want again to say that I join in the remarks of all of my colleagues who have preceded me and again I thank our chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. STRATTON].

Mr. STRATTON. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Washington for his contribution and thank all of the Members who have participated in this discussion for their contribution, and the cooperation which they extended to me while on the trip.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this was truly a bipartisan or a nonpartisan operation.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members who took part in this discussion be permitted to revise and extend their remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PEPPER). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

OHIO AND THE CIVIL WAR

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PEPPER). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, by 1860, Ohio had reached a population of 2,339,511 and the whole Union, 31,433,321. By any standard, Ohio was the outstanding State in the Civil War as it produced the greatest percentage of the fighting men and a galaxy of outstanding generals. Ohio's adult population numbered approximately 500,000 and the total vote in the presidential election of 1860 was 442,441. Lincoln had carried by a 231,610 to 187,232 margin so there was room to believe that the Union cause might not be widely supported. This was not the case. Ohio contributed statesmen like Salmon P. Chase, Benjamin F. Wade, John Sherman, Edwin M. Stanton. Its war Governors, William Dennison, David Tod, and John Brough, each loyally supported the Union.

Under 10 Presidential calls for troops, Ohio furnished 310,654 soldiers, only 8,750 being raised by draft. More than one-half of Ohio's adult male population tendered their lives to the Union. The famous trio of generals, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan etched records which were without equal. There was also Custer, McPherson, and the famous McCook family which illustrated the scythe of destruction that wrought havoc on homes throughout the Nation. A McCook fell each year of the war; father and three sons, three of whom were illustrious generals. All in all, there were 24,591 Ohio soldiers killed or mortally wounded in actual combat. It is noteworthy to point out that 13,354 died of disease in hospital or prison or from exposure or cruel starvation. Medical care was not very far advanced in that war.

The following list of generals gives an indication of our contribution to the leadership that spurred the Union cause to victory:

OHIO GENERAL OFFICERS, WITH STATE AND DATE OF BIRTH

(The * indicates a graduate of West Point; the † that the officer was major general by brevet, usually for some special gallantry on the battlefield.)

GENERALS

*Ulysses S. Grant, born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, April 27, 1822.

*William T. Sherman, born at Lancaster, Ohio, February 8, 1820.

*Phillip H. Sheridan, born at Albany, N.Y., March 6, 1831.

MAJOR GENERALS

*Don Carlos Buell, born at Lowell, March 23, 1818.

*George Crook, Montgomery County, September 8, 1828.

*George A. Custer, Harrison County, December 5, 1939.

*Quincy A. Gilmore, Lorain County, February 28, 1825.

James A. Garfield, Cuyahoga County, November 19, 1831.

*James B. McPherson, Clyde, November 14, 1828.

*Irvine McDowell, Columbus, October 15, 1818.

*Alex. McD. McCook, Columbiana County, April 22, 1831.

*William S. Rosecrans, Delaware County, September 6, 1819.

*David S. Stanley, Wayne County, June 1, 1828.

Robert C. Schenck, Warren County, October 4, 1809.

Wagner Swayne, Columbus, November 10, 1834.

*Godfrey Weitzel, Cincinnati, November 1, 1835.

MAJOR GENERALS, RESIDENT IN OHIO BUT BORN ELSEWHERE

Jacob D. Cox, born in New York, October 27, 1828.

*William B. Hazen, Vermont, September 27, 1830.

Mortimer D. Leggett, New York, April 19, 1831.

*George B. McClellan, Pennsylvania, December 3, 1826.

*O. M. Mitchell, Kentucky, August 28, 1810.

James B. Steedman, Pennsylvania, July 30, 1818.

BRIGADIER GENERALS OF OHIO BIRTH

*William T. H. Brooks, born at New Lisbon, January 28, 1821.

*William W. Burnes, Coshocton, September 3, 1825.

†Henry B. Banning, Knox County, November 10, 1834.

*C. B. Buckingham, Zanesville, March 14, 1808.

John Beatty, Sandusky, December 16, 1828.

Joel A. Dewey, Ashtabula, September 20, 1840.

†Thomas H. Ewing, Lancaster, August 7, 1829.

†Hugh B. Ewing, Lancaster, October 31, 1826.

*James W. Forsyth, Ohio, August 26, 1836.

†*Robert S. Granger, Zanesville, May 24, 1816.

†*Kenner Garrard, Cincinnati, 1830.

†*Charles Griffin, Licking County, 1827.

†Rutherford B. Hayes, Delaware, October 14, 1822.

†J. Warren Keifer, Clark County, January 30, 1836.

William H. Lytle, Cincinnati, November 2, 1826.

*John S. Mason, Steubenville, August 21, 1824.

Robert L. McCook, New Lisbon, December 28, 1827.

Daniel McCook, Carrollton, July 22, 1834.

John G. Mitchell, Piqua, November 6, 1838.

Nathaniel C. McLean, Warren County, February 2, 1815.

†Emerson Opdycke, Trumbull County, January 7, 1830.

Benjamin F. Potts, Carroll County, January 29, 1836.

A. Sanders Piatt, Cincinnati, May 2, 1821.

†James S. Robinson, Mansfield, October 11, 1828.

†Benjamin P. Runkle, West Liberty, September 3, 1836.

J. W. Reilly, Akron, May 21, 1828.

*William Sooy Smith, Pickaway County, July 22, 1830.

*Joshua Sill, Chillicothe, December 6, 1831.

John P. Slough, Cincinnati, 1829.

Ferdinand Van De Veer, Butler County, February 27, 1823.

†*Charles R. Woods, Licking County.

†Willard Warner, Granville, September 4, 1826.

†William B. Woods, Licking County.

†Charles C. Walcutt, Columbus, February 12, 1838.

M. S. Wade, Cincinnati, December 2, 1802.

BRIGADIER GENERALS, RESIDENT IN OHIO BUT BORN ELSEWHERE

*Jacob Ammen, born in Virginia, January 7, 1808.

†Samuel Beatty, Pennsylvania, September 16, 1820.

†*B. W. Price, Virginia, 1809.

Ralph B. Buckland, Massachusetts, January 20, 1812.

H. B. Carrington, Connecticut, March 2, 1824.

George P. Este, New Hampshire, April 30, 1830.

†Manning F. Force, Washington, D.C., December 17, 1824.

†John W. Fuller, England, July 1827.

†Charles W. Hill, Vermont.

†Augustus V. Kautz, Germany, January 5, 1828.

George W. Morgan, Pennsylvania.

William H. Powell, South Wales, May 10, 1825.

*E. P. Scammon, Maine, December 27, 1816.

Thomas Kilby Smith, Massachusetts, 1821.

†John W. Sprague, New York, April 4, 1827.

†Erastus B. Tyler, New York.

†*John C. Tibbal, Virginia.

†August Willich, Prussia, 1810.

At the close of the war it was only natural that Ohio should take a lead in promoting the new GAR which was organized in Illinois. At one time, 753 posts were in existence but the ravages of time took its toll and little by little the GAR passed out of existence. While on the Ohio scene, however, it wrote a remarkable record of public service and dedication to the veterans' cause.

The first meeting of the Department of Ohio GAR was held in Columbus on January 30, 1867. An indication of their interest was shown in a report issued at the 3d annual encampment held in Dayton on January 13–14, 1869:

> It is a humiliating fact that Ohio is behind many of the loyal States and behind many of her sister States of the Northwest, not her equals in wealth, population, and resources, in doing timely justice to her many soldiers' and sailors' orphans, who have a right to demand her guardian care and bounty. Their patriotic fathers laid down their lives a sacrifice upon the Nation's altar, for the benefit of this and future generations, leaving behind them those who by nature's ties they were bound to rear and educate until past the age of dependency, and this sacrifice was made by them under the most sacred pledges that could be given by a loyal, patriotic people.
>
> The neglected condition of the soldiers' orphans in Ohio, in many cases left in extreme poverty and often found shelterless and starving in our streets, force them to commit deeds of wickedness that doom them to fill our prisons and penitentiaries. For this the people of the State are by reason of their neglect in a high degree responsible. This charge cannot be laid at the door of any one man but applies to the whole people, collectively speaking. Hence the important duty of remedying this great wrong should be made to devolve on somebody in order that the subject should be fully brought to the knowledge of the people of the State in such way that they can act in the matter in a united manner.

Ohioans did act. On August 19, 1869, Senator John Sherman delivered a dedication speech at the new orphans' home at Xenia. On November 19, 1888, the Soldiers and Sailors Home in Sandusky was opened.

Our own area has a wealth of Civil War tradition. It is impossible to do more than sketch a few items of interest regarding the eight counties of the 17th Congressional District which will serve as a reminder of the contribution and sacrifice of our forefathers.

ASHLAND COUNTY

At the start of the Civil War, Ashland County was the infant among our eight counties now composing the 17th Congressional District. On February 24, 1846, the legislature passed an act creating Ashland County, formed from territory of Richland, Huron, Lorain, and Wayne Counties. When the Civil War broke out the county's population was a scant 22,951. In response to President Lincoln's first call for 75,000 troops this small county responded with one company of Volunteers, led by Capt. John S. Fulton, 1st Lt. Thomas J. Kenny, and 2d Lt. W. B. McCarty.

Most people thought the war would be over quickly and the original enlistments were for 3 months' service. The original Volunteers were attached to the 16th Regiment. Ashland County furnished two full companies of the 84,166 men Ohio furnished under the call of July 22, 1861. Both of these were incorporated into the 23d Regiment, OVI, which possessed the distinction of having two of its officers, R. B. Hayes and William McKinley, become President of the United States.

Two Ashland County companies, C and H, of the 42d Regiment, OVI, served under another future President, Col. James A. Garfield. More realistic this time, the Volunteers were enlisted for 3 years' service. There are many anecdotes about C and H Companies. In a war which was primarily fought by younger men, General Garfield appointed Peter B. Johnson, of Ashland, then over 60 years of age, as trainmaster. He served honorably in that capacity for 3 years.

Ashland County had the unique distinction of having one of its native sons be the first citizen of Ohio to volunteer as a soldier for the Union Army. Lorin Andrews was born in a log cabin, on April 1, 1819 and was of the Horatio Alger tradition. From 1840 to 1843 he studied at Gambier but dropped out due to lack of adequate finances. In 1854 he was, nonetheless, chosen as president of Gambier and the institution advanced under his leadership from 30 to over 200 pupils. It was in February 1861 that he offered his services to Governor Dennison, believing that war was inevitable. He later enlisted as a private which sparked the enthusiasm of citizens in Knox County. Governor Tod made him a colonel and asked him to raise a company which he did. This company was a part of the 4th Regiment and it was Lorin Andrews' fate to fall early in the war. He died on September 18, 1861, in West Virginia as a result of exposure and typhoid fever. Returned to Gambier, he was buried there at the prime of life, 42, a martyred hero in Knox County.

Other Ashland sons served under another illustrious Ohioan, Hon. John Sherman, of Mansfield, who formed the 65th Regiment OVI which was raised at

Mansfield. Col. Charles G. Harker commanded. They trained at Camp Buckingham which was located at Mansfield.

In July and September of 1862 during the scare that Cincinnati would be besieged by the famed Confederate raider, John Morgan, an appeal was made to the farmers and laboring men within a proper distance of the Queen City to aid in its defense. A large number of men from the rural districts hastened to the rescue. On September 2, Governor Tod issued a proclamation authorizing Gen. Lew Wallace to complete the organization and stated that none but armed men would be received. They were called the Squirrel Hunters and defended Cincinnati against a raid that never materialized. Ashland County sent 104 men to this peculiar campaign. By resolution of the legislature in the winter of 1863, discharges in due form were furnished to the Squirrel Hunters of 1862, successors in kindred spirit to the minutemen of the Revolutionary War.

On November 15, 1888, the soldiers' monument was dedicated in Ashland at the courthouse yard. Gen. R. B. Hayes, former President of the United States, delivered the dedicatory address.

GAR posts in Ashland County were as follows:

No. 132, Andrews Post, Ashland.
No. 182, McCarty Post, Polk.
No. 255, Elliot Post, Jeromesville.
No. 278, Armstrong Post, Hayesville.
No. 309, Fisher Post, Loudonville.
No. 356, Fuller Smith Post, Sullivan.
No. 512, Zeigler Post, Perrysville.
No. 569, C. P. Ogden Post, Nova.
No. 607, Smalley Post, Rows.

COSHOCTON COUNTY

President Lincoln's call for troops came on April 14, 1861. Coshocton County gives an interesting illustration of how soldiers were conscripted in the sixties. On April 16, 1861, a meeting was held at the law offices of Nicholas & Williams prior to which A. M. Williams had gone to Columbus and secured a commission to raise a company. Signs went up all over town which proclaimed "Call for a Union Meeting."

This public meeting was held at the courthouse. The Age, Coshocton newspaper of the day, pointed out that immense delegations came in from every part of the county and it became dangerous to be known as a sympathizer with the rebels. One business establishment was surrounded by crowds because it had given utterance to sentiments of sympathy with secession. The owners were compelled to hoist the Stars and Stripes upon pain of being thrown stock and all into the river.

The Age described the Union meeting this way:

> The war meeting at the courthouse was a boomer and the patriotic speeches of Messrs. Nicholas, Given, and Lanning elicited great enthusiasm. A band of martial music took up its position in the room and enlivened the scene with patriotic airs. John D. Nicholas was first called upon and made a soul-stirring speech, followed by Joseph Given and Richard Lanning, in capital addresses to the patriotism and national feeling of the vast crowd assembled. The volunteer roll was opened and a company formed in a short time. A resolution was adopted that funds be raised to keep the volunteers without expense to themselves while waiting for orders.

Nicholas R. Tidball had returned from Columbus on April 17, 1861, and had a commission to raise a company. The meeting described was held on Friday, April 19, but men could not wait until then to volunteer. The Age reported:

> Enlisting for the war is briskly going on. The proper papers can be found at Baker's Shop, opposite the Tidball House.

The first troops were assigned to the 16th Regiment, OVI. The return of the 3-month men brought about efforts to raise 3-year troops. Capt. John D. Nicholas and others succeeded in raising five companies which were all assigned to the 51st Regiment, OVI. The casualties among these soldiers were particularly high. The 51st was engaged in fighting at Chickamauga and a monument stands today in the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Park, erected by the State of Ohio.

Coshocton's sons served in many battles. The famous 97th Regiment found many of her sons fighting through Kentucky, Tennessee, and the central war sector and then joining in with the forces that marched to the sea under General Sherman.

A chronicler of the era recorded this story:

> While the slain of the 32d and 24th were being silently sent home from the battlefield; with the dead from the fever-stricken camps of the 51st at Wickliffe; while these martyrs were being laid away in their graves by the loved ones who could not see them die; amidst the enactment of these scenes, that wrung agony of broken hearts a solemn dirge which told of the tortures of the cruel war; brave hearts and patriotic hands were steadily filling the rosters of new companies in the 80th, namely, F, G, and H, were recruited solidly from Coshocton County and a large portion of Company B also came from this county. These companies repaired to Camp Meigs near Canal Dover.

That particular regiment left Camp Meigs on February 17, 1862, and went to Cairo, Ill. Thence through Kentucky and Tennessee to Farmington, Miss. In these battles, called skirmishes in the parlance of the day, Maj. Richard Richard Lanning, one of Coshocton County's most honored citizens, was killed in action leading his men. He had been prosecuting attorney when commissioned. The 69th Regiment, commanded by John V. Heslip, of Plainfield, trained at Camp Sherman, Newark. The 37th Regiment, OVI, was recruited as a German regiment.

On October 3, 1862, Governor Tod received instructions to raise three regiments of cavalry to be known as the 8th, 9th, and 10th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry. Coshocton County furnished more than her share of the complement.

The GAR took a firm hold in Coshocton County and eight posts were established:

No. 69, Richard Lanning Post, Coshocton.
No. 323, Willis C. Workman Post, Plainfield.
No. 394, C. C. Nichols Post, Newcastle.
No. 552, Captain Stephens Post, Coopersdale.
No. 596, Newton Stanton Post, Warsaw.
No. 619, Solomon Duncan Post, New Bedford.
No. 635, Jas. P. Cooper Post, Keene.
No. 642, Col. R. W. McLain Post, West Lafayette.

GUERNSEY COUNTY

Guernsey County was asked to raise 11 companies of militia with each company to have not more than 100 men and to be held in readiness for call. The men were supposed to be between the ages of 18 and 45. Townships began organizing and there was a fierce competition between the Guernsey County volunteers. They called themselves the Washington Union Rifles, the Valley Guards, the Millwood Rifles, the Middletown Guards, the Senecaville Cavalry, the Fairway Dragoons, and so forth. The first company was raised by John Ferguson, chairman of the recruiting committee, and called Ferguson's Guernsey Guards.

On April 22, 1861, a company of 90 new recruits gathered at the courthouse square for a program of civic spirit and left by train for Camp Jackson, Columbus, for 3 months' service. William G. Wolfe in his "Stories of Guernsey County" tells many interesting anecdotes on Civil War days in Guernsey County. He noted that a rare opportunity for civic adulation came when the first company returned triumphantly through Cambridge along with thousands of other soldiers, on the way to war. The trainmaster arranged for the train to stop at Cambridge and a brief reception for the 90 boys was held, they then speeding on their way to a grim war.

Probably the most significant occurrence in Guernsey County was the incursion of the Confederate Calvary under the command of Gen. John G. Morgan. He had entered southwestern Ohio with about 2,000 men. On July 23, 1863, Morgan's raiders entered Guernsey County at Cumberland. Then to Point Pleasant, now Pleasant City, and Hartford, now Buffalo. Picking up horses and supplies as he went from town to town, he continued on to Senecaville, then to Campbell's Station, now called Lore City, and to Washington. He was overtaken there by General Shackleford on July 24 and a battle ensued, the only one in Guernsey County and the farthest north of any other battle of the Civil War.

In those days, the raw recruit had little necessity for technological training. His bare requirements were to march, follow orders, and shoot at the enemy. An indication of this is given in the records of the 97th Regiment, OVI, which was recruited in Muskingum, Morgan, Guernsey, and Coshocton Counties. This regiment was recruited during the months of July and August 1862. It was mustered into the service at Camp Zanesville on September 1 and 2 and moved from Zanesville by cars on the 7th for Covington Heights, opposite Cincinnati; and on the morning of the 8th, took position near Fort Mitchel, 3 miles from the Ohio River, during the Kirby Smith raid. By September 22, the 97th had joined General Buell's army, then in pursuit of Bragg's rebel forces. The battles of Mission Ridge, Nashville, and Missionary Ridge were ahead for the raw recruits within a few months after enlistment. They became a part of General Sheridan's army and saw service all over the central South. As a part of the 4th Corps they joined with the Army of the Tennessee and marched with Sherman to the sea. A historian of the day recorded the following:

> During this march the 97th was at the front until the army went into Atlanta and camp.

All in all, over 2,000 Guernsey Countians wore the blue. The GAR stood strong in this country and 10 posts were active. They were:

No. 216, Cumberland Post, Cumberland.
No. 343, Cambridge Post, Cambridge.
No. 482, General Landers Post, Quaker City.
No. 492, Meagher Post, Kimbolton.
No. 538, John Smith Post, Brown.
No. 541, Buchanan Post, Lore City and Senecaville.
No. 576, Fairview Post, Fairview.
No. 656, Robinson Post, Washington.
No. 662, Davis Kimble Post, Byesville.
No. 665, Martin Post, Claysville.

On June 9, 1903, the statue in front of the courthouse was dedicated as a monument to the Civil War veterans.

HOLMES COUNTY

The Civil War history of Holmes County might properly be said to date from the Republican National Convention which was held in Chicago in 1860. Strange observation, you say. Listen to this account from the Chicago Tribune of May 19, 1860:

> ### The Four Votes
>
> During the progress of the third ballot for President, the steady increase of Lincoln's vote raised the expectation of his friends to fever heat that he was about to receive the nomination. When the rollcall was completed, a hasty footing discovered that he lacked but 2½ votes of election, the ballot standing, for Lincoln 331½, Seward 180, scattering 34½, necessary to be a choice 334.
>
> Before the vote was announced, Mr. R. M. Corwine of the Ohio delegation, who had voted for Governor Chase up to that time, and three other delegates, viz., R. K. Enos, John A. Gurley, and Isaac Steele changed their votes to Lincoln, giving him a majority of the whole convention and nominating him. D. H. Carter, chairman of the Ohio delegation, announced the change of votes, and before the secretaries had time to foot up and announce the result, whereupon a deafening roar of applause rose from the immense multitude such as had never been equaled on the American Continent nor since the day that the walls of Jericho were blown down.
>
> Mr. Enos, being a quick accountant had kept a tally of the vote, and discovered before anyone else that Mr. Lincoln lacked but two and one-half votes; whereupon he disclosed his knowledge to the three others and at his request they joined him in the vote for Mr. Lincoln.

Strange as it may seem, therefore, the smallest county in the 17th Congressional District had a role in the Civil War story which predates the contributions of her sister counties. R. K. Enos was a physician from Millersburg.

Yet, while the whole North was wild with excitement and enthusiasm of the cause, according to contemporary observers, Holmes County viewed the whole matter rather coldly as compared to Coshocton and surrounding counties. Her sons made noble sacrifices. Two thousand and fourteen of her sons enlisted in the war and in proportion to its population, Holmes County claims the distinction of having furnished more soldiers in that war than any other county in the State of Ohio. A strange set of paradoxes, yet true.

Holmes County became the stage for a strange battle. Many were tiring of the war by 1863 and a great deal of the patriotic edge was off of the Union cause in Ohio. Ohio had, in fact, become the trial balloon area for the candidacy of Clement Vallandigham, defeated for reelection to Congress in 1862 despite the Democrat sweep of 14 out of 19 congessional seats.

In his "Historical Study of Holmes County, Ohio" Fred W. Almendinger has outlined the interesting saga of Clement Vallandigham and his connection to Holmes County. The civil liberties spirit had not yet received the constitutional protection of the Court which was to be a hallmark of America 75 years later and some actions were rather arbitrarily carried off. One of them was "General Orders, No. 38," issued in Cincinnati on April 13, 1863, by Major General Burnside, Commander of the Department of Ohio. It generally forbade support of the rebel cause and included the following assertion:

> The habit of declaring sympathies for the enemy will not be allowed in this department. Persons committing such offenses will be at once arrested with a view to being tried as above stated or sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends. It must be expressly understood that treason, expressed or implied, will not be tolerated in this department.

A rather arbitrary order indeed, but, then, this was wartime and who was to complain.

On May 1, 1863, Vallandigham made a fiery speech at Mount Vernon before a Democratic rally at which time he openly defied General Burnside's order declaring his authority to be higher than General Order No. 38, "it was General Order, No. 1, the Constitution." Many men from the town of Napoleon—now Glenmont—were at Mount Vernon that night and his words fell on receptive ears. They returned to their homes filled with a fury against the Union cause and a determination to resist the hated draft law to the limit.

Farmers organized to interfere with shipment of supplies to the Union Army, urge soldiers to desert, refuse to give greenbacks as legal tender for debts, incite resistance to the draft and finally to burn the buildings of every Black Abolitionist and hang him to a tree, according to records of the Ohio Archeological and Historical Quarterly. On June 5, E. W. Robison, the draft officer of the district was hunting through the hills of Napoleon for several deserters when suddenly from the hills there descended upon him a group of men who stoned him and threatened his life. He reported to the provost marshal of the 14th District who promptly arrested four of the ringleaders. While marching his prisoners through Napoleon, he was confronted by a group of some 60 or 70 armed men who retrieved the prisoners.

About 420 men were dispatched from Camp Chase, near Columbus, by rail over the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago railroad to Lake Station—now Lakeville—and on June 18 and 19 put down the famous "Holmes County Rebellion" or the "Battle of Fort Fizzle," as it has been called by many. As Mr. Almendinger put it, however, "the bitterness of the hill people against the Union party and the war did not die with Fort Fizzle." This was an interesting saga in the Civil War which pitted brother against brother.

Holmes County men served in almost every major battle and following Appomattox, the GAR had four posts as follows:

No. 250, Pomerine Post, Millersburg.
No. 298, G. W. Hughes Post, Nashville.
No. 691, Joseph Cross Post, Black Creek.
No. 702, Andrew W. Duncan Post, Killbuck.

On the public square stands a formidable war memorial which was dedicated July 4, 1887. On the four sides of the statue's base are inscribed the names of Washington, Jackson, Scott, and Grant. One inscription proudly states:

> In response to the different calls of the Government, 2,014 men went from Holmes County during the War of the Rebellion. They were engaged in many battles from Phillippi to Appomattox.

KNOX COUNTY

Knox County furnished more than 3,000 men to the Union Army. On April 20, 1861, there was a great mass meeting in Mount Vernon, presided over by Hon. Henry B. Curtis. There were thousands of people present. Hon. Columbus Delano offered an inspiring speech. C. P. Buckingham was among the first to volunteer. He had served at West Point as a cadet and was the unusually old age of 53. He became Commissary General of the State of Ohio and set out to make plans for supplying all of the camps which were sprouting up everywhere. Although he never led an army in the war, he made a very significant contribution. He became Adjutant General of the State of Ohio with the rank of general.

Knox County had another general. Gen. G. W. Morgan was a native of Pennsylvania but took up the practice of law in Mount Vernon in 1845. He distinguished himself in the Mexican War and was brevetted brigadier general for gallantry. He served in the diplomatic corps in Marseilles and Portugal but returned to the United States in 1861 to enter the army as a brigadier general, serving under Gen. Don Carlos Buell. In March of 1862 he commanded the 7th Division of the Army of Ohio and later was assigned to the 13th Army Corps and commanded at the capture of Fort Hindman, Ark.

In those days, each county had a war fund by which money was raised through private subscription. Knox County responded with many thousands of dollars for the war effort. Not war bonds these, but outright gifts. The roll was placed and those citizens were honored who gave generously. Knox County's first contribution to the war was A and B Companies of the 4th Regiment, OVI. Henry B. Banning was probably Knox County's most illustrious Union veteran. He rose to the rank of brevet major general as did Capt. James S. Robinson. Maj. James H. Godman and Capt. Eugene Powell became brevet brigadier generals.

Seven GAR posts were organized following the war. The Joe Hooker Post met in the Knox County Soldiers' Memorial building, a $250,000 structure completed just in time for the State GAR Encampment in Mount Vernon in June 1925. The posts were:

No. 21, Joe Hooker Post, Mount Vernon;
No. 120, Leroy Baker Post, Danville;
No. 396, Debolt Post, Centersburg;
No. 486, Emerson Opdyke Post, Bladensburg;
No. 505, Yager Post, Milfordton;
No. 539, Jacob Young Post, Fredericktown;
No. 706, Fry Post, Brandon.

LICKING COUNTY

The Civil War cause was very popular in Licking County and although some copperhead territory was situated there, its sons responded quickly to every call. All in all, 3,932 men responded of whom 368 were drafted. Licking County's participation in the War of the Rebellion, as it was always referred to, was portrayed very adequately by Judge Samuel M. Hunter as he delivered the Decoration Day address at Cedar Hill Cemetery in 1880. He said, in part:

> How well do we remember when Captain McDougal's company of the old 3d Ohio, the first gift of Licking County to the Union, marched down Third Street that chill April day, 19 years ago. Sumter had been fired upon, and the rebellion had been inaugurated. Who does not remember the solemn faces and streaming eyes of the people, as that little column filed down the street to take place in the Army of the Union? I see before me today faces and forms who were in that devoted band. It was they who were plunging into the great unknown; it was they who enlisted under the banner of a nation which had long been unused to war. They were the first—but they were quickly followed by the other companies and regiments, which marched down the same street, and took their places in the Army of the Union—some to the east, some to the west, but all with their faces to the south, and their homes behind them.
>
> There were boyish faces and forms in those ranks; but the years roll on, and those who were boys then, are men of middle age now. They were leaving family, friends, and comforts. Their one thought was of home—their one impulse to battle for, and save the Union. And so the long months and years of that dark time went by. Call on call was made for fresh sacrifices, and fresh lives to offer up upon the altar of our country. The young lads who watched McDougal's company march away, grew up and themselves took their places in the Army of the Union; until ere the war was over, Licking County herself had placed a small army in the field.
>
> And wherever the soldiers of Licking County have marched, wherever they have camped, and wherever they have fought, her sons have been in the foremost line of battle, their arms have held up the flag of the Union the highest, and their names today are inscribed among the brightest on their country's roll of honor. Her sons have fought, and their blood has been poured out on nearly a hundred battlefields, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. And in all that struggle, this county has never been called upon to blush for their honor, nor to share in their dishonor. Her sons have felt the scorching fires of Manassas; they joined in the wild cry of victory at Fort Donelson; they helped win and wear the laurels at the siege of Vicksburg, they stood the brunt of battle under the low spreading branches of the forest of Shiloh; they fought among the clouds at Lookout Mountain; they pined and wasted in the prisons of the South, their blood has dampened the soil all over Virginia, and with Sherman, they "marched down to the sea." And when her ragged and decimated companies and regiments came back to her, their honor was only second to the honor of those who left their bones on the field where they fell.

During the fever of the presidential campaign of 1860, semimilitary organizations were formed all over the country, bearing the name of "Wide-Awakes." Such a company formed in Newark, composed of young men aware of the coming storm. It was commanded by Capt. Leonidas McDougal. It was only natural that the officers of the Wide-Awakes became the officers of old Company H of the 3d Ohio Volunteers, the first of Licking County's spontaneous and generous contributions to the Union Army. Once Captain McDougal and the boys were being feted and he was asked to make a speech. He replied he did not know how to make a speech but he did know how to command the Wide-Awakes. His record indicated that this was no idle remark. While pursuing General Bragg in September 1862, the old Third passed through Louisville and at an engagement at Perryville, Captain McDougal fell, Licking County's first hero, one of 19 men of Company H to give their lives.

Probably the best known contingent of soldiers was the old 76th Regiment, OVI, known as the "Licking County Regiment" for the entire regiment was formed there and they fought in many of the toughest battles of the Civil War. Charles R. Woods had graduated from West Point in 1852 so it was only natural that he would play a prominent part in formation of this unit. The following orders were received:

> HEADQUARTERS OHIO MILITIA, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
> *Columbus, Ohio, October 7, 1861.*
>
> SPECIAL ORDER NO. 882:
>
> Col. Charles R. Woods is authorized to organize a regiment of infantry. The regiment shall be No. 76; and shall have its rendezvous at Camp Sherman, near Newark, Ohio. The regimental officers will be appointed and mustered as required by the general orders of the War Department. Should the regiment not be filled by the end of 30 days from this date, the companies may be assigned to other regiments at the discretion of the Governor.
>
> By order, R. MASON,
> *Assistant Adjutant General, Ohio.*

Needless to say this served as a great impetus to form Licking County's own regiment. It was sometimes called a family regiment as two brothers headed it; a brother-in-law Willard Warner, later a general, was made major, another brother-in-law was made adjutant and the venerable Ezekiel S. Woods, father of Charles and William, was called "Father of the Regiment." There was no facetious talk of nepotism, however, because the name Woods and Warner became synonmous with gallantry and they had fiercely loyal troops who followed them to Vicksburg, Lookout Mountain, Chattanooga, and Atlanta.

There were many other of Licking County's fine sons. Capt. Thaddeus Lemert of Company A was a magnificent officer, beloved by his men who were grieved when he was killed at the head of his company in the Battle of Arkansas Post, January 11, 1863. The first GAR post established in Licking County was named for him. There was Capt. James M. Scott of Alexandria, Capt. Charles H. Kibler of Newark who served as assistant adjutant general to General Woods, Capt. Joseph C. Wehrle of Newark, a German by birth, and one of the best officers of the 76th. At Ringgold he stood the brunt of that disastrous conflict and lost nearly all of his men. One of those who fell at Ringgold was Capt. Ira B. French of Alexandria. His brother, Sgt. Frank French lived to be the last surviving veteran of Licking County and central Ohio.

According to "Hill's History of Licking County," quite a large detachment of colored men enlisted in the 127th Ohio Infantry, afterward known as the 5th Colored U.S. Infantry. They saw action at Petersburg, Va., under General Butler and a number of Newark boys were killed in action.

The 76th was in line of battle at Fort Donelson only 6 days after leaving Newark, February 9, 1862. Eight companies of the 76th were organized at Newark and their officers were local men. The regiment took part in 44 battles, moved 9,625 miles by foot, rail, and water and passed through 11 rebellious States—351 men died on the field or in hospital, 241 were wounded, 222 came home wearing the scars of battle, and 282 returned home with ailments or afflictions as a direct result of line-of-duty conditions. Many of them did not live long. It is no wonder, Mr. Speaker, that the 76th stands as one of the prized service units of the war.

The GAR was a moving force in Licking County social and political life for many decades. Nine posts were formed and the grand reunion held in Newark, July 22, 1878, 14 years after the Battle of Atlanta must rank as the most memorable event in the county's entire history. A banner in Newark proclaimed "The Gallant McPherson Is Remembered Today," as a reminder that 14 years before General McPherson fell at the head of his troops, the Army of the Tennessee, in sight of Atlanta at Peach Tree Creek. He was but 36 at the time. President Hayes, Governor Bishop, General Sherman and a galaxy of notable Ohioans and Americans made this reunion an event that claimed nationwide press. The Cincinnati Gazette gave this account:

> The citizens of Newark have been most hospitable in their entertainment of their hosts of guests. They not only engineered very successfully a gigantic gathering but have as well succeeded in making all who were here feel at home. The President and General Devens took tea this evening at the residence of Judge Jerome Buckingham. Miss Ella Sherman drove the carriage con-

> taining her father and General John M. Connell, from Lancaster here this morning, in 3½ hours. * * * There was almost perfect order, very little drunkenness being seen, The day and night were as perfect as could be wished and Newark may be grateful for this important adjunct to their successful enterprise.

The following GAR posts were established in Licking County:

No. 71, Lemert Post, Newark.
No. 188, Channel Post, Utica.
No. 311, Hamilton Post, Gratiot.
No. 463, T. and J. Dill Post, Homer.
No. 653, Baird Post, Pataskala.
No. 668, Z. P. Evans Post, Perryton.
No. 693, Ira P. French Post, Johnstown.
No. 704, J. L. Francis Post, St. Louisville.
No. 749, Garfield Post, Jersey.

The Memorial Building, on the northeast corner of the square in Newark, was begun in 1902 and completed and dedicated in 1903. It cost $101,000 which was raised by a tax upon the people of Newark and Newark Township through a vote of the people. The veterans of the GAR used this building as their headquarters and home.

THE DRUMMER BOY OF SHILOH

Without a doubt, one of the most remarkable characters in the Civil War was the legendary drummer boy of Shiloh, Johnnie Clem, of Newark. Some historians say he was probably the youngest person who ever bore arms in battle. He was born in Newark on August 13, 1851 and ran away from home when he was less than 10 years of age and enlisted as a drummer boy in the Army. He participated in many battles and it was customary for all men and boys to fight when the battle was raging, regardless of age or position. The famous historian, Henry Howe, interviewed his sister, Lizzie Adams, and got the following narrative:

> It being Sunday, May 24, 1861 and the great rebellion in progress, Johnnie said at dinner table: "Father, I'd like mighty well to be a drummer boy. Can't I go into the Union Army?" "Tut, what nonsense, boy," replied father, "you are not 10 years old." Yet when he disappeared it is strange we had no thoughts that he had gone into the service. When dinner was over Johnnie took charge of us, I being 7 years old and our brother, Lewis, 5, and we started for the Francis de Sales Sunday School. As it was early he left us at the church door, saying "I will go and take a swim and be back in time." He was a fine swimmer. That was the last we saw of him for 2 years.

He enlisted as a drummer boy in the 24th Ohio at Columbus. He was in many battles including Shiloh, Perryville, Murfreesboro, Chattanooga, Chickamauga, Nashville, Kenesaw. He was taken prisoner at one time and exchanged. He gained the name "Johnnie Shiloh" when he joined the 22d Michigan as a volunteer, being too young to be mustered in, and beat the drums at that battle. His drum was smashed by a piece of shell and his bravery undoubtedly added to the morale of his companions. He was wounded at Chickamauga and was made a sergeant by Rosecrans for his heroic conduct.

One could well wonder at the different type of war in which a 10-year-old could be involved in actual combat. The Civil War was that type of war as the records clearly show. The official records indicate that 1,151,438 boys and young men enlisted at 18 years of age and under—mind you, under 18 not over—and 2,159,789 were 21 years old or under. These figures indicate the number of boys who were involved:

The total number enlisted in the Union Army, Navy, and Marine Corps 1861–65 was	2, 778, 304
Of these there were credited to the Army	2, 672, 341
And to the Navy and Marine Corps	105, 963
Number of enlistments at—	
10 years and under	25
11 years and under	38
12 years and under	225
13 years and under	300
14 years and under	1, 525
15 years and under	104, 987
16 years and under	231, 051
17 years and under	844, 891
18 years and under	1, 151, 438
21 years and under	2, 159, 789
22 years and older	618, 511
25 years and older	46, 626
44 years and older	16, 071

Those under 14 years of age were mainly drummer boys but more often than not they engaged in the fighting. My good friend, Bob Klepinger, a Washington attorney and close friend of my late father, recalls talking to Johnnie Clem on several occasions. The drummer boy told the story which was repeated by hundreds of other enthusiastic youth that they would put a slip of paper in their shoe marked either 12 or 16 and then would "honestly" reply to mustering officers that they were "over 12" or "over 16." Clem noted with a smile that he had done this and had "always been truthful." Margaret Sahling of Coshocton points out that her mother says that her father also used this noble ruse.

MUSKINGUM COUNTY

Muskingum County furnished nine generals to the Union Army which should make it distinct among counties of the North. Some held the rank by brevet, an honorary title without increase in pay, often bestowed after some signal command success as an officer. They were Maj. Gens. C. P. Buckingham, Robert Seamon Granger, Mortimer D. Leggett, and Willard Warner. Generals Buckingham and Granger were West Point graduates and distinguished themselves as soldiers and statesmen.

The five who were mustered out as brigadier generals were William H. Ball, Samuel A. Gilbert, William Douglas Hamilton, John G. Lane, and Greenbury F. Wiles.

One of the first men to respond to the call for volunteers was Capt. John C. Hazlett who raised the first company of recruits at Zanesville. Born in Newark, he was prosecuting attorney when the war broke out. He simply locked his law office and started recruiting and on April 18, only 3 days after Lincoln's call, his company went to Columbus by train. This company, numbering some 70 men, become Company H in Col. Alex M. McCook's 1st Regiment, OVI. Company H saw action in June 1861 at Vienna, Va. David Mercer, a Zanesville blacksmith, died in this skirmish and became Muskingum County's first casualty. After the 3 month's enlistment was up, Captain Hazlett formed another company for 3 years' service. It became a part of the 2d Regiment, OVI. He died at 32 as a result of wounds incurred at Stone River. His brother, Lt. Charles E. Hazlett, was killed at Gettysburg. It was fitting that the GAR post in Zanesville should be named for the Hazlett brothers.

Gen. Catharinus Putnam Buckingham was without a doubt Muskingum County's most illustrious soldier of the Civil War. He designed the old covered Y Bridge which stood from 1832 to 1900. In the war, he was commissioned a major general and made confidential aid to Secretary of War Stanton. In 1862, General Buckingham carried the orders which relieved General McClellan of the command of the Army of the Potomac and placed General Burnshide in his place. At the suggestion of the Military Committee of the Senate, he wrote the bill for conscription.

Gen. Mortimer D. Leggett was a legendary character. He was admitted to the bar, graduated from medical school, and after his military service became Superintendent of Zanesville schools. In 1861 he was commissioned by Governor Dennison to raise and organize the 78th Regiment, OVI. He enlisted as a private and within 40 days passed through all ranks to colonel. He joined Grant at Donelson and received his first wound at Shiloh but did not leave the field. At Corinth, a horse was killed under him. For his bravery, he was commissioned a brigadier general. He was in all the movements against Vicksburg and commanded the 3d Division of the 17th Army Corps of the Army of the Tennessee at Atlanta.

All in all, 3,337 Muskingum County men served in the Civil War. A total of 646 lost their lives. Muskingum Countians laid claim to having Ohio's first GAR post although this claim is disputed. Those posts which were formed in the postwar years were:

No. 81, Hazlett Post, Zanesville.
No. 290, Axline Post, Roseville.
No. 331, Griffee Post, Frazeysburg.
No. 380, Dan Brown Post, Duncan Falls.
No. 412, Fred Allen Post, Adamsville.
No. 415, Major Cass Post, Dresden.
No. 468, Hansen Post, New Concord.
No. 545, Ham Gardner, Fultonham.
No. 628, John Trimble Post, Otsego.
No. 651, Maj. J. C. Robinson, Chandlersville.

In 1888, a soldiers and sailors memorial building was constructed in Zanesville at a cost of about $85,000. It was properly dedicated on July 4, 1889. With the passage of time this building was condemned as unsafe and razed in 1937.

The GAR flourished in Muskingum County and its prestige was heightened by Robert Burns Brown who climbed the ladder of success from Army private to National Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic. At Missionary Ridge, he performed deeds of heroism and was given the Congressional Medal of Honor. Gaining the nickname of "General" he rose in GAR ranks and on August 6, 1906, was unanimously elected national commander. He was editor of the now defunct Zanesville Courier and was Republican candidate for Governor in 1912.

WAYNE COUNTY

Wayne County responded quickly to the Civil War which was thrust upon the North. Fort Sumter was fired upon April 12, 1861, and the first public meeting was promptly held on April 16, with Hon. William Given serving as chairman and James McMillen, secretary. Patriotic speeches were made by Judge Given, Eugene Pardee, William M. Orr, and others. Fifty men enlisted in Wayne County's first company, which left for Columbus on April 21 and was officially incorporated into the 4th Regiment, OVI, as Company E. Lorin Andrews, already mentioned as Ashland County's first son in the Civil War, headed the regiment with the rank of colonel. This regiment served under Gen. George B. McClellan in many Maryland and Virginia campaigns, including Romney, Richmond, and Fredericksburg. On July 4, 1863, it was one of three companies that drove the enemy from Cemetery Ridge during the Battle of Gettysburg. This action was popularly known as Pickett's Charge.

The second company to be organized in Wooster was incorporated into the 16th Regiment, OVI. These men saw service at Phillipi, one of the first engagements of the war. They saw service at Arkansas Post and Vicksburg before the 1864 campaign against New Orleans. A score of additional companies sent Wayne County's finest sons into virtually every major battle. The 107th Regiment, OVI, was raised chiefly in Wooster from among the patriotic Germans of the city. Capt. Gustave Buecking commanded the local contingent.

All in all, more than 3,200 Wayne County men volunteered for service. A considerable conscript force swelled the ranks of the men who wore the blue.

One of the county's most illustrious soldiers was David Sloane Stanley who was born on June 1, 1828, in Congress Township, 3 miles south of Congress. He graduated from the Military Academy in 1852 and at the commencement of the Civil War was a captain of cavalry at Fort Smith, Ark. He was offered the colonelcy of an Arkansas regiment in the Confederate service but declined and in May 1861, escaped by a hazardous march to Kansas. His service was brilliant and at the Corinth, Miss., campaign he led a counterattack at the head of his troops, driving the rebels back. His worth was well noted and he was rewarded by advancement to the rank of major general with command of a cavalry division in Tennessee on November 29, 1862. He took part in the Atlanta operations and was commended for gallant conduct at Resaca, Ga. He was seriously wounded at Franklin, Tenn., while personally leading his troops and thus ended his active career, one of the most outstanding of the war although he was never as well known as Ohio's Grant, Sheridan, Sherman, and McPherson.

A Civil War monument was erected on the public square and stands today as a reminder of Wayne County's contribution in the War Between the States. The inscription reads:

> Erected by Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Frick in honor of the Union soldiers of Wayne County, Ohio, and presented to the city of Wooster May 5, 1892.

The following GAR posts were established after the war:

No. 133, Given Post, Wooster.
No. 170, Arthur Strong Post, Creston.
No. 184, Warner Brown Post, West Salem.
No. 209, Shreve Post, Shreve.
No. 296, Wayne Post, Orrville.
No. 297, J. Galehouse Post, Doylestown.
No. 305, Col. E. M. Mast, Fredericksburg.
No. 376, James Young Post, Burbank.
No. 428, Charlton Post, Big Prairie.
No. 490, Davidson Post, Smithville.
No. 674, John Dunn Post, Apple Creek.
No. 694, Winkler Post, Cedar Valley.

CIVIL WAR ANECDOTES

It would be impossible to note all of the very interesting anecdotes and sidelights which could be recounted from the wealth of Civil War and Grand Army of the Republic lore in our area. Fortunately, we have people like Minnie Hite Moody of Granville, Norris F. Schneider of Zanesville, Arthur Vanosdall of Ashland, W. W. Dorsey of Mt. Vernon, Margaret Sahling of Coshocton and others who are Civil War buffs and do yeoman service in transmitting to our generation the legacy and tradition of our forefathers. I thank each of them for their help to me in preparing these remarks. With each passing generation the connecting link grows weaker and people tend to care less and less about their heritage. This should not be so for it is impossible to fully understand our present situation unless we recognize the sacrifice of those who have gone before us.

Arthur Vanosdall, now 90, recalls well a famous trip he made to Canton in 1896 during the famous front porch campaign of William McKinley. He has as a prized possession a front porch picture of the men from Ashland County who entrained to Canton for a combination reunion of the 23d Regiment, Company G and a boost to their former commanding officer's presidential chances. He overheard Governor McKinley greet M. B. DeShong and say:

> Milt, do you remember the night up at New London when we were coming home from the war and I reached in my pocket and didn't have any money. You loaned me the money to get back to Canton. I'll remember you, Milt.

M. B. DeShong was a captain serving under Major McKinley and later became Ashland postmaster. Both had served at Antietam.

* * * * *

The new draft law was not very popular. Men who did not want to fight could hire a substitute to serve for 3 years at pay of $300. Many thought it more honorable to enlist than to be drafted so a Federal bounty was offered. In December 1863, for example, A. P. Stults urged Zanesville men to "Come in out of the draft and accept $302 bounty." Jacob Glessner described the first mutual aid society as follows in the Zanesville City Times on August 6, 1863:

> Conscripts mutual aid societies are being formed in many places. Six young men enrolled in the first class liable to draft, for instance, organize and create a fund of $300 by each paying $50. If one of six is drafted, he is paid $300. If two members are called, they each receive $150. This thing impresses us favorably. It assists in distributing the burdens imposed by the conscription.

On the whole, however, this attitude was the exception. Note the contrast with what some of the young ladies of nearby Coshocton were doing. The latter activity would seem to represent more the general pattern in Muskingum, Coshocton, and throughout this area.

The young ladies of Coshocton County got busy and organized a society for the purpose of inspiring the enlistment of all able-bodied young men during the dark days of the war. They published the following resolution in all of the county's papers:

> At a meeting of the young ladies of Coshocton County, held for the purpose of promoting war measures, it was unanimously resolved—
>
> That it is the duty of every young unmarried man to go to war;
>
> That all who are physically unable to go are physically unable to support a family;
>
> That we have no further need of home guards;
>
> That young men have but one reason for staying at home—they fear battle more than they love liberty;
>
> That the young man who fails to do his duty in this hour of utmost need is not worthy the smiles of the ladies of this vicinity;
>
> That we will marry no home guard;
>
> That he who is not true to his country is not true to his God nor would he be true to his wife.

This resolution gives some idea of the depth of conviction which those on the homefront had regarding the rebellion. One hundred years later we see draft card burners, sit-ins, protesters, peaceniks, schools conducted to evade the draft, and so forth. Quite a contrast, Mr. Speaker, in morale and determination.

Henry Howe in his formidable history of Ohio heaped accolades on Kenyon College. He wrote:

> Ex-President Hayes wrote that, with the exception of the 4 years spent in the Union Army, no other period of his life, in cherished recollections, could be compared with it (his years at Kenyon). Edwin M. Stanton, the Great War Secretary, was accustomed to say: "If I am anything, I owe it to Gambier College."

To give some indication in the difference of my generation in age, I can always recall that the Civil War veterans were called "survivors." Indeed, they were old men when I was a boy in the thirties. I do well recall Sgt. Frank D. French of my hometown, Johnstown, who was our last survivor in Licking County. He was born on May 21, 1844, and died on June 4, 1939. His funeral was a solemn event which is fresh in my memory. He and my father were great friends and he was a frequent guest. He was a greatly honored citizen.

Not only did committees spring up to provide the funds for support of the Union Army but everywhere there was the forerunner of the bundles to Britain idea of World War II. A military committee was formed in Coshocton County, for example, which issued the following circular:

> AN APPEAL TO PATRIOTIC CITIZENS FOR AID FOR OUR SOLDIERS
>
> In accordance with the proclamation of the Governor of Ohio, the undersigned military committee of Coshocton County would respectfully but earnestly call upon her citizens to come to the relief of our suffering soldiers. This is no idle call. If you have but one blanket to spare, bring it along. The articles will be received and receipted for at the store of Rank H. Hay in Coshocton, or Hiram Beall's store, in Keene.
>
> HENSTON HAY
> SETH MCCLAIN
> A. L. CASS
> R. LANNING
> GEO. W. PEPPER,
> *Military Committee for Coshocton County.*

At the same time the young ladies of Coshocton County organized.

Columbus Delano was one of our district's most prominent personages during the Civil War era. He was born in Shoreham, Vt., on June 4, 1809, and moved with his parents to Mount Vernon in 1817. He was an attorney and served in Congress at various times over a period from 1845 to 1868. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1860 and seconded the nomination of Abraham Lincoln. He served in a civilian capacity in numerous activities associated with the war and was State commissary general of Ohio in 1861. After the war he was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President Grant and served in that capacity from 1870 to 1875. He was one of the wealthiest men in central Ohio.

Pren Metham, born in Jefferson Township, Coshocton County, enlisted in Company F, 80th Regiment, OVI, in the fall of 1861. He was commissioned a second lieutenant by Governor Dennison and then raised a company of which he was made captain. He was promoted to major, succeeding Richard Lanning who was killed at Corinth, Miss. He marched with Sherman to the sea and after that went to Washington. He was present at Ford's Theatre when Lincoln was assassinated and started in pursuit of Booth but in the frenzy of activity lost the chase. He was mustered out as a colonel.

People took their politics seriously during those days. The Republicans had an advantage for years as the Democrats were labeled as the party of secession. The "bloody flag" was waved for years in much the same way as the Democrats labeled the Republicans as the party of the great depression. Once in a while a wag would refer to the GAR as the Grand Army of the Republicans. Most of its illustrious sons were of the party of the Union and in those days that was the Republican Party. The saga of Clement Vallandigham was one of the most interesting sidelights of the war. He campaigned strenuously through our area as the Democrat candidate for Governor in 1863, having lost his seat in Congress and becoming very bitter. The Civil War was a family war. Issues were personal as well as national and politicians denounced each other in scathing terms. In those days there were many newspapers and their editors delighted in writing in vitriolic terms. Ohio Democrats elected Union Democrats as Governors during the war. Even Stephen A. Douglas become a Union Democrat. As Norris F. Schneider has so well recounted, the Zanesville press continually threw barbs as demonstrated by this August 21, 1862, editorial by Samuel Chapman of the Citizens Press in which he denounced J. T. Shryock, editor of the rival Courier:

> Notwithstanding we last week called upon Government officials to arrest Shryock, he is still running at large and treacherously through his abolition sheet continues to give aid and comfort to the rebels.

When Democrats invited Clement Vallandigham to speak at Zanesville, Shryock was unhappy and wrote:

> It will be slander upon Zanesville if there shall be found here a large number of citizens who will do Vallandigham, the friend of the rebels, the honor to meet him and hear him.

Some said 2,000 turned out; partisans said 10,000 but at any rate Vallandigham was well received on March 28, 1863. He spoke for 2 hours, called the Draft Act unconstitutional and said that since the war was not being constitutionally waged, it should cease. He attacked Lincoln for his flagrant violations of the Constitution. He alleged:

> Mr. Lincoln's plan is to provide for the defense of the abolitionists and niggers and disarm the people—

In a play on the constitutional provision of "providing for the common defense and promote the general welfare." In regard to the latter part, he alleged:

> Mr. Lincoln's plan is to provide for the welfare of the office holders and the army contractors.

The Unionists held a countermeeting for their candidate, John Brough and banners in downtown Zanesville proclaimed:

> Any Ham But Vallandigham. Any reign but the reign of Jeff Davis. Vote for John Brough, the soldier's friend.

After Vallandigham was arrested in Dayton under the order of General Burnside, he was sentenced to imprisonment by a military tribunal. Lincoln changed the sentence to exile to the Confederacy and this angered the Peace Democrats who nominated him for Governor of Ohio. He escaped to Canada and ran his campaign from there. Brough defeated him and President Lincoln proclaimed:

> Glory to God in the highest; Ohio has saved the Union.

Typical of the way some feelings ran among the losers was a letter to the editor of the Courier on October 16 which stated:

> Mr. Shryock, I take my pen in hand to tell you a few things you ought to know. * * * Judging from your conduct, I have no doubt that if you could have your own way, you would have a regular Guinea buck nigger in the Presidential chair in less than 6 months. All you want is to have such abolitionists as old Jack Brough and Abe Lincoln in office so that you can suspend the writ of habeas corpus * * *. Just see how old tyrant Lincoln used Hon. Clement L. Vallandigham, who is the greatest, wisest, and most honorable statesman that America has seen since the days of John C. Calhoun.

Col. William Douglas Hamilton, a Zanesville lawyer, marched with Sherman to the sea and was the subject of an interesting story. He was with the 9th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry which was patrolling the Tennessee River. One night he saw his men eating with silverware. On close examination, the knives and forks had been engraved with the name W. H. Key. He returned them to the owner and accepted his invitation to dinner. During the meal, some of Hamilton's own men tried to rob the host's smokehouse. Hamilton was embarrassed but admitted that the men were carrying out Sherman's order to live off the country while on the march. Southerners cursed Sherman after the war but they invited General Hamilton back.

Companies chose their own officers by election in the Civil War. Others were commissioned by Governors of the States. Civilians without military training found themselves in command of troops. If they succeeded, they were promoted.

Almost every account of Civil War action shows the prestigious place which mascots, drummer boys, and flagbearers had in the skirmishes. The flagbearer was a particularly dangerous target, like the goalie in modern hockey, because the idea was not just to wipe out the enemy but get their regimental flag. Sharpshooters always concentrated on the flagbearer who more often than not was perched proudly on a hill or some vantage point. One of the most famous mascots was "Old Abe," a 10-pound eagle which belonged to the 8th Wisconsin but through comradeship became a favorite of Licking County's own 76th. He followed the action all the way to Corinth, Miss. He was full of mischief in camp and one veteran said:

> Abe tore up more underwear than all the minie balls of the Confederate Army.

When Newark had their famous July 22, 1878, reunion, Old Abe was there courtesy of the State of Wisconsin. Minnie Hite Moody recalls old soldiers telling her that Old Abe would spread his wings and flap them vigorously whenever "Yankee Doodle" was struck up. Reports at that time indicated Old Abe was a crowd pleaser and one of the most honored veterans at the celebration.

Gen. C. P. Buckingham, Muskingum County's illustrious soldier, had an interesting experience while at West Point. In 1825 he received a letter from Secretary of War John C. Calhoun telling him that he had been admitted. The first exams showed four cadets had tied for first place. They thus chose Buckingham because his name was higher in the alphabet and he became section commander, giving orders to the other three. One of them was Robert E. Lee.

Both Muskingum and Licking Counties claim Gen. Willard Warner. He was born in Granville on September 4, 1826, but grew up on a farm in Newton Township, Muskingum County, north of Roseville. He built and managed the Newark

Machine Works and in 1860 was a delegate to the Republican Convention in Chicago. He served with the famous Woods brothers in the 76th Regiment, OVI, and was brevetted a brigadier general and later a major general. He returned to Newark and was elected to the Ohio Senate. In 1867 he moved to Alabama and was a U.S. Senator from 1869 to 1870. He later engaged in business at Chattanooga, Tenn.

Pvt. George W. Huff was an early Coshocton County recruit to the Union cause. He enlisted in Company H, 80th Regiment, OVI, in 1862. His Civil War diary is an excellent report of the Vicksburg siege. He wrote his mother:

> Mother, you wished me to write to you about my spiritual welfare and you spoke of drinking, gambling, and such vices. I can say, thanks to almighty God, my conscience is free from all stain of such a horrible character. Mother, still pray for me. I am going to do my duty whatever the duty be, and if it be my lot to fall, I am ready.

Even in those days mothers worried about the morals of their sons who went away to the war. Private Huff was on the scene when General Grant and Lieutenant General Pemberton concluded the surrender of that besieged city.

There were numerous "underground railway" posts in our area. Coshocton County was particularly active in this field of endeavor and many local abolitionists helped the slaves on their trek through Ohio to Canada. An article from the May 3, 1931, Coshocton Tribune recalls that there was on the part of some people in the vicinity a tolerance of slavery and many had, in fact, brought with them the Virginia notion of the southern institution. The New England stock was preponderant, however, and their aggressive stand against slavery promoted a sentiment ready to support the fleeing slaves. Many citizens openly defied the existing laws protecting the slaveholders' claims of ownership. Some of the Coshocton County abolitionists of this era were James Boyd, Luther Boyd, William Miller Boyd, Alexander Campbell, William Elliott, Prior Foster, Solon Lawrence, Eli Nichols, Thomas Powell, Ebenezer Seward, Isaac Shannon, J. P. Shannon, Benjamin White, and Samuel Wier.

Two buildings in the county which were used as stations in the famous underground railway system were the Thomas Powell house in Coshocton and the Eli Nichols home near Newcastle.

When Ashland County men went away to war, they had no railroad on which to travel. They generally went to New London since the road to Mansfield was virtually impassable in those days. With the war's end, many returned to find that a broad gage railroad track had been installed in Ashland and service was already connecting Ashland to other rail locations. Accounts of the railroad in 1865 depicted Ashland as a thriving city with broad streets downtown and bright gas lights illuminating her streets.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS LATER

One hundred years later, very little tangible evidence remains to serve as a reminder of what those gallant men did in fighting for the Union. No GAR posts are in existence. Here and there a monument, a reminder. As you start to go up the stairs in the Memorial Building in Newark, for example, you can see a plaque which reads:

> Dedicated to the 76th Regiment by Lemert Relief Corps.

In the Holmes County Library you can see a framed soldiers record which proudly proclaims "The Union Forever" and sets out the names of those who were in Company B of the 16th Regiment, OVI. If you look closely you can read a legend at the bottom which traces their history from the time they mustered into the service on October 2, 1861, at Camp Tiffin through their military trek which took them 2,500 miles in a year through Cumberland Gap and to Vicksburg. Many of us have some memento of the Civil War. I have a slightly worn "squirrel hunters discharge" which is my souvenir. Yet with all of these it is fair to say that there is very little to remind us of their sacrifice. Sometimes we hear General Logan's orders read at Memorial Day services. Sometimes a column on the Civil War turns up here and there in the many pages of newspaper print turned out each year. There are those who are still working. Don Steiner heads a committee in Coshocton, for example, which is planning a $7,500 Civil War memorial.

Possibly we are more fortunate in the 17th District than most people are. We have at least two distinctive Civil War reminders in our midst. At Newcastle, in Coshocton County, an honest-to-goodness bean supper is prepared at their annual encampment which is held the third Sunday of each August. This year will mark the 99th encampment and plans are already in the making for the 1967 event which will mark the centennial observance. Civil War tradition is observed at this carefully planned event.

Then, too, there is the famous Mount Vernon Fife and Drum Corps. This is one of the most authentic Civil War groups in existence anywhere in America. Organized and led by Col. W. W. Dorsey of Mount Vernon, this group plays nothing but songs written before or during the War Between the States. They are great ambassadors of good will and have the distinction of having played at the funeral of that last GAR survivor, Albert Woolson, held August 5, 1956, in Duluth, Minn. This honor was repeated when they flew to Houston, Tex., to perform the same rites at the funeral of the last Confederate survivor, Gen. Walter Williams, on December 23, 1959. Theirs is truly an unique assemblage.

Colonel Dorsey deserves a special commendation. He was present at the final encampment of the GAR in Indianapolis and was one of the color guards at that time. The flag he carried was presented to the Naval Academy at Annapolis and he conceived the idea of organizing the Mount Vernon Fife and Drum Corps in 1953. He also gave me the encouragement to prepare this address, a chore which came easy since I have always been a Civil War buff but nonetheless took several hundred hours to compile.

Then there is the organization known as the Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War which was chartered by an act of Congress, Public Law 605 of the 83d Congress. President Eisenhower signed this act on August 20, 1954. The moving lights in this effort were Gen. Douglas A. MacArthur and Gen. U. S. Grant III. I talked to General Grant regarding this organization and he proclaimed that there would always be a GAR as long as the Sons of Union Veterans was in existence for their prime purpose was to remind everyone of their deeds of heroism and what they did for our Nation.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, there are many tangible reminders of these gallant men of bygone days. Yet, no monument can determine the depth of our appreciation. Only the heart can measure this and in this respect one must have some doubts for few seem to appreciate our heritage in this busy and bustling age. Judge Learned Hand hit the nail on the head when he said:

> Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there no constitution, no law, no court can save it. No constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it. While it lies there, it needs no constitution, no law, no court to save it.

I hardly need draw the parallel or paraphrase. You can just as easily do that. All we need do is ask how much awareness and appreciation lies in our hearts, how deep our conviction that "we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain" and whether or not we really mean it. Francis Miles Finch's poem makes a fitting way to draw these remarks to a close:

THE BLUE AND THE GRAY

By the flow of the inland river,
Whence the fleets of iron have fled,
Where the blades of the grave-grass quiver,
Asleep are the ranks of the dead:
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day:
Under the one, the blue,
Under the other, the gray.

These in the robings of glory,
Those in the gloom of defeat,
All with the battle-blood gory,
In the dusk of eternity meet:
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day:
Under the laurel, the blue;
Under the willow, the gray.

From the silence of sorrowful hours
The desolate mourners go,
Lovingly laden with flowers,
Alike for the friend and the foe:
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day:
Under the roses, the blue;
Under the lilies, the gray.

So, with an equal splendor
The morning sunrays fall,
With a touch impartially tender,
On the blossoms blooming for all:
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day:
Broidered with gold, the blue;
Mellowed with gold, the gray.

So, when the summer calleth,
On forest and field of grain,
With an equal murmur falleth
The cooling drip of the rain:
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day:
Wet with the rain, the blue;
Wet with the rain, the gray.

Sadly, but not with upbraiding,
The generous deed was done.
In the storms of the years that are fading
No braver battle was won:
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day:
Under the blossoms, the blue;
Under the garlands, the gray.

No more shall the war-cry sever,
Or the winding rivers be red:
They banish our anger forever
When they laurel the graves of our dead:
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day:
Love and tears for the blue;
Tears and love for the gray.

NO ONE WANTS WAR—MULTER'S POSITION ON VIETNAM

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Multer] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I and several of my colleagues in the New York delegation have recently received copies of the same letter calling upon us to oppose our Government's actions in Vietnam.

That letter reads as follows:

Dear Sir: We, the undersigned faculty members of New York City's Abraham Lincoln High School, submit the following to you for your thoughtful examination:

Neither international law nor moral law supports our position in Vietnam.

Our bombing of a helpless people is an abomination.

Silence against injustice today is comparable to the silence of the German people when 6 million human lives were extinguished in the gas chambers and the crematoriums of Europe.

Many, many thoughtful people are looking to you to help lead our country back to morality and sanity. Open debate on the Vietnam war on the floors of the House and the Senate is long past due. It is time for the elected representatives to do something—whatever is necessary—to stop the horror on the other side of the globe.

In addition, pressure must be applied to our State Department to release all the facts on Vietnam to the American people.

Mr. Speaker, because it is so important that all of our citizens understand why we are in Vietnam and why we have taken the position we have taken, I have written to these well-meaning people in an effort to make my position crystal clear.

My reply was as follows:

Dear Friends: This will acknowledge receipt of your mimeographed letter, dated March 18, 1966, postmarked April 17, 1966, together with copies of the same letter which have been referred to me by other Congressmen, since your school is located in the congressional district, which I have the honor to represent.

Before attempting to discuss the legal or factual situation, permit me first to emphasize and reemphasize as vigorously as possible my position.

Neither President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, nor I, and as far as I know, no Member of Congress, wants war, limited or unlimited, declared or undeclared.

We want no war anywhere, any place or any time.

We want no war—period.

We want peace.

We want peace for all people everywhere and every place for all time.

We will meet at any time, any place, with anybody to talk peace and without any conditions.

Meeting among ourselves to discuss peace is fine but it does nothing constructive except to let us blow off steam.

If we could arrange to discuss peace with the Vietcong, the National Liberation Front, Hanoi, or Peking, we might accomplish something. I will help expedite the issuance of a visa for anyone who can arrange a meeting for that purpose.

The United Nations and the greatest diplomats in the world, American and foreign, Communist and anti-Communist, thus far have failed. They and we continue to try.

Now let us proceed to put this entire matter in true perspective.

Moral law, American law and international law all demanded that we go into Vietnam and stay there, doing exactly as we are doing, until the people of Vietnam invite us out just as they originally invited us in.

Bibles are the original source of all moral law as civilized people practice it. Bibles include the Old Testament, the New Testament, the Koran and all other similar books, no matter what they are called.

My Bible, like each of the others, teaches: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

All civilization has believed that the word "proclaim" as used there means more than talk about it. It means fight for it not only for ourselves but for all others from whom the aggressor seeks to take it. "Throughout the land" means all the world—not merely America or Israel or Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy.

"All the inhabitants" means just that and not merely the whites or the Jews or the orientals, but all. Domestic and international law are based on that moral law.

That is why the Jews successfully fought off the Amalekites; the Maccabees assaulted and defeated their persecutors; the free world did not submit but beat down the Hitlers of all ages. That is why our fleet defends Taiwan (Formosa) from the Chinese Communists. That is why we sent our marines into Lebanon. That is why the United States is committed to defend Israel against Arab aggression.

If Nasser attempts to carry out his threat to destroy Israel, will you continue to cry "Peace, peace" or will you insist that the United States send its Army, Navy, and Air Force to protect Israel?

When Hitler was riding high, we talked until we were breathless and to no avail.

When we sent our boys to Europe and the Pacific to prevent further murder and carnage, you shouted more and more and faster and faster.

Which of you cried out against the destruction of Berlin and Hiroshima and the innocent civilians who died then? The more shame for not having done so.

The military facts of life are, however, that to the fullest extent possible we try to spare civilians from death and maiming—but the enemy does not and never has.

Bombing of any people, not only the helpless, is an abomination. We are not bombing civilians. We are bombing a ruthless, treacherous, fighting enemy and its military installations.

More than 1 million North Vietnamese have fled their homes, leaving everything behind, going to South Vietnam for safe refuge from the Communist hordes.

It is the National Liberation Front, the Vietcong, the Chinese Communists, who are mutilating, murdering, and pillaging, not us.

The Geneva Conference provided for free elections in both North and South Vietnam. The National Liberation Front and the Vietcong have thus far prevented such elections.

We have not interfered in North Vietnam because its government has not asked us to do so. Our treaty obligations require us to do just that if requested by a government to help it prevent aggression from outside.

Even if the North Vietnamese revolted against their government and asked us to intervene, we have no treaty obligation to do so.

All we are doing in South Vietnam is—at the request of its duly accredited government—opposing aggression from outside and trying to permit the South Vietnamese to elect their own government.

Once that is accomplished, we will follow the bidding of that government and those people and stay or get out. In any event, once the aggression ceases, we will get out.

All that the U.S. Government has done has been approved by the U.S. Congress, not once but five times, most of the times unanimously and the last time with only 6 votes out of 534 against it.

I have complete confidence in our Commander in Chief, whom we elected as President of these United States and I am sure that he will continue to exert every possible effort to bring about an early peace and that is a peace with honor and dignity, not only to ourselves but to all mankind.

I appreciate having your views and invite you to write me further about this or any other matter.

Sincerely yours,

Abraham J. Multer.

AN ANSWER TO THE CRITICS OF FHA

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Multer] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Housing Administration has had its share of critics lately.

The examples being used, the cases in point, have some age on them, but generally center around the late 1950's and the early 1960's. The late 1950's is a particularly fruitful period for those who criticize FHA. And projects in Florida seem to offer them fertile ground for their digging.

The record—and the 20/20 hindsight of the faultfinders—shows why this era and this area were chosen for the point of attack. Florida was overbuilt. The supply was greater than demand, and FHA suffered the consequences.

But it was not alone in bearing the burden of great expectations and medium realizations. The private and conventional mortgage lenders took losses that were as great or greater.

Nor do the critics give any weight—or even recognition—to the fact that the FHA has served well the American public, without cost to the American taxpayer.

Since it was established in 1934, the FHA has helped about 8 million families realize their aspirations for better housing. It has insured mortgages on homes, and served as the catalyst for providing over 1 million units of rental housing.

One has only to contrast the blighted slum area of Southwest Washington of a few years ago with the beautiful apartments and homes there today, to realize what FHA has done. Today's Southwest Washington is made possible by risk—insurance risk by FHA.

My own 13th Congressional District, as well as most of New York City and State, has had its fair share of better family housing because of FHA. We want more of it.

This is part of the total record. If the losses to accomplish this record were excessive, many of us would have reservations about FHA. But the facts are these:

First. The percentage of net loss to insurance written is only slightly over one-half of 1 percent—0.59 to be precise. Do not confuse this with the annual premium. The net loss is 0.59 percent of the gross amount of insurance issued.

Second. The agency is self-supporting and in fiscal 1954 repaid the Treasury for its seed money including over $20 million in interest.

Third. The FHA now has accumulated reserves in excess of $1.1 billion to pay for its future losses.

Make no mistake. There will be future losses. The FHA is an insurance operation, and insurance involves risk, or there would be no need for it.

But the stockholders of life insurance companies do not go to the cemeteries and wring their hands with the widows of men under 50 who have died of heart attack.

They look at the net results. This is what we should be doing and we will see that the FHA has helped us to become a nation of homeowners.

This is a public record which we should not permit to be desecrated by any popular horror story which has been produced for public consumption. The record speaks for itself, but it needs to be made known.

Dedicated public service unfortunately does not have the glamour and mass appeal of the stories of wrongdoing and misuse of public trust.

I would like to review some of the specific recent criticisms to illustrate how distorted partial facts can make cases appear. One of the principal target areas is inflated land values.

The critics dote on referring to one example where the land cost $212,000, and was later valued at $300,000. What is not mentioned is that the purchase price did not include the cost of the option. Neither does it mention any allowance for interest, taxes, or carrying charges. Furthermore, in that area land values on prime sites were rising. I am told the value was reviewed by the headquarters technical staff who found the value fully justified.

I do want to point out that FHA has taken effective measures to avoid inflated land values in its instructions to field offices.

There have been a good many references to nonprofit sponsors, especially in housing for the elderly. This was a new field in which the Congress directed FHA to help meet the need of housing our senior citizens. Everyone had to learn how to deal with projects of this type. No doubt some errors were made. But I do know that here, also, the FHA has tightened up on its requirements to correct deficiencies which have been detected.

As with most industries, housing has had a few unscrupulous operators.

The record shows that FHA has moved aggressively to isolate and to eliminate shady operators from its programs.

FHA Commissioner Philip N. Brownstein has assured me of his determination to eliminate opportunities for malpractice on the part of persons doing business with the FHA.

No one has ever said that the operations of the Federal Housing Administration are perfect or that human beings are not subject to human error. But, there has been no evidence of fraud or willful misconduct on the part of any employee of the Federal Housing Administration in connection with the recent criticisms.

I believe we should look to FHA's past achievements as a guide to its chances for future success.

We are faced with new and greater challenges of future growth and development as a Nation. I hope and expect that FHA will be the catalyst for bringing many of our national aspirations in the field of housing to broad realization.

GERMAN GOVERNMENT'S SALE OF STEEL TO RED CHINA

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. St Germain] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to voice my opposition to the German Government's approval of a sale of a $176 million steel complex to Communist China. I regard this sale as a threat to the future security of the United States and as an expression of selfish disregard on the part of the German Government for the policies of the United States.

Why must we contribute so much to the economic development and security of a nation and then remain silent when this same nation approves of action that is contrary to our policies and will ultimately prove detrimental to our security and that of the free world? Let us not fool ourselves. Any contribution to the industrial development of Red China further threatens the security of the free world for Red China has not manifested any intent to pursue a peaceful course in the future.

How absurd that we should have 200,000 American men in West Germany to protect this nation from a Communist takeover and remain silent when this same nation approves of action that strengthens the most aggressive member of the Communist bloc.

Mr. Speaker, I think that the time has come for the United States to raise its voice in opposition to those nations whom we have helped and are helping and whose current actions threaten our efforts to maintain peaceful order in a much troubled world.

TO CORRECT A MISTAKE—AN AMENDMENT TO THE COLD WAR GI BILL

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Pepper] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on March 3 of this year the President signed into law a measure which we in Congress labored many years to see enacted. I refer of course to the cold war GI bill of rights, the Veterans' Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966. This is a monumental piece of legislation in terms of its certain impact not only on the veteran community but on the country as a whole. As one of the original sponsors of the bill, I have long anticipated the successful completion of our legislative struggle to provide benefits to veterans who served after the Korean conflict it is a matter of equity. It is also a matter of good sense. The promises of higher educational accomplishments, of increased earning power, and of a more productive society do not need to be reiterated. In a short time these prophecies of the future will be current facts.

The number of veterans that are reached by this new GI bill are a good indication of the scope of this legislation. In my State of Florida more than 100,000 veterans will be eligible for assistance by the end of fiscal year 1967. Today in north Dade County, the congressional district that I represent, there are an estimated 10,500 eligible post-Korean veterans. More than 1,300 of them are expected to take advantage of the new educational benefits in the first year alone. In addition to the $841,000 in direct educational benefits that will go to these north Dade veterans in fiscal year 1967, the program is also expected to provide guaranteed loans totaling $1½ million to some 110 veterans in my district.

When we approve legislation that is going to play an important part in the lives of so many people, we have to make sure that it is properly and efficiently administered. We have to make certain that the impact of these programs is not lessened through procedural defects. We are fortunate to have some guidance in this matter. When we passed the first GI bill in 1944 we devised a system which we later found to be faulty in some respects. In 1952 this lesson was instrumental in the working out of new administrative procedures for the Korean veterans' programs. Instead of paying tuition directly to the institutions and providing subsistence allowances to the veterans, as was done after World War II, Congress authorized assistance allowances payable to the veteran himself. The veteran became responsible for meeting the costs of his education by means of this monthly payment. At the same time, the educational institutions were required to certify the veteran's enrollment and attendance in his classes, to insure that funds were being properly used. In recompense for this obligation, these institutions were paid $1 per veteran each month. This proved to be an equitable arrangement with the institutions involved, and at the same time the monthly reporting provided an efficient check on the use of benefits.

I believe, as I have said, that we are fortunate to have past experience to serve as a guide in the framing of new legislation. The question that is raised in my mind, therefore, is why Public Law 89-358 includes no provision for monthly certification by the institutions of learning and no provision for the dollar-per-veteran certification allowance. In an attempt to learn the reasoning behind this omission I obtained an explanation from the Veterans' Administration. After assessing the arguments presented in defense of discontinuing the certificate allowance I can only say that we would be making a mistake to permit the absence of such a provision to exist in the new GI bill. For this reason I am introducing legislation which would amend Public Law 89-358 by reinstating the monthly certificate allowance to institutions which enroll veterans.

I have information from the Veterans' Administration which states that this allowance was dropped because the new law requires "a greater degree of student reporting responsibility with a corresponding reduction in the amount and frequency of institutional reporting to the VA." It is further maintained that universities and colleges are often not even in a position to make accurate reports with regard to student attendance.

> Sometimes the professors, and often the school administration—

Says the letter from the VA—

> are not currently aware of course changes or continuous class absence until examination time at the end of the term.

If this is the most cogent reason which the VA can offer for the change in reporting procedure, then I can determine no rational basis for not amending Public Law 89-358. There is obvious error in the VA's contention that institutions of learning are ignorant of student course changes and continuous absences. While it may be true that many schools have instituted a system of unlimited cuts, thereby permitting students to miss classes when it is necessary, I do not believe that the school or the teaching staff is unaware of chronic absentees. Certainly when so many institutions are improving their recordkeeping methods by means of computers, it is contradictory to assume that their knowledge of course enrollments is diminished. There is an obvious weakness in the Veterans' Administration position, which we have allowed to be translated into law. We can, however, correct our error even before the educational provisions go into effect on June 1. You must admit that it is a rare opportunity when we have time to mend the boat before the leak admits water.

Let us examine some of the other arguments put forth by the VA, however, before we condemn the new plan adopted by Public Law 89-358. It is estimated that 40 percent of the veterans' participating in the program will select courses below college level. Schools offering such courses keep records which are, even in the eyes of the VA, "readily adaptable to verifying regular monthly attendance without special staffing." Therefore, so the VA line of reasoning assumes, these schools can be obliged to submit monthly reports without recompense.

We are always talking about equity. Here we have a classic example of the exact opposite. Fully 40 percent of the veterans are expected to enroll in schools below the college level, and these schools will be required to submit monthly certification of student attendance. Yet these schools will not receive the dollar-per-months fee for reporting because the other 60 percent of the veterans are enrolled in institutions which are not required to make monthly reports. And they are not required to make monthly reports because it is alleged that they are unable to keep sufficiently accurate records. I cannot follow the logic of this supposition, and I am sure that my colleagues in this House are equally baffled.

I do not suggest, however, that we eliminate the reporting obligation altogether. That would be an equally grievous error. If we were to do so, we would be defeating our purpose at all levels. Our acknowledged aim is to confirm that the veterans' program is achieving its educational objectives. If we discontinue the reporting procedures in order to justify the discontinuance of the certificate allowance, then we are following the same sort of specious reasoning that has been followed by the Veterans' Administration.

The answer is clearly and simply to reinstate the certificate allowance. I see no more obvious course of action that would achieve both an equitable and an efficient means of insuring that educational benefits are put to their intended use. For this reason I urge my colleagues to support this measure that I am introducing today. I urge them not to procrastinate in taking the necessary action. There need be little hesitation in righting a potential wrong.

ROSE ALLEGATO NAMED ONE OF OUTSTANDING WOMEN OF ITALIAN ANCESTRY FOR 1966

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to my colleagues' attention an award given to an outstanding newspaperwoman who represents the Miami Herald in their Washington bureau. Miss Rose Allegato was honored as one of the 12 outstanding American woman of Italian ancestry for 1966. Her viewpoint of the happenings here in Washington has been most informative to the people of my District and the State. She has brought honor to her family, her profession and most of all, to herself.

I commend this article about her award for my colleagues' consideration:

ITALIAN SOCIETY LAUDS HERALD REPORTER

WASHINGTON.—Rose Allegato, of the Miami Herald's Washington bureau, has been named 1 of the 12 outstanding American women of Italian ancestry for 1966.

The award was presented Saturday night at a banquet in New York by Amita, Inc., an Italian-American organization.

Each year since 1956, Amita has honored a dozen women for achievement in the arts, business, and professional fields.

The recipients are described as "great women" who "have added to the luster of the fine reputation of a whole people who have made their contribution to a better way of life for the American people."

Miss Allegato began reporting from Washington for Knights newspapers and the Chicago Daily News Service last year. She joined the Knight group as a reporter for the Miami Herald's West Palm Beach bureau in 1958 and advanced to night city editor on the Herald in 1963.

A native of Brooklyn, she moved with her family to Florida in 1945, and graduated cum laude from Florida Southern College at Lakeland where she was coeditor of the college paper.

Her full-time newspaper career started in 1952 on the Lakeland Ledger. She spent 2 years on the Wilmington, N.C., Star where she covered courthouse and city hall and then moved to the New Orleans Item.

Her Italian ancestry is derived from both sides of the family. Both her maternal and paternal grandparents were born in Sicily. Her father, the late Michael Allegato, was born in Sicily and came to this country as a boy. Mrs. Michael Allegato lives in Lakeland.

The organization also presented the first in a new series of honors, called the Sister Achievement Awards, for non-Italian-American women of achievement.

DECISION OF NLRB AGAINST J. P. STEVENS & CO., INC.

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. TUCK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, I am appalled by the recent decision of the National Labor Relations Board handed down March 22, 1966, charging unfair labor practices against J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc., a concern with which I am acquainted and for which I have great respect and admiration. This concern operates the second largest textile manufacturing chain in America.

One of the Stevens plants is now and has been for more than 25 years located in my home city of South Boston, Va. I am acquainted with the members of this fine organization, including the Honorable Robert T. Stevens, who heads it and who was for some years Secretary of the Army in the Cabinet of President Eisenhower. Knowing Mr. Stevens as I do, I am astonished that anyone, and particularly an agency of the Federal Government, should make such a base and unwarranted charge.

As outrageous and unfounded as the decision of the Board is, the remedy it has prescribed is so reprehensible and so at variance with our American system of justice and fair play that the members of this Board and all connected with this decision and order deserve to be rebuked in severe terms by every thoughtful American.

The decision in this case applies to the plants which the Stevens Co. owns in North and South Carolina and in which are employed about 30,000 persons. This concern has been progressive and sound, a boon to the areas in which it operates, fair to its employees to such an extent that they have voted repeatedly against any change in its administration and policies and against unionism. In the last 3 years, labor union organizers from the outside have come in, breathing the fire of hate, dissension, and discord in an effort to create a schism between the employees and the employer.

The Textile Workers Union has demanded several elections at the Stevens plants since 1963, and each time the employees have voted overwhelmingly against the union. Two of the elections were held within a year's time at Dunean, S.C., where is located the largest Stevens plant. In the second such election, the Labor Board, acting in behalf of the unions, ordered the election held outside of the Stevens plant. Despite this deviation from usual practice, the margin against the union was nearly twice as large as that in the first election.

Rebuffed by these elections, the union charged unfair labor practice. In answer to union complaints, the Board sent an examiner to interview witnesses. Six months of hearings were conducted and 384 witnesses were heard, resulting in a hearing record of 12,000 pages.

Such a procedure was in itself a most harassing and needless action which the company was required to endure.

The examiner's recommendation that the Stevens Co. be declared guilty of "flagrant unlawfulness" in heading off a union organization drive was very promptly accepted by the Board. Seventy-one employees who had been discharged were ordered restored to their jobs, with full pay for the period they were unemployed.

This was the "conventional" remedy for such a charge, but in this case the Board did not consider it sufficient punishment, handing down instead the abhorrent and shocking decision to which I have already referred.

It ruled in addition that the Stevens Co. must:

First. Notify any of the 71 employees serving in the Armed Forces of their right to full reinstatement upon application.

Second. Make available to the Board the company payroll records, social security records, timecards, personnel records, and reports.

Third. Grant the union and its representatives, upon request, access to its bulletin boards for a period of a year.

Fourth. Mail to each of its 30,000 employees and post in conspicuous places in its plants for 60 days a statement to the effect that it will not interfere with union activity among its personnel or in any of its plants.

Fifth. And finally, it was ordered to convene its employees during working time and have responsible company officials, of the departmental supervisor level or above, read to them the statement mailed out.

These dictatorial orders handed down do grave violence to our American system of jurisprudence, and such orders are without parallel in the long history of our country.

The person or persons responsible for this decision have undoubtedly become exposed to the methods employed by Communists, whereby they require innocent people, against their will and contrary to the facts, to go forth proclaiming aloud the words, "I am guilty. I am guilty. I am guilty."

Those interested in the field of labor-management relations will have to dig deeply into the bucket of petty recriminations to outdo this one.

The action involved here constitutes a definite assualt by organized labor, operating through a coalition between one of the more desperate of the American unions and a governmental agency to override the will of the majority of the working people who desire and have the right to earn their daily bread free from the hobbles of unionism. The decision is an attack upon our free enterprise system, a threat to our industrial labor relations, and deserves, as it no doubt has, the scorn and derision of every patriotic citizen. The effect this dictum will have upon the textile industry, as well as upon every field of labor in which a worker has the right to decide whether or not he shall be represented by a union, is far reaching.

My record in public life will show that I have always upheld the right of an individual to join or not join a union. As late as last year when we were debating the proposal to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, I made myself clear on this subject. I believe that voluntary membership in a union, just as in a society, or a church, or a brotherhood, is the fundamental right of every American. But the case to which I now refer is one in which a governmental agency is cramming down the throats of thousands upon thousands of employees, who have by their votes spoken out against the union, something they do not want. But the will of the majority means nothing to dictators and tyrants.

If this decision is allowed to stand, it will create discord in labor-management relations from which there will be no recovery. This action will have a deleterious effect upon the fundamental rights of everyone.

I take vigorous exception to the manner in which the National Labor Relations Board is undertaking to punish this flourishing and economically sound manufacturing concern and its employees.

In the land of the free and the home of the brave, are we to sit idly by and witness this proud company being required to repent in sackcloth and ashes for a sin it did not commit? The Stevens Co. is one of the oldest textile companies in America and has made almost unbounded contributions to the growth of this country. It has participated in every war in which this country has engaged since declaring its independence.

This unprecedented action by the National Labor Relations Board should not go unnoticed. Every patriotic and thoughtful American should rally to the defense of the Stevens Co.

THE BENEFITS OF RURAL WATER AND SEWER SYSTEMS

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, it is evident that one of the most beneficial actions of Congress last year for the rural United States was the Poage-Aiken rural water and sewer facilities bill, which was supported by nearly every Member of both Houses.

That bill authorized an enlarged program of loans for rural community water systems, including grants when necessary to build these systems, and extended the same plan of financing to rural community waste disposal systems.

This bill for the first time brought rural people up to a status approaching par with the urban populace in their opportunity to have the modern, safe water supplies and sewer services in keeping with the American standard of living.

The new program is now getting underway in a most heartening manner. Since January the Farmers Home Administration has authorized combination loans and grants for about 60 sewer and water systems in various States. Four hundred other projects which are possible with loan financing only have been approved in this fiscal year to date.

Projects are being developed in literally hundreds of other small towns and country areas that never before could find a way to finance modern improvements and health protection of this kind. The result is certain to be better living conditions and better economic conditions wherever this program is put to work.

The first rural community sewer system made possible by this program is now being built in the town of Chilton in the 11th District of Texas. This is in Falls County; and we can point to Falls County as a prime example of what can be done through local initiative, supported by Farmers Home Administration financing, to change the quality of living and pump new vitality into our country towns. Four communities in that county—Golinda, the first in the State, Mooresville, Perry, and Westphalia—have water systems built with loans arranged through the Farmers Home Administration. Travis is developing a fifth such project. Chilton is building its sewer system.

The town of Rosebud has just been authorized a loan and grant to clear up serious problems with its old and inadequate water and sewer systems that the State health department demands be straightened out. In addition, the FHA loan-financed Spring Lake outdoor recreation center is going to be built near Rosebud, serving people all over Falls County as well as many adjoining counties.

An illuminating report on what these projects mean to a rural community like Chilton appeared in the New York Times of April 17. We are gratified that this great paper of the urban East has sent one of its most distinguished Washington correspondents, William M. Blair, immediate past president of the National Press Club, out to our district to observe what is going on in the resurgent towns of rural Texas. Under unanimous consent I include his report from Chilton in the RECORD at this point:

RURAL U.S. AGENCY HELPS TEXAS TOWN WITH WASTE DISPOSAL

(By William M. Blair)

CHILTON, TEX., April 16.—A federally financed rural sewerage system hailed as a contribution toward the rebirth of declining farm towns is under construction here.

The waste disposal system is being financed by the Farmers Home Administration under a long-term loan and a Federal grant. Officials of the Department of Agriculture's agency see widespread social and economic gains from the project, one of several new rural aids designed to pump new life into farm communities.

The $152,000 combined loan and grant made by the agency to this town of 450 is a part of President Johnson's Great Society concept of cleaning up rural America, eradicating rural poverty and opening new opportunities to stem the decline marked by the exodus of young people to urban areas and the increase in the number of elderly citizens.

EXPANDED INTO TOWNS

Activities of the agency are little known outside of rural areas but it has perhaps the greatest expansion of any Federal agency. Its budget has nearly trebled in 5 years, running to more than $850 million in Government-insured loans and grants for a wide range of services to farmers and rural communities.

It has expanded from the farm into the rural towns with new programs, including Federal aid for water systems, recreation facilities, housing for the elderly and economic opportunities.

"People are moving back into the towns now that they are getting the most modern conveniences," T. J. Cappleman, Texas director of the agency said recently. "Farmers are coming into towns. People are seeking out rural communities to raise their children away from cities. Retired persons are moving in because of limited means to find less expensive living, including taxes."

Chilton is an example of the prime-the-pump belief. Once a flourishing trading center, it has been slowly running down. The State health department has been taking action against communities that contribute to pollution of water and create health hazards. A neighboring town, Rosebud, has been warned to clean up.

Robert A. Goelzer sat in the post office here the other day and recalled his daughter's wedding reception.

"There we were surrounded by septic tanks," he said. "No matter which way the wind blew the smell hit you. I couldn't enjoy the reception. Man, that's the truth."

He and other townspeople believe that the new programs will dress up rural areas and bring back better days.

The townspeople are no exception to rural conservatism. They frown on borrowing that may mean taxes. Chilton residents rejected a bond issue for a sewage system for 5 years. Then, last October, Congress authorized the loans for the waste disposal systems.

This was the chance that Mr. Goelzer and a small group had been waiting for. Their estimates were ready 2 days before President Johnson signed the bill. Since then, the Texas office of the agency has had 33 more applications.

For years agency loans were made mainly to farmers and farm groups unable to obtain long-term credit from private sources at reasonable rates and terms. Loan interest rates and length of payments vary with ceilings on amounts loaned but they may run up to 40 years at 5 percent.

PEOPLE BAND TOGETHER

Longer standing loan activities of the agency include:

Improvement of land and labor resources, including equipment, livestock, feed, seed, and fertilizer; buying and enlarging farms; watershed conservation projects by farm associations and individual soil, water, and forestry development; construction of farm homes and buildings or buying homesites in open country or in communities of not more than 5,500 population.

Rural residents band together in an association or a cooperative. In Chilton, 128 citizens put up $5 each for a share in their sewage association. Their number has climbed to 160. The water system deposit is usually $50 a family.

An engineer, as demanded by the agency, was contracted to design the Chilton system. The total bill so far is $128,000 including land purchased from the school board for 5 acres for a treatment plant. The Southern Pacific Railroad granted a permanent easement along its tracks for the line to the plant.

A loan of $79,000, backed by the Federal Government, came from the First State Bank of Chilton. To pay back the Government there will be a monthly sewage charge of $3.50 for dwellings and $6 for commercial businesses. The grant does not have to be paid back.

As heavy machines worked to install the system, Mr. Goelzer pointed out sanitary conditions in the town. Tank seepage finds its way into Deer Creek. Trapped pools are to be found in ditches in front of better homes.

OUTDOOR FACILITIES

A Negro section still has outdoor facilities although some bathrooms have been added to houses awaiting connection to the new system.

Chilton has had a private water system since 1928. The available water added to sanitary problems as septic tanks were installed, electric washing machines appeared and other modern conveniences came to this town 30 miles from Waco.

Before the water system, Flem Long hauled water on a mule-drawn wagon. Now the 87-year-old Negro still hauls water but customers are few. Once he carried as much as 50 barrels a day.

Rural water systems are sprouting all over the land under agency repayment terms. Government-financed water systems are in 560 rural areas in 37 States in use for householders and irrigation.

As of mid-March, Texas alone had 149 applications pending. It has 220 water systems in operation, 58 more under construction, 108 applications being processed. These cover more than 51,000 rural families and $49 million.

Rising land values are attributed to the rural water system. In nearby Golinda, some land has jumped from $125 to nearly $400 an acre. Private swimming pools are beginning to appear on the country landscape. Near Olathe, Kans., land values have risen $100 an acre.

CLOSING THE GAP

Reagan Brown, sociologist of the department of agricultural economics and sociology at Texas A. & M. University, wrote recently that a supply of safe water will help close the gap between rural and urban people.

"Differences will continue to be less noticeable as rural communities offer the same facilities as cities," he said.

Health authorities report a drop in some common ailments, which helps save money for other family needs.

Water charges are relatively high. Rates in Texas range from $6 a month to $8.50 for the first 3,000 gallons. The average monthly bill is $7.

Agency officials bristle at criticism that they are building an empire, doling out money for doubtful projects, competing with private industry at taxpayers' cost. Politics figures in the agency because Members of Congress find it a handy vote-getting instrument through local projects.

Agency officials show letters from bankers expressing thanks for Federal money that enables farmers to stay in business, pay off banks and reestablish their credit base and from rural residents helped with homes and water.

A SALUTE TO PRESIDENT FREDERICK L. HOVDE, OF PURDUE UNIVERSITY

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, 20 years ago an institution not far south of my home in Indiana undertook an experiment to see whether a chemical engineer could master the subtle and elusive chemistry involved in the creation of an outstanding university. The university was Purdue. The engineer was Frederick L. Hovde, appointed president of Purdue in January 1946. As I recite some of the data gathered in these 20 years, I believe you will agree that the experiment was a success.

Purdue University today operates the Nation's largest school of engineering and fourth largest school of agriculture. It has kept pace with modern developments in science and engineering, ranking as the Nation's leading producer of engineers for space. In the school of science, the division of mathematical sciences with 100 professors and more than 300 graduate students is one of the world's most important research centers.

There is more to Purdue than the science and engineering for which it is best known. Its capacity for training in a variety of careers is augmented by schools of industrial management, pharmacy, technology, modern home economics, and veterinary science and medicine.

One of the most exciting developments in the past 20 years has come as a direct result of President Hovde's belief that a university must educate the whole man. Motivated by that philosophy, Purdue has built a school of humanities, social science and education. Humanities enrollment has grown from zero in 1946 to 3,242 undergraduate majors today, and the departments within this school have grown from 2 to 14 in the same period. What Dean Marbury B. Ogle, Jr., described prior to 1946 as "almost a desert" has become a flourishing garden. Academic work in the humanities and social sciences is supplemented by campus involvement in art, music, and the theater—activities for which several excellent facilities have been built.

Purdue is a big institution today, in size and complexity qualifying fully for Clark Kerr's description of the modern multiversity. In addition to the 20,100 students on the home campus in Lafayette, there are more than 7,600 studying on 4 regional campuses. One of these is operated at the Barker Memorial Center in Michigan City in my own Third District.

This growth in size, in diversity, and in excellence has been guided by a man who began life on the farmlands of North Dakota. Fred Hovde did his undergraduate honors work in chemical engineering at the University of Minnesota. His academic achievements, combined with an athletic career that made him an all-Big Ten quarterback, brought Hovde a Rhodes scholarship. I am pleased to know him today as a fellow alumnus of Brasenose College at Oxford University.

After Oxford, Hovde returned to Minnesota as assistant director of the new experimental General College at his alma mater. Four years later he became executive secretary to the University of Rochester's National Scholarship Foundation. He was assistant to the president there when the country became embroiled in World War II.

The war took Hovde back to England as a member of the staff of the National Defense Research Committee, a group that helped guide the interchange of technical data between the United States and Great Britain. He came back to the United States as executive assistant to Dr. James B. Conant, chairman of the National Defense Research Committee, and at war's end was chief of Ordnance Rocket Research, launching early his interest in rocketry and space fields in which his university now plays a major part.

Among his other contributions and achievements, President Hovde served as chairman of the task force on education appointed by President-elect John Kennedy. Many of the ideas fostered by that original group have by now become part of the Nation's education legislation.

I am glad the Purdue experiment worked. And I offer a sincere salute to the man who did so much to make it work, President Fred Hovde.

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY ADDRESSES WOMEN'S DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished Vice President of the United States made an outstanding address here in our Nation's Capital a few days ago at a gathering of distinguished Democratic women leaders from throughout our great country. The speech is deserving of wide attention and I am asking that it be included in its entirety in the RECORD at this point:

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY AT THE WOMEN'S DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 18, 1966

My thoughts this evening turn to the words of President John Adams, when he was discussing a subject dear to our hearts: politics and voters.

John Adams said: "It is dangerous to open so fruitful a source of controversy and altercation as would be opened by attempting to alter the qualification of voters; there will be no end of it * * *. Women will demand a vote; lads from 12 to 21 will think their rights not enough attended to; and every man who has not a farthing, will demand an equal voice with any other, in all acts of state. It tends to confound and destroy all distinctions, and prostrate all ranks to one common level."

Fortunately, John Adams' voice was not heeded. And so we are together this evening.

Politics is part of the joy of life—at least being a Democrat is. But you are active in politics for other reasons, too.

You are vitally concerned with the issues of our time.

You want security for your families.

You want a future of opportunity for your children.

And, above all, you want a world at peace.

Our purpose in being together in Washington tonight is essentially this: To meet, to talk, to have some fun, and then to get to the business of electing Democrats and building the Great Society.

We will have our Great Society one day. And when it is finished we will have a society where there is a joy of living, a life of purpose.

A society young of spirit and young of heart, but mature in mind.

A society with love of children, and with respect for its elders.

A society which works for education and strives for human dignity.

A society where everyone—black, white, young, old, man, woman—everyone is important (despite what that old Tory, John Adams, had to say).

A society where culture and beauty are a main course and not a dessert.

A society where everyone is productive and a full participant in American life.

The Democratic Members of the 89th Congress, whom you honor tonight, deserve our highest praise.

The 89th Congress is the one that pulled the sword out of the stone.

And, it has used that sword to cut through chains of social injustice that have shackled our people far too long.

It cut through the chains of insecurity and financial disaster for our older Americans with the medicare law.

It cut through the chains of bigotry and prejudice with the voting rights law.

It cut through the chains of ignorance and illiteracy with education laws.

It cut through the chains of slum living with the housing and urban development law.

It cut through the chains of injustice to our friends and relatives in other lands with the immigration law.

It cut the chains shackling thousands of impoverished Americans with broadened and expanded laws to wage the war on poverty.

It passed more laws of real quality than any previous American Congress—laws which affect the daily life of everyone in this country, and affect it for the better.

It passed laws to build a stronger and freer America—an America able to meet its responsibilities both at home and in the world.

Our campaign theme for 1966 is: "Vote Democratic—The Route to Greatness."

This Democratic 89th Congress has surveyed the land and bought the right-of-way for that route.

It's going to be up to the 90th Congress to pave it.

The 90th Congress to be elected this fall is the last one that will be completing its work in the sixties.

When its job is done, we want history to record that we left for our countrymen in this decade a legacy of hope and not hopelessness, education and not ignorance, prosperity and not poverty, health and not disease, humility and not hatred.

We are proud, my friends, of the record we have made in the last 6 years. It is an impressive record.

But 1966 is not the year to use our laurels as a featherbed.

Thirty years ago this month President Franklin Roosevelt said: "I do not believe that the era of the pioneer is at an end; I only believe that the area for pioneering has changed."

Today, we still have new areas for pioneering.

We are pleased that the gross national product has topped $700 billion. But we are determined to find new growth.

We are pleased that the unemployment rate has dropped to a 12-year low. But we are determined that those still out of work will have the opportunity for a job.

We are pleased with the success of the war on poverty. But we are determined to escalate this war until we have a frontline in every pocket of poverty in America.

We are pleased with the new programs for health, housing, education, and civil rights. But we are determined they be carried forward to their fulfillment.

I am not unmindful of our commitments in far places along with those at home.

It was with foresight of these troubled times that our beloved President John F. Kennedy said:

"Let every nation know, whether it wish us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

And we shall.

We—who have been blessed with so much—will continue our struggle to build a safer, a freer, a happier, world society where large and small nations may live alike in peace.

We will continue our struggle to bring the faceless, bypassed millions of this world some reason for hope, for faith, for the opportunity to have a share of mankind's benefits.

We have been entrusted with leadership.

It is up to us to prove that the wish of many to end human misery and suffering transcends the will of a few who would tolerate it.

In his state of the Union message, President Johnson said:

"This Nation is mightly enough, its society is healthy enough, its people are strong enough, to pursue our goals in the rest of the world while still building a Great Society here at home."

I believe that with all my heart.

I think you, too, believe it, or you would not be here.

Do not underestimate your share of this partnership.

I know we can count millions of Democratic women in America today. But more than that: we know we can count on them.

We counted on you in 1964, and we were not disappointed. You helped us win by our greatest majority. Largely because of your efforts—and your votes—American women went Democratic the first time in 20 years.

The President and I are grateful. And I also speak for the many other Democrats elected in 1964 when I express this gratitude.

We counted on you in 1965. We asked you to muster grassroots support for the Great Society programs. The wonderful record of the 89th Congress reflects your response.

I ask you to put that momentum to work in the 1966 campaign. Mobilize it, organize it, utilize it.

This year, 35 U.S. Senate seats will be at stake. All of the House seats will be at stake. Thirty-five States will vote for Governors. And so on down the line to the courthouse and city hall.

Tonight we honor the Congress—and we are particularly interested in the congressional campaigns. It is in the Congress that the Great Society programs must be enacted.

We need the Democratic majority we have in Congress today.

In this century the party in power has not done well in off-year elections. Since 1900 it has lost an average of 38 seats in the off-years.

History may be against us. But I believe the cause of justice is with us.

It is with us when we say to the youth of America: "Here are the tools of education with which to make the most of your future."

It is with us when we say to the elderly: "Here is adequate health care for your older years."

It is with us when we say to the Negro: "Here is a ballot that gives you full citizenship, after promises broken for a hundred years."

It is with us when we say to the poor: "Here is hope where there has been no hope."

It is with us when we say to every American: "We can have a land of goodness, of beauty, of culture, of opportunity."

This is the kind of society, the kind of America we believe is possible.

This is the kind of society, the kind of America we are determined to build.

We will not turn back. I ask your help.

THE AMERICAN FARMER AND THE GREAT SOCIETY'S INFLATION

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. **QUIE**. Mr. Speaker, I protest turning the American farmer into the scapegoat for the so-called Great Society's inflationary spending binge.

Yes, we do have inflation with us today. Yes, the price of food in the supermarket is costing the American housewife more of her food budget for fewer commodities every week. Yes, the President of the United States has suggested that the American housewife cut down on the quality of her food purchases to help hedge against inflation.

All of this is true.

But the unfounded myth that the American farmer is somehow to blame is not true.

This is a myth implied when the President suggests that housewives should fight inflation by buying cheaper foods of lower quality.

It is an implied myth in the March 10 television statement of Gardner Ackley, the President's Economic Adviser, who said:

> For example, I mentioned the fact that increase in supplies of pork depend on the differences between the price of hogs and the price of corn and we're trying to hold down the price of corn.

It is a myth implied when the so-called Secretary of Agriculture proudly boasts that consumer prices of food should take a downturn because he expects farm prices to go down.

As William M. Blair of the New York Times wrote on March 31:

> Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman expressed pleasure today with the fact that the prices of farm products had dropped recently.
>
> It was the first time in the memory of Federal farm officials that a Secretary of Agriculture indicated that he was pleased with a decrease in farm prices. Like Mr. Freeman, the officials were happy to note that consumers would benefit from lower prices by this summer.
>
> "If the food marketing industry will respond quickly to lower farm prices over the next several months," Mr. Freeman told a news conference, "retail prices also can be lower soon."

Mr. Speaker, the American farmer is not profiting from inflation. The fact is that only 1 in 9 farmers earns wages comparable to those enjoyed by skilled workers in industry. Farmers are, however, much more than skilled workers. They are also business managers and must have financial know-how and economic and scientific understanding.

The American farmer is not profiting from higher food prices. On April 1, 1960, there was a farm population of 15,635,000. By April 1, 1965, the farm population had dwindled to 12.4 million—a loss of 3.2 million persons off the Nation's farms or 20 percent.

The number of farms is becoming smaller also. There were 3,948,000 farms in January 1960 and this figure was down to 3,286,000 in January 1966—a loss of 663,000 farms or 17 percent.

Meanwhile, in 1964, the so-called Secretary of Agriculture began to add Government farm payments into the total national farm income for the first time, in an attempt to make national farm income appear higher.

When the so-called Secretary of Agriculture took office in 1961, he promised that farm prices would go to 90 percent of parity; in fact, he even promised parity of income. Farm prices have never been 90 percent of parity under the present so-called Secretary of Agriculture.

The President's own Council of Economic Advisers provides statistics that tell the truth about farm income. They say that:

> Prices received by farmers for all products in 1965 were 8.93 percent below those of 1947–49.
>
> For food alone, in 1965, farmers' share of the USDA's "Market Basket of Foods" was 7.3 percent below 1947–49.

Meanwhile, in the same 1947–49 to 1965 period the cost of things farmers bought rose 28.3 percent, still quoting the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

The disaster which has descended on the American farmer is not an accident. It is a part of a general plan that is inherent in the policy of the so-called Secretary of Agriculture.

Mr. Speaker, I use the term "so-called Secretary of Agriculture" advisedly, for Orville Freeman has shown conclusively that he does not represent the interests of the farmer within the administration. He represents the policy of the White House and the White House alone.

Last year, the Secretary of Agriculture came before the Congress and followed the White House line as he fought to keep the resale formula on Government-owned wheat and feed grains so low that the Secretary of Agriculture could use his authority to ram down farm prices.

The Congress controlled better than 2 to 1 by the Democratic Party unfortunately followed the line too, and so the Secretary of Agriculture retained the right to dump Government-owned surplus commodities, especially wheat and feed grains, on the market to hold down farm prices.

The so-called Agriculture Secretary actually testified before an Agriculture Subcommittee that he had done just that. He said:

> We must not yield to the temptation to make prices so high that the programs become unworkable.

I ask you, as I asked the so-called Agriculture Secretary then:

"Is the purpose of the farm programs to improve farm prices or to extend costly bureaucratic machinery within the Department of Agriculture?"

Within the last few months, the so-called Secretary of Agriculture has dumped huge quantities of corn on the market with the usual result—to depress farm prices.

Now, the Federal Government is holding down farm prices for another purpose. The administration is using the Department of Agriculture as a latter-day Office of Price Administration to fight inflation.

This fight is at the direct expense of the American farmer.

Within the past few weeks we have learned that the Armed Forces will eat fewer dairy products and less ham, pork chops, and bacon.

Now, import quotas on foreign dairy products are to be increased even further.

Why? Because the prices of these commodities are going up and the Department of Agriculture is being used by the White House to hold farm prices down, as a hedge against further inflation.

If the Government buys fewer of these farm commodities for use by the Armed Forces, the price to the farmer remains lower. Of course, the 225,000 American fighting men in Vietnam may not have ham or bacon or butter—but this helps the administration hold the prices of these commodities down.

The first thing we should do is to increase the resale formula on Government-owned commodities, as I worked hard though unsuccessfully to accomplish in previous years. We would thus prevent the Secretary of Agriculture from dumping commodities to hold down farm prices.

We should set up guidelines to prevent the Secretary of Agriculture from controlling the agricultural market.

We should let the farmer build his market and encourage him to secure a better price in the marketplace. The Federal Government should never place a lid on farm prices till they reach 100 percent of parity.

This, I believe, is the way to fight rural poverty.

But let nobody twist my words to let it appear that I am against the consumer.

It is obvious from the facts I have cited regarding the farmer that he is not the fault of the current inflation.

Nevertheless, inflation is with us and with us in a big way.

Let the consumer know it is not the farmer, however, who is the cause of this inflation.

The cause of inflation today can be placed squarely before the door of the so-called Great Society.

It is spawned by the vast spending binge of the so-called Great Society on a series of wasteful and chaotic welfare schemes.

The expansive talk of economy, without economy in Government, is a sham. How long and how much in vain did I join with my Republican colleagues in pointing out that the vast increase in domestic spending coupled with the war in Vietnam would lead to inflation? How often were our pleas for prudence disregarded?

On March 22, 1966, the House Republican Policy Committee issued a statement noting that it costs a family of 4 about $18 a week more to live this year than it did a year ago.

The Republican policy committee called for the sane and sensible use of priorities in domestic spending until the full cost of the war in Vietnam can be determined.

The last time the Federal budget was balanced was in 1960 under President Eisenhower. Expenditures in that year were $76.5 billion and revenues were $77.7 billion. Since then the annual deficits have totaled $36.4 billion, including the deficit proposed for 1967.

The overall cost of running the Government has increased 47.5 percent in just 7 years.

President Johnson's current budget calls for spending $112.8 billion and revenues of $111 billion.

This leaves a planned deficit of $1.8 billion and it is expected by many to be more.

Every year we find the Democratic administration comes out with not only red ink at the end of the year, but red-ink planning at the beginning of the year.

Republicans do not balance budgets all of the time. There are too many reasons that they can come unhinged.

But at least we Republicans plan for a balanced budget because we know that excessive Federal spending means inflation.

Mr. Speaker, I suggest that the Congress and the administration begin to look at the real causes of inflation.

It is not the farmer who is creating domestic inflation.

The American farmer—though his ranks are depleted and his morale at a new low—is continuing his historic task of feeding this Nation and millions of people in other countries.

Now, the very administration that blames him for inflation is asking him to help feed even greater areas of the world.

He will rise to that task, too, as he has risen to meet so many challenges in the past.

Rather than blaming the farmer for inflation let the Administration face its own responsibilities and cut the cost of domestic programs that can readily be set aside.

DRUG ABUSE AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. **FOGARTY**. Mr. Speaker, I introduce for appropriate reference, a bill, the enactment of which would aid in the control of one of the greatest problems facing the United States in respect to its health and social standards, arising from the abuse of narcotics and dangerous drugs.

It will be recalled that on July 15, 1965, there was enacted Public Law 89–74, the "Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965"—79 Stat. 226. The purpose of that legislation was to aid the U.S. law enforcement officials and agencies in their efforts to control successfully the U.S. narcotic and dangerous drug laws. In particular, provisions were added to existing law relating to the use, sale, distribution, and transportation, et cetera, of depressant and stimulant drugs, including barbiturates and amphetamines. The impact of that legislation was directed at interstate aspects of the problem. It might be noted, in view of the recent notoriety given to hallucinogenic drugs, that such items were also included in the basic law by the 1965 act.

However, it is well known that with the increasing effects of this legislation upon the criminals, dope peddlers, and pill pushers in the United States, they will soon turn to sources for their unholy merchandise outside the United States. It is becoming more and more apparent that one of the most troublesome areas where drug abuse is being encountered with greater frequency is along our southern and southwestern border, and in the southwestern part of the United States.

Unfortunately, there is a criminal element in Mexico whose efforts to supply dope addicts and pill takers in the United States are growing stronger and there is a rising flow of these dangerous drugs across the border. While the Mexican Government has made sincere and serious efforts to control and destroy this criminal activity, the United States must nevertheless make efforts on its own to prevent the illegal importation or smuggling of narcotic drugs, as well as the depressant, stimulant, and hallucinogenic drugs. There is no question that the health of thousands of our populace must be protected against this threat. The social and economic standards and the general well-being of the United States demand the same safeguards.

Therefore, I introduce today a bill which will spell out the dangerous offense of drug smuggling, just as was previously done in connection with the importation of heroin. In addition, penalties will be increased for violators of the smuggling provisions of the bill. Increased penalties are needed to emphasize the fact that smuggling such drugs is more noteworthy and important than mere smuggling of a minor piece of contraband such as a ring or a bottle of liquor.

In the same direction, my bill also includes provisions which will amend section 212(a)(23) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended—66 Stat. 184; 70 Stat. 575; 74 Stat. 505; 8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(23)—as well as section 241(a)(11) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended—66 Stat. 206; 70 Stat. 575; 74 Stat. 505; 8 U.S.C. 1251(a)(11).

Section 212(a)(23) is that portion of our immigration law which establishes, as a ground for exclusion from the United States, violations of the narcotics laws. At present, the law refers merely to narcotic drugs or marihuana. My bill would expand this particular section by adding references to depressant or stimulant drugs as defined in the 1965 Drug Control Amendments.

Section 241(a)(11) of the existing basic immigration law contains the provisions which relate to the deportation of aliens from the United States who have violated the narcotic laws. At present, that section refers only to narcotic drugs or marihuana. My bill would add a reference to the depressant and stimulant drugs as they are defined in the 1965 Drug Control Amendments.

The purpose of the amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act is to make certain not only that violators shall be punished in criminal proceedings for their smuggling activities, but also that, if they are aliens, effective means shall be provided the Department of Justice to exclude them from the

United States, and, if they should have managed to enter the United States and be apprehended here, to provide means for their expulsion from this country by way of deportation proceedings under the immigration laws. In so doing, my bill is similar to action taken by the Congress in sections 8 and 9 of the act of July 14, 1960—74 Stat. 505—when there were added to the Immigration and Nationality Act provisions requiring the exclusion and deportation of violators of laws relating to marihuana—to correct a deficiency existing in the law at that time in respect to that particular drug.

There is no doubt that strong steps must be taken by the United States, by every possible means, to protect itself against the smuggling or illegal importation of narcotics, marihuana, depressant, stimulant, and hallucinogenic drugs by specifying and providing for the punishment of the criminal offenses, and by assuring that alien violators shall not be permitted to enter or remain in the United States. I hope that this bill will receive prompt and favorable consideration by the Congress.

THE 12TH MISSION TO VIETNAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Delaware [Mr. McDowell] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, the Delaware Air National Guard has completed its 12th mission to Vietnam. I have just been advised by Lt. Col. William L. Stark that this is the 12th such flight since December 1, 1965.

> We are proud to be able to make this contribution to American policy and have confidence that our record of safety and accomplishment will enable us to continue to support the operations of the Military Airlift Command in an increasingly active manner.
>
> The men listed below have donated their time and talent voluntarily, taking time off from their civilian jobs and families, so that this mission could be accomplished.

The mission was to transport cargo vital for the defense of freedom. Taking part in the 12th mission were men from Delaware and Pennsylvania. I commend the members of the Delaware Air National Guard who participated in this mission, particularly since they donated their time and talent voluntarily, taking time off from their civilian jobs and families in order that this mission could be carried out.

I include as part of my remarks the following letter which I have received from Lt. Col. William L. Stark.

142D MILITARY AIRCRAFT SQUADRON,
DELAWARE AIR NATIONAL GUARD,
New Castle, Del., April 26, 1966.
Representative HARRIS B. McDOWELL, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN McDOWELL: I am happy to inform you that the Delaware Air National Guard has just completed another mission to Vietnam delivering cargo vital to the defense of freedom. This is the 12th such flight since December 1, 1965.

We are proud to be able to make this contribution to American policy and have confidence that our record of safety and accomplishment will enable us to continue to support the operations of the Military Airlift Command in an increasingly active manner.

The men listed below have donated their time and talent voluntarily, taking time off from their civilian jobs and families, so that this mission could be accomplished.

Best regards,

Lt. Col. WILLIAM L. STARK,
Aircraft Commander.

Capt. James A. Moore, Haverton, Pa., first pilot; 2d Lt. Donald R. Eyre, Jr., Wilmington, Del., second pilot; Lt. Col. Harold O. Morrison, Wilmington, Del., navigator; Capt. Earl R. White, Newark, Del., navigator.

M. Sgt. Floren W. McNichols, New Castle, Del., instructor flight examiner engineer; S. Sgt. Scott F. Rice, Newark, Del., first engineer; S. Sgt. Chester W. Field, second engineer, Boothwyn, Pa., S. Sgt. James E. Farmer Wilmington, Del., loadmaster; S. Sgt. Jay H. Blake, Newark, Del., crew chief.

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. HOLLAND] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced, for appropriate reference, two bills to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

One bill, H.R. 14690, amends the act in a number of particulars, and is primarily designed to increase the Secretary of Labor's ability to select and refer to training persons who would profit from it, and who are temporarily ineligible under the present act. Such persons would include people who have been gainfully employed for less than the 2-year period currently required by the act, high school dropouts who have not been out of school for the 1 year currently required, or persons who have completed a course of training which through no fault of their own, did not adequately prepare them for full-time employment, and who must, under present law, wait a year before again being referred to training. H.R. 14690 also relaxes the requirement of probability of employment in selecting disadvantaged persons for training. Finally, this bill drops the requirement of annual reports by the Secretaries of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare, leaving only the President's Annual Manpower Report as a statutory requirement under this act.

My colleague from Michigan, Mr. O'HARA, has joined me in sponsoring these amendments.

My other bill, H.R. 14685, would direct the Secretary of Labor to set up, for older workers as part of his present Manpower Development and Training Act program, special programs of testing, counseling, selection and referral to training for workers 45 years of age and older. Last year, my subcommittee held extensive hearings on the employment problems of the older worker. From those hearings it became obvious to me that occupational retraining could be a great help in meeting the particular problems which such persons find in securing employment.

A number of my colleagues have expressed their interest in this bill, and I am, of course, delighted to welcome any cosponsors.

Hearings on these bills and on other proposals to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act will be held by the Select Subcommittee on Labor, of which I have the honor to be chairman. These hearings are tentatively scheduled to begin on May 9, and it is my hope that our committee will have legislation ready to report to the House before the beginning of summer.

Mr. Speaker, I have had the privilege of working on a number of different pieces of legislation during my term of service in this House. I cannot say—only the historians of generations to come can accurately say—which of those bills will have a lasting effect on our country. But I am proudest of having had the opportunity to help write and help enact the Manpower Development and Training Act.

We are in a new industrial revolution, the final shape and size of which we can only dimly begin to guess at. That revolution will shape the world of tomorrow as the introduction of mass production shaped the world of today—in ways far removed from the industries immediately involved. This new revolution, Mr. Speaker, will be, I believe, less painful, less upsetting to the very fabric of our society if we try to anticipate its basic nature and plan to meet the demands it will make of us. The Manpower Development and Training Act is just such an effort. It is a tribute to the success and popularity of that act that the amendments of 1965 were passed by this House by a vote of 392 to 0.

It is my hope that we can continue to improve this act as experience points the way.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. ROBERTS (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for the remainder of the week, on account of official business.

Mr. CLEVENGER, from May 2 to May 11, on account of official business.

Mr. BOGGS (at the request of Mr. PURCELL), through May 2, on account of official business.

Mr. MATSUNAGA, through May 5, on account of business in district.

Mrs. KELLY (at the request of Mr. STRATTON), for an indefinite period, on account of illness.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. ASHBROOK (at the request of Mr. HUTCHINSON), for 60 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. KUPFERMAN (at the request of Mr. HUTCHINSON), for 30 minutes on May 2; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon, for 60 minutes, on May 2.

Mr. QUIE (at the request of Mr. MCEWEN), for 15 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. FOGARTY (at the request of Mr. KEE), for 15 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. MCDOWELL (at the request of Mr. KEE), for 10 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous matter.

Mr. HOLLAND (at the request of Mr. KEE), for 10 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. REID of New York to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter and tables on H.R. 10065.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. HUTCHINSON) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. FINO.

Mr. RUMSFELD.

Mr. CRAMER.

Mr. WYATT.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. KEE) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. MACKIE.

Mr. LOVE.

Mr. POWELL in two instances.

Mr. HOWARD.

Mr. WOLFF.

SENATE ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled joint resolutions of the following titles:

S.J. Res. 18. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the week beginning April 23, 1967, as "Youth Temperance Education Week";

S.J. Res. 130. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the week of May 8 to May 14, 1966, as "National School Safety Patrol Week."

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 1903. An act for the relief of Mrs. Sadie Y. Simmons and James R. Simmons; and

H.R. 13369. An act to authorize the disposal of molybdenum from the national stockpile.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to, accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 12 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, April 28, 1966, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2346. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations), transmitting a report on the current working estimate for the construction project at L. G. Hanscom Field, Mass., pursuant to the provisions of 10 U.S.C. 2233a(1), and to the authority delegated by the Secretary of Defense; to the Committee on Armed Services.

2347. A letter from the Director, District Unemployment Compensation Board, Government of the District of Columbia, transmitting the Annual Report of the District Unemployment Compensation Board for the year 1965, pursuant to the provisions of section 13(c) of the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

2348. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a report on records proposed for disposal, pursuant to the provisions of 63 Stat. 377; to the Committee on House Administration.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. DAWSON: Committee on Government Operations. Report entitled "Interstate Commerce Commission Operations (Railroad Safety), 25th Report"; without amendment (Rept. No. 1452). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. DAWSON: Committee on Government Operations. Report entitled "Plugging the Dollar Drain: Cutting Federal Expenditures for Research and Related Activities Abroad, 26th Report"; without amendment (Rept. No. 1453). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. CHELF: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 9643. A bill for the relief of Haider Raza and his wife, Irene Raza, and their children, Afzal Anthony and Haider Raymond Raza; with an amendment (Rept. No. 1454). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BOGGS:

H.R. 14669. A bill to prohibit desecration of the flag; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURKE:

H.R. 14670. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to remove certain limitations on the amount of the deduction for contributions to pension and profit-sharing plans made on behalf of self-employed individuals and to change the definition of "earned income" applicable with respect to such plans; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BURTON of California:

H.R. 14671. A bill to amend the Manpower Develpoment and Training Act of 1962, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee:

H.R. 14672. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide additional time for certain individuals to obtain improved total disability income coverage in their national service life insurance policies; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 14673. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that a mentally retarded child who is adopted by an insured individual after such individual becomes entitled to old-age or disability insurance benefits may receive benefits on such individual's wage record; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 14674. A bill to provide that individuals entitled to disability insurance benefits (or child's benefits based on disability) under title II of the Social Security Act, and individuals entitled to permanent disability annuities (or child's annuities based on disability) under the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937, shall be eligible for health insurance benefits under title XVIII of the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 14675. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide cost-of-living increases in the insurance benefits payable thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FOGARTY:

H.R. 14676. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to prescribe criminal penalties for the illegal importation of depressant and stimulant drugs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD:

H.R. 14677. A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act in order to improve and make more effective certain programs pursuant to such act; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 14678. A bill to provide a program of pollution control and abatement in selected river basins of the United States through comprehensive planning and financial assistance, to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 14679. A bill to amend section 8 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to provide for increased grants for construction of treatment works; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. FUQUA:

H.R. 14680. A bill to amend title 38 to provide that service in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps shall be considered active duty in the Armed Forces of the United States; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. GRAY:

H.R. 14681. A bill authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain property to the city of Marion, Ill.; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. HARVEY of Michigan:

H.R. 14682. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to make widows of servicemen who die on active duty in the Armed Forces eligible for educational assistance under that title; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 14683. A bill to amend the Federal Unemployment Tax Act to provide an exemption for certain short-term employment at agricultural or horticultural fairs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HENDERSON:

H.R. 14684. A bill to amend title 32, United States Code, to clarify the status of National Guard technicians, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. HOLLAND:

H.R. 14685. A bill to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, to provide for special programs for older workers; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. KARSTEN:

H.R. 14686. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to remove certain limitations on the amount of the deduction for contributions to pension and profit-sharing plans made on behalf of "self-employed individuals and to change the definition of "earned income" applicable with respect to such plans; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. OLSEN of Montana:

H.R. 14687. A bill to set aside certain lands in Montana for the Indians of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, Mont.; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 14688. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide for payments to educationaal institutions for reports made by them with respect to eligible veterans enrolled therein; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. ULLMAN:

H.R. 14689. A bill to amend title V of the Social Security Act to provide a grant-in-aid program to assist the States in furnishing aid and services with respect to children under foster care; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HOLLAND:

H.R. 14690. A bill to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. O'HARA of Michigan:

H.R. 14691. A bill to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. CRAMER:

H.R. 14692. A bill to provide increased retired pay for certain members of the uniformed services retired before June 1, 1958; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 14693. A bill for the establishment of the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government; to the Committee on Government Operations.

H.R. 14694. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code, to increase the rate of pension to certain veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, their widows and children, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 14695. A bill to increase the rate of pension payable to certain veterans of World War I, World War II, the Korean conflict, their widows, and certain other dependents, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. DANIELS:

H.R. 14696. A bill creating a commission to be known as the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mrs. DWYER:

H.R. 14697. A bill to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, to provide for special programs for older workers; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. GONZALEZ:

H.R. 14698. A bill to amend section 3(c) of the Export Control Act of 1949, as amended; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. KEITH:

H.R. 14699. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to develop, through the use of experiment and demonstration plants, practicable and economic means for the production by the commercial fishing industry of fish protein concentrate; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. KLUCZYNSKI:

H.R. 14700. A bill to authorize the Architect of the Capital to remodel the existing structures of the U.S. Botanic Garden for use as a visitors' center; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. MURPHY of New York:

H.R. 14701. A bill to provide for a coordinated national safety program and establishment of safety standards for motor vehicles in interstate commerce to reduce traffic accidents and the deaths, injuries, and property damage which occur in such accidents; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 14702. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to further promote and assist in modernization of hospitals and other medical facilities through grants for amortization of indebtedness incurred for that purpose, direct loans, and guarantees of loans, and through grants for the planning of such modernization, and to authorize grants for development of new technology systems and concepts in the provision of health services; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 14703. A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the determination of American selling price in the case of certain footwear of rubber or plastics; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. POWELL:

H.R. 14704. A bill to strengthen adult education programs in the United States; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. QUIE:

H.R. 14705. A bill to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, to provide for reduced training allowances for persons referred to less than full-time training; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. RESNICK:

H.R. 14706. A bill to provide for grants to State educational agencies for the purpose of supporting the growth and expansion of local school systems by relieving aged, low-income property owners of increases in real property taxes caused by such growth and expansion; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 14707. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide payment for podiatrists' services under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. VIVIAN:

H.R. 14708. A bill relating to the reduction of the public debt; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H.R. 14709. A bill to revitalize the American gold mining industry; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MORRISON:

H.R. 14710. A bill to amend Public Law 815, 81st Congress, to provide temporary assistance where public schoolbuildings are destroyed by natural causes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. RONCALIO:

H.R. 14711. A bill to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, to provide for special programs for older workers; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H.R. 14712. A bill to establish and maintain orderly marketing conditions for processing pears in the interest of producers and consumers, and an orderly flow of the supply thereof to market throughout its normal marketing season to avoid unreasonable fluctuations in supplies and prices; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. NEDZI:

H.R. 14713. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to prohibit the use of contributions made to Members of Congress for personal purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14714. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that a gift of more than $25 which is made to an elected public official shall be included in his gross income for purposes of the Federal income tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CABELL:

H.J. Res. 1124. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the power of the Supreme Court to declare any provision of law unconstitutional; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAMERON:

H.J. Res. 1125. Joint resolution to authorize the President to designate October 31 of each year as "National UNICEF Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DENT:

H.J. Res. 1126. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to permit voluntary participation in prayer in public schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI:

H.J. Res. 1127. Joint resolution to authorize the President of the United States to proclaim August 28, 1966, as "Polish Millennium Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H.J. Res. 1128. Joint resolution expressing the intent of the Congress with respect to appropriations for watershed planning for fiscal year 1966; to the Committee on Appropriations.

H.J. Res. 1129. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CRAMER:

H. Con. Res. 631. Concurrent resolution expressing the determination of the United States with respect to the matter of general disarmament and arms control; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DIGGS:

H. Con. Res. 632. Concurrent resolution to establish an Atlantic Union delegation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CLEVELAND:

H. Res. 827. Resolution expressing the disapproval of the House of Representatives of Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1966; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H. Res. 828. Resolution authorizing a Representative in Congress who is a member of a certain committee to designate one of his employees to be cleared for access to classified information available to the Representative in his capacity as a member of such committee; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause I of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 14715. A bill for the relief of Andrea Spitaleri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CORBETT:

H.R. 14716. A bill for the relief of Dr. Anthony N. Manoli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee:

H.R. 14717. A bill to confer jurisdiction on the U.S. Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment on the claim of Olin G. Smith against the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14718. A bill for the relief of Dr. Nahit Esen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14719. A bill for the relief of John J. Tatem; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DYAL:

H.R. 14720. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Janina Zawalski (nee Smietanka); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FASCELL:

H.R. 14721. A bill for the relief of Dr. Alonso Portuondo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KREBS:

H.R. 14722. A bill for the relief of Antonio F. Barreiros; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H.R. 14723. A bill for the relief of Rufino Tomas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

381. The SPEAKER presented a petition of Ralph Boryszewski, Rochester, N.Y., relative to the impeachment of Hon. Stephen S. Chandler, U.S. district judge for the western district of Oklahoma, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Salute to Sierra Leone Fifth Independence Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 27, 1966

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on April 27, the people of Sierra Leone celebrate their 5th anniversary as an independent state. I am proud to extend my congratulations and warm felicitations to His Excellency Sir Henry J. Lightfoot-Boston, Governor General of Sierra Leone; His Excellency Sir Albert M. Margai, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone; and to His Excellency Gershon B. O. Collier, Sierra Leone's Ambassador to the United States.

While Sierra Leone was the third British West African territory to attain independence, its political experience stretches far back into the country's past. In fact, Sierra Leone can legitimately claim historical seniority in British West Africa. Not only did the country serve as the administrative headquarters for all of British West Africa, but it also serves as an educational center. Fourah Bay College, founded in 1827, and renamed the University College of Sierra Leone in 1960 continues to play a significant role in the preparation for leadership both of Sierra Leone and many of the neighboring countries.

Many of us are familiar with the fact that the country was originally founded as a home for freed British slaves. Indeed, the capital's name, Freetown, bears testimony to the origin of the former colony. The territory was at first administered by the Sierra Leone Company, which was formed in 1791 and became a crown colony in 1808. Its unique character was quickly recognized, and in some years the number of new arrivals reached into the thousands.

Sierra Leone's progress toward eventual self-rule was steady and without violence. Thus when independence was gained in 1961, the people were more than adequately prepared to assume guidance of their own affairs. Since attaining that independence, the Government has been busily undertaking efforts to strengthen and diversify the economy in order to better enable the people to enjoy the fruits of freedom and self-determination. Despite the country's domestic economy resting primarily on agricultural commodities, diamonds, iron ore, and other minerals make up the bulk of exports.

The United States and Sierra Leone have enjoyed friendly relations and we expect that trend to continue. Our role as fourth largest supplier of Sierra Leone's economic goods is one indication that friendly relations have been maintained. Once again I express my pride in being able to offer warm congratulations and best wishes to the people of Sierra Leone as they begin their sixth year as an independent state.

Rabbi Avraham Soltes—Distinguished Spiritual Service to His Community and to the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 27, 1966

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, on March 21, Rabbi Avraham Soltes, of Temple Emanuel, Great Neck, N.Y., delivered the invocation at that day's session of the House of Representatives. Later Rabbi Soltes, who also serves as chaplain to the cadets of his faith at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, met with Lt. Gen. J. B. Lampert, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and me at the Capitol. General Lampert, former Superintendent at the Military Academy, worked closely with Rabbi Soltes during his assignment to West Point and had high praise for the rabbi's contributions to the spiritual life of the Academy.

I have received compliments from other Members of this distinguished body on the inspiring words delivered that day by Rabbi Soltes, and I would like to take official note of the contributions he continues to make to our community and to our future leaders at West Point. This Nation is the better for men like Rabbi Soltes.

Eighteenth Anniversary of Israel's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RODNEY M. LOVE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 27, 1966

Mr. LOVE. Mr. Speaker, this year we celebrate the 18th anniversary of the founding of the state of Israel and it is my honor to join in this commemoration.

For a nation so small, so young, and so lacking in natural resources, Israel has come a long way in a short period of time. I am sure that its future is destined to be a bright and influential one on the world scene.

By placing its trust in God and in its people, Israel has flourished. A garden has grown in what used to be desert.

The people of Israel have turned their land into a source of steadily rising living standards through hard work and diligent study of the forces of nature.

The same qualities make the people of Israel world famed for their culture, their art and the depth of their knowledge.

While it has been only 18 years since Israel's birth, its conception has taken thousands of years.

With the age of its concept as the "promised land" has come wisdom. With its youth as a nation has come vigor.

The people of Israel have proved their courage on countless occasions against a hostile landscape and even more hostile neighbors bent upon their destruction. However, they have shown that their urge to create a free and peaceful land is stronger than the will of its neighbors to destroy.

I urge this administration to properly mark Israel's independence by assuring them that first, we will not contribute to an arms imbalance which favors the Arabs in the Middle East in any way; second, we will do our best to discourage our allies from contributing in any way to such imbalance; third, we will do our best to bring the Arab-Israeli dispute to a peaceful conclusion; and, fourth, we will always stand ready to aid Israel in the event that these other goals are unrealized.

Again, Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to join in marking the independence of this proud, inspired, and inspiring nation.

My congratulations and best wishes to the Israeli Government and its loyal supporters throughout the world. We wish Israel and its people a happy and prosperous future as a nation and as a people.

Auto Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. MACKIE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 27, 1966

Mr. MACKIE. Mr. Speaker, Rome had its circuses which were motivated by political expediency. From time to time, the Congress of the United States of America has been accused of presenting sideshows for the same reason. This is inevitable, particularly at a time such as the present, deep concern, over international problems is soothed by the comfort of a perfectly safe and highly dramatic domestic sideshow on which anyone can assume heroic postures and point condemningly.

I refer to the issue of safety in automobiles. Naturally, everyone is for safety. It is like being for virtue and against sin. But in their zeal to take potshots at the easiest of the targets—the automobile—it is not difficult to arrive at a general effect of misdirection and unfair implication. Playing individual against great corporations is a well-exploited means of building political careers, and of selling books—but it is not necessarily the correct manner of arriving at the truth.

This apparently is the season when self-appointed critics suddenly discover that traffic safety is a serious problem and offer simple ABC solutions to complicated problems, and choose to ignore the tremendous progress which has been made. In their "zeal" these critics use cute but meaningless phrases, innuendos, and emotionalism and cast gray shadows of generalization over dedicated people working in safety organizations. They would have you believe that they, as prophets, are here to save mankind by authoring books and mouthing speeches.

The congressional district I represent includes Flint, Mich., the birthplace of General Motors—where presently 11 divisions of that corporation provide some 75,000 jobs directly—and thousands more indirectly throughout the Nation. In Flint, large numbers of Buicks and Chevrolets are manufactured. I have the good fortune to know a great many of the people who design, engineer, plan, build, and sell these automobiles. The Flint autoworkers take great pride in their workmanship—a pride that makes a major contribution to automobile safety in itself. The organizations of the Flint automotive workers are devoted to industrial and social progress. Be sure that the built-in safety factor in the automobile is high on their list of concern. It is worth remembering—although I am sure this fact has become completely lost in recent weeks—that even the largest so-called soulless corporation is comprised of nothing more than very human beings who are remarkably like the rest of us.

At this point, as a matter of public record, I, too, am for safety. But I assure you that neither you, I, or even the most publicized self-appointed experts, are one bit more concerned about safety than the men who make our automobiles—and who, taken collectively, make up the "soulless corporations."

I had the good fortune to be State highway commissioner of the State of Michigan for several years, which provided me an exceptional opportunity to observe the factors responsible for safe driving. There are many factors, not just one. Of course, we would all agree that built-in safety elements in car manufacturing should be developed as far as possible. And this process is going on continuously.

But while we are listing the faults of the carmakers—let us remember the tremendous list of accomplishments they have achieved in the field of safety. Let us remember that the driver, the weather, and the highway also have something to do with safe driving. Let us at least keep our perspective and not infer that the solution to the problem lies in car construction alone. Maybe the automobile industry, the backbone of our economy, has some points in its favor too.

Students of Concordia Senior College, Fort Wayne, Ind., Set New Blood Donor Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 27, 1966

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, it has come to my attention that Indiana has a new national record holder. The record is in the field of blood donations, and the record holder is Concordia Senior College of Fort Wayne.

Colleges or universities are asked by the Red Cross to attain a quota during the school year of one pint of blood for each five students. On that basis, Concordia's quota was 86 pints, but the students actually contributed 518 pints or 602 percent of the quota. This is reported by the Fort Wayne chapter of the American Red Cross to be a new national record.

This is not the first time this small Indiana college, which is part of the educational system of my own denomination—Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod—has set an enviable pace in this project, since last year they reached a mark of 398 pints of blood donated, or 414 percent of their quota.

Mr. President, I congratulate the students of Concordia Senior College on their remarkable public spirit in making such a fine and very personal contribution, more valuable than any money and available to all, to the welfare of others. I recommend that other college students, and their elders as well, emulate the example they have set.

Salute to Republic of Togo—Sixth Independence Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 27, 1966

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, April 27 marks the sixth anniversary year of the independence of Togo, former colony of France. This is a memorable occasion and I wish to take this opportunity to express my congratulations and extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Nicolas Grunitzky, President of the Republic of Togo; and to His Excellency Robert Ajavon, Togo's Ambassador to the United States.

The territory now comprising Togo was at one time the German colony of Togoland. From 1919 until its independence in 1960 it was under French control first as a League of Nations mandate and later a trust territory under the United Nations. In 1956 French Togoland changed from trusteeship status to an autonomous Republic within the French Union. Under this relationship Togo had relatively great internal autonomy, although defense, foreign affairs and monetary matters were under French direction. Part of the original territory over which Germany exercised control was placed under British tutelage, and in 1957 that part chose to join the Gold Coast to form part of what became the independent state of Ghana. On April 27, 1960, the remainder of the territory shed its last colonial ties with France, and in a smooth transition, became an independent state.

Though its postindependence experiences have at times been turbulent, such occurrences should not be exaggerated. Many of the newly independent states have undergone even more serious upheavals, but have still maintained their independence. Indeed, even in this country we can look back in retrospect to many political and economic difficulties over which we triumphed. Likewise, I feel certain that with the hard work and dedication evidenced by the Togolese, their problems will one day be overcome.

The country's economy still rests mainly on cocoa and coffee as its chief foreign exchange earners, though some foodstuffs are exported to neighboring countries. Insofar as minerals are concerned, Togo is said to have the world's largest reserves of phosphates. Mining operations began in 1961, and there appears to be a bright future in that regard. Economic ties with France have remained strong and more than three-fourths of Togo's trade is with France. Foreign aid has come from France, West Germany, the United States, the United Nations, and the European Economic Community.

Togo's leadership has pledged as its primary goal the realization of economic independence. With its phosphate deposits and an increasing industrial base, that goal could certainly be realized.

While Togo lacks many of the natural riches of some of her neighboring states, the Togolese have clearly indicated their willingness to stand up to the demands posed by modern statehood. As the Togolese Government leads its people in the observance of their sixth anniversary as an independent republic, I extend my best wishes and urge them on to even greater accomplishments in the future.

With Cost of Living Increasing Congress Must Increase Veterans' Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 27, 1966

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced two bills designed to increase assistance to World War I, World War II, and Korean veterans as well as their widows and dependents. I believe enactment of these bills is essential if the dignity of the veteran is to be maintained in an economy which, because of inflation, is rapidly denying him the necessities of life and in many instances making it virtually impossible for him to make both ends meet.

The first bill increases the pensions veterans and widows receive. The second bill increases the amount of allowable outside earnings. The details of both of these bills follow my remarks.

There are those who maintain that any increase in pensions will encourage inflation. But why, I ask, should the deserving veteran and his widow, of all people, have to pay the bill for the Great Society's grand experiment in unbalanced budgetry? The way to deal with inflation is not to treat its unfortunate effect on the pensioner, but to deal directly with its cause which is unrestricted Federal spending for unwise and discredited domestic programs and misdirected foreign aid.

I am hopeful that the Congress and the administration will establish principles of priority and impose fiscal restraints on those programs which are the cause of the alarming decrease in the value of the dollar so that its disastrous effect on veterans and other pensioners will be remedied.

The substance of the bills follow:

A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code, to increase the rate of pension to certain veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, their widows and children, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the table in section 521(b) of title 38, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"Column I		Column II
Annual income		
More than— but	Equal to or less than—	
-------------	$2,400	$100"

(b) The table in section 521(c) of title 38, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"Column I		Column II	Column III	Column IV
Annual income		One dependent	Two dependents	Three or more dependents
More than— but	Equal to or less than—			
	$3,600	$105	$110	$115"

(c) Section 521(f)(1) of title 38, United States Code, is amended by striking out "$1,200" and substituting in lieu thereof "$3,600".

(d) The table in section 541(b) of title 38, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"Column I		Column II
Annual income		
More than— but	Equal to or less than—	
	$1,800	$65
$1,800	2,400	55"

(e) The table in section 541(c) of title 38, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"Column I		Column II
Annual income		
More than— but	Equal to or less than—	
	$2,400	$80
$2,400	3,600	65"

SEC. 2. (a) Section 542(a) of title 38, United States Code, is amended by striking out "$38" and substituting in lieu thereof "$50".

(b) Section 542(c) of title 38, United States Code, is amended by striking out "$1,800" and inserting in lieu thereof "$2,400".

A bill to increase the rate of pension payable to certain veterans of World War I, World War II, the Korean conflict and their widows, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the rate of pension payable with respect to a veteran of World War I, World War II, or the Korean conflict, who is eligible to receive pension under the provisions of title 38, United State Code, as in effect on June 30, 1960, shall be payable at the following monthly rate—

(1) $85.05;

(2) $100, if the veteran is married and living with or reasonably contributing to the support of his spouse or has a child or children; or

(3) $146.30, if the veteran is in need of regular aid and attendance.

(b) In the case of any such veteran who is in need of regular aid and attendance, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs shall, upon presentation of a prescription made out by a duly licensed physician as specific therapy in treatment of an illness or injury suffered by such veteran, furnish such veteran any drugs or medicines therein prescribed.

(c) No such pension shall be paid to any unmarried veteran whose annual income exceeds $2,100, or to any married veteran or any veteran with children whose annual income exceeds $3,400. No other income limitation shall be applicable to the payment of such pension.

SEC. 2. (a) Each widow of a veteran of World War I, World War II, or the Korean conflict who is eligible to receive pension under the provisions of title 38, United States Code, as in effect on June 30, 1960, shall be paid pension at the following monthly rate—

(1) Widow, no child, $64;

(2) Widow, one child, $83, with $15 for each additional child.

(b) No such pension shall be paid to any widow without child whose annual income exceeds $2,100, or to a widow (with a child) whose annual income exceeds $3,400. No other income limitation shall be applicable to the payment of such pension.

SEC. 3. This Act shall take effect on the first day of the first calendar month which begins after the date of its enactment.

Speech by Congressman Dominick V. Daniels on Americanization Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 27, 1966

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday our colleague, the very distinguished gentleman from New Jersey, DOMINICK V. DANIELS, was the guest speaker at the 35th annual Americanization Day ceremonies held in Jersey City on April 24, 1966, under the sponsorship of the Clinton E. Fisk Post No. 132, VFW.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include Mr. Daniels' remarks at this point in the Record:

AMERICANIZATION DAY

(Speech by Congressman Dominick V. Daniels, April 24, 1966)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, I am very happy and proud to be able to say a few words on this 35th annual Americanization Day. Each year this event seems to become a more important part of the life of the community and certainly the officers and members of the Clinton E. Fisk Post No. 132, of the Veterans of Foreign Wars deserve the appreciation of every citizen of our county and our State for helping to keep alive the great American patriotic tradition—love of God and love of country.

Standing here, I cannot help but reflect upon last year's Americanization Day celebration and what has transpired since that April day only 1 year ago.

At that time, the conflict in South Vietnam had not broadened to the extent that it has today and our participation then was on a far more limited scale. At that time, I said that our young men in South Vietnam were the equal of any fighting men that this Nation had ever turned out. I do not claim the gift of prophecy but these brave young men have lived up to our best hopes. They are, to repeat General MacArthur's description of our troops in Korea a decade and a half ago, "Truly splendid in every way."

This thought was brought home to me, as I am sure it was to you, 3 weeks ago when Life magazine published on its cover, a picture of Pete Dawkins, a former West Point all-American football star of the fifties and later a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University, who is serving as an Infantry captain in Vietnam. Already Captain Dawkins, perhaps one of the most outstanding graduates of the U.S. Military Academy as well as one of its greatest athletes, has earned several decorations for bravery above and beyond the call of duty.

While a few shun the battle, burn draft cards, and avoid serving their country, it is other young men like Pete Dawkins who are manning the ramparts of freedom thousands of miles from home.

I like to think that young men like Captain Dawkins truly represent the younger generation of Americans. The lunatic fringe may get the front page stories and the headlines, but it is the average GI from Jersey City and elsewhere, who is doing his duty as God gave him the light to see that duty who, I think, typifies the very best that this great Nation can produce.

In common with all parents in all parts of this Nation I long for an early end to the terrible war in Vietnam but so long as our young men are putting their lives on the line, it is not proper for us who are remote from the struggle to let these young men know that we stand behind them and that we appreciate their sacrifices.

It well behooves us to let those who are bearing the burden of battle know that we deeply appreciate their heroism.

The masters of the Communist slave empire rely upon the fact that our willingness to meet aggression by force with force will decline and that we, tiring of the struggle, eventually will falter and allow them to win by default.

This Communist view is reinforced every day by the antics of the draft card burners and those who espouse the concept of peace at any price.

Let each of us reject these false prophets and put our faith in those who are worthy of our support. Our brave men guarding the frontiers of freedom in southeast Asia.

I hope that the next time we meet here on this great day that an honorable end will have been found for the conflict in Vietnam. But until that time I think every man, woman, and child across the breadth of this land should raise his or her voice in support of our soldiers, sailors, and airmen now serving in Vietnam.

Our debt to them can never really be paid but we can let them know that the people for whom they are fighting and dying really do care.

Thank you.

The 1966 National Issues Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 27, 1966

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I am pleased today to insert the results of my 1966 national issues poll, which was mailed in March to the residents of the 13th Congressional District of Illinois. To date, I have received over 25,000 responses to the questionnaire, and am pleased to note once again the high level of interest in matters of national concern evidenced by residents of the 13th District.

The results follow:

RESULTS OF 1966 NATIONAL ISSUES POLL

1. Foreign affairs—Do you favor:

a. U.S. aid to assist foreign nations in controlling rapidly growing populations?

Percent yes	72.6
Percent no	24.7
Percent no answer	2.7

b. U.S. trade in food with Communist nations?

Percent yes	38.8
Percent no	58.0
Percent no answer	3.2

c. U.S. trade in industrial goods with Communist nations?

Percent yes	20.7
Percent no	75.8
Percent no answer	3.5

d. A greater role for Congress in matters affecting foreign policy and national security?

Percent yes	78.5
Percent no	17.8
Percent no answer	3.7

2. Vietnam—Do you favor:

a. Spending an additional $12.8 billion this year on the war in Vietnam?

Percent yes	54.9
Percent no	36.2
Percent no answer	8.9

b. Withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam?

Percent yes	17.5
Percent no	76.4
Percent no answer	6.1

c. Bombing North Vietnam's industrial centers and harbors?

Percent yes	68.1
Percent no	24.7
Percent no answer	7.2

d. Requesting U.N. mediation of Vietnam war?

Percent yes	65.5
Percent no	28.6
Percent no answer	5.9

e. Terminating U.S. foreign aid to nations which trade with the Communist North Vietnamese?

Percent yes	81.0
Percent no	15.1
Percent no answer	3.9

3. Do you feel that postal service has improved in the last 5 years?

Percent yes	33.0
Percent no	60.3
Percent no answer	6.7

4. Domestic—Do you favor:

a. Creation of a Federal Cabinet-rank Department of Transportation?

Percent yes	43.0
Percent no	48.5
Percent no answer	8.5

b. Legislation to require sellers to give accurate estimates of total interest charges to purchasers (truth-in-lending)?

Percent yes	91.0
Percent no	7.2
Percent no answer	1.8

c. A Constitutional amendment to set aside the Supreme Court decision curbing prayer and Bible reading in public schools?

Percent yes	57.7
Percent no	39.5
Percent no answer	2.8

d. Legislation regulating packaging and labeling of consumer goods (truth-in-packaging)?

Percent yes	87.5
Percent no	10.5
Percent no answer	2.0

e. Continuation of the Federal Government's "war on poverty"?

Percent yes	34.9
Percent no	60.4
Percent no answer	4.7

5. Civil rights—Do you favor:

a. President Johnson's proposal to prevent discrimination in the sale or rental of private housing?

Percent yes	31.5
Percent no	64.0
Percent no answer	4.5

b. Federal enforcement of nondiscriminatory jury selections?

Percent yes	63.4
Percent no	32.2
Percent no answer	4.4

c. Federal protection of civil rights workers?

Percent yes	45.8
Percent no	49.2
Percent no answer	5.0

6. Do you favor a greater Federal effort on problems of air and water pollution?

Percent yes	88.0
Percent no	10.1
Percent no answer	1.9

7. Labor—Do you favor:

a. Increasing the minimum wage from $1.25 to $1.50 per hour?

Percent yes	45.8
Percent no	50.3
Percent no answer	3.9

b. Establishing Federal standards and regulations for unemployment compensation?

Percent yes	45.3
Percent no	48.9
Percent no answer	5.8

c. Legislation to deal with strikes which threaten irreparable damage to the national interest?

Percent yes	88.3
Percent no	9.7
Percent no answer	2.0

8. Do you favor the Dirksen constitutional amendment to set aside the Supreme Court decision requiring that all State legislative districts be apportioned on the basis of population only?

Percent yes	58.1
Percent no	34.8
Percent no answer	7.1

9. Taxes—Do you favor:

a. President Johnson's proposal to raise excise taxes on telephone service and automobiles by $4.8 billion in 1967?

Percent yes	23.7
Percent no	73.1
Percent no answer	3.2

b. Limited tax credits for expenses of higher education?

Percent yes	78.4
Percent no	19.2
Percent no answer	2.4

c. Tax credits for firms sponsoring job training programs for unskilled and unemployed workers (Human Investment Act)?

Percent yes	72.3
Percent no	24.7
Percent no answer	3.0

d. Tax deductions for limited contributions to political campaigns?

Percent yes	36.0
Percent no	60.8
Percent no answer	3.2

Please, Mr. President, We Need Your Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WENDELL WYATT
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 27, 1966

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, Russian fishing activity off Pacific coastal areas has reached such magnitude and intensity it must be halted unless our fishery resource there is irretrievably damaged. This is more than a sectional problem—it affects our entire country. I would like for my colleagues to be appraised of action I have called for to alleviate the situation as indicated in my letters to President Johnson and the chairman of our Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation Subcommittee.

April 22, 1966.

The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President: You may be aware that there is a substantial sized Russian fishing fleet fishing the bottom fishery close off the Oregon coast. This fleet consists of at least three large Liberty ship sized mother ships and approximately thirty to forty 150-foot catcher ships.

The Russian fleet is destroying the bottom fishery of the west coast. I have personally flown over the fleet and observed it in action. The fleet is operating between 10 and 35 miles off our coast.

Our deep sea fishermen have struggled in competition with foreign fishermen for many years and have been beset with virtually every manner of natural and manmade handicap. The depletion of the resource by the Russians will break the back of our industry in the Northwest.

The Russians are fishing grounds which our own fishermen have avoided for conservation reasons, since they are largely spawning areas. The Russians use a fine mesh net which even take very young and immature fish. It is apparent that the Russians intend to so fish for at least another month. This not only will desperately harm our fishery and fishermen this year, but also will probably destroy the resource.

Every day is of vital and desperate concern to our fishermen and because of my great concern for our fishermen I have researched alternative courses of action in great detail. I call upon you, Mr. President, to take prompt action to alleviate this situation and I make the following points:

1. I ask and urge that you immediately enforce Proclamation No. 2668 issued by President Harry Truman on September 28, 1945. This proclamation authorized the establishment of conservation zones off our coast and turned back a similar Soviet threat to our fishery in 1945. The proclamation should be implemented at once by calling it to the attention of the Russian Government and by sending our patrols to the fishing grounds to instruct the Russians to leave promptly.

2. On January 26, February 15, and March 14, all in 1966, the Russians by the use of a patrol vessel and an aircraft forced Japanese to leave Siberian fishing waters. The Japanese were fishing beyond the Russian 12-mile zone but despite this fact were forced from these waters, apparently based upon some such theory as used by President Truman in his 1945 proclamation. I ask and urge that you immediately take such action if the Russians refuse to recognize the Truman proclamation.

3. We now claim rights to the bottom of the sea for purposes of mineral and oil exploration to the edge of the Continental Shelf. It is my understanding these rights are claimed by virtue of an International Convention. I would urge your staff to determine whether or not this Convention gives us any rights to the marine life over the Continental Shelf. The probable answer to this point is negative, but certainly the first two points I have made would suffice.

Finally, I would point out that in the Federal Register of Tuesday, April 19, the Commissioner of Customs has published his notice of an inquiry to determine the nature and extent and facts in connection with the dumping into this country of fishery products from the U.S.S.R. which are, or likely to be, sold at less than fair value. This dramatically illustrates the dilemma of our fishermen.

Please, Mr. President, we need your help.

Respectfully yours,

Wendell Wyatt,
Member of Congress.

April 22, 1966.

Hon. John D. Dingell,
Rayburn House Office Building.,
Washington, D.C.

Dear John: The Northwest, and in particular the State of Oregon, is presently plagued with the presence close offshore, but beyond the 3-mile limit, of a substantial sized Russian fishing fleet.

A minimum of 35 vessels, at least 150 feet long each, and including three large Liberty type mother ships, are and have been for several weeks denuding our bottom fishery. This fleet is fishing with a small mesh net which takes all size of ocean perch and other varieties of bottom fish. The fleet appears to be concentrating especially in areas which our American fishermen have avoided for conservation reasons, because they are spawning areas.

It would appear that the Russians intend to remain off our shores at least one more month. If permitted to do so, the resource will be lost not only for this, but for ensuing years, and in all probability will be permanently destroyed.

The facts indicate that the ships are fishing from 10 to 30 miles offshore. During the Easter Congressional recess I personally flew over a portion of the fleet and observed them at work.

In 1945 a similar effort was made by the Russians and was counteracted by a Presidential proclamation made by Harry S. Truman. Last year we had a few Russians off the coast and they apparently were exploratory ships laying the ground work for this year's heavy visitation.

I earnestly request that you, as Chairman, call as quickly as possible a meeting of your Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation to establish the facts and recommend remedial action concerning this problem.

I will be available to testify and will be able on short notice to furnish other witnesses.

Any assistance you can give our American fishermen in connection with this desperate problem and to assist in the conservation of our fishery will be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Wendell Wyatt,
Member of Congress.

Fino Urges President To Disclose Terms of United States-Korean Troop-Hire Deal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 27, 1966

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of this House a letter which I sent to the President a few days ago, in which I asked the President to have Secretary McNamara disclose to the Congress the price we have agreed to pay to Korea to hire Korean troops to fight in Vietnam. So far, Mr. McNamara has been unwilling to discuss this matter. I hope he will change his mind. I believe George III told the British Parliament how much it cost to hire the Hessian troops sent to fight in America. I think Congress deserves to know how much the Koreans are costing us.

I include hereafter the text of my letter, together with some other material; namely, an article from the February 19 London Economist and another from the April issue of Progressive magazine, both of which describe the multiplicity of benefits we have promised the Koreans in payment for these mercenaries.

Text of letters of April 25 to President Johnson:

I am writing concerning an agreement which I understand to have been made in which the United States is furnishing the Republic of South Korea with a large volume of Vietnamese war production orders as part of the price of hiring Korean troops to fight in Vietnam at United States expense. According to information in the February 19 Economist of London and the April Progressive magazine, quoting the St. Louis Post Dispatch, the U.S. deal also involves the hiring of Korean personnel in Vietnam at salaries four to eight times Korean wage scales, an increase in U.S. aid to Korea, the renegotiation of United States-Korean defense and defense cost-sharing agreements. This is in addition to "top priority" for Korea as a supplier of material to the Vietnamese war effort. It is also in addition to the United States' bearing the financial burden of maintaining and supplying the Korean troops in Vietnam.

The more I find out about the Korea situation, the more suspicious I get. Korean news correspondents, in querying me, persist in asking "What will you do if you discover a deal?" Furthermore, since I asked for the investigation, administration supporters in the Congress have begun placing in the Congressional Record a number of written pieces purporting to show what a great asset the Korean troops are to the Vietnamese war effort. That may be. During the American Revolution, King George III got a lot of military use out of his hired Hessian mercenaries. I believe that the British Parliament, however, was informed both of the mercenary status and cost of the Hessians. I regret that the U.S. Congress has not yet received information of a similar nature.

In response to my urging a Joint Defense Production Committee probe, Senator Robertson has queried Secretary McNamara on the "deal," but the Secretary has evaded the question. He has answered through an evasive Deputy Assistant Secretary.

I am writing to ask you to order Secretary McNamara to make full disclosure on this matter. I think the American people have a right to know if we are obtaining allies in the Vietnamese war only by making deals which shower prosperity on the nation in question. Somehow, such a deal would be well in keeping with the whole "Terry and the Pirates" atmosphere of the fighting and plotting in Vietnam.

The particular aspect of the agreement with Korea that initially attracted my attention is the right won by the Koreans to furnish shoddy galvanized iron to Vietnam at outrageous profiteering prices. Now I see this agreement for what it is—part of a deal which is not aimed at Korean industrial development per se but which is rather aimed at paying the Koreans for sending mercenaries to Vietnam. Let me go into detail.

You are no doubt familiar with the U.S. AID-sponsored triangular trade in iron between Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. It was the subject of a prohibitive amendment to the foreign aid supplemental appropriations bill of 1966. The amendment, offered by Senator Bayh, was killed in conference. This triangular trade offers vast profiteering to Korea. The Koreans get Japanese iron plate at a price of $130 per ton. They galvanize it—using U.S. zinc they got through AID from the United States—at a cost of $30 per ton. They sell it in Vietnam for $259 per ton. This is a staggering profit. Unfortunately, it is also true that the galvanized iron in question is shoddy and cannot meet U.S. Bureau of Standards requirements. This pure profiteering by Korea—and it is profiteering under U.S. auspices and at U.S. expense. It is disguised foreign aid.

This aid is not aimed at building up Korean industry per se. The Agency for International Development regulation which permits this violation of the "Buy American" policy is ostensibly aimed at permitting procurement in a number of nations near to Vietnam—to wit, Thailand, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, and Korea. This is a blind. Japan is the source of iron plate used—and the Japanese have informally agreed to ship plate only to Korea. So says the Japan Commerce Daily of February 23, 1966. In short, my point is that the AID regulation is primarily aimed at giving galvanized iron contracts to Korea. The question then becomes "Why Korea?"

The answer is by no means economic. The Wall Street Journal in a March 17 article on the Korean boom, says that the boom is due in large part to the war in Vietnam. The article also warns that any rush for South Vietnamese war business could compromise this country's long-range economic goals. Why is there this American willingness to permit such a compromising rush? The answer is troops—Korean sharing in U.S. paid-for Vietnamese war production is part of what we are paying to hire Korean troops.

If Secretary McNamara has not yet admitted this, an AID official has. Mr. Rutherford Poats, Chief of AID's Far Eastern Bureau, in trying to justify the AID procurement policy, told a New York businessman named Savitt, in a March 4 letter that "additional factors, which are obviously much less appreciated by you, include our firm belief that an ally which furnished 40,000 troops to fight beside our forces in Vietnam deserves a chance to compete for some of the U.S. financed procurement going into that war. These troops substitute directly for an equal number of American fighting men." Mr. Poats' point here is obvious—he is telling Mr. Savitt that the real reason for the procurement policy is to hire mercenaries. I merely want to know the terms of the deal.

Very truly yours

PAUL A. FINO,
Member of Congress.

[From the London Economist, Feb. 19, 1966]

KOREA AND VIETNAM: FIGHTING TIGER FOR RENT

South Korea, which Vice President Humphrey will be visiting next Wednesday on his way home, is putting a price on the military help it is giving to the Americans in Vietnam. The South Koreans have already sent some 23,000 troops to help fight the Vietcong, including their elite antiguerrilla Tiger Division, whose commander fought behind the Communist lines in the Korean war. In proportion to the size of its 604,000-strong armed forces, Korea's contribution is half that of the United States; in actual numbers it is more than 10 times that of the combined Australian and New Zealand forces. And the South Koreans were thinking of sending even more troops until bargaining broke down over the Americans' refusal to meet their conditions.

The South Korean leaders say they are fighting in Vietnam in self-defense. They see Vietnam, the other divided Asian country, as the frontline of their struggle against the Communists in the north, and they hope that a defeat of the Vietnamese Communists will speed up the unification of Korea. This stake in an anti-Communist victory has led the South Koreans to take as tough a line as their South Vietnamese counterparts. Last month the Prime Minister, Mr. Kwon Chung, said that it was useless to try to end the war by negotiations and insisted that "retaliatory actions against North Vietnam" were the "only solution." But should a conference on Vietnam he held despite their opposition, the South Koreans expect to be invited.

It is not only politically that South Korea hopes to benefit from the Vietnamese war. A great slice of profit has already come its way in the form of trade and civilian employment. Last year South Korea exported about $15 million worth of goods—mainly steel products and cement—to Vietnam. The figure is expected to rise sharply in 1966. South Korean lorry drivers, welders, electricians and assorted technicians, who would earn less than $70 a month in Korea, have been hired by American contractors in Vietnam at salaries ranging from $270 to $450 a month.

But Seoul is not satisfied with its present share in the profits of war. It has asked the United States for certain quid pro quos for the troops it has sent. These include the "highest priority" for Korea as a supplier of the war materials the United States is buying for use in Vietnam (which would mean a revision of the "buy American" policy): an increase in the allowances paid to Korean troops in Vietnam; and a rise in American military and economic aid to South Korea over the 1965 level of $250 million. The Koreans also want the United States to cancel the recent agreement by which South Korea would pay a larger share of Korean defense costs.

The South Korean Government says that the talks with the Americans are now deadlocked, but will continue. America conceded one point to Korea in December by withdrawing a ban on imports of Korean steel products into Vietnam only 4 weeks after the ban had been imposed. The Americans' Vietnam-induced budget squeeze and the aid cuts announced by President Johnson recently will probably prevent them from giving in to Korean pressures for more aid. But Mr. Johnson's plan to expand the American Army in Vietnam is creating a huge demand for goods and services, and Seoul is likely to offer a few thousand extra fighting tigers in order to get the largest possible share.

[From the Progressive, April 1966]

HOW TO BUY ALLIES

The administration has been pointing with anxious pride to the support U.S. forces in Vietnam are receiving from other nations—especially the aid from South Korea because it is an Asian country. What is not stressed is that we receive precious little manpower or anything else from other countries, and our SEATO partners—South Korea is not part of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization—are conspicuous by the almost total absence of their support.

The facts are that there are only an estimated 22,000 troops of other countries aiding the U.S. cause in South Vietnam—compared to 220,000 Americans there. About 20,000 of these troops are from South Korea, a country so dependent on the United States it could hardly be called a voluntary ally. Getting help from South Korea is like receiving money from the son you support at college.

Now the cabinet at Seoul has voted to send another 20,000 men to Vietnam—which will place about the same number of Koreans in Vietnam as there are American forces in South Korea. This constitutes a curious exchange, but the inducement offered South Korea goes far to clarify the underlying motives. As summarized in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the United States has promised to:

"Increase the pay of Korean troops in Vietnam by 25 percent; continue the present

Korean military assistance program for the next few years; supply more modern arms and equipment to South Korea and underwrite activation of three reserve divisions; enable South Korea to sell as much as possible to South Vietnam under U.S. procurement programs; and release soon to Korea $150 million in promised development loan funds."

All this adds up to a demeaning, desperate effort by the administration to buy support from a dependent nation when it is not forthcoming voluntarily from independent allies. An historical precedent that comes to mind is the British hiring Hessians to fight the Americans during our own revolution.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, APRIL 28, 1966

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

The Lord God is a sun and shield: the Lord will give grace and glory: no good thing will He withhold from them that walk uprightly.—Psalm 84: 11.

"Spirit of God descend upon my heart;
Wean it from earth: through all its pulses move:
Stoop to my weakness, mighty as Thou art:
And make me love Thee as I ought to love."

Spirit of God descend upon my heart—this is our morning prayer. Make us daily aware of Thy presence and in Thy spirit may we find the attitudes we need for this day. Slow us down, Lord, slow us down; we work too hard, we eat too fast, we hurry too much. Help us to take time to think clearly, time to pray sincerely, and above all time to cultivate the sense of Thy presence in our hearts and in our homes. Then give us the faith and the fortitude to walk uprightly in Thy way, for the good of our Nation and for the glory of Thy Holy Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 14012. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 14012) entitled "An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. PASTORE, Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. HAYDEN, Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia, Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. HILL, Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota, Mr. SALTONSTALL, and Mr. MUNDT to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to a bill and joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 518. An act for the relief of Joanna K. Georgoulia; and

S.J. Res. 86. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim a "Day of Recognition" for firefighters.

The message also announced that the Presiding Officer of the Senate, pursuant to Public Law 115, 78th Congress, entitled "An act to provide for the disposal of certain records of the U.S. Government," appointed Mr. MONRONEY and Mr. CARLSON members of the Joint Select Committee on the part of the Senate for the Disposition of Executive Papers referred to in the report of the Archivist of the United States numbered 66-14.

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Government Operations may have until midnight Friday, April 29, to file certain investigative reports.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

NONSCHEDULED AIRLINE BUSINESS SHOULD BE INVESTIGATED BY CONGRESS

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the Nation was shocked by the crash last Friday of a nonscheduled turboprop airliner that brought flaming death to 76 young Americans, including 4 young men from my district, on an Oklahoma hillside.

Such tragedies happen all too often, and it is high time that a complete and thorough congressional investigation be made of the entire nonscheduled airline business. We have lived with these crashes for years; it is now time to get serious about setting stricter standards for the operation of these nonscheduled aircraft.

Last Friday's disaster was one of a series of nonsked disasters involving service personnel. Some years ago a large number of young men died in the crash of a nonsked Constellation near Richmond. Crew incompetence and confusion were blamed.

Mr. Speaker, how long must the lives of our young men be sacrificed in this fashion?

I think the entire nonscheduled aircraft business as well as the practice of chartering nonscheduled aircraft to transport military personnel should be very closely reexamined.

We must stop these needless tragedies.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs be permitted to sit during general debate this afternoon.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

A HEINOUS CRIME

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the other body passed by one vote the administration's boondoggle program of rent subsidy. Passage of this program has been acclaimed a victory for the administration, but, in reality, we all know here today that the passage of this bill by one vote is a slap at the Johnson administration since it controls the Congress by a two-thirds majority. The manner in which this program passed the House is now legislative history. I am sure my colleagues recall that during the last session of Congress the House Appropriations Committee refused to recommend funds for this ill-advised program.

Mr. Speaker, when I arrived in my office this morning there was a telegram waiting from one of my constituents. This telegram read:

> Has the Senate gone completely mad? The rent subsidy bill is a heinous crime against the self-supporting taxpayer.

To this telegram I add that this program is not only a heinous crime against the taxpayers; it is a crime against every living American.

What are we actually doing here? We are depriving the American people of initiative; one of the ingredients that made this country great. We are telling the people, "Don't work hard; don't strive to get ahead; don't plan for the future, because the Federal Government will provide for your every need and want."

Mr. Speaker, I firmly believe the American people will reject this type of program when they are given the chance.

APPLICATION OF THE SO-CALLED FINDLEY AMENDMENT

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, during consideration Tuesday of the so-called Findley amendment to deny concessional sales of U.S. surplus commodities to nations dealing with North Vietnam, some remarks were made suggesting that the amendment would have little if any effect and was in the realm of questionable "instant foreign policy."

Today's news developments show clearly what the amendment was all about and how it can be an instrument to tighten shipping into North Vietnam.

Poland, according to wire dispatches, is demanding that the United States pay damages on one of its ships allegedly damaged by our forces April 19 in Haiphong harbor, North Vietnam. This demand makes it obvious that Poland is indeed shipping goods to North Vietnam.

It is public knowledge that Poland is also actively seeking additional concessional deals from the United States under Public Law 480, and in the past has benefited under this law to the tune of at least one-half billion dollars.

If my amendment, which was adopted by this body, becomes law it will keep Communist Poland from having the best of both worlds, and I say it is high time.

My amendment would disqualify Poland from the attractive terms and big discounts under Public Law 480, which of course are financed by U.S. taxpayers.

Poland is presently trying to negotiate a purchase of tobacco under title IV of Public Law 480, because it wants long-term credit at cutrate interest. Title IV now authorizes up to 5 years credit, with interest as low as three-fourths of 1 percent, and even that interest charge could be forgiven for 2 of the 5 years.

Unbelievably, the Johnson administration has asked for legislation which would let Poland have these same attractive terms for as long as 40 years.

This nonsense must stop. Why should our taxpayers continue to finance Communist governments which send supplies to those who are killing our own boys in South Vietnam?

USE OF NONSCHEDULED AIRLINERS BY THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to commend the gentleman from New York [Mr. WOLFF] for having raised the question of nonscheduled airlines. There should be an immediate investigation of the Government's relationship with those airlines. The crash last week was a tragedy. It reminds us that the U.S. Department of Defense is still contracting with nonscheduled airlines for the transportation of troops. I question this policy and would like to know why chartered planes are used to ferry American troops.

It seems to me the mission of carrying our troops by air should be done with U.S. Government planes, under Government supervision, and with Government pilots, and not be farmed out to nonscheduled airlines.

I urge the Secretary of Defense to make a full report to Congress and to the appropriate committees on this vital matter.

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Maritime Education and Training of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries may be permitted to sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

TRANSPORTATION, SALE, AND HANDLING OF DOGS AND CATS FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 821 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 821

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 13881) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs, cats, and other animals intended to be used for purposes of research or experimentation, and for other purposes. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill, and shall continue not to exceed two hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Agriculture, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Florida is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the able gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH], pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 821 provides an open rule with 2 hours of general debate for consideration of H.R. 13881, a bill to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs and cats intended to be used for purposes of research or experimentation, and for other purposes.

The purposes of H.R. 13881 are to protect the owners of dogs and cats from the theft of such pets, to prevent the use or sale of stolen animals for purposes of research or experimentation, and to establish humane standards for the treatment of these animals while they are on the way to medical research facilities. It specifically authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, purchase, sale, and handling in commerce of dogs and cats which are destined for use in research or experimentation.

Research facilities and laboratories last year used thousands of dogs and cats for which they paid many millions of dollars. This demand has given rise to a large network of dealers who oftentimes secure dogs and cats by simply combing the streets and picking up any animal they can catch. These dogs and cats are usually stripped of all identification and often moved across State lines to escape the jurisdiction of local and State laws.

Under H.R. 13881 the Secretary of Agriculture would issue licenses to both dealers and research facilities. The dealers would be required to keep records of their handling, transportation, purchase, and sale of dogs and cats. The research facilities would keep records of their purchase, sale, and transportation of dogs and cats acquired by them. The Secretary would specify humane methods of identification for the dogs and cats. The Secretary would prescribe humane standards to govern the transportation and handling of dogs and cats by the dealers but not by the research facilities.

In other words, the basic bill which the rule would authorize consideration of relates only to the sale, purchase and transportation of dogs and cats but does not provide whatsoever for any supervision or treatment of the animals while they are in the hands of the research facilities. That is, I hope, a subject which will be dealt with by later legislation. It is not dealt with by the legislation which would be authorized to be considered by this rule by this House.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield to my able colleague from Florida [Mr. HALEY].

Mr. HALEY. Many Members of Congress have been interested in this kind of legislation for some time. It is my understanding that probably the committee bill combines many of the thoughts in numerous bills submitted by Members of Congress.

Mr. PEPPER. My able colleague is correct.

Mr. HALEY. May I say to my distinguished colleague from Florida, I believe this legislation is long overdue. This is something Congress should immediately pass.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank my able colleague for his support of this legislation.

It would be unlawful for a dealer or research facility to operate without a license, and a research facility could purchase dogs and cats only from a licensed dealer. Persons who do not meet the specifications of a dealer under this bill could voluntarily obtain a license if they showed the Secretary that their operation met the standards he prescribed.

Violations of the act could result in a $500-per-day penalty, suspension or revocation of a dealer's license, the issuance of a cease and desist order, or a possible withdrawal of Federal aid to a research facility if the Federal agency administering the aid felt such withdrawal would not be contrary to the public interest.

Any person or research facility who objects to orders issued by the Secretary would have the right to file a petition of review of the order in the appropriate U.S. court of appeals.

Mr. Speaker, we have seen many heartrending instances where pets have been picked up by unscrupulous dealers who are subject to no supervision or scrutiny of law and sold into channels of research. Meanwhile, while they are awaiting transportation to these facilities they are treated in the most barbaric and inhumane manner. This legislation, as my able colleague from Florida [Mr. HALEY] said, is long past due. The legislation which this rule will make in order for the House to consider is a composite of many bills on this subject, one of which is in my bill. I hope that the rule will be adopted. This legislation is making progress in the right direction, although I do not think it goes as far as it should; but certainly it represents substantial progress in the right direction. I hope the rule will be adopted and H.R. 13881 will be enacted by the House.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to my able colleague from the Committee on Rules, the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may use.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 821 will provide 2 hours of debate under an open rule for the consideration of H.R. 13881, transportation, sale, and handling of dogs and cats for research purposes.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Florida has explained the bill very ably, and rather than take additional time, I will insert my remarks in explanation of the bill and concur in his remarks.

The purposes of the bill are:

First, to protect dog and cat owners from theft;

Second, to prevent the use or sale of stolen animals for research purposes; and

Third, to establish humane standards for treatment of research animals.

The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to regulate the transportation, purchase, sale, and handling of dogs and cats which are to be used for research and experimentation. Only dogs and cats are covered by the bill.

The increasing need for research animals has caused some suppliers to secure dogs and cats by picking them up on streets. The bill will require suppliers to keep records concerning dogs and cats supplied to research facilities. Humane methods of handling and transporting dogs and cats will be prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture to apply to such dealers, but not to the research facilities. Dealers and research facilities must be licensed by the Secretary. Purchases of dogs and cats may be made only from licensed dealers.

Violations of the act or the Secretary's regulations can result in a $500 per day fine, suspension or revocation of a license, an injunction, or withdrawal of Federal aid to a research facility. Appeals from any order of the Secretary can be made to the U.S. court of appeals.

The estimated cost of the program is $1,030,000 for the first year. Thereafter, the cost will be met by license fees as far as practicable.

The Department of Agriculture supports the bill; the Bureau of the Budget opposes it. There are no minority views.

I know of no opposition to the rule.

Mr. Speaker, I would now like to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER].

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I know a number of us introduced bills for the humane treatment of animals last year. The distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] was one of those who introduced a bill, as did my colleague on my committee, the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS]. We had hearings on that legislation. However, since that time our committee has not been able to get further hearings on the bill. The distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] introduced this bill, which, as far as it goes, I think is excellent. It does take care of animals up to the door of the laboratory. It does not do anything beyond the door of the laboratory.

May I say for the great research facilities of this country that 90 percent of them prescribe humane treatment of animals, and those people are all right. I think there is nothing we will find wrong with that great majority of the research laboratories of this country.

As an example, Mr. Speaker, during the Christmas vacation of 1965, I visited a laboratory in Decatur, Ill., of one of the large research companies located there. This was a new building, completed this last year. At that laboratory the animals were treated humanely.

Mr. Speaker, as the president of that company explained to me, unsatisfactory animals or unhealthy animals would be of no help to them.

Mr. Speaker, this is the kind of treatment all animals should receive.

Mr. Speaker, in about 10 percent of the research in the United States the humane treatment of animals is not followed. It is my opinion that it is to that 10 percent at which the legislation which the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] and I introduced last year was designed to reach.

But, Mr. Speaker, I do recommend the Poage bill. I believe it represents good legislation as far as it goes. I am sorry that this appears to be the only legislation that we will get this year.

Mr. Speaker, I certainly want to recommend the legislation to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle—perhaps at a later date we can improve on the Poage bill.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently, a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 75]

Abbitt
Ashley
Ayres
Baring
Beckworth
Betts
Blatnik
Boggs
Brademas
Bray
Burleson
Callaway
Carter
Celler
Conyers
Corbett
Dawson
Delaney
Dingell
Dorn
Dowdy
Ellsworth
Evans, Colo.
Fisher
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Gibbons
Green, Oreg.
Griffin
Griffiths
Halpern
Hays
Holifield
Jarman
Johnson, Okla.
Kelly
Kluczynski
McMillan
Mathias
Matsunaga
Matthews
Mize
Moeller
Murray
Nix
Pool
Powell
Reuss
Rivers, Alaska
Roberts
Roncalio
Rooney, N.Y.
Roudebush
Scott
Sickles
Teague, Tex.
Toll
Ullman
White, Tex.
Williams
Willis
Wright
Wyatt

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 374 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR WEEK OF MAY 2

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask for this time for the purpose of inquiring of the majority leader if he will kindly advise us as to the program for next week.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentlemen yield to me?

Mr. ARENDS. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. First of all, may I advise the Members that we expect to have a civil rights message this afternoon. There might be a quorum call, because the message will have to be read if it arrives here when the House is in session.

Now, responding to the inquiry of the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Speaker, the program for next week is as follows:

Monday is Consent Calendar day and there is one suspension, H.R. 5305, authorizing the destruction of unfit Federal Reserve notes.

Also on Monday S. 1804, providing for two additional judges for the U.S. Court of Claims.

There are 11 unanimous consent bills from the Committee on Ways and Means, as follows:

H.R. 8376, continuing suspension of duty on cork insulation.

H.R. 8188, deduction of contributions for judicial reform.

H.R. 10998, continuing suspension of duty on heptanoic acid.

H.R. 11653, continuing suspension of duty on natural graphite.

H.R. 12262, continuing suspension of duty on shoe lathes.

H.R. 12328, continuing suspension of duty on tanning extracts.

H.R. 12461, continuing suspension of duty on certain istle.

H.R. 12463, continuing suspension of duty on chicory.

H.R. 12657, continuing suspension of duty on alumina and bauxite.

H.R. 12864, continuing suspension of duty on personal and household effects brought into the United States under Government orders.

H.R. 12997, continuing suspension of duty on electrodes for use in producing aluminum.

Tuesday is Private Calendar day. Also on Tuesday H.R. 14324, the NASA authorization for fiscal year 1967.

For Wednesday and the balance of the week the Labor-HEW Appropriation Act for 1967. H.R. 14544, Participation Sales Act of 1966, which is subject to a rule. Also S. 2499, sale of participations in SBA loan pools, which is also subject to a rule, and H.R. 10027, situs picketing.

This announcement is made subject to the usual reservations that any further program may be announced later and conference reports may be brought up at any time. We may have another bill to add to the program if time permits.

DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order on Calendar Wednesday of next week may be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. STAGGERS], I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce may be permitted to sit today while the House is in session during general debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE ON RULES

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have until midnight tonight to file certain privileged reports.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

PRESIDENT ACCUSES THE CONGRESS OF ATTEMPTING TO ADD $3 BILLION TO HIS BUDGET

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the President accused the Congress of trying to add $3 billion to his budget, indicating that this may force him to ask for a tax increase.

That accusation is as phony as the budget itself. I well recognize that the President is an astute politician, and adept at political maneuvering. He has no superior. But I resent this political attempt to have the people hold the Congress responsible for his own irresponsible fiscal chicanery and political shenanigans that have brought about the prospects of a tax increase to combat the inflation spiral.

Mr. Speaker, the budget President Johnson submitted in January did not even include the billions he asked us in February to appropriate for Vietnam.

The President's budget did not call for any reduction in expenditures for his various Great Society programs of questionable merit. On the contrary, he urges that they proceed in a grand and glorious fashion, whatever the cost and whatever the waste already found to exist.

Where are the reductions in his budget? They are in long established programs of proven merit, such as school lunch and school milk and aid to impacted school areas. I venture to say that when he made those reductions he well knew that Congress would restore them.

It is in the area of national defense that the President would reduce spending. His Secretary of Defense has even deferred proper housing and hospitals for our servicemen. At the same time, President Johnson insists that we initiate programs that were designed to provide better housing for civilians at home.

If the President feels so strongly about the appropriations being made by the Congress, why does he not veto the bills? If he feels so strongly about reducing expenditures, why does not the President submit to us a priority listing of where reductions can be made?

Why does he not send a message to the Congress saying "Congress, stop this spending." His party controls this membership by a better than 2-to-1 ratio.

If Mr. Johnson is so intent upon holding down expenditures, why does he not lend his support to our Republican efforts to write into the appropriation bills a provision calling for a 5-percent reduction in what is spent of the amount appropriated, leaving to him the decision as to where to make the reduction. The record shows that over 90 percent of those on this side of the aisle favor such a provision and over 80 percent of the gentlemen on the other side oppose.

When the President attempts to blame the Congress, who, I ask, does he think he is fooling?

TRANSPORTATION, SALE, AND HANDLING OF DOGS AND CATS FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 13881) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs, cats, and other animals intended to be used for purposes of research or experimentation, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 13881, with Mr. DUNCAN of Oregon in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] will be recognized for 1 hour and the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] will be recognized for 1 hour.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE].

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, for some time there has been a widespread feeling throughout this country that we needed to make at least two reforms in the movement of dogs and cats that are used in laboratory research work. In the first place, I think every right feeling person agrees that there should be more humane treatment of those animals in their handling and in the laboratories.

In the second place, every right thinking person believes we should take steps so far as it is within our jurisdiction to do so to prevent the ever-spreading selling of pets by unscrupulous dealers in animals to supply the ever-increasing needs of our laboratories.

This bill attempts to deal with both of these problems. It attempts to secure full and better protection from thieves and to try to get better treatment of the animals in the laboratories whether they are stolen or whether the animals are legitimately produced and furnished to such laboratories.

Now to go back in history for just a moment. The demand for dogs and cats, as the demand for other laboratory animals, has greatly increased in recent years. I think that is a good sign. It is a sign that our science is on the move. It is a sign that scientists throughout the country are making ever-increasing efforts to alleviate human suffering and here we come to one of the paradoxes—one of the crosscurrents—that we must face in trying to deal with this problem. We all want to protect our animals as much as we can from all of the unnecessary suffering and cruelty.

There are many who would want to go so far as to deny to our scientists the opportunity to have the necessary and much needed animals on which to make experiments that might lead to the prevention of human suffering. Sometimes you have to make this hard choice—and it is a choice between the suffering of animals and the suffering of children. Or the choice between the suffering of animals and the suffering of mankind as a whole. To me the choice has to be made in favor of the human beings. This bill makes that choice in favor of human beings rather than in favor of animals.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to my friend from Florida.

Mr. PEPPER. I believe the gentleman has correctly observed that insofar as the use of animals in laboratories is concerned, we must reserve the right to use animals for experimentation and research which experimentation and research may possibly redound to the benefit of human beings.

But in view of the fact that there are several of us who for some time have been trying to get hearings on proposed legislation and to have such legislation enacted to provide for the protection of animals in laboratories for experimental and research purposes, and to protect such animals against unnecessary cruelty and inhumane treatment, I thought it appropriate to rise at this time to emphasize and to stress the real purpose of these bills that we have been sponsoring.

We are not antivivisectionists although there are many conscientious and fine citizens in our country who are. Those of us who have been sponsoring these bills to which I have referred are not attempting to achieve the prohibition of the use of animals for experimental and research purposes.

We have been informed that some of the most grossly shocking practices exist where animals have been cut open and thrown out on a bench or have been just simply thrown out to die—and in some instances hung up on a nail—all with a callous disregard by the people handling these animals for the pain and suffering these animals endure.

I just wanted to say that the purpose of those bills which many of us are sponsoring, and which we hope will yet come to consideration in this House, is not to retard research, not in any sense of the word, nor to deny to laboratories and to research institutions the full use of all the animals that they feel should be employed, but to establish some standards of scrutiny and inspection so that unnecessary brutal, barbaric, callous cruelty might not be perpetrated upon those animals that are already condemned to this service of mankind as instruments of research.

Mr. POAGE. I should like to thank my colleague from Florida. I do want to point out that there are a great many Members of this House who have expressed their interest in this type of legislation. There is a wide spectrum of viewpoints. There are those who feel that we should do nothing more than simply attempt to deal with the problem of the theft of the dogs and cats. There are a number of bills pending before the committees of this House which go no further than imposing some restraints on the dealers in laboratory animals.

On the other hand, as the gentleman from Florida has pointed out, there are those who honestly and sincerely believe that we should not use animals at all for any kind of research purposes that involve any kind of pain. While I respect this viewpoint, I do not share it.

There are those who feel, as the gentleman from Florida does, that we should attempt to carry control through the laboratories. Frankly, the measure that I originally introduced went further than this measure goes. But this measure does, I believe, pretty well represent a consensus, and I believe that this viewpoint is shared by a great many Members.

The distinguished gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. May], has introduced an identical bill to my bill, and she supports this measure as I do. I believe the last count showed that there were exactly 50 bills before the Agriculture Committee, and I do not know how many before other committees. I know there are a number pending before other committees. There must be something like 60 or 70 bills, at least, introduced in this House.

We are trying to bring before the House today a measure that has the widest scope of support.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DENT. The question that bothers me relates to the purpose or the intent of the legislation. I agree with you and believe that this is the right way to handle this particular matter. From experience I know that in some States and in some areas there is a very avid position taken by great numbers of people against vivisection as such. For many years there have been legislative bills introduced in State legislatures to bring about protection in States that have never yet allowed it.

In one particular State the sale of a dog for research purposes is illegal. The bills before the House would apparently preempt this field completely, and whether a State allows the sale of a dog or not, the Secretary of Commerce under the terms of this bill, could issue a license and a dog could be transported within a State, or from another State into that State, and could be sold for research purposes.

What would happen in a State where there is a law prohibiting the sale of animals for research purposes?

Mr. POAGE. It seems to me that if a dog were taken, either legally or illegally, from a State that prohibited the sale of animals for research purposes, and assuming the dog was moved out of the State, I would doubt that the State in which the theft occurred had any authority now, or would have after the passage of this bill. The State would have no authority over that dog after it was taken out of the State.

If the dog were sold within the State that had a law against such a sale, I think it would be a violation of the State law. It is now and it would continue to be a violation of the State law.

Mr. DENT. I just want to make the Record clear, because this has been a hot issue in my State.

We do use animals in research in our universities. There is no question about it. However, we do know that dogs come into the State. We know it, and everyone else knows it, but there has never been a law passed to repeal the law that forbids the sale of dogs and cats, or any other animals for research purposes.

According to the statement of the gentleman in answer to my question, this law will not allow the sale of dogs by a licensed person, licensed by the Secretary of Agriculture, in any State that forbids the sale of that particular animal for research purposes. Is that correct, or is it incorrect?

Mr. POAGE. This law does not prohibit the sale of dogs or cats. It requires a license from all dealers in dogs and cats. It requires a license from the laboratory that buys dogs and cats. It does not prohibit the laboratories from buying. It does not prohibit the sale of the animals.

Mr. DENT. I understand the law, and I know what the intent is. But are we now preempting this field and saying to the States that the Secretary can forbid the sale of dogs for research purposes after the passage of this bill? Or are we saying that there will be no right to stop the sale of dogs in this State?

Mr. POAGE. No. We are not saying that at all. We are only saying that dogs and cats cannot be transported in interstate commerce without a license to do so. If they are transported, they must be treated in a humane manner, as prescribed by the Secretary.

Mr. DENT. But there is in this bill, under section 3, a requirement for a license for a research facility to buy these dogs and cats. Would the Secretary under this bill be permitted to go into the State of Pennsylvania and license Temple University to buy dogs and cats from a licensed dealer from Maryland?

Mr. POAGE. Yes.

Mr. DENT. Then we are preempting the field?

Mr. POAGE. We would license them to do it, but if they do not have the authority to do it the license would not do much good.

Mr. DENT. This would give authority to the Secretary to license a research facility within a State to buy the animals. Are you saying that, notwithstanding the State law, this research facility may buy these animals?

Mr. POAGE. No. I will explain to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, that it will be against the Federal law for the laboratory to buy dogs or cats from an unlicensed dealer. This will not add to the authority to buy anything that is prohibited by State law. This will not say the facility may buy something more than it may buy today. Here we say simply that there is a limitation, and the limitation is that they may not buy from anyone except a licensed dealer.

Mr. DENT. Do I understand now that the statement you made will remain in the Record? If it will, I am satisfied to vote for the bill, if the statement is not revised later.

Mr. POAGE. The gentleman has my assurance that the explanation will remain in the RECORD.

Mr. DENT. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to be rude to any of my colleagues, but I have not yet had an opportunity to make an explanation of this bill. I think that many of the questions that are coming up will be answered if I may have the opportunity to outline the bill. I have already taken too much time, but I hope to answer the questions if I may explain the way we approached this problem. I would like to explain it, and then I will be happy to answer questions about it. I think that, if there is an understanding of what we are trying to do, probably we will understand the questions better.

A few moments ago I was saying that the Agriculture Committee attempted to meet these problems which we all agreed exist. This legislation should control the operations of those who deal with dogs and cats.

The original bill included more than dogs and cats.

It included all animals. But our committee was convinced that it was impractical to identify the multiplied millions of mice and hamsters and other kinds of animals that go into laboratories.

It was felt it would be rather foolish to extend it as far as I, as an original author, proposed; so the bill we bring to the House applies only to dogs and cats—the animals with which the real problem lies.

The bill will require that anyone who deals in these animals, who buys and sells them and transports them in interstate commerce, will be required to have a Federal license to engage in that business. It will require that he keep records as to acquisition and disposition of the dogs and cats. It will provide for the identification of the animals by appropriate means. Probably that will mean by tattoo, although we do not confine it to that, that being left to the Secretary.

There is legislation pending in another committee which requires a picture of each animal. We thought that went a little too far.

We believe that with this type of legislation it will become extremely difficult for anyone to come down the street and pick up the dog of a little girl and carry it off to sell it to a laboratory, without being apprehended.

In order to make certain that the laboratory will not provide an illicit market for these animals, we require that the laboratory have a license. Actually, the only requirement on the laboratory to qualify for the license is that it deal only with licensed dealers. The original bill would have gone further than that. It would have gone into the laboratory.

As I like to explain it, originally we would have followed the animal and kept the hand of the Government on the animal until the scientist reached out and took the animal by the leg and drew him onto his table. Now we will let the Government relax its grip on the animal when it goes through the doors of the laboratory.

I recognize that there are a few isolated cases of unconscionable abuse, such as the gentleman from Florida referred to, but I believe those are in the extreme minority. There are a few instances in hospitals of the United States where there are cases of unconscionable negligence of human patients, but certainly none of us would suggest we should send a representative of the Federal Government in and stand over every bed at every operation in our hospitals in order to see that the hospitals are properly functioning, merely because there might be a case here or there of abuse.

There will be a few cases of abuse. That is human nature. I do not believe our scientists and our doctors are any worse than the average run of people. They are human beings. Most of them are compassionate and considerate. A few are not. Those few, of course, always bring reproach on many others.

This bill definitely will allow the operation of our scientific institutions.

I have in my hand a letter from the National Society of Medical Research, stating that they are for the bill without amendments.

I have another letter from the Animal Care Panel, stating that they are for the bill. They say, "We can live with it. We support it."

I believe it is significant that the scientific groups, recognizing a responsibility to society and to the animal kingdom, have recognized in this bill something they believe is practical, which they can and do support.

The bill will give substantial protection to our animals. It will go a long way toward breaking up the theft which cannot be reached by State law, when the thieves carry animals across State lines.

It does make those scientific and research establishments that might have some reluctance to do so cooperate with the enforcement of the law, because it requires them to carry a license. As I pointed out, the whole reason for doing that is so that we may secure their active cooperation, because they run the risk of losing their own license and of losing their Government support if they in turn deal with an unlicensed dealer. We think we have some very powerful sanctions here, because practically all of our research today is done with a great deal of Government support. We provide that these institutions, if they willfully and continually violate the terms of the license, will find themselves losing their Government support.

Mr. Chairman, we believe this thing can be enforced. We believe it will be enforced, and it will reduce animal suffering. We believe it will reduce human suffering, also, in terms of the loss of pets throughout the country. It seems to me that this legislation imposes no unfair burdens on any group, either the dealers or the laboratories. It is clearly in the public interest and has general support. I hope it will find general support among the Members of the House.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I thank the gentleman from Texas for yielding for a question. Authority is given to the Secretary to determine what would be considered substantial income to permit a dealer to operate without a license. Can the gentleman give us some indication of what would be considered by the Secretary to be substantial income?

Mr. POAGE. That is not quite what it does. It gives the Secretary the right to allow one whose major income is not from the sale of dogs and cats to sell animals without a license. The purpose of that and the reason for that is the feeling that there might be some farmer or some nonfarmer, for that matter, or a pound, for that matter, that might be producing some dogs and cats that they wanted to sell. Rather than require that person to go and get a license to sell a couple of litters of kittens, we provide that if that is not his business and he gets no substantial income from that, then he can make the sale without having a license as a dealer.

Mr. WAGGONNER. For guidance, would a man be considered to have substantial income from a source such as this if, for example, as much as 25 percent of his income were derived from the sale of such animals?

Mr. POAGE. I would be inclined to think it probably would; 25 percent of his total income is a pretty substantial amount of it, I would think.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Would the gentleman tell me what would be considered to be a reasonable fee to be charged the dealer and the research activity by the Secretary of Agriculture to allow them to continue their operations?

Mr. POAGE. The amount of the fee will depend as I see it on the number applying for license. In other words, the Secretary, if he licensed 100,000 obviously would charge a higher fee than if he licensed a quarter of a million. The cost would not increase in proportion to the number.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Is there any information available to the committee as to how many dealers conceivably would be licensed and how many research activities would be licensed?

Mr. POAGE. Our information was very vague. That is the very reason why we did not attempt to get any more specific than we did in this respect. We felt we were on thin ice when we undertook to guess at how many people were engaging in illicit activities. It is a pretty shaky guess and we did not want to try to guess at it.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Do we have any information available to the House as to what the estimated cost of administering this proposal would be?

Mr. POAGE. Yes; the Secretary has estimated that the program in its first year of operation would cost in the neighborhood of $1,030,000.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, do we have any reason to believe that these fees to the dealers and those research activities will be exhorbitant, in the neighborhood of $1,000 to $2,000 per dealer per year, or any such figure as that?

Mr. POAGE. I believe we have plenty of evidence that they could not reach any such point, because you would have to have only 1,000 licenses issued at $1,000 apiece to come up to the figure of $1 million. We certainly know that there are many more than 1,000. The figure would more likely be in the tens of thousands.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me at this point?

Mr. POAGE. I shall yield to the gentleman in just one moment.

Mr. OLSON of Minnesota. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota, a member of the subcommittee and a member of the full Committee on Agriculture.

Mr. OLSON of Minnesota. Mr. Chairman, I would like to emphasize the very thorough consideration which the Committee on Agriculture gave to the subject and to point out, as the bill infers and as our hearings are headlined, that this is a bill to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs and cats, intended to be used for purposes of research and experimentation.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the committee has responded to the very clearly demonstrated need to curb the abuses in this specific area.

Mr. Chairman, I just wanted to bring to the attention of the Members of the House the fact that it was not possible to read all of the mail which the committee received on this subject. However, the mail received did overwhelmingly, and I thought almost in total, refer to the very clear feeling that the need was prevalent to the effect that we had to regulate the persons who provided animals for research and experimentation, and to curb the abuses in the area of stealing and the transportation and housing of dogs and cats.

Mr. Chairman, this is exactly what the committee did.

Mr. Chairman, the committee did not feel, in all wisdom and in considering this matter very thoroughly, that it could substantiate the position of going any further than this.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE], just pointed out this question in his colloquy, that there is a point beyond which we cannot go.

Mr. Chairman, in summation I would like to point out that we have treated the subject insofar as the demonstrated needs are concerned.

Mr. POAGE. I thank the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I am sure that legislation in this field is sorely needed. The question I raise with reference to the matter of fees is whether predicating fees upon administrative costs is not an incentive to the Secretary of Agriculture to do some empire building in the matter of personnel.

Mr. POAGE. I think the gentleman from Iowa makes a perfectly sound point. But I believe it is a point that exists every time we provide any kind of new activity. I, too, hope we can find a better method of handling this matter. With some experience, I am sure we can.

However, Mr. Chairman, we felt that if we were going to control an obvious evil, we were going to have to put considerable appropriations into it, or enough funds with which to do the job, and we hope to raise the required funds through the imposition of fees.

Mr. GROSS. If the gentleman will yield further, I agree with that, but I am not so sure that leaving the question of license fees entirely to the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture and predicating the amount of those fees upon administrative costs is exactly a good way to do it.

Offhand, I do not have any suggestion other than if the committee developed any evidence in the course of hearings as to the number of dealers so that there might be a fee fixed in the bill for the first year in order to get the program started.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to apply some brakes to it. I would dislike to see created in the Department of Agriculture an administrative monstrosity, with overflowing employees, and, of course, the taxpayers would foot the bills.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentlewoman.

Mrs. MAY. I have asked the gentleman to yield so that I might be somewhat more responsive in answering the question put by my colleague, the gentleman from Iowa.

In section 17 we have tried to spell out, as reasonably as we can at this time, guidelines in this fee area. In the absence of proven numbers of dealers that might be involved here we felt this was as far as we could go. We are going to be in an experimental stage with this legislation for its first year. But we have added that any additional funds which may be needed to administer this legislation are authorized to be appropriated by the Congress from time to time.

This means, of course, that the Department of Agriculture would have to come back to us with the numbers of dealers that they might find by that time that had to be licensed. We would then have some idea of where we are going, how we can set reasonably graduated fees and still cover the costs of administration.

As my colleague, the gentleman from Texas has pointed out—in the absence of well-developed evidence, we had to make the language flexible in this section. I would tell my colleague, the gentleman from Iowa, when this bill, if it is passed, has been in effect for a year or so then we will have reliable information on which to base setting of fees for licensing.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I appreciate the explanation of the able gentlewoman.

But is there anything in the bill in any way seeking cooperation on the part of the States in the matter of inspection and in the matter of surveillance of this program?

It seems to me that the use of presently employed inspectors, Federal and State, would obviate the need for a widespread inspection service on the part of the Federal Department of Agriculture.

Mr. POAGE. There is in the bill authority granted to the Secretary to cooperate with State and local agencies to effectuate the purposes of the bill. But I would have to confess to the gentleman from Iowa that I do not feel that that or any other language is going to alleviate the burden materially because there are no inspectors that I know of inspecting the stealing of dogs and cats or inspecting laboratories today. So I think whether you took some existing livestock inspector and assigned him to this duty or take care of it in the manner as provided in this legislation, it would amount to the same expense.

Mr. GROSS. I would say to my friend, the gentleman from Texas, I am looking for ways to hold down the cost of this program.

Mr. POAGE. I think the gentleman is correct.

Mr. GROSS. I am sure the subcommittee and the full Committee on Agriculture will scrutinize carefully the operation of this program after the end of the first year of operation of the program, and I think this is most important.

If I may ask my colleague one further question. I assume that section 10, which permits a 5-day period in which no sale may be made by a dealer from the time of acquiring a dog or cat—I assume that provision is for the purpose of giving anyone who loses an animal, either by theft or the animal having strayed, an opportunity to notify the authorities and reclaim the animal?

Mr. POAGE. That is the purpose. It is to try to prevent somebody from simply running in and stealing a dog and running out and selling it before anybody can trace it.

Mr. GROSS. Does the gentleman think that 5 days is quite enough time?

Mr. POAGE. We are not at all certain that it is. But it is just like the rest of this—we are not at all certain that it will do the job but it is the best judgment we have. If it is not enough——

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentlewoman.

Mrs. MAY. I would point out that the language in section 10 says: "within a period of 5 business days"—or—"within such other period as may be specified by the Secretary."

It may be that the Secretary will in his wisdom think that 5 days is not long enough and we give him the authorization to set another period of time.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PEPPER. First, I wish to commend my able friend and distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. RESNICK] for having been the leader in the introduction of legislation in this particular field and also commend the able gentleman from Texas who is now addressing the House and his colleagues on the committee for bringing this measure to the floor of the House for our consideration today—although many of us think it does not go far enough in its detailed provisions.

But, Mr. Chairman, I would like for the purposes of the RECORD and for the clarification of the intent of the bill as it is brought to the floor of the House to ask the able gentleman from Texas three or four questions.

First, if I understand correctly, this bill only goes as far as the laboratory door and does not purport to regulate or in any way at all provide for supervision over the animals while they are in the laboratory?

Mr. POAGE. That is definitely correct.

Mr. PEPPER. So that if those of us who are sponsoring legislation which we hope will eventually provide some protection against unnecessary cruelties and barbarities in the laboratory should come up with such legislation in the future, it cannot properly be said that this bill has already preempted that field?

Mr. POAGE. No, this bill stops at the laboratory door.

Mr. PEPPER. If the gentleman will yield further, my next question is as follows: I am informed that the Government of the United States provides about two-thirds of the funds for research in this country, and that the Government itself, through its own departments and agencies, is the largest user of animals for research and in laboratories. Would the able gentleman tell me whether the definition "research facility" on page 3 of the bill, section 2, subsection (1) would include the Government of the United States through its several departments and agencies?

Mr. POAGE. It is definitely the intention of the committee, and I think it clearly does it.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank the able gentleman.

If the able gentleman will yield further, does the term "dealer" which appears in subparagraph (g) of section 2 on page 3 cover auctioneer, also?

Mr. POAGE. Yes; that is our understanding, and I am sure that that is correct, that it does include them as a "dealer."

Mr. PEPPER. If the gentleman will yield further, I direct his attention to section 5 on page 4 of the bill and ask if the word "handling" is intended to cover any handling or anything that the dealer might do with respect to the custody or care of the animals while they are in his custody and before they are delivered either to a public carrier or to the research facility?

Mr. POAGE. Yes; it is intended to include both the care or treatment and the sale.

Mr. PEPPER. So that the Secretary under the bill would have authority to provide humane standards that must be observed by the dealer while the animals are in his custody after they are received and before they are delivered to the carrier or to the research facility?

Mr. POAGE. Very definitely.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank the able gentleman.

My last question is as follows: It is, we believe, of very serious concern to many people who are zealous about the proper protection of animals as to whether this bill has enough teeth in it, and whether or not the enforcement machinery which is provided in the bill is adequate to protect animals against inhumane treatment.

I noticed that subparagraph (b), section 12, on page 7 of the bill provides:

> (b) If the Secretary has reason to believe that any person licensed as a dealer has violated or is violating any provision of this Act or any of the rules or regulations promulgated by the Secretary hereunder, the Secretary may suspend such person's license temporarily, but not to exceed twenty-one days, and, after notice and opportunity for hearing, may suspend for such additional period as he may specify, or revoke, such license if such violation is determined to have occurred and may make an order that such person shall cease and desist from continuing such violation.

The Secretary may exercise that authority.

In section 14 on page 8 of the bill it is provided:

> SEC. 14. Any research facility or dealer who operates without a license from the Secretary issued pursuant to this Act or while such license is suspended or revoked, and any research facility, dealer, or person licensed as a dealer pursuant to the second sentence of section 6 who knowingly fails to obey a cease-and-desist order made by the Secretary under the provisions of section 12 of this Act shall forfeit to the United States the sum of $500 for each offense and each day of operating without a valid license or failing to obey a cease-and-desist order shall constitute a separate offense.

There is no penalty provided against the dealer or the laboratory which fails to observe the law provided in this bill or the rules and regulations of the Secretary. The Secretary can only suspend or order a cease-and-desist action on the part of the dealer or the laboratory.

The fine apparently shall be forfeited if the dealer, for example, fails to get a license or operate as a dealer after a cease-and-desist order has been issued against him.

That is a basis that has given a lot of concern to the advocates of the purpose of this bill. I know the able gentleman has been very solicitous about these animals, and I ask the able gentleman if he feels that this enforcement machinery is sufficiently effective—that it will require dealers, for example, to observe the regulations and rules of the Secretary, and will give proper protection to the animals without there being some criminal liability on the part of the dealer for such wrongful conduct?

Mr. POAGE. The committee considered that very carefully. We believe we have followed the most effective measure of securing cooperation and compliance on the part of these dealers. We have long recognized that simply the imposition of extreme criminal penalties, that cannot be enforced, does not achieve very much. We have not felt it wise to use simply criminal penalties.

The able gentleman from Florida will remember that a few years ago we passed a humane slaughter law through this Congress. It has no criminal penalties. There is no criminal penalty in the Humane Slaughter Act, and yet it has been very successful. I know of no packers who are engaged in interstate commerce who are violating the Humane Slaughter Act. I have heard no complaints.

We believe that, had we relied on criminal penalties, probably results would not have been as desirable. That is why we avoided criminal penalties. But we think we have sanctions that are much more effective than imposition of fines and prison sentences.

We believe that, by giving the Secretary the right to suspend or cancel a license, we give the Secretary the control that he needs, because when a license is suspended and the dealer continues to operate, he is subject to the financial burden or the penalty provision that the gentleman properly read in section 14.

Mr. PEPPER. Will the able gentleman allow me one more observation?

Mr. POAGE. Certainly.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman pointed out the case of the humane slaughter legislation. However, these packinghouses are ordinarily large institutions, where the Secretary or the supervising authority can keep constant supervision.

Mr. POAGE. Yes.

Mr. PEPPER. I do not know whether this bill provides the funds for the Secretary of Agriculture to keep rather constant supervision and scrutiny over these dealers. I rather feel that the Secretary may not hear about violations until the harm has already been done, and there will be not enough supervision and not enough inspection on the Secretary's part.

If there were a criminal penalty involved, anybody who observed any wrongful conduct could go tell the prosecuting attorney about it, and he is always available.

Can the able gentleman give us any assurance that there are ample authority and ample funds provided, or sufficiently strong admonition given to the Secretary that it will be his duty to see that there is such constancy of supervision as to keep him informed about what is going on, so he can take measures of redress which are provided in this bill?

Mr. POAGE. Probably I should direct to the attention of my friend from Florida the fact that my friend from Iowa just questioned me a few moments ago about the probability that we were spending too much, and that the Secretary was being invited to go too far, and to employ too many inspectors.

We have got to follow what we believe to be a practical course. It is perfectly true that we can provide a law that you must have an inspector in every laboratory, and that you must have somebody meet and examine each shipment of dogs and cats as they come into the laboratories.

That would run into a stupendous expense. It is exactly the thing the gentleman from Iowa undoubtedly fears. It would meet the fear of the gentleman from Florida. Both fears are of course reasonable and well-founded, and there is a possibility this might go in either direction.

The committee tried to follow a moderate, reasonable, middle course which would achieve results at a reasonable expense, and would result in getting something done, because we felt we would much prefer to get a bit of something than to come out with all of nothing. We believed that was about the choice we had.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I will yield, and I suggest that I hope this will be the last question.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, I should like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. I wish to congratulate the gentleman from Florida for raising the point about the difference between the type of person who operates under the Humane Slaughter Act and the type of person who is selling cats and dogs. There is a great difference in my own district in Maryland and in other parts of Maryland, where shocking cases have been uncovered, which seem to indicate the type of person we are dealing with in the cat and dog business is a long way from the responsible, reputable person. In fact, some of them give the impression of being nothing short of degenerate.

I wonder whether enforcement at the buying end will be adequate to catch up with these people? I wonder whether it will not be necessary actually to supervise and enforce this at the level of the person who is involved?

Mr. POAGE. I believe the gentleman's question is the same as that asked by the gentleman from Florida. I believe my answer would have to be the same. We believe there will be a reasonable amount of enforcement, without becoming rabid on the matter.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. I would be inclined to question that, but of course I will support the legislation.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield for one short question.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. In this particular legislation there is no prohibition on the auctioneering or sale by the pound of the animals?

Mr. POAGE. There is no prohibition against sale at auctions or by the pound.

Perhaps I should comment on that, because that has been raised by a number of people. Our committee has never understood why. We have found, from experience in the livestock business, that the auction sales are the best places to detect violations of the law. We have found that the auction sales are the only means whereby we have enforced a good many of our supervisory laws over livestock, because at the auction there is an opportunity to supervise a great many people at one time and to save a great deal of expense and to do a great deal of the control work in a concentrated manner.

Coming back to the question of responsibility, which was raised, the auction operator normally has such an investment that he must protect it by operating in a responsible manner. This is the best way we have found to ferret out a great many violations, so we made no prohibition.

Mr. Chairman, I feel now I must yield time to my colleagues.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, I wish the gentleman would yield to this side, occasionally. I have been standing a half hour.

Mr. POAGE. I wish that I could continue the discussion but the gentleman's side has an hour's time and that is exactly the time we have.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, our able colleague, Hon. BOB POAGE, vice chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, has presented thoroughly and forcefully the provisions and purposes of this legislation now before us. I take this moment to commend the gentleman from Texas for the work and thought he and his subcommittee have devoted to the development of this bill.

This is not a matter to be taken lightly. It embraces and involves the feelings, the emotions of millions of us who are devoted to man's truest friends in the animal kingdom.

Mr. Chairman, it is appropriate here now, in consideration of this legislation, to read into the RECORD the unforgettable tribute to a dog uttered by Senator George Graham Vest, of Missouri, in a plea before a jury more than half a century ago. Senator Vest was a member of the Confederate Congress, and he served in the U.S. Senate from 1879 to 1903. This is his tribute to a dog:

> Gentlemen of the jury, the best friend a man has in this world may turn against him and become his enemy. His son and daughter that he has reared with loving care may become ungrateful. Those who are nearest and dearest to us, those whom we trust with our happiness and our good name, may become traitors to their faith. The money that a man has he may lose. It flies away from him when he may need it most. Man's reputation may be sacrificed in a moment of ill-considered action. The people who are prone to fall on their knees and do us honor when success is with us may be the first to throw the stone of malice when failure settles its cloud upon our heads. The one absolutely unselfish friend a man may have in this selfish world, the one that never deserts him, the one that never becomes ungrateful or treacherous, is the dog.
>
> Gentlemen of the jury, the man's dog stands beside him in prosperity and poverty, in health and in sickness. He will sleep on the cold ground, when the winter winds blow and snow drives fiercely, if only he may be near his master's side. He will kiss the hand that has no food to offer, he will lick the wounds and sores that come in encounter with the roughness of the world. He guards the sleep of his pauper master as if he were a prince.
>
> When all other friends desert, he remains. When riches take wings and reputation falls to pieces he is as constant in his love as the sun in its journey through the heavens. If fortune drives the master forth an outcast into the world, friendless and homeless, the faithful dog asks no higher privilege than that of accompanying him to guard him against danger, to fight against his enemies, and when the last scene of all comes, and death takes his master in its embrace, and his body is laid away in the cold ground, no matter if all other friends pursue their way, there by his graveside will the noble dog be found, his head between his paws, his eyes sad and open in alert watchfulness, faithful and true, even to death.

Mr. Chairman, since this legislation first was introduced in the House, our Committee on Agriculture, which it is my honor to serve as chairman, has received some 30,000 communications—telegrams, letters, postal cards—in support of it. I have known very few pieces of legislation, in my 32 years in the Congress, that have evoked such wide public interest and response.

Some 45 bills were introduced on humane treatment of dogs, cats, and other animals. They were referred to our Livestock Subcommittee, of which Mr. POAGE is the chairman. The subcommittee heard or received statements from approximately 150 witnesses. It then perfected the legislation which is presented here today.

This legislation, we all hope, will stop the racket in stolen pets, while causing no interruption in medical and research purposes. It is an expression of the conscience of this Nation that animals must be treated humanely.

Mr. Chairman, I commend the gentleman from Texas and all his associates in the development of this legislation. I am certain that their splendid work will receive overwhelming approval in the House today.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY].

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman from Washington yield so that we may have continuity in the RECORD?

Mrs. MAY. I am glad to yield to my colleague from Florida before I begin my remarks.

Mr. CRAMER. I thank the gentlewoman. I joined with my distinguished colleague from Florida in introducing a humane treatment bill as well as a petnaping bill. I am equally interested in the problem.

I hope this bill is adequate and, if it is not, that it will be properly amended to do the job with respect to the illegal and improper transportation of animals, and in particular something about petnaping.

The question I have to ask of the distinguished chairman or author of the bill, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE], is this, if he will be kind enough to give me his attention. What disturbs me with respect to this is whether or not the bill actually provides regulations relating to those who steal pets, for instance, and sell them to these laboratories or others.

Mr. POAGE. No. This bill does not attempt to go into the question of enforcing State laws against stealing. It simply goes into the question of transporting in interstate commerce. This bill does not attempt to usurp the local jurisdiction. I am one of those who do not believe, first of all, that this Congress has any such power.

Mr. CRAMER. I understand it does not—and it should not—deal with problems not involving interstate commerce but Congress has the power to act if the animal is shipped in interstate commerce.

Mr. POAGE. That is right.

Mr. CRAMER. So does not this bill deal with the subject so long as the animal stolen is shipped in interstate commerce?

Mr. POAGE. It does not attempt to deal with the question of stealing per se.

Mr. CRAMER. I understand that, but if the animal is stolen, the person stealing it sells the animal in interstate Commerce it could come under the definition of a dealer.

Mr. POAGE. That is right.

Mr. CRAMER. And not under the exclusion contained at the bottom of page 4 and at the top of page 5, on the basis that a thief does not raise animals on the premises and therefore, a thief is a "dealer" and subject to the bill. Is that correct?

Mr. POAGE. He certainly could come under the term of a dealer and would come under the term of a dealer.

Mr. CRAMER. That is precisely the reason why I asked the question. I think the gentleman in his first answer showed the necessity of clarifying the record to the effect that if you have a person who steals animals he is covered by the bill—and I am sure the gentleman recalls the Life magazine article which highlighted this problem and resulted in thousands of letters being received by Members of Congress—this is unquestionably a serious problem. I want to make sure that as to those animals which are shipped in interstate commerce, that this bill will do something about the thief that sells them.

Mr. POAGE. This bill would then take away from that operator his license as a dealer.

Mr. CRAMER. If the gentlewoman will yield further, this is someone who never had a license and never claimed to be a dealer but he steals animals from time to time and sells them across State lines to these laboratories. As I read the bill, it is my understanding that that petnaper would come within the definition of "dealer," because he does not come under the exception in that he does not raise "dogs or cats on his own premises." Is that not correct?

Mrs. MAY. Where is he going to sell them?

Mr. CRAMER. To a research laboratory.

Mrs. MAY. Then the research laboratory or facility loses its license.

Mr. CRAMER. I understand that, but I want to get the guy who is doing the petnaping. How do we get him?

Mrs. MAY. As the chairman explained, here we are trying to dry up the dog and cat black market. As the gentleman from Texas explained, we are trying to wipe out the market for illegally obtained animals from dealers.

Mr. CRAMER. If the gentlewoman will yield further, the point I am making is it appears to me—and I want to make the record clear—that this bill would cover such a petnaper in that he would be a dealer under the definition in section 6 on page 4 in that he does sell animals and is not exempted by the 25 percent suggested as a substantial portion of income because he cannot meet the second criteria for exemption, namely as someone who is "breeding or raising dogs or cats on his own premises." Therefore a petnaper would come under the prohibition of this. If he would not, I think we should devise a way of bringing him under the prohibitions.

Mr. POAGE. He would come under the prohibition of the act. The penalty would be first suspension of his license. You suggested he would have no license. If he has none and sells in interstate commerce without a license, then he is subject to the penalties prescribed on page 8, section 14, which would be $500 a day.

Mr. CRAMER. Precisely. May I ask one more question if the gentlewoman would yield further? Assuming that is the case—and I trust it is and hope it is—I am friendly to the bill and I hope it is the case—that the Secretary under the provisions of section 12 relating to where a cease-and-desist order has occurred has entered into it, but this is a case where obviously no cease and desist order is involved. This is a dealer who operates without a license.

He is subject to a penalty of $500 for each offense and can be charged with operating without a valid license, is that correct?

Mr. POAGE. That is correct.

Mr. CRAMER. How does this come to the due process clause of the Constitution? What right does this bill provide, when one is charged, for relief, either by an administrative or a judicial body, in conformity with the due process of law?

Mr. Chairman, I want to make this a good bill. But if we are going to fine someone, he has a right to be adjudged guilty or innocent.

Wherein does the proposed legislation provide for that machinery?

Mr. POAGE. This bill does not provide for a criminal prosecution. This is a civil action. This penalty is a civil penalty. One does not plead guilty or innocent in a civil lawsuit. But the effect of taking the man's money is just as persuasive toward inducing him to stop operating in this fashion.

Mr. CRAMER. All right, what happens when the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture sends a letter to this unlicensed dealer and says, "You are fined $1,000; you are in violation of this act" and the man says, "You try to collect it"?

Mr. POAGE. Unfortunately, the Secretary has no right to send any order or collect anything. The Secretary can only cancel or suspend his license.

Mr. CRAMER. That is exactly what I am talking about.

Mr. POAGE. When a man operates without a license or operates when his license has been suspended or canceled, then the district attorney can file suit to recover a civil penalty against him of $500 per day. However, that is not a criminal prosecution. You do not have to go before a grand jury in order to do it. You do not have to get a conviction in order to do it. You simply come in and file suit. He has the same right to defend himself that any other defendant would have in the civil courts.

Mr. CRAMER. As I understand it, then, he would be subject to the civil penalty under section 15?

Mr. POAGE. That is correct.

Mr. CRAMER. In a Federal court; is that correct?

Mr. POAGE. It is section 14, I believe; is it not?

Mrs. MAY. Section 15.

Mr. CRAMER. Section 14 deals with someone who is licensed. This is someone who is not licensed.

He would come under section 15, if he is engaged, is engaging, or is about to engage in any act or practice constituting a violation of any provision of this act, including petnaping, would he not?

Mr. POAGE. That section simply sets out your procedure as to how one goes about collecting this. It tells one how the action may be brought. It may be brought in the district where the defendant is found or is an inhabitant or transacts business or in the district where the act or the practice in question occurred or is about to occur, and process in such cases may be served in any district where the defendant may be found.

It simply gives one an opportunity to get the defendant into court.

Mr. CRAMER. I hope this record clarifies that this bill covers petnapers who ship in interstate commerce and with a civil penalty for enforcement and I thank the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY].

Mr. Chairman, I just want to make sure that the record is clear on this point, that this bill does provide the machinery for bringing a civil action in Federal Court against someone who is "a dealer," and the "dealer" definition would include someone who steals animals and ships them in interstate commerce, and they have been brought in for civil penalty. Is that a correct statement?

Mr. POAGE. The gentleman is correct.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to refer, in closing this colloquy, to the wording of the report as to the legislative intent, that this section is very carefully spelled out concerning the definition of dealers and what kind of civil action may be brought under section 15.

Mr. Chairman, as a member of the Livestock and Feed Grains Subcommittee which originally considered some 45 bills on this subject, I was pleased to join with the distinguished subcommittee chairman, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE], in cosponsoring legislation to put an end to this vicious practice of pet stealing.

That is the purpose of the bill before us today. I think you will all agree that a pet stealer is an unspeakable criminal who not only steals cats and dogs and then sells them for profit to medical centers, but our subcommittee has certainly had ample evidence of the deplorable treatment cats and dogs have been made to suffer after they have been stolen.

It is a vicious racket, Mr. Chairman. I certainly agree with an editorial comment contained in the printed subcommittee hearings in which it is stated:

> My heart belongs in part to all fellow members of the animal kingdom, whether they walk on two legs or four. When a monster steals a child, or when he steals a dog or cat, he steals a part of my family. He is without honor, without any moral fiber. He is worse than the money thief.

The foregoing, Mr. Chairman, I realize is an emotional statement, certainly—because this is an emotional issue since no one who possesses an ounce of decency condones dog or cat stealing for any purpose.

Our committee, I feel, was completely receptive to trying to find the best and the most workable solution to this problem. I must admit it was very difficult to recommend to the House a carefully considered bill free from overburdening emotion. We realize, Mr. Chairman, that our responsibility is to legislate realistically, and I believe the Livestock and Feed Grains Subcommittee, and indeed the entire House Committee on Agriculture, is deserving of a vote of confidence for the realistic solution to the problem that is presented to us today.

I honestly believe that the bill before us today, H.R. 13881, is an effective bill. I honestly believe it will stop the stealing and inhumane treatment of dogs and cats without unnecessarily interfering with the research which is so necessary and which is of such benefit to mankind. This bill will do the job.

Under its terms, as they have been explained by the author—the original author of the bill—the Secretary of Agriculture will regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs and cats intended to be used in research or experimentation. The dealers and research facilities will be required to keep records of sale and purchase, which the Secretary of Agriculture could inspect. Failure to comply with humane standards after opportunity for a hearing could result in the cancellation of the license of the dealer.

Now there were a number of proposals in the original bill that my distinguished colleague and I originally introduced. But after—literally months of discussion and hearings—we found out that there were several areas that we had to decide against for numerous reasons.

I know there has been a lot of discussion about trying to set and enforce standards for the housing and care of animals within the research facility. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is much more heavily involved in the support of research and teaching where dogs and cats are employed than is Agriculture. Any measure going beyond the operations of dealers, we feel, should be administered through HEW. We know there are other bills to cover this subject.

The details of a proposal which would set up stringent standards for handling of animals in laboratories, and provide for their enforcement, have really not yet been considered extensively by any committee. We decided it would certainly be unwise if the Congress were to pass legislation without having given full and complete consideration to the effects—and they could be very deleterious effects, which might follow from the enactment of any unwise provisions.

As I have stated, this type of legislation with which we are currently dealing is extremely complicated. In the hearings that our committee held, it became evident that provisions which at first glance appeared to be proper and reasonable, actually needed extensive revision. Originally, our bill did carry that is the bill that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE], and I sponsored, did carry the words "and other animals."

It eventually was dropped from the bill by majority vote of the members of the committee because the theft of such other vertebrates had not been reported, and the evidence shows that our major laboratory-animal-breeders of rats, mice, and hamsters, and so forth already have decent facilities in this area.

In other words, most of the committee felt that Congress required much more evidence of improper handling before it could accept such a provision "for other animals."

In addition, I think we should point out that the cost of inspection and a licensing system to cover more than 250 species of vertebrates, including not only dogs and cats, but fish, frogs, turtles, snakes, birds, and so forth, would be pretty monstrous. The cost of this has not even yet been estimated by the Department of Agriculture. Thousands of persons collect small numbers of each of these other species.

The increased difficulty of operation would seriously interfere with scientific work, and since there is no substantial evidence yet of need, such a provision therefore was not included, or was dropped from the original bill.

Mr. Chairman, may I reemphasize that I do feel that this is a practical bill, an effective bill, and a worthy bill. It should stop the theft of pets for research purposes, require humane treatment by handlers of dogs and cats legally acquired for research, and yet it is not intended to interfere with scientific research.

In short, once enacted, this legislation will terminate a great part of the needless suffering of dogs and cats and the anguish of their owners.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. MAY. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I would like to have the attention of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE]. A few moments ago the gentleman from Texas said that I had said that perhaps we were spending too much under this bill. I made no such statement, because I do not know whether too much is being spent or too little, and I do not believe the committee knows. My point was that unless controls are established, there can be a bureaucratic buildup under this bill. I do not believe that salaries ought to be fixed for justices of the peace on a basis of the number of cases they handle or convictions they obtain. I do not think the pay of a policeman ought to be predicated upon the number of summonses he issues or does not issue.

My whole point was that I hope the committee will give careful scrutiny to what transpires with respect to fixing the fees based upon the administrative costs. I have no way of knowing whether the estimated cost for administration is too much or too little. I only wanted to correct the record to that extent.

Mr. POAGE. I am sorry if the gentleman thought I said that he said it will cost too much. I had intended to say that the gentleman expressed concern about the amount of the cost. I am sure the gentleman is concerned, as I am, about that.

Mr. GROSS. That is correct.

Mr. POAGE. I am sure the committee will observe that point, and if we find that the fees are exorbitant and we are getting too much money, we will certainly cut them down.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman, and I thank the gentlewoman from Washington for yielding to me.

Mrs. MAY. I understand what the gentleman meant to express on that subject. I think at this point we can merely say that we must give this bill a chance to be tried, and then keep a watch on what its effects are in several areas, as well as its cost. Perhaps then we can suggest further things, because it must come back to Congress through the Appropriations Committee if further funds are to be expended.

Mr. GROSS. I certainly agree with the gentlewoman from Washington.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The **CHAIRMAN.** The time of the gentlewoman from Washington has expired. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. **POAGE.** Mr. Chairman, how much time do I have remaining?

The **CHAIRMAN.** The gentleman from Texas has 11 minutes remaining.

Mr. **POAGE.** Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield some of his time?

Mr. **QUIE.** Mr. Chairman, I will be glad to yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. O'Neal].

Mr. **O'NEAL** of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I thank my colleagues across the aisle for yielding me this time. I had been promised the time by my chairman, but his time was consumed in answering questions.

Mr. Chairman, in supporting H.R. 13881 to license the transportation, sale and handling of dogs and cats for research purposes, I would like to point out that the Congress is not being asked to preempt the field of dognaping and catnaping.

Surely there are many who would like for us to do so but I am pleased to see our committee avoid taking further steps to violate the principle of States rights.

While the problem is much more severe in some areas than in others, I think each State should retain the right to deal with its own dog thieves and cat thieves commensurate with the importance it places on its own dogs and cats.

For instance, in my own State of Georgia it is not a crime to steal a cat, and I can only presume that succeeding legislatures have preferred it that way because they passed over an opportunity to correct this situation when they amended the applicable statute as recently as 1964.

Having served as a circuit or district prosecuting attorney—we call them solicitors general—for over 23 years before being permitted the high privilege of serving in this body, I have more than the average acquaintance with Georgia criminal laws.

In our State no animal is the subject matter of larceny unless specifically made so by statute. This our State legislature has done by fixing the punishment at not less than 4 nor more than 20 years in the penitentiary to steal a horse, 4 to 10 to rustle a cow, 2 to 4 to take a hog, a chicken, a turkey, or a pea fowl, 1 to 3 years to dognap a dog, and even 3 to 6 months to steal any oysters—yes, oysters, though this punishment might be relieved by paying a fine between the limits of $25 and $100.

Nowhere, however, is it made a crime to steal a cat—no matter what the actual or sentimental value of the blue-ribbon winner might be—unless a very broad or liberal interpretation might be placed some day on code section 26–2612 which reads as follows:

> All other domestic animals which are fit for food may be subjects of simple larceny.

This crime is designated a misdemeanor.

As I said in the beginning, every State has a different problem. Georgians do not steal many cats. In my 23 years as a prosecuting attorney in six counties, I had to handle only one such complaint, and, Mr. Chairman, I felt it necessary to stop short of proving that a cat is "fit for food."

Mr. **QUIE.** Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. Bolton].

Mrs. **BOLTON.** Mr. Chairman, this year marks the 100th anniversary of the founding of the animal welfare movement in this country. Henry Bergh, diplomat and lawyer, pioneered in securing the first State laws for the prevention of cruelty to animals. It is interesting to note that because children at that time also had no legal protection from mistreatment, he then helped bring about the first child protection laws. In order to do so, he had to shock an apathetic public by bringing into court Mary Ellen, a child who had been cruelly beaten and chained, demanding that she be granted the same protection under law which he had just brought about for animals. Mr. Bergh made his point with the court and the public; child protection laws quickly followed.

In the long years since Henry Bergh brought about the first State laws for the protection of animals, additional State anticruelty laws have been adopted. But few have been enacted on the Federal level. In the year and a half since the scandalous conditions under which dealers acquire and handle animals for sale to laboratories first came to public attention, through a series of raids and arrests of dealers, the public outcry for remedial action by the Congress has been growing.

We will be responding to that justified outcry and honoring the memory of Henry Bergh, one of the greatest humanitarians in history, when we pass a thoroughly good bill today.

Mr. Chairman, I propose to offer an amendment, somewhat in a substitute form, for the very good bill presented, which will, I believe, provide a few more teeth which are needed to strike down the inhuman practice of dognaping, which has been documented so thoroughly through the national media in recent months. At the same time, it will not restrict or hamper laboratory and research activities.

May I say at this time it has been very, very interesting—and fills all of us with hope—to have had the committee do the job which has been done. They fought, bled, and died on two or three sides of this thing. I commend the committee for its fortitude, for its patience, for its endurance, and for its results. I do not wholly agree with them, as will be seen later.

My proposal spells out the standards to be promulgated by the Secretary of Agriculture, and would require him to take action. The bill does not. It merely authorizes.

We do not—either of us—want to stop or to hamper laboratory research, but we do want a bill which will stop this vicious practice of stealing and mistreating household pets.

The proposal which I shall hope to offer by way of an amendment offers the best hope for effective action. My mail certainly indicates that this is what our people desire.

A groundswell which has come almost as a tidal wave on us here in Congress has been very illuminating. When our people know things are wrong they want something done about them.

Mr. **QUIE.** Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Dague].

Mr. **DAGUE.** Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 13881.

Starting last summer and running through this spring, the Committee on Agriculture has been considering and perfecting legislation to provide for the humane treatment of dogs, cats, and other animals and to eliminate a cruel racket in stolen pets, while insuring a continued flow of animals to our various medical centers, hospitals, universities, and other research facilities.

As has been mentioned earlier, the Committee on Agriculture has received over 30,000 letters and cards; heard or received statements from some 150 witnesses; considered 45 bills; and spent a great deal of time in a sincere effort to bring to the House a good bill, an effective bill and yes, a strong bill.

COMMITTEE BILL

What does the committee bill do?

In brief, H.R. 13881 directs the Department of Agriculture to regulate the purchase, sale, transportation, and handling of dogs and cats in commerce.

This regulation would be accomplished by a licensing system under which research facilities, dog and cat dealers, and other persons licensed as dealers would be required to meet standards and procedures established by this act.

Dealers and persons licensed as dealers would be required to treat dogs and cats in a humane manner and to keep adequate records of their traffic in these animals.

Research facilities would be specifically exempted from complying with any standards dealing with the treatment or handling of dogs or cats after these animals arrived at a laboratory or research center.

The program is designed to be self-financing to the maximum extent possible.

The program would be enforced by civil penalties, injunctive action, and suspension or revocation of licenses. Appeal procedures through appropriate U.S. courts of appeal are established by the bill.

In some respects this legislation is quite unusual.

In these days of legislating by executive communication, it is relatively rare to see the Congress initiate and enact a proposal completely on its own without first receiving a Presidential message or an administration bill.

H.R. 13881, however, is such a bill. It shows the concern of an interested public, a responsible press, and an enlightened medical community. It is a bill which reflects the recognition of a problem and effective action by the Congress.

This bill, too, has broad bipartisan support in the committee. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] who serves as chairman of the Subcommittee on Livestock and Feed Grains, together with the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE], the ranking Republican on the subcommittee, have both worked long and hard to bring forth a good bill. Both these gentlemen should be complimented for their efforts in compromising the many divergent views and in achieving unified support within the full Committee on Agriculture.

When the committee began its consideration of this legislation there were two general sets of divergent views which had to be reconciled. One school of thought held that animal research was, in itself, bad and should be abolished, while dealers who handle these animals be eliminated. At the other side of the street were those who felt that no legislation whatsoever was needed. Somewhere between these views came 45 various bills, most of which differed in detail and direction.

Out of these many bills the subcommittee developed a bill which was further modified by the full committee. There was give and take on both sides of the aisle and from various points of view, but throughout the entire consideration of this legislation there was a genuine and sincere effort to meet the common objectives.

Is this a weak bill?

Today as we consider this bill, there will be those who contend that the committee bill is weak. As debate continues today, I am confident that the merits of the various alternatives will be thoroughly discussed, so I would like to concentrate on just three questions about the committee bill in an effort to convince this body that our bill is a strong, effective piece of legislation.

Does the bill offer protection to dog and cat owners?

The answer is "Yes." The licensing system, the recordkeeping requirements, the identification of dogs and cats, the requirement for dealers to hold these animals prior to disposition, and the penalty provisions all insure that a significant advance will be taken against the organized theft of dogs and cats.

Will dogs and cats be treated humanely?

The answer again is "Yes." The Secretary of Agriculture would be empowered to establish and enforce humane standards for dealers, regulate auction markets, and take every appropriate step to see that dogs and cats destined for laboratory use are treated compassionately and humanely.

Will medical research be impaired?

The final answer is "No." Safeguards built into this bill insure that our great medical research complex will not be impeded or restricted in its never-ending search for the secrets of science that will benefit each and every one of us.

In summary, Mr. Chairman, the committee bill is a good bill, an original bill, a strong bill, an effective bill. It has been carefully considered and thoroughly debated within the committee. It comes to the House with strong bipartisan support from the committee and deserves the support of this body.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. RESNICK].

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Chairman, first I wish to commend the members of the Subcommittee on Livestock and Feedgrains of the Committee on Agriculture, who have reported a very fine bill.

As many as my colleagues will remember, I introduced the first bill in this area, H.R. 9743. I am very happy that most of the provisions of that bill have been incorporated in the committee bill.

For the record, I should like to make very clear what I had in mind when I introduced the proposed legislation, and what most of the letters I received were about. Very simply, it was to prevent the theft of our cats and of our dogs and other household pets, and prevent their winding up in medical research laboratories.

We know the problems which are involved in humane treatment of animals in laboratories.

That is the subject of another bill. That bill did not even come before our committee. This bill, the Poage bill, very simply is designed to see that there will be no more profit for anyone in stealing our pets. As pointed out—and the testimony is full of it—there is very little reason for anybody to steal our family pets except for medical research purposes. I understand that there are going to be a number of substitute amendments. I would like to say that I am 100 percent behind the Poage bill as it is written. I think it covers the original intent of this legislation. I think it should be pointed out to one and all that this bill will in no way make it more difficult for our medical research facilities to operate. On the other hand, I agree that it will raise the cost of animals to our medical researchers.

They have stated this many times, but it is always cheaper to steal something than it is to buy something. But that is no excuse to encourage stealing. It is my hope that the passage of the Poage bill will see the introduction of commercial dog and cat raising for laboratory purposes. I think the medical profession will benefit by it and I think medical research will benefit by it. I know all of us who have dogs and cats that we love as part of our family will be very happy.

Mr. Chairman, I now yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SWEENEY].

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Chairman, I should like at this time to compliment the gentleman from New York for his interest in this field. At the time of the gentleman's introduction of his bill on this particular issue I was very interested to review the comment that the gentleman made with regard to the primary purpose of this legislation, namely, to protect dogs and cats from thievery, as has been described in the committee hearings and the comments here today. My question to the gentleman is simply this: If there is a growing national problem that we have a black market dealing in stolen animals, particularly dogs and cats, why not incorporate in the legislation itself a criminal provision, as was originally suggested at the time other legislation such as the Helstoski bill provided for? Why not provide for a criminal remedy? Why in the Poage bill and in the gentleman's bill was the criminal provision dropped? I would like to have some comments on that.

Mr. RESNICK. In my bill, H.R. 9743, the criminal penalty was not dropped. However, in discussing it with the committee and in hearing everybody's views on it, I came to agree with our distinguished chairman that merely by lifting the dealer's license we would probably get more compliance than by these harsh criminal penalties which I originally inserted in my bill.

Mr. SWEENEY. I might say it would certainly be well documented, I believe in every office on the Hill, that there is a growing demand in America for enforcement to eliminate situations such as were described as existing in Maryland and in other areas where they are obviously inflicting indescribable cruelty upon animals. There is a demand growing that this be effectively dealt with in this legislation.

Mr. RESNICK. I would say to my distinguished friend from Ohio that I think these licenses will be of great value to dealers. I do not believe anyone is going to get this license if he is not a reputable person. Further, I think once this license is acquired I very much doubt that any owner of the license is going to jeopardize that license by handling stolen animals.

Mr. SWEENEY. Might I develop this part of the RECORD here with the gentleman further? I would be interested in finding out and ascertaining whether the gentleman would consider just the revocation of the license sufficient, if there is developing in this country this great traffic in stolen animals and pets? Would he consider just the revocation of a license, in his judgment, as sufficient to curtail this type of traffic?

Mr. RESNICK. Well, I would like to say to the gentleman from Ohio that, again, we must realize the revocation of this license will put the man out of business because laboratories will not be permitted to buy from him. It will stop his livelihood and, certainly, the revocation of the research facilities' licenses would hamper their work tremendously.

I doubt if the research facility would jeopardize losing its license.

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, finally, it would seem to my mind that the record in committee and here today is pretty certain that what we are really turning the focus upon here today is not the legitimate dealers but, rather, those who operate in the gray areas, and those who have a record of certainly violating any humane standards, and everything else.

However, in the absence of a criminal provision how would we get those who do not operate beyond that area?

Mr. RESNICK. I would like to say to the gentleman from Ohio that a part of the provisions contained in this bill provide that certain standards be set up to which the dealer must adhere. If these standards are not met, dealers are not given the business in the first place. If, after operating for a while, they fall below the standard, they might be put out of business, ipso facto, like the shocking case in Baltimore.

Certainly the Secretary would never license an operator like that.

Mr. Chairman, it is my belief that these licenses will become a thing of value, and no one will jeopardize losing this license—his very livelihood—by violating the law, and through the handling of stolen animals.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Poage bill, H.R. 13881.

Mr. Chairman, in my opinion this legislation, if enacted, would accomplish two things effectively. First, it will stop the stealing of dogs for research purposes. Second, it will provide for humane standards for the handling and transportation of dogs when they move from the original owner to the research facility in the hands of dealers.

Mr. Chairman, this legislation does not provide for any regulation of research facilities and their handling of dogs.

Mr. Chairman, there was not sufficient testimony presented to the subcommittee or to the full committee proving that control of research facilities is necessary at this time.

The real problem with which we are confronted is the stealing of dogs and cats and the treatment thereof as was shown in such cases as the one in Maryland, where the cruel treatment was so severe that State action was taken against the parties involved.

Mr. Chairman, the comparisons between the Poage bill, H.R. 13881, and the bill which is spoken about most now in the telegrams which we have received, the Helstoski bill, H.R. 10743, have been prepared. In order that the RECORD might show this comparison, when we go back into the House again, I shall ask for permission to make this comparison a part of the RECORD at this point:

COMPARISON BETWEEN H.R. 13881 AS REPORTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND H.R. 10743, H.R. 13346 AND SIMILAR BILLS

Item	*H.R. 13881 (committee bill)*	*H.R. 10743, H.R 13346 (and companion bills)*
Animals covered by bill.	Dogs and cats only (secs. 2(d) and 2(e).)	All vertebrates (sec. 2(f)).
Licensing of research facilities.	Requires research facilities to be licensed, but expressly prohibits establishment of humane standards for handling of animals subsequent to their arrival at a research facility (sec. 6).	Does not require research facilities to be licensed; does not establish humane standards for handling of animals at research facilities.
Records of research facilities.	Requires records to be kept of purchase, sale, and transportation of dogs and cats; records available for inspection by Secretary or his authorized agent (sec. 8).	Requires records to be kept for 2 years and a bill of sale for each animal; records available for inspection by Secretary or any police officer or agent of any law enforcement agency (sec. 7).
Acquisition of animals by research facility.	Prohibited from anyone except "person" holding valid license as a "dealer" (sec. 3). (See committee rept., p. 7, on acquisition of dogs or cats from dog pounds or animal shelters.)	Prohibited from anyone except a "dealer" (sec. 3).
Licensing of dealers.	Required for dealers and permitted for persons who voluntarily wish to be licensed as dealers. Persons with less than "substantial portion of income" from breeding and raising dogs and cats would be exempt from license requirements (sec. 2(h) and sec. 6).	Required for dealers. No comparable provision for voluntary licensing or exemption for persons selling small numbers of animals (sec. 2(h)).
Licensing of common carriers.	Exempted from licensing requirements. (NOTE.—Common carriers except trucks are covered by the 28-hour law).	Common carriers required obtain a license.
Humane standards.	To be determined, promulgated, and enforced by Secretary by regulations (sec. 5 and sec. 11).	Set forth in bill. Transactions involving sick, injured, unweaned, or pregnant animals prohibited (sec. 5).
Auction markets.	Contemplates regulations of and establishment of humane standards at auction markets (sec. 11 and committee rept., p. 8.)	Prohibits auction sales of animals used for research (sec. 10).
Identification.	Requires dogs and cats to be marked in humane manner determined by Secretary (sec. 7).	Requires dogs and cats to be identified by photograph or other humane and painless manner determined by Secretary (sec. 6).
Coordination with State and local agencies.	Authorizes Secretary to cooperate with State and local agencies to effectuate the purposes of the bill and similar State and local laws (sec. 9).	Directs Secretary to take appropriate action to encourage States to adopt new laws to effectuate the purposes of the bill and authorizes the Secretary to cooperate with State agencies (sec. 8).
Time of disposal of animals.	Prohibits dealers from selling or disposing of any dog or cat within 5 business days or other period of time specified by the Secretary (sec. 10).	Prohibits dealers from selling or disposing of any animal within 5 business days. Requires Secretary and State and local law enforcement officers to assist owners of animals to search premises of dealers after obtaining search warrant (sec. 9).
Inspection of premises.	Contemplated in Secretary's regulations (sec. 11 and committee rept., p. 8).	Requires inspection of dealers at least six times a year; requires regular inspection of transportation of animals. Permits delegation of inspection authority to State and local agencies (sec. 11(a)).
Penalties and sanctions.	Provides civil penalty of $500 per day for each offense to be collected by Attorney General. Authorizes injunctive action through Attorney General (sec. 14). Authorizes suspension or revocation of licenses of dealers after hearings and denial of Federal research funds to research facilities unless another Federal agency finds such action not to be in the public interest (sec. 12(a)).	Provides for imprisonment for not more than 1 year and $10,000 fine for violations. Authorizes Attorney General to prosecute violation reported by the Secretary or by other persons (sec. 12). Authorizes suspension or revocation of dealer's license after hearings. Requires Secretary to suspend license of dealer being prosecuted for cruelty to animals under State law and to revoke such dealer's license in the event of a conviction (sec. 14).
Principal-agent relationship.	Provides that the act, omission, or failure of an agent or research facility or dealer or person licensed as a dealer acting within scope of his employment will be deemed the act of his principal (sec. 13).	Contains a similar, though not identical provision (sec. 13).

COMPARISON BETWEEN H.R. 13881 AS REPORTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND H.R. 10743, H.R. 13346 AND SIMILAR BILLS—Continued

Item	*H.R. 13881 (committee bill)*	*H.R. 10743, H.R 13346 (and companion bills)*
Financing provision.	**Establishes a system of graduated license fees designed to cover, insofar as practicable, the cost of administering the program. License fee collections would be deposited in a special fund which would remain available without regard to fiscal year limitations. Also authorizes such appropriations by Congress as may be necessary from time to time (sec. 17).**	**Requires dealers to pay in license fees an amount sufficient to finance the administration of the program. License fee collection would be deposited as treasury miscellaneous receipts. No authority for appropriations (sec. 16).**
Appeals from Secretary's final order.	**Provides for appeals by research facilities, dealers, and other aggrieved persons to U.S. circuit courts of appeal (sec. 12(c)).**	**No provision included in bill for appeals.**
Definitions of "person," "Secretary," "commerce," "dog," "cat," "research facility."	**Substantially the same, though not identical, in both bills (sec. 2(a) through 2(f)).**	**Substantially the same, though not identical, in both bills (sec. 2(a) through 2(g)).**
Constitutional invalidity clause.	**Identical in both bills (sec 16).**	**Identical in both bills (sec. 15).**
Date effective.	**Identical in both bills (120 days after enactment) (sec. 18).**	**Identical in both bills (120 days after enactment (sec. 17).**

Mr. Chairman, I believe that the previous speakers have quite well pointed out the emphasis and impact of this legislation, as well as the necessity for it. Rather than take any greater length of time, I shall just let the record stand, based upon what the other speakers have said.

Mr. Chairman, I might say that my own attitude on this legislation is that at first I felt we should have limited it only to the dealers, and in so no way mentioned the research facilities. However, based upon the committee information I changed my mind. They found it necessary to license research facilities in order that the records may be compared and a determination made if any unlicensed dealers are providing dogs and cats for the research facilities this provides a means for the regulation of dealers that we could not otherwise have had.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Chairman, I take this time to rise in support of H.R. 13881.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 13881, which would authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs, cats, and other animals intended to be used for purposes of research and experimentation, and certain other purposes.

The purposes of this bill have been amply discussed, and essentially they are threefold: First, enactment of this bill would provide protection to the owners of dogs and cats from the theft of such pets; second, to prevent the use or sale of stolen animals for purposes of research or experimentation; and third, to establish humane standards for the treatment of these animals while they are on the way to medical research facilities.

Under the bill, the Secretary of Agriculture would issue licenses to both dealers and research facilities. The dealers would be required to keep records of their handling, transportation, purchase, and sale of dogs and cats. The research facilities would keep records of their purchase, sale, and transportation of dogs and cats acquired by them.

A significant feature of the bill would make it unlawful for a dealer or research facility to operate without a license, and a research facility could purchase dogs and cats only from a licensed dealer. Reasonable penalty provisions are included in the bill, and violations of this act or any regulation, after confirmed by a hearing, could result in a $500 per day penalty, suspension or revocation of a dealer's license, the issuance of a cease-and-desist order, or possible withdrawal of Federal aid to a research facility if the withdrawal would not be contrary to the public interest.

I am a member of the Subcommittee on Livestock and Feed Grains, and, frankly, I was shocked at some of the testimony presented by many of the very fine witnesses who appeared. It is difficult to believe that anyone would subject dumb animals to such cruel and unusual treatment as was evidenced by photographs made available to our committee. In my opinion, this is a reasonable proposal and one that should have the support of every Member of this body. There are certain amendments and exceptions, one of which will permit farmers or other owners of relatively small numbers of dogs and cats to sell these animals to dealers without obtaining a license. In addition, section V of the bill completely excludes the research facility from having to meet humane standards set by the Secretary of Agriculture for the handling, transportation and sale of dogs and cats.

As in many cases, some people view this measure as being too weak, while others indicate it is too strong; but, in my opinion, it is reasonable and just and deserves your support.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Chairman, I want to offer my wholehearted support for H.R. 13881. It is time that we put an end to the suffering which millions of animals in America have undergone for the benefit of research. It is time that we set up regulations by which all persons dealing with these animals must abide, and for which punishment is issued in the event of violation. Over the months, I have had many letters from disheartened constituents in which they express their concern, dismay, and horror over the treatment and handling of experimental animals. On behalf of my constituents in their compassion for animals that will be involved in future research, let me again offer affirmative support for this legislation.

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Chairman, I am most happy to support H.R. 13881 as reported from the Agriculture Committee.

The reported bill eliminates regulation of "other animals" as provided for in the bills that I and several other Members introduced, and provides for protection of dogs and cats only. In view of the uncertainties raised with respect to the problems involved in the protection of "other animals," it is not unreasonable to restrict protection to dogs and cats only at the present time. Certainly it is the inhumane abuse of dogs and cats that is the overwhelming concern to millions of our citizens.

The reported bill also eliminates some references to "research facilities" in order to make it even more certain that bona fide research endeavors are not subject to outside interference. These technical changes merely confirm what I believe to be the intent of the Members of the House.

In short, the objective of the bill is to provide protection against the repulsive and widely reported abuses of dogs and cats, but at the same time to protect the legitimate and necessary functions of research institutions. I urge the House to act favorably on this important legislation.

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Chairman, I support H.R. 13881. This bill, if enacted, should bring to a halt the growing, organized, multi-million-dollar traffic in stolen dogs and cats.

The bill before us today should effectively stop this stealing of pets, for it closes off the market for any animals whose history of ownership is not verifiable. The bill will not, however, inhibit or restrict essential and responsible medical research; for, while each medical research laboratory will be obligated to obtain animals only from licensed dealers and to maintain records of all purchases, no laboratory will be subject to penalties unless it willfully and persistently evades these simple steps.

The family cat or dog occupies a warm place in the hearts of its young owners—and their parents. Be it fancy feline with pedigree, or plain pooch with mixed-up bloodline, each pet becomes a valued member of the family. It is a sad evening indeed when a family calls in vain for the cat or dog which does not return at its habitual hour. I hope we succeed in stopping these miserable men who have succeeded in making their living by stealing and selling pets.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation providing for the humane treatment of dogs and cats in connection with research purposes. It has been clear for some time that some kind of legislation has been very much needed to prevent the inhumane and sickening conditions that have recently come to light with regard to the activities of unscrupulous dealers in household pets. I feel sure that this bill will put an effective end to these deplorable practices and will do so without interfering with the proper activities of legitimate research organizations in the drug and medical fields.

Actually I had hoped that the pending legislation might have been amended to eliminate the requirement that research facilities themselves be licensed in handling of dogs and cats obtained from dealers in pets. It had seemed to me that by licensing and regulating the dealers in dogs and cats we were giving the Government the power to wipe out the deplorable and inhumane conditions that have recently come to light. By extending the requirement for Federal licensing into the research facilities themselves I was fearful, frankly, that we might be running the risk of putting too much Federal control in the field of private medicine where it properly should have no place.

However, I am pleased to learn that the bill before us has now received the support of the research people, who feel that the requirements imposed by the bill will not interfere with proper and legitimate medical research, and will make it possible for us to deal even more effectively with those who would act in improper and inhumane ways in acquiring dogs and cats for research purposes.

Therefore I am pleased to support this legislation, and believe that we are taking an important forward step that is in line with the wishes and desires of an overwhelming majority of the American people and is clearly in line with the public interest.

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Chairman, H.R. 13881, the Poage bill which this House is today being asked to consider is a woefully inadequate attempt to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of animals intended to be used for research and experimentation. There is a crying need for prompt passage of meaningful animal protection legislation but H.R. 13881 falls far short of meeting that need.

This bill is inadequate because, first, it would permit the continued sale of animals at auction and by weight, a method of sale in which the greatest number of stolen animals change hands and cruelty is routine; second, it fails to give the legislative intent of the humane standards which the Secretary of Agriculture would promulgate for the handling and transportation of animals; third, it fails to prohibit the sale and transport of sick, injured, unweaned, or pregnant animals; fourth, it fails to require dealers to have bills of sale as proof of legal acquisition of animals; fifth, it fails to require inspection of dealers' facilities and transportation; and sixth, it calls for an inadequate fine.

Mr. Chairman, a bill which I have introduced, H.R. 13720, would remedy these glaring weaknesses which are in the bill before us today. A number of other bills have also been introduced, such as H.R. 10743 by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HELSTOSKI], which would provide a good answer to this tragic problem.

I urge my colleagues to support amendments and to support a motion to recommit with instructions to strengthen this proposed legislation and make it meaningful. I intend to do so.

It has been suggested that those of us who believe that H.R. 13881 is inadequate should vote against its final passage unless our efforts to amend it or to recommit it with instructions to improve it are successful. However, I do not believe this would be the proper course to follow.

If our efforts to improve the Poage bill fail, I shall reluctantly support its passage in the great hope that the other body will pass a better piece of legislation and that the conferees of both bodies, in their wisdom, will agree to a worthwhile bill. I shall do this because I truly fear that if the House does not pass an animal bill today, then we will not be given an opportunity to pass any legislation in this field at all this year. It would be better, therefore, to pass an inadequate bill which could be improved in the other body, than to pass no bill at all.

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Chairman, as a longtime advocate of legislation to outlaw some of the vicious cruelties inflicted on research animals, I urge passage of H.R. 13881.

The bill admittedly does not go as far as many of us would have liked, but it is a good first step in banning a grisly and sordid commercialism that has sprung up in recent years to meet the ever-growing demand for laboratory animals in legitimate medical and biological research. I refer to the bootleg traffic of family pets—the outright theft of dogs and cats and their subsequent mistreatment by so-called wholesalers and dealers of laboratory animals.

I am hopeful that the measure now before the House will eliminate this illicit procurement, which has become a national problem and a national shame. Whether a spillout effect will be to curb the shocking cruelties to animals other than dogs and cats that have been revealed in recent articles by national publications remains to be seen. I am convinced, though, that H.R. 13881 is a desirable reform to current practices in the wholesaling of animals intended for use in research and deserves the support of every Member.

Mr. FINO. Mr. Chairman, I would like to speak in support of H.R. 13881, similar to my bill, H.R. 11002, which would regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of animals intended for research.

The issue has aroused a great deal of controversy. Heavy mail in many congressional offices indicates the intensity of feeling among both proponents and opponents of the legislation we are considering today.

Proponents argue that a high percentage of the dogs and cats used for research purposes in this country are stolen pets and that, this question aside, animals intended for research are cruelly abused in the course of transportation and while in temporary shelter. The number of animals stolen annually for sale to research facilities can be quibbled over, but it is becoming more and more difficult to deny the charges of brutality leveled at many animal dealers. From all parts of the country come newspaper reports of starving, thirsty animals, herded together in filthy facilities, in extreme discomfort—often in pain—from chains so short they cannot lie down and cages so small and crowded they can neither stand nor lie. Many dealers have, in fact, been repeatedly convicted for cruelty to animals; they remain in operation because State penalties are so light.

Opponents argue that the proposed legislation would be difficult to enforce and damaging to much medical and scientific research. While we can readily admit that as with most legislation there may well be difficulties in enforcement, I would like to counter their argument at several other points.

I seriously question whether the legislation proposed would be damaging to research. The bill as amended would simply require research facilities to purchase a license, prohibit research facilities from purchasing animals except from a licensed dealer, and require that they keep records relating to the purchase of animals.

So the only provisions relating to research facilities are that they purchase only from licensed dealers and that they keep records of their transactions. This last requirement may be somewhat burdensome, but it can scarcely be interpreted as interference with the purposes or methods of research. Purchasing only from licensed dealers need not cut down the number of animals available for research for there are many other legitimate sources—and it is very likely to improve the quality of animals used in research, scarcely an objectionable result.

The main functions of the law would be, therefore, to make it a grave risk for dealers to steal pets for resale to research facilities and to compel them to treat the animals in their possession with a degree of decency.

This seems to me both reasonable and productive—for pet owners and research facilities alike. I advocate your support of H.R. 13881.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to join my colleagues in supporting the bill, H.R. 13881, to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs and cats intended for research.

As most of us know from the mail we have received in the last few months, the issue has aroused great interest and controversy. And quite rightly. The conditions in many animal dealers' facilities disclosed recently by the national press are deeply shocking. Hunger, pain, and fear—deliberately inflicted on helpless, homeless animals—can scarcely be tolerated in a nation thinking itself civilized.

In application, however, this becomes a difficult problem. The Agriculture Committee is to be commended for the care it has taken in gathering information, considering widely divergent opinions, and fashioning a workable and effective piece of legislation.

By requiring dealers to purchase licenses, keep records of their handling, transportation, and sale of dogs and cats, and adhere to humane standards of care prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture, the law would work to insure that these animals are legally obtained and humanely treated. Requiring research facilities to be licensed, to buy dogs and cats only from licensed dealers, and to keep records will reinforce and guarantee dealer compliance with the law. Penalties for violation of the law are stern but reasonable, and procedures for determining violation and penalties are eminently fair.

I am pleased to support this fine bill.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Chairman, having long realized the great need for legislation to control the theft of pets and their sale for research purposes and to require humane treatment by handlers of dogs and cats legally acquired for such research, I support the bill before the House today, H.R. 13881, and urge its adoption.

During the past 15 months, I have received many letters and petitions, and several delegations have visited my office urging enactment of legislation to eliminate what they described as "pet stealing" and put to an end the "inhumane treatment to which they are subjected during transportation and in confinement."

Since the intent of this legislation is to correct these conditions, I am glad to join proponents of the bill in giving it my support.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Chairman, I rise in favor of H.R. 13881, a bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs, cats and other animals intended to be used for purposes of research or experimentation.

The purposes of this bill are to protect the owners of dogs and cats from the theft of such pets, to prevent the use or sale of stolen animals for purposes of research or experimentation, and to establish humane standards for the treatment of these animals while they are on the way to medical research facilities. The bill specifically authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, purchase, sale and handling in commerce of dogs and cats which are destined for use in research or experimentation.

Mr. Chairman, Life magazine on February 4, 1966, printed a lead article illustrating some shocking abuses in the procurement of animals for laboratories that urgently needs to be corrected. The Life article was entitled "Concentration Camps for Dogs—Pets for Sale Cheap—No Questions Asked." Research facilities and laboratories last year used thousands of dogs and cats for which they paid many millions of dollars. This demand has given rise to a large network of dealers who oftentimes secure dogs and cats by simply combing the streets and picking up any animal they can catch, as was vividly portrayed in the Life magazine pictures. These dogs and cats are usually stripped of all identification and often moved across State lines to escape the jurisdiction of local and State law.

Under this legislation the Secretary of Agriculture would issue licenses to both dealers and research facilities. The dealers would be required to keep records of their handling, transportation, purchase, and sale of dogs and cats. The research facilities would keep records of their purchase, sale and transportation of dogs and cats acquired by them. The Secretary would specify humane methods of identification and prescribe humane standards to govern the transportation and handling of dogs and cats by the dealers.

Mr. Chairman, I have been advised by members of the Agriculture Committee that the amendments adopted by the committee reflects the sentiments of many of the humane societies and medical organizations which appeared at the public hearings held by the Subcommittee on Livestock and Feed Grains.

Since the Life magazine article appeared in February, I have received hundreds of letters from my constituents who were horrified by the scandalous revelations on the snatching of pets to be sold by dealers for research purposes. These animals should be purchased from validly licensed dealers, and not stolen from the streets. This would have the effect of improving the quality of animals used for research, making it more likely that they will productively endure the research procedures to which they will be subjected. And it would make the stealing of pets for sale to research institutions risky and difficult. I hope that the legislation passes overwhelmingly.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of legislation which will curb the inhumane traffic in laboratory animals which currently exists in this country. The great weight of evidence now confirms that Federal legislation is needed if we are to find an effective solution to this problem. I want to commend Chairman COOLEY, Mr. POAGE, Mr. RESNICK, the original sponsor, and the other members of the Agriculture Committee for time and effort they have put into this legislation. While this is a very emotional issue, the committee has taken the time to write what is in essence, a very workable solution to the problem.

I have long been interested in the welfare of animals which are used in the great research programs of this Nation. It is my feeling that the Federal Government, as the supporter of over two-thirds of all biomedical research in this country, has an obligation to insure that the animals used in that research are given the best treatment that is possible. This "dealer" bill is one step in the right direction to insure that that goal is reached. It will deal with the serious problem of the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs and cats used in research and experimentation. It is my feeling that the authors of this bill made the correct decision in stopping at the laboratory door, so to speak, and leaving the treatment of the animals in the laboratory as the subject of other legislation. I have introduced legislation on this latter subject, which will not place unnecessary burdens on research, as have many other Members, and we have already had some hearings on these proposals. It is our intention to continue to pursue this matter.

The bill before the House, H.R. 13881, would require that all dealers, in the business of selling cats and dogs to laboratories, obtain a license. It would also require that any laboratories which obtain Federal funds only purchase their animals from licensed dealers. These are indeed constructive steps in the solution of this problem.

Only recently Life magazine did a feature article on the almost unbelievable conditions to which some dealers have been subjecting these animals. The particular dealer lived within 45 minutes of Washington and was a major source of supply. It is my hope and belief that this legislation will go a great way in protecting animals which are used in research. It is my belief that the goals of progress through research, and humane treatment of the animals used in that research, are not incompatible.

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Chairman, I want to take this opportunity to express my support for the Poage bill upon which we are today acting. I believe our distinguished colleague, Congressman POAGE, and the members of the House Committee on Agriculture have done a fine job in this important area of legislation.

I have long believed some legislation was necessary to help protect our family pets from being subjected to inhumane treatment as a result of the actions of certain unscrupulous individuals who make a profit from the theft of beloved pets. I also believe H.R. 13881 protects the legitimate medical research programs at our great American universities and medical centers by not restricting sound medical practices.

I believe H.R. 13881 ably serves these two important purposes: it will help to protect our family pets and, at the same time, it will not unduly restrict medical research. For these reasons, and because of my deep interest in this area, I support H.R. 13881.

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee for drafting an excellent measure, H.R. 13881, regarding the transportation, sale and handling of dogs and cats for research purposes.

A great deal of concern has been generated as a result of the tremendous volume of illicit traffic in these animals which are stripped of identification and shipped across State lines for sale to research facilities and laboratories.

I commend the committee for reporting legislation which will effectively prohibit these practices without imposing unnecessary Federal controls and I support it wholeheartedly.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, this in my opinion, is a good bill.

Certainly it will serve to give a greater measure of protection to the dogs and cats that are bound in affection to family circles and too often are stolen by ruthless and heartless procurers. It is said it will provide protection up to the door of the hospital and to that extent it will serve the humane cause. Whether at a later time there should be legislation that will provide some measure of prudent regulation within the doors of the hospital is not unlikely. I am too much a friend of dogs, and my memories of Tommy, Peerless and Red, the three dogs that contributed so much sweetness to my life at different stages, is so vibrantly fresh that I would not wish any dog to suffer unnecessary pain and definitely would wish none mistreated. Mr. Chairman, I have received several hundred letters on the bill now before us, most from men and women of medicine. None presents the case for research more graphically than this letter from Howard S. Ducoff, 1516 West Charles Street, Champaign, Ill.

> DEAR CONGRESSMAN O'HARA: I am greatly disturbed by proposals to add to the Poage bill restrictions on medical research laboratories. Since we lived in your district, from 1950 to 1957, and were ardent and outspoken supporters of yours while surrounded by Vallites, I thought you might be interested in our personal involvement.
>
> Early in 1957, I accepted an offer from the University of Illinois, and we began to prepare for the move to Champaign-Urbana. My wife had a miserable summer, what with moving, preganancy, and illness. The baby was born here in April 1958, and though she looked lovely, she had a severe heart murmur, and several heart wall and valve defects. In 1961, she underwent open heart surgery at Children's Memorial Hospital; the operation was almost completely successful, and today she is unrestricted in her activities.
>
> If animal experimentation had been restricted 15 years ago, this particular surgical procedure would have taken at least 5 to 10 years longer to develop—and that would have been too late to save the life of my daughter. I'm sorry to take so much of your time, but I'm sure you'll understand our strong feelings in this matter.
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> HOWARD S. DUCOFF.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, it seems convincingly clear, from the authoritative evidence presented here this afternoon in connection with animals required for scientific, and experimental research, there is urgent need of Federal legislation to protect the owners of dogs and other animals against the theft of these pets; to protect the animals themselves from cruel and inhumane treatment by unscrupulous persons while waiting upon delivery to these research facilities and to establish penalties to prevent and discourage the transportation and delivery of stolen household pets and other animals for research purposes.

I, and most every other Member here, have received multitudinous letters from constituents, and from a great many heartbroken children, relating instances of theft of their animal pets and, perhaps, even worse, numerous instances of cruel and torturous treatment of dogs and other animals marked for sale and delivery to experimental research facilities. The documented testimony of this growing and most reprehensive traffic in animals for research purposes demonstrates that the situation borders on being a national disgrace which requires legislative action for prompt correction and future prevention.

Mr. Chairman, our legislative duty and challenge here is to protect the owners of all animals against theft of their pets and to require humane treatment of the animals affected by this situation while, at the same time, we prudently try to insure, for the maintenance of the great basic human betterment progress involved, that the experimental and research facilities are not stifled and frustrated in their legitimate scientific projections.

I think that this should be our objective in our action on this bill before us now and I most earnestly hope and trust that this objective will be completely realized in our further discussion and final adoption of this measure this afternoon.

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Chairman, I have received numerous letters, as I am sure most of my colleagues have, deploring the inhumane conditions and treatment that so many animals destined for laboratories for research purposes have been subjected to. I know we all want to prevent the needless suffering and abuse of these animals.

The bill approved by the Agriculture Committee and before us today seeks to reduce the theft and abuse of animals by dealers, but I would prefer to see a stronger bill enacted to curb the unspeakably cruel practices engaged in by conscienceless dealers and to stop the traffic in stolen pets.

I have introduced a bill, H.R. 13464, identical to that of the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] and the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HELSTOSKI] and several other Members of the House, which would prohibit the sale of animals at auction or by weight. The bill under consideration would not do this. As most of us know, stolen pets change hands very quickly at animal auctions and in the process are usually terribly mistreated. Our bill would license dealers only and require laboratories to purchase animals only from licensed dealers. In many additional ways, because of its clear and mandatory language, it would come closer to insuring an end to the abuse and stealing of animals by certain cruel and unscrupulous dealers.

I intend to support the motion which will be made by the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] to recommit to the Committee on Agriculture the bill it approved with instructions to substitute the more effective provisions of her bill. As I indicated, I have introduced an identical measure.

I also support the change in the language of section 7 of the substitute bill which she has proposed. This would result in elimination of the requirement that research facilities make and keep records for a period of at least 2 years. With this amendment, only dealers would be requred to keep such records.

However, if the recommittal motion should fail, I will vote for passage of H.R. 13881, introduced by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE]. This bill does not go as far as the legislation which I have introduced, but because in all probability we will have no other opportunity this year to vote on legislation of this nature, we should at least take a step in the right direction. This should serve to put the unscrupulous animal thieves on notice that the Congress will not tolerate any longer their shameful activities.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 13881, to regulate the sale, transportation and handling of dogs and cats used in research, although I consider it only a beginning on work which should be done to provide humane care for animals used in scientific research.

This bill covers only dogs and cats and it stops at the laboratory door. I am the sponsor of legislation, H.R. 5647, the Cleveland-Clark bill—along with the senior Senator from Pennsylvania—which would set standards of humane care inside the laboratory. It would cover all vertebrate animals used in federally financed scientific research. I am deeply sorry that this bill or one substantially like it has not been brought to the floor of the House.

The bill before us today, however, is a beginning. It is the first step in providing legal requirements for that humane care for animals which ought to be a hallmark of any civilized society. Hopefully, H.R. 13881 will pave the way for further progress. For this reason, I am voting for this worthwhile, if rather timid, step forward.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the substitute bill offered by my good friend and neighbor from New Jersey [Mr. HELSTOSKI]. While I feel that the bill which has come to us from the Agriculture Committee is certainly better than the status quo. I also feel that the measures introduced by the gentleman from New Jersey and a similar bill introduced by the beloved gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] are more far reaching in nature and thus are preferable to the measure under discussion. I urge all Members to accept the Helstoski substitute.

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Chairman, I wholeheartedly support the present bill, H.R. 13881, as an effective means of controlling the growing traffic in stolen pets and of assuring at least minimum standards of decency and humaneness in the handling and transporting of dogs and cats intended for use in medical or scientific research.

It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that this bill represents the very least that Congress can do in dealing with a situation which has become scandalously bad in a relatively short time. Because I believe this bill will equip the Secretary of Agriculture with adequate authority to develop and enforce workable regulations, I have been glad to cosponsor it. But I do not believe we can stop here. I hope that the Committee on Agriculture will take steps to encourage the Secretary to act expeditiously and effectively. I hope the committee will watch the implementation of the legislation carefully and will not hesitate to come back to the House with recommendations for plugging loopholes or otherwise strengthening the law as experience may indicate is necessary.

I also hope that other committees having jurisdiction over related legislation in the field of animal welfare will be encouraged by what I hope will be overwhelming passage of the pending bill to give active consideration to other proposals for protecting both wildlife and domestic animals. It is evident that the people are aroused over the heartless kidnaping of family pets, the brutal treatment of animals being shipped to laboratories, the sometimes needlessly inhumane use to which animals are put within laboratories, and in general the heartless, unthinking, and blindly selfish manner with which we treat a very precious resource.

On few, if any, other legislative issues before Congress during my 10 years in the House have I received so much correspondence over so long and continuing a period of time. By and large, these have been letters from thoughtful and deeply responsible people, representing every social and economic group. They have expressed concern—which I fully share—not only about the suffering imposed on helpless animals or the sense of loss when a family pet is killed or stolen but even more important about the brutalizing effect upon human beings and upon society as a whole when senseless torture of animals entrusted to our care is tolerated.

Those of our constituents who write us on this issue are being moved by truly noble feelings and by the most rational of objectives. It is up to us to listen and to respond effectively.

This bill represents the first significant forward step since we passed the Humane Slaughter Act in 1958. It will immobilize, hopefully, those ruthless and illicit dealers who roam the countryside and prowl the streets in search of cats and dogs. It will require, through licensing and recordkeeping as well as inspection and sanctions, dealers and research facilities to act in a humane and responsible fashion in buying, selling, transporting, and handling cats and dogs. And it will do so in a way that will not interfere with legitimate medical research or scientific experimentation.

I urge our colleagues, Mr. Chairman, to show those most concerned that we mean business.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 13881

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in order to protect the owners of dogs and cats and other animals from theft of such pets and to prevent the sale or use of stolen dogs and cats and other animals for purposes of research and experimentation, it is essential to regulate the transportation, purchase, sale, or handling of dogs, cats, and other animals by persons or organizations engaged in using them for research or experimental purposes or in transporting, buying, or selling them for use.

Sec. 2. When used in this Act—

(a) The term "person" includes any individual, partnership, firm, joint stock company, corporation, association, trust, estate, or other legal entity.

(b) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Agriculture.

(c) The term "commerce" means commerce between any State, territory, or possession, or the District of Columbia, or Puerto Rico, and any place outside thereof; or between points within the same State, territory, or possession, or the District of Columbia, but through any place outside thereof; or within any territory or possession or the District of Columbia.

(d) The term "dog" means any live dog of the species (Canis familiaris) for use or intended to be used for research, tests, or experiments at research facilities.

(e) The term "cat" means any live domestic cat (Felis catus) for use or intended to be used for research, tests, or experiments at research facilities.

(f) The term "animal" means any vertebrate animal for use or intended to be used for research, tests, or experiments at research facilities, except cattle, horses, mules, sheep, goats, or swine.

(g) The term "research facility" means any school, institution, organization, or person that uses or intends to use dogs, cats, or other animals in research, tests, or experiments, and that (1) purchases or transports any such animals in commerce, or (2) receives any funds from the United States or any agency or instrumentality thereof to finance its operations by means of grants, loans, or otherwise.

(h) The term "dealer" means any person who for compensation or profit delivers for transportation, or transports, except as a common carrier, buys, or sells dogs, cats, or other animals in commerce for research purposes.

Sec. 3. No research facility shall purchase or transport dogs, cats, or other animals in commerce unless and until such research facility shall have obtained a license from the Secretary, or acquire any dog, cat, or other animal from any person except a person holding a valid license as a dealer.

Sec. 4. No dealer shall sell or offer to sell or transport or offer for transportation to any research facility any dog, cat, or other animal, or buy, sell, offer to buy or sell, transport or offer for transportation in commerce to or from another dealer under this Act any such animal, unless and until such dealer shall have obtained a license from the Secretary and such license shall not have been suspended or revoked.

Sec. 5. The Secretary is authorized to promulgate humane standards to govern the handling and transportation of dogs, cats, and other animals by dealers and research facilities, and to promote their health, well-being, and safety: *Provided, however,* That nothing in this Act shall be construed to authorize the Secretary to set standards for the handling of these animals during the actual research or experimentation.

Sec. 6. The Secretary shall issue licenses to research facilities and to dealers upon application therefor in such form and manner as he may prescribe and upon payment of such fee pursuant to section 17 of this Act: *Provided,* that no such license shall be issued until the applicant shall have demonstrated that his facilities comply with the standards promulgated by the Secretary pursuant to section 5 of this Act. The Secretary is further authorized to license, as dealers, persons who do not qualify as dealers within the meaning of this Act upon such persons' complying with the requirements specified above and agreeing, in writing, to comply with all the requirements of this Act and the regulations promulgated by the Secretary hereunder.

Sec. 7. All dogs and cats delivered for transportation, transported, purchased, or sold in commerce to any dealer or research facilities shall be marked or identified in such humane manner as the Secretary may prescribe.

Sec. 8. Research facilities and dealers shall make and keep such records with respect to their purchase, sale, transportation, and handling of dogs, cats, and other animals, as the Secretary may prescribe. Such records shall be kept open at all reasonable times to inspection by the Secretary or any person duly authorized by him.

Sec. 9. The Secretary is authorized to cooperate with the officials of the various States or political subdivisions thereof in effectuating the purposes of this Act and of any State, local, or municipal legislation or ordinance on the same subject.

Sec. 10. No dealer shall sell or otherwise dispose of any dog or cat within a period of five business days after the acquisition of such animal or within such other period as may be specified by the Secretary.

Sec. 11. The Secretary is authorized to promulgate such rules, regulations, and orders as he may deem necessary in order to effectuate the purposes of this Act.

Sec. 12. (a) If the Secretary has reason to believe that any research facility has violated or is violating any provision of this Act or any of the rules or regulations promulgated by the Secretary hereunder and if, after notice and opportunity for hearing, he finds a violation, he may make an order that such research facility shall cease and desist from continuing such violation. If the Secretary determines that such violation was willful, he shall also prepare a report in writing in which he shall state his findings as to the facts and shall certify such report to each agency of the Federal Government furnishing funds to such research facility to finance research, tests, or experiments involving the use of dogs, cats, or other animals with a recommendation that such funds be withdrawn for such period as the Secretary may specify, and each such agency so notified shall suspend all such payments, loans, or grants to such research facility, all other laws or parts of law notwithstanding.

(b) If the Secretary has reason to believe that any person licensed as a dealer has violated or is violating any provision of this Act or any of the rules or regulations promulgated by the Secretary hereunder, the Secretary may suspend such person's license temporarily, but not to exceed twenty-one days, and, after notice and opportunity for hearing, may suspend for such additional period as he may specify, or revoke, such license if such violation is determined to have occurred and may make an order that such person shall cease and desist from continuing such violation.

(c) Any research facility, dealer, or other person aggrieved by a final order of the Secretary issued pursuant to subdivisions (a) and (b) of this section may, within sixty days after entry of such order, file a petition to review such order in the United States Court of Appeals for the judicial circuit in which the party or any of the parties filing the petition for review resides or has its principal office, or in the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. Upon the filing and service of a petition to review, the Court of Appeals shall have jurisdiction of the proceeding. For the purposes of this Act, the provisions of chapter 19A (Hobbs Act) of title 5, United States Code, shall be applicable to appeals pursuant to this section.

Sec. 13. When construing or enforcing the provisions of this Act, the act, omission, or failure of any individual acting for or employed by a research facility or a dealer, or a person licensed as a dealer pursuant to the second sentence of section 6, within the scope of his employment or office, shall be deemed the act, omission, or failure of such research facility, dealer, or other person as well as of such individual.

SEC. 14. Any research facility or dealer who operates without a license from the Secretary issued pursuant to this Act or while such license is suspended or revoked, and any research facility, dealer, or person licensed as a dealer pursuant to the second sentence of section 6 who knowingly fails to obey a cease-and-desist order made by the Secretary under the provisions of section 12 of this Act shall forfeit to the United States the sum of $500 for each offense. Such forfeiture shall be recoverable in a civil suit in the name of the United States. It shall be the duty of the various United States attorneys, under the direction of the Attorney General, to bring suit for the recovery of forfeitures.

SEC. 15. Whenever it shall appear to the Secretary that any person has engaged, is engaging, or is about to engage in any act or practice constituting a violation of any provision of this Act, or any rule, regulation, or order thereunder, the Secretary may notify the Attorney General, and the Attorney General may bring an action in the proper district court of the United States or the proper United States court of any territory or other place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, to enjoin such act or practice and to enforce compliance with this Act, or any rule, regulation, or order thereunder, and said courts shall have jurisdiction to entertain such actions. Any action under this section may be brought in the district wherein the defendant is found or is an inhabitant or transacts business or in the district where the act or practice in question occurred or is about to occur, and process in such cases may be served in any district where the defendant may be found.

SEC. 16. If any provision of this Act or the application of any such provision to any person or circumstances shall be held invalid, the remainder of this Act and the application of any such provision to persons or circumstances other than those as to which it is held invalid shall not be affected thereby.

SEC. 17. In order to finance the administration of this Act, the Secretary shall charge, assess, and cause to be collected reasonable fees for licenses issued. Such fees shall be adjusted on an equitable basis taking into consideration the type and nature of the operations to be licensed and shall cover as nearly as practicable the costs of administering the provisions of this Act. All such fees shall be deposited in a fund which shall be available without fiscal year limitation for use in administering the provisions of this Act together with such funds as may be appropriated thereto, and there are hereby authorized to be appropriated such funds as Congress may from time to time provide.

SEC. 18. This Act shall take effect one hundred and twenty days after enactment.

Mr. POAGE (during the reading of the bill). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered as read and be open for amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentlemen from Texas?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the first committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 1, line 3, strike out "and other animals".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 1, line 5, strike out "and other animals".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 1, beginning on line 7, strike out "dogs, cats, and other animals" and insert "dogs and cats".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the remaining committee amendments be considered en bloc.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the remaining committee amendments.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 2, after the word "for", insert "such".

Page 2, line 11, after the word "or", insert with caps "The Commonwealth of".

Page 2, beginning on line 22 strike out all of subsection (f). Redesignate subsections (g) and (h) as subsections (f) and (g), respectively.

Page 3, line 3, strike out "dogs, cats, or other animals" and insert "dogs or cats".

Page 3, line 5, strike out "such animals" and insert "dogs or cats".

Page 3, line 12, strike out "dogs, cats, or other animals" and insert "dogs or cats".

Page 3, line 15, strike out "dogs, cats, or other animals" and insert "dogs or cats".

Page 3, line 17, strike out "dog, cat, or other animal" and insert "dog or cat".

Page 3, beginning on line 21, strike out "dog, cat, or other animal", and insert "dog or cat,".

Page 3, line 24, strike out "such animal," and insert "dog or cat,".

Page 4, line 5, strike out "dogs, cats, and other animals" and insert "dogs and cats".

Page 4, beginning on line 5, strike out "and research facilities".

Page 4, line 9, strike out "these animals" and insert "dogs and cats".

Page 4, line 10, strike out the period and add "or at any time subsequent to the arrival of such animals at a research facility".

Page 4, line 14, following the word "fee" insert "established".

Page 4, line 15, strike out "applicant" and insert "dealer".

On page 4, line 18, change the period after the word "Act" to a colon and add:

Provided, however, That any person who derives less than a substantial portion of his income (as determined by the Secretary) from the breeding and raising of dogs and cats on his own premises and sells such animals to a dealer shall not be required to obtain a license as a dealer under this Act.

Page 5, line 3, strike out "Research facilities and dealers" and insert "Dealers".

Page 5, line 5, strike out "dogs, cats, and other animals," and insert "dogs and cats".

Page 5, line 6, following the first sentence of section 8, insert the following new sentence: "Research facilities shall make and keep such records with respect to their purchase, sale, and transportation of dogs and cats as the Secretary may prescribe.".

Page 6, line 4, strike out "willful" and insert "willful and likely to continue,".

Page 6, line 9, strike out "dogs, cats, or other animals" and insert "dogs or cats".

Page 6, line 12, after the phrase "such research facility," insert "unless such agency finds that such suspension would not be in the public interest,".

Page 7, line 1, strike out "subdivisions" and insert "subsections".

Page 8, line 1, strike out the period at the end of the sentence and add "and each day of operating without a valid license or failing to obey a cease and desist order shall constitute a separate offense."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendments.

The committee amendments were agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MRS. BOLTON

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mrs. BOLTON: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the text of the bill H.R. 13346, as amended, as follows:

That, in order to protect the owners of dogs, cats, and other animals from theft of such pets and to prevent the sale or use of stolen dogs, cats, or other animals for purposes of research and experimentation, it is essential to regulate the transportation, purchase, sale, and handling of dogs, cats, and other animals by persons or organizations engaged in transporting, buying, or selling them for use in research or experimental purposes.

SEC. 2. As used in this Act—

(a) The term "person" includes any individual, partnership, association, or corporation;

(b) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Agriculture;

(c) The term "commerce" means commerce between any State, territory, or possession, or the District of Columbia or Puerto Rico, and any place outside thereof; or between points within the same State, territory, or possession, or the District of Columbia, but through any place outside thereof; or within any territory or possession or the District of Columbia.

(d) The term "dog" means any live dogs of the species Canis familiaris for use or intended to be used for research tests or experiments at research facilities.

(e) The term "cat" means any live domestic cat (Felis catus) for use or intended to be used for research, tests, or experiments at research facilities.

(f) The term "animal" means any vertebrate animal.

(g) The term "research facility" means any school, institution, organization, or person that uses or intends to use dogs, cats or other animals in research, tests, or experiments, and that (1) purchases or transports such animals or certain of such animals in commerce or (2) receives any funds from the United States or any agency or instrumentality thereof to finance its operations by means of grants, loans, or otherwise.

(h) The term "dealer" means any person who for compensation or profit delivers for transportation, transports, boards, buys, or sells dogs, cats, or other animals in commerce for research purposes.

SEC. 3. It shall be unlawful for any research facility to purchase or transport dogs, cats, or other animals in commerce except from a dealer licensed in accordance with this Act.

SEC. 4. It shall be unlawful for any dealer to sell or offer to sell or to transport to any research facility any dog, cat, or other animal to buy, sell, offer to buy or sell, transport or offer for transportation in commerce or to another dealer under this Act any such animal, unless and until such dealer shall have obtained a license from the Secretary in accordance with such rules and regulations as the Secretary may prescribe pursuant to this Act, and such license shall not have been suspended or revoked.

Sec. 5. The Secretary shall promulgate standards for the humane care of animals by dealers. The term "humane care" shall mean the type of care which a responsible and conscientious owner would ordinarily provide for an animal kept as a household pet to prevent the animal's suffering, sickness, injury, or other discomfort and shall include but not be limited to housing, feeding, watering, handling, sanitation, ventilation, shelter from extremes of weather and temperature, and separation by species, sex, and temperament both in the dealer's facility and in transportation. The sale, offer to buy or sell, transport or offer for transportation in commerce or to another dealer of any sick, injured, unweaned, or pregnant animal is expressly forbidden.

Sec. 6. All dogs and cats delivered for transportation, transported, purchased, or sold in commerce or to research facilities shall be identified by a photograph or by such other humane and painless manner as the Secretary may prescribe.

Sec. 7. Dealers shall make and keep for a period of no less than two years such records with respect to their purchase, sale, transportation, and handling of dogs, cats, and other animals, as the Secretary may prescribe. Such records shall include a bill of sale for each animal and any collars, tags, or other identifying equipment which accompanied the animals at the time of their acquisition by the dealer. The bill of sale shall contain such information as shall be prescribed by the Secretary. Any bill of sale which is fraudulent or indicates larceny of any animal shall be grounds for prosecution and revocation of license called for in section 14 and for the penalty called for in section 12. Dealers shall be open to inspection by representatives of the Secretary or to any police officer or agent of any legally constituted law enforcement agency.

Sec. 8. The Secretary shall take such action as he may deem appropriate to encourage the various States of the United States to adopt such laws and to take such action as will promote and effectuate the purposes of this Act and the Secretary is authorized to cooperate with the officials of the various States in effectuating the purposes of this Act and any State legislation on the same subject.

Sec. 9. No dealer shall sell or otherwise dispose of any dog, cat, or other animal within a period of five business days after the acquisition of such animals. Representatives of the Secretary, any police officer or agent of any legally constituted law enforcement agency shall assist any owner of any animal who has reason to believe the animal may be in the possession of a dealer in searching the dealer's premises, after obtaining the proper search warrant from the local authorities in whose jurisdiction the dealer's premises are located.

Sec. 10. Dogs, cats, and other animals shall not be offered for sale or sold in commerce or to a research facility at public auction or by weight; or purchased in commerce or by a research facility at public auction or by weight. No research facility shall purchase any animals except from a licensed dealer.

Sec. 11. The Secretary is authorized and directed to promulgate such rules, regulations and orders as he may deem necessary in order to require compliance with the standards for the humane care of animals called for in section 5 and all other purposes and provisions of this Act. Such rules, regulations, and orders shall be published within a reasonable time after enactment of this Act.

(a) Representatives of the Secretary shall inspect dealer's facilities no less than six times a year to determine whether the standards and other provisions of this Act are being complied with. The Secretary shall also require the regular inspection of transportation of animals by and from dealers to research facilities and may delegate that responsibility to law enforcement officers of the States or to agents of any legally constituted law enforcement agencies.

Sec. 12. Any person who violates any provision of this Act shall, on conviction thereof, be subject to imprisonment for not more than one year or a fine of not more than $10,000 and to revocation of the license described in section 4 and shall not be eligible for another license under this Act. The penalty created by this section shall be recovered by civil action in the name of the United States in the circuit or district court within the district where the violation may have been committed or the person or corporation resides or carries on business; and it shall be the duty of the United States attorneys to prosecute all violations of this Act reported by the Secretary, or which come to their notice or knowledge by other means.

Sec. 13. When construing or enforcing the provisions of this Act, the act, omission, or failure of any individual acting for or employed by a research facility or a dealer within the scope of his employment or office shall be deemed the act, omission, or failure of such research facility or dealer as well as of such individual.

Sec. 14. If the Secretary has reason to believe that a dealer has violated any provision of this Act or the regulations promulgated thereunder, the Secretary shall suspend such dealer's license temporarily, and, after notice and opportunity for hearing, shall revoke such license if such violation is determined to have occurred. The Secretary shall also suspend temporarily the license of any dealer prosecuted for cruelty under the laws of any of the States for the prevention of cruelty to animals and in the event of a conviction under any of such laws of the States, the Secretary shall revoke the dealer's license.

Sec. 15. If any provisions of this Act or the application of any such provision to any person or circumstances, shall be held invalid, the remainder of this Act and the application of any such provision to persons or circumstances other than those as to which it is held invalid shall not be affected thereby.

Sec. 16. In order to finance the administration of this Act, the Secretary shall charge, assess, and cause to be collected appropriate fees for licenses issued to dealers. All such fees shall be deposited and covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

Sec. 17. Effective Date.—This Act shall take effect one hundred and twenty days after enactment.

Mrs. BOLTON (interrupting the reading). Mr. Chairman, since copies of the bill are available to Members, it is not necessary to read it, and I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Ohio?

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I should like to ask whether the bill to which the amendment refers is the same as the Helstoski bill?

Mrs. BOLTON. Not quite.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The gentlewoman from Ohio is recognized for 5 minutes in support of her amendment.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, the amendment is very simple. I think it would be well if I merely said that the definitions are the same. The term "dealer" would mean the same. I omitted, as the committee did, research and facilities and leaving the dealers, the matter of records, and the matter of records being open to investigation or open to reading by anyone.

The same is there in respect to the violations. It is, in a way, rather a simpler bill. I ask that it be accepted.

SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. HELSTOSKI TO THE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MRS. BOLTON

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Chairman, I offer a substitute amendment for the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from Ohio.

The Clerk read as follows:

Substitute amendment offered by Mr. Helstoski to the amendment offered by Mrs. Bolton:

"That, in order to protect the owners of dogs, cats, and other animals from theft of such pets and to prevent the sale or use of stolen dogs, cats, or other animals for purposes of research and experimentation, it is essential to regulate the transportation, purchase, sale, and handling of dogs, cats, and other animals by persons or organizations engaged in transporting, buying, or selling them for use in research or experimental purposes.

"Sec. 2. As used in this Act—

"(a) The term 'person' includes any individual, partnership, association, or corporation;

"(b) The term 'Secretary' means the Secretary of Agriculture;

"(c) The term 'commerce' means commerce between any State, territory, or possession, or the District of Columbia or Puerto Rico, and any place outside thereof; or between points within the same State, territory, or possession, or the District of Columbia, but through any place outside thereof; or within any territory or possession or the District of Columbia.

"(d) The term 'dog' means any live dogs of the species Canis familiaris for use or intended to be used for research tests or experiments at research facilities.

"(e) The term 'cat' means any live domestic cat (Fells catus) for use or intended to be used for research, tests, or experiments at research facilities.

"(f) The term 'animal' means any vertebrate animal.

"(g) The term 'research facility' means any school, institution, organization, or person that uses or intends to use dogs, cats or other animals in research, tests, or experiments, and that (1) purchases or transports such animals or certain of such animals in commerce or (2) receives any funds from the United States or any agency or instrumentality thereof to finance its operations by means of grants, loans, or otherwise.

"(h) The term 'dealer' means any person who for compensation or profit delivers for transportation, transports, boards, buys, or sells dogs, cats, or other animals in commerce for research purposes.

"Sec. 3. It shall be unlawful for any research facility to purchase or transport dogs, cats, or other animals in commerce except from a dealer licensed in accordance with this Act.

"Sec. 4. It shall be unlawful for any dealer to sell or offer to sell or to transport to any research facility any dog, cat, or other animal to buy, sell, offer to buy or sell, transport or offer for transportation in commerce or to another dealer under this Act any such animal, unless and until such dealer shall have obtained a license from the Secretary in accordance with such rules and regulations as the Secretary may prescribe pursuant to this

Act, and such license shall not have been suspended or revoked.

"Sec. 5. The Secretary shall promulgate standards for the humane care of animals by dealers. The term 'humane care' shall mean the type of care which a responsible and conscientious owner would ordinarily provide for an animal kept as a household pet to prevent the animals' suffering, sickness, injury, or other discomfort and shall include but not be limited to housing, feeding watering, handling, sanitation, ventilation, shelter from extremes of weather and temperature, and separation by species, sex, and temperament both in the dealer's facility and in transportation. The sale, offer to buy or sell, transport or offer for transportation in commerce or to another dealer of any sick, injured, unweaned, or pregnant animal is expressly forbidden.

"Sec. 6. All dogs and cats delivered for transportation, transported, purchased, or sold in commerce or to research facilities shall be identified by a photograph or by such other humane and painless manner as the Secretary may prescribe.

"Sec. 7. Research facilities and dealers shall make and keep for a period of no less than two years such records with respect to their purchase, sale, transportation, and handling of dogs, cats, and other animals, as the Secretary may prescribe. Such records shall include a bill of sale for each animal and any collars, tags, or other identifying equipment which accompanied the animals at the time of their acquisition by the dealer. The bill of sale shall contain such information as shall be prescribed by the Secretary. Any bill of sale which is fraudulent or indicates larceny of any animal shall be grounds for prosecution and revocation of license called for in section 14 and for the penalty called for in section 12. Records made and kept by research facilities shall be open to inspection by representatives of the Secretary or to any police officer or agent of any legally constituted law enforcement agency.

"Sec. 8. The Secretary shall take such action as he may deem appropriate to encourage the various States of the United States to adopt such laws and to take such action as will promote and effectuate the purposes of this Act and the Secretary is authorized to cooperate with the officials of the various States in effectuating the purposes of this Act and any State legislation on the same subject.

"Sec. 9. No dealer shall sell or otherwise dispose of any dog, cat, or other animal within a period of five business days after the acquisition of such animals. Representatives of the Secretary, any police officer or agent of any legally constituted law enforcement agency shall assist any owner of any animal who has reason to believe the animal may be in the possession of a dealer in searching the dealer's premises, after obtaining the proper search warrant from the local authorities in whose jurisdiction the dealer's premises are located.

"Sec. 10. Dogs, cats, and other animals shall not be offered for sale or sold in commerce or to a research facility at public auction or by weight; or purchased in commerce or by a research facility at public auction or by weight. No research facility shall purchase any animals except from a licensed dealer.

"Sec. 11. The Secretary is authorized and directed to promulgate such rules, regulations and orders as he may deem necessary in order to require compliance with the standards for the humane care of animals called for in section 5 and all other purposes and provisions of this Act. Such rules, regulations, and orders shall be published within a reasonable time after enactment of this Act.

"(a) Representatives of the Secretary shall inspect dealer's facilities no less than six times a year to determine whether the standards and other provisions of this Act are being complied with. The Secretary shall also require the regular inspection of transportation of animals by and from dealers to research facilities and may delegate that responsibility to law enforcement officers of the States or to agents of any legally constituted law enforcement agencies.

"Sec. 12. Any person who violates any provision of this Act shall, on conviction thereof, be subject to imprisonment for not more than one year or a fine of not more than $10,000 and to revocation of the license described in section 4 and shall not be eligible for another license under this Act. The penalty created by this section shall be recovered by civil action in the name of the United States in the circuit or district court within the district where the violation may have been committed or the person or corporation resides or carries on business; and it shall be the duty of the United States attorneys to prosecute all violations of this Act reported by the Secretary, or which come to their notice or knowledge by other means.

"Sec. 13. When construing or enforcing the provisions of this Act, the act, omission, or failure of any individual acting for or employed by a research facility or a dealer within the scope of his employment or office shall be deemed the act, omission, or failure of such research facility or dealer as well as of such individual.

"Sec. 14. If the Secretary has reason to believe that a dealer has violated any provision of this Act or the regulations promulgated thereunder, the Secretary shall suspend such dealer's license temporarily, and, after notice and opportunity for hearing, shall revoke such license if such violation is determined to have occurred. The Secretary shall also suspend temporarily the license of any dealer prosecuted for cruelty under the laws of any of the States for the prevention of cruelty to animals and in the event of a conviction under any of such laws of the States, the Secretary shall revoke the dealer's license.

"Sec. 15. If any provisions of this Act or the application of any such provision to any person or circumstances, shall be held invalid, the remainder of this Act and the application of any such provision to persons or circumstances other than those as to which it is held invalid shall not be affected thereby.

"Sec. 16. In order to finance the administration of this Act, the Secretary shall charge, assess, and cause to be collected appropriate fees for licenses issued to dealers. All such fees shall be deposited and covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

"Sec. 17. Effective Date.—This Act shall take effect one hundred and twenty days after enactment."

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Chairman, the bill under present consideration by the House is a result of hearings which were held by the House Agriculture Committee. These hearings have spotlighted the old, but not widely known, story of how miserly our civilized society lets some of its members treat defenseless animals in the process of making a fast dollar.

The hearings have proven beyond any reasonable doubt that Federal legislation is absolutely essential to eliminate a nationwide evil. Essentially, the hearings brought out the tale so graphically told in the February 4 issue of Life magazine, of animals destined for scientific experiment, kept and shipped under appalling conditions of dirt, semistarvation and lack of proper shelter.

Many of these animals are domestic pets, stolen and sold in greedy haste by dognapers. Thefts are estimated to account for about half of the Nation's annual toll of missing pets.

The people of the Nation have been shocked into reality of this vast enterprise and have become outraged by the abuse heaped upon these defenseless animals.

The hearings covered about 50 bills designed to regulate the traffic in laboratory animals or their treatment under experiment. The result of these hearings is, as I stated before, the bill under consideration, which actually does not provide the necessary means to correct the present abuses.

We speak of correcting these abuses, yet to me, this bill becomes a totally meaningless mass of words actually licensing federally these abuses. It offers ample room for much-needed improvement in its language. In my estimation, this legislation is not what the aroused public wants. It has many flaws and omissions of factors which are so vital to good legislation in this field of dognaping and cat stealing, and the transportation thereof. This is the heart of the matter.

Some of the major factors which are missing in this bill and which are of prime importance to the correction of present abuses can be enumerated on the fingers of one hand, which I cannot stress too deeply as being necessary to this bill.

First, the most glaring omission is the fact that it permits the continued practice of selling dogs and cats at auction sales and by body weight. This practice is the most widely used abuse of animals in which a great number of them are fraudulently acquired and which change hands so frequently that an owner has no chance or hope of reclaiming or recovering his or his child's pet.

Practically every bill introduced on this topic, from the time the first bill was introduced early last year, has provisions which would ban the sale of pets at auction or by body weight. Why should this bill be different by the omission of this vital factor? The prohibition on the sale of animals by weight and public auction would dry up the sources of animal supply that is so cheap that callous dealers can afford to let many starve or freeze to death.

A safeguard against theft or fraudulent acquisition of animals is the necessity of having a bill of sale indicating legal acquisition issued for each animal. This bill omits that feature and, again, I ask why this provision is not embodied in the pending legislation?

Next, this bill fails to require inspection of dealer's facilities and his methods of transportation of animals. Since this omission is so evident, the dealers can continue to operate without fear that their business will be curtailed because of unsanitary conditions and with dilapidated transportation means.

As we look deeper into this pending bill, we notice that it does not call for the revocation of licenses of dealers who violate the law. With this feature lacking in the bill, any violator can be sure that he can continue in business even if he is caught in the web of the law. It does not provide for adequate fines for any violations, and the penalties imposed by the pending bill, to my way of thinking, can be construed by unscrupulous dealers as a nominal fine and continue their business operations. The volume of their trade can readily absorb any penalties which may be imposed upon them under the terms of this bill.

Last, but not least, this bill does not give the legislative intent on the humane standards that the Secretary of Agriculture would be required to promulgate.

This legislation is basically permissive in character and radically different from the bill which I introduced on this topic. My bill, H.R. 10743, and eight similar bills introduced by Members of this body would require mandatory enforcement in this field.

In contrast to this bill, which embodies the previously mentioned deficiencies and complete lack of clarity, my bill and the several others of similar text would present the very minimum in legislation required to do the job which we wish to correct in the field of animal theft and abuse.

We, in this Congress, have many weighty matters to consider along with this legislation. We will have matters that are less urgent as well, but as we consider a curb on pet theft and needless cruelty to animals we should take into cognizance a measure that is moderate, workable, realistic and the minimum that we should pass at this time. The presently pending bill does not do so.

It appears that this House will pass a meaningless and weak bill and it should not take the attitude that something is better than nothing. The present bill will not solve anything, rather it will add to the confusion surrounding the practice of dognaping and cat stealing.

My interest in this legislation is of long duration, but I cannot see the adequacy of this bill insofar as being an instrument in correcting the obvious abuses. My bill, 10743, requiring realistic regulations is available for consideration. Bills of like text are also available for action.

It is my hope that this House passes legislation realistic in its purposes and effective in its workability.

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

I do not find it a pleasant duty to disagree with my distinguished colleague and friend from New Jersey, but I believe I must.

I should like to go back to the original bill I introduced in this field, H.R. 9743. In that bill there was a prohibition on auction by body weight. The committee bill does not contain that prohibition for a simple reason. We could find no evidence and no testimony to the effect that it was still going on. It might have been going on in days past, but a very thorough investigation showed it had been stopped. As a matter of fact, CBS News spent days at the auctions and could find no evidence of this terrible practice taking place.

It is also important to point out, as our distinguished chairman pointed out, that the auctions will be regulated, as dealers will be, so that such terrible conditions will not be allowed to exist.

So far as inspection is concerned, I believe my distinguished colleague from New Jersey is wrong on that. As I pointed out in my colloquy with the gentleman from Ohio, unless these dealers meet certain standards they simply will not get licenses. If they do not get licenses they will not be in business and they will not be permitted to sell animals to the research facilities.

Again I must disagree with my friend from New Jersey, when he says that there is no provision for humane treatment. That is not so. The Secretary is instructed to set humane treatment standards for the dealers.

I believe the gentleman will agree with me that most of the evidence turned up to date shows that the inhumane handling and treatment of dogs has been by the dealers rather than by the hospitals and research centers.

We all know that the whole area of humane treatment for research animals is a broad one and requires a great deal of study and care. This is the subject of a bill introduced by my distinguished colleague from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] and my distinguished colleague from Florida [Mr. ROGERS] and this subject will be discussed at a later date.

Again I would like to make it very clear for the RECORD why I oppose the substitute amendment to the amendment. It is because the Poage bill accomplishes essentially what we want to accomplish. It prevents as much as is humanly possible the theft of dogs and cats for medical research purposes by taking the profit motive out of it. That is the whole thrust of the bill, and I think it accomplishes it very well.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RESNICK. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. The point is this: We do not have to leave this to the Secretary of Agriculture to promulgate any standards of humane treatment. We can write it in the bill and say:

> The Secretary shall promulgate standards for the humane care of animals by dealers. The term "humane care" shall mean the type of care which a responsible and conscientious owner would ordinarily provide for an animal kept as a household pet to prevent the animal's suffering, sickness, injury, or other discomfort and shall include but not be limited to housing, feeding, watering, handling, sanitation, ventilation, shelter from extremes of weather and temperature, and separation by species, sex, and temperament both in the dealer's facility and in transportation. The sale, offer to buy or sell, transport or offer for transportation in commerce or to another dealer of any sick, injured, unweaned, or pregnant animal is expressly forbidden.

Mr. RESNICK. If the gentleman will permit me to answer, I will say it is very true, and I believe that again it was a question as to whether it should go under the Secretary of Agriculture or the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. I believe it should go under the Secretary of Agriculture, because of the Department's long history and knowledge of the care and handling of all kinds of animals and not just dogs and cats. I think it is reasonable to assume, and I have full confidence, that our distinguished Secretary of Agriculture and his great Department will certainly come up with standards which will satisfy the most critical eye.

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

I urge the House to support the amendment offered by my friend, neighbor, and distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON].

As all of us know, the public demands strong legislation to protect animals against theft and against cruel treatment by dealers of animals used in research.

We will not satisfy this public mandate or stamp out the cruel traffic through the bill reported by the House Committee on Agriculture which is before us today.

The committee bill is entirely permissive, leaving enforcement to the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture. The present occupant of that office has shown a singular lack of enthusiasm for legislation of this type.

There is no clarification of humane standards in the committee bill. It permits the continued sale of animals at auction and by body weight, and it is in this area that some of the greatest cruelties have occurred.

Nowhere in the bill is there a provision requiring bills of sale as a safeguard against theft and fraudulent acquisitions of animals by dealers.

And nowhere does the measure require that a dealer's license be revoked for violation of the statute. There are no criminal penalties, and the fine provided is scarcely a deterrent when one considers that with our civil dockets so crowded it might well be a year or more before a case would reach the courts.

Mrs. BOLTON's amendment, as one of our Cleveland newspapers put it, makes "A dog bill with teeth in it." I hasten to point out that it, of course, protects more than dogs, but includes all animals. Here too it is far more inclusive than the committee bill, which provides protection only to dogs and cats.

The amendment would prohibit the sale of animals at auction or by weight; require the humane housing, handling, and transport of animals by dealers; require Federal inspection of dealers' premises and transport; would license dealers, subject to revocation for violations of the act or of the anticruelty laws of the individual State. It calls for stern and realistic penalties.

We know what American citizens want in the way of law and by supporting this amendment we can give it to them.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MINSHALL. I am sorry; I have no more time.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the Helstoski amendment.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MINSHALL], said he wants a dog bill with teeth in it.

Mr. Chairman, I would say that the committee bill has more teeth in it than the Helstoski bill.

Mr. Chairman, I thought that we ought to just take a minute and see some of the faults that are contained in the Helstoski bill, and there were a number of bills similar to it introduced by others of my colleagues, which bills came before our Committee on Agriculture and which committee looked at and studied seriously.

However, Mr. Chairman, we felt very strongly that the legislation which we reported out and which is before us today as H.R. 13881 is better than the legislation in these two amendments. H.R. 13881 is not exactly what anyone introduced. It surely was not what I introduced. I believe it represents a stronger piece of legislation than any bill which the committee considered.

Mr. Chairman, the Helstoski bill could very likely impair the flow of animals to research facilities. These animals are very desperately needed at our various research facilities.

Mr. Chairman, if we are going to work on diseases that now kill human beings—and human beings come first in our view—then the flow of research animals must continue to be available to our research facilities.

Mr. Chairman, under section 16 of the Helstoski bill the cost of the license would be borne entirely by the dealer and the common carrier. There is no provision under their bill for supplemental financing through the medium of appropriations or for research facilities to share the cost thereof.

But, Mr. Chairman, let us assume that there are 1,000 dog dealers and common carriers throughout the Nation. Based upon the estimate of the Department of Commerce of a little over $1 million as the annual cost of this program, the licensing could run as high as $1,000 per person.

Mr. Chairman, this figure seems to me to be prohibitive for any person of average means to pay. We do not feel badly at all at charging a license of $1,000 to a dog dealer who has been abusing and stealing animals. However, there are legitimate and good dealers in the business. This charge, in our opinion, would put them out of business and the result would be that fewer animals would find their way into this outlet, animals that should be used for research purposes.

Mr. Chairman, next permit me to point out that all vertebrates, not just cats and dogs, would be covered in the Helstoski bill. At first I had sympathy with this point of view, but after hearing the witnesses I am convinced that dogs and cats are all it should regulate at the present time.

Mr. Chairman, one section of the various proposals such as contained in the Helstoski bill requires that the bill of sale be available for each animal kept by research facilities for not less than 2 years.

Mr. Chairman, one can imagine the paperwork and administrative burden imposed through such a requirement when applied to about 59 million rats and mice which are used for cancer research alone. It is not feasible.

Further, Mr. Chairman, section 11(a) of that bill would permit the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture to delegate to State and local law enforcement officers the responsibility for enforcing the provisions of this legislation. One can ask the question, Is this constitutional for a Federal Cabinet officer to use the State and county enforcement authorities to carry out his responsibilities? If so, who is to pay them for their time and work?

Mr. Chairman, it is obvious from this that there are serious questions with reference to the provisions of the Helstoski bill.

Next, Mr. Chairman, there are proposals which would require common carriers to be licensed dealers, notwithstanding the fact that all common carriers except trucks are already required by the 28-hour law to treat in a humane manner any animals that they carry.

Next the Helstoski bill requires that the Secretary of Agriculture become a State lobbyist because when you look at the language in section 8, it says:

> The Secretary shall take such actions as he may deem appropriate to encourage the various States of the United States to adopt such laws and to take such actions as will promote and effectuate the purposes of this Act and the Secretary is authorized to cooperate with the officials of the various States in effectuating the purposes of this Act and any State legislation on the same subject.

This does not seem to me to be a very desirable policy for the Secretary of Agriculture to pursue.

Next, there exists a serious question whether these bills are drafted in a manner to insure adequate enforcement. Section 14 states than any "person" who violates the legislation will be subject to fine or imprisonment. But is a research facility a "person"? "Person" is defined earlier in these bills as an "individual, partnership, association, or corporation." In most cases, I would guess research facilities would not be "persons," thus the prohibition against purchasing animals in section 3 would not be enforcible.

Next, the language of section 2(h) in these proposals is broad enough to include every farmer, hatcheryman, or pet owner in the United States who sells one dog, cat, or other vertebrate animal for medical research purposes. The committee bill has taken care of this problem by creating an exemption for persons who sell small number of animals. Unless some reasonable exemption is provided for, a very vital source of research animals would be completely eliminated, thus causing irreparable injury to our medical research effort.

Finally, these bills propose to spell out in greater detail the definition of "humane care." Yet the standard set in section 5 is still vague and indefinite.

In summary, these bills are all aimed at the same target as the committee bill, but they contain many defects. They would impair medical research, impose excessive license fees, regulate common carriers, create continuing litigation and place upon the Secretary of Agriculture an unwise responsibility.

The Committee on Agriculture has considered all these problems and proposals and has incorporated the best of 45 different bills into H.R. 13881 which deserves the support of this body.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I have read this bill rather carefully. Nowhere do I find any provision, with reference to the humane treatment of dogs, that they not be lifted by their ears. Does the gentleman think this might be included in the bill?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word and rise in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HELSTOSKI].

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Helstoski amendment for I believe that the bill before us today is a step in the direction of humane treatment of animals, but it is such a minor step that one worries whether it is even worthwhile. I realize that scientific research is necessary and do not wish to give the impression that animals should not be used in research, but I do believe that certain standards of humane treatment are warranted. I believe that we should take this opportunity today to enact a more far-reaching and effective bill than H.R. 13881. Let us make sure that poor defenseless animals are not subjected to inhumane torture even in the name of medical progress.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word and rise in opposition to both amendments.

Mr. Chairman, I will just take a minute or two to reemphasize the point that the gentleman from Minnesota has been making. As I understand it, under either of these proposed amendments not only would dogs and cats be covered but so would mice, fish, hamsters and rabbits, guinea pigs and a variety of other animals, the numbers of species of which run something on the order of several hundred. So it would seem to me that the suggestion that some 50 million or 60 million mice ought to be separately identified and photographed and a record kept of each one of these animals would be an excessive burden where there is no evidence of a problem of theft of these kinds of animals.

So, Mr. Chairman, I think the work of the committee which has been careful and deliberate ought to be sustained and that both of these amendments which have provisions in them that are really unreasonable and unworkable ought to be rejected.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendments.

Mr. Chairman, for the reasons that have been outlined by my colleagues, I am opposed to the Helstoski amendment as it amends the Bolton amendment and also to the Bolton amendment.

I would like to comment on one statement made by our colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HELSTOSKI] when he said in support of his amendment that the bill we have before us here today does not allow us to inspect premises of dealers.

I would point out that under the language of this bill—and this language is in the report on the bottom of page 8 by the way—as I say, the language provides:

> The committee also contemplates that the Secretary will establish and enforce by adequate inspection humane standards concerning the health, well-being, and safety of dogs and cats at auction sales of these animals. Humane standards would of course include housing, feeding, ventilation, and watering criteria.

This would be on any premises or elsewhere.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Helstoski], to the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. Bolton].

The substitute amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. Bolton].

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Duncan of Oregon, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13881) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs, cats, and other animals intended to be used for purposes of research or experimentation, and for other purposes, had directed him to report the bill back to the House with sundry amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gros.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentlewoman opposed to the bill?

Mrs. BOLTON. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Mrs. Bolton moves to recommit the bill 13881 to the Committee on Agriculture.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the noes had it, and that the motion was not agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on passage of the bill.

For what purpose does the gentleman from New Jersey rise?

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. I would like to have the yeas and nays on the motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that that stage has already been passed. The question is now on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

YEAS AND NAYS DEMANDED

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 352, nays 10, not voting 70, as follows:

[Roll No. 76]

YEAS—352

Abernethy
Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, George W.
Andrews, Glenn
Andrews, N. Dak.
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Aspinall
Bandstra
Baring
Barrett
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Bingham
Boland
Bolling
Bow
Brademas
Brooks
Broomfield
Brown, Clarence J., Jr.
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Callan
Carey
Casey
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Chelf
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Clevenger
Cohelan
Collier
Conable
Conte
Conyers
Craley
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtin
Curtis
Daddario
Dague
Daniels
Davis, Wis.
Dent
Denton
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Diggs
Dole
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Downing
Dulski
Duncan, Oreg.
Duncan, Tenn.
Dwyer
Dyal
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, Calif.
Erlenborn
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Farnsley
Farnum
Fascell
Findley
Fino
Fisher
Flood
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gathings
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gilligan
Gonzalez
Goodell
Grabowski
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Greigg
Grider
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hagen, Calif.
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Iowa
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harsha
Harvey, Ind.
Harvey, Mich.
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hechler
Henderson
Herlong
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Huot
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jennings
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Keogh
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
King, Utah
Kornegay
Kunkel
Kupferman
Laird
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Leggett
Lennon
Lipscomb
Long, La.
Long, Md.
Love
McCarthy
McClory
McCulloch
McDowell
McEwen
McFall
McGrath
McVicker
Macdonald
MacGregor
Machen
Mackay
Mackie
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin, Mass.
Martin, Nebr.
May
Meeds
Michel
Miller
Mills
Minish
Mink
Minshall
Monagan
Moore
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris
Morrison
Morse
Morton
Mosher
Moss
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Murray
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
O'Brien
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Olsen, Mont.
Olson, Minn.
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Passman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pool
Powell
Price
Pucinski
Purcell
Quie
Quillen
Race
Randall
Redlin
Rees
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Resnick
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Rivers, S.C.
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Fla.
Rogers, Tex.
Ronan
Roncalio
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Rumsfeld
Ryan
Satterfield
St Germain
St. Onge
Saylor
Scheuer
Schisler
Schmidhauser
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Secrest
Selden
Senner
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Va.
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stalbaum
Stanton
Steed
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Tenzer
Thomas
Thompson, Tex.
Thomson, Wis.
Todd
Trimble
Tuck
Tunney
Tuten
Udall
Ullman
Utt
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Vivian
Waggonner
Walker, Miss.
Walker, N. Mex.
Watkins
Watson
Watts
Weltner
Whalley
White, Idaho
White, Tex.
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Yates
Young
Younger

NAYS—10

Bolton
Brown, Calif.
Cahill
Cameron
Corman
Helstoski
Krebs
McDade
Martin, Ala.
Sweeney

NOT VOTING—70

Abbitt
Albert
Annunzio
Ashley
Ayres
Beckworth
Betts
Blatnik
Boggs
Bray
Brock
Burleson
Callaway
Carter
Celler
Colmer
Cooley
Corbett
Culver
Davis, Ga.
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Dingell
Dowdy
Edwards, La.
Ellsworth
Evans, Colo.
Farbstein
Feighan
Flynt
Fogarty
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Griffin
Griffiths
Hagan, Ga.
Halpern
Hays
Hébert
Jarman
Johnson, Okla.
Keith
Kelly
Kirwan
Kluczynski
McMillan
Madden
Mathias
Matsunaga
Matthews
Mize
Moeller
Nix
Patman
Reuss
Rivers, Alaska
Roberts
Rogers, Colo.
Rooney, N.Y.
Roudebush
Scott
Sickles
Teague, Tex.
Thompson, N.J.
Toll
Tupper
Williams
Willis
Zablocki

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Boggs with Mr. Corbett.
Mr. Rooney of New York with Mr. Betts.
Mrs. Kelly with Mr. Halpern.
Mr. Teague of Texas with Mr. Carter.
Mr. Fulton of Tennessee with Mr. Brock.
Mr. Culver with Mr. Keith.
Mr. Hébert with Mr. Mathias.
Mr. McMillan with Mr. Mize.
Mr. Dingell with Mr. Bray.
Mr. Dowdy with Mr. Callaway.
Mr. Patman with Mr. Roudebush.
Mr. Delaney with Mr. Ayres.
Mr. Moeller with Mr. Griffin.
Mr. Annunzio with Mr. Ellsworth.
Mr. Toll with Mr. Tupper.
Mr. Zablocki with Mr. Matthews.
Mr. Madden with Mr. de la Garza.

Mr. Cooley with Mr. Celler.

Mr. Burleson with Mr. Ashley.

Mr. Albert with Mr. Hays.

Mr. Colmer with Mr. Rivers of Alaska.

Mr. Nix with Mr. Farbstein.

Mrs. Griffiths with Mr. Willis.

Mr. Fogarty with Mr. Williams.

Mr. Feighan with Mr. Sickles.

Mr. Rogers of Colorado with Mr. Scott.

Mr. Blatnik with Mr. Dawson.

Mr. Jarman with Mr. Matsunaga.

Mr. Kirwan with Mr. Edwards of Louisiana.

Mr. Flynt with Mr. Thompson of New Jersey.

Mr. Fuqua with Mr. Reuss.

Mr. Hagan of Georgia with Mr. Evans.

Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Roberts.

Mr. Davis of Georgia with Mr. Johnson of Oklahoma.

Mr. Abbitt with Mr. Beckworth.

Mr. **ADAMS** changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs and cats intended to be used for purposes of research or experimentation, and for other purposes."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. **POAGE**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill just passed.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

ADJOURNMENT OVER TO MONDAY, MAY 2, 1966

Mr. **SISK**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today that it adjourn to meet at 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The **SPEAKER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

Mr. **ASPINALL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs have until Saturday night, April 30, to file a report on H.R. 13417.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM—ADDITION OF BILL TO BE CONSIDERED UNDER SUSPENSION OF THE RULES

Mr. **SISK**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. **SISK**. Mr. Speaker, I rise for the purpose of adding a bill to the suspension calendar on Monday of next week. I ask that H.R. 13417 be added to the bills which will be called up under suspension of the rules on Monday next.

Mr. **GERALD R. FORD**. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **SISK**. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. **GERALD R. FORD**. Will the gentleman from California read the title of the bill?

Mr. **SISK**. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL] to announce the title of the bill.

Mr. **ASPINALL**. The bill (H.R. 13417) is an act to amend the act of October 4, 1916; to facilitate the efficient preservation and protection of certain lands in Prince Georges and Charles Counties, Md., and for other purposes.

Mr. **GERALD R. FORD**. I think the gentleman.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

Mrs. **GREEN** of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have until midnight tomorrow to file a report on the Higher Education Act of 1966.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection?

The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

ADDITIONAL LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. **SISK**. Mr. Speaker, at this time I wish to announce an addition to the suspension calendar for Monday, May 2, 1966. At that time we will consider H.R. 14644, the Higher Education Act of 1966.

COLUMNISTS CHARGE THAT MARTIN IS GREATER THREAT TO GREAT SOCIETY THAN VIETNAM WAR

Mr. **PATMAN**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include an article appearing in the Washington Post by Evans and Novak.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. **PATMAN**. Mr. Speaker, the tight-money, high-interest policies being pursued by Washington's second government—the Federal Reserve Board—threatens every program of the Great Society.

It is adding tragically to the cost of the war in Vietnam. It is hampering domestic programs from housing to rural electrification. It is unbalancing every budget from that of the housewife to that of the Federal Government.

The serious impact of the defiant policies of the Federal Reserve Board are outlined in brilliant fashion in this morning's Washington Post in the column "Inside Report," written by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak.

I place this excellent column in the RECORD:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 28, 1966]

TIGHT MONEY BOOMERANG

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

The economic irony of Washington today is that the ever-tightening money squeeze, implicitly condoned by President Johnson, is threatening basic social goals of his Great Society program.

Worry over the danger of tight money is by no means a preoccupation of the neopopulist fringe in Congress. Rather, concern over the impact of the present conservative monetary policy is spreading in the highest levels of the Johnson administration.

One generally ignored statistic tells the story: the statistic of free reserves—that is, the money held by banks in excess of money loaned. The Federal Reserve Board, America's central bank, has kept reserves in a minus condition so that banks have more loans outstanding than money in reserve. The figure has slowly inched up from minus $47 million the first of the year to minus $285 million today.

That's still less than the minus $500 million achieved during the Eisenhower administration, shortly before plunging into recession. But it is tight money indeed for a Democratic administration. Interest rates have been rising, to the joy of the banking community, as in Eisenhower days.

All this is supposed to fight inflation by choking off the supply of credit. But it is causing anxious soul-searching inside the administration.

Generally speaking, big business can scrape up enough money to satisfy its needs. But small business is hurt. Independent homebuilders are dealt a body blow. And worst of all, local government units—which finance their public improvements solely by issuing bonds—find it far more expensive to build necessary improvements such as schools, water works and buildings.

Thus, inadvertently, the Johnson administration is presiding over a monetary policy that tends to starve the public sector of the economy. One high-ranking administration official confided to us that this is a policy that bears down on those least able to withstand the pressure. It is the policy of William McChesney Martin, the Fed's conservative chairman—but hardly of a liberal Democratic administration.

These critics within the administration feel that the more proper response to inflation would be a tax increase. But as we have reported repeatedly, the President properly does not want a tax increase if it is at all possible to avoid one. And the closer election day nears, the more politically damaging an increase would be.

Yet, outside the administration, more progressive economic thinkers believe that neither tight money nor a tax increase is necessary to fight inflation. Beyond this they think inflationary dangers are greatly overblown.

This school of thought believes Mr. Johnson should actually encourage the expansion of production and supplies so that demand could be satisfied and rising prices averted.

The President is doing quite the opposite. His appeal to private industry to curtail expansion plans, though a quite unconventional technique, is based on wholly conventional old school economic theory that demand should be curtailed, not production stepped up, when inflation threatens. Indeed, there is little talk inside the Johnson administration today of the new economics that produced the invigorating tax cut of 1964.

But the President's economic advisers, both at the White House and at the Treasury, are not truly responsible for the strange state of affairs prevailing today. The tight money policy that is boomeranging against the Great

Society is the product of the banker mentality of the Fed, which maintains an anomalous independence of the President.

From the day he took office, Mr. Johnson was advised that Martin and his Fed would be a major obstacle to his economic planning. But when the Fed began its great money squeeze last year, Mr. Johnson was justifiably preoccupied with the Vietnam war. He still is. And yet the full impact of tight money may in the end prove to be nearly as hazardous to President Johnson's Great Society dream as the war in Vietnam.

SUMMARY OF MY ACTIVITIES SINCE MY ELECTION TO THE 80TH CONGRESS IN NOVEMBER 1947

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I have made it a practice of reporting to my constituents periodically about my activities in the Congress, as well as the accomplishments of each session of Congress.

In recent weeks I have been deluged with requests for a summary of my activities since my election to the 80th Congress in November 1947.

I believe that the best way to do that is to set forth copies of each of the reports I have heretofore distributed.

They follow:

MY PLEDGES AND HOW I FULFILLED THEM

(Remarks of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, in the House of Representatives, Saturday, August 7, 1948)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, during my campaign for election last year, I told my constituents my political philosophy and what they could expect of me if I were elected to represent them in the House of Representatives. They elected me with an overwhelming majority of the votes cast.

I believe that I kept my every promise and more. I think I have the right to assume that my constituents approve my conduct and my voting record here because this year the Republican Party and the Liberal Party, as well as the Democratic Party—the only party in which I have ever been enrolled—have unanimously designated me as their candidate to succeed myself.

Nevertheless, I think I should here record my pledges, and how I fulfilled them.

LABOR

During my campaign, I said:

"I favor a broad social security program including old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, security for crippled and dependent children, and the blind.

"I will support a legislative program which will endeavor to establish fair employment practices and prohibit discrimination in employment.

"Risk capital, new enterprise, and the development of our natural resources must be encouraged. Small business must be promoted. Competitive private enterprise free from control by monopolies, cartels, or any arbitrary private or public authority must be continued.

"The Taft-Hartley law is bad for the reasons stated by President Truman in his veto message to Congress. As pointed out by the President, it invites 'conflict between the National Labor Relations Board and its general counsel.' Furthermore, it puts the employer in a position where he can refuse to bargain with his employees. In fact, it puts him in the anomalous position of being able to choose the workers' bargaining agent.

"By the simple expedient of refusing to bargain with his employees the employer can force a strike.

"While the men are on strike the employer can replace them with other workers of his own choosing and then call for an election of the bargaining agent to represent the workers. At that election the strikers who were replaced will be deprived of the right to vote, with the result that the bargaining agent selected will be representative of the employer rather than the employee, whom it is supposed to represent.

"I favor increasing the minimum wages now fixed by law to a sum that will more closely approach the realities of present-day cost of living."

During my incumbency I urged broadening the social security laws. I opposed legislation attempting to limit and to emasculate the social security laws. I urged extended benefits under the unemployment insurance laws. I urged and voted for increased compensation for the lower income Federal employees, including postal workers, I repeatedly pointed out the advantages of the New York State Fair Employment Practices Act as reasons for enactment of a similar national law. I urged enactment of a law increasing minimum wages. Nothing was done about the Taft-Hartley law because the Labor Committee could not be induced to take any action with reference thereto. I voted against weakening the antitrust laws.

TAXATION

During my campaign, I said:

"Our tax laws must be adapted to an expanding peacetime economy, having in mind, however, that tax cuts must go first to the low-income groups. This should be accomplished by increasing the tax exemption granted to all taxpayers. By doing that the low-income earner may get complete tax exemption. At the same time the man in the higher brackets will get an equal advantage. It will be fair to all while at the same time helping those who need it most. I also favor the enactment of a law which will grant the same income-tax privileges to all married people throughout the country, regardless of whether they live in a so-called community property State or not. It is rank absurdity to permit a man and wife in one State, by the simple expediency of changing their residence to another State, to obtain tax advantages under our Federal income tax laws. The situation can be remedied only by Federal legislation."

During my incumbency, I urged enactment of tax legislation to effectuate my promises. That part putting all our citizens on an equal basis as to so-called community property has been enacted into law. I opposed the tax bill submitted and voted to sustain the presidential veto of that bill because it unfairly gave the largest tax cuts to those best able to pay and gave the smallest cuts to those least able to pay. About 70 percent of the tax cut was given to about 6 percent of our taxpayers. Ninety-four percent of our taxpayers received only 30 percent of the tax cut. Bills which I introduced to broaden the tax exemption base, to eliminate inequalities, to exempt pensions, and to eliminate wartime nuisance taxes failed of enactment.

HOUSING

During my campaign I said:

"The Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill should have long since been enacted into law. It should be passed at the earliest possible moment. The Government must do everything possible to encourage and aid private industry in relieving the housing shortage by the building of permanent homes for all those who need them."

During my incumbency, I fought continuously for adequate housing legislation. My first official act, after taking my oath of office, was to sign the petition to bring the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill before the House for debate and for a vote. My effectiveness was increased by my election to the Committee on Banking and Currency which had this legislation before it. My efforts are reflected by the CONGESSIONAL RECORD and were publicized by the press.

PRICE AND RENT CONTROL

During my campaign, I said:

"Control of the price to be paid for any commodity, whether it be the use of property or the purchase of food, clothing, or anything else, can be justified only as the use of police power in an emergency. That the emergency has existed and still exists cannot be denied as to both food and rents. Some relief may be obtained by the enactment of rent-control statutes by the various States. Such local control can be made effective by proper legislation and by proper administration. Houses cannot be moved across State lines to avoid such local legislation.

"Foodstuffs, however, must be controlled on a national scale. They cannot be controlled locally. If we were to have local legislation fixing prices in one community, the producers could beat the law by the simple expedient of sending their merchandise to communities that do not have such restrictions.

"I am in complete agreement with President Truman's policy of attempting to solve the situation by voluntary discipline. If that does not solve the problem, then price control will be the only way out. It will be the last resort if the emergency continues."

During my incumbency I introduced a comprehensive price-control bill and repeatedly urged enactment of price-control legislation, but my pleadings fell upon deaf ears. The efforts of my colleagues who joined with me in urging effective rent-control legislation was only slightly more effective. A weak, but better than none at all, rent-control bill was enacted after long and arduous debate. By the dint of almost superhuman effort, a provision which would have made the entire bill unconstitutional was eliminated. I also introduced a bill to control fuel during emergencies.

FOREIGN POLICY

During my campaign I said:

"I have been preaching the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine since 1921. The President and the Democratic Party favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization and the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

"We favor the majority report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine as the best means presently available to solve the problem. We urge the immediate implementation of the program there advanced.

"The Communist Daily Worker and its American Labor Party candidate opposing me in this campaign have attacked me as a warmonger, not because I have talked out against their beloved Russia, but because I have dared to talk out in support of the American democratic way of life. These are my principles, and these are the principles which they find fault with:

"In order that the world may not again be drenched in blood by international outlaws and criminals we must 'join with the other United Nations in the establishment of an international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the prevention of aggression and the maintenance of international peace and security.' To 'make all necessary and effective agreements and arrangements through which the nations would maintain adequate forces to meet the needs of preventing war and of making impossible the preparation for war and which would have such forces available for joint action when necessary.

" 'Such organization must be endowed with power to employ armed forces when necessary to prevent aggression and preserve peace.

" 'We favor the maintenance of an international court of justice, of which the United States shall be a member, and the employment of diplomacy, conciliation, arbitration, and other like methods, where appropriate, in the settlement of international disputes.

" 'World peace is of transcendent importance.'

"The quotation is from the Democratic national platform of 1944. Those were my sentiments then—they are my sentiments now. President Truman and my party have reasserted them time and time again. We will deal with Russia and everyone else around the peace table. We will do all in our power to prevent war. If Russia and the Russians want communism they can have it and we will do nothing to change their minds about it, provided they keep it to and for themselves.

"By the same token we want none of their Communist ideology here and we will do all in our power to keep it out of this country.

"When Hitler and Stalin had a peace treaty the Communists and their fellow travelers in this country were most vociferous in their demands that we be isolationists and send neither food nor munitions to Britain or France. At that time the Munich appeasement was applauded and Hitler's attack upon the rest of Europe was an imperialistic war by the countries attacked.

"When Hitler ignored his peace treaty and attacked Russia this same group found that the imperialistic war was a people's war and they could not get our boys and supplies over fast enough.

"Thank God they were in time and Hitler and his murderous hordes were eliminated.

"During those days there were no insults by the Vishinskys and the Molotovs. Parenthetically I might ask: Has Litvinov, who did so much to bring about friendly relations between the United States and Russia been liquidated because he was foolish enough to think that the Russians intended to do all the amicable and peace-loving things that he preached while we were fighting together.

"There is only one way to preserve our American heritage and our American birthright, and that is to at all times be so militarily strong that no one will dare attack us. The world must know that never again will we be in a position where any aggressor nation can pull a Pearl Harbor on us.

"If that is warmongering, I am willing that my name be placed alongside of those of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, James Byrnes, George Marshall, Averell Harriman, and David Lilienthal.

"The Marshall plan to relieve the dire need and distress of a stricken world must be put into effect at the earliest possible moment.

"That, even faster than military might, will stop the Communist hordes in their tracks."

During my incumbency, I worked assiduously to enact into reality the things I preached during all my adult life.

The establishment of the free state of Israel became a reality. It has been and will continue to be aided in every respect by every freedom-loving American. Our Government will soon give Israel full and complete recognition; it will give Israel all the aid that a friendly ally is entitled to; it will soon receive a $100 million loan from our country. My efforts in connection with all thereof, which are still continuing, I prefer not to record at this time. In due time, others may see fit to tell about them.

I am proud of my vote in support of the Marshall plan, now known as the European recovery plan, and I am proud of my vote to eliminate from the House version of that bill aid to Franco Spain.

My vote in favor of selective service—the draft—was not only dictated by my conscience and my belief that it was in the best interests of peace, but it was in accordance with my pledge to my constituents during my campaign. I lived through two World Wars. My older son served overseas in World War II. My younger son is subject to the new law I supported. I feel as deeply as any the waste of money and manpower for military purposes. But just as we would not vote to disband a municipal police force, we must insist on a national and an international police force.

I fought for a fair displaced-persons bill and opposed the discriminatory and unfair provisions of the bill as it was passed.

I introduced a bill to permit adopted children to enter our country free of quota restrictions.

I introduced a bill to sever all relations with Lebanon.

I introduced a bill to withhold from Britain and all other countries the equivalent of the moneys they were lending and/or giving to the Arab aggressor nations.

I introduced a bill to investigate conditions in Palestine.

I introduced a bill to exempt from penal prosecution all Americans who enlisted in the Army of Israel.

I introduced a bill calling for limitation of the veto power in the United Nations.

I introduced a bill to improve the Veterans' Administration.

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

During my campaign, I said:

"I condemn the tactics of the Un-American Activities Committee in pillorying men and destroying reputations without giving the accused an opportunity to be heard."

During my incumbency, I did not hesitate to make my stand known. I actively opposed with all my energy the enactment of the Mundt-Nixon bill. At the same time, I gave no comfort to the Communists and their fellow travelers and to totalitarianists, no matter what name they used. Nevertheless, I opposed and voted against giving any funds to the Un-American Activities Committee.

MISCELLANEOUS

I could write volumes on my activities on behalf of my constituents who needed help. I will leave that story to be told by those who called upon me from time to time.

Anyone and everyone who called upon me received a respectful hearing. One thing I did not and never will permit is to allow anyone, individual or delegation of individuals, to call upon me under false colors, using high-sounding but misleading names. Whenever they do, I will expose them for what they are.

Those who desire a more detailed record of my activities will find my remarks in the Congressional Record under the following subjects on the pages indicated:

Adopted children: 9698, A4948.

Americanism: A3242, A3610, A3972, A4087.

Armaments: 3886.

Brotherhood: 1333, A663, A1139, A3289, A3801.

Brooklyn has a remedy: A4089.

Brooklyn adopts Breukelen: A974.

Civil rights: 2055, 2495, 2637, 3066, 6003, 6005, 6007, 6008, 6009, 6016, 6192, 6193, 6260, 6262, 6269, 6270, 6657, 8056, 9687, 9688, 10189, A1362, A1572, A1592, A1642, A4095, A4246.

Communism, first session: A5118. Second session: 6260, A1570, A1723, A2043, A2061, A2427, A3231, A3232, A3617, A3864, A3987, A4046, A4280, A4358, A4917, A4919, A5025, A5036, A5094, A5103, A5179, A5213, A5334.

Control of prices and rents, first session: 11856, A5277, A5284. Second session: 1488, 1680–1683, 2055, 2956, 2959, 2975, 3043–3044, 3048–3049, 3050, 3066, 9039, 9497, 9916, 10033, 10045, 10370–10371, 10406, A932, A4136, A5096, A5215.

Congressional investigations and the Un-American Activities Committee: 2495, A1592, A3548.

Displaced persons: 8055–8056, 9010, 10189, A1139, A1574, A2852, A3071, A3622, A3647, A5167, A5225–5226.

European recovery plan—the Marshall plan: 7337, 7379, 7381, 7660, A2205, A3868.

Fuel emergency: 1488.

Gag rule, first session: 11847. Second session: 10033, 10046, 10406.

Housing: 2082, 10033, 10370–10371, 10406, A3285, A3884, A4136, A5225, A5344.

Italy: 4546, A2506.

Palestine: 450, 1476, 3489, 3605, 5655, 6139, 6722, 7073, 7243, 7904, 8168, 9392, A509, A652, A821, A928, A934, A1360, A1893, A2427, A2428, A2429, A2490, A2508, A2511, A2694, A2852, A3148, A3186, A3283, A3287, A3609, A3615, A3648, A3683, A3821, A3823, A3863, A3864, A3868, A3883, A3990, A4009, A4020, A4032, A4145, A4476, A4914.

Postal workers: A2984.

Rayfiel, Hon. Leo F.: 3085.

Religious education: A3857, A4472.

Reconstruction Finance Corporation: 5580.

Selective service: 40, 8684, 8745, A1366.

Surplus property: 738.

Taxes, first session: 11551. Second session: 209, 738, 4182, 5892, A2067.

United Nations: 4546, 5598, A5225–5226.

Veterans: 40, 2596, A2853, A5520.

The gentleman from Mississippi: 450, 2055, 2637, 3052, 3066, 8056, 9687–9688, 10189, A1642, A3609, A4246.

Youth united: A4246.

Your Congressman Refers to His Constituents

(Remarks of Hon. Abraham J. Multer, of New York, in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, September 19, 1950)

Mr. Multer. Mr. Speaker, the 81st Congress is approaching the end of its sessions after 2 long and difficult years of legislative work. This is a proper time to report to my constituents on some of the major problems which confronted us during the past 2 years. The people of my district are entitled to know how their Representative in Congress served their interests and that of the Nation as a whole. They will have an opportunity to pronounce judgment on my record of service on election day.

During each of my campaigns for election, I fully and fairly made known my views on all major political and economic problems. I made it crystal clear to them what they could expect of me as their Representative, how I would represent them, what I would fight for, and what I would fight against. They elected me by overwhelming majorities, in 1948 by more than 3 to 1. I am very grateful to the people of my district for this outpouring of confidence in me. I believe I have fulfilled every promise made to them.

For the third time in succession my party—the Democratic Party—has designated me unanimously for another term in Congress. The Liberal Party also is unanimously supporting my candidacy, as it had done twice before.

Labor's League for Political Education, in its congressional scorecard issued for the guidance of American Federation of Labor members and the public generally, has given me a perfect score on 10 selected key issues in Congress, including such matters as the Taft-Hartley Act, rent control, public housing, minimum wages, antitrust laws, social security, and others.

Similarly, the Congress for Industrial Organizations—CIO—published a supplement to the CIO News where the voting record of all Members of Congress was appraised on the basis of 13 selected issues, and I was rated as having voted "right" on every issue.

The magazine, New Republic, in a special supplement containing a progress report on the 81st Congress, gave me a score of 100 percent on 15 major issues, among them the Marshall plan, reciprocal trade, broadening social security, veterans' pension plan, antipoll tax, Brannan farm plan, and others mentioned previously.

More recently, the well-known liberal organization, Americans for Democratic Action, labeled my voting record perfect on what they considered the 15 most important issues. These included some of those already mentioned by the other organizations, as well as Korean aid, FEPC, middle-income housing, point 4 aid to underdeveloped areas, the natural gas bill, health reorganization plan, Defense Production Act, and the Wood-Mundt-Nixon bill.

During the 1st and 2d sessions of the 81st Congress over 12,000 pieces of legislation were introduced, including public and private bills and various resolutions. Several hundreds of these reached the floor of the House for action. Those and many others were carefully studied and analyzed by me. I voted at all times in the best interests of the people of the United States and of my district, but never provincially and never contrary to my platform pledges.

My record in Congress is an open book. I modestly, yet proudly, present this record to my constituents and invite them to acquaint themselves with my efforts and accomplishments. I do not pretend to be infallible. Suggestions and constructive criticism will always be welcomed by me.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

During my campaign in 1948, I expressed the following views:

"Peace and democracy at home gain when democracy abroad is healthy. The Marshall plan to rehabilitate Europe strengthens our economy and helps destroy subversive influences. Antidemocratic doctrines must be vigorously combated. We want peace without appeasement.

"Strengthen the United Nations. A strong United Nations demands a strong United States of America. Discard the veto power. Establish an international police force to prevent aggression."

In the 2 years that have passed since I stated these views communism has made serious inroads abroad, particularly in Asia, but it was stopped in Europe where countries like Italy, France, Greece, and others were threatened. Thanks to the aid given them through the Marshall plan, the march of communism in Europe was successfully contained. The United States has demonstrated to the world that she desires peace, but that she is not desirous of attaining it through appeasement of communistic efforts at enslavement of the world.

Unfortunately, the situation is different in Asia where open warfare and bloodshed are the order of the day as a result of the invasion of South Korea by the Communists of North Korea, using Russian arms and serving as a spearhead of Russian imperialism in the Far East. If we had had a stronger United Nations, if the U.N. had discarded the veto which Soviet Russia is utilizing for its own interests and to the detriment of the U.N. and world peace, if the U.N. would have had a strong international police force to deal with acts of aggression—it is very likely that the Soviet aggression in Korea would never have been risked and communism would have been stopped in its tracks in Asia as in Europe.

I have supported the Marshall plan during the past 2 years and I shall continue to support it in the future. I shall also continue my efforts to build a strong U.N. as I have done in the past. I voted for the Korean-aid bills originally, and more recently supported the bill providing additional funds for military assistance.

On the matter of war, I stated on the floor of the House of Representatives on March 7, 1950, as follows:

"The American people do not want war. I believe the Russian people do not want war either—if only they had the opportunity to speak their mind freely. But if war nevertheless engulfs this world, it will be due to the insatiable lust for power on the part of the present rulers of Soviet Russia."

On June 26, 1950, the day after the brutal and unwarranted attack by the Communists on South Korea, I supported, the declaration of the U.N. Security Council condemning this aggressive act and I lauded President Truman's decision to aid the U.N. I said:

"No one can consider it a warlike act for us to carry out our obligations as a member of the United Nations to protect our weaker sisters from brutal, unprovoked aggression. No one in our time has done more than President Harry S. Truman to bring about permanent peace in every part of the world. * * * His action with reference to Korea and the Far East is further proof of his determination to maintain peace. Our country and all the peace-loving peoples of the world will be ever grateful to him for his patience until action could no longer be withheld, and for the speed and forthrightness with which he ordered our Armed Forces to the defense of democracy when no other alternative was possible."

On June 30, 1950, President Truman graciously wrote to me with reference to this subject. He said in part:

"Your assurances will be helpful indeed as we go forward with the steps necessary for the promotion of peace and stability in the world."

PRICE CONTROL

Next to the problem of war, the most immediate threat to our democratic way of life is the spiraling inflationary situation which took on sudden momentum after the outbreak of the conflict in Korea. Prices of food, clothing, and other necessities of life began to soar sky-high, and hoarding once again reared its ugly head. During my campaign in 1948 I said:

"Runaway prices of food, clothing, and other necessaries make it harder and harder for you to make ends meet. American family life cannot survive without food, shelter, and clothing which the people can afford."

It would extend my report to undue proportions to cite the many instances in the past 2 years when I spoke up in Congress against high prices and in favor of effective price control and the interests of the consumer. I have appealed for an end to profiteering and for the necessary measures to stop hoarding.

More recently, when Congress was considering the Defense Production Act of 1950 to establish the necessary controls for the present emergency, I supported the establishment of such controls and urged granting the President the necessary powers to control prices, wages, rationing, credits and commodity speculation. On August 2, 1950, I said in the House:

"If we must invoke controls, price controls, wage controls, and other controls we ought to go all out and make them enforceable."

The next day I said:

"Price and wage stabilization is intended to eliminate and prevent profiteering, manipulation and speculation, and to protect the consumer, the wage earner, and the investor from undue impairment of their living conditions."

And on August 10, shortly before the House voted on the Defense Production Act, I made a final appeal and issued a warning, as follows:

"In a few moments you are going to be called upon to stand up and be counted and have your names recorded permanently in the records of this Congress so that your children and the children who come after them may know who stood up here and said: 'Send them over to fight, but keep from them that which they need in order to be able to fight. Regiment the boys into the armed services. Regiment little lobbyless John Q. Consumer back home. But stay away from the untouchables who can pressure us with their powerful lobbies. Exempt the agricultural exploiters, the commodity-exchange manipulators, and the real estate interests. Control the little man and woman in the home and in their daily activities, but let the moneylenders and the moneychangers and the gamblers run riot.'

"The time will soon come for you to be recorded; let your conscience be your guide."

RENT CONTROL

Coupled with the problem of rising prices, profiteering and protection of the consumer is the question of rent control. During the campaign in 1948, I said:

"We must continue the fight against exorbitant rents. Low-cost housing and slum clearance laws must be enacted."

I have fought consistently for an effective rent control act. I am aware of the great hardships to the people in the large metropolitan areas who are threatened by any relaxation of rent control and I raised my voice in Congress on numerous occasions to bring this matter to the attention of all legislators. Typical of my remarks on this matter are the following:

January 18, 1950:

"I think every man, no matter what his politics may be, who comes from any metropolitan community, any large municipality, must stand for an extension of rent control at this time."

March 30, 1950:

"There are still millions of families who urgently need the protection which this law (i.e., rent control) affords them, and there are still hundreds of thousands of families who have to live doubled-up because of lack of sufficient housing * * *. In view of the fact that rent has always been a basic factor in the cost of living for many millions of families, and in view of the slow but gradual increase in unemployment in many sections of the country, we should not be too hasty in suspending this means of protection which will unquestionably hurt the lower-income groups very severely. I fear that if we allow the rent control law to lapse, that if we do not renew it for another year, our inaction or refusal to extend its protection to those millions of our citizenry who still need it, may lead to a chain of events which would seriously undermine the economic stability of many areas of the country * * * Let us not encourage economic chaos; let us not contribute to economic instability. Rent control is still a matter of emergency legislation. It is absolutely necessary."

June 13, 1950:

"Who wants this continuance of rent control? Is it, as you have been told by some of the opponents of the bill, only the left wing or the Communists or those who think along the same lines? Six of the largest and most influential national veterans' organizations of this country came before our committee and asked that these controls be continued. The CIO and the A.F. of L. asked these these controls be continued."

After a bitter struggle, Congress voted to continue the rent control law until the end of 1950 with a provision for an additional 6-month extension for local municipalities which enact laws therefor.

The Korean war and the resulting emergency, of course, make it imperative that rent control be continued, and strengthened. It will be one of my major tasks to fight for a more stringent rent control law in the next session.

HOUSING

The enactment of housing legislation, including adequate provisions for slum clearance and low-rent housing projects, is of utmost importance. In this matter I supported President Truman and the plank in the 1948 Democratic platform which said:

"This Nation is shamed by the failure of the Republican 80th Congress to pass the vitally needed general housing legislation as recommended by the President."

Throughout the session of Congress I urged housing legislation for the benefit of low-income groups, including cooperative housing projects. When the executive board of the CIO passed a resolution on February 16, 1950, urging Congress to approve the middle-income housing bill, I had that resolution reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the same day so that all Members of Congress might read it. When the bill came up before the House on March 20, I described to my colleagues the cooperative housing movement in certain western European countries as I had observed it on a mission for the House Committee on Banking and Currency. I said:

"The surest way to make a convert to capitalism and to individualism is to give a family a piece of property or an equity in it, no matter how little. Give him the opportunity to call something his own and he will fight to the death the efforts of socialism or communism to take it away."

When some Members wanted to retain certain obnoxious provisions in the housing bill, I frankly stated on March 22:

"They say those provisions are not special legislation; they do not take care of special groups. They just take care of big business, the financial fraternity of the country, the big builders. Of course, when we do anything like that we are never catering to special interests. But when you try to take care of the forgotten man who is never forgotten when it comes to taxes, the fellow in the middle-income group who is carrying the tax burden of our Government, you are told we are socialistic, communistic, collectivistic, discriminatory, everything except what it is."

LABOR, SOCIAL SECURITY, AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

During my campaign in 1948, I said:

"The aged, the ill, and the unemployed must be cared for. A broad program affords your best protection against depression and the awful hazards of illness and disability. The gains of labor must not be impaired."

My opposition to the Taft-Hartley labor law is a matter of record. My votes against this bill and some of its rigid antilabor amendments have been duly noted by the American Federation of Labor, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the CIO, and all patriotic labor unions. I shall continue to work for the removal of its restrictions on labor unions and the laboring masses. At the same time I shall continue to work for sound labor relations during the present emergency and to keep strikes at a minimum in order to maintain production at a high rate.

I have been an ardent supporter of the Social Security Act and worked for its expansion to include 10 million additional people. The expanded act finally went into effect recently, thereby substantially increasing benefit payments to many millions of our citizens. Due to the more liberal provisions of the act, many who were ineligible before will now be entitled to receive social security payments. In time, it is hoped, the act will entitle our entire adult population to the benefits of old-age and survivors' insurance when they reach the statutory age. I shall continue to work toward that goal.

In the matter of unemployment, I constantly advocated that the necessary measures be taken to prevent a rise in unemployment. Among such measures, I urged the repeal of wartime excise taxes on a large number of commodities and articles in order to stimulate production and purchasing of such articles on a larger scale. In a statement to the House Ways and Means Committee urging repeal of such taxes, I said:

"I am also fearful of the effect this will have in the near future on the employment situation, not only in the industries affected by the excise taxes where already considerable unemployment is being reported, but even in other fields."

Fortunately, at the present time our unemployment figures are among the lowest in our peacetime history. For those who unfortunately must remain on the unemployed lists, I wholeheartedly favor maximum payments under unemployment insurance.

TAXES

During my campaign in 1948, I said: "Low income earners should not pay taxes. The first $3,500 of income should be exempt."

Throughout my incumbency of office I have supported the idea of tax exemption for the low-income groups. Notwithstanding the need for higher taxation resulting from the war and Korea and our defense needs, I still believe that the burden of taxation should be taken off the shoulders of the small wage earners and placed upon the high-income groups, big business, and the big corporations. When I advocated the repeal of excise taxes, I did it primarily because it hurts the small-income people most. The Korean conflict, unfortunately, postponed the possibility of repealing the excise nuisance taxes.

I also earnestly support an excess-profits tax to stave off excessive profiteering on the part of a small group at the expense of the rest of the population. An excess-profits tax at this time would help take the burden off the small taxpayer.

I urged repeatedly that we pay for armaments and defense as we incur the expenses therefor. That means more taxes now.

I voted against adjourning the Congress until we enact an excess-profits tax. I earnestly hope we will do so before the end of the year.

In the matter of excess profits, I said:

"One need not be an economist to know that you control profits when you control prices. A primary result of price control is the limitation of profits."

CIVIL RIGHTS

During my campaign in 1948, I said:

"Safeguard freedom of opinion and speech. Sustain our traditions of justice and fair trial. Eliminate poll taxes. Abolish discrimination."

I have worked most diligently to safeguard civil rights in this country, notwithstanding the hysteria of the times and the befuddled thinking of conservative forces who are dividing our people at a time when unity is most urgent. As the leading Nation of the free world we should be a model of democracy and should set an example in practicing the principles of tolerance, understanding and the treatment of minorities in our midst. Abolition of discriminatory practices in employment, in education, in the Armed Forces, in housing, and other phases of our activity will not only safeguard our freedom here, but will help us gain many friends throughout the world for the cause of democracy.

During the term of the 81st Congress, I spoke up on numerous occasions for the maintenance of civil rights. Here are a few such examples:

January 12, 1950:

"Never before in world history was there greater need for human understanding, good will, and lasting peace than in the present postwar critical period. * * * False prophets and hatemongers in our own country spread doctrines of bigotry and hatred which serve only to undermine the unity of our people at a time when such unity is urgently needed for our very survival."

January 18, 1950:

"I hope that on Monday of next week this House will call up for final action the FEPC bill that has been receiving so much attention throughout the country. At this time I want to direct your attention to the fact that one more step in the right direction to eliminate discrimination in this Nation has been taken by the Army, pursuant to an order issued by Gen. Gordon Gray. He has issued an order which requires that Negro troops be integrated into every branch of the service. * * * Last year I introduced a bill in the House which would attempt to accomplish the same purpose in the National Guard. * * * The enactment of the FEPC law on a national scale will go a long way toward eliminating those very situations which bring about such riots and lynchings, it will be one further step in the accomplishment of true freedom, freedom in the democratic way."

The FEPC bill was finally called up in the House on February 22, 1950, and I voted for it. Although it was stymied in the Senate, I continued to urge final passage of this bill and other civil rights bills.

I urged home rule for the 900,000 disenfranchised Americans living in our Capital City of Washington.

In continuing the struggle against intolerance, on March 22, 1950, I said:

"My view is that wherever bigotry and intolerance of our fellow men is practiced, in any part of our country, it should be exposed. Every effort should be made to eliminate the cancerous growth of hatred and prejudice wherever it shows its ugly head."

When the courts of New York upheld the restrictions limiting the huge housing project of Stuyvesant Town to whites only, I advocated that the U.S. Supreme Court reverse that decision. I stated as follows:

"The effort to reverse that decision has significance which goes beyond the field of housing or even the problem of racial discrimination. Unless the decision is reversed it may set a precedent which in time may prove ominous to our whole American pattern of democratic government."

When reports reached me that segregation and discrimination are gradually and successfully being eliminated at our military bases and camps, I said on August 15, 1950:

"At a time when our democratic system is on the defensive the elimination of racial segregation in our Armed Forces is a very encouraging factor. It is the best reply to Communist hypocrisy and double talk. Nations throughout the world cannot fail to realize that as a nation we stand united, in peace or war. They, likewise, will realize that the rights of minority people and human rights for all are best respected and defended in countries which practice true democracy."

COMMUNISM

During my campaign in 1948, I said: "Fight communism, but not at the expense of Americanism."

I have favored elimination of subversive and disloyal elements from Government service, but I am vigorously opposed to any punishment being meted out to any of our citizens who may have different political views. Thought control is not in the American spirit or tradition. It is the practice of dictatorships, not of democracies.

Discussing the question of democracy versus communism, I said on May 2, 1950:

"The late Franklin D. Roosevelt, at a time of national emergency, told the people of this country that the only thing we had to fear was fear itself. Should another emergency arise, the American people will not be afraid to rise to the situation. Our problem is how to avoid that emergency, how to stave off distintegration from within and destruction of our freedom from without."

On another occasion, on May 24, I brought to the attention of Congress the excellent article by David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, published in the magazine Foreign Affairs, in which he discussed the new international labor organization created earlier this year in London and the role of free labor throughout the world as a dynamic force in the struggle against communism. On another occasion, I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full text of a plan by Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers Union, in which he suggested a positive peace offensive to stop Communist aggression by initiating a program of economic and social action to eliminate poverty, human insecurity, and injustice which are the sources of Communist power.

Although I have spoken out against communism on numerous occasions, I was and still am opposed to so-called control bills. I opposed the Mundt-Nixon bill when it first came up 2 years ago, I opposed it when it was revived recently as the so-called Wood bill. I said then and I still say that such bills are bad, they will do us untold harm and will not help us solve the situation.

During my 1948 campaign I frankly told the voters that I had voted against the Mundt-Nixon bill and why. I made perfectly clear that if reelected I would vote against any similar bill.

I would have been duty bound to vote against the Wood-Mundt-Nixon bill this year if it were only as bad as the Mundt-Nixon bill of 1948. As a matter of fact, it was much worse.

The company in which I find myself in opposing this bill is small, but indeed select. It includes our President, Harry S. Truman; our Attorney General, J. Howard McGrath; FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover; our Secretary of Defense, Gen. George C. Marshall; our Secretary of State, Dean Acheson; our Director of Intelligence, Gen. Walter Bedell Smith; Gen. Dwight Eisenhower; Catholic Bishop Bernard Shiel, of the Archdiocese of Chicago; Philip Murray, of the CIO; William Green, of the AFL; Walter Reuther, of the UAW; David Dubinsky, of the ILGWU; and Jacob Potofsky, of the ACWU. I have no doubt that time will prove us right.

In opposing the bill in the House of Representatives on September 20, I said:

"I bow to no man in or out of this Congress in a desire to preserve this country and its good, true—yes, divine principles of democracy. Time is too brief to call again to your attention the arguments that were raised against the Mundt-Nixon bill 2 years ago and then against the present bill a short time ago when we considered it. They are still valid against this bill."

I enumerated some of the dangerous parts of the bill. They were referred to at length by President Truman when he vetoed the bill. The bill is designed to catch votes and headlines but not spies.

As I told the Congress, the alien and sedition laws of 1798 were directed against subversives too. The reported cases, however, show that the only ones convicted and jailed under them were Republicans who opposed legislation espoused by the Federalists—the then majority party. I do not want my party prosecuting Republicans or even Dixiecrats, nor do I ever want to find Democrats in a position to be prosecuted by them—because of political or religious belief. Under this very bad law I can be prosecuted for urging its amendment or repeal.

I have and always will be in the forefront of every fight against totalitarianism under every guise and every name. Just as vigorously will I fight for our American principles of democracy.

ADMISSION OF DISPLACED PERSONS

During my campaign of 1948, I said:

"Stop discrimination against Catholics, Protestant and Jewish displaced persons. We want no Nazis here."

I am happy to report to my constituents that Congress finally passed a more liberal DP bill, minus most of the discriminatory clauses of the old DP act. The number of DP's eligible to enter the United States has been substantially increased, certain preferences were established for orphans and children, while the eligibility date has been moved forward several years making many thousands of DP's eligible for admission. After 2 long years of struggle, our efforts in this matter finally were successful.

Let me add, that on March 15, 1950, I introduced a bill to provide nonquota immigration status for children coming to this country for adoption by American citizens. At a later date I called the attention of Congress to the work being done by the International Refugee Organization which is caring for and feeding the DP's in the camps. I urged that sufficient funds be made available to this organization to help it find homes for the remaining DP's and thus finally resolve the DP question.

ISRAEL

During my campaign in 1948, I said:

"A free democratic homeland is the hope of the Jewish people. It must not be bartered away by imperialistic powers, intent only upon private gain. Extend de jure recognition. Lift the arms embargo. Grant the loan. Stop aggression."

The picture has vastly changed during these 2 years. Israel is today recognized by nearly all the nations of the world, it is a member of the United Nations, the war on its frontiers has been stopped, the United States has granted it a $100 million loan and has removed the arms embargo. Relations between Israel and the United States are most cordial and friendly, and Israel is supporting our efforts in Korea.

Earlier this year, when the Arab countries were arming at a furious pace and threatening Israel with a "second round," many of us in Congress demanded that this country take steps to prevent a renewal of bloodshed and to protest against British arms shipments to the Arabs. I was among the first to warn of "dire consequences" unless the armament race in the Near East is ended. Beginning in February of this year and succeeding months, I spoke on the matter in the House, I contacted personally high officials in our Government, I went with congressional delegations to Secretary of State Acheson. I exerted every effort in my power to gain active American support to secure the existence of the Jewish state. Finally, on May 25 the three-power declaration was issued whereby the armament race was ended and the nations of the Near East were warned against aggressive acts.

I, also, spoke out against the internationalization of Jerusalem, for peace between Israel and the Arab States, for economic assistance to Israel to help it stabilize its economy and integrate the hundreds of thousands of new immigrants entering the country. In April, when Israel celebrated the second anniversary of its independence, I organized a "Salute to Israel" on the floor of the House and more than 40 Congressmen participated with addresses and statements of greetings to the Jewish State and its leaders. At the request of the American Zionist Council, which includes all Zionist groups in the United States, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a review prepared by the Council of the accomplishments of Israel in the first 2 years as an independent State.

I was privileged to accompany to the White House, Mr. Benjamin G. Browdy, president of the Zionist Organization of America, on two different occasions and participate in conferences with President Truman concerning Israel, its political and economic problems, and its close ties with the United States.

OTHER ISSUES AND EFFORTS

The issues previously referred to were among the most important ones that came before the 81st Congress. There were others, some of lesser importance from the international standpoint, but all of great significance to large segments of our population. In each such instance I took a stand fearlessly and worked assiduously to enact those ideas which I considered constructive and to oppose those which I considered detrimental. Let me enumerate just a few of these:

I introduced a bill to assist cooperative and other nonprofit organizations in the construction of housing for families of moderate income.

I urged loans to needy students to enable them to continue their education over a period of 4 years at the rate of $1,000 per year.

Time and again, I brought to the attention of Congress the plight of oppressed minorities all over the world, including that of the Jews in Russia, the true situation concerning Jewish life in that unhappy country, the rise of anti-Semitism there, the refusal to allow Jews to emigrate to Israel, and the extermination of Jewish religious and cultural life there.

On several occasions, I protested the revival of anti-Semitism in Germany and the deterioration of democracy there, and our failure to denazify the Germans. On May 23, 1950, I introduced a resolution asking for the appointment of a bipartisan commission to investigate American policy in Germany.

I urged immediate ratification of the Genocide Convention of the United Nations to outlaw mass murder of whole peoples as practiced by the Nazis, and as threatened to be practiced by the Communists.

I protested against the rigged and phony trials of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary and of Cardinal Stepinac in Yugoslavia. I repeatedly urged our State Department to remonstrate with these Governments against their incarceration.

I introduced a bill to issue a special postage stamp to honor the memory of Col. David (Mickey) Marcus, the Brooklyn hero who died in the fight for Israel's independence.

I introduced a bill to amend the Tariff Act by stabilizing import duties in order to encourage trade relations with foreign countries.

I supported and voted for the various reorganization plans submitted by President Truman to make the executive departments of our Government more efficient.

I protested vigorously to the House Committee on Post Office against the curtailment of the postal service as false economy and urged the reestablishment of the service and introduced a bill to accomplish that purpose.

I supported the President's point 4 program to aid underdeveloped areas of the world. I spoke up for Americanism, for religious freedom and brotherhood, a helping hand to Italy, unity of Ireland, dissolution of the monopolies in order to aid small business, and many other phases of activity in American life.

In arriving at my conclusion as to how to vote on legislation I always had in mind that veterans, who had answered the call of their country, and their families, were entitled to certain rights and privileges which must always be respected and preserved, and my vote has always been cast so as to preserve their best interests.

I am not touching at this time on the numerous efforts in behalf of the many constituents who called upon me for help of one sort or another. In every instance, I did everything I could to help them. The voters of my district have been good to me in permitting me to serve them. I have tried to reciprocate in kind.

CONCLUSION

The United States and all the free people of the world are now in the midst of a world crisis. Unity of purpose is the demand of the hour. The whole world looks to this country for guidance and leadership in the days ahead to make life more secure for ourselves and our children and to bring lasting peace to a tortured mankind that has not known the meaning of real peace for many years. I have great confidence in the American people, in their loyalty to the highest ideals of mankind, in their will to uphold and maintain our democratic way of life. With God's help, we will go forward to a better day.

YOUR CONGRESSMAN REPORTS TO HIS CONSTITUENTS

(Remarks of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, in the House of Representatives, Friday, July 4, 1952)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the 82d Congress is approaching the end of its sessions and this seems an appropriate time to report to my constituents on my service.

During the 2 years when this Congress was in session our Nation was confronted with many important problems at home and abroad. As each of these problems came up before Congress, I sought to the best of my ability to serve the interests of the Nation as a whole, as well as those of the people of my district. Ever since I first took the oath of office as a Member of Congress my guide has always been that all-embracing phrase in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States which reads:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to * * * promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity do ordain and establish this Constitution."

The welfare and liberty of the people, to my mind, are the two greatest principles and needs of our time.

In presenting this my third report to my constituents I wish to take this opportunity to express my gratefulness to the people of my district who thrice have elected and reelected me to this high office, each time by overwhelming majorities. I appreciate more than words can express this great outpouring of confidence and encouragement.

Now, for the fourth time in succession, the Democratic Party has unanimously designated me for another term of 2 years in Congress. Similarly, the Liberal Party, after reviewing my record in Congress, is supporting my candidacy for reelection, as it has done on previous occasions.

Many endorsements and commendations have come my way from leading national organizations, labor unions, civic groups, and others. Only a few of these can be mentioned in this brief space. The AFL, the CIO, and the United Automobile Workers rated me as having a perfect score on selected vital issues in Congress, such as civil rights, labor laws, housing, price control, rent control, public power, control of commodity speculation, tidelands oil, foreign aid, reciprocal trade, social security and so forth. Railway Labor's Political League, the Railway Conductors, and the Seafarers International Union have endorsed my candidacy for reelection.

Letters of commendation have come voluntarily from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Grange, National Women's Party, Marine Corps Reserve Officers Association, American Veterans Committee, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Reserve Officers Association of the United States, American Chamber of Commerce for Trade With Italy, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, National Federation of Federal Employees, American Federation of Government Employees, New York Federation of Post Office Clerks, and the National Association of Postal Supervisors.

The American Zionist Council voiced its gratitude for my efforts on behalf of Israel; the Welfare Council of New York City appreciated my help in defeating the amendment to limit the construction of public housing; and the Brooklyn chapter of the American Red Cross wrote:

"Your latest actions in our behalf merely serve to confirm our belief that you are making a valuable contribution to the well-being of all the people of Brooklyn and elsewhere by your efforts on our behalf."

Business and consumer groups likewise expressed their appreciation for my efforts and achievements in Congress. The National Association of Consumers thanked me "for your participation in the long and hard struggle during debate on the need for continuing the controls as provided in the Defense Production Act, especially those relating to price, credit, and rent controls. You are to be commended for your contribution." The Office of Price Stabilization appreciated help to that agency in its efforts on behalf of consumers, and the Small Defense Plants Administration for aid in furthering its program in behalf of small business. Other commendations were received from New York State Pharmaceutical Association, National Council of Salesmen's Organizations, Diamond Manufacturers and Importers Association, New York State Bowling Proprietors Association, and many other organizations.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

For more than 2 years now our country, in conjunction with other members of the United Nations, has been resisting Communist aggression in Korea and has resorted to all possible efforts to prevent this long, drawn-out conflict from developing into another and more destructive world conflagration. Our primary gain in Korea has been not only to stop communism in its tracks, but also to stop the march of communism elsewhere. Since the ill-fated aggression on Korea the masters of the Kremlin have made no other attempts at open invasion of peaceful nations.

In Congress I have supported our foreign policy and our efforts to check Communist imperialism. We have attained a certain degree of success through such efforts as the Marshall plan and more recently through military and economic aid under our mutual security program. President Truman's point 4 program to aid underdeveloped areas is becoming more significant and is beginning to show concrete results. Many nations have been aided economically to get back on their feet. We have strengthened our ties with others, particularly in Latin America and Europe. Today, the free nations of the world are probably more united against the common enemy than ever before.

In addition to the steps mentioned, I have supported our own defense efforts so that we and our allies abroad should have the necessary weapons and be prepared to defend our people in the event of further Communist aggression. The security of this Nation is uppermost in our thinking and planning, and for this reason I wholeheartedly supported the appropriations required to meet our military and economic programs.

Specifically, I have urged that financial aid be withheld from those nations who participate in acts of aggresion; that a Joint Committee on International Economic Development be established to study the possibilities of development of backward areas; that we undertake steps to strengthen the United Nations and to seek to convert it into a world federation which would be able to preserve peace. It has always been my view that if the U.N. had been stronger and a more influential organization, the conflict in Korea could have been averted and the world would today be far advanced on the road toward genuine peace.

Other problems and issues within the sphere of foreign affairs which I supported are: Prohibiting the transfer of strategic materials to aggressor nations, extension of reciprocal trade agreements, shipment of wheat to India to alleviate the famine in that country, contribution to the International Children's Emergency Fund, advocating the unification of Ireland, aid to the people of Italy in their efforts to preserve democracy in their country, approving the constitution of Puerto Rico granting the people of that country self-government, investigating the Katyn Forest massacre of Polish officers during the last war.

The Prime Minister of Italy presented to me an autographed picture of himself as a tribute to my efforts to help rid his land of communism.

On a number of occasions I protested the persecution of religious minorities, the violation of freedom of speech and of the press in Russia and its Communist satellites. I have directed attention to the Soviet technique of attracting minorities to its cause by pretending to aid them, only to suppress and crush them later. On April 10 of this year, I placed in the RECORD a lengthy document prepared by our Department of State showing how the Communist Government of Rumania is conducting an all-out campaign to destroy freedom.

My interventions and efforts to aid the State of Israel are a matter of record. I have not only voted for economic aid to Israel in 1951 and 1952, but I have exerted every effort within my power to establish cordial relations between Israel and the United States and to obtain this country's intercession to reach peace between Israel and the Arab States. Ever since the establishment of Israel, I have utilized the occasion of independence day to organize a "salute to Israel" on the floor of Congress in which many Members participate with appropriate addresses and greetings.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The question of safeguarding our civil liberties and reaffirming our civil rights has become one of the foremost problems of our time. Notwithstanding the hysteria of present day, I have always worked diligently in Congress for the principles of civil rights as they affect the entire population, and the minority groups in particular, such as Negroes, Jews, Catholics, and so forth. I have opposed discrimination in employment and in housing; I fought against segregation in the armed services and for freedom in education.

While I am wholeheartedly in favor of eliminating subversive and disloyal individuals from public service, I am vigorously opposed to tactics which smack of thought-control, character assassination, guilt by association, and other such totalitarian methods which we have come to recognize as "McCarthyism." These are not in the tradition of American democracy and, if continued, will do irreparable harm to this country, to its democratic institutions, and to the civil rights and liberties of the American people.

When Congress was considering a resolution to investigate philanthropic and educational foundations, I fought and voted against this resolution because I saw in it an attempt to censor and control the policies and objectives of these institutions. Among those to be investigated are listed the Rockefeller Foundation, Guggenheim Foundation, Carnegie Endowment, and the

Rosenwald Fund, all of which have contributed greatly toward the education and improvement of the standard of living of minorities.

I have urged home rule for the disenfranchised people of Washington, statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, withholding of aid to National Guard organizations practicing discrimination, and elimination of restrictions in housing on the grounds of race, color, or creed. I have never hesitated to speak up for religious freedom, tolerance, brotherhood, and true understanding among the people of this great Nation.

PRICE CONTROL

To give my constituents a complete picture of the struggle I waged in the past 2 years to continue economic controls and check inflation would require a report several times the size of this item. As a member of the House Banking and Currency Committee—which is the committee that deals with legislation on economic controls—I was in the forefront of the struggle for price control, rent control, housing, wage stabilization, and credit control.

At all times during these lengthy conflicts both in committee and on the floor of Congress, I was continually guided by the problems and difficulties facing the average American family in meeting its budget for food, shelter, clothing, and other necessities of life. That was uppermost in my mind, for it was clear that unless we adopt legislation to effectively halt soaring prices and the spiral of inflation, our entire economy would be ruined. Hardest hit of all, are those of middle and low income, the workers, the professionals, and those of fixed incomes including those living on pensions.

Throughout 1951 and 1952, when the Defense Production Act was up for renewal and powerful forces sought to cripple controls or to eliminate them entirely, I spoke up in the interests of the consumer. Whenever possible, I sought to show the conspiracy against the consuming public on the part of profiteering and greedy elements. On June 12, 1951, I said:

"There is little doubt in my mind that there is a conspiracy afoot between the big packers, some of the feeders, and some of the cattlemen, to scare the consuming public into demanding a cessation of price control. As part of that conspiracy they will try to create beef shortages where actually there are none and there is no reason for any. We have more livestock today than the country has ever before produced."

In the ensuing weeks, when it became evident that the Republicans in Congress were not concerned with price control or inflation but were actually impeding every effort to establish effective controls in order to aid certain selfish interests, I stated on the House floor June 30, 1951:

"The Republican program this year as to how to control inflation starts with the promise of pay-as-you-go taxation; the action, Republican votes to defeat every item in the tax bill so you do not get enough taxes with which to pay for the expenses of Government. Next is the Republican promise to stop inflation by control of credits * * * the action, Republican votes beat down the amendments to the Defense Production Act which seek to do that. Then they say control inflation by increased production because that will bring prices down. But prices continue to run away. So the Republican action on every vote * * * is to kill price control."

When the Republicans continued to emasculate controls through various crippling amendments, I again warned them that the consumer will not forget their action. On July 5, 1951, I said:

"If we are to have an effective control bill that is going to do any good and help save the economy of our country and beat down the forces of inflation, which all agree are just as vicious and just as bad as communism at its worst, we will have to have a control bill that will do equal justice to all with exemptions to none. We will have to put the national interest above the selfish interest. But the consumer is a small guy; he has no lobby here to come in and plead for him. We can kick him around. He speaks only on election day and you hope by election day of 1952 he will have forgotten how you mistreated him in 1951."

On occasion, when certain elements could not meet the arguments in defense of the consumers in the big cities, they resorted to name calling and threats. In defense of the good name of the people of New York, I refuted such tactics as follows—July 17, 1951:

"To those who continually make invidious reference to New York black marketeers, let me say that if their constituents were as law abiding, as cooperative, and as good citizens as the average New Yorker, we would have very little difficulty."

Finally, when it became evident that the 1951 control bill would be weak and practically ineffective, frankly told the Members of Congress on July 19:

"I am taking this time to call the attention, not only of the Members of Congress but of the American public to this situation, so that they can wake up and know that unless this Congress wakes up we will have a Defense Production Act without any defense and without any production. We will have a control bill with no controls."

Some last minute changes were written into the bill which made it workable to some extent last year. When renewal of the act came up for consideration early this summer, a strenuous effort was made on the part of opponents of economic controls to kill the entire act or at least to eliminate price control, rent control, credit control, and other vital phases. Again and again I pleaded with the opposition not to terminate controls but to extend them for another full year. On June 19, 1952, I stated:

"The Banking and Currency Committee showed good judgment when they voted to extend the controls until June 30, 1953. We must play it safe as far as our economic stability is concerned. If the controls are extended for 12 months, and if the emergency should end in a shorter time, they can always be terminated by administrative or congressional action. On the other hand, if the emergency should still be with us a year from now, Congress would have adequate opportunity to consider further extension legislation."

I was highly dissatisfied with the final bill as adopted by Congress, I considered it an unenforceable bill with ineffective provisions. I state then:

"I voted for the extension of the Defense Production Act most reluctantly. I do not think that it was a good bill, but I think it is better than having no controls at all. The rent-control provisions, for example, are, in my judgment, very weak. I also think that some of the price-control features, particularly the one relating to processed fruits and vegetables, are bad. The amendments affecting the wage-stabilization program are likewise far from perfect."

At every step of the way I sought to improve the act by introducing amendments and bills to aid the consumers in the struggle against soaring prices. Among the more important proposals were bills to create a select committee to study consumer interests; to protect the Nation's economy against inflationary pressures; to provide for fuel allocations and priorities during emergencies; to appoint business advisory committees; to repeal the Capehart amendments, and so forth.

RENT CONTROL AND HOUSING

As already indicated, I fought consistently for effective rent control, which is so vital to the maintenance of our standard of living for millions of Americans. The danger of any relaxation of rent control is especially great in the large metropolitan areas where a difficult situation would follow. It has always been my view, ever since I became a Member of Congress, that the fight against exorbitant rents must be continued, with ample protection, however, to the landlords to assure them a fair return. I fought against every attempt to lift rent control in various areas, particularly in critical defense-housing areas. In the latter case I argued as follows on June 26 of this year:

"In these critical areas the Federal Government—not the local government—is responsible for the acute housing situation and the pressure on rents. The Federal Government has established the military installations and has directed the men to be stationed at these installations. The construction and expansion of defense production plants are the direct effect of defense orders which the Federal Government has placed. For these reasons, the Federal Government has a responsibility which it cannot evade—to provide protection to servicemen and defense workers against exorbitant rents."

Similarly, I have urged the adoption of legislation calling for slum clearance and the construction of federally assisted low-cost and middle-income housing, as well as cooperative housing projects to alleviate the urgent need for adequate housing. In support of such legislation I stated on August 14, 1951:

"Under this bill, we will have no more slums. In every community that needs housing that does not have the finances to build community facilities, this bill will give private free enterprise the opportunity to create private housing. The bill will also provide the community facilities without which the housing is uninhabitable. * * * You thereby help these communities to build up in the American way, under the American standard of living, and we will have no more slums, and we will have no unsanitary conditions."

The most difficult struggle encountered by the forces fighting for adequate housing was the move instigated by the real estate lobby which attempted to cut the number of public housing units to be constructed per year from 50,000 to a mere 5,000 units. During the debate on this question, I spoke up frequently in support of 50,000 units and also read to the Members of Congress a telegram addressed to me by the mayor of New York describing how the proposed cut would seriously hurt the housing situation in New York. On March 19, 1952, I said:

"May I remind you that originally the law provided for the starting of not more than 135,000 units of public housing each year. Then we cut that to 75,000 units per year. Last year we cut it to 50,000 units per year. Now this distinguished committee recommends that you cut it to 25,000 units per year."

Actually, however, it proved to be even worse, since an amendment was introduced on the floor of the Congress to reduce the number of units to 5,000. When that amendment came up for discussion and the vote the next day I said:

"What you are going to do if you adopt the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas, Mr. FISHER, to cut this to 5,000 units * * * is to make worthless millions of dollars of investments of cities and States throughout the country. I tell you that you are making a very serious mistake if you do not go along with this project, at least to the limited extent of 50,000 units per year. If you want to do the right thing by your constituents, if you want to do the right thing by those people who cannot help themselves, if you want to eliminate delinquency and crime among the low-income groups, give them a decent place in which to live, give them a place where they can bring up their children in some sort of decent fashion, so that they may realize the ambition of every American to attain the standard of living that we recognize as the very minimum."

LABOR AND SOCIAL SECURITY

My opposition to antilabor laws and my efforts for improved labor legislation have been duly acknowledged by the A.F. of L., the CIO, and other sections of organized labor. I look forward to determined action in the 83d Congress for better labor laws and I shall give my utmost support to achieve this goal.

In the field of labor relations, I opposed the Lucas amendment which sought to abolish the Wage Stabilization Board or reduce its effectiveness by taking away from the Board its emergency labor-disputes powers assigned to it by the President. The amendment which aimed to strip the Board of its power in 1951 was rejected by Congress, but a new and more successful attempt to destroy the WSB was made this year.

What brought it on was the prolonged steel-industry dispute which sharply divided opinions on such matters as the legality of the wage-dispute functions of the WSB, the invoking of an injunction against the union, proposals to submit labor unions to the provisions of the antitrust laws, and other matters. In arguing against changing the equal tripartite structure of the WSB. I stated on the House floor on June 20:

"If you adopt the Lucas amendment as it is given to you now, when you put more public members on the board than labor and management together, you will still have the public members controlling and giving a decision just as they did in the steel dispute case. The Wage Stabilization Board made the recommendation that the union-shop clause should be part of the contract. Who started this cry of 'kill the umpire'? The steelmill owners and managers who lost the decision."

Several days later, on June 25, when Congress was considering a request to the President to invoke the Taft-Hartley law in the steel dispute, I said:

"The Congress is not enacting fair and effective legislation. It is not any legislation if it adopts this amendment to the Defense Production Act by which you will send the President a letter telling him to use a law which you and I know is not going to produce steel and is not going to get the men back to work.

"For reasons of fairness, practicality, and effectiveness, the Taft-Hartley Act does not provide the answer to the present steel dispute. What is needed is authority for the Government to operate the steelmills until a settlement is reached."

In the end, Congress retained the tripartite structure of the WSB, but it took away the Board's jurisdiction over the union-shop issue and instituted other unjustifiable changes. This may result in much difficulty in settling labor disputes in the future.

Just as I worked for and voted in 1950 to broaden the Social Security Act to include 10 million additional people, so this year I wholeheartedly supported the bill to increase social security benefits. The increase goes into effect as of October 1, 1952, and every beneficiary will receive at least $5 or more additional in his monthly check. I shall continue to work toward the goal whereby the entire adult population will be entitled to such benefits upon reaching the statutory age.

Among other measures in this field I sponsored a bill to provide equal pay for equal work for women, a bill to amend the Social Security Act to increase the amount of outside earnings to $80 per month (this Congress increased the sum to $75); I supported an increase in the pension to retired railway employees and an increase in unemployment insurance benefits.

NATIONAL ECONOMY AND TAXES

During the fiscal year 1951–52 Congress appropriated about $50 billion for defense, while in the current year some 60 billions have been designated for that purpose. These are unquestionably tremendous sums. They constitute about three-fourths of our national budget. Unfortunately we have no other recourse, since the security of our Nation comes before everything else. In order not to invite national disaster, our defenses must be strengthened and made ready for any eventuality.

This huge budget is met through taxation which serves a double purpose: taxes help to pay the expenditures of our defense program and operations of the Government, and they also serve to keep inflation in check. There is not a Member of Congress who would not like to see the day come soon when taxes can be appreciably reduced and all controls abolished—and I am among them—but I would not like to see it done at the price of ruin to our national economy resulting from runaway inflation.

At the present time, we can only hope for equalization of the tax burden whereby that burden should be taken off the shoulders of the low-income groups and placed upon the middle and higher income groups and big business. In the past, I advocated repeal of excise taxes because they affect primarily the small wage earner; I supported an excess-profits tax directed chiefly against profiteering on the part of the greedy.

More recently, I have urged tax exemptions for members of the Armed Forces who are serving outside the United States, deductions for expenses in connection with education of children, increasing the exemption to $3,500 for heads of families and $2,500 for single persons, granting exemptions to persons living on retirement pensions and annuities, and other proposals.

In connection with strengthening the national economy, I took an active interest in aiding small business in order to keep it alive and operating during this period of our dislocated economy. In February 1951, I was appointed as a member of a Select Committee to Conduct a Study and Investigation of the Problems of Small Business. This congressional committee conducted hearings throughout the country and made a number of important recommendations to aid small business by extending to it a share of the defense work and through the establishment of the Small Defense Plants Administration to cope with this problem.

IMMIGRATION

It has always been my view that one of the major reasons for this country's growth and development was its liberal policy on immigration which enable the homeless and the persecuted to come to these blessed shores and help to build our country. In Congress, I have always favored the continuation of such a policy. Consequently, I worked ardently for passage of the Displaced Persons Act in 1948 under which more than 300,000 displaced persons entered the United States. When that act was about to expire in 1951, I urged that all displaced persons who had filed for admission to this country before the expiration date of June 30, 1951, should be granted the opportunity to come here notwithstanding the fact that the law will have expired. This was subsequently accomplished by enactment of a 6-month extension.

It was not so smiple, however, in the case of the McCarran Immigration Act which was passed by Congress this year. I did my utmost to fight this discriminatory measure, but the anti-immigration forces were too strong. When the bill was under discussion in the House, I stated on April 23:

"I do not know whether my father and mother came here because somebody gave them the exalted right or the exalted privilege to come here, but I do know that most of us would not be here today if their forebears had not had the absolute right to come her before the time that some Congress wrote into this Nation's law that provision making it only an exalted privilege. If you look at the bill and try to determine where the merit or lack of merit lies, you will find there is discrimination written all through the bill."

That bill was, as is well known, approved by overwhelming majorities in both Houses of Congress and then the the President's veto of the measure was overridden to make it the law of the land. I hope that a strong effort will be made in the 83d Congress to eliminate the discriminatory and racist sections of this law.

VETERANS' AFFAIRS

In casting my votes on veterans' legislation, I have always tried to preserve the best interests of the men who answered the call of their country. They and their families are entitled to certain rights and privileges which must be respected and preserved.

The most important legislative measure containing benefits to veterans to come out of Congress this year was the GI bill for veterans of the Korean conflict who were granted medical, educational, housing, training, and other benefits similar to those extended to World War II veterans, I supported this measure, as well as other bills calling for pension and compensation benefits for disabled veterans and their dependents and pay increase to servicemen to meet the cost of living.

At the same time, I sponsored various bills of interest to veterans, such as to provide free postage for members of the Armed Forces, to amend the Housing Act of 1950 to permit veterans to use guaranteed housing loans to $7,500; to provide that pension, compensation, and retirement pay be paid during active service, such amount being deducted from active service pay.

I joined with the entire Brooklyn congressional delegation to prevent the Veterans' Administration from removing its regional office from Brooklyn. When the same threat came up a second time during the summer of 1951, I introduced a bill to prohibit the Veterans' Administration Administrator from transferring any offices or making extensive reductions in the Veterans' Administration staff until 60 days after giving notice to Congress.

In recognition of my services on behalf of veterans I was given two awards by veterans organizations which I shall always cherish. The Raymond Lupin Memorial Post of the American Legion in Brooklyn elected me an honorary patron in 1951. The Brooklyn Chapter of Disabled American Veterans presented me with a certificate of merit for outstanding accomplishments in promoting legislation for disabled veterans.

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS

The defense of the rights of minorities in various countries where they are persecuted as such has always been of deep concern to me. On numerous occasions I brought to the attention of Congress the plight of the Jews in the Soviet Union and in the Communist satellite countries where Jewish religious and cultural life is being exterminated and Jews are not permitted to emigrate to Israel. Similarly, I have vigorously protested the resurgence of nazism in Germany and our failure to denazify the Germans. I have been as alert in protesting the plight of persecuted Catholics in various countries.

On January 30, 1951, I described to the Members of Congress the anti-Jewish policy of persecution adopted by Communist Hungary. I said:

"Anti-Semitism is rampant in Hungary, the Jews and other religious minorities are regarded with suspicion because they look to

America and the West as their last hope for eventual freedom."

I have similarly urged the House Foreign Affairs Committee to appoint a bipartisan commission to investigate our failure to stamp out nazism in Germany and to eliminate anti-Semitism there. I told the committee:

"Large sections of our population today are distrustful of Germany. They fear we may be building up a new Frankenstein that may someday come back to plague us."

Not only has the violation of human rights abroad concerned me, but I am equally interested in the efforts to combat prejudice and anti-Semitism in this country. I have urged interfaith understanding and true brotherhood as a means of combating such misconduct. Rabblerousers in this country have for some time been spreading the lie that one of our Founding Fathers of this Republic, Benjamin Franklin, disliked the Jews and criticized them. The story was a forgery and an insult to the memory of this venerated American. To establish its falsity, I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a document showing how Franklin headed a drive to clear the debt of a Jewish synogogue in Philadelphia in 1788.

As a result of my efforts, for the first time since the establishment of the Military Academy at West Point and the Naval Academy at Annapolis, Jewish chaplains have been assigned to each Academy on a full-time basis to minister to the boys of their faith, who are in attendance there as cadets and midshipmen.

One of the projects, of which I am most proud, was my part in obtaining the consent of our great President, Harry S. Truman, to lend his name to the establishment of a village in Israel, known as Kfar Truman.

The village was dedicated to him at a dinner tendered by the Jewish National Fund to the President in Washington, D.C., on May 26, 1952, attended by outstanding personalities from every walk of life and every part of the country. The speakers on that historic occasion included the Vice President of the United States, the Ambassador of Israel, Dr. Harris J. Levine, president of the Jewish National Fund, and your humble servant. President Truman's response was beautiful and inspiring.

Other issues which were of interest to significant segments of our population were considered by the 82d Congress. Where the idea was of a constructive and beneficial nature, I worked assiduously for its enactment; where it was, in my opinion, detrimental to the interests of the Nation, I opposed it vigorously.

Time and again I urged upon Congress to increase the pay of Federal and postal employees. They are loyal and efficient workers. I opposed cutting their annual leave and sick-leave benefits. I also protested on several occasions as false economy the curtailment of the postal service and I introduced a bill to reestablish the service to its previous status.

In the realm of Government reorganization, I supported the various reorganization plans to make the executive departments more efficient, including such plans as reorganization of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, revision of our military Reserves, reorganization of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and others.

I opposed the tidelands oil bill which aimed to give away to a few States the offshore oil deposits estimated to be valued at about $40 billion. This is the property of the country as a whole and all the people should benefit from it.

In the field of health and welfare, I favored aid for local and State development of public-health units, the extension of grants to States for public assistance, and flood relief for people in the stricken areas.

Other bills which I introduced were to provide a uniform national system of automobile registration; to amend the Tariff Act by stabilizing import duties to encourage international trade relations; for negotiation of a treaty for the defense of the Mediterranean area; to establish a memorial housing honoring the contribution to American military and naval history by all religious faiths, and many others.

I introduced a number of private bills to aid individuals where the circumstances merited such aid. In other instances I did all possible to help those of my constituents who called upon me for assistance of one sort or another. I never failed to try to help them, even though my efforts have not always been successful.

CONCLUSION

My record in Congress is an open book, which I modestly, yet proudly, present to the people of my district. They have been kind to me in permitting me to serve them in the highest legislative Chamber of the Nation. I have tried to show here how I have fulfilled their trust in me, realizing at all times that "public office is a public trust."

The exigencies of our time are so great that we must not lessen our efforts to defend human liberty and preserve our free institutions. The free nations of the world must stand united in their common effort to uphold the highest ideals of mankind and to maintain our way of life. Our people are on the threshold of great decisions. With the help of Almighty God, we shall decide wisely and go forward to a better day of peace and tranquility for all mankind.

SO THE TIME FOR A CHANGE ARRIVED, AND CREEPING SOCIALISM BECAME THE BIG GIVEAWAY WHILE THE LITTLE FELLOW LOST HIS SHIRT

(Remarks of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, in the House of Representatives, Monday, Aug. 3, 1953)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, this is the true story—I wish it were a fairy tale—of an America grown up—but not wiser.

If what follows sounds political, believe me it is intentionally so. After all, politics, according to all lexicographers, is the science of government and this saga deals only with government—your Government.

If it sounds partisan it is so only because the members of the opposite political faith have slanted the record that way by their actions.

If what I say hurts, it is only because the sponsors of inimical policies have failed to provide any armor against the cruelties inherent therein.

With such brief apologia, let me proceed to tell this tale of woe.

For 20 years almost every attempt by Democratic leaders and legislators to improve the conditions of our country and to establish world peace and to expand man's divine right of equal opportunity to earn a livelihood with a decent standard of living, has been ridiculed, derided and opposed by members of the Republican Party. In all those years there was little or no constructive criticism. There was much carping and bitterness as phony labels were sought to be attached to every progressive step that was taken to benefit the citizenry of our country.

Home loans, farm loans, small business assistance, housing and power, rural electrification and telephones, soil conservation and flood control, farm subsidies and fuel regulation, savings programs and bank deposit insurance, development of natural resources for the benefit of all, social security and unemployment insurance, protection of the right to work, improvement of the lot of the civil servant, protection of the veteran, particularly the maimed and disabled, assistance to the orphan, the widow and the helpless, aids to health, education, and the public welfare were all labeled creeping socialism and worse.

Only in the field of foreign policy was there any semblance of bipartisan cooperation for the best interests of the country. Even there it was only agreement on principle. Despite the fact that a Democratic administration sought and obtained only the best available men, regardless of political affiliation (thus putting as many Republicans as Democrats in charge of administration) the sniping never abated.

We were told:

Time for a change—stop the monster from creeping further into the Nation's vitals—drive it out—return the country to free enterprise—stop inflation—bring prices down—produce more—pay less—get more—balance the budget—cut expenditures—reduce taxes.

Repetition had its effect. Even those who knew better, began to succumb to the never-ending stream of propaganda.

At the psychologically correct moment the knight in shining armor appeared on the scene, a truly great soldier, deservedly honored as a world hero. When he, unacquainted in the ways of politics, but in the best of faith and intentions, began to sing the same song, the melody was indeed sweet and the words most beguiling.

Logic and reason took flight. Fantasy and wishful thinking wafted many into the land of make-believe. What could we lose? Is a Republican mink coat—or is it sable—different from the Democratic one? Is it not time for a change? Few asked: A change to what or why or for whom? After all—we can always change back. Nor did they stop long enough to inquire: If the change should be for the worse, can we regain our losses?

Election day, 1952, came and with it the first change as the people willed it. A Republican President and a Republican Congress.

Eureka but not yet utopia.

Democrats, who for 20 years winced under the tongue lashing of the Republicans remembered the Biblical injunction to do unto others as you would have them do unto you.

Like good American citizens, they bowed to the will of the majority.

They promised cooperation. They announced there would be only constructive criticism, no sniping, no backbiting, no invectives.

Came January 3, 1953, and the new Congress was sworn in and organized. They listened politely but impatiently and indifferently to the outgoing President. They waited for Inauguration Day.

Came Inauguration Day, January 20, 1953, and they listened fearfully but enthusiastically to the incoming President. And again they waited.

Be not impatient. Give them time. Give them a chance.

Time passed. And they acted—both the new President and the new Congress. Things happened. Not too much and certainly, not too good.

Now as the 1st session of the 83d Congress comes to a close this fine summer day, August 3, 1953, would it be unfair if I stated the account, totaled the "do's" and the "don'ts," the "gives" and the "takes" and tried to get a balance—knowing full well that there will be little balance left for our fellow citizens.

Here goes:

Promise: A balanced budget.

Performance: More unbalanced than when the Republicans took over.

Promise: Spend less.

Performance: Spent more with an increase in future fixed charges of government.

Promise: Reduce taxes.

Performance: Increased by extending taxes due to expire.

Promise: A stabilized economy by reduction of prices and cost of living.

Performance: Higher prices to the consumer, higher costs to the home buyer, higher rents to the tenant, and lower prices to the farmer.

Promise: Reduce the national debt.

Performance: An attempt to increase it, prevented by an almost solid Democratic opposition in the Senate. It passed the House with 34 percent of the Republicans voting for it and 61 percent of the Democrats opposed.

Promise: A new foreign policy. Precisely what changes we were to expect we were never told.

Performance: Absolutely no changes in policy. The change in administration, however, is driving our friends and allies further and further away from us.

Promise: A new farm policy.

Performance: No change in policy. A change in administration that has antagonized the farmer who has voted 10 to 1 to continue the old policy.

Promise: A new tax program.

Performance: None presented. The only change is the reduction in individual income taxes effective January 1954, pursuant to a law enacted by the last Democratic Congress and signed by the last Democratic President. However, Mr. Taxpayer, do not spend that saving. The next session of this Republican Congress may take it away from you. They are even now threatening us with a Federal sales tax.

Promises: The Republican Party promised to keep the Taft-Hartley labor law intact. The Republican candidate for President said he recognized its inequities and promised amendment.

Performance: No change in that law.

Promise: Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska.

Performance: Nothing.

Promise: A change in our permanent immigration laws to liberalize them and remove the inequities and unfairness thereof.

Performance: No change. The temporary Refugee Immigration Act to admit 317,000 immigrants over a 3-year period was part of the Democratic program and was enacted only because of Democratic support.

Promise: To conserve the natural resources of the Nation.

Peformance: Submerged oil lands given away. This was promised by the Republican candidate and he was supported by southern Democrats who campaigned for reelection on that pledge. Public power, TVA, AEC, and soil conservation programs gutted. Rubber plants ordered sold, RFC assets, including defense plants, ordered disposed of.

Promise: Encouragement and improvement of health and education programs.

Performance: Cutting the budgets for these programs.

Promise: A comprehensive civil-rights program.

Performance: Nothing.

Changes that we got even though not promised:

First. Hard money, that is, money that is harder to get.

Second. Higher interest rates on Government bonds, thus increasing the cost of Government and the burden of the taxpayer; higher rates on mortgages; higher rates on consumer's financing; higher rates on veteran's loans; higher rates on business loans; higher rates on State and municipal loans; higher rates on farmer's loans; higher rates on auto loans.

Third. Depreciation of Government bonds, some are selling as low as 92 cents on the dollar.

Fourth. Destruction of the public-housing program.

Fifth. Impairment of the morale of civil service employees by Executive orders emasculating the merit system.

Sixth. Decrease in veterans' benefits.

In sharp contrast to all of the foregoing is the conduct of the responsible Democratic Members of the Congress.

They offered bills to implement their party platform. They could get no hearings from committees controlled by the majority party.

They offered bills and amendments to bills to effectuate the President's program to the extent that it coincided with the Democratic program.

The press, time after time, referred to the passage of such bills as "Eisenhower victories." Actually they were part and parcel of the Democratic platform. They could never have been enacted without Democratic votes. In most instances there were more Democrats than Republicans voting for those measures.

Notable among these measures were, first, extension of the President's power to reorganize the executive departments—if he does not economize in that field, the responsibility is solely his; second, establishment of the Cabinet post of Health, Education, and Welfare; third, rejection of the cut in funds for REA; fourth, prevention of the weakening of civil service; fifth, rejection of cut in funds for soil conservation; sixth, restoration of funds for aid to schools; seventh, continuance of a nonpolitical Tariff Commission; eighth, extension of Reciprocal Trade Agreements Authority; ninth, prohibiting arbitrary denial of medical care to veterans; tenth, authorization and appropriation of moneys for foreign aid; eleventh, extension of the mutual-security program; twelfth, gift of wheat to starving Pakistanians; thirteenth, admission of 217,000 immigrants over a 3-year period.

That is the record to date.

Even if President Eisenhower should not acknowledge that his program could never have been enacted without Democratic votes, we in the Democratic Party will continue to vote for what we believe is in the best interests of our country.

In the not too distant future, the electorate will have an opportunity to voice its approval or disapproval of the changes it got and of the changes it did not get.

Until then, we will do our duty as we see it—let the chips fall where they may.

TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS THE FIGHT MUST GO ON

(Remarks of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, in the House of Representatives, Thursday, August 19, 1954)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, at the close of the first session of this Congress, on August 3, 1953, I reviewed for my constituents the accomplishments, and lack thereof, of our distinguished body. I pointed out the great divergence between the pledges and promises by the Republican Party and its presidential candidate in 1952 and their performance or lack thereof as the majority party in power in 1953.

Another legislative year has now gone by. It is time again to take a look. Perhaps not a new look, but certainly a good look, even though we know it will not look good. I intend today to reverse the usual form of stating first the facts and then the conclusion.

CONCLUSION

When the 80th Congress was dubbed the worst Congress of history, our contemporaries overlooked that worse than a "do-nothing Congress" is a Congress that does nothing but give away the birthright of a nation.

The 83d Congress and this Republican administration have earned the right to be charged with doing nothing but giving away the people's rights and property.

The balance of this report will be devoted to documentation of the foregoing conclusion.

HUMAN RIGHTS

This is an excellent time to refresh our memories with a quotation from our Declaration of Independence of these immortal words:

"We hold those truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their health and happiness.

Those principles have been written into our Constitution as rights accorded to our citizens, and with restrictions against any impairment by executive, judicial, or legislative action.

If they are to be changed, that change can be accomplished only by constitutional amendment.

Nevertheless, we have seen during these last 2 years, a complete disregard of those basic concepts.

Fear runs wild, and hysteria has taken over.

Laws have been enacted in violation of article I of the Constitution, prohibiting ex post facto laws and bills of attainder.

Laws and executive orders violative of the Bill of Rights, as contained in our Constitution, have been enacted and promulgated.

I have done my best to resist such utterly un-American conduct, first, because it is fundamentally wrong and second, because it strengthens our enemies and weakens our will to withstand their totalitarian philosophy.

I favor the right, under safeguard of court order or search warrant, to obtain evidence, even by wiretapping, to convict criminals. I opposed the bill to give the right to use such evidence previously obtained without court order or search warrant.

I favor empowering the courts to require witnesses to testify in criminal proceedings by granting them immunity where otherwise some other criminal might escape trial. I oppose giving that right to Congress, because Congress is a legislative body and not a court. Congress is supposed to investigate solely for the purpose of legislating; it is not the FBI; it is not a grand jury; it is not a petit jury; it is not a judge; it is not a prosecutor; it is not a president with power to pardon. No legislative body in our entire American history has ever been blocked from legislating because a witness or group of witnesses refused to testify.

The best evidence that I am correct in that statement is that despite witnesses who have refused to testify about communism, the Congress has, nevertheless, enacted a law finding that the Communist Party is not a political party but a criminal conspiracy.

I agree with the finding, but urged that the law was a very bad one because it usurps the function of the judiciary.

The bill to outlaw the Communist Party violates every principle of good government. Aside from being a bill of attainder and an ex post facto law, it denies not only free speech but free thought; it denies the right of assembly and the right of petition for redress of wrongs. It is a completely totalitarian technique.

The manner in which these bills were foisted upon the Congress was even worse. Not only was gag rule imposed by limitation of debate, but they were brought before the House without having had adequate hearings, without reports for guidance of the Members, without copies of the bills, and under rules permitting no amendments.

That is the horribly terrifying manner in which a heretofore deliberative body struck down our liberties and impaired our freedom by pushing through in the closing days of this session bills which do violence to the things for which men and women have fought and died since before Magna Carta.

I attribute these bad bills to what has come to be known as McCarthyism. Those who contend that McCarthyism has alerted the country to the danger of communism must now concede that the direct result has been the creation of an unhealthy atmosphere of fear and suspicion which may easily destroy the very vitals of good government.

LIBERALISM VERSUS CONSERVATISM

Our President has repeatedly told us that as to human values and human rights, he is liberal, but as to property and property rights, he is conservative. It sounds good. I wish it were true. I will not repeat here the many failures of President Eisenhower to perform the pledges of candidate Eisenhower. They have been previously documented. Let us today analyze what has happened under our President's leadership and thereby make apparent his and the Republican Party's fulfillment of the converse of his declared policy.

OPERATION GIVEAWAY, OR BUNDLES FOR BILLIONAIRES

The gift of the submerged-oil lands was camouflaged as a return to certain States of their property. You cannot return to a State what it never had. The U.S. Supreme Court three times ruled that these lands and rights never belonged to any State. As a matter of fact, most of them were bought with funds from the U.S. Treasury.

If Congress and the President had not given them away for the benefit of the big oil companies and not the few States involved as is claimed, the revenues from those lands would have been used to educate the children of every State of the Union.

OUR NATIONAL RESOURCES: CREEPING FAVORITISM

The Nation's resources have been the subject of a whole series of gigantic giveaways, beginning with the offshore oil bill endorsed by President Eisenhower.

Perhaps the most incredible giveaway of all deals with atomic energy. The people of the country have spent $12 billion of their tax money in developing an atomic-energy program. The Eisenhower administration and the Republican-controlled Congress, however, chose to set the wheels in motion for giving away the rights to atomic energy to the few private power monopolies. The most fantastic Republican proposition was the Dixon-Yates contract whereby a certain private group was granted contract rights to provide power without competitive bidding; it was arbitrarily selected for the benefit, although other firms offered to do the job more cheaply. The Eisenhower administration even offered to pay all their taxes for them and guarantee them against any loss. I am proud of my vote against the atomic energy giveaway.

The efforts to dispose of our synthetic-rubber and tin-smelting plants and the attempt to wreck TVA and our entire public power program, are more of the giveaway philosophy in action.

MONEY: HARDER TO GET

I spent considerable time and effort in opposing the Republican giveaway to bankers through higher interest rates. The so-called hard-money policy actually made money harder to get. Republican bankers took over the Treasury Department and promptly proceeded to raise the interest rate to the highest level since 1933. They sold Government bonds below par value to bankers who profited immensely from unnecessarily higher interest rates. I joined with other Members of Congress in protesting this giveaway to bankers, and my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD are quite numerous on this subject.

Not only did this hard-money policy constitute excessive profit for bankers, but it was perhaps the principal cause of the recession we have had. With interest rates excessively high, consumers and small-businessmen could not borrow money. As a result, mass unemployment occurred, causing a serious recession because of a lack of consumer purchasing power to buy the products of American industry.

The Eisenhower administration was disastrously slow in taking action against this recession; indeed, we still have close to 4 million Americans unemployed, with many more in jobs at only part time. Because of our constant pounding, the administration finally reversed itself and repudiated the hard-money policy, although its evil effects are regrettably still with us.

Call me a prophet of gloom, Mr. President. But it is your Secretary of Commerce who says that the gross national production is down $9 billion from 1953 to 1954, and it is your Federal Reserve Board that says that industrial production is down $12 billion from 1953 to 1954.

VETERANS' SIGHTS

Part of the liberal Republican policies was the increase of interest rates on veterans' mortgages. This was among the very first accomplishments of this administration.

As soon as we achieved a reversal of the hard-money policy, I started a campaign to decrease the veterans' loan interest rates to what they had been.

The chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, on the floor of the House, promised me such legislation would be enacted.

It has not even been reported to the Congress.

We did succeed in enacting a bill to increase veterans' pensions by 5 percent. Liberal, indeed. A monthly pension of $50 is now $52.50.

But all veterans' services—medical care, hospitalization, and the like—have been cut and cut more than 5 percent.

That was not being illiberal as to humans; it was being conservative as to money.

I have consistently supported measures to adequately compensate our Armed Forces and veterans for the sacrifices they make in the Nation's behalf. I have introduced bills providing free postage on letters to and from members of our Armed Forces, extra compensation for prisoners of the Korean war, income tax exemption for members of the Armed Forces, and various adjustments to secure equitable pensions, compensation, and retirement pay.

THE CONSUMER'S POCKETBOOK AND THE FARMERS' PLIGHT

During these 2 years of Republicanism, the cost of living has reached an alltime high, as any shopper can testify and as Government statistics prove in black and white. Coupled with this record high cost of living have been the hardships caused by the recession, so that many millions of Americans have suffered reductions in their standard of living.

Particularly pernicious has been the price of food. Consumers are forced to pay twice for their food, first in their tax bill to the Government and then in the marketplace. There is something radically wrong with the present agricultural program, as I have often said in Congress. Official reports show that food prices to the consumer have actually risen, while prices to farmers have declined.

Yet the Republican leadership has done nothing to remedy this situation. The only solution the Secretary of Agriculture offers is to reduce farmers' incomes below their present level, despite his claim that no appreciable reduction in consumer food prices will result. The proposal I have made is to try the Brannan plan for all agriculture, which Candidate Eisenhower termed "moral bankruptcy," but which President Eisenhower has instituted for the wool industry.

The President and his agriculture experts pretend that a flexible price support program will reduce prices to the consumer and increase income to the farmer.

They continue in that fallacious claim even after they have proved themselves wrong.

We have never had rigid but only flexible price supports for the dairy industry.

One of the first things done by our Secretary of Agriculture, with the hearty approval of our President, was to drop price supports for this industry from 90 percent of parity to 75 percent.

Result: The farmer is getting less and the consumer is paying more.

That is not caused by any failure of the cut in prices to seep through.

I am talking about milk produced one day and sold the next day for which the farmer receives less and the consumer pays more.

How can they urge that any different result can come from products that will be stored for long periods of time?

Do not be fooled by any pretense that we will store less of the staples or basic commodities.

On the basis of the representations of the President and his Secretary of Agriculture that we will store more, this very session of Congress increased the buying, lending, and storing authority of the President and his Department of Agriculture from $6½ billion to $10 billion. That is in addition to all the billions to be taken out of storage and not charged to the authorization.

LABOR AND UNEMPLOYMENT

One of the most important Republican pledges was amendment of the Taft-Hartley law. I favored the elimination of the Taft-Hartley Act's repressive measures against organized labor. I have always sought to promote legislation fair to labor and management.

But, as you may remember, President Eisenhower reversed himself when he refused to go along with the Secretary of Labor Durkin's program for labor legislation, which followed Candidate Eisenhower's promises, Mr. Durkin resigned. The Republican leadership did not allow Congress to pass on the bills seeking to right the wrongs of the Taft-Hartley Act.

I sponsored a number of bills in the labor field, but as usual the Republican leadership did nothing. One called for equal pay for equal work and an end to discriminatory wage practices against women. Still another case where the Republicans did nothing was the minimum wage. My bill called for an increase in the minimum wage from 75 cents to $1 an hour. Secretary of Labor Mitchell agreed there should be an increase, but President Eisenhower's economic report flatly opposed one.

The most serious problems in this field is that apparently the Republican Party is not concerned over the tremendous loss of earnings of the wage earners of our country. I have called attention to the millions of Americans without jobs, largely due to the administration's hard-money policy, and to the millions more earning smaller wages and working only part time.

In the present Congress, I have been a cosponsor of H.R. 9430, the Forand bill, dealing with unemployment-compensation standards. I introduced H.R. 1270 to permit an increase in earnings without loss of social security benefits. My bill, H.R. 1277, called for income-tax exemption on annuities and pensions, a principle adopted in part in the new tax law.

This administration takes credit for enactment of a broader social-security law, but soft-pedals the fact that this was a New Deal-Fair Deal measure that was supported and fought for by Democrats during all the years Republicans were resisting it as creeping socialism.

PUBLIC HEALTH AND HOUSING

I have always insisted that effective Government action must be taken to improve the national health. Proper medical care must be put within the reach of every American. It is a duty of the Government to assure that and to do it without socializing medicine.

Yet the Eisenhower budget cut cancer research 28 percent, heart disease research 33 percent, and the National Institutes of Health allotment 34 percent.

The so-called health reinsurance bill, the administration proposed, merely came to the aid of certain insurance companies, and did nothing for the health of the individual American man, woman, and child. The only public health in the bill was in its title. It made neither health nor insurance available to any citizen.

A similar situation was the Republican housing bill, which I called "a sham and a fraud upon the American people." I have long maintained a particular interest in public housing, and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is replete with my attempts to try to provide decent housing for all Americans. I proposed amendments to legislation to deal with FHA abuses, but Republicans joined as a unit to vote them down, as they did my efforts to prevent discrimination against minority groups and to provide low-interest rates on housing loans and veterans' home loans.

However, the Republican leadership insisted on guaranteeing excessive profits for builders and lenders and blocked my efforts and those of my colleagues to write into law even the minimum number of public-housing units requested by the President.

Here too, the only public housing in the bill was in the title. I think it is outrageous that the people of this country should be denied an opportunity to live in decent shelter.

The so-called housing bill passed this year prevents any new public housing and effectually kills the program. The same bill, however, makes it easier for the bankers, mortgage lenders, and builders to get richer. It contains no real safeguards against a repetition of the FHA scandals now filling the newspapers. It does contain a provision subsidizing the mortgage lenders, guaranteeing them not only against loss, but also a profit, all at Government risk.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS: BEWITCHED, BOTHERED, AND BEWILDERED

The present world situation is one of crisis, and I have wholeheartedly supported the administration's continuation of the bipartisan policies initiated by prior Democratic administrations, including the point 4 program and foreign aid. I have urged the strengthening of our greatest potential instrument for peace, the United Nations.

Our position in world affairs, however, has worsened markedly under Republican leadership. World communism has increased, and we have lost much of the good will painstakingly built up by Democratic administrations with the non-Communist nations of the world. The present administration has cut our military strength and has foolishly tried to compensate for it by a series of transparently hypocritical slogans.

No one knows where we stand on anything. If you add up all the pronouncements made by the President, the Vice President, the Secretary of State, and assorted Republican leaders, the sum total is bluff and backtalk, threat and retreat.

If the matter were not so very serious, we could sing "Bewitched, Bothered, and Bewildered." We have learned a bitter lesson that Indochina could not be saved by the threats of Mr. Dulles and his colleagues. The situation in the Far East is bad.

The same muddled thinking is causing the situation in the Near East to worsen from day to day. This administration refuses to recognize that an enemy of a friend cannot be a friend and that you do not arm one who may use the arms against your friend.

I opposed the Bricker amendment, which would paralyze the President's right to conduct our foreign affairs.

I have supported the extension of reciprocal trade agreements and lower tariffs to aid our allies, even though the President backed down from the request he had termed "essential."

I have tried to build up friendly relations with the Latin American Republics, and with Italy, whose late Premier Alcide de Gasperi I had the pleasure of greeting on his visit here in 1951.

I have striven for peace in the Near East and the proper development of that new addition to the family of free nations, Israel.

OPERATION TAKEAWAY: GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

I have long felt that the Government should act as a model employer, and I have been deeply distressed by the methods of the present Republican administration as regards civil service. Aside from the reprehensible "numbers game" reflecting on many loyal civil servants, the Eisenhower administration has conducted the crudest sort of spoils system in taking away the jobs of Government employees for political reasons.

I have opposed the transfer of Government agencies from the New York and Brooklyn areas for political reasons, such as the Quartermaster Purchasing Agency and the diversion of contracts from the Brooklyn Naval Yard. I have sponsored bills to extend Federal compensation coverage to civil defense workers, for longevity step increases in the civil service scale, to exempt compensation and pensions from income tax, to excuse Government employees from work to permit them time to vote in elections, and similar measures aimed at making the Government an employer of which every citizen can be proud.

I realize full well the inadequate salaries paid civil servants, and I have supported proposed increases. Having worked as a railway mail clerk, I know the hardships of postal employees, and on their behalf have testified before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

It is nothing less than reprehensible to deny postal and Federal employees a 5-percent increase in their pay. From the President down, every Republican concedes that these loyal men and women are underpaid.

To deny them a pay increase unless we simultaneously provide additional revenue is a fraud and a sham. The subsidy given to business, by the Post Office Department alone, exceeds the entire amount of such increase. The dividend tax exemption alone exceeds the cost of such a pitifully inadequate increase. The additional depreciation tax cut to big business is about double that cost.

Conservative policy indeed, as to wages for the underpaid and liberal, as to tax cuts for the greedy.

IMMIGRATION

The inequities of our present immigration laws make a mockery of the splendid inscription on the base of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor. I was happy to serve as a cosponsor with Senator Lehman and many other Members of Congress of a bill designed to rewrite completely our immigration laws and to remove every trace of bigotry therefrom.

In addition, I introduced a bill calling for 240,000 special visas during the fiscal year 1953–64, and have sponsored many private bills for the relief of my constituents and their families.

In this field, as in so many others, the fight must go on, and I am confident that some day the faults of our present immigration system will be corrected. They still remain under President Eisenhower's administration, although candidate Eisenhower pledged prompt reform.

TAXES: THE TRICKLE-DOWN BILL

Surely no part of the activities of government is more important than taxation—and it is in this field that we find the most glaring and inequitable giveaway.

Ninety-two percent of American families have good reason to be unhappy about the Republican tax bill that is now the law of the land, for they do not own any corporation stock. This Republican Congress and administration, however, have given tax benefits to the 8 percent of American families who do. In fact, the Republican program of "bundles for billionaires" especially benefits only six-tenths of 1 percent of American families, who own 80 percent of all publicly held stock.

The new Republican tax law provides benefits for stockholders, to the detriment of those Americans who earn their income through the sweat of their brow. Let us take as an example two families, each with husband, wife, and one child, and an income of $5,000. One of these two families has an income consisting entirely of wages or salary; its income tax will be $420. The other family, with income entirely from stock dividends, will pay an income tax of only $328. Thus unearned income is to be taxed less than earned income of the same size.

Of course, the tax difference increases greatly as income increases. Seventy-three and seven-tenths percent of taxpayers with incomes over $25,000 reported dividend receipts, while only 4.5 percent of taxpayers with incomes under $5,000 did so. It is primarily those with incomes of $10,000 or more per year who report dividend receipts. I might point our further that the Eisenhower administration asked for much greater benefits for stockholders, but Democrats in Congress managed to cut them down.

This Republican tax bill gives corporations, and the 20 percent of American taxpayers with incomes over $5,000, 77 percent of the total tax benefits. The 80 percent of American taxpayers with incomes less than $5,000 get only 23 percent of tax relief, thanks to Republicanism. It seems that the basis for Republican taxation is the old "trickle-down" idea, which we thought had disappeared forever; it gives the wealthy the benefit of tax relief although they need it least, in the hope that some of the benefit will trickle down to the great mass of the people. I am proud of my vote against the "trickle-down" tax bill.

I believe in giving tax relief to those who need it most. Ever since 1948 I have introduced resolutions calling for an increase in personal exemptions to $3,500 for heads of families as the first step in reducing taxes. But of course this was in conflict with the policy of the Republicans in control who insist on giving tax preference to those wealthy enough not to need it. One of my proposals, however, was partially carried into effect: An exemption will be provided for the first $1,200 of retirement income. Another of my proposals gained some ground, too; child-care allowances were provided, but much less than adequate and much less than I called for in my bill.

One further fact should be mentioned here about taxes, because Republicans are very unlikely to mention it themselves; the general 10-percent decrease in individual taxes that became effective the first of this year was passed by a Democratic Congress and signed by a Democratic President. The Republican tax bill is the one benefiting the well-to-do, and that is the giveaway I opposed.

Please understand, I am not opposed to eliminating double taxation. But I insist that inequities be remedied equally. The taxpayer earning interest on a savings account is entitled to the same relief as a taxpayer receiving dividends on stock. Furthermore, if we cannot remove all inequities because we will lose too much revenue, do not select one class as against another.

Do not increase and continue depreciation and depletion allowances at the expense of the wage earner. If we cannot save taxes for all, save taxes for him first. He spends all his earnings almost as fast as he gets them. That is what makes for prosperity.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND BROTHERHOOD

Unfortunately, the Republican leadership defeated my efforts to prohibit discrimination in regard to public housing projects, and did nothing about my measures to prevent Federal aid to National Guard units practicing discrimination and to secure similar acts to guarantee civil rights for all.

I have always recognized the role of religion in life, and I have been privileged to participate in many religious and interfaith activities.

Although I recognize the separation of church and state guaranteed by our Constitution, I appreciate that the fundamental principles of civil rights are based on the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

We can legislate on these principles intelligently only if we understand them. We understand them only if we know religion.

That is why I constantly direct my colleagues' attention to the activities of all religious groups and do my utmost to stir them into action against all antireligious groups and activities.

In opposing McCarthyism and in deploring the current wave of hysteria in this country largely inspired thereby, I do not lessen my hatred of communism and all its works. My constituents may well remember the campaign of 1948 when my opponent was Lee Pressman, once described as the No. 1 Communist of the country. In that year the Communists spent a quarter of a million dollars trying to defeat me, and I was viciously attacked because of my vigorous anticommunism. I am happy to associate myself with the remarks of the Most Reverend Bernard J. Shell, auxiliary bishop of Chicago and a leading Roman Catholic churchman and genuine anti-Communist. He said, among other things:

"I take it that a genuine anti-Communist is one who despises the court methods of the Communists. I take it he hates the Communist idea that one is guilty until proved innocent. I take it that the genuine anti-Communist is one who, above all, believes in the democratic procedures and is willing to stand by them, even in the face of great temptations to lose one's temper and to lose one's faith in the methods of freemen."

I am proud to stand alongside him in this vital fight for our civil liberties.

I am the only Member of any Congress who had an opponent who dared to avail himself of the privilege of running for office under the name and emblem of the Communist Party.

I am also proud of the autographed photograph given me by one of the great statesmen of the free anti-Communist world, the late Premier Alcide de Gasperi of Italy, for my efforts in behalf of Italy's fight against communism. Indeed, when I think that a certain Senator first discovered communism in 1950, 2 years after I had opposed and defeated communism in a congressional election; when I think of my votes for foreign aid to bolster the anti-Communist allies of this country and the contrast with his votes against all foreign aid; when I think of his apparent objective, the catching of headlines rather than Communists, and the demoralizing effect of his wave of fear, then I am certain that even my humble efforts have done more against communism than his ever will.

I have called attention to the McCarthyite actions of the staff of the Reece investigating committee, branding as communistic the encyclicals of two Popes of the Catholic Church. I have opposed—even when almost alone—the serious threats to our civil liberties posed by actions taken during a wave of hysteria, when some legislators abdicated their responsibilities because of fear. In my position, I have been happy to coincide with the views of J. Edgar Hoover, Chief of the FBI, and Judge Harold Medina, who presided over the trial which resulted in the conviction of the top Communists of the country.

THE FOLKS BACK HOME

It is with mixed humility and pride that I present this report. It is with humility, because I recognize my responsibility as a servant of my constituents and of the public interest. It is with pride, because I have never failed to carry out a campaign pledge, and because I have consistently striven to serve the public interest as I saw it to be.

My services have always been at the disposal of my constituents. I have never failed to try to help with their individual problems so far as I was able to do so. I joined with my colleagues in trying to keep local Federal services operating efficiently and at a maximum.

While I do not expect the electorate to agree with me at all times on all matters, at least we will make every effort to understand one another so that our respect for each other will survive our disagreement.

That is the American way.

Hobgoblins and Realities

(Remarks of Hon. Abraham J. Multer, of New York, in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, August 2, 1955)

Mr. Multer. Mr. Speaker, before the start of our legislative session, the President had great misgivings about the coming months. He reprimanded the voters of the Nation because they chose to send Democrats to Congress, while the administration was of the opposing political faith. He forecast that a Republican administration would not have the support of a Democratic Congress. During the 1954 congressional campaign, he even foresaw the possibility of a cold war within Government which could destroy the Nation's unity at this crucial time.

The same kind of talk from a Democratic Pesident would have been labeled in the one-party press either as intended to scare our people or as an insult to our intelligence. Coming from the leader of the Republican Party, that same part of our American press repeated the reckless charge as though it were unimpeachable gospel.

How disappointing it must be to them to find that the hobgoblins and the gremlins disappeared into thin air even before the 84th Congress opened.

Now that the first session of this Congress has closed, the American people are entitled to the full story.

Even though an ardent Democrat, I will not pretend that none of my Democratic colleagues made any mistakes, nor that there was no occasion when some of my Republican colleagues did vote right. I do proclaim, however, as loudly as I can, that my Democratic colleagues voted right more frequently than my Republican colleagues and conversely, that the Republicans voted wrong more frequently than the Democrats—too frequently for the good of our country.

Let us now proceed to analyze the record.

The President greatly underestimated the caliber and character of the Democratic majority. He now admits that the political responsibility of the Democratic-controlled Congress made the successes of this session possible. The proof of Democratic leadership and support—the willingness to lay aside political antagonism and jealousies—is a part of the record.

It is with great pleasure that I review these accomplishments. In doing so, we must have in mind that what is right or wrong is not determined by who sponsors a proposal, nor by which party supports it. The determination must be based on the sole test of what is best for the greatest number of our people.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS: UNITY AND STRENGTH

Nowhere is the story of cooperation and responsibility better illustrated than in the areas of foregn policy and national defense. The world situation threatens to remain a precarious one for many years to come. Although the great ideological conflicts between East and West show some indication of being eased, few are shortsighted enough to believe that the aims of international communism have changed so completely in so short a time. If these differences between East and West cannot be settled or at least compromised, the alternative is a global atomic war from which no side could emerge victorious. While urging thorough exploration of every path that might lead to world peace, the Democratic Party stood as one man in favor of keeping our guard up and our defenses strong enough to withstand a sneak attack. In our system of Government the President and his State Department must assume the leadership in the realm of international affairs. Congress responded by supporting them completely on every major issue. The President was authorized to use U.S. military forces in defending Formosa and the nearby Pescadores Islands. Executive agreements were ratified establishing a mutual-defense treaty with Nationalist China and a NATO-type defense alliance for southeast Asia.

Despite overwhelming sentiment in the Congress for it, the executive branch of our Government took no firm or realistic step toward establishing permanent peace in the Near East.

The occupation of Germany was ended so that she could be armed and brought into the European defense system. Austria was reestablished as an independent and democratic state.

To carry out our foreign policy aims, Congress authorized $3.2 billion for economic and military aid to foreign countries.

To encourage the benefits of international trade, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act was extended for 3 years so that the President has the full authority to continue his efforts to promote our foreign affairs. A bill simplifying our complicated and outmoded system of customs definition, classification, and rate structure was passed by the House of Representatives and awaits Senate approval in the next session of Congress.

A manpower reserve program was put into effect which provides for a trained military reserve of 3,900,000 men by 1959. Such a program, the President told us, will avoid the cost and inconvenience of a large standing army, while at the same time providing for the national defense. It was necessary, nevertheless, to extend the selective service law for 4 more years, including the draft of doctors and dentists for 2 more years. I am far from satisfied with either of these laws, but believe they are the best compromise we could get at this time.

Atomic energy projects were authorized to the extent of $237 million for research facilities and actual production of atomic peacetime projects, as well as atomic weapons. Funds were also authorized for the expansion of existing aeronautical research, for construction of foreign military bases and housing, and for a billion-dollar Navy shipbuilding program.

The only issue on which Congress and the administration clashed was the relatively minor one involving Marine Corps manpower. Congress refused to bow to the Republican demand for a 22,000-man cut in this important military unit.

All in all, the Democratic Congress was happy to follow a foreign-policy program whose principles were enunciated by President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson, several years ago. The result has been a satisfying one. American prestige has grown abroad, the cold war tensions have lessened, if only temporarily, and a period of diplomatic negotiation has been vigorously begun. Democratic support, far from being absent, has been consistently greater than the support of the President's own party. Because of this support, the United States has been able to demonstrate its strength and unity.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION: FOR THE MANY AND NOT THE FEW

In domestic matters, of course, there was no comparable need for unanimity of thinking. The Democratic majority acted according to its political and economic principles and clashed with the administration where there was substantial difference. Once again, however, Mr. Eisenhower's forecast of a cold war was completely unfounded. The Democratic opposition to administration policies was as intelligent and high-minded as it was determined. There was no opposition merely for opposition's sake.

In the area of social legislation, several of the administration's proposals were extensions of earlier New Deal and Fair Deal ideas. These found enthusiastic Democratic support as far as they went—but often they did not go nearly far enough. Increased railroad retirement benefits, better FHA mortgage insurance coverage, and improved surplus property disposal to schools and hospitals were implementations of the Democratic program. Other parts of the administration program, however, proved quite inadequate.

A minimum wage proposal of $0.90 per hour unreal at a time of high prices and general prosperity, was changed to a $1 minimum. This increase over the old $0.75 minimum will help keep industries from "running away" to the South and West where labor is so much cheaper, as well as preserve a decent wage for all American workers. More important, it raises the standard of living of all our citizens, nationally and not sectionally.

The administration's housing bill asked for only 35,000 public-housing units and made them well-nigh impossible of construction by improper restrictions. Congress increased the low-rent provisions by 10,000 additional units and eased the requirements to enable more extensive and better balanced housing projects. Such liberalization of the law is necessitated by the acute housing shortage and the slum clearance needs of our urban centers.

To cure the unfortunate polio vaccine mixup, Congress authorized $2 million more than was asked by the President. In addition, all necessary funds are to be made available to the States to purchase enough vaccine for one-third of all the unvaccinated children, plus all expectant mothers. A more extensive and a better program was opposed by the administration as unnecessary and a step toward socialized medicine. The threat of a veto of the entire program effectually prevented the enactment of control legislation. Obviously, this administration is willing to risk black markets which may destroy the health of our people.

In appropriations for general matters of health, education, and social welfare, the Congress added more than $17 million to the Eisenhower program. The Congress felt that these were matters in which false economy was extremely dangerous. We were not willing to bear the responsibility of holding back research programs on cancer, heart disease, arthritis, and mental health so that the Federal budget might be a fraction of 1 percent lower. This, too, points up a basic difference of philosophy. The Democrats believe in being liberal with money to conserve the health of our people.

So too, an attempt to liberalize the social security laws and make the program more adequate to meet today's problems was stoutly opposed by the Republican administration. The Democatric majority in the House of Representatives overwhelmingly passed a bill to lower retirement age for women from 65 to 62, to allow disability benefits to 250,000 workers aged 50 or more, to continue disability benefits for children after age 18, and to extend coverage to the professions. Administration opposition in the Senate defeated this program there, although the need for such legislation has become more and more apparent in recent years.

Throughout the consideration of these matters, the Republicans consistently showed themselves for what they are—a party dedicated to the few rather than the many; a party which is more interested in budgetary figures than human needs; a party seeking to carry out a minimal social program at a minimal expense. Plenty of lipservice, but no votes.

BUSINESS AND TAXATION: THE LITTLE FISH IN A BIG POND

The Eisenhower administration has time and again denied that it is an administration of, by, and for big business. And yet the record clearly shows that almost all of the major economic policies which seek to help the small businessman have originated among the Democratic Members of Congress and have been opposed by the Republican administration.

The Small Business Administration, an agency dedicated to the plight of small business, was extended for 2 years. The administration opposed any increase in its authorized funds. The amount of any individual loan was increased to $250,000. These loans are intended for those deserving small businessmen who cannot get help from regular bank sources. The disaster loan program and the small business participation in Government procurement were strengthened. The lending function together with the help given to small business in getting a fair share of Government procurement contracts makes SBA one of the most important agencies to have been started in recent years.

This is one of the few domestic policies, which in principle, has been consistently supported by both parties.

Bills were passed to halt the growing monopolistic practices in business. The antitrust penalty for violation of the Sherman Act was raised from $5,000 to $50,000. It was evident that $5,000 to a large corporation is merely a petty-cash transaction which was no deterrent to such a potential violator. In addition, the House passed a bill to curb the influence of bank holding companies by requiring Federal approval of new bank acquisitions by holding companies and requiring those companies to divest themselves of their nonbanking interests. This bill is designed to preserve the small independent bank as the banking unit best able to serve the interests of the small businessmen. In the area of taxes, most of the existing income, corporate and excess-profits taxes were extended for another year. The only important proposal for tax relief came from the Democratic side of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Although this concerned a mere $20 cut in personal income taxes for each taxpayer and each dependent—relief aimed at the lowest income bracket, yet equally fair to all income brackets—the Republican administration forcefully rejected the idea and caused its defeat in the Senate after the House had given its approval.

ARMED SERVICES AND VETERANS: SOMETHING FOR SOMETHING

Thanks to Democratic support, the serviceman and veteran were not forgotten during the past few months. Those who were in the service as of January 31, 1955, were allowed to go on building up GI schooling benefits until discharged from the service. The Veterans' Administration direct-loan program was extended for another 2 years and was broadened to include home improvements as well as home purchases. Disabled veterans, including those who fought in Korea, were given the privilege of starting purchase of a special automobile before October 1956.

To help the buildup of a strong backbone of career servicemen—an essential supplement to the new military Reserve program—Congress raised the pay and created greater benefits for servicemen as an incentive to a military career. Finally, Congress decided to continue regular pay to the dependents and relatives of missing or captured men who had fought in Korea.

The feeling was strong in the Congress that our Government should do as much as it could for the men who defend our country and are called upon to make great sacrifices. This program was both an expression of gratitude of the American citizen and a means of compensation for their sacrifices.

TRANSPORTATION: BUT NOT AT ANY COST

The pressing need to bring the Nation's transportation system up to date was apparent to the leaders of both parties. Airport construction was encouraged to the extent of $252 million in grants-in-aid to the States for 4 years.

In advocating a nationwide highway construction program, the Eisenhower administration asked that the 10-year program be financed with special high-rate bonds. This would have involved at least $2.7 billion in unnecessary interest payments to bankers and other bondholders. The administration proposal was another unfortunate example of special-interest legislation which the Democratic majority has refused to stomach. The Democratic majority almost unanimously rejected this. They proposed in its place a system of user taxes on gasoline and tires, a plan by which those who benefited by the construction of the highways would pay their cost. Opposition to this proposal arose from many sources and the House defeated the bill even though the Senate had given its approval. The Republican opposition was almost unanimous.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES: MORE OF THE SAME

With regard to the pay of Federal employees, the administration insisted it would approve only a straight 5-percent increase, while conceding the employees were entitled to more. The Democrats once again felt this to be bad business and false economy, having in mind how much Government workers' pay had lagged behind the cost-of-living increases and comparable wage increases among other workers throughout the country. We prevailed, though not to the full extent. Increased pay bills for more than the administration recommended were passed and approved.

THE GIVEAWAYS: BIGGER AND MORE

The minks are now sables. The 5-percenters are 10-percenters. Teapot Dome was a drop in a bucket compared to Dixon-Yates. First they gave away our oil lands. Now they are trying to give away all the rest of our natural resources.

The projects in which big business would not risk its stockholders' money are now beginning to pay back the taxpayer his investment. So the administration will now get the Government out of business by giving to big business the taxpayers' property.

To help do this our Government now uses WOC's. That is the old dollar-a-year man. He now works for us "without compensation." Big business pays him and lends him to the Government for nothing. For nothing to the taxpayer, but not for nothing to his private employer. He merely steers the Government business to his employer. He sits in on all the high-level policymaking conferences, either as the head of the department or as his consultant. Maybe he does not give his private employer any advance information. Maybe he does not write the specifications that only his private employer can bid on. Maybe I am speculating. Then why did Secretary of Commerce Weeks refuse to tell a congressional committee what his big business advisers do? Why was it necessary to employ as a top executive in the Container Division of that Department, the Washington "special representative," on the payroll as such, of the country's largest container corporation? The testimony showed this man knew nothing about the business.

The full story is being developed now and promises to be the biggest scandal of our history.

THE FARMER AND THE CONSUMER: THEY NEED EACH OTHER

I have supported the Democratic farm program because I am convinced that neither farmer nor consumer can prosper alone. They live and prosper together, or not at all.

The Eisenhower farm program will destroy our country.

Our warehouses are bursting at the seams. Some because they are overloaded. Others because this administration bought and paid for defective storage facilities.

In various parts of the country there is unemployment so serious that our people are starving while surplus commodities in Government warehouses are rotting away.

Under 20 years of Democratic administration, the farm program sustained losses of $1 billion. In less than 2½ years of Republican administrtaion the farm program lost $2½ billion.

In 20 years under the Democrats, the maximum authorization for the program was $6¾ billion. In 2½ years under the Republicans, the Eisenhower administration increased it to $12 billion.

If you do not think cheese smells, ask Secretary Benson to explain about the millions of dollars he just handed to—no, not the farmers—to the big cheese processors.

FISCAL POLICY: I HOPE YOU CAN ADD

Candidate Eisenhower promised to balance the budget. Of course, you know he was fooling. President Eisenhower, thinking you took Candidate Eisenhower seriously, has hastened to explain that he did not say when.

But he did promise as President, that if we increased the national debt limit in 1954 to $281 billion, he would cut back the increase in 1955. In the last days of this session, he sent word to your Congress that he could not keep his promise and that we must give him another year in which to do what he said needed only 1 year to do.

Let us not be too hard on him. I think that you, too, would have trouble with that much money. I know that I would.

MY OWN PROJECTS: SOMETHING FOR THE FUTURE

Every Congressman has his own particular interests that he hopes to see enacted. Throughout the years I have been able to gain the approval of many proposals while others still await congressional approval. Without attempting to set them forth in the order of their importance, some of the proposals I hope to see enacted in the near future are: low-income housing for the aged; a complete civil-rights program; revision of the refugee relief and immigration laws; no discrimination or segregation in National Guard units; measures to keep racist and defamatory literature out of the mail; power to the President to act in health matters in case of a national emergency; strengthening of our antitrust laws to help keep the small-business man as the backbone of our free-enterprise system; income-tax deductions for all educational expenses of dependents and exemptions for servicemen serving overseas; prevention of the giveaway programs of Government rights and property; free postage to and from members of the Armed Forces; a review of all disapproved veterans' claims by the U.S. Court of Claims; a sound and just security program that will weed out the disloyal, without destroying the loyal; a system of standby economic controls for the prevention of inflation; a system of allocations and priorities of fuel for emergencies; a Department of Civil Defense within the Department of Defense, with strengthened authority; greater consideration of consumer problems by establishing a congressional committee therefor, as well as an executive department to protect the consumer; better pay for Federal employees; equal pay for equal work by women; and a code of ethics in Government for Government officials which, among other things, will prevent big business from acquiring our birthright.

CONCLUSION: RESPONSIBILITY AND INTELLIGENCE

The record of the Congress this year has been a mixed one. And this is far from a complete record. It is merely a brief summary. Some of the more important legislation that might have been enacted this year has been left until next year.

The accomplishments, nevertheless, have been solid ones—the very opposite of what the Republican leaders told the American people to expect.

The moral of this story may be simply stated; the opposition to the administration by the Democratic majority has been intelligent and responsible. Where differences have existed between administration and Congress, there has been a give-and-take and compromise worthy of democratic institutions. The people of this country were not neglected by their Government in favor of partisan politics and petty jealousies. The Democrats of this country have a right to be proud of that record.

RECESS BUT NOT RESPITE

Although Congress is about to recess until January 1956, your Congressman will continue to serve you. His office—your office—will remain open and fully staffed throughout the year. If visiting Washington, feel free to come in. If you have a problem that you think your Congressman can help you solve, write him a note to that address. He may not be able to help you, but you may be sure he will try.

REFLECTION IS GOOD FOR THE POLITICAL SOUL

(Remarks of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, in the House of Representatives, Friday, July 27, 1956)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, 4 years ago a giant hoax was perpetrated on the American people. They were promised a new approach to Government, one that truly was to represent them. In 1952, they were promised a world of peace and prosperity, lower taxes, higher wages, lower prices, and a balanced budget. The best business heads in America were to run our Government.

Two years went by, and the disillusioned American people went back to their own party, the Democratic Party, by electing a Democratic Congress. The administration moaned and warned of a partisan cold war, of a stalemate within the Government. President Eisenhower cried loudest. Let us now review what happened.

Whatever good there was in the President's program had more support in every instance from the Democratic Party than from his own Republican Party. The President, himself, presently admits that the Democratic Congress produced a substantial amount of worthwhile legislation.

In 1952 the American people were fooled into believing in a program that its authors themselves did not believe in. We hope in this election year they will not fall prey to the hoax that the elephant will again try to foist upon them.

Evaluation of the past will help us to spot the election year myths when they are presented by Republican campaigners.

THE ADMINISTRATION—ABSENTEE MANAGEMENT; WHO'S MINDING THE STORE?

We were promised a President who would be a guiding knight, an active and strong manager, a leader of our country, an expert in military affairs, and a friend of our foreign allies.

Instead we have an ailing gentleman, who had no experience in government, and who has shown no interest or desire to learn about his tasks. On several occasions he has told his press conferences about seeking the enactment of bills he had already signed into law. This disinterest or lack of knowledge cannot be attributed to ill health. Eisenhower's pleasing personality and past military achievements are no substitute for political leadership. There can be no justification for his delegating the authority and responsibility vested by our Constitution solely in the President.

The business managers of our Nation, such as Secretary Wilson and Secretary Humphrey, may be fine in business, but they have proved they do not belong in government. The promotion of the national well-being for the benefit of the many rather than the few is foreign to their philosophy.

It is not true that what is good for General Motors is good for the country. Profits of an automobile industry are not equivalent to the welfare of a people.

Our health program should not be measured with an eye to a balanced budget. Nor has Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey earned the right to act as an adviser to our Armed Forces. Defense and national security must not be impaired by a desire for a balanced budget.

THE CONSUMER, LABOR, AND THE FARMER—THE TIGHT SQUEEZE

The one problem common to the farmer, to labor, and to all of us, is that of the consumer.

Candidate Eisenhower promised us a lower cost of living. President Eisenhower will surely disclaim responsibility for a higher cost of living.

Consumers prices are at a record high. The National Consumer Price Index rose for the fourth successive time in a year. It has reached the highest peak in 5 years. Next month another rise is expected.

The Democratic farm program is based on the knowledge that general prosperity cannot be maintained while we continue to depress the farmer. President Eisenhower vetoed our Democratic farm price support bill and then quickly raised price supports himself. Apparently his sliding scale had slid too far, for farm income is down 30 percent in the past year.

Milk prices to the consumer have continued to rise. Secretary Benson decided to raise dairy prices just when manufacturers had warehouses filled with cheese and butter bought at the lower price level. The farmer who sold his milk at the lower price then had to buy it back as high-priced butter. This apparently is the Republican idea of how to aid the dairy farmer. No wonder so many of these farm families spread oleo on their bread.

Milk prices do not worry Secretary Benson who finds that the little farmer is of no importance. Benson is more concerned with the three members of his Advisory Board whose firms have been indicted for monopolistic practices. Mr. Benson is apparently fully occupied in directing the administration's ever-changing farm policy. He first opposed and then supported a soil bank; he first opposed and then approved the plowing under of crops; first opposed and then approved the idea of farm policy as a political issue.

The present administration makes many boasts as to the increase in the size of the labor force. This increase is largely a result of our ever-increasing population. Of far greater significance is the fact that at least 2,900,000 people who want jobs, cannot find them. In the past year 1 million persons have been added to our unemployed rolls. That represents a total of nearly 10 million American men, women, and children who have lost their means of support. The billion-dollar year that General Motors has just concluded does not help these people.

The Democratic Party sponsored a bill to help our unemployed learn new skills when their previous trades no longer offer employment. Detraining these people will help to relieve all of us of the burden of support. This is the type of constructive, positive, legislation which brought our country to the prosperous state which it enjoyed in 1952 when Republican businessmen began to tear it down.

Candidate Eisenhower pledged himself to the amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act. President Eisenhower has consistently refused to live up to his campaign promises. Former Secretary of Labor Durkin offered the President 19 amendments, which were in accord with Candidate Eisenhower's promises. Eisenhower refused to go along with any of them. Instead he submitted to Congress a program which would toughen the Taft-Hartley Act. His Labor Secretary resigned and was replaced with another big businessman. Congress refused to go along with President Eisenhower's labor program as presented.

In an attempt to meet the increased cost of living, Congress has raised the minimum wage to $1 per hour over President Eisenhower's protest that 90 cents was adequate.

The Republican Party as represented by President Eisenhower may be a party of the people—but of and for a very few people.

BAD GOVERNMENT

During his 1952 campaign Candidate Eisenhower had much to say about corruption in government and useless personnel in government.

We said then and repeat now: no political party has a monopoly on virtue or efficiency. Every party when trusted with the privilege to govern must be ever alert to weed out the loafers, the incompetent, and the criminal.

President Eisenhower has sadly failed the people in that regard.

The executive departments, in almost every instance, are employing more people and more top executives at higher salaries than in any previous administration. The exceptions are in the so-called service departments.

The Post Office Department serving all of the American people is using fewer employees and giving the worst service we have ever experienced.

The Veterans' Administration, serving our veterans and particularly our disabled veterans, has been reduced in force, moved around, kicked around and made a less useful agency to those who need it most.

The Agriculture Department has been reorganized to take out of the hands of the farmers most of the things they can do best for themselves.

Misappropriating funds is the order of the day for this administration. The administration has appointed more corrupt officials than any other in our history.

Starting with Secretary Benson using Department funds to refurbish a Government lodge for his personal use, we find corruption rampant in every department.

Warehouses bursting at the seams, because improperly constructed; selling millions of dollars worth of cheese to the processors and buying them back at higher prices, without the cheese ever leaving storage or changing hands; indictment of three members of Secretary Benson's Advisory Board; self-dealing for his private profit of one of his paid subordinates; loading the school lunch program with more than $400,000 worth of phony transportation charges in Illinois for the sole benefit of one of his Republican friends. There are no doubt many more such incidents which have not yet been exposed. We are just beginning to investigate the monopoly enjoyed by three companies in disposing of surplus commodities.

Under 20 years of Democratic administration the Commodity Credit Corporation never exceeded an authorization of $6¾ billion. The total lost in those 20 years from operation of the program was about $1 billion. During 3½ years, the Republicans have increased that authorization to $14 billion. The losses have increased by at least $4 billion. No small part is attributable to the increased interest rates paid to bankers and much of it paid in violation of law.

Dixon-Yates was bad, so bad that even the Republican administration has backed down on its spurious claim of legality.

The cancellation of a Defense Department contract awarded to the Chrysler Corp. and awarding the same business to General Motors is only a small part of the wrongdoing in that Department.

The foot-in-mouth statement of Secretary Wilson is the least important of the many things that are bad in this administration.

The Small Business Committees of the Congress have devoted some part of almost every day to urging the Defense Department to follow the law and its own regulations in awarding contracts and making payments earned thereunder.

The Office of the Comptroller of the Currency and that of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation have also been managed in a manner adverse to the public interest.

The big banks and big holding companies have grown bigger with the aid and abetment of the Republican appointees to those agencies.

The responsibility for the Illinois bank scandal, the theft of State funds through bank manipulations, must be borne at least in part by those same Republican Federal appointees.

Internal mismangement by those officials of their offices I hope will soon be the subject of thorough investigation.

Under the leadership of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency attempts are being made to weaken our banking laws for the benefit of the big banks and to the detriment of the small banks and small investors. A part of that scheme was the abortive attempt to destroy the right of minority stockholders to minority representation on the directorates of national banks.

The full story about the giveaways by the Interior Department, the attempt to destroy TVA, REA, and our other public facilities and natural resources requires much more time than I can give here.

SMALL BUSINESS

Since 1953 our Government has been taken over by big business and the big banking interests of the country. The little fellow has had no representative in the Cabinet or at the top of any executive department. On the contrary, he has had as antagonist big business and the big banks, not only in the marketplace but also in every department of Government.

What is even worse, the so-called WOC—the big businessman on loan to the Government, drawing no compensation from the Government, but being paid by his big business employer—has an inside track keeping big business constantly informed as to Government plans and channeling Government business away from the small businessman and to big business.

Credit restrictions are manipulated so as to dry up all sources of credit for the small businessman.

Except in times of war or emergency, WOC's should not be employed by the Government.

I have contended and will continue to urge that the Small Business Administration Act must be strengthened by eliminating the policy board now dominated by Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey and Secretary of Commerce Weeks. The agency must be made not only permanent, but permanently independent of the Treasury Department and the Department of Commerce.

The small businessman, displaced by slum clearance and highway construction, should be entitled to low-interest-rate loans based upon character and ability to perform, rather than bankable collateral.

The Defense Department must be directed by the Small Business Administration to discard, as required by law, the old arbitrary, numerical definition of a small business firm, and follow a more realistic one. This will give small business a larger and more equitable share of Government contracts.

The Small Business Administration may boast that during 3 years, it has approved 3,560 business loans in an aggregate amount of $137,915,000 on account of which it disbursed $52,578,000. Compare that, however, to what this administration has done for big business in the same period through the Export-Import Bank alone, to wit: 805 loans for a total authorized aggregate amount of almost $7,500 million against which it disbursed over $5,171 million. The Export-Import Bank made 22 percent as many loans with an average disbursement of over 426 times more per loan. To put it more simply, SBA's loan disbursements averaged less than $15,000 each and the Bank's more than $6,400,000 each.

While big business has made more and bigger profits than at any time in the history of our country, small business has been going into bankruptcy in greater numbers than at any time since the depression days of the early 1930's.

For years, I have led the fight to establish offices of the Small Business Administration in Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico so to enable American citizens residing so far from the mainland to avail themselves of the privileges accorded by law to all. I personally urged the Appropriations Committee to give the agency the money for that purpose. The money was voted. I am still waiting to be informed that even one of those offices has been opened.

GIVEAWAYS: THE GOVERNMENT'S PRIVATE CHARITY

The administration in its "partnership" plan gives, and gives, and gives, and the people get nothing in return. First, it was offshore oil lands, then TVA, then natural gas.

Now, any river or forest that big business wants, it can have for the asking.

The President wanted and got a Federal water storage project on the upper Colorado River. Since no big business wanted it, the President's partnership plan was forgotten. And Idaho Power Co. wanted to build a private power project at Hells Canyon, so the administration opposed the public sponsored Hells Canyon project. The administration opposed the idea of municipalities in New York State having priority purchase rights to the electric power which would issue from the Niagara River power development program.

The development of atomic energy for peace is an idea that the Democratic Party sponsors wholeheartedly. But we voted against the administration's atoms-for-peace program since it would have given a few big businesses a monopoly in the development of atomic energy for peacetime use.

Incidentally, Attorney General Brownell now has completely disavowed the Dixon-Yates contract and has accepted the view of the Democratic Party that the whole agreement was illegal.

It took New Deal reclamation programs to give us back our forests. It has taken less than 4 years of an Eisenhower administration to lose them. The administration's policy is to lease them to private industry—which flagrantly abuses them.

We have no right to expect anything else of the Department of the Interior under this administration. Its consistent policy is to put political appointees in the place of ardent careermen. It has been no accident that many of these political appointees have been anticonservationists. There is no necessity for commenting on the scandals that have evolved over the private uses that many of these appointees have made of the assets of the Department.

FEDERAL AND POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Anyone aware of the importance of all Federal and particularly the postal employees, can see no reason why they should not have many of the rights that are accorded to workers in private industry.

We have, over the objection of the administration, raised their wages, to enable them to meet the rising costs of living. This, while the President kept clamoring for increased pay for those already in the highest brackets. We have also liberalized the civil service retirement benefits.

We have not yet devised any method to stop administrative destruction of the merit system.

Nor have we been able to abolish the brazen gag order that Republican Postmaster General Summerfield has imposed on postal workers. He has forbidden them to complain about the post office to anyone but their superiors in the post office. Members of Congress and the press have become off limits to these employees. We must now write into the law, permission for these employees to complain to their Congressmen without impairing their merit standing.

The Supreme Court's decision, limiting the scope of the security program to those areas of Government which can be defined as sensitive, would seem to have eliminated the problem created by the unwarranted administrative security clearance procedures. The administration is now sponsoring a bill which would classify all Government positions as "sensitive." The recommendations of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, which fundamentally agree with the decision of the Supreme Court, should be followed in this regard. No American wants subversives in our Government. We can and must provide adequate means for protecting the Government's best interests. But we must do it without needless duplication of effort and without destroying our fundamental principles of fairplay and of good government.

VETERANS AND ARMED FORCES

Neither the veterans nor the Armed Forces have been forgotten by the 84th Congress. Aware of our debt, we, the Democratic Party, sponsored and supported measures to better their lot.

The veteran home-loan program has been extended, as have been the disability benefits for the veterans of World Wars I and II. Neither forgetting the youth of our Nation nor those who were their fathers, we are providing educational assistance to children of servicemen who died in World War II and in Korea. We have extended the Missing Persons Act authorizing continued pay for service personnel missing or captured in Korea.

To maintain a strong Armed Force, we have extended the draft law to 1957. To provide greater incentive for career personnel—a necessary essential in our defense program—we have placed all military personnel under our social-security program, and have increased the benefit payments to survivors of servicemen and veterans. We have also provided for medical care for the dependents of members of our Armed Forces. We have raised the pay of our 6-month trainees under the Reserve program as well as the pay of the Armed Forces in order to attract and keep better men in the service.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION—THE UNBALANCED SCALE

Social legislation is not a partisan matter to the Democratic Party. The welfare of the Nation is more important than party politics. We, of the Democratic Party, were happy to note that much of the welfare legislation of the administration was an extension of New and Fair Deal plans. These acts and others of a similar nature were supported wholeheartedly by the Democrats.

Over the administration's protests we succeeded in amending the Social Security Act by lowering the retirement age for women to 62 and permitting the disabled to become eligible for full benefits at the age of 50. Democratically supported and New Deal initiated, and administration sponsored, the benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act, and the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act were increased.

National disaster insurance for the victims of flood and hurricane disasters was established.

We have extended the Federal school milk program to include child care centers, nursery schools, settlement houses, summer camps and other similar nonprofit associations.

I sponsored a Federal Scholarship Act. Worthy students who desire a college education or postgraduate work, would be enabled to apply for these loans to aid them through school. This is no giveaway, since the students will repay these loans when their education has been completed. Such a program has been found feasible in prior years. It should have never been abandoned.

We have also authorized $378 million in Federal aid for school construction, in areas which have become overcrowded by increased governmental activity.

Little need be said of the failure of the school-aid bill. Due to a shameful coalition of a minority of the members of my own party and of a majority of the Republicans, this much-needed bill was defeated.

In matters of national health and medical research we went beyond what the administration requested. The Oveta Hobby attitude, of health being a strictly private affair, did not reoccur during this session. Ninety million dollars have been set aside for medical research of crippling and killing diseases, for extended hospital construction and for training nurses and health specialists. Four million dollars have been set aside for a Dental Research Institute.

The housing bill authorizes a public housing program of only 35,000 units a year for 2 years. The Democratic majority in the House felt that this was an unrealistic attempt to remedy the housing shortage. Administrative opposition proved too strong and we were compelled to settle for less than is needed. We did succeed in liberalizing the terms of Federal mortgages; for financing home improvements, for financing single-family home purchases, and for financing rental dwellings. We also liberalized, not enough, but somewhat, the Federal mortgage terms for elderly people and for urban renewal projects.

The administration sponsored a civil rights bill which was quite innocuous. It provided for things which the President now has the right to accomplish without any new laws. Once again a self-interested coalition of a few Democrats and a great many Republicans thwarted this measure. That action will no doubt be President Eisenhower's excuse to do nothing about the matter.

We did not enact the health insurance program of the President since it would have done nothing except help some insurance companies. It would have done nothing for the individuals who need medical and hospital assistance or insurance to pay therefor.

Throughout this program, the unbalanced scale continued to dominate the administration's thinking. No matter who sponsored the legislation, the Democratic Party approach was: if it was for the benefit of the people as a whole, we supported the bill. This cannot be said of the Republican Party. Their narrow interests and petty insights have not yet revealed to them the importance of the broadest approach for the benefit of the greatest number.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS—PERILOUS PATHS

Under our system of Government, the President must assume the leadership in the realm of international affairs. He must make the policy in the first instance. His State Department should be his spokesman. Congress may respond by approving appropriations or by senatorial action on proposed treaties.

The path of peace is always difficult. The Democratic Party believes it can only be maintained by an unequivocal but honorable approach to foreign affairs. To find a permanent peace, we must be vigilant and alert, honest with ourselves and with our allies, and firm with our potential enemies.

The ideological conflict between the East and West continues. The Communist countries have changed their outward demands, but they have not changed their aims of world domination. This administration has made no attempt to move forward in this field. It has mumbled and fumbled, it has bluffed and rebuffed, it has bleated and retreated.

The Democratic Party has supported President Eisenhower in his attempts to find a road to peace. We have supported his foreign-aid program authorizing $3.9 billion to be used for military, economic, and technical assistance to our friends and allies during the next year. Although the President asked for more, his aids have admitted that they cannot spend in the next year the funds now appropriated for those purposes.

The removal of U.S. troops from Japan is imminent and will permit her, as our ally, to regain her true place in the world of nations. The House passed a resolution asking that Japan be admitted to the United Nations.

I have been continually opposed to the Near East policies of President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles. Their blindness, if not stupidity, has helped raise Egypt's Nasser to a position in which he threatens the peace of the world.

Our demand for arms for Israel have been ignored. Instead of firmly insisting upon a cessation of hostility, Dulles has encouraged Arab fighting. We demanded that Dulles and Eisenhower protest against blocking the Suez Canal to Israel, and Greek ships. My question is still unanswered: "What will the United States do when American ships are barred?"

The antisemitic boycott by the Arab States has been approved by a delinquent administration. It has excluded American soldiers and American civilian employees of the Jewish faith from American bases in Saudi Arabia.

PROTECTING THE INTEGRITY OF U.S. CITIZENSHIP

From the very earliest days of the establishment of our Nation, we have insisted that American citizens, wherever they may be and wherever they may go, must be treated as such regardless of race, color, or religion. We have a long history of having come to the aid of American citizens wherever their rights have been threatened, impaired, or impeded.

This administration has sadly failed the American people and has repeatedly and constantly backed away from that fundamental principle of American freedom.

The protection of the integrity of U.S. citizenship and of the proper rights of U.S. citizens to lawful trade and travel and other activities abroad, is a basic principle of U.S. sovereignty. It is a primary principle of our Nation that there shall be no distinction among U.S. citizens based upon individual religious affiliations.

Any attempt by foreign nations to create such distinction among our citizens in the granting of personal or commercial access, or any other rights otherwise available to U.S. citizens, is inconsistent with and contrary to our principles. Any such distinctions directed against U.S. citizens is incompatible with the relations that should exist among friendly nations.

We should insist that in all negotiations between the United States and any foreign state, that every reasonable effort should be made to maintain these principles. We should carry on no negotiations and engage in no conventions, agreements, or treaties with any foreign nation that does not recognize these principles or violates them.

These principles have been so firmly imbedded in our tradition that up to 1952, no political party found it necessary to restate them in a political platform.

In 1952, however, the Republicans inserted these words in their platform, to wit:

"We shall see to it that no treaty or agreement with other countries deprives our citizens of the rights guaranteed them by the Federal Constitution."

That should have been a warning signal. We had no such treaties or agreements then and have none now. No prior administration, Republican or Democratic, ever permitted the rights of American citizens to be impaired by any foreign country.

This administration, however, has permitted the Arab States to disregard, ignore, and even trample upon the rights of American citizens in travel and trade. They prohibit Americans from traveling into, through, or over these nations because of religion. On the same basis they refuse to allow Americans to trade with their own citizens.

This administration has ignominiously permitted a foreign nation to violate a treaty obligation and acquiesced in that country, Saudi Arabia, banning American citizens from an American base on the sole ground of religion.

CIVIL DEFENSE

To aid our civilian defense progam Congress has increased the appropriation for construction of aircraft control and warning systems.

Testimony adduced before congressional committees established that our so-scalled civilian defense is utterly worthless and completely valueless in the event of an atomic bomb attack. Every penny presently being spent by the so-called Department of Civilian Defense is wasted.

Nevertheless, this administration would do nothing to improve this horrible and horrifying situation.

CONCLUSION

The record of the 84th Congress speaks well for our country. It could have been better. I am sure it would have been better, if we had had a Democratic president.

The levelheaded approach of a Democratic Congress under a Republican President produced meritorious legislation. We did not enact all the legislation that should have been passed. What was accomplished, in the main, is a record that the Democratic Party can be proud of. Even though we worked under an unsympathetic administration, the national interest was our first thought at all times. I am proud to have had the privilege to serve in the responsible 84th Congress.

During the ensuing recess I will continue to serve my constituency. My office in Washington, D.C., will remain open and fully staffed for that purpose.

Citizens have no right to complain about their Government if they do not participate in choosing their officials. Their only means of participation is by voting. They cannot vote unless they register.

Register and vote.

DOUBLETALK

(Remarks of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, in the House of Representatives, Friday Aug. 30, 1957)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, this has been a most unusual legislative year. It started with much promise. The 1956 election had returned the people's hero to the Presidency with an unheard of popular vote.

At the same time, they showed their confidence in the Democratic Party by continuing it in control of both Houses of Congress.

Obviously, the American people agreed that control of the 84th Congress by the Democrats under a Republican President was indeed good for our country.

With the 1st session of the 85th Congress behind us, I believe we can demonstrate that the country would have been better off under a Democratic President. I, for one, am certain we would have had more real leadership and much less doubletalk.

Under our system of government we have a right to look to our President for leadership. Our Constitution requires him to send an annual message to Congress on the state of the Union. Traditionally, our Presidents have interpreted that to mean that they are required to submit a legislative program to the Congress.

Never before in our history have we experienced such a lack of leadership by the President, coupled with so much doubletalk.

Absenteeism is bad enough, of and in itself, in high places. Vacillation and indecision are much, much worse. I will concede that few persons reading the President's messages to the Congress can disagree with the fine, high-principled generalities contained therein. But, by the same token, his campaign speeches in 1952 and again in 1956 were in the same vein.

But what are the specifics? What about the implementation of these fine principles?

Some of the President's supporters, even some of the members of his Cabinet, have been brash enough to label his campaign addresses as merely campaign promises. But his messages to the Congress were not campaign speeches.

It is all well and good for our Republican friends to say, "Oh, this is a Democratic Congress, the Democrats are in control. They can pass any legislation they want to."

Such statements, too, are mere doubletalk. The hard, practical facts of political life are that, in a Congress where the majority party does not have an overwhelming majority in both Houses, neither party can pass legislation without the cooperation of at least some members of the other party.

Wise congressional leadership avoids bringing to the floor of the Congress legislation that the leadership knows will be opposed by enough members of the opposition party to defeat the bills.

In all those spheres of activity where our party platforms are in agreement, the President should have been in a position to deliver enough Republican votes to offset the defections in Democratic ranks, so as to give the people of the country a working majority in the Congress.

Permit me now to document my case with some specifics.

PARTY PLATFORMS AGREE, BUT THE PRESIDENT IGNORES THEM

Both parties agree that the minimum wage laws should have wider application; that distressed labor areas require Government aid; that the Taft-Hartley law requires amendment; that all Federal employees and, more particularly, the postal employees, are entitled to increased compensation. In most of these instances the President talked gently and fairly but in generalities. As to the Federal employees and postal employees he spoke specifically. He said they were underpaid. He said they were entitled to increased wages.

In none of these instances, except as to the increase of salaries for Government employees, were we able to enact any legislation, because the President and his appointed officers in the executive departments not only refused to help but actually opposed congressional action.

As to the increases of salaries for Government employees, the President signed the bill which gave those in the highest brackets, big increases and more pay.

As to the little fellows, the civil service employees, the career employees, the post office workers, he sent word to us that if we dared so legislate he would veto the bills. Unfortunately, we couldn't get the bills to him in time to override a veto. As of today—the last day of this session—it seems certain that the President will veto these bills which do only what he said was fair and just; that is, to give to the little fellow, the civil service worker and the post office employee, a cost-of-living increase.

BIG BUSINESS GETS BIGGER AND SMALL BUSINESS GOES TO THE WALL

Other spheres of activity where we got the same kind of doubletalk involved monopolies, trusts, and big business. The mergers continue. Big business gets bigger. Their profits grow. The small businessman goes into bankruptcy. The big businessman gets more and bigger tax cuts by way of fast writeoffs and obsolescence and depletion allowances and Government giveaways, and the little fellow gets the tax bills.

The President is still advocating a natural gas bill. One day he advocated an amendment to that bill, to protect the consumer, and the next day he said he would take the bill without the amendment.

He opposes the development of public power and tries to give the natural resources of the country to the big utilities. By his appointment to various Government agencies and commissions, he does all within his power to destroy TVA, rural electrification, and the other important Government agencies.

HUMAN RIGHTS ARE FORGOTTEN

He says he is for statehood for Alaska and Hawaii but will not lift a finger to bring that about. He says he is for liberalization of our immigration laws and, instead of trying to liberalize them, he condones the action of his State Department and his Attorney General in keeping out immigrants clearly entitled to entry into this country under existing law.

The civil rights muddle in the Congress was as much his doing as that of anyone else. He did not know from press conference to press conference what was in the bill labeled "the Eisenhower bill." It is surprising that we got a bill at all under the circumstances. Time will demonstrate, in my opinion, that the bill will accomplish very little except to give him and some of his supporters an excuse for new campaign doubletalk. And all the time, the demagogs will continue to rabble-rouse.

He talked big about Federal aid to education. When it came to a showdown in the House, the bill was lost on a very close vote. It could have been won if the President had made three telephone calls. He could have telephoned one of his erstwhile campaign supporters who left the Democratic Party to urge the people to reelect Mr. Eisenhower and who was absent on the day this important bill was defeated. The other two calls could surely have changed two opposition votes into two votes for the bill. These were not just two votes of Republican Members of the House. These two men are the President's leaders of his party in the House. The three Members of the House referred to, Mr. Speaker, go unnamed as a matter of traditional congressional courtesy. The record vote discloses who they are.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS CONTINUE TO BE BUNGLED AFFAIRS

The muddle in foreign affairs is the direct responsibility of the President and his Secretary of State. Those matters of maladministration have no direct bearing upon the legislative function of the Congress. I therefore make no further mention of them here, particularly since that subject alone would require much more time than I can devote today, and my remarks pertain merely to the legislative program.

Those who are interested may read my statements before the House Foreign Affairs Committee and on the floor of the House on this vital subject.

Suffice it to say, I foretold precisely what to expect with reference to the Middle East, including the recent events in Egypt and Syria. Although I did not pretend to set forth any timetable, the sequence of events was exactly as I predicted.

The so-called Eisenhower doctrine is preventing the spread of communism and sovietism exactly nowhere.

THE HIGH COST OF EVERYTHING

The increase of interest rates on Government and private debt is the direct responsibility of the President and his Secretary of the Treasury. They have increased the cost of living of every man, woman, and child in the country by increasing the expense of operation of every business enterprise in the country.

The increase in cost of Government is staggering. At the same time, while telling us that the people should save more money and spend less, the President and his Secretary of the Treasury keep the interest rates on Government savings bonds under other interest rates, destroying the incentive of our citizens to save.

He insists that mortgage interest rates be raised and because Congress refuses to increase the interest rates on veterans' mortgages, he threatens to veto the extension of the GI mortgage bill.

I, and many of our colleagues, have been urging that the veterans are entitled to direct loans from the Government. This would not be using Government money but would be using their own life insurance funds.

Banks, trust companies, life insurance companies, pension funds, all invest their money in real estate mortgages. But some shortsighted people urge that the veterans' life insurance funds should be invested only in low-interest Government bonds instead of in 4-percent veterans' mortgages.

We could not prevail upon our colleagues to go that far. The bill we sent to the President, which he now threatens to veto, merely extends existing law, permiting veterans to get mortgages in those areas of the country where FHA is not operating and for reasons mainly of convenience, cannot or will not operate.

The President glibly talks about controlling inflation and urges voluntary restraint by labor and business to keep costs down.

Then he ridicules labor's promise to forgo wage increases if big business will lower prices.

At the same time, he permits price increases in all Government restaurants serving the very employees whose wages he will not increase. He allows their rents and those of all others in FHA houses to be increased, thus setting the example for increased rents by all landlords.

That is not doubletalk; it is doubledealing.

SOME HOPE FOR SMALL BUSINESS

The House passed a Small Business Administration Act to make that agency permanent and to make it more effective in serving the small business community of our Nation. Despite the fact that the President has not talked out in favor of this bill, we hope that in the next session of Congress, the Senate will pass the House version of that bill.

By that time, too, I hope we will have a good bill ready to give the small businessmen some sorely needed tax relief.

FUNNY FIGURES MAKE PHONY BUDGETS

The worst example of doubletalk on the part of the administration, however, came with reference to the budget and the request for appropriations for defense, for foreign aid, and for operation of the Government.

In this field, too, no one knew where the President or his appointees stood from one day to the next. All sorts of ridiculous claims were submitted to the Congress for exaggerated sums. Probing by alert members of the Appropriations Committees showed how farcical some of these claims were.

Despite the disclosure of tremendous waste of money and property during the last 5 years, heads of the departments, aided and abetted by the President, came forth again urging more money than they needed and more money than they could spend.

After the money was appropriated and the bills approved into law by the President, he then directed the heads of various departments not to spend the sums appropriated.

I will refer to only two of the many instances of this heinous maladministration.

The U.S. Public Health Service has indicated its need for funds to prevent a yellow fever epidemic threatening the United States. The money was appropriated. The bill was signed. The Budget Bureau, under the direction of the President, has directed the department not to expend those moneys, the sole purpose of which was to control the disease.

This is the Government that is conservative where property is concerned and liberal where human values are concerned. That is not my language. That is the modern Republicanism of President Eisenhower.

One more instance of the same kind. After the appropriation for the Defense Department had been approved into law by signature of the President, he then directed that the money not be spent. Mind you, this is the very appropriation request, which when cut by the Congress, was declared by the President to be insufficient for our national security. Now he says to his department heads that they may not spend as much money as was appropriated.

Practically all of the Members of Congress from Metropolitan New York attended a conference with Navy Department officials, urging them not to release skilled career employees. It was admitted that if these men were discharged their skills and services would probably be forever lost to the Government. It was further conceded that the full sum necessary to keep these men employed for the next year had been appropriated and that the men were being dismissed solely in order to come within the President's directive to spend less money than had been appropriated. The question of national defense and security was subordinated to the demand to save a few paltry dollars.

WASTE AND CORRUPTION

Congressional committees continue to uncover waste and corruption in every department of Government. At another time, I will discourse at length upon this subject, which continues to be ignored by our President, except on those occasions when he awards a medal or a certificate of merit to the head of the department whose misconduct is exposed.

All of these facts are borne out by the record.

HAD ENOUGH?

(Remarks of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, in the House of Representatives, Saturday, Aug. 23, 1958)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, please pardon my partisan pride in saying that as surely as the 80th Congress has gone down into history as the do-nothing Congress, so will the 85th Congress be remembered as one with the greatest accomplishment under the most adverse conditions.

With no constructive leadership in the White House or from any of our President's appointees, the Congress could have sat on its hands. Instead, it worked harder to establish a good record of accomplishment.

Ignoring the campaign threats of the Republican Party and its titular leader, by dint of resolute, intelligent, and responsible legislating we put to shame the prophecies of a cold war between the White House and the Congress.

We proved once again that the Democratic Party, by and large, is the spokesman, yes, the protector of the people of our country, serving them so as to accomplish the greatest good for the greatest number.

I have placed in the RECORD the speeches I made at the end of the 84th Congress on July 27, 1956, and at the end of the 1st session of this, the 85th Congress, on August 30, 1957. I suggest that they make good reading as an introduction to these remarks. I will borrow some of the same titles I used then and bring the facts up to date.

THE CONSUMER, LABOR, AND THE FARMER: THE TIGHT SQUEEZE

The last year saw the laws of economics repealed by the facts of life.

In the midst of a most depressing recession with between 7 million and 8 million persons unemployed, the cost of living continued to soar.

As much as 7 percent of our total civilian labor force could find no employment. That is, 7 percent of those who were ready, willing, and able to work, were unemployed. In 5½ years of Republican maladministration, the cost of living rose by 9 percent, almost 3 percent in the last year alone. In 1958, the average American family is paying $406 more per year for the necessities of life than in 1953.

Why? Because the big-business men in control of the executive departments of Government, appointed by our President, tightened the money supply, made money harder to get, raised interest rates, increased rents on properties built with Government subsidies, gave away our surplus commodities or permitted them to be stolen by friends of big business appointees, squandered our money in boondoggles and refused to spend it for defense, national security, health, and education.

The unthinking may readily say: The Democrats were in control of the Congress and could have stopped all of that.

My answer is twofold: First, let the people in the next election give the Democratic Party a substantial majority in both Houses, enough to override Presidential vetoes, and we will do a real job. Secondly, all the reactionaries and all the conservatives are not in the Republican Party. I am sorry to say that some of them are in the Democratic Party too. If the President were really the leader, he should be, he could have been able to get enough liberal Republicans to make up for the defections in the Democratic ranks.

Suffice it to say, in almost every instance a majority of the Democrats were found voting for what was best for our country and a majority of the Republicans voted the other way.

For instance, we could not get enough Republicans to join us in voting for a good housing bill, or for a community-facilities bill or a mining bill, or for scholarships for college students, or for higher minimum wages, or for aid for school construction, or for giving our surplus food commodities to our needy, who are on relief, or for reform of our labor laws. Most of these measures were lost by a few votes on the floor or in committee. The President never raised a finger to help get these bills enacted. We did get enacted a bill to aid depressed areas. The rumor mill indicates the President intends to veto it.

HUMAN RIGHTS ARE FORGOTTEN

Of course all of this fits the pattern of modern Republicanism enunciated by the President and mouthed by his supporters. Remember it? "Liberal where human rights are concerned and conservative as to money matters."

None will deny that most of these bills would cost money. At the same time, no sensible person will dare challenge the statement that all of these bills vitally affect every human being in our country and all of their rights and privileges.

When talking of human beings and relieving their distress, we must not overlook the fact that we passed laws permitting some 30,000 Hungarian refugees to remain here and also permitting persons illegally here since 1940 to apply for permission to remain.

CIVIL RIGHTS

We can give our Republican friends credit for helping to get enacted a bill to guarantee our citizens the right to vote.

Up to this minute, I have not yet heard of a single case instituted under that law by our President's Republican Attorney General.

The same law calls for a commission to be appointed by our President to impartially study and advise the President on conditions that may deprive citizens of the equal protection of the law because of race, color, or religion. Draw your own conclusions from the fact that one of the President's appointees to that Commission contributed $500 to the campaign chest to elect to the U.S. Senate an avowed segregationist.

I refrain from any comment about the Little Rock fiasco.

SMALL BUSINESS

Big business and big bank mergers continue unabated.

There have been no big business failures. Bankruptcies nevertheless are at a record high—yes, higher even than in the depression of the 1930's. They are 129 percent higher than in 1952, the last year of the Truman administration.

To the credit of our Republican colleagues, most of them joined us in supporting several measures to help small business.

These bills enacted into law were:

First. Making the Small Business Administration a permanent agency of Government and increasing the amount it may lend to any one small business concern.

Second. Establishing in the Small Business Administration a new division for aiding small business concerns to get long-term risk and equity capital, and

Third. Giving to small business some long overdue tax relief.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS—PERILOUS PATHS—FOREIGN AFFAIRS CONTINUE TO BE BUNGLED AFFAIRS

The titles borrowed from my prior speeches tell the story.

American citizens abroad continue to be abused, affronted, jailed, and even murdered in cold blood.

Our State Department looks the other way.

In fact, the standing joke abroad is—the more degrading an act a foreign country can commit against our country, the more money it can get from us on the double quick.

Unfortunately, we still have no foreign policy other than to stumble from brink to brink and from crisis to crisis. Further comment is withheld lest I give comfort to our enemies.

Fortunately, there is a good Lord above who protects us. I pray He will never turn His back on us, no matter how sorely we try him.

BAD GOVERNMENT—WASTE AND CORRUPTION

Add to my previous itemizations just a few more: vicuna coats, hotel bills, traveling expenses, "borrowed" rugs, non-interest-bearing "loans," valuable franchises to the favored few, Government contracts to friends, tax arrears settled, abated, or remitted for those who know the right people, and so on ad nauseam.

"Businesslike methods": Remember Candidate Ike's promise? Listen to just one of the many "businesslike" deals. The Department of Agriculture sold surplus rice to private traders at $40 a ton. They sold the rice back to ICA, another U.S. Government agency, for $59.50 a ton, without even moving it. A neat little profit of $150,000. I will not ask who got what lest I be told it was only a rice cooky.

PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE

It will take much too long to list all of the breaches of promise that are attributable to our Republican friends in high places. I give you just a few that are typical.

Promise: Leadership.

Performance: The general will be found far to the rear.

Promise: A cold war with Congress.

Performance: A Congress that produced a maximum of good legislation with a minimum of friction.

Promise: Increased prosperity.

Performance: A bad recession.

Promise: A lower cost of living.

Performance: A higher cost of living.

Promise: Full employment.

Performance: Distressful unemployment.

Promise: A balanced budget.

Performance: A $12 billion deficit.

Promise: Reduce the Nation's debt limit.

Performance: Increased it by $10 billion.

Promise: Get our boys home from Korea.

Performance: Put them in Lebanon, and I dare not predict where next.

Promise: Honesty in Government.

Performance: My deep respect for our American institutions prevents me from labeling that one.

CONCLUSION

Remember the Republican slogan, "Had enough?" I will be watching for the democratic answer on election day. I intentionally spell "democratic" with a small "d."

FIGURES—OF PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST—OF SPEECH AND OF PRINCIPLE—AND OF INTEREST

(Remarks of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, in the House of Representatives, Monday, Sept. 14, 1959)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the dropping of your gavel coincident with your pronouncement that this 1st session of the 86th Congress has ended will surely come in a matter of moments. I therefore ask your indulgence, while I recount briefly our congressional activities.

We have done much in which we can take pride as Americans and as Democrats.

There is still much to be done. Most of that we will do in the second session of this Congress, which will start on January 6, 1960. But in a never-ending fast-moving world, new problems will always beset us. Instead of delving into the future, a most uncertain task at best, I will dwell on the immediate past.

We have enacted into law some 400 laws of general national and international interest. Of that number, about 100 can be labeled of major importance. Merely to list all of these would take much more time than is now available. I, therefore, will refer only to the most important.

SPENDING

We appropriated more than $39 billion for national security and defense; that is almost 60 percent of the total sum appropriated for the fiscal year for all purposes. This is $20 million less than the President asked for.

The total sum appropriated for all purposes, including what Republicans invidiously refer to as back-door financing, was $79,428,598,352, more than $2½ billion less than the President requested.

It can never be sufficiently emphasized that the Congress can merely authorize expenditures and appropriate the money therefor. Only the President and his appointees, under his direction and control, can spend the money. Surely we, the Congress, can refuse to authorize or appropriate. But even after we do both only the Executive—the President—can spend. Under our form of government there is but one spender—the President. Repeatedly, the incumbent now in the White House has ignored congressional intent and directive. He has refused to spend money as directed, spent it contrary to congressional directives and even spread out and canceled out contracts authorized and let.

Let us never forget that when our Republican friends and campaigners start calling names, the only spender, reckless or otherwise, in our National Government, is the titular head of the Republican Party, President Eisenhower. By doubling the cost of operation of his own office, he has set the spendthrift example which all his appointees seek to imitate.

While on the subject of spending, let me remind you that a major part of the cost of Government is the interest we pay on U.S. obligations. This administration without the help of Congress and over our vigorous protests has run up that cost from 1953 to date by more than 100 percent. Starting with short-term interest rates of under 2 percent and long-term rates of not more than 2½ percent, President Eisenhower has approved our paying 4¾ percent and assents to the threat of his Secretary of the Treasury that we may yet pay 6 percent. The President and his big-moneyed friends are demanding that the Congress eliminate the limit on the interest rate on long-term bonds so that he can and I quote the President, "demonstrate responsibility in the management of our Federal debt."

Responsibility, indeed. He may have forgotten but we cannot forget that this is the same fiscal genius who in two political campaigns—1952 and 1956—promised to reduce the national debt. Three times since his first promise, at his request we increased the debt limit. This year by $2 billion to $285 billion permanently and to $295 billion temporarily until 1960.

I am proud that this Congress increased the interest rate payable on savings bonds and refused to increase it on long-term bonds. I have been introducing a bill to accomplish that in each of the last four Congresses. The administration has at long last seen the light and gone along with me.

Note the difference between savings bonds, the E- and H-bonds, and other Government securities. The savings bonds are anti-inflationary because they tend to immobilize savings. Other securities produce money that flows into the money stream to pay bills for construction, experimentation, material, services and the like.

Savings bonds traditionally, until 1953, paid an interest rate higher than savings and thrift accounts. Our people are not so stupid as to keep their savings in bonds at minimum rates, when they can keep them in institutions paying maximum rates, all guaranteed by U.S. Government agencies.

I suppose it is human nature to take care of one's friends. So let us not be too hard on Ike and his big business, big-moneyed friends, who say let the devil take care of the masses, the wage earners and little businessmen and his E and H savings bonds. Be sure these big business operators in Government will take care of their friends with more and more profits and higher and higher interest rates. They will continue to complain about being in the 90-percent tax bracket, to try to make us forget that the little fellows pay 90 percent of the gross tax collection.

Before I leave the fiscal affairs of our Nation I wish to comment on the scare campaign the Republicans are engaging in about inflation.

The one thing they learned from President Roosevelt was "there is nothing to fear except fear itself." The difference is that he tried to teach us to be unafraid. They are using that concept in reverse, to scare us into ignoring the facts of life.

If they can cry inflation loud enough and long enough, we may look away from administered prices that ignore the law of supply and demand. We may not learn that the worse kind of inflation comes from administered prices coupled with unconscionable interest rates. The very people who are demanding that we cut Government expenses are the same ones who are pushing prices up, demanding higher interest rates and tax cuts allowances and exemptions and all to balance the budget.

In 1958, the banks and moneylenders of the country had their best year in our history, in gross receipts, and in net profits—both before and after taxes. Nineteen hundred and fifty-nine will be even better.

The same is true of corporation profits. Eight hundred and eight leading corporations showed a 56-percent increase in profits this year over the same period for 1958—$6,915,729,000, as against $4,438,065,000, or $2,477,644,000 more net profits after taxes. More than half of these did better than that average. Four hundred and twenty-eight of these corporations improved their corporate profits by more than 75 percent in the second quarter of 1959 as against the same quarter in 1958.

These 808 companies are the very ones paying for full page ads to frighten us out of our skins because of inflation they created and as a result of which they made these profits.

BANKING LAWS

In the financial field, we also enacted bills that increased our subscriptions to the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—the World Bank—to set up a new Inter-American Bank for Central and South America similar to the World Bank, some modernization of the National Banking and Federal Reserve Acts, restrictions on holding companies in the savings and loan association field and the first complete revision in 25 years of the Federal Credit Union Act. I was most pleased that the credit union bill was enacted in almost the exact form in which I had introduced it.

FOREIGN AID

The mutual security authorization and appropriation bills were a fine example of the operation of our Government in true bipartisan spirit, with both parties in Congress and the President moving forward in the best interests of our country and of world peace.

What irked me, however, was that in his messages to us asking for legislation in the international field the President indicated we had enough money for loans and grants abroad, for housing abroad, for highways abroad, for reclamation and community facility projects abroad, for schools and education and health programs abroad, in short for almost everything anyone could ask for abroad. But the domestic scene was different. From his veto messages it became apparent he thought we did not have enough money for any of these things needed so badly at home; not even enough for loans to our cities and States.

My position on these matters was and is quite simple—I am for all of these things for foreign friends. I have always voted for them. But I have and always will vote for them for our people at home as long as we need them.

If the time is here or ever comes that we do not have enough for both, we must first take care of our own and use the surplus, if any, to take care of those abroad.

This is not a matter of charity begins at home. This is fiscal responsibility as to taxpayers' money. I can apportion my personal funds, charitywise as I please. I have no right to do so with taxpayers' funds.

RULE BY VETO

Incidentally, it is well to note that although we overrode a Presidential veto only once, each of the other votes by which we failed to override demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of the people and their Representatives were against the President. The Constitution requires a two-thirds vote to make a bill law against a Presidential veto. In neither House does the Democratic Party control a two-thirds vote. In the Senate there are 35 Republicans and 65 Democrats. In the House there are 153 Republicans, 283 Democrats, and 1 vacancy. We failed to override vetoes by from one to six votes on important measures, thus permitting one-third of either House plus one to six votes to thwart the will of a vast majority of the people's Representatives.

VETERANS' AFFAIRS

Veterans' affairs were given considerable attention. We extended their direct loan program, although in my opinion not sufficiently nor in the right direction. Among other things we should not have increased their interest rates. At the urging of this administration, these rates have now been pushed up by 32 percent since 1953. We wrote a new Veterans' Pension Act and extended veterans' preferences and entitlements. Still pending is much-needed legislation for a civilian pardons board to review sentences imposed upon members of the armed services.

MISCELLANEOUS

Business has been helped by amendments to the antitrust laws, the Small Business Administration Act, and the Small Business Investment Company Act. Much more needs to be done in these fields.

Increased benefits to retired employees, extended temporary unemployment compensation, changes in our immigration laws, the extension of the Draft Act, establishment of a National Space Agency, aid to Federal airports, and a TVA self-financing act are among our creditable accomplishments.

HOUSING

Two vetos of the housing bills were further demonstration of smokescreens blown up to camouflage real issues. The third housing bill, which the President approved, is just as inflationary as the two he vetoed. The only real difference in substance is that the final approved version omits $50 million in loans for college classrooms. The President admits we need the classrooms but contends that in the $8 billion housing loan guarantee program, which he approved, a $50 million loan program is inflationary. He had his way—a pyrrhic victory, if ever there was one. No one will ever be able to assess the loss to the Nation and the world if only one potential genius is denied a college education because these loans are postponed to an election year.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Hawaii became a State, thus establishing another beacon light along the path of true democracy and affirming the divinely inspired sentiments of our Founding Fathers that "all men are created equal" and "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights" and that "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the governed."

Our citizens in the District of Columbia have not fared as well. Five times in the last 10 years, the Senate has passed a bill granting home rule to the District. Not once during that time has the House District Committee reported a bill. Not once in that period, until I filed a discharge petition, to bring a home rule bill before the House did the House District Committee even conduct any hearings. Congressional courtesy dictates that I do not characterize those hearings. Suffice it to say, that if some members of that committee and of the Rules Committee have their way, no bill will reach the floor in this Congress.

A home rule bill will be acted upon by this Congress only if 219 Members sign my discharge petition. Up to this time 104 Democrats and 16 Republicans or a total of 120 Members have signed it.

Home rule for the District of Columbia is pledged by both party platforms. The public is fast learning that we are getting a lot of double talk from our Republican friends. No one expects southern Republicans or southern Democrats to support home rule for the Nation's Capital. That eliminates about 120 Members—111 Democrats, and 9 Republicans; 436 less 120 leaves 316; 153 Republicans less 9 southern Republicans leaves a net balance of 144; 283 Democrats less 111 southern Democrats leaves a net balance of 172; 104 of the 172 Democrats have already signed the discharge petition. Only 16 of the 144 Republicans have signed it. That is a terrible indictment of the Republican Party. I am certain that if the Republicans will sign that petition in the same ratio as the Democrats have, in the first 2 weeks of January 1960, enough additional Democrats will sign the petition to bring the bill to the floor.

THE LABOR BILL

One other important piece of legislation that was enacted has been hailed as the labor reform bill. Time will prove, in my opinion, that this was the worst piece of anti-industrial-city and antilabor legislation ever enacted by any Congress.

I impugn no Member's motives, good faith or integrity. I trust that those who voted for that bill will credit as much to me and the 200 colleagues whom I joined in voting against that bill. It ill behooves any citizen, capitalist, union leader, businessman or wage earner to pretend to be so omniscient as to have the right to accuse anyone on either side of a vote of 229 to 201 of having voted except in accordance with what his conscience dictated was best for our country. If as few as 13 Members voted the other way, the bill would have been defeated by a tie vote of 215 to 215, with the Speaker casting the deciding negative vote. If the four absentees had been present and voted nay—since they were not paired, I do not say they would have so voted—it would have required only a switch of 11 votes to defeat the bill.

No one will dare say that there is any Member of this House, regardless of how he or she voted on this bill, who would not vote to eliminate racketeering and crime not merely from union activities but from every sphere of activity on the American and even on the world scene.

The same must be said about legislation that would make unions more responsible and more responsive to the needs and desires of their members. Again that must also be said of legislation that would protect business as well as the public against illegal or improper activities of unions.

This bill was represented as accomplishing those ends. I will concede, for the sake of argument only, that that was the purpose of the bill.

I am convinced, however, it does not and will not accomplish those ends. To the extent that it tends to, I am afraid it does so by means that the courts will condemn. There are now more than enough laws on our statute books to arrest, indict, and convict every criminal, in and out of unions, whether the crime is perjury, embezzlement, forgery, fraud, bribery, theft, assault, murder, or conspiracy to commit any of these crimes or merely the attempt to do so. On that score, we do not need more laws but better enforcement of those we do have.

To the extent that this bill may make criminal that which heretofore was legal, though perhaps immoral, under our Constitution, the law must be prospective and not retroactive in its effect.

It follows, therefore, that it will oust from unions, on account of past conduct, no one, no matter how bad and no matter what his name.

Despite all of the foregoing, I could have brought myself to vote for the bill if it had not been for its other many bad features. I believe they far outweighed all the good sought to be accomplished.

In voting on all bills I try to keep in mind our fundamental law, the Constitution, and particularly that portion of it known the world over as the Bill of Rights. I will never vote for any piece of legislation, no matter how well intentioned, which does not square with it. If it violates the Bill of Rights, I cannot support it. That Bill of Rights must forever remain inviolate. If we chip away even the slightest part thereof we begin to destroy it.

This bill, in my opinion, oversteps the bounds of propriety; it makes second-class citizens of unionists and of workingmen who might desire to join unions; it denies them rights guaranteed to them by our Constitution.

Furthermore, this bill can be used to entice business out of our industrial centers and into labor surplus parts of the country. It is not sectionalism that prompts me to take this position. It is part of the free enterprise competitive system for business to move to the place where it can operate most profitably.

However, the best interests of our country, of the whole country, demand that no part of the country be permitted to entice businessmen to come there because of the promise or intimation that by moving there they will have cheap labor, sweatshop conditions, or nonunion shops. The misnamed labor reform bill practically guarantees to every unionized business firm that it can freely move to nonunion States and be forever free from unionization. To me that means destroying unions and enslaving the working men and women of our country. I am all for raising the standards of our citizens to the highest prevailing. I am opposed to lowering those standards to the lowest prevailing.

A PERSONAL NOTE

Permit me at this time to inject a rather personal note. During this session I was incapacitated by illness from which, thank God, I have recovered. For a long time I was out of Washington for an even longer period prevented from giving full time to my congressional duties. But everything in this world has its compensating balances. My misfortune brought me the good that comes from learning how much our colleagues are genuinely concerned about each other. They extended to me a spirit of fellowship and camaraderie close to kinship. It crossed district and State lines as well as party lines and religious and color lines. The assistance and offers of aid to me, and more particularly to my staff, were immeasurable. I am forever in their debt. I am, indeed, grateful. Some say only in America can it happen. I say only in America it does happen.

YEARS OF FRUSTRATION AND FAILURE

(Remarks of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, in the House of Representatives, Thursday, Sept. 1, 1960)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, we are about to conclude the 2d session of the 86th Congress. It is a good time to look back at what we have done, to review the bills we have enacted and to place upon the record the reasons for the failure to enact other bills. It is also appropriate to direct attention to the conduct of the executive departments of our Government during this Congress.

As a proper prelude to these remarks I have placed in the daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the statements I have made upon the conclusion of the work of each prior Congress in which it has been my honor and privilege to serve. I believe they demonstrate that I have approached my service not as a Democrat, which I am proud to be, but as an American.

I make this statement now, as an American, to alert all of those who agree with me to the opportunity of returning me to this high office, knowing full well that I hereby give notice to those who disagree with me that theirs will be the privilege of voting to return me to private life.

Immediately after the 1952 election, and again after the 1956 election, most of my Democratic colleagues joined me in pledging the Eisenhower-Nixon administration our wholehearted support in acting in the best interests of our country.

Throughout all of these 7½ years we have done just that. We have not been the loyal opposition. We have been a responsible, coordinate body of our Government. We have never opposed for the sake of being contrary. We were ready to follow the path that led to what was best for our Nation. We had no leader in the White House and none in the second in command. When we sought to lead we were abused with vitriolic, unreasoned, and illogical vetoes.

Ties that could have been broken by a Vice President's vote in favor of progress found the vote favoring reaction and opposing progress.

Just as the 80th Congress has found its niche in history under the title of "the do-nothing Congress" this Eisenhower-Nixon administration will go down as "the could-not-have-done-worse administration." Its voice of experience is the voice of frustration and failure.

The record of this Republican Eisenhower-Nixon administration is so bad that more and more candidates running for office under the Republican Party's label will disown their party and try to disassociate themselves from it in order to get elected.

The Republican cry throughout this Congress has been that the Democratic program, the Democratic Party philosophy, is fine but they, the Republicans, know better how to implement it. Unfortunately, too frequently they have voted contrary to the way they talked. All too often they were joined by those Democrats from the southern part of our country who are just as reactionary as most Republicans.

When Democratic Congresses had Democratic Presidents and Vice Presidents we moved forward. We were not scourged with vetoes. All we needed was a majority of each House of Congress and a President in sympathy with our goals, in fact, setting our goals, and we had good, sound, responsible Government.

If we had had a President, or even a Vice President, who took the trouble to find out what the people wanted or what was good for the people, either of them, the President or the Vice President, could have delivered enough Republican votes to help us do the job. It is useless to consider where they were or why they were missing when this aid was needed. The sad fact is that they were nowhere to be found when they could have been so helpful.

I have heard the taunts that the Democrats in Congress could have passed any legislation they wanted because two-thirds of each House were Democrats. That just is not so. At no time did the Democrats in the Senate, even counting all the southerners, constitute a two-thirds majority. The nearest they came to that was a count of 66 to 34, which was 1 short of two-thirds of the 100 Members of the Senate. In the House we were never that close; 283 to 154 was as close as we got in this Congress. We failed to override vetoes by from one to six votes. The result was, instead of rule by the majority we had rule by just more than one-third plus a veto.

Those are the reasons why we have had no aid to depressed areas, no aid to education, no aid to housing, no real liberalization of our social security laws, no increase in minimum wages, no good farm bill, no sufficient liberalization of our immigration laws, no proper conservation and water pollution control bills, and an insufficient, unworkable, and improperly financed bill for medical care for the aged.

We authorized and appropriated more money than requested for national security and defense. We believe that the lives and liberty of Americans cannot be measured by dollars and no sum is too great to preserve them. But a see-nothing, hear-nothing, learn-nothing Eisenhower-Nixon administration has refused to spend that money. They have talked big and acted little. That is why our entire defense and missile program is outdated.

Our loss of prestige throughout the world, among our friends and neighbors, is bad enough. It is, however, as nothing when compared to the real danger that now besets us. What answer can they give us? They know that the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans are no barrier to trouble in the Middle East and the Far East. But we do not even have those oceans separating us from the troubled areas at our back door and at our front door—in Cuba, in Panama, in Central America, and in South America.

While talking about containing communism, they have permitted it to move in upon us. Imagine the cries of treason, and worse, if a Democrat were President.

During all this time, while prating about keeping us safe from our enemies, this Eisenhower-Nixon team has been demanding that we fight inflation at home by spending less. How have they done it? Let me tell you.

During 7 years of the Truman administration the cost of living rose just over 1 percent. Under Eisenhower and Nixon it has been pushed up 11 percent.

Everyone concedes that 4-percent unemployment is dangerously near a depression. Eisenhower and Nixon have pushed unemployment up to almost 6 percent.

They have pushed up the interest rate on GI mortgages more than 25 percent and on Government-guaranteed FHA mortgages almost as much. They have pushed up the interest our Government pays on the public debt almost 50 percent, to $9 billion a year.

Bankruptcy rates are the highest they have ever been in the history of this country. But the Eisenhower-Nixon administration ordered a curtailment of loans to small business while continuing to grant more and bigger favors to big business.

In 7 years the Eisenhower-Nixon farm program has cost the taxpayers $26 billion, 5 times more than in the entire 20 years prior thereto. In those same 7 years the Eisenhower-Nixon administration received and spent more billions of dollars than in all the prior administrations put together, starting with President Washington and ending with President Truman.

Had enough? I have.

Any doubts or questions about any of the foregoing will be quickly resolved by dropping a note to me at the House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

PROGRESS BY SOLID ACCOMPLISHMENT WITHOUT HEADLINES OR FANFARE

(Remarks of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, Thursday, Sept. 21, 1961)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, last November the people of our country elected a Democratic President and reaffirmed their faith in the Democratic Party by continuing that party's control of the Congress.

Let us reflect on this American decision for a moment now that the heat of political battle has cooled and the comfortable breezes of autumn approach the Capitol to sweep away, equally, the fiery oratory, the impassioned pleas, the acrimonious arguments, and the hot air.

The 1st session of the 87th Congress has ended and we near the end of the 1st year since the election of President John F. Kennedy. The time for reflection—the time for judgment—is here.

On February 21, 1961, 1 month after taking office, President Kennedy sent to the Democratic congressional leaders a 16-point priority list of legislation. The President did not pull these programs out of a hat. Many of them have been part and parcel of the Democratic Party's platform for years—all of them reflect that concern for the welfare of our people and country which has always characterized the Democratic Party.

A review of prior first sessions of Congress reveals these interesting facts:

In the first session of Congress under President Roosevelt 11 major bills were passed. They all dealt with the domestic scene.

In the first session of Congress under President Eisenhower, 12 major bills were passed. That included extensions of four existing programs, amendments to two others and three reorganizations of executive agencies.

In 1950, under President Truman, an all-time high, until this year, was accomplished by the passage of 14 major bills.

In this 1st session of the 87th Congress, under President Kennedy, we can boast of the passage of 33 major bills.

Numbers alone, however, are not too important. The content is of maximum concern. It will be much too burdensome to analyze in detail all of these items. I will try to be as concise as possible.

Of the 16 priority measures requested by the President, 12 were enacted into law during this 1st session of the 87th Congress. Of course, many more than 12 bills have been enacted—many of these others also came before the Congress at the request of the President. Including treaties submitted to, and ratified by the Senate, the Congress approved 138 separate matters submitted by the President. Few were disapproved or killed by the Congress. Three, of major importance, will be considered in the second session of this Congress which begins on January 10, 1962, they are, first, aid to education; second, medical care for the aged; and, third, tax revision.

Actually, both Houses of this Congress passed and sent the President a total of 693 bills and resolutions. All but eight were approved by the President.

On the domestic front Congress has enacted a series of major legislative proposals designed to stimulate our lagging economy, to promote sound economic growth and development of our human and natural resources, to alleviate the hardships of unemployment, and to promote the well-being of all Americans. They include a number of measures previously vetoed by former President Eisenhower or stymied as a result of "divided government" during the prior 6-year period.

In the area of national defense and foreign policy the Kennedy administration has worked vigorously to rebuild our military strength and to restore our international prestige. Congress has responded by providing necessary funds to improve our defense posture in the face of renewed aggressive activity by the Soviet Union in many parts of the world. It has cooperated in undertaking important new programs to aid the peoples of Latin America and to provide a more efficent and comprehensive type of mutual security program to strengthen our allies, newly emerging nations, and underdeveloped areas of the world.

The Rules Committee has been made more responsive to the Democratic leadership and to the majority will of the House. With the exception of comprehensive aid to education legislation, the new 15-member Rules Committee has provided a majority to assure floor action on all major legislation recommended by the administration so that the membership of the House could work its will in connection therewith.

On the other hand, the record of Republican conduct has been extremely irresponsible. For example, 97 percent of the Republicans voted in the House against consideration of the education bill, 86 percent against the conference report on the minimum wage bill, 84 percent against the conference report on the omnibus housing bill, 80 percent against the conference report on the area redevelopment bill and 50 percent against the conference report on the mutual security bill.

Apparently the Republicans plan to continue their do-nothing policy. The achievements of this session, however, cannot be hidden by Republican carping and negativism.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SECURITY

In this vital area the Congress has authorized $12.5 billion in additional funds for fiscal 1962 for construction of aircraft, missiles and naval vessels, stepping up Polaris submarine production to 29 by 1964 instead of 1967. It has authorized $893.9 million for construction and improvement projects at military bases at home and abroad, including missile sites and nuclear submarine bases; $1.7 billion has been authorized for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal 1962. This includes increases for a manned moon-orbiting project and for research on solid and nuclear propellants.

There has been $131.4 million authorized for Atomic Energy Commission construction projects. In addition to this, the Congress has authorized the President to call up 250,000 reservists and National Guardsmen for active duty of not more than 1 year. It is believed that nothing less than this will suffice in the face of Khrushchev's continuing threats over Berlin.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

In this area the President came very near getting what he wanted in a foreign aid bill. But the Congress held back on the blanket authorization for Treasury borrowing and insisted that—although long-term commitments could be made—the various committees on Capitol Hill be required to review these commitments each year.

Treasury borrowing is invidiously referred to by many as back-door financing. It is no such thing. Treasury borrowing merely means that the Congress in a single bill authorizes the lending and directs the Treasury to make the money available. The bill must pass both Houses of Congress and be approved by the President. Any time the Congress desires, it can pass a repealer of such law. It does in one step what usually requires two steps. In the case of most Government expenditures a law is first enacted authorizing them and then a second law is enacted directing the expenditure by appropriating the money. The two-step procedure is usually followed for spending. The one-step procedure has been traditionally followed for lending.

THE PEACE CORPS

One of the really valuable measures enacted into law during this session was the bill creating the Peace Corps.

The Peace Corps will not revolutionize the world, but it is well worth trying. It is a tribute to the President's perception of the mood of America that the Corps has received such enthusiastic support from the American people. This group of dedicated young volunteers will bring great credit to our Nation and enhance American prestige throughout the world. This is one of the positive ways of combating communism.

U.S. ARMS CONTROL AGENCY

Perhaps, aside from the foreign aid bill, the most important piece of legislation passed by the Congress in the area of international affairs was that establishing a permanent U.S. Arms Control Agency. This Agency may well make a major contribution to disarmament and the establishment of peace.

THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

Six hundred million dollars was appropriated to effectuate a previously authorized aid program for Latin America. This important action provides $100 million for disaster relief in Chile, $394 million for loans by the Inter-American Development Bank, $6 million for social and economic programs of the Organization of American States, and $100 million for loans and grants through the International Cooperation Administration.

Two measures important to the hungry of the world were also approved by the Congress. One extends indefinitely the President's authority to use surplus farm products to aid the peoples and economies of undeveloped nations and permits a broadened program. The second expresses the desire of the Senate that the President should explore with leaders of other nations the possible establishment under the United Nations of an international food and raw materials reserve.

A U.S. Travel Service to promote and encourage foreign tourist travel in the United States was established in the Department of Commerce.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Nine hundred and twenty-eight million dollars have been authorized to provide 13 weeks' additional unemployment compensation, up to June 30, 1962, for jobless people whose payments expire. This measure also increased the tax on employers by four-tenths of 1 percent for 2 years beginning January 1, 1962. Similar benefits were supplied for unemployed railroad workers in separate legislation.

Legislation for aid to dependent children provided temporary grants to States to finance their inclusion in the Federal-State unemployed assistance program. This will expire on June 1, 1962.

The minimum wage bill raised the minimum from $1 to $1.25 an hour and extended coverage to 3½ million additional workers by gradual wage step-ups.

Three hundred ninety-four million dollars in loans and grants for industrial plants and public facilities has been authorized for the new Area Redevelopment Administration in the Department of Commerce.

An additional $11.5 billion has been authorized for completion of the Interstate and Defense Highway System as scheduled by 1972.

Construction aid under the Airport Act has been extended for 5 years to June 30, 1966; $375 million is authorized for grants for that period.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

An important amendment to the Social Security Act raises the minimum monthly old-age insurance payments from $33 to $40, increases the benefits to widows, provides that male workers may draw reduced benefits upon retirement at age 62, liberalizes the disability provisions, and increases the tax for workers and employers by one-eighth of 1 percent each.

Although the comprehensive aid-to-education bill did not get out of the Rules Committee, the Congress did pass legislation extending for 2 years the provisions of the National Defense Education Act and for assistance for schools in federally impacted areas.

One of the most important programs enacted by the first session of the 87th Congress is the Housing Act of 1961. It authorizes a 4- to 5-year $4.9 billion housing program for low and moderate income families on liberalized terms, urban renewal, open space development in cities, college dormitory construction loans, 100,000 new units of public housing, community facilities, an extended farm housing program, an increase in funds for housing for the aged, and a provision for loans to cities to acquire mass transportation facilities.

The Community Health Services and Facilities Act of 1961 expands and extends the programs of Federal grants to the States and communities for construction of nursing homes, training of public health personnel and studies to improve services for the aged outside of hospitals.

An interim increase of $1 billion has been provided in FHA mortgage insurance authority for dwellings.

Five million dollars a year for 4 years has been provided for the extension of a program of grants and scholarships for the training of practical nurses under the Vocational Education Act of 1946.

One hundred and five million dollars has been authorized for a 1-year extension of the special milk program for schools and child care agencies.

The Juvenile Delinquency Act of 1961 provides a program of Federal grants to communities and nonprofit agencies of $5 million a year for 4 years to help finance projects to combat juvenile delinquency. This marks the first effort in this field by the Federal Government.

GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION

Reorganization plans for the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Home Loan Bank Board, became effective during July and August as a result of congressional approval. A similar plan abolished the Federal Maritime Board and replaced it with a five-man Federal Maritime Commission.

Seventy-three new Federal judgeships were created with the enactment of Public Law 87–36 to relieve the tremendous backlog in almost all Federal courts.

Three important anticrime bills—the first such package since 1934—were enacted. Among other things, these bills prohibit transmitting gambling information. Such a proposal had been made 35 times in the last 52 years.

VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN

An extension of direct and guaranteed home loan programs for World War II veterans to July 26, 1967, and for Korean veterans to February 1, 1975, was enacted. This measure authorizes an additional $1.2 billion for the direct loan program through fiscal year 1967.

Veterans have been authorized to combine separate periods of service in different periods of war to permit them to qualify for a non-service-connected pension under the 90-day service requirement.

Payment of $60 million special dividend to eligible policyholders of national service life insurance was authorized by the Congress on September 1, 1961.

Other measures include a pension increase for holders of the Congressional Medal of Honor and a requirement that the Board of Veterans' Appeals make findings of fact and conclusions of law in each case.

MISCELLANEOUS

Natural resources: In the natural resources area an expansion of the water pollution control program increases the grants to State and interstate agencies from $3 million annually to $5 million for operations through 1968, and from $50 million to $100 million annually for construction of treatment works. A minor year-to-year saline water research program has been converted into a $75 million, 6-year program to achieve a major breakthrough.

Corporate and excise taxes: Pending a complete revision of our tax laws, the Congress extended for 1 year the present tax rates on corporations and excise levies on distilled spirits, beer, wine, cigarettes, automobiles, parts and accessories, local telephone service, and transportation of persons.

Civil service retirement annuity increase: We made permanent the temporary increase in Civil Service Retirement annuities enacted in 1958.

Food for peace: We raised the authorization under title I of Public Law 480 by $2 billion for calendar year 1961 providing for the sale of surplus agricultural commodities to friendly nations for foreign currencies.

Postal workers: A new provision for three longevity steps which are assigned after 10, 13, and 16 years of service respectively will give each employee for each step an amount equal to one step increase for his position.

The Postmaster General, we hear, is urging the President to veto this bill, until such time as the Congress authorizes an increase in postal rates. I have joined many of my colleagues in asking the President to disregard such advice.

The two problems are separate and distinct and should not be confused. Equity and simple fairness dictate that these workers are entitled to this relief. It is long overdue.

Whenever the Postmaster General will recommend to the Congress that business mail be made self-supporting, I believe the Congress will pass a proper rate increase bill. But the longevity increase bill should not be made dependent on a postal rate increase.

This, then, is the record. It is an impressive one; a record that will surely be considered one of the best that any Congress has made. I am proud to have contributed to it.

The work, however, is not done. Many important programs must still be acted on. Prime targets in the second session which begins in January are comprehensive Federal aid to education and medical care for the aged through the social security system.

It has been a difficult and hard-working first session. The New Frontier has not yet been reached. We have, however, gone a long way toward a revitalization of our Nation.

On September 15, 1961, I went with Secretary of the Treasury Dillon to the Vienna meetings of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the International Finance Corporation, and the International Development Association. These meetings were most valuable. They were attended by the official representatives of 74 countries. They help knit the free world into a harmonious organization of mutual help for building a peaceful economy.

From Vienna I went to Rome as a member of the President's commission to the centennial celebration of the unification of Italy. The good will engendered by this delegation was well worth the time and energy expended.

Although my attendance at the closing days of this session was excused because of the official business, to which I attended, it is well to note that there was not a single rollcall during my absence, the result of which would have been changed by my presence. In fact, that is true of the entire session. Excluding the calls on days on which my presence was officially excused, I missed only five rollcalls and five quorum calls out of a total of 231.

On a more personal level, I urge all of my constituents—regardless of their political sympathies—to write to me at my Washington office, House Office Building, Washington, D.C., and share their views with me. They are welcome to acquaint me with such problems, with which they believe I can assist them. It is only thus that democracy can work.

EYES ON THE STARS—FEET ON THE GROUND

(Remarks of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, in the House of Representatives, Friday, Oct. 5, 1962)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, in a short time your gavel will fall, bringing an end to the 2d session of the 87th Congress.

Democratic leadership here and in the White House has produced many worthwhile accomplishments. Last year, during the first session, we enacted 33 major pieces of legislation as part of the New Frontier program of the sixties. This year we have continued the excellent record of enacting progressive and farsighted legislation in the public interest in spite of the obstructionism of the reactionaries in our midst, most of whom make up the Republican Party.

One could perhaps understand an opposition minority party which offered rational substitutes for legislation with which they disagreed. An opposition party which opposes for the sake of political gain has no right to exist. Too many Members of the minority party in this Congress forget that once elected they represent all of the people and that it is their duty to serve them, not their party. They have no right to oppose destructively what is good for the country.

Constructive opposition is welcome. But, constructive opposition proposes alternatives to good programs, not resistance to them. The obstructionists of the 87th Congress, however, can best be described as "do-nothings." Their only action has been negative; their only aim to defeat legislation proposed by the majority party. Their opposition has been blind and obstructive. The examples of such negativism are many. I shall cite only a few.

Seventy-four percent of the Republicans in the House voted against the Area Redevelopment Act; 84 percent voted against the housing bill; 82 percent voted against raising the minimum wage; 99 percent voted against the farm bill which will save the country at least a half billion dollars a year; 92 percent voted against consideration of the proposed Department of Urban Affairs and Housing; 75 percent voted against the college aid bill; 75.5 percent of them voted to gut the trade bill; 53 percent voted against the Water Pollution Control Act; 91.4 percent voted to recommit the Cuban resolution.

And what have these negativists offered in place of this program? The answer is "Nothing."

In reviewing the past 2 years, an objective observer will have to concede that this Congress has made one of the most enviable records in American history. The New Deal, which was characterized by recovery, and the Fair Deal, characterized by a sense of responsibility toward the average citizen and a maturing of America's attitude toward her responsibilities on the international scene, have now been logically succeeded by the New Frontier, reemphasizing Government's responsibility to the individual citizen, but also rightfully insisting that the citizen has a duty to his country.

Some of the accomplishments of this 2d session of the 87th Congress follow:

ABOLITION OF POLL TAXES

It was my honor during this session to be a cosponsor of one of the most important pieces of civil rights legislation in the history of our Nation. I refer to the resolution proposing a constitutional amendment to outlaw the poll tax. As soon as three-fourths of the States ratify this amendment as recommended by Congress, it will become the law of the land.

GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION

Important legislation adopted for the more efficient running of our Government included the establishment of an Office of Science and Technology in the Executive Office of the President to coordinate all Federal functions in this vital field.

A bill requiring Defense Department procurement contracts, whenever feasible, to be on a competitive basis also repealed authority for negotiated contracts.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

One of the most important and far-reaching programs adopted this session is the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. This bill gives the President a 5-year authority to cut tariffs and to abolish tariffs on certain goods. If these directives should hurt domestic business, the President may raise tariffs again or provide assistance to industry and workers affected by increased imports. This assistance includes Federal unemployment compensation at higher rates for a longer period of time plus retraining and relocation allowances. Aid for business firms will be provided in the form of loans, loan guarantees, technical assistance, and tax benefits.

A foreign aid authorization for 1963 includes military support funds, development loans and grants, and specific sums for the Alliance of Progress. The obstructionists have succeeded in whittling these sums down in the appropriation bill. We hope the damage that may result can be kept at a minimum.

The Congress has reaffirmed this country's faith in the United Nations by authorizing the President to lend it $100 million through the purchase of bonds. This legislation contains safeguards which provide that the sum we lend must be matched by other nations. The statement which has been made many times recently that our purchase of U.N. bonds would reduce the liability of the Soviet Union and other Communist nations, is wholly without foundation. The Communist bloc will still be liable for their dues and assessments, and if they do not pay them within 2 years, they will lose their right to vote in the General Assembly. This has always been the rule in the U.N. It will continue to be enforced.

In an effort to strengthen the world's currencies the Congress adopted legislation authorizing the United States to lend up to $2 billion to the International Monetary Fund as our part of a worldwide 10-year, $6 billion program. This is but one of many steps taken to strengthen the dollar on the international market and to give the lie to those clamoring for its devaluation.

THE PEACE CORPS

One of the brilliant successes in the first 2 years of the Kennedy administration is the Peace Corps. Created by Executive order in March 1961, and given congressional endorsement in the Peace Corps Act of September 1961, this organization has become world famous. As of June 20, 1962, the Peace Corps had 1,051 volunteers overseas in 17 countries and commitments in 34 countries. Many more countries have requested volunteers and the Corps is presently doing everything it can to meet these requests. The most heartening and dramatic endorsement of the Corps is the fact that its members do not go to any country that does not request them.

Many more volunteers are needed. I have urged those of my constituents who are interested in the Peace Corps to write to me for further information about the program for volunteers. Let me emphasize that age or formal education is not a criterion in making application. The Corps needs people of all ages; it needs people with all skills; it needs not only the college graduate but the graduate of industrial schools and technical schools; it needs plumbers, bricklayers, farmers, and people with many other skills.

CUBA

To further aid the resettlement of refugees from Iron Curtain countries and those seeking asylum from Cuba, Congress has authorized up to $10 million for urgent refugee and migration needs.

In a dramatic resolution reaffirming our country's opposition to the establishment of non-American spheres of influence in this hemisphere, the Congress expressed U.S. determination to prevent by whatever means necessary, including the use of arms, the extension from Cuba by force or threat of force of its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere. The resolution further states our determination to prevent the creation in Cuba of an externally supported military threat to the internal security of the United States.

Despite all the demagoguery of the Republicans, this administration refuses to fight to the last drop of your blood. Fight we will, if we must, but only if we must, because there is no other way.

In addition, the House adopted resolutions urging that the Organization of American States reevaluate the role of Cuba in inter-American affairs and consider the imposition of sanctions under the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SECURITY

We have given the President the authority to act in any emergency that may occur while Congress is out of session so that he may call up 150,000 reservists and to extend, for a period of not more than 1 year, enlistments which would expire during that period.

Because of the Cuban situation and other crises arising around the world, it is essential that the President be able to act without calling Congress back into session first. We hope that the President will not be required to exercise this authority; but if he must, he is authorized to act.

A bill authorizing the procurement of essential missiles, naval vessels, and aircraft for fiscal 1963 has been enacted. These funds will be spent in carrying out the peacekeeping responsibilities of the United States in the free world.

Other bills authorized the construction and improvement of our Armed Forces bases, installations, and military family housing units.

Additional authorizations were enacted for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, including planetary and lunar exploration.

We are fast closing the gap caused by the shortsightedness of the Eisenhower administration.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

The Communications Satellite Act of 1962 creates a privately owned corporation to launch and operate a worldwide system of communication relay satellites. This system, exemplified by Telstar, will be a model of the free enterprise system to the rest of the world.

In an effort to combat the persistent high level of unemployment in those areas of our Nation which have been bypassed by the general economic recovery, a public works bill was passed to undertake and accelerate Federal public works and for matching grants to States that engage in such projects.

A manpower retraining program has been enacted. Pockets of unemployment have made it essential that the Department of Labor appraise the Nation's manpower requirements and resources and develop a program which will insure the maximum utilization of the skills and potentialities of American workers. This bill empowers the Secretary of Labor to retrain people whose jobs have been eliminated due to automation or other causes.

Amendments to the Internal Revenue Code were embodied in a bill which provides tax incentives for business expansion. The bill as it passed the House contained a provision for withholding taxes on dividends and interest. The Senate eliminated this method of collection. I testified against it before the Ways and Means Committee. I also opposed the proposed new tax base of savings and loan associations and mutual savings banks. Although it was modified, I still think it is not good.

FEDERAL SALARY AND ANNUITY INCREASES

In an effort to bring the salaries of Federal employees more in line with those in private industry, the Congress enacted a bill granting an average pay raise of 10 percent for 1.6 million Federal employees. The increase will be in two steps: the first to be effective around October 15, 1962, and the second on January 1, 1964.

Included in the same bill is an increase of 5 percent in the benefits received by 600,000 civil service retirees and their survivors. This annuity increase becomes effective January 1, 1963.

I have always supported measures granting civil service employees the benefits to which they are entitled. I was pleased to be a cosponsor of the legislation increasing salaries for Government workers and for increasing civil service annuities.

Also included in the bill is a postage rate increase including an increase in the rate charged for junk mail.

We increased the lending authority of the Small Business Administration for business loans and disaster loans and raised the lending authority for investment company loans.

The SBA was given jurisdiction to make the loans authorized by the new Trade Expansion Act.

I am pleased to report that in fiscal 1962 small business firms were awarded 17.7 percent of Defense Department prime contracts. This is significant progress which, coupled with the set-aside program, has contributed greatly to assuring small business its fair share of Government contracts. The increase was the result of President Kennedy's directive of March 15, 1961, requiring the Defense Department to increase the share of military prime contracts awarded to small business. This is a first step to reverse the small business setbacks brought about by the Eisenhower administration.

A valuable addition to pension legislation adopted during this session is the Self-Employed Individuals Tax Retirement Act. This measure permits self-employed individuals and owner-employees temporarily to exclude a portion of their earnings from income taxes when these amounts are set aside for retirement purposes. This legislation demonstrates again the leadership of the Democratic Party in the field of social and economic programs. This is not a tax giveaway, but a postponement of the tax. It merely begins to approach the tax advantages of corporate and Government systems.

The Public Welfare Amendments of 1962 provide an increased Federal share of old-age assistance and assistance to the blind and disabled effective October 1, 1962. It also provides grants for training of welfare personnel, an increase in aid to dependent children and an expansion of child welfare services. The main object of increased Federal assistance in this area is to help those persons receiving public assistance to help themselves. This is an excellent program, but it will fail without the assistance of each State and local government throughout the country.

A significant and progressive enactment is the Senior Citizens Housing Act. Recognizing that older citizens face special problems in meeting their housing needs because of their limited incomes and because of difficulty in obtaining liberal, long-term mortgage credit, we set up a revolving fund to make direct loans to nonprofit groups at low interest rates for construction of rental and cooperative housing for persons over age 62 in urban areas.

SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, AND WELFARE

A vastly important bill which was enacted this session is one which amends the Food and Drug Act. This requires adequate controls in the manufacture and marketing of drugs. Rigid procedures are prescribed which must be followed before a drug is approved for public sale. One of the most important features of this new law requires advertisements of prescription drugs to contain factual information about the efficacy of the drug, the quantitative formula with each active ingredient listed and the side effects of the drug.

As late as the 1940's the advertising of prescription drugs was factual and was presented without the techniques of Madison Avenue. Today, advertising, using pictures of pretty girls and happy people, swell the journals of the American Medical Association and other scientific groups.

The impact of these advertisements is tremendous in persuading physicians to order medicines for their patients. In fairness, both to the physician and to his patient, the advertisement of a drug should not be allowed to express only the good points and to leave the bad to some promotional material that the physician may or may not see at a later time. If the advertisement can give a brief description of the merits and advantages of using a particular prescription drug, space can be found for a fair summary of any relevant side effects, contraindications, cautions, and related information.

It seems to me that it is not asking too much to make the picture of the beautiful woman, or the happy child, or his relieved parents a little smaller in the interest of providing the physician who orders the medicine for his trusting patient, a minimum word of caution about possible adverse effects.

MISCELLANEOUS

Other legislation gave tax concessions to those who suffered property damage in storm disaster areas.

Of importance to New York City and other urban areas is extension of the authorization of grants to State and local governments for continued research in the field of air pollution. This is a concerted effort to eliminate smog and other pollutions from the air of our cities.

VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN

Bills which were passed during this session to aid the veterans of our Nation's wars accomplished the following:

Increased the lump-sum readjustment payments to members of Reserve components involuntarily released from active duty.

Equalized per diem travel rates of servicemen with those of Federal career employees.

Permitted members of the Armed Forces to accept fellowships, scholarships, and grants.

Authorized Veterans' Administration hospital and medical care for peacetime veterans with noncompensable service-connected disabilities.

Extended the period of vocational rehabilitation for blinded veterans until 1975.

Permitted for 1 year the granting of national service life insurance to veterans with service-connected disabilities. This bill originally provided the opportunity to all veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict—a provision which I have long supported. Unfortunately, the law as enacted provides the opportunity only to veterans with service-connected disabilities.

Other legislation adopted provides an increase in the rates of compensation for service-connected disability payments to almost 2 million veterans; increases the basic allowance for living quarters for members of the Armed Forces, and increases compensation for blinded veterans.

THE PROGRAM AHEAD

There is still a great deal that needs to be done. Some of the bills that will be considered in the 88th Congress are as follows:

Voting rights: One of the most important measures will be a bill to prohibit the use of literacy or other tests as a stratagem to deny voting rights to some of our citizens. This important bill narrowly missed passage in the Senate this session and heads the list of civil rights proposals to be brought up during the next Congress.

Urban affairs: An important plan, which was rejected by a Republican-Southern Democrat coalition, will certainly be brought up again in the next Congress. This is the President's reorganization plan creating a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing.

It is my view that the Supreme Court decision requiring reapportionment in the States to give adequate and fair representation to urban areas will insure the election of many new Members of Congress committed to this proposal, as well as much other liberal and progressive legislation.

Medicare: Medical care for the aged—the King-Anderson bill—will certainly receive top priority in the next Congress. It is my conviction that the American people will endorse that program at the polls in November by reelecting Members who support this program and by defeating those who oppose it. This legislation will be enacted in the next Congress because it is a program which is wanted and needed.

Many elderly citizens cannot afford and do not receive the health care they need. The principal aim of the medicare program is to provide our older citizens with protection against the excessive costs of hospital care—costs which can wipe out the life savings of an aged couple in a very short time.

It is beyond dispute that the greatest single threat to the economic security of older people is the unpredictable cost of illness. In 1946 the average hospitalization care cost per day was $9.39; in 1961 the cost had risen to $34.98 per day. People 65 and over have health care costs twice as high as those of younger people, yet their annual income averages only half as large. Only about half of these same people, 65 and over, have hospitalization insurance, and many of the policies offered to older persons provide only limited benefits under restricted conditions and at excessively high rates.

The Kerr-Mills law, which was adopted in 1960, provides medical assistance to those who can prove that they are poverty stricken. We must now adopt the King-Anderson bill which would provide the same assistance to those who need it without forcing them to sacrifice everything they possess, including human dignity.

The charge that the medicare program is socialized medicine is ridiculous. It is simply a national program to help older people prepay hospitalization and related health care bills. It is not a means of providing these health services.

Nothing in the bill would in any way change the existing practice of hospitals which requires that patients be admitted only on the order of a physician. There would be no interference with the doctor-patient relationship. Every patient would be free to choose, just as he does now, his doctor, hospital, or nursing home.

Mass transportation: A vital program to those who live in urban areas, to be taken up next session, is a bill which I had the privilege of sponsoring—the Urban Mass Transportation Act. This administration proposal would authorize Federal grants to meet part of the cost of providing improved mass transit, both public and private, in urban areas. Under the bill, which I reported out of the House Banking and Currency Committee on July 3, 1962, a total of $500 million, spread over 3 years will be appropriated for Federal grants for mass transportation facilities and equipment. The Federal grants will not exceed two-thirds of those project costs which cannot be financed by revenues. The remaining one-third must be contributed in cash by the community. This is an extremely important piece of legislation which will benefit the city of New York as well as every other urban area in our Nation. Because of the backlog of work in the Senate, it was necessary to postpone final action until next year.

Youth Employment Opportunities Act: This bill provides for a Youth Conservation Corps. A corps of 12,000 is envisaged in each of the first 3 years to be composed of young men between the ages of 16 and 22. This proposal will undoubtedly be considered in conjunction with any "Domestic Peace Corps" plan that the President may send to the Congress. It is now under consideration by a special executive committee.

Medical school construction: The proposed Health Professions Educational Assistance Act provides a 10-year program of grants for the construction of medical, dental, and public health teaching facilities. It authorizes new facilities for doctors, dentists, and public health personnel and for the rehabilitation of existing facilities.

College Academic Facilities Act: The College Academic Facilities Act will provide matching grants for 5 years for improvement and extension of badly needed college facilities.

Aid to elementary and secondary schools: A general aid to education bill providing for the construction of facilities for public elementary and secondary schools is still on the agenda and will certainly come up again early in the next session. What form it will take cannot now be predicted, but it is hoped that the controversy created this year by those who see this proposal as a church-state issue instead of an educational issue will be avoided next year. Whether teachers' salaries will be included in the bill is another issue the outcome of which cannot be predicted at this time. These issues must be resolved soon so that we can move forward and get on with the job of providing adequate educational facilities for all of our students in the shortest possible time.

MY RENOMINATION

I was indeed gratified that the members of my party in the 13th Congressional District in Brooklyn saw fit to nominate me to a 9th term in the House by an overwhelming vote. I appreciate the honor and more especially their approval of my record. If I am elected, I hope to justify their confidence by continuing to work for the enactment of those programs which are in the best interests of all of the citizens of our country.

COMMITTEES

During this session I continued to serve on the House Committees on Banking and Currency, Small Business, District of Columbia, and the Joint Committee on Defense Production, as a member of the Democratic study group and as zone Democratic whip.

SERVICE TO CONSTITUENTS

A Member of the House of Representatives serves in that body at the discretion of his constituents. In addition to his legislative responsibilities, his duty to them requires him to assist them with whatever problems they may have relating to the Federal Government. As the elected Representative of all the people of my district, whatever their political affiliation, I have urged them to share their views with me and to bring to my attention those problems with which I can assist them by writing to me at my office in Washington: the House Office Building, Washington 25, D.C.

CONCLUSION

Our country today is better off than when this Congress met and this new administration took office. Our economy is the soundest in the world. Business is good. Employment is higher; unemployment is lower. Spendable income and savings have never been higher. But we will not rest on our oars. Things can be better. Unemployment must be further reduced. Working and living conditions can be improved. This can be a more peaceful world. With God's help, we will move forward.

People—Peace—Prosperity

(Remarks of Hon. Abraham J. Multer, of New York, in the House of Representatives, Saturday, Oct. 3, 1964)

Mr. Multer. Mr. Speaker, all must agree with those who say that this Congress has earned the right to be called the "Do Something Congress."

That is principally so because it has done more than any other Congress for people, for peace, and for prosperity.

We started with hope and optimism. Hardly midway through the session we were thrust into the depths of dispair by the tragic and untimely death of our beloved President John F. Kennedy.

An omniscient providence, however, had caused us to have ready and able to take the reins of government a great, a kind, a knowledgeable, a competent leader in the person of Lyndon Baines Johnson.

No one has ever become President of these United States better prepared and with greater capacity to exercise the high and important prerogatives of that exalted office.

Without faltering, he took over and proceeded to implement the programs of his fine predecessor and then continued to move forward with new ones.

People were recognized as human beings with dignity and equality regardless of race, color, creed, or place of origin, by supplementing good morals with good laws and by reenforcement thereof with justice to all.

Peace was promoted by word and by deed, by strength of character and by strength of arms. We are our brother's keeper. His freedom is ours. We cannot let him lose any of his, lest we lose all of ours.

Prosperity is not only a reality, but it is to be sustained and continued and expanded so that all people may live in peace with it.

I have always maintained that although party platforms and campaign pledges are to be run on before elections, they must not be run away from after elections. I have always told my constituents that the party or the candidate that does not perform should be turned out of office. Hence, our constituents have a right to know now as we close this 2d session of the 88th Congress how we measure up.

I hope the country and my constituents take as much pride in the results as I do.

Every liberally oriented group has endorsed my voting record as 100-percent correct. In all things I have acted as I believe the overwhelming majority of my constituents would have done if they occupied my high office.

Once again, as from the beginning of my service in Congress in 1947, I have not missed a single important vote. I have not missed a single vote where my absence could have affected the result, and I have been recorded on every rollcall either by voting or by announcing how I would have voted if present.

It would serve no good purpose to set forth a detailed listing of all the bills we passed in the House, or of all those that were amended either in committee or on the floor and not enacted, or of each of the 625 new public laws enacted. The detailed record is available for all who care to pursue it or to study it.

A statement in general terms will, however, be enlightening, provided we bear in mind that none of us claim that the full job has been done. Much more remains to be done. I hope to have the opportunity to participate in the next Congress in doing some of it.

Here is an abbreviated scorecard.

The first worldwide treaty to outlaw atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons was consummated and approved. Disarmament conferences are being continued and will be pressed with renewed vigor.

Unfortunately we have been compelled to spend tremendous sums of money to keep our defenses strong so that no one will dare attack us. At the same time, we strengthened our alliances of peace and friendship. We will continue our faith in the United Nations and are doing all possible to strengthen it as a peacekeeping force.

Second-class citizenship at home has been outlawed. The new Civil Rights Act guarantees equality and dignity to all races, creeds, and colors. It has been implemented with new aids for enlightenment as well as enforcement.

The war on poverty is now an integral part of the law of the land. National prosperity, the like of which we have never witnessed, is not for the fortunate many alone, it must be and will be extended to the unfortunate few. The personal economic security we provided is a necessary part of permanent prosperity.

One hundred fourteen different programs of Federal assistance sounds tremendous. It is not enough. There is still much to be done. The additional new jobs we created is fine. But we still have too many unemployed. We will continue to try to help them get work.

Equal pay for equal work for women, extended and increased minimum wages, increased unemployment insurance, and tremendous tax cuts are part of what we did to increase our well-being. We have liberalized our social security laws, but medicare must yet be accomplished. Easing the impact of automation is sought by a new law.

Improved mass transportation and more housing and slum clearance will be accomplished under new enactment.

Increased benefits for the aged and disabled veterans have been enacted, but we still have not enacted a proper provision for reinstatement of veteran insurance.

Conservation, recreation, and prevention of air and water pollution have received legislative attention and appropriations.

Hospital construction, training of nurses, medical education, and juvenile delinquency have not been overlooked.

Court congestion has been relieved and a public defender system set up to guarantee to the impecunious a fair trial.

In international affairs, the Peace Corps has proved itself as a great builder of good will, as well as a tremendous aid to the underdeveloped countries.

We have helped our friends and stood up to our potential enemies and to those who are inimical toward our friendly allies.

In the Middle East, we have refused aid to the belligerents and extended the hand of cooperation, technically, and financially to our friends. Israel has been again assured of our help against those who would destroy her, and Nasser and his allies have been warned to behave. The law permitting the President to withhold aid from unfriendly nations, like the United Arab Republic, has been invoked. The Roosevelt amendment to give the President the discretion to withhold the sale of surplus foodstuffs from Nasser was enacted with my support and that of Congressmen Celler, Friedel, Joelson, and Gilbert, despite the attempt of a Republican Congressman to embarrass President Johnson with an amendment that would have tied his hands.

This has been a good, hard-working Congress. It has made an excellent record because it has responded to the needs of a mighty forward-looking, and ever-growing nation, and a fast-moving world.

But little of this would have happened, much if it would have been delayed or prevented if not for excellent leadership of the highest, the most patriotic, the most selfless kind.

Thank the Lord, we had that.

We had it in our late beloved John F. Kennedy.

We have it in Lyndon B. Johnson.

We have it in this House in Speaker John W. McCormack and in our majority leader, Carl Albert.

May the Lord bless them and keep them safe and healthy in mind and in body so that they may continue to lead us on the paths of peace and prosperity which all good people can travel.

SERVICE TO CONSTITUENTS

A Members of the House of Representatives serves in that body at the discretion of his constituents. In addition to his legislative responsibilities, his duty to them requires him to assist them with whatever problems they may have relating to the Federal Government. As the elected Representative of all the people of my district whatever their political affiliation, I have urged them to share their views with me and to bring to my attention those problems with which I can assist them by writing to me at my office in the House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

CONGRESS LEADS THE WAY

(Remarks of Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, in the House of Representatives, Friday, October 22, 1965)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, another session of Congress draws to a close. I am proud to have had the privilege to serve under you as our distinguished Speaker, while Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY presided over the Senate and with our great President, Lyndon B. Johnson, showing the way.

The march of history is uncertain and unpredictable and, while we may speculate about the reasons for momentous events and movements in the affairs of a people, we rarely know the subtleties which give birth to them at a particular time and place.

I will not speculate on why this session of Congress was the place and our generation the time for the making of so much important American history. Suffice it to say it happened and we are all grateful.

For too many, the great war, the pitched battle, the devastation of the land, the enslavement of the people, and the destruction of their homes is the march of history. For us this is the backward slide of history to primeval time, when man lived in the dark cave with his club as his constant companion and dared to venture forth only in daylight. For me, history is the story of man, his emergence from ignorance to enlightenment and his forward stride toward social responsibility. In terms of these values, this session of Congress is America on the move.

I shall not detail all the things this Congress did, rather will I paint its accomplishments in broad strokes.

Since its first and foremost consideration was the people, the story of this Congress is the story of its concern for people, all people. We have proved that we are our brother's keeper.

This Congress gave us medicare, not merely as originally conceived, but improved and broadened as proposed by the best minds available. For the first time hospitalization and voluntary medical care are provided for our older people.

All social security payments as well as payments under assistance programs for the dependent children, blind, and disabled were increased.

We remembered to care for our children. This Congress authorized $1.3 billion to improve elementary and secondary grade school education. It set up a 3-year program to aid school districts on the basis of the percentage of pupils from lower income families attending school in these districts. It also set up a 5-year program for supplemental educational centers, textbook and testing aid purchases, research in education, and help for State education departments.

Higher education was provided for our children. The Higher Education Act is a 5-year $5.5 billion program to help States support community service programs of colleges and universities, for grants to their libraries for training, research, and acquisition of materials, for teaching fellowships to raise the quality of instruction at smaller colleges and for scholarship grants and low interest loans to graduate and undergraduate students.

Without an educated electorate, democracy perishes—the victim of demagogues and other self-seekers. Educated children mean educated adults able to live finer lives as better citizens.

We improved our laws to get decent housing for our people; $7.5 billion is authorized for a 4-year housing program. The program includes urban renewal, housing for the elderly, college housing, 60,000 new units of public housing annually, and matching grants to communities for water and sewer facilities. A new program is initiated for rent subsidies for some of our elderly, handicapped and displaced low-income families. No downpayments are required of veterans buying homes.

Decent housing for our people is essential. If democracy requires respect for the individual and opportunity for fulfillment of his aims in life, he must have the privilege to acquire a decent home. Hovels, squalor, and overcrowding in impoverished quarters are not the soil in which respect and fulfillment are attained. These are signs of democracy's decay and unless corrected threaten its survival.

A new Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development will give us better administration of housing matters and closer cooperation with our cities in relieving distressful conditions.

A healthy mind needs a healthy body. This Congress authorized special controls over depressant and stimulant drugs with strict penalties for offenses involving young people. Every package of cigarettes must carry the statement "cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health."

While we like to see our business community earning healthy profits, the health of our people is more important.

Grants have been authorized to our communities for mass immunization programs against polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, and measles. Provision was made for a national technical institute to educate our deaf people. Grants were authorized for community mental health centers and for training of teachers for our mentally retarded and otherwise handicapped children. Regional medical centers, research laboratories, and health facilities to combat heart disease, cancer, and other maladies will be established with Federal money.

We have helped to continue prosperity for our people. We are in the midst of the longest continuous period of peacetime prosperity in our country's history. This, I believe, is the result of our better understanding of our economy and the enactment of appropriate measures to insure its continued expansion.

Among the things this Congress did to insure continued prosperity for our people was to reduce excise taxes by $4.6 billion a year. I have been urging such enactments in every Congress since 1947. Levies on such items as furs, jewelry, radios, TV sets, cameras, household appliances, musical instruments, and on cabarets and general admissions were repealed. The 10-percent tax on automobiles is to be gradually reduced.

One billion one hundred million dollars was authorized to institute and coordinate public works and other programs among the Federal, State, and local authorities to revive the economy and improve the skills and health of Appalachian area residents.

To help meet our gold outflow problem, the Congress repealed the requirement that Federal Reserve deposits shall be backed by 25 percent gold reserves. This freed our gold to meet foreign demands and served notice on the world that we intend to honor our commitments without resorting to devaluing the dollar.

The Manpower Development and Training Act was extended for 3 years and the training period was extended from 52 weeks to 104 weeks.

A 4-year $3.3 billion program of public works by loans and grants to local governments and other public or private groups in economically deprived communities to develop industries, facilities and to create jobs was authorized. Additional millions were authorized for the Small Business Administration revolving fund to assist those struck by floods, tornadoes, and other disasters.

One billion eight hundred million dollars was authorized for antipoverty programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. This will help the less fortunate to become productive citizens.

Our natural resources will be preserved. Nature has been good to our land with its bountiful blessings. In the past we have been careless with them. We should remember that they do not belong to us. We are only trustees who are privileged to enjoy them during our lives and are responsible for their preservation so that they may be turned over to our children and those who come after them for their enjoyment.

The Congress implemented this principle by establishing a Federal Water Resources Council and River Basin Commission to coordinate planning for maximum use of resources and to assist the States in such planning. It fixed uniform policies for recreation facilities, fish and wildlife preserves, and also for multipurpose water-resource projects. Nine hundred forty-four million dollars was authorized for flood control and navigation improvement projects in 13 river basins.

It expanded and extended for 5 years research and development programs for conversion of saline water; it extended loan programs to commercial fisheries; it increased aid to communities to combat water pollution, and established a Water Pollution Control Administration.

All of those matters were important, but more important were the laws enacted which dealt with human rights rather than material privileges.

The improved voting rights law and the new immigration law that does away with the obnoxious and inhumane quota system were among the high spots of the accomplishments of this Congress.

Some will argue that all this impoverishes initiative and makes for a listless and dependent citizenry. The reverse is true. Relieved of the threat of an unfriendly and overpowering fate, man is freed to contribute his talent and effort to the community to make it a better place for him and his family, and to strive toward self-fulfillment and for meaning in his life, secure in the knowledge that his community stands with him in his fight against the common enemies—disease, poverty, ignorance, natural and manmade disasters, and other calamities to which he may fall prey.

In foreign affairs, the Congress has steadfastly supported the President. The anti-Arab boycott legislation, which I sponsored, was enacted. The foreign aid program was strengthened. Our participation in the World Bank and its affiliates was increased.

Our involvement in southeast Asia, while unfortunate, was not of our doing. Our national security, indeed that of the free world demands that we successfully fulfill our commitments there and everywhere. We can and will do no less.

I have outlined some of the more important legislation that has been enacted by Congress to improve the well-being of the Nation.

The well-being of our people is a proper concern of our Government. Our older citizens remember the depression of the 1930's when our Nation was gripped by despair, its banks shut, its industrial machine creaking along at a fraction of its capacity. Our people dreaded the day and feared the future. There are still some who argue that our free enterprise system should be free of Government interference. These people object to legislation which seeks to eliminate poverty, squalor, ignorance, disease, and all the other indicia of a malfunctioning economy.

I disagree with them. Whenever our economy develops these symptoms, remedial action must be taken to eliminate their causes. Such action does not interfere with the system, rather it insures its survival. To ignore them could be fatal. We must care less for profits and more for the survival of a truly free enterprise system that creates those profits and gives to all of us the highest standard of living the world has ever seen.

When individuals cannot or will not do what is necessary and essential, government must step in and do it.

No one, I am certain, agrees with every last detail of all the laws we enacted. In fact, some even disagree with the principles involved. This right to disagree and to express that disagreement is what makes our country strong and so powerful.

But I daresay, that all these laws initiated by the Congress and by the President will serve and serve well the too long neglected needs of our country.

The job is not done. It probably never will be. God willing, we will continue to stride forward next year in the best interest of the greatest number of our great country.

I must conclude this statement on a personal note and with a well deserved tribute to our Speaker, a truly wonderful Christian gentleman, a devoutly religious man who does not wear his religiosity on his sleeve but practices its highest moral principles in his daily life.

Since I came to Congress in 1947, I have had the finest cooperation from our Speakers and from the leadership of both major parties in arranging to accommodate my coreligionists of the Jewish faith so that we have never had a rollcall on a Jewish holiday that coincided with a legislative day.

This year the Rosh Hashana holidays—the Jewish New Year—fell on legislative days. Unfortunately, the parliamentary situation was such that it was impossible to extend the courtesy to the Jewish Members—15 of them—of foregoing rollcalls on those 2 days.

If we attended religious services either in our places of worship in our home districts or in the temples and synagogues which welcomed us in Washington, D.C., we could not possibly get to the floor of the House on time each day without violating our traditional practices.

With the warmly sincere and hearty cooperation of our distinguished Speaker, John W. McCormack, we were permitted to temporarily convert the nondemoninational congressional prayer room in the Capitol to a synagogue for our prayer services. We were then enabled to attend to our religious duties as well as our governmental obligations, serving both and doing violence to neither.

While keeping church and state completely separate, each gave the other full respect and obeisance.

Finally, I extend sincere thanks to my constituents for having elected me to the 89th Congress, which President Johnson named "the greatest in American history."

We were all saddened in 1963 by the horrible assassination of our beloved President, John F. Kennedy. That year I sent out no report to my constituents but instead sent out a reprint of the proceedings in Congress of November 25, 1963, on which date it was my sad priviledge to act as majority leader of the House. The proceedings that day were as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

DESIGNATION OF SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The Speaker pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

"The Speaker's Room,
"November 25, 1963.

"I hereby designate the Honorable Jim Wright to act as Speaker pro tempore today.

"John W. McCormack,
"Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Revelation 14: 13: *Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth, yea saith the spirit that they may rest from their labors and their works do follow them.*

Most merciful and gracious God, we humbly acknowledge that in the life of each of us there are times of events and experiences when all our thoughts and feelings seem to impose silence.

As we assemble for prayer at this noon hour, we are not turning our eyes upon the ground whence no help can come but we are lifting them heavenward and unto Thee.

We thank Thee for the life and character and service of John F. Kennedy who walked and worked with us here in this Chamber and who now dwells with Thee in heavenly blessedness for thou hast opened unto him the gateway to the larger life and received him into Thy nearer presence.

Thou didst not loose him when Thou gavest him to us and so we have not lost him by his return to Thee and even though his sun went down while it was yet day we believe it has risen for him in eternal glory.

On this day, when his body is being carried to Arlington National Cemetery, we are not saying "Farewell" but only "Goodnight" for this is our faith that someday we shall dwell together in hallowed union and be forever with our blessed Lord in that fairer land whose language is music and where there is eternal joy.

We pray that Thou wilt give unto the members of his bereaved family and friends and to President Johnson and Speaker McCormack and to all the Members of Congress that strong faith which does not murmur or complain but which trusts and ties in courageously and confidently with the consolations of Thy grace and love and will enable them to carry on in faithfulness and fortitude.

Hear us through the merits and mediation of our blessed Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, November 21, 1963, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. McGown, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

"H.R. 8969. An act to provide, for the period ending June 30, 1964, temporary increases in the public debt limit set forth in section 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act."

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

"S. 298. An act to amend the Small Business Investment Act of 1958;

"S. 1309. An act to amend the Small Business Act, and for other purposes; and

"S. 2267. An act to amend Public Law 88–72 to increase the authorization for appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to a bill of the Senate of the following title:

"S. 777. An act to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act in order to increase the authorization for appropriations and to modify the security procedures for contractor employees."

The message also announced that Mr. Monroney had been appointed a conferee on the bill (H.R. 8747) entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, and offices, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, and for other purposes," in place of Mr. Robertson, excused.

TRANSFER OF BUSINESS TO TOMORROW, NOVEMBER 26

Mr. Multer. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order for today shall be in order on tomorrow, and that special orders in order for today shall be transferred to tomorrow and shall precede those presently scheduled for tomorrow.

The Speaker pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

PRINTING OF EULOGIES TO LATE PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

Mr. Multer. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the eulogies to our late President delivered in the rotunda on yesterday be printed at this point in the Record.

The Speaker pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

(By Senator Mansfield)

There was a sound of laughter; in a moment, it was no more. And so she took a ring from her finger and placed it in his hands.

There was a wit in a man neither young nor old, but a wit full of an old man's wisdom and of a child's wisdom, and then, in a moment it was no more. And so she took a ring from her finger and placed it in his hands.

There was a man marked with the scars of his love of country, a body active with the surge of a life far, far from spent and, in a moment it was no more. And so she took a ring from her finger and placed it in his hands.

There was a father with a little boy, a little girl and a joy of each in the other. In a moment it was no more, and so she took a ring from her finger and placed it in his hands.

There was a husband who asked much and gave much, and out of the giving and the asking wove with a woman what could not be broken in life, and in a moment it was no more. And so she took a ring from her finger and placed it in his hands, and kissed him and closed the lid of a coffin.

A piece of each of us died at that moment. Yet, in death he gave of himself to us. He gave us of a good heart from which the laughter came. He gave us of a profound wit, from which a great leadership emerged. He gave us of a kindness and a strength fused into a human courage to seek peace without fear.

He gave us of his love that we, too, in turn, might give. He gave that we might give of ourselves, that we might give to one another until there would be no room, no room at all, for the bigotry, the hatred, prejudice, and the arrogance which converged in that moment of horror to strike him down.

In leaving us—these gifts, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, President of the United States, leaves with us. Will we take them, Mr. President? Will we have, now, the sense and the responsibility and the courage to take them?

I pray to God that we shall and under God we will.

(By Chief Justice Warren)

There are few events in our national life that unite Americans and so touch the heart of all of us as the passing of a President of the United States.

There is nothing that adds shock to our sadness as the assassination of our leader, chosen as he is to embody the ideals of our people, the faith we have in our institutions and our belief in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

Such misfortunes have befallen the Nation on other occasions, but never more shockingly than 2 days ago.

We are saddened; we are stunned; we are perplexed.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, a great and good President, the friend of all men of good will, a believer in the dignity and equality of all human beings, a fighter for justice, and apostle of peace, has been snatched from our midst by the bullet of an assassin.

What moved some misguided wretch to do this horrible deed may never be known to us, but we do know that such acts are commonly stimulated by forces of hatred and malevolence, such as today are eating their way into the bloodstream of American life.

What a price we pay for this fanaticism.

It has been said that the only thing we learn from history is that we do not learn. But surely we can learn if we have the will to do so. Surely there is a lesson to be learned from this tragic event.

If we really love this country, if we truly love justice and mercy, if we fervently want to make this Nation better for those who are to follow us, we can at least abjure the hatred that consumes people, the false accusations that divide us, and the bitterness that begets violence.

Is it too much to hope that the martyrdom of our beloved President might even soften the hearts of those who would themselves recoil from assassination, but who do not shrink from spreading the venom which kindles thoughts of it in others?

Our Nation is bereaved. The whole world is poorer because of his loss. But we can all be better Americans because John Fitzgerald Kennedy has passed our way, because he has been our chosen leader at a time in history when his character, his vision, and his quiet courage have enabled him to chart for us a safe course through the shoals of treacherous seas that encompass the world.

And now that he is relieved of the almost superhuman burdens we imposed on him, may he rest in peace.

(By Speaker MCCORMACK)

As we gather here today bowed in grief, the heartfelt sympathy of Members of the Congress and of our people are extended to Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy and to Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy and their loved ones. Their deep grief is also self-shared by countless millions of persons throughout the world, considered a personal tragedy, as if one had lost a loved member of his own immediate family.

Any citizen of our beloved country who looks back over its history cannot fail to see that we have been blessed with God's favor beyond most other peoples. At each great crisis in our history we have found a leader able to grasp the helm of state and guide the country through the troubles which beset it. In our earliest days, when our strength and wealth were so limited and our problems so great, Washington and Jefferson appeared to lead our people. Two generations later, when our country was torn in two by a fratricidal war, Abraham Lincoln appeared from the mass of the people as a leader able to reunite the Nation.

In more recent times, in the critical days of the depression and the great war forced upon us by Fascist aggression, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, later Harry S. Truman appeared on the scene to reorganize the country and lead its revived citizens to victory. Finally, only recently, when the cold war was building up the supreme crisis of a threatened nuclear war capable of destroying everything—and everybody—that our predecessors had so carefully built, and which a liberty-loving world wanted, once again a strong and courageous man appeared ready to lead us.

No country need despair so long as God, in His infinite goodness, continues to provide the Nation with leaders able to guide it through the successive crises which seem to be the inevitable fate of any great nation.

Surely no country ever faced more gigantic problems than ours in the last few years, and surely no country could have obtained a more able leader in a time of such crisis. President John Fitzgerald Kennedy possessed all the qualities of greatness. He had deep faith, complete confidence, human sympathy, and broad vision which recognized the true values of freedom, equality, and the brotherhood which have always been the marks of the American political dreams.

He had the bravery and a sense of personal duty which made him willing to face up to the great task of being President in these trying times. He had the warmth and the sense of humanity which made the burden of the task bearable for himself and for his associates, and which made all kinds of diverse peoples and races eager to be associated with him in his task. He had the tenacity and determination to carry each stage of his great work through to its successful conclusion.

Now that our great leader has been taken from us in a cruel death, we are bound to feel shattered and helpless in the face of our loss. This is but natural, but as the first bitter pangs of our incredulous grief begins to pass we must thank God that we were privileged, however briefly, to have had this great man for our President. For he has now taken his place among the great figures of world history.

While this is an occasion of deep sorrow it should be also one of dedication. We must have the determination to unite and carry on the spirit of John Fitzgerald Kennedy for a strengthened America and a future world of peace.

ADJOURNMENT AS A FURTHER MARK OF RESPECT FOR THE LATE PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

"House Resolution 571

"IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U.S.,

"Resolved, That the House of Representatives has learned with profound regret and sorrow of the tragic death of the late President of the United States, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, illustrious statesman and leader in the Nation and in the world.

"Resolved, That as a token of honor and in recognition of his eminent and distinguished public services to the Nation and to the world, the Speaker of the House shall appoint a committee of one hundred Members of the House to join a similar committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral services of the late President.

"Resolved, That the House tenders its deep sympathy to the members of the family of the late President in their sad bereavement.

"Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

"Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the late President."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the several resolving clauses are agreed to.

There was no objection.

ADJOURNMENT

The Clerk will report the remainder of the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late President the House do now adjourn."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the resolution is agreed to.

There was no objection.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the foregoing resolution and as a further mark of respect to the deceased President, the House stands adjourned until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 7 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, November 26, 1963, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXTENDING CHILD'S INSURANCE BENEFITS UNDER RAILROAD RETIREMENT TO FULL-TIME STUDENTS BETWEEN THE AGES OF 18 AND 22

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to extend children's insurance benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act to full-time students between the ages of 18 and 22. Under present law, benefits are terminated when the child attains age 18, unless the child is suffering from a disability incurred prior to that time.

The Social Security Amendments Act of 1965 extended social security benefits to full-time students between the ages of 18 and 22. In recommending this extension of coverage the Ways and Means Committee stated:

> The committee believes that a child over age 18 who is attending school full time is dependent just as a child under 18 or a disabled older child is dependent, and that it is not realistic to stop such a child's benefit at age 18. A child who cannot look to a father for support (because the father has died, is disabled, or is retired) is at a disadvantage in completing his education as compared with the child who can look to his father for support. Not only may the child be prevented from going to college by loss of parental support and loss of his benefits; he may even be prevented from finishing high school or going to a vocational school. With many employers requiring more than a high school education as a condition for employment, education beyond the high school level has become almost a necessity in preparing for work.

Mr. Speaker, this rationale is equally applicable to children whose parents are insured under the Railroad Retirement Act. My proposal is patterned after the social security provisions, and would provide children of railroad workers with the benefits that equity and common sense entitle them to.

My bill defines a "school" exactly as it is defined in the social security provisions. The definition is broad and includes vocational or academic courses. It includes all public schools, colleges, and universities, as well as private accredited institutions, and private nonaccredited institutions whose credits are accepted by accredited institutions. The Railroad Retirement Board, in determining whether or not an individual is a full-time student, will be required to consider the standards and practices of the particular school involved. Benefits will be paid to eligible individuals during vacation periods as well as during the school year.

Mothers' benefits will not be paid when the only child receiving benefits is a full-time student over 18 years of age. Since the mother is not required to stay at home and care for the child, there is less need to pay benefits to the mother in such cases.

My proposal will be effective with respect to annuities accrued for the months after December 1965. Individuals who were full-time students in any of the months of 1966 prior to enactment of my measure will be entitled to benefits for those months.

Mr. Speaker, these benefits should have been provided social security recipients much earlier than last year. H.R. 11865, which passed both the House and Senate in the 88th Congress, proposed extension of a child's benefit to full-time students between 18 and 22 years of age. This bill died in conference because the administration opposed enactment of these needed provisions pending action on the medicare program.

In the 89th Congress the proposal recommended by the administration did not include a provision for students between the ages of 18 and 22, but this provision was added by the Ways and Means Committee. The delay experienced by the social security beneficiaries is now being experienced by the railroad retirement beneficiaries. The President recently expressed his intention to recommend extensive amendments to the social security program, but no mention was made of the problems of students under the Railroad Retirement Act. Although the administration professes genuine concern about the ability of our younger people to acquire an education, it is showing the same disregard for children of deceased and retired railroad workers as it showed for children of deceased and retired social security workers.

Mr. Speaker, the number of individuals affected by this proposal is small, but the need is great and the equity clear. I ask that the Congress act on this measure as expeditiously as possible.

CANADA-UNITED STATES GOOD-WILL WEEK

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maine [Mr. TUPPER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully bring to the attention of the Members of the House that this is Canada-United States Good-Will Week, an observance being sponsored throughout the country by the Kiwanis Clubs. The Kiwanis are to be commended for their high sense of civil responsibility in sponsoring such an observance. It is another indication of a wholesome growth of real interest in understanding the forces and factors that shape the unique relation between the United States and Canada.

I have a special interest this year in calling the attention of Congress and the people of the United States to the observance of Canada-United States Good-Will Week. I have the honor, as you know, of being the U.S. Commissioner General-designate for our participation in the Canadian World Exhibition of 1967 to be held in Montreal. One year from this date—on April 28—the Canadian World Exhibition will open its doors to millions of visitors from all parts of the world.

The Canadian Exhibition—or EXPO '67 as it is called by our Canadian friends—will be one of the features of the 100th anniversary of the Canadian Confederation. Some 70 countries will participate, the largest number ever to take part in an international and universal exhibition of this type. It will also be the first world exhibition to be sanctioned by the International Bureau of Exhibitions in the Western Hemisphere. Its theme will be "Man and His World," an exciting documentation of man's past, his present, and his future.

It is my sincere desire that our participation in EXPO '67 be an occasion for the manifestation of the special regard that the Government and the people of the United States have for Canada. From this participation, we want to evoke a strong sense of appreciation of the kinship that derives from our common origins and the sharing of a continent in peace.

POLAND WILL YET BE FREE

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. ADAIR] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, May 3 marks the commemoration of Poland's Constitution of 1791. It also marks the 1,000th year of Polish Christianity. We in America, who have benefited from the contributions of many Polish-Americans, should join them in honoring this day.

American feelings for Poland have been warm and friendly since our Revolutionary War days when two of Poland's finest fighting patriots, Kosciuszko and Pulaski joined us in our own struggle for independence.

Poland now strains under the yoke of atheistic communism. The train of events that led to this tragedy is too well known to need retelling, but suffice it to say that some of the blame for this situation lies at the doorstep of the United States and her World War II Allies. Therefore, it particularly behooves us to speak out against the tyranny that now weighs this proud nation down. Nowhere behind the Iron Curtain is the struggle more fierce between the contending forces of atheism and materialism. The Polish people should know that we have have not forgotten them and their fight and agony is not unnoticed here in the United States. We in the Congress should continue to look for opportunities to express our solidarity with the anti-Communist people of Poland toward that blessed day when liberty can return to Poland and it can resume its rightful place in the ranks of the free world nations.

A NEW DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. McEWEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in the RECORD a statement by the gentleman from Florida, the Honorable WILLIAM C. CRAMER, on H.R. 13200 before the Committee on Government Operations, April 26, 1966:

STATEMENT BY MR. CRAMER

Mr. Chairman, it is a great pleasure for me to appear before you today to discuss H.R. 13200, a bill to establish a new Department of Transportation.

The rapid and efficient transportation of goods and people is absolutely essential to our economy and well-being. Since each mode of transportation supplements the other, all Federal transportation programs must be fully coordinated. However, I have serious doubts as to whether H.R. 13200, as written, will result in the kind of coordinated transportation programs we must have.

I have three major reservations concerning the bill:

First, there is considerable doubt in my mind as to just what the proposed Department of Transportation can accomplish that could not be accomplished by the existing transportation agencies and officials.

Second, I am greatly troubled as to what the status of existing agencies, such as the Bureau of Public Roads and the Federal Aviation Agency, would be within the new Department.

Third, the authority of the Secretary under section 7 of the bill to promulgate standards and criteria applicable to "all proposals for the investment of Federal funds for transportation facilities or equipment" is an enormous power, which would infringe upon the responsibilities of the Congress, and could result in the development of transportation programs on the basis of theoretical planning concepts rather than actual, practical, transportation needs.

From an analysis of the proposed legislation, it appears that the new Department's major functions would be to gather information, conduct research, and issue general standards and guidelines. The Federal Aviation Agency, the Bureau of Public Roads, the Maritime Commission, and other agencies are already doing this under policies and directives enacted by the Congress. There is nothing in the bill to indicate how these functions could be performed more satisfactorily by being centralized in a new Federal department.

In addition to this, many vital transportation functions will not be transferred to the proposed Department. Regulatory functions would remain with other agencies, outside the Department of Transportation. Mass transit functions now located in the Department of Housing and Urban Development would remain with that Department, and this seems very inconsistent with the stated purpose of the bill. The availability of efficient mass transit facilities has a direct effect upon other modes of transportation, particularly highways. If we are to have a truly coordinated Federal transportation program, it would seem obvious that we should have coordinated responsibility for highway and mass transit programs.

There may well be a need to refine and realine the role of the Federal Government in the field of transportation. But I doubt that simply creating a new bureaucracy will accomplish this—at least not under the provisions of H.R. 13200. Before the Congress enacts legislation establishing a new Department of Transportation, I believe the administration should be required to furnish complete details as to why certain functions would not be transferred to the Department, exactly how the Department will be organized, and how it will perform its functions, and, most important, what benefits, in terms of efficiency, economy, and coordination, will be gained by the proposed reorganization.

Let me turn now to the status of existing agencies, such as the Bureau of Public Roads and the Federal Aviation Agency, within the new Department. Under the terms of the bill these agencies will not only lose their independence or semi-independence, but will be denied a major voice at the policy levels of the Government. The Federal Aviation Agency, the Bureau of Public Roads, and the Federal Maritime Administration all have heads appointed by the President and subject to Senate confirmation. Will this continue to be the case after their transfer to the new Department?

Section 9(j) of the bill, in effect, abolishes agencies whose functions would be transferred to the new Department. Section 10(e) would delete from the Federal Executive Salary Act of 1964 the positions of the Federal Highway Administrator, the Chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, and the Administrator and several other officials of the Federal Aviation Agency.

Mr. Chairman, when the Congress enacted the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, it recognized the fact that the importance and scope of the accelerated highway program was such that it should be administered by a top official. Accordingly, the Congress enacted Public Law 84–966, which provided for the appointment, by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, of a Federal Highway Administrator, who would receive compensation at the rate prescribed for Assistant Secretaries. The intent of this enactment was to place the head of the Bureau of Public Roads in such a position that he could deal directly with the Cabinet-level Secretary of Commerce.

The importance of the Federal-aid highway program has not diminished but has increased. The interstate highway program is about halfway completed, and this is certainly no time to downgrade the position of the Federal Highway Administrator—to reduce his effectiveness by subordinating him to other officials having differing responsibilities and viewpoints.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly urge the committee to recognize the importance of this, and to amend section 3(c) of the bill to specifically require that there be a Federal Highway Administrator within the new Department, at a salary level at least level IV, and preferably level III, as well as the four Assistant Secretaries and the General Counsel now provided for in that section.

Section 7 of H.R. 13200, relating to transportation investment standards and criteria, concerns me a great deal. The language of the bill is broad and sweeping, and contains practically no guidelines or limitations upon the nature of the standards or criteria to be promulgated by the Secretary. It would appear, however, that the Secretary would be given authority with respect to highways, for example, to approve or disapprove their construction without reference to any of the policy declarations presently contained in title 23, United States Code.

Section 7(a) would require the Secretary to develop standards and criteria "for the formulation and economic evaluation of all proposals for the investment of Federal funds in transportation facilities or equipment." Section 7(b) would require that every survey, plan, or report formulated by a Federal agency concerning transportation be prepared in accord with such standards and criteria and upon the basis of certain information furnished by the Secretary.

At best, this could result in the Congress being deprived of full and complete information regarding transportation recommendations. At worst, it could remove from Congress the authority it now exercises in connection with the authorization of construction projects of all kinds, if they bore any relationship to transportation. All decisionmaking would be delegated to the executive branch, and Congress would be removed from the position it has held as the authorizing institution for so many years. While Congress would retain its right to change the law, committees of Congress now charged with responsibilities in the area of waterway, airway, and highway authorizations, would be effectively barred from further contact with such projects.

This problem is made more acute by the fact that the present agencies charged with the responsibility of particular transportation programs would lose their identity, as I discussed earlier. In the absence of strong supporters of particular modes of transportation, there is a real danger that, in an effort to attain some theoretical objective of coordinated transportation programs, some essential modes of transportation may well be neglected. A transportation program based upon averages or statistical data or some theoretical planning concept may well result in a mediocre transportation system, unable to meet the needs and desires of large parts of the public and unable to cope with unusual or emergency conditions.

I am also gravely concerned about the effect the Secretary's standards and criteria may have on the planning and construction of multipurpose water development projects by the Corps of Engineers. We can no longer afford the luxury of single-purpose development of our rivers. It is essential that the manmade structures placed in our streams serve more than one purpose. For example, a dam and reservoir on a stream catches the floodwaters and stores them for future use. Initially, it not only prevents or reduces flood damage, but it also prevents erosion of the stream bank and subsequent deposition of that silt on farm or urban properties downstream. The controlled release of this water later serves one or more of the following purposes: navigation, water quality control, water supply, and power generation. The water in the reservoir not only creates the power head for the generation of electricity, but it enhances the fish and wildlife values of the area and affords abundant water-based recreational opportunities.

These functions and purposes are all interrelated. If one of these interrelated functions was eliminated as a result of unrealistic criteria that would be established by a Department of Transportation, the loss of navigation benefits would result in an increased cost allocation to the remaining purposes. This would make all the remaining functions less attractive financially and, possibly, uneconomical. Navigation often is a key factor in the development of a comprehensive plan since there are no other alternatives that limit the navigation benefits for the purpose of cost allocation. It is apparent, therefore, that the standards and criteria for the evaluation of navigation benefits by the Secretary of Transportation would have an important effect on the future development of our water resources.

Section 8 of article I of the Constitution vests the Congress with the responsibility of regulating commerce among the several States, and, obviously, the criteria and standards applying to transportation programs are an important aspect of interstate commerce. I strongly believe that final authority for determination of standards and criteria for investment of Federal funds in transportation programs, including specifically water resource improvement projects which may involve navigation and transportation aspects, should be retained by the Congress.

Also, I am concerned about the possibility that H.R. 13200 might be interpreted to give the Secretary of Transportation the right to divert funds authorized by Congress for one program or project to a different program or project—perhaps even those which have never been authorized by Congress. I am particularly troubled by the possibility of diverting revenues from the highway trust fund to finance other modes of transportation. The highway trust fund is supported by fees charged the highway users, and I would strongly oppose any provision or interpretation which could result in diversion of trust fund receipts to other uses. If the bill is interpreted to permit the Secretary to divert funds from one program or project to another, the only review which would be maintained would be that of the Appropriation Committees of the House and Senate, but, as indicated before, the committee which formerly exercised substantive jurisdiction could possibly be foreclosed from exercising their expert knowledge in the field.

I do not believe that I am placing a strained interpretation upon the possible effect of the bill. The bill would authorize the Secretary to promulgate standards and criteria for the formulation and economic evaluation of all proposals for the investment of Federal funds in transportation facilities or equipment. A "Department of Transportation Briefing Book" contains a section discussing this proposition, and includes the following language: "A beginning can thus be made on the comparative evaluation of transportation projects * * * with a view to identifying those warranting support and establishing priorities for approval programs in the order of their overall merit."

The responsibility of identifying transportation projects warranting support and for establishing priorities for approval programs in the order of their overall merit is clearly that of the Congress and not of the executive branch. I would urge that H.R. 13200 be amended to make it clear that these responsibilities remain with the Congress, and that the Secretary of Transportation will not have authority to divert funds from one program to another without being authorized to do so by a congressional enactment of a bill considered and reported by the appropriate legislative committee of the Congress.

To accomplish this, Mr. Chairman, I strongly urge that the bill be amended along the lines suggested by the respected chairman of the Committee on Public Works, Mr. FALLON. The amendment is as follows: On page 19 of H.R. 13200, strike out lines 4 through 8, and to the comma, on line 9, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 7. The Secretary shall develop and from time to time in the light of experience recommend to the Congress standards and criteria consistent with national transportation policies, for consideration in the formulation and economic evaluation of all proposals for the investment of Federal funds in transportation facilities or equipment".

Page 19, line 16, after the word "criteria" insert "recommended".

With these amendments, the last sentence of subsection (a) and all of subsection (b) become entirely unnecessary, and these should be stricken from the bill.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you very much for the opportunity to express my views on this important bill.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN IN JURY SELECTION

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. DWYER] may extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, in view of pending congressional action on jury discrimination legislation, I should like to bring the attention of our colleagues to an excellent presentation of an important part of this basic civil rights issue, the disability imposed on women in the selection of State and Federal court juries.

The National Business Woman, the official publication of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, has performed a very useful public service in focusing attention on this issue through the medium of Miss Marguerite Rawalt's persuasive article.

The article follows:

THE RIGHT TO SERVE

(By Marguerite Rawalt)

Justice Douglas of the Supreme Court was voicing a long-held belief that there is something different, and thus essential to good proportion, in the viewpoint of women when he said, "The truth is that the two sexes are not fungible; a community made up exclusively of one is different from a community composed of both; the subtle interplay of influence one on the other is among the imponderables."

He went on to speak of "a flavor, a distinct quality," which he said is lost if either sex is excluded, and specifically that such exclusion makes a jury less representative of the community than does any other exercise of discrimination.

Understanding of this on the part of women themselves is reflected in our own national legislative platform policy item which states that we will work to advance the position of women through support of legislation to provide uniform jury service for men and women.

Coming a long way from the days of suffrage, women have now blended into the mainstream of society with its quest for full rights and privileges for all groups, and the focus on women's rights has shifted from dead center to a line more in keeping with all citizens' rights. More acute than ever in history is the need now for women not only to insist upon the right in all States to serve on juries and the right to serve on the same basis as men, but that they fulfill this most important civil duty.

It was a court decision applicable to women's rights and responsibilities of serving on juries, that was of recent great potential significance in the long-drawn-out endeavor to achieve equal status for women. This was in February of this year and the decision was handed down by a special three-judge Federal court sitting in Alabama.

The name of the case was *White et al.* v. *Crook et al.* The suit was instituted by Gardenia White and other Negro women and Negro men against Bruce Crook and other members of the Jury Commission of Lowndes County, Ala., alleging unconstitutional denial of equal protection of law (a) by the practice of the jury commission of systematically excluding Negroes from juries, and (b) by statutes of Alabama which totally excluded women from eligibility to serve. The court enjoined the jury commissioners immediately to abandon the present jury roll and to compile one to remedy the proven systematic exclusion of Negroes; and, as to the total exclusion of women, it gave the State of Alabama a reasonable period, until June 1, 1967, to amend its laws in view of "the several practical problems, including a determination whether service is to be compulsory or voluntary and the availability of physical facilities."

Credit for this case should go to the Negro women plaintiffs, to the American Civil Liberties Union, and to the Attorney General of the United States as intervenor in the suit, for their arguments on comprehensive briefs filed with the Court and adopted in its opinion. Behind the scenes, with and through these advocates, were a mere half dozen women, lawyers and government officials, armed with a conviction of justice denied and an awareness of the potential of a favorable decision. Failure of the State of Alabama to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court for final and definitive decision is a disappointment to many who confidently anticipate that an affirmation of the 14th amendment principle would result.

The following quotations are from the Court's memorandum opinion:

"It is clear—and we do here unequivocally declare—that women in Alabama have a constitutional right not to be arbitrarily excluded from jury service * * *. Jury service is a form of participation in the processes of government, a responsibility and a right that should be shared by all citizens, regardless of sex. The Alabama statute therefore violates that provision of the 14th amendment of the Constitution of the United States that forbids any State to deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law.

"The plain effect of this constitutional provision is to prohibit prejudicial disparities before the law. This means prejudicial disparities for all citizens, including women. The courts have not heretofore been called on to decide a case presenting the constitutional validity of a State's complete exclusion of women from service as jurors."

The decision holds some promise as a precedent for future expansion which may break away from the line of past judicial rulings refusing to hold that women were entitled to equal protection of the law, as e.g., the right to admission to the bar of a State or to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court; or the right to enroll in a State-supported university for a course not available elsewhere. In decisional law, the White decision adds weight to legal rights of women that should be carried over to property rights and other citizenship rights.

Like good resolutions, however, this breakthrough must be followed by women as the interested parties if it is to have its potential value in the whole picture of improved legal status. We cannot stand motionless awaiting other Gardenia Whites to spearhead other case-by-case actions. The *White* v. *Crook* decision related only to Alabama; there remain two States—Mississippi and South Carolina—in which separate and early action should be undertaken, not only to achieve the right to serve but the right to serve on the same basis as men.

Of further concern to Business and Professional Women members, as our legislative platforms and actions disclose, is the permissiveness of jury service statutes. The Civil and Political Rights Committee of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, of which the writer served as cochairman, declared that "women and men alike should assume their responsibilities for making juries representative of the communities in which they live." Its recommendations of action to achieve equal jury service without distinction as to sex was adopted by the full Commission. (See American Women, Commission report, 1963, pp. 46–47.) In only 21 States, however, does the law apply to men and women on the same basis. Women may be exempt for child care or family responsibilities in eight States. In 16 jurisdictions women may be excused from jury duty on the basis solely of sex, and it is here that action is especially needed. It is needed both to educate all women to a sense of civic responsibility and to discourage the practice known to prevail in many locations of encouraging women to ask to be excused by offering gratuitous suggestions about the uncertainty of time required, the unwholesomeness of the surroundings, the distasteful facts to be heard in criminal cases.

Three days after the decision in *White* v. *Crook*, proposed Federal legislation was introduced to insure against systematic exclusion from Federal and State juries because of race, color, or political affiliation. Senate bill 2923, the Civil Rights Protection Act of 1966, was introduced on February 10, 1966, by Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, with 20 Senators sponsoring. A similar bill was introduced in the House, title I of which deals with jury reform in Federal and State courts. In the selection of Federal court juries, exclusion on the basis of sex is also forbidden (present law). But in the provisions relating to selection of State and local court juries, no mention is made of sex, thus perpetuating by omission the whole tangled situation regarding varying State laws with regard to women serving on juries.

If amendments to such bills, to deny exclusion of women from State and local juries, are effected without delay, and before the legislation is considered in committees, the effort required for success would be greatly reduced and a legislative history built up in support of the addition. Such amendments have been submitted by the American Civil Liberties Union. The National Association of Women Lawyers, representing lawyers in every State, has by formal council action sent urgent recommendations both to the Attorney General, who is chargeable with drafting an "administration bill," and to the Members of Congress sponsoring pending legislation. Also, on March 1, a persuasive letter and memorandum to the President, urging all-inclusive coverage in the administration bill was drafted by Representative FLORENCE DWYER, of New Jersey, and signed by her and the following women Members of Congress: Senators MARGARET CHASE SMITH, Maine, and MAURINE NEUBERGER, Oregon; Representatives FRANCES BOLTON, of Ohio, CATHERINE MAY and JULIA BUTLER HANSEN, of Washington, CHARLOTTE REID, of Illinois, and PATSY MINK, of Hawaii.

The letter read in part:

"In your state of the Union message of January 12, 1966, you advised the Congress and the Nation that you will 'propose legislation to establish unavoidable requirements for nondiscriminatory jury selections in Federal and State courts.'

"Discrimination in the selection of a jury undermines the very foundation of democracy in the administration of justice, whether such discrimination is based on race, economic class, political affiliation, or sex.

"We, as Members of Congress, believe that this Nation has for too long tolerated the wholly arbitrary discrimination against women's participation in the jury system."

Banning discrimination on the basis of sex would be in line with the overall objective of title I (S. 2923) to provide a representative cross section of the population to adjudge rights and responsibilities of fellow citizens. The bill responded to call for preventing "injustice to Negroes at the hands of all-white juries" which was the crux of the *White* v. *Crook* decision.

The failure to include women on juries would constitute denial of a whole cross section amounting to one-half of the adult population. State laws which excuse women solely on the basis of sex, and State laws which require a woman to register or otherwise ask to be allowed to serve, contribute to nonrepresentative juries. A distinction purely on the basis of sex is not different from classifying all Negroes as Negroes for purposes of exclusion, and similarly a discriminatory denial under the 14th amendment. As to the objective of protecting Negroes by fair jury selection based on population, the inclusion of sex as well as race among eligibles would assure twice as many Negroes available for jury service. Is a Negro woman to be eligible on the basis of race and ineligible on the basis of sex?

All citizens, male or female, should be excused from jury duty when good reason is shown and approved by the authorities. Making women eligible on the same basis as men would not drag the mother from her homemaking and child-care duties. All should be excused on the basis of functional responsibilities. Even exemptions of groups because of their functional status is not unfamiliar, as many States now exempt from jury duty such groups as lawyers, teachers, physicians, ministers, pharmacists, without regard to sex.

BPW has long been committed to equal legal rights for men and women and specifically to jury duty as a right and responsibility on equal basis for men and women. Congress needs to hear the views of its constituents, our club members, to insure that forthcoming laws open the door to women on all juries without necessity of further legislation or litigation, and as an integral and important part of the whole civil rights movement.

The 1964 Civil Rights Act, title VII, opened doors to women in employment opportunity. The Civil Rights Protection Act of 1966 should make clear their constitutional right to serve on all juries.

EDUCATION FOR SURVIVAL

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashbrook] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, in 1962 the Internal Security Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate published a symposium on education on communism entitled, "Education for Survival in the Struggle Against World Communism." Containing the views and suggestions of leading educators, especially those who have specialized in the study and teaching of communism, this report had as one of its purposes, the stimulating of education on this subject in private schools, high schools, colleges, and universities.

One of the articles, "The Use of Congressional Committee Materials," by Prof. Kenneth Colegrove, teacher of political science at C. W. Post College of Long Island University, was especially pertinent to me as a Member of Congress. Professor Colegrove is no newcomer to this field. His book "Democracy Versus Communism" was used as the basis for a series of pamphlets on communism by the Defense Department in its training of U.S. servicemen. Superintendent Carl F. Hansen, head of the Washington, D.C. schools where a program of instruction on Russia and communism was inaugurated a few years ago, and who also contributed his views to the above-mentioned symposium, evaluated Professor Colegrove's book thusly:

> An important and valuable text which contrasts American democracy with communism is worthy of special commendation. A recently revised (1961) edition that brings the story up to date is now available. In a factual, objective, and clear manner this volume describes the characteristics of both systems, providing an excellent vehicle for study of the American system at the same time it teaches the perils of the Communist system.

As Professor Colegrove states, the two most important congressional sources of materials on communism are the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Although primarily of an investigative nature, these committees over the years have published many reports and hearings, the educational value of which is readily apparent to anyone who will take the time and trouble to peruse them objectively.

At a time when the Communist Party, USA, is making a concerted effort to hoodwink our youth with its "soft sell" program of sedition, responsible education on Communist philosophy, strategy, and tactics is urgent.

The observations and recommendations of Professor Colegrove as expressed in "The Use of Congressional Committee Materials," are a valuable contribution on this subject, and I request that they be inserted in the Record at this point.

The Use of Congressional Committee Materials

(By Dr. Kenneth Colegrove, professor of political science, C. W. Post College of Long Island University)

Many public schools as well as colleges and universities fail to make adequate use of one of our most important sources of accurate information regarding the Communist international conspiracy.

This source is the large number of reports and hearings on communism published by congressional committees: The two most important of these sources are the reports of the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary on Internal Security Laws, and the reports of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives.

From time to time, I have asked teachers who were not using congressional committee materials why such a valuable source was ignored. Sometimes, the answer by even college and university professors indicated an ignorance of the existence of these materials. Sometimes, teachers excused their failure to use these materials by declaring that the committee reports were "mere propaganda" or lacked "objectivity." Most teachers who expressed such a prejudice against the reports admitted that they had never read a report by either one of the two congressional committees.

The widespread propaganda against congressional committee investigations has included the charge that the congressional committee reports lack "objectivity." The accusation of lack of "objectivity" is often bandied by persons who have not even the remotest idea as to the meaning of this technical term in scientific method. Among scholars, it is generally assumed that objectivity is attainable in the physical sciences. At the same time, most scholars seriously doubt whether any studies in the social sciences can ever achieve objectivity, or the complete absence of bias, prejudice, or preconceived notions. Suffice it here to say there are no textbooks, monographs, or treatises in history, political science, economics, or sociology which are "objective" in the same manner as treatises in mathematics or the physical sciences. Perhaps the best that can be attained in all the social sciences is an approximation toward objectivity.

The committee reports, of course, fall in the field of the social sciences. And here the problem is not one of "objectivity," but rather the question whether the report or monograph or findings meet the standards of scientific method in the social sciences.

What are standards of scientific method in the social sciences? These standards include: (1) documentation of sources; (2) accuracy of data and verification of evidence; (3) authenticity of quotations and avoidance of distortion of quotations; (4) scientific analysis of data; and (5) the logical formulation of conclusions.

An honest appraisal of the committee reports will show that they fully meet the canons of scientific method in the social sciences. In fact, the committee reports are deliberately prepared in conformity with the canons of modern scientific method. The research staffs of the committees do not engage in name calling, card stacking, question begging, glittering generalizations, and other propaganda tricks. On the contrary, the research staffs of the committees employ approved standards of research in testing the creditability of evidence, in the verification of sources, in the analysis of data, and in the formulation of conclusions.

Obviously, the committee reports contain a large amount of testimony by experts and eyewitnesses which is derogatory to Communist leaders and Communist regimes. But the research staffs treat such evidence as testimony, the validity of which must be appraised in a scientific manner. Quotations of Communist leaders are always carefully verified. And they are not distorted or lifted from context. Nothing is stated as a fact, which has not been carefully substantiated. Most of the reports have complete documentation, such as would be found in a treatise by an erudite university professor. Indeed, the staffs of the committees show the same intellectual honesty found in the best research work in American universities and colleges, and in the research institutions supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, or any of the other great foundations. It is naive to assume that the research staff of a governmental agency cannot maintain the same scientific standards as the staff of a private institution.

The reports of the congressional committees contain a vast array of facts carefully verified in thousands of hours of staff research. For instance, the Subcommittee on Internal Security Laws of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary has issued a committee print on "Soviet Political Agreements and Results." This compilation enumerates (with details covering 100 pages) over 200 violations of treaties and other international agreements by the Soviet Union. I have used this compilation on numerous occasions, and have never found an error of fact. Nor have my students who frequently study this compilation ever reported to me any error of fact.

Not only do the committee reports furnish a vast amount of accurate information but also the information is generally presented in convenient form. For instance, the first volume of "Facts on Communism," issued by the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1960, is devoted to "The Communist Ideology." The volume gives, with proper documentation, the principal Communist doctrines, arranged under 80 topics. With this booklet in her hand, a high school teacher who, for example, is unfamiliar with the history of the Communist doctrine of the "inevitability of war," can promptly inform herself regarding this dogma with very little time and effort. Or again, she can readily ascertain the Communist distinction between "propaganda" and "agitation" or still again, fathom the Marxist-Leninist hocus-pocus of "dialectical materialism."

As to documentation, a large part of the contents of the committee reports is based on testimony given under oath in the hearings of the committee and in other authenticated evidence laid before the committee. The reports indicate the sources of such evidence. Many reports, such as the Senate document, prepared by the Subcommittee on Internal Security Laws on "The Communist Party of the United States of America," contain material acquired by research as well as derived from testimony before the several committees. Another example of a completely documented research paper is "The Soviet Empire: Prison House of Nations and Races: A Study in Genocide, Discrimination and Abuse of Power" (S. Doc. 122, 85th Cong., 2d sess, 1958). In all such cases, the reports indicate the source of all evidence obtained by research. In other words, the research staffs of the committees comply with the standards of scientific method regarding documentation of sources in the social sciences.

It will not the amiss to emphasize again the remarkable convenience of some of the committee reports. Forty years ago, the standard treatise for studying the inconsistencies and false predictions of communism was Vladimir G. Simkhovitch's "Marxism versus Socialism" (New York, 1913). But that was 40 years ago. Today, where can the student find in systematic and succinct form a review of the inconsistencies of modern Marxism-Leninism and Soviet practice? There are many ponderous tomes. But for brevity and modernity, none of them can hold a candle to the 54 pages of the committee print of the Subcommittee on Internal Security Laws, published under the title of "Contradictions of Communism." The 172 footnotes in this compilation furnish all that is required in the matter of scholarly documentation.

The reports of the congressional committees, of course, cannot take the place of adequate textbooks, study guides, or syllabuses. Textbooks, of course, must include the pedagogical devices required by educational experts. At the same time, however, the committee reports offer a vast amount of pertinent material to supplement a textbook, or to supply the broad field of information required by a study guide or syllabus.

Again, a textbook, by itself, cannot furnish all of the workshop activities that should accompany studies in the social sciences in the public and private schools. There are problems which the pupil should attempt to solve outside the confines of his textbook. Where did the authors of a textbook obtain the information furnished in the textbook? What are the various sources of information on the subject? Has the textbook failed to present evidence that might conflict with the conclusions of the textbook? What further information should be offered on any subject? These are important questions. And the pupil should be encouraged to test these problems for himself.

With reference to questions which unfortunately have become controversial, the committee reports furnish information that may be difficult to obtain elsewhere. No textbook adequately covers all phases of many of these problems. A case in point is the student riots in San Francisco in May 1960. Incontestable proof shows that a large number of students in the San Francisco area were the dupes of the Communist Party in staging these riots. And, since American youth were involved in this spectacular outburst of violence, boys and girls in our high schools in all States of the Union are particularly interested in this episode. If this case is deliberately omitted from classroom discussion, the chances are that some bright boy or girl will raise the subject. The prudent teacher will take the precaution to arm herself with authentic information. For this purpose, she should study the report entitled "The Communist-Led Riots Against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco, Calif., May 12–14, 1960" (House Rept. No. 2228, 86th Cong., 2d sess., Oct. 7, 1960). In particular, she should study the report of these riots by J. Edgar Hoover, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, published under the title of "Communist Target—Youth: Communist Infiltration and Agitation Tactics" (July 1960). She should complete this preparation by a study of "The Truth About the Film 'Operation Abolition'" (House Rept. No. 1278, 87th Cong., 1st sess., Oct. 5, 1961). The alert teacher will not allow herself to be embarrassed by lack of information on a subject of this character.

The well-informed teacher will also point out to her class that youth has always been a special target of Communist tactics, and that in recent years the Communist Party in all countries has instigated students to mob violence. Where will the teacher find evidence for this conclusion? It will suffice to read the committee print of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, entitled "Communist Anti-American Riots: Mob Violence as an Instrument of Red Diplomacy: Bogota-Caracas-La Paz-Tokyo" (Aug. 26, 1960).

In particular, the committee reports and hearings often present more timely information than can be found in any textbook or study guide. The best textbooks, of course, depend very heavily upon the findings of the committees. But, at the present moment, I know of no textbook that shows the connection of the propaganda organ, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, with the Communist regime of Fidel Castro. Data on this subject has recently been given to the public in the published hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security Laws. Copies of these hearings are available to all schools. The teacher who uses such materials as assigned readings in her classroom gives her pupils the satisfaction of knowing that they are holding in their hands the very latest published information on the subject of subversive activities.

In conclusion, the reports and hearings of the congressional committees furnish materials that are indispensable for an adequate understanding of the ideology and operation of the Communist Party in all countries as well as the United States. Much of this material is available in no other source. The reports conform to the best research standards of scientific method. The information is authentic and fully verified. These reports should be in the hands of every teacher giving instruction relating to communism. And they should also be found in the library of every public and private school.

TRANSPORTATION, SALE, AND HANDLING OF DOGS AND CATS FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. KUPFERMAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I today supported the Helstoski and Bolton amendments to H.R. 13881—Poage bill—and also supported the motion to recommit H.R. 13881—Poage bill—in order to achieve a better bill with more coverage.

Unfortunately, the amendments and the recommital motion were defeated.

I then reluctantly supported H.R. 13881—Poage bill—on final passage, in order to attain a first step, although imperfect, in the fight for more humane treatment for animals. We must not let the matter rest here.

FREE WORLD TRADE WITH NORTH VIETNAM

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, I have for many months been trying to spotlight the nature and extent of free world trade with North Vietnam. On numerous occasions I have sought to present information about this shocking aid and comfort being given to the war economy of the Hanoi regime. Unfortunately, and I believe unjustifiably, full information about this trade has been kept from the American people. The Government has been keeping two sets of books. For instance, in my report of February 7, I listed 119 free world ship arrivals in North Vietnam during 1965 as made available to me by the Department of Defense. I said then that this was not the true number but was the unclassified number. The true number, I said, was more than double the 119 figures.

After months of prodding, the Defense Department today has finally agreed to begin to release the true figures about this trade which, although it has recently been on the decline, still has not been stopped. Today's decision, however, was not easily obtained. My repeated pleas for declassification made on the floor of this House met with no response. Finally, last month in the course of hearings before the Armed Services Committee, I pointedly asked Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester why the Department was keeping a secret set of books on this trade. In response, Mr. Sylvester challenged the accuracy of the figures I cited. In my defense, I simply said the source of these figures was the Department of Defense. Days went by without any indication when an answer would be forthcoming as Mr. Sylvester had promised. I, therefore, felt compelled to write the following letter which I ask unanimous consent to be included at this point in the RECORD:

APRIL 19, 1966.

Hon. ARTHUR SYLVESTER,
Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, The Pentagon, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SECRETARY SYLVESTER: When you appeared before the House Armed Services Committee with Assistant Secretary Solis Norwitz on March 31, I asked why certain facts and figures with reference to free world shipping with North Vietnam were classified, indicating my belief that the people of our Nation should be fully apprised of this trade.

At that time, you promised to give me a full report about this situation but up to the present date I have not received it. As I am sure you are aware, I am deeply concerned, not only about the extent of such free world trade but about so much of the information being kept from the public.

During our discourse, it appeared that the classified figures you had were at variance with those which had been given me. I am, therefore, anxiously awaiting your report clarifying this matter.

Thanking you for your courtesy, I am,
Sincerely yours,
CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN.

Today, I finally received an answer together with the first set of the declassified statistics concerning free world trade and I ask unanimous consent that this material be inserted in the RECORD at this point:

Free world ship calls at North Vietnam

Ship registry	4th quarter, 1965	1st quarter, 1966
United Kingdom-flag vessels	[1] 35	[2] 29
Norway	3	0
Greece	3	4
Cyprus	2	2
France	1	0
Italy	0	1
Total	44	36

[1] Ownership: Singapore, 1; United Kingdom, 6; Hong Kong, 28.

[2] Ownership: United Kingdom, 2; Hong Kong, 27.

As will be noted, this information goes back only as far as the last 3 months of 1965. To underline the discrepancy that has existed between what the Defense Department has announced to be the truth about this trade up until today with the actual fact, I would merely point out that while the unclassified figure of the total number of arrivals of free world ships during October, November, and December of 1965, was 21, it is now conceded that there were, in fact, 44. And while in the first quarter of 1966 the unclassified figure was given as 16, the true figure as announced today, is revealed to be 36. American people have been greatly disturbed by reports of this trade even when told less than half the truth about it. Our efforts to win the struggle in South Vietnam cannot be aided here at home by the official dispensing of misinformation which is designed not to protect our security but to cover up ineffective policies.

STATES ARE FINALLY GOING TO BE CONSULTED ON THE AFTER-1972 HIGHWAY NEEDS STUDY TO BE PRESENTED TO CONGRESS JANUARY 1968

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, on August 28, 1965, the President of the United States signed into law Senate Joint Resolution 81, pertaining to the Federal-aid highway program.

This law, Public Law 89-139, among other things, stated that it was the sense of Congress that the Secretary of Commerce, acting under authority of existing law and through the Bureau of Public Roads, shall report to Congress next January 1968 and in January of every second year thereafter his estimates of the future highway needs of the Nation.

There have been disturbing rumors during the past few months that the States might not be permitted to fully participate in the formulation of the plans for a program for improving the Nation's highway systems after 1972, particularly any possible extension of the Interstate System. This has been a matter of serious concern to many individuals and organizations who are vitally concerned with the proper functioning of the Nation's highway programs and with the States retaining an effective voice in the determination of future highway needs beyond 1972. Others are also concerned that the anticipated January 1968 study of future highway needs might not be sufficiently comprehensive or submitted in sufficient time to permit the Congress to adequately work its will in determining legislation for the future highway programs beyond 1972, when the present highway program is scheduled for completion.

During the first week in March, I received a letter dated February 25, 1966, from Mr. Floyd B. Bowen, chairman of the Florida State Road Department, concerning the participation of that department in the formulation of the Federal-aid highway program after 1972. Chairman Bowen stated in that letter that the Bureau of Public Roads had not requested to that date that his department formulate any recommended future improvement program for Federal-aid highways.

On March 18, 1966, I wrote to the Federal Highway Administrator, Hon. Rex M. Whitton, inquiring as to the progress of preparation of the January 1958 report to Congress and as to the participation of the States in its formulation. I attached thereto a copy of Chairman Bowen's letter to me of February 25 for Mr. Whitton's reference in responding to my inquiries.

On April 19, Mr. Whitton accompanied Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, Alan Boyd, to the House Committee on Public Works to testify before the Subcommittee on Roads on H.R. 14359, the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1966.

During interrogation by me, Mr. Whitton stated that the Bureau of Public Roads was in the process of formulating guidelines to be followed by the States in submitting their recommendations for mileages of Federal-aid highways that should be improved in the future. The committee was also advised that the guidelines would be submitted to the States early enough to permit them to make proper studies and recommendations, thus assuring us that the States would have a voice in the formulating of recommendations for the highway program after 1972.

Mr. Speaker, this is the first time that we have received an assurance from the administration that the States will be afforded an opportunity to participate in the formulation of recommendations for the highway program after 1972, and I think it is highly significant. Improvement of Federal-aid highways, ever since the commencement of the Federal-aid highway program in 1916, has been carried out cooperatively by the Federal Government and the States. This partner relationship has worked exceptionally well and has been the model emulated by other programs. The present highway program, including construction of the Interstate and Defense Highway System, enacted into law in 1956, was a result of joint studies, planning, and recommendations of the Bureau of Public Roads and the State highway departments. It is essential to the public interest that future highway programs continue this partnership concept. Mr. Whitton also assured the committee that the study would be completed in time to transmit it to the Congress by January 1968.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD, I submit for inclusion my letter to Mr. Whitton of March 15, 1966, the attachment thereto of Mr. Bowen's letter of February 25, 1966, and Mr. Whitton's reply of April 21, 1966. I commend the contents of these items to the attention of all Members of Congress.

The material referred to follows:

MARCH 15, 1966.

Re January 1968 highway report.
Hon. REX M. WHITTON,
Federal Highway Administrator, Bureau of Public Roads, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WHITTON: I have inquired of the State of Florida as to what reports have been requested from that State that logically could become a part of the January 1968 report that is required to be submitted by your Bureau to Congress and based upon which I trust the Congress will be able to make some major decisions relating to the future of the highway program after 1972.

I enclose a copy of the reply I received from Floyd B. Bowen, chairman of the State Road Department for Florida, in which he discusses the requests that have been made of Florida and I am quite disturbed to find that apparently the Bureau of Public Roads has not requested the State road department to formulate a recommended improvement program for future Federal-aid highways in the State of Florida and has not been requested to suggest additional mileage designations on the Federal-aid highway system for the State of Florida and, particularly, the Interstate System.

It was my understanding when the legislation was under consideration and, as you know, this was an amendment I pressed for the passage of for a long time, that the January 1968 study would be one resulting from recommendations by the States as to additional mileage needs and then consideration of them by the Bureau before submission to Congress. According to the report from the Florida State Road Department, it appears this is not true.

I would therefore like a report to me on the Florida submissions of January 7, 1966, which I gather relate principally to the cost studies that were made and also your letter requesting a comprehensive needs report which "is to be prepared and submitted to the Bureau by January 1968." I would like also any other information relating to what submissions have been requested from the States on which can be based the report to Congress in 1968.

If it is the policy of the Bureau to deviate from the planned programing that preceded the 1956 Interstate and Defense Highway Act, which was formulated as a result of State submissions and requests, then, of course, I would have strong reservations about such procedures and would be insistent upon the States being consulted relating to additional mileage proposals and to highway needs within the States.

I would appreciate your reply as soon as possible. With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely,

WILLIAM C. CRAMER.

ATTACHMENT

FLORIDA STATE ROAD DEPARTMENT,
Tallahassee, Fla., February 25, 1966.
Hon. WILLIAM C. CRAMER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. CRAMER: This is in reply to your letter dated February 2, 1966, concerning the participation of the Florida State Road Department in the formulation of the Federal-aid highway program, after 1972.

We are pleased to advise you that the Bureau of Public Roads in April of 1965 requested the State road department to prepare a preliminary report estimating Florida's highways needs for the 20-year period of 1965 to 1985. The Bureau provided an instruction manual for this reporting and sent representatives from both Washington and their regional office in Atlanta to further cooperate with us in the development of this important highway information.

The 20-year program of needs was divided into the estimated accomplishments for the immediate years of 1965 to 1972 plus the after 1972 highway needs. This data were developed for each of the administrative highway systems. These systems include (1) the Interstate, (2) other Federal-aid primary, (3) Federal-aid secondary (State), (4) Federal-aid secondary (local), (5) other State highways and, (6) other local roads and streets.

The State of Florida's preliminary highway needs report was submitted to the Bureau by transmittal letter dated, July 14, 1965. Final acceptance of the report, after some conferencing and revisions was acknowledged by the Bureau in a letter dated January 7, 1966.

The department has been further advised that a more comprehensive needs report classifying highways by functional systems (i.e., arterials, collector and local) is to be prepared and submitted to the Bureau by January 1968.

The Bureau of Public Roads has not requested to date that the department formulate a recommended improvement program for future Federal-aid highways.

In regard to the identification and general locations of routes that may be considered as possible additions to the Interstate System, we must report that no definite action has been taken. However, you recall that when the Congress authorized an additional 1,000 miles to the Interstate System several years ago that the department selected two possible extensions to the Interstate. One of these was the Tampa to Miami route that you are vitally interested in, and the other a route shared with the State of Alabama from Montgomery to an intersection with Interstate 10 in the vicinity of Marianna, Fla. In Montgomery this proposed section would join with Interstate 65. It would certainly be logical that these two formerly proposed routes would be given high priority consideration in any future planning of additions to the Interstate System.

I trust this explanation is helpful in answering the questions you have raised concerning the State's activity in the "after 1972" highway study. Should you wish additional information, please know that you have our full cooperation.

Thank you for your active support of the highway program in the Congress and for your enthusiastic interest and support of Florida's highway program.

Very truly yours,

FLOYD B. BOWEN,
Chairman.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS,
Washington, D.C., April 21, 1966.
Hon. WILLIAM C. CRAMER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CRAMER: This is to acknowledge your letter of March 15, 1966, inquiring as to our progress in preparing the report to Congress called for in Senate Joint Resolution 81. I am, of course, well aware of your concern over the need for early decision as to the highway program that will be needed after the interstate program is completed, and am appreciative of your efforts toward enactment of the legislation that made specific provision for the submission of biennial reports on highway needs. I am appreciative also of your continuing interest in our progress toward completing the first report due in January 1968. I want to assure you that we are fully confident that we shall be able to submit an informative report to the Congress by that time.

With specific reference to the letter to you from Chairman Bowen, we received the material requested from Florida, along with that from the other States, and have completed our review and compilation of the data supplied. This review involved some further inquiries of many of the States, as noted by Mr. Bowen.

The estimates requested in this first inquiry of the States involved a breakdown of needs in terms of miles of construction and dollar costs for the road and street systems as now classified for administrative purposes—that is, Federal-aid primary and secondary, rural and urban, and non-Federal-aid routes as they are classified in State or local systems. In some States in which the roads have been studied and grouped in functional systems, as Mr. Bowen described, the estimates were supplied on the basis of both the administrative systems and functional groupings. We wished to have at hand as quickly as possible at least a general picture of whether the administrative systems, usually resulting from growth over many years, reflect the actual service (such as arterial, collector, or land service) that these systems should be providing now and in the years ahead.

It is our intention to request all States to examine all existing roads and streets and to classify them on the basis of the actual functions they perform, and to do that on a consistent basis throughout the country. We intend to request that they also estimate needs for future roads and streets of each functional classification as well, for in the 20 years ahead much of our highway expenditure will be made, especially in metropolitan areas, on roads and streets not now on the ground nor even on any maps.

We believe it is this study directed toward grouping roads on a functional basis that Mr. Bowen refers to in the first paragraph of page 2 of his letter. We have not yet asked the States to undertake this study, although it is generally understood among the highway departments that we shall do so, and many are making preparations to respond in anticipation of such a request. The request will be for information not to be supplied to the Bureau in January 1968, however, but well in advance of that time, for use in our report to the Congress on that date.

Particularly in estimating needs for future roads and streets by functional categories do we find it essential to integrate our proposed studies with the broader studies of transportation to be carried out by the Department of Commerce under instruction from the President. In a letter to Secretary Connor, President Johnson said, "I want it to be absolutely clear that proposals for a post-1972 program must be carefully evaluated in light of overall national transportation needs and objectives, balancing national benefits against costs."

In the growing metropolitan areas and in intercity transport there is thought to be opportunity for significant interchange between or among different modes in the movement of people and goods, depending on the quality and cost of service each provides in relation to the others. To be sure that our study of highway needs will not be carried out in isolation and that proper consideration will be given to the possibility of modification in highway needs as a result of improvements in other modes of transport, we will not request the States to examine their routes on a functional basis until we can be sure the guides we shall request the States to follow are consistent with the broader Department study. While decision on this question must be reached soon, we feel that there is still ample time for the States to do a thorough job in this area and for the Bureau to apply the results in developing our recommendations to the Congress.

As to the question you raised about requesting proposals from the States for additions to the Interstate System, the functional classification studies and the related estimates of usage will in themselves be revealing as to needs for addition routes and for providing added capacity in existing corridors. Beyond that we have received proposals from many States and from Members of Congress over the years, and we shall certainly ask all States for specific recommendations as to necessary or desirable additions to the system. All proposals will be reviewed against the criteria established by the Congress for designation of routes to be included in the system. To aid in this evaluation we will have the advantage of an analytical tool developed through several years of effort in the Bureau that will permit a mathematical simulation of travel based on estimates of future population and economic growth and distribution. This model is an adaptation to national and regional scope of the models now in successful use in the urban transportation planning studies in all urbanized areas.

I hope this reply will be a satisfying answer to your questions. Again, I appreciate your continuing concern over these studies and stand ready to discuss them in greater detail with you or your staff at any time.

Sincerely yours,

REX M. WHITTON,
Federal Highway Administrator.

EFFECTS OF DUMPING OF CORN AND WHEAT ON THE MARKET

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of Agriculture, the President, and the Council of Economic Advisers must be feeling pretty good this week because cattle and hog prices are tumbling down. But the housewife who visits the local chainstore and supermarket has not witnessed any earthshaking changes in meat and grocery prices.

I can tell you this, Mr. Speaker: The cattle producers and feeders in my State are not too happy with the recent drop in farm prices. I have been deluged by telephone calls from irate Kansas cattlemen and farmwives asking me, "What has gone wrong with this administration?"

Well, we are beginning to reap the "benefits" from Mr. Freeman's policy of dumping huge amounts of corn and wheat on the market. It is very clear that the livestock feeders have been misled into placing more cattle on feed than the economics of the situation would ordinarily justify. The Secretary of Agriculture in his zeal to force compliance with his so-called voluntary wheat and feed-grain programs has been dumping these grains on the market and holding prices down. These actions are a warning to noncompliers that their markets will be wrecked and that they had better sign up for the Government payment, or else.

To indicate how much of a force these Government sales are, it is sufficient to give only a few figures. Sales of wheat this season through March 1966 totaled 268 million bushels; 358 million bushels of corn and 79 million bushels of grain sorghums moved to market.

Cattlemen were encouraged by the USDA to take advantage of these lower feed prices and feed more steers. Ranchers and farmers did this, believing the market would hold strong. Some of us criticized this move and warned the obvious result would be too many cattle on feed and disastrously lower market prices. The obvious has happened, and it is clear that our warnings were justified.

Cattle prices are down, hog prices are down, grain prices are down, and meat prices in the supermarkets are up. Yes, food prices are higher, but not because of increased prices paid to farmers. Food prices have risen 17 percent, but that is because the costs after this food leaves the farm have risen 41 percent. The consumer will not benefit by this action, but the farmers and ranchers will be hurt and hurt badly.

Farmers' returns now are down about 6 percent from 1952 while food prices are up 17 percent. Farm costs are up 15 percent during the same period. Meanwhile factory wages are up around 60 percent and after-tax corporate profits are up 227 percent.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman has misled the American farmers, ranchers, and the American housewives. Cattle and hog prices have plummeted while meat prices in supermarkets remain high.

This should concern Secretary of Agriculture Freeman, but apparently it does not. The other day Mr. Freeman said he was "pleased to report" that farm prices had dropped. Recent USDA actions obviously are aimed at bringing about a further drop in the price paid farmers. The administration has increased sugar imports, restricted hide exports, opened up cheese imports, and taken butter and half the pork servings away from the Armed Forces.

As a result of the USDA action dumping corn and wheat there will be 12 percent more cattle ready for market in the April to June quarter this year than a year earlier according to the USDA Cattle on Feed Report issued April 15, 1966. In Kansas there are 37 percent more than a year ago. This volume of marketing probably will continue to have a depressing effect on farm prices. But the point I make is that the livestock feeders were misled by the Secretary when the USDA created a too favorable livestock-feed price ratio last fall and earlier this year by selling grain from CCC stocks. This caused the feeders to place too many cattle on feed for marketing during the current period.

Referring to the position of Secretary of Agriculture Freeman, the Kiplinger Agricultural Letter of April 8 says that "he finds himself in the new position of sort of price administrator by order of the White House. His new job is to beat down farm prices after 5 years of successfully helping to build up farm prices and income."

Mr. Speaker, I am shocked, amazed and quite frankly disgusted over recent actions and statements by the administration. I am concerned for the plight of the rancher and farmer who are constantly bludgeoned at the very time they are struggling to reach 80 percent of parity as they did last year. According to the President's Economic Report on page 275 the average farm income from 1960 to 1966 is $3,648. Meanwhile according to the New York Times of March 20, the average family income in the Watts area of Los Angeles from 1960 to 1966 is $3,841 or $193 more than the average farmer. While the President is declaring areas such as Watts as "depressed" and subject to massive poverty funds, he is at the same time creating a depressed area in all of rural America.

While the average farmer is living at depressed levels, the President and his "Secretary Against Agriculture" by issuing irresponsible and misleading statements have attempted to make it appear that the farmer is responsible for the increased cost of meats and groceries. Why not place the blame for inflation where it actually belongs: on wild Government spending, increased labor costs, increased profits—apparently increased everything after the product leaves the farm and before it reaches the consumer. Only yesterday President Johnson's top economic adviser, Mr. Gardner Ackley, addressing the Super Market Institute urged that group to not "get soaked up in higher processing and operating costs." He added that labor's willingness to accept moderate wage settlements "depends in large measure on what happens to food prices." It is clearly not the farmer who is the culprit causing higher food costs.

A good example occurred recently when the administration claimed the farmer was responsible for rising shoe prices. An export quota was slapped on hides causing leather, hide, and cattle prices to fall. But as I pointed out in my protest at a Department of Commerce hearing, in the face of cheaper leather shoe manufacturers actually raised the price of men's and women's shoes. Meanwhile the Secretary of Agriculture sat idly by despite provisions in the law which give him power to block such action if he declares the supply is in excess of domestic use—which it plainly is.

In 1963 and 1964 the Secretary of Agriculture sat idly by while foreign meat imports flooded our markets. The Secretary of Commerce told American cattlemen to "cut out your whining" and the American farmer became a pawn in the chess game of international politics.

Now instead of sitting idly by while the farmer becomes the administration's "whipping boy" and is being blamed unfairly for rising prices, the Secretary of Agriculture joins in the chorus for lower farm prices and the farmers are fast becoming the "scapegoats of inflation."

Others have suggested Mr. Freeman's title be altered to read "Secretary Against Agriculture." I said before and I publicly state again, that unless the Secretary of Agriculture stands up for the American farmer and rancher and presents their case fairly before the public, then the Secretary should have the word "Agriculture" removed from his title. The Secretary of Agriculture no longer represents the farm and ranch people of America.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the RECORD show that I was delayed in getting here in order to vote.

If I had been present at the time the vote was taken I would have voted "aye."

AMERICAN IDEALS AND RHODESIAN INDEPENDENCE

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. FRASER] is recognized for 60 minutes.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 days in which to extend their remarks with respect to the subject matter of this special order.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. **FRASER**. Mr. Speaker, in recent months, a small clique in the United States has been spreading the fiction that the unilateral declaration of independence proclaimed in Rhodesia on November 11, 1965, is akin to that of July 4, 1776. This is fiction because the Rhodesian declaration was made by a small, privileged minority seeking to perpetuate its position against the threat of democracy in its own country. This clique, which calls itself the Friends of Rhodesian Independence, throws up a smokescreen of false issues and absurd assumptions. In a way this is useful, since to answer we have to return to fundamentals, to the nature of our society and our ideals, to what the United States stands for and wants to stand for in the contemporary world.

The rebellion of Ian Smith, the leader of the Rhodesian rebels, was designed to perpetuate the control of a small racial minority over the vast majority of Rhodesian citizens. He leads an effort by 6 percent of the population to permanently control the other 94 percent. It is a distortion of history to equate this purpose with the ideals which inspired the American Revolution and the principles for which we have been striving throughout our history.

The Smith regime seized power to prevent Britain from granting a role in government to all the people in Rhodesia as she did in all her other former African colonies; we rebelled against George III because England sought to maintain her colonial control over us. The Smith government favors rule by a racial minority through policies aimed at excluding virtually all Africans; our history has been a struggle to secure equal rights for all races. The Smith regime refuses to provide education above the primary school level for a meaningful number of Africans; we have tried to provide full public education to all citizens.

Racial injustice is no stranger to the United States. For centuries we enslaved Americans of African ancestry. We fought a Civil War to end this abominable practice, but we have moved too slowly to allow our Negro citizens full participation in our society. We have broken treaties with the Indians, and we have shunted them to reservations which are inadequate to support them.

The opponents of majority rule in Rhodesia point to these injustices and say that they justify American support for the minority in Rhodesia. But we are not proud of that part of our history, and it would be shameful for us to side with a group of people who desire only to emulate our mistakes. We have made great strides in racial equality and an aroused American conscience demands even more. We shun minority rule at home, and we cannot stand for this position abroad.

Ian Smith, the leader of the Rhodesian whites, is not George Washington reborn. Smith is defending a system which has existed in Rhodesia since at least 1923. The majority of the Rhodesian population oppose Ian Smith and proclaim the principle of majority rule. The Africans of Rhodesia say to the world that they know their own interests better than anyone else knows them, and that anyone who claims for himself a right to make decisions for other adults is by that very fact demonstrating his incapacity for responsibility in a democratic world.

THE REAL STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN RHODESIA

The real struggle for independence in Rhodesia today is led by African nationalists against a privileged minority. That this privileged minority was able to seize de facto power because of the errors of the colonial power, Great Britain, does not make its case any stronger. The African nationalists of Rhodesia are struggling for their freedom, however ineffectual their struggle may now seem. They should, one hopes, eventually win. We should do whatever we can to aid this struggle and to applaud its victories.

But one can hear the defenders of Ian Smith now. Does the United States want another Congo? Is not independent Africa one long series of coups, rebellions, and anarchy? Thus, it is argued, the bad state of postindependence Africa should warn us off our hasty and ill-advised support for African nationalist movements. But these arguments misread the state of postindependence Africa. And even if they did not, it is never an argument against the possession of freedom that it may be misused.

The struggle for freedom is never simple or cut and dried. The struggle for independence in African countries has been going on since 1945. It is not yet over. Africa is still in the middle of its revolution, and it is absurd to demand that all be peace and gentility. We in the United States had to fight a second war for independence in 1812 and fought a bloody and unhappy civil war among ourselves some 85 years after our independence. We know that stability and peace are never achieved easily or rapidly.

RHODESIA IS PART OF A LARGER STRUGGLE

We cannot understand what is going on in Rhodesia today unless we remember that it is part of a larger complex—that of southern Africa. Ian Smith is fighting for the rights of the privileged minority not only in Rhodesia but in Angola and Mozambique, in South Africa and South-West Africa. If these friends of Ian Smith talk of turmoil in independent Africa, it is to make us forget oppression in minority-ruled southern Africa. If they boast of the small crumbs they have thrown the majority Africans in education, health, and living standards, it is to make us forget the enormous discrepancy between the style of life of the minority who have privilege and the lives of the majority who must work for them. If they talk of the defense of order, it is to make us forget that this status quo is not based on the consent of the governed.

VIETNAM AND RHODESIA

Another part of the smokescreen is the claim that Ian Smith and his supporters are alined with us on Vietnam and in other struggles against communism. But our Government has emphatically stated that it is fighting in Vietnam to assure the right of the people to rule themselves. Our Government rejects the claim that anyone has the right to dictate a government for the Vietnamese; we believe the people should make their own choice in free elections. To be consistent with our position in Vietnam, we must support these principles in Rhodesia as well. If Ian Smith is so sure that he represents the best interests of Rhodesia, let him present himself before an electorate where all adults can vote. He will not do it, because he would stand no chance of being elected.

The United States stands for self-determination. We have stood for this principle throughout our history. Let us make it very clear that we stand for it in Rhodesia, that we support majority rule there—not because the majority is always right, but because there is no system of government better than that of majority rule.

AMERICAN OBJECTIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

If we do believe in self-determination in Rhodesia, what then should the United States do? We must do more than we have done hitherto. We have been equivocal. We have not, to be sure, supported the actions of Ian Smith. We have even sought in cautious ways to help him to disappear into the remote recesses of history where he will eventually be lodged. But neither have we clearly stated our positive objectives in the Rhodesian crisis.

The U.S. Government should state its commitment to the achievement of governments based on universal suffrage throughout southern Africa—in Rhodesia, to be sure, but also in Angola and Mozambique, in South Africa and South-West Africa. A statement by itself, of course, changes nothing. But it gives the world and ourselves a measure by which we can judge the adequacy of American policies in the immediate present. We can then ask about each decision in Washington or at the United Nations: Will that decision bring us closer to achieving governments based on universal suffrage throughout southern Africa?

Given a commitment to majority rule in southern Africa, our present position of support for the British boycott of the Ian Smith regime, while commendable, is inadequate. If we are the leader of the free world, we should take the initiative, something we have never previously done on issues involving southern Africa. If mandatory economic sanctions are needed to topple the Smith regime and bring self-determination, we should work to bring this about through the United Nations. We should not wait until we are pushed by the African and Asian nations and then try to achieve the weakest possible compromise.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN SMITH FALLS?

The next question which is crucial and cannot be ignored is, What will Britain do should Ian Smith fall and power revert to the British Government? And in this House, the crucial question is, What does the U.S. Government think Britain should do? Because to replace Ian Smith with a slightly more flexible member of this same ruling minority group in Rhodesia does not bring us one whit closer to achieving a democratic society in Rhodesia. Britain must proclaim now its eagerness to negotiate with African nationalists the transfer of power within a reasonably short time. A government should be established based on universal suffrage and should receive its full independence. And the United States should press Britain to make clear this objective now.

Some may say, in a false shrewdness, that to do this would alienate some potential support for Britain's position among Rhodesian whites. But who can believe today, 6 months after the November 11 declaration, that such support exists in any meaningful amount? And in any case, what about the support of the overwhelming majority of the population which is not struggling for a return to British colonial rule, but for a government based on universal suffrage that would then receive its independence and full membership in the polity of nations?

DEMOCRACY VERSUS MINORITY RULE

If one wants to make a case against democracy, against majority rule, there are always arguments. The majority is never as educated, as rational, as foresighted as some of us would wish. But neither is the minority. Between the mistakes of the majority and inevitable self-serving decisions of even the most dedicated minority, those who believe in democracy must always choose the former. The decision in Rhodesia is today a simple one in the light of this fundamental principle. The majority of Rhodesians are not permitted to vote. It is said that many, if not most of them, are not civilized enough to vote. It is said that if they got the vote, they would use it in all sorts of ways that other people wouldn't like. Perhaps, but the majority is still the majority. Perhaps Ian Smith honestly believes he knows its interests best. That is irrelevant. The faith in democracy is based on the belief that all men are created equal. Equal in what? In native ability? In attained culture? Of course not. No, equal in the right to have a voice in the government.

Winston Churchill once said:

> No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.

AMERICA MUST SUPPORT FREEDOM

This is as true for Rhodesia as elsewhere. That is why our Government must make its position far clearer than it has done up to now. That is why we may not hide in the protective coat of British initiative. That is why we ought once again to take the risks of supporting the cause of freedom.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRASER. I am delighted to yield to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, on November 12th of last year, 24 hours after Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence, Prime Minister Wilson quoted Winston Churchill to the House of Parliament:

> We should not intervene in these matters unless we are in earnest and prepared to carry our intervention to all necessary lengths.

There is much to talk about regarding Rhodesia. We would do well, however, to keep Churchill's words in mind, and to acknowledge the importance of Prime Minister Wilson's citation of those words. The policy of the U.S. Government is to assist in bringing down the rebellion of Ian Smith. We have a clear goal before us—Smith shall not be permitted to stand. The question we ought to be discussing today is simple—is that goal close to achievement or not?

To be fair, the evidence is conflicting. Sanctions against the Rhodesian Government are obviously biting. The danger of sizable layoffs of Rhodesian workers is significant. Most evidence leads to the conclusions that few advance buyers have been found for the tobacco crop. The secrecy surrounding the auctions would seem to suggest that the government was forced to buy up most of the crop itself. Rhodesian chrome and asbestos are also short of outlets.

I would suggest, however, that sanctions of this sort either succeed or they fail. One does not talk of the "partial success" of sanctions. One does not take heart in the fact that sanctions seem to be working "fairly well." The strategy of economic sanctions is defined by a commitment such as that of Churchill's.

In this context, it is clear that sanctions have not achieved their initially announced intention—to end the Smith rebellion, to bring it to its knees. I am not attributing any blame in this regard. Many of us were skeptical about the viability of such a strategy from the outset. And the circumstances which we anticipated might work against sanctions have largely come to pass. Thus, the white moderates of Rhodesia have not been split from their uncomfortable alliance with Ian Smith. Thus, the morale of the white Rhodesian population has not been reduced to the point where it threatens the government. Thus, the African majority has not been provoked into posing a threat to domestic order which might then justify direct intervention. And thus, South Africa and Portugal, contrary to early signs, have not maintained an attitude of strict neutrality regarding sanctions.

The latter problem is rapidly becoming the most serious. For it is the view of many qualified observers that the principal lifeline for Rhodesia is now South Africa. Clandestine oil shipments, carried out with South Africa's tacit approval, are undercutting the effect of the international oil embargo. And the psychological effect of these shipments is probably as important as the shipments themselves. While the British Government, by skillful diplomacy in the U.N., did manage to prevent the oil deliveries of the *Joanna V* and the *Manuela*, the overland shipments are virtually impossible to prevent.

In short, Mr. Speaker, there is reason to believe that under present circumstances, economic sanctions against Rhodesia are not having adequate effect. Since it is not out of the question that overall circumstances might change, I think we have to be prepared to ask ourselves how these circumstances will change and how we can change them.

There are several important variables. First, there is a possibility—bolstered by dispatches from London today—that the Smith government will decide it can exact enough concessions from London to justify the initiation of direct negotiations between Smith and Her Majesty's government. London's own evaluation of present realities may lead to an equivalent conclusion. Whether or not such a contingency would amount to acquiescence by the West would, of course, be subject to great controversy. As we cannot be privy to the full diplomatic picture from London, it would be difficult for the Congress to take any position on such an event. Let me express my own view, however, that any negotiations which accepted or symbolically legitimized Rhodesia's Declaration of Independence would represent a disaster for Western policy in Africa. If it appears as if direct negotiations between London and Salisbury are likely, the United States must prevail upon Great Britain not to yield to any agreement which would compromise a hasty return to majority rule.

Yet another variable in any future Rhodesian equation is the position of the African nations. I should say here that I am in complete sympathy with their impatience regarding Rhodesia. As the gentlemen from Minnesota has so ably pointed out, the rebellion in Rhodesia is a direct affront to African independence as well as to the principles of commonwealth law and the United Nations. Thus, the possibility of an intense African reaction to any compromise with Smith should not be underestimated—particularly since African leaders were told months ago that the Rhodesian rebellion would be ended "in a matter of weeks, not months." One can understand their position, therefore, on any possible alteration or reduction of Western commitment. Upon judging that 6 months of sanctions and private diplomacy has proven ineffectual, and upon seeing the possibility of Western change in policy, the African nations might well decide to take things into their own hands.

Such a development could be tragic, leading to bloody conflict and perhaps irreversible hardening of hostilities between the West and Africa.

The role of South Africa is still another unpredictable factor. On the one hand, we have Dr. Verwoerd's often-noted correctness on matters of international law which allow him to treat apartheid as an "internal matter." On the other hand, there is the natural and powerful sympathy of the South African people for the Rhodesian rebellion. Once again, therefore, any prediction of future reactions is likely to be highly speculative. For what it is worth, however, let me express my own view that Verwoerd cannot afford to be overextended on Rhodesia. It is probably far less national interest than the ability to practice nonintervention in the affairs of other nations—a practice, of course, which allows her to argue against the legality of international intervention in South Africa. Verwoerd, moreover, had urged Smith against a unilateral declaration of independence in the first place.

All these variables, plus the now less problematic domestic political situation in England, make the Rhodesian equation almost impenetrable. We are, in effect, in a most delicate diplomatic situation requiring utmost care and freedom to maneuver.

It is in such situations that one reviews and reaffirms principal interests. First and foremost, as I have said, is our obligation to return Rhodesia to majority rule—and to do it quickly. Naturally, one would hope that this could be achieved by diplomatic means. But it would not seem likely that Smith would be any more disposed to such steps now than he was 6 months ago—that is, if we are to believe reports noting the limited efficacy of sanctions. Yet if we reject such diplomatic conciliation as unlikely, we are immediately forced to review the state of sanctions and, most important, the status of South Africa.

I would suggest—and it is no more than that—that the South Africans and the Rhodesians are still in a position of relative strength. For their greatest fear, a forceful commitment to the implementation of chapter 7 sanctions by the United Nations, is still a long way off. Britain's recent step in citing chapter 7 was, after all, a last-ditch defensive measure taken to offset a new threat, the pirate oil tankers, rather than an old problem, South African aid and comfort. From this point of view, the cards may still be stacked against us. The difficulty of achieving our goals may at present undermine our willingness to obey the prescription of Churchill and "carry our intervention to all necessary lengths."

None of this is yet clear—by any means. So I do not wish to be understood as suggesting that the Smith rebellion has either succeeded or failed. I have taken the floor, Mr. Speaker, to declare that the present situation is deeply confused and that there are at least some strong reasons suggesting that the response to Rhodesia has proven inadequate. The Smith regime may yet win its objective.

From this viewpoint, and because of the diplomatic maneuvering presently taking place, I would strongly agree with the able gentleman from Minnesota's suggestion that the United States take a new position of leadership in this crisis. The arguments stressing the justice of the cause support such a policy. I want to add that the present realities in Rhodesia reinforce these arguments. Britain's traditional relations with South Africa, its sizable economic trade, and its highly vulnerable balance-of-payments position all serve to limit her response. The prospect of increased American initiatives, however, could strengthen London's hand considerably. But as long as Salisbury and Pretoria believe the Western allies might falter in their opposition, they will be able to keep the rebellion on its feet. This seems to me the unavoidable reality at the bottom of the Rhodesian crisis.

I submit, then that the United States must face up to the question of whether or not it is doing all it can to bring down Smith, and equally important, to convince South Africa that it is against her interest to aid the rebellion. This country, after all, is not without power in South Africa. Indeed, we are often told that the United States maintains relations with South Africa in order to exercise creative influence there. I would suggest that it is time to do just that, to spend a little of our accumulated credit with Verwoerd, and put it on the line: the South Africans isolate Rhodesia or the United States take steps to isolate South Africa. Such a step would be the beginning of a new invigorated American policy. It could open up the sort of initiatives that Mr. Fraser has envisaged.

I cannot be sure if full chapter 7 sanctions will be required to fulfill our obligations to the Rhodesian majority and the United Nations. I would hope intermediate steps could be found for that purpose.

Regardless of the specific steps, however, the United States must take a position of leadership and this can be dramatized in many ways—from a public statement by the President to private communication through diplomatic channels. Too much has already been committed in Rhodesia to forfeit success. The prospect of defeat or imprudent compromise is profoundly disturbing. America cannot allow just declarations of independence to be mocked or African freedom to be compromised. Time is running out and it is clearly not on our side.

Mr. FRASER. I thank the distinguished gentleman from New York for a thoughtful statement and incisive analysis of the problems of southern Africa and its relationship to U.S. policies. His statement reflects his commitment to majority rule and self-determination, which characterizes his concern about all international policies.

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRASER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I first wish to commend my friend and colleague from Minnesota for taking his time to discuss the important issue of majority rule in Rhodesia on the floor of the House. The U.S. Government supports the majority rule in the African nation today, and I am sure it will continue to in the future.

However, our support of democracy in Rhodesia, as commendable as it is, is apparently misunderstood by some of our fellow citizens. For this reason, I am glad to have the opportunity to read a recent speech by the Honorable G. Mennen Williams, former Governor of my State and former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Governor Williams is very knowledgeable about the progress the African states are making, and the problems they face. For this reason, his address of December 16, 1965, before the Department of State Post 68 of the American Legion, is worthy of note:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE G. MENNEN WILLIAMS

It is a pleasure for me to have another opportunity to meet with my fellow Legionnaires.

In recent days, I have encountered some misunderstanding about what is happening in Southern Rhodesia. Today, therefore, I would like to give you some facts about the illegal seizure of power in Southern Rhodesia by a white minority regime.

There has been some feeling in this country that the Southern Rhodesian rebellion, important as it is in its own right, is not of direct interest to the United States in view of our many other important world involvements.

Let me say flatly that nothing could be further from the truth.

We naturally have a stake in what is happening in Southern Rhodesia because of our traditional beliefs that government should be based on the consent of the governed and that all men are created equal. These principles are of great importance to us, but they are not the only matters of concern to the United States.

In addition to those historic beliefs, we have other vital U.S. interests at stake in Africa. We have, therefore, taken a hardheaded, realistic position against continuance of the illegal Southern Rhodesian regime because we have an important self-interest in the likely consequences that may flow from the rash action of a white minority in Southern Rhodesia.

If the rebel regime in Southern Rhodesia successfully maintains control of 4 million black Africans by 220,000 whites without being brought down, a whole chain of critical consequences could be set in motion—all of which would affect the United States directly and indirectly.

These are some of those probable consequences:

This act of illegal rule by a selfish minority of 220,000 whites could jeopardize the rights, prestige and good relations built up and enjoyed by some 1½ million other whites of European origin—a term that includes Americans—who live in areas of Africa other than southern Africa. It would put the white man in Africa in the same position, in effect, that we would be in this country if we had given Governors Barnett and Wallace complete freedom of action in Mississippi and Alabama to suppress Negro Americans and to flout the law of the land—except that in Southern Rhodesia it would be a small minority imposing its control over a large majority.

Unchecked, the southern Rhodesian situation could well lead to the downfall of responsible, friendly African governments—whose leaders recognize the desirability of continuing black-white cooperation—and their replacement by radical elements whose hands would be strengthened by white Southern Rhodesian actions.

The failure to halt illegal minority rule in Southern Rhodesia could lead to our closest ally, Britain, losing its influence in Africa and to a waning of British power throughout the world. It almost certainly would cause the loss of African and other nonwhite members of the Commonwealth.

A further significant consequence of a runaway Southern Rhodesia lies in the fact that Southern Rhodesia now controls the electric power, coal and the exit route for the 700,000 tons of copper which Zambia exports to the world annually. Britain imports about one-third of Zambia's copper. Zambia and the Congo's neighboring Katanga region account for 25 percent of the free world's copper supply and consequently have an important effect on the world market.

Successful maintenance of illegal minority rule in Southern Rhodesia would have additional adverse effects on our own numerous and specific interests in Africa. The simple fact is that our entire posture in Africa rests squarely on the strong moral and material support we give African nations on issues of vital importance to them—and, obviously, the question of independence and majority rule in Southern Rhodesia is such an issue. You can readily see, therefore, that it would be a poor political risk to pander to Southern Rhodesia's white minority regime for any reason—and certainly not for investment reasons, as has been suggested in some quarters, when only $56 million of our $44.34 billion worldwide investment total is involved—and $56 million is only about one-twentieth of our investment in black and Arab Africa.

And, finally, the situation in Southern Rhodesia could trigger a bitter war along racial lines in southern Africa—a struggle that could spread swiftly to other continents. This could be the gravest consequence of all.

The tragedy of the current situation in Southern Rhodesia is that it didn't have to happen. Under British rule, black southern Rhodesians had confidence that their political rights would flow normally, as such rights have done in other former British colonies.

While the British did not plan to initiate one-man, one-vote overnight, they did propose to bring majority rule—with appropriate safeguards for the rights of minorities—to Southern Rhodesia in what they considered a reasonable time. And in the months and years before the illegal seizure of power last November 11, the British devoted strenuous efforts and much time to attempts to direct white and black Southern Rhodesians toward a path of reasonableness.

White Southern Rhodesians also had seen the successful transition from white minority rule to nonracial societies that had been accomplished in other parts of Africa. In fact, groups of prominent white citizens of Kenya and Tanzania sent telegrams to the Southern Rhodesian regime to try to dissuade Southern Rhodesians from their collision course.

But to no avail. The white minority was convinced it could hold back the tide of African nationalism by a selfish and ill-considered seizure of power.

But at best the Southern Rhodesian whites have bought only a few fleeting hours in which they can continue to deny black Africans their rights. They cannot long escape the inevitability of majority rule any more than they can halt the passage of time.

The measures the Southern Rhodesian regime is taking to keep in power and control its people are reminiscent of those adopted by the totalitarian regimes of the 1930's, against whom we fought in World War II.

Heavy press censorship has been put into effect, and Rhodesian papers have appeared with large, blank white spaces. Public group listening to so-called "subversive" broadcasts—the BBC and the Voice of America, for example—is illegal. And the Rhodesia Herald no longer can print BBC schedules.

Parliamentary supporters of the regime have shouted down and suspended opposition.

A state of emergency was proclaimed that permits police to arrest people without warrants.

The principal African nationalist leaders, Joshua Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole—along with some 1,800 of their supporters—are under detention, mostly without trial.

A former white Prime Minister, Garfield Todd, is under house arrest for opposing the regime.

Leo Baron, the white legal adviser to one of the two principal African political parties, the Zimbabwe African People's Union, had been put into prison.

All of these actions are the trappings of a police state.

Today, the misguided white Southern Rhodesians have all but cut themselves off from the rest of the world. British Prime Minister Wilson has said of them: "We cannot negotiate with these men nor can they be trusted, after the return of constitutional rule, with the task of leading Rhodesia in paths of freedom and racial harmony."

Looking to the future, we believe that Britain, as the sovereign power in Southern Rhodesia, has the primary responsibility for halting the rebellion in its colony. Britain has, in fact, applied a broad range of sanctions—political, fiscal, economic—against Southern Rhodesia to see if the situation can be rectified by such drastic expedients.

Speed is a critical factor in the situation, however. African nations already are impatient with Britain's choice of measures. Many of them are pressing for direct military action. And a few would consider turning to the Communists for help, on the grounds that the West is not moving fast enough. Obviously, the Communists would be happy to rush into this situation if they get a chance.

Under normal circumstances, it would seem that the extensive British sanctions would be strong enough to bring down the Southern Rhodesian regime. But three intangibles remain. Whether these sanctions will have the opportunity of exerting their full impact on Southern Rhodesia may depend upon the amount of cooperation received from South Africa, upon the predatory tendencies of modern-day private buccaneers looking for quick profit and upon the amount of patience and restraint exhibited by African nations.

Because of our own important interests in this matter, the United States fully backs the British Government in its actions. We believe Britain will continue to apply measures that will be adequate to resolve the situation, and we will support those measures.

In conclusion, then, the continued existence of the illegal Southern Rhodesian regime is not a phenomenon isolated to a remote section of southern Africa. Important as it is, it is not solely a question of whether 220,000 whites can maintain a "Governor Wallace-type" of racial supremacy over 4 million black Africans. Rather, it is a situation that can have serious repercussions for the future of freedom in Africa, for other whites in Africa, for independent African governments, for Britain, for the United States, and for the whole world.

Clearly, the United States has only one course to follow—and that is to help halt the maintenance of an illegal regime in southern Rhodesia and to assist the British in their efforts to achieve an orderly transition to majority rule.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRASER. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. I should like to express my gratitude both to the gentleman from New York and to the gentleman from Minnesota, members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, for airing the Rhodesian problem. I agree with what they have said.

Mr. Speaker, Rhodesia may not seem to many of us here in Washington to represent a threat to peace; it is a landlocked nation with a population hardly over 4 million; it is of no great strategic significance to the United States; and what goes on there appears to be primarily a question for Britain to settle.

But appearance and reality do not match. The Rhodesian question is actually intimately tied to U.S. foreign policy in general and, more specifically, to our policy to Africa. Failure to support Britain now in her policy of insisting that the Rhodesian regime must eventually renounce its declaration of independence can only result in our being confronted ultimately with a full-grown, obstreperous white supremacy regime.

On April 21, in a House of Commons debate, Prime Minister Harold Wilson said that Rhodesia represented "one of the most difficult problems any government has had to face in this century," and he warned that any mistake in policy could "touch off a new division in world affairs, based not on ideology but on color."

Speaking from quite a different point of view, but saying much the same thing was Portuguese Premier Antonio Salazar who said, on April 13:

> One more false step in solving the Rhodesian problem by the responsible powers can set off a vast fire with risks for all who consider themselves immune because they are far from the field.

On April 11, New York Times Washington Correspondent Richard Eder concluded an excellent story on Rhodesia with the following:

> Unless the Rhodesian problem is solved quickly, officials here in Washington foresee that the United States will not be able to counsel moderation against South Africa without hopelessly compromising its moral position. Furthermore, they fear that the new regimes in Africa, which are moderating their bellicosity toward the West while concentrating on internal development, will be undermined if the Western powers cannot demonstrate effectively their sympathy with Africa's most burning emotional issues: colonialism and racialism.

Surely these three authorities have provided sufficient warning against permitting the Rhodesian situation from degenerating further. Continuation of the rebel regime is now almost totally dependent on active South African support. To tolerate this support is likely to have extremely serious consequences on American-African relations.

South African Prime Minister Verwoerd has made a mockery of the oil blockade—and so have some of our own companies operating in South Africa. The London Economist of April 23 suggests that the movement of oil supplies from South Africa to Rhodesia are being undertaken mainly by Caltex. The British companies have fallen out of that trade due to the successful persuasion by their own government. A single South African-owned refinery, however, can supply Rhodesia's limited needs without strain.

Similarly, the freezing of Rhodesia's overseas assets by Britain has failed to block Rhodesia's ability to lay her hands on hard currencies. South Africa has simply been acting as Rhodesia's banker to finance overseas trade.

Britain, because of her delicate situation with regard to the sterling, cannot afford to threaten Verwoerd. But the United States has both the leverage—we are one of South Africa's best customers—and also the least to lose—less than 1 percent of our foreign investment is in South Africa. It would thus be perfectly reasonable for the United States to take the initiative in warning the South African Government that further aid to the Smith regime will force a critical review of our policy to South Africa. Little more needs to be said at first; South Africa's bankers and financiers will get the message.

Prime Minister Wilson announced on April 27 that talks between the British and Rhodesian Governments would be resumed. While these talks are directed only to see whether a basis for negotiation genuinely exists, this is, however, an encouraging sign.

The United States must continue to support the efforts of Great Britain to seek a peaceful solution to the Rhodesian rebellion and establish a government based upon majority rule.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I should like to compliment my able colleague, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. FRASER], for taking this time today to discuss the very important question of Rhodesia. This is a difficult and potentially explosive problem, and one that should receive far more attention, study, and debate than it does.

I want to commend my colleague on his vivid description of the situation in Rhodesia. He is right in saying that there is no parallel between the rebellion of a white minority in Rhodesia today and our own Revolution in 1776. He is also eminently right in arguing that we should do what we can to further the development of a truly democratic and independent country in Rhodesia on the basis of full and equal participation by all adults.

I applaud also the policy of President Johnson in supporting the efforts of the British Government to bring down the illegal Smith regime. The British in recent years have made a splendid record in furthering the aspirations of their major former colonies to self-determination and independence. Rhodesia presents a peculiarly difficult problem, and my own feeling is that the Wilson government has been tackling it with courage and determination.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the urgent importance of an equitable solution to the dangerous situation in Rhodesia, I think it would be helpful to consider some of the disturbing religious and moral implications of this problem.

For this purpose, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, first, the "Policy Statement on Southern Africa" adopted on February 23, 1966, by the general board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; and second, the "Statement on the Rhodesian Situation," adopted on December 16, 1965, by the executive council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

The items follow:

POLICY STATEMENT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

(Adopted by the general board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. on Feb. 23, 1966)

Developments in southern Africa since our resolution of June 4, 1964, warrant continuing review. Therefore, we call particular attention to:

(A) The recommendations of the World Order Study Conferences on southern Africa and those of the General Committee of the International Affairs Commission.

(B) The deep concern expressed by the executive committee of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, July 12, 1965: "The executive committee views with continuing concern the tragic and, in fact, deteriorating situation in those countries of southern Africa where the principle of minority white rule is the basis of policy and is maintained by repression in various forms and degrees. It is disturbing to note that in spite of the demands both local and international for greater justice, governments have hardened their position in South Africa by the intensification of the policy of apartheid, inevitably accompanied by an ever-growing and increasingly ruthless system of repression, in Southern Rhodesia, by the search for escape from any limitation, present or future, on white political authority; in Angola and Mozambique, by the steps taken by the Portuguese Government to resist all demands to share any authority with the peoples of these countries."

In the light of these and other expressions of the deepening concern of Christians, including the February 16, 1966, World Council of Churches resolution on Southern Rhodesia, the general board of the National Council of Churches hereby:

1. Commends the President, the Secretary of State, and the U.S. Representative to the United Nations for their action in opposing the unilateral declaration of independence by Southern Rhodesia, and in particular for the statement of the U.S. Representative to the United Nations in which he said, "We cannot condone any action contrary to the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all the peoples of the territory"; and requests the president of the National Council of Churches to convey its appreciation of this significant action to them.

Second, calls upon the U.S. Government, pursuant to its stated policy and resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations, to take such further economic and political measures as may be necessary to assist the British Government in the realization of its stated objectives for Southern Rhodesia, including the immediate improvement of the political status of the African, the repeal of all racist laws, and a constitution acceptable to the majority of Southern Rhodesians.

Third, commends the decision of the United Nations General Assembly to establish a fund for the economic development of Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland, and urges the United States to contribute generously to this fund.

Fourth, calls upon the constituent communions of the National Council of Churches to support the ecumenical program for emergency action in Africa, initiated by the World Council of Churches, which includes services through the churches to needy persons in Southern Africa.

Fifth, calls upon the constituent communions of the National Council of Churches and other concerned institutions to seek ways and means of enlarging contacts and exchanges between southern Africans and American Christians—both clergy and laymen, white and nonwhite—for dialog and discussion of those racial questions affecting the enjoyment of equal rights which are pressing in the United States as well as in southern Africa.

Sixth, urges the Government of the United States to apply a firmness toward the Republic of South Africa corresponding to that which it has indicated it would apply to Southern Rhodesia, and to that end to explore and exercise such political and economic pressures as may lead to the effective dissociation of the United States and its citizens from implicit support of South Africa's denial of rights to nonwhites. This should include such measures as:

(a) A policy of discouragement rather than the present policy of encouragement of trade with and investment in South Africa; such a shift would be in accord with United Nations recommendations.

(b) The implementation of nondiscriminatory policies in employment and assignment of personnel in U.S. establishments in South Africa.

(c) The granting of asylum in the United States to political refugees from South Africa.

Seventh. Expresses appreciation for the report on "The Future South Africa" by the British Council of Churches and its action in requesting the British Government, "as a matter of urgency, to consider what measures are required to insure that Britain and her citizens no longer act in such a way as to encourage apartheid."

Eighth. Urges that churches and their agencies exercise their influence by examining their investment portfolios to determine whether funds are invested in U.S. corporations having investments in enterprises in the Republic of South Africa which practice racial discrimination and support apartheid, and in appropriate cases protesting such practices through these channels of influence.

Approved, 92; disapproved, 4; abstentions, 2.

STATEMENT ON RHODESIAN SITUATION

(Adopted by the Executive Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Dec. 16. 1965)

Mindful of anomalies in our own national history, especially the dispossession and widespread destruction of many Indian nations by our own forebears (whom we now call heroes), and the forced importation into this country of African people as slaves;

In a spirit of penitence for our failure adequately to correct the results of these injustices within our own borders; and

Mindful of the great problems and difficulties in our national history caused by these misdeeds and failures;

We deplore the illegal assumption of power in Rhodesia by Ian Smith and his associates. It is a scandal to the gospel of reconciliation that a fearful minority of 220,000 people seek to erect a society which excludes from human and political selfhood over 4 million people, and to do it, as Mr. Smith maintains, "in the name of Christianity, justice, and civilization." Almost alone in the situation, the Anglican Bishops of Mashonaland and Matabeleland, the Christian Council of Rhodesia, and the Roman Catholic bishops of the country, seek to keep alive the hope of justice and equality in a multiracial society.

How can Christians in America support the church and the people of Rhodesia? The executive council of the Episcopal Church believes that our principal assistance at this time is to help create the conditions which will bring about the rapid restoration of constitutional government to that land. This will involve finding ways to apply economic as well as political pressures against Mr. Smith's regime. We call on churchmen to take steps in their business dealings and

> communities to curtail economic transactions with Rhodesia. Whatever sacrifice this may mean on a temporary basis pales alongside the witness our brothers are called on to make within the country itself. We urge vigorous joint action to demonstrate to our Government and to the United Nations that we support the imposition of whatever political and economic measures are necessary, nationally and internationally, to bring a speedy end to the regime.
>
> Only after the removal of the illegal Smith regime can the groundwork be laid for a multiracial society based on full participation in the affairs of Government and an end to gross denials of human dignity.

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, there is almost universal agreement that Rhodesia's attempt to make a go of its rebellion against Britain must not succeed. Prime Minister Wilson, in his speech to the United Nations General Assembly in December, called upon the nations of the world to join him in deposing the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia through economic measures. Only South Africa and Portugal voted against the resolution in the United Nations condemning the unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia.

G. Mennen Williams, then American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said:

> The United States has only one course to follow—and that is to help halt the maintenance of an illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia and to assist the British efforts to achieve an orderly transition to majority rule.

The African states, both in the United Nations and through the Organization of African Unity, have called for the sternest action to see that the illegal Smith regime does not last. Nine of the African countries have broken relations with Britain, because force has not been used to depose the regime. So far not a single country has officially recognized the independent Rhodesian regime. Even South Africa and Portugal have not openly embraced Rhodesian independence. Since it would be in the best interests of both Portuguese colonial rule and of the white minority Government of South Africa if Ian Smith's gamble succeeded, one can only deduce that they are skeptical about the ultimate victory of the Rhodesian Government.

Why has UDI in Rhodesia set off such an international furor? It is only a landlocked country with limited resources and a population of a little over 4 million people. The answer is not found just in illegal declaration of independence from Britain. The British Government intends for Rhodesia to become independent—as with all the rest of her colonies in Africa.

Rhodesian white minority independence has shaken the African continent so severely because a "new South Africa" has been created. The Republic of South Africa is recognized as the ultimate challenge to the right of independence and equality of the African people in an era when independence and equality sum up the meaning of history to most of the Africans.

Only 6 percent of the population of Rhodesia is white. Under the 1961 Constitution with the limitations on the right to vote, this 6 percent of the population can elect 50 out of the 65 members of Parliament. Twenty-eight dollars is spent per year for the education of the black child, while $280 is spent for the white. Under the Land Apportionment Act, 44 million acres are set aside for the 4 million Africans, and 41 million acres for the 220,000 Europeans. The average industrial wage for the African is $190.60 a year; for the European it is $2,894. The two principal African political parties are banned and the political leaders are either in exile or in confinement.

This is the stuff out of which racial wars are made. If the efforts to bring down the Ian Smith government are not soon successful, the frustration of many African leaders and their governments will lead to desperate action. African governments not prepared for the most forceful action against Rhodesia may well fall. Good relations which are being established in some of the east and central African countries between the European minority and the African majority may well be jeopardized. Both Britain's and the United States' friendly relations with many of the African countries will likewise be jeopardized. Thus the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Rhodesia is a crisis not only for many of the Africans in Rhodesia itself, and for many of the African states, but also for the non-African countries attempting to establish sound relations with African independent states.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank my colleague from Minnesota [Mr. FRASER] for his remarks today in support of freedom and majority rule in southern Rhodesia. He has reminded us that our Government has failed to enunciate a working plan based upon those principles; in the Rhodesian crisis, we have cautiously supported the British, without taking "the risks of supporting the cause of freedom."

When notions like majority rule and democracy are discussed in the context of southern Africa, their advocates are attacked as naive and impractical. The usual rhetoric is brought forth: Americans cannot understand the different conditions in Africa; African majorities are not capable of governing themselves; Africa lacks any heritage of democratic institutions.

But the conservative rhetoric misses the point. It misses the ingenuity of political institutions, and the insights of sound and principled international relations. When I join DON FRASER today in calling for freedom and majority rule in southern Rhodesia, I am calling on the Government of the United States to enunciate an international policy which is based upon freedom and majority rule as operating principles. Whether Rhodesia should be boycotted or sanctioned or other measures taken is not the issue at this level. First, we must establish a basis on which to operate.

I believe that we must operate on the assumption that freedom and majority rule are proper elements of all governments and that therefore we must gear our foreign policy to the eventual emergence of democratic political institutions in all countries. We must not be caught supporting or generating political forces which conflict with, retard, or destroy freedom and majority rule.

Much of our foreign policy assumes these operating principles. Economic development is supported because it is a prerequisite to the development of democratic political institutions. Social reform is sought in many countries to spread national wealth, to invigorate and extend new national electorates.

But our policy in southern Africa has become detached from these operating principles. Our Government is behaving as if it believes the undemocratic regimes of southern Africa will not at last give way. This is a disastrous assumption—an assumption which has long been avoided in the implementation of our most successful international programs.

It is time for the United States to reiterate that freedom and majority rule must also be the goal of a government of southern Rhodesia. Furthermore, the United States must take initiatives which will move southern Rhodesia along the path to democratic government. Our policies must be taken in light of that country's present rejection of majority rule and suppression of freedom.

At this time, I would also like to apply what I have said about American policy toward southern Rhodesia to American policy toward the Union of South Africa. For the Union of South Africa is consciously building and maintaining a dictatorial political showpiece.

On September 25, 1964, Secretary of State Dean Rusk told the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa:

> The United States has a deep interest in events in southern Africa. In our dealings with those areas our position is based firmly on the belief that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Yet that fine statement has not been used as an operating principle of American foreign policy. The United States has instead developed a handsoff policy toward the South African Government, while our economic investment in that country increases each year.

Our policy toward southern Rhodesia, and all of southern Africa, is thus locked up in our modern dilemma: we want to support democracy, to develop freedom and majority rule, in a world where such institutions are hard to find, harder to develop, and hardest of all to maintain. But in light of this dilemma, we remain naive and impractical if we believe that our Nation can survive if it does not initiate and support policies which will produce the conditions necessary for democratic institutions.

Thus the keystone of our foreign policy should be the strengthening of the United Nations, the World Court, and similar supranational and international bodies. It is through the slow but steady and devoted development of a corpus of world law that democratic institutions can flourish throughout the world. The accepted prerequisites of a national democratic order—personal and organizational interaction and cooperation, toleration of dissent, rejection of violence as a tool of policy—are just as necessary in the achievement of international order. The development of democratic institutions on the international level should go hand in hand with similar development in the nations now emerging from colonial status.

Our country cannot continue to enunciate democratic principles while its businessmen reap profits by defying policies based on the search for democratic institutions. This House cannot continue to support foreign policy actions on a doctrine of instant anticommunism which intimidates friends as well as foes—and merely strengthens forces in the world on both right and left which would prevent any development of freedom and majority rule.

Our Government must be ready to discard its naivete and impracticalities. It must do this by recognizing that its international policies have consequences for the development of democratic institutions everywhere. It must pursue policies which tie into well-articulated democratic assumptions. It must not allow inaction—or poorly thought out action—to place it in a position opposed to achievement of freedom and majority rule.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, two items on the Rhodesian crisis recently have been brought to my attention. I include them as a part of the RECORD following my remarks.

The AFL–CIO at its last biennial convention adopted a resolution on Rhodesia and South Africa. The AFL–CIO, which is a strong progressive force in shaping many aspects of our domestic and international policy, reaffirms its support of the struggle of the people of southern Africa and other colonial territories in their fight for justice and racial equality and firmly states its backing of majority rule in Rhodesia.

Our United Nations Ambassador, Arthur Goldsberg, is quoted in this morning's New York Times on the importance of the struggle in Rhodesia. He says, "Failure to resolve the Rhodesian crisis with justice to the African majority" would strengthen "extremism, violence, and racism" in Africa. "Moderate African leaders, who have recently gained ground in several countries, might lose ground again."

The AFL–CIO resolution and excerpts from the New York Times article follows:

RESOLUTION ON RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA ADOPTED AT THE 1965 BIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE AFL–CIO, DECEMBER 9–16, 1965

Believing in the fundamental right of peoples to free themselves from alien rule and their inherent right to self-determination on the basis of majority rule;

Aware of the explosive situation in Rhodesia stemming from the illegal seizure of power by the Ian Smith racist clique;

Conscious of the possibility of a race war in Rhodesia which will plunge the whole of Africa in a bloodbath and poison race relations the world over; and conscious of the positive role and duty of the free labor movement has in averting this human tragedy;

Reaffirms its support of the struggle of the people of southern Africa (South Africa, South-West Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique) and other colonial territories in their fight for justice and race equality;

Calls upon the U.S. Government to initiate moves that will help quarantine the Ian Smith racist regime and bring to a speedy end the pretensions of this insane power-drunk clique;

Urges President Johnson to call upon our ally—Great Britain—on the occasion of the visit of Prime Minister Harold Wilson to the United States, to begin immediate and exploratory conversations with the African Nationalist leaders with a view to the introduction of a constitution based on majority rule;

Calls upon the free labor movement to give all possible humanitarian and material assistance to the people of Rhodesia in their fight to secure majority rule and racial justice.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Apr. 28, 1966]

GOLDBERG WARNS ON AFRICAN CRISIS—TELLS PUBLISHERS RHODESIAN ISSUE MUST BE SOLVED

(By Peter Kihss)

Arthur J. Goldberg, the U.S. representative at the United Nations, contended yesterday that "failure to resolve the Rhodesian crisis with justice to the African majority" would strengthen "extremism, violence and racism" in Africa.

"Moderate African leaders, who have recently gained ground in several countries, might lose ground again," he declared in an appeal for support of United Nations efforts. He addressed 1,500 persons at the annual luncheon of the American Newspaper Publishers Association at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

He said that in the case of Rhodesia, every United Nations member, even South Africa and Portugal, had refrained from recognizing the present white minority regime.

The United States, he said, had taken a strong stand against the Rhodesian Government on principles of the equality of men and of self-determination, as well as "a practical interest in maintaining friendly relations" with African nations.

PROTEST AGAINST THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE'S ANNOUNCEMENT TRANSFERRING ARMY AND AIR FORCE EXCHANGE SERVICES FROM NEW YORK CITY TO THE GREATER FORT WORTH-DALLAS AREA

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARBSTEIN] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a resolution protesting the Department of Defense's announcement transferring the Army and Air Force Exchange Services from New York City to the Greater Fort Worth-Dallas area. The Department's announcement of April 25, 1966, is of concern to me since the transfer of a single position from the New York Army and Air Force Exchange Services is a serious matter with corresponding economic consequences.

Speaking for the New York delegation, I have protested the move to the Secretaries of Defense, Army, and Air Force but have to date received no satisfactory reply. The Defense Department has refused to make available for review of interested Congressmen a report allegedly describing detailed reasons for this move. It is my belief that the delegation is entitled to know full details of the basis for the relocation.

This latest transfer, announced after 18 months of surreptitious, behind the scenes maneuverings, is the latest of a series of withdrawals of Federal installations from New York. Federal installation after Federal installation has been pulled out of New York leaving a serious impact on the city's economy. All too often these establishments have been reestablished in areas where the cost-of-living index is as high or higher than in New York. It is with these facts in mind that I introduce the following resolution:

H. RES. 834

Whereas the Department of Defense has announced plans to transfer the Army and Air Force Exchange Services from New York City and has consistently refused to honor congressional requests for information outlining the detailed reasons for the transfer; and

Whereas the proposed move has been under consideration by the Department for 18 months and despite objection by both local government leaders and congressional leaders concerning the proposed move; and

Whereas Federal installation after Federal installation has left New York City, having a serious impact on the city's economy; and

Whereas many such Federal installations have been reestablished in areas with a cost-of-living index higher than New York: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the Department of Defense should rescind its plans for the transfer of the Army and Air Force Exchange Services from New York City.

THE SILVER SALARIED JOB CORPS

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. GOODELL. Want a 57-percent raise? Join the staff of the Job Corps. The 208 staff personnel at Camp Gary, San Marcos, Tex., drawing salaries over $9,000 got an average increase of 57 percent above their previous salary; 22 of them got more than double their previous salary. Here are some examples of past and present salaries of Camp Gary personnel:

The manager of personnel from a previous salary of $5,000 to $10,000.

The math chairman from $4,730 to $10,080.

The citizenship teacher from $4,800 to $10,080.

The chairman of commercial skills from $4,650 to $10,080.

The welding instructor from $3,200 to $9,780.

The teacher of commercial skills from $4,500 to $9,780.

Another teacher of commercial skills from $4,300 to $9,780.

The auto mechanic instructor from $3,800 to $9,780.

The drafting instructor from $4,764 to $9,780.

The science teacher from $4,700 to $9,780.

The duty officer from $4,500 to $9,493.

The physical education instructor from $4,600 to $9,480.

The automatic, facile explanation always given by poverty officials for high salaries is, "We need the best people." Is it really necessary, however, to go this far? Aside from the leakage of poverty funds for extravagant salaries, there is a distressing impact on school systems. What school board can compete with their rich Uncle Sam who apparently has money to burn?

One hundred and fifty-four of the two hundred and eight at Camp Gary who make over $9,000 came directly to Gary from school jobs. Is is necessary to offer $9,780 to a math instructor making $4,887 or to a music teacher making $4,200 in order to attract them to come to business?

These are the kind of facts that should have been brought out in congressional hearings and which were not brought out. In spite of our efforts, and those of Congresswoman GREEN, the reason for extravagant costs of Job Corps camps remained a mystery in the hearings. Camp Gary does not stand alone; on the contrary, it appears to be a typical outgrowth of inept administration of the Job Corps.

I have today telegraphed seven other urban Job Corps centers for full data on their staff salaries. In the meanwhile, my colleagues and the press, you are welcome to examine the complete salary records of Camp Gary in my office.

I think we might change the name of this operation to the "Silver Salaried Job Corps"—or the "Story of Rags to Riches."

DEVELOPING BETTER MENTAL HEALTH TREATMENT

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that we all realize the importance of proper care for the mentally ill. Over the years, and especially in the last decade or two, our knowledge of how best to treat the mentally ill has increased a hundredfold, and through the advances in this field many have been cured and have assumed their rightful place in the community. I am especially proud that one of the foremost champions of the innovations of working with and for the mentally ill has been Rochester State Hospital in Rochester, Minn., and I recommend to all my colleagues the following article from the February issue of Hospital and Community Psychiatry on the progress made by Rochester State Hospital in the treatment of the mentally ill.

STATE HOSPITAL TO BECOME COMPREHENSIVE AREA MENTAL HEALTH CENTER

(By Edward M. Litin, M.D., head, section of psychiatry, Mayo Clinic, Rochester, Minn.)

(NOTE.—Dr. Litin is also an assistant professor of psychiatry at Mayo Graduate School of Medicine, which is part of the Graduate School, University of Minnesota.)

I. PREPARING THE COMMUNITY

The final report of the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health, published in 1961, represented some revolutionary thinking in the fields of mental illness and retardation. The ideas proposed were lucid and logical, and they formed the basis for President Kennedy's historic message to Congress on mental illness and mental retardation in February 1963 and for subsequent congressional action for the construction of community mental health centers and facilities for the victims of mental retardation.

As with any proposal that involves sweeping changes, certain controversial issues arose. Perhaps the most controversial was the recommendation that all large public mental hospitals should be converted into centers for victims of chronic invalidism, including mental illness. While this recommendation may have some validity for large, extremely isolated understaffed public mental hospitals, the more easily accessible, moderate-sized public mental hospitals can and should play a vital role in planning for the new community mental health facilities.

Our experience in serving a catchment area of 500,000 persons in Rochester, Minn., and adjoining counties demonstrates that it is possible to integrate existing community facilities not only functionally but also geographically in a natural center, the local public mental hospital.

This was not a simple, easy task. It required leadership, patience, cooperation, and above all mutual trust between each of the agencies and the State hospital. For years we have known that in any community there are multiple agencies and facilities concerned with the care of the mentally ill and with the promotion of mental health. Yet these agencies have always been notoriously poorly integrated and coordinated; they have remained separated geographically and have carried on minimal communication. As a result, many agencies and facilities have, at one time or another or even simultaneously, been involved with the same individual. Waste of effort and duplication of services were inevitable.

Traditionally the various agencies jealously guarded their autonomy and were apprehensive about losing their identity. This created major obstacles to close communication and cross-referrals. In order to establish on the campus of the public mental hospital a well-functioning mental health center that included all these agencies, we had to assure and guarantee their autonomy.

As is true throughout the country, the Rochester State Hospital's bed occupancy has declined, despite an increase in the number of admissions. This is the result of more intensive treatment methods, better staffing, and a philosophy aimed at early discharge. This shrinking of population made available significant amounts of space in the buildings that previously were occupied by inpatients. We felt that the campus of this excellent State hospital could become an ideal geographic center for the many health facilities in the immediate area. Information about individual patients and clients could flow freely from one agency to another. Patients' records could be available to all agencies through a common numbering system. Another advantage would be utilization of existing space, which would avoid the cost of new construction—a factor favorably regarded by elected government officials. The rapidly diminishing stigma of being in a State hospital would be further dissipated when other mental health facilities were located on its campus. A well-functioning mental health center would enrich the training and experience of the psychiatric residents at the Mayo Clinic. As chairman of the board of directors of the local mental health clinic, I knew the clinic needed larger quarters. All these benefits would obviously lead to better treatment for patients and more efficient agency operations.

Keeping in mind these factors and the recent deliberations of the APA Committee on Mental Hospitals about the future of public mental hospitals, I surveyed the existing health facilities in our community. We then outlined the services offered by the different agencies and pointed out the advantages of their locating on the campus of the State hospital. Among organizations that could be included in the projected comprehensive community mental health center were: the excellent State hospital, which is modern, well staffed, and progressive; an outpatient mental health clinic; the day activity center of the mental retardation association; an active chapter of the association for mental health; an active center for alcoholism information; a good demonstration nursery school; and a sheltered workshop. If many or all of these organizations were geographically located on the campus of the State hospital, they could be collectively designated as a comprehensive area mental health center. Each separate organization would retain its own identity and autonomy.

Major advantages would include the beneficial and rapid movement of each patient to the facility best suited for his needs, plus excellent opportunities for consultation and for utilization of all the skills and techniques of people in all the agencies. The necessary ingredients for a comprehensive community mental health center, as defined by the law, would be present: an inpatient facility, an outpatient facility, a day hospital, emergency services, and 24-hour staffing.

This blueprint for the establishment of the comprehensive area mental health center was distributed to all the agencies, their boards of directors, and elected government officials, and it was widely covered by the local newspaper. The initial reaction was somewhat predictable. The agencies raised the usual objections that they would lose autonomy and identity and be stigmatized by being located on the campus of the State hospital. After numerous discussions, however, the movies were effected with the cooperation of city, county, and State officials, and the center became a reality exactly 1 year after the publication of the blueprint.

During its first year of operation, the plan has worked beautifully and has demonstrated the advantages of close geographical concentration of various health agencies, close communication among them, and the avoidance of duplication of efforts and services. Above all, the concentrated and combined intensive efforts of all the agencies have led to better patient service.

Ideally, such a center should have a governing body duly elected by the participating agencies. The functions of this governing body would be to arbitrate any of the minor policy differences that might be expected to rise. This governing body might also be able to request and administer grants for the operation of the overall center.

The success of such a project depends upon initiative, leadership, maturity, cooperation, and, above all, mutual trust and respect. But we think we have clearly demonstrated the role the State mental hospital can play as an integral functioning part of operation of the overall center.

II. PREPARING THE HOSPITAL

(By Francis A. Tyce, M.D., medical director Rochester (Minn.) State Hospital, and Robert R. Rynearson, M.D.)

(NOTE.—Dr. Rynearson was formerly assistant medical director at Rochester (Minn.) State Hospital. He is now consultant psychiatrist at the Scott and White Clinic, Temple, Tex.)

Rochester State Hospital, opened in 1879, today serves a population of 500,000 in 13 counties. During the last 15 years, mainly under the direction of Magnus Petersen, M.D., medical superintendent from 1942 to 1960, the Kirkbride buildings have been completely replaced by modern two-story buildings housing patients in single or double rooms. No building accommodates more than 200 patients. The hospital, situated within the city limits of Rochester, Minn., has the respect of the community for its record of dedicated service and enjoys a close affiliation with the Mayo Clinic.

Some review of preceding events is needed to understand how this once-traditional State hospital became one of the units comprising the Southeastern Minnesota Regional Mental Health Center.

Before independent agencies would locate on the hospital campus, two things had to occur: Physical space had to be available in the State hospital buildings, and the general community had to accept the hospital as an intensive treatment center.

Figure 1 (not printed in Record) shows the resident hospital populations and the total admissions and voluntary admissions during the 10-year period between 1955 and 1965. The reduction in hospital population since 1959 means that a large number of patients, mostly long-hospitalized, were discharged into the community. Minnesota Mental Health Law No. 1, adopted in 1960, provides that no patient may stay in a public institution simply for lack of funds to move out into the community. To implement this law, the hospital social service department set up two separate services—preplacement to prepare patients for foster care placement, and predischarge to prepare them to return to their own families.

Since the creation of the 2 services, the social service department has helped 1,599 patients to plan for living outside the hospital. A study was made of 664 of these patients (436 women and 228 men) who were handled during the first 3 years of the preplacement program. Their ages ranged from under 20 to over 80 for the women and to over 72 for the men. Eighteen percent of the women and 8 percent of the men had been in the hospital for more than 25 years. The average length of stay was 7 years.

During the 3 years, 440 of these patients left the hospital for placement in the homes of nonrelatives, in residential hotels, in groups of 2 or 3 in congregated homes, or in privately operated nursing homes. Some, of working age, already had jobs waiting; others took training through the State's vocational rehabilitation division. Twenty-four cases were closed because no resource was available or the mental and physical health of the patient did not improve sufficiently for discharge. Of the 440 discharged patients studied, more than 71 percent of the men and more than 74 percent of the women have remained out of the hospital for 25 months or more.

This reduction in hospital population made ward space available that could accommodate the various community agencies. However, physical space in a state mental hospital will not be utilized by community-based agencies unless the hospital itself has gained acceptance. These agencies, despite their function with or relationship to the mental hospital, tend to reflect, particularly through their governing boards, the prevailing community attitudes toward the hospital. In 1959, therefore, the hospital made a general approach to become freely available and acceptable as a treatment center for all individuals in its receiving area who required and needed its services. The fact that we preferred to receive patients by voluntary admission was underscored in numerous formal and informal speeches we made.

However, no activity could have succeeded in modifying the community's image of the hospital unless hospital staff members and the resident patient population and their friends and relatives were firmly convinced that the hospital was an active treatment center. This conviction must be present before the community's concept of the hospital can change. It is the hospital's image of itself that drifts out into the community to precede and influence public attitudes.

Since 1959, certain broad changes in this hospital's traditional attitudes toward staff, patients, and the community have gradually developed. These three groups are so closely related that a favorable response in one area may be expected to positively affect the other two. The changes were intended to free the staff, the patients, and the community from all restrictive factors that prevented the maximum effective use of each individual and of the hospital itself.

These changes resulted from the personal and professional revolt of the medical director as a physician against three existing State hospital traditions:

The diminishing of the physician's freedom of action with his patients;

The necessity of treating an essentially captive patient population. Long-hospitalized patients were held captive by their passive acceptance of and dependence on the hospital routine; the newly admitted were actually bound by legal commitments. Curiously enough, many patients found it was as difficult to get into the hospital as it was to leave; certainly no general hospital has such rigid admission criteria or requires a legal hearing before it accepts a patient;

The community and professional attitudes that a State hospital is not an acceptable area for professional growth and status.

Basic to "the State mental hospital problem" is that, for want of people who were specialists, systems were devised to care for large patient populations. The result was standardization in lieu of specialization. In 1959, although the professional staff at Rochester State Hospital was depleted, a small group of specialists was available. Others were recruited later. These individuals—psychiatrists, physicians, psychologists, social workers, chaplains, rehabilitation therapists, nurses, and psychiatric technicians—were accepted as specialists who, although they were all concerned with patient care, were not similar. They offered particular and different approaches and contributions to the total treatment program. These differences of professional training and orientation were to be encouraged and supported. As each group grew in its professional skills, it had the responsibility to teach an appreciation and understanding of these skills to other groups.

We tried to allow each professional staff member to achieve emotional and professional independence so he in turn could help patients achieve emotional and social independence. The primary responsibility for patient care remains with the physician. All other groups contribute their special skills and differences to influence favorably each patient's illness.

The services of the Rochester State Hospital were reorganized into three departments: surgery, medicine, and psychiatry. Each has a departmental head. Each service is independent, accepts admissions to its specific area, and is responsible for its own treatment program and for discharging its own patients. Personnel in other departments—psychologists, social workers, chaplains, rehabilitation therapists, and so on—are seen as central resources. They are required to develop their programs to meet the demands made on them by the three medical departments. Much authority previously confined to the superintendent has been delegated; all incoming communications, for instance, go directly to the staff person concerned.

This broad lateral delegation of authority enables the medical director to function as chief of one of the psychiatric services. Interestingly enough, since the assistant medical director is head of the psychiatry department, the medical director, as chief of one of the psychiatric services, is responsible to the assistant medical director. It is the feeling of the medical director that in this particular hospital the role of medical director could well be rotated among the senior staff; the need for a strong central figure does not appear to be important. This is not intended to depreciate the office of medical director. But where there is strong staff involvement in the program, continuity of treatment philosophy does not depend on one individual.

The Rochester State Hospital, through its affiliation with the Mayo Clinic, provides complete surgical services to patients from other State institutions, who are transferred to Rochester for this purpose. This program admits some 800 patients a year and is directed by the anesthesiologist of the Rochester State Hospital staff. All surgical admissions come directly to this department. Except for the bedrooms, men and women are not segregated. The hospital staff anesthesiologist also directs an accredited school for nurse anesthetists, a program that is unusual in a State mental hospital.

The medical department provides the admission medical examination and daily medical care for all patients. The department head is an internist. All geriatric patients are admitted first to the acute medical ward for intensive medical and psychiatric evaluation. These patients, men and women, are then held on the acute medical ward until they are discharged or transferred to a psychiatric unit or a chronic medical (geriatric) unit.

Before 1965 we had the typical State mental hospital structure: an intensive admission unit of 100 beds, and 3 continued-treatment buildings of 200 beds each. This structure was revised. The intensive treatment center was vacated and became the community consultation center, which houses numerous outside agencies as well as our day hospital and day nursery. Three separate inpatient psychiatric services were set up in the continued-treatment buildings. Each service now has a male and female admission unit and a complement of chronic, long-hospitalized patients. Thus, each of the three services has a cross section of the entire psychiatric population of the hospital. We do not isolate long-hospitalized patients because the concept of continued treatment seems to foster the concept of chronicity. All patients needing readmission return to their original service. Each psychiatric service also follows discharged patients who cannot be referred to other sources for supervision.

The day hospital is the fourth unit in the psychiatric service and was opened on March 30, 1964, with three patients. To date it has handled 132 patients, 94 women and 38 men; 42 are currently in the active treatment program. Patients' ages range from 15 to 85, with an average of 42. Sixty-nine percent had previously been treated at Rochester State Hospital. Forty-two percent of the patients have a diagnosis of psychosis; 33 percent, of neurosis; and the remaining 25 percent have various personality disorders. The length of stay is usually about 10 weeks, but has ranged from less than 1 week to 72 weeks. Of the total number of patients treated in the day hospital, 61 percent have been discharged, 9 percent transferred to other hospital wards, and 30 percent are continuing on the active treatment program. To date 11 percent of the patients treated in the day hospital have returned to Rochester State Hospital, either to the day hospital or as inpatients.

The day hospital also supervises the day-care nursery, which provides care 5 days a week for the children of patients attending the day hospital or the mental health clinic. Most are preschool children, and the availability of the nursery has in many cases been the one thing that has enabled the mother to attend the day hospital or clinic. Volunteers also leave their children in the nursery while they work in the hospital, and many of them would not be able to give their services but for the nursery. From January 1, through August 31, 1965, the day-care nursery was utilized by 1,356 children. Some of the children spent the whole day there during the total period of the mother's day-hospital treatment. Others used the nursery merely for the hour or so of the mother's appointment at the mental health clinic. Five children on the nursery roster as "emergency" were accommodated at the State hospital with their families for 4 days following destruction of their homes by a flood.

The preplacement ward is the fifth unit in the psychiatric service. It provides a mixed ward for men and women patients in single rooms. These are long-hospitalized patients who are preparing to leave the hospital. They have minimum supervision and are encouraged to move freely in the community. Some have work placements in the town. The unit is located in the Community Consultation Center, which is an area of maximum daily activity. The day nursery is situated on the preplacement ward.

The sixth unit in the psychiatric service operates the comprehensive program for school-age children recently started at the Rochester State Hospital in an attempt to meet the educational, psychological, psychiatric, medical, and social needs of a variety of handicapped children, primarily the emotionally ill and the mentally retarded. Two main programs are involved—the hospital school for school-age State hospital patients and the day activity center, run by the mental retardation association for severely mentally retarded students. The day hospital nursery and the Aldrich Memorial Nursery School for normal and selected problem preschool children, one of the community agencies on the hospital campus, consult and cooperate with the total school program.

Each of these individual programs has its own teaching staff. A consultant-coordinator on the staff of the State hospital, an educational psychologist with specialized training and experience with mentally retarded and emotionally ill children, is overall director of the comprehensive program. The director, Brian Shears, M.A., is responsible for liaison with the various other professional disciplines at the State hospital, with the Rochester public schools (now legally responsible for the hospital school program), and with other involved and interested community resources, such as the mental health clinic. He ensures liaison and cooperative efforts among the individual programs and acts as consultant and adviser to each.

Students at the hospital school come primarily from southeastern Minnesota and have been referred to the hospital for psychiatric observation and treatment. The objective of the school program is to maintain normal academic programs. Students may also be referred to the school program by the Department of Special Education, Rochester Public Schools, when this setting is considered appropriate for a particular child's needs.

Students at the day activity center are mentally retarded children for whom there is no place in the public schools. The center has a morning group of young children and an all-day group of teen-agers and adults. It is located in one wing of the women's geriatrics building. The hospital school is located in a similar wing of the men's geriatrics building. These buildings are adjacent, and the children share a common play area between the buildings. The older patients are stimulated by and interested in the daily activity and lively play of the children.

Children at the Aldrich Memorial Nursery School and the day hospital nursery come primarily from the city of Rochester. The possibility of moving a child from one program to another when appropriate and beneficial is envisioned.

Also in 1959 we started taking definitive administrative steps to free patients of those restrictions, often humiliating and sometimes purposeless, that were termed "routine hospital procedures." Many of these rules appeared to exist for the benefit of the staff rather than the patients. Their effect was to increase passivity and dependence, and to infantalize and derogate the patients.

It would be tedious to list these changes and arrogant to assume that they are new. All are practiced in many centers and have been described before. Indeed, administrative changes, though stimulating and exciting, are not individually or collectively important in themselves. The important factor is the reason for change, the nucleus of the hospital's orientation, and the focus of its energies, efforts, and planning.

This focus should be on the patient and more specifically on the patient's concept of himself as a sick person. If this is the agreed focus, the purely mechanical changes develop meaning, fall into place, and lose the evangelistic fervor with which they are sometimes held (for instance, "We must keep the ward open," whether or not this is realistic in view of the ward problems).

It is impressive that most patients one encounters in a State hospital have a lowly self-image. This decrease in self-esteem exists regardless of the diagnostic category. Many factors impinge upon the patient to produce this lowly self-image, and if we look at each in turn, the opportunities for psychiatric administrative changes become apparent.

It is evident that none of the forces shown impinging on the patient are usually supportive or constructive in increasing his self-esteem. Indeed, in most cases they further depreciate his self-image. Because these forces are reverberating, everyone involved, including the staff, the hospital, and the relatives, suffers a general depreciation of status. "We cannot get young psychiatrists to seek careers in State hospitals," say professors of psychiatry. "Should State hospitals do research?" ask investigators. "I have not told anyone that my husband is in the State hospital," says the wife of a patient.

We expect our medical staff to act as the catalyst in changing the attitudes of hospital staff, patients, relatives, and community toward themselves, and toward each other. The ward physician must treat his patients and their relatives with the same formal courtesy that is demanded in private practice, by addressing patients as Mr., Mrs., or Miss, the social titles that were theirs before admission. Patients should retain their essential belongings—rings, watches, jewelry, and pocketbooks—and be allowed to decorate their bed space with personal objects such as a radio, a vase of flowers, a clock, or pictures of their family. These are small things but they are important in preserving identity. Patients should wear their own clothing, not institutional clothes, and it should be well understood that no one will be allowed to walk around the grounds untidy, unshaven, or with his clothes in disarray. A patient who is unkempt, regardless of his degree of regression, should be sent back to the ward to tidy up. All patients must be expected to shave daily and not depend on a weekly visit from the hospital barber; they can do this themselves or help each other.

The routine admission bath, the censoring of mail, the marking of clothing, and many other "routine procedures" were discontinued without difficulty. Visiting hours were extended from 9:00 a.m. to 8:30 p.m. every day. If the patient is eating or in group therapy, his visitor waits, and if he is working, the visitor is encouraged to go and visit him in the work area.

If we support, encourage, and reinforce any measure that increases the patient's self-esteem, we are in a position to expect him to act responsibly. If we expect this, most people will act responsibly, and the question of whether patients should be locked in wards hardly arises. In most cases it would not make sense; indeed, when we opened our wards we made the rather odd discovery that we could not find out why many of them had been locked. The fundamental problem is the patient's self-image which is distorted and depreciated by many forces. Reinforcing any activity that tends to improve the self-image of the mentally ill patient suggests, allows, and insures the success of various psychiatric administrative improvements that are on the increase today in mental hospitals.

It is the task of the chief medical administrative officer in the hospital to see that these changes in philosophy are understood, accepted, and supported by all departments. This necessitates his meeting regularly with nonnursing personnel, kitchen staff, maintenance workers, dietitians, gardeners, and indeed with all staff, because all of them work with patients. This should include also that strangely forgotten section, the night staff. Regular discussions with these groups will show them their unrecognized therapeutic potential and stimulate their increased interest in improving their working relations with patients.

When the hospital wished to make its services freely available to the community, we realized this was not enough; these services must also be freely acceptable. Many barriers prevented the community from using the hospital freely. Barriers of fear and ignorance were easily recognized. But other barriers unknown to us existed between the hospital and its referring agencies—the family physician, welfare agencies, courts, judges, police, and so on. These difficulties, based on poor communications and misinterpretations, influenced many of the agencies' attitudes toward the hospital.

We felt that the degree of community acceptance could be roughly measured by:

The total admission rate to the hospital—seen as a general demand for its services;

The voluntary admission rate in particular—seen as an individual demand for its services;

The responses from community sources—welfare agencies, courts, mental health clinics, discharged patients, relatives, and so on—about their experiences and difficulties with the hospital.

This last point was considered important enough that in 1960, when the hospital was still very short of medical staff, one psychiatrist was delegated to act as a circuit rider in the hospital's receiving area. This psychiatrist contacted all the referring agencies and endeavored to improve communication, to solve agency or individual problems with the hospital at the community level, and to spread throughout the area the idea that we preferred voluntary admission to commitment. Community groups began to accept the fact that the hospital wanted to know where it fell short, that is was interested in continuity of care, and that it saw discharge as one step toward emotional and social independence, not as synonymous with rejection or discontinuance of service by the hospital. This activity, though seemingly expensive of scarce professional time, proved to be worthwhile. Admissions, particularly voluntary admissions, increased. Most gratifying was the number of previously committed patients who returned as voluntary admissions.

It has been possible now to incorporate a great deal of this circuit riding into the extension service of the hospital social service department. A hospital social worker is permanently available to refer a particular community problem quickly to the appropriate hospital service.

Our work with the professional staffs of agencies indicated other areas to be explored. Many of these agencies have boards of control, which in some cases had strong negative feelings about the hospital. The professional staffs were often caught between the requests for service made by the hospital and the demand for economy made by their boards. The medical director and the director of the hospital social service met with these boards to explain the hospital's treatment approach, its philosophy, its interest in continuity of patient care, its respect for the appropriate safeguards demanded by the community, and its understanding of the hard necessities of budget and staff shortages. When the boards realized the hospital was trying to find its own place as a community-based service and wanted to know what problems were occurring, attitudes and relationships improved.

The chaplaincy department carries on a vigorous program designed to involve parish clergy with the hospital. Community clergy also learn about the hospital through an annual day of orientation to which new clerics in the area are invited. Department heads of several disciplines describe the hospital's program in presentations that communicate the philosophy of the hospital as a community-oriented agency devoted to helping individuals in trouble.

When a clergyman visits an individual patient, all levels of staff assist him to understand the specific illness of the parishioner and his treatment program. A clergyman is immediately advised by letter when a member of his congregation is hospitalized or released. He is urged to maintain contact with the member during the crisis of hospitalization and to give sympathetic support when the patient returns to the community. As a result of this acceptance and involvement, the hospital is held in high regard by most of the 700 clergy in our receiving area. They in turn very positively influence the attitudes toward the hospital of a large segment of our predominantly rural population.

During contacts with professional community agencies and special groups, it was important that the hospital did not present itself in the role of a teacher. Plainly community agencies were more cognizant of and more skilled in dealing with problems at the community level. It was necessary for them to see the hospital staff as coming to learn, not to educate. Since the hospital is the largest single agency, it can afford to give more than it receives. This creates a relationship that is favorable to the hospital when significant issues arise. New programs initiated by the hospital, such as the very concept of the open hospital, day work placements for patients in the community, and the use of community recreational facilities by hospital patients, present added problems, especially to the law enforcement agencies. These problems are significant in influencing community attitudes. The hospital therefore endeavored to play a reciprocal role by supplying orientation courses for new police officers. Lectures, demonstrations, and periods in which officer recruits could spend some time in the hospital talking to patients allow them to gain some experience in dealing more comfortably with emotionally ill people. The hospital staff will at any time visit the jail, transfer an individual to the hospital, or continue to follow individuals under police jurisdiction. The hospital also makes itself freely available to courts for comprehensive pretrial medical-psychiatric evaluations.

The hospital's relationships with the community news media—press, television, and radio—were obviously important. Since the hospital accepts its role as a State public facility, we encourage free access to any part of the hospital. We have found that, if these agencies have freedom of movement within the institution and ready access to information to which they are entitled, they respond with a decent respect for the patient's right for confidentiality. Interestingly enough, it has followed that most patients or relatives have not been reluctant to acknowledge their association with the State mental hospital or to have it reported to the press.

Finally, it appears that the primary responsibility for interpreting the hospital's program to the community rests with the hospital medical director. This cannot be delegated, at least not initially. Neither can it be accommodated within a 40-hour week. Most individuals and community groups identify the hospital with its medical director. If they have questions, they want to ask him directly. Community agencies particularly wish to deal with the individual they see as responsible for the hospital policies. Subsequent visits can be made by other hospital personnel; the first must be made by the medical director.

By 1963 the time was ripe for the hospital to share in the creation of a comprehensive area mental health center. The suggestion came from Edward M. Litin, M.D., who is head of the section of psychiatry at the Mayo Clinic, chairman of the APA Committee on Mental Hospitals, and, most important in our local situation, chairman of the board of directors of the then Rochester-Olmsted County Mental Health Clinic. During a report to the city council of Rochester, Dr. Litin pointed out that Rochester was in a favorable position to create a comprehensive mental health center for the whole area simply by inviting existing facilities into a geographically central area—the campus of the State hospital. He pointed out that such a move would facilitate the free interchange of information, techniques, and skills and would result in quick referral of each patient to the facility best suited to him. Each organization would retain its own identity and autonomy. Moreover, the opportunities for recruiting personnel and for carrying out training and research programs would be greatly enhanced through such a centralization. Psychiatric residents of the Mayo Clinic would be able to rotate through both the State hospital and the mental health clinic, thus receiving a greatly enriched curriculum as well as helping staff of the total center to carry out cooperative research and educational ventures.

This imaginative concept was intended only as a proposal to be considered in future planning. But Dr. Litin's speech was fully reported in the local press, with unexpected results. The agencies he named were alarmed at the suggestion that they should move to the State hospital and misinterpreted the report to mean a call for action rather than a stimulus for planning.

Despite the initially negative reaction, only 8 months later, in August 1964, the Southeastern Minnesota Alcoholism Council became the first community agency to open an office on the State hospital campus. In January 1965 the local mental health clinic moved its operation into a building on the campus, and by September 1965 seven separate, independent community agencies were carrying out their programs in the hospital's buildings. Some are public, others are private nonprofit agencies. Their relationships with each other and with the hospital are flexible and cooperative, and there is no central control committee. Some have their own boards of control; the public agencies answer to their particular State departments; and the mental health clinic is responsible to both State and local boards of control.

The mental health clinic provides diagnostic and consultative psychiatric services and outpatient treatment for children and adults, marital counseling, and follow-up care, in conjunction with the State hospital staff, for discharged hospital patients. It is housed in the community services buildings with the alcoholism council (SEMAC), the Olmsted County Welfare Office, the regional branch of the Governor's Citizens' Committee on Aging, and the Minnesota Society for Crippled Children and Adults. To quote Paul F. Wilson, M.D., the clinic's director, and Robert Zabel, M.S.W., its social worker:

"The Rochester-Olmsted County Mental Health Clinic, now called the Zumbro Valley Mental Health Center, moved into office quarters at the Rochester State Hospital in January 1965. The building had previously been the men's receiving ward. The move was precipitated at this time because of the need for more office space and areas for group therapy and children's therapy, which were not available in the Public Health Center building, where the mental health clinic was previously housed. However, the idea of participating in the establishment of a comprehensive mental health center was also a major factor in the decision to relocate. The move made it possible to accept the placement of three or four residents in psychiatry from the Mayo Clinic to supplement the permanent staff of psychiatrist, psychologist, psychiatric social worker, and two secretaries. This fact alone made it possible to expand services, particularly in the area of outpatient activities.

"It had been anticipated that there might be an adjustment period in which the requests for outpatient services might diminish. It was assumed that people would be more reluctant to come to the mental health clinic when it was located on the State hospital grounds. However, 6 months' experience indicates that the move has had no such effect on the number of referrals. Indeed, the intake during the 6 months was the highest in the clinic's history.

"Definite advantages have been the closer contact with the hospital staff; the use of the hospital school for disturbed children seen at the mental health clinic; the nursery for patients' children while the parent is attending the mental health clinic; the use of some of the ancillary services of the hospital, for instance, occupational, industrial, and recreational therapies and the laboratories; and finally, the ease of transferring patients from the hospital to the mental health clinic and vice versa. There is being developed also the common use of records in order to keep chronological progress notes regardless of whether the patient is hospitalized or is an outpatient at the mental health clinic. The future holds possibilities for developing a great variety of collaborative efforts between the various agencies and services now on the hospital campus, which will facilitate a much broader range of diagnosis and treatment. As far as the mental health clinic is concerned, these possibilities are especially desirable in the care of children and its part in preventive psychiatry. The reaction of the staff and patients has been a positive one."

The positive reaction of the clinic patients is echoed by a similar statement from Verne Kuluvar, the director of SEMAC:

"When the Southeastern Minnesota Alcoholism Council selected the Rochester State Hospital for the site of its alcoholism information center, there was some fear that many people would not visit the office because of its location. However, this fear was unfounded. First-year statistics show that there were 525 office visits concerning 288 alcoholics. One person (a former State hospital patient) hesitated to visit the center because of its location. He quickly overcame his reluctance and eventually made three visits to the office. Taking everything into consideration, the State hospital is an excellent location for the Rochester Alcoholism Information Center."

The Rochester State Hospital assists this program by accepting patients in alcoholic delirium while the council is arranging their transfer to an alcoholic treatment center when there is sufficient physical improvement.

The welfare department has two workers assigned full time to work with patients from

Olmsted County who are referred by the hospital or the mental health clinic. Their physical proximity to the staff and patients of the hospital has resulted in quicker, more efficient communication, a reduction of lengthy correspondence, and the opportunity for the workers to discuss problems directly with patients and doctors.

We have already discussed the Aldrich Memorial Nursery School and the day activity center for the retarded. In June 1965 the sixth agency opened on the hospital campus, when a regional coordinator on aging was appointed in Rochester to serve 23 counties in southeastern and central Minnesota. The coordinator's basic responsibility is community organization—to help counties and communities to form local committees on aging, to study the problems of the aged, and to initiate action to solve or alleviate the difficulties. The location of the regional office in the hospital helps the regional director by making available to him the advice and help of many persons who are experienced in dealing with the various community services in the area.

The seventh community agency is the Minnesota Society for Crippled Children and Adults, a nonprofit charitable organization that has for 35 years provided rehabilitation, equipment loans, camping vacations, and other services for physically handicapped people and carried on research.

Although the total complex is now called the Southeastern Minnesota Regional Mental Health Center, each of the eight agencies on the campus, including the hospital itself, retains autonomy, and there is no coordinating head. Instead there is open, lateral communication among the agencies on all staff levels. This autonomy is in keeping with the modern concept of the "flattened pyramid" of authoirty, and also enabels each agency to maintain its enthusiasm and its pride in the particular job it is doing.

In June 1964 we were awarded National Institute of Mental Health Hospital Improvement Project Grant No. 1 R20 MH01697-01, applied for under the title "Comprehensive Area Mental Health Center. This grant, which is in its second year, provides $100,000 a year, which is used almost entirely for salaries for new personnel. This added momentum to the program of expansion, which is now in the early stages of development.

It is tempting, of course, to try to forecast what the future holds for the further development of our community mental health center. Perhaps it is better to evaluate our immediate gains than to make brash forecasts.

Probably the single most important result of the easy communication among the social agencies on the campus is our growing recognition that social breakdown, whether its presenting symptom is mental illness, mental retardation, low employability, or a police record, falls into a single framework and is most effectively treated by the integrated efforts of multiple social agencies. We are beginning to understand better the total forces that bear upon people in trouble. The coordinated program offers a tremendous opportunity to carry out epidemiological research in all areas related to social breakdown.

Some practical gains are already apparent. Because information about all clients is shared among the agencies—informally now, but in the near future through the use of centralized records—histories need not be duplicated to the bemusement of the client and the waste of staff time. Hospitalization is losing its stigma because the States hospital is seen merely as one part of the treatment complex. All agencies now have the benefit of the specialized personnel and services available on the campus.

We can confidently predict that the hospital will grow smaller, both in number of patients and in acreage. Today patients seldom remain long enough to become chronic, so that we shall not again face a backlog of hard-core patients as we did in 1960. Already our grounds have shrunk from their original 1,400 acres to less than 800. In 1963 the State legislature transferred 300 acres from the hospital to the city of Rochester, which created from it Eastwood Park for the use of the community. In November 1965 the hospital transferred a further 211 acres to the city as a park area. This new park includes the hospital cemetery. This little plot, originally resembling a potter's field, is now the charge of the park department of Rochester, which will beautify this area and replace the numbered stones by proper gravestones. In 1965 also, the State legislature transferred approximately 115 acres from the hospital campus for the erection of a new junior college.

It is apparent that a reciprocal movement is occurring. As the hospital endeavors to move out into the community, the community is beginning to move into closer relationship with the hospital. All seem to benefit, in particular those members of the community whose need is greatest, our patients.

III. THE INSIDE STORY

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—When we first read Dr. Tyce's paper, we had the distinct impression that much of the story remained to be told. We were intrigued by the process of the change as well as by the results. The editor therefore paid a 3-day visit to the Rochester (Minn.) State Hospital to talk with staff on all levels as well as with several long-term patients. Following this visit, we invited individual staff members to free-associate their impressions in personal letters. The material that follows has been drawn from the replies.)

(By A. W. Dahlberg, chaplain)

This hospital has always been an atypical mental institution for two reasons. Our fortunate location in a growing medical city was not planned; it just happened. In 1879, when an asylum for inebriates (which later became Rochester State Hospital) was created by the State legislature, Rochester was a rural railroad town. It would have gone the way of many other rural railroad centers but for the peculiar growth of the medical philosophy and practice of the brothers Mayo. From the early days of its operation, the hospital has benefited directly and indirectly from this circumstance. Today both psychiatric and surgical residents from the Mayo Clinic rotate through the hospital. Our proximity to a famous medical center has eased somewhat the task of maintaining a competent medical staff, so that we have never been forced to resort to limited-license physicians.

The second reason the hospital has always been atypical is that it has been blessed with long-term independent, adventuresome superintendents who have not apologized for being associated with the State mental hospital. In addition, Dr. J. E. Bowers (1879–89), Dr. A. F. Kilbourne (1889–1942), Dr. Magnus C. Petersen (1942–60), and now Dr. Tyce, have all been men who felt that even the sickest, most hopeless patient must be treated with dignity and respect. They have communicated this attitude to the rest of the employees. It was not unusual for Dr. Petersen, for instance, to interrupt his rounds to feed a patient or to trim a toenail; no person's physical needs were to be slighted because he was out of contact.

As a result, the present emphasis on human dignity comes not as something new but as an intensification of something already present. None of the men who have been our leaders have accepted custodial care as the appropriate role for a State hospital. Treatment and research rightfully belong in mental hospitals. Therefore, change is neither new nor strange to our employees.

The professional staff of the hospital has, as Dr. Tyce says, been willing and able to break out of expected modes of operation and to initiate new programs. He speaks of freeing the staff, and he has done this; but unspoken are the assumptions that he and his predecessor, Dr. Petersen, both used in their dealings with staff—that the professional staff members are specialists, and that all staff members are competent, industrious, and responsible individuals. Dr. Tyce operates under the additional assumption that professional staff people are creative. He has freed them by encouraging and expecting them to develop new and imaginative programs, and asks only that he be kept informed. There is a conviction that the details of a good program will fall into place as the innovation develops. This attitude is reflected in the hospital's relationships with community agencies. Much of the groundwork was done, and the initial approaches were made, by the nonmedical staff. But when the time came, Dr. Tyce was willing to move in to support and lend prestige to a staff member's work.

I believe that our strong chaplaincy program has been a positive though unseen factor in our present involvement with community agencies, many of whom have clergy as members of their boards. Frequently the local clergy have been sounded out during the informal investigations that each agency pursued before moving onto our campus. The accurate, up-to-date knowledge about the hospital that our area clergy have acquired has been influential in the decisions of these agencies to join in our comprehensive program.

(By Berdine Erickson, industrial therapist)

I have worked at Rochester State Hospital for many years, first as a psychiatric attendant, later as an industrial therapist. In retrospect it seems to me that in 1960 a logjam broke, and every department of the hospital became intensely active. New ideas rubbed off on old staff members, and even the long-term patients noticed and commented upon changes.

There is no longer unfeeling adherence to rules; we do what the patient needs. He, the patient, is the prime benefactor of all the changes made. There is no compromise on this; it is the common denominator of all programs. The one who meets the need may be husband or mother, minister or teacher, druggist or family doctor, county commissioner or district judge, sheriff or highway patrolman, a staff psychiatrist, a nurse, or a psychiatric technician—any person who can, and is willing to, help the individual patient.

To involve the hospital and the community to this extent takes creative leadership. This we have, and as a result a major health problem is being properly dealt with. Yes, I am impressed. I am happy about the many changes, and I am optimistic about the future. I am honored to be a part of this forward thrust in our hospital and the community it serves.

(By John Hawkinson, Ph. D., chief,
psychology department)

Because Rochester State Hospital has always enjoyed strong, competent medical leadership, personnel have all had a strong sense of the importance of their own contributions to treatment. A solid foundation existed, therefore, for the present program. The essential ingredient added by Dr. Tyce was best described by a visitor as the élan of his staff. There has never been any semblance of grimness about the determination with which he attacks our problems. Rather, he communicates a spirit of optimism, good humor, and zest for the enterprise that is rarely found in any public institution. We take our work and our patients seriously—but somehow we do not seem to take ourselves too seriously.

Dr. Tyce has been responsible for what at times seemed to be a bewildering sequence of impulsive innovations. Yet a thread of consistent philosophy runs through them all: to get patients into the community and community people into the hospital. Actually, his personal and professional philosophy seems to incorporate an interesting system of checks and balances. He has tremendous respect for the ability and responsibility of all his staff members, but he consistently holds that the basic treatment responsibility lies with the physician. He sometimes appears to disregard bureaucratic strictures, but he has considerable understanding of and sympathy for the concern of the legislature for an operation that is both economical and efficient.

With all his love of innovation and his freewheeling, exuberant zest for new enterprises, he maintains an eclectic and conservative treatment program, which includes electroshock, occasional lobotomies, work as therapy, and a school-focused adolescent program. Despite his psychoanalytic orientation, he has a moral, pragmatic belief that patients are responsible for behaving with decency and propriety. His success at Rochester appears to be the interesting result of a complex, energetic man interacting effectively with his fast-moving times, while still retaining the sound treatment philosophies of his predecessors.

(By Dolores Tuttle, psychiatric technician)

Our hospital has always been progressive and not simply a dumping ground for the mentally ill. In the past few years, however, much more progress has been made through research and the efforts of our staff.

There was, of course, some confusion, and perhaps a sense of insecurity at times, but this almost inevitably follows rapid changes in medications, rules, and even personnel. The transition has demanded the utmost cooperation from everyone. Both long-service employees and long-term patients have had to accept situations previously denounced as impractical or impossible. Opening the doors was somewhat frightening to both personnel and patients, but it has proved practical and even comfortable.

The therapeutic value of abolishing regimentation is priceless; patients now feel important as individuals. No longer do we arbitrarily scrub and shampoo them on admission, as though we assumed they were unclean as well as ill. Treatment has accelerated, and patients are encouraged to keep in touch with community and family. Because of the excellent liaison between the hospital and the community, discharged patients are accepted back into the mainstream of life. This has done much to reduce the stigma once attached to everyone in a mental hospital, employees as well as patients.

(By Clarice M. Beacom, R.N., director of nursing)

I have been associated with the hospital for 13 years, and it is difficult to define the changes that have occurred. I believe the greatest problem in nursing service has been the need to keep pace with hospital programs in general. Changes have come about so rapidly that we all have to think and operate at top speed. What seems an impossibility becomes a reality almost overnight.

Placing more responsibility on patients for good behavior has produced dramatic results. Because we expect them to behave well, they govern themselves appropriately. They show more interest, participate in activities, leave the hospital earlier, and do not lose their sense of identity. Wards are quieter. Few patients are idle. They go unescorted to their assignments and out into the community. They are well groomed, properly dressed, and seem relaxed. Unauthorized absences are infrequent.

The dignity of each patient is maintained. He is told about plans being made for him and helps to make decisions about receiving electroshock, surgical procedures, and so forth. Although we are genuinely optimistic, we do not withhold the truth of his condition from any patient.

(By Ruth Slade, R.N., nursing instructor)

A few years ago, most State hospitals were second-rate at best, and some still are. Yet I don't feel that this is true of Rochester. I believe it is one of the best State hospitals because we constantly strive for improvement.

I work mainly with psychiatric technicians, and one big stumbling block, in view of the job we expect them to do, is the difficulty of upgrading their salaries. We cannot keep all those whom we train and who do a successful job, because in some cases we cannot pay sufficient money.

The remotivation technique initiated here only this year, has been one of the best programs ever devised, not only because it directly benefits patients, but because of its secondary benefit of improving the attitudes of technicians.

I feel we have much room for further improvement. But we have a progressive and forward-looking administrative staff, and I am sure we will continue to move forward.

(By Barbara Erbe, social service department)

Until 5 years ago the social service department had a very limited program. But when we changed our orientation from custodial institution to treatment center, social service had to work with a number of long-hospitalized patients who were without interested families and financial resources. Dr. Tyce has indicated some of the statistics on placement, but more important were the changes in staff, patient, and community attitudes toward mental illness and in how each individual staff member felt about his role in this rapidly changing hospital. There were trying times for everyone; the pains of growth and change are sometimes acute. Looking back, we can see what was needed, what was done, and how much encouragement was given to each one of us. We began to feel that we were working together in a joint effort that would improve the hospital as a whole.

Today the social service department has grown to the point that we are able to provide services to preadmission, recently admitted, extension, and day-hospital patients as well as to long-term patients. This development means that we will experience more changes as time goes on. But it is a good feeling to be able to meet the challenges as they come and to tell others how proud one is to be a part of Rochester State Hospital.

(By Nina Townsend, psychiatric technician)

Our hospital has never been the snake pit so often portrayed in movies and magazines. But during the past few years have come changes I had never believed possible. We have had many misgivings. Many problems have had to be ironed out and adjustments made by both patients and personnel. But the doubts and confusion soon disappeared as we all worked together to make our hospital as normal as possible.

Unlocked doors created no problems; indeed, the feeling that patients had of "having to escape" seemed to disappear once they realized that we trusted them. They are free to carry cigarettes and matches; they may have their own glass articles in their rooms; we do not mark their clothes unless they wish it; the more needy patients are no longer identified by a State hospital uniform. One of the services made possible by our many volunteers is the campus clothesline, where all may choose good-looking clothes without charge. Much of the stock for this service is bought by the volunteer council fund.

Patients no longer have a set bedtime; they can plan their own evenings. Sometimes they see a late movie on television, pop corn, have a dance, or engage in group singing or any one of other entertainments offered by our activities department. The library supplies the latest reading material. Patients keep their rooms neat and take care of their personal grooming. The hospital beauty shop is always busy. In the patients' coffee shop on the grounds they may meet their friends, take their visitors, and shop with their own money. Perhaps most important of all is the freedom of most patients to go downtown, escorted or unescorted, to take in a movie or some other entertainment, or to shop.

People no longer dread coming to the hospital, because the fear of a long, bleak term away from home is gone. They come for help earlier; commitment is rare. More young people are asking for help. When they leave the hospital, patients have no trouble getting jobs in Rochester or the surrounding communities.

Working conditions at the hospital are pleasant, and we feel fortunate. We also are more than rewarded when we meet former patients on the street or in stores or offices and they greet us by name, recalling the many pleasant experiences we shared. Truly, the stigma has been taken away from the State hospital.

(By Ann Rivers Thompson, volunteer services coordinator)

In recent years, the volunteer program has shifted emphasis from a group to a more individual approach to patients. We continue group activities, but have expanded the program to include much more work on a one-to-one basis with patients. Individual relationships have facilitated meaningful participation by patients. We encourage volunteers to include patients in community activities wherever possible and urge them to plan activities and projects with patients instead of planning programs for them.

The volunteers appear to find the more intimate relationships rewarding, and this has served to increase the number of interested community volunteers. During the past year a greater number of young people have offered service—junior and senior high school students, junior college students, and nursing students from the local hospitals.

(By Laura Jean Gilbertson, recreation therapist)

Many changes have occurred in recreation during the 15 years I have worked at Rochester State Hospital. A few years ago recreation consisted of craft activities on the wards, dances twice a week, a weekly movie, and an occasional social hour. Music for the dances was furnished by patients and a few volunteers. All the wards were locked, so patients had to be escorted to off-the-ward activities. I spent most of my time working with disturbed patients in a make-do gymnasium. An occasional volunteer group came to the hospital to provide lunch or entertainment for a selected group of patients, but never for disturbed patients.

As the treatments changed, so did our recreation program. Daily social hours were discontinued when we opened the wards. Patients no longer have to be escorted to activities. Weekly movies were discontinued because patients can go into the city to the movies by themselves. The dances take place only once a week because, with our reduced population, all can attend at the same time. The music is provided entirely by volunteer bands from the community.

Our patients take part in all kinds of community activities. The Civic Theater invites them to plays, the Civic Auditorium to wrestling and boxing matches, ice skating shows, musicals, and so on. Patients visit churches for services and organ recitals; attend classes at the art center; and go to the YMCA, the YWCA, and the local high school for swimming, tennis, and other activities. Several groups spent a few days in a State park last year under the supervision of staff and volunteers.

For the increased number of teenage patients we have set up a special schedule of activities in cooperation with a group of teenage volunteers from the local high school. Our young patients attend many high school functions.

(By Robert R. Rynearson, M.D., former assistant medical director)

My association with the Rochester State Hospital began in October 1962. Dr. Tyce had by then already instituted many reforms, such as opening the hospital, discontinuing the routine staffing of patients, and creating a separate surgical service. He allowed me a free hand to develop any ideas I had for improving the program. Some of the problems evident at that time were:

The medical records. It was impossible to run an intensive treatment unit in our hospital when the records were dictated and kept in duplicate. Results of cross-consultations on patients often did not appear in the chart for several days. I helped reactivate the medical records committee; we completely reorganized the entire record system, which resulted in a single handwritten record that was filed on the patient's ward rather than in a central filing area.

Communications within the hospital. I was immediately impressed with the importance of the hospital grapevine. Rumors and counterrumors were a vital part of everyone's day and were really the only way that policy changes were communicated. This kept everyone off balance and insecure. With the creation of a weekly bulletin that specifically covered all policy changes, personnel regulations, and so on, the rumor mill went out of business.

Money. Many of the program improvements depended on additional staffing. Hospital psychiatrists have yet to convince legislators that intensive programs that will reduce inpatient populations require many more staff members than custodial programs do. Fortunately we obtained several NIMH grants, one an HIP grant and another for a collaborative drug study with 10 other mental hospitals. Nearly all this money was spent for additional personnel, enabling us to expand our departments, begin good research, and provide for the eventual integration of the community agencies. In addition, we urged the State central office to place an agent in the hospital to collect patients' fees for treatment. Insurance fees and collections are discussed with each patient and his family during the admission interview, with the result that collections have increased appreciably.

The resistance of some personnel to the many changes. Chaplain Dahlberg and I began to meet regularly with nine members of the nursing staff, selected at random from among the supervisors, staff nurses, and psychiatric technicians. We met with four such groups each week and continued these sessions for several months. These meetings relieved the anxieties of nursing personnel that their job or status was being threatened. The groups were generally quite vocal, and I feel the meetings were invaluable in enabling us to implement many of our new programs.

RESOLUTION OPPOSING REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 2

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. Cleveland] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced House Resolution 827, which would express House disapproval of Reorganization Plan No. 2. This action puts into concrete expression the concern of a number of Members over this proposal to transfer the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to the Department of the Interior.

This concern received considerable impetus from an article by William M. Blair, published in the Sunday Times of New York on page 1, April 24. The article reported major defections from the Public Health Service stemming from the impending transfer to the Department of the Interior, whose primary responsibility is not, after all, public health.

The gentleman from Florida [Mr. Cramer] informed the House of his own concern on Tuesday—page 8978, Congressional Record of April 26—and placed the Times article in the Record.

The gentleman pointed out that he had warned on past occasions against the frequent transfers of authority over this aspect of our water pollution fight.

I fully share his concern and fear that the new proposal may hamper the Nation's battle to clean up our waters, especially if it causes heavy losses among staff personnel, a number of whom are renowned in their field, and reportedly it is causing this to happen.

The consequences of this reorganization plan, even before it has become law, are sufficiently alarming, in my opinion, to warrant another look by the House and by the Committee on Government Operations.

The resolution which I introduced yesterday was filed for the purpose of permitting this House such an opportunity before the May 10 deadline when, barring an adverse decision by the Congress, the plan is scheduled to go into effect.

My only interest is the success of the country's anti-water-pollution programs. It would be a tragedy if they were to be harmed or weakened by conflicts in the executive department. I hope the Committee on Government Operations will give further consideration to the plan in light of the new and disturbing information being reported in the press.

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Schweiker] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert at this point my constituent newsletter announcing the results of my 1966 congressional questionnaire which was sent to my constituents. I think the Members of the House will be interested to see what my constituents are thinking about the issues facing us:

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

The results of my 1966 congressional questionnaire have been tabulated and are published at the end of this newsletter. Thanks for everyone's help in making this survey possible.

SECTION 14(b)

One of the most interesting responses was obtained to question No. 14 relating to repealing section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. I tried to word the question so that no prejudicial labels were used, so that it could be judged on its own merits. Interestingly, 90.4 percent of the replies favored my position supporting the present law in Pennsylvania and two-thirds of the country.

During my three terms in Congress, I have voted over 700 times. But no other vote was as difficult and complex as the question of whether to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. Like any close question, there was some truth on both sides.

Section 14(b) allows a State to outlaw the union shop, even when a company's management and a majority of its employees want a union shop. Pennsylvania and 30 other States have not outlawed the union shop. We in Pennsylvania and two-thirds of the country have never used section 14(b). Only 19 States, mostly southern, have outlawed the union shop.

Therefore, the repeal of 14(b) would not have changed the laws or labor conditions in Pennsylvania or two-thirds of the country in any way. If 14(b) were repealed, the 19 States which now outlaw the union shop would have to follow the same labor laws that we in Pennsylvania and 30 other States have followed for many years.

Thus, repeal of 14(b) would only stop these 19 States from interfering with the right of management and its employees to freely choose whether they want a union shop, an open shop, or no union at all.

Many Northern States have lost jobs and industries to Southern States which outlaw the union shop because these Southern States use these laws as "bait" to lure plants from States like Pennsylvania. Southern Congressmen frankly admit that retention of 14(b) allows their States to entice industry by promising a lower wage scale. I felt that all States should be on an equal basis and that no section of the country should have an unfair advantage over another. I felt that employees and management should have the right to choose whether they want a union shop, an open shop, or no union at all in each State. I felt that a State government should not be allowed to take away from management and its employees that right to choose.

A union shop is now permitted in Pennsylvania and 30 other States only when a majority of the employees and management both agree to it. Opponents say this is compulsory unionism. I say it is little different from Congress voting a new tax which I must pay, too, even though I voted against it. Those who don't agree with the majority decision must abide by it. Incidentally, once a union shop has been voted in, it may also be voted out by a majority vote of the employees.

Senator Taft, coauthor of the Taft-Hartley Act, was against outlawing a union shop when on the Senate floor (Congressional Record, May 9, 1947) he said: "So I think it would be a mistake to go to the extreme of absolutely outlawing a contract which provides for a union shop, if that arrangement meets with the approval of the employer and meets with the approval of the majority of the employees and is embodied in a written contract." You might be interested to know that a majority of Pennsylvania Members of Congress in each party voted as I did. Of course, repeal of 14(b) did not pass, since it was filibustered in the Senate.

SPONSOR ANTICRIME BILL

The alarming increase in rapes and other violent crimes has become one of our most pressing problems. Hardly a day goes by that doesn't indicate that the problem is getting out of hand. Basic legal responsibility rests at the local and State level. However, the problem is so serious that I believe a joint Federal, State, and local attack is necessary. Therefore, I have introduced a bill to help strengthen our local police departments and personnel in their war against crime.

TAX DEDUCTIONS FOR COLLEGE COSTS

I am continuing to work hard for passage of my bill to give tax help to parents of college students, and to youngsters who work their way through college. The Schweiker bill would provide income tax deductions up to $1,750 annually for college expenses incurred by a taxpayer, his wife or child. It would cover expenses for tuition, fees, books and supplies, as well as lodging and meal expenses at college.

THE 1966 QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

Foreign affairs

[Figures in percent]

1. Do you approve of the way President Johnson is fighting the Vietnam War?

Yes	35.8
No	45.1
Not sure	19.1

2. Would you step up bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong?

Yes	50.9
No	30.3
Not sure	18.8

3. Would you blockade the port of Haiphong to stop war supplies from going in?

Yes	72.2
No	14.8
Not sure	13.0

4. Would you include the Vietcong in a coalition government for South Vietnam?

Yes	23.4
No	56.5
Not sure	20.1

5. Do you favor increased trade in nonstrategic goods with the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries?

Yes	61.0
No	29.3
Not sure	9.7

Domestic

6. Do you favor a new Cabinet-level Department of Transportation?

Yes	43.3
No	34.8
Not sure	21.9

7. Should the Federal Government return a portion of Federal taxes to State and local governments for their own use?

Yes	58.5
No	28.6
Not sure	12.9

8. Do you favor legislation to require animal dealers to follow strict regulations governing the transportation, humane treatment, and sale of these animals to research and experimental facilities?

Yes	80.5
No	11.6
Not sure	7.9

9. Would you favor increasing taxes to prevent serious inflation?

Yes	38.6
No	46.4
Not sure	15.0

10. Do you favor increasing the minimum hourly wage from $1.25 to $1.60 over a several-year period?

Yes	47.7
No	43.4
Not sure	8.9

11. Do you favor a Federal income tax credit for individual contributions to political parties?

Yes	24.7
No	68.4
Not sure	6.9

12. Do you favor amending the Constitution to extend a Congressman's term from 2 to 4 years?

Yes	59.4
No	33.7
Not sure	6.9

13. Would you support legislation that would restrict strikes that the President finds are not in the public interest?

Yes	74.0
No	19.2
Not sure	6.8

14. Do you think management and its employees should have the right to choose for themselves whether they want a union shop, an open shop, or no union at all when they bargain collectively?

Yes	90.4
No	4.9
Not sure	4.7

15. Should the Federal Government pay a portion of the rent for low-income families (rent supplement plan)?

Yes	12.8
No	75.0
Not sure	12.2

16. Would you favor the establishment of a Federal teachers' corps?

Yes	19.2
No	55.1
Not sure	25.7

17. If domestic spending has to be cut because of the Vietnam war, in which areas would you like to see it reduced? [1]

Military	8.6
Space	34.0
Foreign aid	71.0
Agriculture	32.1
Poverty	38.5

18. How do you rate the job President Johnson is doing?

Excellent	7.4
Good	31.3
Fair	39.8
Poor	19.5
No opinion	2.0

19. How do you rate the job I am doing as your Congressman?

Excellent	34.4
Good	47.0
Fair	10.4
Poor	3.5
No opinion	4.7

20. In which party are you registered?

Republican	77.1
Democrat	15.8
Nonpartisan	3.6
Not registered	3.5

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION AS AN INDEPENDENT AGENCY

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing H.R. 14730, a bill that would establish the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission as an independent agency. Under the provisions of my bill, however, the duties of the Commission would be divided between a five-member Board and an Administrator.

It would separate the functions of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to judge, prosecute, conciliate, and investigate. It would set up an Administrator who would have the responsibility of investigation, conciliation, and prosecution. The Board would have all the powers that the present Commission has, with the exception of those that are granted to the Administrator.

This is patterned after the present National Labor Relations Board, where the General Counsel has the authority to prosecute before the Board.

It is my view that in H.R. 10065 we are saddling very important and good legislation with an archaic—if you will, model T—type of structure. We are giving the Commission the same kind of authority and responsibility that the old NLRB had in the 1930's, where all these functions were combined under one Board. I think administrative history and experience since the 1930's have demonstrated the value of separating these functions and the fairness of separating these functions.

In 1963 there was pending in the Rules Committee essentially the bill that I have introduced today. It was sponsored by Mr. Roosevelt. It had full hearings before our subcommittee. We reported it out in the form that I now offer. It separated the functions between an Administrator and a Board.

At that time it was called too radical a bill. Mr. Roosevelt and I together wrote to the Judiciary Committee. We joined on a bipartisan basis, to ask the Judiciary Commission to incorporate an equal employment opportunity section in the general Civil Rights Act of 1964. We did this because we were quite sure our equal employment opportunity proposal that was before the Rules Committee would not be acted upon by the House and by the Senate in a year when we had major civil rights legislation in a different form.

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[1] Results total more than 100 percent because of multiple choices.

As a result, a watered-down version of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was put into title VII of the Civil Rights Act. That is the situation that we are now moving to correct. But, unfortunately, in my opinion, we are moving to correct this situation by going back to a full Commission with authority and responsibility for doing all the job. We are not accepting the proposal that emerged from our hearings and our careful deliberations in 1963 in the Roosevelt subcommittee.

I believe that unless the administrative and enforcement procedure contained in my bill is accepted, we will, within a very limited period of time, come back to change the structure of this law, and to change the responsibilities of the Commission.

Under the provisions of my bill, the Administrator would be appointed by the President for a term of 4 years, subject to Senate confirmation. This is very comparable to the General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board. It would take no power, no authority, away from the Commission as a whole. It would simply separate the responsibilities and the authority between an Administrator and a Board.

I believe this is the sensible approach to strengthening the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. I hope it will have the support of Congress.

THE CONVENIENCE OF JET SERVICE AT NATIONAL AIRPORT

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to note that the Evening Star Broadcasting Co. in an editorial statement over WMAL and WMAL–TV on April 17 expressed support for the Federal Aviation Agency's decision to permit short-range jet traffic at nearby National Airport.

This new jet service to National Airport is a great convenience to those of us who find it necessary to travel in and out of Washington frequently. I might point out that all sizes of jet aircraft have been using Wold-Chamberlain Airport at the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul since jets were first used by the airlines. This airport is only about 10 minutes from downtown Minneapolis and our experience with jets at Wold-Chamberlain indicates that jet traffic in and out of National will prove to be in the best interests of the Washington metropolitan area.

I include the text of the WMAL editorial at this point in my remarks:

JETS INTO NATIONAL

WMAL wholeheartedly supports the Federal Aviation Agency's decision to permit short-range jets into National Airport. The jets are rapidly replacing older piston-type aircraft on all major routes. Failure to accommodate the jets would spell the doom of National Airport.

Even before the jets officially arrive on Sunday, some self-styled aviation experts are predicting the end of all peace and quiet along the Potomac. This is like being charged guilty and asked to prove your innocence.

Some jet opponents argue that National is already operating at capacity and more attention should be paid to Dulles and Friendship Airports. However, National's close-in location makes short-range jets highly desirable and the Potomac provides a natural approach pattern.

Those who oppose the introduction of jets at National should at least be willing to have a test period. We are confident the evidence will support the FAA's decision.

THE NEED TO STOP THE HIGHWAY SLAUGHTER IN THE UNITED STATES

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, because of the great interest in safety on our highways and the alarming death rate which is increasing daily, I would like to commend to my colleagues an excellent statement by Mr. Joseph Kelner, president, American Trial Lawyers Association, before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, yesterday April 27, 1966.

Mr. Kelner points out it is high time to abandon the leisurely approach in handling the highway-slaughter program. The need for Congress to enact legislation which will give the American public a safer automobile is imperative. I strongly support these hearings which are now being conducted before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that Mr. Kelner's statement be included at this point in the RECORD.

STATEMENT OF JOSEPH KELNER, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN TRIAL LAWYERS ASSOCIATION BEFORE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D.C., ON APRIL 27, 1966

The American Trial Lawyers Association is the second largest bar association in the world, having approximately 25,000 members.

The American Trial Lawyers Association for many years has served the public interest in consumer protection and the institution of safety reforms in various avenues of our modern-day living. The American Trial Lawyers Association was a prime factor in the protection of the safety and welfare of the traveling public in our spotlighting of the inequities of the Warsaw Convention, which is about to be denounced by the American Government to protect our citizens.

The American Trial Lawyers Association has played an active role in urging reforms to provide for greater safety of American citizens who travel on board our seagoing ships.

The American Trial Lawyers Association has played an active role in cooperation with the Food and Drug Administration, the Accident Prevention Bureau and other governmental agencies to provide for greater safety and consumer protection for American citizens.

The American Trial Lawyers Association long has played an active role in educating and the means of accident prevention.

We are unique in our proximity to the human tragedies which occur daily on our highways, since, as trial lawyers, we investigate, prepare, and try lawsuits arising from highway accidents in all of the courts of our land.

The statistics pertaining to deaths and injuries on our highways have reached such a magnitude that the human mind cannot comprehend the enormity. Were one to stretch the 50,000 persons killed annually on our highways head to toe, the bodies would form a line 50 miles long each year. Were one to walk at an average speed of 3 miles per hour to view these bodies of persons killed annually, it would require more than 16 hours to walk from one end of the grisly line to the other. The appalling line of crippled victims of auto accidents would require weeks to view the human wreckage.

We are unique in our vast experience derived from personal contact with the facts of these occurrences. We daily examine, photograph and scientifically analyze wrecked automobiles to determine the cause and effect which produces these tragedies on our highways. We must interrogate passengers, drivers, witnesses, and police officers in the investigation and trial of these cases.

For years our publications have voiced our concern with the apathy of all segments of the American public and the Federal Government to develop a plan to master this ghastly problem. To this date it is an undeniable fact that the Federal Government has no integrated plan and has accomplished little in coping with highway slaughter.

On Law Day, May 1, 1965, we determined to focus public attention upon this gigantic problem. We conducted, in Washington, D.C., a public forum to examine all facets of the problem. Government officials there readily admitted that the Government has no plan to deal with the growing highway slaughter. Fortified with these admissions, the American Trial Lawyers Association launched, in December 1965, a nationwide program under the title "Stop Murder by Motor."

Our "white paper" presented to the American public a concise, hard-hitting study of the problem as a public service. As president of this great organization, I have appointed task forces of 2,000 lawyers who already are lecturing at countless forums, meetings, seminars, and broadcasts to teach the public, upon the basis of our experience, what specific mistakes they are making and recommended specific changes regarding: The driver, the auto, the highway, and the pedestrian.

We believe the American Trial Lawyers Association has been a major factor in marshaling public opinion in all 50 States to an alltime high point of interest and demands for solution.

PUBLIC REACTIONS AND PUBLIC OPINION

Hundreds of newspapers, radio, and TV stations have saluted our specific recommendations and efforts to galvanize public support for Federal legislation and control. We have received thousands of letters which approve the objectives which we have set forth in our "white paper." From corporation executives, schoolteachers, sheriffs, police chiefs, numerous governmental agencies, the Armed Forces, the insurance industry, and countless individuals, we have received letters supporting governmental intervention to adopt legislation with "teeth." We have literally tested the grassroots sentiments of American public opinion and we are figuratively the funnel for conveying public opinion upon this vital problem to the Congress for its guidance in the enactment of this pending important legislation.

We believe the Congress now has a mandate to impose Federal control upon the major aspects of this problem.

AUTO DESIGN: MANDATORY OR VOLUNTARY?

Upon the basis of thousands of communications which we have received from all segments of American society and from all publicity media—the grass roots of America—we affirm to this committee that improvements in auto design be mandated into new automobiles at the earliest possible date.

Upon the basis of our experience as trial lawyers, we have repeatedly supported the enactment of mandatory legislation to protect drivers and passegers in automobiles from the fatal or crippling consequences of collisions which inevitably will occur.

With 90 million vehicles on our public highways, countless collisions are certain to occur regardless of the best intentions, with the utmost care of drivers, with driver education and with all the coaxing, pleading and cajoling directed daily at the drivers of our Nation.

For years the driving public has been assailed with dire prognostications that on ensuing holiday weekends 550 to 700 Americans will be killed on our highways. The salutary intent of these projections by the National Safety Council has been to cast the drivers of America in the role of culprits or "the nut at the wheel" who causes accidents.

If there are "nuts at the wheel," and undoubtedly there are, the unfortunate consequence of their derelictions is to kill pedestrians or occupants of other automobiles who are blameless.

The objective must be attained to require the production of a crashworthy automobile—as tangible hope of survival and minimization of injuries to the occupants of colliding automobiles.

THE WAITING GAME: RESEARCH BEFORE CHANGES?

It is undeniable that the automobile industry has dragged its feet in the conception and production of safer automobiles to guard the lives of our people. The auto industry presents the sorry spectacle of having opposed the installations of seat belts, long after research studies had proven their worth in life-saving potential.

The emphatic demands by the auto industry that more and more research is required before design changes are incorporated into new automobiles requires careful and critical analysis. The recently publicized grants to the University of Michigan of $10 million and the sum of $1 million to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), invite study of the terms of these grants.

It is significant that these vaunted and belated research projects studiously avoid studies and research regarding the automobile and changes in design features which would produce more crashworthiness in the automobile of the future.

The grantors have specified that these funds shall be used to study driver failure, alcoholism, psychological and psychiatric factors, physical disabilities and capacities of drivers, highway design problems, analyses of traffic flow and related studies.

This committee must approach the problem of proposed research with sophistication and realization that the requirements of research before the changes are mandated will be an indulgence in the waiting game while thousands of Americans will die and millions will be injured needlessly.

It is a fact that the 1966 automobile is no safer than those produced in 1940, despite the study growth in knowledge of accident causation and the means of lessening the consequences of auto collisions.

As trial lawyers we know from firsthand experience the effects on the modern automobile and its occupants of collisions where impacts take place at the front, the rear and the sides of these vehicles.

FRONT END IMPACTS

Our experience as trial lawyers proves that severe front impacts often cause:

1. The steering post and motor to be driven backward without design foresight to deflect them from projecting into the riding compartment.

2. The steering wheel to be driven into the chest or head of the driver with frightful consequences.

Studies performed by various research projects indicate the feasibility of designing the front end of automobiles so as to:

(a) Install an energy-absorbing front bumper which will minimize the effect of the front-end impact.

(b) Install a firewall of steel or other design features to deflect the motor downward to prevent it from being hurled back into the riding compartment.

(c) Provide a collapsible steering wheel to prevent it from impaling drivers in front-end collisions.

(d) The so-called safety glass of the windshield and windows is not safe for it shatters readily. Frequently, it disfigures, deforms, blinds or kills the occupants of automobiles. The gauge of the safety glass is too thin. Passengers hurled against the glass windshield should be protected by designed installations which would make the glass "pop out" where the blunt trauma of the human head smashes against the interior surface of the windshield.

REAR END COLLISIONS

It is our experience that there are more rear end collisions than any other single type of collision. Rear end collisions are caused by heavy traffic, tailgating of drivers, inattentiveness, and other human frailties. Regardless of driver fault it is known that rear end collisions inevitably will occur and with frightful results.

The most common type of injuries which result from rear end collisions are "whiplash" injuries to the cervical spine—the neck region. For years the American Trial Lawyers Association has called attention to the necessity of installation of headrests which would prevent the crippling injuries resulting from "whiplash" in rear end collisions. The headrest is an inexpensive installation which should be mandated into automobiles without delay.

Research is unnecessary

This single improvement could save literally hundreds of thousands of persons from sustaining serious spinal injuries. Undoubtedly, the insurance rates of the public could be lessened considerably by this one improvement which alone could virtually eliminate the "whiplash" injury syndrome. Despite our exhortations in this regard the auto industry has neglected and ignored this simple and inexpensive device.

In rear end collisions an energy-absorbing rear bumper would minimize the shock effect of rear impacts.

In rear end collisions it is common for passengers in the rear seat to be flung forward against seats which buckle and swing forward, often crushing passengers in front seats against the dashboard or glass windshield. A most common source of injuries in rear end collisions from the "second collision"—the impact of auto occupants with interior portions of the automobile—are the various protrusions of knobs, glove compartment doors, front corner posts, rear view mirrors, stick shifts, door handles and parking brakes. It requires little engineering ingenuity to recess or remove these protruding objects and to replace them with soft, energy-absorbing surfaces designed to prevent foreseeable injuries.

In rear end collisions, persons occupying the "death seat"—the front seat next to the driver—is hurled forward against the dashboard and windshield with predictable, dire consequences: blinding, disfigurement, fractured skulls, etc. The so-called "padded dashboards" today simply are not padded nor soft enough to absorb the force of predictable impact with the person in the "death seat." Often the "padded dashboard" is relatively sharp and hard rather than soft and rounded.

SIDE IMPACTS

The common injuries from side impacts are easily predictable upon the basis of our experience as trial lawyers:

1. Upon side impact the doors are flung open and occupants may be hurled out of the car with fatalities or gruesome injuries usually resulting.

2. The side of the modern automobile is designed without any protection whatsoever to the occupants. Automobiles with X-frame types of chassis present no physical obstacle to prevent penetration into the riding compartment by the automobile which strikes it at the side. Death or serious injuries are common with side impacts at only 20 miles per hour.

The thin sheet metal of the door acts as no barrier against the colliding automobile.

Based upon our experience, mandatory changes in design of automobiles are essential to provide side impact protection.

At present the modern automobile has less protection against side impact than the "dodgem" cars used in amusement parks, for the "dodgem" has all-around shock-absorbing bumpers. Our experience impels the recommendation that the modern automobile must be redesigned with a rigid steel chassis having a steel frame or girder completely surrounding the riding compartment of automobiles. Thus, were one to visualize occupants in a steel bathtub with steel walls completely surrounding all occupants of the bathtub, the obvious lifesaving propensities of such a design would be self-evident. The shock-absorbing side walls of the chassis would be at standard bumper height to meet the front bumper of a colliding automobile. The dramatic contrast between such a design and the present complete absence of any protection whatsoever is apparent. Our experience proves that many persons killed in side impact crashes would be saved by foresight and imagination in the improvement of design to protect against the inevitable side impact collisions which result at the intersections of our Nation's highways.

MISCELLANEOUS RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AUTO DESIGN IMPROVEMENT

The American Trial Lawyers Association "white paper" has recommended the mandating of:

1. Cornering light to illuminate the area into which the car is turning.

2. Disk brakes which are virtually unaffected by water (our experience has proven that on rainy days, the standard type of brakes frequently fail because water penetrates into the brake mechanism, making them useless).

3. Headlights and tail lights that are visible from the side as well as from the front and rear of the automobile.

4. The painting of luminescent material upon the interior surface of the trunk lid and trunk to warn oncoming vehicles of the presence of disabled automobiles at nighttime.

PROTOTYPE SAFETY CARS

The American Trial Lawyers Association believes that the development of a prototype safety car, already begun in New York State, is a vital, exciting, life-saving project which should be supported by contributions from the Federal Government.

The prototype car could be used for experiments and the establishment of standards and tests against which consumers, law enforcement agencies, and the Federal Government could measure the safety advances of new automobiles when they are produced.

The prototype safety car need not set fixed and frozen standards of safety features, for its evolution should be dynamic rather than static, with constant changes and new improvements to be built into the prototype car when research and testing establishes their worth.

CONCLUSION

This committee is in a position to assert vigorous leadership for the protection of life and limb of the American people now.

This committee should reject the proposal by the auto industry that it police itself and that it have the freedom of self-regulation. Since the modern automobile provides the largest transportation system ever known to mankind, it is not entitled to be exempted from Federal regulation which has been applied to airplanes, busses, ships, and trains—all of which combined carry only a small fraction of the volume of human traffic now transported by automobiles.

This committee should reject the proposal of the auto industry for self-regulation upon its argument that regulation would interfere with corporate profits and damage the economy of the Nation. This argument is an affront to our people, whose lives and safety must receive priority over monetary considerations in the attention and protection of the Congress. The message must be: What is good for corporate profits is not necessarily good for the safety of the American people.

The American Trial Lawyers Association urges that safety design improvements should be mandatory and not discretionary with the Secretary of Commerce. Numerous design improvements have been established sufficiently by various research projects and by experience of the Nation's trial lawyers. This committee may well take judicial notice of the palpable, manifest benefits for safety which would be derived from mandating certain known design improvements into automobiles now.

This committee is urged to reject the proposal that mandating of design improvements should await further research. Years will be consumed in endless research—years of delay—while people are being researched to death, needlessly.

DEDICATION OF THE ROBERT EMMET STATUE

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MCCORMACK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, April 22, 1966, I had the honor, together with my distinguished colleagues, Congressman MICHAEL J. KIRWAN and Congressman JOHN E. FOGARTY, to dedicate the statue of the great and illustrious Irish patriot, Robert Emmet.

Robert Emmet devoted his life to the cause of Irish freedom and in so doing set the example for others to follow in the quest for freedom, not only for Ireland but for all peoples who were oppressed in that area. His devotion to the cause of liberty and freedom is with us today.

It is fitting, therefore, that I call these ceremonies to the attention of the House. I include herein my remarks and the various speeches made by Congressman KIRWAN, who read a message from the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States, and Congressman FOGARTY, and the Honorable William P. Fay, the Irish Ambassador, who made reply to the speech of the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. I also include the program for the dedication of the Robert Emmet statue, which I feel will be of considerable interest to all:

PROGRAM

[All times estimated]

From 1:40 to 2 p.m.: Music, U.S. Marine Band.

At 2 p.m.: Mr. George B. Hartzog, Jr., master of ceremonies.

Mr. HARTZOG. Mr. Speaker, Archbishop O'Boyle, reverend clergy, Chairman KIRWAN, Ambassador Fay, honored guests all, let us rise for the invocation, to be pronounced by the Reverend C. Leslie Glenn, president of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. Following the invocation, kindly remain standing as the national anthems of Ireland and the United States are played. Reverend Glenn.

From 2:01 to 2:02 p.m.: Invocation.

From 2:02 to 2:05 p.m.: National anthems of Ireland and the United States.

From 2:05 to 2:13 p.m.:

Mr. HARTZOG. Mr. Speaker, distinguished guests, it is a great honor to participate in this historic ceremony. The National Park Service is privileged to have the opportunity to enhance the grace and charm of Embassy Row by the beautification of this park and the placement of the statue of Robert Emmet. It is now my pleasure to introduce our distinguished platform guests. As these gentlemen are introduced, I ask each of them to remain standing until all have been introduced. I ask the audience to reserve their applause until all guests have been introduced.

His Excellency Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa, dean of the diplomatic corps.

His Excellency Patrick A. O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington.

Bishop William J. McDonald, rector of the Catholic University of America.

Hon. John F. Henning, Under Secretary of Labor.

Representative **EDWARD P. BOLAND, of Massachusetts.**

Representative L. MENDEL RIVERS, of South Carolina.

The Honorable Joseph E. Casey, former U.S. Congressman.

Hon. James W. Symington, Chief of Protocol.

Dr. S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Hon. Edward M. Curran, judge of the District of Columbia district court.

Hon. James Bradley, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Mr. William Cafaro, of Youngstown, Ohio.

Gen. William Flood, president of the Ancient Order of the Hibernians.

Mr. Francis J. Kane, member of the District of Columbia Armory Board.

Mr. Walter F. McArdle.

Mr. Michael Devlin.

Mr. Paul J. McGowan.

Mr. Charles Patrick Clark.

Col. Luke C. Quinn, Jr.

Mr. William C. Doherty, former Ambassador to Jamaica.

Mr. T. Sutton Jett, regional director, National Capital Region, National Park Service.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, we may applaud these honored guests.

I also wish to introduce friends of Congressman KIRWAN who have assisted on the Dedication Committee: Judge Frank Battisti, Commissioner John Palermo, and Mayor Raymond Schryver, of Warren, Ohio, and Mr. William Harnisch, of Youngstown, Ohio.

FROM 2:13 TO 2:14 P.M.: MR. HARTZOG, JR.

Mr. Speaker, distinguished guests, the National Park Service is honored to place this statuary in the National Parkland through the generous cooperation of the Smithsonian Institution. Also behind every program of significance there is one who gives that special spark of leadership. In the worthy accomplishment of placing the statue of Robert Emmet here in this attractive park, our esteemed chairman of the Robert Emmet Statue Committee the Hon. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN has been the guiding force. I might say that he is also well known and deeply respected by the National Park Service because of his outstanding leadership in the Mission 66 program—a 10-year planning and development schedule for the National Park System following World War II. Millions of American citizens today enjoy their national parks because of the work of men like Representative MICHAEL J. KIRWAN and his colleagues in the U.S. Congress. It is a great honor to introduce our chairman of the day Representative MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, of Ohio.

FROM 2:15 TO 2:23 P.M.—REMARKS BY REPRESENTATIVE KIRWAN

Representative KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, reverend clergy, Ambassador Fay, ladies and gentlemen, it is my honor to read the following message from the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson:

"It is entirely fitting that this likeness of Robert Emmet should grace the national parklands in the District of Columbia.

"And it is appropriate that this dedication coincides with the celebration by the people of Ireland of the 50th anniversary of their declaration of independence.

"The sheer patriotism and the gallant courage of Robert Emmet have inspired Americans no less than Irishmen in the century and a half since his death.

"The man whose memory you honor today is indelibly enshrined in history because he fired the imagination of his compatriots.

"He cherished the dream that each man should have the fullest measure of freedom.

"His image now takes its place in a city where we revere the memories of others who had the same hope.

"It takes its place in a country where their dreams and their hopes have become reality.

"We Americans are proud to accord a place of honor here in the Nation's Capital to Robert Emmet, whose struggles and sacrifices bespeak the yearnings of mankind throughout the ages."

As President Johnson has indicated, we are here today to honor the memory of a great patriot, Robert Emmet. Robert Emmet was a man of great courage and spirit. He was ready to lay down his life for the country which he loved and the principles for which he stood. His courage and sacrifice gave an example to many Irishmen to carry on the fight for Irish independence. Emmet's courage and bravery instilled a particular quality in the Irish people and their descendents which has carried forth into this very day.

Throughout the 19th century, emigrants from many nations came to America to make a new life. There was poverty, but there was also opportunity. Harsh labor and toil were commonplace and long hours to be expected. But there was light and hope. For the Irish, there were Emmet marching clubs, Emmet guards, and Emmet debating societies. The spirit of Robert Emmet remained in America as an example of undaunted courage throughout the 19th century as it does today.

Ireland is a small country of some 4 million people, nonetheless, almost as many Americans of Irish descent were awarded the covetous Congressional Medal of Honor, starting with the American Civil War and continuing through all wars in which this Nation has been involved, as were Americans who had come from much larger nations. It is most significant that the small country of Ireland produced so many descendents who later came to America and fought for the principles of the United States of America. In the Revolutionary War these heroes of Irish descent took their place on the American side and stood beside Kosciuszko, Pulaski, Rochambeau, and Von Steuben. The father of our American Navy was John Barry.

Robert Emmet gave his life and in his last speech he said he had tried to do for Ireland what Washington had done for his country. Thus, the same courage and sacrifice, which was displayed by Robert Emmet more than a century and a half ago, was exhibited by many Americans who fought to win and to maintain the independence of this brave and powerful country. Their spirits and the spirit of Robert Emmet will not die. It will remain in the hearts of Americans and people the world over who, from time to time, are called upon to stand and fight for the dignity and liberty of mankind.

FROM 2:23 TO 2:24 P.M.

Mr. Hartzog: Thank you Chairman Kirwan for those penetrating remarks. Now it is a great honor to introduce the vice chairman of the Robert Emmet Statue Dedication Committee, Representative John E. Fogarty of the State of Rhode Island.

FROM 2:24 TO 2:32 P.M.—A TRIBUTE TO ROBERT EMMET BY REPRESENTATIVE FOGARTY

Representative Fogarty. We meet here today for two purposes. We come first to dedicate an area of rest and tranquillity which the National Park Service has added to the amenities of our city. Their work and the taste they have displayed deserve our gratitude and I commend them warmly for what they have achieved.

But we come, too, to dedicate a statue and to honor the young and heroic Irishman to whose memory it has been raised. It is fitting that we should do so—for the statue is a work of merit and the ideals of the man whose name it honors were patriotic and noble. And it is fitting too that we should gather here at the statue for this young Irishman in the month of April and in this year. For this month and this year are of some significance in the history of his country.

Just one-half century ago this month a group of Irishmen in Dublin proclaimed an independent Irish Republic to the world, and Ireland in this month and this year is commemorating the 50th anniversary of that declaration. That proclamation of April 1916 was not an isolated event in history. It was inspired by other declarations of freedom in other lands. But in particular it was inspired by a long list of heroic—and tragic—figures who had asserted Ireland's right to independence in earlier generations. The words of that declaration of Easter 1916 were quite explicit. Its authors declared the independence of their country: "In the name of God and of the dead generations from whom she receives her old tradition of nationhood."

They went on to note that six times in the past 300 years the Irish people had asserted in arms their right to freedom. Robert Emmet whose figure will henceforth stand in this honored place in our city, was one of the noblest, most heroic—and most tragic in that long line of noble, heroic, and tragic Irishmen.

Emmet was born in Dublin in 1778 of a distinguished Irish Protestant family. As a student at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1798, he watched the suppression of one attempt to secure independence for Ireland—the insurrection of the United Irishmen, inspired by our own War of Independence and the principles of the French Revolution. That insurrection failed. But though it failed, not all of those who had taken part had lost hope. Within 2 years, Robert Emmet—now expelled from college for his nationalist views—rallied these men and, with hopes of help from France, began to plan another insurrection. His plans were still unfinished when a mishap to a secret arms store alerted the authorities and forced him to act in haste. On July 23, 1803, he led his followers into the Dublin streets to proclaim liberty for Ireland. But liberty—even for those who most desire it—is won by more than a cry in the streets. The people had not been prepared for the sudden call to another insurrection and the attempted rebellion was quickly suppressed. Hope had died again in Ireland.

Emmet himself was forced to go into hiding. He might have fled the country but he chose to stay near Dublin to see his sweetheart Sarah Curran. His whereabouts quickly became known to the authorities of the day: he was arrested and tried for treason and on September 19, 1803, after a trial which attracted much attention, he was sentenced to death. At noon on the following day, September 20, 1803, in the 25th year of his age, Robert Emmet was publicly hanged in the streets of Dublin.

Such, briefly and simply told, was the life of the young man whose statute will henceforth stand in this place. Such was the death of a man whose youth, ideals, noble bearing and eloquence at his trial and at his execution endeared him to the hearts of his countrymen and assured him a foremost place among the romantic and heroic figures of his time.

It is fitting that we Americans—particularly those of us who feel ties of blood or sentiment with Ireland—should honor this young man as an Irish patriot—for in doing so we honor the land for whose freedom he died. And that land has many close and enduring links with our own.

These close links are clear and easily traced in the story of Robert Emmet himself. His attempt to win liberty for Ireland—like other efforts by his contemporaries and successors—was directly inspired by the high principles of liberty proclaimed on these shores.

These close links were clear to our late revered President Kennedy who told a joint session of the free Irish Parliament in Dublin on June 28, 1963: "No people ever believed more deeply in the cause of Irish freedom than the people of the United States. And no country has contributed more to building my own than your sons and daughters."

These close links were clear, too, to an earlier American President, George Washington, for he wrote on one occasion to a group in Ireland: "Patriots of Ireland!—champions of liberty in all lands—be strong in hope! Your cause is identical with mine."

These links are clear to all in our country. They were clear, too, to generations of Irishmen who looked for hope and assistance across the Atlantic to the cradle of liberty in their long struggle for their own freedom.

But beyond these close links, beyond our feelings of friendship for Ireland, I suggest that it is fitting that we honor Emmet for his own character and for the universal validity of his ideals. It was said on the death of a heroic figure in the Golden Age of Greece: "The whole world is the tomb of famous men." So, too, we who believe that the cause of freedom is one and indivisible, hold that the ideals of the patriot who dies for freedom are the ideals of freemen everywhere and the victories of freedom are the victories of all freemen. It is right then that this statue of Robert Emmet should stand in an honored place in our Capital—for in his death 163 years ago all who love freedom died a little. But life springs from death and in the honor we do his memory and his ideals we honor all who loved freedom and died that other might live.

Emmet's heroic speech at his trial concluded with the words: "Let no man write my epitaph; for as no man who knows my motives now dares vindicate them let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them; let them rest in obscurity and peace. Let my memory be left in oblivion and my tomb remain uninscribed until other times and other men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then and not till then, let my epitaph be written."

It is not for us to write Emmet's epitaph. Later generations of his countrymen have done so by their deeds. But we honor and vindicate his motives and his ideals. May this statue which we dedicate today in a corner of the Capital City of this Nation of freemen remind us constantly of those ideals and of a young man who died for his devotion to freedom in a small country 163 years ago.

AT 2:35 P.M.

Mr. Hartzog. Honored guests, our principal speaker of the day has always stood for the equality of mankind. He is a warm and generous man with a truly magnificent record of public service on behalf of the people and the Nation. It is a great privilege to introduce the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

AT 2:35 TO 2:45 P.M.—ADDRESS BY SPEAKER M'CORMACK

Speaker McCormack. Chairman Kirwan, Archbishop O'Boyle, Bishop McDonald, reverend clergy, Ambassador Fay, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, we gather here today to honor the memory of a man and the memory of an ideal.

"When the lamp is shattered, the light in the dust lies dead."

As his lamp of life was extinguished, Robert Emmet asked of the world the charity of its silence. A poet wrote, "Breathe not his name. Let it sleep in the shade where cold and unhonored his relics are laid."

We gather today to light that lamp once again so that it may light our way to see the lessons of the past. We do so in our beloved United States of America, a nation that has given shelter to all creeds, races, and nationalities, and which today shares its bountiful goodness with all. George Washington once remarked: "Every step by which we ourselves advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency." And Robert Emmet wished to procure for Ireland what Washington had procured for the United States of America.

We dedicate the statue of Robert Emmet in a very appropriate place. Nearby, at 2234 Massachusetts Avenue, is the Irish Embassy which has given us so many distinguished guests on this important occasion. At the outset, I wonder if all here assembled know that this statue was dedicated once before on June 28, 1917, at the Smithsonian Institution. On that occasion the great Irish tenor, John McCormack, sang "The Star Spangled Banner" and then sang the two beautiful Irish songs, "O Breathe Not His Name" and "She Is Far from the Land." Senator James Phelan, of California, delivered a welcoming address to a large audience. The chairman of the Robert Emmet Statue Association, Judge Victor Dowling, of New York, made a presentation speech, and an acceptance speech was made for the Smithsonian Institution by Dr. Charles D. Walcott, the Institution's Secretary at the time.

President Woodrow Wilson was present at the ceremonies, as were Mrs. Wilson and other members of the Wilson family, Secretary of State Robert Lansing, U.S. Treasurer John Burke, President Wilson's secretary, Joseph P. Tumulty, and many distinguished Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

None of them had any idea, amid all the ceremonies and speechmaking of that June day almost 49 years ago, that the statue of the great Irish patriot which they were dedicating would one day grace one of the most charming parks of our Nation's Capital. For many years the Emmet statue was exhibited in the rotunda of the Museum of Natural History. In 1966, the statue was transferred from the Smithsonian Institution to the National Park Service to become the central feature of this park.

Robert Emmet, the martyr to liberty, deserves our deepest respect, our highest homage. Freedom has been established only by sacrifices of life such as his. Freedom's program has been from stake to stake, from scaffold to scaffold, from execution to execution. The British executed Emmet, but he shall live forever in the memory of the Irish and of freedom-loving nations throughout the world.

Robert Emmet lived in an age when the long struggle for human freedom and the dignity of man was witnessing momentous events. Of these events there was the American Revolution and the ultimate realization of our own independence as a free people and as an independent nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are equal." It was a time when Thomas Jefferson said, "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants." And upon such a scene came a thoughtful and youthful Robert Emmet—one who personified Byron's description of that "eternal spirit of the chainless mind." He brought to his task a zealous faith and an undying devotion to the cause of Irish independence. As Thomas Jefferson had sworn, "eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man," so Robert Emmet dedicated himself to place Ireland's independence "beyond the reach of any power on earth."

It has been said that Emmet's lack of practical ability resulted largely from his failure to discern the faults of others. Does this tarnish his memory or does it but throw stark relief on an exceptionally noble character? The pages of history are filled with other examples of great leaders who fired the hearts and minds of others, who looked for and found the good in men, who touched their heartstrings—but who failed to see, or perhaps to concentrate, on the faults of others. And yet, by their personal example, these gifted men exhorted others to carry on the work they had begun. Their lives caused others to make a personal commitment to the betterment of mankind—to aspire to leave the world better and happier than they found it. About these leaders of men, there hovered a glowing personal attraction—a warmth and love that sought out the hearts of men and not their vices. They seemed to be ever aware of the frailty of all things here in this world.

Robert Emmet's famous speech from the dock, concluding with the command that not until Ireland was free was his epitaph to be written, has been learned by heart by generation after generation of Irish children in America and in Ireland. "Robert Emmet" as a given name has been as standard in both countries as either "Michael" or "John." American towns have been named after Emmet. Next to the name of St. Patrick himself, the name of Robert Emmet has been the one most often mentioned at St. Patrick's Day observances. American societies and military companies have proudly assumed his name.

Who better than Americans can sympathize and understand the spirit of freedom that swept the world during the later years of the 18th century? Americans, brushing aside every offer of anything short of actual independence from Britain, fought the battles of the Revolution, and by courage, sacrifice, and dedication to the cause of freedom, won their victory. Britain had a veteran soldiery, Hessian mercenaries, and savage Indian allies, but together they were unable to stop a band of hardy and determined American colonists who fought their way across the ramparts of tyranny to the heights of independence.

The first shot at Lexington was indeed heard "round the world." It was heard in England, where a group called the United Britons were organized to attempt the overthrow of a tyranny as terrible in England as it was abroad. It was heard in France where, after ages of oppression, the French people threw off the chains of Bourbon despotism.

And with what joy it was heard in Ireland by such men as Robert Emmet. He was young, talented, generous in his impulses and aspirations, exemplary in morals, inflexible in resolve. He dared to love his country more than himself. He consecrated himself to the cause of Ireland's freedom from the British tyrant's boot, spur, and hangman, and to the hangman he came at last. He met the savage death inflicted upon him with courage and grace. We honor his memory today with our prayers for the repose of his soul.

But Robert Emmet knew that long after the man dies, his memory lives on to become a creative force. To those who remained behind, strength was given and hope revived. And, though in secret, they kept his memory green in their souls. And over that troubled land sunlight shone in place of gloom, and the fragrant perfumes of human liberty and freedom incensed the Emerald Isle.

But the ways of man are hard, and our common battle for the dignity of man is far from over. Man searches still for a lasting peace in which human dignity is assured. Governments are so constituted to secure this just right and to protect man's life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. But, from time to time, governments arise which pervert and repudiate the very spirit of man—which view man as an animal, an expendable tool of the state. Such governments exist on deception and fraud and brute power displayed in a Hungary where freedom's fight is suppressed, or in a Vietnam where invaders from the north threaten the peace of the world.

The United States of America, in its dealings with others, has always striven to follow plain good intention, which, in the words of Edmund Burke, "is as easily discovered at the first view as fraud is usually detected at the last." And because of our good intention as a people and as a Nation, we have time and time again stood by others whose freedom was in jeopardy. For this reason, the flower of our manhood serves today in distant places. At this very hour an American hero may die in the rice fields of Vietnam because he fought to protect the right of a people to be free and to govern themselves according to their wishes—the same right for which Robert Emmet gave his life many long years ago.

It remains to say a few words about the sculptor of this magnificent statue. His name was Jerome Connor, and he was born in Annascawl, County Kerry, in 1876. His family came to the United States when he was a boy, and he grew up in Holyoke, Mass.

He worked as a marble carver as a young man, and then took up sculpture. He eventually came to Washington, D.C., to live, and resided with his wife, the former Anne Donohue of Memphis, Tenn., near the Capitol at 31 C Street SE. Besides the Emmet statue, he was well known for his other works of art. He created the bust of Thomas Moore in Washington's Corcoran Gallery of Art; the Archbishop John Carroll monument at Georgetown University; and the heroic bust of Gen. James Shields, the famous Irish American Civil War commander and U.S. Senator, that honors Shields' grave at Carrollton, Mo.

It is clear, then, that the sculptor Jerome Connor, took particular pride in subjects that related to his own Irish heritage. When he sculpted this statue of freedom's martyr, Robert Emmet, how proud he must have been. How proud he would be today as his work receives its final dedication and resting place.

Looking upon Connors statue of Emmet, we realize that as we honor Emmet's memory, we are required to reflect on the nature of freedom itself. Tyranny is something that Americans have fought long and terrible wars to overcome. It is characteristic of tyrannical governments that those who fight for freedom are not merely executed, but it is even attempted to besmirch their memory.

As we remember Emmet's devotion to the cause of freedom, we also remember to thank Almighty God for the blessings of freedom which are ours as Americans.

AT 2:45 P.M.

Mr. HARTZOG. For a response to the moving words of Speaker MCCORMACK, His Excellency William P. Fay, the Ambassador of Ireland.

AT 2:46–2:52 P.M.—RESPONSE BY THE AMBASSADOR OF IRELAND

The Honorable WILLIAM P. FAY, Irish Ambassador to the United States. Mr. Speaker, Your Excellency Archbishop O'Boyle, Your Excellency the dean of the diplomatic corps, Mr. Secretary Fowler, Mr. Postmaster General, Congressman KIRWAN, ladies and gentlemen, the rededication of this fine statue of Robert Emmet, which by the generosity of the Smithsonian Institution is now being lent in perpetuity to the National Park Service for the beautification of Washington, is a peculiarly fitting tribute by the people of America to the people of Ireland on the occasion of the jubilee of Ireland's declaration of independence. On behalf of the Government of Ireland I wish publicly to thank all those who by the gift of their time and energy made it possible; in the first place, my thanks go to you Mr. Speaker, and to Congressman MIKE KIRWAN, of Ohio, chairman of the dedication committee, and his colleague and friend Congressman JOHN FOGARTY, of Rhode Island, for your noble words today, words which symbolize in each case a lifetime of devotion to the cause of Irish American friendship; to Dr. Dillon Ripley and Mr. Bradley of the Smithsonian Institution, for their interest and good will; and to Mr. Hartzog, Director of the National Park Service, and his remarkable staff for the energy and enthusiasm they displayed in having this beautiful little park prepared, at relatively short notice, to receive Emmet's effigy in bronze. They thought of everything with loving care and I should like to mention especially the name of Mr. Murphy, the architect, who chose the splendid granite plinth on which the statue rests and chiseled the elegantly cut words which appear on it.

I have no doubt that Emmet would have been pleased with this tribute and it is a peculiar satisfaction that some of his descendants are able to be here to witness it. They descend from his brother, Thomas Addis Emmet, who himself suffered imprisonment for his loyalty to Ireland and to liberty and who was subsequently accorded his freedom on condition of exile. He chose to live in a land where liberty had just been established, on the basis of principles which had also inspired him and his brother Robert—the United States.

Robert Emmet is described on the plinth of this statue as an Irish patriot, and so indeed he was, in the most absolute sense. For him the famous line of the Roman poet, Horace, "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori," "it is a fine and worthy thing to die for one's country," was no schoolboy's tag from a Latin grammar, but a serious headline for an all too short life devoted entirely to love of his country, a love which certainly did not exclude, but reinforced his love for his parents and family, and for his sweetheart, Sarah Curran, but his country came first. As he said in his final great speech from the dock:

> "My country was my idol: to it I sacrificed every selfish, every endearing sentiment, and for it I now offer up myself, O God! I acted as an Irishman, determined on delivering my country from the yoke of a foreign and unrelenting tyranny and the more galling yoke of a domestic faction. It was the wish of my heart to extricate my country from this doubly rivetted despotism. I wished to place her independence beyond the reach of any power on earth."

Brought up the son of a distinguished Dublin surgeon, who formed him, as he said himself, in those moral and patriotic principles from which he never deviated, and for which he was expelled from Trinity College, Emmet was a well educated man who at 12 had written his first patriotic ballad and at 14 had read and annotated Locke's "Treatise of Civil Government." Emmet was thus a kind of youthful prodigy, a prodigy of patriotism, as Mozart, an older contemporary of his, was a prodigy of music, but he was something more than this; he was a hero of human liberty, the fine flower of that romantic idealism which inspired the greater spirits of the American and the French revolutions.

Emmet was very much influenced by both these tremendous events and was eager to apply their lessons to Ireland. In the speech already quoted, in which he vindicated his motives on a charge of treason, he admitted boldly that he and his colleagues of the United Irishmen had sought the aid of France in order to procure for his country, from what was then the greatest power on earth, the same guarantee for Ireland's liberty and independence as Washington had procured from the same source for America.

In earthly terms, Emmet failed. In those terms another Irish patriot, Wolfe Tone, whose name has always been linked to his, once told his judges: "In a case like this, success is everything—success, in the eyes of the vulgar, fixes its merits. Washington succeeded, Kosciusko failed." But if, as the English Poet Campbell said, "Freedom shrieked as Kosciusko fell," she covered her face, too, when Robert Emmet's head was displayed to the people of Dublin.

The triumph of Emmet was the triumph of failure. The romance of his life and death—what Yeats has called, linking Robert Emmet with Wolfe Tone, "all that delirium of the brave," captured the hearts of his countrymen, and throughout the 19th century and until our own day, his picture was to be found in the homes of the people everywhere, and at all patriotic gatherings were sung those songs of Thomas Moore, his friend and fellow student at Trinity College, in which his life, his love, and his death have been immortalized in the hearts of Irishmen every since.

Emmet's example, too, has been a constant spur to Irishmen in every generation not to accept anything less than personal and national liberty, and, by striving for it, to "make oppression bitter." He was the particular inspiration of Patrick Pearse and the men of Easter Week, and what Yeats said of them could also have been said of Emmet: "[They] went out to die that Ireland's mind be greater, her heart mount up on high."

Theirs, too, was a triumph of failure, because their failure turned into success by the adhesion of the whole people to their cause, which thereupon became invincible.

It is, therefore, altogether fitting that this statue, which we owe to the genius of an Irishman who worked in America, and the park in which it stands, should be dedicated today as a tribute to the sacrifice of the men of 1916, the draftsmen of our Proclamation of Independence, and the fathers of our Republic, which now holds sway over the greater part of our national territory.

I am happy to say that we can celebrate this jubilee today when our relations with Great Britain have moved into a new atmosphere of friendship and understanding marked by such neighborly acts on the part of the British Government as the repatriation from England of the remains of Roger Casement, and more recently of the flag of the Irish Republic which flew over the post office in Dublin during Easter Week. We are grateful for these gestures which Emmet and Pearse would surely approve, and for our part have recently joined with Britain in the establishment of a free trade area between the two countries.

This new feeling of good will cannot be obscured by acts of futile violence which in no way represent the feelings of the Irish people, but on the other hand it does not mean that we are not as fully attached as ever to the task of reunifying our country. Today, however, we see that task as one of achieving in the first place neighborly good will and practical collaboration with our brothers in the North from whom we were once estranged but whom we have always esteemed as fellow Irishmen.

On behalf of the Irish Government and people, I have the honor to convey to you and to all present their greetings in the most appropriate manner possible, namely, in the words of our venerable President, Eamon de Valera, who has asked me to convey to this distinguished gathering the following message:

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT DE VALERA

"In San Francisco, in Washington and in Dublin the three statues of Robert Emmet, made from the original cast by Jerome Connor, bear witness to Ireland's long struggle for freedom and the long and continuing friendship between the American and Irish people. I myself was privileged to unveil the statue in the Golden Gate Park, San Francisco in 1919 and, during this year's golden jubilee commemoration of the Easter uprising, to receive on behalf of the Irish people the statue presented through the generosity of our American friends.

Robert Emmet's life and death had a profound influence on the course of Irish history. Those who are familiar with the writings of Padraig Pearse know how much the sacrifice of Emmet affected him and how much it was due to Emmet's sacrifice that the determination to win freedom for Ireland was kept during burning in the hearts of the generations to follow.

"I am very happy that this magnificent statue now stands on a prominent site in the beautiful city of Washington. We are grateful to all the friends who have made this possible."

AT 2:32 P.M.

Mr. Hartzog. And now, in keeping with the remarks we have heard and those to be given, Sgt. William Jones, well-known baritone soloist, accompanied by the U.S. Marine Band, will sing the Irish selection "The Minstrel Boy."

FROM 2:32 TO 2:35 P.M.

Vocal selection, Sergeant Jones.

AT 2:54 P.M.

Mr. Hartzog. Ladies and gentlemen—everyone is requested to remain in their seats as Speaker McCormack, Ambassador Fay, Chairman Kirwan, and Vice Chairman Fogarty move to the Emmet Statue where Speaker McCormack will unveil the statue of Robert Emmet.

AT 2:55 P.M.

Unveiling.

AT 2:56 P.M.

Mr. Hartzog. Msgr. John K. Cartwright, rector of St. Matthews Cathedral, will now deliver the benediction.

AT 2:58 P.M.

Benediction by Monsignor Cartwright.

END OF PROGRAM

Concluding music by the U.S. Marine Band.

RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT SERVICE

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. Callan] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, I am distressed to note that the Agricultural Subcommittee has reduced the budget request for the Rural Community Development Service.

The funds for Rural Community Development Service are reduced to the point where the activities of that agency must be curtailed in the year ahead.

There is a pressing need for just the opposite—for extending these services—for Rural Community Development Service to move forward and play its important role in helping rural people make effective use of Federal programs in improving their economy.

The Rural Community Development Service is the key to "parity of opportunity" for rural people. It enables them to get their fair share of Federal help in proportion to their needs—to use Government aid as they have long been used in urban areas to promote economic growth and the well-being of the people.

It has been suggested that the field offices of other USDA agencies can do this work. But you and I know that they have programs of their own that they are responsible for. They simply cannot, on anything like a regular basis, devote the time and attention required to help local people get help under other Federal programs.

A single project may require many months, or even years, to complete. The soil conservationists, the Farmers Home Administration supervisor, the ASCS representative, simply cannot take the required time from their own important programs to see to all the details and to make all the required contacts. If they did, their regular programs would suffer—and I submit, they are too important for that.

If our towns and small cities are to survive, they need the services of an agency such as Rural Community Development Service. And the agency should not be hamstrung, and made only partially effective in certain areas, because of a lack of funds.

FORAGE RESEARCH AND MANAGEMENT

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Cabell] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, my esteemed colleague and fellow Texan, the Honorable W. R. Poage, has recently proposed the establishment of a facility for the research and development of forage.

This is highly important, not only to Texas, but to all livestock raising States.

It is my pleasure to insert in the Record his remarks before the West Texas Chamber of Commerce on April 22, 1966:

Forage Research and Management

(Speech of Congressman W. R. Poage before West Texas Chamber of Commerce Convention, Fort Worth, Tex., Apr. 22, 1966)

Mr. Chairman and my friends, my discussion of forage research is intended to include range research as well as research devoted to the cultivation of forage. Actually, the livestock industry has always been basically dependent upon grass. Primitive man moved with his herds, following available grass. The development of most of our continents has been closely tied to the availability of grass.

When we speak of forage we sometimes think only of baled hay or silage or in an earlier generation of bundled feedstuffs. Grass is the forage of nature and it is still the most important part of our forage resources. These hay crops are all modifications and improvements on our wild grasses. Presumably, the development of sudan grass, sorghum-alum, and all of the multitude of sorghum—sudan crosses serve but to increase the forage producing or animal carrying ability of our grasslands. With the exception of legumes practically all of our forage crops are themselves adopted grasses and, for practical purposes, I think it is fair to include clover, alfalfa, and peas along with our grasses. Therefore, when I speak of forage I speak of any nongrain plant which will support livestock and, of course, in this term I would include all of our small grains until they reach the harvest stage as well as corn used for silage.

If we will accept the term "forage" in the broad sense in which I use it, we can all agree that the cattle industry, except for the feedlot and dairy portion, is almost wholly dependent on forage.

The cattle industry is probably the largest single segment of American agriculture both in terms of acres used and in value of production. Right now we probably have just a little more than 100 million head of cattle in the United States valued at approximately $15 to $20 billion, and yet we have no national research center to study the problems of the production and intelligent use of forage either as native grass or as a cultivated crop.

I have suggested that one of our most pressing needs is such a forage research center which would study not only the development of our grassland resources but development of the best and most efficient cultivated forage crops. We have national research centers for soil and water; animal diseases; poultry diseases; soil nutrition; and four utilization laboratories.

Frankly, some of them are located where they will meet the needs of the largest numbers. Others were located where they met the political needs of the hour. A grass and forage research and utilization center must be close enough to the great range sections of our Nation to serve the needs of the ranchers.

This range or short-grass country is almost all found west of the 98th meridian, but it is the area in which most of our beef cattle are bred. Such a center must be far enough east to conveniently and effectively deal with the problems of the higher rainfall belt, the area where the cattle business is coming back from its westward surge in what might be called the "tall-grass" area. Most of our native tall grasses and these adopted field forage crops lie very largely to the east of the 98th meridian. I, therefore, feel that any such center should be located roughly along this meridian.

I recognize that there will then be those who will immediately suggest that by this same logic any such center should be located about half way between our Canadian and our Mexican border—somewhere about the 40th degree of latitude. I believe, however, that those who jump to this conclusion overlook three important facts.

First, the great bulk of our breeding herd is in the Southwest. The substantial parts of our cattle found in the northern areas are either in or are destined for feedlots or dairies where grain, not forage, is the critical item.

Second, they overlook the fact that the Southeast is the most rapidly developing cattle area of the United States today, and that forage, not grain, is the primary need of this area, as it is of the great Southwest breeding grounds.

And finally, they overlook the fact that only in the southern part of our country can you have any extensive year-round grazing, and only in the southern section can you carry on the type of year-round studies which are so vitally necessary.

If we are to develop the year-round forage which must be our objective, much of the work must be done somewhere south of the 32d degree of latitude. All of this pretty well pinpoints central Texas. Inasmuch as our Federal agricultural agencies in Texas are now, with the exception of ASCS, concentrated at Temple, and inasmuch as both the State and Federal Government now have substantial research facilities in and around Temple (and possibly because Temple is in the district I have the honor to represent), I think that such a center should be established in connection with our other agricultural activities at Temple, Tex.

It should be a facility which would serve the whole Nation. It should be far more than a research laboratory or experiment station, although it should include these activities. It should be a truly scientific center for the study and evaluation of all of the knowledge we have and all we can obtain in connection with the production of forage—its harvest, its storage, its feeding—as well as adaptability of species, biological aspects and biological enemies, chemical and water needs, as well as the effect of grass on our water supplies. You can see that the field is almost limitless.

This would, of course, include studies of the best use of native forage, the best methods of cultivating introduced forage crops, and the property and nutritive value of various types of forage. Such a study will range all the way from a determination of the best methods of fencing large pastures to the most effective and economical method of harvesting and storing cultivated forage. For instance, I have long been convinced that the greatest problem which we in Texas face, and I presume producers in other areas face, in connection with the use of cultivated forage, is a more practical way of harvesting and storing. Presently, both hay baling and silage making and feeding are too costly, and no method is a good method for the livestock industry unless it is an economical method. In these days of high wages no system is economical if it wastes labor.

Certainly, machinery manufacturers, agricultural colleges, etc., have long worked on this problem, but there has been no serious crash effort to solve it. It must be solved very quickly or with ever-escalating wages we are, for practical purposes, going to lose a very large percent of the forage available. In the final analysis this can mean nothing but higher prices for food or lower returns for farmers and ranchers.

Just last week I visited in two of the great grassland economies of the world—in New Zealand and Australia. These people, particularly in New Zealand, have given far more study to their grass resources than we have. I saw where they have taken land out of wheat, which I was told would produce from 75 to 100 bushels per acre, to sow it in grass. When you can afford to do that you simply have to know a whole lot about your grass. The people of both countries irrigate and fertilize their grasses. They apply fertilizer from the air—even on relatively dry Australian pastures. How many of you believe that would pay in Texas? I don't know whether it would or not, but I do know that these stockmen had the benefit of a lot of research before they put their money into these practices, and they seem to all agree that it has paid off for them. It might pay off for the United States. I would like to try it out. The whole economy of New Zealand is based on forage—and their people enjoy a pretty good standard of living, and Australia is getting millions of dollars of American ranch investments because their methods are paying profits. I wonder if it might not be better for the United States if we would try to import more of their study and methods than to export so many of our dollars and our cowmen. To reverse this movement we need a national center to coordinate their research with our own.

While such a research center would be far more than another water study center, it would be entirely justified if it had no other aspects. The people of the whole United States are beginning to recognize, as they have never recognized before, that we, like the people in most parts of the world, find water, or the lack of water, to be one of the most seriously limiting factors to our economic development.

Americans have pretty generally recognized for a long time that we have to have water to maintain a sound agriculture, but it has only been in recent years that the masses of the people have begun to realize that we must have water—more water than most sections have—if we are to develop industry; and they are just today beginning to realize that we must have far more water, both on the surface and under the ground, than we now have if we are to develop great cities or even recreational spots.

Water is not only essential for producing grass and all types of forage but conversely, grass and forage are tremendously important in the conservation of our water reserves. There is no reservoir on earth so vast or as efficient as the earth itself. To the extent that we can make water sink into the ground close to the spot where it falls, it becomes an unmixed blessing, not only to the areas where it goes into the ground but to the areas where it reappears to feed springs and rivers and to maintain lakes. Water running unchecked on the surface can do tremendous damage even in areas of low annual rainfall, but water adequately controlled produces food and sustains life and industry.

Today we are planning, and properly planning, on vast projects to move water possibly even from the north-flowing rivers of the Arctic and from the icebergs of the Antarctic to various sections of our country. These projects involve multiplied billions of dollars and yet we see on our own doorstep water being wasted in quantities even greater than most of these programs envision transporting.

As an illustration, the control of mesquite and other brush may seem to you to be far removed either from a forage research center or from protection of our water resources, but right today most of you in this audience are either engaged, or should be engaged, in a real struggle to repulse the spread of moisture-stealing, worthless plants and brush—more than half of which are mesquite—which threaten to engulf not only our Texas rangelands but the rangelands of much of this country.

It may sound like so much fiction, but various dense, prolific brushes are suffocating the livestock industry not only in the Southwest but in the Northwest and Southeast as well. The Soil Conservation Service has surveyed this problem twice in the last 18 years and figures verify the fact that more than 80 percent of the grassland in Texas is now infested with some kind of brush. A comparable situation exists in most other sections of the United States.

Most of us recognize that livestock producers cannot afford to allow their productive grasslands to be engulfed by these water-consuming brush and weeds, but all too few of our people recognize the danger that this situation poses for our cities and towns. Water lost to brush and weeds is water lost to all beneficial use. Water lost to mesquite trees or shinoak or cedar can never flow into the reservoirs of the upper Trinity and can never provide for either domestic, industrial, or navigation needs in these great north Texas cities.

In Texas alone there is more water lost each day or each year to brush alone than is used by the city of Los Angeles. Mesquite trees in this State probably evaporate more water into the air than would be needed to provide a navigable flow down both the Trinity and the Brazos.

We have been doing lots of work over the last generation. We have learned a great deal. We have developed many new techniques. Treatment is going on all the time, but the progress we are making against these woody invaders is far from encouraging. Treatment is costly. It is complex and there is the disheartening probability of reinvasion of treated areas after a few years. Actually, most modern treatments result only in control, not in elimination, of brush.

Indeed, this problem is so serious that there are those who feel that we should forget about the broader objectives of forage research and concentrate our efforts on this one facet of our needs. I think this would be a mistake. Important as brush control is, vital as water conservation is, we need a center that will bring all of these elements together and that will serve the needs of Georgia as well as of Dakota, and the needs of California as well as of Florida. It would, as I see it, be a great mistake to simply establish another, or a dozen, new demonstration stations. Before we do any more demonstrating, we need widespread and well-directed research—the kind of research which will be based on dozens of separate experiment stations in all parts of the country, but the kind of research which is coordinated in one central station where all aspects of the problem can be evaluated.

A National Forage Research Center at Temple could and would serve not only this State but the Nation. It could and would contribute not only to our brush-control problem but also to our more comprehensive water problems. It could and would deal not only with the use of water but with the use of soil and plants and animals. It could and would not only contribute to the success of the livestock industry, but it could and would help assure our consuming public an adequate supply of red meat at reasonable prices. We should set our goals high. We should seek and secure such a comprehensive institution.

I would be misleading you, if I were to tell you that I think we can get such an institution this year, or that we can ever get it without lots of hard work. The President has very properly suggested that we should retrench, not expand, our domestic programs this year, but I know, as you do, that these fiscal policies move in waves. Maybe by next year the circumstances will be right for the establishment of a great research center. On the other hand, it may be 3 or 5 years before the appropriate time comes, but when it does come we should be ready. We should use the present to prepare our case for future presentation—and we can be sure that, if we have not prepared our case, this work will be done elsewhere. And, if it is, I believe that the whole country as well as Texas will get less than we should in the way of forage research.

BARRATT O'HARA'S BIRTHDAY

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANNUNZIO] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate my colleague, the Honorable BARRATT O'HARA, on his birthday. Today Mr. O'HARA celebrates his 84th birthday and I am happy to join his host of friends in wishing the best for him on this occasion.

My good friend, the distinguished gentleman from Illinois, has compiled an enviable record for himself in the Congress. He has served with distinction in the 81st, the 83d, the 84th, the 85th, the 86th, the 87th, the 88th, and the 89th Congresses. His service to his constituents and his country has been vigilant, courageous, and above all, honest and truly dedicated.

BARRATT O'HARA is the only Member of Congress who is a veteran of the Spanish-American War, and he served again in the Armed Forces during World War I.

At the age of 29 he was elected as Lieutenant Governor of the State of Illinois and was the youngest person in the history of our State to hold this responsible position.

For 30 years Mr. O'HARA had an outstanding career as a criminal lawyer. At one time, he was editor of the Chicago Examiner and also editor and publisher of the Chicago Magazine. For his literary efforts, he was honored with the Chicago Press Veterans Association Award and the Chicago Daily Defender Award. Just last year, in recognition of his many contributions, he was given the Clarence Darrow Humanitarian Award.

In 1965, President Johnson appointed Congressman O'HARA as a delegate to the 20th General Assembly of the United Nations.

BARRATT O'HARA is fondly known by his fellow legislators as the "boy wonder from Illinois" and his countless contributions in public service speak eloquently for him.

Mr. Speaker, I want to say "happy birthday" to my colleague, and wish him good health and many more years of fruitful service in the Congress.

A MODERN RENAISSANCE MAN

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. JOHNSON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, as many of my colleagues are aware I started my career in public service some years ago as a member of the board of trustees of my local school district in Roseville, Calif. Since that time, during my service in local government, later in State government and now in the House of Representatives, I have had a great deal of interest in the educational affairs of the Second Congressional District, the State of California, and the Nation as a whole.

It is always very gratifying when one sees an individual doing an outstanding job in meeting the very great responsibility of educating our young people. Such a man is Dr. Glenn Kendall. Therefore, it is with mixed emotions that I address you today on the occasion of Dr. Kendall's retirement as president of Chico State College. I deeply regret that Dr. Kendall will be leaving the college he has so nobly served; but "Praising what is lost makes the remembrance dear." And the remembrance of Dr. Kendall's worthy accomplishments causes me to eulogize him rather than lament his imminent retirement.

During the 16 years that Dr. Kendall was president of Chico State College, important advances occurred in the college's history. As a former teacher, Dr. Kendall was so very concerned with improving teacher training that he was instrumental in establishing a student teacher program which could utilize the community's resources. He recognized the significance of practical teaching experience before one graduated into a classroom of his own charge. In order to gain insight into special learning problems, Dr. Kendall arranged for the students of Chico State College to work in the neighboring institutions of the Napa State Hospital School for Emotionally Disturbed Children at Imola, the Preston School of Industry at Ione, the Fricot Ranch School near San Andreas, the farm labor camp near Gridley, and in institutes for culturally deprived children in Chico and Oroville.

In addition to this extensive teacher-training program, Dr. Kendall had a master plan for the entire campus of Chico State College. This plan, which has been approved by the Board of Trustees of the California State Colleges, would create Chico State as the residence college of the system with 40 percent of the student body living on the campus. It is Dr. Kendall's hope that in the next 10 to 15 years Chico State College will be able to accommodate 10,000 full-time students.

Dr. Kendall's dream of a master plan for the campus includes progress in the academic sphere as well. A variety of curriculum will be offered which will yield deep and broad diversification of study. Included in this plan are 72 fields of study for undergraduates and 17 study areas for a master's program. The proposed plan is presently waiting approval of the board of trustees.

To date, Dr. Kendall has already seen many of his other proposals reach fruition. The campus of Chico State College has been extended to include the fresh-water biological laboratory at Eagle Lake in Lassen County and a nursing education program at Travis Air Force Base. Extension services of the college have been expanded from 20 to 50 classes in the 9-county area and summer sessions have also shown the mark of Dr. Kendall's influence. During Dr. Kendall's administration, the student body has been extended from one solely comprising teachers-in-service to students enrolled in a general curriculum.

Yet, in spite of Dr. Kendall's various duties as a college president he devoted himself to community service as well. Dr. Kendall was an active member of several organizations including the directorship of the Chico Chamber of Commerce and president of the California Council on Teacher Education. He served as chairman of the United Nations Day celebration in Chico and is presently the chairman of the Butte County cancer drive. Dr. Kendall has also extended his academic drive to the post of president of the Association of State Colleges and Universities and is a member of the committee on international education for the American Association of Colleges of Teachers of Education.

Dr. Kendall's far-reaching endeavors have made him a modern Renaissance man. He refused to dwell in an ivory tower on the campus of Chico State College and has instead heightened the name of the college. Chico State has now become a unique and integral part of the California State College because of Dr. Kendall's tutelage. And the community of Chico has flourished, in part because of Dr. Kendall's charitable nature. We thank him and remember that "there never was any heart truly great and gracious that was not also tender and compassionate."

THE ROLE OF THE BARIATRICIAN IN HIS COMMUNITY

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Anthony A. Conte of Beaver, Pa., in my congressional district, a physician whose practice is limited to bariatrics, which is the medical management of weight control, with other leaders and researchers in this subspecialty of medicine, was guest speaker at the annual symposium on obesity in Denver, Colo. It was attended by over 250 physicians representing most of the States of the Union.

Following is the address of Dr. Conte:

THE ROLE OF THE BARIATRICIAN IN HIS COMMUNITY

(An address delivered by Dr. Anthony A. Conte, Beaver, Pa., at the annual symposium on obesity, April 13, 1966, Denver, Colo.)

In recent years, the American public has been exposed to an enormous amount of information on nutrition and dieting by the press, magazines, radio, and television. Although millions are riding the "reducing merry-go-round" through the "low-calorie age," the prevalence of obesity in America is definitely on the rise and it has become one of the most serious health hazards of our times.

The social, economic, and cultural factors in "our way of life" that have made our enemies and some of our friends call us "soft and fat" are partly responsible for the increase in obesity. However, we, as physicians interested in the medical management of obesity "in depth," must look upon obesity not as a single entity, but in a sense, as a symptom of an underlying medical disease of multiple etiologies. No disease can be treated adequately until properly diagnosed, and in obesity diagnosis implies not only its recognition, but determination of its degree its causes and its significance to the individual patient. It is our duty to sort out nonessential facts, conflicting claims, and to come up with the right facts and sound conclusions.

President Johnson, just a few weeks ago, stated: "The world's wealthiest nation must also be the world's healthiest." I humbly submit to you that by establishing and maintaining an ethical, respectable bariatric practice; by following a policy of "containment without isolation" in the circle of the medical profession, and by actively creating and participating in educational programs on the prevention and correction of obesity in our community, we as bariatricians can make a tremendous contribution in translating our President's cherished aim into reality.

A challenge—which is the core and mainspring of every human activity has been placed before you. In discussing the role of the bariatrician in his community, I hope to answer that challenge.

1. A BARIATRICIAN MUST BE A GOOD PHYSICIAN

What removes him from the faddists, cultists, quacks, and "pill pushers" is his medical training, his desire to increase and refresh his pool of knowledge by attending symposia such as this one; by reading books, articles, and data on obesity; by active participation in research—this is continued education. He must practice good medicine by properly utilizing his continued education when he evaluates the history, physical findings, and laboratory data and correlates them to the individual management of his obese patients.

The dangers of obesity are well emphasized in this dictum: "The longer the belt line, the shorter the life line."

This has been supported by every investigator in this field of medicine. Overweight makes you more susceptible to diseases of the heart, blood vessels, and kidneys—it may predispose one to diabetes and arthritis; it may complicate any illness and make surgery and pregnancy more hazardous; emotional tensions drive the overweight person further into his well-padded shell.

Is it any wonder that the obese patient belongs in a physician's office? Among the many facets of your practice, of primary importance is your duty to help the patient develop the proper attitude toward his problem and the treatment. The patient must neither feel self-hate and guilt, nor must he shift all responsibility for the sickness and its cure to you and the medications—he must have self-concern, realistic aims, sound motivations and must share the responsibility in the permanent correction of the problems of his obesity. In educating the patient, you as the doctor must supply authoritative information and a long-range program because as we all know, obesity is usually a lifetime problem.

2. A BARIATRICIAN MUST GET ALONG WITH HIS FELLOW PHYSICIANS

The American doctors are bonded by the same ideas, the same frustrations—it behooves all of us to attend medical meetings, to meet our hospital commitments, to exchange ideas for the improvement of the practice of obesity and the image of the bariatrician. It is unfortunate that some unjustified snobbery exists among some clinicians who look down their noses at the physicians engaged in bariatrics. It is up to each one of us to answer "these experts" not by backbiting, bickering and brick throwing. Our answer has been and will continue to be a policy of "containment without isolation."

Thus, you must establish and maintain an ethical, dignified practice; cooperate with fellow physicians in referrals and consultations to insure maximum patient care; don't isolate yourself from the medical circle by your absence at medical and hospital functions, whether they are eductaional or social.

3. A BARIATRICIAN MUST BE AN EDUCATOR IN HIS COMMUNITY

In accepting the President's challenge of making this the healthiest Nation, we must contain obesity by attacking the roots of the problem.

We must (a) Direct preventative efforts toward the potentially obese children of obese parents. Thus, we must make the parents understand and believe that the fat baby is not necessarily the healthiest baby; the parents must allow the child to eat as his needs dictate and not according to the dictates of the parents; we must instruct the parents on the basics of good nutrition so that they may practice them and give their family this important knowledge and make food the shield of good health.

(b) Institute educational programs on nutrition as an integral part of the curricula of the primary and junior high schools to complement a program of physical fitness.

(c) Modify our cultural traits so to place food at the periphery and not at the center of our existence.

(d) Utilize child guidance and mental health clinics in attacking the problems of adjustment to life stresses early in life so that children do not turn to overeating and underparticipating in seeking relief of tensions.

(e) Disseminate your knowledge of the problems of obesity by being ready, able and willing to speak at PTA, school nurses, hospital auxiliaries, TOPS, service clubs, and junior women's clubs, etc.

Let us keep the following foremost in our mind. Fatness is a sickness—neglect it, and it will result in the acute becoming chronic and the benign becoming malignant. Therefore, the health of the Nation is literally in your hands. You must not falter. You must not be deterred by those who will ridicule what they cannot understand because you are of the dedicated few who seek for truth and knowledge and pass it on to others.

PRIVATE PENSION PLANS FOR PROFESSIONAL PERSONS

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. FULTON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I rise to introduce legislation which will encourage professional persons to participate in private pension plans. This group comprises approximately 9 million persons in our Nation who are self-employed. It is estimated that another 9½ million individuals are classified as employees of such businesses.

When the House approved in 1961 the Self-Employed Individuals Retirement Act, it was thought many would be encouraged to establish retirement plans for their later years. Unfortunately, in the closing days of the 87th Congress, last minute changes were adopted in the other body which removed much of the incentive originally designed in the act.

Section 1 of this bill would repeal the amendment limiting the amount self-employed persons may deduct with respect to contributions to a pension plan on their behalf to one-half of the amount they contribute. Under the amendment, the full amount of contribution, other than voluntary contributions, could be deducted.

Section 2 of the bill limits the 10 percent or $2,500 limitation so that it will apply only with respect to those self-employed individuals who are sole proprietors. Under the amendment, self-employed individuals who are partners, and sole proprietors who have employees, would be permitted to make contributions on their own behalf of more than 10 percent or $2,500, provided the formula under which the contributions are determined is nondiscriminatory as to others covered by the plan.

The bill also makes a number of conforming changes, the most important of which modifies the excess contributions rules so that no amount which would be deductible for tax purposes would be considered an excess contribution.

The participation rates in self-employed retirement plans in various occupations cannot be calculated accurately, but enough is known to support the objective of my bill.

Evidence at hand indicates that only 8 percent of physicians, 2 percent of dentists, 2 percent of lawyers, just 1 percent of accountants, and lawyers, and one-quarter of 1 percent of individuals in finance, insurance, and real estate, and less than 1 percent of farmers and small businessmen, all self-employed, participated under such plans in the tax year of 1964.

Further, a special tabulation reports retirement plans for self-employed employees covers too few of the potential. Of returns examined in 1964, it was shown that 80 percent of such employees were not covered.

While the objective of this legislation is to encourage the self-employed to establish retirement programs, let me make clear I am particularly concerned as to the welfare of the employees of such firms.

The second step of my proposal offers such inducement for the protection of secretaries, technical assistance, and other employees of this category.

During recent visits to my district in Nashville, I have had an opportunity to confer with many persons engaged in self-employment. I am hopeful that this Congress might justify its obligations in eradicating discriminations against so many of our fellow Americans, and equalize such benefits for employees and the self-employed to conform with advantages now common to corporate plans for retirement and profit sharing, and so forth.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous permission I include in the RECORD comments on this subject of a fellow Tennessean, the president of the American Bar Association, Mr. Edward W. Kuhn of Memphis:

THE PRESIDENT'S PAGE

(By Edward W. Kuhn)

A recent Senate report emphasizes the need for changes in our tax laws to encourage professional persons to participate in private pension plans. Twenty-five million Americans are now covered under private plans; they constitute an estimated half of the persons in private nonfarm employment. The largest segment of our population not participating is composed of persons in the professions, small business and agriculture. In only 15 years, it is estimated, 3 out of 5 employees, a total of 42 million persons, will be covered under private plans, but unless there is a change in our tax laws, the participation is likely to include very few professional individuals in private practice.

The practicing lawyer has a peak earning period of about 20 years, generally between 45 and 65 years of age. The average income in 1962 for those in individual practice was about $8,200 and for those in partnerships $18,000. Some 200,000 lawyers are engaged in private practice but are denied a deferral of Federal income taxes on the full amount of retirement savings because they have a self-employed status.

The number of lawyers employed in private concerns, primarily industry, has increased 127 percent since 1951. Studies indicate that a major factor has been the attractive retirement benefits offered to corporate employees.

In 1942, our tax laws were changed to offer substantial tax benefit to corporations and their employees in the establishment of pension plans, supplementing social security. The tax effects of these plans are:

First, the contributions by the employer for the employee, although in the nature of additional compensation, are not taxable to the employee until the retirement benefits are received in later years.

Second, the employer gets a tax deduction for the contributions when made.

Third, the earnings from the retirement fund are tax exempt until distributed.

Fourth, the retirement benefits are distributed at a time when the employee would normally be in a lower tax bracket.

The result of the legislation enacted in 1942 was to discriminate in favor of employed persons and against all self-employed persons and their employees. To correct this obvious inequity, the American Bar Association led an effort in Congress to secure a measure of equality with corporate officers and employees in respect to the tax treatment of earnings set aside for retirement purposes. Finally, in 1962, the Smathers-Keogh bill (H.R. 10) was passed by Congress and, for the first time, recognition was given to the problem of the self-employed in this field.

Although the Self-Employed Individuals Tax Retirement Act of 1962 was a step forward, it by no means provides an adequate method for the average self-employed individual to save for retirement. During the long struggle for passage, the legislation was weakened considerably. In the final days of the 87th Congress, an amendment to H.R. 10 was added on the Senate floor; it substantially diminished the intended value of the legislation by limiting the self-employed individual to a deduction of only one-half the amount that he contributes in his behalf to a noncontributory plan. This limitation is even more severe in a contributory plan and results in possibly a deduction of only 25 percent.

Since the enactment of the 1962 act, the Association's Committee on Retirement Benefits Legislation has given careful scrutiny to the new law to ascertain its shortcomings with an eye toward supporting remedial legislation.

Although there are several defects in the 1962 act, this association is concentrating its support on the two most needed amendments. H.R. 10, introduced by Representative EUGENE KEOGH, Democrat, of New York, would permit the self-employed person to deduct the entire amount of the contribution made in his behalf to a retirement plan. It also would eliminate the ceiling on deductible contributions that could be placed in such plans, provided, of course, that employees are covered. Seventeen bills to improve the 1962 act are pending before the Ways and Means Committee, including sponsorship by the ranking minority member, JOHN BYRNES, Republican, of Wisconsin.

The following hypothetical case points out the reason that the 50-percent limitation is serving as a major deterrent to participation in retirement plans under the 1962 act:

Assume a lawyer at age 40 with a wife and two children filing a joint return has an income of $15,000 and has $2,000 in deductible expenses. Under the Keogh Act, he could contribute to a retirement plan 10 percent of his income, which would be $1,500. Because of the 50-percent limitation, he would have a deduction of only $750 which would in this case leave him a taxable income of $9,850 and his tax would be $1,787. If the full deduction were permitted, he would have a taxable income of $9,100, paying a tax of $1,622. The savings of $165 per year in taxes invested at 6 percent over a 25-year period would amount to $9,052. If the lawyer did not participate in the plan at all, he would pay a tax of $1,952, which is $330 more in taxes than if he had a plan permitting a full deduction. This $330 invested for a period of 25 years at 6 percent would total $18,105.

It is apparent by this illustration that although the 1962 act provides some inducement to the private practitioner, it falls far short of providing him comparable tax treatment with a lawyer under a corporate plan.

Because of the inadequacy of the 1962 act, there has been increasing agitation by many professional persons to seek another approach to the problem by forming professional corporations or associations. Although some 30 States have enacted laws authorizing members of the various professions to form corporations, the Treasury Department has indicated that it did not recognize such professional associations as corporations for income tax purposes under the Internal Revenue Code. Therefore, this avenue has been virtually closed to the professional individual. H.R. 8347 and several other bills are pending in the Ways and Means Committee that would require that such professional corporations be treated as corporations for income tax purposes.

In addition to individual or firm plans under H.R. 10 type legislation and the use of professional corporations, a third possible avenue for the self-employed person and his employees would be to participate in association or other group plans. The American Bar Association after careful study established a plan in 1963 for its members, but because of the severe restrictions in the 1962 act, the participation in this plan is extremely limited. In fact, of the 120,000 members of the American Bar Association, fewer than 1,000 persons, including lawyers and their employees, are now participating in the association's plan. Undoubtedly, participation in such group plans would be greatly enhanced by passage of legislation like the new H.R. 10.

A report of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, issued in June 1965, recommends enactment of provisions included in H.R. 10. It also recommends legislation "clarifying and reaffirming congressional intent that professional corporations and associations are corporations within the meaning of that term as used in the Internal Revenue Code."

This association, with the support of the State and local bar groups, and other organizations, is giving priority attention to bringing about much needed improvements in our tax laws to correct further an inequity which has existed for more than two decades. This should be of direct concern to every practicing lawyer.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND PROGRESS CONTINUING IN 2D SESSION OF 89TH CONGRESS

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Barrett] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, many have already said that our work in the 1st session of the 89th Congress will go down in history as one of great accomplishment and progress. I believe that we can say with pride that we are continuing that record since we have already enacted into law over a dozen major bills among which are:

The Veterans' Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966 provides a permanent program of educational and other benefits, including guaranteed home loans, job counseling and placement services, Federal job preference, and VA medical care. This program will benefit over 5 million young men and women who have served in our Armed Forces to maintain our national security.

The finding of the Congress that many of our senior citizens have misunderstood the registration provision of the health insurance program for the aged under the social security system and therefore failed to register by March 31, 1966, led us to enact legislation extending to May 31, 1966, the initial period for those 65 and over to enroll in this vitally important program.

The House has passed a bill to provide for a pay raise for our Federal employees upon whose shoulders rests the responsibility of seeing that the machinery of government operates efficiently and continuously. This is another step in the effort to provide Federal employees with the pay and fringe benefits equal to that earned by people in comparable jobs in private industry.

The House has also passed a proposal to amend the Railroad Labor Act to eliminate the backlog of undecided claims of railroad employees pending before the National Railroad Adjustment Board and to provide equal opportunity for judicial review of awards of the Board to both employees and employers.

Additional legislation now pending before the House which will benefit each and every one of us, includes the following two items: The child development bill which authorizes a 5-year program to assist elementary schools to employ child development specialists for kindergarten through the third grade, and for a fellowship program to train child development specialists; and, a bill to increase the minimum wage for the 29.6 million workers presently covered under the minimum wage law to $1.40 effective February 1, 1967, and to $1.60 as of February 1, 1968. The bill also would extend the coverage of the minimum wage law to approximately 7¼ million additional workers.

We will shortly be called upon to vote on other proposals now pending before the committees of the House, which are important and beneficial to all of us. One is a bill to provide for the feeding and the nutrition of children. The Child Nutrition Act will improve the nutrition of children through extension of the national school lunch program, a pilot breakfast, and special summer lunch program for the needy. Others include proposals in the field of education, city development, assistance to low-income groups, and other fields involving the welfare of our people.

INFLATION STORIES TRUE AND FALSE

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Hansen] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, much has been said about inflation and the farmer's role in it in recent weeks. One of the most reasoned articles I have seen appeared in the April 23 Wallaces' Farmer. I hope it will be as interesting to my colleagues as it was to me.

The article follows:

Inflation Stories True and False

Farm State Republicans have had real good hunting since the administration's unwise blasts at food prices. Without doubt they have some real issues in some areas. But some of the political attacks show more heat than light.

While consumers are critical of recent food prices, we feel the President erred in opening an attack on inflationary food prices. The reason is obvious—food is still a real bargain.

The restriction placed on cattle hide exports by the Department of Commerce—to hold down shoe prices—was ridiculous. With 25 or 30 cents worth of hide in a pair of shoes, even a doubling of hide prices would have little direct effect on shoe prices.

We feel that some of the other attacks on administration anti-inflation actions are less valid, however. Here are some of the most publicized ones.

The 50-percent cut in military buying of bacon. Bacon prices soared to abnormal levels last winter, even considering the good hog prices. In view of this, we feel it was a logical move for the military to reduce bacon purchases temporarily. Eggs, sausage, ham, and beef are all good alternate sources of the protein supplied by bacon.

Why shouldn't our military procurement people shift purchases among comparable food items from U.S. farms in response to current supplies and prices? This is the way you'd operate your own business.

Military buying of margarine instead of butter. A lot of tears have been shed because our boys in Vietnam are being fed some margarine. We suspect this is the least of the worries of the boys on the firing line.

L.B.J.'s suggestion to buy the cheaper cuts of meat. Will this undermine our livestock economy? The producers' own promotion agency, the National Live Stock and Meat Board, has spent a lot of money showing housewives how to prepare and serve the cheaper cuts. The limited demand for the cheaper cuts is a real drag on beef prices, especially during boom times such as now. L.B.J. probably helped livestock prices with this comment.

CCC corn sales to beat down prices. More than 344 million bushels of corn was marketed by CCC since October 1. These sales pushed down prices in February and March, and it's very possible they were timed to encourage signup in the feed grain program.

Regardless, corn prices have been good. Considering our record crop, the feed-the-world excitement of last winter probably pushed up prices more than supplies and potential markets justified. Average monthly prices in Iowa hit a peak of $1.07 in January. By mid-March they were only 4 cents lower—$1.03.

The key point is, however, that we can't operate a successful feed grain program if corn is permitted to only flow into—never out of—CCC bins.

We still have 15 to 20 million tons of feed grains in excess of desirable reserve levels. Isn't it wise management for CCC to move out some corn during periods of brisk demand, especially when dry corn is badly needed to fill export orders?

CCC sales shaved a few cents off corn prices this year. But prices are probably at least 15 cents above where they'd be if we didn't have the feed grain program taking 32 to 36 million acres out of production each year. We can't have our cake and eat it, too.

TRANSPORTATION

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Ottinger] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I cannot allow this vote on H.R. 13881 to go into the Record without commenting on the forceful and effective leadership of the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Helstoski].

The bill we are passing today could be stronger, but it is a good bill and such legislation has been needed for a long time. I would have much preferred that the House enact H.R. 10743, which was introduced by the gentleman from New Jersey. I did support the recommittal motion which was designed to bring his bill before us. However, that effort was defeated and faced with accepting H.R. 13881 or no protection whatsoever for dogs and cats used in scientific research, I am voting for the bill.

While the bill we are passing today is not the one proposed by the gentleman from New Jersey, it will always bear the mark of his initiative and leadership. For that, animal lovers throughout the Nation will always esteem him highly.

THE 10TH ANNUAL MARITIME POSTER CONTEST

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ADDABBO] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, on the Senate side of the Capitol today I participated in the presentation of a $500 cash award to the grand prize winner in the 10th Annual National Maritime Poster Contest for high school students. The presentation was made by the Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, Hon. Alan Boyd, to my constituent, young Mr. Nick Verni, of Springfield Gardens, of whom we in Queens County and New York are quite proud.

The National Maritime Poster Contest is sponsored by the American maritime industry in cooperation with the Maritime Administration, Department of Commerce, and the Post Office Department. Industry sponsors are: American Institute of Marine Underwriters, American Merchant Marine Institute, Committee of American Steamship Lines, Lakes Carriers' Association, Pacific American Steamship Association, Propeller Club of the United States, and Shipbuilders Council of America.

This year's contest drew over 9,000 entries from more than 40 States. Nick Verni entered the contest upon the suggestion of his art teacher, Mr. Lu Kimmel, who recognized this young man's potential. Nick did not tell his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Michael Verni, he had entered and they knew nothing about it until the day he received the telephone call advising him that he was the grand prize winner. Nick's father was born in Italy, and we all know that he must look on his heritage of Italian excellence in art with the hope that his son brings to America a part of that heritage. I believe that he has.

There could be no more fitting theme for this contest than the one chosen this year: "American Ships Chart America's Future." We must develop and maintain a strong U.S.-flag fleet.

For the information of my colleagues, I include the remarks of Under Secretary Boyd delivered at today's ceremony:

Remarks of Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation Alan Boyd, April 28, at the 10th Annual National Maritime Poster Award Ceremony

It is a great pleasure to join in these ceremonies which honor the high school student who this year won first prize in the 10th Annual National Maritime Day Poster Contest.

This annual contest serves the important function of bringing home to high school students and their families all over the country the importance of the American merchant marine. As a result of the research these students conduct in order to develop their poster theme, they have become aware that our merchant ships are the lifeline of our defense and the mainstay of our prosperity. They learn that the U.S.-flag fleet has substantial obligations in carrying our agricultural products to the hungry nations of the world, in supporting and extending our burgeoning international trade, and in supplying auxiliary aid to our military forces. By fulfilling these obligations, the American merchant marine is making a substantial contribution to our national goals and welfare. Thus, these students have found the truth in this year's slogan: "American Ships Chart America's Future."

Each year thousands of students show great creativity, energy and imagination in their entries in the poster contest. It is a great credit to the first prize winner and 58 other prize winners that their posters were judged so highly among those submitted by their thousands of talented and enthusiastic competitors. In paying tribute to the first prize winner, we are honoring all other high school students who put forth the effort which created the thousands of posters which were entered in the contest.

All during the month of May, this year's top winner need only look at every mail truck that goes by him on the street to see the results of his efforts. Youths such as he are excellent representative of their generation, showing a willingness to work hard and responsibly toward a worthwhile goal.

Now it is my distinct pleasure to pay tribute to talent and the hard work of this year's first prize winner, Nicholas Verni of Queens, N.Y. I think that Nicholas' own words tell the story of the careful preparation and long effort which precedes such a happy day as this better than any other source. When he first heard that he had indeed been successful, he wrote:

"The phone call really shocked me. I couldn't believe it at first, but the telegram from Congressman ADDABBO made it even more real.

"I was born and raised in the small town of Springfield Gardens, N.Y., where I attended Public School 137. In the second grade my teacher, Mrs. Nichols, first encouraged me to continue my work in art. Later on I attended Junior High School 231, where my art teacher, Miss Wolf, advised me to attend a high school that offered extensive courses in art. I selected Thomas A. Edison Vocational and Technical High School. My teachers there were just great, and it was my commercial art teacher, Mr. Kimmel, who pushed me even further. As a result my work has been at the top of the class.

"I've always worked hard trying to be just a little bit better than the better students. For 2 years now I have earned exra money by working on signs for customers and friends. Instead of working in a supermarket like most boys, I studied 3 hours after school in a sign shop as an apprentice. This experience was most valuable. Now I have a small working place in my attic where I practice and work after school. I hope to further my education after graduation by attending the Institute of Lettering and Design in Chicago, Ill."

Mr. and Mrs. Verni, you have every reason for justifiable pride in the accomplishments of your son.

Mr. Kimmel, your student's success is a tribute to your own capacity.

Now, Nicholas Verni, on behalf of the Maritime Day Poster Committee and on behalf of the entire American merchant marine, and its industry sponsors of the poster contest, it is my pleasure to present you with this check in the amount of $500.

Let me, also, offer my own personal congratulations, in which I know that Assistant Postmaster General Hartigan joins me.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. MAILLIARD, for May 2 through May 13, on account of official business.

Mr. FLYNT (at the request of Mr. STEPHENS), for an indefinite period, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. GOODELL (at the request of Mr. MCCLORY), for 15 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.

Mr. QUIE (at the request of Mr. MCCLORY), for 15 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous material.

Mr. GROSS, for 30 minutes, Monday, May 2.

Mr. ADDABBO (at the request of Mr. SISK), for 10 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous material.

Mr. GONZALEZ (at the request of Mr. SISK), for 60 minutes, on May 12; and to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous material.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. KREBS and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. QUIE (at the request of Mr. MCCLORY) to include extraneous matter in his remarks on H.R. 13881.

Mr. CRAMER.

Mr. CULVER.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. MCCLORY) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. DERWINSKI.

Mr. STANTON.

Mr. REID of New York.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. SISK) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. CORMAN in two instances.

Mr. ANNUNZIO.

Mr. MARSH.

Mr. UDALL.

Mr. RESNICK.

Mr. HUOT.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan.

Mr. HANLEY.

Mr. FRIEDEL in two instances.

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER in two instances.

Mr. KASTENMEIER.

SENATE ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled joint resolution of the Senate of the following title:

S.J. Res. 86. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim May 4, 1966, as a "Day of Recognition" for firefighters.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 12 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, May 2, 1966, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2349. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated March 1, 1966, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration on an interim hurricane survey of Washington, North Carolina, and vicinity, authorized by Public Law 71, 84th Congress, approved June 15, 1955 (H. Doc. No. 429); to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed with an illustration.

2350. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a report of applications for loans and grants received for various projects, pursuant to the provisions of section 10 of the Small Reclamation Projects Act of 1956; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

2351. A letter from the Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, transmitting a listing of certain required information with respect to contracts entered into, for the period July 1 through December 31, 1965, pursuant to the provisions of section 2304(e) of title 10, United States Code; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. DAWSON: Committee on Government Operations. Report entitled "Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations: The First 5 Years," 27th report; without amendment (Rept. No. 1457). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. BOLLING: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 829. Resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 14324. A bill to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and administrative operations, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1461). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. SISK: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 830. Resolution providing for the consideration of S. 1098, an act to amend section 1(14)(a) of the Interstate Commerce Act to insure the adequacy of the national railroad freight car supply, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1462). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. YOUNG: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 831. Resolution providing for the consideration of S. 1804, an act to provide for the appointment of two additional judges for the U.S. Court of Claims, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1463). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. FOGARTY: Committee on Appropriations. H.R. 14745. A bill making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1464). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. MOORE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 1275. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Jadwiga (Ita) Lapides; with an amendment (Rept. No. 1455). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 3631. A bill for the relief of John Sinclair; with an amendment (Rept. No. 1456). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. KING of New York: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 4437. A bill for the relief of Bryan George Simpson; without amendment (Rept. No. 1458). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DONOHUE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 11718. A bill for the relief of Jack L. Philippot; without amendment (Rept. No. 1459). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. FEIGHAN: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 1748. An act for the relief of Virgilio Acosta-Martinez; without amendment (Rept. No. 1460). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BELL:

H.R. 14724. A bill to mesh the combined efforts of government at all levels with private endeavors to provide jobs and dignity for the poor; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin:

H.R. 14725. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide for the payment of annuities thereunder to children who are full-time students between the ages of 18 and 22; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CRAMER:

H.R. 14726. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide benefits for certain disabled widows without regard to their age; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 14727. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase the amount of outside earnings permitted each year without any deductions from benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DOW:

H.R. 14728. A bill to amend section 203 of the National Housing Act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. FULTON of Tennessee:

H.R. 14729. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to permit pension and profit-sharing plans to provide contributions or benefits on a nondiscriminatory basis for certain self-employed individuals without special limitations on the amount of contributions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GOODELL:

H.R. 14730. A bill to more effectively prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HATHAWAY:

H.R. 14731. A bill to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, to encourage on-the-job training programs; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HOLIFIELD:

H.R. 14732. A bill to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

By Mr. KEOGH:

H.R. 14733. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that certain insurance agents shall be treated as outside salesmen for purposes of computing adjusted gross income; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LONG of Louisiana:

H.R. 14734. A bill to designate the Alexandria National Cemetery, Pineville, La., as the "Pineville National Cemetery"; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MORRIS:

H.R. 14735. A bill to amend section 3 of the Administrative Procedure Act, chapter 324, of the act of June 11, 1946 (60 Stat. 238), to clarify and protect the right of the public to information, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. MORRISON:

H.R. 14736. A bill to amend title V of the Social Security Act to provide a grant-in-aid program to assist the States in furnishing aid and services with respect to children under foster care; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. POWELL:

H.R. 14737. A bill to establish, under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, an emergency loan fund for the benefit of trainees; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. PUCINSKI:

H.R. 14738. A bill to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, to provide for special programs for older workers; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 14739. A bill to amend the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 as it relates to those areas to be designated as redevelopment areas; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. PUCINSKI (by request):

H.R. 14740. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code, to increase the rate of pension to certain veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, their widows and children, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina:

H.R. 14741. A bill to authorize an increase in the number of Marine Corps officers who may serve in the combined grades of brigadier general and major general; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 14742. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act to extend to employees retired on account of disability prior to October 1, 1956, the minimum annuity base established for those retired after that date; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. TEAGUE of California:

H.R. 14743. A bill to amend section 161 of the Revised Statutes with respect to the authority of Federal officers and agencies to withhold information and limit the availability of records; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. TUNNEY:

H.R. 14744. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FOGARTY:

H.R. 14745. A bill making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for other purposes.

By Mr. BERRY:

H.J. Res. 1130. Joint resolution designating "Tax Freedom Day" as a national holiday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CRAMER:

H.J. Res. 1131. Joint resolution to create a delegation to a convention of North Atlantic nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SECREST:

H.J. Res. 1132. Joint resolution providing for the establishment of an annual "National Teenage Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CELLER:

H. Res. 832. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to the proposed transfer of the Army and Air Force Exchange Services from New York City; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. COOLEY:

H. Res. 833. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Agriculture to conduct studies and investigations relating to certain matters within its jurisdiction; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H. Res. 834. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to the proposed transfer of the Army and Air Force Exchange Services from New York City; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. MULTER:

H. Res. 835. Resolution to rescind transfer of Army and Air Force exchanges; to the Committee on Armed Services.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

466. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Idaho, relative to State taxation and its impact on interstate commerce, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAIR:

H.R. 14746. A bill for the relief of Ki Ha Shin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 14747. A bill for the relief of Olivia Violet Tennyson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BARRETT:

H.R. 14748. A bill for the relief of Maria Camilla Giuliani Niro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BATES:

H.R. 14749. A bill for the relief of Katherine M. Perakis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. BOLTON:

H.R. 14750. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Bracha Hamany Kaye; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CONABLE:

H.R. 14751. A bill for the relief of Antonino Laviano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GERALD R. FORD:

H.R. 14752. A bill for the relief of Miss Jalileh Farah Salameh El Ahwal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GIAIMO:

H.R. 14753. A bill for the relief of Joseph Coletta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MORRIS:

H.R. 14754. A bill to direct the Secretary of the Interior to reinstate a certain oil and gas lease; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MORSE:

H.R. 14755. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Violet Morgan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14756. A bill for the relief of Sybil Clarke; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PUCINSKI:

H.R. 14757. A bill for the relief of Georgios Charalampos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REDLIN:

H.R. 14758. A bill for the relief of Dr. Amado G. Chanco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REID of New York:

H.R. 14759. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Christos Photinos-Svoronos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RODINO:

H.R. 14760. A bill for the relief of Herta Inge Georgia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SHRIVER:

H.R. 14761. A bill for the relief of Nora E. Jackman; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STANTON:

H.R. 14762. A bill for the relief of Ulises and Catalina Isaigue; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER:

H.R. 14763. A bill for the relief of Yung Mi Kim; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 14764. A bill for the relief of Barrington Ferguson and Mildred Evett Ferguson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

382. The SPEAKER presented a petition of Ralph Boryszewski, Rochester, N.Y., relative to the impeachment of Hon. Stephen S. Chandler, U.S. district judge for the western district of Oklahoma, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

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SENATE

THURSDAY, APRIL 28, 1966

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. METCALF).

Rev. Paul S. Jones, pastor, Christ Methodist Church, Landover Hills, Md., offered the following prayer:

O God, our Heavenly Father, Thou who hast set a restlessness in our hearts, and made us all seekers after that which we can never fully find; forbid us to be satisfied with what we make of life. Draw us from base content and set our eyes on far-off goals. Keep us at tasks too hard for us, that we may be driven to Thee for strength. Save us from ourselves, and show us a vision of a world made new. On behalf of these Thy servants we pray that Thou wouldst remember them in Thy love and guide them by Thine infinite spirit. Help them to have a deep appreciation for the endless line of splendor that they walk in. Assist them to know what is good, right, and just. May they have the courage to do and to act in ways that are necessary, in order that Thy children in all places may be divinely blessed. Imbue them with the spirit of wisdom, goodness, and truth; and so rule their hearts and bless their endeavors, that law and order, justice, and peace may everywhere prevail. To the honor of Thy holy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, April 27, 1966, was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILL

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on April 27, 1966, the President had approved and signed the act (S. 1938) to amend the Indian Long-Term Leasing Act.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 10065) to more effectively prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled joint resolution (S.J. Res. 86) to authorize the President to proclaim May 4, 1966, as a "Day of Recognition" for firefighters and it was signed by the Vice President.

HOUSE BILL ORDERED TO LIE ON THE TABLE

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill that was just messaged from the House, H.R. 10065, be permitted to lie on the table.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Illinois? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, statements during the transaction of routine morning business were ordered limited to 3 minutes.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consider executive business, for action on nominations.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no reports of committees, the clerk will state the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Department of Justice.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA REDEVELOPMENT LAND AGENCY

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Neville Miller for reappointment as a member of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency for a term of 5 years.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Without objection, the President will be immediately notified of the confirmation of the nominations.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Commerce be permitted to meet during the session of the Senate today.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President——

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Illinois wish to object?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yes; I have been asked to object.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Objection is heard.

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly Legislation of the Committee on the Judiciary was authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

IOANNIS A. VASILOPOULOS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1104, S. 2621.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 2621) for the relief of Ioannis A. Vasilopoulos.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with amendments, in line 3, after the word "sections", to strike out "203(a)(2) and 205" and insert "203(a)(1) and 204", and in line 6, after the word "of", where it appears the first time, to strike out "Paul Vasselus, a citizen of the United States:" and insert "Mr. and Mrs. Paul Vasselus, citizens of the United States:"; so as to make the bill read:

S. 2621

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of sections 203(a)(1) and 204 of the Immigraton and Nationality Act, Ioannis A. Vasilopoulos shall be held and considered to be the natural-born alien son of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Vasselus, citizens of the United States: *Provided,* That no natural parent of the beneficiary, by virtue of such parentage, shall be accorded any right, privilege, or status under the Immigration and Nationality Act.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1138), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to grant first preference status to Ioannis A. Vasilopoulos, who is to be adopted by citizens of the United States. The purpose of the amendments is to conform the language to new provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act, and to include the name of the adoptive mother in the bill.

BUTTE, MONT., ATHLETIC DIRECTOR RETIRES

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, one of Montana's alltime greats in the sports world has decided to retire after 44 years with the Butte, Mont., school system. At the end of this school term, Harry "Swede" Dahlberg will relinquish his duties as track coach and athletic director at Butte High School.

"Swede" Dahlberg is well known for his phenomenal success as athletic director at Butte High. Many of his teams and athletes have gone on to achieve national fame. Butte has always been the team to be reckoned with—a great deal of the credit goes to its coach.

"Swede" Dahlberg is not only a coach but an educator of great ability, especially in the areas of physical education and hygiene. He was an outstanding athlete in his own right in his high school and college years. He is a kindly man, a man who lived and played by the rules.

I am very pleased to learn that Swede and his wife, Effie, are planning to stay on in Butte. He will now have time to devote more time to his favorite sport, fishing, and remain as an inspiration to the young sportsmen advancing in the Butte schools.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a feature article written by Frank Quinn for the April 24, 1966, edition of the Montana Standard be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Butte (Mont.) Standard, Apr. 24, 1966]

THE "SWEDE": LIVING PLAYING BY THE RULES

(By Frank Quinn)

Harry (Swede) Dahlberg will hang up his track spikes at the end of the current season, when he retires as track coach and athletic director at Butte High School. The "Swede" hung up his football cleats in 1955. In 1952, he relinquished his duties as basketball coach.

When Dahlberg signed a letter recently, notifying the Butte School District of his impending retirement, a colorful history of unprecedented success in Butte High School athletic history neared an end.

It was an epoch which began here in 1922 when he called his first football practice at the old Butte High Building on West Park, a structure destroyed by fire on April 10, 1946. Girls Central High School now occupies the site.

Since that fall afternoon when the "Swede" met with his first purple and white grid candidates, he has fired up thousands of athletes in football, basketball, and track. Many of them went on to achieve national fame.

WILL REMAIN IN BUTTE

Dahlberg and his wife, Effie, are not leaving the Mining City, their native home. Fair warning should be given to fish in all nearby streams, however, because Harry will spend more time at his favorite sport.

Although better known for his coaching ability, Dahlberg's work in physical education and hygiene has been outstanding.

One educator commented that the "Swede's" work in those fields for nearly half a century has been more important to the youth of Butte than his leadership and ability as a coach. His hygiene lectures have often been the subject of discussion and reference in State educational circles.

The teaching and coaching professions have been noble professions to Dahlberg. He has exemplified the finest traits of what he taught. In building young manhood he practiced what he preached—not to drink or smoke, to be fairminded, honest, and square in all dealings, to be gracious in victory or defeat and to be a sportsman and gentleman at all times.

NOTABLE RECORD

Conditioning was a big factor in his success as a coach and in his leadership as a physical education director. He keeps himself in perfect shape and expects the same of his students. He drove himself hard, as he did his teams, but he has always been concerned with the slightest injury or illness suffered by squad members. Many times, boys with minor injuries were benched until they were in top shape.

Coaches, players, officials, and fans all hold Dahlberg in high regard. Collegiate mentors were always anxious to have "Swede's" boys on their clubs. They were always well trained and knew the fundamentals of all sports.

Dahlberg seldom resorted to dramatic dressing room talks. But he could if the situation warranted. Once his Bulldogs were trailing 13–12 at the end of the half in Naranche Stadium. He pulled a Knute Rockne. He didn't go near the gridders during the intermission. Instead he went into his office and locked the door. Just before resumption of the game he walked into the locker room and said: "It's all right with me if you want to play like a bunch of girls. But, I don't want to be seen with you on the streets tomorrow if you lose as you're losing now. You're not trying." The team, seething over his halftime neglect and his sharp words hit the turf, played like it could, and won, 24–20.

He had a great athletic career of his own. He was all-State tackle for 3 years at Butte High School. He never played on a losing Bulldog team. He was a member of Butte High School State title teams in 1913, 1914, 1915.

He played 4 years at Montana University, Missoula, 1916–20 and captained the Grizzlies when, under Bernie Bierman, they hung up the only Montana University win in history over Washington. The score was 18–14. Dahlberg was named on several all-Northwest clubs while with the university.

Dahlberg began his coaching career in the fall of 1921 at Hamilton High School. He took over at Butte High the next season.

IT'S BEEN HIS LIFE

There was never a time when he wanted to be anything else or do anything besides what he has been doing for nearly 45 years. There are not many who have been as happy with their job the way the "Swede" has been. It has kept him young.

Names come out of the "Swede" like someone talking about the old neighborhood. They come out fast and in spurts and they cover the nearly half century he has been coaching along with the years he was an athlete. Many of those he speaks about are dead. Others are prominent in various endeavors. A lot of them are forgotten by just about everybody but the "Swede."

Asked to name the greatest players he ever coached, Dahlberg said:

"They've all been great. A boy who plays football, basketball or competes in track and field, and who goes through the practice grind and the competing grind and is faithful in his assignments—no matter whether he is a star or not is great. It takes character, courage and a sense of responsibility to stick to it when the going is toughest. The undefeated team is not always the strongest. It sometimes could be the luckiest."

If you ask the "Swede" to measure the modern athlete against those who were in the sports headlines when he was playing, or when he started coaching, he doesn't hit you with any of the crusty old cliches about the old days being better because of this or that. He doesn't think there has been too much of a change in athletes over the years. The sports themselves have become more exciting and this he chalks up to the better facilities, better places to play and better equipment for the boys.

There are few, if any, who have made more contributions to sports and to the boys of Butte than Dahlberg has. Measure his contribution just in terms of time and you have some idea of what he has given. Measure it in terms of the deep love he has had for sports, people and more particularly "his boys" and you have something that few equal, let alone surpass.

[From the Butte (Mont.) Montana Standard, Apr. 24, 1966]

LOOK AT THE RECORD

"Swede" Dahlberg's coaching career at Butte High School cannot be measured in championships won or lost. It has meant much more to the community than that. However, for the record:

Football (1922–55, coach 34 years): Played for the championship 18 times, winning 8, deadlocking in 2, and losing 8. The record: State championships were won in 1924, 1927, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1935, 1937, and 1940.

The Bulldogs were runnersup in 1928, 1933, 1936, 1945, 1947, 1950, and 1953. They tied for the title in 1949 and 1950. In 1928 they were champions of the then active Big 11 Conference and in 1947 won the Big 7 title and in 1949 and 1950 were Big 6 champions. They won a divisional crown in 1932. Dahlberg coached the West squad in the East-West Shrine game in Great Falls in 1948. His team won, 21–6.

Track and field (43 years): 12 Montana interscholastic track and field championships since 1923. His squads placed second 20 times in that period and were third 4 times. The record: State championships were won in 1924, 1925, 1927, 1928, 1931, 1933, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1943, and 1963. Bulldogs were runnersup in 1923, 1926, 1929, 1932, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1949, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1957, 1964, and 1965. Divisional titles were won in 1957 and 1959. This year to date the "Swede's" proteges have won the Bozeman indoor. In 1965 his cross-country team won the State championship. His harriers were undefeated in 1963, 1964, 1965, and since 1931, when the Butte American Legion-sponsored cross-country race started, his boys have won all but four of those races.

Basketball (1923–51): State championships were won in 1924, 1925, 1928, 1932, 1933, and 1941, a year in which the Bulldogs also won the Big 16 title. In 1933, because of the bank holiday the State tourney at Bozeman was canceled but Butte took on the meet and the topflight teams in the State competed here.

REPORT ON EXPORT-IMPORT BANK INSURANCE AND GUARANTEES ON U.S. EXPORTS TO YUGOSLAVIA

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary, Export-Import Bank of Washington, Washington, D.C., reporting, pursuant to law, that the amount of Export-Import Bank insurance and guarantees on United States exports to Yugoslavia for the month of March 1966, not previously reported, totaled $26,171; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

PARTICIPATIONS SALES ACT OF 1966—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE—MINORITY AND INDIVIDUAL VIEWS (S. REPT. NO. 1140)

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, I report favorably, without amendment, the bill (S. 3283) to promote private financing of credit needs and to provide for an efficient and orderly method of liquidating financial assets held by Federal credit agencies, and for other purposes, and I submit a report thereon. I ask that the report be printed, together with minority and individual views.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The report will be received, and the bill will be placed on the calendar; and, without objection, the report will be printed, as requested by the Senator from Maine.

NONPROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE (S. REPT. NO. 1141)

Mr. PASTORE, from the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, to which was referred the resolution (S. Res. 179) relating to nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, reported it favorably, without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. DIRKSEN subsequently said: Mr. President, at the request of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, I ask unanimous consent that Senate Resolution 179 be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. RIBICOFF:

S. 3287. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to permit States, under Federal-State agreements, to provide for coverage for hospital insurance benefits for the aged for certain State and local employees whose services are not otherwise covered by the insurance system established by such title; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. RIBICOFF when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. INOUYE:

S. 3288. A bill to provide for the free entry of a mass spectrometer for the use of the University of Hawaii; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HILL:

S. 3289. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the recognition of the services of the civilian officials and employees, citizens of the United States, engaged in or about the construction of the Panama Canal," approved May 29, 1944, as amended, so as to provide benefits for certain persons not now covered by such act; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 3290. A bill to amend section 114(b) of the Housing Act of 1949; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks by Mr. TYDINGS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. LAUSCHE:

S. 3291. A bill to provide for the issuance of a special series of postage stamps commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

(See the remarks of Mr. LAUSCHE when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. SCOTT:

S. 3292. A bill for the relief of Medina Alvarez Advincula; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PASTORE:

S. 3293. A bill to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

By Mr CHURCH:

S. 3294. A bill to establish the Sawtooth National Park in the State of Idaho, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. CHURCH (for himself and Mr. Jordan of Idaho):

S. 3295. A bill to establish the Sawtooth National Recreation Area in the State of Idaho, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. Church when he introduced the above bills, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. HART (for himself, Mr. Bayh, Mr. Brewster, Mr. Case, Mr. Clark, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Fong, Mr. Hartke, Mr. Inouye, Mr. Javits, Mr. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Mr. Kennedy of New York, Mr. Long of Missouri, Mr. Mondale, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Proxmire, Mr. Scott, Mr. Tydings, and Mr. Williams of New Jersey):

S. 3296. A bill to assure nondiscrimination in Federal State jury selection and service, to facilitate the desegregation of public education and other public facilities, to provide judicial relief against discriminatory housing practices, to prescribe penalties for certain acts of violence or intimidation, and for other purposes.

(See the remarks of Mr. Hart when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

RESOLUTION

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS TO HON. HARRY S. TRUMAN

Mr. MONTOYA submitted a resolution (S. Res. 252), extending birthday greetings to the Honorable Harry S. Truman upon the occasion of his 82d birthday, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

(See the above resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. Montoya, which appears under a separate heading.)

MEDICARE COVERAGE FOR STATE AND LOCAL EMPLOYEES

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to allow States, under Federal-State agreements, to provide hospital coverage under medicare for certain State and local employees whose services are not otherwise covered by social security.

On July 1, 1966, hospitalization coverage under medicare will begin for nearly 20 million Americans age 65 or over. All Americans who reach age 65 before 1968 will be similarly covered, whether they are eligible for social security retirement benefits or not. But, after January 1, 1968, a person must be covered by the social security retirement system to be eligible for medicare hospitalization insurance. Although generally equitable, this creates a severe problem for employees of State and local governments.

Although most employees in the United States are now automatically covered by social security, this is not true with regard to employees of State and local governments. Social security coverage involves a tax on employers as well as on employees. In this case, however, the employer is a State or local government. The Congress, not wanting to be in the position of attempting to tax a State or local political unit, excluded their employees from compulsory participation in the social security system.

The law does allow, however, for voluntary agreements for the coverage of most State and local employees. Whether or not services to a State or local government are to be covered depends on the State, which must work out a coverage agreement with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Members of local retirement systems, however, must approve coverage by referendum.

As of January 1965, approximately 2.6 million positions in State and local employment were not covered by social security. Thus, the individuals in these positions will not be eligible for the hospitalization insurance provisions of medicare unless they have attained social security coverage in other employment. These are employees who are not covered by Federal-State agreements bringing them under social security. In most cases, they are covered by retirement systems of their own. These public employees, although members of State or local retirement systems, do not have programs similar to the hospital insurance program available to them. Many are willing to pay for such insurance, but under present law, are precluded from doing so unless the State brings them under the social security retirement system as well.

I am particularly concerned about this gap in medicare's hospital insurance coverage because among those excluded are over 650,000 public school teachers across the Nation. These are teachers who have devoted their lives to educating the children in a dozen States across the Nation—States which have excellent retirement systems—but they will be excluded from medicare's hospital insurance. My bill will allow them to elect to participate in the hospital insurance program as long as they are willing to pay their own way. Nothing could be fairer than that.

I ask that there be printed in the Record at this point a table showing the States whose teachers are not covered by social security as a result of their employment as teachers.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Table of instructional personnel not covered by social security

Area:	
California	172,300
Colorado	23,260
Connecticut	29,100
Florida	55,330
Illinois	93,460
Kentucky	29,300
Louisiana	34,750
Massachusetts	48,450
Missouri	39,986
Nevada	5,000
Ohio	95,000
Puerto Rico	19,720
Rhode Island	7,513
Total	653,169

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, there is no reason why these employees should not be brought under the basic hospital insurance program without requiring them to participate in the social security retirement program. The basic hospital insurance program is financed by a payroll tax completely separate from the regular social security tax. Income from the hospital insurance payroll tax will go into a separate trust fund to pay the benefits and administrative expenses of the hospital insurance program. It is a completely separate insurance program. Allowing these public employees to participate in the hospital insurance program will actually improve that program by broadening the number of persons covered.

My bill will provide that those State and local employees not now included under an agreement providing social security coverage may be covered by hospital insurance only. The agreement provisions under which a State may make hospital insurance available and the referendum provisions to accomplish coverage are similar to those now in effect for social security retirement coverage of State and local employees. A majority of the employees in the coverage group in question must vote for coverage. The bill covers only those employee groups which may currently be subject to Federal-State agreements. Thus, there should be no unknown administrative problems connected with implementation.

The employees and their employers will pay for the coverage of hospital insurance according to the schedule now set out in the law. Currently this is 0.35 percent of salary up to $6,600 per employee and employer, rising to 0.80 percent in 1987. Thus these employees will in no way be getting a free ride. They and their employers will pay their own way. The payments would go into the separately established hospital insurance trust fund, which is, of course, completely separate from the OASDI trust fund.

The enactment of this proposed legislation will bring another large group of Americans under the protective provisions of the hospitalization insurance program. This is beneficial to the program as well as to these employees.

I ask unaimous consent that my bill and a table showing State and local government employment be printed in the Record at this point.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and table will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 3287) to amend title II of the Social Security Act to permit States, under Federal-State agreements, to provide for coverage for hospital insurance benefits for the aged for certain State and local employees whose services are not otherwise covered by the insurance system established by such title, introduced by Mr. Ribicoff, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 3287

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of

America in Congress assembled, That title II of the Social Security Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"Voluntary Agreements for Coverage of State and Local Employees for Hospital Insurance Benefits

"SEC. 228. (a) (1) Any individual who—

"(A) has attained age 65,

"(B) has, after attainment of such age, filed application for monthly insurance benefits under section 202,

"(C) has, on the basis of such application, been determined not to be entitled to such benefits because he (or any other individual) fails to meet the requirements of section 214, shall, solely for purposes of section 226, be deemed to be entitled to monthly insurance benefits under section 202 if, after application of paragraph (2), he (or such other individual) does meet the requirements of section 214.

"(2) (A) In determining (for purposes of paragraph (1)) whether any individual meets the requirements of section 214, there shall be included, as a quarter of coverage of such individual, each quarter which under subparagraph (B) is deemed to be a quarter of coverage of such individual.

"(B) Any quarter with respect to which—

"(i) any individual performs service which is covered under an agreement entered into pursuant to subsection (b),

"(ii) such individual would, if such service were covered under an agreement entered into pursuant to section 218, be credited with a quarter of coverage,

shall, for purposes of subparagraph (A), be deemed to constitute a quarter of coverage of such individual.

"(b) (1) The Secretary shall, at the request of any State, enter into an agreement with such State for the purpose of extending the insurance system established by this title (insofar as such system relates to hospital insurance benefits for the aged for which entitlement is established by section 226) to services performed by individuals as employees of such State or any political subdivision thereof, but only if such services are not covered by an agreement entered into pursuant to section 218.

"(2) No agreement under this subsection shall cover any employee or group of employees whose services are not permitted to be covered under an agreement entered into pursuant to section 218.

"(3) Any agreement under this subsection shall provide that the State will pay to the Secretary of the Treasury, at such time or times as the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare may by regulations prescribe, amounts equivalent to the sum of the taxes which would be imposed by sections 3101 (b) and 3111(b) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 if the services of the employees covered by the agreement constituted employment as defined in section 3121 of such Code.

"(4) (A) Except as specifically otherwise provided in this subsection, the provisions required to be contained in an agreement under this subsection shall be those specified in regulations promulgated by the Secretary. Such regulations shall prescribe with respect to any such agreement requirements, conditions, limitations, sanctions, and other provisions patterned as closely after those prescribed in the case of agreements under section 218 as is appropriate for the carrying out of the purposes of this section.

"(B) Any authority conferred upon the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, upon the Secretary of the Treasury, or upon any other officer or instrumentality of the United States under section 218 shall, to the extent appropriate to the carrying out of this section, be deemed to apply to the carrying out of this section."

The table presented by Mr. RIBICOFF is as follows:

State and local government employment under OASDHI in education, by State: January 1965

[In thousands]

State	All State and local government employment	Employment under OASDHI	Not covered by OASDHI
United States	7,479.2	4,826.3	2,652.9
Alabama	116.0	110.0	6.0
Alaska	11.3	9.4	1.9
Arizona	65.5	59.8	5.7
Arkansas	64.2	58.5	5.7
California	783.7	242.5	541.2
Colorado	96.9	22.6	74.3
Connecticut	97.0	45.3	51.7
Delaware	20.0	17.6	2.4
Florida	230.0	126.1	103.9
Georgia	150.6	113.6	37.0
Hawaii	26.6	21.3	5.3
Idaho	31.0	30.9	.1
Illinois	377.0	102.1	274.9
Indiana	190.6	159.0	31.6
Iowa	120.9	116.4	4.5
Kansas	107.1	97.9	9.2
Kentucky	102.8	64.9	37.9
Louisiana	141.2	46.6	94.6
Maine	41.3	10.4	30.9
Maryland	125.1	116.5	8.6
Massachusetts	204.0	.9	203.1
Michigan	330.9	278.1	52.8
Minnesota	155.3	56.3	99.0
Mississippi	89.7	79.2	10.5
Missouri	161.6	124.0	37.6
Montana	34.1	28.8	5.3
Nebraska	68.7	65.0	3.7
Nevada	19.2	1.0	18.2
New Hampshire	29.3	24.9	4.4
New Jersey	232.4	204.4	28.0
New Mexico	42.7	33.6	9.1
New York	769.3	700.3	69.0
North Carolina	164.9	159.3	5.6
North Dakota	41.5	25.9	15.6
Ohio	373.1	.7	372.4
Oklahoma	104.5	84.7	19.8
Oregon	90.1	82.4	7.7
Pennsylvania	373.9	321.2	52.7
Rhode Island	31.7	24.8	6.9
South Carolina	83.7	81.8	1.9
South Dakota	35.4	30.3	5.1
Tennessee	141.5	100.0	41.5
Texas	384.0	200.5	183.5
Utah	46.2	45.2	1.0
Vermont	16.6	10.9	5.7
Virginia	152.7	146.6	6.1
Washington	137.8	133.2	4.6
West Virginia	66.6	61.6	5.0
Wisconsin	180.1	130.9	49.2
Wyoming	18.9	18.6	.3

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that the bill remain at the desk for 5 days for cosponsors.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE "MA AND PA" URBAN RENEWAL AMENDMENT

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to amend the Housing Act of 1949, in order to provide for more equitable and compassionate treatment of older people whose businesses are substantially destroyed during the course of urban renewal.

Progress has its price. The price of progress in urban renewal is often to destroy the livelihood and earning capacity of the small, neighborhood storekeeper.

In Baltimore, for example, I know of a corner candy store owner who lived and worked in the same location for 40 years. His store was a focus of neighborhood activity. People came to buy their newspapers, to catch up on local neighborhood events, and to purchase last minute groceries on Sundays or late evenings. For 40 years, he was part and parcel of the community. While I was a student at the University of Maryland Law School, I lived in that neighborhood and many times found myself in that candy store.

Several years passed and then the city of Baltimore decided to renew this area, and the candy store was included in the urban renewal demolition project. The candy store and all of its customers were told they had to move.

The owner of the building, from whom this man had rented for 40 years, received payment for his building. But the man who rented and lived in the area received no payment at all. His store was gone, his clientele was gone, his goodwill was lost. He was left adrift in the world at age 65, with no place to live, no source of income, and only token relocation assistance.

This was an extreme hardship. To be sure, some hardships are inevitable, if we are to redevelop our slum neighborhoods. Some inconvenience cannot be avoided if we are to renew our decaying cities. I do not think we should allow these considerations to block progress. I support urban renewal for our cities.

But I firmly believe that we owe a moral obligation to the families and small businesses that have to be relocated to minimize the burdens and to make them as whole as possible.

Last year Congress wisely amended the urban renewal laws to increase the relocation payments for small business concerns. Last year's amendment increased the relocation payment from $1,500 to $2,500.

However, existing relocation programs still fail to meet the needs of those businesses which, for all practical purposes, cannot be relocated. Take the candy store owner to whom I referred earlier. What can he do at age 65 with a $2,500 relocation payment and a few hundred dollars moving expense? Where can he go and set up a neighborhood candy store? Where can he become an integral part of a community?

Let us be honest. In the case of our candy store owner, urban renewal did not result in his relocation. It put him out of business. It cut off his source of income as effectively as if his business had been condemned.

I think we should provide for such cases in our urban renewal program.

The bill I am introducing is limited in scope. It would provide the owners of small neighborhood businesses with a lump-sum cash payment, in lieu of relocation and moving expenses, which would be equal to the average annual earnings of that business for the past 3 years. If, for example, the candy store operator to which I have referred had an average annual income of $5,000, he would be entitled, under my amendment, to receive a lump-sum payment of $15,000. This would be in lieu of his $2,500 relocation payment and moving expenses.

This amendment is also limited in its applicability. In order to qualify for the foregoing payment, an owner relocated in an urban renewal project would have to meet the following four tests:

First, he would have to be 50 years of age or older.

Second, he would have had to be a tenant and not an owner of the property in which his business was located.

Third, his average annual net earnings for the preceding 3 years would have had to be less than $10,000 per year.

Fourth, his business would have to be of such character that it could not be relocated without "a substantial loss of its existing patronage."

In essence, this amendment would apply only to the small, "Mom and Pop" neighborhood store in which the owners were over 50 years of age, earned less than $10,000, and rented their place of business.

I think the lump-sum payment which I have suggested is modest in amount and wholly consistent with our moral obligations to alleviate the hardships imposed by urban renewal progress.

The cost of this amendment would be low. Last year the Urban Renewal Administration advised me that approximately 6,000 business establishments are relocated every year as a result of our urban renewal programs. Approximately 30 percent of these establishments go out of business. These are, for the most part, the small marginal business and neighborhood stores. We are thus dealing with a group of not more than 1,800 businesses, and a large number of these people will not meet the requirements of my amendment.

An educated estimate by a high official of the Urban Renewal Administration is that not more than 1,000 businesses per year would qualify under this amendment. If we assume the average annual earnings of these 1,000 businesses to be $7,000 per year—a relatively high figure considering the $10,000 ceiling in my amendment—we would be paying an average of $21,000 to each of these 1,000 businesses estimated—or a total of $21 million. I think this is a small sum, in relation to our total urban renewal program. Last year's urban renewal bill increased the capital grants for urban renewal by more than $2 billion.

I am familiar with and fully support S. 1681, the bill introduced by Senator MUSKIE to establish order, fairness, and equity among the allowances granted to persons displaced by federally subsidized programs. I realize that passage of that bill, now pending before the Senate Government Operations Committee, would repeal the urban renewal housing allowances, which the bill I introduce today seeks to amend.

Notwithstanding my wholehearted support for Senator MUSKIE's now pending, wise, and necessary bill, I think we ought to act now to give equity to our senior citizens displaced by urban renewal. So, I introduce this bill and request that the distinguished Subcommittee on Housing of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee consider it now in connection with its proceedings on the Housing Act of 1966.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3290) to amend section 114(b) of the Housing Act of 1949, introduced by Mr. TYDINGS, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

ISSUANCE OF SPECIAL STAMP COMMEMORATING 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, today I am introducing proposed legislation calling for the issuance of a special postage stamp commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. This bill will support a proposal already being considered by the Post Office Department's Citizens' Stamp Advisory Committee for the issuance of such a stamp on or about October 23, 1966. All of us will recall, that 10 years ago, the small Hungarian nation rose in arms against its Communist oppressors. And I believe that small nations' right to liberty, independence, and national sovereignty is especially relevant today when American men are fighting in support of these same unalienable rights of the Vietnamese people.

The spectacular of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution must for long be remembered by all nations of the world. The commemorative stamp proposed in this bill should be a small token of our respect to those who died in 1956 for the principles we cherish, and to those who carry on their quest throughout the world.

I am certain that there will be others who wish to add their support to the issuance of such a commemorative stamp.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3291) to provide for the issuance of a special series of postage stamps commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution, introduced by Mr. LAUSCHE, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

THE SAWTOOTHS OF IDAHO

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference two bills relating to the same area in the State of Idaho. One would create a Sawtooth National Park, while the other, in place of a park, would establish a Sawtooth National Recreation Area.

These alternative measures conform with recommendations which resulted from a Sawtooth Mountain Area study conducted jointly by the National Park Service and the U.S. Forest Service. The findings were made public earlier this year.

For the information of all interested persons, I announce that open public hearings will be conducted in Idaho this coming June 13 and 14, at Sun Valley, by the Senate Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation on both bills. This hearing will afford the people of my State an opportunity to express their views on each proposal.

AREA ONE OF MAGNIFICENCE

Mr. President, this is the high country of south-central Idaho's fabulous wilderness—42 snowy peaks of more than 10,000 feet elevation, nearly 200 sapphire lakes, forests of spruce, fir, lodgepole and ponderosa pine. Perpetual snowfields melt into the sparkling headwaters of three major rivers, the Salmon, Payette and Boise.

While these summits form a roadless wilderness region, 30 miles long and 18 miles wide, it is paralleled on the east by the Sawtooth Valley and Stanley Basin. Here, log-fenced pastures, white-faced cattle, scattered ranchhouses and the roving Salmon River, provide an authentic western foreground for this magnificent mountain backdrop.

The high mountain country is presently administered as the Sawtooth Primitive Area by the U.S. Forest Service. An increasing tide of visitors, drawn by the magnet of the jagged snowcaps, vacation and fish in the lower lakes and along the rivers. Back-packers climb trails to the high country, revel in the remote beauty of snow-fed lake and stream, and "sightings" of wildlife ranging from antelope to mountain goat.

EARLY PARK PROPOSALS

Many Idahoans and government officials have long believed this most rugged and pristine area to be more than worthy of inclusion in our national park system. Bills proposing the creation of a Sawtooth National Park have been introduced in Congress by the distinguished Senator James P. Pope and the late, great Senator William E. Borah. Early Idaho legislatures memorialized Congress urging such a park. Executive interest has been attracted by these magnificent mountains since the administration of Woodrow Wilson.

During the 88th Congress, I introduced a bill calling for creation of a Sawtooth Wilderness National Park, but this action was primarily designed to provide the vehicle for a thorough feasibility study by both the Forest and National Park Services. When the study was released this year, it became evident that a national recreation area—a comparatively new concept—also was worthy of very serious consideration as an alternative to the park.

There are, naturally, advantages and disadvantages to both plans for Idaho. The national park would provide the ultimate in conservation of the resource, and it would give Idaho its first such designation of a major land area. We have a new National Nez Perce Historical Park in north central Idaho, but this is a correlation of scattered historical sites, and not a national park in the traditional form. A national park would also be widely publicized.

INCREASE IN RECREATION POTENTIAL

On the other hand, the national recreation area would increase the recreation potential for both Idahoans and out-of-State visitors. It would also allow the Forest Service to continue as the administrative agency, whereas a national park would mean a transfer of authority to the National Park Service.

The proposed national park would embrace approximately 380,000 acres of land. The national recreation area would include around 350,000 acres. A national park would prohibit hunting, mining, lumbering and grazing. These multiple-use activities, as long as they did not conflict with its main objective, would be allowed in the national recreation area.

Both plans would preserve the scenic approach to the mountains by preventing unsightly development of the valley sections, the national park by acquisition of the private property, and the national recreation area through local zoning regulations.

Mr. President, we need either a Sawtooth National Park or a Sawtooth National Recreation Area to both protect this wonderful resource and foster its recreation potential for Idaho and the people of the United States. The area proposed for inclusion as either a park or a recreation area comprises less than 1 percent of the 20 million acres of national forest land within the State of Idaho. Either proposal would boost the economy of the State and region, guarantee the integrity of the upland wilderness, and better provide for the rapidly growing migration of summer visitors to the unforgettable Sawtooths.

Mr. President, I am pleased to announce that my distinguished colleague [Mr. JORDAN] joins with me as cosponsor of the bill which would authorize the creation of the national recreation area, and I send that bill and the second bill to which I have referred, the one that would create a national park, to the desk.

I ask that the two bills be appropriately referred, and I also ask unanimous consent that the texts of both bills may appear at this point in the RECORD.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bills will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bills will be printed in the RECORD.

The bills, introduced by Mr. CHURCH, were received, read twice by their titles, referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

By Mr. CHURCH:

S. 3294. A bill to establish the Sawtooth National Park in the State of Idaho, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to preserve for the benefit and enjoyment of present and future generations an area in the State of Idaho possessing superlative scenic, scientific, and historic features, there is hereby established, subject to valid existing rights, the Sawtooth National Park. The boundaries of the park shall be as generally depicted on the drawing entitled "Map Depicting Sawtooth National Park, Alternate B, as discussed in Sawtooth Mountain Area Summary Report, August 1965", numbered LNPW–SAW–1000, and dated March 1966, which is on file and available for public inspection in the Office of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior. With the concurrence of the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Interior may revise the boundaries of the park from time to time by publication in the Federal Register of a revised drawing or other boundary description, but the total acreage of the park shall not be increased to more than 380,000 acres.

SEC. 2. (a) Within the boundaries of the park, the Secretary of the Interior may acquire lands or interests in lands by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or exchange, except that property owned by the State of Idaho or a political subdivision thereof may be acquired only with the consent of the owner. Federal lands within the boundaries of the park are hereby transferred to the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary for preservation and administration as part of the park.

(b) When acquiring property by exchange, the Secretary may accept title to any non-Federal property within the boundaries of the park, and in exchange therefor he may convey to the grantor of such property any federally owned property under his jurisdiction which he classifies as suitable for exchange or other disposal. The values of the properties so exchanged either shall be approximately equal, or if they are not approximately equal the values shall be equalized by the payment of cash to the grantor or to the Secretary as the circumstances require.

SEC. 3. The Secretary of the Interior shall administer the Sawtooth National Park pursuant to the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535; 16 U.S.C. 1 et seq.), as amended and supplemented.

SEC. 4. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

By Mr. CHURCH (for himself and Mr. JORDAN of Idaho):

S. 3295. A bill to establish the Sawtooth National Recreation Area in the State of Idaho, and for the other purposes:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to assure the preservation of the upland Sawtooth Mountains in the State of Idaho as wilderness, and to protect the scenic, historic, pastoral, fish and wildlife, and other recreational values of the surrounding valley, there is hereby established, subject to valid existing rights, the Sawtooth National Recreation Area.

SEC. 2. The boundaries of the recreation area shall be those shown on the map entitled "Proposed Sawtooth National Recreation Area", dated ——— ——— which is on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Chief, Forest Service, Department of Agriculture. The Secretary of Agriculture (hereinafter called "the Secretary") shall, as soon as practicable after the date this Act takes effect, publish in the Federal Register a notice of the establishment of the Sawtooth National Recreation Area, together with a detailed description and map showing the boundaries thereof.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall administer the Sawtooth National Recreation Area in such manner as will best provide for (1) the protection and conservation of the salmon and other fisheries, (2) the conservation and development of scenic, historic, pastoral, wildlife, and other values contributing to and available for public enjoyment, including the preservation of sites associated with and typifying the economic and social history of the American West; and (3) on federally owned lands, the management, utilization, and disposal of natural resources, such as lumbering, grazing, and mining, that will not substantially impair the purposes for which the recreation area is established.

SEC. 4. Subject to the limitations hereinafter set forth, the Secretary may acquire by purchase with donated or appropriated funds, by gift, exchange, bequest, or otherwise, such lands or interests therein within the boundaries of the recreation area as he determines to be needed for the purposes of this Act. But any property or interest within the reservation area owned by the State of Idaho or any political subdivision thereof may be acquired under the authority of this Act only with the concurrence of the owner.

In exercising his authority to acquire property by exchange, the Secretary may accept title to any non-Federal property located within the boundaries of the recreation area and convey to the grantor of such property any federally owned property within the State of Idaho under the jurisdiction of the Secretary, notwithstanding any other provision of law. The properties so exchanged shall be approximately equal in fair market value: *Provided,* That the Secretary may accept cash from or pay cash to the grantor in such an exchange in order to equalize the values of the properties exchanged.

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any Federal property located within the recreation area may, with the concurrence of the agency having custody thereof, be transferred without consideration to the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary for use by him in carrying out the purposes of this Act.

SEC. 5. (a) Except as hereinafter set forth, the Secretary's authority to acquire property by condemnation shall be suspended with respect to all privately owned property within the boundaries of the recreation area during all times when an appropriate local zoning agency or agencies shall have in force and applicable to such property duly adopted, valid zoning regulations or ordinances which the Secretary finds are compatible with the purposes of this Act. Such zoning regulations or ordinances shall have the object of assuring that use and development of privately owned property within the boundaries of the recreation area is consistent with the purposes of this Act and with the overall general plan of the Sawtooth National Recreation Area. Such regulations or ordinances shall include standards with respect to use, acreage, frontage, setback, density, height, architecture, and construction materials among other factors.

(b) To afford protection and security to property owners, and as a further condition of the suspension of the power of condemnation, there is hereby established the Sawtooth Zoning Commission, which shall be composed of one member appointed by the Secretary, who shall serve as Chairman, one by the Governor of Idaho, one by the Secretary of the Interior who shall represent the Bureau of Land Management, and one member from each of the counties within the recreation area which has adopted zoning regulations or ordinances approved by the Secretary pursuant to section 5(a) hereof to be appointed by the respective Board of Commissioners of said county. The Commission shall determine whether there has been a violation, infraction, or variation of the regulations or ordinances which is inconsistent with the purposes of this Act and the general plan of the recreation area. If the Commission finds there has been such a violation, infraction, or variation, it shall notify by registered mail the owner of the property and the Board of Commissioners of the county in which the property is located. If within a reasonable time after such notice, action has not been taken under the local zoning regulations or ordinances to correct the violation, infraction, or variation, then the Commission shall notify the Secretary and thereupon the property concerning which such a finding is made shall be subject to condemnation.

(c) When a local zoning agency approves a plan submitted by a property owner to develop or change the use of his property, it shall submit to the Commission the said plans. If upon review of such plans, the Commission determines that such use and development conforms to the zoning regulations or ordinances approved in accordance with the provisions of this section, the Commission shall issue to such owner a certificate to that effect and a copy shall be furnished to the Secretary and to the local zoning agency. Upon the issuance of any such certificate and so long as such property is developed, maintained, and used in conformity therewith, the authority of the Secretary to acquire such property or any interest therein without the consent of the owner shall be suspended.

(d) The suspension of the authority to condemn shall not apply to property which the Secretary determines to be needed for easements and rights-of-way for access, utilities, or facilities, or for administrative sites, campgrounds, or other areas needed for use by the United States for visitors to the national recreation area: *Provided,* That acquisition for such purposes shall not exceed ten percent of the total acreage of all privately owned property in the area.

SEC. 6. Nothing in this Act shall affect the applicability of the United States mining and mineral leasing laws on the federally owned lands within the recreation area, except that all mining claims located or leases issued after the effective date of this Act shall be subject to regulations the Secretary may prescribe to effectuate the purposes of this Act. Any patent issued on any mining claim located after the effective date of this Act shall recite this limitation and continue to be subject to such regulations. All such regulations shall provide, among other things, for such measures as may be reasonable to protect the scenic and esthetic values of the recreation area and to assure against pollution of the Salmon River and other streams and waters within the recreation area.

SEC. 7. Nothing in this Act shall be construed as preventing the application of the provisions for review, recommendations, and other procedures of the Wilderness Act of September 3, 1964, from being applicable to the Sawtooth Primitive Area and adjacent public lands within the national forests, or as relieving the Secretary of Agriculture of the obligation to comply with the requirements of section 3 of said Act in relation to such Primitive Area.

SEC. 8. The Secretary may cooperate with other Federal agencies, with State and local public agencies, and with private individuals and agencies in the development and operation of facilities and services in the area in furtherance of the purposes of this Act, including, but not limited to, the restoration and maintenance of the historic setting and background of the old mining town of Atlanta and the frontier ranch type town of Stanley.

SEC. 9. Nothing in this Act shall diminish, enlarge, or modify any right the State of Idaho, or any political subdivision thereof, to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction within the recreation area or of rights to tax persons, corporations, franchises, or property, including mineral or other interests, in or on lands or waters within the recreation area.

SEC. 10. Nothing in this Act shall affect the jurisdiction or responsibilities of the State of Idaho under other provisions of law with respect to hunting and fishing.

SEC. 11. The jurisdiction of the States and the United States over waters of any stream included in the Sawtooth National Recreation Area shall be determined by established principles of law. Under the provisions of this Act, any taking by the United States of water right which is vested under either State or Federal law at the time of enactment of this Act shall entitle the owner thereof to just compensation. Nothing in this Act shall constitute an express or implied claim or denial on the part of the Federal Government as to exemption from State water laws.

A SAWTOOTH NATIONAL RECREATION AREA FOR IDAHO

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, I am pleased to join my colleague [Mr. CHURCH] in the introduction of a bill to create a Sawtooth National Recreation Area for Idaho.

For more than half a century citizens of Idaho and the Nation have been aware of the management and protection needs of an especially beautiful area of land in the southern part of the Gem State. The Sawtooth Mountains have been a source of attraction ever since the first fur trappers and miners came upon them many years ago. The grandeur of the Sawtooth Range with its jagged peaks, emerald lakes, and small alpine meadows is, of course, the heartland of this beautiful part of Idaho. But the valley approaches to the east and north also possess sterling qualities where one can still capture some of the flavor of the Old West.

Because this area is largely national forest land, there are other multiple-use values to be considered. Here are the headwaters of the main Salmon River with its precious spawning grounds for salmon and steelhead after their tortuous migration from the Pacific Ocean. The broad meadows in Sawtooth Valley and areas in the Sawtooth Range have forage resources for the use of domestic livestock. There is timber available on some forested slopes of the Sawtooth Mountains that can be utilized to provide employment and useful products for our society. The hunting of deer and elk, and excellent fishing in the lakes and streams, are a magnet to the sportsman. For the wilderness enthusiast, the Sawtooth Primitive Area offers solitude and the experience of hiking or riding into remote places undisturbed by man. Families who like camping and picnicking can find areas developed by the Forest Service, and the just plain traveler can gaze upon the scenic backdrop as he drives north or south on U.S. Highway 93 or on forest roads which penetrate the edges of the Sawtooth.

The 350,000 acres I am speaking of are located in a still relatively undeveloped and sparsely populated section of south-central Idaho. But public attention is more and more being focused on the area, and the private and State lands within its boundaries are being developed by a variety of interests. Some of these developments are not in harmony with the landscape, and there is imminent danger of the area losing its unique charm to the visitor even now. But more important is what might happen in the years to come.

To conserve the natural beauty of the area and to assure its continued availability for public uses will require prompt and adequate action by the Congress. Therefore, I propose that a Sawtooth National Recreation Area be established as soon as possible.

The proposal contemplates a national recreation area to be under the supervision of the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture, an agency with long experience in multiple-use land resource management. This area would be composed of an established national forest primitive area, to be managed under the wilderness concept and suitable for inclusion in the National Wilderness System, and adjoining land of singular beauty and exceptional capacity for meeting the desires of people for outdoor recreation in a spacious and natural environment. Under this management the wilderness would remain as such.

The peripheral lands would be developed to their optimum capacity to accommodate camping, swimming, boating, hiking, riding, hunting, fishing, and a variety of winter sports. For the casual visitor there would be pleasure driving, which constitutes one of the most desired and heavily indulged in of the outdoor recreational pursuits. The primitive portion of some 195,000 acres and the readily accessible and developed lands each would complement the other, providing a uniquely wide variety of recreation opportunity.

Through this legislation, 350,000 acres of beautiful and productive land would be managed and developed for optimum benefits to the public consistent with full conservation of their natural resources. Congress would recognize the outstanding qualities of these lands and assure national recognition through designation as a national recreation area. Congress would also provide for the harmonious and correlated use of the grazing, timber, water, mineral, and wildlife resources, but give primary emphasis to outdoor recreation.

The Sawtooth National Recreation Area would encompass about 195,000 acres now in the Sawtooth Primitive Area. About 22,000 acres of private and 1,600 of State-owned land, mostly in Sawtooth Valley and Stanley Basin, are within the proposed boundaries. In the approximately 142,000 acres remaining national forest land are beautiful lakes such as Redfish, Stanley, Pettit, Alturas, and Yellow Belly. Included also are the upper reaches of the Salmon, South Fork Payette, and Boise Rivers, and the tributary creeks which flow from the high country and which offer fishing and hiking opportunities in an unspoiled national forest environment.

As mentioned previously, the beauty and western ranching character of the foreground westerly of Highway 93 through Sawtooth Valley is being threatened in increasing measure by subdivision of the meadows and fields immediately adjacent to the highway. Some of these developments are a current detriment to the scenic beauty of the valley lands and the backdrops of the Sawtooth peaks. Adequate protection of the integrity and beauty of this scenic foreground to the striking mountain peaks is then urgent.

The extensive annual migration of salmon and steelhead trout to the upper reaches of the Salmon River is a unique biological feature and an important recreation and economic resource. Their continuation is dependent, in part, on preservation of the spawning grounds, many of which lie within the proposed national recreation area. Protection of the spawning areas from destruction by dredging, silt deposits, or pollution is essential.

While rich in recreational attractions and resources, there are definite limitations on the capacity of the Sawtooth Mountain area to accommodate human use without destroying the values which give it charm and distinction. The meadows, flats, and streams of the present primitive area are fragile and susceptible to damage from excessive use by pack and saddle stock and concentrations of campers. Use of the primitive area now is nearly at the capacity of the lands to tolerate it. The peripheral lands then offer a particular type of outdoor recreation oriented strongly to visitor participation. Camping, fishing, hunting, hiking, and riding and like pursuits in a spacious near-natural environment is the particular contribution and the chief charm of these lands. But even here overcrowding and overuse could easily destroy the spaciousness and naturalness and could damage the physical features, particularly the lakes and streams and fisheries. Therefore, assurance against overuse, including provision for spreading any excessive summer visitors to other nearby national forest lands, is vital.

Use of the commodity-type natural resources—forage, timber, minerals, and game—is an essential part of the local economy. Private lands, particularly in Stanley Basin and Sawtooth Valley, are important elements of the tax base of these rural counties. Public ownership, consolidation, and development and management programs, therefore, must be geared to obtaining the maximum public benefits with the least impact on existing or potential businesses and on the taxable resources of local governments.

The national recreation area legislation, if approved by Congress, would authorize the following programs:

First. Multiple-use management of the area would be carried on and include: Grazing of domestic livestock consistent with good management, public hunting and fishing, timber harvesting and other resource utilization to the extent compatible with the objectives of the national recreation area and the Wilderness Act of 1964.

Second. The primitive area will remain primitive and in due course be presented to the Congress for inclusion in the national wilderness system. Reviews and investigations provided for by the Wilderness Act of 1964 will be completed as soon as possible.

Third. The lands outside the reclassified primitive area will be carefully developed to accommodate outdoor recreationists to the optimum degree.

Development within the next 10 years will include: 25 more public campgrounds and picnic areas; construction of 35 to 45 miles of riding and hiking trails; reconstruction and surfacing of access roads to Stanley and Pettit Lakes and to the Grandjean campground and access point to the primitive area; construction of a scenic drive between Redfish, Pettit, and Alturas Lakes, connecting with U.S. Highway 93, for additional visitor driving enjoyment; provision of 3 additional visitor contact stations, 2 amphitheaters, 3 additional nature trails, several additional boating and swimming sites; new roadhead facilities at 6 wilderness takeoff points; and scenic overlooks with interpretive signs at 6 additional locations adjacent to highways.

Fourth. The development of mineral resources would be authorized to the extent compatible with recreation and other resource values. Mining in the wilderness portion of the national recreation area will be subject to regulations of the Wilderness Act of 1964.

Fifth. Preservation of the western ranching atmosphere throughout the Sawtooth Valley will be actively encouraged. Further development of Stanley's western frontier atmosphere can provide a worthwhile attraction for tourists and other visitors.

Cooperation will be extended in any program to restore the mining camp atmosphere and the early-day architecture at mining communities of historic interest. To the extent feasible, historical features of these early mining camps will be conserved or restored.

Sixth. Cooperative programs with State, county, and local agencies, and groups and individuals will be pursued with the objective of encouraging motels, restaurants, saddle horse and packing services, stores, and like visitor facilities on private lands. Lands within the national recreation area will be used if necessary or if equal opportunities are not available otherwise.

Seventh. Lands or interests in lands will be acquired where it is necessary to assure conservation of scenic beauty, provide facilities for the visiting public, and protect the Salmon River spawning beds and provide public access to hunting and fishing grounds and other public resources. Possibilities of land exchange with the State involving its lands in the area will be explored as will also appropriate exchanges involving private lands.

In carrying out this important aspect of a national recreation area, first consideration will be given to cooperation with county officials in the enactment of suitable zoning ordinances. Adequate zoning would minimize the need for public acquisition of lands and encourage and promote the enhancement of the ranch land and forest characteristics which are major assets of the area.

Grazing and other pastoral uses, typical ranching facilities, and appropriately located and designed business structures and houses, can be harmonized with national recreation area objectives.

Eighth. Studies would be undertaken to provide for future demands upon the area.

These might include more scenic driving opportunities in and about the area outside of the primitive lands; better access to the many thousands of acres of national forest land which surrounds the proposed national recreation area and which also offers excellent outdoor recreation opportunities; concessions or other arrangements to capitalize on the exceptional opportunities for winter sports which portions of the area offer. Installation of a major winter sports complex with attendant public food, lodging, and service accommodations in Sawtooth Valley will be pursued.

In conclusion, I have long been acquainted with the natural resources of the State of Idaho. Some of her beauty spots should be protected and preserved, but the large share of Idaho's mountain and valley land resources must be managed under the concepts of multiple use and continuous yield if our State is to develop economically and prosper.

A national recreation area in the Sawtooth Moutains is the best way to assure protection and wise use of this area, one of Idaho's outstanding resource assets.

HARRY S. TRUMAN, A GREAT AMERICAN, WILL BE 82 MAY 8

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President I submit a resolution honoring one of this century's most distinguished Americans, Harry S. Truman, upon the occasion of his 82d birthday on May 8.

The resolution will be held at the desk through May 3 for cosponsors because I know that my colleagues will want to join in homage to the 33d President of the United States.

In my opinion, Mr. President, no man in American history has risen more to the challenge of his times than did Harry S. Truman.

Taking office as he did on April 12, 1945, upon the sudden death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Mr. Truman was confronted almost immediately with questions of unprecedented magnitude in foreign policy.

The United Nations Charter Conference began in San Francisco on April 25, less than 2 weeks after President Truman took office. The surrender of Germany quickly followed on May 7, and then came the Potsdam Conference on July 17.

Harry S. Truman made the most momentous decision in history when he concluded that the saving in American lives justified dropping an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, and on August 6, the bomb was dropped.

On August 14, Japan surrendered and the costliest war in history was at last over.

Times have changed and the memories of men have changed since President Truman made that decision. But I believe then, and I believe now, that he made the right decision. If we had not used the bomb, and had therefore been compelled to invade the home islands of Japan, the toll in Japanese lives would have been far greater than it was. In addition, his decision saved the lives of many thousands of Americans.

With only 4 months in office, President Truman had made decisions and colored history as no man had before him.

But that was only the beginning.

He was one of the first to recognize that our wartime allies, the Russians, were rapidly converting into peacetime aggressors. With the foresight and resolution which became his trademark, the President proclaimed the Truman doctrine in 1947, pledging this country to the defense of Greece and Turkey against

Communist aggression; and in so doing, President Truman laid the foundation for America's role as the defender of freedom throughout the world.

He early recognized that communism cannot be fought with guns alone, and in 1948, his administration launched the Marshall plan to aid the economic recovery of war-torn Europe. This program caused bitter controversy at the time. But history has shown the wisdom of the Marshall plan, now universally recognized as one of our most successful ventures in foreign policy.

In the election of 1948, nearly everybody but Harry S. Truman and the voters wrote him off and Harry S. Truman scored one of the greatest upset victories in our history.

In 1949, President Truman led in the development of Western defenses against communism through creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and in 1950, when communism decided on direct aggression in Korea, President Truman unhesitatingly committed this Nation to the armed defense of freedom.

Although foreign affairs dominated the Truman administration, this great man's domestic contributions also assure him an honored place in history.

Under the banner of the Fair Deal, he fought for civil rights, housing, education, veterans, and many other programs.

Under the current administration, some of President Truman's most cherished goals are finally coming into being, including the repeal of the poll tax, extension of the voting privilege to all Americans, adequate health and hospital care for the aged, and aid to elementary and secondary education.

Since his retirement, President Truman has continued to play a vital role in the affairs of the country he loves so well, speaking out cogently on the issues of the day, meeting with students, and conducting the affairs of the Truman Library in Independence.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this resolution be held at the desk through May 3 to give all of President Truman's friends and admirers in the Senate an opportunity to join in wishing this great American a happy birthday, and that it be printed and lie on the table.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be received and printed; and, without objection, the resolution will be printed in the Record, and held at the desk, as requested.

The resolution (S. Res. 252) was ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Whereas the Honorable Harry S. Truman, thirty-third President of the United States, will be eighty-two years of age on May 8, 1966; and

Whereas the said Harry S. Truman has devoted his life to the cause of freedom, peace, and the betterment of his fellow man, such devotion being borne out by the record of the numerous accomplishments and historic decisions made during his service as President of the United States from 1945 to 1952, among which are included the ratification by the United States of the United Nations Charter, the United States having been the first of the major powers to ratify such Charter; the formulation and successful operation of the Truman Doctrine which played a major role in preventing the establishment of Communist tyrannies in Greece and Turkey; the remarkable success of the Marshall Plan in rebuilding the war-depleted economies of Western Europe and halting the march of Communism in those nations cooperating in the plan; and the outstanding legislative accomplishments achieved during the period of his administration, such as the enactment of the National School Lunch Act, the National Mental Health Act, the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, the National Heart Act, the Minimum Wage and Hour Act amendments of October 26, 1949, the Act of September 23, 1950, providing Federal assistance for school construction in federally impacted areas, and the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act amendments of July 16, 1952; and

Whereas there will be established a Harry S. Truman Center for the Advancement of Peace, to be located at the Holy City of Jerusalem, which Center will sponsor the award periodically of a Harry S. Truman Peace Prize; and

Whereas it is fitting that appropriate recognition should be accorded by the people of the United States to the occasion of the eighty-second birthday of the said Harry S. Truman: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the President should issue a proclamation, on behalf of the people of the United States, extending to the Honorable Harry S. Truman the cordial birthday greetings of this Nation upon the occasion of his eighty-second birthday on May 8, 1966, and expressing the admiration and gratitude of our people to the said Harry S. Truman for his long years of devoted service to his country and to the world.

INCREASED ANNUITIES FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA TEACHERS—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 556

Mr. DOMINICK submitted amendments (No. 556), intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H.R. 11439) to provide for an increase in the annuities payable from the District of Columbia teachers' retirement and annuity fund, to revise the method of determining the cost-of-living increases in such annuities, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENT OF HOUSING ACT OF 1949—ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, last Friday, I introduced a bill (S. 3262) on behalf of my distinguished colleague, Senator Brewster, and myself to amend the Housing Act of 1949, in order to provide a wiser and more equitable sharing of urban renewal costs between the Federal Government and cities undertaking urban renewal projects.

I understand that, through clerical error, Senator Brewster's name was left off the bill in its printing. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the name of Senator Brewster be added as an original cosponsor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF JOINT RESOLUTION, BILLS, AND RESOLUTION

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the next printing of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 148) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to permit voluntary participation in prayer in public schools, the names of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Robertson], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers] be added as cosponsors.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, at its next printing, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Burdick] be added as a cosponsor of the resolution (S. Res. 250) requesting certain information from the National Science Foundation.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the next printing of S. 3240, the bill introduced by Senator Brewster and myself to amend the Federal Water Pollution Act to provide for a study and investigation of estuaries and estuarine zones of the United States, the name of the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] be added as a cosponsor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, my name be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 3227) to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, to assist in meeting the need for highly trained management personnel for the efficient operation of mass transportation systems, and for other purposes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Record be corrected to show Senator Church as a cosponsor of Senate Concurrent Resolution 17 of the 89th Congress.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The correction will be made.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF AMENDMENT

Under authority of the order of the Senate of April 19, 1966, the names of Mr. Dominick, Mr. Javits, and Mr. Jordan, of Idaho, were added as additional cosponsors of Amendment No. 546, intended to be proposed by Mr. Murphy, to the bill (S. 3046) to strengthen and improve programs of assistance for our elementary and secondary schools, submitted by Mr. Murphy on April 19, 1966.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON SEA GRANT COLLEGE PROGRAM ACT

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I wish to announce that hearings will be held before the Special Subcommittee on Sea Grant Colleges of the Committees on Labor and Public Welfare on the Sea Grant College Program Act, S. 2439, on May 2 on the campus of the University of Rhode Island and on May 3, 4, and 5 in room 4232 of the New Senate Office Building.

NOTICE OF PUBLIC HEARINGS BY THE JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL LAWS AND PROCEDURES

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate and other interested persons, I want to announce that the second series of hearings by the Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures of the Committee on the Judiciary will begin on Tuesday, May 10, 1966, at 10 a.m., in room 2228, New Senate Office Building. The hearings will continue through Wednesday, May 11, 1966.

The subject of this series will be limited to three bills presently pending before the subcommittee, namely:

S. 2188, a bill to prohibit the obstruction of criminal investigations of any department, agency, or the Armed Forces of the United States.

S. 2190, a bill to permit the compelling of testimony before courts of the United States in proceedings with respect to certain crimes, and the granting of immunity in connection with such testimony.

S. 2191, a bill which provides that a person who is a narcotic addict and desires to obtain treatment for that addiction may file with the clerk of the U.S. district court a statement setting forth his request; sets procedures for determining addiction; and provides for civil commitment, and other aftercare and rehabilitation procedures.

NOTICE OF RECEIPT OF NOMINATION BY COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, on behalf of the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I desire to announce that today the Senate received the nomination of John W. Tuthill, of Illinois, a foreign service officer of the class of career minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Brazil.

In accordance with the committee rule, this pending nomination may not be considered prior to the expiration of 6 days of its receipt in the Senate.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, April 28, 1966, he presented to the President of the United States the enrolled joint resolution (S.J. Res. 86) to authorize the President to proclaim May 4, 1966, as a "Day of Recognition" for firefighters.

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE RECORD

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

By Mr. PROXMIRE:

Statement by him regarding highway traffic deaths, and the record of 23 Wisconsin cities.

YOU OUGHT TO BE LEFT ALONE

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I have read and would like to call the Senate's attention to an article written by the distinguished Senator EDWARD V. LONG, of Missouri, which appeared in the May issue of Esquire. It is entitled "You Ought To Be Left Alone."

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOU OUGHT TO BE LEFT ALONE

(By Senator EDWARD V. LONG)

This is not an article about Brigitte Bardot, but rather about big brother. To my knowledge, no one ever tried seriously to curb Miss Bardot. It is certainly not a matter of great consequence, and most of us would want no part in such curbing activity. Big brother is a horse of an entirely different color. He should be curbed, but unfortunately very little effort is being made in that direction.

As most of you will recall, big brother was the "villain" in George Orwell's important book "1984," which was published in 1949. Big brother was the head of the government and the single political party that Orwell visualized in his prognostication for the year 1984. Big brother and his minions were omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent. By means of closed-circuit TV in every home and office, B.B. could keep a watch on everything every citizen said and did, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Nonconformist citizens were scrutinized with a view to particular vengeance.

When Orwell wrote his book, inexpensive and miniaturized closed-circuit TV was way out. It is not way out today. It is here, it is relatively cheap, and it is getting smaller every day. And, again unfortunately, it is available to anyone with the money to buy it. This latter point is something that even Orwell did not contemplate. In his conception, it was a single, central, bureaucratic, authoritarian government that did the spying and others were denied access to the spying gear. Today, however, we are permitting a proliferation of the devices to be manufactured and sold to anyone at all.

Spying is by no means new. It is something that man has had to endure since time immemorial. But until a very few years ago spies did not have the electronic gadgets to make snooping so easy, so complete, and so safe. Take as an example (from literally hundreds that could be cited) the bugging of an office by means of a 110-volt transmitter. The system consists of a transmitter which is attached to the regular 110-volt power system in the building. The transmitter is dropped down in the wall behind any electrical outlet; the screw that holds the wall plate to the outlet contains the microphone. Instead of transmitting through the air, the transmitter sends its signal back through the whole 110-volt system, which, incidentally, also provides all the power for the device * * * no batteries are necessary and it will operate almost forever, or until discovered (which may well be the same thing).

Is it easy to install? Yes. Only a minute or two is required.

Is it complete? Yes. It will overhear every sound made in the room.

Is it safe? Yes. The sound signal can be picked up by plugging a compatible receiver into any other electrical outlet in the building. Hence, the "listening post" is portable and flexible.

Is it difficult to detect? Yes. No signal goes either through the air or the telephone system, the mediums most frequently checked.

Is it inexpensive? Yes. Very. It is cheap to buy, cheap to operate (no batteries), cheap to monitor.

The real problem here is one of chipping away. Our right to privacy (which, admittedly, is hard to define) is being rapidly chipped away. If something is not done to reverse the process, soon it will be gone. Once it is gone, chances of reestablishing it are minimal.

One of the main objectives of the hearings before my Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure is to try to ascertain who the big users of snooping gear are and what justification, if any, can be found for such use.

Although we cannot prove it (and won't even try), one of the very big users of wiretap and other electronic eavesdropping is the so-called security community (i.e., Central Intelligence Agency, Military Intelligence, National Security Agency, and, to some extent, the Federal Bureau of Investigation). It should be observed, however, that attempts are being made to place many nonsecurity situations under the "security umbrella."

To our surprise, the "civilian" agencies of the Federal Government have purchased and used large quantities of ultrasophisticated electronic snooping gear. Among these agencies are such expected ones as the Narcotics Bureau, as well as such totally unexpected ones as the Food and Drug Administration and the Bureau of Internal Revenue. In fact, more and more, all Federal agencies with any law-enforcement functions (there are 30 or 40 of them) are arming themselves with electronic gadgets.

Needless to say, State and local law-enforcement agencies are not to be left behind in this respect. Any law-enforcement agency at whatever level can make a persuasive case for its use of spying gear. And all of us who are interested in law enforcement of necessity must be sympathetic to their pleas. However, we must weigh law enforcement against the right of the citizen to a modicum of privacy. The problem here is where to draw the line * * * a problem not to be downgraded in difficulty.

But once we leave the law-enforcement field, who are the big users of the gear and what excuses do they have? Industry is one of the biggest, and the excuse here is individual espionage. In my view, it is an excuse and not a justification.

Next might well be businesses of a service nature. These have traditionally spied on employees and customers for a variety of reasons. But the spying is being stepped up by a new variety of devices and techniques. One relatively new gimmick is euphemistically called "service observing equipment" by the telephone company, which rents it to anyone who wants to "observe" the efficiency and courtesy of its employees. (The telephone company itself even snoops when you go to one of their offices to pay a bill; the calendar on the desk may hide a microphone.) More and more, department stores are using closed-circuit TV, dressing rooms with two-way mirrors, and other sneaky gadgets.

There are justifications for the use of all these observing techniques * * * and literally hundreds of others. However, there is no question but that they contribute seriously to the chipping-away process.

And how about the private eyes, who just delight in the use of innumerable spying devices? And how about snooping citizens who want to spy on their neighbors? They can charge the gear on their Diners' Club card now. Is there any justification for the snooping citizens, the manufacturers of the devices, or the Diners' Club?

One of the more difficult problems which stands in the way of reversing this whole process is the technological revolution. We must be fully aware of and fully prepared to deal with the revolution which is sweeping the electronics field. Listening devices (like other electronic devices) are getting so small that concealment becomes easier all the time. "Solid-state" transmitters can be made about the size of a postage stamp and not much thicker; eventually they will need no outside power source, drawing their power from electrical energy put out by regular broadcast stations. As these devices get smaller, they also become less expensive, and more available. Some even are advertised in daily newspapers.

And what of the future? We must deal not only with existing devices but also with things which are currently on the drawing board, such as laser beams and sonics, two very advanced fields which are being adapted to snooping very rapidly.

There are certain practical problems which face legislators in this field. One, certainly, is the recognition that we probably want to "legalize" some eavesdropping for limited and controlled law-enforcement purposes. Where to draw the line is one of the first problems we run up against, for the reason that many of the listening gadgets have perfectly legitimate uses outside the field of eavesdropping. As a single example, wireless microphones, which are perfect for certain eavesdropping purposes, have a highly useful purpose in all fields of entertainment, for they allow entertainers to perform more freely without trailing a mike cord behind them. This is not an insurmountable problem, however. Most burglar tools (the possession of which often is illegal) have a useful purpose too; legality depends on the use to which they are put or are likely to be put.

Another difficulty is the great reluctance of manufacturers and users of snooping gear to give complete and candid information to legislators. In the past year or two, our subcommittee has had extreme difficulty in getting at the facts. Neither the Government nor private users want to talk at all. Getting information has been like pulling teeth.

As stated earlier, the right to privacy (as valuable as many of us think it is) is a nebulous thing. In a sense, it is something we have almost taken for granted since 1783. Yet the Founding Fathers, who cherished it so strongly that they risked their lives for it, did not spell it out in the Constitution. And there have never been a specific Federal statute outlining and protecting that right.

In one sense, the right to privacy, the right to be let alone, figured most prominently in the Revolution and the Constitution which eventually was derived therefrom. Several of the first 10 amendments dealt with some aspect of the right to privacy. This is particularly true of the fourth amendment which guards citizens against unreasonable searches and seizures by law officers. The fourth amendment, however, only forbids activities of law officers where physical trespass is involved; policemen are forbidden to trespass physically on a citizen's property or seize a citizen's physical goods without a valid search warrant issued by a court. However, things have changed radically in almost 200 years. There are innumerable ways in which privacy can be invaded today without any physical trespass. The Founding Fathers could hardly have conceived of contact mikes and shotgun mikes. Most modern Americans have great difficulty in understanding laser beams and the extent to which they threaten our privacy. And how about valuable intangibles, such as thoughts which are entrusted to telephone conversations? Should not they be protected as much as physical possessions? Are not they often more valuable?

There is the additional problem of finding some agency to seriously enforce any new legislation in the field of wiretapping and eavesdropping. As I have said before, giving enforcement to an agency such as the Justice Department (in its past and present frame of mind) is like locking the fox up in the henhouse at night: one of the worst offenders cannot be counted upon to be a vigorous enforcer.

Would the Federal Communications Commission be better? Shortly after the passage of the only Federal statute in the field in 1934, the FCC more or less washed its hands of the whole thing and has buried its head in the sand ever since.

Is it realistic to expect law-enforcement people to enforce any such law vigorously in the future? If the past is any indication, we should not be tremendously enthusiastic about the future. Unfortunately, electronic gadgetry has "grabbed" the law-enforcement community and given it what has been described as the Dick Tracy syndrome. Wiretap (although illegal) and eavesdropping have often replaced solid investigative work, primarily because they are believed to be easier and more effective. In any event, many lawmen have fallen hopelessly in love with electronics and this romance is another problem standing in the way of curbing Big Brother.

It is early to predict what type of legislation may be introduced and eventually passed as an outcome of our hearings. During the legislative process, Congress must make at least one basic policy decision: how broad the right of privacy should be. Corollary to this decision, Congress must define this right and specify the means of guaranteeing it.

As to wiretap, the outlines of the legislation are fairly clear. There is a strong feeling that it should be legitimized for a few law-enforcement purposes, especially matters concerning national security. Whether its use should be restricted to the FBI, and whether other areas (kidnapping, narcotics, etc.) should be added are open question. There are also the questions of tight control of its use. Legislation relating to other aspects of electronic eavesdropping is obviously more difficult. One of the most promising suggestions has been a licensing system for all electronic devices which have a sizable potential for eavesdropping purposes. The Federal Communications Commission currently licenses all radio devices used in boats and airplanes. This system could be expanded to cover other legitimate devices which are either designed for clandestine purposes or could be converted easily to such purposes. Failure to license a device or use of the device for an unlicensed purpose could be subjected to very high penalties. Additionally, there could be certain restrictions on the manufacture, sale, and interstate commerce of certain devices.

In looking for precedents in State laws, Congress has found little useful precedent. Approximately 15 States have attempted to deal legislatively with wiretapping and eavesdropping, with the Nation's two most populous trying diametrically opposite approaches. New York has a statute which ostensibly "legalizes" wiretapping for law-enforcement purposes. Yet, after a number of years' experience under this law, crime does not seem to have diminished nor law enforcement become noticeably improved as compared to New York's past or to experiences in other jurisdictions. California, on the other hand, has a very strict statute barring wiretapping and certain forms of eavesdropping for any purpose whatever; this statute is very new and there has been little experience under it. In the Illinois Legislature last year, there was an intense battle over possible new legislation. Kentucky is seriously considering a ban on wiretapping in its new constitution.

Drafting and passing a law is one thing; having it effectively enforced is another. Nevada is a good example. The State legislature in Nevada adopted a law similar to that in New York, i.e., "legalization" of wiretapping for certain law-enforcement purposes, especially in crimes of violence. Under this law, police officers can seek wiretap orders (similar to search warrants) from any circuit judge. Wiretapping (by police officers and others) is widespread in Nevada. Yet virtually no court orders have been sought. Privately, police officers will admit to wiretapping. When asked, "Why don't you get a court order first?" the answer usually is, "Too many people will know about it and it loses all value." This illustrates the difficulty faced by those who want to frame new and effective laws.

None of these legislative techniques is going to eliminate eavesdropping, but if the controls are tight enough and if enforcement is stringent enough, snooping can be greatly reduced. We can fix it so that in most cases the gain from snooping will be greatly outweighed by the risk of going to jail if the snooper is caught.

A logical question is: who opposes strict control of wiretapping and eavesdropping? No one totally and openly, but many forces oppose most controls even if their opposition is never made public. Practically each law-enforcement agency opposes strict controls on itself. Collectively, this amounts to considerable opposition. Some parts of the business community fights controls but, frankly, the motivation of most such opposition remains a mystery.

Looking at the picture as a whole, it is not so much a question of organized and determined opposition as lack of organized and determined support for controls. As usual, there is no public lobby.

What are our chances of success? Good, I believe, if the public becomes aware of the seriousness of the problem and becomes aware of it in time.

Many people to whom I talk are terribly apathetic. They say, "Why do I care if my telephone is tapped? I have nothing to hide." But just let that particular person find out that his telephone actually has been tapped, or that his living room and bedroom have been bugged, and he will howl bloody murder. However, most bugs and taps are never found.

Privacy is necessary to the development of a free and independent people. To preserve this privacy, our national lethargy and lack of knowledge must be countered. Unless we preserve our right to privacy, we will be threatened with a long downhill slide into a state of conformity and dependence upon Big Brother. Encroachments on freedom begin on a small insidious scale. Let us take heed now.

People must be made to realize that, little by little, they are losing their right to privacy. Once they become aware of this, I think they will shake off their apathy and demand action. Then, and only then, will we get strong legislation to protect a reasonable amount of our right to be left alone.

PREPAREDNESS INVESTIGATING SUBCOMMITTEE TO EVALUATE MILITARY REQUIREMENTS

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, in his appearance before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on February 18, 1966, Secretary of State Dean Rusk stated that there were over 40 countries with which we have formal agreements committing us to assist them militarily in the event of Communist aggression against them. In view of these extensive commitments, it is imperative that we take a new and sober look at them and make a hard and realistic appraisal of what level of military effort and response would be required of us if two, three, or more contingencies or outbreaks should occur simultaneously. The Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee will therefore make an overall study and assessment of our ability to respond to our worldwide military comments and an evaluation of what is required in military manpower, equipment, weapons, and other resources to enable us to respond to these commitments.

We must not and cannot isolate and separate our current problems in southeast Asia from the rest of our worldwide problems and commitments. The fact that a relatively small and undeveloped country such as North Vietnam has been able to tie us down and require such a substantial commitment of our military resources should show us what we can and must expect if similar wars of aggression should occur at other points around the world.

It would be a serious mistake to assume that Communist aggression will be confined to southeast Asia, and it is probable that we shall go through years, if not decades, of widespread testing, outbreaks, infiltration, and subversive attacks by the Communist forces. This makes it imperative that we measure our military strength and military preparedness against the possible demands which we may face in view of our worldwide commitments, and that we face up realistically to the military problems which may confront us at hotspots and potential hotspots all around the world as a result of the aggressive and expansionist designs of communism.

One of the major purposes of the study and evaluation is to determine from our trained and skilled professional military leaders what is and will be required in military manpower, equipment, and other resources to meet those diplomatic alliances and commitments which are essential to our own national security. This evaluation should be based upon the worst rather than the best conceivable situation.

The study by the subcommittee and its staff would be extensive and painstaking, and no hearings will be held until the subcommittee and its staff have gone into the matter very thoroughly and accumulated all necessary information and background knowledge. No specific witnesses have as yet been decided upon, but it is probable that the witnesses will include representatives of the State Department, and both active and retired military officers and civilian defense officials, as well as witnesses from private life having special knowledge and qualifications in areas of the subcommittee's interest and concern.

I wish to add, Mr. President, this was thoroughly discussed and considered over a period of weeks by the subcommittee, and it had the unanimous approval and endorsement of each member thereof.

UNITED STATES-JAPANESE RELATIONS

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, in the interests of better understanding between the United States and Japan, it gives me great pleasure to submit for inclusion in the RECORD a series of articles about that great Asian nation.

Mr. George Chaplin, the distinguished editor of the Honolulu Advertiser, wrote a six-part series following his third visit to Japan in recent years.

The United States and Japan are currently entering a period of what Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer has called "a period of reappraisal and readjustment in our relations."

I sincerely believe that these articles by Mr. Chaplin will help us all to understand why this is so. If there are no objections, I respectfully request that these articles be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Honolulu Advertiser, February 1966]

JAPAN

(By George Chaplin)

Japan is a nervous giant—working and playing as hard as ever, living better than ever, showing pride in its achievements, but still searching for its psyche in a topsy-turvy world.

It is still largely pro-American, but with many people—I would judge most—opposed to our Vietnam policy. It has a booming economy, presently suffering from an overly ambitious expansion and, in some cases, a lag in marketing techniques. Its politics remain bitter and brawling but reasonably effective.

Overall, it is a subtle amalgam of East and West, a land of paradox and contrast, faced with sharp conflict between the traditional and the modern.

I've recently returned from 2 weeks in Japan, on invitation of the Japanese Government. I interviewed public officials, industrialists, newspaper executives, a leader of Domei (the more conservative labor federation), a top economic planner, a university president, several long-time Western observers and others.

I visited plants making steel, turbines, ships, cars, motorcycles, TV sets, and radios. I rode on the new expressways, and from Nagoya to Tokyo, on one of the 125-mile-an-hour trains. I saw the southern countryside in the last stages of its autumn glory.

I spent a Sunday on the Inland Sea between Beppu and Kobe and squeezed in a day at Nikko. I watched couples bring their babies for a good-fortune blessing by Shinto priests at Tokyo's Meiji shrine. I attended an Imperial garden party. I saw 330 chrysanthemums on a single bush at a show in Shinjuku Gyoen Park. And I noted that the ducks from Siberia and mainland China had arrived to spend the winter on the Shinobazu pond.

FLOWERS AMID TRAFFIC JAMS

I gawked at the kaleidoscope of dazzling neon signs on the Ginza. With Honolulu in mind, I shuddered at some of the world's worst traffic jams. I augmented a talisman from Nara, which I've long carried, with several new "omamoris" to protect myself against Tokyo's "kamikaze" taxi drivers, a frenzied breed who somehow arrive at their destination suddenly looking as serene as the single exquisite flower many carry in small vases.

This was my third visit to Japan, but the last was 4 years ago and I was immediately impressed this time by the atmosphere of enhanced well-being. People were more stylishly dressed. Luxury goods were abundant. And there were a great many more private cars sounding their horns on the busy streets.

The middle class, it was clear, has expanded remarkably.

In every 100 Japanese households there now are 90 TV sets and 69 electric washing machines (in both cases more than in Britain or West Germany), 52 refrigerators and 32 vacuum cleaners (for houses smaller and with far fewer rugs than in the West.

In auto ownership, Japan still has quite a way to go. Dr. Saburo Okita, executive director of the Japan Economic Research Center and a top consultant to the Government, told me that as of last year, 1 person in 70 owned a car. By 1985, the projection is that one in four will.

In brief, most Japanese families have the conveniences you would expect in modest-income homes. The next big jump for many will be the purchase of the big durable items, the car and the refrigerator, which they can't quite afford now.

PERSONAL SAVINGS RUN HIGH

There is some installment buying, but not on the U.S. scale. Many families are concerned about living beyond their means.

"The Japanese," one American knowledgeable in economics told me, "would make Ben Franklin's heart warm. They're thrifty folks, inherently so. A lot of the country's industrial production has been made possible because of the high rate of personal savings."

Such savings, I gather, usually run 10 to 16 percent of income. A big reason is the traditional practice by Japanese businesses of giving employees semiannual bonuses equaling several months' pay.

It's sort of a "compulsory savings" program conducted by the companies for workers. The idea is for a family to live on what's brought home each month and bank the bonuses. That many do is indicated by the enormous rise in personal deposits at the end of each June and December.

Right now, the per capita income of Japan's 98.2 million people is $580, compared to $2,600 in the United States. The income of the average urban family (salaried or wage-worker, not self-employed) is about $2,040 a year or $170 a month, including bonuses.

Japan, as its Government points out, "is the only non-Western nation, so far, to reach the ranks of the world's modern, industrialized, consumer-oriented societies."

"In 20 or 25 years," Dr. Okita said, "the level of living standards will be more or less comparable with the 1965 level in the United States."

By that time, 70 percent of the Japanese—compared to 50 now—will be living in the cities.

CITY LIFE LURES THE FARMER

For some years now, the bright lights and the promise of a more pleasant environment have been attracting the rural resident. Ten years ago, 40 percent of the labor force was on the farms. Now it's down to 25 percent and by 1985 is expected to drop to 10 percent.

The fact is that, relatively, the farm is losing importance. Even with a quarter of the labor force involved, agriculture is accounting for less than a tenth of the national income (Japan's imports of foodstuffs—presently 30 percent—will rise steadily).

Farm work continues hard in Japan. The mountainous terrain of the island nation is lovely to the eye, but it means that much less than a fifth of the land can be cultivated. (The entire country is smaller than California, yet contains the world's fifth largest population.)

Farms are tiny, averaging less than 2½ acres (one-ninetieth of U.S. figure), which limits the use of machinery beyond the individual farmer's little cultivator and thresher. There is some experimenting with helicopters in the seeding of rice and there'll be more of this type of endeavor, as well as a probable increase in the co-op movement as the number of farmers further declines.

In many cases, I was told, all sons except the oldest, who is committed by tradition, have already left the farm. And it's increasingly difficult these days for a farmer to find a wife, since young women in the rural areas are also seeking the more satisfying life of town or city.

"Operating a punch press is easier than growing rice for the young man—and working on a transistor production line is easier for the girl," is the way it was illustrated to me.

BETTER DIET, TALLER CHILDREN

Economically, although there's a considerable gap between the income of the industrial worker and the farmer, the living standard of the man in the rice paddies is better than ever.

The government sets a market price for the farmer's rice and also a consumer's price. The farmer can sell the government as much as he wishes at the fixed price and the rest at the open market price.

Rice, it's worth noting, is still one-third of the food budget. (I was told that "gohan," the word for "boiled rice," is also the word for "meal.") But there's more consumption of meat and milk, butter and cheese. Children are a couple of inches taller in this generation and school desks have had to be made larger.

[From the Honolulu Advertiser, February 1966]

JAPAN'S KEY ISSUE: RELATIONS WITH UNITED STATES

(By George Chaplin)

The heart of Japanese politics turns on a single question:

What should be the degree of Japan's relationship with the United States?

The opposition to Prime Minister Eisaku Sato and the present Liberal Democratic government wants fewer and weaker ties, especially on the military side.

Basically, this would mean getting rid of the United States-Japan Security Treaty, which was put in effect in 1952, revised in 1960 and comes up again—if either nation requests it—in 1970.

The United States naturally wants the treaty continued. And it is overwhelmingly in Japan's interest as well, since she is assured of U.S. protection, while spending only a fraction of her own budget for defense. As long as the Conservatives are in power, the prospect is for renewal, but undoubtedly with revisions and only after the most acrimonious debate and demonstrations.

More immediately, the opposition to the Sato administration is zeroing in on U.S. policy in Vietnam and getting a great deal of public support, even from people generally pro-American, especially against our bombing raids on North Vietnam.

"You must remember," one American said to me, "that the Japanese are terribly sensitive to bombing. They went through a tremendous amount of it. We tend to think mostly of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but many cities were laid to waste including Tokyo from fire bombs. (In Tokyo alone, some 700,000 buildings were destroyed.) Also, I sense a fear that an expanded war could involve Japan."

NARROW VIEW ON VIETNAM

There is the obvious tendency to view the Vietnam war strictly by itself, as a civil war, instead of as a piece of a larger mosiac. Japanese who have thought it through realize that a Communist-dominated southeast Asia would pose a real threat to Japan, but they seem a minority at present.

"I'm convinced," one Far East expert told me, "that if you stopped 100 Japanese at random and asked them to vote 'yes' or 'no' on U.S. policy in Vietnam, especially on the bombing of North Vietnam, you'd get a majority of 'no's'."

He added that he felt the Japanese press wasn't sufficiently stressing the larger implications. Last fall especially there was sharp U.S. criticism of the Tokyo papers' Vietnam coverage, by Assistant Secretary of State Douglas MacArthur II, Under Secretary George Ball, and even Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer, who flatly charged bias in some of the reporting. At the Mainichi, I was told the policy favors America's presence in Vietnam, but opposes the bombing in the north.

"There is a deep antiwar feeling in Japan," a top Mainichi executive said. "There is also a feeling of guilt, a guilty conscience, over what our military did in China in the thirties.

"There is a subconscious reaction to the fact that the Vietnamese being killed, south and north, are Asians. This is quite aside from the merits of the issues, whether the issues are 'good' or 'bad.' There is a naive feeling that the United States must stop the war in some way.

"On this, there is a large segment of people against American bombing of North Vietnam. But there is a segment that understands why America has to carry out its commitment to South Vietnam."

SEES REAL ISSUE AS CHINA

At the Japan Times, its president, Shintaro Fukushima said about Vietnam: "If we think hard and get to the bottom of it, it is the Chinese problem. The confrontation of Red China and the United States is the most tremendous problem in the world today. And we are located so close to Red China.

"A solution must be found to the China problem sooner or later. A contained China or a victorious China in southeast Asia will make a lot of difference—to Japan as well as to the United States and the rest of the free world.

"I very much would like to see Communist China contained. I hope America will succeed in Vietnam and make a stop to the Chinese advance. China is finding it hard to have her own way in Africa and Asia these days.

"Perhaps her isolation may contribute to normalized thinking in time. I would like to see America succeed in the containment of China and at the same time start to think of how to coexist with China.

"If the United States doesn't, it is pretty difficult busines for us to organize our own China policy because we must depend on American trade relations."

The conversation shifted to a comparison of Marxist militancy in mainland China and the Soviet Union.

Fukushima observed that the Soviet Union in 50 years industrialized and significantly raised living standards which he related to its more moderate foreign policy, but he added that he felt it would take China much longer, because of population pressure. "It will," he said, "take a lot of patience by all."

He added that his view on the China threat and on Vietnam "is widely held but not widely expressed." But an American who knows Japan well told me he thought Fukushima was "too optimistic."

OPPOSITION VOTE IS RISING

Japan's Government formally, if passively, supports the United States on Vietnam. But the opposition to the government casts about 40 percent of the total vote. The spectrum runs all the way from the evolutionary Democratic Socialists on the milder side (with 8 percent) to the revolutionary Socialists (28 percent) and finally, the Peking-oriented Communists (4 percent) on the other end.

It is not monolithic opposition, but it is opposition and it has risen an average of 1 percent a year since 1946. On the part of the leftists, there is a strong emotional leaning toward Communist China. And among the population generally, I gather there is no widespread conception that Peking could be an eventual attacker. This may trace back to strong cultural ties with China over the centuries.

Another major newspaper executive said he felt about one-third of the Japanese people are anti-American and that the other two-thirds believe "we must have good relationships, a partnership, with the United States, based on both national interest and sentiment." The two-thirds, he said, include the Democratic Socialists.

Akira Sono, who was Foreign Ministry spokesman at the time of my visit and has now been named ambassador to Yugoslavia, cited to me a privately taken poll, covering January to October of last year, on how the Japanese people feel on foreign policy. (Some 70 percent of those polled responded; 30 percent did not.)

Last January, he said, 49 percent of the people wanted Japan to remain in "the free camp." (This dropped to 37.9 percent in August, climbed a bit to 38.3 in October, still almost 11 percent under the January figure.) Those favoring a move to the Communist side ranged from one-half of 1 percent to 1.6 percent. Those who declared for neutralism: 22.2 to 29.1 to 34.5 percent.

"But," observed Sono, "even in West Germany, you find about 30 percent for neutralism.

"People who are for neutralism think it is not a real policy. It is important to recognize that neutralism is not for communism. You have to count those favoring it as being on the free world side. The majority of Japanese people, then, are for the free world."

UNITED STATES IS STILL "MOST LIKED"

Sono said the same poll asked the Japanese which country they liked most. The United States, he said, "is always first, with the United Kingdom and Switzerland following. Russia and Red China are not so well liked."

His view of United States-Japan relations is that overall "they are just as strong as ever, but may not be in a special area at a particular time. In the Vietnam war, the Japanese people reflect the anti-war feeling born of their own experience. The public hopes that a cease-fire will come as soon as possible, but it does not think the Vietnam war was caused only by the United States."

Sono said that "the Japanese press has reported many arguments of the Communist side, and I suppose Americans are dissatisfied with that fact. But in recent weeks the Japanese press has been carrying U.S. arguments more." He added that taken in the long run, the Japanese press is fair.

He summed up his view of United States-Japan relations by saying he believes at least 60 percent of the Japanese public is for the United States and that of the remaining 40 percent less than 10 percent is against. His was the most optimistic statement I heard along these lines during my visit.

I asked Sono about Okinawa and also the Japan-Korea normalization treaty, which after 14 years of negotiations the lower house of the Diet passed in November amid large-scale protest demonstrations. (It automatically took effect 30 days later, in mid-December.)

OKINAWA REMAINS A HOT ISSUE

On Okinawa, Sono said, "While we would wish Okinawa under our jurisdiction, we recognize the U.S. view that it is needed to keep peace in Asia. There is, to some extent, a discrepancy between sentiment and reality. We must be practical."

(It's certain that when renewal of the United States-Japan Security Treaty is debated, the opponents will make a hot issue of Okinawa, our key base in the Far East.)

On the South Korea pact, Sono pointed out that the demonstrations in Korea had been to gain more favorable terms, while those in Japan "reflected the cold war in Japan" and were "sponsored by Communists and Socialists who want closer relations with North Korea and Red China."

The majority of Japanese, including the Democratic Socialist Party, he said, are for the treaty.

He reminded me that Japan had controlled South Korea for more than 40 years, and that resentment by the Korean people was inevitable.

"But both governments have tried to make relations better. The treaty must be unsatisfactory for both sides; the very nature of the situation makes for that."

FORMOSA POLICY IRES PEKING

I asked Sono about Japan's relations with Russia and with mainland China.

"Red China," he replied, "wants to get full diplomatic relations with Japan and wants recognition by Japan that Formosa belongs to Red China. We in Japan have special relations with Formosa, which is close to us and perhaps more important to Japan than to the United States.

"We cannot concede that Formosa belongs to Red China without asking the people there. We cannot decide for them. We like to continue friendly relations with Formosa in the future."

(I gather that politically conscious Formosans like the Japanese, who used to control them, much better than the Nationalist Chinese, who now do. Also Japan has the second largest investment in Formosa, after the United States.)

Sono said "the policy of Japan regarding Formosa makes Peking's leaders angry. There are no Japanese diplomatic representatives in Peking. Because policies on both sides are so different, we do not expect the establishment of diplomatic relations with Peking in the near future."

Japan, of course, voted against Red China's being seated in the U.N. when the issue came up last fall. And Premier Sato at the end of November took note in the Diet of Red China's future nuclear threat to Japan.

OUR MILITARY STATUS IN JAPAN

This was the first such top-level expression of apprehension and it reaffirms Japan's dependence upon the United States for military protection. The Japanese Self-Defense Forces—a title designed to harmonize with the "no war" clause the United States placed in the Constitution during the Occupation—have about 300,000 men.

U.S. forces in Japan, mostly Air Force, range from 40,000 to 50,000, with a slightly higher number of dependents.

They employ more than 50,000 Japanese, who receive about $108 million a year in wages, and they spend more than $100 million a year for supplies, equipment, utilities, transportation, construction and contractual services.

U.S. forces use about 150 facilities, some of the more important being the Navy ship repair yard at Yokosuka, another base at Sasebo, the Air Force stations at Tachikawa, Misawa, Yokota, and Itazuke, the Marine Corps air station at Iwakuni.

There is an agreement not to use the bases directly for combat operations, but their existence provides an ever-ready issue for the leftists. They also are a source of considerable irritation to Red China and to Russia as well.

BETTER RELATIONS WITH RUSS

On Russia, Sono traced for me the relationship since the time in 1951 when the Soviets cold-shouldered the San Francisco peace treaty conference.

From then until 1956, he said, relations between Japan and Russia were "very bad." In that year, however, "our Prime Minister Hatoyama visited Moscow and signed a communique. Since then we've had full diplomatic relations—but not a peace treaty yet" (primarily because of the dispute over the two large islands in the Kurile chain— Kunashiri and Etorofu—which the Russians seized at the end of World War II and won't return).

Russia also was against "good United States-Japan relations, but in the last 2 years Russia has changed. Now Russia wants to have better relations with Japan," a change which he related to the Sino-Soviet dispute.

"The Japanese Government wants better relations with Russia and hopes that Russia will recognize the special nature of the relationship between Japan and the United States." Then, he said, there can be peaceful coexistence.

Sono mentioned the negotiations for an airline agreement between Japan and the Soviet Union, whereby Japan Air Lines would fly there and Aeroflot would fly to Japan, and for an economic treaty. Both were finally signed in Moscow a couple of weeks ago.

As Sono summed up, Japan's relations with Russia are now "the best since the end of World War II.

[From the Honolulu Advertiser, February

JAPAN'S DEMOCRACY: HOW FIRM?

(By George Chaplin)

Just how deeply—or thinly—imbedded is democracy in Japan?

Here are answers I got when I asked the question:

From an American news correspondent: "A lot of changes implanted in Japan during the occupation are more on the surface than in the underlying structure of society or in the scale of values."

From a Japanese newspaper editor: "The roots of democracy are deep enough now, but 20 years is a short time for us to practice. We are gradually evolving a Japanese brand of democracy."

From a Western observer: "There is a strong Marxist line of thought in some minority elements of the society, although there is some evidence that is beginning to wane."

From a Japanese Government official with considerable diplomatic service abroad: "Democracy has a success story in Japan. There is a higher standard of living than prewar. There is the matter of getting responsibility to be commensurate with liberty."

DEMOCRACY NOT FULLY NEW

From a Japanese business leader: "One error of the occupation was that it assumed the Japanese people knew only militarism and had no experience in the democratic process. And so it operated with the idea of 'We'll teach you everything about democracy.'"

From a long-time expert on Japanese affairs: "It is only partly true that Japanese democracy is a postwar development. There were aspects of democracy in the Meiji Period (1868–1912) with a constitution (promulgated in 1889) and a Diet (first elected in 1890).

"There were elections, at first with restricted suffrage but with secret ballot. By the mid-1920's the Japanese had universal male suffrage. There were strong newspapers, reasonably independent, from the 1890's to the 1930's when the government clamped down and got increasingly restrictive up to and through World War II.

"In the earlier period there were cases where newspapers were suppressed or editors arrested, but in general the country had a strong press. True, in much of this period there were restrictions on the power of the Diet, which did not control the Cabinet and had only partial control of the budget. Also, the government could issue ordinances. But, the fact is, that Japanese democracy in the 1920's and 1930's was more advanced than in many underdeveloped nations today.

"Elections prewar were reasonably well run. There was more direct bribery than in ours, but less miscounting of votes."

WHAT THE OCCUPATION DID

And what of more recent years?

"Well," he said, "the occupation introduced women's suffrage, brought about land reform, diminished the role of the Emperor, virtually eliminated the power of the army and navy, broke up the Zaibatsu (the system under which a handful of families controlled industry and trade), and increased unionism and education.

"There's no doubt that Japan is more democratic than ever before. But there was this background."

Japan, he said, had a middle class as early as the 16th and 17th centuries.

"They knew a good deal about business a long time ago. Commodity markets, for example, were developed in Osaka in the last century almost simultaneously with markets in Western Europe. I think the first European market, in Brussels, was only 10 years earlier than Osaka's.

"Osaka in that period was trading in futures, using margins, etc. The House of Mitsui made a fortune by developing a system of bills of lading. It should be remembered that when Japan began in the late 19th century to open up, the industrial revolution in America was only a few decades old.

"Kyoto, for example, had electric streetcars in 1896 when San Francisco was still using horsecars.

"Western business influence 'took' in Japan because Japan already had entrepreneurs."

HIGH LEVEL OF SCHOOLING

I asked him about the earlier developments in education.

"Japan," he said, "was already 50 percent literate when Commodore Perry arrived (in 1853). That's a higher literacy rate than most Asian countries have today.

"Japan now not only has the highest level of education in Asia but is also ahead of Europe. The people are nearly 100 percent literate, as literate as the United States. A higher percentage of high school graduates go to colleges and universities than in any country except the United States and Israel. The figure is higher than in Canada or Australia."

But while the education level of Japan's young people is high, so is the frustration level. They seem to be groping for a sense of values that has meaning to them.

Almost everyone I talked with mentioned that many of the younger people regard liberty as license.

A Japanese newspaper publisher said, "Young people may be too self-asserting, and yet the new college graduates are certainly more capable than in my time 45 years ago. The problem for some time to come is this—the sense of freedom and the rights of individuals are well founded, but with individual rights must be responsibility to the community and a sense of restraint."

(This interview was during the time thousands were demonstrating near the Diet against the Japan-Korean Normalization Treaty. I saw hundreds of extra policemen waiting—and even being fed—in parked vans should trouble erupt. But the marchers seemed peaceable, and at least at one corner I passed they had stopped for a red traffic light.)

OCCUPATION AFFECTS PRESENT

Another leader of the Japanese press related some past history to the present.

"The parliamentary system," he said, "had been a strong element in Japanese life from the Meiji period until the prewar era of militarism. We had two strong political parties. There was an active, if relatively small, labor movement. But the China incident ruined things. The military's power increased and with it the suppression of the parliamentary system. This set Japan out on the path that led to the Second World War.

"After the war came the occupation. I feel its land reform was very successful but it made errors in education and labor fields."

I asked if he would elaborate.

"Regarding education, in the United States you have a good strong university or universities in each State. So the occupation gave one directive that Japan must have a university in each prefecture.

"But there were not enough teachers or equipment and the standards that resulted were not high enough. Japan had a tradition of a number of high-standard high schools, but the occupation leveled these out. To have such a tradition destroyed doesn't fit the feeling of the Japanese people."

Did he favor a system of education primarily for the elite? He said he was for general education but that the elite schools should not have been "leveled out."

GOOD IDEA BUT "TOO FAST"

On labor, he said the basic policy of the occupation to foster trade unions was good, but it tried "to impose on Japan a labor system of a very high standard, with the long traditions the United States and British unions had—and Japan was unprepared for this. The occupation didn't accompany its policy with the order and training that were necessary.

"It was a great jump from almost nothing to everything. So instead of sticking to economic demands, the union movement took on a strong political coloration. Japanese labor was not sophisticated enough postwar to handle what the occupation wanted."

He cited the teachers' union and said it had gone beyond the seeking of good pay and working conditions.

"In the old days the teacher was more respected than the parents. Now the teacher's role is mixed with unionism and some seek to concentrate more on teaching ideologies than their assigned subjects. Some teach communism. This leftist orientation has been remedied to some extent, but confusion still exists.

"Fortunately, Japan has been able to make good progress economically, but in education and labor I believe the policies the occupation imposed were excessive. Japanese tradition could not accept them and this caused confusion and disorder that still exists.

"In labor, the reason is that the Socialists are not acting like the Labor Party in Britain. The labor movement in Japan is not accustomed to English patterns."

TEN MILLION NOW IN UNIONS

Under occupation encouragement, union membership jumped from the prewar figure of 500,000 to 3 million in 1 year. It is now at 10 million, some 40 percent of the labor force.

The largest organization is Sohyo, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, with about 4 million members, of which about 2.5 million are in local or national government employee unions and the rest in industry.

Second in size is Domei, the more conservative Japanese Confederation of Labor, with 1.8 million. Except for 100,000 in the public sector, all are industrial workers.

Domei, which supports the Democratic Socialists, takes a dim view of Sohyo, which backs the Socialist Party.

Koichi Kihata, director of Domei's international affairs bureau, described Sohyo's philosophy to me as one of class struggle.

"The Japanese Communist Party is small," he said, "and so it is to the advantage of Moscow and Peking to try to utilize Sohyo as and when they can.

"In 1960 Sohyo demonstrated against the United States-Japan Security Treaty. This year it carried the biggest slogan against the Japan-Korea Normalization Treaty. It says its official position is 'positive neutralism,' but the practical fact is that it sent a big mission and rescue goods to North Vietnam, not to South Vietnam."

SOHYO PICKS WARSAW MEET

He said that last July at an Amsterdam meeting of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Domei had a delegation but Sohyo did not. Instead, Sohyo sent a 30-man delegation to the World Federation of Trade Unions in Warsaw, Kihata said.

He said Domei's position is that "Sohyo is following the Communist line according to their actions. Sohyo is more political than trade unionist and the Japanese Socialist Party is a captive of Sohyo."

In my talks with Kihata and others, it seemed clear that Communist influence in some individual unions is strong and that there is a continuing effort by leftists to seek union control wherever they can. This, of course, they hope to translate into political gain.

[From the Honolulu Advertiser, February 1966]

JAPAN'S RECESSION IS MORE A BREATHER

(By George Chaplin)

Japan is in the second year of what is painfully and repeatedly termed a business "recession."

There has been a sharp drop in the national growth rate. There have been bankruptcies, mostly in the small and medium business field but including at least one large enterprise. Dividends in many cases have been reduced or passed.

But simultaneously there is full employment, even shortages in certain skilled jobs. Personal incomes are up. (Wages have risen about 10 percent a year for the last 5 years.) There has been a fairly strong rise in consumer prices. Exports are going at a rate of 25 percent above last year's. And agricultural imports from the United States rose from $764 million in 1964 to $800 million last year.

A better word than "recession" is probably "pause." (Remember several years ago when Hawaii's growth became less feverish and there were mainland stories about "clouds over Paradise?".) Japan, whose economy had been expanding for more than a decade at the fantastic rate of 10 percent a year, is now running 3 to 4 percent.

"It'll probably stabilize around 7 percent," one Far East expert in economics told me, "and that's very good. In the long pull, although it's presently a painful experience, what's happening is probably healthy for the economy."

A FANTASTIC ECONOMIC GAIN

Another authoritative source said, "It can't be denied that there are a lot of structural problems in the economy and that enterprises large and small have been suffering from a profit squeeze. This accounts for the urge to get the government to stimulate buying demand."

But, he went on, "let's remember that the Japanese economy is the 'wunderkind' of the world in the last 10 years. The motor has been the heavy industrial production."

Here's how he explained it.

"Enterprises were able to make heavy investments because the government adopted monetary policies which made it possible. The government was determined to carry on rapid economic growth and it gave private enterprise a free rein and an abundance of credit."

As reasons for Japan's phenomenal growth (over the years since the Korean war, which gave it a great push forward after a dismal post-War II economic period), he cited:

An abundant labor supply.

Abundant savings.

A skilled managerial class and technical competence.

Great success in developing markets abroad.

No slack, up to 1964, in internal demand, or external.

People's consumption desires were almost insatiable. The export market was also highly demanding. The Government policy was on a forced-draft basis that simply "overheated" the economy.

The economy grew faster than Japan's resources permitted. The country was living beyond its income. And it showed up at times as a balance-of-payments deficit. Imports of raw materials went up and up until earnings from exports couldn't keep up with them.

THE REMEDY FOR IMBALANCE

Whenever that happened, the Government took corrective action. It tightened up on credit, forced firms to slow their production and their imports and to unload inventories until the balance-of-payments situation was straightened out.

Then credit was eased again and Japan started back on the upcurve. For 20 years there has been a straight line upward, with some curves within the straight line. Japan doubled her gross national product between 1953 and 1963. In 1960, the late Prime Minister Ikeda said, 'Let's double in the sixties."

This worked fine except in the spring of 1964 the country ran into another balance-of-payments deficit and the Government put on the monetary brakes.

The balance of payments was corrected in early 1965 and the monetary people proceeded to use the same policies as in the past. They reduced the Bank of Japan discount rate. They withdrew restraining influence and eased money again.

They expected the economy to turn around and grow rapidly again—as it had after recessions in 1957 and 1961—but it didn't. Something was new and different. Internal demand didn't return. That's mostly what this recession is about.

The heavy investments in new industrial output had been made without regard to the market's ability to consume. "Production first" was, in effect, the slogan. There is the additional fact that many large Japanese companies, while technologically topflight, are behind the times in management structure and in marketing.

Too often, one man in a big firm makes virtually all the decisions. I gather this is now beginning to change, with more delegation of authority to key executives.

In marketing, few large enterprises have sales divisions, but instead use trading companies. Mitsui Trading Co., Mitsubishi Trading Co., and C. Itoh Trading Co. are among the giants in this field.

BANKS PLAY UNUSUAL ROLE

Another result of the Government's forced-draft policy, in combination with the tax setup, is that the ratio of equity (or invested) capital to loan (or borrowed) capital in Japanese enterprises is extremely low.

It runs about 27 percent equity capital and 63 percent loan capital (with an expensive overhead in paying loan charges) as against the U.S. equity figure of 67 to 68 percent.

This means that through credit the banks play, by our standards, an inordinately important role in the establishment and operation of businesses. (I was told that new industrial money raised in the stock market is a fraction of 1 percent, and that there is no effective market in Japan for industrial bonds.)

Banks are big stockholders in most of the big companies, and usually have two or three of the directors. Corporations may tie themselves largely to one bank or deal with several. Take Toyota Auto. Its basic bank is Sumitomo. But Toyota also borrows from Daiwa Bank. Toyota Motor Sales, which has a contract with Toyota to take 100 percent of its output, minus U.S. military needs, get its financing from Mitsui.

In Japan, I was told, many banks keep only between 1 and 3 percent of deposits in liquid assets. The American figure is much higher.

POWERFUL BANK OF JAPAN

When a bank needs money to lend to industry, the main source is the Bank of Japan, the equivalent of our Federal Reserve System.

"Since it is an arm of Government," one American newsman explained to me, "it is responsive to the views of Government ministries whether or not to permit certain economic projects.

"The Bank of Japan can be behind the paper submitted to it and examine what the money is needed for, in a way the 'Fed' doesn't do if the bank it is dealing with has its affairs in order. In effect, it can decide whether the proposed steelmill or spinning or chemical plant should be built or not.

"National planning is a combination of government and industry. You might say Japan has the unusual combination of state planning with the best of vigorous Western capitalism."

Another source said that because of the recession "some industries have formed temporary cartels, to curtail production. For example, the textile industry agreed to a 10-percent cutback. Steelmakers and electrical appliance manufacturers also entered into cutback arrangements."

Dr. Saburo Okita, who is executive director of the Japan Economic Research Center and special assistant to the Minister of the Economic Planning Agency, told me that national planning in Japan consists mostly of providing guidelines.

"The basic nature of the present Japanese economy is a highly competitive market economy," he said.

SOCIAL SIDE GETS ATTENTION

More money now will be encouraged to go into the public sector for those needs passed over while Japan was building her heavy industrial economy—housing, port facilities, waterways, schools, libraries, roads, and sewers.

The Osaka-Tokyo Railroad line is probably the best in the world, but only 40 percent of Tokyo's houses have sewer connections (the rest using cesspools and "honey buckets").

Except for certain super highways, roads are not up to Western standards and this creates a drag on the development of rural areas.

It also affects the price structure, by making it costly to bring produce to town. Someone told me that, at times, vegetable and fruit prices in Tokyo are higher than in the United States, despite the lower living standard of the Japanese farmer.

Housing is in an extremely bad way, due in part to the tremendous wartime destruction.

"Japan's most serious bottleneck," Dr. Okita said, "is housing."

He added that most houses presently are "too small to hold many appliances, and that as new homes are built they tend to be somewhat larger." Many also are provided with parking space.

THERE'S NEED FOR ZONING

Public housing is limited to four stories, without elevators or central heating. Except for high-income people, private apartments are mostly in the suburbs and this creates serious commuting problems. It's also worth noting there's no zoning and this will have to be faced before long to keep the present patchwork from becoming even more critical.

It's clear that Japan has done what we did until well into this century and what Russia did until quite recently—it built up industry at the expense of the social side. Now it will begin catching up. "It's a painful thing for them to go through," one American told me, but the Japanese are mature that way.

To help stimulate the economy, the Government last June began spending to build waterways and sewers. It shortly plans to issue $900 million in bonds, to cover heavier expenses and a tax loss due to the recession, following up with a $1.5 billion bond issue to finance public-sector spending.

There are differences of opinion as to whom the bonds should be sold—to the banks or the public—but the Government seems in a good position to float the securities. It has no public debt to speak of, something like 5 percent of its gross national product.

[From the Honolulu Advertiser, February 1966]

JAPAN'S INDUSTRY NOW THIRD IN WORLD

(By George Chaplin)

There was once a time when the "Made in Japan" label carried the image of inferior merchandise. Today it is an imprint of quality in a wide range of products—from steel to cameras, from ships to TV sets.

Japan in 1966 is one of the world's great industrial powers—fifth in total goods and services. It is led only by the United States, Britain, West Germany, and France. In strictly industrial output, it is tied for third with West Germany.

It is first in shipbuilding (with 40 percent of the world's tonnage), rayon staple production, and radio manufacturing; second in electronics production, petroleum refining capacity; third in the output of crude steel, machine tools, zinc, cement, and sulfuric acid; fourth in power generation, automobile production, and rolled copper tonnage; and fifth in wool and pulp.

What was happened is that Japan has moved from a light to a heavy industrial nation, although small and medium companies still abound.

"There is a vividly sharp contrast between well-developed big businesses and some primitive aspects of the economy," one expert observed to me.

"Japan has some of the most advanced technology and research in the world, but also some extremely backward areas. There are, for example, a lot of small-scale household industries. There are far more small shops than in the United States. Perhaps you could say this aspect is like the United States in the 1920's.

"For Japan to continue developing in world competition, it will have to do something about the backward parts of its economy."

VISIT TO A MAJOR SHIPYARD

Japan has four major industrial areas—Tokyo-Yokohama, Osaka-Kobe, Nagoya, and the northern part of Kyushu—and I visited plants in several.

One was the Mitsubishi shipyard at Nagasaki, one of the world's greatest. In the year just past, it built 16 ships—in tonnage about half of the output of all the Mitsubishi yards and some 15 percent of Japan's total.

The parent company, Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Inc., with 15 plants around the country, is capitalized at $220 million, has annual sales of $1 billion. It makes not only ships, but autos, aircraft, trains, turbines, engines, and industrial machinery for steel, cement, and petrochemical plants.

The Nagasaki shipyard alone employs 13,000 of Mitsubishi's 85,000 workers. I spent part of an afternoon touring the vast installation. I was impressed most by the two 300-ton cranes and by the experimental tank where paraffin ship models fitted with propellers make test runs as a prelude to final designing and construction. There were 150 people at work in the lab, including 7 marine architects and a hydraulics engineer.

The prospective shipowner brings his needs to Mitsubishi and they figure the design best for him, making much use of computers in the process.

The customers include companies in Japan, the United States, Sweden, Greece, and India, although many of the ships wind up flying Liberian or Panamanian flags. The yard had a 2-year backlog of orders, so it can maintain a stable schedule.

NO CONTAINER SHIPS AS YET

I asked about automation.

"Tankers used to have 60 men," I was told. "Now they can run automated with a 30-man complement. We've built some. Also some of the ships built 4 or 5 years ago are being converted to automated ships. We get many inquiries about this, and also about the conversion to larger ships."

They are not making containerized ships at present. "We don't have the shoreside facilities, roads, etc. now, but these will come. Meanwhile, we are quite busy."

And they are indeed, leading the United Kingdom, Sweden, and West Germany (in that order) in the construction of vessels to ply the seas of the world.

(At Nagasaki I had an interesting experience that involved former U.S. Ambassador to Japan, John Allison, now at the University of Hawaii.

(H. Hirose of Mitsubishi, who was my host, asked if I knew Allison. I said I did and he then told me of the visit of Ambassador and Mrs. Allison to Nagasaki in 1955 for the launching of a 45,000-ton tanker for Tidewater Oil.

(There being no good hotel in Nagasaki at the time, the restaurant in which we were eating had been converted into quarters for the Allisons and an air conditioner installed so they'd be comfortable. Ten years later I was eating in their "bedroom." What the Allisons probably don't know is that the local hotel association complained about the whole business. In any event, there now are good hotel accommodations in Nagasaki.)

AMONG TOP STEELMAKERS

My next stop was at the Yawata Iron & Steel Co. works in Kitakyushu City, Fukuoka Prefecture, near Kokura. Japan is the third largest steel producer in the world (topped only by the United States and Russia) and of the national total, Yawata in its five works turns out 25 percent of the pig iron, 19 percent of the steel ingots and 20 percent of the steel products.

Yawata, I was told, is the world's fifth largest steel company—after United States Steel, Bethelehem, Republic, and a West German firm.

At the mill I visited—the company has another called Tobata nearby and three others in Yamaguchi, Osaka and Chiba Prefectures—I followed the process from blast furnace to such finished products as rails, bars, tubes, and heavy plates for shipbuilding.

Yawata gets its ore from India, the Philippines, Malaysia, Goa, Africa, and North and South America (the largest source), and while it is near the Chikuho coal field in Kyushu, it has to import more than half of its coking coal from the United States, Canada, Russia, and Australia.

Of the company's 47,000 employees, 37,000 are at the Yawata and Tobata plants. Ten thousand of these live on company premises, paying only $3 a month rent for apartments, a rather typical low-cost arrangement in large Japanese industries. Supermarkets, cafeterias, clinics, and recreation centers are also operated by Yawata. (Some large companies charge as little as 75 cents a month for cafeteria meals.) For those who want to live off the company grounds, Yawata assists families in the buying of houses on the installment plan.

SEEING CARS, BIKES MADE

My industrial tour continued to the Toyota Motor Co. operation near Nagoya and the Suzuka factory of Honda Motor Co.

Toyota has 22,000 workers who turn out 45,000 cars a month. (Since 1957, some 400 passenger cars, 77 jeep-type vehicles and 4 small trucks have been exported to Hawaii.)

Eighty-five percent of the output is sold domestically and 15 percent abroad. Right now, Australia is the top export market, taking 23 to 24 percent, but it recently sharply increased its import duties and the United States, which now buys 16 to 17 percent of Toyota's exports, is expected to become its No. 1 overseas customer this year.

Presently, I was told, Toyota accounts for 2 percent of the U.S. import car market. South Africa is Toyota's third best foreign customer. (By coincidence, these export figures were given to me by Yoshihiko Toura, the son-in-law of Koiichi Itoh, president of the City Bank of Honolulu. Toura has studied at the East-West Center and at M.I.T. under Economist Paul Samuelson.)

On the day I visited, the Toyota Corona, a medium-sized passenger car, was coming off the line at the rate of 1 every 2½ minutes.

BIG JUMP IN PRIVATE CARS

The recession has affected Toyota's truck production, but the passenger car output is still rising. As of 1963, Japan had 1.2 million cars being used by 95 million people, compared with 80 million cars for America's then 190 million.

For Japan, this was a tremendous jump from 457,000 cars in 1960; 663,951 in 1961 and 889,032 in 1962—almost a tripling in 4 years. Two-thirds of the new cars are being bought on the installment plan.

Some cities—Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya among them—require that you have parking space in order to buy a car. As new homes are built, it is usual to include such space (but not a garage).

At the Honda Suzuka plant, a motorcycle is turned out every 12 seconds—4,000 a day, 100,000 a month, 1.2 million a year. The other three plants concentrate on trucks, general engines and farm machinery, but also produce 200,000 larger motorcycles.

Twenty-six hundred of Honda's 8,000 workers are at Suzuka, with an average age of 23.6 years. I was told with some pride that in the 5 years since the plant was founded they have made 45,000 suggestions of ways to improve the product. Safety is stressed and there has been no major accident in the last year and a half.

DORM RENT: $4.17 MONTHLY

The average monthly salary, including semiannual bonus, is $135. Income taxes run about 10 percent. Sixty percent of the workers live in a company accommodations, the rent for bachelor dormitories being $4.17 a month, for houses, $17.79. The 40 percent who live in their own houses get a rent subsidy to balance out with the rent of those in company quarters.

I was told that 61 percent of the workers were graduates of senior high schools, 35 percent of technical high schools, and 4 percent of colleges and universities. Ninety-five percent of the workers have their own motorcycles, bought on the installment plan.

Honda is high in Japanese exports, shipping 350,000 motorcycles a year to the United States. The other two Japanese manufacturers, Yamaha and Suzuki, each export 45,000 units a year to the United States. When I asked about research, I was told that Honda spends $10 million, 3 percent of its income, each year.

To get a view of lighter industry, I visited Toshiba and Sony plants in the suburbs of Tokyo. (The former president of Toshiba, Taizo Ishizaka, was the prime mover in the contribution by Japanese industrialist of the lovely garden back of Jefferson Hall, at the East-West Center. He also was the recipient of a University of Hawaii honorary degree in 1964.)

Toshiba does $800 million a year in sales—equally divided between heavy equipment, home appliances, and electronics—and 90 percent is in the domestic market, 10 percent overseas.

Of the exports, 25 percent goes to the United States, 25 percent to Asia, and 50 percent to Europe and South America.

Toshiba's 26 plants around the country employ 64,000, with 22,000 in office work, 42,000 in production and related work. In color TV and transistors they were working two shifts, in other departments one shift, 5 days one week, 6 days the next.

An executive said that a color TV set with 16-inch screen retails for $500. "A young man in the United States makes $400 a month, but $100 in Japan, so a color TV set would cost 5 or 6 months pay for him." The company, he said, has a finance subsidiary for installment buying.

BEGAN AS 8-MAN OPERATION

At Sony, I was handed a booklet titled "A Modern Business Miracle"—and that it is. The company began in late 1945, 2 months after the war ended, with an 8-man operation in a single room of a bombed-out Tokyo store.

Six years later, in 1951, Sony produced Japan's first tape recorder; in 1954 its first commercial transistor; in 1955 its first transistor radio; in 1959 the world's first direct-view transistorized TV set; and in 1962 a Micro TV (a 5-inch picture tube set weighing 8 pounds).

Today, Sony employs 5,600 people in six plants, sells 63 percent of its $80 million annual output in export to 90 countries. In the United States, Sony has offices in Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York.

About a third of Sony's employees are girls and in the transistor plant I visited they formed a large majority of the production-line workers. They live in a company dorm, take courses in a company school which offers a recognized high school diploma, and take vacations at company-owned resorts.

It was obvious even on a brief visit that morale and pride-in-company were high. It was also obvious that Sony and other major Japanese firms are turning out quality products which can hold their own anywhere in the world.

[From the Honolulu Advertiser, February 1966]

IN JAPAN: TRADITIONAL, MODERN COEXIST

(By George Chaplin)

The favorite reading of many Japanese businessmen these days is about Tokugawa Ieyasu—the first Tokugawa shogun. In 1600 he took charge of the country and, until the Meiji Restoration, sealed it off from the world for 250 years.

Tokugawa Ieyasu was a machiavellian type who achieved power by rather devious means. Why has he rather suddenly become a subject of renewed interest? Is there any real significance in this?

One Westerner said to me, "This reflects a restoration of national conscience. It's perfectly understandable."

A Tokyo business and civic leader said, "This doesn't mean nostalgia for a feudal age." He added with a chuckle, "Perhaps those reading about the war lord feel his strategy might be effective in business."

An American newsman said, "Within the last 2 or 3 years, there seems to be more of this trend of looking back. It's quite possible the Japanese may not be entirely satisfied with the kind of society imposed on them and may be yearning to return to something more in tune with tradition."

DEPLORE YOUTH'S DISRESPECT

These evaluations can speak for themselves, but I clearly got the impression that the older generation is distressed by what it regards as a lack of respect for tradition, discipline, and authority by the younger.

In a recent issue of the quarterly Foreign Affairs, former Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi wrote that "the freedom of speech that was given Japan by the American occupation has now run riot." While he was specifically criticising the Japanese press, which is traditionally antigovernment, it is a view also held with respect to Japan's youth.

I was told, for example, that police are barred from university campuses unless invited, no matter how turbulent things might get, and that this is disturbing to many of the conservatives.

(In this past week's demonstrations at Waseda University—where 1,500 of the students staged a sit-in inside the buildings to protest a proposed tuition fee increase—police stayed away until requested by Waseda President Nobumoto Ohama. Then 2,500 policemen and plainclothesmen arrived and drove off the demonstrators).

Among the older people, especially, many traditional behavior patterns—what Japanese intellectuals call "feudal survivals"—are still highly evident.

Here is how one authority in the field spelled it out for me:

"There is, in many quarters of Japanese life, still an excessive respect for authority. There is still a somewhat domineering attitude on the part of some bureaucrats." (I observed that this is not uncommon in the United States, but he said there is a difference in degree.)

"There is the traditional feeling of obligation. This involves all relations—such as employer-employee, student-teacher, and between friends.

FIRM SENSE OF REPAYMENT

"If one Japanese has to go to another for help and gets it, he feels a strong obligation, a fairly intense obligation. He doesn't have to repay the favor immediately. It could mean that if 2 years later he was asked (by his benefactor) to vote for a particular candidate he would feel an obligation to do so.

"This is related to the ban on house-to-house campaigning in political season, or even canvassing or electioneering by telephone. When you read thousands of election complaints, many refer to violation of this ban.

"There are strong group loyalties. Some explain this in terms of the earlier village system. The village was tightly knit and the attitude was that anyone from outside was an enemy or, at the least, open to suspicion.

"If you didn't know the outsider, you played it cautiously. The feeling was that everyone in the village should stick together.

This affects various parts of life today. It accounts in large measure for the factionalism in politics.

"And it's often evidenced in the universities—which are more exclusive than in the United States. For example, Tokyo University is staffed almost 100 percent with a faculty of Tokyo University graduates. As you know, many American universities have a rule or policy against such inbreeding.

"There is the employment-for-life pattern. Someone joining a company as a young man expects to be there for the rest of his life. There is little 'raiding' of talent by one firm from another. This paternalism calls for everyone to behave in a way consistent with living in 'The Group.'

"The point is that democracy in Japan is affected by the longstanding customs of the country."

HEAVY STRAINS FORESEEN

Americans I talked to in Japan were reasonably hopeful of the future there. But severe tests lie ahead, both in internal developments and in Japan-United States relations.

In domestic politics, for example, there's the rising and uncertain influence of a new political party, Komeito, established 2 years ago by a religious sect built on the beliefs of the great 11th century Buddhist, St. Nichiren.

Komeito, which has 20 seats in the upper house of the Diet but none in the lower, now plans to run 30 candidates for the lower house in the next parliamentary election—which has to be before next year and could come this summer. In local elections 3 years ago, almost all of Komeito's 971 candidates were successful.

The party's appeal is to the small shopkeeper, to cab drivers, to clerks—to those in the Japanese society who feel threatened or displaced by the rise of the new industrial order. That is, people who are not sure they can maintain their middle-class status.

There is some fear that Komeito, which has jumped from 1 million to some 10 million members, about one-sixth of Japan's voters, could turn into an ultranationalistic or potentially fascist force. But an experienced observer told me "Komeito hasn't really made up its mind what its form will be. At present, it tends more to the left in foreign policy.

Komeito's policies have been called vague and immature, but the party exercises a tight hold on its followers. Whether the liberal Democrats can come to a working understanding with this growing force could be important.

Of more direct interest to the United States is the ferment over Okinawa, over the United States-Japan Security Treaty coming up for review in 1970 and over possible revision of the occupation-imposed constitution.

There's quite a bit of conservative sentiment for constitutional revision, and former Prime Minister Kishi has said, "This issue should be taken up not only as a means of uniting the conservative forces, but also as a means of eradicating completely the consequences of Japan's defeat and of the American occupation. It is necessary to enable * * * the Japanese people to regain their self-confidence and pride as Japanese."

But, as of now, Prime Minister Sato has no intention of changing the constitution.

A colleague in his government says the constitution represents a new way of conducting government in the modern world. And a veteran political observer with whom I talked said of Kishi's statement, "It must be remembered that he's served his time"—in other words, he can enjoy the luxury of such observations since he no longer has the burden of responsibility.

But all of the ferment clearly reflects Japan's growing nationalism, and its determination, as a vibrant power back on its feet, to chart its own destiny.

SOME IRRITATIONS ARISE

The United States recognizes and respects the fact, but at times is irritated by some of the results.

Last fall at the annual American Assembly at Arden House in Harriman, N.Y., Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs William P. Bundy, voiced several complaints.

One was that Japan has "virtually no interest in sharing responsibility for the military defense of the Pacific area." Another was what he termed "a tendency, even in Japanese conservative circles, to accord the Chinese Communists the same tolerance that is given to student radicals in Japan." And third was his characterization of Japanese criticism of United States conduct in Vietnam as "dangerously wrong."

From the other side, Shigeharu Matsumoto, chairman of the International House of Japan, told the assembly that "for the past several months, American-Japanese relations have been strained to an extent such as we have never experienced since the Second World War." He expressed concern that a prolonged Vietnam war could cause a crisis in United States-Japan relations.

REISCHAUER VOICES OPTIMISM

Late last month, Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer said our Nation and Japan are entering "a period of reappraisal and readjustment in our relations."

But he predicted that "this readjustment, far from taking us further apart, will exorcise the recent past and finally bring us back fully to the century-long course of mutually advantageous cooperation and growing partnership, from which we were temporarily diverted by two decades of militarism, war and occupation."

Finally, Reischauer viewed the political partnership between Japan and the United States "and their mutual security relationship as entirely natural and therefore virtually certain to continue and probably to grow in closeness."

Reischauer's observation could be drastically upset if, for example, Vietnam widened into a United States-China war. But barring such a head-on confrontation, the prospect would seem to be for a continuing United States-Japan alliance solid enough to withstand the substantial stresses that inevitably lie ahead.

CONGRESS AND THE COURTS

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, in the April issue of the American Bar Association Journal there is an interesting article by Senator TYDINGS outlining some of the problem areas in the administration of justice. The article considers in detail the nature of the problem of the removal and disciplining of unfit Federal judges by Congress. Additionally, other areas being studied by Senator TYDINGS' Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery are mentioned.

For a provocative discussion of possible areas of congressional involvement in efforts to improve the efficiency of the administration of justice, I recommend Senator TYDINGS' article.

Mr. President, at this point in the RECORD, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the article entitled "The Congress and the Courts: Helping the Judiciary To Help Itself."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CONGRESS AND THE COURTS: HELPING THE JUDICIARY TO HELP ITSELF

(By JOSEPH D. TYDINGS, U.S. Senator from Maryland)

(NOTE.—Increasing delays in litigation in the Federal courts, Senator TYDINGS declares, require strong efforts by the bar and the Congress to improve the efficiency of the administration of justice. The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery, of which he is chairman, is currently considering one urgent problem in this area—the establishment of workable and fair procedures for the removal and disciplining of unfit Federal judges. He outlines the nature of the problem and solicits the bar's advice.)

More than a century ago Alexis de Tocqueville observed, "I cannot believe that a republic could hope to exist * * * if the influence of lawyers in public business did not increase in proportion to the power of the people."[1] The influence of lawyers in the public business of this Republic always has been great, and the interest of the bar in public service usually has been commendably high. Today lawyers comprise more than two-thirds of the membership of the U.S. Senate, to take just one example, and they occupy many other high positions in Federal, State, and local governments.

Yet for all the influence that we lawyers exercise in the affairs of state, we seem to have had surprisingly little success in improving the lot of that branch of Government closest to our hearts—the judiciary. Shakespeare's reference to "the law's delay,"[2] and the 18th century poet's complaint that "he must have patience who to law will go,"[3] are as true today as they were when they were written. In some judicial districts the average litigant must wait more than 3 years after joinder of issue before his case will come to trial. During the past fiscal year nearly a thousand more cases were commenced in the Federal courts of appeals than were terminated. During that period some 65,000 cases were commenced in the Federal district courts, but only 11,000 trials were completed.[4] Many cases were settled without trial, but we would be deluding ourselves if we pretended that exasperation with the interminable delays of litigation is not often the most important factor leading to settlement. Caseloads and backlogs continue to grow, and in some districts they have reached staggering proportions.

It is fashionable these days to talk of "explosions"—the population explosion, of course, and now the "law explosion."[5] The propensity to litigate seems to grow even faster than the population. To keep pace, some increase in judicial manpower is needed, and the Congress constantly is bombarded with requests to add two judges to this district or one judge to that circuit. Some of these requests no doubt are justified, but adding more judges is not a complete answer to the problem. We need to make a thorough examination of the operation of the Federal courts to determine whether we are using our present judicial resources to the fullest possible degree and in the wisest possible manner.

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[1] De Tocqueville, "Democracy in America" (1835).

[2] "Hamlet," act III, scene 1.

[3] Robert Dodsley, "To Patience" (1745).

[4] "Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts," annual report of the Director (1965).

[5] See Jones (ed.), "The Courts, the Public, and the Law Explosion" (1965).

REEXAMINING THE FEDERAL JUDICIAL SYSTEM

This reexamination is in large part the responsibility of the bar, but Congress must play a leading role as well. Only we in Congress have the capacity to provide the judiciary with the tools it needs to help itself, so that the present crisis in the courts may be eased. In the Senate this responsibility rests with the Committee on the Judiciary, and in large part with that committee's Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery, of which I am chairman. The subcommittee is presently engaged in several important projects that we hope will help to improve the efficiency and quality of Federal justice.

One crucial area in which the subcommittee hopes to be able to increase the capacity of the courts to help themselves is the sensitive and important problem of judicial fitness, on which the subcommittee opened hearings in February. Our Federal judicial system has been a remarkably durable and effective institution. It usually has been manned by individuals of exceptional integrity and ability, and it has retained the confidence of the public through many periods of crisis.

Yet, we must be realistic enough to recognize that judges, like all of us—even U.S. Senators—are human. Some are lazy. Some become ill and fail to realize that they are no longer capable of performing their duties properly. Some, after many years of distinguished service, become senile. Some drink too much. And some—very few—may succumb to temptation and sell justice to the highest bidder. When any of these conditions occurs, justice is denied. As one of our witnesses said at the hearings, "The number of unfit judges may be small, but the damage is large." [6]

When a court is afflicted with a problem of this sort, it does not need an additional judge; it needs a judge other than the unfit one who is sitting. The problem is that at present the courts lack adequate means of ensuring that the unfit judge is removed, after careful and impartial evaluation of his case by a competent tribunal.

IMPEACHMENT PROCEDURE IS INADEQUATE

Let us examine the procedures that our law currently makes available in cases of judicial unfitness. The House of Representatives has the power to impeach a judge (as well as other public officials),[7] and the Senate has the power to convict the judge on the basis of the articles of impeachment returned by the House.[8] Impeachment results in removal from office and disqualification from holding any further office under the United States.[9]

The impeachment process has been invoked only eight times with respect to Federal judges, and only four of these cases ended in conviction. It is instructive that virtually every time that the impeachment machinery was set in motion it proved so unworkable and cumbersome that there was soon an attempt in the Congress to provide an alternative remedy. As far back as 1800, Congressman Randolph of Virginia proposed a constitutional amendment that would have allowed a judge to be removed by the President upon address by both Houses of Congress, a method akin to the traditional English procedure of address to the Crown. In 1819 former President Jefferson wrote to Judge Spencer Roane of Virginia, "Experience has already shown that the impeachment the Constitution has provided is not even a scarecrow." It is, he said, a "bungling" way of removing a judge.[10]

As a remedy for judicial unfitness, impeachment suffers from several serious defects. First, it lies only for "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors," [11] and it is unclear whether some of the conditions mentioned earlier as warranting corrective action—senility, disability, laziness, alcoholism—fall within this category. And even if these are impeachable offenses, is it sensible or humane to remove a senile or alcoholic judge through the public spectacle of impeachment?

The second difficulty lies in the cumbersome nature of the process. In "The American Commonwealth," Bryce referred to impeachment as "the heaviest piece of artillery in the congressional arsenal, but because it is so heavy it is unfit for ordinary use. It is like a hundred-ton gun which needs complex machinery to bring it into position, an enormous charge of powder to fire it, and a large mark to aim at." [12] An impeachment trial, properly conducted, would require the constant presence of 100 Senators to hear testimony for a period of several weeks, for the average length of an impeachment trial has been 16 to 17 days.[13]

In practice very few Senators would be in constant attendance, just as very few Senators can spend all their time on the floor when legislative business is being transacted. During the last impeachment trial some 30 years ago, at one point it was observed that only three Senators were present and that one of them was writing letters and not listening to the testimony at all.[14] What kind of trial is this? Would our notions of due process of law permit a criminal defendant to be convicted in a trial at which most of the judges were not present to hear the testimony?

If we are convinced that something needs to be done about the judge who has committed no high crimes or misdemeanors but is nonetheless unfit, and if we are convinced that any removal procedure—even in extreme cases of corruption—needs to be fair and expeditious, we must conclude that impeachment is not a satisfactory answer.

But what else is there? In recent weeks we have seen the unfortunate result of an attempt to find another way.

CHANDLER CASE METHOD ALSO IS INADEQUATE

In the case of Stephen S. Chandler, chief judge of the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Oklahoma, the Judicial Council of the 10th Judicial Circuit used as the basis for severe disciplinary action Section 332 of the Judicial Code, which authorizes a council to "make all necessary orders for the effective and expeditious administration of the business of the courts within its circuit." For reasons which have not yet been brought to light, the council had concluded that Judge Chandler was either "unable or unwilling" to discharge his judicial duties. It therefore ordered that no more cases be assigned to Judge Chandler and that he take no further action in cases pending before him.

In a petition to the Supreme Court, Judge Chandler challenged the judicial council's order as unauthorized by the statute and impermissible under the Constitution.[15] Further, he refused to obey the order as it related to cases already pending before him, although the other judges of his district had divided these cases among themselves pursuant to the council's directive. We therefore witnessed the embarrassing spectacle of two judges asserting jurisdiction over the same case. Faced with Judge Chandler's challenge, the council decided to end the confusion by allowing him to retain jurisdiction over cases that had been assigned to him at the time its original order came down. Two members of the council did, however, chastise Judge Chandler severely for not obeying the order pending a determination of its validity by the Supreme Court.

The Chandler episode is not a bright chapter in the history of judicial administration. Whatever the merits of the charges against Judge Chandler—and we know very little of the nature of the charges, much less their merits—this case brings into clearer focus the need for better tools for dealing with cases of alleged judicial unfitness. The procedure employed, even if authorized by the statute, hardly seemed calculated to give Judge Chandler a fair chance to defend himself. He was given no notice that action was about to be taken against him. The charges against him were not specified. He was given no opportunity to present evidence and argument in his defense.

This procedure was clearly unsatisfactory. Yet, a group of appellate judges, charged with the responsibility of insuring the efficient administration of justice in the courts of their circuit, were convinced that another judge was no longer fit to serve on the bench. They were so firmly convinced of this that they took what they must have known was an unprecedented and controversial action, and they used the only procedure, however unsatisfactory, that seemed available to them.

The inadequacy of existing procedures was clearly brought home to the subcommittee at the hearings in February. John Biggs, Jr., the distinguished senior judge of the third circuit, testified that soon after he came onto that court in 1937 he became aware of the corruption of Circuit Judge J. Warren Davis and District Judge Albert W. Johnson, both of whom were later exposed and indicted. He attempted to call the matters to the attention of the appropriate authorities, and he tried in other ways to minimize the damage that these judges were doing. He found his task extraordinarily difficult, and it was several years before Davis and Johnson were finally exposed and forced to resign.[16]

Another witness, Bernard G. Segal, representing the American Bar Association, told the disturbing story of a judge with a history of heart trouble who suffered a crippling stroke a few months after he was appointed to the bench. He stayed on for several years, slowing down the business of his two-judge district, although his attention span was no more than 1 hour a day. There was no way to obtain a replacement.[17]

LOOKING FOR SATISFACTORY PROCEDURES

If there is at present no satisfactory procedure for dealing with judicial unfitness, is it possible to devise such a procedure under the Federal Constitution? The Constitution grants to the House of Representatives the "sole" power of impeachment, and to the

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[6] Hearings before the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary on Procedures for the Removal, Retirement, and Disciplining of Unfit Federal Judges, 89th Cong., 2d sess. 67 (1966), cited hereafter as hearings.

[7] U.S. Constitution, art I, sec. 2, cl. 5.

[8] U.S. Constitution, art. I, sec. 3, cl. 6.

[9] U.S. Constitution, art. I, sec. 3, cl. 7.

[10] Quoted in 1 Warren, the Supreme Court in U.S. History 295 (1922).

[11] U.S. Constitution, art. II, sec. 4.

[12] 1 Bryce, American Commonwealth 231 (1931 ed.).

[13] Borkin, "The Corrupt Judge," 195 (1962).

[14] Id. at 194–195.

[15] The Supreme Court refused, with two justices dissenting, to stay the council's order, on the ground that the order was "entirely interlocutory in character pending further prompt proceedings inquiring into the administration of Judge Chandler." 86 S. Ct. 610 (1966).

[16] Hearings, at 18–21.

[17] Hearings, at 30 and 31.

Senate the "sole" power to try impeachments. This does not necessarily mean, however, that impeachment is the only permissible method of removing a Federal judge from office. The framers of the Constitution used the word "impeachment," not "removal." Modern popular usage has made impeachment synonymous with removal, but this is inaccurate, since impeachment results not only in removal but in disqualification from future office as well. At common law impeachment was only one of several methods of removing judges or other public officials from office.

The basic constitutional principle of separation of powers, which requires an independent judicial branch insulated from undue legislative and executive interference, may impliedly prohibit some of the methods of removal available at common law—namely, those that involve legislative or executive action. Thus impeachment itself might be constitutionally impermissible were it not expressly provided, and perhaps this is why it is expressly provided. On the other hand, it is not inherently inconsistent with the doctrine of separation of powers or the concept of an independent judiciary for the judicial branch to retain its common law power to declare a judicial office forfeited because of the occupant's misbehavior.

We should remember that judges are appointed not for life but to serve "during good behavior";[18] impeachment allows removal only for "high crimes and misdemeanors." It is at least arguable that "good behavior" connotes a higher degree of virtue than the failure to commit "high crimes and misdemeanors." If this is so, it may be that in addition to the impeachment process provided in article II, section 4, the framers contemplated a judicial proceeding to determine the question of good behavior. Other officials subject to impeachment are, after all, removable by other methods as well.

A SCHOLARLY EXAMINATION IS NEEDED

There is an acute need for a careful, scholarly examination of the meaning of the constitutional provisions affecting the tenure of judges and the methods of removing them from office. The subcommittee's research has revealed only two law review articles on the subject, and these were published more than 25 years ago.[19] Impeachment is not an adequate remedy, and we should not be too quick to accept the popular assumption that it is the only remedy the Constitution permits, unless we are satisfied that that assumption has a sound scholarly basis.

The constitutional questions make our problem in dealing with judicial fitness somewhat different from that which has confronted the States. However, the mechanisms that the States have sought to use are helpful illustrations of possible approaches.[20]

The most interesting State experiment has been in operation in California for the past 5 years. In the view of California jurists and lawyers, it has been a notable success, and the California plan is now being adopted in several other States. The California system employs a commission on judicial qualifications, composed of five judges, two lawyers, and two laymen, which is authorized to investigate allegations of judicial misconduct or unfitness. It has no power to remove a judge from office, but it may after a hearing recommend this action to the State supreme court. The commission has been most effective, however, not in this formal procedure, but in the informal process of investigating complaints. This informal investigative process encourages disabled or misbehaving judges to resign, retire or simply mend their ways. The deterrent effect on judicial laxness and misconduct is perhaps one of the most important factors in the commission's success. In addition, the very existence of such a commission alleviates one of the most serious deficiencies—the fact that a lawyer or any other person with a complaint against a judge feels that he has no place to go because it is no one's job to investigate these allegations and evaluate their validity.

Other States, like New York, have employed a special court on the judiciary, which can be convened to hear charges against a judge and which has the power to remove him from office.

SOME SUGGESTIONS MADE TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE

Both these State systems are worthy of serious consideration, although it is conceivable that we may be unable to adopt either of them in its entirety on the Federal level. The subcommittee is certainly not committed at this point to any one approach. I should like to mention several other possibilities that have been called to our attention, so that you may reflect on them and consider their merits:

First, it has been suggested that the problem of senile or disabled judges may be eased by some form of compulsory retirement. At present, under section 372(b) of the Judicial Code, the judicial council of a circuit may certify to the President the disability of a judge serving in the circuit. The President may then appoint an additional judge for the district or circuit involved, in effect to take the place of the disabled judge. Mr. Segal and Judge Biggs, who were instrumental in securing the passage of this legislation, testified that section 372(b) has been used rarely and has not been as effective as they had hoped.[21]

We have pending before the subcommittee a bill introduced by Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE of Ohio, prompted by a difficult situation that existed last year with regard to a district judge in his State. It would provide for the mandatory retirement of a district judge whose disability is certified to the President of the judicial council.[22]

J. Earl Major, senior judge of the seventh circuit, urged recently in this journal the adoption of compulsory retirement of Federal judges at age 70.[23] Here again there may be constitutional difficulties, but it should be kept in mind that when a Federal judge retires the benefit of his services is not lost. Many senior judges continue to carry a large judicial workload and make valuable contributions. It may be possible to surmount constitutional objections to mandatory retirement by requiring that the senior judge be allowed to perform such judicial duties as he is willing to undertake, unless it can be shown that he is incapacitated. In any event, this type of proposal is one that our subcommittee must consider in examining the problem of judicial fitness.

Second, it has been suggested that the circuit judicial councils might be more effective administrative instruments under provisions like section 372(b) if district judges were represented on them. At present, the circuit judges comprising the councils are somewhat reluctant to interfere with district court matters, and the district judges tend to resent any attempt on the part of the councils to supervise their operations.

Third, a requirement that judges disclose their financial interests to an appropriate authority, such as the circuit judicial councils, has been proposed at times in the past. Such a bill was introduced several years ago by the late Senator Estes Kefauver. This approach would be directed solely at the exposure of possible corruption or conflict of interest, and the theory is that it would have a deterrent effect on improper business investments by judges. It is also contended that willful failure to disclose business interests or false disclosure would be an impeachable offense.

Fourth, enactment into statute of some or all of the Canons of Judicial Ethics has been advocated. This would give the weight of law to what some judges apparently now regard as bar association "sermonizing." One witness testified categorically that there are judges now sitting who are violating these canons.[24]

Fifth, it has been suggested that the impeachment process would become more rational if Congress by statute defined "high crimes and misdemeanors."

I do not at this time endorse any of these proposals. In fact, I entertain grave doubts now about the wisdom of some of them. I mention them only to indicate what kind of proposals have been made thus far in the area of judicial fitness and to elicit the bar's considered reaction to them.

OTHER PROJECTS BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE

The problems posed by judicial unfitness are perhaps the most important and controversial that our subcommittee is tackling. But they are not the only ones. Ensuring that unfit judges are replaced in a fair and expeditious process will not by itself cure the serious problems of congestion and delay. We have other projects underway or under consideration, and I solicit the bar's assistance and advice with respect to them as well.

First, the U.S. commissioner system, on which we have already had extensive hearings. We hope that the commissioner can become a more useful adjunct to the district courts and help release the district judges' valuable time for more important matters.

Second, appellate review of criminal sentences. The subcommittee conducted hearings in March on a bill proposed by Senator ROMAN HRUSKA of Nebraska that embodies this concept.[25] Proponents of this measure argue that one effect of the bill's enactment would be to reduce the present flood of post-conviction relief petitions.

Third, possible repeal or reform of the so-called Expediting Acts[26] and other provisions calling for the use of three-judge district courts and appeals to the Supreme Court.[27] This extraordinary investment of judicial manpower and the bypassing of ordinary appellate channels should be restricted to genuinely important cases.

Fourth, the jurisdiction of the Federal courts, particularly that based on diversity of citizenship. In this field we will study with great care the recommendations of the American Law Institute.

Fifth, the possibility of improving the management and administration of the Federal courts. Through the use of management consultants and tough administration by the presiding judges, truly impressive results have recently been achieved in the Superior Court of Los Angeles County, a trial court of 120 judges, where in a period of less than

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[18] U.S. Constitution, art. III, sec. 1.

[19] Shartel, Federal Judges—Appointment, Supervision, and Removal—Some Possibilities Under the Constitution, 28 Mich. L. Rev. 870 (1930); Otis, A Proposed Tribunal: Is it Constitutional, 7 U. Kan. City L. Rev. 3 (1938).

[20] It is interesting to note that whereas in the past the Federal courts usually have taken the lead in promoting judicial reform, today in the areas our subcommittee is studying we find that we are considering proposals that have been in effect in some States for several years.

[21] Hearings, at 16 and 32.

[22] S. 2299, 89th Cong.

[23] Major, "Why Not Mandatory Retirement for Federal Judges?" 52 A.B.A.J. 29 (1966).

[24] Hearings, at 65 and 33 (testimony of Joseph Borkin).

[25] S. 2722, 89th Cong.

[26] 15 U.S.C. 28–29; 49 U.S.C. 41–45.

[27] E.g., 28 U.S.C. 2325.

5 years the backlog was cut from more than 2 years to 4 months, without any apparent loss in the quality of the justice dispensed. This is an example we should consider seriously, for we have given too little thought to this aspect of judicial administration in the Federal system.

I think we can be justly proud of the performance of our Federal judiciary, but there is no excuse for complacency. If we have not yet reached a point of crisis with regard to congestion and delay, we are rapidly approaching it. We as lawyers may be prospering more than ever, but our clients are not, for justice delayed is justice denied.

The organized bar has often taken the lead in efforts to modernize court machinery, particularly on the State level. It is my hope that it will continue these fine efforts and turn more of its attention to the Federal courts. Suggestions and comments will not fall upon deaf ears in the Congress.

FEDERAL FUNDS TEST CHURCH-STATE BOUNDARY

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, the Christian Science Monitor, which is one of the world's greatest newspapers, carried an article by its correspondent, William C. Selover, in its issue of April 27, 1966, entitled "Federal Funds Test Church-State Boundary." This article presents in an objective and illuminating manner the hearings recently conducted by the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary upon the bills designed to make it certain that the Federal courts will have the power to determine whether or not congressional appropriations for certain restricted purposes constitute violations of the establishment of religion and freedom of worship clauses of the first amendment. These clauses declare, in effect, that one of the most precious rights belonging to Americans is that of being free from taxation to support religious institutions and their teachings.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. William C. Selover's article be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered printed in the Record, as follows:

Federal Funds Test Church-State Boundary

(By William C. Selover)

Washington.—If you signed over a lump of income tax to the Internal Revenue Service April 15, you may have helped violate the church-state separation principle of the U.S. Constitution.

There's no way of knowing for sure, however.

Here's why:

U.S. taxes made available to private, church-related groups some 5½ billion Government dollars this year to operate various parts of more than 60 Federal programs.

These are mainly in the areas of education, health, housing, and antipoverty.

Yet, there is absolutely no way for the private citizen who believes a certain program violates the church-state separation principle to challenge its constitutionality in a Federal court of law. (Ironically, in most States such cases can be brought in State courts where State funds have been spent. But this doesn't apply to Federal courts and funds.)

HARVARD REFUSES FUNDS

Administration officials vigorously deny that that there is any constitutional violation in their programs. They say a court ruling is totally unnecessary.

Others argue that violations have become so widespread that a ruling is essential.

A Senate judiciary subcommittee in recent hearings found growing sentiment for enactment of laws to allow taxpayers to test these laws.

The Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights heard debate on a bill which would give individuals "standing" to sue for discontinuance of programs which allegedly violate church-state separation principles.

The hearings turned up impressive evidence to show that violations of this fundamental principle may be growing.

Among the findings:

Some 35 divinity schools around the country are accepting funds from the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) to train theology students—Harvard Divinity School has conspicuously refused to accept this aid on grounds that it violates the first amendment to the Constitution.

Books are being given to parochial schools under the legal fiction of "loans." Administration officials admit the return of these loans is highly unlikely.

Hundreds of programs in the "war on poverty"' are being administered by church groups. The constitutionality of these programs is in "some question," admits the general counsel for the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The Christian Science Monitor has learned that in Chicago public funds are being used by local antipoverty groups to prevent foreclosure by mortgage companies on financially defunct church properties.

In programs administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), there are no records of any kind kept to show specifically whether or not a recipient of Federal funds has any church connections—"unless we can tell from the name of an institution," according to a HEW lawyer. "We do not inquire * * * into this aspect."

Also, in most HEW-administered programs there is no assurance that public funds would not "replace expenditures of funds" otherwise made by a private institution.

This means that public funds spent on a nonreligious education program in a parochial school could free other funds in the institution's budget for religious instruction.

CONSTITUTIONAL TEST OPPOSED

The Attorney General's Office opposes a constitutional test of these programs on grounds that it would "seriously disrupt the Federal programs."

Administration officials indicate they would rather continue operating possibly unconstitutional programs, than take the chance of hindering extensive programs of education, health, housing, and antipoverty.

The Justice Department contends such court tests are unnecessary—that guidelines written into the laws assure the constitutionality of the programs.

"The Congress is honorbound * * * not to take action which would in any way violate the Constitution," argues Assistant Attorney General John W. Douglas. He says that Congress, therefore, in passing the law, must have done so constitutionally. Subcommittee lawyers regard this argument as exceedingly peculiar.

But this newspaper has learned from HEW sources that the Department guidelines are generally inadequate, that they are being overlooked or ignored, and that there is no established machinery for enforcing them.

Asked whether spot checks are made on the various programs being administered by HEW to guarantee that funds are not used in violation of church-state separation guidelines, a Department official said: "We're not going to stand over them like a policeman. We'll take steps if something should come to light in normal auditing procedures." He admitted the audit check would take, roughly, 2 years.

SEVEN ACTS MENTIONED

But even if the guidelines were adequate and scrupulously observed, there is still no way to tell for sure whether the laws themselves are constitutional.

Senator Wayne Morse, Democrat, of Oregon; Senator Sam J. Ervin, Democrat, of North Carolina; Senator Joseph S. Clark, Democrat, of Pennsylvania; and Senator Ralph W. Yarborough, Democrat, of Texas, want to know what the courts would say.

Together they sponsored a bill S. 2097, introduced by Senator Morse, which would give the taxpayer standing to challenge the constitutionality of any one of several programs now supplying public funds to church affiliated groups.

The bill makes specific reference to seven acts: (1) the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, (2) title VII of the Public Health Service Act, (3) the National Defense Education Act of 1958, (4) the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963, (5) title II of the act of September 30, 1950 (Public Law 874, 81st Cong.), (6) the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and (7) the Cooperative Research Act.

It also includes any other act which is administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and was enacted after January 1, 1965.

Senators Morse and Ervin, though in complete agreement on the need for such legislation, do so from opposing corners.

Mr. Morse argues that the acts cited in the bill represent "a proper exercise of the constitutional authority given to Congress." He says a court ruling to that effect will allow Congress to go further to "meeting the full needs" of our people.

CONSIDERED POORLY DRAFTED

Mr. Ervin, a former justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, argues that the acts may be unconstitutional and that the court should be allowed to rule on them. Mr. Ervin's aids point out that the Senator does not oppose the basic intent of the acts. "In fact, he voted against only one of the seven specifically mentioned. He just wants them tested."

The bill, as originally introduced, was considered poorly drafted in many respects. Even Senator Ervin, who, as Constitutional Rights Subcommittee chairman, presided over hearings on the bill and cosponsored it, felt the drafting was faulty. "There are many provisions, I am frank to state, in this bill that I don't like myself," he told the hearing.

Senate lawyers did not seriously think it could pass in its original form. The subcommittee sought doggedly for ways to improve upon the bill during the 6 days of hearings in March. Chances for passage are now considered much improved. Some 20 representatives of church groups, educational and legal professions, and administration spokesmen testified.

There was almost unanimous opposition among witnesses to section 6(A) which provided that all funds would be cut off from a program when it was challenged legally, even before a judgment was made.

And if a program was ruled invalid, the bill provided that all the funds would have to be returned.

"Isn't that unusual * * * in any kind of a statute?" asked subcommittee member Senator Jacob Javits, Republican, of New York, in questioning this provision.

Theodore Ellenbogen, Assistant General Counsel of HEW, replied that in the face of such a risk, "We cannot believe that there would be many applicants" for HEW programs.

Other objections were raised on the contention that the courts would be flooded with suits. But it was argued that the cost of a court contest would likely run to $25,000, thus allowing only a few to raise the issue. Also, the bill provides that all suits would be brought to the District of Columbia district court, and similar cases could be consolidated.

On this point, however, Senator Ervin said: "It seems to me that if it takes 10,000 suits to keep Congress from passing unconstitutional laws, the finest thing to be done for the American people * * * would be to have these suits brought."

OTHER PROGRAMS INVOLVED

Many of the witnesses urged the inclusion of more of the numerous programs which involve church-state separation.

"At the very least, the programs and acts administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity should be included," said James Luther Adams, Harvard Divinity School professor.

But political realities discouraged urging too broad coverage.

"I think it should at present be limited to the enumerated acts, with the addition of OEO," said John Adams, legal counsel of Americans United for Separation of Church and State.

"I am glad to hear you say that," replied Senator Ervin. "Just as a pragmatic matter, to getting the legislation enacted, you could sometimes get more support from a narrower bill than you can from a broader bill."

But the knottiest legal question raised by the legislation is the question of "standing."

For years, courts have held that an individual taxpayer did not have sufficient monetary interest in the spending of his tax money to have "standing" in a court to sue for improper use of his tax money. This ruling, based on the "de minimis rule," has governed procedure since the 1923 case of *Frothingham* v. *Mellon*.

Prof. Leo Preffer, testifying for the American Jewish Congress contended, however, that de minimus is irrelevant and has no applicability "if you are not suing to indicate a monetary or proprietary concern * * * the Supreme Court has simply ignored completely the de minimus rule where rights are concerned."

Put another way, American Civil Liberties Union director, Lawrence Speiser, said: "When government action violates [the citizen's] conscience, the amount of his financial burden is irrelevant."

These lawyers believe that the individual has standing to sue already where the case involves a breach of "rights" or "conscience." But many would disagree.

John T. Fey, speaking for the American Council on Education, was asked by subcommittee council whether there was any way a Federal taxpayer could test legislation on the basis of a first amendment violation.

"Not only is there no way, but my contention is that there is no justification for it, philosophically or morally," he replied.

Whether it's possible or not, it is procedurally unlikely.

Thus, the authors of the bill decided the answer would be to grant "standing" by law.

Assistant Attorney General Douglas said there are "serious doubts" about the constitutionality of conferring standing—where there is no justiciable controversy.

Here again, Senator Ervin views church-state issues as creating sufficient interest to be considered a justiciable controversy. "Church-state provisions of our Constitution are a fundamental covenant of government, so fundamental that every citizen has an interest in their enforcement."

Marvin Braiterman, speaking for the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, reminded the subcommittee that "Congress is constantly conferring standing to sue on plaintiffs in all kinds of legislation it passes. Every time it passes labor legislation, it gives somebody a right to sue, like the Fair Labor Standards Act."

The question of conferring standing is one which won't be resolved easily or soon. It remains, however, to the authors of the legislation, as the only obvious expedient to correct, in Senator Ervin's words "a serious defect in our system of justice, which brags there is no wrong without a remedy."

Other objections were more easily solved by the subcommittee.

Instead of amending Senator Morse's original bill, the chairman is drafting a new bill—which incorporates some technical changes, improving earlier oversights, as well as removing the automatic cutoff of funds provision.

Senate legal experts say privately that the new bill has considerably improved chances of passage.

STORMY PATH SINCE 1961

In fact, some subcommittee sources feel that the time for this legislation is overdue.

It has had a stormy path, ever since its essentials were drafted in 1961 by Senator Morse, together with the Attorney General of the United States and the Solicitor General.

Senator Ervin proposed a judicial-review amendment to the Higher Education Facilities Act in 1963. It was passed by the Senate, but was dropped in conference.

Then, a similar Ervin amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act failed to pass the Senate in 1965. At that time Senator Morse expressed fear that such an amendment might hold up passage of the education act.

But Senator Morse gave his pledge to introduce an independent judicial review bill—a further modification of the one he had worked on since 1961.

He was faithful to his commitment. And Mr. Ervin was reportedly delighted at Mr. Morse's strong testimony in support of the legislation.

If the bill doesn't pass this time, it certainly served to stir up some basic questions for further debate.

But one thing is for sure.

It managed to shake the big, gray, impersonal, monolithic Department of Health, Education, and Welfare down to its legal and statistical boots.

Its spokesmen tried everything they could think of to put off testifying.

And after they testified, they waited until after the transcript of the hearings went to press before supplying the subcommittee with statistics and information requested for the record.

LIST OF NAMES SUPPLIED

It was probably just as well—they couldn't answer the questions asked, such as, how much money and which programs are administered by religious affiliated groups.

They could merely supply a list of names—perhaps to identify a few ecclesiastical sounding institutions. But as one HEW subdivision—the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration—noted in a terse and candid memo to the legal adviser in response to his request to identify religious affiliated groups it spends money on: "We are forced to conclude that a name check of 1,000 institutions would be misleading."

But it's little wonder HEW was shaken. It was Senator Ervin himself who left them with this final thought:

"We have the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which is administering billions of dollars of money for educational purposes, and for other purposes, which many Americans think is in violation of the first amendment.

"And this great department of the American Government, whose officers are sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, is opposed to the passage of any law which could make it clear that the constitutionality of the programs it administers can be brought into question. All I have to say is that if the health of religious liberty in America is going to be dependent on the attitude of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, it is going to be in a very unhealthy state."

REVOLUTIONARY EFFICIENCY COMING UP IN FEDERAL BUDGETING

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Wall Street Journal published a leading article this morning, reporting an administration development that could have more to do with giving taxpayers full value for their money than any budgetary development in many years—perhaps ever.

This is the so-called planning-programing-budgeting system, known as PPBS.

The Wall Street Journal this morning reports on a series of advantages which this new system will give the President and his agency heads in achieving greater efficiency and economy.

As a member of the Appropriations Committee, I am convinced that Congress itself may be the principal gainer, in the long run, from this remarkable innovation in budgeting.

At the present, we are all but helpless in controlling the avalanche of billion-dollar spending, extending over such a wide conglomeration of departments, and with duplications so hard to spot and so deeply imbedded.

The new approach will enable the Appropriations Committee, as well as the President, to do these things:

Focus on key budget decision with both the immediate and long-range costs and consequences laid out more clearly than ever before.

Spot alternative ways of achieving the same goals better or more cheaply, or find better ways of using the same dollars for some completely different purpose.

Identify outdated programs and amass the facts to back up a decision to end them.

Assert much tighter controls over semiautonomous divisions and bureaus within departments.

The Alan Otten article in the Wall Street Journal puts the present problem very clearly:

> The complaint against the old "input oriented" budget is simple. Too many programs, Presidential aids say, are presented for decisions to an agency head or the President with objectives unclear, likely benefits vague, costs uncertain, and alternatives lacking. There is little indication of the long-term commitments at stake. Decisions tend to bunch up in November and December, and then are made in a crisis atmosphere. Certain bureaus within an agency operate almost independent of top control, relying on protection from powerful Congressmen or outside pressure groups.

Of course, the most impressive proof of the effectiveness of this new system has been seen in the remarkable performance of the Defense Department under Secretary McNamara. Here the Armed Forces have been immensely increased in power, force, and flexibility in a time of rising prices—and if we leave aside the Vietnam war to make the pre- and post-McNamara performance comparable, the costs of the far better bigger, stronger Armed Forces has astoundingly increased almost not at all.

Mr. President, of course no system can or should remove the yeast of policy determination, or, as some critics might call it, politics from the ultimate decision.

We will and should have human or political considerations in making final decisions. The new PPBS system will give us a far clearer understanding of the facts than ever before, and far greater ammunition in the hands of those who want to kill a wasteful old program, or stop an unjustifiable new program.

One final word of caution. Congress should not permit the kind of ridiculous inflation of benefits, which has destroyed the value of the benefit-cost system in appraising public works, to corrupt and destroy the value of this new system. It can serve the country well if we keep it clean of self-serving distortions.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the article written by Alan Otten in this morning's Wall Street Journal printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW-LOOK BUDGET?—U.S. AGENCIES NOW WILL WEIGH PROGRAM COSTS AGAINST LIKELY BENEFITS—WHITE HOUSE FURTHER ORDERS INVESTIGATION OF ALTERNATIVE WAYS TO REACH SAME ENDS—FIRST REPORTS NEXT WEEK

(By Alan L. Otten)

WASHINGTON.—The Johnson administration is hoping to achieve revolutionary breakthroughs with PPBS.

This is no new missile system or wonder drug. It is the planning-programing-budgeting system, a new approach to Federal budgetmaking.

At first glance, it seems a technical, dry-as-dust subject, made even more unappetizing by such jargon as cost effectiveness, systems analysis, quantification. Yet President Johnson and other PPBS fans expect, apparently with considerable reason, that it eventually will enable the President and his agency heads to:

Focus on key budget decisions with both the immediate and long-range costs and consequences laid out for them more clearly than ever before.

Spot alternative ways of achieving the same goals better or more cheaply, or find better ways of using the same dollars for some completely different purpose.

Identify outdated programs and amass the facts to back up a decision to end them.

Assert much tighter control over semiautonomous divisions and bureaus within departments.

"WHIZ KIDS" LEGACY

This approach was pioneered at the Pentagon a few years ago by Defense Secretary McNamara and his "whiz kids," with the claimed result of giving the United States more defense per dollar. Lately Mr. Johnson has seized on the McNamara method as a way to increase his control over outlays and operations of the entire nondefense bureaucracy.

Vastly oversimplified, PPBS seeks to scrutinize each agency's budget not in the old terms of how much is spent for personnel, construction, operations, research, and other "inputs" but rather in terms of what the agency actually is buying for its money in better education, faster commuter transport, cancer detection, power production, or other "outputs." After tooling up for the past few months, the executive branch is about ready to roll with some elementary models of the new system. Federal agencies are due to submit plans drafted on the new basis to the Budget Bureau by next week.

"This is not an attempt to introduce robot, computerized decisionmaking," says Budget Bureau Director Charles Schultze, who has been spark-plugging the movement toward PPBS since President Johnson flashed the green light last summer. "This system is not going to make decisions for you. But it's going to make costs and consequences a lot clearer for everyone who does have to make decisions—Assistant Secretaries, Secretaries, Budget Directors, Presidents."

PPBS may help decide, its backers suggest, whether commuters would be better served by $50 million of Federal funds spent on urban throughways or on mass-transit rail systems—or whether both programs offer so little benefit for the money that the $50 million should go for new schools instead.

TRAINING OR WELFARE?

Another sample of the question that may be clarified: Whether elderly workers whose skills are obsolete would benefit more from on-the-job training or from institutional training—or whether it would be better simply to give them welfare payments, and use the training funds to school out-of-work teenagers.

In allocation of health dollars, PPBS budgeting will influence such choices as whether $20 million of Federal money would do most against cancer through research for a cure, training of doctors and other programs to secure early detection, or building of new treatment facilities to help victims of the disease.

Each May, Federal departments and agencies submit to the Budget Bureau the first broad view of spending plans for the fiscal year starting a full 14 months later. Next month, using the new basis for the first time, agencies will preview their plans for the year starting July 1, 1967. The task will be rough for many agencies ("I'm going to hand in some papers and hold my nose," says one agency budgeter) but it will be a start. The White House and Budget Bureau expect steady progress from then on and, gradually, demonstrable benefits.

"Only the very grossest choices will be available this year," says one White House man. "But 2 to 3 years from now, PPBS will make a big difference. It should be particularly helpful in the fast-growing domestic programs like health, education, transportation."

OLD SYSTEM'S FAULTS

The complaint against the old "input-oriented" budget is simple. Too many programs, Presidential aids say, are presented for decision to an agency head or the President with objectives unclear, likely benefits vague, costs uncertain, and alternatives lacking. There is little indication of the long-term commitments at stake. Decisions tend to bunch up in November and December, and then are made in a crisis atmosphere. Certain bureaus within an agency operate almost independent of top control, relying on protection from powerful Congressmen or outside pressure groups.

The new system seeks to lay out budget information so clearly that it almost forces close examination of potential alternatives, possible inefficiency and duplication, and long-term consequences.

Each agency now is setting up a number of broad goals it seeks to achieve, and then more specific subcategories. All operating programs with similar purposes are being grouped into the appropriate category or subcategory, no matter which subordinate unit or division does the job.

PPBS then attempts to show the cost of each program and possible alternatives, including pay, research and development, capital investment, operating expenses, and so on. Next comes the most difficult part: an attempt to measure in specific, nonfinancial terms just how much good is expected from the program—how much educational levels will be raised, or poverty reduced, or water pollution abated. For each program all these cost and benefit figures are calculated for 5 years or longer.

Then the benefit-cost analysis for one program will be compared with benefit-cost analyses for other programs serving the same ends, or even completely different ends. Then, it is argued, top Federal officials will be in a good position to make crucial choices.

So far the poverty program, which has used PPBS for over a year has made most progress on the new system. The space and atomic energy programs, Agriculture Department, and parts of the Federal Aviation Agency are well along. Many other agencies are starting slowly.

While the present focus is on getting PPBS going within each agency, eventually the Budget Bureau would stress comparisons between agencies also. Some agencies already are comparing notes to set up similar program categories. The Agriculture and Interior Departments and the Department of Housing and Urban Development are doing rough consultation on categories for recreation programs.

Before the McNamara revolution at the Pentagon, each military service had its own budget, broken down into outlays for pay, operations and maintenance, construction, research, and the like. Mr. McNamara switched to nine major missions: Strategic retaliation, continental defense, airlift and sealift, general-purpose forces, etc. The weapons available for each mission were listed, regardless of which service developed and operated the weapon. To each weapon were allocated all the costs of developing, procuring and operating it. Then the amount of protection or deterrence offered by each system was assessed.

END OF A CARGO PLANE

With such information, it is said, Mr. McNamara recently was able to conclude that the existing C–141 cargo plane wasn't as effective as the proposed, much larger C–5A for carrying the equipment a big military transport probably would have to carry. C–141 procurement accordingly was tapered off.

Last summer Mr. Johnson ordered the entire Government to prepare to shift to the new method. In October the Budget Bureau issued Bulletin 66–3 to all major agencies, telling them to set up staffs and begin working on program categories for the new system.

All major agencies now have a PPBS staff or the nucleus of one. The Agriculture Department has 12 men working on PPBS in the Secretary's office, plus full or part-time men in each of the Department's eight major divisions. Many of the men putting the system into effect are, expectably, alumni of the Pentagon or of Rand Corp., which supplied many of the McNamara "whiz kids."

There still are many PPBS doubters in and out of the Government. "All 66–3 says," snorts one longtime public official, "is to think things through and get them in on time, something any good man should have been doing all along."

ORGANIZED COMMONSENSE

Budget Bureau men counter that PPBS is needed precisely to require efforts to think things through. "It's really no more than organized commonsense," one official admits, "but that word 'organized' is just as vital as the 'commonsense' part. PPBS forces people to consider costs, to consider alternatives, to look ahead."

Another objection is the difficulty of measuring or "quantifying" results. "It's utter garbage," an agency head declares. "How do you quantify the extent to which prekindergarten training now will reduce poverty 15 years from now?"

PPBS backers admit such assessments often will be difficult, especially, say, in foreign affairs or in some basic research program that could lead unpredictably either to a cancer cure or to a new plastic. But they contend that most results can be estimated by making reasonable assumptions.

"The Job Corps is supposed to make kids capable of holding better jobs," says one administration official. "You can look at the jobs obtained by kids who go through the Corps, the jobs obtained by kids who don't, and make some allowance for the fact that the Job Corps staff is working extra hard to get jobs for their kids. Then you have extra values such as a reduction in juvenile delinquency, or better family relationships, or the impact on younger brothers. And you can then say that so many dollars spent on the Job Corps probably will provide this many more kids with decent jobs, and that you'll also be getting some additional benefits you can't measure so precisely."

ROLE OF POLITICS

A far more basic reservation many officials have is whether the economic analysis actually will control major decisions or whether political realities will dominate.

"Suppose we find the Job Corps is doing a much better job than the Neighborhood Youth Corps, or vice versa," one official suggests. "The President and Congress still are going to make a political decision on the basis of what is most popular or the least trouble back home."

But PPBS advocates insist that the new system at least will give agency heads and the President hard facts to back up politically tough decisions—figures to prove the declining value of some older programs, or to show that new program A is actually more valuable than more popular new program B.

HOUSE GIVES OVERWHELMING SUPPORT TO RESTORATION OF SCHOOL MILK FUNDS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHURCH in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the administration's proposal to cut the special milk program by 80 percent and redirect the program to the needy, as well as those in schools without a lunch program, was overwhelmingly repudiated by the House on Tuesday.

The House Appropriations Committee's report on the fiscal 1967 Department of Agriculture and related agencies appropriation bill set the tone. In concise fashion, the report indicated why the committee decided to provide $103 million for school milk in the fiscal 1967 budget. The report read:

> At a time when many young Americans are being turned down for military service because of defects traceable to nutritional deficiencies, it is recommended in the budget that the special milk program be virtually eliminated. * * * The reduction in the special milk program from $103 million to $21 million—a cut of $82 million—would deny supplemental milk to about 80 percent of our schoolchildren who are now benefiting from the program. Further, the reaction of those needy children selected for free milk could result in the complete abandonment of this valuable program. * * * The benefits of this program to the health and dietary habits of schoolchildren of this Nation are well recognized. Many witnesses have testified to the benefits to school attendance and an improved approach to learning by students receiving the milk free or at reduced prices.

When the appropriation bill came to the floor of the House on Tuesday, the Appropriations Committee was highly praised, and rightly so, for adding $82 million to the budget request for the school milk program. In fact, more favorable comments were made on this item than were voiced on any other item in the bill. Twenty-seven House Members took the floor to commend the committee for providing adequate funds to continue the program at this year's levels.

Mr. President, I know that the Senate shares the other body's concern over the proposed school milk cutback. This is amply attested to by the fact that 67 of my Senate colleagues have cosponsored my bill to make the school milk program permanent. As a member of the Agriculture Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, I intend to do everything in my power not only to avert a big cutback in this program but also to actually increase the program over last year's levels, to bring it more into line with increasing participation as well as the jump in the school-age population.

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT STUDY SHOWS VIETNAM WAR HAS NEGLIGIBLE IMPACT ON ECONOMY

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, a few weeks ago on this floor, I pointed out that the Vietnam buildup was having a very limited impact on our economy. In fact, I inserted figures in the RECORD to show that we spent a greater percentage of our gross national product on defense in the years 1956 through 1964 than we, in all likelihood, will spend in fiscal 1967.

Now the Defense Department has come up with a study which reaches substantially the same conclusions, using slightly different statistical indicators. This study shows that the economic effect of the Vietnam war is less than one-third that of Korea. It points out that whereas the share of gross national product going into defense expenditures increased by 9.1 percentiles during the Korean war, projections for the Vietnam buildup show an increase of only 0.4 percent.

This is an incredible testimonial not only to the strength of our economy but also to the ability of Secretary McNamara to keep our defense apparatus well-oiled and ready for any contingency. It should give the prophets of economic doom and gloom some food for thought. Above all, it shows that our dynamic economy is perfectly capable of providing guns and butter.

I ask unanimous consent that a summary of the study as well as the study itself be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Economic Impact of the Vietnam Buildup Is Less Than One-Third That of Korea

SUMMARY

Compared to the Korean buildup, the economic impact of the present military buildup for Vietnam is one-fourth to one-third as large.

Defense expenditures as a percentage of gross national product were much higher in the Korean period (14 percent as compared to 8.1 percent).

A more significant measure of economic impact is the increase in defense expenditures from the prebuildup years. During the Korean buildup, the share of gross national product going to defense expenditures increased by 9.1 percentiles (4.9 percent to 14 percent of then gross national product). Projections for the Vietnam buildup show an increase of only 0.4 percent (7.7 percent to 8.1 percent of current gross national product).

Although increases in defense spending for Vietnam are much less, they do come at a time of already low unemployment and on top of significant fixed business investment. At the start of the Korean buildup there was 5.2 percent unemployment (as against 4.6 at mid-1965) and 9.6 percent of gross national product was going into business fixed investment (as against 10.2 percent at the start of the present buildup). Making the extreme CEA assumption that 1 percent less unemployment produces across the board 3 percent more gross national product, there was 1.8 percent of gross national product more economic "slack" in mid-1950 than in mid-1965.

Compared to the Korean buildup of 9.1 percent of gross national product, the Vietnam buildup of .4 percent of gross national product comes on a base which is 1.8 percent of gross national product higher. The total impact of the 1965–67 period is then 2.2 percent of gross national product compared to the 9.1 percent of gross national product in the 1950–53 period. (See summary table).

This view suggests that in aggregate terms the economic impact in 1965–67 will be one-fourth that of 1950–53. In specific commodity and labor requirements the impact is somewhat greater.

Summary table—Comparative impact of defense buildup, Korea and Vietnam

[In percent]

	Korea	Vietnam
I. Differences in size of buildup: Percent of GNP going to defense expenditure:		
Start of buildup	4.9	7.7
Peak of buildup	14.0	[1]8.1
Increases during buildup	+9.1	+.4
II. Differences in domestic economy at start of buildup: Greater use of resources at start of Vietnam buildup	----------	+1.8
III. Comparative impact including the difference in domestic economy	+9.1	+2.2

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[1] Estimated.

DETAILED COMPARISON OF THE IMPACT OF THE DEFENSE BUILDUP FOR VIETNAM WITH THAT FOR KOREA

A. Aggregate impact[1]

1. In dollar terms defense outlays today are greater than during the Korean conflict. Annual budget expenditures for national defense reached a peak of just over $50 billion during the Korean period while for fiscal 1967 the projected national defense expenditures are just over $60 billion.

2. However, the U.S. economy today is much larger than at the time of Korea. Since the early 1950's 14 million more people have been added to the labor force. Gross national product in constant dollars has risen by over 70 percent. Manufacturing capacity has increased 77 percent. Capacity in some industries—utilities, chemical, petroleum, and rubber products—has more than doubled.

3. This greater capacity means that the U.S. economy today can better absorb the necessary defense outlays than it could at the time of Korea. In the peak year of the Korean conflict, defense expenditures reached 14 percent of GNP while projections into fiscal 1967 show defense expenditures only 8.1 percent of GNP. Even though the dollar amount of defense spending is larger today, defense expenditure as a percentage of total output is smaller.

4. More important from the viewpoint of economic impact, however, is the comparative increases in defense expenditures during the two buildups. Increases in defense expenditures cause shifts in resource allocation and can put a severe strain on the economy's productive capacity. The Korean buildup, following a period of general demobilization and de-emphasis of defense, was accompanied by considerably greater expenditure increases. In 2 years defense expenditures more than tripled (from $13 billion in fiscal year 1950 to $44 billion in fiscal year 1952) and the fiscal year 1953 defense expenditures ($50.4 billion) were nearly four times the fiscal year 1950 level.

The Vietnam buildup, starting from a much higher base, has not had the same sudden impact effect. Projections into fiscal year 1967 show increases in defense expenditure of only 20 percent (from $50.2 billion in fiscal year 1965 to $60.5 billion in fiscal year 1967).

5. The impact of the faster Korean buildup was offset only slightly by the fact that there was somewhat more slack in the domestic economy at the time of Korea. The Vietnam buildup in 1965 was preceded by 4 years of steady and fairly regular economic expansion, while the year before the outbreak of the Korean conflict (1949) was a recession year. However, the first two quarters of 1950 brought a very rapid recovery and by the outbreak of the Korean conflict in June 1950 the economy was nearly back to its prerecession level. Nevertheless, in June of 1950 unemployment was 5.2 percent and industry was operating at 88 percent of capacity while in the spring of 1965 unemployment was 4.6 percent and the industry operating rate was 90 percent.

6. In spite of the greater slack in the economy before the Korean buildup, the rate of buildup at the time of Korea and the percentage of GNP going to defense at that time were so great that the Korean impact was much more critical.

B. Specific impacts

1. Manpower

Table 1 shows that the unemployment rates have not yet dipped to the Korean low of 2.9 percent. The projection at the beginning of this calendar year was for unemployment to drop from 4 percent to 3.5 percent in 1966. However, as the rate has already dropped to 3.7 percent in February, this projection is certainly too high. Shortages that now exist in certain skilled labor categories may develop into overall labor scarcity.

Defense is less responsible today for any labor scarcity than at the time of Korea. Even in absolute numbers table 2 projects 3.1 million in the armed services by 1967 as against the Korean war level of 3.5 million men in the armed services. As a percentage of the labor force, today's Armed Forces requirements plus civilian defense requirements are 5 percent as against 7 percent.

In industries heavily oriented toward defense production, increases in employment in the Vietnam buildup have not reached the levels of the Korean buildup. Table 3 shows the figures for two defense-oriented industries—the ordnance and aircraft industries. By December of the build-up year, employment in these two industries had increased by about 39 percent in the Korean period, and only by about 15 percent in the Vietnam period.

2. Copper and Aluminum

Examples of the impact of the defense buildup on materials are taken from the copper and aluminum industries. Both of these materials are used heavily in defense production, both were in short supply in the Korean period and both are in short supply now (copper especially).

The percentage of copper shipments going to military uses is shown in table 4 (not printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD). The set-asides (i.e., the amount of copper set aside by BDSA in anticipation of defense needs) have increased in anticipation of increased defense use in fiscal year 1966. But even the set-asides, which are less than the direct shipments, are only 8 percent of the total shipments, while direct military shipments at the time of Korea reached 17.5 percent of the total.

The pattern is similar for aluminum as shown in table 5 (not printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD). The percentage of shipments going to military uses has recently increased, but is still only about one-third of the percentage which went to military uses at the time of Korea. Table 5 shows also that the dollar value of aluminum shipments used by defense today is about the same as Korea. The lower percentage is a result of a larger total industry output.

3. The Aircraft Industry

The pattern for the final output aircraft industry is not unlike the pattern for the copper and aluminum materials industries. The percentage of military shipments to total shipments is much lower now than at the time of Korea. This is shown in table 6 (not printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD). In the aircraft industry, however, the military percentage has continued to drop and, contrary to the copper and aluminum cases, civilian shipments have substantially increased. Since 1964 the heaviest increase in shipments has gone to civilian, not military uses.

C. Civilian impact

1. These examples suggest that other factors, besides the military buildup, are influencing the present shortages. In the Korean period, as the military shipments of these goods increased, civilian shipments either decreased or increased at a lower rate. In the Vietnam buildup, civilian shipments continued and, in the case of aircraft, increased their upward climb.

2. The curtailed civilian shipments during the Korean period were the result of Government controls. Considering the smaller impact of the present buildup, this is not necessary. Since the military sector is now smaller than at the time of Korea and consequently the civilian sector is larger, other methods of decreasing civilian consumption are more appealing and are being considered. Specifically, tighter fiscal and monetary measures may be desirable.

3. One example—the most important example—of increased pressure from the civilian sector should be mentioned. This is the recent growth in business fixed investment. For the last 2 years (1964 and 1965) business fixed investment has been growing at twice the rate that GNP has grown. Even more significant is that many of the new projections into 1966 show a further increase.

This increase began before the Vietnam buildup and is therefore due less to increases in defense spending than it is to other favorable economic factors—high utilization rates, available financing, and better future returns (i.e., lower corporate rates, liberalized depreciation rules, etc.). In short, this is a very likely target for fiscal and monetary policy aimed at easing demand pressure in the economy.

4. But timing economic policy to coordinate with economic impact is another matter. The impact of defense spending takes place in advance of actual expenditures. It is on the strength of defense contracts let that people are hired, machinery purchased, raw materials accumulated and production started. The later delivery of the defense goods (and expenditures for them) do not indicate an impact on the economy but rather a transfer to the Government of goods in business inventory which had been gradually building in value.

The real economic impact then takes place very early in the buildup. This is what happened in Korea when in fiscal year 1951 total obligational authority increased by 68 percent and the value of DOD prime contract awards was almost six times greater than the previous year. Although the major increases in expenditures did not come until 1952 and 1953, it was in 1951 that the major increase in production of defense equipment took place. This can be seen in table 7.

Turning to the Vietnam buildup, we find roughly the same thing happening. Under present projections, the direct obligations and total obligational authority are highest in fiscal year 1966 while expenditures are not expected to reach their peak until fiscal year 1967. In other words, if the present projections are correct, we are feeling the major impact of the buildup now and fiscal year 1967 will bring some relief.

For economic policy purposes this means that if the present projections are correct, tighter tax and monetary policy initiated now (because of the usual lags) will not take effect until fiscal year 1967 when the worst may be over. If present projections are not correct and if a new supplemental is needed in fiscal year 1967 the decision on tax increases should wait until some idea of the size and distribution of that supplemental have been determined.

TABLE 1.—*Percentage of labor force unemployed before and during Korean and Vietnam buildups*

	Percent
KOREA	
1949	5.9
1950	5.3
1951	3.3
1952	3.1
1953	2.9
1954	5.6
VIETNAM	
1964	5.2
1965	4.6
1966 (January)	4.0
1966 (February)	3.7

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[1] All calculations are based on defense expenditures and fiscal years.

TABLE 2.—*Manpower requirements of defense (Armed Forces and civilian)*

	Total labor force (including Armed Forces)	Defense			
		Armed Forces	Civilian	Total	Percent total to labor force
	Millions	*Millions*	*Millions*	*Millions*	
Korean period:					
1950	64.7	1.7	0.7	2.4	3.7
1951	66.0	3.1	1.1	4.2	6.4
1952	66.6	3.6	1.2	4.8	7.2
1953	67.3	3.5	1.2	4.7	7.0
Current period:					
1964	77.0	2.7	.9	3.6	4.7
1965	78.4	2.7	.9	3.6	4.6
1966 (estimated)	80.0	3.0	1.0	4.0	5.0
1967 (estimated)	81.5	3.1	1.0	4.1	5.0

TABLE 3.—*Aircraft and ordnance industries—Comparative increases in employment during the buildup year 1950 versus 1965*

[January=100]

	Previous year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Aircraft and parts:													
1950	100	100	100	100	101	101	102	102	108	114	122	130	137
1965	101	100	98	100	101	102	101	104	106	108	110	113	116
Ordnance and accessories:													
1950	100	100	100	106	106	112	112	112	118	130	130	135	141
1965	96	100	100	101	102	102	105	104	106	109	111	112	114

TABLE 7.—*Federal Reserve Board index of production of defense equipment during Korean and Vietnam buildups*

[1957–59=100]

	Index	Change from previous year
Korean period:		
June 1949	24.2	
June 1950	24.5	+0.3
June 1951	67.8	+43.3
June 1952	95.2	+27.4
June 1953	116.2	+21.0
June 1954	100.5	−15.7
Current period:		
June 1964	108.1	
June 1965	112.3	+4.2
January 1966	127.6	+15.3

McNAMARA, NOT THE CONGRESS, SHOULD RUN THE PENTAGON

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, William White, in this morning's Washington Post, makes one of the most thoughtful and balanced observations I have read on the red-hot controversy between Secretary of Defense McNamara and his congressional critics.

White acknowledges the competence and sincerity of the able men in Congress who have hit the Secretary of Defense with a series of criticisms lately. But he concludes rightly that Congress cannot and should not make the tactical decisions for our military forces.

Certainly, when the Secretary of Defense is, as White says, able, devoted, and tireless, he should be allowed to exert the civilian control over this powerful military establishment which is all but impossible if alliances of disgruntled military men and powerful congressional groups are determined to block him.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article written by William S. White, "Should Congress Run the Pentagon?" printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE REAL ISSUE: SHOULD CONGRESS RUN THE PENTAGON?

(By William S. White)

Congressional attacks on Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara are reaching a pitch of violence rarely seen even in that desperately difficult post of Government.

As though the long burdens of the Vietnam war had not already put enough trouble on his plate, McNamara is now being hit from both sides of the Capitol for administrative decisions which are clearly within his proper responsibilities.

A House Armed Services Subcommittee denounces him in the harshest of terms for ordering a cutback in heavy-bomber production—and in the process gives what he declares is a "shockingly distorted picture" of what occurred and why.

The Senate Armed Services Committee follows up with an attack upon him for refusing to push a certain costly antimissile system.

The suggestion in both cases is that he has refused to accept professional military advice; in a word, that he had become an unduly one-man head of the Pentagon.

No outsider, however diligent, however objective, however earnest, can possibly hope to sort out the rights or wrongs of these particular decisions by the Secretary. Nor can it be said by fair men that these congressional groups are irresponsible or mere headline hunters.

Neither committee is, by congressional standards, normally motivated by cheap politics or by the mere thirst for attention. And McNamara, for his part, is totally unpartisan and unpolitical; this nobody really denies.

Brought into the Cabinet by the late President Kennedy, he was beforehand an inactive Republican.

Too, he came into Government at staggering personal sacrifice—a sacrifice involving millions of dollars, as former president of the Ford Motor Co.

The real question, therefore, cannot go to the motives of McNamara's critics, nor to his. The real question is not even whether he is right or wrong in these details of his administrative actions. Truly involved are incomparably larger issues. Can Congress rightfully or usefully interfere in the purely tactical operations of the Pentagon? If so, can any Secretary, however able, however devoted, however tireless (and these three qualities McNamara possesses, by all by common consent) run the Pentagon?

The Constitution empowers Congress to raise armies. But it does not empower Congress to decide precisely how the total military dollar is to be cut up as between one tactical military system and another. This is, for better or worse, the lawful province of the Secretary of Defense, operating under the ultimate authority of the President.

Somebody has got to be trusted to make these decisions; and under our system that somebody is currently McNamara.

Moreover, the same Congress that chivvies McNamara about the hows of dollar-splitting also holds him strictly to account for the total costs of his department. At one and the same time it demands that he practice economy and that he allocate more money to this or that project that he thinks neither desirable or defensible.

Through the whole history of the unified Defense Department there has run a persistent thread of danger. Can any Secretary maintain there the full civilian authority that our Constitution demands so long as disappointed military officers can find congressional support for bucking his orders?

This is, at the end of it all, really the stake in this controversy. This is precisely what has been the real stake in every such congressional controversy that has involved every single strong Secretary we have had. The weak and the complacent ones have had no trouble in Congress.

Now, to speak of the actual or probable destruction of McNamara would be premature in the extreme. But all concerned—and most of all the abler Members of Congress themselves—should most carefully ponder whether his row can conceivably be worth its possible ultimate cost.

Already other good heads over the Pentagon have been bloodied—Neil McElroy for the Republicans, James Forrestal for the Democrats. It needs no other victims.

EVEN OUR MOST SUCCESSFUL FARMERS SUFFER SERIOUS INCOME LOSS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, some time ago, the former Director of the Budget, Kermit Gordon, suggested that the low-income problem of the farms in this country was confined to those farmers with gross—and I emphasize gross—incomes of less than $100,000 a year.

These farmers, according to Gordon—who, incidentally, is an unusually able and honest man—have no real problem in earning an adequate income. They constitute, according to Gordon, about 40 percent of the farmers in the country and produce the overwhelming majority of the Nation's commercial farm crop.

Many, perhaps most, of the Nation's press and Members of Congress accepted the Budget Director's analysis as right. In doing so, they were wrong.

Up-to-date figures are hard to come by on this score, but I have recently been able to secure some figures that show just how sadly mistaken Mr. Gordon was.

The most recently available figures are from 1959, but I am sure they would be similar for other years—before and after.

These figures show that in 1959, over one-fifth of the class I farms—that is, those with sales of $40,000 and more—yielded cash incomes of less than $3,000 to the families operating them. Now, this was a gross of $40,000, not $10,000, and $3,000 is the poverty level. Consider the farms with gross over $10,000, the 818,000 farms with annual sales of $10,000 and more, almost a quarter of a million, or almost one-third, returned to their operator families less than $3,000 in cash.

Mr. President, these are the most efficient producers in our society. These are the farmers who have doubled their productivity in the past 12 years, who have vastly increased their investment; and these are the minority of farmers whose gross income exceeds $10,000 a year.

The farmer—even the relatively successful farmer—has been and still is being left out of our prosperity. Members of Congress should not deceive themselves on this score.

AMENDMENT OF SECTION 39b OF THE BANKRUPTCY ACT

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1924) to amend section 39b of the Bankruptcy Act so as to prohibit a part-time referee from acting as trustee or receiver in any proceeding under the Bankruptcy Act which were, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

> That the second and third sentences of paragraph b of section 39 of the Bankruptcy Act (11 U.S.C. 67b) are amended to read as follows:
>
> "Active full-time referees shall not exercise the profession or employment of counsel or attorney, or be engaged in the practice of law; nor act as trustee or receiver in any proceeding under this Act. Active part-time referees, and referees receiving benefits under paragraph (1) of subdivision (d) of section 40 of this Act, shall not practice as counsel or attorney nor act as trustee or receiver in any proceeding under this Act."

And to amend the title so as to read: "An Act to amend section 39b of the Bankruptcy Act so as to prohibit referees from acting as trustees or receivers in any proceeding under the Bankruptcy Act."

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, the bill which I introduced in the Senate provided for the amendment of section 39b of the Bankruptcy Act so as to prohibit a part-time referee from acting as trustee or receiver in any proceeding under the Bankruptcy Act.

The House amended the bill also to prohibit a full-time referee from so acting. While I know of no instance in the past where a full-time referee so acted, there is no objection to the amendment of the bill so as to prohibit the possibility of such a situation in the future.

I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

"REVOLUTION ABROAD"—SPEECH BY SENATOR FULBRIGHT OF ARKANSAS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on April 27, the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], delivered the second in a series of three addresses—in the Christian Herter series.

This second lecture is entitled, "Revolution Abroad," and was made at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies on yesterday.

I would point out that the series, so far, has caused a good deal of comment and some controversy, but as in all speeches by the distinguished Senator—as is usual—there is much food for thought and consideration.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the second Christian Herter lecture, delivered by the distinguished chairman [Mr. FULBRIGHT], entitled "Revolution Abroad," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the lecture was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REVOLUTION ABROAD

In many parts of the world revolutions are being made and in many still quiet places they are in the making, not by the silent and demoralized poor but by a new generation of powerful and charismatic leaders who are arousing the masses from their inertia, inspiring them with anger and hope, and giving them the discipline that turns numbers into strength. Some of these new revolutionaries are democrats but most of them are not. Their principal purpose in any case is to modernize rather than democratize and they are more interested in material results than in abstract ideals. Whatever ideology they begin with or profess, they soon enough discover that the success of their revolutions turns on social and economic achievement and that political ideals are of relevance only insofar as they advance or obstruct the struggle to modernize.

The question therefore remains whether the future course of revolution will be peaceful or violent, democratic or totalitarian. Present prospects, I think, are for more upheavals that are violent and undemocratic, because recent experiments in peaceful revolution have thus far been disappointing and authoritarian methods seem to promise greater and faster results. (In making this observation, I would emphasize that I am predicting violence, not advocating it.) In truth, I deplore violence and all that accompanies it, but I also seek understanding. With few exceptions the nations that have tried to carry out social revolution by democratic means have faltered in their efforts and there seems to be a growing conviction that the task of modernization is too large and too socially disruptive to be accomplished by voluntary methods, a growing conviction that in a society in revolution, as in an army at war, there is no place for democracy except as a distant dream.

I am inclined to the view that we have been overly sanguine about the possibilities of social revolution by peaceful means. The reconstruction of a traditional society requires great discipline and enormous human sacrifices: not only must the rich be persuaded to give up privileges which they regard as their birthright, but the poor, who have practically nothing, must be gotten for a time to do with even less in order to provide investment capital. From what we know of history and human nature there is little reason indeed to expect people to make these sacrifices willingly; there is, on the contrary, a great deal of reason to expect the privileged classes of the emerging countries to use every available means to defend their privileges.

Revolution by peaceful means, is an historical rarity. In the West, England, some of her colonial heirs, and a few of the smaller European countries made the transition from autocracy to democracy and from feudalism to modernism by more or less—I emphasize less—peaceful means, but these were countries, by and large, which enjoyed some extraordinary advantage of wealth, location, or tradition. The other great European nations—notably France, Italy, Germany, and Russia—came to be what they are today only after violent internal upheavals; nor did any of these countries, it is interesting to note, escape some reversion to dictatorship after an initial experiment in democracy.

It requires the optimism of Dr. Pangloss to expect Asian and Latin American nations, beset as they are with problems of poverty and population unknown in the West, to achieve by peaceful means what nations with vastly greater advantages were able to achieve only by violent revolution. History does not repeat itself and there is probably no such thing as an inevitability, but the past does suggest certain limits of probability and certain likelihoods. The likelihood that it suggests for the "third world" of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is not a smooth transition to democracy but an extended time of troubles, not a rapidly improving life for the ordinary man but a period of painful sacrifices enforced by authoritarian leaders though mitigated in the better run societies by some equity in the sharing of the sacrifices.

These prospects are probable rather than inevitable; they are anything but desirable. I think that we must continue to do what we can—more indeed by far than we are doing now—to improve the chances of peaceful and democratic social revolution in the underdeveloped world. We would do well, however, to stop deluding ourselves about the likelihood of success. We would do well, for example, to stop proclaiming the triumph of the Alliance for Progress because 500,000 units of housing were built in Latin America in 1965—of which, in fact, only 60,000 were attributable to the Alliance for Progress—when the more pertinent fact is that the number of families needing housing increased by 1½ million. We must stop fooling ourselves about economic progress in many of the countries that receive American aid and acknowledge that the magnitude of the problem is vastly disproportionate to what is being done or is now likely to be done to overcome it; we must face the fact that democratic methods are more often failing than succeeding in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and that, as rapidly growing populations continue to press on slowly growing economies, violent upheavals are not only possible but very likely indeed.

In confrontations with social revolution we Americans are emotionally and intellectually handicapped in three respects: First, by the fact that we ourselves are an unrevolutionary society; second, by the absence of a genuine feeling of empathy for revolutionary movements—which is the result not of hard-heartedness but of our own lack of experience with social revolution; and third, by a national mythology, cultivated in Fourth of July speeches and slick publications, which holds that we are a revolutionary society, that ours indeed was the "true" revolution which ought to be an inspiration for every revolutionary movement in the world.

We are never going to have much understanding of revolutions until we become clear on exactly what constitutes a revolution and what does not. Part of the problem is the imprecision of language. Just as the word "morality" can be used to describe attitudes of both tolerant humanitarianism and self-righteous puritanism, the word "revolutionary" can be applied to phenomena ranging from Robespierre's terror to a newly marketed laundry soap or hair spray.

For purposes of clarity, therefore, I suggest the following distinction: a true revolution is almost always violent and usually it is extremely violent; its essence is the destruction of the social fabric and institutions of a society and an attempt, not necessarily successful to create a new society with a new social fabric and new institutions. The great English reform acts of the 19th century, the American New Deal and the Great Society were not revolutions; they were rather antidotes to revolution, timely measures of reform that met rising popular demands sufficiently to head off revolutionary pressures.

I do not know why some Americans take it so hard when it is suggested that their society is an unrevolutionary one. It seems to me that our essential conservatism is the result and the reward for one of the world's most strikingly successful experiments in popular government. We had one revolution, a limited but successful one, nearly two centuries ago, and then another revolution, a tragic and abortive one, a century later. Since then we have had no violent upheaval because we have not needed one, because our institutions have proven durable and flexible, capable of gradual and orderly change as America grew from an isolated society to the richest and most powerful Nation in the world. Revolution after all is not in itself a blessing; it is the product of social and political failure and its sole merit is that it provides the means to dispose of atrophied institutions and introduce the hope of social justice. Far from being distressed by the suggestion that ours is an unrevolutionary society, that fact should be taken as a mark of success and a reason for pride. Jefferson once asked, "What country before ever existed a century and a half without a rebellion." We have not yet reached that mark but we are approaching it; we are approaching it because the Revolution of 1776 was a success, because the system it created has proven responsive to changing human needs.

Our lack of understanding—or empathy—for the great revolutions of our time is thus the result of success and good fortune. It is nonetheless an obstacle to perception and a problem of policy because our success has placed us outside of a large part of the common human experience. It is important, therefore, that we set aside false analogies and recognize the social revolutions of the third world as alien phenomena, as something indeed to which American experience has little relevance but something nonetheless that warrants our sympathy and support.

As Crane Brinton pointed out in his classic study, great revolutions are characterized by certain uniformities—not identities but similarities of phase and development. The study of these similarities can help Americans to understand phenomena that are outside their own experience. An examination of past revolutions—such as the English, French, or Mexican revolutions—may also suggest that much of what we find shocking and barbarous in present-day China or Cuba, or Russia in the twenties and thirties, may have more to do with a particular stage of revolution that with Communist ideology.

Great revolutions pass through more or less similar and identifiable stages. Eric Hoffer suggests that revolutions are prepared by "men of words"—intellectuals, that is, such as Rousseau, Mazzini, and Marx—carried to fulfillment by "fanatics"—such as Robespierre, Lenin, and Trotsky—and finally brought back to earth by "practical men of action," men like Cromwell, Bonaparte, and Stalin." In Crane Brinton's analysis, there is a tendency for great revolutions to be preceded by the demoralization of a traditional ruling class and to be characterized thereafter, first by the rule of moderates, then by the rule of extremists, whose extremism degenerates into terror and who then are displaced by more practical men who bring the society back to normalcy and routine, to the stage known in the French Revolution as "Thermidor."

The acute phase of any revolution is the rule of the extremists. They are brought to power by the dynamism of violent change, which, once begun, feeds upon itself, breeding fanaticism. As Brinton puts it, "The normal social roles of realism and idealism are reversed in the acute phases of a revolution."

The extremists of great revolutions—English, French, Russian, Chinese or Cuban—have demonstrated certain common characteristics, regardless of the ideology they have professed. First and foremost, whatever their beliefs, they have professed them with fanatical intolerance and a ruthless idealism that is used to justify acts of great cruelty against opponents. In addition, they all have practiced many of the same techniques of revolutionary action, including propagandizing, parading, street fighting, terrorism, nonviolence, guerrilla warfare, and other techniques in varying combinations.

Once in power, the extremists abandon or betray whatever previous interest they had in liberties and legalities and they proceed to carry out their programs—or try to—in an authoritarian manner. To some degree dictatorship is inherent in the revolutionary process—quite apart from the aims and ideology of the revolution—because revolutions break down the laws and customs of a society and force becomes necessary to prevent anarchy. Robespierre described this particular phenomenon as the despotism of liberty against tyranny; Marx called it the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The extremists also tend to be ascetic and puritanical. When the Bolsheviks first came to power in Russia, people in the West predicted the reign of license and debauchery but, just like the Chinese today, the Bolsheviks turned out to be as prudish and aggressively virtuous as seventeenth century Calvinists. Even today Russia is surely one of the world's most puritanical societies.

It is the effort to remake human nature, to force the soup steaming hot down the ordinary citizen's throat, that generates the terror in a revolution but ends with the moderation of Thermidor when it becomes clear that human nature will simply not allow itself to be instantaneously remade. The period of terror represents an overshooting of the revolutionary mark, a foredoomed effort to close the gap between human nature and human aspirations. The ordinary man is pushed to the limits of endurance; he longs for a return to routine; he becomes fed up with the steady diet of virtue and self-sacrifice and longs to be left alone with his ordinary pleasures and vices. Societies like individuals can endure only a limited dose of virtue and high ideals, only so much of the effort to bring heaven to earth. When they have had their fill, the revolution abates and the terror gives way to the Thermidorean reaction.

Thermidor does not mean the undoing of the revolution; it is rather a coming back to earth, the abatement of fanaticism, a reassertion of human nature and a return to everyday living. As Brinton wrote some years ago, "there is no eternal fanaticism or, at any rate, there has not yet been an eternal fanaticism. Christian and Moslem have not come to understand one another, but they have come to abstain from holy wars against one another. The odds are that even with Lenin and Stalin as its prophets, communism will prove a less intractable faith than Islam."

In Latin America and in Asia, where great revolutions have taken place and others may still occur, American policy has been weakened by a seeming inability to believe in the tractability of communism or the abatement of its fanaticism and by a permeating inability to understand why the peoples of these continents cannot remake their societies by the same orderly processes that have worked so well in the United States. The result is that, despite our genuine sympathy for those who cry out against poverty and social injustice, and despite the material support which we give to many of the poor nations of the world, our sympathy dissolves into hostility when reform becomes revolution; and when communism is involved, as it often is, our hostility takes the form of unseemly panic.

On the basis of past and present American policies toward China and Vietnam, toward Cuba and the Dominican Republic, we seem to be narrowing our criteria of what constitute "legitimate" and "acceptable" social revolutions to include only those which meet the all but impossible tests of being peaceful, orderly, and voluntary—of being, that is, in what we regard as our own splendid image. At the same time, our abhorrence for violence from the left has been matched by no such sensibilities when the violence comes from the right. Thus it has come about that our sympathy for social revolution in principle is increasingly belied by hostility in practice.

The Dominican Republic is an example. In a Senate speech last year, I suggested that the central fact about American intervention in the Dominican Republic was that we had closed our minds to the causes and to the essential legitimacy of revolution in a country in which democratic procedures had failed. The involvement of an undetermined number of Communists in the Dominican revolution was judged to discredit the entire reformist movement, like poison in a well, and rather than use our considerable resources to compete with the Communists for influence with the democratic forces who actively solicited our support, we intervened militarily on the side of a corrupt and reactionary military oligarchy. We, thus, lent credence to the idea that the United States is the enemy of social revolution—and, therefore, the enemy of social justice—in Latin America.

The reward for our Dominican intervention has been neither stability nor democracy, but a spreading conviction among younger Latin Americans that there may be no alternative to the rule of oligarchies short of revolution on the Cuban model. The bitterness that is felt toward the United States is, to be sure, exaggerated, emotional, and, insofar as it is based on exceptional instances, unjustified as well. The more important fact, however, is its extent and intensity.

Two Latin American countries—Cuba and Mexico—have had thorough-going social revolutions in this century. Both were violent; both inflicted suffering and injustice on great numbers of innocent people; both, in their initial stages, provoked unsuccessful military intervention by the United States. The Cuban revolution, in Crane Brinton's frame of reference, is still under the rule of extremists, although their extremism seems to be abating. Mexico, long past its Thermidor and now a one-party democracy, maintains friendly and dignified relations with the United States despite the fact—I rather think because of the fact—that it is freer of United States influence than most Latin American countries. I think that there is something to be learned from a reexamination of the Cuban and Mexican revolutions.

However impure the Marxism of the Cuban revolution, it is unquestionably Cuban. Chairman Khrushchev is said to have told President Kennedy at Vienna that he did not consider Fidel Castro to be a "real" Communist; no one has persuasively suggested that he is not a "real" Cuban nationalist, albeit a violent, undemocratic, and anti-American Cuban nationalist.

Castro, according to American and European visitors, is highly popular with the Cuban people. C. K. McClatchy of the Sacramento Bee, who visited Cuba in the summer of 1965, reported that Fidel, as he is generally called, is a national hero. He is admired because he can cut sugarcane faster than any other Cuban, because he can hit a baseball like Mickey Mantle, because he can talk longer and more eloquently than any man alive. He is admired, says McClatchy, because he "personifies the revolution."

How can it be that a government which suppresses individual liberties, a government which immediately upon winning power executed its enemies after kangaroo trials held in a stadium, a government which held the courageous men of the Bay of Pigs for ransom by the United States, can be anything but feared and detested by its own people? The answer, I think, lies in such facts as the following:

Before the revolution there was only one small strip of public beach among the 22 miles of beaches surrounding Havana; now all beaches are open to the public and they are enjoyed by thousands of Cubans who did not have access to them before.

Education has been drastically renovated. Illiteracy has been greatly reduced and there are twice as many schools now as before the revolution. A Havana university student told Mr. McClatchy: "Before only the children of the rich could come. Now everyone who is qualified is admitted."

Formerly landless peasants now work on cooperatives or have been given small plots of expropriated land. State workers receive housing, medical care, and a wage.

Almost everybody above school age has a job; before the revolution the level of unemployment was about 20 percent, one of the highest in the world.

Children are well fed; every child up to the age of 7, reports McClatchy, gets a quart of milk a day.

Most important of all is the sense of dignity and national pride associated with the revolution. These feelings, at least for the time being, seem to compensate for the chronic poverty which afflicts them. After six decades of being an economic colony of the United States, Cubans are immensely proud of Castro's successful defiance of the North American giant. The continuing hostility of the United States undoubtedly strengthens Castro's aura of courageous independence.

Perhaps there never was a chance for peaceful, democratic revolution in Cuba. Explaining how and why he became a Marxist-Leninist in an interview with Herbert Matthews on October 29, 1963, Castro said that he had entered college imbued with the ideas of his birth and upbringing as the son of a landowner educated by Jesuits. He read Marxist literature while a student and then in 1953, at his trial for participating in the student attack on the Moncada Barracks in Santiago, he outlined what he called "a very radical revolution," but, as he told Matthews, "I thought that it could be done under the Constitution of 1940 and within a democratic system." His conversion, Castro told Matthews, was "a gradual process, a dynamic process in which the pressure of events forced me to accept Marxism as the answer to what I was seeking." Castro said that the American reaction to his "agrarian reform" of May 1959 "made me realize that there was no chance to reach an accommodation with the United States." "So," said Castro, "as events developed, I gradually moved into a Marxist-Leninist position. I cannot tell you just when, the process was so gradual and natural."

In its eighth year the Cuban revolution may be emerging from extremism into its period of Thermidor. The process, as I have said, is one that other great revolutions have gone through: the French revolution was finally institutionalized by the Third Republic, the Russian Revolution by Stalin and perhaps more even by Khrushchev. In each case the transition was characterized not by the abandonment of revolutionary ideology but by its gradual transformation from practical policy to patriotic liturgy.

A more relevant example for Latin America is the Mexican revolution which broke out in 1910 and only began to be institutionalized after a decade of extreme violence marked by lootings, burnings, and antireligious atrocities. The Mexican revolution was a class war in which landlords were murdered and foreign properties expropriated. In the first years of the revolution the United States invaded Mexico twice, once by sea at Vera Cruz to avenge an insult to the flag, once by land in fruitless pusuit of the bandit Pancho Villa.

The United States was diverted from Mexico by its involvement in the First World War, but after the war there was mounting agitation to occupy Mexico and suppress the revolution. President Coolidge, a man endowed with the virtue of humility, if not with many others, avoided intervention and sent to Mexico City an emissary, Dwight Morrow, who successfully negotiated the issue of expropriated American oil and mineral rights. Then, in a flourish of good will, Morrow persuaded the aviator Charles Lindbergh to fly his plane to Mexico City.

Mexico is now politically stable and its economy is developing at an impressive rate. Mexico disagreed with the United States over the Dominican intervention and, prior to that, over the expulsion of Cuba from the Organization of American States; in addition, the Mexicans maintain diplomatic relations with Cuba and operate an airline between Mexico City and Havana. Mexico is also on better terms with the United States than most of the countries of Latin America, not, I think, in spite of its independence but because of its independence.

It was this independence, I feel sure, that made it possible and natural for the Mexican people to receive President Johnson with friendliness and enthusiasm; and it was the fact that he cannot be suspected of being an American puppet that made it possible and natural for President Diaz Ordaz to join his people in that warm welcome. The relations of the two countries are characterized by mutual respect and self-respect, and it all began when the United States came to terms with the Mexican revolution 40 years ago.

I am not so incautious as to predict that relations between the United States and the Cuban revolution will come to the same happy outcome, but neither would I rule it out. It has happened before and with wisdom and patience and time it may happen again.

Throughout Latin America the revolutionary spirit is rising. Many Latin Americans, including an impressive number of the younger Catholic clergy, are striving to make a reality of the "revolution in freedom" proclaimed by President Frei of Chile. There is a chance that they will succeed but neither the historical odds nor the scale of the effort being made under the Alliance for Progress provide much basis for optimism. The hard fact of the matter is that conditions are deteriorating in Latin America at a pace and on a scale that overweigh all current efforts to reverse the tide. As the pressures of uncontrolled population growth mount, more and more Latin Americans are likely to adopt the attitude of a despairing young father in the Lima slums—he could as well have been living in Rio or Recife, in a Haitian village or the mountains of Bolivia—who told an American writer: "I would rather grab a gun and impose my kind of justice than see my children starve."

Somewhere in the mountains of Colombia there lies in an unmarked grave the body of a young priest who had been shot down at the head of a Communist guerrilla band. His name was Camilo Torres and he was a member of one of Colombia's most aristocratic families. Having asked to be relieved of his clerical duties, he went into the hills in November 1965 because, he said, "Every sincere revolutionary must recognize the way of arms as the only way that remains." One may hope that Father Torres was wrong, but he may have been right. The day after he died placards appeared on the walls of the university in Bogota. They said: "Camilo, we shall not weep for you. We shall avenge you."

In Asia as in Latin America, we have given our opposition to communism priority over our sympathy for nationalism because we have regarded communism as a kind of absolute evil, as a totally pernicious doctrine which deprives the people subjected to it of freedom, dignity, happiness, and the hope of ever acquiring them. I think that this view of communism is implicit in much of American foreign policy; I think it is the principal reason for our involvement in Vietnam and for the implacable hostility to China which only now is beginning slightly to abate. Perhaps.

The evil of communism, it seems to me, is not its doctrinal content, which at worst is utopian, but its fanatical certainty of itself, its messianic zeal, and its brutal intolerance of dissent. The evil of men like Lenin and Mao Tse-tung and Ho Chi Minh is not their philosophy but their fervor, the fact, in the words applied by Crane Brinton to revolutionary extremists in general, that "they combine, in varying degrees, very high ideals and a complete contempt for the inhibitions and principles which serve most other men as ideals." Or as Djilas said of Stalin: he was "one of those rare terrible dogmatists capable of destroying nine-tenths of the human race to 'make happy' the onetenth."

A very critical distinction must be made between Communist philosophy and the fervor with which it is practiced. It is the latter which rightly offends us, and, despite the fact that the doctrine itself has universal pretensions, messianism in practice is not so much a product of communism as a stage of revolution, a stage comparable to the period of terror in the French Revolution, a stage which the experience of past revolutions suggests is just about certain to be followed by a conservative reaction.

The stage of revolutionary extremism has in fact already begun to pass in a number of Communist countries, including the Soviet Union, whose commitment to world revolution is now more liturgical than political, so much so, in fact, that even Konrad Adenauer now apparently regards Russia as a country which supports peace.

(I have made a number of speeches about the Vietnamese war as a revolutionary conflict which has been expanded into an international conflict of ideologies. Instead of reviewing that tragic and complex situation, I should like to share with you tonight some thoughts about China, whose revolution, like the Russian Revolution, is an epochal event in world history.)

The Chinese revolution is still at floodtide, still confident of its ability to remake human nature, still messianic in its aims if not in its actions, still filled with passionate hostility to its foreign enemies, real and imaginary, still, in Crane Brinton's frame of reference, in its period of extremism, still unready for that coming down to earth which we call "Thermidor."

The Chinese revolution is more than a rebellion of the new against the old within China, such as the rising of the French republicans against the ancient regime or of the Russian Communists against the czarist regime. It is also the rebellion of a proud and ancient civilization against foreign powers—"barbarians" to the Chinese—who set up China in the 19th century with a fatal impact on China's economy, institutions, and national pride.

When at last China began to adopt Western techniques and Western technology, it was not out of a desire to become westernized in the way that Japan became westernized; still less did it demonstrate affection for the West. It was rather the precursor to one of the great revolutions of history, an effort to use Western techniques to throw off the power of the West, to "use foreign ways to protect Chinese ideas." Over half a century ago, in 1903, a group of young scholars passed through the provincial town of Neichiang on their way to Europe to study. These young men, the local newspaper commented, would bring back science, which would save China and make her strong and able to lift her head again. "We have been insulted enough," the newspaper said. "We have been treated with contempt enough. Now we shall stand on our own, equal to other nations, and those that have come to despoil us will return where they properly belong, to their own lands, and leave us in peace."

The measure of China's profound humiliation and anger is her great and ancient pride. China's pride is the product of a civilization which owed very little to contacts with foreigners, one which, until a century ago, had no important links with any civilization as powerful and developed as itself. The absence of any rival centers of culture and power instilled in the Chinese their sense of belonging to a civilization rather than to a state and also was responsible for their view of all foreigners as tributaries and barbarians.

China's historic pride is built on a great deal more than simple chauvinism. Before the time of Christ, the Chinese had developed the principles and methods which were to hold together their empire until the 20th century. In science and technology, as well as government, China was well ahead of Europe by the time Marco Polo visited it in the 13th century. China became the center of civilization in eastern Asia and it became the model for smaller states, such as Korea and Vietnam, whose rulers accepted the obligation of tribute to the Chinese Emperor as their suzerain. When European merchants and missionaries and buccaneers first came to China, they did not come to a land of primitives and savages. They came upon a rich and ancient civilization, but one which had fallen behind in its technology, especially its military technology, in part because, having been so powerful and secure for so long, the Chinese simply could not believe they might be attacked. The result was that they were thrown open to exploitation by foreigners whose ignorance of China was just about total, and whose power, in any case, vastly exceeded their wisdom.

The behavior of Europeans who went to China confirmed the Chinese view of them as "barbarians," while until the 19th century, the Chinese, in their ethnocentric pride, remained aloof, uninterested in the West and unable to believe that the "barbarians" could possibly have anything of value to offer. When King George III of England offered to send a permanent ambassador to Peking in 1793, the Emperor Ch'ien-lung grandly replied:

"As to the request made in your memorial, O King, to send one of your nationals to stay at the Celestial Court to take care of your country's trade with China, this is not in harmony with the state system of our dynasty and will definitely not be permitted * * *. The Celestial Court has pacified and possessed the territory within the four seas. Its sole aim is to do its utmost to achieve good government and to manage political affairs, attaching no value to strange jewels and precious objects * * *. As a matter of fact, the virtue and prestige of the Celestial Dynasty having spread far and wide, the kings of the myriad nations come by land and sea with all sorts of precious things. Consequently, there is nothing we lack, as your principal envoy and others have themselves observed. We have never set much store on strange or ingenious objects, nor do we need any more of your country's manufactures.

The West was not so easily to be put off. In the course of the 19th century, Western soldiers and traders and missionaries were to reduce China to a semicolonial status. It was the shock of this experience that spawned the Chinese revolution, now still at floodtide. "So complete was the disaster," says Professor Fairbank, "that a new order had to be built from the ground up. Western doctrines of all kinds were tried out. The thing that proved effective was the Leninist type of party dictatorship, an elite recruited under discipline according to a new orthodoxy, organized something like an old Chinese secret society, united in the effort to seize power and recreate a strong state. This nationalistic aim overrode every other consideration. The kind of Western individualism propagated by our missionaries had no chance."

Under the Western impact, an empire that had been superior to all others in its world was not only humbled but threatened with extinction. Words like "extraterritoriality" and "unequal treaties" are far too antiseptic, far too bland, to describe China's humiliation by Western imperialism. In human terms, the coming of Western civilization to China in the 19th century meant the plundering of China's wealth by foreigners and the reduction of most of the Chinese to a humiliating and inferior status in their own country.

Missionaries were immune from Chinese law and treated the Chinese as heathen, except, of course, for the converts who also claimed immunity from Chinese law and used the power conferred by their foreign association to intimidate their fellow citizens. Foreign goods were exempted by treaty from internal toll taxes imposed by the Manchu Dynasty to pay for the Taiping rebellion of the mid-19th century, with the result that Western companies destroyed their Chinese competitors in the sale of such products as timber, oil, tobacco and, of course, opium. Each of China's disastrous 19th century wars with the West was followed by the levy of a huge indemnity or some further incursion on the economic life of the country.

It would be hard to imagine a more immoral purpose for a war than that of the opium war of 1839 to 1842, the first of China's conflicts with the West, which was precipitated by the effort of the Chinese government to stop British traders from selling opium to the Chinese people. There is both pathos and pride in the vain appeal of the Commissioner Lin Tse-hsu to Queen Victoria:

"Even though the barbarians may not necessarily intend to do us harm, yet in coveting profit to an extreme, they have no regard for injuring others. Let us ask, where is your conscience? I have heard that the smoking of opium is very strictly forbidden by your country; that is because the harm caused by opium is clearly understood. Since it is not permitted to do harm to your own country, then even less should you let it be passed on to the harm of other countries—how much less to China! Of all that China exports to foreign countries, there is not a single thing which is not beneficial to people: they are of benefit when eaten, or of benefit when used, or of benefit when resold: all are beneficial. Is there a single article from China which has done any harm to foreign countries?"

The great Queen was unmoved and under the treaty which ended the opium war China was forced to cede Hong Kong as well as to open treaty ports for British trade, accept tariffs that could not be changed without Britain's consent, and, in addition, pay an indemnity to compensate the British for lost opium.

Following the British example, other powers exacted concessions from China through persuasion and the threat of force. The United States, for example, signed a treaty with China in 1844 under which the United States acquired trading priviliges and extraterritoriality for both civil and criminal cases.

The opium war exposed China's vulnerability and opened the way to extensive exploitation by foreign powers. In the 1850's, the British Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, judged that, "The time is fast approaching when we shall be obliged to strike another blow in China." In Palmerston's words, "these half-civilized governments such as those of China, Portugal, Spanish America * * * require a dressing down every 8 or 10 years to keep them in order."

The Chinese got many a dressing down in the years that followed. Under treaties imposed by the British and French after renewed warfare in the 1850's, new concessions were granted and old ones enlarged; more ports were opened, more authority over Chinese tariffs was acquired by the Europeans, more indemnities were paid, and the Chinese were compelled to cede Kowloon to England. One of the treaties included a provision for the protection of missionaries, since, in the words of the treaty, "the Christian religion, as professed by Protestants and Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by." The unequal treaties of 1842 and 1844, and of 1858 and 1860, formed the basis of China's relations with the West until the Second World War.

The Chinese had their difficulties with almost all of the great powers. In 1858 they were forced to cede to Russia all of the territories north of the Amur River and in 1860 the Russians demanded and received additional territory on the Pacific coast, including the area at which the port of Vladivostok was subsequently established; under these two treaties, Russia deprived China of a territory larger than Texas. I do not mean to belittle or minimize the size of Texas I may add. Japan attacked China in 1894 and acquired the island of Taiwan and extensive trade privileges. Having joined with the powers in forcing Japan to return the Liaotung Peninsula to China, Germany then forced China to reward her with a 99-year lease of the port and bay of Kiaochow. Russia demanded and received the lease of Port Arthur and Dairen and in 1898 France demanded and received an extensive sphere of influence in south China, including the lease of Kwangchow Bay for 99 years. The

British, not to be outdone, demanded and acquired control of the Chinese maritime customs, lease of a naval station at Weihaiwei, and the extension of the lease of Kowloon to 99 years.

China had become a virtual colony with many masters. "Yet," said Sun Yat-sen, then a rising revolutionary, in a truly memorable historical understatement, "none of the masters feels responsible for its welfare."

When the Boxers rose against the foreigners in 1900, an international rescue force made up of Japanese, Russians, British, Germans, French, and Americans was sent to relieve the besieged legations in Peking. The commander of the allied force, Field Marshal Count von Waldersee, was under instructions from the Kaiser "to give no quarter and to take no prisoners," so that "no Chinese will ever dare to look askance at a German." The Chinese were compelled to sign a new treaty under which the foreign powers received the right to station troops in their legation sites, a new Chinese tariff system was imposed, an indemnity was to be paid, and the Chinese were obliged to punish "war criminals."

The United States returned a large part of the $25 million which was its share of the Boxer indemnity with the provision that the fund be used to educate Chinese students in the United States. Many Americans have regarded this as an act of extraordinary philanthropy.

The United States thereafter announced its open-door policy toward China. The open-door policy purported to preserve the territorial integrity of China and to safeguard for all nations equal commercial access to China. Limited and ineffective as it was, the open-door policy induced the Chinese to think of the United States as the only major foreign power which might be thought of as their friend and possible protector. The open door remained the basis of American policy toward China until the Communists came to power in 1949 and closed China's door.

Political history hardly begins to convey the human effects of Western imperialism on the Chinese people. Something of the meaning of life in China under the impact of Western imperialism is conveyed by a Chinese engineer's account of his return to China in 1913 with his Belgian wife and son. He wrote as follows: "In Shanghai it was agony, for there it was only too plain that in my own country I was nothing but an inferior, despised being. There were parks and restaurants and hotels I could not enter, although she could. I had no rights on the soil of a Chinese city which did not belong to the Chinese * * *."

Some years earlier as a student in Shanghai the young man had written to his brother about his inability to understand the Europeans: "They always bewilder me," he wrote. "At once most ruthless in the pursuit of their interests, caring nothing for the wholesale misery they bring, at the same time their papers are full of verbiage of their nobility, rightness, and the good they do. They become indignant at our public executions, and our cruelty to dogs. Yet the record of their lootings and killings in our country shows no such correct compassion * * *." He continued: "They are illogical and incomprehensible, my brother. * * * They never know what they want, except that they always want more. Unbelievably rapacious, they yet weep tears when they give money to beggars. * * * I admire their inventiveness with machines, but I cannot admire anything else in them."

The Chinese revolutions of the 20th century were in great part spawned by the ravages of the West. Finding themselves militarily inferior to the West, but unshaken in their faith in the superiority of their own civilization, these Chinese undertook, first through the unsuccessful democratic revolution of Sun Yat-sen, then through the successful Communist revolution of Mao Tse-tung, to acquire those Western techniques of science and technology, of political organization and military power, which would make it possible to expel the West from China. It is ironic and significant that the Western political doctrine that China finally adopted was the one which the West itself had repudiated—Marxism.

China is still in the full tide of the longest and possibly the most complete revolution of the 20th century. From 1911 until 1949—38 years—the country was in constant war and chaos. Before order was restored by the Communists virtually all of China's ancient institutions and values had been shattered: the imperial dynasty, the classical system of education, Confucian ideas about the family and society.

The republic failed but the Russian Revolution had a profound impact on a demoralized China as an apparent model for converting a feudal society into a powerful modern nation almost overnight. The Kuomintang made some progress toward unifying the country in the twenties and thirties and, but for the Japanese war, the nationalists might have established their authority as a viable government of China. The Communists, on the other hand, as Prof. Benjamin Schwartz of Harvard has pointed out, built up a strong base in the countryside and won patriotic support, especially from young intellectuals, by actively fighting the Japanese while the Kuomintang remained passive, waiting for the Americans to overwhelm Japan. Greatly assisted by the incompetence and demoralization of the Kuomintang, the Chinese Communists emerged from the Second World War as the proponents of a genuine Chinese nationalism.

It is generally agreed by experts on China that the Communist regime has rooted itself in solid foundations of nationalism. C. P. Fitzgerald explains that Mao Tse-tung in effect has made Marxist ideas Chinese. These ideas are radically transforming Chinese society but have had much less significance for China's relations with the outside world than was once expected. "The Chinese view of the world has not fundamentally changed," writes Fitzgerald: "It has been adjusted to take account of the modern world, but only so far as to permit China to occupy, still, the central place in the picture. To do this it was necessary to accept from the West a new doctrine to replace the inadequate Confucian teaching, which was too limited. After a long struggle China found that the doctrine which suited her was the one which the West had repudiated: and it may well be that this in itself was a reason for making communism, the outcast of Western origin, welcome in China."

China has thus had two simultaneous revolutions in this century, one a domestic revolution which is almost totally reconstructing Chinese life and society, albeit within a familiar context of authoritarianism, the other a revolution against foreigners which is not so much revising China's relations with the outside world as trying to restore them to something resembling their character in the days of imperial greatness. While revolutionizing her society at home, China seems to be retaining—or, more accurately, to be reviving—her traditional view of her role in the world.

As between China's foreign and domestic revolutions, the emphasis, according to experts, has been and remains on the latter. Communist China's leaders, according to Prof. John Lindbeck, are specialists in domestic affairs but amateurs in international relations. Although they regard developments in China as "part of a larger transnational historic movement," the fundamental task which they have set for themselves, and one which absorbs by far the greater part of their resources and their attention, is the industrialization and social transformation of China. In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Prof. Morton Halperin made the same point. The Chinese leaders, he believes, "are anxious to turn in and focus their efforts even more than they have in the past on the domestic concerns of the Chinese revolution. * * * I believe that if the Chinese can become convinced that they do not face imminent threat of an American nuclear attack, they are likely to withdraw even more from the world while continuing to issue revolutionary proclamations and concentrate on their internal difficulties and opportunities."

These expert opinions are not easily reconciled with the official American view that China is embarked upon a campaign of unlimited conquest on the model of German aggression in the thirties. The basis currently cited in support of this view of China's intentions is the doctrine enunciated in September 1965 by the Chinese Minister of Defense Lin Piao. The Lin Piao doctrine divides the world into two parts, the "cities," so-called, consisting of the United States, Western Europe and the Soviet Union, and the "rural areas" of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which will gradually surround and conquor the cities in the same way that the Chinese Communists started from the countryside and gradually took over all of continental China.

All this, in Churchill's eloquent phrase, is "jaw jaw." It is a terrifying doctrine no doubt, but it is only a doctrine not an existing fact. The Chinese have a ferocious vocabulary but surely some distinction must be made between what they say and what they do, and between what they might like to do and what they are able or likely to be able to do. In Vietnam itself, one must remember, the United States has 250,000 troops and the Chinese have only work teams supporting the North Vietnamese.

The ferocity of Peking's language has obscured the fact that in practice China has tolerated a high degree of independence on the part of her neighbors, including those—perhaps especially those—which are not under the military protection of the United States. Burma, for example, despite the fact that it is weak and nonalined, remains independent and, so far as one can tell, untroubled by her Chinese neighbor. North Vietnam, despite its dependency on China for economic and logistical support for the prosecution of the war, remains substantially in command of its own affairs; and it seems logical to suppose that, if there were no war, if there were normal relations with the United States, North Vietnam would be even more independent of China. During and after the Korean war North Korea was occupied by hundreds of thousands of Chinese troops; then in 1958, despite the fact that there was no outside pressure to compel them to do so, the Chinese withdrew from North Korea, whereupon the North Koreans purged many pro-Chinese officials from their own government and acquired substantial freedom of action in their relations with both China and the Soviet Union.

One does not know, of course, but the thought that the Chinese, despite their colorful language, may actually not wish physically to subjugate their neighbors is less "unthinkable" on examination than it might at first glance appear.

Once again, there appears to be a discrepancy between myth and reality, between the American perception and a situation as it actually exists. Once again, it seems to me, the source of the distortion is the ideological prism through which America looks at the world. China is considered to be aggressive not on the basis of what her leaders do but rather on the basis of what they say or on the basis of their presumed intentions. China is not judged to be aggressive because of her actions; she is presumed to be aggressive because she is Communist.

Between America, perhaps the most unrevolutionary country in the world, and China, the most revolutionary, their lies a chasm of ignorance and misunderstanding. On February 10, 1966, there was a discussion of China in the British House of Lords. In a most interesting speech Lord Kennet said: "Those two countries understand each other so little. America speaks all of peace, but bombs China's neighbor. China watches her actions, and ignores her words. China speaks all of war, but there is not a single Chinese soldier outside China. America listens to her words, and ignores her actions. It is historically determined."

I hope that the failures of communication between China and the United States are not "historically determined," or at least not historically unalterable. I was told recently that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration is training porpoises for possible radio communications with intelligent beings in other solar systems or galaxies; what a shame that they cannot help open up communications between the Americans and the Chinese.

In a much less exotic way the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been trying, through the public hearings which I discussed in the first lecture, to establish some basis for communications between China and the United States. Some pertinent questions were raised and partially answered by the experts who testified before the committee, such questions as the following: What kind of people are the Chinese? To what extent are they motivated by national feeling? To what extent by ideology? Why are the Chinese Communist leaders so hostile to the United States and why do they advocate violent revolution against most of the world's governments? To what extent is their view of the world distorted by isolation and the memory of ancient grievances? and, To what extent, and with what effect on their Government, do the Chinese people share with us and with all other peoples what Aldous Huxley has called the simple human preference for life and peace?

We must seek answers to these questions if we are to reverse the drift toward war between China and the United States. We must gain some understanding of the great Chinese revolution—about its origins, about the stage of extremism in which it seems to be suspended, about its prospects for abating into Thermidor. Other violent revolutions have run their course and come to a kind of normalcy and the experts agree that some time in the future, perhaps when a new generation of leaders succeeds Mao and his colleagues, perhaps only after 2 or 3 generations, China will become a more or less normal society with more or less normal relations with the outside world.

The critical questions for America are whether, by being so hostile, we are not helping to perpetuate the extremist phase of the Chinese revolution and whether, by trying to draw China out of isolation, we could not encourage her progress toward moderation. My own view is that American hostility is prolonging the extremist phase of the Chinese revolution and my hope is that one day soon we will moderate our hostility and offer to China the hand of friendship, knowing full well that it is almost certain to be rejected but knowing as well that honest and repeated offers of friendship may weaken the Chinese image of a hostile America and hasten the day of China's Thermidor.

China's ancient pride may be an obstacle to communication, but it also provides an opportunity—the opportunity to breach the barrier of mistrust and hostility by treating China with the respect that is her due as a great and ancient civilization. With a great deal of patience and perception on our part, China may be brought to alter her view of herself as the celestial empire in a world of barbarians; she may come, very gradually, to see herself as one of a number of great civilizations, with much to offer but also much to gain in relations with the outside world.

I am well aware that what I propose is something more—perhaps a great deal more—than reciprocity. I do so in the belief that, in her own national interest, and in the interest of peace, America as the stronger nation—stronger in wealth, stronger in arms, and stronger in political tradition—has an obligation of magnanimity toward a nation just emerging from a century of crisis and humiliation. It is small-minded and unworthy when American officials reply to proposed initiatives toward China by citing the number of futile encounters in Warsaw or by demanding to know "what they have offered us." "Magnanimity in politics," said Burke, "is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together."

MONTANA AND THE JOB CORPS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, one of the major programs within the administration's antipoverty program is the Job Corps. It is my understanding that the program is designed to take youngsters from unfortunate surroundings and expose them to education, training, and guidance, preparing them for a more worthwhile role in our society. The program takes these people from their home environment and places them in camps throughout the country. There are now three Job Corps camps in my State of Montana.

The basic idea of the Job Corps is fine, but I have become somewhat concerned about its implementation, the screening process used in filling the camps and overall inadequacies in the administration of the program. First of all, it seems to me that everyone was in too big a hurry to get the first camps operating, too little time was given to the screening of Job Corps applicants. There is a need to be more selective. There are many who can be helped and who are willing to be helped. These camps should be limited to those who have given some indication that they want to be helped and are willing to try. It was not my intention to support the establishment of three reformatories in my State. There have, as yet, been no major incidents at any of the Montana camps.

I do not like admonishing the Job Corps but an incident has occurred in Montana which illustrates my cause for concern. Some months ago a juvenile in Billings with a most unfortunate background was selected for the Job Corps. However, before he could be transported to his camp in the Midwest, he was involved in a bar room brawl and shot a patron. His defense was immediately taken over by the Job Corps officials, he was then taken to the camp and returned to Billings, when required by the courts. He was given better counseling, care, and attention than the average individual. Within the past week or so he escaped from camp with a colleague, stole a car and in Indiana was involved in a car accident taking the lives of two people and hospitalizing others in critical condition, including himself.

I am well aware that there can be bad apples in every program, but it seems to me that there is something wrong. Perhaps it is a matter of lack of know-how and inefficiency on the part of the administrative Job Corps personnel involved. They and those enrolled in the program should have been more selective in the very beginning. Certainly a man with a criminal charge against him should be kept under very close surveillance. Also there is a grave question as to any value this program might be to a person of this nature. The individual involved was given treatment and protection above and beyond that allowed the average citizen, only to have it thrown back at us with more criminal action.

I do not like speaking in this vein, but I cannot stress too strongly the need for a more careful selection of Job Corps men and an insistence upon efficient and capable administrative and guidance personnel.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 6 minutes.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

LAKE ERIE—A DYING LAKE

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the fresh water lakes of our Nation are threatened with destruction from a relentless river of pollution surging up from our expanding cities and our booming industries, oozing into these once clear waters, killing the life beneath their waves and soiling their shores with filth and scum. In particular this is true regarding the Great Lakes of which we Americans are so proud.

The tragedy of our Great Lakes is taking place at a time when we need them as never before as an irreplaceable supply of drinking water, as recreational outlets and as an indispensable resource in commerce and industry.

No matter how large, lakes can be killed by pollution. In fact, it has been discovered that once damaged by pollution some lakes may never be reclaimed, or reclaimed only by great effort and at considerable expense, while even a badly polluted river can usually be flushed clean.

Nowhere is the tragedy of pollution and destruction more evident than in Lake Erie, a 250-mile-long sea which is sick and dying. Within a few years, Lake Erie, already one of the world's largest cesspools, will be unable to support almost any form of life. Man has taken a sparkling blue lake and turned it into a primeval swamp.

In the 2,600-square-mile heart of the lake, all the oxygen is gone, all the fish and other desirable aquatic life are dead, and the only survivors are bloodworms, sludgeworms, and bloodsuckers.

If the tragedy of Lake Erie is repeated in the other Great Lakes—as it well may be—the great industrial cities of America would be the victims of the greatest natural resource disaster in modern times.

Everyday the problem intensifies as relentless flows of industrial waste, inadequately treated sewage, and other obnoxious contaminants pour into the world's largest fresh water source. The economic well-being of more than 25 million people living in the 8 States bordering the Great Lakes is seriously threatened.

As the junior Senator from Ohio I am distressed at the deplorable state of Lake Erie. This 250-mile-long body of water is a tremendous asset to the State of Ohio. Its waters are used by the industries of Ohio's port cities such as Toledo, Lorain, Cleveland, and Ashtabula. Over 5 million citizens have easy access to its shores for swimming and recreation. Moreover, Lake Erie was at one time a supplier for a multimillion-dollar fishing industry which brought large catches of blue pike, whitefish, and other fresh water food to the tables of consumers throughout Ohio and neighboring States. Lake Erie was all of these things less than a decade ago. Today, this lake is a tragic example of what the other Great Lakes are becoming.

Lake Erie has deteriorated in quality at a rate many times greater than its normal aging processes due to pollution resulting from the activities of man. Municipal sewage and industrial wastes are the principal pollutants discharged continuously into Lake Erie. In addition, there are oils, silts, sediment, floating solids, and nutrients. These have caused significant damage to recreation, commercial and sport fishing, navigation, water supply, and esthetic values.

No longer may fishing enthusiasts enjoy productive excursions to many favorite lake areas, for polluted waters have caused many species of fish to die and disappear altogether from the lake. Today only one high-quality fish, the perch, is abundant.

The commercial fishing industry on Lake Erie has been greatly curtailed by excessive contamination. Ten years ago, Erie, Pa., boasted a commercial fishing fleet of 30 ships. Today there is one. Ten years ago a boat with a crew of five would usually catch 8,000 pounds of fish on one trip. Today a two-man crew is fortunate if they catch 500 pounds of fish on one trip. During these few years five species of fish have been eliminated from the lake. During the past decade the total catch from the U.S. waters of Lake Erie has declined 45 percent. The loss in terms of dollar return is staggering. The walleye catch, for example, was down from 5,035,000 pounds worth $1,357,000 in 1957, to 433,200 pounds worth $86,000 in 1962. The drop in the blue pike catch is also staggering. In 1956, 6,855,000 pounds of blue pike worth $1,316,000 were hauled in. Yet, just 6 years later the lake produced a scant 200 pounds with a total value of $120.

Ohioans could once be proud of the beautiful sandy beaches stretching for miles along the inviting waters of Lake Erie. Thousands would crowd to the beaches to find relief in Erie's waters from the summer's heat. Today unsanitary swimming beaches stretch for miles along the Erie shoreline. The beaches remain beautiful but the water is putrid. Officials of Cleveland following a "swim if you must" policy have warned people throughout the last 10 years to stay away from its lakefront beaches and have discouraged those who wished to bathe in the waters offshore. According to a study conducted several years ago only 11 of 28 beaches tested regularly were acceptable for swimming every month of the bathing season. A lot of filth has worked its way into the lake since then so present conditions are much worse.

Lake Erie is used as a source of supply by 27 municipal waterworks serving many communities. These systems serve millions of people and a large number of industrial concerns. In many areas the supply of unpolluted water is rapidly disappearing. Some cities must place their intakes at excessive distances offshore and at staggering costs. Over 3 million people depend on Lake Erie for drinking water. In excess of 600 million gallons are drawn each day from the lake to fulfill the needs of these people.

At present, bacteriolgical counts of Lake Erie's public waters are, for the most part, at a level safe for drinking. If pollution continues at its present pace, however, lake intakes will have to be extended at a great cost. Worry over lake water intakes will be unnecessary of course, when the lake is dead. And death is coming quickly to Lake Erie. We simply cannot tolerate contamination any longer. Else a once beautiful lake will have become a filthy cesspool.

Most of this filth into Lake Erie comes from the Detroit River. It is estimated that of the 3 million tons of filth and debris pouring into Lake Erie every day, the Detroit River contributes more than half. Another major contributor is the Cuyahoga River. Debris-filled, oil slick, dirty looking waterways define the Cuyahoga at many places along its course. Some beaches are blocked completely by dead trees and stumps, while the banks are dotted with numerous small dumps. Trash ranging from tin cans to refrigerators is a common sight along the river. In the navigation channel, where the Cuyahoga flows through Cleveland, even more debris exists and the water surface is often black with oil from the industrial outfalls.

The Cuyahoga River has a bacterial count that is four times higher than a stream of raw sewage. The river is so saturated with oil that it sometimes catches fire. The lakefront in the Cleveland area is littered with debris consisting of discarded lumber, tree limbs, metal cans, paper products, dead fish, oil slicks, grease, and scum. The same is true in other metropolitan areas bordering the lake.

More than 2,600 square miles of Lake Erie's center is already dead and unable to support desirable forms of animal life. Obnoxious plant growth such as oxygen sleeping-algae which cannot be seen without the aid of a microscope in healthy waters abounds throughout the lake in 50 foot lengths clogging municipal water intake valves and discoloring the precious drinking water of thousands of Ohio citizens. Much of it finds its way ashore to rot on the beaches.

Mr. President, we are losing the battle to save our lakes and streams—losing it to municipal, industrial, and commercial pollution, which we have tolerated until it has grown to monstrous proportions.

We shall start to win that battle only when we stop tolerating pollution of our Nation's lakes, rivers, and streams, and make it our public policy to prevent it.

To make such a decision will be painful. It will cost money—perhaps $50 to $100 billion over the next 15 years. It will be bitterly resisted by influential segments of industry and at many levels of government.

A firm start to the antipollution drive was initiated by Congress in enacting the Water Quality Act of 1965. Additional appropriations were authorized for the construction of pollution abatement works and sewage treatment plants but of greater significance is the provision for uniform standards applicable to interstate waters which may be initiated by the States or by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare if the States fail to act. Furthermore, violations of water quality standards may be enjoined in the Federal courts.

Court enforcement, however, can be a slow process. Also, the act provides that a violator may be excused from compliance with the standards on grounds of economic hardship or impracticability.

Mr. President, much more must be done to prevent the destruction of our great inland water system. The Federal Government must help the States clean up polluted rivers and lakes by providing the money necessary for the construction of adequate sewage treatment plants. More money is needed for research to discover ways of controlling the discharge of pollutants into our rivers and lakes and to find ways of reclaiming pollution-burdened waters. Industry discharges twice the amount of waste into our water as do all of our cities combined. Industrialists must be encouraged or directed to construct abatement facilities. Also, we must be firm in the enforcement of established water quality standards.

We must, in a word, act and act immediately and vigorously to prevent one of our greatest natural assets from becoming, perhaps, the greatest American tragedy.

Mr. President, failure of State and local governments to make a serious breakthrough in controlling pollution of their water supplies has invited Federal intervention. Someone must lead the way. It is unconscionable to continue to allow one of our Nation's greatest God-given natural resources to be contaminated and polluted beyond redemption and the use of fresh clear water and beautiful uncontaminated waterfronts denied to future generations. Now is the time for concerted, coordinated efforts to overcome once and for all this enormous problem.

HUGE EXPENDITURE FOR ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM SHOULD BE OPPOSED

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I am in accord with the views of the distinguished senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], who is absent today attending an important meeting in Pittsburgh.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator's 6 minutes have expired.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, this is on another matter. I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I am firmly of the opinion that any funds authorized today for experiments in Nike-Zeus installations to defend cities of this country against any possible nuclear attack, will be entirely wasted for the reason that such defenses for our cities are of questioned validity and effectiveness, and would not, in my considered judgment, prevent intercontinental ballistic missiles from hitting on targets if fired.

Over and above that, the Soviet Union, the only nation in the world having the capability of attacking us with intercontinental ballistic missiles, is no longer a "have not" nation. It is a "have" nation. Stalin, thank God, is no longer the ruler of the Soviet Union, and its present leadership is evincing cooperation toward us instead of threatening annihilation.

I am in agreement with the views of the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. At the request of the senior Senator from Pennsylvania, I ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD a statement by the senior Senator from Pennsylvania, who is necessarily absent today and in his State of Pennsylvania.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR JOSEPH S. CLARK OPPOSING $167,900,000 AUTHORIZATION FOR DEPLOYMENT OF ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM

I oppose the action of the Armed Services Committee in adding $167,900,000 to the pending military authorization bill for deployment of an antiballistic missile system.

At a time when crucial domestic programs in the fields of education, housing, and the war on poverty are being cut back or held back for lack of funds, we should certainly not authorize more money for the defense budget than the President has requested.

I support the position of the Secretary of Defense, who urged that this authorization not be made, and I hope that these funds, if appropriated, will not be spent.

As Secretary McNamara stated before the committee, "there is no system or combination of systems within presently available technology which would permit the deployment now of an antiballistic missile defense capable of giving us any reasonable hope of keeping U.S. fatalities below some tens of millions in a major Soviet nuclear attack on our cities." Cost figures cited by the Committee range from $8.5 to $10 billion; other estimates, taking into account the enormous fallout shelter program which would be needed, run as high as $20 billion. To embark now upon a project of such dubious value—at such fantastic expense—and against the recommendation of the President, makes little sense.

Not only would such action be unwise from a military and economic point of view, it could also have grave political implications. By plunging ahead prematurely with the deployment of a relatively primitive ABM system, which will not greatly enhance our national security from an attack by our most powerful adversary, we run the risk of escalating the arms race to a higher and far more costly plateau.

I believe that we should take the advice of the Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament of the White House Conference on International Cooperation, headed by Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, former Science Advisor to President Kennedy, and including among its member Roswell Gilpatric, former Under Secretary of Defense, and Dr. Carl Kaysen, former Deputy Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. That committee unanimously urged that the United State and the U.S.S.R. agree—explicity or tacitly—to a moratorium of at least 3 years on new deployment (but not on the unverifiable research and development) of systems for ballistic missile defense. I urge the administration to follow this course.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, at the same time I wish to associate myself with the views expressed by the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] in opposing and expressing grave doubts as to the desirability of the expenditure of almost $168 million upon a project of such dubious value.

Furthermore, this proposed expenditure will encourage additional waste of taxpayers' money on the civil defense boondoggle which has to date cost taxpayers more than a billion and a half dollars. It is obvious that if the proposed antiballistic missile system is really necessary, it must be accompanied by a vast program of building blast and fallout shelters. To encourage this in any way would be a tragedy. I am hopeful that it will not be recommended that funds be appropriated for this project which would be an utter waste of taxpayers' money.

JUSTICE WHITTAKER WARNS: RETURN TO LAW OR FACE ANARCHY

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I would like to call the attention of the Senate to an article in the April 25 issue of the U.S. News & World Report by Charles E. Whittaker, former Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Justice Whittaker calls our attention to the deliberate distortion and attempts to rewrite completely certain legal definitions fundamental to our concept of an orderly society. I wish to take this opportunity to advocate that we heed Justice Whittaker's plea to return to a law abiding way of life rather than to continue along a road which could possibly lead to anarchy.

Accordingly, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the article immediately following my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the U.S. News & World Report, Apr. 25, 1966]

A FORMER JUSTICE WARNS: RETURN TO LAW, OR FACE ANARCHY

(NOTE.—Following is full text of an address by Charles E. Whittaker, retired Justice of the Supreme Court, delivered at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans., Apr. 12, 1966.)

It seems clear that most of our people have now come to understand that we are all involved in unusual ferment, and many of us are confused and bewildered. Many are asking the reasons for this, what it means and where it leads and ends. Seldom is any effort made responsibly to answer. Possibly because no one really can.

But it seems reasonable to believe that, until we are able to isolate and define the underlying causes, we will not be able intelligently to grapple with them.

I cannot assume to delineate all of the underlying causes, but my rather extensive readings, observations and meditations have convinced me that a major one is that in some way our anchors have been torn from their moorings to unchangeable fundamental principles—among others, a decent respect for truth and honesty, for the teachings of history, for the Ten Commandments, and for the Golden Rule—and, without those anchors, we lost our way.

In that distress, we tended to divide into ideological groups, and then one group began to blame another for our plight. And this brought retaliatory responses in kind. That conduct continued to accelerate in pace and tempo until the pitch of tensions ran so high as to produce a running, acrimonious and recriminatory dialog that has dissipated mutual respect, engendered hatreds, and made nearly impossible any calm and conciliatory discussion of differences, and hence has precluded return and reanchor to the changeless fundamentals.

As we have seen, that dialog has largely sacrificed honest appeals to reason for other techniques. One has been the intentional and repeated misuse and distortion of generic words and phrases in our language with the obvious design of giving them a gloss of meaning that casts their inherent odious implications from themselves to their opponents—a pretty slick trick to confuse unsuspecting people.

Another has been to use catchwords of dubious meaning, and sometimes of odious implications. And still another has been the use of meaningless but often aspersionistic cliches.

When we realize that such preachments have been nearly endlessly made, printed and circulated as matters of truth, we can hardly wonder that the people, who must largely rely upon what they hear and read for their information, have been misled and are now confused and bewildered and at a loss to know whom or what to believe and support.

Illustrative of the technique used in glossing and distorting generic words and phrases, let me give you an example or two: Frequently in this dialog, some participants while advocating—sometimes quite covertly—"changes" in our forms of government, refer to their opposing "conservatives" as "mossbacks" and often in the same breath as "radicals" or "extremists." Although Webster says that "a conservative" means one who "favors retention of existing institutions and forms of government," the term has been, by intentional misuse, glossed to mean not one who would "retain," but one who would change our "existing institutions and forms of government"—just the opposite of the dictionary sense of the term.

Again, Webster says that the term "a leftist" means "a member of the radical or revolutionary party, a radical," and that the term "a rightist" means "a conservative." Yet by the intentional and repeated misuse of those terms, "a leftist" has been glossed to mean "a conservative," one who would "retain," not change, our existing institutions and forms of government, and that a "rightist" is a "radical," one who would change, not "retain" our existing institutions and forms of government—again just the opposite of the dictionary sense of these terms.

These two simple examples are enough to reveal the technique—doubtless already familiar to most of you—that is being commonly used not to inform the people, but to confuse and bewilder them.

I turn now to the technique of arguing by catchwords. Some of those that are commonly heard are of fairly definite meaning, but even they are often used with little fidelity to their true meanings. Others are advanced as terms of definite meaning or of art when, in fact, as often used, they are meaningless.

We hear much confused argument revolving around the terms "discrimination," "segregation," "desegregation" and "integration." So I think it may be well briefly to consider what they really mean.

The dictionary sense of the term "discrimination" is also, in the abstract, its legal sense. In its constitutional sense, it is one of the things prohibited to the States by the 14th amendment's guarantee of "the equal protection of the laws."

The term "segregation" is, in legal effect, only a synonym for constitutionally prohibited "discrimination." The term "desegregation" is a coined one of awkward and dubious meaning.

But the term "integration," a term of no constitutional significance, though commonly used as a synonym of "antidiscrimination" or "antisegregation," literally has a very different meaning and embraces the concept of amalgamation, well illustrated by the transfer of schoolchildren from their home district to a distant district for the purpose not of avoiding unconstitutional "discrimination," but of affirmatively "mixing" or "integrating" the races when indeed no provision of the Constitution so requires.

But, in recent times, we have seen obvious attempts—largely through the repeated use of the coined and meaningless phrase "de facto segregation"—to torture the word "integration" into a meaning synonymous with constitutionally prohibited "segregation," when in truth they speak entirely different concepts. There is, of course, a clear basis in the fundamental law of our land, particularly in the 14th amendment, for striking down State acts of "discrimination," and hence also of "segregation" in all public institutions, including State public schools, as violative of that amendment's guarantee of the equal protection of the laws.

But, as stated, there is no provision in the Constitution which, in terms or reasonable intendment, compels "integration" of the races.

We also hear much confused argument about "civil rights." What does the term mean in the abstract? It is often used as one of definite meaning or of art. But the truth is, the term "civil rights" is not a term of art, and, when abstractly used, really has no concrete meaning. Webster says that "civil rights" are "nonpolitical rights," and that in the United States the term means "rights secured by the 13th and 14th amendments to the Constitution, and by certain acts of Congress abolishing the incidence of involuntary servitude."

Thus, the only meaning of the term in the abstract that even approaches concreteness is that civil rights are the rights of all men in the United States to be free from the "incidence of involuntary servitude."

Similarly, we hear much discussion in these days on the subject of "public accommodations." Most of us appear to be confused in our understanding, and hence unclear in our use, of the phrase. Just what does the phrase mean? Surely the term "public" accommodation does not include "private" accommodation. "Public" things are those that are owned or controlled by government—State or Federal—and in which, therefore, every citizen has the same right of use and enjoyment.

But, by the same token, property that is privately owned and operated is "private" property, to which only those who are expressly or impliedly invited by the owner may of right come and enter and surely this implies that any such invitation may be revoked by the owner at any time for any reason satisfactory to him. Yet almost daily we see efforts, some of them successful, to expand the concept of "public" to include that which is "private"—such as a citizen's privately owned and operated store, shop, restaurant, motel, farm, medical or law office—and to make those "private" facilities subject, as of right, to use and enjoyment by the public.

I do not readily think of a better example of what is happening to our language and to our ability to communicate with certainty than is illustrated by our difficulties in maintaining the generic and basic distinction between what is "public," and therefore subject to use by the public, and what is "private," and therefore subject to use only by the owner or with his consent.

Another facet of current discussions revolves around the word "equality." We proudly say that our Government is founded upon the concept that "all men are created equal." But we seem to be unclear as to whether that phrase means that all men must be accepted by all other men as social equals, and as to whether it means that all men must be made and kept "economically equal" as an obligation of government.

Some doubtless well-intentioned people have been arguing that it should be made the legal obligation of every man to socially accept every other man. However laudable may be the underlying objective, it is abundantly clear from experience and the nature of man that this cannot be done by law, and that such an attempt is not a proper function of government. Such an attempt can only agitate prejudices, stiffen resistance, and serve to impede and delay social acceptance.

ENFORCED EQUALITY "WOULD BE A STEP IN THE WRONG DIRECTION"

Social acceptance is a matter of developmental mutual respect and liking, and this cannot be brought about by force. These are matters of the heart, and it cannot be controlled by force. No minority group that has settled in our land has obtained, or likely ever will obtain, general acceptance and amalgamation here until, by long years of exemplary conduct, a majority of its members have earned the respect and liking of the people generally. Any effort to compel social acceptance would be a step in the wrong direction and self-defeating.

There are also well-meaning persons among us who argue that the proper concept of "equality" is that all men are entitled to be assured, by and at the expense of the government, which means by their brothers, of permanent economic equality. To argue that all men are entitled at the expense of their brothers to permanent economic equality is to argue for the adoption of communism, which, Webster says, means "a system of social organization in which all goods are held in common" and, hence, in which all men are by law made and kept economically equal.

Do those who so advocate understand this? I doubt that they do, and for obvious reasons I prefer to believe that they do not. But the government established here by our forefathers, and early said to be the finest government ever conceived by the minds of men, is not of that kind. It is instead a democratic republic guaranteeing free enterprise and the right to earn and possess private capital. It is not, and was never intended to be, a leveler of men.

Quite the contrary: It was intended to permit, and permits, the ambitious, energetic, creative and thrifty men to, by honest effort, improve their lot as much as they can even if others choose not to try.

It does not intend to destroy initiative and ambition by holding accomplishments down to the level of the least ambitious. While individuals have their legal right to discriminate between our people, the Government does not. Hence, under our Government, the term "equality" must mean essentially that Government, State and Federal, cannot and must not deny to any citizen: (a) the right to obtain equal learning, (b) the right to equal governmental treatment, (c) the right to equal justice, (d) the equal right of suffrage and (e) the consequent right to equal opportunity.

But the right to equal opportunity, if indeed it is to be equal, must include the opportunity to develop and prove unequal talents. Any other concept would destroy the natural incentive of every man to improve his lot by holding him down to the unambitious level of the mediocre or below, which inevitably would result in the society's decadence.

In the same connection we hear much discussion of "public welfare." Some seem to feel that it is the legal obligation of the Government to finance the needs of every citizen. Some even suggest that our National Constitution so contemplates, but nothing could be further from the truth.

In the preamble of our Constitution, our Founding Fathers, in describing one of the purposes of their efforts, used the term "to promote the general welfare." But this was to be done, as they said, in the ways and by the means set forth in the body of the document, and one will search it in vain for any evidence of any delegation by the States or the people of any power to the National Government to dip into the Federal Treasury for the support of private citizens.

Thus, the privilege and the moral obligation to determine when and how much aid should be given to the deserving needy among them was, like all other privileges and powers that were not delegated to the National Government by the Constitution, reserved to the States and to the people.

I now turn to the misleading, and therefore dangerous, technique of some current argument by clichés. Some would-be leaders have been voicing slogans and clichés which, in instances, appear on the surface to be logical, and some even religious, but which, in truth, are neither. Instead they are dangerously deceptive and destructive.

DEMAND FOR PUBLIC HANDOUTS: "THE FALSE CRY OF THE PRIDELESS LAZY"

One is "Government owes every citizen a living." This is the false cry of the prideless lazy, inasmuch as the food, shelter, and clothing necessary for his "living" can only be produced by the labors of someone. This is a cry for support by the sweat of another man's brow.

A second is "human rights, not property rights." Are these rights in any way inconsistent or mutually destructive? Is not the right to have and be protected in property a valuable "human right"? Are not those rights mutually consistent and even dependent? Any thoughtful observation of history will reveal that, where private-property rights have not been respected and protected, there has not been what we call "human rights." Private-property rights are the soil in which our concept of human rights grows and matures. As long as private-property rights are secure, human rights will be respected and will endure and evolve.

A third is the Russian-coined phrase that "production is for use, not for profits." Must it be wholly for the one or the other? Is it not truly for both? Is there any inconsistency or immorality in producing useful things at a profit? If production is not to yield a profit, there will be no incentive to produce. And if there is no incentive to produce, there will be no production for use. It is the incentive of profits that has produced the plentiful blessings of our Nation and that has enabled it to grow, progress, and develop as it has. Reasonable profits are essential to the survival of free enterprise and, hence, of our society. If the state were to take over under the slogan of "use, not profits," initiative would be destroyed, progress would be halted, and soon stagnation would set in and destroy our society.

A fourth, and of which we hear much these days, is "obey the good laws but not the bad ones."

And a fifth one that should be considered with the fourth is "action now, not the delays of the law."

CLAIMING RIGHT TO VIOLATE LAWS IS "A CALL FOR ANARCHY"

Is not each of these cliches a call for anarchy? Does not the fourth invite men to violate the laws they do not like? And does not the fifth invite men to spurn the courts and all constituted authority and to take the law into their own hands?

If we allow men to disobey with impunity the laws they do not like, or to spurn the courts in all constituted authority by taking the law, or what they think ought to be the law, into their own hands, will we not be inviting anarchy and chaos? Yet, this is precisely what some self-appointed racial leaders, and more recently many others, have been advocating, and it is precisely what their followers have been doing. Aroused by these techniques, those followers frequently have assembled from far and wide, often unfortunately, with the encouragement and even at the expense of well-meaning but legally uninformed and misguided church organizations, into large and loosely assembled groups or mobs to wage what they have called demonstrations to force the grant of what they call rights in defiance of the law, the courts, and all constituted authority.

At the beginning, these "demonstrations" consisted of episodic group invasions and appropriations of private stores, first by sitting down and later by lying down therein, and eventually by blocking the entrances thereto with their bodies. Seeing that those trespassers were often applauded in high places, were generally not stopped or punished, but rather were compelled to be appeased and rewarded, these racial leaders and their groups quickly enlarged the scope of their activity by massing and marching followers on the sidewalks, streets, and highways, frequently blocking and appropriating them to a degree that precluded their intended public uses.

And that conduct, too, being nearly always appeased, the process spread areawise, as might have been expected, from one southern city to another, and then into one northern city after another, and eventually pretty generally throughout the land. These "demonstrations" were conducted under the banner of "peaceable civil disobedience," and under the claim of protection by the peaceable-assembly and petition provisions of the first amendment to the U.S. Constitution. But, in fact, most of these claims were and are untrue. Let me demonstrate this:

"Crime," says Webster, means "an act or omission forbidden by law and punishable upon conviction." It cannot be denied that many of those trespasses violated at least the criminal-trespass laws of the local jurisdictions involved, nor that those laws impose criminal penalties for their violation, nor, hence, that those trespasses constituted "crimes."

Now, in the first place, that conduct cannot honestly be termed peaceable, for we all know that the assembly and incitement of a large group or mob for the avowed purpose of forcing direct action outside the law amounts to the creation of a mob bent on lawlessness, and inherently disturbs the peace of others.

In the second place, that conduct cannot honestly be termed "civil disobedience" for the simple reason which anyone should be able to understand: that willful violation of the criminal laws is "criminal disobedience," not "civil disobedience."

And lastly, those criminal trespasses were not protected by the peaceable assembly and petition provisions of the first amendment. That provision says: "Congress shall make no law * * * abridging * * * the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." Obviously, nothing in that language grants a license to any man or group of men to violate our criminal laws, including those which prohibit trespass upon, and appropriation of, private property, and those prohibiting the willful obstruction of public walks, streets, and highways.

Rather, as Mr. Justice Roberts wrote upon the subject in 1939, "The privilege of a citizen of the United States to use the streets and parks for communication of views on national questions must be regulated in the interest of all. It is not absolute, but is relative and must be exercised in subordination to the general comfort and convenience, and in consonance with peace and good order."

Surely no thoughtful person will disagree with that statement, nor with the one recently made by the president of Yale University in a speech at Detroit, that the current rash of "demonstrations make a ludicrous mockery of the democratic debating process."

DEMONSTRATIONS ARE "TAILOR MADE FOR INFILTRATION BY RADICALS

The philosophy of "obeying only the laws you like," and of attempting to rule by force, has given rise to mobs and mob actions that have proven, as certainly we should have expected to be tailor made for infiltration, take over, and use by rabble-rousers and radicals who are avowedly bent on the breakdown of law, order, and morality in our society, and hence on its destruction. And we now see that virtually all of such "demonstrations" are being infiltrated by rabble-rousers and radicals and, not infrequently, break into open violence.

Even though those results may not have been contemplated, and surely weren't wished, by those Americans who advocated disobedience of our laws, nevertheless they did advocate that philosophy and they did put its processes into action, and cannot now escape responsibility for the results.

Seeing the appeasements and successes of that process in racial strife, other would-be leaders have now adopted and spread it into many other areas. It has now spread into the campuses of most of our great universities where, as in Berkeley, it has been used to commit assaults, kidnapings, imprisonment of police officers, and commandeering of public-address systems; and their use in spewing over the campus the most filthy four-letter words, and for general breakdown of law and order.

The process is also now progressively employed by radical leftists and those who would give aid and comfort to our enemies, to hinder and impede our Nation's efforts to conscript military personnel, as witness the recent rash of draftcard burners, and to move and supply its troops and generally to weaken its ability to execute its military efforts in this time of war.

The process has now been extended even to efforts to thwart governmental, legislative and executive action. Indeed, it would be hard to name a field that has escaped or is not vulnerable to the process.

These are but recent examples of history's teachings that the toleration of some crime encourages all crime, and that it can hardly be denied that our toleration of these crimes of trespass has been at least a contributing factor to the recent spread of common violence which Mr. J. Edgar Hoover says makes it impossible "for the citizens of this country to * * * walk the streets of our cities without [danger of] being mugged, raped and robbed." He continued: "We can't do that today." And he added: "All through the country, almost without exception, this condition prevails."

HOW MINORITIES HURT THEMSELVES "IN PREACHING DEFIANCE OF LAW"

The great pity is that these minority groups, in preaching and practicing defiance of the law, are in fact eroding our legal structure, which alone can ever assure to them due process of law and the equal protection of the laws, and that can, thus, protect them from discriminations and abuses by majorities.

We have all been often told, and many of us have preached, that crime does not pay. But the recent rash and spread of law defiance—and the successes, however tenuous and temporary, of that philosophy in attaining goals—seems to compel a reappraisal of that concept. For, from what we see currently happening, one could reasonably believe that certain types of crimes are being permitted to pay.

Indeed, official encouragement often has been given, even at times in some high places, to conduct these "demonstrations" which have led to the commission of these criminal trespasses, and it can hardly be denied that they have been rather widely tolerated. It is undoubtedly true as recited in the theme of the presidentially proclaimed Law Day, 1965, that "a citizen's first duty is to uphold the law," but it is also the first duty of Government to enforce the law.

As said in an article in the April 10, 1965, issue of the magazine America, "[Government] has no right to turn the cheek of its citizens. Instead it is gravely obligated by the very purpose of its existence to see to their protection."

Surely the great majority of Americans agree with the May 1965, public statement of Mr. Lewis F. Powell, then president of the American Bar Association, that "America needs a genuine revival of respect for law and orderly processes, a reawakening of individual responsibility, a new impatience with those who violate and circumvent laws, and a determined insistence that laws be enforced, courts respected and due process followed."

I would like to conclude, as I began, with a plea for a return to simple honesty, responsibility and forthrightness in our public speakings and writings, that they may honestly inform and not misinform the people, and for a return to an orderly society by requiring respect for and obedience to our laws by the prompt, impartial, evenhanded, certain and substantial punishment of all persons whose willful conduct violates these laws, and that we do so promptly, and I would hope, before mass crime gets, as it surely can, so far out of hand as to be beyond the curbing capacities of our peacekeeping agencies and authorities.

REFLECTIONS ON VIETNAM

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, in a recent edition of the New Yorker magazine, an article appeared by Mr. Richard Goodwin on the war in Vietnam. I commend this article to my colleagues, for I found it to be a clear and precise description of the situation, its history, and the policy demands that we now face.

Mr. Goodwin speaks from a broad background of experience as Special Assistant on Foreign Affairs during both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. He collaborated with both Presidents on speeches which pointed to new directions in foreign policy and was one of the original innovators of such outstanding programs as the Alliance for Progress. Mr. Goodwin is now serving as a research fellow at Wesleyan University in Middleton, Conn. He has had an outstanding career as a lawyer and served as law clerk for Justice Frankfurter.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be included in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REFLECTIONS ON VIETNAM

It must have seemed to the commander who made the choice that Operation White Wing had a faintly lyrical sound, suited to the An Lao Valley, where battle was to be found and fought. Dark-green jungle flows over gentle hills toward flat, still swamps, bursting with rice and separated by the trailing wisps of jungle growth that spring up wherever the hand of man pauses to rest. The river slices south through the center of the valley until, north of Bong Son, it turns east toward the South China Sea. The river was muddy—as it always is at the end of January, when the rains are heavy—perhaps reminding Pfcs. James Ricks and Harry Morse of the upper waters of the Potomac, which divides their native States of Maryland and Virginia. It was about as wide, and there were rapids. But there was nothing at home like the soaking heat that crowded their lungs, or the violent nighttime fury that tore about the bunker where they waited for dawn. The two friends had come with the 18th Infantry to help clear An Lao of thousands of Vietcong guerrillas who made their home in the bountiful valley.

Eleven thousand miles away, where the Potomac broadens, Senators and spectators walked into room 4221 of the New Senate Office Building, J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Senator from Arkansas, foe of civil rights, almost Secretary of State, Rhodes scholar, and backwoods politician, hero to some and demagog to others, sat in the center chair behind the raised, arched desk that stretched across the entire front of the rectangular hearing room. The marble margins of the floor touched light wood-paneled walls in an unsuccessful blending of political-traditional and Washington modern. In front of Senator FULBRIGHT were officials and clerks bent over tables piled with papers and documents—the vital substance of government—while about 60 spectators filled rows of harsh straight chairs behind them. On either side of FULBRIGHT were the other members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Among them was Senator BOURKE HICKENLOOPER, of Iowa, tough, narrow, conservative, and, on this day, guardian of the political interests of the Republican Party. Senators FRANK CHURCH, of Idaho, and CLAIBORNE PELL, of Rhode Island, were clearly marked, in youth and intelligence, as members of the Kennedy generation of Democrats. There was STUART SYMINGTON, of Missouri, disappointed presidential hopeful, blending absolute integrity with lifelong sympathy for the aims and outlook of the military. Finally, most vocal in opposition was WAYNE MORSE, cattle breeder, Oregon Republican-turned-Democrat, who had broken all the rules of the "club" and transgressed the tenets of polite political discourse, thus earning the disdain of official Washington, yet still commanding deference as chairman of a powerful Senate subcommittee, and whose stern, shrill, sometimes exasperatingly self-righteous independence had carried further across the country than Washington believed. Most of the 19 members were there. The subject was that confused and violent conflict which in the last year had become the center of American concern, expectation, and fear—the war in Vietnam.

Over the chairman's head was the great seal of the United States, the engine grouping the olive branch of peace and the arrows of war—a sculptured omen of the day. Facing him, in a large red-padded chair, sat the first witness—Dean Rusk, for 5 years Secretary of State of the United States, selected after President-elect Kennedy had reluctantly turned away from FULBRIGHT himself, and the principal advocate of a militant pursuit of the war.

At 9:05 a.m. of Friday, January 28, the Vietnam debate began. Its subject: the history, the wisdom, and the future of American action and policy. Whatever the result, however, discussion might alter the course of events, it would not make any difference to James Ricks, of Cortland, Va., or Harry Morse, of Pasadena, Md. Twenty minutes before, while the first curious arrivals were claiming the scarce seats, a grenade flung anonymously through the jungle-fed night had exploded in their bunker. They were dead—2 more of the almost 400,000 people—yellow, white, and black, who had been killed in the strangest and most complicated war in American history.

Before the month of debate was over, it had moved from the small hearing room into the television-dominated homes of millions of Americans, had caused one of the most respected executives in television, Fred Friendly, to quit in fury because his superiors at CBS refused to show the most important national discussion of all, and had made national celebrities out of a soft-spoken general-turned-businessman named James Gavin and a career-diplomat-turned-scholar named George Kennan. With the echoes of the final Friday hearing still fading, the debate touched the upper reaches of American politics. On the morning of Saturday, February 19, Senator ROBERT KENNEDY discussed the possible outlines of a settlement. He was supported by Gen. Maxwell Taylor, Presidential consultant on the war and intellectual leader of the generals, while he was attacked by other officials, some of whom had privately urged the same position they now publicly assaulted. For a moment, a major political skirmish seemed possible, but the President himself refused to attack the Kennedy proposal. He was clearly determined to close no door that might lead to peace and to open no wounds that might further increase domestic division. Then, the debate having run its course in Washington, it moved into the outer arena of national discussion and the inner secret councils of the administration, where it will continue as long as the war itself.

There is something oddly insubstantial about the thousands of pages of hearings, speeches, press conferences, and television interviews—the immense stream of argument, discussion, and declamation. The pages are filled with rhetoric designed to arouse old emotions rather than stir new thoughts; with grand simplicities and sweeping clichés that ignore and blanket the cruel particulars of conflict; and with history that is neither relevant nor, in many cases, true. Men become advocates rather than analysts, seeking to prove every point and answer every argument, even though they must distort or accuse in order to do so. Some must rewrite the events of the past in order to offer a better defense of their own past acts and judgments. Meanwhile, sensed by all but the scholars is the silent and unseen weight of the American electorate, whose ultimate judgment has never been so unclear in any other time of war, and whose decision will shape the personal futures of those who contest before the gaze of the Nation. Each one who speaks is also aware that he speaks across the city to the single man who has the power to gather up all the threads of possibility and belief and weave them into the fabric of decision. Senator ALBERT GORE said of the President, "We are seeking to reach him by way of the people." Yet each also hoped to reach him by way of the television screen or the morning newspaper.

Much of Vietnam is covered with what experts call "three-canopied jungle." Three layers of somber, unrelieved green, block the sun from the earth, which even at noon is often night-dark. The debate that swirls about this jungle country is also triple-layered, and the tangled lines of argument often obscure the light.

Rising above the other debates is the debate over grand strategy, conducted in the fascinating, elusive abstractions of geopolitics: Does America have a vital stake in Asia, and, more specifically, in Vietnam itself?

Next is the debate over the past: What kind of war is it, and how did we become so deeply involved in it?

Closest to the ground of action and decision is the third Vietnam debate: What is our present policy, and what should it be?

In its crudest and simplest form, the first of the three clashes of conviction questions whether the United States would be seriously injured if much of Asia were to be dominated by a hostile power—at this moment in history, by China. For at least a quarter of a century, every American government has believed the answer to be "Yes." On November 26, 1941, Secretary of State Cordell Hull handed a series of proposed agreements to the Japanese Ambassador in Washington. Japan and the United States would agree that neither would violate "'the territorial integrity and sovereignty" of any country in Asia. Both nations would pledge to seek a broad agreement by many powers, including Great Britain, China, and the Netherlands, "to respect the territorial integrity of French Indochina [including Vietnam]," and, if that integrity was menaced, to consult "with a view to taking such measures as may be deemed necessary and advisable to meet such threat." (A similar agreement, by many of the same powers, was to become the central guarantee of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, 14 years later.) Japan, however, had already determined upon the conquest of Indochina, and 11 days later, attacked the only remaining power both committed and able to bar the way. Since the end of the war that followed, every American President has sent armed forces to Asia: Truman in Korea, Eisenhower at Quemoy and Matsu, Kennedy briefly at the Thai-Laotian border and in Vietnam, Johnson in Vietnam. Deeply rooted in modern experience, asserted in two major wars, the American interest in Asia, and now in Indochina, nevertheless requires evaluation by the light of shifting realities. Although the American stake in Asia is not a new one, is it real?

During several years I spent in Washington—at the State Department and as an assistant to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson—few intellectual tasks were more frustrating than the occasional effort to answer the great, the ultimate questions of foreign policy: Why should we try to contain China? Why should we help the underdeveloped nations? What is the urgency of preventing nuclear spread? Such questions, in fact, are ordinarily raised in argument with critics but rarely in the councils of decision. It is precisely because there is no sure and resistless logic by which such questions can be answered that discussion often dissolves into empty generalities and false scholarship. "Nations must learn to leave their neighbors alone." (Cf. the intervention in the Dominican Republic.) We cannot remain "an oasis of wealth in a worldwide sea of misery." (We have always been one and will be one for a very long time.) "The appetite of aggression is never satisfied." (Cf. the independence of the Philippines, Mexico, and Canada.) Such failures of analysis reflect not our own inadequacies so much as what Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., calls "the inscrutability of history." To justify a course of policy in its largest dimension is to predict what will happen if that course is not taken, to prophesy the unknowable turns of history. All that any leader can do is call upon wisdom, judgment, and national principle, a sense of history and a knowledge of present reality, and act on the speculative and intuitive guess that results. This enormous limitation is reflected in Albert Einstein's famous reply when he was asked why the politicians could not catch up with the creations of science—he said that "politics is much harder than physics"—and George Kennan's testimony that "the most important thing a government such as ours can have, as it faces the long-term future of international relations, is right principles rather than the gift of prophecy." The huge and inescapable uncertainties of this process impose on any sensible statesman an essential skepticism, from which flow at least two guiding rules for the conduct of international affairs: to decide as little, in places of danger, as present urgencies require, leaving room for change if events contradict judgment, and to take as few risks as action requires, refusing to hazard enormous consequences on speculation. The most frequent flaw in the Vietnam debate, running through the arguments on all sides, is the recurrent claim that the unknowable can be stated with certainty.

Even with this caution, judgment leans heavily toward protecting Asia from dominion or conquest by a hostile power. There is the almost idealistic, compelling conviction that the one nation with the power to prevent it should not stand aside while nations unwillingly submit to foreign domination. To do so would undermine the central world purpose of the United States—the creation of an international order of independent states. Moreover, the impact of a large-scale Chinese expansion would probably radiate across the world, reshaping the politics of the weak and uncertain societies of Africa and Latin America, perhaps further eroding the ties among our Western allies, forcing the Soviet Union toward increased militance in the competition for leadership of the Communist world. More ominous still would be the likely effect on our own society. As the fall of China itself contributed to McCarthyism, a large expansion of China, soon to hold major North American cities hostage to its nuclear power, thus increasing its willingness to risk conflict on the ground, would inevitably feed the dark undercurrent of repression and militarism never wholly absent from American life.

Our vital concern in Asia cannot be denied by allocating that continent to the abstraction of a Chinese "sphere of influence," if by influence we mean domination or the right to direct policies by coercion. Geography is still important, as the Soviet Union learned in Cuba, and as we rediscovered in Hungary. Yet we are as close to Asia, in terms of swift and effective action, as we were to Europe in the Second World War. We are a Pacific nation, and since the end of the Second World War we have been the only Pacific power of real consequence. Moreover, nations have no natural or God-given right to dominate those close to them.

If they had, the border states of Afghanistan and Iran would be under Soviet rule; Cuba would be in the hands of a friendly president or, more likely, an American trained general; Argentina would never have dared admire and assist the Nazis. The sphere of influence of a great nation extends just as far as its power and ambition go unchecked by its own limitations and by the strength and the interests of others. Its "sphere of influence," as domination, rests on the weakness of those in its path, not on the laws of geography or history. China must always weigh heavily in the calculations of Asian states, but as long as our power stands in the way, there need be no vast and inevitable sphere of influence, although it is hoped that there will one day be fruitful relations of commerce and friendship. Nor can we stand aside in the certainty that, as in Eastern Europe, the spread of Communist influence will be blunted by "polycentrism"—a host of Titos, or even Gomulkas. The underdeveloped societies of Asia lack the structures—the middle class, an educated population, even national traditions—that lend strength to the self-assertions of the countries of Europe. The Asian societies are thin at the top, unstable, and far more vulnerable to control by small well-organized groups assisted from other countries. Nationalist communism may come to Asia, but the experience of Eastern Europe is no guarantee. We do not know whether China will try to expand, or whether it can. It is hard enough to judge the intentions, ambitions, and capacities of our own leaders. How can we hope to penetrate the thoughts of aging leaders whose experience, culture, and convictions are so remote? This does not mean, however, that we should not be prepared to resist expansion if it comes. Yet, even if we accept this basic judgment, we are not compelled to fight for every inch of Asian soil or hazard war each time Chinese influence begins to grow. We stood by while China crushed Tibet, for we lacked both the resources and any compelling reasons to oppose Chinese armies in such a remote and difficult place. Our Government was fully resigned to the potential domination of Indonesia by a Communist Party close to Peking, since armed invasion seemed the only way to prevent it. Nor are American armies likely to rush to the defense of Siberia if Chinese forces move into that vast and tempting area. It is, on the other hand, inconceivable that aggression against India would not be met with—if necessary—the full force of American power. The question always is where, and under what circumstances, we should commit military force to the protection of Asian nations. Is Vietnam such a place?

Not very many years ago, the answer seemed clear. South Vietnam, a tiny patch of poverty-stricken jungle, populated mostly by simple farmers concerned only with the daily struggle for survival, was not important to our security. President Eisenhower, despite urgent French pleas, refused to intervene in 1954 even if all of Vietnam should fall, declaring himself to be "convinced that the French could not win the war." Had the Communists succeeded in taking over the entire country, as they almost did, no sensible American would now be demanding that we go to war to recapture South Vietnam. It would be another name on the list of half-forgotten lost lands. Today, however, events have overtaken that possibility. American power and wealth are committed to Vietnam on an immense scale. We will soon, in all probability, have half a million men in South Vietnam. Helicopters, air support, and modern firearms give our troops there four or five times the striking power of their Second World War counterparts. We have already dropped the rough equivalent of a ton of bombs for every Vietcong soldier. Our financial assistance since 1954 amounts to over three billion dollars, or more than two hundred dollars for every person in South Vietnam. The records are filled with dozens of statements asserting our determination to use force to halt armed aggression. For the United States, after so overwhelming a commitment, to permit a rapid Communist takeover by withdrawal, or, in the President's words, "under the cloak of a meaningless agreement," would damage the confidence of all Asian nations, and of many other nations, in the willingness and the ability of the United States to protect them against attack. Unpleasant and undesirable as it may be for Americans and Asians both, we are the only power strong enough to offer such protection. On the very day that India and China clashed on their border, representatives of India were in Washington to seek assurances of help. They had nowhere else to go. Had we chosen not to intervene in Vietnam, the credibility of our military power would perhaps not be at stake. But those decisions were made. Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia foresaw the way in which increasing American intervention would raise the stakes, telling an interviewer in July, 1965, "It is certain that if the United States provokes a major confrontation in this region—which will inevitably end in [its] humiliating retreat—all the other Asian nations, one after another (beginning with the Allies of the United States), will come to know, if not domination, at least a very strong Communist influence." The battle, therefore, has come to transcend the issue of Vietnam itself, making withdrawal intolerable until we achieve a resolution that does not involve American defeat.

Since there exists such a compelling case, resting, as Dean Rusk testified, "upon policy and strategic and geopolitical considerations that are of the utmost importance," it is baffling to find many supporters of the war offering justifications for our presence which have little foundation in history, reason, law, or the course of events. Perhaps it is simply proof of the saying that in war truth is the first casualty. Most startling of all is the recent claim that the United States has a formal and binding commitment to use its armies to defend Vietnam—a commitment resting on the southeast Asia Treaty, or, alternatively, on Presidential statements over more than a decade. Secretary Rusk himself testified, "It is this fundamental SEATO obligation that has from the outset guided our actions in Vietnam." The language of the treaty itself is imprecise. In case of "armed attack" we agreed only "to meet the common danger in accordance with [our] constitutional processes." No nation is specifically required to go to war, although it is true that a skilled lawyer could interpret the language as a commitment or as an excuse for inaction, depending upon his instructions. The conclusive fact, however, is that neither our fellow-signers, including France and Britain, nor John Foster Dulles, who drew up the treaty, nor any American President has believed or been advised that those words required us to send fighting men to Vietnam. Under close questioning by Senator HICKENLOOPER, who was eager to refute the slightest insinuation that this was "Ike's war," General Taylor admitted, "No, sir. Very clearly we made no such commitment. We didn't want such a commitment. This was the last thing we had in mind. * * * Insofar as the use of our combat ground forces are concerned, that [commitment] took place, of course, only in the spring of 1965." One can search the many statements of Presidents and diplomats in vain for any mention of the SEATO Treaty. Time after time, President Johnson set forth the reasons for our presence in Vietnam, but he never spoke of the requirements of the treaty, nor did anyone at the State Department suggest that he should, even though they surely reviewed every draft statement. The treaty argument is, in truth, something a clever advocate conceived a few months ago.

The claim of a SEATO commitment is often buttressed by quotations from the American Presidents concerned—Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson—used to attribute to them the pledge that, in President Kennedy's words, the Communists shall not win "for lack of any support which the United States might render." But for every statement of this kind there is another, such as the one in the Kennedy interview of September 1963, cautiously warning that "we can help them, we can give them equipment, we can send our men out there as advisers, but they have to win it—the people of Vietnam." President Johnson repeated many times the same careful limitation on American involvement. It is unfortunate that the demands of the modern Presidency require such an enormous, unending flood of words and speeches, inevitably resulting in imprecise and ambiguous language. The meaning rests not on a word-by-word analysis of an old text but on the common assumptions and realities of their setting. No President committed American combat troops to Vietnam before they actually went. No President believed he had made such a commitment. No one ever thought he had. No adviser in the highest councils ever urged action on the basis of the SEATO Treaty or of any other pledge; none, as far as I know, ever mentioned the existence of such a pledge. And, in fact, there was no such commitment. Combat troops were sent because our national interest, in the judgment of our leaders, required their presence, and for no other reason.

Efforts to justify our presence in Vietnam by elevating it to the grand scale of a decisive "testing ground for the war of liberation," of "another Munich," or of the beginning of a fall of "dominoes" are equally unnecessary and also defective. In large part, the struggle in Vietnam is indeed a war of internal aggression—what Soviet and Chinese leaders call a "war of liberation." It certainly is not the decisive one. Win or lose, we will face similar challenges, just as our success in Greece and Turkey was followed, much later, by Soviet intervention in Cuba. Invasion in Korea was halted, and Quemoy and Matsu were bombarded. Firmness in the Formosa Strait did not halt efforts at subversion in places as remote as the Congo and the Central African Republic. Fighting in Malaya and the Philippines and on the Indian border came to an end, but fighting continues in Vietnam. This war is another episode—a particularly dangerous and bloody one—in a long, continuing conflict. General Taylor has already informed us that "they are beginning in Thailand." Nor is this the Asian equivalent of the decision at Munich. There the Allies yielded to a nation with a timetable for the armed conquest of Europe. Moreover, it is unlikely in the extreme that a firm stand at Munich would have long halted a madman armed with the best military machine in Europe. It might have changed the terms and timing of war but not war itself. Had the time the Allies bought been used to prepare, Munich might be now considered an act of statesmanship. Our refusal to yield in Vietnam stands on its own merits, not on those of a distant and indistinct analogy. Nor would the simple fact of Communist rule set a row of dominoes falling. In 1949, the biggest domino of all, China, fell, and others did not follow. It is the fact of American defeat, the demonstration of American futility, rather than the presence of a Communist government in Vietnam, that would shake uncertain governments in Asia.

The American war in Vietnam flows not from formal commitment or historical theory but from the history of this cruel and confused conflict. The effort to rewrite that history only bewilders the supporters and strengthens the opponents of government policy in Vietnam, carrying the debate into irrelevant dead ends of discussion and contradiction.

The Vietnamese war is 20 years old. It began while Chiang Kai-shek still ruled China and the French owned Indochina. On September 2, 1945, Ho Chi Minh issued the Vietnamese Declaration of Independence: "All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, and among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." On the evening of December 19, the next year, city streets all over Vietnam were instantly cloaked in night by a coordinated attack on power stations across the country. The war had begun. It was first ignored, then shared, by the United States, which gave more than a billion dollars of aid to the beleaguered French. Early in 1954, John Foster Dulles announced that the new French military policy was designed to "break the organized body of Communist aggression by the end of the 1955 fighting season." But in May 1954, before that fighting season came, the great powers assembled at Geneva to work out the terms of a French defeat. The Geneva Conference granted Vietnam independence, prohibited it from forming military alliances or accommodating foreign bases, guaranteed it democratic freedoms, and divided the country into North and South until national elections could be held in 1956, making it clear that the partition was "provisional" and "should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary."

At this point, accounts and histories, claims and charges trail off into uncertainty and illusion. The course and nature of the "second" Vietnamese war are cloaked in ignorance, obscured by the diverging views of historians, buried in the archives of Hanoi, Peking, the State Department, and the Quai d'Orsay, interred with the bodies of Diem and his brother.

We do know, however, that the new, semiofficial narrative of straightforward Communist duplicity and aggression does not tell the whole story. According to Secretary Rusk, the Communists violated the Geneva agreement at the very beginning by leaving a hard core of agents in the south. Yet, the International Control Commission, including friendly and responsive Canada, found in 1955 that "the provisions of * * * a military or semimilitary nature have on the whole been carried out." It is true that some agents were left. Most of the 5,000 guerrillas still to be found in South Vietnam were South Vietnamese who had gone home, as they were entitled to do. Then, we are told, during the next 5 years, Hanoi "developed a secret political-military organization in the south," conducted a campaign of terror and assassination, and, like a "typical police state," refused to let the national elections scheduled for 1956 be held. This refusal is surely the greatest political self-denial in history, since President Eisenhower has estimated that "possibly 80 percent of the population [of all Vietnam] would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh." In the late 50's, the new narrative goes on, North Vietnam began to infiltrate the south with "disciplined adherents whom the party had ordered north at the time of the settlement," and directed them to "form cadres around which guerrilla units could be built." Finally, in 1960, Hanoi created the National Liberation Front, to serve as a "political facade" for the conquest of a people enjoying "substantial progress" under Diem. Infiltration increased. The Army of North Vietnam joined the battle. And, here we are.

The whole of this careful structure, faintly reminiscent of an entry in the Soviet Encyclopedia concerning the American contribution to the Second World War, is designed to prove that the struggle in Vietnam is solely "a systematic aggression by Hanoi against the people of South Vietnam." Some of this account is accurate and some of it is distorted. More often events are described with a certainty and simplicity that do not exist. On February 3, Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY was more candid about the complexities, telling a New York audience, "Some of these revolutionaries are from the south. Some are from the north. Some are irregulars. Some are regular North Vietnamese soldiers. Some of their supply and direction comes from the south. Some of it comes from Hanoi. Some of it comes from Peking." The President said, more compactly, "Some of the people of South Vietnam are participating in attack on their own government." The reality is that there is aggression and there is also civil war. Some of the revolutionaries are Communists and some are not. Some wish to associate with China and others are passionate nationalists.

From 1954 until 1956, North Vietnam for the most part bided its time, expecting that South Vietnam would soon be under its control. When the time came for the elections required by the treaty, President Diem, with encouragement from the United States, refused to hold them—because he rightly feared defeat—and began a rigorously severe repression against his political enemies, including the small number of Communists who, along with other dissidents, were seeking a foothold in the countryside. Spurred by this repression, by the desire to overthrow Diem, by the failure to hold elections, and by a small but growing amount of help from the north, the revolutionaries organized. They began to terrorize the peasants, propagandize the villages, and even carry out a few small measures of reform. Nor did Diem improve relations by creating, in 1958, a Committee for the Liberation of North Vietnam, which parachuted agents into northern areas of discontent, or by refusing to trade badly needed rice. Finally, in 1960, Hanoi called for a National Liberation Front to lead the growing struggle in the south—an organization whose "nominal leader," according to Vice President HUMPHREY, "is not known as a Communist"—which is clearly responsive to Hanoi but whose exact relationship, puppet or partly independent, is certainly unknown and probably mixed.

By 1960, 15 village chiefs a week were being killed by revolutionaries. Infiltration from the north was on the rise. Today, as the President has said, the support and direction from the north are "the heartbeat of the war." But the war never was, and is not now, only a war of north against south.

Secretary McNamara carefully explained in 1964 that even though northern support and direction are "a critical factor * * * the large indigenous support that the Vietcong receives means that solutions must be as political and economic as military," and he added, "Indeed, there can be no such thing as a purely 'military' solution." This appraisal is strengthened by the Defense Department estimate that of a total of about 330,000 Vietcong, dead and alive, only 63,000 have been infiltrators. More than a quarter million have been recruited from among the people who live in the south. Our enemies are not only ruthless aggressors and assassins but also men like Do Luc, whose diary, found on his body, contains the lines "Leaving temporarily the beloved north to return to my native south to liberate my compatriots from the yoke of misery imposed by My-Diem [U.S. Diem]. * * * Now my life is full of hardship, not enough rice to eat, not enough salt to give a taste to my tongue, not enough clothing to keep myself warm. But in my heart I keep loyal to the party and to the people. I am proud and happy."

Neither the country nor the President is served by a reduction of the confused and blending tones of history to sharp blacks and whites. President Johnson, with clearer insight, has spoken of "the confused nature of this conflict." It is enough to know, without seeking a consistent and deliberate plot stretching over a dozen years, that there is aggression—in Johnson's words, "an attack by one country on another." Yet at the same time there is also civil war, discontent, unfulfilled aspirations, and violent passions among the people of the south. Any effort at a political solution must take shape from that reality as well, if it is to be accepted or if, once accepted, it is to endure.

Just as our immense and dangerous involvement in this confused conflict does not rest on formal commitment or on resistance to "simple aggression," it did not emerge from a clear and consistent policy, based on a clear consciousness, at every step, of the implications, dangers, and possibilities of the future. As in many great national enterprises, each individual decision seemed reasonable, carefully limited, even necessary. We looked cautiously ahead while the door closed slowly, ponderously behind us.

More important than any other single factor was the hopeful expectation, the wish, deeply grounded in the American character, that victory might come easily and with little pain. In 1954, Eisenhower wrote a letter offering to "examine" a program of aid if needed reforms were carried out in South Vietnam. The object was to build a stable country that could stand on its own feet—nothing more than we were doing, and still are doing, in dozens of countries. In 1955, a few soldiers crossed the Pacific to help train the South Vietnamese Army to do a better job of protecting its own country; this training mission was similar to the missions we have in other parts of Asia and in many countries of South America. Nevertheless, the United States slowly began to replace the French as the dominant foreign power in a weak, unstable, menaced land. Next, as terror and attack mounted—though still on a small scale—under President Kennedy, the American military presence began to increase. It consisted of advisers, instructed to train, help, counsel, but not to fight. Late in 1961, we suffered our first military casualty. By the end of that year, there were 3,000 American troops in South Vietnam; by the end of the next year, 11,000; by the end of 1963, 16,000.

At every step, it seemed to many that the struggle was almost won. Who, in good conscience, and in the interests of the United States, could refuse the small additional help that did not seem to risk major conflict yet might prevent a Communist takeover? In March 1963, our commander in Vietnam, Gen. Paul Harkins, assured the Nation, and the President, that the South Vietnamese armed forces "had all that was required for victory." That October, Secretary of Defense McNamara and General Taylor announced that "the major part of the U.S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965." A month later, General Harkins prophesied, even more glowingly, that "victory is * * * just months away." And in the secret meetings of the National Security Council the reports, estimates, and counsel were still more optimistic and assured, although a few advisers were more skeptical. These were the judgments of men of intelligence and force. Robert McNamara is a most brilliant Secretary of Defense and a principal voice of restraint in the administration; Maxwell Taylor is among the most thoughtful and enlightened of generals. The shifting group around the conference table was one of the most luminous ever assembled in government. Why were the estimates so faulty? In part, of course, they were not. The enemy forces were relatively small. The South Vietnamese Army was growing in power and effectiveness. But the reasonable, even brilliant military calculations masked a whole series of erroneous political assumptions. The crucial variables in the equation of victory were not firepower or troops but the will of the Vietcong to fight, the strength and stability of the South Vietnamese Government, the intentions and capacities of North Vietnam. As it turned out, the Vietcong were more determined, and had greater local support, than we thought; the South Vietnamese military was less effective and its Government (soon to be tumbled in a flood of popular discontent) weaker than we thought; North Vietnam was more willing to take risks and better equipped to make war. The estimates were reasoned, but they were based on the wrong evidence or on evidence that was far more uncertain than anyone believed. Added to these critical misjudgments were a certain amount of wishful thinking and, more important, the fact that other problems—Cuba and Berlin and the test-ban treaty—were clamoring for attention. Had we more precisely judged what the future might bring, the same decisions might still have been made, but they would have been made with a clearer awareness of onrushing danger.

In 1964, the process continued assisted and complicated by President Johnson's need to assert his new leadership, map out a program, and prepare for election. We continued to "advise and help," although more of those concerned began to see the dimensions of the approaching crisis. Finally, early in 1965, the President was advised that morale in South Vietnam could be revived only if we bombed military targets in North Vietnam. This would assure Saigon of our determination to stay the course, and perhaps, if we were lucky, would so weaken Hanoi's will to fight that we could avoid the unpleasant, looming need to send in large numbers of combat troops. Thus the most fateful decision of all was made. The war went north. What had been an important but subdued conflict became a major international crisis. In the election of 1964, although Vietnam was occasionally mentioned, not a single complete speech of President Johnson's was devoted to that conflict. (We did not then refer to it as a war.) Opinion polls commissioned by local candidates and the national Democratic Party showed that as few as 4 or 5 percent of the people in many States considered it an issue of major concern; it was ranked distantly behind unemployment, disarmament, and even Cuba. From the day of the bombing, however, Vietnam, rapidly swallowing up all other concerns and dangers, was never to leave the front pages of the world.

By the spring of 1965, it was clear that if American combat troops, in large numbers, did not enter the war, defeat was not only likely but imminent. "Early in 1965 * * * it was widely felt on both sides * * * that it was only a matter of time before the Communists would win, unless something was done about it," McGeorge Bundy said in February. After the most painful discussion, a commitment of combat troops was made, limited only by developing military needs, and Vietnam became an irrevocably American war.

Flowing from the cruel necessities of the present, informed by awareness of the past, is the third Vietnam debate: the passionate unresolved clash about the future. Thousands of lives are at hazard, and there are rising risks of war with the entire 300,000-man Army of North Vietnam, of a titanic conflict with the legions of China, and even, in ultimate—decisive—holocaust, of armed conflict with the Soviet Union.

President Johnson, guided by the information he receives, confined and influenced by advisers, swayed by opinion, coerced by events, directed by national tradition and principle, nevertheless holds the vital decisions in his hands alone. Alarmed at this enormous power, some people have denied its existence. "This President of ours cannot justify under the Constitution sending a single American boy to * * * South Vietnam without a declaration of war," Senator MORSE said at the hearings. "We are involved illegally in this war." A President's power to involve the country in armed conflict—argued and indecisively compromised at the Constitutional Convention—has been resolved by history. President Polk knowingly brought on the Mexican War by ordering American troops into an area disputed with Mexico (although war was later declared). In 1861, Lincoln established an armed blockade of Southern ports when Congress was not yet in session. Theodore Roosevelt openly boasted, "I took Panama." Truman sent troops to Korea, and Eisenhower to Lebanon, without asking Congress. Kennedy approved the Bay of Pigs invasion and commanded the armed blockade of Cuba on his own. Today, the congressional power to declare war is little more than a ratification of events and acts already past. Congress can censure Presidential action, or even cripple it by refusing to vote money or troops. But this is not being done, partly because many Congressmen support the war, partly because others follow the reasoning attributed by Benjamin Thomas to Representative Abraham Lincoln during the Mexican War—that even though he opposed the war, "whenever supply bills were presented, he, like most other Whigs, voted for them rather than risk popular disfavor." Lincoln himself, his political career seemingly devastated by open opposition to the Mexican War, explained to William Herndon, in terms that might appeal to many men now in Congress, "The Locos are untiring in their efforts to make the impression that all who vote supplies * * * do of necessity approve the President's conduct in the beginning of it; but the Whigs from the beginning made and kept the distinction between the two."

It is not possible to convey the full flavor of a meeting of final resolution conducted by Lyndon Johnson. In the early summer of 1965, following several days of discussion, the President and his advisers—Rusk, McNamara, Bundy, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency William Raborn, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Earle Wheeler, Under Secretary of State George Ball, and several Presidential assistants—met to discuss the decision that he intended to announce the next morning. It was already clear that combat troops would be sent to Vietnam. The question was whether the reserves should be summoned, a national emergency declared, and the Nation given a serious war warning. Throughout the debate, the President sat slouched and almost unnoticed in his chair, listening, and asking questions. As debate trailed off, he sat upright, the massive physical presence suddenly dominating the table. "Gentlemen," he said, "here are the alternatives." He carefully listed five choices, the last being to commit only the troops then needed, without calling the reserves. His tone left little doubt of his own choice. He then went back over the alternatives, pausing after each one to ask, unsmiling, "Does anyone favor that?" As No. 4, the most drastic, met the same silence as the others, he turned and, staring at the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, rose without putting the fifth, and favored, choice, said "Thank you, gentlemen," and left.

During the night, the President personally inserted in his announcement the most advanced peace proposals we had made—free elections, reunification if this should be voted, a cease-fire, and a clear willingness to hear the Vietcong at the conference table—at one stroke overriding long-held objections. Few incidents better dramatized the painful, consistent Presidential desire to prevent defeat while resisting proposals to enlarge the conflict beyond what the present seemed to demand. The wisdom of such a course can be debated, but I do not doubt Lyndon Johnson's desire to end the war. It is killing Americans and threatening the death of many more. It has already reduced resources for education and housing, for conservation and the war against poverty. It is endangering our prosperity. It is, far more than is yet clear, seriously weakening national support for the Democratic Party and the President himself. The depth of this possible disaffection is hinted at by the recent Gallup poll showing that 67 percent of the people would favor a congressional candidate who advocated that we "try harder to reach a compromise peace settlement." (Fifteen percent would oppose such a candidate, 18 percent had no opinion.)

But how can the war be ended? On that issue, the public record reveals, there is a real and danger-filled clash—unresolved, barely articulated, and now in process of decision. Few wish either withdrawal or what the President called mindless escalation, involving an immediate devastation of North Vietnam or an attack on China. These views have no serious prospects, at least for the moment. There are, rather, two middle grounds, presenting different risks, and leading in different directions. On one side are those who believe we should fight a carefully limited war, restricted to combat in South Vietnam and pacification of the countryside; that we should refuse to expand, and perhaps even reduce or halt, the bombing of the north; and that we should aggressively seek a compromise political settlement, with the inevitably uncertain risk that the Communists might ultimately win control of the country. On the other side are those who wish to use all the military power needed, in the north as well as in the south, to bring the Vietcong to their knees and break the will of Hanoi to continue the war—who wish to compel the Communists into an unfavorable political settlement or no settlement at all. "I don't think anybody suggests literally exterminating them," General Taylor testified, "but we would like to have them so beaten that they would be glad to come in and accept an amnesty." Our policy today rests precariously on the first alternative—carefully limited conflict, leading to a fair, if risky, compromise. However, the pressures of circumstances and events are urging us imperceptibly toward the second course, exposing us to the steadily enlarging danger of a course that has no logical and certain end except in measureless rivers of blood.

Our future policy in Vietnam must follow two parallel roads—the road of negotiation and the road of combat. Past miscalculation should have humbled us to the awareness that each specific step may have larger consequences than we can foresee. Each should be tested against a single standard: Does it serve or injure the bedrock vital interest of the United States? That interest is to establish that American military power, once committed to defend another nation, cannot be driven from the field. It is not to guarantee South Vietnam forever against the possibility of a Communist takeover.

Hanoi's unwillingness to negotiate is one of the great mysteries of the war. At best, negotiation would give them a favorable result; at worst, negotiation would make it almost impossible for the United States—compelled to show good faith at the conference table—to step up the war. In fact, some of the more militant members of the Washington community have expressed fearful apprehension lest our offer be accepted. The answer to the mystery is buried in the unknown calculations of enemy leaders, the internal politics of North Vietnam, the obscure relations among the Vietcong, Hanoi, Peking, and Moscow. Certainly North Vietnam can no longer hope for victory, either by force of arms or by the failure of will. Yet perhaps it does, knowing so little about the strange stubbornness streaked with violence, of the American mind. Recent proofs of instability and division in South Vietnam may add fuel to that hope. Probably the North Vietnamese also suspect that we are asking them to the negotiating table simply to compel their surrender, that nothing we have yet said assures an acceptable compromise, and that if they talk without such assurance it will destroy the morale of the thousands of guerrillas who have undergone years of cruel hardship and danger. Beyond this is Peking, urging, demanding, warning against discussions, establishing its own direct relations with the Vietcong over the head of Hanoi, seemingly delighted to see Americans involved—without cost to China, though not without risk—in a war that helps feed its hope of wresting world Communist leadership from the Soviet Union.

We have had, as we are often reminded, many communications with Hanoi. The critical question, however, is not how many times we have talked but what we have said, not how many notes we have sent but what they have contained. We cannot know this with certainty, but the vagueness of public discussion strengthens a general conviction that the terms of a realistic political settlement have not yet been communicated—a conviction that is further supported by the suggestion of U Thant, expressed in a January interview with a reliable correspondent for the Washington Post, that "as a next step * * * concrete proposals be made on what type of government in South Vietnam, representative, as far as possible, of all the sections of the South Vietnamese people * * * could take over the responsibility of organizing the exercise by the people of the right to decide their own affairs." Clearly, such proposals must answer at least three basic questions. First, who will shape the terms of settlement? Certainly Hanoi cannot come to the table if the Vietcong, who bear the burden of combat, are excluded. Even if it could, to do so would require its admission that the war of liberation in South Vietnam was "simple aggression," that it had consistently lied to the world. Its own very recent claim that the Vietcong are "the sole legitimate representative" of South Vietnam is surely a response to our own assertions that the Vietcong are, in the Vice President's words, but a "stooge," an "agent," of Hanoi. Stripped of pejoratives, however, our current utterances seem to express willingness to talk to the Vietcong. There is, the President said, "no insuperable problem" to having the Vietcong's views represented at a conference. Ambassador Averell Harriman elaborated this when he said that the Vietcong can come either "as part of the North Vietnamese delegation or as an independent group * * * but not as a government." The paper-thin problem of formal labels is no formidable barrier to those who really want to talk. The second, and most important, of the three questions concerns the makeup of the ultimate Government of Vietnam. We are willing to see "free elections" in which the Communists can organize, can campaign, and perhaps can win a voice in government. If this happens—and the popular support of the Vietcong makes it likely that it will—we will "honor their result." Once there is peace, we will support a neutral South Vietnam, without military alliances or foreign bases, and free to choose whether or not to reunite with the Communist north. So, according to their published program, will the Vietcong. The third question has to do with the governing of Vietnam between a final settlement and elections. In a country as weak, unstable, and disorganized as Vietnam, elections will be confused, difficult, and disputed. Clearly, we cannot trust the Communists to run free elections. Nor can they be reasonably expected to rely on the honesty and dispassion of General Ky (or his successor). If elections are to mean anything, the country must be directed in this interim period by a compromise government, trusted by both sides, their trust being supported by an effective network of international guarantees, by international supervision, or even by an international armed force sufficient to prevent a repetition of the 1956 refusal to hold elections (made possible, at least in part, by the withdrawal of French forces at the request of Diem). This may mean that some Communists will be allowed to share in the interim government. It may mean a government of Buddhists and neutrals, or even an international trusteeship. There are many in South Vietnam well suited to such a role; the vital matter is the international guarantees and international forces that will insure both free elections and peaceful accession by the victors.

This sine qua non of a negotiated settlement was at the center of the confused debate that raged over the February 19 statement of Senator KENNEDY—a debate that dramatized the impossibility of publicly discussing complex issues, especially amid the intricacies of high politics. KENNEDY stated that an acceptable compromise would involve "a share of power and responsibility" for the Vietcong, shaped to avoid the possibility of "domination or internal conquest," with "international guarantees to back up agreement," while the political process would be placed "under the rigorous supervision of a trusted international body." Our willingness to accept the "uncertainties of election" would be matched by a clear demonstration that we would not permit conquest by force. The record of debate does not sustain the impression that KENNEDY withdrew from this position in the fire that followed. There were, however, misreadings, followed by attacks on the proposals as thus interpreted. In fact, he did little more than elaborate what Senator FULBRIGHT had said unnoticed to Secretary Rusk the day before: "I do not recall * * * we have ever made it crystal clear that we will support an election supervised by an appropriate international body, and that we will accept the results. * * * It is also not clear that we are willing to allow any participation of the National Liberation Front either in a provisional government or at any time and, therefore, there is no alternative for them but surrender or annihilation." When the cannonade of comment is sifted, and then stripped of imprecations, accusations, zeal to be in the front ranks of anticommunism, and the fervent but always risky effort to read the unspoken thoughts of the President, the discussion does not seem to leave the administration position far from this. But the debate did, for just a moment, throw a ray of light on inner differences of temperament and attitude. It seemed that Secretary Rusk closed the door when, the day before the Kennedy statement, in answer to FULBRIGHT's dogged pursuit of the alternative to the "possibility of participation" by the Vietcong, he said, "They do have an alternative. They are the front of Hanoi. They do have an alternative of quitting, of stopping being an agent of Hanoi and receiving men and arms from the north." McGeorge Bundy added to the confusion 2 days later by asserting, "The administration does not take the view that admitting the Communists to a share of power and responsibility would be a useful or helpful step," and then, lapsing into the most painful possible rejoinder, quoted President Kennedy against his brother on the wholly irrelevant problem of popular fronts in Europe. (Closer to the problem—if past heroes are to be invoked—is President Kennedy's response to a question about the dangers of coalition government in Laos: "We are taking a chance in all of sourtheast Asia. * * * I can assure you that I recognize the risks that are involved. But I also think that we should consider the risks if we fail, and particularly of the possibility of escalation of a military struggle in a place of danger.") Once the verbal torrent diminished, it was clear that the President had not embraced the Bundy view. In public speeches and press conferences, he carefully avoided saying anything against the approach of FULBRIGHT and KENNEDY. We would "honor the result" of an election, the President said—presumably even if the Communists should win. And the makeup of an interim government, according to Ambassador Arthur Goldberg and the White House, would "be left to the negotiating parties"—which keeps the door open for compromise. The structure of such a compromise (or the many possible variants of compromise) and our willingness to communicate specific proposals to Hanoi are left to future actions and decisions.

Is there a possibility of such a settlement? Hanoi has proposed four points for negotiation. Secretary Rusk, in setting forth 14 points of his own, said that "the effect of those four points * * * would be to give away the very purposes for which we are fighting and to deliver the people of South Vietnam against their will to the domination of a Communist regime." Yet the substance, if not the intention, of the four points is not impossibly distant from the Secretary's own program. It is generally agreed that only the third point, calling for a settlement of the affairs of South Vietnam "in accordance with the program of the National Liberation Front," is totally unacceptable. Although that program has shifted over the years, its essentials have remained constant. Once past the unflattering references to "gangster-style U.S. culture," it calls, in its fullest 1961 version, for "a new constitution," "a new National Assembly through universal suffrage," "all democratic liberties" (including freedom of speech and worship), land reform through "purchase from landowners," "a foreign policy of peace and neutrality," the elimination of all foreign military bases, close unity with "peace-loving and neutral countries" (first of all, with "neighboring Cambodia and Laos"), the overthrow of the Diem regime (since accomplished), and the establishment of "a national democratic" coalition administration, and so on. Of course, there are hidden traps and dangerous ambiguities, such as a granting of freedom only to "patriotic" political parties, a call for reunification by negotiations rather than through elections (although the negotiating government would be elected, and although this year Hanoi proposed reunification through elections), and an absence of international guarantees for elections. It would be naive to think that the program was not intended to move toward a Communist takeover. Yet in the main, when the ritual curses have been excised, Hanoi's four points, including the front program, sound much like ours; the expressed differences are no greater than those in many productive cold war negotiations. Perhaps this is all propaganda; perhaps victory, not settlement, is the real goal. Yet, whatever Hanoi's reaction, the time has come for the United States to formulate a fair and detailed outline of settlement. Of course, we cannot, as George Ball has said, "first announce it to a television audience and then * * * sit down at a bargaining table." Fruitful discussion will begin in secrecy, where it can be free from political pressures, from critics, and from the corrosive compulsion toward simplicity which marks public debate. The essentials are there: a cease-fire, a laying down of arms so that the entire country can be governed, and an end to bombing; a structure to guarantee elections and also peaceful accession by the victors; a withdrawal of foreign forces, and neutralization; free elections, with Communist participation. Such proposals, couched in the most specific possible terms, should be communicated to Hanoi, accompanied or quickly followed by a meeting between a high U.S. official and a top North Vietnamese. Negotiations, even in the lofty chambers of international politics, cannot be conducted successfully by notes and messengers. Only men confident of their authority and their ability, and fully aware of the implications of their own proposals and the proposals of others—in other words, no more than half a dozen men in America—can hope to bring such negotiations to a successful conclusion, or even bring an accurate account of them to the President.

It does not illuminate reality to say, as some have said, that we cannot "dictate to South Vietnam" what form a settlement should take. It is not conceivable that the United States should continue a major war simply because the temporary chieftain in Saigon did not agree with our position. Nor can any South Vietnamese leader hope to withstand determined American pressure toward a settlement.

In the inevitable political instability of a peaceful South Vietnam, there is always a risk that the Communists may ultimately win political power—that the fox may insinuate its way, or be voted, into the chicken coop. It is this danger that stiffens some people's resistance to negotiations. It would indeed be an unfortunate outcome, but, measured by our vital interest—avoiding military defeat—it would not be fatal. It is no more than the chance we are constantly taking all across the world in cold war competition. The only way to compel the Vietcong to a settlement that does not involve such a risk is to crush them in battle.

That battle now goes on in two wars, separated by the 17th parallel—the war in the north and the war in the south. The northern war carries a far more grave danger of a larger, bloodier, and increasingly devastating struggle. On the objectives of the war there has been a subtle change of direction among many of those responsible for its conduct. Less than a year ago, our objective was "a stalemate." Once the guerrillas were convinced that victory was impossible, they would come to the conference table. Now important voices, publicly and privately, are lifted in favor not of a standoff but of victory. On March 3, Secretary McNamara told a Senate committee, "We win if North Vietnam leaves South Vietnam alone [translated: if the Vietcong stop fighting] * * *. We believe we can win in the sense I indicated." Two weeks earlier, on February 17, General Taylor testified that the time to negotiate is not "until it is quite clear their course of action is a losing one"—a flat contradiction, as Senator AIKEN reminded the General, of the President's expressed desire to negotiate now. Other officials are proclaiming it our intention to "destroy" major enemy units, or to break Hanoi's "will to fight." It is a mistake to read too much into individual statements and speeches, plucked out of the careless and ceaseless verbal flow of official Washington, but the absence of contradiction, the growing lack of caution, the obviously planted news stories, and the other evidence charged with significance for the insider (an official in the highest ranks of foreign policy said that the Life article called "Vietnam: The War Is Worth Winning" was one of the most helpful he had seen) all strongly indicate that a substantial section of the community of power believes that military victory is our principal, perhaps our only, objective. I myself am convinced that this belief is growing, but it is significant, and heartening, that the President has not called for armed triumph.

Victory in the south may be possible, with the major Communist units destroyed or broken up, morale shattered, and the guerrillas laying down their arms, asking for amnesty, or peacefully returning to their homes. We are, after all, killing greater and greater numbers of Vietcong. One high official estimates that the "kill rate" may average a thousand a week throughout the year. (Like nearly all the statistics of this war, such an estimate is necessarily flawed by doubts and inadequate information.) The defection rate is increasing, too (now at a weekly average of three to four hundred), although it does not yet match desertions from the South Vietnamese Army. Areas that once provided the guerrillas with secure sanctuary are now constantly menaced by descending helicopters and mobile troops. Yet many heavy clouds obscure the view toward "victory." Past misjudgments impose a fierce skepticism about promises—however, faint and tentative—of military triumph. Since the early 1950's, they have always been wrong. Recently, we were told that the "tide" was turning—a phrase that accidentally echoed the Pentagon pronouncement of May 1963, that "the corner definitely has been turned" toward victory. In 1962, McNamara said that the "ratio of killed and captured" was much more favorable; while a year later General Harkins proclaimed encouragingly from Saigon, "The Vietcong are losing because we are steadily decreasing their areas of maneuver and the terrain over which they can move at will." With a change in dates, these statements would fit unnoticed into many of today's briefings and releases. It is natural for men whose business is to fight wars to believe they can win, just as any good politician secretly believes he can win an election no matter how unfavorable the odds. Past mistakes are no guarantee of future error. There is a possibility that they may be right this time, but history teaches a reluctance to hazard great things on such predictions.

Moreover, it is unclear what victory means. The Secretary of State has said that our only commitment is to stop armed attack from the north—that if the North Vietnamese "were to show the slightest interest in withdrawing their regular armed forces and infiltrators, we could move to peace very quickly and the United States could withdraw its forces." How easy it is to become captive of the incomplete view that the Vietcong are "simply * * * the military arm of North Vietnam." A withdrawal of all infiltrators would leave more than a hundred thousand trained guerrillas in South Vietnam, and there would be no certainty that Hanoi could completely stop the fighting or that such an order, if it should be obeyed at first, would not soon be ignored. Unless a negotiated settlement gives the dissidents a role in the political life of the country, a peaceful outlet for their ambitions, hopes, and protests, we must remain—as well we may—occupiers for many years. That possibility, resting on uncertainty about the nature of a victorious or independent South Vietnam, is further strengthened by today's still unsettled turbulence. The demonstrations, many of them conducted by young men who have never lived in a country free of terror, civil strife, and the cruelties of war, remind us that the last few months of political quiet in South Vietnam were a rare interlude. To the extent that Communists have inspired division, the antigovernment protests show alarming influence in cities we have long claimed to control. To the extent that they flow from local discontent, they reflect division about the future of South Vietnam and weariness with war, and indicate the mounting price in anti-American feeling we must inevitably pay for the growing weight of the American presence in that tiny land. Whatever the outcome, however, unless events sweep away our influence altogether, it is unlikely we will permit any government to come to power which would inflict on us what some would see as the "humiliation" of requesting our withdrawal.

Some people justify their optimism about victory in terms of "breaking the will" of the Communists to continue the fight. It is true that there are more and more defectors, and that prisoners arrive more and more tired, dejected, and hungry. But the battle goes on; despite our growing force, Hanoi seems more militant, and infiltration seems to be increasing as our own numbers increase. We cannot know the will of men we do not understand. From Thermopylae to the Japanese-infested islands of the Pacific and Hitler's Berlin bunker, history is full of individuals and fighting forces who chose to fight against impossible odds and accept certain death. Nor can we measure the determination of an aging Communist leader who has been waging war for almost a quarter of a century. It is a guess built on an assumption resting on a hope. Aggressors though they are, many of the Vietcong believe they are enlisted in the ranks of justice. Mai Xuan Phong wrote in his diary, "The most precious thing for a man is his life. * * * My whole life, my whole strength have been devoted to the most elevated and the most beautiful cause—the struggle for the liberation of mankind." The demonstrations in South Vietnam show either an increasing weariness with the war on our side or a far greater Communist penetration of the cities than we have cared to admit. The Communists' will to fight may dissolve tomorrow, but one should not wager many American lives on it.

Even if we win countless battles, our victory will not be assured. Success in a guerrilla war, as our experts have repeatedly told us, is not measured simply in deaths and prisoners but, for the most part, in areas of the country pacified and population controlled. There is no clear proof that our control over the population is increasing. General Taylor, at one point in his testimony, indicated that 60 percent of the people were under friendly control instead of the 53 percent of 6 months before. Other testimony shows this figure to be uncertain, probably unknown, or perhaps completely unjustified. Although the Vietcong controls fewer areas than before, there is no firm evidence that a single square mile has been pacified—that is, cleared of guerrillas, protected against future attack, and set on the road to economic improvement. Nor has the United States reached the end of its commitment. General Taylor admitted 235,000 men are not sufficient. The probable conclusion—the simple arithmetic—of Secretary McNamara's March 3 testimony before the Senate is that the United States plans to have at least 400,000 troops in South Vietnam by the end of the year. They will be needed if we intend to keep up the offensive against enemy forces that can increase by 8,000 a month while we kill 4,000 or less—and even this estimate of enemy increase rests on the highly speculative belief that no more supplies can be smuggled into the south than these troops require, or about a hundred and fifty tons a day. If we are wrong about this—and we may well be wrong—the number that can infiltrate could grow enormously, along with the number of our own troops. (We need four or five men for every enemy soldier, and South Vietnam is nearing the limit of its manpower.)

The hope of victory, however, is not just a harmless foible of some generals and their few State Department allies. It carries the enormous danger that in pursuit of that shining, elusive prize we will enlarge the war in the north. As the southern conflict continues unabated, pressure for more aggressive attacks on North Vietnam, will steadily mount—pressure from public opinion frustrated by an endless battle, pressure from politicians seeking to discredit the administration's will and courage, pressure from those still searching for that one untaken step which will bring success. I hope, and I believe, that the President will resist such pressure, for no one is more painfully aware than he of the immense hazards of enlarging the war in the north.

Since February 7, 1965, we have been bombing selected military targets in North Vietnam—roads and bridges, ammunition and supply dumps, and gathering points for guerrillas. The bombing began with the aim of restoring crumbling morale in South Vietnam and in the forlorn hope that North Vietnam, quaking under the punishing assault, would come to the conference table. Its present purpose, according to Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance, is "to interdict the infiltration of men and material," or, as it is more expansively viewed by General Taylor, "In a very real sense, the objective of our air campaign is to change the will of the enemy leadership." There is little evidence that the bombing has either had serious effect on the flow of supplies or eroded the will of the north. Infiltration did increase during the pause in the bombing. It also increased before the pause and it has increased since, and we have no figures to prove that bombing has made any important difference. Bombing, it is claimed, imposes "a higher price" for infiltration. It is unclear what this means. The border between the two Vietnams is mostly jungle crossed by trails and waterways. The price of carrying supplies and of repairing roads and bridges is high in terms of human labor, but there are huge numbers of willing unemployed. The travel of men and supplies since the bombing is longer and more difficult, but the North Vietnamese have time and they are used to discomfort. Of course, the bombing has some effect, but there is no compelling public justification of these costly assaults on military grounds. General Matthew B. Ridgway, our commander in Korea—the last ground war in Asia—has concluded, "It is impossible to interdict the supply routes of an Asian army by air power alone. [In Korea] we had complete air mastery—we clobbered Chinese supply columns unmercifully—but we did not halt their offensive nor materially diminish its strength."

The war in the north has neither halted aggression nor shattered the "will" of the enemy nor "punished Hanoi" beyond the limits of endurance, yet the Alice in Wonderland response of some is to call for a stepping up of the war. "We should go after more meaningful targets on a slow progressive scale," said General Taylor, a highly intelligent military moderate. This will, it is hoped, "provide a sobering reminder to the leaders in Hanoi that progressively they must pay a mounting price for the continuation of their support of the Vietcong insurgency."

The President has given a more restricted basis for the bombing—"to slow down aggression," "increase the confidence of * * * South Vietnam," and help "convince the leaders of North Vietnam—and all who seek to share their conquest—[that] we will not be defeated * * * grow tired * * * [or] withdraw." The bombing has helped strengthen Southern resolution, and it has also helped convince any reasonable adversary that armed conquest is inconceivable, though the combat troops we have sent to the South since the bombing began are a more compelling proof.

The objectives set forth by the President are limited ones, and they have largely been accomplished. However, the grander and more spacious desire to end the enemy's capacity for making war, destroy his will to fight, and punish him for wrongdoing opens limitless horizons of expansion. Moreover, this desire invokes judgments that are not military judgments. The will of a nation, the punishment it can take, the strength of national pride and feeling and resistance are not matters that military specialists or computers or the Rand Corp. can assess. They require an intimate knowledge of the culture and thought of alien lands and of obscurely known leaders. It may even be that, as a careful American study of the war against Germany indicated, bombing strengthens the fighting spirit of a people. A leading political figure recently said to me, "After all, if we were being bombed, we'd never give in." Even the purely military justification, unsupported by any civilian * * * if necessary, should assure continued security while we begin the work of social organization and economic investment, along with measures for education and the improvement of health, the harnessing of water power, and an increase in the yield of the land. If we now lack the manpower for this most important task—and we do—then both Americans and Vietnamese might well be recruited, or even conscripted, for it. Such a course might limit our battles and our deaths. It would prove our determination far more effectively than leaping across the country looking for guerrillas to kill, and would clearly demonstrate our willingness to help build a sure base for a society in which, to reverse Mao Tse-tung's famous image, "the fish" of guerrilla armies cannot "swim." Here, too, the President might well tell the American people that the outcome is uncertain—that we may turn a sudden corner and find victory but that it is far more likely that we will see only a long, bloody, inconclusive war of attrition, until returning sanity brings a political settlement. For if the talk of victory is allowed to swell, the political consequences of failure and the pressure to expand the war will also mount.

Secretary Rusk, when he was asked by Senator PELL if he saw any end to the "corridor we are following," replied, "No; I would be misleading you if I told you that I thought that I know where, when, and how this matter will be resolved." A few minutes later, he added, "The nature of a struggle of this sort * * * is, of course, substantially determined by the other side." Such a terrifying admission of futility—an advance absolution—only conceals the truth that this enormous Nation is not helplessly in the grip of events, that the future, like the past, will be shaped largely by our own judgments. It is easy, and it would be wrong, to be apocalyptic about a conflict that is still so strictly limited and so full of hopeful possibilities for settlement. We have emerged safe and strong from many equally dangerous enterprises. Yet not long ago an important politician, intimate with the processes of power, told me he thought that if large-scale war ever comes, it will come not in a burst of Strangelove madness or a fail-safe accident, but through a long series of acts and decisions, each seemingly reasonable, that will slowly place the great powers in a situation in which they will find it impossible to back down. It will be no one's fault.

LET'S GIVE BUSINESS A SQUARE DEAL

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, in the April issue of Nation's Business there appears an excellent article by former Vice President Richard Nixon entitled "Let's Give Business a Square Deal."

This article calls attention to a dangerous trend of bureaucratic controls and should be read by every American businessman.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S GIVE BUSINESS A SQUARE DEAL

(By Richard M. Nixon)

(NOTE.—The former Vice President, in this exclusive article, proposes an anti-inflationary alternative to the Johnson administration's wage-price guidelines, which he says violate our rights to "commercial due process of law.")

The constitutional guarantees of due process of law have an analog in the business field—which I like to call commercial due process. It is found in the framework of statutes, regulations, Executive orders, policy statements, and decisions to which a lawyer refers when counseling a business client.

Although procedures may vary greatly in the many different areas of Government activity, a businessman can usually expect to be put on notice of the procedures to be followed by Government; to know of the sanctions which Government will impose if specified procedures are not followed; and to have an opportunity to be heard before any sanction is imposed. The essence of commercial due process may be described in the same terms as Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter once used to describe constitutional due process—one has a right to expect "fair play" when dealing with the Government.

The guidelines or guideposts enunciated originally by the President's Council of Economic Advisers in 1962, as they are presently being applied, do great violence to commercial due process. If they continue to be applied in the future as they have been in 1965 and in recent months, they may even transgress the bounds of constitutional due process. One prominent economist has already predicted that the guidelines may, "under the pressure of events, move our Nation's economy in an authoritarian direction," Another has warned of "government by threat, fear, or club."

HOW DUE PROCESS PROTECTS

In order to appreciate fully the perplexities caused the businessman by the Johnsonian application of guidelines, it might be well first to review how constitutional due process operates in the normal Federal regulatory scheme:

Before a regulatory policy is enacted or adopted, a proposal is made by the President or a prominent legislator or group of citizens. This proposal may be debated for months or years. It may never go beyond the debate stage. At some point, however, the public enthusiasm for the proposal may lead to presentation of a bill in Congress. Here, the debate continues, often with great publicity. Hearings may be held and the many viewpoints on the measure are, again subject to close public scrutiny. After passage by the Congress, the bill must be signed into law by the President. In many instances, the legislation establishes an agency to administer the new law. And the agency in turn promulgates its own regulations to implement the broader statutory direction.

The point is that the businessman who is to be regulated has a number of opportunities to make his opinion known prior to the establishment of the administrative agency. Nor does his opportunity to be heard end there. After the agency has been established, the businessman may appear at the agency's rule-making hearings to present his views. If he is aggrieved by the regulations enforced by the agency, he may again appear before that body in a hearing to present his case. And he may appeal an adverse decision through the courts.

The Federal Constitution guarantees that he shall be accorded due process of law. If the businessman's lawyer counsels him not to risk infraction of a vague regulation of the agency, the businessman may often apply for a ruling or declaratory order before he embarks upon a course of conduct. And here again, an arbitrary decision, one that goes beyond the powers of the agency, or is contrary to law, can be appealed in the courts.

The standard of commercial due process pertains in instances of less formal exercises of governmental power, such as the guidelines. Here, too, we have a right to expect fair play from the Government—including the elements of notice, full disclosure and fair treatment for all. But the guidelines, as presently applied, disregard commercial due process. They not only deprive those covered of any element of certainty upon which to base their plans, but fail to provide a means of obtaining certainty as well.

WHERE GUIDELINES GO WRONG

There are four areas in which the present application of the guidelines violates commercial due process:

1. Coercion: The guidelines, although they have none of the safeguards normally attached to statutes or regulations as described above, are being applied as though they incorporated statutory or regulatory sanctions. Thus, Defense Secretary McNamara's announcement regarding the dumping of stockpiled aluminum, at the time when the administration was demanding that the aluminum industry withdraw price advances in excess of the guidelines, was as forceful a punishment as one might conceive. This was, of course, a marked change in the original concept of the guidelines as voluntary guideposts upon which to base wage-price determinations.

2. Changing rules: AFL–CIO President George Meany has charged that the Council of Economic Advisers has changed the rules for the formulation of the guideposts in the middle of the regulatory process. By keeping the guideposts at 3.2 percent, rather than raising them to 3.6 percent, he maintains, the Council has abandoned the 5-year trend rate of productivity gains originally used as the basis for computing the guideposts. Mr. Meany asks:

"How can union leaders * * * be expected to accept such sudden and one-sided revision of the method of arriving at the wage guidelines? And how can the public accept the credibility of such shifting methods?"

Basic to commercial due process is the principle that rules are changed only upon notice to the parties affected and where an undue hardship does not result because of such change of rules in the middle of the game.

3. Lack of candor: George Meany has not been the only one to express concern over the credibility of the administration. Administration officials have been guilty of directly misrepresenting the facts in many areas, including the aluminum and steel settlements and the Federal budget. Of course, one of the crucial elements of the notice requirement under commercial due process is to be accurately informed by the Government of the steps which it plans to take. Misinformation not only thwarts this process, but can raise havoc with corporate planning.

4. Unequal application of the rules: Although the administration has seen fit to level sanctions against certain industries, it has not done so in the case of others. Moreover, its stringent application of the guidelines has not reached wages to the same extent that it has prices in the basic industries. Thus, although the average wage increase negotiated in settlements in 1964 was 3.2 percent, during the first 9 months of 1965—the only period in that year for which we now have records—the average wage increase negotiated in major collective bargaining settlements was 4.2 percent, almost a full third over the wage guidepost.

Perhaps the basic inconsistency in the administration's approach has been to demand stringent application of the guidelines to prices in major industries, with the obvious objective of halting inflation, while continuing to increase the amount of Federal spending on domestic programs. The effect of this policy has been to require certain industries to toe the line, while increasing consumer spending, and with it inflation, in the economy as a whole.

The President seems bound to replace the old law of supply and demand with his own law of comply and expand. And, as we shall see, this is not working.

CHANGING NATURE OF GUIDELINES

As originally enunciated in 1962 by the Council of Economic Advisers, the guidelines were to be a basis of voluntary discussion and decision. Prof. Arthur Burns, who served as Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Eisenhower, has compared the 1962 and 1964 reports of the Council, and discerns a noticeable difference between the original approach, and that followed more recently, which amounts to a hardening of the guidelines. He states:

"The report of 1962 had avoided specifying the annual trend increase of national productivity on the ground that this was 'a large and complex subject and there is much still to be learned.'

"The report of 1964, on the other hand, is free from all methodological doubts and presents without qualification a figure of 3.2 percent as the annual trend increase of productivity in the private economy that is currently applicable.

"The report of 1962 had indicated that the 'general guideposts' were 'only first approximations' that would need to be adapted extensively 'to the circumstances of particular industries.' The report of 1964, on the other hand, states flatly that the guideposts 'can cover the vast majority of wage and price decisions' and, while the modifications that had been suggested earlier 'still apply * * * it must be emphasized that they are intended to apply to only a relatively few cases.'"

Thus, the guidelines have become more rigid. The 1964 report now refers to them as a "standard" for price and wage decisions. But, as George Meany notes, they are "rigid guidelines based on shifting methods." They have sanctions in some cases and not in others. They appear to have been applied more to prices than to wages; to some businesses, but not to others. Although their objective is to reduce inflation, the Government continues to expand its expenditures on domestic programs.

GUIDELINES TODAY

The administration's random enforcement of guidelines has not worked.

The wholesale price index rose 3.6 points from January 1965 to January 1966, with almost half of this rise (1.5 points) occurring in the 3-month period between November 1965 through January of this year. There is widespread fear of inflation if these policies are permitted to continue.

The reason we do not have the usual regulatory procedure for the Government's attempted regulation of wages and prices by guideline is clear: There has been no public mandate or widespread acceptance of the Government's policy under which a statute or administrative agency might be established. Indeed, I would be the first to oppose such restrictions at this time. Although the Joint Economic Committee of Congress has held hearings on the guidelines, they have been marked by bitter disputes. In the course of these hearings, Chairman Ackley, of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, noted that legislative enactment of the guidelines at this time would be opposed by both labor and management. Recent meetings of economists have also seen widespread criticism of the present guideline approach.

It is not necessary at this time to impose a cumbersome set of wage-price regulations on American business. There are other more traditional and effective methods for dealing with the present threat of inflation which hangs over our economy, which include the broad elements of commercial due process.

SOME RECOMMENDATIONS

If businessmen are to be able to plan their programs for the coming years, some order must be reestablished in the Government's anti-inflationary program. I would suggest the following:

1. Use of traditional anti-inflationary methods. Initially, I would suggest that the Government curtail domestic spending. No new domestic programs requiring additional expenditures should be submitted to Congress, and spending levels for new domestic programs already adopted by Congress should be cut back where possible. Also, the administration should adopt a policy on interest rates with the objective of checking the rate of expansion of credit. These methods may initially prove less popular than the occasional imposition of rigid guidelines on a few major industries. However, they have been effective in the past and, if the Federal Government wishes seriously to continue its policy of urging that price and wage guidelines be followed, it would do well to set a good example in its own programs.

2. Full notice of the administration's guideline policy should be given. If the administration means seriously to pursue its guideline policy, it must first inform American business and labor of what this policy means. If the policy is to include sanctions, such as have already been imposed, the Federal Government should so inform business and labor. If the policy is going to be imposed upon only some businesses, this should be made known also. If the Government really means to include labor and wages in its guideline policy, it should do so and state that it is doing so. Occasional exceptions should be made where business or labor, after a full hearing, can demonstrate that such exceptional treatment is deserved. Businesses cannot plan within the context of the present vague and inconsistent administration guideline policy.

What is most important, the administration must be entirely candid with the American people. The administration's program must be fully disclosed.

3. Traditional leadership methods must be utilized. The office of the President enjoys tremendous prestige. By keeping the public fully informed as to his policies, the President can gain the necessary public support to carry them through. Moreover, the office can be used in other ways to accomplish the objectives of the administration. Officials of Cabinet rank, at the direction of the Chief Executive, can work effectively to maintain economic stability.

One might contrast the 1965 aluminum price rollback, induced by the administration's threat to dump stockpiled aluminum on the market if the guideline was exceeded, with the settlement of the 1959 steel strike. In the latter instance, at the direction of the President, Secretary of Labor Mitchell and I offered to mediate the dispute. After a number of unpublicized private conferences with the key parties, the differences which had prevented settlement were resolved. This was not an easy solution to the problem. It was not government by threat or fiat. It required hours of hard work and drew heavily on the prestige of the administration. But it settled a 6-month-old strike and did so without any inflationary rise in prices.

In all of these dealings both sides were kept apprised of our activities. When we consulted with each side individually, we did so only with the permission of the other side. Although we had no formal regulatory mechanism, we observed all of the traditional elements of commercial due process.

THE ALTERNATIVES

We are at a critical turning point in the battle against inflation.

The administration has adopted policies which are both ineffective and contradictory.

Instead of cutting nonmilitary expenditures, the administration has added over $4 billion to domestic spending programs.

To combat the inflationary impact of this budget action, the administration has resorted to renewed insistence on voluntary guidelines, arbitrarily and capriciously administered and flagrantly violating commercial due process.

These self-defeating actions predictably have not only failed to stem the inflationary tide but have escalated it. That is why administration insiders now are talking not only about the possible need for a tax increase but also about the eventual necessity to impose mandatory wage and price controls.

The cost of winning the war against inflation by these weapons would be that we would risk launching a war against prosperity.

I have tried in this article to point out an alternative course—a program which will enable us to win the war against inflation without jeopardizing prosperity.

Instead of raising nonmilitary expenditures in the budget, we should cut them.

Instead of condemning the Federal Reserve Board for raising the discount rate, administration officials should encourage action in all levels of Government which would stem the excessive flow of credit.

Voluntary guidelines should be administered in an orderly and consistent manner. There are two reasons why such guidelines would work better under such a program than at present. First, because the best way for Government to set guidelines is for Government to set an example in the conduct of its own fiscal affairs.

Second, because both business and labor are more likely to accept and adhere to guidelines when the rules of commercial due process are observed in their application.

As the 1959 steel settlement demonstrated, it is possible to observe the prerequisite of elaborate regulatory procedure. The requirements of notice, full disclosure, equal treatment—or fair play—can be observed even if no statute or regulation exists compelling the administrator to so act. The difficulty arises when any governmental policy is pursued without observing these safeguards.

The greatest value of commercial due process lies in the fact that it permits Government to enunciate policies beneficial to an ordered society, while insuring to American business and labor the maximum freedom to act in our market economy.

A LETTER FROM VIETNAM

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, on April 9, 1966, S. Sgt. David E. Wagner now serving in South Vietnam, addressed a letter to me setting forth his views dealing with the U.S. participation in that conflict.

Mr. David E. Wagner's home address is Bellefontaine, Ohio, and I am certain that it is on the basis of being my constituent that he wrote me. This member of the Army serving in Vietnam has definite views about the justification of our presence in that land.

He asked that I include his letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I believe that it is worthy of being done and I, therefore, Mr. President, ask consent that the letter be printed in today's record of congressional action.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DA NANG AIRBASE, VIETNAM,
April 9, 1966.

DEAR SIR: Having considered the state of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam and the overall picture of the foreign policy in practice today, I would pose a question to you or to anyone who can answer it. Where does the road lead us? Are we headed for a complete destruction of the American principle, the free world's bulwark against communism's spread over the face of the earth?

Of prime importance to each of us as individuals and to us as a nation is the question concerning the outcome of the war in Vietnam. Here we find two violently opposing ideologies locked together in a contest of force and cunning. The unusual circumstances of the war itself, coupled with the position of the United States, has given birth, and justifiably so, to the phrase, "the new face of war." This is a war entirely new in comparison to those in which we have been involved in the past. Many of us find it difficult to understand the unique aspects and complications here.

In the past we found it necessary to defend our stand of nonaggression to only a very few, the majority of whom were voices of propaganda aimed at undermining our position. The singularly most questionable act on the part of the United States in war must have been our decision to use atomic warheads against cities in Japan during World War II. Yet this, with all its vastly devastating implications, has been accepted as necessary by an overwhelming majority of people the world over.

Although not as wide in scope as the Second World War, this most recent military action cannot be considered less important. The future, not only of the Republic of Vietnam, but also of other nations in southeast Asia and elsewhere in the world, depends to a great degree on the end result of the struggle in Vietnam. Remote as it may seem, the stage has been set here.

What I feel has been a major contribution toward our success in the war has been the relentless bombing of Hanoi's military and industrial lifeline. Yet this, more than most aspects of the war, has come under continued condemnation. Will we be coerced into relinquishing this one vital stranglehold on the aggressor? It was this same military tactic of bombing, on a much larger scale, which brought Japan to its knees to end the war in the Pacific. Now, at a time when it could prove equally effective, when action is even more of a necessity, we feel it immoral because of the civilian casualties it might incur, even though it could force the enemy to relent and avert a drawn out and costly confrontation.

Certainly, we do not advocate mass annihilation of the defenseless civilian population, as this would be nothing more than a direct reflection of our enemy's lack of consideration for the value of human life, but neither can we condone the attitude of ignoring a situation, unpleasant as it might be.

We pride ourselves on being a nation founded in the spirit of defiance of man's injustice to man. We have now witnessed the disappearance of this spirit. We are willing to accept this injustice because the man in trouble is not a member of our own household. Our foundation of positive affirmation in our principles has given way to a negativism. Instead of fostering our ideology among potentially self-reliant nations in the world, we approach it from the defensive position. The most effective method of dealing with any opposing doctrine is not from the negative position, but from the positive.

There are those of our leaders who feel that the security of Vietnam poses no threat to the defense of the United States or the free world. This viewpoint is fatally shortsighted, and has been demonstrated by similar persons stating that we were not endangered by the actions of Germany, Japan, or Italy during the 1930's.

The questions, the opposition we hear concerning U.S. intervention in Vietnam is healthy and at times necessary in analyzing our system of government. It is not un-American to voice opposition to policies as formulated by our Government, but it becomes much worse when the opposition asks us to turn our backs on individuals being engulfed by a totalitarianism which denies the existence of their right to be individuals. This is betraying the genius of the American principle. Our willingness to step in and use force against actions perpetrated by and staged by Communist front organizations is only an indication of our determination not to succumb to an atheistic ideology which strips men of their freedom.

The reluctance and sometimes violent dissension of the general public can be attributed entirely to the fact that they have not been kept informed on the issues: first, of what is at stake; second, of the reason for the stand we have taken; and last, of our determination to thwart the Communist bid for world domination.

The varying degrees of isolationist theories advocated by many today can be nothing but an invitation to the enemy. The negotiations sought by so many, and the concessions which go along with them would be a compromise to the enemy. Before we accept the compromise suggested by these of our leaders, let us ask what they are actually advocating.

The most notable examples of compromise we have entered into in past years have not, as such, been instances of true compromise, but sacrifice. Consider the meaning of the word "sacrifice": to surrender something of value in favor of that of lesser value or nonvalue. One of the parties involved gains while the other suffers loss. This would more accurately characterize a compromise made by the United States in its application to foreign affairs. If we lose in the initial compromise, and then, in addition, our partner fails to keep his part of the agreement, we have made a complete concession of our position.

Before we enter into any "deals" with the Communists, it is imperative that we profit by past experience, and admit that we can attach no guarantee that they will keep their part in any bargain. We have erred in past agreements by naively thinking them as honest as we are, and in all cases they have felt free to violate any agreements they have made.

In this war, as never before, we hear our civilian and military leaders being branded as "warhawks" and accused of saber rattling. We seem to forget the primary role of deterrence in combating aggression. There is a considerable difference between being bloodthirsty and a reasonable exercise of force to deter the motives of greed as shown by the Communists.

Being in the military does not alter my status as a citizen. I volunteered to declare my rights by enlistment. I trust this does not automatically make me a "warhawk" or "militant" individual. I am an American, in uniform, aspiring to protect my rights as such; but, moreover, I am willing to help others attain the same rights which I enjoy.

Several centuries ago, the people of Asia saw the construction of the Great Wall of China. This wall can never compare to the impenetrable wall now existing at the 17th and 38th parallels, or between East and West Berlin. Our military and economic support of nations such as Japan, West Germany, South Korea, and Formosa has always contributed toward the establishment of an autonomous state, whose self-reliance can never be equaled by the puppet governments behind the curtains of iron and bamboo. * * *

A sellout in Vietnam? Who will be sold out? Not just the Vietnamese but you and I along with them. Let communism run rampant and see if it does not end up at our own back door. Who will come to our assistance?

S. Sgt. David E. Wagner.

ARTICLES ON WYOMING IN THE PLAINSMAN

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues the April-May issue of the Plainsman, in which there appeared two articles featuring Wyoming. The first article, "There's No Hole in Jackson, Wyo.'s Plans," contains a very fascinating account of the remarkable efforts of two Jackson Hole businessmen, Mr. Alex Morley and Mr. Paul McCollister, to make the glorious Jackson Hole Valley in Wyoming available as a tourist attraction on a year around basis, rather than limiting its use to summer enjoyment.

These two executives of the Jackson Hole Ski Corp. are currently developing a European-type ski area at the foot of majestic Rendezvous Peak, some 14 miles northwest of the historic town of Jackson. As the article points out:

> Jackson Hole is the only area in the country where you can have European skiing because you can get above the timberline for Alpine-type conditions.

In addition to the excellent skiing conditions, the winter season in Jackson Hole also offers ice fishing, dogsled rides, various scenic Snowmobile trips into Yellowstone Park, the elk feeding grounds, and the All-American Cutter Races, all located in the heart of a valley of breathtaking beauty.

The second article in the Plainsman, "Travel and Tourism in Mid-America," provides a definitive view of the steadily growing tourist industry in Wyoming, which incidentally, is the third largest and fastest growing segment of the State's economy. With a population of only 340,000 people distributed over 98,000 square miles, Wyoming's wide-open spaces and spectacular mountain scenery are indeed alluring to the stifled city dwellers of America. The Wyoming Travel Commission estimates that approximately 8 million travelers move through Wyoming each year.

Mr. President, I request that these articles, to which I have alluded, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Jackson, Wyo., Is Acquiring an Alpine Air?

Jackson, Wyo.—"This valley never can be spoiled."

John Colter, a trapper and trader, might have said that in 1808 when he trudged through Jackson Hole in an attempt to do business with the Crow Indian tribes. Colter probably was the first white man to travel along Wyoming's great Teton Range and to be struck by the absolutely magnificent beauty of the area.

The quote, however, belongs to a modern-day businessman, Alex Morley, a retired Cheyenne contractor who, along with his partner, Paul McCollister, has embarked on an ambitious venture to turn Jackson Hole into one of the world's finest, year-around playgrounds.

Mr. McCollister, as president, and Mr. Morley, as vice president, have created the Jackson Hole Ski Corp. and currently are developing a European-type ski area at the foot of majestic Rendezvous Peak, some 14 miles northwest of the historic town of Jackson.

CONTAGIOUS ZEAL

If enthusiasm was the sole ingredient for success, Messrs. Morley and McCollister already would have achieved their goal. Despite bitter reverses that would have crushed the desire of many developers to continue, Mr. Morley discusses the area's future with a zeal that is quite contagious.

"You really should talk to Paul. "He's even more excited about this than I am," he remarked. Yet it hardly seems possible that anyone could surpass the enthusiasm of the 47-year-old Mr. Morley:

"This country is prettier than anywhere else in the United States and it will never be spoiled because 97 percent of the land is owned by the Federal Government.

The skiing is the greatest I've ever had in my life. Jackson Hole is the only area in the country where you can have European skiing because you can get above the timberline for Alpine-type conditions. We're patterning this area after Bierbia, in the French portion of Switzerland."

To prove their point, the partners are creating Teton Village at the foot of the 10,924-foot Rendezvous Peak, and at an estimated cost of $54 million. Thirty-five commercial and 135 residential sites now have been plotted for the village itself. Three lodges, the Seven Levels Inn, the Alpenhof, and the Sojourner, have been completed and are operating, and construction will begin on six more lodges this spring.

REAL ESTATE MARKET

The designated 2½-acre residential lots are selling well, according to Mr. Morley, despite the fact that real estate here comes relatively high (from $12,000 to $15,000 a site, with a $20,000 minimum for the dwelling).

The ski areas spread out above the village and are reached by three double chairlifts, two of which rise 2,150 vertical feet to Apres-Vous Peak. The third chairlift is used exclusively for the ski school, commanded by 28-year-old Pepi Stiegler, a former Austrian national and an Olympic ski champion.

The key to the area, however, is an aerial tramway that will transport skiers to the top of Rendezvous in 8 minutes. Rising 4,135 feet over its 2½-mile length, the 63-passenger tram is expected to handle 3,000 skiers an hour. But problems have enveloped the tramway for the time being.

The main drum of the tram's construction hoist ruptured last fall during the installation of the tramway and it has remained idle ever since. The Ski Corp. hopes that it will be in operation by April, but the partners admit that they have encountered considerable difficulties in making the absolutely necessary repairs.

A ROUGH SETBACK

The setback with the tram not only cost the Ski Corp. a sizable amount of revenue in canceled room reservations, lift ticket fees, and afterdark activities, but it also has dimmed the area's reputation. It certainly caused some travelers to pause.

Frontier Airlines, the sole commercial airline serving Jackson Airport, originally delayed putting winter service in from Denver, considered a vital gateway to Jackson Hole for the booming ski traffic from the Midwest and east coast, but it finally gained approval by the Civil Aeronautics Board to begin experimental service between the two points in March.

Jackson Hole also has had to counter a reputation as a cold place to ski. But Mr. Morley reacts strongly to such a suggestion:

"Sure we get cold temperatures from time to time, but they're no worse than at most of the major ski areas around the country. I've skied in a sweater at Jackson Hole many times in January and February. Cold weather is not our problem here."

Shrugging off such adversities, Messrs. Morley and McCollister meanwhile have plunged ahead with their development of Teton Village. At the same time, they have developed the $1-million Jackson Hole Golf and Country Club, about 6 miles from the city. Nine holes of the 6,780-yard championship course opened to the public early last fall; the remainder of the holes will be ready for play this summer.

NEVER UNPOPULAR

The tramway and golf course are certain to be popular with summer visitors around the area, but Jackson Hole never has been ignored as a summer tourist mecca. Grand Teton National Park is synonymous with campers, hunters, and sightseers. Fishermen, swimmers, and boaters have a choice of lakes, including Jackson and Jenny, or the curling Snake River.

The Teton Range provides an unlimited challenge for mountain climbers and pack trips. The town of Jackson has a personality all its own, and it's one worth cultivating. Summers in Jackson have been enhanced by the Jackson Hole Fine Arts Festival, a 6-week series of art films, exhibits and concerts by outstanding musicians from all over the Nation.

Today the ski area not only is providing a new dimension for winter sports enthusiasts, but it also is taking the lead in promoting Jackson Hole as a family vacation center. "You don't have to ski to justify a visit to Jackson Hole." Mr. Morley grinned.

Visitors can ride the feed sleds through the 24,000-acre National Elk Refuge, where thousands of the animals seek shelter each winter. Moose, mountain sheep and bear are among the wildlife that are easy to spot throughout the area.

There is ice fishing for the unusually hardy sportman, dogsled rides for the children, and various scenic snowmobile trips into the park. For the sports fan who's seen just about everything, competition around Jackson Lake includes ski-doo races, snowplaning on Jackson Lake and the all-American cutter races, in which chariotlike cutters, drawn by two-horse teams, race through the streets of Jackson.

GOOD THING GOING?

Alex Morley seems absolutely convinced that he and Paul McCollister have a good thing going. As for the future, Mr. Morley doesn't mind discussing another village complex south of Teton Village. This village would contain a series of interconnecting lodges so that guests would never have to be subjected to the weather until they headed for the ski slopes. The partners also envisage a third village, which would be situated about half way up on Rendezvous Mountain.

Gorden Wren, former U.S. ski-jumping and cross-country champion, and now general manager of the Jackson Hole Ski Corp., calls the new vacation complex a "great challenge." Just chat with any of the 41 employees of the corporation and you'll detect the same enthusiasm.

"Fun is found the year around in Jackson Hole" is the new cry for this famed area. And individuals such as Morley and McCollister today help to provide the vision and the facilities for thousands of others who some day will share in the recreational wealth of this once-hidden, yet glorious valley.

WYOMING

Wyoming's fastest-growing industry is neither represented by smokestacks nor bustling factories. Yet tourism is the segment of the State's economy that shows a steady upcurve and has been estimated to have risen from 6 to 7 percent in 1965. Ranked third in the State, it is topped only by mineral production (including petroleum) and by livestock.

In these days of a burgeoning national population, all too frequently concentrated in large metropolitan areas, Wyoming's wide-open spaces, spectacular mountains and "living room" are factors that increasingly have attracted the visitor. With only 340,000 living permanently in a land area of 98,000 square miles, Wyoming easily demonstrates that it's a long way between people in this particular State.

Hunters come to Wyoming in the fall in pursuit of elk, deer, antelope, moose, bighorn sheep, wild turkey, and other challenging game targets. Ever-improving ski facilities lure devotees of that sport each winter, and they are now being joined by advocates of a new activity called snowmobiling.

Two great magnets to the summer visitor are Yellowstone and Teton National Parks. And summertime temperatures are air-conditioned in contrast to the humidity and the greater heat of much of the remainder of the Nation.

STEADY INCREASE

Wyoming's highways have always been good, but they are even better today with the completion of about 470 miles of 4-lane interstate routes. For several years, tourism had increased by a steady 5 percent annually, but last year appears to have exceeded all expectations by 1 or 2 percentage points.

In terms of dollars 1965 tourism brought a probable $107 million to the State. While final figures are not yet available, an application of a 7-percent hike to the $100 million estimated for 1964 would produce that total. Frank Norris, Jr., director of the Wyoming Travel Commission, termed 1965 a "tremendous year."

Even members of the Wyoming Highway Patrol now are serving as ambassadors of good will in cooperation with the travel commission. Patrolmen have been provided with travel kits to help them to give accurate information to motorists. Each travel kit carries data on accommodations, resorts, outdoor recreation and historical and scenic sites.

Wyoming also participates to the extent of $12,500 in a four-State cooperative advertising program which is in its 5th year. Similar amounts have come from Colorado, Utah, and Montana in a $50,000 campaign in areas and media in which budget limits would prevent each State from any sizable promotion on its own.

PASSING THROUGH

The travel commission estimated that approximately 8 million travelers move through Wyoming each year, and that about 60 percent of those are passing through with destinations elsewhere. Travel Director Norris also has particularly commended the Casper Visitors Bureau, which produces more than 25,000 inquiries a year for its work. A new Visitors Center at Casper is manned in the summer months by 116 teachers who are volunteers.

And while Wyoming's population growth has ranked among the lowest of all the States, this "surface negative" may yet prove itself a continuing stimulus for wide-open-country tourism.

ERNIE PYLE

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, no war correspondent in history was dearer to the hearts of fighting men than Ernie Pyle who died on Ie Shima near Okinawa just before the close of World War II.

Few people are aware that Ernie Pyle was buried in the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific, located in Punchbowl crater in Honolulu. But those who visit this vast cemetery do not forget to pause at Ernie Pyle's grave and place fresh flower leis by the granite marker.

The grave marker bears these words:

> Ernest Taylor Pyle, Indiana, SC3, USNRF, World War I, August 3, 1900-April 18, 1945. He had served as a member of the U.S. Naval Reserve Force in World War I.

Mr. W. Lee Roddy, a reporter for the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, recently paid tribute to Ernie Pyle in an article published April 20. If there are no objections, I respectfully request that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CORRESPONDENT DIED 21 YEARS AGO—THOUSANDS VISIT GRAVE OF ERNIE PYLE ANNUALLY

(By W. Lee Roddy)

The most visited grave in the 112-acres of American war dead at Punchbowl is No. D-109. The man who rests there was killed 21 years ago this week, but a nation still remembers.

He was Ernie Pyle, war correspondent.

Why should thousands of persons annually pause beside the grave of this one man?

Perhaps, as the new President Harry S. Truman said on April 18, 1945, the 44-year-old Pyle "became the spokesman for the spokesman for the ordinary American in arms doing so many extraordinary things."

Other correspondents had died in World War II. Editor and Publisher, a trade magazine, reported Pyle was the 30th to give his life. Another 149 correspondents were wounded, missing or prisoners of war that day 21 years ago.

But two generations of Americans remember the skinny Indiana-born writer from New Mexico who rests today in the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific.

The Associated Press said in releasing the story of Pyle's death on Ie Shima, near Okinawa, he was "beloved by his coworkers, GI's and generals alike."

THREE YEARS AT WAR

They had reason to like Pyle. Since 1942 he had been at war. He had served in Africa, Italy, Europe and the Pacific. He had flown with the Air Corps, sailed with the Navy and slogged with Marines in Okinawa.

Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal said Pyle was "with the foot soldiers, the men for whom he had the greatest admiration," when he died.

Pyle had the common touch. He wrote simply, movingly, using names and hometown addresses in his newspaper columns.

In one of his best selling books, "Brave Men," Pyle told of deadmen being brought down off a mountain. In the moonlight Pyle saw them bring down Capt. Henry T. Washow of Belton, Tex.

"A soldier spoke to the dead captain," Pyle, explained. "Not in a whisper but awfully tenderly, and he said, 'I sure am sorry, sir.' "

The soldier "reached over and gently straightened the points of the captain's shirt collar, and then he sort of rearranged the tattered edges of the uniform around the wound, and then he got up and walked away down in the road in the moonlight, all alone."

The famed roving correspondent for the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance is honored today by a square glass case in the office at Punchbowl. It is the same size devoted to all 19 Medal of Honor recipients buried in the cemetery.

It was just 6 days after President Franklin D. Roosevelt's death when a Japanese machine gunner slammed three slugs into Pyle's brain. "The GIs in Europe—and that means all of us here," said Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, "have lost one of our best and most understanding friends."

BOOKS IN LIBRARY

Pyle had great understanding, as evidenced by his Pulitzer Prize.

Two of his books are still in the Library of Hawaii at Honolulu. "Here Is Your War" has not been checked out since 1954. "Last Chapter," his final book, has not been out since 1951.

Yet each is full of Pyle's reporting ability. "In Honolulu," he wrote on his last assignment, "we were far, far from everything that was home or seemed like home. Five thousand miles from America * * *."

It was the same feeling most servicemen had. Everyone was a long, long way from home.

Pyle's father, William, still lived on the Indiana farm where Ernie had been born. The reporter and the former Geraldine (Jerry) Siebolds of Stillwater, Minn., had built a small white house in Albuquerque, N. Mex., where she waited, like wives and sweethearts everywhere.

Pyle had served in the Navy during World War I. He had been editor of the campus newspaper at the University of Indiana in 1922. But now it was 1945, and America had been at war since 1941.

The Hoosier had gone to battle in Tunisia with just a typewriter.

He had seen death and war as an everyday thing and still wrote of it in a very rare way.

LAST CAMPAIGN

Pyle kept writing of war for the folks back home through a tour with the Navy in the Pacific. He lived with the B-29 pilots bombing Tokyo. When the marines hit Okinawa, Pyle was in the seventh wave.

"There's nothing nice about the prospect of going back to war again," he had written. "I'm simply going because I've got to * * * and I hate it."

The wiry, balding reporter who had lived with war for 3 years described his Okinawa foxhole under enemy fire at night. "I was back again at the kind of life I had known so long," he summarized.

This time, Pyle would not escape death as he had on previous occasions in Italy and the European continent. He would die like the servicemen he had followed in front lines from Africa to a tiny island in the Pacific.

It was 10:15 a.m. April 18, 1945, Pacific war time. Pyle was riding in a jeep, bouncing along a narrow coral road on a 10-square-mile island just west of Okinawa. He was accompanied by Lt. Col. Joseph Coolidge, of Arkansas.

The Japanese machine gunner missed the regimental commander. Pyle died instantly. Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz' headquarters said Pyle had been watching the advance of the American 10th Army troops when the fatal burst was fired.

Three American tanks were unable to recover Pyle's body because the enemy fire was so intense. A New York City corporal, Alexander Roberts, volunteered to crawl alone to the jeep. He found Pyle's face covered by his helmet and "peaceful in death."

News of his death was released by high officials, but it was the ordinary men and women of America who missed him most.

POSTWAR WORLD

Pyle had correctly predicted an end to American isolationism. But he apparently never foresaw America extending to Hawaii, the 50th State. He obviously did not dream that the postwar world would shrink distances to where breakfast in California and lunch in Honolulu would be a daily event.

But now it did not matter.

After the war, Pyle's body was returned from an Okinawa grave to Honolulu, which he had thought was so far from home. Some remembered then his words about war dead: "They died and others lived and nobody knows why it is so."

Some also recalled that Pyle had said that war was composed of soldiers who were "tired and dirty and didn't want to die." It had been a war of "shocked and silent men wandering back from the hell of battle * * * of dead mules * * * hospital tents * * * all these it is composed of, and graves and graves and graves."

Now Pyle himself was dead and buried, forever part of World War II.

His widow received a Medal of Merit jointly presented by the War, Navy, and State Departments. But just 7 months later—November 23, 1945—she also died. Only the memory of her famous husband lived on.

President Truman declared of Pyle: "No man in this war has so well told the story of the American fighting men as American fighting men wanted it told."

THOUSANDS A MONTH

Perhaps that is why, 21 years later, so many visit Punchbowl and Ernie Pyle's grave. They daily place flower leis beside the plain granite marker.

In a way, Pyle is still the link between the 13,000 American war dead of World War II and the free men and women who come to Punchbowl's long rows of graves.

There is little they can say, except to recall what Pyle himself wrote of other such sites: "There is nothing we can do for the ones beneath the wooden crosses, except to pause and murmur, 'Thanks, Pal.' "

REPORT ON PROGRESS IN ISRAEL

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, many Members of the Senate in recent years have been fortunate enough to visit the Nation of Israel and observe for themselves the tremendous progress being achieved there against formidable odds.

For those who have not yet been privileged to visit Israel, I commend a series of reports published recently in the Arizona Republic, of Phoenix. This series was written during a tour of Israel by Mr. Frederic S. Marquardt, the editorial page editor of the Republic and a distinguished journalist of many years' experience in foreign affairs.

His dispatches are most interesting and informative, and I ask permission to have them printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the reports were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Arizona Republic, Apr. 3, 1966]

ISRAELIS HOPE TIME WILL BRING PEACE

(NOTE.—Republic Editor Frederic S. Marquardt, a veteran foreign observer, is on a news gathering visit to Israel. His purpose is to view firsthand the spectacular development of one of the few new nations of the postwar period to live up to advance hopes and expectations. This is the first of his on-the-spot reports.)

(By Frederic S. Marquardt, editor, the Arizona Republic)

TEL AVIV.—Of the four countries bordering Israel, Syria on the northeast probably presents the most immediate security problem. But in the long run, Egypt, on the south offers the biggest threat.

While border incidents are expected from Syria, the military preparations of Egypt give the greatest concern.

From Lebanon on the north and Jordan on the east, Israel expects only the static enmity that all Arab nations bear toward Israel.

"If we can maintain the present balance of power long enough, the Arabs may realize there is no military solution," a briefing officer at Israeli army headquarters told me.

"President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia has seen the light. He says the Arab countries must resort to negotiations. But the other Arab leaders haven't adopted that point of view."

One who hasn't adopted any such point of view, of course, is Gamal Abdel Nasser, president of Egypt.

Only last month, in a lengthy interview printed in Life magazine, Nasser was asked if he believed "war between the Arabs and Israel is inevitable."

"Eventually, yes," answered Nasser.

Eventually could be a long time. Nasser recently seemed ready to cut his losses in Yemen by withdrawing the 70,000 troops he sent there in 1962. Now, he has announced he will keep his troops in Yemen until Britain withdraws from nearby Aden.

"Will Nasser try to take over Aden, thereby relieving pressure on Israel?" I asked the Israeli briefing officer.

"He might," the colonel answered. "But unions of Arab States haven't worked too well. As you know, the effort to join Syria with Egypt has been a failure."

"But now there is a United Arab Command," I said. "What does it have to spend? Two hundred million dollars?"

No one knows the figure, but the colonel agreed it was large.

"It's oil money from Kuwait and Iraq," he explained. "In a way it shows Nasser's weakness. Some Arab countries, not on our borders, send money as a token of their loyalty, and also in the hope the money will be all Nasser demands of them. They won't fight."

Nasser will take help where he can get it, just as most leaders will.

But he spoke from bitter experience when he told his Life interviewer, "I feel insecure with the armies of the Arab nations. It is hard for these states to cooperate with each other. Egypt learned her lesson in 1956 when the Israelis attacked. No Arab nation came to our support."

The inability, thus far, of the Arabs to unite is a source of comfort to the Jews. So is the speed with which the army carried out its assignments in the Sinai campaign, which no one here refers to as "Eden's war."

But Israel takes no chances. Two and a half million Jews look across their borders at 60 million Arabs and try to prepare for any contingency.

The preparation consists chiefly of universal military training.

Twenty-six months for each man, 20 months for each unmarried woman, followed by long periods in the reserves—these compulsory services give Israel a hard-hitting defense force of 300,000, capable of being mobilized in a matter of days, perhaps of hours.

However, the main bulwark of Israeli security is the present balance of strength in the Middle East.

This doesn't mean Israel must get 200 tanks every time Egypt does. But the United States is apparently determined to maintain a relative balance. Early this year the U.S. State Department announced it had sold Hawk missiles and Patton tanks to Israel.

"The United States," according to the State Department announcement, "has made over the years repeated quiet efforts to encourage limitation of arms buildup in the areas. Until those bear fruit, however, the United States cannot be indifferent to the potentially destabilizing effect of massive Soviet sales of arms to the area."

Since the Hawks are ground-to-air missiles, they presumably can be considered defensive. But a Patton tank doesn't care much whether it is on the offense or the defensive.

General Patton, it might be recalled, believed in the offense.

Drew Pearson, not exactly the world's most accurate reporter, said recently that the Russians had sent 2,500 tanks to the Arab states, against which Israel had 600.

He said the Arabs had 150 Soviet bombers and were "well equipped with the latest Soviet fighter planes." Israel, he said, had 450 military aircraft. Egypt, he said, had "around 300 missiles," and Israel "has nothing to compare with Egypt's huge missile arsenal."

If Pearson is right, the Israelis have about as much chance as Davy Crockett in the Alamo. My own guess is that the odds against Israel are not that big.

There is no doubt that Egypt is making its own missiles, but it apparently has run into trouble with its guidance systems. The question of arming the missile is something else.

Because of its relatively advanced industrial skills, Israel could undoubtedly produce an atomic bomb much quicker than Egypt. And unless the "ultimate weapon" is outlawed, the Israeli general staff would undoubtedly be ready to use it in defense of this country.

"Our secret weapon," one Israeli told me, "is the need to survive. The Arabs can lose a war without being destroyed. We can't."

The passage of time may lead to some solution other than a military one. This obviously is what Israel wants. It also is what the United States wants.

[From the Arizona Republic, Apr. 4, 1966]

TELEVISION GAINS TOEHOLD IN ISRAEL

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Republic Editor Frederic S. Marquardt, a veteran foreign observer, is on a news gathering visit to Israel. His purpose is to view firsthand the spectacular development of one of the few new nations of the postwar period to live up to advance hopes and expectations. This is the second of his on-the-spot reports.)

(By Frederic S. Marquardt, editor of the Arizona Republic)

TEL AVIV.—With apparent regret, Israel put its first television station into operation last week.

To this casual observer, at least, it appeared the Government would have preferred to have waited for a few more years.

One objection to television is the fear that it will siphon more of the gross national income into consumer spending.

Israeli economists know the country must increase its capital investments, particularly in factories that can contribute to the national security or earn much-needed foreign exchange.

Jet fighters should come ahead of television sets, they agree.

But the main objection to launching into television is a general disenchantment with the program level of the big eye.

"With the unhappy example of foreign commercial television before them," said the Jerusalem Post editorially, "many persons were reluctant to expose Israel to the cultural hazards presumed an inherent part of the medium."

Israel took the plunge, however, because of the propaganda gains its Arab neighbors were reaping by the use of television. Although no Israeli TV programs were available, more and more television antennas were sprouting on rooftops.

"Depending on location and atmosphere, a TV set in Israel can get programs from Cairo, Beirut, Cyprus, and Damascus,' one set owner told me. "And occasionally we can get a program being relayed via Telstar."

A large number of TV antenna seem to be on Arab homes. This is natural, since the Arabs have more interest in the available programs than the Jews do.

But it also delays the cultural assimilation of the Arabs into the predominantly Jewish state.

"It soon became clear," said the Post editorial, "that the alternative did not lie between having and not having television, but whether growing sections of the Israel public would be exposed only to Arab broadcasters or whether Israel, too, was going to offer material for their viewing attention."

Judging from the first program aired March 24, Israel television won't lure many viewers seeking entertainment. It consisted of a 25-minute math lesson for seventh-graders.

After the Passover school holidays, lessons in English and biology, as well as math, will be telecast 10 times a week. Thirty-two schools have been supplied with receiving sets. Anyone else who has a set can tune in.

General programing will come in a year or so, and supposedly the TV screens of Israel will one day portray the shootout at the OK Corral.

The transmitter, at Eitanim in the Jerusalem hills, was paid for by Lord Rothchild of London, who has contributed to a long list of educational and cultural institutions in Israel. He is chairman of the Israel Television Trust.

TV sets come high in this country. By the time a $400 American television set gets into the hands of a viewer, taxes and other charges boost the price tag to around $1,000.

But authorities hope to make television a tool for educating both youths and adults. They also hope to blunt the sharp edge of what, so far, has been a propaganda weapon for the Arab States.

[From the Arizona Republic, Apr. 5, 1966]

QUESTION OF LOYALTY DIVIDES JEWRY—ISRAEL LOOKS WEST FOR NEW IMMIGRANTS

(NOTE.—Jews throughout the world are divided sharply on the sort of loyalty they owe to the Jewish nation of Israel. The following observations on this problem were written during a visit to Israel.)

(By Frederic S. Marquardt, editor, the Arizona Republic)

TEL AVIV.—Three thousand years ago, the Hebrew prophet Isaiah wrote:

"I will gather thy seed from the east, and gather thee from the west. I say to the north: Give up; and to the south: Keep not back; I will bring my sons from afar and my daughters from the end of the earth."

In the nearly 18 years since it was born, the nation of Israel has done pretty much as Isaiah predicted.

There were 650,000 Jews here when independence was proclaimed in 1948. For 4 years, as the refugee camps of Europe and the Arab nations were emptied, between 100,000 and 175,000 immigrants a year arrived in Israel. Since 1952, the average has been around 35,000 a year.

In a few years most of the distressed Jewish populations of the world will have been brought to Israel as part of the great ingathering.

What then? After 18 years of rapid expansion, still vastly outnumbered by its Arab neighbors, will Israel be content to grow only by natural means?

Not if the majority of Israelis can help it. I have yet to talk to an Israeli who doesn't think more immigrants should come, particularly from the United States and other Western countries.

David Ben-Gurion, former Premier, was most critical of Americans who sent their dollars but not their sons and daughters to Israel.

He said, "Every religious Jew has daily violated the precepts of Judaism and the Torah of Israel by remaining in the Diaspora," the word generally used for the Jews dispersed across the world.

Hamilton Fish, who in 1923 fathered the congressional resolution favoring a Jewish homeland, said Ben-Gurion was "carrying Jewish nationalism to absurd and disasterous extremes."

I don't think most Israelis would go as far as Ben-Gurion did. One official told me, "A Jew in the United States who does not immigrate is not necessarily considered a traitor."

Because Ben-Gurion has since lost the premiership, more weight should be attached to the words of the new premier, Levi Eshkol.

In a speech before the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel last week, he took a milder line on immigration.

"We must realize that thoughts and motivations relevant to the communities of Eastern Europe 30, 40, or 50 years ago, are no longer applicable in large measure to Western Jewry," he said.

While Premier Eshkol would like to see a substantial increase in the 72,000 immigrants from the United States, Canada, and Western Europe, he suggested that much could be accomplished through visits by Western Jews, through training rabbis here, and through a deepening of "our knowledge of the Diaspora, its life and history."

I talked with an American Jew from New York who runs a small business here.

"It's tough," he said quite simply. "You've got to want the other things a lot to give up what's available in the United States. But I'm doing all right. I'll stay."

An English Jew said, "We weren't just creating another Levantine state. As you can see, our culture is, and should remain, Western. That will help the whole area, and it will help the West.

"As for the religious part, I don't know. It's easy to be critical of the Orthodox ideas, but if it hadn't been for the religious among us, we never would have survived those centuries of dispersion. I think we can keep our ties with the Diaspora and build up Israel, too."

Premier Eshkol put it a little more eloquently. "Israel and the Diaspora must work in close and common accord so that future historians will not be able to register that Jewry in our time created a state and lost a people."

The American Council for Judaism has raised its voice against any effort by Israel to put a claim on the loyalties of American Jews.

But the claim is made here, in one form or another, although no longer as strongly as it was made by Ben-Gurion when he said, "Whosoever dwells outside of the land of Israel is considered to have no God."

An effort is being discussed to secure immigrants from the West by providing special housing for those with needed skills. Tax concessions are being considered. But Israel simply cannot, now at least, match the American living standard. An average annual income of $1,000 per capita is high by Middle Eastern standards, but it's not much by American standards.

As the young man from New York said, "You've got to want the other things."

One thing is sure: Isaiah's prophecy has turned out better for the north, south, and east than it has for the West.

[From the Arizona Republic, Apr. 6, 1966]

ISRAEL COLONIZES DESERT—DESOLATE SOUTH CONTRASTS WITH LUSH NORTH

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The economic development of Israel has been unequaled by any of the small nations created after World War II. Here's a firsthand report on that development, which has been achieved in the face of determined Arab opposition.)

(By Frederic S. Marquardt)

TEL AVIV.—In the north of Israel lies some of the world's most beautiful countryside, including the lush Valley of Armageddon.

Here, the Bible tells us, will be fought the final battle between the forces of good and the forces of evil.

In the south of Israel lies some of the world's most desolate countryside, in comparison with which the most desolate areas of Arizona take on the aspects of the Garden of Eden.

There is no prophecy that the final battle between good and evil will be fought here in southern Israel. In fact, a cynic would be justified in saying it had already been fought, and evil had triumphed.

But I have met few cynics in Israel. Everyone seems mainly interested in developing these ancient wastelands. Here's a partial list of current developments:

1. At Ashdod, 30,000 people are living on the sand dunes that were utterly barren 8 years ago. They are growing trees, thanks to some irrigation water and fertilizer, building homes, erecting small industries, and creating a port that some day will rival Haifa.

2. At Ashkelon, where Delilah cut Samson's hair, 40,000 Jews from a score of countries have created an entirely new city.

3. Beersheba, the home of Abraham, which had a population of 3,000 in 1938, now boasts of 73,000 citizens and is the capital of the Negev, the pieshaped southern part of Israel which reaches down to the Red Sea.

4. Perhaps most amazing of all is the town of Eilat, where Israel decided to build a port on the Red Sea after the Sinai campaign of 1958. Until then the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba, had been blocked by Egypt and Saudi Arabia. After the rout of the Egyptian Army in Sinai, no Arab nation contested the passage of Israel ships in the gulf.

Some 13,000 people live in Eilat, working on the docks, in the nearby King Solomon Mines, and caring for the steadily growing tourist trade.

Copper ore shipped to Japan is bartered for ships which will carry oil to Eilat. In 7 months a pipeline will be finished across the Negev to carry the oil to Ashdod on the Mediterranean.

If costs work out the way Israel expects them to, it will be cheaper to send oil from Kuwait to Europe via the Negev pipeline than by the Suez Canal.

I listened to an American who lives with his wife and child in Eilat.

"It's real pioneering," he said. "Like in Phoenix, the temperature goes over 100 in the summer. The winters are wonderful. But there isn't much in the way of entertainment, department stores or other amenities.

"The company has to send employes and their families to Tel Aviv every 3 or 4 months. It's in the contract. They say there will be 60,000 people here in 5 years. It ought to be a fine port and winter resort by then. Things are getting better."

Eilat looks a little like Page, Ariz., did when Glen Canyon Dam was being built. Except that Page had air conditioning from the start, grass lawns in a couple of years, all the water the people needed, and Grand Canyon nearby. And no hostile nations within 2 miles.

There are two desalting plants at Eilat. The treated water is mixed with pumped water to supply the municipality. It's expensive, and still experimental, but it helps.

Both north and south, the kibbutz is the standard way of opening up new land. On the Negev, not far from Eilat, we saw an amazing patch of green. It was the fields of a kibbutz, a cooperative farming venture made up of families that live a communal existence.

On the shores of Lake Galilee, where Christ fed the multitudes with a few loaves and fishes, there is another kibbutz which lives off its farming and its fishing.

Both kibbutzim provide a livelihood for their members. They contribute to the economy of the nation. Perhaps even more important, they are military outposts that would be of great value if an invasion of Israel ever came.

The kibbutz on the shores of Galilee (usually called Lake Tiberias) looks up the hills at Syrian sentry posts. The reinforced walls of its buildings facing the border have no windows, because they are too easy to shoot out.

No Army would enter the Negev without being seen by a kibbutznik and promptly reported to Tel Aviv.

In the lush north and in the barren south, Israel is developing its resources. The energy and the optimism are contagious. But the somber realities of the Middle East cannot be ignored.

Creating cities on the Mediterranean and the Red Sea and connecting them with a pipeline to bypass Suez is a considerable achievement. Can it, and a good many other accomplishments, create a viable state living at peace with its neighbors?

Who knows? This is a land in which miracles have been worked before.

[From the Arizona Republic, Apr. 7, 1966]

WATER OWNED BY STATE IN ISRAEL

(NOTE.—The water problems of Israel, in many respects, are more acute than those of Arizona. On a trip that covered all of the new Jewish state, Republic editor Frederic S. Marquardt made a firsthand study of the Israel water problem. Here are his findings.)

(By Frederic S. Marquardt)

TEL AVIV.—Israel's two main problems are defense and water.

The first one, if the official assessment is correct, has been solved. "We won our war of independence and the Sinai campaign," one official told me. "Our defense forces are strong. We are a nation and sooner or later the Arab nations will have to accept that fact."

"And what about water?" I asked.

"You had better talk with Vilentchuk about that," he told me.

I. Vilentchuk is vice chairman of the Sea Water Conversion Commission. He has all the facets of Israel's water problems at his finger tips. And he quickly points out that water is the only commodity rationed in this country.

The state owns the water. It makes regular appropriations to towns, municipalities, farms, cooperatives, etc. Any person or group that overdraws its appropriations must pay substantial penalties.

"The rates on water go up," said Vilentchuk. "In most things, the price is lower for larger users. But not in Israel."

With estimated annual resources of 1.2 million acre-feet of water, Israel now is using 1 million acre-feet. That doesn't leave much for growth.

A. Wiener, director general of Water Planning for Israel, Ltd., says a shift from agriculture to industry will permit a bigger population to exist on the same amount of water. This, of course, has been Arizona's experience. But Vilentchuk feels agricultural exports, especially citrus, will remain the mainstay of Israel's economy.

In their quest for new water, the Israelis are making a major effort at desalinization. In 1964 President Johnson gave the green light to a joint United States-Israel feasibility and economic study of a plan to build a large atomic reactor and desalinization plant on the Mediterranean south of Tel Aviv.

A report, just completed by the Kaiser Engineering Co. and the Catalytic Construction Co., indicates the project is feasible. Whether it will prove economically sound is something else.

The report envisages a plant producing 200,000 kilowatts of salable power and 120,000 cubic meters of water a day. That would be less than 100 acre-feet, but it would be used to sweeten brackish Jordan River water now brought to central Israel by pipe.

The economic part of the report makes less pleasant reading. The cost is estimated at $200 million. If money could be borrowed at 2 percent, says the Kaiser-Catalytic report, the water could be desalinized for 29 cents per 1,000 gallons. If the interest rate on the capital is 5 percent, the water would cost 43 cents per 1,000 gallons. While the lower rates would be tolerable, the higher one would be out of the question.

The U.S. Government is about the only source of 2 percent money in the world. Chances for a long-term, low-interest loan from the United States are far from good. Uncle Sam is more likely to put his money into homeside reactors and waterworks.

One of the most interesting sources of new water in Israel is a system of coastal ground-water collectors that catch fresh underground water just before it flows into the sea. These reservoirs, called aquifers, are being tapped and the water siphoned off before it is lost in the Mediterranean.

Estimates of water that can thus be saved run up to 50 million cubic meters annually. It isn't a great deal but it will help.

When Israel hit oil in the Negev a few years ago, the world began to wonder if another great Middle East oil field was going to be developed, comparable to those in Iraq and Kuwait. The answer so far is negative, although Israel meets about 15 percent of its oil requirements from domestic sources.

No one here would object to finding more oil. But everyone I have talked with would rather firm up a substantial source of water.

[From the Arizona Republic, Apr. 8, 1966]

ISRAELI LABOR UNIT ASSUMES STATE ROLES

(NOTE.—In Israel The General Federation of Jewish Labor occupies a position second only to that of the government. Here is a review of the accomplishments and goals of the Histradut, based on material collected during a trip to Israel.)

(By Frederic S. Marquardt)

TEL AVIV.—Perhaps the most imposing building in Tel Aviv is the headquarters of the General Federation of Jewish Labor, usually known by its Hebraic name of the Histradut. In many respects the Histradut parallels, and in some respects supersedes, the government of Israel.

Consider, for instance, only two of the Histradut's farflung activities. Its sick fund, supported out of members' dues, provides complete medical services for two-thirds of the population of Israel. Its Building and Public Works Co. is responsible for more than 40 percent of all the building in Israel.

Started by 87 Jewish workers in Haifa in 1920, the Histradut has evolved from a small cooperative to a labor organization that plays a far larger role in Israel than, for instance, the AFL–CIO does in the United States.

"I wouldn't say Histradut was more important than the state," Hanan Lehman, of Histradut's international department said in answer to my question, "but neither would I minimize our contribution to the growth and development of Israel."

With all due respect for Lehman's modesty, it is obvious that Israel would be a completely different state—if in fact it had succeeded in becoming a state—without the contribution of the Histradut.

This unique organization plays four major roles. First, it is a trade union movement, organizing workers from day laborers up to the subcabinet level. It bargains for the workers, including the National Union of Civil Servants which on occasion has struck against the government to secure its goals.

Second, it is a social insurance organization, owning hospitals and clinics, hiring doctors and nurses, conducting health and retirement programs, and so on. Although Israel should probably be classified as a welfare state, it is the only one that farms out most of its health services to a nongovernmental organization.

The only comparable picture that could be drawn into the United States would be to imagine a situation in which Blue Cross and Blue Shield collected dues from two-thirds of all Americans and ran their own health services on a private enterprise basis.

Third, the Histradut conducts an educational and cultural program second only to that of the Israeli government. It educates the young and the old alike, operates vocational schools, staffs cultural centers, and caters to the needs of new immigrants and old settlers alike.

Fourth and finally, the Histradut is the biggest single entrepreneur, with the possible exception of the government, in Israel. It owns a quarter of the national economy, I was told, either directly or through cooperatives.

How can one and the same organization own an enterprise and also bargain collectively for the employees of that enterprise? This is the question every foreigner asks when he realizes how far flung an empire the Histradut has created.

"Well," said Lehman, "it's unique, but so is Israel unique. There are problems in negotiating with ourselves, as you put it, but the benefits outweigh the difficulties. The workers are organized just as your trade unionists are. And management is just as determined to turn a profit as it is in your country."

The Histradut is experimenting with a plan to give workers a place in the councils of management. This could be a way out of the present dilemma, said Lehman, "but could it not also lead to communism, or a Communist-type economy?" I asked. (I did not mention what Lehman already knew: that the Histradut headquarters in Tel Aviv is often jokingly referred to as "the little Kremlin.")

"Not at all," said Lehman. "We are not willing to sacrifice liberty for any economic goal. In fact, we have Communists in the Histradut. The party is legal in Israel. But many differing political ideologies coexist in the Histradut. It is a pluralistic organization, just as our society is pluralistic."

Broadly speaking, so far as I could gather, the pluralistic economy of Israel is being divided roughly into three main areas of responsibility. The state handles such basic things as the soil, water, air, mining, electrical production and so on—all of which are nationalized. The Histradut has taken the lead in agriculture, heavy industry, building, etc. And the private sector confines itself to light industries and services.

If such an economy is neither flesh nor fish from an American standpoint, neither is it foul from an Israel standpoint. Being pragmatic by nature, the Jews accept the mixed economy which they have built, changing it as they go along.

Thanks in part at least to substantial aid from the United States, including a lot of support from American labor unions, the Histradut has a record of accomplishment that is outstanding. If it seems to be grabbing for more power than it can properly wield, that is a problem for the people and Government of Israel to solve.

[From the Arizona Republic, Apr. 9, 1966]

MINORITY PROBLEM FACES NATION CREATED AS CURE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The United States isn't the only country in which minorities have not received equal treatment, as the writer of this article learned on a trip across the entire country of Israel.)

(By Frederic S. Marquardt)

JERUSALEM.—Israel, which was created to cure one of the world's most persistent minority problems, faces some minority problems of its own.

First and foremost, of course, is that presented by the Arabs who live in Israel. There are 260,000 of them, and they constitute a little more than 10 percent of the population. Their standard of living is far higher than that of the average Arab in neighboring states. But they have not been integrated into the population of Israel, and there isn't much chance that they will be.

American tourists are driven through "Arab villages" and shown "Arab schools" and given statistics about "Arab health." In some respects, the concern of the Jews for their Arab fellow citizens is much like the concern of the Americans for the Indians on the Navajo Reservation. But it is only the exceptional Arab, as it is only the exceptional Indian, who is integrated into the society outside of his native village.

Shmuel Toledano, adviser to Israel President Levi Eshkol on Arab affairs, admits quite candidly that he doesn't expect Arabs to become patriotic Israel citizens.

"The Arab is not willing to sing 'Hatikvah" every morning when he gets up," Toledano said recently referring to Israel's national anthem. "And I don't expect him to do so," added Toledano.

"But I believe that the Arab in Israel can, without turning his back on Arabism, continue seeing himself belonging to the Arab nation and also to be a law-abiding citizen.

In the meantime, because of the excellent public health services in Israel, the Arabs have a birth rate nearly three times as high as the Jews.

They own about half of the television sets in Israel, largely because until a week ago the only programs available came from Arab nations. And they listen, in their native language, to the "hate Israel" campaign which holds the Arab countries together.

Israel Arabs don't serve in the national defense forces. As Toledano pointed out in an interview with the New York Times, Arab university graduates can't find jobs. Arab workers have difficulty in getting houses near industries.

Although the Israeli Government has paid $5.7 million to settle claims of Israel Arabs and has returned 10,000 acres of land to them, they are far from satisfied with their lot.

What the Israel Arabs want, is for Israel to readmit the 1.3 million Arab refugees who fled the country when independence was declared in 1948.

President Nasser of Egypt has indicated the readmission of the refugees would lead to a general settlement between all the Arab countries and Israel. He has also admitted this solution is impossible. For 2.5 million Israelis could not absorb 1.3 million Arabs without making the Jews once more a minority in what they have always considered their homeland.

And that was not what world Jewry had in mind when it created, with considerable help from the Government of the United States, the Jewish State of Israel.

Israel is willing as its spokesmen have repeatedly promised, to admit refugee Arabs whose husbands, wives, parents or children live in Israel, and to pay compensation for property left behind by the others. But they will do this only as part of a general settlement.

"It is true," a government spokesman told me, "that some 500,000 Arabs left what is now Israel during the war of independence. We did not drive them out. They left of their own volition and now have grown to more than 1 million. But while 500,000 Arabs left this country, more than that number of Jews have come here from Arab countries. They were forced to leave their homes and businesses behind them. We have provided them with new homes and employment.

"What this amounts to is an exchange of population, much like that between the Moslems and the Hindus when India was partitioned. But while we have absorbed the refugees coming to Israel, the Arab nations—with the exception of Jordan—have refused to absorb refugees going to their countries."

The Arab nationality problem in Israel and the Arab refugee problem outside of Israel are the most acute minority problems facing the less than 2.5 million Jews who are surrounded by more than 60 million Arabs.

Less evident, but in some respects equally serious, is the problem of the Sephardic Jew.

In "The Source," a book which most Israelis believe is fair to their country, James Michener dwells on the problem of the Sephardim, those Jews who have come to Israel from Spain, the countries of northern Africa and the Middle East.

While the Sephardic Jews number nearly half the country's population, the Ashkenazi Jews, who came from Central and Eastern Europe, hold 95 percent of the good jobs in government and in private industry.

"The reason is very simple," an Israeli told me. "A Jew educated in Poland or Germany or Austria or Yugoslavia is far better equipped to hold a job in modern society than, say, a Yemenite who until a few years ago was leading the pastoral life of the Middle Ages."

That, of course, is exactly what the white Mississippian says about his Negro fellow citizen.

No one should minimize the minority problems in Israel. I found no one in Israel who does. But perhaps, Americans will feel less defensive about their own minority problems when they realize that similar problems occur in a nation that was created to eliminate a minority problem.

[From the Arizona Republic, Apr. 10, 1966]

Judgment Incomplete on Israel

(Note.—This is the final article in a Republic series on Israel; written during a 10-day visit to the tiny republic. It attempts to draw up a balance sheet on the new nation's successes and failure.)

(By Frederic S. Marquardt)

Jerusalem.—Israel will be 18 years old next month. It has come a long way since the United Nations decided to partition Palestine between the Jews and the Arabs.

During its brief life as a nation, Israel has won two wars, tripled its population, increased its geographical size by 28 percent, and established for its people the highest standard of living in the Middle East.

More than 50 new nations have set up housekeeping since World War II, and none of them can rival Israel in solid acomplishments. It seems to me that there are at least three reasons for this success.

First, the Israelis must succeed to survive. There are few inducements to hard work that can compare with the certain knowledge that any slackening in national effort will lead to national extinction.

Second, there is the willingness of nearly all Jews to work and work hard, if they are assured that they will not be robbed of the fruits of their labor. When I ask why Israel had done so much better with independence than other new countries of Asia and Africa, I was usually told, "It's the people."

Finally, of course, there is the massive aid that has come from abroad. But similar aid has gone to other countries and has not been used to such good advantage.

Israel has accomplished the primary purpose for which it was established. It has provided a home for the tragic survivors of Nazi barbarism. The Jewish refugee camps of Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East have been cleared.

At the same time, Israel is responsible—in part at least—for the creation of Arab refugee camps in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and in the Gaza strip which is ruled by the United Arab Republic. Here 1.3 million uprooted refugees live at little more than a subsistence level, with the United Nations providing much of their food and shelter.

The refugees are, of course, a bone in the throat of the Arab nations. If such leaders as United Arab Republic President Gamal Abdel Nasser are to be believed, they are the main stumbling block to normal relations between Israel and the Arab world. Yet Nasser himself has said it is impossible to expect Israel to absorb the Palestinian refugees and their children.

The Israelis claim the figure of 1.3 million refugees is false. They say only 550,000 Arabs left what is now Israel; that the others are either phony statistics to swell the amount of relief made available, or are Arabs who entered the camps in order to get food and housing without working for it.

How the Arab-Israel impasse will finally be settled is anyone's guess. The Israelis think 18 years is long enough. They say they have shown their ability to create a state and that there is no chance that the Arabs will push them into the sea.

The Arabs say 18 years is a small span of time compared with the 2,000 years that the Jews waited for a chance to return to Israel. They too can wait.

Although they realize the necessity of living in a garrison state, for decades if need be, most of the Israelis with whom I have talked are mainly interested in the sort of a nation they are creating. They are proud of their viable economy, although they quickly acknowledge the help they received from friendly governments and from individual Jews living abroad.

They exult in their ability to run a democratic government, in which the rights of the citizen are amply safe-guarded and the franchise is protected. "We don't have a new government every other month, like Syria does," one official told me. "Nor do we have a king like Jordan, nor a dictator like Egypt."

And yet, the question which seems to bother many Israelis is whether material and political success is enough. "We didn't go through all this just to establish another country like, say Lebanon," an Israeli told me.

"We think Judaism, from which came the concept of one God, has much to give the world. Whether this can best be done by concentrating all of the world's Jews in Israel, or by maintaining religious and other ties between Israel and the Jews who live outside its borders—that's a question that simply cannot be answered now."

If Israel remains within its present borders, it cannot—in the opinion of most experts—ever be the home of every Jew in the world. As now constituted, Israel might provide a livelihood for another 2 to 3 million people. But there are 5 million Jews in the United States, and perhaps 2.5 million in Russia.

Very few American Jews—estimated at 10,000 to date—have gone to live in Israel. The possibility of bringing Russian Jews to Israel is an academic subject since the U.S.S.R. won't allow its Jews to emigrate. Nor is anyone sure that any large number of Jews in Russia want to go to Israel.

Whether further large-scale immigration will take place remains to be seen. If it does not, I imagine the Israel Government will attempt to exert an influence on the Jews of the world. This could develop into something like the relationship between the Vatican and Catholics throughout the world or it could pose the question of dual allegiance which some observers, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, have predicted

"Ask a hundred Jews where Israel goes from here," one official in Tel Aviv told me, "and you'll get a hundred different answers. But one thing is certain. We have no intention of losing what we have won."

After the United Nations had passed its resolution partitioning Palestine, I heard Chaim Weizmann deliver a moving speech of thanks to the other delegates. He was the Russian Jew who had wrung the Balfour Declaration from Britain and had been largely responsible for the creation of the Jewish homeland in the Holy Land.

Dr. Weizmann, a world famed chemist later to become the first President of Israel, predicted that the new state would contribute to the peace and progress of the Middle East. It hasn't borne out that promise.

History may yet show that Israel's presence in the Middle East has created tensions that cannot be overcome without bringing on world war III.

History may also record that the creation of Israel was the prod that roused the Arab countries out of their age-old lethargy and turned them into modern, progressive states.

In short, the returns aren't in on the experiment launched by the United Nations 18 years ago. But the creation of a Western state in the Middle East is a fascinating piece of history any way you look at it.

INEQUITIES IN THE DRAFT

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, 2 weeks ago I discussed the inequitable results of the practice of allocating draft calls by State quotas. I described how this practice, which is part of our present selective service law, resulted in induction of married men in some States, while single men in other States have not yet been called. It also is resulting in the induction of men in some States at a younger age than men in other States, despite present selective service policy of taking the oldest men first in each priority of the 1–A classification.

I stated at that time:

> In a different mobilization situation, with higher demands for manpower, the system of allocating draft calls by State quotas could produce even harsher results than it has so far.

To show how this could happen, I would like to present a model of how the system could operate as between two States, one with a population of 5 million, and 20,000 young men in the classification 1–A; the other with a population half as large and 10,000 1–A's.

This model, with fair assumptions as to the number of men in each priority of induction, and assuming a draft call to be filled by the two States for the month of April 1966 of 6,000 men, would operate in that month to bring in the induction of 20-year-olds in the second State, whereas draft boards in the first State would still be calling 21-year-olds. Assuming the call of 6,000 continues for the month of May 1966, the State quota system, as applied to these States, would result in the first State being able to meet its quota by dipping down into the pool of single 19-year-olds. while the other State would have to not only take all of its single 1–A's, but in addition, would have to induct a large number of married men in the 23 to 25 age group.

Hence, on the basis of only two monthly calls for only two States, the following inequality would arise: the last man drafted in February 1966 in State A would be approximately 19 years and 2 months old and would be single, while the last man drafted in February 1966 in State B would be approximately 23 years and 9 months old and would be married. The difference in their ages is even more striking than in the previous month: over 3 years and 6 months.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert this model into the Record.

This model was prepared by Mr. John Blew, a 3d year student at the Harvard Law School, who has done an extensive study of this subject. I want to commend him for his initiative and for his diligence in preparing these studies.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNEQUAL TREATMENT IN TIME IN THE METHOD OF SELECTION OF MEN FOR MILITARY SERVICE: A MODEL

The consequence of selection for a 2-month period will be examined. The following assumptions, as of January 1, 1966, are made:

	State A	State B
Population	5,000,000	2,500,000
Number of men in class 1–A	20,000	10,000
(1) Delinquents	50	10
(2) Volunteers (for the draft)	100	75
(3) Single men, age 19 to 25	7,500	2,500
(4) Married men, age 19 to 25	4,500	2,400
(5) All men, age 26 to 35	2,850	2,515
(6) All men, age 18½ to 19	5,000	2,000
Credit available	2,000	500
Age breakdown within subgroup (c), single men, 19 to 25 (and those married subsequent to August 1965 in that age group):		
Age 25	700	150
Age 24	850	200
Age 23	900	325
Age 22	1,000	475
Age 21	1,100	550
Age 20	1,300	600
Age 19	1,650	700
Age breakdown within subgroup (d), married men, 19 to 25:		
Age 25	1,000	750
Age 24	775	575
Age 23	700	525
Age 22	625	400
Age 21	575	275
Age 20	475	225
Age 19	350	150

If we assume a national draft call for the month of January 1966 of 6,000 men, the National Director of the Selective Service System will allocate that call between States A and B according to the following formula:

$$\frac{a+b+c}{A+B+C}(B+C+D)=\text{State gross quota}$$

$$\text{State gross quota}-(b+c)=\text{State net quota}$$

Where—

a=Number of men in the State available for military service.
b=Number of men from the State who had been inducted.
c=Number of men from the State in the Armed Forces by enlistment.
A=Sum of the "a's" for all States.
B=Sum of the "b's" for all States.
C=Sum of the "c's" for all States.
D=United States Armed Forces increment by induction and enlistment.

Applying this formula to State A, a net quota of 3,780 men to be selected therefrom is established in the following manner:

$$\begin{aligned}
&\frac{20{,}000+2{,}000}{30{,}000+2{,}500}(2{,}500+6{,}000)=\\
&\frac{22{,}000}{32{,}500}(8{,}500)=\\
&.68\times 8{,}500=\\
&5{,}780=\text{State A gross quota}\\
&5{,}780-2{,}000=\\
&3{,}780=\text{State A net quota}
\end{aligned}$$

Similarly, applying this formula to state B, a net quota of 2,220 men to be selected therefrom is established:

$$\begin{aligned}
&\frac{10{,}000+500}{30{,}000+2{,}500}(2{,}500+6{,}000)=\\
&\frac{10{,}500}{32{,}500}(8{,}500)=\\
&.32\times 8{,}500=\\
&2{,}720=\text{State B gross quota}\\
&2{,}720-500=2{,}220=\text{State B net quota}
\end{aligned}$$

We now examine the application of these quotas to the subgroups of class 1–A in each State, according to the order prescribed under the act:

	State A	State B
Delinquents	50	10
Volunteers	100	75
Nonvolunteers:		
(1) Single men, 19 to 25:		
Age 25	700	150
Age 24	850	200
Age 23	900	325
Age 22	1,000	475
Age 21	180	550
Age 20		435
Total	3,780	2,220

Thus, in the month of January 1966, the State quota method of selection results in the fulfillment of State A's quota by the selection of all delinquents, all volunteers and single men age 25 through age 21 years and 10 months. That still leaves 920 single men age 21 available to fill the February 1966 quota of State A (assuming, for simplicity, a static situation). Meanwhile, in State B, it was necessary to select all delinquents, all volunteers and single men age 25 through age 20 years and 3 months. Hence, on the basis of only one monthly call for only two States, the following inequality has arisen: the last man drafted in January 1966 in State A was approximately 21 years and 10 months old, while the last man drafted in January 1966 in State B was approximately 20 years and 3 months old. Although both men were single, the difference in their ages is striking: over 1 year and 6 months.

This selection age disparity becomes more pronounced when the national draft call for February 1966 is satisfied. If we assume that the February call, as was its January counterpart, is for 6,000 men, the National Director of the Selective Service System will allocate that call between States A and B according to the formula set out on page 2, supra. Applying this formula to State A, and assuming a February "credit" of 2,500 men, a net quota of 3,660 men to be selected therefrom is established in the following manner:

$$\begin{aligned}
\text{Number of men available for service in State A}&=\text{Number available Jan. 1 less number selected in January}\\
&=20{,}000-3{,}780\\
&=16{,}220\\
\text{Number of men available for service in State B}&=10{,}000-2{,}220\\
&=7{,}780
\end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
&\frac{16{,}220+2{,}500}{24{,}000+2{,}800}(2{,}800+6{,}000)=\\
&\frac{18{,}720}{26{,}800}(8{,}800)=\\
&.70\times 8{,}800=\\
&6{,}160=\text{State A gross quota}\\
&6{,}160-2{,}500=\\
&3{,}660=\text{State A net quota}
\end{aligned}$$

(NOTE.—A credit of 300 men for State B is assumed for February, thus producing the figure of 2,800 (2,500+300).)

Similarly, applying this formula to State B, a net quota of 2,340 men to be selected therefrom is established:

$$\begin{aligned}
&\frac{7{,}780+300}{24{,}000+2{,}800}(2{,}800+6{,}000)=\\
&\frac{8{,}080}{26{,}800}(8{,}800)=\\
&.30\times 8{,}800=\\
&2{,}640=\text{State B gross quota}\\
&2{,}640-300=\\
&2{,}340=\text{State B net quota}
\end{aligned}$$

We now examine the application of these quotas to the subgroups of class 1–A in each State, according to the order prescribed under the act:

	State A	State B
Nonvolunteers:		
(1) Single men, 19 to 25:		
Age 21	920	
Age 20	1,300	165
Age 19	1,440	1,700
(2) Married men, 19 to 25:		
Age 25		750
Age 24		575
Age 23		150
Total	3,660	2,340

Thus, in the month of February 1966, the State quota method of selection results in the fulfillment of State A's quota by the selection of the remaining 920 single men age 21, all single men age 20, and 1,440 single men age 19, leaving some 210 single men age 19 available for the March 1966 call. Meanwhile, in State B, it was necessary to select all remaining single men and then to dip into the married men subgroup to select all married men age 25, all married men age 24, and some 150 married men age 23. [Hence, on the basis of only two monthly calls for only two States, the following inequality would arise: the last man drafted in February 1966 in State A was approximately 19 years and 2 months old and was single, while the last man drafted in February 1966 in State B was approximately 23 years and 9 months old and was married. The difference in their ages and their marital status is even more striking than in the previous month: over 3 years and 6 months, one being married and the other single.]

CHEDDAR CHEESE IMPORTS SHOULD BE CURTAILED

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, section 22 of the Agricultural Act, as amended, was passed by Congress to achieve the intent of the price support program. Under this act import quotas or increased import fees can be set as needed to achieve parity prices for farmers, as set forth under the section 201 of the Agricultural Act of 1949.

The suggested increase in import quotas for Cheddar cheese would be in direct opposition to the stated purpose of section 22.

Importing more cheese into this country would result in lower prices being paid to dairy farmers. This is another move which will result in keeping the farmer on the bottom rung of the economic ladder in this country.

This proposed action is not designed to supplement the price support programs as set up under law. The stated purpose is to keep prices down by increasing Cheddar cheese quotas.

The Secretary of Agriculture, in calling for the Tariff Commission study as to the advisability of higher Cheddar cheese import quotas, said:

> The actions are in response to the decline in U.S. milk production that has taken place in recent months, and the rise in the prices of cheese. They will help alleviate an imbalance in manufacturing milk supplies which has developed as cheese and butter manufacturers compete for existing supplies of manufacturing milk. Strong demand for cheese is diverting milk from butter production.

The problem here is that the price being paid to the dairy farmer for milk is too low, and because of this many farmers are getting out of the dairy business. The result is declining production and a shortage of milk.

The Secretary of Agriculture has admitted this. The Secretary calls the American dairy farmer "among the lowest paid of all producers" who receives "an equivalent wage averaging hardly more than 50 cents an hour." The Secretary made this statement on March 31, 1966, at the time he was raising the minimum levels of support for milk and dairy products, seeing the problems arising from decreasing milk production.

On the same day, he announced an increase in Cheddar cheese quotas for this fiscal year, and called for a Tariff Commission study of a proposal for higher imports in the future.

A quota increase will not solve anything. Foreign countries will sell us cheese made from their surplus milk. When their supplies get short, we will have to look elsewhere for supplies. But then it will be too late, because an increase in imports will mean that the price paid for milk will drop and dairy farmers will have one more reason for going into some other business, as too many are already doing. This is creating a shortage of milk at a time when the population is growing and when more and more young children need the most nutritional food available.

What is needed is a long-range look into the market for dairy products to make sure that no action is taken which will result in lower incomes for dairy farmers. The consumer is dependent on a growing dairy industry which can supply his needs.

It should be pointed out that the raising of Cheddar import quotas would depress farm prices, just the opposite of the stated purpose of the Agricultural Act of 1949. This act has the intended purpose of guaranteeing that farmers receive parity prices for their products in order to make sure that adequate supplies are produced.

While the Cheddar cheese market is only part of the dairy industry, the price paid for manufacturing milk for cheese has a major effect on the entire dairy industry. Increased cheese imports mean the farmer will be paid less for his milk. This milk is the reserve supply for the fluid milk market. As the price for manufacturing milk falls, he will cut production of this reserve milk which will be needed, and which is a hedge against future demands for milk.

The increases in import quotas proposed by the administration means that farm prices will fall even further below parity. More dairy farmers will leave the farms. This trend will lead to severe shortages, and inflationary prices always follow shortages. In the long run, the consumer will pay more for milk and for dairy products if this is allowed to happen.

The Congress—recognizing the need for a sound domestic farm economy—has passed legislation designed to this end. Dairy farming is one of the largest segments of agriculture, as milk and dairy products add up to about a quarter of all food bought by consumers.

The dairy farmer has been taking it on the chin for too long. The recent price support level announced by the Secretary of Agriculture is not enough. The 1967 budget called for an 80-percent slash in school milk funds. Margarine is being substituted for butter in welfare distribution programs and in feeding our Armed Forces.

Is the purpose of this to sacrifice the farmer on the altar of cheap food? It should always be remembered that the costs of packaging, transportation, handling, taxes, and wages have gone up, while the farmer's income has gone down. These costs are the villains who are giving the American housewife fits with her budget. When the housewife adds up the cost of food, she can figure that the cost of food went up 61 percent after it left the farm. What has happened is that since 1951 farm prices went down 13 percent while food prices jumped 17 percent.

The request for increased quotas for Cheddar cheese is not in the best interest of the farmers or the consumers, and in the long run will result in inflationary prices for dairy products.

The purpose of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as I have stated, is to achieve parity prices for farmers, in order to guarantee adequate supplies for the consumer. Section 22 was passed to achieve the intent of the price program. The dairy farmer is entitled to increased support levels by any yardstick.

Requests for higher cheese quotas would be a step in the opposite direction and must be denied.

EXPORT QUOTAS ON CATTLE HIDES

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, the Department of Commerce announced not long ago that it was imposing export quotas on cattle hides, calf and kip skins, and bovine leathers.

The Department's announcement was seriously questioned in Congress and in many sectors of our economy.

Most observers feel that the action was unwise and unwarranted and, instead of reducing domestic inflation, will only adversely affect farm income and our policy to expand exports, particularly of farm products.

On April 26, the New York Times published a thoughtful editorial relating to this problem and called on the administration to eliminate the quotas on hide exports. I recommend this editorial to all my colleagues, Mr. President, and ask unanimous consent that the editorial about the export controversy be placed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Quota on Hides

In placing quotas on exports of American livestock hides, the Johnson administration hoped to strike a blow against domestic inflation. Instead, the administration has been taking a beating—domestically and internationally.

Its troubles started when shoe manufacturers complained about the rising prices for hides. The Commerce Department came up with the solution of placing controls on exports. This move had the effect of checking hide prices. But shoe manufacturers have decided to increase their prices anyway, while meatpackers and hide exporters complain that curbing their foreign sales will serve to increase the deficit in the Nation's balance of payments.

Meat and hide interests are particularly incensed that the Commerce Department heeded the pleas of the shoe industry at their expense. They point out that they have been under pressure from the administration to expand their export markets. Their reward for doing so is a restrictive quota.

Commerce has now decided to listen to complaints, but the damage has been done. Shoe manufacturers have raised their prices. Exporters report that they have had to cut back on their foreign orders. Packers are talking of slowing the rate of cattle slaughter, which might mean higher prices for hides and for meat. And the establishment of a quota system on exports to keep prices artificially low is no more in keeping with the administration's objective of trade liberalization than the imposition of import quotas to keep prices artificially high.

The decision is as wrong in principle as it was in procedure. It is time for the administration to take the curbs off hide exports by junking the quota system.

REQUIREMENT BY FHA OF ESCROW DEPOSITS ON HOMES UNDER CONSTRUCTION

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, on April 12, the FHA issued a new ruling requiring builders to place in escrow all deposits and downpayments received on homes under construction that have mortgages insured by the FHA.

As one who has been a critic of this agency for some of its policies I now congratulate them on this constructive action which will give greater protection to the homebuyers against unscrupulous or financially unsound builders.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD an article appearing in the Wall Street Journal on April 26 in which this new policy is outlined.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Apr. 26, 1966]

FHA MAKING BUILDERS PUT IN ESCROW DEPOSITS ON HOMES BEING BUILT—NEW RULE COVERS ALL PAYMENTS ON HOUSES UNDER CONSTRUCTION WITH FHA-INSURED MORTGAGES

WASHINGTON.—The Federal Housing Administration is requiring builders to place in escrow all deposits and downpayments received on homes under construction that have mortgages insured by the FHA.

The rule, outlined in a letter sent April 12 to approved mortgagees, is "to assure return of the buyer's deposit or downpayment when the builder cannot complete and deliver the property," the FHA said.

The letter said that there have been "several instances" of such failures and that the rule is intended to safeguard these funds during construction.

The forms used to apply for mortgage insurance, the FHA said, are being revised to incorporate a builder's or seller's certification that deposits will be safeguarded. But until the revised forms are in use, the letter said, mortgagees will be expected to use their influence to obtain voluntary cooperation of builders to assure the safety of purchasers' deposits.

The new rule doesn't apply, the FHA said, in cases where homes are being custom built on lots previously owned by home buyers. However, this exemption doesn't extend to situations where home buyers purchased lots from builders or affiliates. In such cases, certification would be required showing that funds would be held in escrow.

The new procedures leave it up to the builders to determine the type of special escrow accounts to be set up to hold buyers' deposits.

Under the directive, spot checks are to be made to assure compliance, and where violations are discovered "the insuring office may consider whether an unsatisfactory risk determination is warranted," the letter said.

"VIVA JOHNSON" IN MEXICO

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, an excellent summary of President Johnson's trip to Mexico 10 days ago was written by Anne Mansfield, daughter of the majority leader, in the April 19 issue of the "Vision Letter," a weekly analysis of Latin American Affairs. She writes that "from beginning to end, the visit was a triumph."

I ask unanimous consent that this report, bearing, as it does, such good news, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Vision Letter, Apr. 19, 1966]

(NOTE.—Vision Washington reporter, Anne Mansfield, accompanied the President to Mexico as a member of the official party. The following is taken from her cabled report.)

The crowds that lined the route from Mexico's International Airport to the center of the city surpassed the expectations of Mexican and United States officials. The government of President Gustavo Diaz obviously had gone all out, organizing the reception with a thoroughness that included holidays to all but the most essential Government employees.

But it was generally estimated that at least half of the parade route spectators were there on their own. President Johnson was openly moved. In his best campaign style he stopped the motorcade again and again for handshaking forays. Secret Service agents of both countries were catatonic with apprehension, but there were no incidents. Two small Vietnam protest groups were swept up by the police long before the U.S. President could see them.

The atmosphere was pure festival down to the mariachi bands. The motorcade stops enabled the official party and the press to test the feelings of the crowd, and the laughter, banter, and horseplay left no question that popular friendship for the "colossus of the north" was at an unusual high.

Johnson's speech following the unveiling of the Lincoln statue was felt to be one of his best yet on inter-American affairs. Observers were delighted at the strong emphasis on social as well as economic progress. Private talks between Johnson and Díaz Ordaz reportedly were extremely cordial. In fact, from beginning to end, the visit was a triumph. The U.S. President recognized it and bathed in it.

This was the first time Johnson had been out of the country since taking over the Presidency in 1963. The trip was planned in secrecy and every effort was made to negate its importance. No one, except the President himself, knows quite why.

It seems to me that the idea was the President's own. He wanted to know what his reception abroad might be and no foreign country attracts him like Mexico, across the border from his native Texas and where he spent his honeymoon. There may always be an undercurrent of animosity between Texans and Mexicans, but they know each other and Johnson likes most of all to feel at home.

The trip was planned more than 2 weeks ahead, but the President's final decision was not made until Monday (April 11) and even then, some said, only after Mexico's pleas that he decide one way or another.

Whatever the President's intention, there can be do doubt that he achieved it, and those in Washington concerned with inter-American affairs are as elated as Johnson himself. There is little question that the warmth of his reception heightened his interest in a meeting of hemisphere Presidents, which has been asked by President Arturo Illia of Argentina.

The Mexico triumph also may prompt a more direct interest on the President's part in the Alliance for Progress and other inter-American problems—and in the most personal of recent Washington administrations, presidential interest is the yeast for any successful program.

When might a meeting of hemisphere Presidents be scheduled? Probably not before 1967 for the simple reason that there are too many presidential elections slated this year. New Chiefs of State will be chosen in Colombia (May 1), the Dominican Republic (June 1), Bolivia (July 3), Brazil (October 3), and Uruguay (November 28). Only two presidential elections are scheduled next year—in El Salvador and Nicaragua, although Ecuador may be added to the list later.

Chilean President Eduardo Frei is slowly but surely overpowering his political opponents and a hamstringing congressional system. The copper "Chileanization" bill, paving the way toward a mutually beneficial partnership between the Government and U.S. companies, is a landmark reform which is now signed and sealed. The agrarian reform, a tougher problem, is still under debate, but there are signs that Frei will get most of what he seeks.

First step toward meaningful land reform must be a constitutional amendment which has passed the Chamber, but is still under debate in the Senate. Article 10 of the charter states: "No one can be deprived of his property, or any part of it, or of the rights over it, except under judicial sentence or expropriation for the purpose of public utility as set down by law. In this case, prior indemnification will be given to owners by agreement or determination of the courts."

In the Senate, the arcane arts of political maneuver have so far blocked action. This month, the votes of the Christian Democrats and the Socialist-Communist alliance FRAP pushed through reasonable modifications of the law. But to complicate the issue, the Radical Party then proposed a further change which would have prohibited foreign ownership of more than 25 percent of any property or business after 1970.

The Radical proposal ostensibly dealt with land tenure article 10, but in reality was an assault on the copper accords and was designed to pull FRAP votes away from the Government. The Socialists and Communists must vote for land reform, but against "Yanqui imperialism" as represented by the contracts with Braden, Anaconda, and Cerro.

It is thought in Santiago that the Radicals are not really trying to block all land reform, but are using devices like the article 10 amendment to force Frei to accept a less drastic reform than he would like. And to that extent, it appears that the Radicals will succeed. Frei cannot pass any law over both FRAP and Radical opposition. Nonetheless, it is expected that a meaningful land reform bill will be passed at some point this year.

Before and after his election in 1964, knowing that the congressional system was stacked against him, Frei often threatened he would "go to the people" in national plebiscites to get his legislation, although there are no constitutional provisions for such a course. In practice, however, Frei has played the political game and proved that he is a capable legislative practitioner.

The country's multiparty system and staggered election dates for the Senate have combined to make it virtually impossible for a President to carry with him a legislative majority. And coalitions are imperfect instruments for basic reform.

But in 1964 the powerful right-of-center Radical coalition fell apart and the voters polarized around the Christian Democrats and FRAP. Frei won the first outright Chamber majority in this century in 1965, but he still could not make much headway in the Senate where only 20 of the 45 seats were up for election. The Christian Democrats increased their strength from 4 to 16.

Frei has two factors on his side. In Chile, unlike most Latin American countries, the lower house is considered the more powerful. And there is absolutely no question but what the Chilean public is solidly behind the president and his program. For these reasons, Frei has eschewed the dubious plebiscite device and chosen to inch his program through the traditionally difficult channels of Congress. So far, he is winning.

Air Force Gen. René Barrientos Ortuño may end up as the only candidate in Bolivia's July 3 presidential election. The only political power in the country capable of putting up any opposition to him is the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR), but at the moment the party seems splintered and paralyzed for lack of leadership.

The one man who could provide that leadership is ousted President Víctor Paz Estenssoro. The MNR national convention is scheduled to be held later this month and Paz has threatened to return at that time. He has a valid visa and is now in Lima, but chances that he would actually reenter the country appear to be dimming. Paz announced this week that his return would be "delayed."

Barrientos, meanwhile, is riding high. The electoral machinery built by Paz to insure MNR victory in the past is now in the hands of the military, and though the generals claim neutrality, Barrientos is obviously the official candidate. He has been campaigning for months and his popularity among the campesinos is high.

Latin American demand for steel is expected to rise by more than 50 percent by 1970, according to a recent ECLA report. Production in 1965 was 8.2 million ingot tons and imports added another 3.2 million tons. By 1970 demand is expected to increase to 18.6 million tons and by 1975 to 28 million. If the current level of imports were to be maintained, according to the study, Latin American production would have to rise by 87 percent in the next 5 years and by 300 percent by 1975. To achieve this unlikely goal, ECLA estimates, would require investments of $5 billion in the coming decade.

Despite official optimism, Peruvian observers doubt there will be any quick solution in the dispute with the International Petroleum Co. President Fernando Belaúnde Terry has a tentative agreement with the company which in essence would swap subsoil rights for a long-term concessionary contract. Belaúnde recently revealed his plan to opposition party leaders Manuel A. Odría and Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre and asked for their support in getting congressional authorization to negotiate a settlement without having to submit the final terms to the legislature for approval. So far, neither Haya nor Odría has given an answer.

Top Latin American officials are making their way to Japan in an effort to boost trade and investment. Following the recent visit of Argentine Foreign Minister Miguel Angel Zavala Ortiz, Mexico's Octaviano Campos Salas, secretary of industry and commerce, is in Tokyo at the head of a group of prominent businessmen. The Mexicans hope to boost sales of cotton and sugar and to increase their own purchases of Japanese machinery and ships. Also discussed was the possibility of Japanese construction of a major shipyard in Mexico.

The 9 wise men are getting like the 10 little Indians: first there were 9, now there are 5, and soon there may be 2. Celebrated in the early days of the Alliance for Progress as the technical coordination body of the program, the nine have since been eclipsed by the newer Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress (CIAP), headed by Colombia's forceful Carlos Sanz de Santamaría. After the nine's powers again were clipped at the recent CIES meeting in Buenos Aires, wise man Rômulo de Almeida of Brazil quit immediately, reducing the group from six to five. Three more resignations are expected in the coming weeks.

France has turned a deaf ear to Chilean, Peruvian, and Ecuadoran protests against upcoming atomic tests in the South Pacific. French technicians contend there is no danger that contamination will spread the 3,000 plus miles from the test site to the South American mainland. The first tests are slated for later this year and full-scale hydrogen bomb explosions for 1970.

TRIBUTE TO WILLIAM R. NORWOOD, NEWLY APPOINTED HIGH COMMISSIONER OF THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, William R. Norwood, administrative director for the State of Hawaii, has been named High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, effective July 1.

I was delighted by this appointment by Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall because I have known Mr. Norwood for many years as an extremely capable and knowledgeable government administrator and a man of warm compassion and understanding.

Mr. Norwood began his career in Hawaii as a newspaperman and served as the first president of the Hawaii chapter of the American Newspaper Guild. After 7 years with the Honolulu Star-Bulletin he joined the public relations staff of Castle & Cooke, one of Hawaii's leading business houses, and soon became their director of public relations.

Mr. Norwood was named administrative director for the State of Hawaii by Governor John A. Burns following his election to office in the fall of 1962. During his years in Hawaii, Mr. Norwood has served his community in a variety of roles ranging from membership on the Planning Commission of the City and County of Honolulu to directorships in a number of community organizations.

In assuming this new role as High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Mr. Norwood will face great challenges and I am confident that he will meet them squarely and with a full measure of justice for our Micronesian friends who now occupy 96 of the 2,100 islands and atolls that make up the trust territory.

In conclusion, I want to commend outgoing High Commissioner M. W. Goding, a veteran of 28 years of Federal service, for his work in the trust territory since he took office.

During his administration, succeeding sessions of Congress tripled appropriations for the trust territory which has a population of some 90,000 and covers an area of more than 3 million square miles.

While many of us have heard some criticism of the administration of the trust territory over the years, I for one believe that we in the Congress must accept our full share of responsibility for any shortcomings.

In recent years we were shocked by prevailing conditions in American Samoa. When they were brought to our attention we acted quickly to correct them with massive rehabilitation programs.

It is time that we prescribed the same treatment for the trust territory.

I know that Mr. Norwood will provide the necessary leadership to make each one of us proud of our jurisdiction over this vast area, but he will need our help and support.

PROTECTION OF INTERNATIONAL AVIATION PASSENGERS

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial concerning the protection of travelers on international air flights appearing in the New York Times today be printed in the Record.

This editorial emphasized the need to raise the limit on the liability of an airline in the event of an accident on an international flight from $8,300 to $100,000 for each passenger. It also points out the inherent dangers in the absolute liability provision under discussion by the Department of State and the airlines.

I believe that $75,000 is inadequate compensation for the death of the father of a family and believe that the limit should either be raised to $100,000 or the Warsaw Convention denounced.

I also believe that the absolute liability provision under discussion could be highly dangerous. Under this provision, the airline would be automatically liable for payment of up to $75,000 for each passenger who had been killed. This would amount to automatic insurance for any individual with a good earning capacity.

This automatic insurance would remove much of the risk of detection in sabotaging a plane. For individually paid insurance policies carried by passengers on domestic airline flights have assisted materially in solving airplane bombing cases, and have acted as a deterrent to such bombings.

It seems to me that the insurance murder incentive would increase and the deterrent would disappear under the proposal being discussed by the Department of State. In a period when a single aircraft will carry 400 to 500 passengers, this would be tragic.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

LIABILITY IN THE AIR

Last November 15 the State Department took a bold and overdue step in denouncing the Warsaw Convention, an international treaty limiting the liability of an airline involved in crashes in international flight to $8,300 per passenger. This is an insignificant figure for the death of an American breadwinner.

Under terms of the convention, a denunciation does not take effect for 6 months, or May 15, and the airlines have made use of the interval to seek a compromise that can head off a final break from Warsaw. Many now seem willing to raise the liability limit to $75,000. When it denounced Warsaw, the State Department said it would be satisfied with $75,000 as an interim limit if there were reasonable assurances that this would before long be raised to $100,000 at an international conference. Now the word from the State Department is that it would seriously consider $75,000 as a final figure if it were coupled with another purported benefit.

This is a provision that liability would be absolute or automatic. In other words, beneficiaries could automatically collect so long as they could prove that $75,000 in actual damage had been incurred. This would be pro forma if the crash victim was the wage-earning head of a family.

The specific provision on automatic liability has real significance only in sabotage cases since, in all others, survivors are almost sure to recover some damages anyway—whether the limit is $8,300, or $75,000, or there is no limit. But extending automatic liability to sabotage cases would be an invitation to sabotage. Criminals who have placed bombs on planes often have been traced through purchase of insurance on the lives of relatives on board. Risk of such detection would be removed if the criminal saw a chance to collect $75,000 automatically without insurance.

There may have been a case for Warsaw in the early days of aviation, when big lawsuits could have proved catastrophic to an infant air industry. That rationale has long since become obsolete. There is no reason for reversal by the State Department of its decision to denounce Warsaw. The airlines, like the railroads and bus companies, should pay for whatever damages survivors of air-crash victims may legally prove warranted. The no-limit principle is not only in accord with traditional American law. It also is an extra safeguard against carelessness in an activity where many lives are at stake.

CATTLE HIDE EXPORTS

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, in two statements on the Senate floor recently I have discussed the disregard of some of our officials for parity price commitments to our own farmers involved in recent actions taken to roll back farm prices.

Today, I would like to place in the RECORD one of several statements made at the Commerce Department hearings on cattle hide export restrictions which direct attention to the forced violation of outstanding private export contract commitments to foreign purchasers which are required by the order issued by the Department of Commerce.

The statement is that of the Chilewich Corp., contending that the order was neither desirable nor necessary. The corporation pleads especially for the right to carry out contract commitments for hides with the foreign buyers to whom such commitments have been made.

The limitation on hide exports, which failed to hold down the price of shoes, appears very likely to have another effect, a very serious effect on this Nation's reliability as a supplier in the export trade. It may weaken the beneficial effect of our trade development efforts recently by warning foreign buyers that contracts for delivery of materials with U.S. export firms are no assurance of supply since our Government may step in and forbid compliance with the contract retroactively.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point the statement submitted by the Chilewich Corp. to the Secretary of Commerce on April 18.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF CHILEWICH CORP. AT HEARING ON HIDE EXPORT CONTROLS BEFORE THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE, APRIL 18, 1966

Mr. Secretary, gentlemen, my name is Matthew H. Ross. I am the secretary and general counsel of Chilewich Corp.

We expect to demonstrate that the controls (on hide exports) were neither necessary nor desirable and in any event were imposed in a manner so as to cause great hardship and waste without benefit to the American consumer. We hope that our testimony will be accepted in the spirit in which it is presented—as a sincere effort to be constructive not only for the export trade but on a broader level.

We have been in the hide business for four generations. For the last decade our company has concentrated on the export business exclusively. The export volume attained over several years makes the hide exporters a vital segment of the industry and the one most directly and adversely affected by the controls of March 7.

Starting in 1953, owing to constantly increasing cattle slaughter, this country has had, and continues to have, a rapid increase in the availability of hides and skins. Consequently, in the interest of the national economy and particularly American agriculture, export markets had to be developed and, I dare say, will continue to have to be cultivated in order to absorb the continuously increasing surpluses.

The opening of the foreign markets for American hides, gentlemen, was not an easy task. In large measure it was the ingenuity of individual exporters and the considerable expenses they poured into the building of sales organizations that made it possible to achieve the levels which now contribute about $200 million per year to our balance of payments. No small part of the credit for this desirable achievement is due to the Department of Commerce and the Department of Agriculture which, in recent years, engaged in extensive promotional campaigns for the sale of American hides abroad. But for our combined efforts in this endeavor, prices paid to American farmers for cattle would necessarily have reflected the adverse effects of a tremendous domestic hide surplus.

This is shown graphically on our chart entitled "Hide Production/Exports." [Not printed in RECORD.] The blue columns on this chart show hide availability in the United States during the past 11 years. You can see that such availability is about 20 percent more today than 11 years ago. The brown line shows the annual levels of domestic hide consumption. In 1955 the domestic market consumed in excess of 80 percent of the total available hides whereas in 1965 the domestic industry consumed barely 65 percent. Whatever doubts there may be about any other questions in connection with this problem, it is abundantly clear that at the present time we are not suffering from a hide shortage. The fact is that the production of hides is increasing, while at the same time the domestic consumption has decreased.

In 1955 the domestic economy consumed close to 26 million hides whereas in 1965 it consumed less than 23.5 million hides, a net reduction of almost 2.5 million hides. The yellow columns on the chart show exports during the past 11 years; in all but three of the early years the exports of hides did not fully absorb the surpluses over the last 11 years.

On top of this chart the red lines show footwear production. The dotted line on top indicates the growth of all footwear (about 25 percent) since 1955. The solid red line shows the growth of leather footwear which amounts to only 9 percent. This disparity is indicative of the extent of the shift from leather to other materials.

Considering that domestic hide demand did not keep pace with the relatively small growth of the leather shoe production but has indeed declined on hide consumption by 8 percent—and this in the face of considerably greater availability of hides—it is to be expected that hide surpluses in the future will grow and grow.

If the imposition of controls was predicated on the notion that there is a scarcity of hide raw material for the shoe industry, the facts do not appear to warrant the controls.

If the controls were imposed in order to stabilize the price of shoes to the consumer, we submit that the controls are likewise unnecessary because the price of hides appears to have had practically no effect on the price of shoes. Please look at the chart entitled "Non-Relation of Hide Prices Versus Shoe Prices." We would like to point out that we have used as the basis for the hide price index the price of light native cows, the type most typical for domestic industry consumption.

The chart shows that the imposition of controls with all the economic dislocation it entails cannot be justified if the purpose is to stabilize the price of shoes. For example, from 1951 to 1955 hide prices dropped from 34 cents to under 14 cents. You will see from the orange line that the price of shoes showed practically no change during that same period although the industry had 4 years to reflect the dramatic drop in hide prices.

In 1959 the prices of hides again started to fall from the level of nearly 25 cents and continued to decline until they were under 13 cents in 1963, the lowest level in the 20-year span shown on the chart. Nevertheless shoe prices rose steadily during that period.

One should not be surprised at the fact that there is virtually no relationship between the cost of hides and the prices of shoes. The total rawhide value in 80 to 85 percent of the shoes produced in this country varies somewhere between 5 and 8 percent of the price paid by the consumer. The fact is gentlemen, that if the farmers and packers of America were to give their hides away for nothing it would not result in a meaningful change in the price of shoes for the consuming public. In view of the minimal relationship between the cost of hides and the price of a pair of shoes paid by the ultimate consumer, it seems entirely clear that the benefit that might be gained with respect to the ultimate price of shoes as a result of the imposed controls cannot be justified when weighed against the harm the regulations will cause the farm segment of the economy and especially to America's position as a hide exporter and to hide exporters.

The exporters will face cancellations from foreign buyers of contracts concluded prior to March 7, only to replace them at lower prices later thus sustaining a financial loss and resulting in a reduction of foreign exchange to the country.

I would now like to deal particularly with the manner in which the controls were imposed and are administered. No doubt in deciding on the abrupt cutoff of all exports on March 7 without notice, the Government had to balance the need for this sudden cutoff against the harm caused to the economy and the export industry by this abrupt prohibition on all exports without regard to existing commitments. Also, in deciding upon a quota system the Government had to weigh costs and benefits and had to take into consideration prospective as well as past developments in order to be fair and equitable. To help you understand the full impact of the controls I would like to tell you just a few of the barest facts about this complicated business.

Hides and skins are produced in this country at the rate of 150,000 cattle hides and 25,000 calf and kip per working day. Production takes place in almost every section of the country. Production is governed entirely by the market requirements for meat. Hides are a perishable by-product of meat production. There is a wide variety of qualities and types of hides, few of which are interchangeable. Each tanner buys only the type and quality of hides suitable for their specific purposes.

First let us look at what it has done to the channel of distribution. The sudden cut-off has had many disastrous consequences. Domestic consumption is less than 100,000 hides and 15,000 skins per day. With a daily production of 150,000 hides and 25,000 skins, we have more than 50,000 hides and 10,000 skins coming off the production lines daily that must move promptly and in an orderly manner into some channels of distribution.

The sudden cut-off left these hides without outlets and they are clogging up available storage and transit facilities. Hide cellars and export piers are filled and railroad cars are on demurrage. We are approaching the point where the industry has no place to conserve and store the accumulating surpluses.

The situation is not only causing losses because of waste and spoilage but also causes substantial increases in cost of handling and storage. If the order is promptly amended to permit exporters to fulfill their pre-March 7 firm contract commitments, these accumulating surpluses can move out of the country in an orderly fashion. There can be opportunities to make readjustments necessary in the light of the controls without the loss and waste now being incurred.

Secondly, the sudden cutoff resulted in an accumulation of hides of the poorest seasonal quality. They represent in the main the winter kill and are the least desired by the domestic industry. We would venture to say, without fear of contradiction, that there are over 1 million hides now clogging the channels of distribution in this country which are unwanted by the domestic industry. Only recently we offered some of these hides to domestic tanners without even stating a price, only to be told that there was no interest. Furthermore the accumulation of these hides is making it impossible for the trader who is also an exporter to fulfill his obligation toward his domestic suppliers. His capital, his warehousing, and his sources of transportation are tied up. Thus prevention of the immediate shipment of these hides is working a great hardship on the entire hide industry as well as the exporters and will result in no benefit to the domestic market.

Thirdly, and by no means the least important, is the effect the sudden cutoff has had in the eyes of the foreign buyer. The hides which had been bought under firm contract from the American exporters have been counted on by innumerable foreign buyers for scheduled production. It is not difficult to see how the foreign buyer will view the American exporter when he finds he has weeks of no production because of a cutoff, without notice or opportunity to cover his position. The American export industry spent a large fortune and a great effort to create confidence in the American source of supply. In one fell swoop, all that has been accomplished over the years is being threatened. No greater disservice can be done to our image abroad than to refuse to allow American international commitments to be filled. Export controls have heretofore been imposed by other countries but we know of none that have not been imposed without a reasonable opportunity for the fulfillment of outstanding commitments. For example our foremost competitor in hide exports, Argentina, has several times in the course of the last year changed various export regulations. All of them were carefully designed to avoid affecting existing commitments.

Gentlemen, there is no overriding consideration in the present circumstances which can possibly justify jeopardizing the worldwide respect for an American contract. Unless all commitments existing on March 7 are allowed to be fulfilled, legal contracts will have to be violated.

Finally, I would like to treat with the method of controls. If we really must have controls, they should be applied with the needed degree of flexibility to assure that the American hide export business will not be stunted permanently in its economic and technological growth and in its competitive position in the world. Orderliness and reasonable price stability can be made compatible.

The manner in which the quotas are formulated subjects not only all business honorably consummated in 1966 but virtually all business booked in the last quarter of 1965 to a degree of arbitrariness which is wholly improper and unnecessary. It is quite a different thing to organize your business under regulations previously imposed than to operate under conditions imposed after the fact. The commitments made during the last quarter of 1965 and first quarter of 1966 will have little, if any, effect on the price of shoes as we have already shown and little or no effect on the price of hides since in the main the hides to meet these commitments have been contracted for. We have traditionally regarded as manifestly unfair and contrary to the American way to treat with any situation on a retroactive basis, short of the most drastic circumstances. We submit gentlemen, that there is nothing in the present situation to warrant such an approach.

It would appear that the imposition of controls on a retroactive basis could, in the present situation, be justified only as a capricious or punitive measure and I am sure, gentlemen, that this was not the intention when they were promulgated. If we must have controls and quotas, the equities of the situation, indeed the national interest, demand that they be imposed on a current basis, effective only after March 7.

In addition, because of the very special character of the hide business, it would in our judgment be shortsighted to place quotas on a country-by-country basis. The hide business is not like the copper or steel business. Each country does not import uniform quantities of hides annually from the same export source. On the contrary, the quantity of hides imported by most countries varies materially both in respect to total number of hides as well as the source. A variety of factors influences a country's imports: its own hide production and that of neighboring countries; foreign exchange; the cycle of the countries' shoe industry; and most of all the competitive situation of other sources of supply. While it has been said that a country-by-country quota can compensate for these variances by the reallocation of unused quotas, in practice this can never work satisfactorily. For example, hides allocated to Spain and not purchased by Spain, when reallocated, may not be taken up by another country who desired it at the time they were allocated for Spain because meanwhile it may have covered its needs by purchases from other export countries.

The argument that country-by-country quotas are necessary to assure an equitable distribution of hides on approximately the same ratio in the base period has no validity because most countries, as I have stated before, do not necessarily on a regular basis consume the same quantity of our hides year in and year out. Consequently, instead of assuring equitable distribution, it might work to the prejudice of a country which, because of unique circumstances, had an unusually small base period consumption.

On the other side of the coin, a country-by-country quota will permit, and we have already heard rumors to that effect, the buyers in a particular country to join together and use their combined strength as a wedge for price advantage to the detriment of the American supplier. In any event, there is a built-in security to assure equitable distribution; the American exporter could not afford to treat his old customers inequitably.

Gentlemen, in conclusion I would like to say that the export industry is not in conflict with the domestic hide, leather, and shoe industries but on the contrary we complement these industries in a very important and valuable way. The export consumption of surplus hides has made the hide, shoe, and leather industry a healthier business and has provided the incentive for major capital investment in modernization of machinery and in technological know-how so as to produce hides more economically. It has stimulated and continues to stimulate the improvement in the quality of the hides produced in this country. It has served the industry and America well.

We fully understand the problems with which the shoe industry is confronted. Unfortunately these problems are of an exceedingly complex nature, compounded of a variety of factors—we submit—the export level of hides is not one of them. If all exports cease, as they did on March 7, the shoe manufacturers' problems would still be with him.

We don't feel that controls are warranted. We submit that the facts and figures we have presented make this abundantly clear.

If, nevertheless, it is determined that some controls are prudent, it is of extreme importance that they be imposed with great restraint. Nothing could be more inimical and detrimental to the future of the American hide exporters than to have America default with respect to its present commitments. Hence, no matter what controls are promulgated, they should insure that the present commitments of the American hide industry are fulfilled. Further we think the record is clear that there is no justification to warrant causing losses and hardship which the retroactive application of controls would create.

In view of the serious dislocations which of necessity must result from the imposition of any controls and especially the harm resulting from the present controls, we felt a deep responsibility to present to you the exporter's point of view as we see it. We hope our presentation will be helpful to you in your deliberations.

Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

HOOSIER REPORTS FROM EUROPE

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, Mr. John V. Wilson, of the Washington Bureau of Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, has returned from a recent tour of NATO bases in Europe with a group of U.S. Air Force Reserve officers.

Mr. Wilson is a native of Indiana and, for many years, was a reporter for Indiana newspapers before he was assigned here as a Washington correspondent. He is a reporter of considerable knowledge and capacity for perception.

He has written a series of three articles on his observations of the European scene, particularly in regard to NATO. He brings to these articles not only his skill as a newspaperman, but his understanding of military matters as a captain in the U.S. Air Force Reserve.

The first article discusses the far-reaching effects of France's action to remove American forces from her soil.

The second article reports the fact that despite our efforts in Vietnam, the United States has not let down its guard in Europe.

The third article compares life in West Berlin with conditions behind the Berlin wall in the east.

If there is no objection, Mr. President, I would like these articles published at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Withdrawal of GI's From France Would Create Sticky Problems

(By John V. Wilson)

Washington, April 19.—President Charles de Gaulle's eviction of U.S. forces from France, NATO military leaders warn, would have these far-reaching consequences:

Further concentrate free world forces in Britain and Germany, heightening their vulnerability to Soviet attack.

Air Force nuclear strike and defense units, if barred from flying over France, would be forced to fly vastly greater distances to preplanned targets behind the Iron Curtain.

NATO's communications network, extending from Norway to Turkey through France, would have be rerouted and early warning radar systems would have to be replaced.

The 390-mile U.S. fuel pipeline through France, which supplies bases in West Germany, might have to be rebuilt under the North Sea from England at great cost.

How De Gaulle's adamant position could jeopardize European defenses was spelled out to U.S. Air Force reservists who recently toured NATO bases in France, Germany, and England.

"It's a serious problem if we take it to its full impact," said a top-ranking U.S. military strategist. "We're not going to take it lying down."

Under intensive discussion are U.S. flyover rights—the use of French air space by Air Force tactical and airlift units.

Already barred from carrying nuclear weapons over Spain, the Air Force would be forced to fly "more than double" present distances between NATO bases.

One official noted that France now allows only two-thirds of the monthly flights the United States had requested at the last annual negotiations.

"It's like dealing with the Russians at the conference table," he said.

Military leaders also dispute De Gaulle's contention that the Soviet threat to Europe has lessened in recent years and that U.S. flexible-response strategy is outmoded.

"Military people are trained to look at capability, not intentions," explained one official. "The Russian capability is enormous. It hasn't been reduced since the war."

At NATO headquarters in Paris, a spokesman agreed: "It's very easy to change one's manners overnight, but it takes longer to rebuild capability," he said.

Withdrawal of U.S. forces from France would also create a complicated logistical problem for the military, which is based at 19 major installations.

One commander estimated that 500,000 tons of equipment would have to be moved.

Moreover, the United States has at least a $1 billion investment in installations in France, ranging from airfields to hospitals and family housing.

"If we have to move out of France, we'll leave an awful lot of real property here," said a commander at Chateauroux, a NATO supply center with 1.25 million square feet of warehouse space.

Frenchmen apparently have mixed reactions to De Gaulle's pronouncements.

At Chateauroux, where the Air Force spends $18.5 million a year, the official said he has had "a tremendously sympathetic response" from French civilian workers. "They want us to stay. They get up at meetings and say De Gaulle is off his rocker. They have asked if they could move with us to Germany and Spain," he said.

But at Evreux, an airlift headquarters, a spokesman said there was "pretty much a feeling of monumental indifference" among Frenchmen toward a U.S. pullout.

U.S. Guard Up in Europe Despite Viet Belt Tightening

(Editor's note.—Recently back from a European tour of our NATO bases, the writer of this dispatch is an Air Force Reserve captain.)

(By John V. Wilson)

Washington, April 20.—In a darkened room, an earnest young Air Force jet pilot recites a fateful mission the free world hopes he won't have to fly.

Minute by minute, the captain ticks off his faster-than-sound flight from the U.S base in Ramstein, Germany, to a predetermined target behind the Iron Curtain.

His F–100 Super Sabre is armed with a nuclear bomb, and through hundreds of hours of practice he has memorized his route in meticulous detail.

His recitation, facing away from a map of his route, is most impressive. For he and other dedicated airmen at forward bases in Europe constitute NATO's defensive force.

Despite the hot war in Vietnam, the United States has not let down its guard in the European cold war.

"We're just as strong and capable of fighting as before," says Lt. Gen. Richard M. Montgomery, vice commander of U.S. Air Forces in Europe (USAFE).

Montgomery, interviewed at his Wiesbaden headquarters, acknowledged that Vietnam had compelled NATO forces to "tighten our belt."

But "we have a powerful counterforce," he said, in the tactical strike and air defense units positioned along the Iron Curtain—backed by Strategic Air Command bombers and the Navy's Polaris submarines.

Helping keep up the U.S. guard in Europe is the newest fighter-bomber, the F–4–C Phantom, which is rapidly replacing aging jet aircraft at the bases in England, France, and Germany.

The Phantom, a 1,600-mile-an-hour plane which can operate in all weather, is the "greatest I've ever climbed into," says Brig. Gen. Richard F. Schaefer, vice commander of the U.S. Third Air Force at South Ruislip, England.

Because of Air Force manpower ceilings, USAFE has had to cut back on personnel to make more men available for duty in Vietnam. And all F–105 tactical jet fighters are being sent to the combat zone.

Arrayed against NATO forces is a "real hard-hitting force" of Russia and her six satellite nations. U.S. officials estimate the Soviet bloc could field 120 divisions within a month, backed up many thousands of planes.

By contrast, NATO has 24 assigned divisions. The balance, of course, is the U.S. nuclear punch.

At Ramstein, airmen of the 417th Tactical Fighter Squadron, nicknamed the "Red Dorks," maintain an around-the-clock alert, their Super Sabres poised toward Iron Curtain targets.

And the "Black Knights," the men of the 526th Fighter-Intercepter Squadron, scramble in their F–102 Delta Daggers to show how they can defend the skies.

Their commander waves his cap, a horn sounds and the jets roar off the airstrip, a section of the old Autobahn, in 2½ to 3½ minutes. The Iron Curtain is just 10 minutes away.

At Memmingen, a German Air Force wing is undergoing flight training in F–104 Starfighter jets for assignment to the NATO nuclear strike force next year.

The wing commander complains that his fliers have a high accident rate because of inexperience and lack of qualified maintenance crews.

A 55-man team from Lockheed, manufacturer of the F–104, is due soon to help maintain the jets.

With the impending pullout of French forces from NATO, German units will pay a more vital role in the defense of Europe.

GI's and Red Guards Swap Shots—With Cameras, Over Berlin Wall—Platforms Built for Visitors

(By John V. Wilson)

Washington.—Across the Berlin wall, American and Communist military men now exchange shots—with cameras.

On a recent Air Force Reserve tour of the divided city, I shot many pictures of armed Red guards across the wall and was duly photographed in return.

It was an odd scene. The East Berlin Vopos smilingly posed for us at their guard stations, then aimed cameras with long-range lens at us.

Along the 9½-mile concrete block wall, topped by barbed wire, West Berliners have erected platforms for visitors to obtain a better view of the other side.

A first-time visitor feels compelled to chip a chunk from the wall for a souvenir. One muses whether the wall might eventually disappear in tourists' pockets.

Actually, we learned, the Communists are slowly tearing down the wall, almost 5 years old, and replacing the barrier with cyclone fencing.

"It's a step toward improving their image," our escort explains.

But Communist security has not lessened. Machinegun emplacements still guard the "death strip" on the east side to prevent escapes to freedom.

And the Red guards still guard each other. They are posted in groups of three, and guards and stations are changed daily.

Escaped guards also report that records are being kept of their marksmanship. A Vopo who fires shots and misses his human target may face court-martial.

Since the wall was erected August 13, 1961, more than 120 men, women, and children have been killed trying to escape to the West. Another 2,531 have been convicted for political reasons, mainly attempts to escape.

Within East Berlin, the showplace of communism, modern high-rise buildings and apartments are being erected along the wide main street, Karl Marx Allee.

Electric rail cars and double-deck buses rumble through the streets. Cars are scarce by American standards. A handsome carriage with liveried driver clatters by.

An old man propels himself along the sidewalk in a wheelchair outfitted with handles. And youngsters gleefully accept bubble gum from U.S. airmen.

Away from the downtown area is a huge dormitory where prostitutes are trained to obtain military secrets from Western GIs. Some 3,000 a year reportedly go through the "school."

A Russian guard, armed with rifle and bayonet, is posted at the entrance.

Visitors stand in silence at the Soviet Garden of Remembrance, where 5,800 Russians killed in the battle of Berlin are buried in 5 mass graves.

The contrast between the West and East Berlins is stunning.

In the two decades since World War II, West Berlin has emerged as a throbbing, modern metropolis, with fancy shops, vast apartment projects and moderate prices.

A helicopter tour of the lively city reveals few scars of the war.

By contrast, East Berlin bears many war scars. Bombed-out buildings and churches still stand in their rubble. Prices are high.

But East Berlin is undergoing a "terrific" urban renewal program, the escort explains, and is "rapidly catching up" with its neighbor on the West.

Until the wall is removed, though, no amount of rebuilding can make the two cities one again.

MEDICAL RESEARCH ON COAL MINERS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, as a citizen of the State of West Virginia, I have during my life seen all too many evidences of the ravages to the health of miners from the work which they perform underground in the coal mines. Therefore, in fiscal year 1963, I sought and was successful in securing funds to initiate a health survey of the effects of respiratory ailments among coal miners. Subsequently, this work has been broadened, and it is my hope that for the coming fiscal year increased funds will be made available to underwrite progression and expansion of this work undertaken under the auspices of the Federal Government.

The scope and value of the work, and the need for its continuance and expansion, are pointed up in an article by William C. Blizzard, "Detecting Dusty Death," published in the Sunday Gazette-Mail State Magazine of Charleston, W. Va., on April 24.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DETECTING DUSTY DEATH: MEDICAL RESEARCH TEAM IN BECKLEY PROVING INHALED COAL DUST ANOTHER DISABLER, KILLER IN WORLD'S MOST DANGEROUS WORK

(By William C. Blizzard)

Coal mining is one of the most hazardous occupations in the world. This is not news. But medical researchers in Beckley are discovering new facts about the dangers that stalk and threaten coal miners in their underground dust-filled corridors.

New methodologies are telling physicians a great deal more about precisely what goes on in the lungs and hearts of miners who have been breathing coal dust every day for decades. The Beckley studies suggest what coal miners have contended all along: that many middle-aged miners are sick men, and coal dust is the culprit.

Although doctors involved in the Beckley research are cautious in announcing results, in the manner of their kind, the major medical findings thus far may be explained as follows, in a simplified manner:

Coal dust, if breathed long enough, accumulates around the small arteries in the lungs. It thus forms black collars which constrict the arteries somewhat as a tight white collar constricts the plump neck of an officeworker.

Because the surrounding coal dust keeps artery walls from expanding, blood pressure inside the lung arteries rises. That is, the pressure of a flowing liquid inside an elastic tube is less than that inside a rigid tube, if both source pressures are equal.

In this case the pressure source is the heart. More specifically, it is the right side of the heart, which pumps carbon-dioxide-laden blood into the lungs. In the lungs, the blood picks up oxygen and returns to the left heart, which contracts and forces the oxygenated blood through the body.

To repeat, the right heart forces blood through the lung arteries. As the coal-dust collar makes the walls of the arteries more rigid, the blood pressure increases and the right heart has to pump harder to propel the same volume of liquid.

The heart is a muscle. If, over a period of time, you work a muscle in your arm harder, it increases in size to cope with the increased burden. In like manner, if your heart muscle is forced to work harder for a long period, it also will enlarge.

So the right side of the heart of a miner with a lot of coal dust in his lungs enlarges as the amount of lung artery constricting dust increases. This can lead to heart failure (incorrect function with complications) or death.

Dr. Hawey A. Wells, Jr., chief of the Public Health Service's Appalachian Coal Miners Research Unit at Beckley, has reported that a study of the hearts of 150 deceased coal miners showed that "40 percent had right heart hypertrophy," or enlargement.

The cause of death of about one-third of the 150 miners was right heart failure. Autopsies have shown that 15 miners die of right heart failure for every nonminer who dies from the same affliction. The Beckley researchers seem to have proved that a disease many thought of merely as a lung ailment actually has profound and often deadly effects upon the coal miner's circulatory system.

When they are convinced beyond any doubt (scientists take a lot of convincing), they hope to be able to develop a system of diagnosis which can identify the disease in its early stages. Conventional X-ray and conventional medical techniques have been unable to do this.

The disease does not simply attack the lung arteries and heart, but has other ramifications. A principal symptom is abnormal shortness of breath during exercise, as is coal dust in the sputum. If the lungs are affected long enough, a condition called "massive fibrosis" ensues, and death is inevitable.

Susceptibility to ordinary respiratory diseases is increased. The disease itself is called coal miners' pneumoconiosis, a word derived from two Greek words meaning "lungs" and "dust."

So the coal miner has not only gas and dust explosions, slate falls, kettlebottoms, and electric shocks to threaten his health and life. He knows that if he breathes enough coal dust—and he can't help breathing it if he works in a coal mine—he will become a sick man and perhaps a dead man. If the right heart doesn't get him, the left lung will.

Of the medical-research men I talked with at Beckley, Dr. Werner A. Laqueur, chief pathologist at the Beckley Appalachian Regional Hospital, was most concerned that an element of newspaper sensationalism might magnify coaldust research findings thus far.

"Please say," Dr. Laqueur told me, puffing a short cigar and looking at me through horn-rimmed glasses surmounted by iron-gray hair, "that we have neither invented anything nor found a new disease. Doctors have known of these coal clumps about lung arteries for a long time. It was just that no great significance was attached to them. You could say we have a new way of looking at old material."

Dr. Wells, blond, slender, blue-eyed, and about 30, was more voluble, even indignant that Public Health Service research has not sooner helped ailing coal miners.

"Miners," he said, "used to complain that they were ill, but X-rays showed nothing wrong with them. Their trouble was just written off as ATS—anxiety tension syndrome. But these miners are pretty tough, not inclined to complain about nothing."

Getting money for medical research was the first problem, a problem it might be added, that is not yet entirely solved. The present program at Beckley was initiated in 1963 when Senator ROBERT C. BYRD secured a $100,000 appropriation for the PHS Division of Occupational Health.

Since 1963, BYRD has asked upward of $500,000 annually for support of this coal-field research, but appropriations have consistently been cut most drastically in House-Senate conference committees. BYRD's request for the fiscal year ending June 30 is $669,000, but this appropriation is subject to the usual congressional washing machine, a machine which has in the past been famous for shrinking the most worthy fiscal fabrics.

As this is again a war year, it is probable that military appropriations will again take precedence over medical.

There is no doubt that the meagerness of research money has held back investigation of coal miner's pneumoconiosis (as well as many other diseases). I had heard that in England and West Germany many millions of dollars were available for such basic research in occupational diseases, and I asked the doctors at Beckley about it.

Dr. Laqueur, German born, answered. "That is true," he said. "But over there management and labor and the government all contribute to research funds."

I said nothing, but it crossed my mind that much coal-miner suffering in the United States might be eliminated or alleviated if European methods of financing medical research were studied, and, possibly, emulated.

It is probable that hundreds of thousands of coal miners now suffering from pneumoconiosis might have been spared misery or premature death if adequately financed medical research teams had worked on occupational-health hazards in the early years of U.S. coal mining. Too often the coal-company philosophy was, as the miners expressed it, "lose a mule, buy another, lose a man, hire another."

I talked with Sebert Bradley, a 52-year-old Logan resident who has worked in the mines since he was 13. Bradley was waiting his turn at the Raleigh County research center, a cardiograph microphone taped to his naked chest.

"My wife's a nurse," he said, "and she saw an article about this program in 'Medical World News.' My breath is short and I have some discomfort. So I come on down to be examined. If they'd had this a long time ago it would have saved a lot of miners."

Bradley, of course, is right.

The Beckley medical research may have some interesting social effects. In West Virginia, as in other States, silicosis is compensable under workman compensation laws. The disease ordinarily shows up under X-ray.

But the "miners' asthma" caused by breathing coal dust has not in the past been regarded in so serious a light. Nothing shows on the X-ray plate. Bituminous miners who complained of shortness of breath after exercise were dismissed by medical examiners as victims of tension and anxiety—neurotics with no serious physical disorder.

Obviously, if it is now medically demonstrable that a man can't work because he has breathed coal dust during his employment, medical examiners in compensation cases will have to reckon with the new findings. The West Virginia Workmen's Compensation Commission has already heard some cases of this nature. If the Beckley research solidifies into a body of accepted medical fact, such cases will no doubt multiply.

Coal companies may be forced to reexamine and probably redesign dust-abating equipment. A basic reason they subscribe to the compensation fund is their consequent exemption from lawsuits, but excessive compensation claims can be expensive and embarrassing.

Although coal miners have continued their dangerous work in the face of an alarming death and injury rate, they may become scarcer or more expensive if they know that they buy economic health at the price of almost certain physical disability.

This question is also interesting: If coal-dust clumps around lung arteries cause heart enlargement and failure, don't other air pollutants do the same? Large cities organized around industrial complexes are not exactly Alpine meadows. Do solid particles in cigarette smoke have the same effect?

In other words, the research at Beckley which specifically concerns a coal miner disorder may have more far-reaching implications for the general, nonmining public.

Methodology at Beckley involves the use of a tiny plastic tube, or catheter, which is inserted into the arteries of volunteers. After this is done, the volunteer is subjected to a series of tests to show the effects of exercise upon blood pressure.

Sometimes the plastic tube is inserted all the way into the right heart and right lung, so that the doctor has a direct check on what is going on in these areas. When I visited the research center, the catheter was inserted only a few inches into an arm artery. The miner then breathed into a complicated system of tubes and bags, at one time pedaling a bicycle to determine body reactions and changes during exertion.

Dr. Donald L. Rasmussen, a pulmonary physiologist, is in charge of this operation. He told me, while inserting a catheter into the arm of Arthur Brown of Page, that he had performed 550 such experiments since mid-1963.

Doctors Wells and Laqueur are pathologists. They study the blackened lungs of dead coal miners and also the lungs of nonminers, for comparative purposes. Dr. Wells also has charge of an old iron lung and an ancient blood pump whereby he stimulates the action of the living heart and lungs, using the organs of recently deceased cadavers.

The respirator causes the dead lungs to breathe, while the heart pump forces blood through them at a known rate. Using this machinery, Wells shows that the arteries in coal-dust-filled lungs of former coal miners offer more resistance to blood flow than do those in healthy lungs. This, of course, leads to the before-mentioned heart enlargement in living miners.

Shakespeare has Macbeth wail, in one of the most mournful passages in English literature, that "all our yesterdays have lighted fools the way to dusty death." This is certainly true of the yesterdays of West Virginia, if men may be called foolish for killing themselves in order to make money for others.

If coal miners wish to make tomorrow unlike yesterday they will do all in their power to see that medical men get the necessary research funds to eliminate that dusty death which threatens all who mine bituminous coal.

Medical men cannot do all that is necessary, but their role is essential.

A CASE HISTORY IN TEACHING SOUND ECONOMICS

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I take pleasure in inviting attention to an informative and constructive report on on how Dr. E. L. Kaufman, of the Rapid City, S. Dak., High School is training the students of that high school in some practical economics by providing an opportunity for them to "invest in America." It seems to me this is a procedure and plan which deserves to be emulated by many high schools in this country.

The report, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD, is from a magazine article published several years ago. Since the date of its publication, the assets of "Economics Scholarship Fund, Inc," have increased to nearly $7,000. So far as I have been able to discover, "Economics Scholarship Fund, Inc.," is the only organization of its kind in the United States. I strongly recommend that persons who are interested write Dr. Kaufman, since this plan, in my opinion, has great merit and usefulness.

Twice a year the board of directors of this student-operated corporation visit the brokerage firm of Dempsey-Tegler in Rapid City, where Mr. Jack DiSanto of that group conducts a tour and a seminar which aid the students to learn even more about the investment business and the rewards available under our free enterprise economic system.

The student directors of the firm hold board meetings one night each week to work out their investment program. This is education at its best, Mr. President—learning to do by doing—and I am glad to take this means of bringing it to the attention of Congress and the country.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Is there objection to the request of the Senator from South Dakota?

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ECONOMICS SCHOLARSHIP FUND, INC. OF RAPID CITY HIGH SCHOOL, RAPID CITY, S. DAK.

In an effort to eliminate one of the many motivational problems which beset the teacher of economics in high school, Dr. E. L. Kaufman, Rapid City (S. Dak.) High School, has sponsored the formation of a business corporation under South Dakota law.

Following the textbook information on the forms of business organization seemed to be a bit routine for many students. Their interest in the nature of corporation securities and their usefulness both to the investor and to the American free enterprise system was only moderate.

In order to inject a more personal aspect into the area of corporation financing and to give the students a direct interest through their own participation, a genuine investment corporation was formed in December 1956. Students were enthusiastic about the enterprise and after the original idea was suggested, offered many proposals of their own.

Students generously offered the services of their professional fathers, attorneys, in some instances, and returned to classes with a variety of suggestions. After several special after-school meetings with representatives from each of the five classes in economics, the ideas took definite form and an organizational meeting was held. This meeting was attended by one of the attorneys who jotted down all the student suggestions and helped them to write their application for a corporation charter and the bylaws.

When the documents were completed they were reported in each class for student approval. This being received, the charter application was sent to the secretary of state and the charter received soon thereafter. They were then in business in the corporate name of Economics Scholarship Fund, Inc.

The details of the plan are simple. Each of the now seven classes in economics elects two of their number to serve on the board of directors. Another board member is elected at large to insure having an odd number on the board. These board members hold office for one semester, after which a new board is elected to represent the new classes which are formed each semester.

Students are then privileged to buy memberships for $1. These dollars are then turned over to the board of directors for investment in a permanent fund, the returns from which are to be used for prizes or scholarships. The student investment is permanent and he cannot withdraw his dollar or receive dividends from it.

Board of director meetings are held at least once each week until an investment choice is made. Early meetings are devoted to discussions relating to the selection of sound investments. Later meetings are taken up with details of certain securities which are reported on by each board member. All meetings are then reported to all classes by the board members.

Board of director members have been requested by luncheon clubs to provide club programs in which the objectives and problems of the corporation are explained. This has created interest on the part of adults and a number of adults have contributed small sums to help the cause along.

A trustee agreement has been entered into between the corporation and the trustee, Dr. Kaufman, in order to provide for continuity in management.

Since the first investment which was made in March 1957, the fund has grown until it now has a market value of more than $6,500. The net yield to date is just under 5 percent. An economics student prize of $50 in cash was awarded for the first time in May 1961. It is hoped that the amount can be doubled for next year.

To select the winner of the prize, the board of directors authorized giving a standardized test in high school economics. This test required nearly 2 hours and was taken by 30 students from the 7 classes. Many students admitted taking the test merely for the experience and the interest in it, knowing that only one of their number could be awarded the cash prize.

Securities in the portfolio of the corporation represent the more stable types of businesses, beginning with public utilities, and represent both common and preferred stocks. An effort is also made to secure a few securities in concerns which are local, or which have local offices or outlets.

According to stock exchange officials, so far as is known, this is the only corporation of its kind operating at the high school level. Exchange officials have said that the corporation is unique, more particularly because of its permanent nature.

Since the corporation is completely nonprofit, it has been given authority to operate as a tax-free organization by the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Operating expenses are very low and for the most part have been met by private contribution.

The simplicity of the program is such that it could be adopted by any high school class in economics, social studies, American history, or similar courses, and arranged to meet the needs of any group or locality.

To indicate the acceptance by succeeding classes in economics, almost all classes subscribe more than 100 percent to the program.

RESTORATION OF NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT LOAN FUNDS

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, it is gratifying to me to learn that the House Appropriations Committee has today sustained the recommendation of the subcommittee for restoration of the National Defense Education Act loan funds in the full amount, rather than putting the burden upon the new guaranteed loan funds program of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

This is a question which I have on several previous occasions brought to the attention of the Senate with statements citing the views of college administrators and finance officers in Indiana schools concerning the hardships the proposed cutoff of new National Defense Education Act loan funds will work upon their college aid programs.

I have also heard directly from a considerable number of students who are alarmed at the probable effect upon their own individual college careers. One of these is a young lady working toward her Ph. D. degree while a part-time instructor at Ball State University in Muncie, Ind.

Her letter points up, with a specific case, the manner in which the proposal being made can work great hardship and illustrates the need for the restoration of the full amount authorized for the program. Miss Domer in the early part of this year, in expectation that National Defense Education Act loan funds would be available, submitted a resignation from her teaching fellowship for next year in order to spend full time instead of part time in securing the graduate degree. Unless the funds are restored and her loan secured, she finds a possibility of inability to continue at all, since it is too late to get another teaching fellowship.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this letter may appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MUNCIE, IND.,
March 15, 1966.

Senator VANCE HARTKE,
U.S. Congress,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: It has come to my attention that the National Defense Education Act loans to college students may suddenly come to an end before the new Guaranteed Loans in the Higher Education Act of 1965 are available. If this is true, it appears to me to be a serious error on the part of Congress; and I request your aid for all students, especially students in Indiana, to correct this error. Most students are unaware of this serious threat to their future. I'm sure if they were you would hear from them.

I have been teaching part time at Ball State University and working on my Ph. D. This means I live on a half-salary and am occupied twice full time by the combination of work and study. My situation is not unusual, but I've been able to get by quite well because I'm single. The men with families on the program I'm on survive only because of extra funds from the National Defense Education Act. In order not to drag on for years in this part time, but really double-time, life and in order to get the Ph. D., I have resigned my teaching fellowship for next year and applied for a National Defense Education Act loan (I did this 2 months ago), and now hear to my horror that I may not even be able to work on the Ph. D. at all next year because the National Defense Education Act money may not be available and because it is probably too late to get another fellowship. The idea was to complete the Ph. D. sooner and become a full-time college teacher. To face the exact reverse seems a bit serious.

Still I might not write this letter if it weren't for the fact that I know how much the National Defense Education Act means to so many students, undergrad and grads. I fail to see how Congress can let such an error occur which will harm so many individuals and the country as a whole. I hope you will find a way to extend the National Defense Education Act until the new act is in complete operation.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

MARTYN A. DOMER.

TRIBUTE TO WILLIAM A. PATTERSON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, UNITED AIR LINES

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, a son of Hawaii, one of the towering figures in the history of American aviation, retired this week as chairman of the board and chief executive officer of United Air Lines.

I speak of William A. Patterson, who was born in Honolulu on October 1, 1899, and who spent his early years in the islands.

During his extensive years as chief executive officer of United, Mr. Patterson has developed the largest airline in the world with a great emphasis on safety and service.

In a recent magazine article, Mr. Patterson recalled that about 50 years ago the Appalachian Mountains were regarded "as an insurmountable barrier that would prevent the transcontinental air system from ever being established."

Without his vision and determination we would never enjoy today the most modern air transportation system in the entire world.

United Air Lines operated a 2,600-mile system when Mr. Patterson was elected president of the company in 1934. Today, United Air Lines has a system which encompasses more than 18,000 miles of air routes.

Our Nation will be forever indebted to men like William A. Patterson, whose leadership has kept our Nation in the forefront of air age technological developments.

I hope that all my colleagues will join me in saluting this great pioneer in the history of American aviation.

SECRETARIES WEEK

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, this week has been established as Secretaries Week, with Wednesday, April 17, designated as Secretaries Day. Since 1952 a week has been set aside each year to honor the "first lady of business"—the secretary.

The Honorable Eugene P. Foley, Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Director of Economic Development, NSA's 1965 International Boss of the Year, is honorary chairman of this year's observance of Secretaries Week.

The overall theme for Secretaries Week is "Better Secretaries Means Better Business." The purpose of this observance is to recognize the vital role of the secretary in the function of business, industry, government, and education, and to remind secretaries of their responsibilities to their employers and to their profession. It is also an occasion designed to create interest among students to train for the secretarial profession, to acquaint working secretaries with the educational programs available to them, and to inform management of the efforts being made to increase secretarial proficiency.

National Secretaries Week was established through the efforts of the National Secretaries Association. Established in 1942 to promote the educational and professional standards of secretaries, the National Secretaries Association—International—is the world's largest association of businesswomen in one profession. It is a nonprofit, nonunion, nonpartisan, and nonsectarian organization, with a membership of 24,469 in 567 chapters in the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico, and affiliate chapters in Mexico, Finland, Panama, Argentina, and France. It has gained wide recognition as a pioneer in the field of educational programs for secretaries.

All chapters of the National Secretaries Association observe Secretaries Week with special functions such as educational seminars, workshops, special civic projects, open meetings for all secretaries, and membership events.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a fact sheet describing National Secretaries Week prepared by the National Secretaries Association be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the fact sheet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SECRETARIES WEEK

Every year since 1952, the last full week in April has been set aside for the observance of Secretaries Week.

The purpose of Secretaries Week is to bring recognition to secretaries for the vital role they play in business, industry, education and government.

The National Secretaries Association (International), in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Commerce, originated Secretaries Week to bring recognition to all secretaries and to inform the public of the secretary's contribution to the educational, professional and civic growth of the community.

It also serves to remind secretaries of their responsibilities to their employers and to their profession.

Special committees are established throughout NSA to formulate programs to derive the greatest possible benefit from this particular week. NSA chapters strive to present the professional aspect of the National Secretaries Association by planning special activities for Secretaries Week. During this week, the secretarial profession is given more publicity than at any other time throughout the year.

In the United States, the Business Equipment Manufacturers Association cooperates with NSA in the sponsorship of Secretaries Week. Through its BEMA bulletin, all member-companies (engaged in the manufacture of business equipment and supplies) are informed of Secretaries Week activities, and often cooperate with NSA chapters in formulating successful programs.

Secretaries Week is officially acknowledged by Federal and State governments, usually by the issuance of a proclamation decreeing that this week shall be officially known as Secretaries Week.

All chapters of NSA observe Secretaries Week with special functions such as educational seminars, workshops, special civic projects, open meetings for all secretaries, and membership events.

Secretaries Week is always the last full week in April, beginning on a Sunday, ending on a Saturday, with the intervening Wednesday being highlighted as Secretaries Day.

The overall theme for Secretaries Week is "Better Secretaries Mean Better Business," and all programs and publicity material are geared to emphasize the message conveyed by this theme.

FLORIDA STATE OFFICIAL SUPPORTS ADULT EDUCATION BILL

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, hearings have now been completed by the Education Subcommittee on proposals which were before it, including my bill S. 3012, the Adult Education Act of 1966. It was obvious from the hearings, as it has been obvious to me from other sources also, that there is a consensus among educators that adult education is an area of great need to which we must turn our attention.

Among the expressions of support which I have received is a letter from James H. Fling, State supervisor of general adult education for the State of Florida. Mr. Fling believes with me that we must have "a long-range program with built-in continuity" in order to meet the need, not just a crash program. He finds an adult education act imperative if we are to provide the kinds of services which are needed.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this letter may appear in the Congressional Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

State of Florida,
Department of Education,
Tallahassee, April 8, 1966.

Hon. Vance Hartke,
U.S. Senator from Indiana,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Senator Hartke: It was with much interest and appreciation that I read your comments in the Congressional Record of March 2, 1966, concerning the Adult Education Act of 1966. The future growth and vitality of the adult education movement will depend, in large part, on the efforts demonstrated by our leaders, such as you.

I should like to comment specifically on the paragraph in which you stated: "The growing extent of adult education through the public school system is not generally comprehended. But neither is the scope and magnitude of the adult education task generally recognized as yet either." The task is indeed formidable. In Florida we have approximately 20,000 adults over the age of 18 enrolled in basic adult education, grades 1 to 8. While a crash program indicates our concern for these citizens for retraining and the further education that they must have to be effective citizens, this is not a job that can be completed in 1 year; indeed in 10 years or more. The concern of our State and Nation must be that of a long-range program with built-in continuity whereby services can be extended to these adults over a period of years.

An adult education act is imperative if we provide the kinds of services that are needed. Such an act would enable the States to build a program in an orderly way that will serve literally hundreds of thousands of adults who need further educational services to be effective citizens. Historically, education has proven to be the only way whereby large numbers of citizens can be integrated into our economy as effective and participating members of an industrial society.

Let me thank you again for your efforts in behalf of this program, and if our staff can be of assistance to you in furthering the cause of education for our adult citizens, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,
James H. Fling,
State Supervisor,
General Adult Education.

BAROQUE MUSIC AND THE RECORDING INDUSTRY

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I have called to the attention of this body on several previous occasions the fact that my State of Indiana has become, in many respects, the heart of the phonograph record industry in the United States.

Columbia, the Radio Corporation of America, and Mercury, as well as some others, produce their phonograph records within the borders of Indiana. Certainly in the field of reproduced good music, and of recorded cultural values, Indiana has a very strong claim to leadership.

I have also, Mr. President, decried certain attitudes within the executive branch of Government, and particularly in the Post Office Department, which would deny to the manufacturers of phonograph records the same benefits which traditionally accrue to producers of educational material of serious import, in other media of communication.

I have in my hand a news release issued recently by the Record Industry Association of America which illustrates the important educational role that the phonograph record manufacturers are filling in the cultural life of the Nation.

The release concerns the dramatic emergence of what has been called the Baroque School of Music into public consciousness and popular favor. Baroque music is, roughly, the music produced between 1600 and 1750. As recent as 20 years ago most of the great composers who wrote during those years—including Vivaldi, Lully, Rameau, and Telemann—were almost unknown even to serious concert-goers. They were merely rather dusty names in the files of the musicologists. No one actually played their works, and no one had the opportunity of hearing them.

The phonograph record industry, out of enthusiasm for the subject rather than for commercial reasons, began to resurrect the work of these all-but-forgotten masters and to make them available on recordings.

An entire new trend was started. Music lovers responded enthusiastically to the experiment, and the record manufacturers sent their musicologists searching deeper and deeper into the archives of serious music of the 17th and early 18th century. As a result, new composers have been "discovered" and great works by known geniuses have been found, which never would have been found if the phonograph record manufacturers had not persisted in their educational zeal. A whole new world of great music has been reserved for us.

The whole story is in this press release and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

RECORDS REVIVE INTEREST IN BAROQUE MUSIC

One of the most fascinating recent phenomena in the field of classical recordings is the emergence of baroque music as an important part of the business. Only rarely in the years since the development of the long-playing record in 1948 have classical composers made the bestseller lists, and the focus was usually on the more popular ones, such as Tchaikovsky, Beethoven, or Rimsky-Korsakov. Today the bestseller charts of serious recorded music regularly include recordings of Vivaldi, Schutz, Stamitz, Rameau, Lully, and Telemann—names only dimly recognized by even the most serious concert-goers of 20 years ago.

What is the baroque, anyway? And just why has 300-year-old music suddenly become so popular?

The baroque period stretches roughly from 1600—the end of the Renaissance in Western Europe—to the advent of the Rococo and classical periods in the 1750's. Originally applied to architecture and art rather than to music, it meant the advent of beauty for beauty's sake. During the Renaissance, the most beautiful painting and architecture had been reserved for the church. By 1600, however, western Europeans were becoming more cosmopolitan and sophisticated; and more prosperous. All at once, rich merchants and the nobility could afford to have the painters who had decorated the great cathedrals paint their pictures. Princes building palaces could and did employ stone masons to create cherubs and friezes for their houses as well as for the cathedrals in which they worshiped.

Until 1600, virtually all serious music had been composed for church services. But with the new accent on the beautiful—and the race of the nobility to keep up with the aristocratic Jones' in terms of beautiful homes, cultured courts and so on, it was only natural that beautiful music should be created for entertainment. In Italy, composers such as Claudio Monteverdi began composing musical dramas called opera, in which characters acted out a story entirely set to music.

In France in 1650, King Louis XIV developed a passion for the dance. He loved to dance and he loved to watch others dance. So he hired an Italian-born composer, Jean-Baptiste Lully, to create ballets for him and his court. Another Italian, Arcangelo Corelli, created works for small orchestra, in which one or a few instruments would carry on a dialog with a larger instrumental group. These concerti grossi had no other purpose than to please and entertain.

Not all the music of the baroque was devoted to pleasure. Many baroque composers carried the flourishes and trills of secular music back to compositions for the church. Composers like Schutz, Marc-Antoine Charpentier, Campra and Dietrich Buxtehude created solo works for organ or large choral works which seemed more like Lully's ballets than the austere church music of only a few years before.

By the time of the high baroque—that period running roughly from 1700 to 1750 when most of the music which has become so popular recently was composed—composers like Handel, Bach, Vivaldi, Pergolesi, and Telemann were turning out sacred music along with their more popular stage works, dance suites and instrumental compositions. The high baroque, however, was a time when musical fashions changed almost as rapidly as they do today.

What was "in" yesterday may not be "in" today; and its replacement will be passe tomorrow. Handel, for example, achieved great popularity in London with his spectacular operas, based on Greek mythology and featuring male altos as romantic leads. In 1728, John Gay staged a burlesque of the Handel operas called "The Beggar's Opera," which caricatured Handel's overblown arias and plots. For more than a decade, Handel was as unfashionable in London as the plague. Then, in 1742, he composed an oratorio for presentation in Ireland which was as simple and natural as his operas had been complex and unbelievable. "The Messiah" reestablished him—this time as a composer of religious works—and earned its place as the best-known of all baroque masterpieces.

The rapid changes in fashion eventually caused the baroque to give way to the rococo, a period which lasted approximately from 1750 to 1800. The distinction between the two isn't terribly evident to most ears today, but the rococo was intended to remove the most overblown and "unnatural" elements of baroque music. It, in turn, gave way to the stark simplicity of the classical compositions of Haydn and Mozart.

Why the sudden popularity for music which has lain dormant all this time? As with so many other things musical, it can all be said to have begun with the introduction of the long-playing record in 1948. At the time, the baroque music available on records (and heard in the concert hall) was limited to that all-time favorite, "The Messiah," several instrumental works of J. S. Bach (usually in overblown orchestral arrangements), and four concertos by a relatively obscure Italian violinist named Antonio Vivaldi.

The economics of recordmaking at the time were such, however, that anybody with a few dollars, a tape recorder, and an idea could get into the record business. A number of small labels—some devoted entirely to recording off-the-beaten-track classical music—sprang up, and some of these issued recordings of hitherto unpublished concerti grossi by Corelli and Vivaldi and previously unrecorded cantatas of J. S. Bach. The sales weren't enough to impress the large record manufacturers, but they represented a handsome profit for the small companies, who found them relatively inexpensive to record. While they required instrumental virtuosity, the number of musicians called for was small in most cases, and the public was prepared to buy a good recording even if it was devoid of big-name artists.

Business was so good that some of the more resourceful small companies paid researchers to scour the monasteries of Italy and the libraries of Western Europe for new manuscripts. Surprisingly, they turned up literally dozens of never-before-published concertos, sinfonias, cantatas, and dance suites—which the record manufacturers promptly put on disc. By the mid 1960's, baroque music had become a staple part of the LP diet. Vivaldi, in fact, had overtaken Verdi and was in a dead heat with Tchaikovsky in terms of the number of recordings available when several manufacturers decided to produce new lines, devoted entirely to baroque music and priced at a level which students—the most avid collectors of baroque records—could afford. To maintain the quality of performances demanded by the music, they recorded in Europe using small ensembles, or leased recordings already made by European manufacturers. Today, the adventurous music lover can choose from among half a dozen budget lines of baroque records—priced usually from $1.98 to $2.98.

In addition, the major manufacturers offer recordings of baroque music by outstanding international artists like Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, David Oistrakh, the Philadelphia Orchestra, Yehudi Menuhin, the London Symphony Orchestra, and others. Or there are the major baroque specialists—groups like the New York Pro Musica Antiqua, I Musici, Virtuosi da Roma, I Solisti da Zagreb, the London Baroque Ensemble, and others.

Musicologists say that the increasing popularity of baroque music is due largely to the troubled times in which we live. "Everybody dreams of going back to a time when things were simpler," says one. "The quiet orderliness of a Vivaldi concerto contrasts sharply with the din of big-city life. In an age of H-bombs, traffic jams, noises and rush, it's not surprising that many people prefer music which is quiet, thoughtful, ordered."

Another observer has a more economic explanation. "It's something like the breakup of the big dance bands at the end of World War II," he points out. "The fact is that it's cheaper to record a dozen players in a Corelli concerto grosso then it is a full symphony orchestra doing a complete opera with a couple of world-famous stars or even a Tchaikovsky symphony. The star system hasn't really hit baroque music yet, which means that you need a very small initial outlay to make a record."

Today the record industry offers more than 1,500 long-playing record albums containing baroque music. The industry has helped revive interest in a part of our musical heritage that was at the verge of disappearing. And the public has made it clear that baroque music is here to stay.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHURCH in the chair). Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

AUTHORIZATION FOR MILITARY PROCUREMENT, FISCAL 1967

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further proceedings under the call to ascertain the presence of a quorum be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Chair lay before the Senate the unfinished business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2950) to authorize appropriations during fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles, and for other purposes.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Mr. President, at the outset of my remarks, I wish to comment on the absence of my dear friend and colleague, Senator SALTONSTALL, who is the ranking minority member of the Committee on Armed Services. I have worked with him over a number of years. There has never been one instance of the slightest indication of any partisanship between LEVERETT SALTONSTALL and me in matters of national defense. He is missing from the Senate today, and I grieve with him in the bereavement he has just suffered in the loss of his son and namesake.

Mr. President, the authorization this bill provides is a foundation for the Department of Defense programs for the next fiscal year.

The amount of the authorization contained in the bill is $17,170,059,000. This is $243,100,000 more than the authorization requested. The reasons for the additions will be discussed later in my statement.

The tabulation beginning on page 2 in the printed committee report shows that of the $59,854,700,000 in new obligational authority requested for the Department of Defense in fiscal year 1967, new authorization of $18,958,906,000 is needed. This authorization figure includes military construction and military assistance authorizations that will be the subject of separate legislation.

The pending authorization bill covers the procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels and, for the first time this year, tracked combat vehicles, as well as research and development. Because the procurement of these items and research and development affect requirements in other major budget categories such as personnel, operations and maintenance, and construction, I believe that the fundamental importance of this authorization is most obvious.

In describing the authorization contained in the bill I shall attempt to concentrate my remarks on the subjects of the bill, and not to anticipate the Department of Defense appropriations bill by covering the whole defense program for next year, the rest of which has been authorized before.

Although appropriations still are made for military functions, divided among military departments, the role of the military departments has changed under the organization of the Department of Defense that has evolved since its creation. The combat forces that are trained, equipped, and organized by the military departments are assigned to unified or specified commands for the performance of military missions assigned to them by the Secretary of Defense, with the approval of the President. Partly as a result of this evolution, and partly as a result of a management desire within the Department of Defense to scan the programs from a different point of view, the Department for several years has made its presentation to the Congress in terms of functional groupings, instead of by the programs for each military department. Under this arrangement those forces that would be primarily involved in an unlimited war involving the use of nuclear weapons are styled strategic offensive and defensive forces, which include intercontinental ballistic missiles, ballistic missile-firing submarines, bombers, interceptors, certain antisubmarine warfare forces, antiballistic missile systems, surface-to-air missiles, warning systems, and civil defense; the forces that would be used in conflict short of unlimited nuclear war are grouped together under the designation of general purpose forces, which include almost all of the Army's combat and combat support units, most of the Navy units except for the Polaris submarine forces, all of the Marine Corps units, and the tactical part of the Air Force; the transportation elements of our forces are designated as airlift and sealift forces, which include the transports in the military airlift command, the troop carrier aircraft in the Tactical Air Command of the Air Force, the transport and troop carrier aircraft in the Reserve components of the Air Force, and the ships operated by the Military Sea Transport Service. Research and development is dealt with separately and includes all research and development work other than that on weapons already approved for deployment.

UNLIMITED WAR FORCES

The function of what the Department of Defense describes as strategic offensive and defense forces is to discourage an attack involving nuclear weapons on the United States, by constantly having ready the power to retaliate with such destructive forces that the initiator of the attack would sustain unacceptable damage. Another important function of these forces is to limit the damage to the population and the industry of the United States if such forces fail to deter.

The changes proposed in our strategic offensive forces beginning in the next fiscal year I would describe as being more qualitative than quantitative.

We now have more than 800 Minuteman missiles and 54 Titan II missiles in place. By the end of 1967 the total Minuteman force of 1,000 missiles will be operational. Starting in fiscal year 1967 the Minuteman I missiles will be replaced with the Minuteman II, which have greater accuracy and payload. The first procurement of Minuteman III, which incorporates a greatly improved reentry system, will be begun next year.

At the beginning of fiscal year 1967, 32 Polaris-type submarines will be operational, with 512 missiles. By October of 1967, all 41 of these submarines, with a total of 656 missiles, will be in operation.

The manned bomber force is scheduled to undergo a change in composition. Beginning next year, 345 of the B–52 bombers of the older types will be gradually inactivated, together with 80 B–58's, and replaced by a force of 210 FB–111's, which is the bomber version of the TFX. The FB–111 would be equipped with a new standoff missile named SRAM that could be installed on the 255 B–52's in series G through H that will remain in force. The Hound Dog missile with which some of the B–52's are equipped will have a new terminal guidance system installed to improve its accuracy.

There seems to be rather general agreement that this mix of B–52's and FB–111's will provide a satisfactory bomber fleet until approximately 1975. There is disagreement between the Secretary of Defense and some Air Force officials and some Members of Congress about whether we should proceed now to the contract definition stage of providing an advanced manned strategic aircraft—AMSA—which would probably combine the payload and the range of the B–52 G's and H's with the speed and maneuverability of the FB–111. The pending bill contains $11 million for the continued avionics development studies for such an aircraft.

For possible future ballistic missile deployments, the bill contains $300 million for development work on the Poseidon missile, the total development cost of which is estimated to be about $1.3 billion, to increase greatly the payload and penetrability as compared with Polaris. In addition, the Air Force research and development program includes $10 million to study an intercontinental ballistic missile with improved capability—provisionally designated ICM.

In the strategic defense forces, which formerly were called Continental Defense Forces, the bill as recommended by the committee contains two significant differences from the requests of the Department of Defense.

The committee added $167.9 million for preproduction activities directed toward the deployment of an antiballistic missile defense system. $153.5 million of this amount was added to the Army missile procurement authorization and $14.4 million was added to the Army research, development, test, and evaluation authorization. If used, this amount could save approximately 1 year in the time required to deploy a system to defend against ballistic missile attack. A decision to deploy such a system is not a simple one, and it is not one to be undertaken lightly. So far there is no indication the Department of Defense will ues this additional authorization, as in his testimony the Secretary of Defense concluded that no decision to produce and to deploy this system is required now.

After about 9 years of development effort and the expenditure of more than $2 billion, the Army has developed a system that would provide relatively thin protection for all the United States, and a more concentrated protection for about 25 cities, at a cost of between $8.5 and $10 billion, spread over 5 years. Such a deployment appears to offer protection against the type of attack that China or perhaps other new nuclear powers might mount over the next decade, and it would offer significant protection against the heavier, more concentrated type of attack that the Soviet Union could launch. Moreover, this system would provide some protection against missile attacks launched from submarines. Furthermore, from a fairly basic or elementary deployment, the coverage could be made more elaborate and in greater depth as technological progress and any impending threat dictated.

It has been argued that an antiballistic missile system should not be deployed before a full fallout shelter program is provided, as without the fallout shelter program the enemy could target his missiles away from defended cities and inflict casualties through fallout. I find this argument not wholly convincing. There has been a substantial Federal program to identify and to stock satisfactory fallout shelter spaces in existing structures in the cities of this country. This program has resulted in the identification of some 140 million spaces. The principal part of the fallout shelter program the Congress has not approved is the proposal for cost sharing by the Federal Government in the construction of public buildings, such as schools, hospitals, and libraries that incorporated protection against fallout. In my opinion the additional shelter space that this federally subsidized construction program would have provided is not so substantial as to justify refusal to deploy an antiballistic missile system until this one feature had been approved. Beyond this, it appears that the leadtime for providing some additional fallout shelter space would be less than the leadtime in deploying an antiballistic missile system.

To be sure, the 5-year cost of between $8 and $10 billion is not a trifling sum, but this cost is not a shocking one to me if it saves several million American lives. In two supplemental actions last year and one this year the Congress has already approved more than $15 billion in extra expenditures resulting from the conflict in Vietnam. I do not think we should recoil from spending $10 billion over a 5-year period for what could be very significant protection.

The second committee change in the strategic field is in connection with maintaining production capability for a new manned interceptor.

Defenses against missiles and defenses against aircraft are, of course, complementary, as it makes little sense to provide additional protection against missile attack if an attacker has enough bomber potential to accomplish the same destruction. The inceptor aircraft that our forces now have deployed are of old design and they have some limitations in defending against the most modern bombers.

The Air Force has sought approval for the procurement of a force of F–12 interceptor aircraft. The F–12 would be an adaptation of the airframe of the SR–71, a strategic reconnaissance aircraft. Without some funding in 1967, there is a question whether the production line and team that have produced the SR–71 and the YF–12A aircraft can be kept together to retain a choice in 1967 to produce the F–12 as an interceptor. As the report indicates, the Air Force first proposed the procurement of an additional number of SR–71's, then it proposed the procurement of a small number of F–12's, and its last proposal was for a lump sum to retain the production capability. All these requests were denied by the Department of Defense. The committee added $55 million of the $60 million the Air Force considers as necessary for the maintenance of the production capability of this highly efficient plane. The additional $5 million needed in development funds could be secured by reprograming if the Department of Defense approves the use of the production funds.

Mr. President, the total funding of the strategic offensive and defensive forces and the civil defense program requires relatively less in 1967 than in any of the last 6 years. The estimated obligational authority for these purposes in 1967 is $6.5 billion, compared with $11.2 billion in 1962, $10.2 billion in 1963, $9.3 billion in 1964, $6.9 billion in 1965, and an estimated $6.8 billion in 1966.

GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES

Mr. President, the kind of conflict that would undoubtedly require the largest general purpose force would be a nonnuclear war in Europe. We need to maintain the forces to respond to the threat of such a war. But events in South Vietnam and southeast Asia have also generated requirements for general purpose forces of substantial size and strength.

This is probably the appropriate place for me to stress that the fiscal year 1967 budgeting for general purpose forces has been based on the assumption, but certainly not necessarily the expectation, that the conflict in Vietnam will be over by the end of fiscal year 1967—June 30, 1967. The leadtime for producing some of the weapons required by general purpose forces does not allow waiting until the fiscal year 1968 requests are presented next year if hostilities in South Vietnam continue at near the level of those today. If there is such a continuance, it seems likely that early next year the Department of Defense will have to request supplemental authorization and appropriations from the Congress to prevent the uninterrupted flow of weapons and equipment to our forces in South Vietnam.

Now, Mr. President, I wish to make a few comments about the authorization contained in this bill as it affects the general purpose forces of the Army. This bill contains funds to initiate procurement required in the conversion of another Army division to an air mobile division of the type of the 1st Cavalry, that has fought effectively and gallantly in South Vietnam. The effective date of this conversion has not yet been determined or announced.

To provide an interim air defense system for forward areas as a result of the cancellation of the Mauler system, the bill contains a sum for the procurement of the Chaparral, which is a refined adaptation of the Sidewinder missile to a self-propelled vehicle.

Development funds are included for the Sam–D, a system for the defense of Army forces in the field against aircraft, and short-range tactical ballistic missiles that, if successfully developed, would replace Nike-Hercules and Hawk in the 1970's.

The sum of $612.4 million is included for the procurement of 1,761 Army aircraft. The types are the Iroquois, an aerial weapons platform and transport; the Chinook, a transport; the Pawnee, a light observation helicopter; the Flying Crane, a heavy lift helicopter; and trainer and utility aircraft.

The Army missile authorization is $510 million—$153.5 million of this has already been mentioned in connection with the Nike X. The remaining $357 million is for Lance, a light mobile missile system that can provide nuclear and conventional fire as a supplement to Army artillery; Shillelagh, an antitank missile; and Redeye, a man-transportable, shoulder-fired missile to provide frontline air defense for combat troops from low-flying air attack.

For the first time this year the authorization requirement has been expanded to include tracked combat vehicles. Significant items that would be procured with the Army authorization of $359.2 million in this category are a substantial number of self-propelled 155 mm. howitzers, M–60 tanks equipped with Shillelagh missiles, General Sheridan armored reconnaissance and airborne assault vehicles, cargo carriers, and self-propelled 81 mm. mortar carriers, both of which use the M–113 chassis M–578 light recovery vehicles, and modifications to M–48 medium tanks to equip them with new diesel engines and 105 mm. guns.

The shipbuilding program to support the general purpose forces of the Navy includes 42 new ships and 13 conversions requiring new authorization of $1,756.2 million. The most expensive of these ships is a nuclear-powered attack carrier. Under present plans the Navy is programed to have 15 attack carriers in its forces. This will require two more nuclear-powered carriers in future years. Five nuclear-powered attack submarines would be funded in this bill. A total of 56 such submarines were funded through 1966 and requirements as now calculated dictate authorization of 6 more in future years.

In the program for the Navy will be found 10 destroyer escorts to be equipped with the new SQS–26 radar.

Mr. President, the one area in which the committee's recommendations for shipbuilding construction differ from the request of the Department of Defense is in connection with multiple-purpose ships, which have a capability for antisubmarine warfare and for fleet air defense. The Department of Defense request proposed the construction of two guided missile destroyers, or DDG's, at a total cost of about $145 million. The committee recommends that instead of these two conventionally powered guided missile destroyers the Department construct a nuclear-powered guided missile frigate at a total cost of about $150 million. The almost $5 million in additional authorization required has been provided and this $150 million has been earmarked as being available only for the construction of the nuclear-powered guided missile frigate.

Mr. President, it is a matter of common knowledge that there has been a great deal of controversy over cost comparisons between nuclear-powered and conventionally powered escort ships. The cost of constructing a frigate includes about $12 million for the initial nuclear fuel core. To the estimated cost of $84.1 million for the first of the new conventionally powered destroyers one should add $5 million for the cost of black oil for 10 years and about $10 million for the cost of delivering this oil. There still is a significant cost difference between a nuclear-powered frigate and a conventionally powered one, but there is no question that a nuclear-powered ship offers some operational and tactical advantages.

I wish to make it clear, Mr. President, that at this time the committee is not suggesting by any means that all escort ships for carrier forces should be nuclear powered, but there are only three nuclear-powered escorts in existence and the committee was of the opinion that a reasonable increase in this number is justified. Hence the committee has recommended that one nuclear-powered frigate be constructed instead of two conventionally powered ones.

Other ships in the program include 12 amphibious assault ships—11 LST's and 1 LSD; 5 new minesweepers, and 8 ships of the logistic and support type.

The bill contains $1,422.2 million for the procurement of 620 new aircraft for the Navy and the Marine Corps.

The types to be procured include the A–7A attack aircraft, which will also be procured by the Air Force; the OV–10A, earlier called COIN/LARA, which is supposed to be used principally for several counterinsurgency missions, such as observation, reconnaissance, and close air support, and which will likewise be procured and utilized by the Air Force; the P–3A ORION, a turboprop aircraft used for antisubmarine patrol; the C–2A, a transport for delivering cargo to carrier forces at sea; the Sea Knight and Sea Stallion helicopters for transporting marines and their equipment; the Sea King antisubmarine helicopter, and trainer aircraft.

Missiles to be procured for the general purpose forces of the Navy are the Sidewinder, in models having infrared and radar guidance; the Shrike antiradiation missile; the new standard missile in both medium range and extended range versions; Talos, which provides antiaircraft protection for guided missile cruisers; the Subroc, a submarine launched missile that can destroy other submarines and surface targets; and Dash, a drone helicopter remotely controlled for the delivery of torpedoes or depth charges against submarines.

The aircraft types that will be procured for the general purpose forces of the Air Force include a substantial number of the versatile F–4, which provides both close support and interceptor capability; the F–111A, which was first called TFX; the A–7A, a jet attack aircraft of improved range and payload capability; the OV–10A, which will be used by the Air Force for forward air control, reconnaissance, and surveillance; and rescue, transport, and utility helicopters.

For the long delayed modernization of its mission support fleet, the Air Force will begin the procurement of two different types of aircraft, one having about a 1,500-mile range, and carrying about 7 passengers, and the second having about an 1,800-mile range and capable of carrying up to 12 passengers or equivalent cargo. The specific types to be procured will not be known until after a competition is conducted among all qualified manufacturers.

General purpose missiles to be procured by the Air Force include the Bullpup, the Shrike, Sparrow, and a Falcon trainer.

A comparison of the total obligational authority for general purpose forces in

1967 with that of the preceding 5 years shows the emphasis that capability to conduct non-nuclear warfare has received. The total obligational authority for the general purpose program in 1967 is estimated to be $25.7 billion. This may be compared with $17.5 million in each of the years 1962 and 1963; $17.7 billion in 1964; $19 billion in 1965; and an estimated $30 billion in 1966.

That, of course, includes all of the supplemental authorizations for the war in Vietnam.

AIRLIFT AND SEALIFT FORCES

For transporting troops and their equipment overseas, the principal authorization contained in this bill is for the continued procurement of the C–141, a jet transport that is now in extensive use, and an initial procurement amount for the C–5A, the new heavy jet transport, the first production of which will be in 1969, and of such proportions as almost to stagger the human imagination.

The C–141 can be loaded with troops and equipment in the United States and flown directly to battle areas overseas.

Though immense in size, the C–5A can be operated from short, low-strength airfields and it will be designed for fast loading and unloading.

Mr. President, the C–141 is a huge plane but when the C–5A gets into production, it will have the capability of doing the work of four or five C–141's.

The two fast deployment logistic ships authorized last year have not yet been put under contract, pending further refinement of the operational concept for their use and the ultimate procurement program. The Department of the Navy now contemplates a total package contract for the construction of these ships and the contract definition process will extend over the last 6 months of this calendar year.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

The bill contains a research, development, test, and evaluation authorization of $6,915,159,000. This is $206 million more than the Department of Defense request for the same purposes last year and $346 million more than was appropriated last year.

There are several ways in which the R.D.T. & E. program may be grouped or analyzed. The committee report presents it in terms of the traditional eight budget activities, which broadly relate the work to the weapons or military activities, for example, aircraft, missiles, astronautics, ships, and ordnance. Since the committee report indicates some of the major areas of effort and funding under each budget activity, I shall not attempt to duplicate that coverage in my remarks.

Another way of reviewing the research and development program is the Department of Defense organization of it into six broad categories: research; exploratory development; advanced development; engineering development; operations systems development; and management and support. The first five of these categories are in a broad sense, sequential steps in a progression from ideas to weapons. This system has the advantage of showing generally how far the research or development has progressed toward the end product that is the purpose of the effort.

In the course of presenting the procurement programs for next year, I have touched on some of the larger development projects in the 1967 program, including Poseidon, Minuteman, C–5A, Nike X, Sram, and the FB–111A.

I do wish to point out that in the research area, the Department of Defense has responded to expressions of congressional concern that much of this work is unproductive by not requesting the 10-percent increase in research funds that had become more or less traditional. The increase in each year was attributable approximately equally to increases in research costs and to using the expanding research potential in colleges and universities. For research in 1967 the request is for $417 million, $27 million more than the $390 million available in 1966. About $18 million of this $27 million increase, however, is for the new university program, which represents an attempt to broaden the university research base into all parts of the country and to avoid an undue concentration of the Government's research efforts in a relatively small number of larger universities. This is a commendable objective and one that I think Members of Congress generally will enthusiastically approve.

Still another way to view the R. & D. effort is to identify what I shall loosely term the "packages of money" that are used to spread certain classifications of activity. This is the method Dr. Foster summarized in his appearance before the committees. Under this classification, approximately $1.6 billion can be identified as for the general purpose forces, including the special efforts that are being directed on projects for application in Vietnam; about $1.5 billion is for strategic forces; about $1.1 billion is for space and space related activity; about $1.5 billion is for research and exploratory development which are basic to the whole effort; and about $1.2 billion is the "overhead" package for such things as facilities, services, management support, and the emergency fund.

Members of the Senate have had a keen interest in the activities of the Department of Defense in conjunction with the Atomic Energy Commission in carrying out four specific safeguards to the nuclear test ban treaty. These safeguards were: First, an underground test program; second, maintenance of modern nuclear laboratory facilities and programs; third, maintenance of a standby atmospheric test capability; and fourth, the monitoring of nuclear activities by Soviet Russia and Communist China.

You may compare that sum with $241 million in 1966 and $250 million in 1965.

Now, Mr. President, concluding my brief comment on the research, development, test, and evaluation program—I say brief because this is a very fascinating field and embraces a large number of projects that are of tremendous interest—I should like to point out that the Department's efforts in the space field are concentrated largely on the Manned Orbital Laboratory, the defense communications satellite system, and the Titan III space booster which will be used in connection with both the Manned Orbital Laboratory and the defense communications satellite.

Mr. President, an explanation of a bill of this magnitude is necessarily superficial unless one detained the Senate at unacceptable length. My presentation has probably been oversimplified and I have not made specific reference to many important programs proposed for 1967. I have attempted, however, to point up the things that seem more significant to me. The hearings and the committee report contain much more information of a detailed nature.

The military hardware and the research and development work that could be funded with appropriations based on this authorization would constitute another substantial contribution to the military might of the United States. If this authorization is not enough to supply our forces in Vietnam, Western Europe, and elsewhere with the weapons and the equipment they need to carry out their missions, the Congress should be told of it now, because I am sure there is no reluctance in the Congress, or on the part of the majority of the American people to provide the things our men in uniform need in playing their role toward the accomplishment of our national objective and support of our national policy.

Mr. President, I cannot refrain from observing that ours is probably the only country on earth where a statement of the type I have just made could be made in a parliamentary body, and where material of the detailed nature of that contained in this committee report and the hearings could be circulated throughout the world. We live in an open society and release of the information with respect to our defense activities has become less restrained each and every year. Indeed, the present policy of the Defense Department seems to be to make known as widely as possible the tremendous power of our strategic forces as a means of preserving the peace. It may well be that this is the proper policy to pursue, from the hope that if the world knows of the tremendous power to retaliate and destroy that is in the hands of the servicemen of these United States, we will not receive any sneak nuclear attack.

The policy appears to go further than that. Information on numbers of weapons of all kinds is released.

Indeed, Mr. President, I doubt if some parliamentary bodies have any details about the weapons in the hands of their troops. I hope our policy and practice do not react adversly to our country.

I, for one, favor maintenance of adequate military might to enable this Nation to discharge its preeminent role in world affairs.

I believe that our people are willing to support such strength and that no people on earth long more deeply for the day of permanent peace, when weapons will be laid aside and we will have no more wars or rumors of wars, than the people of the United States.

But we also realize we have not reached that stage in the life of the human family. Our people are aware when they contribute to our national defense system that they are contributing to the protection of the greatest way of life and the most flourishing and finest civilization that have ever existed under the canopy of heaven.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. I am glad to yield to the Senator.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, it has been one of my privileges to be present when the Senator from Georgia presents the defense bill. I find it informative, dispassionate, fair, and honest. All of us are indebted to him because it is one of the best ways we get knowledge about our vast and complex system of defense. We appreciate also his unpartisanship and his devotion to his task, which is devotion to his country.

I noted also today, as I have before, that he speaks in a much larger sense than detailing requirements of our defense, because he speaks of our defense as necessary for security, as a deterrence against war, and so a part of the hope for peace.

I know that the distinguished Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH], an effective member of the committee, will speak. But I do want to ask a few questions because there is much concern in the minds of the people about the war in Vietnam.

I know that the defense bill which is presented not only deals with the today's requirements, but it provides for the defense needs of the future. It is broad in its scope, and it is of long-term importance.

I think the Senator will agree with me, however, that the minds of our people today are on the war in Vietnam and on the hope for some political solution, but if that cannot occur they want to be as sure as they can that our forces in Vietnam have the necessary equipment to enable them to carry out their duty for our country.

I remember when the Senator presented the supplemental defense bill, I asked the Senator at that time, knowing that there had been charges of shortages in supplies, if, upon the hearings he had conducted and upon information which he had, the Senator was alarmed about any deficiencies. I believe that was the general tenor of my question.

As I remember, the Senator said he had been assured and the committee had been assured there had been no deficiencies which would affect our combat operations, based on the advice that had been given.

Since that time more charges have been made. I read with care the article by Mr. Hanson Baldwin, in which he suggests these deficiencies exist. One charge was that our Armed Forces in this country and in other places throughout the world had been so stripped of trained fighting men that there were actually few trained troops available now in the United States in reserve which could meet any anticipated or possible emergency. The point was that we were pretty thin on fighting men and that it was not clear whether any decision had been made, or to correct this situation.

But my question is, from the Senator's vast information—and I know of his determination to get the facts—has the Senator considered this charge to have validity?

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. There is some justification for such a concern. Much of the cream of our career military personnel, the noncommissioned officers and commissioned officers, is with the Regular divisions that are deployed either in Vietnam or Germany at the present time. Some of the Strategic Army Forces in the United States have reduced strength so far as veterans and career personnel are concerned. Their places have been taken by draftees and enlistees who are being trained as rapidly as possible.

Some recent draftees and enlistees who have had the training prescribed by law have already gone to Vietnam and have taken their places in veteran outfits such as the 1st Cavalry, the 1st Division, the 25th Division, and other old-line outfits that are deployed there.

Mr. COOPER. I have had reports from families in my own State whose sons were drafted into the Army, were sent to Vietnam, and were killed in Vietnam within 4 or 5 months.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Shortly over 4 or 5 months; that is true. They are supposed to have 1 month there and at least 4 months' training here.

Mr. COOPER. That can happen in any war.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. That has occurred in some cases, and it will happen as long as we have wars.

I think, however, that sometimes we take counsel of our fears. The fact that this force is in South Vietnam should tend to immobilize an attack from China. We have maintained a sizable number of our troops in Germany, and they are ready to face any opposition in that area. I am not completely happy about the situation. I prefer that the increases in the Army should be trained men. Unfortunately, it takes time to go through the process of training. Not only is it necessary to go through this process of individual training, but sometimes the best trained troops must work together in combat before they achieve their maximum efficiency.

We are increasing the size of our forces, as the Senator knows. The Army has had its authorized strength increased by approximately 280,000. When these men are trained, the Army will be much larger than it was before the first contingent was sent to Vietnam and stronger than it is today. The question of how effective it will be is one that cannot be determined without its being put to the test. A mix of career men with new recruits tends to stabilize the recruits and makes them a much better fighting organization.

Frankly, it is my opinion that some of the Reserves who have served only 6 months' training duty in time of peace should have been called up to go along with the draftees. Some of them have military skills that would be valuable. But for some reason it has been determined that the Reserve organizations will not be touched, they will be kept together as units. I did not know exactly why it was more important to keep the Reserve units together, why they were beyond reach so far as sending any men to Vietnam was concerned, when we were scraping for career soldiers, even pulling them out of Germany and sending them to Vietnam. But that was the determination of the Defense Department, and I, as a layman, did not understand all that was involved.

Mr. COOPER. The Senator hopes, as I do, that the war will not last much longer and that it will not require these additional callups of men.

Under the circumstances, does the Senator think that the administration is doing all that is required? Or is it, by not doing what is required, giving the impression that we are in a more secure position than we are?

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. The Senator well knows my views. I do not intend to be critical. It is a difference of opinion. I am of the opinion that we should carry on the war with more intensity in southeast Asia and bring it to a conclusion. I believe we have the military might to bring it to an earlier conclusion. I do not like to see it drag on.

I have urged for months that we should cut off all access to North Vietnam that enables them to maintain a supply of weapons for their troops in the south that are fighting the U.S. forces and the forces of our allies. For some reason, those who are in a policymaking position have not agreed with my views on the subject, although I have made them known, both privately and in public statements, and have stated them in the Senate. I have said a number of times that I would like to see the war carried on with more vigor. It is my opinion that in the long run there would be less cost in lives. We have already taken a calculated risk about China coming into this war; we did it when we started bombing in North Vietnam. But even if it did involve further risks, this is one risk we should take. I may be one of those people who are impatient and who say——

Mr. COOPER. I do not agree with the Senator on that point, but the point I am trying to make now goes to the sufficiency of supplies.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. I know the Senator does not agree with me, but I know we can disagree as men of good will. We both are trying our best to save our country.

Mr. COOPER. I support the Senator in everything he is doing to make sure there are sufficient supplies and we agree in our hope that the war be ended as quickly as possible, with honor.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. There have been some temporary shortages. One shortage that irked me more than anything else was the fact that our forces had bombs near Da Nang, but because of the anti-American sentiment, American forces were not permitted to go through the town to get the bombs from the ships and transport them to the airfields.

Mr. COOPER. That internal situation is one reason why I agreed with the Senator that unless the Vietnam people can compose their own differences, we could not fight the war for them.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. I feel that that is an intolerable situation. Our forces are there to save the people from Communist oppression, but the Vietnamese would not permit our men, who were risking their lives for the people, to go to the ships and get the bombs with which to fight the Communists.

Mr. COOPER. There have been also charges, about deficiencies in ammunition.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. There have been some temporary deficiencies, and there probably always will be deficiencies in war; but, generally speaking, I do not believe there have been any shortages that have gravely hampered any military operations.

Mr. COOPER. There is one other question. I know that the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH] wants to speak, and I want to hear her.

As I recall the Senator's statement, he said that the bill was developed upon the premise that the war would be over by July 1, 1967. Is that correct?

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Yes. That was the assumption for the makeup of this budget by the Department of Defense. So far as procurement objectives are concerned, the bill was predicated on the assumption that the war would be over before June 30, 1967. I believe the Department of Defense will agree that that is not a very substantial assumption.

Mr. COOPER. I hope it will be over before that time.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. I hope and pray it will not go that long. But if we continue to wage war as we are waging it now, it will go beyond several June 30's.

Mr. COOPER. The Senator from Georgia followed with a very wise and honest statement, saying that he expected that the Defense Department would return to the Senate seeking additional authority, because if they did not return for additional money there would be a lapse, a hiatus, in production schedules of weapons and supplies. I assume you meant such a lapse would be harmful and dangerous.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Under the present conditions, we will undoubtedly have another supplemental bill for Vietnam—not this year, but early next year.

Mr. COOPER. I now come to the nub of the subject. The Secretary of Defense has predicated and projected his supply plans for Vietnam on the basis that the war might end at a certain date. I am certain that he was sincere, but I believe that his judgment is not correct. In the absence of any settlement, or of some political development leading to a settlement, it does not seem likely to me that the war will end by June 30 of next year.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. I think that that is highly unlikely.

Mr. COOPER. Why would it not be proper for the Secretary of Defense and the administration to project the supply plans beyond July 1, 1967, so that there will not be any lag in the production lines, a lag which the Senator from Georgia says will occur unless the administration returns to Congress for additional authority.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. I think that what is provided in the bill will, if the war does not increase in scope and intensity, keep the production lines open; but perhaps it may be necessary to increase production next year.

As the Senator from Kentucky has mentioned, the consumption of bombs is increasing.

Mr. COOPER. If a shortage should occur, and if there should be a hiatus in the production lines, what would be the result?

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. I can assure the Senator from Kentucky that if I can keep up with developments, I will not wait for any supplemental estimate.

If I see any indication of a shortage of supplies for the men who are risking their lives for the richest Nation on earth, and if I think that the Department of Defense is not sufficiently alert to send in supplements at the proper time, I shall certainly make an effort to have the necessary funding made available.

I have one aim now, so long as this conflict is being waged, and that is that no American soldier shall suffer from the lack of any material of war, the lack of any means of treatment of wounds or sickness, or the lack of the best rations that any troops in the field have ever enjoyed.

So far as the Senator from Georgia is concerned, he intends to see that they have them. If such supplies do not reach them, it will not be the fault of Congress, because Congress will have provided them.

So far as the Senator from Georgia is concerned, I intend to see that they have them. If they do not have them, it will be not the fault of Congress. We will have provided for them.

Mr. COOPER. There have been charges of mismanagement. If the failure to project production of supplies beyond a certain date—and in this case it has been fixed at June 30, 1967—would result in a loss of production or a loss of supplies, it would be mismanagement. Our Armed Forces must be fully supplied.

I say again that all of us are indebted to the Senator from Georgia and to the members of his committee. We depend upon the Senator and his committee and have great confidence in the Senator and his committee.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. So far as we can get the information, I assure the Senator that the Armed Services Committee, in which I have never noticed the first breath of partisanship, will undertake to see that adequate provision is made.

It should be said in behalf of the Secretary of Defense that he did indicate that this assumed termination date of June 30, 1967, was selected purely for budgetary and bookkeeping purposes, and that he had doubts that the need for funds to carry on the conflict would have ended before that time.

Mr. COOPER. I am most grateful to the Senator.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, in the necessary absence of the senior Senator from Massachusetts as a result of a personal loss in which his friends in the Senate share and sympathize, I wish to inform the Senate that this bill has the strong support of the minority.

As is so often true, this bill has been reported from the committee by a unanimous vote.

I want to thank the able and distinguished chairman for his clear and detailed explanation of this authorization bill. I would also like to commend the members of the staff of the Senate Armed Services Committee for their assistance and cooperation. I think it is unnecessary for me to repeat even the highlights of the programs the bill would authorize.

In three significant respects the committee's recommendations differ from those of the Department of Defense.

First, the committee provided authorizations that can be viewed as being the premium for purchasing 1 year's time in the availability of a system to defend against an intercontinental ballistic missile attack or a missile attack from submarines. This reflects the committee's conviction that the protection that can be afforded by the highly flexible Nike X system probably justifies a deployment of some scope, the ultimate extent of which does not have to be decided now.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mrs. SMITH. I yield.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Mr. President, I express my very deep appreciation to the senior Senator from Maine for her reference to me. As every Senator knows, there is no more diligent and efficient and effective member of the Armed Services Committee than the distinguished senior Senator from Maine.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, I thank the chairman of the committee for his very kind remarks.

The consequences of being caught without any protection against an earlier-than-expected delivery capability by Red China, or the deployment of an effective antiballistic missile system by Soviet Russia, or an accidental nuclear attack from one of these two powers or another nuclear power would be so serious that the cost of saving 1 year in the substantial period of time required for our deploying an antiballistic missile system seems clearly justified.

The committee also provided extra authorization so that there can be no question whether the production capability for a new interceptor, the F-12, can be maintained. The Secretary of the Air Force testified that in the absence of some additional authorization he doubts that the production team can be kept together. The option to produce the F-12 is one the committee thinks should be kept open for at least another year.

I enthusiastically support the change recommended by the committee in the construction of multiple-purpose escort ships. The number of nuclear-powered escorts available for the nuclear-powered carrier now in operation, the *Enterprise*, and the one that would be authorized this year, is only three. The hearings this year before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on the Navy's nuclear propulsion program contain impressive evidence of the tactical and operational advantages that result from nuclear-powered task forces freed of concern about refueling. The committee thinks the extra cost of nuclear power is justified for a larger number of escort vessels and again we have provided the necessary authorization.

It seems likely, Mr. President, that more authorization and additional appropriations may be required in fiscal 1967 if the Vietnamese conflict continues near the level of the past 6 months. For the moment we have provided all the authorization the Department of Defense considers it needs for the prosecution of the efforts in South Vietnam. If more is needed to support our forces there I am confident the committee is prepared to provide it.

Mr. President, this bill is the basis for appropriations that will make possible further qualitative and quantitative improvements in the weapons and equipment available to our Armed Forces. I urge its overwhelming approval.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I particularly want to invite my colleagues' attention to the Armed Services Committee's addition of a nuclear propelled surface warship to the Department of Defense's fiscal year 1967 authorization bill. The bill before the Senate today, therefore, contains two nuclear propelled surface warships—the nuclear propelled aircraft carrier, which the Department of Defense requested, and the nuclear frigate, which the Senate Armed Services Committee added. In addition, the committee deleted the two conventional destroyers.

The authorization of the nuclear frigate in this year's authorization bill will, when added to the nuclear frigate authorized by Congress last year, place two additional nuclear frigates on the books for construction by the Department of Defense. The authorization of two nuclear frigates in place of the two conventional destroyers requested will provide the Navy with a much more effective force. Both the nuclear frigate authorized last year and the one in this year's bill have the same basic weapon's system as the conventional destroyers which the Department of Defense proposed this year.

I would also like to invite my colleague's attention to a hearing print entitled "Naval Nuclear Propulsion Program" which the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy released last weekend. This print contains the latest unclassified information on the development of advanced nuclear propulsion plants for naval submarine and surface warships and performance of such warships, particularly the nuclear aircraft carrier *Enterprise* off Vietnam. The hearing also contains a firsthand report by Admiral Miller, who commanded the carrier division, which included the *Enterprise*, our only nuclear-propelled carrier, and the nuclear-propelled escort, *Bainbridge*, during their period of operation off Vietnam. This operation involves the first combat use of nuclear-propelled warships. The record concerning their effectiveness stands by itself.

I personally visited the *Enterprise* off Vietnam and observed the military advantages that nuclear propulsion of warships provide. I just want to reiterate what I said when I returned from my factfinding visit aboard the *Enterprise* and that was that the time has come to stop futile studies and get on with filling the Navy's urgent needs for nuclear propulsion of its warships.

It is indeed encouraging to see that the Department of Defense has, this year, requested the construction of another nuclear-propelled aircraft carrier. It is only unfortunate that nearly a decade has gone by since the *Enterprise*, our first and only nuclear-propelled aircraft carrier, was requested and authorized.

I would also like to invite attention to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy hearing released last weekend, since it contains a summary of the leadership which Congress has provided toward the use of nuclear power in warships.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the conclusion of my remarks, the following be included in the RECORD: The press release issued by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy releasing the committee hearing on the "Naval Nuclear Propulsion Program"; press summaries of the hearing printed in the New York Times, the Washington Star, the Washington Post, the Baltimore Sun, and Time magazine.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Office of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Apr. 24, 1966]

INFORMATION ON NUCLEAR WARSHIPS AND THEIR PERFORMANCE IN THE VIETNAM WAR

Congressman CHET HOLIFIELD, chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, today announced the availability of the published record of hearings the committee held in January of this year on nuclear-propelled warships. This record contains the latest unclassified information on the development of advanced nuclear propulsion plants for naval submarines and surface warships and performance of such warships, particularly the nuclear-propelled aircraft carrier, *Enterprise*, off Vietnam. The hearings contain a firsthand report by Admiral Miller, who commanded the carrier division, which included the *Enterprise*, our only nuclear-propelled carrier, and the nuclear-propelled escort, *Bainbridge*, operating off Vietnam. This operation off Vietnam involves the first combat use of nuclear-propelled warships. Chairman HOLIFIELD, in releasing the hearings, stated:

"The Joint Committee was pleased to be informed by Secretary of Defense McNamara that he has requested both authorization and appropriation for a second nuclear-propelled aircraft carrier. As the committee has stated repeatedly, it is very unfortunate that almost a decade has gone by during which two conventionally propelled aircraft carriers were started before this Nation has gotten around to starting construction of a second nuclear-propelled carrier.

"The committee closely questioned Admiral Rickover on what action has been taken to build the nuclear escort ship which the Congress, upon the recommendation of the House Armed Services Committee, added to the authorization last year. We were disappointed to learn that the Defense Department has not yet started to build this ship. It is apparent that the Congress must take the initiative to get nuclear-powered escorts built as they did in the case of submarines and aircraft carriers. It was most gratifying to learn that the Senate Armed Services Committee has deleted the conventional-powered destroyers which were requested by the Defense Department and substituted a nuclear-powered warship.

"We learned from our questioning of Admiral Rickover that the most important item affecting the Navy which is before the Congress this year is, in addition to authorizing the requested nuclear propelled aircraft carrier, to make our firstline escort warships nuclear powered. The Committee strongly supports the provision of nuclear propulsion for escort warships as it did in the case of submarines and aircraft carriers. It is obvious that, in order to maintain our Navy's present superior position, we must have nuclear propulsion in our firstline warships."

Congressman HOLIFIELD cited a recent factfinding visit Senator HENRY M. JACKSON made to the nuclear propelled aircraft carrier *Enterprise* during her operations off Vietnam. Senator JACKSON, a member of both the Atomic Energy Committee and Armed Service Committee, reported his observations to Congressman HOLIFIELD, who in turn summarized the report as follows:

"Senator JACKSON told us that the *Enterprise* and *Bainbridge* are proving their military superiority daily under the rigors of combat. He told us the time has come to stop futile studies and get on with filling the Navy's urgent needs for nuclear propulsion for its warships. The Senate Armed Services Committee acted accordingly when they recently added a nuclear propelled warship to the Navy's authorization bill."

In the foreword to the hearing print, the committee summarized the advantages of nuclear propulsion for firstline warship and went on to recommend that the Congress change this year's Defense Department request for conventionally powered warships to nuclear powered ships.

Copies of the print of the hearings held January 26, 1966, on nuclear propelled warships entitled, "Naval Nuclear Propulsion Program," will be sent to all persons on the Joint Committee mailing list. Others desiring to obtain copies of the print should contact the document clerk, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Room H–403, U.S. Capitol Building, Washington, D.C.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Apr. 24, 1966]

DELAY HIT IN BUILDING UP A-NAVY—DEFENSE DEPARTMENT IS TAKEN TO TASK BY LEGISLATORS

WASHINGTON, April 23.—The Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee said tonight "the reluctance of the Department of Defense to invest in nuclear-powered surface warships" poses a threat to the Nation's security.

It urged Congress "to be alert to assure that the reluctance does not cause our Navy to lapse into obsolescence."

The committee said Congress should torpedo the Defense Department's fiscal 1967 request to build two new guided-missile destroyers of the conventional nonnuclear type and require that they be nuclear powered.

STRESS ON COSTS HIT

The committee accused the Defense Department of making dangerous assumptions in its "cost effectiveness" studies which have been furnished to support the contention that the advantages of nuclear propulsion are not particularly significant for surface warships."

"The factors of military effectiveness in the protection of our Nation's security must always be dominant over the factors of cost," the committee said.

"In southeast Asia today the United States is once again faced with the bitter reality that what counts in war is military effectiveness—not cost effectiveness."

EXTRA EXPENDITURE MINIMIZED

In addition to nuclear propulsion's increased military effectiveness over conventional propulsion, it added, the lifetime cost to construct and operate a nuclear-powered task force is only about 6 percent greater than the cost of a conventionally powered task force.

The committee made the statements in a report accompanying publication of the text of public hearings last January on the naval nuclear propulsion program.

The report was issued only 2 days after the Senate Armed Services Committee approved $150 million for construction of a nuclear powered guided-missile frigate or large destroyer in lieu of the two conventionally powered destroyers asked by the Johnson administration.

And, ostensibly, its release was timed to make the Joint Committee's position clear in advance of hearings expected to start early next week before the House Armed Services Committee regarding the Navy's shipbuilding program.

In addition to the report, the committee attached copious appendices designed to back up its general theme that: "Despite the tremendous success of the naval nuclear propulsion program, progress in the application of nuclear propulsion to surface warships has been slow."

Included is an official account of some of the combat experiences in the Vietnam war theater of the aircraft carrier *Enterprise* and the frigate *Bainbridge*—the first nuclear-power surface craft to be tested in combat.

ADMIRAL IS SOURCE

The account came from Rear Adm. Henry L. Miller, who commanded the *Enterprise*-led task group in Vietnam until recently. He now is chief of information for the Navy.

"Nuclear power is such a significant advance in the state of the art in naval warfare that the nation with the first nuclear navy will become the world's leading naval power," Miller wrote.

"The evolution of the Navy to a progressive program of nuclear power can revolutionize our naval establishment and naval warfare in a more dramatic manner than that realized by the change from sail to steam or from coal-burning to oil-burning propulsion plants. The future of the U.S. Navy is nuclear power. We must not ignore it."

PLEASING DEVELOPMENTS

The Joint Committee said it was gratified to note that:

1. The Defense Department has requested a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier in the next fiscal year's budget.

2. Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense, has "declared his intention to provide the Navy a total of three new nuclear-powered aircraft carriers over the next several years in addition to the U.S.S. *Enterprise*."

The committee praised Vice Adm. H. G. Rickover, director of the naval nuclear propulsion program.

"Significant strides are being made," it said, "in the development of longer life nuclear (fuel) core to increase the length of the time ships can operate without refueling.

"Also, new and more powerful nuclear propulsion plants are being developed for both submarines and surface ships."

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 24, 1966]

Pentagon-Congress Fight Over A-Ships Shapes Up

(By Howard Simons)

A great land-based naval battle is shaping up between Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara and Congress. At issue is the future of the Navy's surface fleet of combat ships.

Congress wants all future first-line escort warships, such as destroyers and frigates, to be nuclear-powered. McNamara does not.

The battle between the strong-willed Secretary and the equally strong-willed Congress already has been joined over McNamara's present request for funds to build two conventionally powered missile destroyers.

Yesterday, the influential Joint Committee on Atomic Energy said in effect that McNamara already has ignored the will of Congres and should not be permitted to do it again.

Congress must be alert to assure that the reluctance of the Department of Defense to invest in nuclear-powered surface warships does not cause our Navy to lapse into obsolescence," said the committee in its foreword to hitherto undisclosed hearings on nuclear-propelled warships.

It recommended that Congress change McNamara's request from conventionally powered destroyers to nuclear-powered escort ships.

On Thursday, the Senate Armed Services Committee, anticipating the Joint Committee's plea, struck down the McNamara request and authorized, instead, a second nuclear-powered frigate.

Congress last year appropriated $20 million for the Navy to get started on a nuclear frigate. McNamara never spent the money and ignored the congressisonal action.

This response upset influential Congressmen such as L. Mendel Rivers, Democrat of South Carolina, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, which will begin its hearings on Navy procurement authorization this Tuesday.

Rivers is on record as saying:

"I am convinced, and I think it is fair to say that the Congress as a body is convinced, that the Navy of the future must be nuclear-powered. There is no reason why our future aircraft carriers, cruisers, frigates, and destroyers cannot be powered by nuclear energy.

"It is clear that continuing to build conventionally powered warships will, in the long run, be economically wasteful."

Not so, says McNamara in a hitherto classified reply to Rivers made public yesterday by the Joint Committee.

SECRETARY'S ARGUMENTS

McNamara's argument amounts to this:

Nuclear-powered destroyers or frigates are far more costly than conventionally powered ships equipped with roughly the same amount of sonars, radars, missiles, and other weapons systems. Therefore, the Nation "would be able to provide significantly more of these (conventional) ships" than nuclear-powered craft.

Rivers challenged this line of argument in his letters to McNamara commenting at one point that McNamara was still getting bad information from his computer-armed analyst-advisers.

In testimony before the Joint Committee, David T. Leighton, of Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover's Navy nuclear propulsion staff, also challenged the Pentagon's comparisons. Leighton told the Congressmen that pound for pound, the maximum cost of a nuclear frigate or destroyer would be 25 percent more than its conventional counterpart.

NOT THE ONLY FACTOR

"Further," he said, "the overall lifetime cost of a nuclear-powered carrier task group made up of a nuclear carrier and four nuclear escorts is about 6 percent more expensive" than the same size conventional task group.

Cost is not the only factor being stressed by the Congressmen intent on forcing McNamara to go nuclear.

"Nuclear propulsion," says the Joint Committee in the foreword to its hearings, "has the fundamental advantage of permitting our warships to go anywhere in the world, to deliver their combat load and to return—all without logistic support. Oil-fired warships must be refueled every few days. This requires a vulnerable worldwide distribution system to provide fuel oil for conventional ships."

Said Joint Committee Chairman Representative Chet Holifield, Democrat, of California, recalling past naval disputes between Congress and the Pentagon:

"It is apparent that the Congress must take the initiative to get nuclear-powered escorts built as they did in the case of submarines and aircraft carriers."

[From the Washington Star, Apr. 24, 1966]

Legislators Urge Nuclear Ships Despite McNamara Stand

(By William Hines)

The Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy yesterday urged the Congress to override Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara and order two new destroyers equipped with nuclear powerplants.

The action "will be in consonance with the constitutional responsibility of Congress 'to provide and maintain a Navy,'" the committee said in releasing the text of hearings held January 26 on the Navy's nuclear propulsion program.

Influential Congressmen are advocating that all major Navy ships from now on be powered by atomic fission. McNamara is on record as needing two destroyer starts in fiscal 1967 but favoring oil-fired propulsion systems on a "cost-effectiveness" basis.

In a sharply worded preface to the hearing transcript, the committee charged that the Pentagon's cost-effectiveness studies "are based on false assumptions and do not place proper emphasis on military effectiveness."

ASSUMPTIONS MADE

McNamara's analysis, the committee said, assumed that "tankers and oilers will operate unhampered by the enemy and suffer no losses (and) that the fuel oil needed to run our conventional surface warships will be readily available wherever and whenever needed."

A single torpedo, fired at just the right place and time could invalidate this cost-effectiveness argument and tilt the scales heavily in favor of an all-nuclear surface force, a source close to the committee said.

In conjunction with the hearing transcript, the committee made public a detailed report on comparative effectiveness of nuclear and conventional surface ships in the combat area off Vietnam. The report was prepared by Rear Adm. Henry L. Miller, commander of Carrier Division 3.

VERDICT FOR A-CRAFT

With atomic as well as conventional vessels of both aircraft carrier and destroyer size in his force, Miller found the nuclear craft clearly superior in carrying out difficult combat assignments.

He disputed Pentagon studies indicating great disparity in costs of nuclear versus conventional ships and said that, over the lifetime of vessels, the nuclear would cost only 6 percent more than the conventional.

Pointing out that ships built now will still be active in the 21st century, Miller said:

"We are buying time if we build nuclear-powered ships. We are buying reduced effectiveness if we purchase oil-burning warships."

The Joint Committee's recommendation that Congress stipulate nuclear power for the new destroyers was viewed on Capitol Hill as a way to force McNamara into accepting the atomic Navy concept being pushed by legislative branch leaders.

Under the separation of powers concept of the Federal Government, Congress cannot mandate the expenditure of money by the Executive.

In other words, McNamara could not be forced by Congress to spend money for ships he did not want to build, but if he does want certain vessels, Congress can then authorize the kind of ship—atomic or conventional—to be built and he must follow those instructions.

In addition to Representative CHET HOLIFIELD, Democrat, of California, chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, leaders in the new nuclear Navy fight include Representative L. MENDEL RIVERS, Democrat, of South Carolina, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, and Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, Democrat, of Washington, an influential member of both the Atomic Energy Committee and the Senate Armed Services Committee.

RIVERS' committee opens hearings on the administration's defense budget this week. Action in the Senate committee last week included approval of money for the second of two nuclear frigates, which are vessels slightly larger than destroyers but with greater firepower. They are also considerably more expensive.

[From Time magazine, Apr. 29, 1966]

DEFENSE—A'S FOR THE E

As high as a 23-story building, longer than three football fields, the U.S.S. *Enterprise* is the world's biggest military ship and its only nuclear aircraft carrier. She is also a resounding success.

When the 85,350-ton flattop was christened in 1960, skeptics questioned whether the *Enterprise*'s atomic propulsion could justify the added cost ($150 million). Last week, after 4½ months of combat duty off Vietnam, the Big E—along with the only other nuclear vessel in the war, the destroyer *Bainbridge*—won straight A's from the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee. Both ships' performances had amply demonstrated the tactical advantages envisioned by their planners: high speed and the priceless asset of being able to cruise as long as 4 years without refueling. Because the Big E is nuclear-powered, says Rear Adm. Henry L. Miller, who commanded the ship's task force until mid-February, she "can do just about everything better, easier, and faster."

NO SMOG

Late last year, Miller pointed out, the Big E raced urgently from the U.S. east coast to Vietnam under orders "to maintain a speed in excess of 20 knots the entire 16,000-mile trip. This was accomplished with ease." With refueling delays, a conventional carrier could not have made the voyage at any such forced pace. One night, shortly after arriving in the war theater last December, the *Enterprise* was told that South Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay airfield had been made inoperable by rains, and that the carrier's planes were needed for a strike in that region—175 miles away—the next morning. Wrote Miller: "Because of her capability for sustained high speed, *Enterprise* was launching support operations in less than 9 hours after the initial message."

Another big asset is that the *Enterprise* has no smokestacks. On oil-burning carriers, acidic smog combined with salt-air corrosion necessitates ceaseless cleaning of aircraft and equipment. On the clinically antiseptic nuclear carrier, 15 to 20 percent fewer man-hours are required for corrosion control. The lack of stacks also gives the Big E space for an additional squadron in her "bird farm." On her second day in combat, the ship launched 134 sorties, more than any carrier had ever previously flown; it has since set a new record of 165.

TWO A DAY

To keep them flying, the ship operates on a 24-hour schedule. The morning "plan of the day" says flatly: "If you aren't working 14 hours a day, you aren't doing your job." *Enterprise* squadrons fly two missions daily, each requiring 2 hours of briefings, 2 hours in the air, and an hour's debriefing. After a 2-hour break, off they go again.

In all, the *Enterprise* has accounted for 20 percent more attack sorties than her conventional sisters, and at an operating cost only 3 percent higher. Thanks to the recent development of a fuel core that can perform for 13 years, the nuclear carriers of the future will be even more tactically revolutionary than their conventional counterparts. The most significant tribute to the concept of an atomic-powered surface fleet came this year when Defense Secretary Robert McNamara reversed his longtime opposition to additional nuclear carriers, requested another in his 1966–67 budget and announced that he planned to ask for two more later.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, in connection with the pending bill, the Senate will today vote on one of the most momentous issues related to national defense which has come before the Senate in recent years.

Today, many years after development was commenced on a defense against antiballistic missiles, the United States is still without such a defense. We have no defense against enemy ballistic missiles. Even more alarming, production lead times are such that it will necessarily be several years longer even before beginning of a deployment can take place.

This is by no means the first time that the Senate has had the matter squarely before it. In 1963, I offered an amendment to authorize funds in the fiscal 1964 authorization bill to accomplish preproduction engineering on an ABM system, then called Nike-Zeus, and the doors of the Senate were closed at my request in order that the debate might be full and free. The Secretary of Defense opposed taking steps toward deployment of an anti-ballistic-missile system at that time, but it was then indicated that a follow-on system would be developed in order that a deployment decision could be made in the near future.

That was 3 years ago and the Secretary of Defense, when he testified before the Armed Services and Appropriations Committee earlier this year, was still opposed to undertaking preproduction engineering on the follow-on system, the Nike X, as is indicated by his statement, and I quote:

> I do not believe we should deploy a missile system, an antiballistic system against the Soviet threat.

Last year, according to the testimony, the Joint Chiefs of Staff unanimously recommended to the Secretary of Defense that funds be requested for preproduction engineering on the Nike X anti-ballistic-missile system in order that the production lead time could be reduced by approximately 1 year. The Secretary of Defense rejected this recommendation. I offered an amendment in the Armed Services Committee to authorize preproduction engineering for Nike X in the fiscal 1966 program, but the committee decided to abide by the judgment of the Secretary of Defense.

This year, the Joint Chiefs of Staff again unanimously recommended that an authorization and appropriation of funds to accomplish preproduction engineering on the Nike X system be included in the budget request, but, as I have pointed out, the Secretary of Defense once again rejected the recommendation.

This year the Armed Services Committee of the Senate decided without a dissenting vote that the time had come to fund preproduction engineering on the Nike X system; and, accordingly, the authorization was amended to include $167.9 million for that purpose.

The performance of the preproduction engineering on the Nike X system is the first step or commitment toward deployment by the United States of a defense against ballistic missiles. Conducting the preproduction engineering on the Nike X system in the fiscal 1967 program, although it will reduce by approximately 1 year the period before deployment can be begun, will not in any way restrict the options as to the type of deployment ultimately undertaken, nor will it preclude the incorporation in the system of changes developed in subsequent research and development.

Mr. President, the Senate Armed Services Committee has acted most wisely, in my opinion, in adding this amendment. I hope that the Senate and the House of Representatives also will concur in the authorization of these funds and subsequently that they will appropriate the funds also.

It is true that the system will ultimately cost approximately $20 billion. This cost will be spread over several years. Even if coupled with a shelter program, the cost will probably not exceed about $5 billion a year. An anti-ballistic-missile system is well worth the cost, however, for in the event of a missile attack on the United States, many millions of lives of Americans would be saved.

For this purpose, we can afford the resources. We do have the technical and industrial capability. We have, for instance, far greater resources than do the Soviets. As pointed out by General Wheeler in his testimony to the committee, "The Soviets are already very heavily committed."

Mr. President, we do not, of course, have any assurance that even should the Congress authorize and appropriate the funds for preproduction engineering in the Nike X system on the fiscal 1967 program that the administration would accept this recommendation of Congress to permit the funds to be utilized for this purpose. The Secretary of Defense, speaking for the administration, opposed the action, and in doing so, rejected the unanimous advice of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, our Nation's top military advisers. It is quite possible that the administration will also reject the advice of Congress. We have an obligation, however, to do everything in our power to see that American lives are protected and that obligation requires no less action than is proposed by the Armed Services Committee recommendation. I hope that the Senate will concur in the inclusion of the funds for preproduction engineering on the Nike X system and that this will be the first step toward the earliest possible deployment of the Nike X anti-ballistic-missile system and an end to our total nakedness to the potential enemy ballistic-missile attack.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass?

So the bill (S. 2950) was passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, once again the great chairman of the Armed Services Committee has served this body, indeed has served the entire Nation, with unsurpassed honor. The senior Georgia Senator has long devoted his indefatigable energies, his astute talents, and his broad and profound military expertise to achieving unequalled greatness for America's defense activities. So he did today. Perhaps no other individual in the history of this body has earned so well or deserved more justly the highest respect and admiration of his colleagues for his selfless contributions to this Nation's security requirements.

I join with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] in saying it is always a great privilege to be in this Chamber during the chairman's presentation of Armed Forces authorization measures. His remarks are always enlightening and always inspiring. It is regrettable that all we can offer in return for his unparalled efforts on behalf of our Nation and particularly on behalf of her fighting men is our sincere and abiding gratitude for a job well done.

There are others to whom we are grateful for today's success. Particularly noteworthy were the splendid efforts by the ranking minority member of the committee, the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL]. Of course, his highly able assistance and cooperative leadership are always appreciated. It was with deep sorrow that I learned of his personal tragedy in the loss of his son and namesake. It could be only an event of this grievous magnitude, however, which would prevent the senior Massachusetts Senator from being in the Chamber today. I know the Senate as a whole joins with me in expressing sincere condolence and in wishing comfort and solace to the Saltonstall family at this time of loss.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] is to be thanked for his strong cooperative efforts in assuring today's success. His support is always appreciated. And too, we appreciate the contributions of the distinguished Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH]. Her typically capable advocacy was most welcomed.

The senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE] is to be commended for choosing today to report on his recent travels to southeast Asia. Both his report and the discussions engaged in during its presentation were provocative and enlightening. We are thankful.

Finally, to the Senate as a whole, the leadership wishes to express its gratitude for today's swift and orderly action on the military authorization.

VISIT TO VIETNAM

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, my speech is not without its appropriate frame of reference for the military authorization measure we have been considering today. I wish to report on a trip I made a few days ago to Vietnam. Because the many uncertainties that swirl around that part of the troubled world clearly and directly affect the judgment of this body in regard to the military appropriations, hardware in particular, which we were asked to consider here today, it seemed to me that this, too, is a special reason for passing along at least my observations as a result of that particular measure at this special time.

I do make an apology to my colleagues to this extent, that I have not yet had time to reduce this material to a formal report. I impose upon their courtesy in speaking rather informally about it.

My presence in Vietnam was from the 28th of March to the 7th of April, roughly a 10-day interval. It could not have been at a more fluid moment, or at a time of more tempestuous surface change.

We arrived there at the time the Victoria Hotel was blown up. We were present in Saigon at the time of the first of the very large demonstrations when more than 10,000 people tried to seize the radio station. We were there when the curfews were imposed and the rioting took place.

We then proceeded from the south of Vietnam into the north of South Vietnam to Da Nang. We arrived at the moment when the military confrontation within the ranks of the South Vietnamese was at its peak. We hoped to get to Hue where the great university is located. This was impossible because of the demonstrations there.

I hasten to add that this was the third of my visits to Vietnam, and thus this represents a sort of accumulative and sequential series of experiences for me.

It has been my opportunity to visit personally 16 different South Vietnamese Provinces.

Having said that, I would add that, given the momentum of the change now underway, the restlessness and the frustration and the unpredictability of it all, I doubt that anywhere, even among the Vietnamese, is there a man or an oracle who knows what tomorrow holds. While no one dare predict with certainty the time will not wait for a suspended judgment. History is never that kind to us.

We are compelled to make the best guess we can, the nearest to an educated judgment that rational people can put together; and it is within that spirit that I should like to contribute the observations that occur to me in regard to our present position in Vietnam.

The tendency, Mr. President, has been for us too hastily and too quickly to apply judgments to be turmoil there on the basis of our own national experience. This warning has been issued by many others many times before. But nothing could miss the mark further than to try to draw parallels from our own American history or experience and apply them to Vietnam. The change that seemed to be reaching a peak of ferment in those early days in April reflected, it seemed to me, far less significance than we sometimes had a tendency to attach to it from over here. Likewise, our hopes for political sophistication, political change, political progress, tend to reflect the state of our own political maturity in the United States; and we fail to make adequate allowances for the prevailing profile and set of experiences there.

For example, how do you assess the political groupings in Vietnam?

It has been possible—I have had occasion, at least—to talk to some individuals in nearly every one of the groups. There are about as many feelings and about as many interpretations as there are individuals. This includes the Buddhists, it includes the political Buddhists, it includes the Cao Dai—another very interesting religious group that has political impact in the country; a group, incidentally, that has been rather loyal to the present government—it includes the Catholics, the Montagnards, the military, the students.

It likewise includes the geographical demarcations that also reflect the differences of Vietnam, the rivalries between the northern provinces of South Vietnam, the central plateau, and the Mekong Delta areas; all of those are separate from the capital, Saigon, itself.

So it is not possible, in the present context to add up a political configuration that even approximates an American experience politically, anywhere in our past. The closest to a national political organization that exists, for better or for worse, is in the military context. The closest to a national patriotism, if you wish to call it that, is in the military context. And yet to say that runs counter to the feelings of most Americans, because we are a nation of citizen soldiers. Our Constitution is dedicated to civilian Government, and only in extreme emergencies conceives of military regulations in time of crisis; and even then always under the supreme command of the President of the United States, not under that of a military personality.

This in itself at once poses problems of communication and comprehension between those of us in our country who believe in democracy and freedom and wish it so much for others, and those people in Vietnam who think that they are working toward that end, but within a quite different context than that we can easily understand.

Finally, let me suggest on that point, Mr. President, that most of the talent, a very large majority of the talent, the young minds and young capabilities of any country in that part of the world have, by the very force of the type of world in which they live, already been channeled through the military; and that leaves very little outside the military that is yet intact.

So we have to make, somewhere in our equation of judgments, an allowance for that.

All of this brings us to the real, critical question of elections now. It would be easy to argue that they should have waited. It would be easy to suggest, as many of us have, that they are not ready for it.

But who is to say who is ready for what at any given time? Readiness, on any of these questions, it seems to me, is a state of mind. And these people are convinced that they are ready; and to them, this assumes a priority that we have sometimes wished was not so prevailing.

I think we fail to allow for the experiences that this generation of South Vietnamese young people have had, the kinds of experiences within which their entire lives have been lived. I can illustrate the point best with a simple conversation that I had with one of their security police, one of the white duck boys, as they call them, wearing a white uniform.

He was a lad 21 years of age. I struck up a chance conversation with him while waiting for a taxi on a corner in Saigon, and tried to pull him out on his view of the then difficult questions that were popping right and left in the country.

I asked him what he thought of what was going on. "Well," he said, "I'll tell you first what I think. I am against the government."

This was one of the security police whose job it was to try to hold the demonstrations in an orderly context, to try to keep law and order in the city. And he said, "I am opposed to the Government." I asked him why. His reply was, "Well, sir, this Government promised me an 8-hour day if I would join the police, and I haven't had an 8-hour day. It has been 16 hours, and more often 20 hours."

It was my suggestion to him that there was a war on; and his reply really makes the point. He said, "Sir, since the day I was born my country has been at war. War," he said, "is a way of life here and now, and probably will be for many years to come."

"But," he said, "a fellow like myself has a right to expect some change, even against the backdrop of war." He said, "We are a little different than you. Over in your country, from what I read, you have had wars and you have had peace, and you have made great progress, and thus you are able to catch up with changes that you feel are your right and your due. But here," he said, "we can no longer accept excuses that just because there is a war on, we have to wait still longer."

Well, I was willing, in my own mind, to make a little allowance for that; but I think it makes a point that we sometimes are impatient with them about, and that is, indeed, that war is a way of life with them. They are learning to live with it, have lived with it all of the lives of the current generation in South Vietnam, and for that reason, they make demands and they expect changes that most of us here would regard as a bit out of line at the time of great national crisis.

I inject that, not to agree with it or support it, but to indicate that it suggests a possibility of understanding some of the things taking place there that do not fit the precise context of what our reactions under those circumstances would be.

I even reminded him that we had a lot of American young men over there, too, and that they were not living an 8-hour day, that many of them had been drafted and that they were on a 24-hour-day basis, half way around the world from home.

He said, "Believe me, we appreciate that, too." But he said, "You asked me a question about me, and I am talking about myself. I think I can have an 8-hour day and still win a war, and I think I have a right to expect something a little better, even if we are trying to hold the front against the outside."

Mr. President, the other suggestion I would make in regard to demonstrations going on there at the time was that that was reflected in the price of success. Let me explain that. For the first time in a very long while in Vietnam, the military situation begins to look a little more hopeful. For the first time, it begins to appear that there might even be a civilian government in Vietnam. For the first time, the many political segments which prevail there have discovered that there is a political prize worth contending for.

A year ago, such was not the case. A year ago, about now in fact, it looked like South Vietnam was gone. It looked like, militarily at least, there was no hope. It was only with the quick injection of the buildup from this country that the tide was turned at all.

Thus, I believe that we should not lose sight of the fact, the moment we begin to achieve, out of desperation, the kinds of goals we are aiming toward, at that moment we are due to be confronted by new problems that did not face us at the moment when the crisis was at its worst.

If I may interject a parallel there with Western Europe—because it is equally valid although on another plane—that our difficulties with the Western alliance in Europe at the time that Soviet expansion in Europe was the overriding threat, were not those that we have today. The moment that threat was eased, the moment a balance was struck, friends and allies began to surface with secondary and third-rate quarrels, jealousies, and rivalries, which otherwise had been submerged because of the concentrated priority of stopping the threat of expansion by the Soviets in Western Europe. That is one of the things we are committed to preventing in that part of the world. It is not without its parallel in Vietnam. I submit, in all seriousness, that this is one of the real motivations that accounts for what is taking place there right now. Things that baffle us, things that trouble us, in a way reflect the success of a short-range segment of our policy which we have been working hard at during the past 12 months.

The American buildup there, in fact, it seemed to me, was so considerable that we are on the verge of substantial military breakthroughs. I think this is reflected in many ways and that consequently it makes a difference to the political Buddhists, it makes a difference to the Cao Dai, it makes a difference to all political segments that they have as influential a role in this new political opening as possible. Thus, much of what has been taking place has been, surprisingly, shrewd political maneuvering for as advantageous a political position as could be achieved.

This is not the only explanation, but it is a major explanation. There is a second explanation as well—that is, that never has there been in Vietnamese history, really, a solid, national image, of national aspirations, of national patriotism, if we will; for in past unfortunate colonial generations, one of the cruelest of tactics employed by the colonial powers was to divide and rule. That is an old colonial tactic, to divide and rule. These multitudinous political sections within Vietnam were exploited by those who occupied the country in order to make easier the task of maintaining some kind of law and order. Thus, to that extent they are paying a price right now for their colonial heritage.

In one measure, we can say that this is one of the lessons they learned from their immediate colonial protector only too well, and that was to fragmentize governmental political organizations. It is not altogether unlike the years we passed through, when one of our allies in Western Europe had a change of government which was routine every 3 or 4 or 6 months during some of its more troubled times. So, perhaps, here is a legacy from a country which has carried through too accurately. The point is, it still has its antecedents and still needs to be understood, and to that extent contributes a more fundamental realization on our part of what is taking place there at the present time.

The election that now faces us in Vietnam in August is fraught with rather serious risks. This is very obvious. We tend to dwell more on those risks, I suspect, at least in what we see here from day to day, than their likelihood really commands.

For that reason I think it important that we think a little more of the probabilities, and that we think a little less about the possibilities. One can scare himself to death about any question today if he ranges over all the possibilities that may happen.

The lack of orderly political experience over there in the past really gives understandable qualms about what kind of an election they can pull off in August, but we ought to recognize the fact that last year a grassroots election was held in the provinces and villages. So, they have had experience with elections. They ran those elections at a time when the Vietcong and others did their very best to destroy the chances of an election taking place. I am sure that this is going to be one of the great hazards at the present time.

Likewise, the new government that may come in that says, "Americans go home," surely is a possibility. However, nowhere was I able to determine among any one of the segments there that any one of them was asking, expecting, or insisting that that be a criteria of a new government's position or its policy.

I say no one, not a soul, and I think it is important that we keep that in mind.

I now turn away from the elections and to two very hopeful programs that I studied in detail on the spot in Vietnam, programs which I think augur well for the days ahead of us. They have to do with what we do behind the military. What do we do after the military?

In other words, we cannot fight wars forever. There is no real military victory per se that can solve the problem in Vietnam. We all know that. Military success only wins for us the chance to solve some of those problems with the help of many others, including the Vietnamese in particular.

The problems I wish to allude to are exciting. One of them is called the revolutionary development program. That name in itself makes a point. It started out by being a counterinsurgency program; then it was changed into a public PAT program; and then it was changed into a rural development program. Finally, the Vietnamese got smart and stole the language that the Communists are so adept at stealing—revolutionary development program. It is the same thing in many ways, except that it looks ahead to the days when the military is less and less necessary and people are increasingly important.

This program takes young men at the age of 17. It takes veterans who have already completed their military service in Vietnam and trains them in politics, in government administration, in nursing, in teaching, in community improvement, in economic involvement—in all the things, in other words, that make up the warp and woof of a hamlet or a village. It trains them, in addition, to use a gun as a security factor in policing and stabilizing an area.

I cannot express too strongly the importance of this group. It is relatively new. It is only now beginning to get off the ground. Its importance is this: As our military successes may increase, as the search and security actions may sweep more areas—clean them out—the job is only partially complete at that stage. To stop with that, it may be necessary next Tuesday or a week from Thursday to go back and do it over again.

The cadres of this revolutionary development program are designed to move immediately into the vacuums behind the military, to get things going again, in a civilian way. They are paramilitary types, with a capability of policing the perimeter of the hamlet or the village at night and of maintaining law and order. But more than that, they have a capability to establish normal community relations once again.

The real crisis that is facing us, in my judgment, one which in fact operates around this new movement, is that there are still too few men in that movement. The demands for it are rapidly outrunning the supply of the personnel of cadres. As the military posture continues to improve, we shall face even more startling crises than have occurred up to now, if we cannot secure much larger manpower in these paramilitary groups—and I mean much larger in very substantial dimensions.

Originally there were a hundred or two hundred of them. When I was there, they were getting ready to graduate their first class of about 4,800 at Vung Tau, in the Delta. These men take a 13-week course in how to defend themselves and how to do the other nonmilitary things I have just described. Then they are put together in 59-man teams. Where possible, they are sent back to their home areas, to their hamlet or their village complex, or at least their province, if it has been cleared, and that is where they go to work.

However, 4,800 in this class right now is a drop in the bucket in regard to the need, because there are 14,000 or 15,000 village complexes around South Vietnam, and a great deal of manpower will be required to follow through behind the military successes wherever they occur.

We will have to readjust the manpower priority, so that we can hit a target of many more thousands every 13 weeks, in order to meet the demand in time. If we meet it too late, everything has been wasted.

One of the real problems in Vietnam is that everybody there needs the same 20-year-old man. They are all after the same guy. The regular army wants him, the agricultural experiment station wants him, the school teachers want him, the medical corps want him. He is a bright young guy. Yet, there is only one man in that body. Thus, the priorities will have to be very carefully drawn.

In my judgment the revolutionary development program ought to receive the top priority, No. 1. It ought to take precedence even over the demands of the Vietnamese Army. I think this is important, because the regulars in the Vietnamese Army are as nothing, if they cannot sustain the consequences of their military successes.

American troops could do some of that, I suppose. In fact, the marines around Da Nang and Chu Lai already are doing it. They are doing it not because that is their mission, but because these kinds of trained cadres are not yet ready in sufficient numbers. So marines are doing this in the villages and hamlets in that area. But it takes a lot of them to do it.

That is not the job for which they were trained. The Vietnamese themselves are the ones most properly to reconstitute the normal facets of life in their hamlets and villages, not the American soldiers. This in itself should make it possible to maximize the utility of the manpower available in Vietnam. In my judgment, it would even reduce some of the pressures on manpower and would even contribute to a lessening of casualties. Casualties are not reduced by risking lives by having soldiers run through the Hobo Woods on a drive, and then having to go back and cover the ground again next month in the same region, and again the next month. That only increases casualties.

If teams can move through an area, pacify it, and hold it after its pacification, that must then, in my judgment, contribute to a lessening of casualties.

Likewise, there are problems of desertion in Vietnam. Fellows who have been fighting wars all their lives are tired; they want to go home; they are homesick. They are not defecting to the Vietcong. They are leaving the ranks of the regular military in one guise or another.

The kind of program I found was a revolutionary type. It was once called the PAT. It offers a chance to capitalize more fully on ability of men that feel they have already been fighting a war too long, so far as their own personal activities are concerned. As a result, we would capitalize completely on its availability. If these men could be retrained and sent back—and to carry a gun, to be sure—as security officers in their home hamlets, they would be making an equally important contribution to the ultimate goal in South Vietnam.

I urge that every possible priority and every conceivable emphasis be applied to this program. As a matter of fact, a companion program to it is what I want to describe now for a moment. It is called the Chieu Hoi program. That is the forgiveness program, as some call it, the open-arms program. It states that when one captures an enemy, he does not shoot him or put him in a harness and make him part of a labor battalion to carry ammunition. One treats him like a human being.

I visited one of those programs north of Saigon. It also operates in every one of the 43 provinces. They place in those camps the defectors who want to give up and come over to the other side from the Vietcong or the North Vietnamese.

The people are fed well and for 45 days they are put through a retraining course. In that retraining, they are taught a trade, if that is what they want. They are given clothing and a very small amount of money to help them get started again.

If it is possible, they finally are sent back as near to their home area as is feasible, if that area has been cleared. By checking back, it has been discovered that some of these people have become among the more effective propagandists in eroding the morale of the other side.

Those who are more articulate or better trained are put to use on broadcasts or in taping replies to their families or in writing letters to their home district. Some few are expert enough to be used in many other ways. As a result, the innovation has caught on until this spring the defectors from the Vietcong, as nearly as we could tell, were approximately 2,000 a month.

This program reached its first quick impact early this spring. The defections nearly doubled in the month's interval that was completed while I was there inspecting the camp. It nearly doubled and it is indeed an infectious and a constructive idea. It is a companion to the revolutionary development program that augurs well for something more than merely military strength in Vietnam. These are the cadres that are convinced that indeed there will be a tomorrow and a reasonable tomorrow and that it is worth working for.

I had a chance to address several hundred of these Vietcong and, interspersed among them, some regular North Vietnamese. This is one of the few instances in which an American politician had a Vietcong constituency.

I personally interviewed nearly 2 dozen of them whom I selected myself at random. I am convinced that it is a very effective program and that we ought to give every stress and emphasis that we find possible to this approach.

This brings me to the close of my comments on my recent mission to Vietnam. I should like to state two or three reminders in conclusion. First, we must not confuse the two wars in Vietnam.

It was so clearly obvious in the minds of the people there, among those whom we interviewed and questioned and challenged, that there is a very clear concept that the war from the outside must not be lost and that it in no real sense is playing a basic role in the protests that come from within.

The second war is a political war on the domestic front in Vietnam. That is quite another kettle of political fish, but it may be in fact reflecting, as I have suggested, the imminence of military success that it makes it politically possible to contend for in Vietnam.

Likewise, I should like to leave the thought that we ourselves have to be willing to pay the price of the harsh decisions to be made in keeping those two wars separated, to sustain our fullest effort on the war, and to try to understand as best we can the many variations of the political contests and disputes on the other.

There is a two-way street. Not only do we separate, as they have, the two wars that are being waged, but also we must separate them equally and indispensably as a matter of formulating our own judgments on what we say here at home. Too often we catch ourselves taking something from one of the wars and blaming it on the consequences at the other level. It is this that contributes again and again to understandable confusion in the public mind.

It is not only important that we be more sympathetic and understanding of the processes of change over there, but also that we make sure that we do not stand in the way of this process of change even though it is inconvenient, even though it is a little bit frightening, and even though it is totally unpredictable. This remains an important must for us from this side.

I suggest that we could be a little less sensitive to criticism. I hope we understand that, much as it is nice to be loved, there are some things that are even more important than getting all the credit or getting patted on the back or getting praised, and that is to complete successfully what you consider to be the proper job.

I believe it is also important that we understand the Vietnamese attitude toward us as Americans and as individuals. Many of their criticisms are at the level of logistical problems, human relations problems on their Main Street, rather than fundamental problems in terms of war itself.

Finally, I suggest that in the pursuit of what I regard as the war from the outside, we not permit any of the other criticisms and questions here to deter us from achieving that goal. I am firmly convinced that our presence there is dictated by the balance of forces in Asia, and that it might have happened elsewhere in southeast Asia. It happened to reach its critical point in Vietnam. That is the No. 1 reason that compels us to see it through.

I believe the secondary reason that the aggression infringes upon the independence of a clearly defined entity now is that the common denominator that is understood in any part of the world, in any language—is the right of any peoples to achieve their independence free from the outside interference of their neighbors or aggression of another type.

I believe that we have some moral obligations as Americans and some feelings as a matter of principle, likewise, to help where we can other peoples to achieve a higher sense of their own being, a higher level of their own living, and a better share of the fruits of God's earth. So no one can say, as we leave this question at rest for the moment, and no one knows what August holds in those elections.

I am one of those who believe that we are not going to have the satisfaction of settling the question in Vietnam around a table and that it is not going to be a clear-cut verdict that is signed on a piece of paper. I believe that it is probably going to be instead simply a diminishing of the intensity of the conflict on that front. This seems more and more to be the more likely probability. I believe that, as that intensity lessens, the feelings in the war will likewise ease somewhat and that out of it will still emerge a better chance for that day to come for the achievement of the long-delayed constructive programs in economic development, in social growth, and in political advancement that we get so impatient about from day to day here because of the realization of so many failures.

I state as I conclude this most informal assessment of my recent foray into Vietnam that I hope to put it together a little more succinctly and formally in the form of a report within the next few days.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, I am happy to yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. What did the Senator take the White Duck boy to mean when he said, "We have a right to expect a shift toward something better"?

Mr. McGEE. I took it to mean that, speaking of his own aspiration for an 8-hour day, he was voicing his hope for a little better share of the fruits of the earth, a little better standard of living—whatever all peoples dream about when they try to make progress for themselves as a group. I took it to mean that, rather than in a narrow political context.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Did it also imply that in spite of failure to get these things of a better character, this young man at least was intent in the judgment that he would not achieve those things if the Communists, the Vietcong won?

Mr. McGEE. He made no bones about the Vietcong. He said he would be the first one to be destroyed if the Vietcong were to prevail, or the gentleman from the north of Vietnam were to prevail.

But it was a matter of where his timing lay, and where his priorities lay. He felt, in other words, where we might disagree with him, that you could do both and must do both, and he had a right to think about both simultaneously.

Mr. LAUSCHE. But over and above everything else he felt that the thought to achieve a better life had to have removed from it the impediment of the restraints and the stifling of the character of the individual that is communism?

(At this point Mr. RIBICOFF took the chair as Presiding Officer).

Mr. McGEE. He started with that assumption and, therefore, having started with that assumption he hoped everything else would fit in beneath it.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I thank the Senator. Intermittently, either by implication or by direct expression, charges have been made by some of our Members that we, in effect, are trying to impose colonial domination upon South Vietnam, intending to exploit their human and natural resources.

Of course, I reject that argument in full. My question is: Did the Senator, while he was there, hear from any of those with whom he was in contact who are fighting the Vietcong Communists who believe that the United States is in South Vietnam to exploit colonially the people and the resources of that country?

Mr. McGEE. First, let me say to my colleague, that I, too, reject that argument. It is surprising that it comes so freely from among our own ranks. I believe that it is totally unfair, totally untrue—and it is understandably resented by some.

However, let me say to the Senator that I encountered no direct confirmation of that kind. We did encounter some of the bitterest criticism in radio propaganda from the other side which preyed on this concept; namely, that the Americans were going to be there forever, that they were going to dominate and rule the country.

Understandably, it is that kind of thing which the other side is going to exploit. But not here, of course. Let me hasten to qualify that with one experience; namely the rather static criticisms that had to do with, let us say, the presence of some allied troops on a Saturday night in a given area or, some discipline problems which occurred somewhere. But these are problems which can occur at any base near Chicago, or any base near Houston, or any base in almost any country in the world we could name. That should not be interpreted outside the context of the normal problems experienced in human relations.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Does the Senator know whether the Vietcong and the Communists, in their radio broadcasts, quoted any of these implied or direct expressions made in the Foreign Relations Committee and on the floor of the Senate, that the United States is seeking to colonially exploit Vietnam?

Mr. McGEE. I did not hear any, but I did not have an opportunity to listen to enough radio broadcasts to hear any such criticism, actually. I know of some reports which stated that this has been done. But let me hasten to add there that the Communist will quote anything they can find, provided they can turn it to their own advantage, even though they will exploit this kind of comment which might come from someone in our own ranks. That should not deter any of us in our own ranks from speaking out, let me hasten to add.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I agree with that. But I do not agree that speaking out and blackening the character of the United States and whitening the character of the Communist on a false basis is justified.

Mr. McGEE. I confess some amazement that everything that goes wrong is our fault, and somehow the other side, really, does not make any bad judgments or mistakes. I do not understand that lack of balance. But it does occur here and there.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I say this with a great deal of confidence: All of the condemnation that came was directed to our Government and not at the Vietcong or the Communists.

Mr. McGEE. I believe that is part of the price a big power has to pay, that it is always going to be exposed to that sort of thing, and it should be prepared for it.

We remember "perfidious Albion," which was the appellation given to the British during the 19th century. Most of us realize today that the British did a rather successful job, in handling many of the great burdens of that century which rested substantially on their shoulders.

I do not believe that we can conduct ourselves responsibly in the modern world with a thin skin. I do not believe that we can conduct ourselves as though we were in a popularity contest. That is why I have opposed taking polls all the time as to what the rest of the world or other people may think of us. There is a difference between being popular and leading. Leadership requires criticism. Otherwise, it probably is not doing a very good job of leading.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I concur with the Senator from Wyoming that in this modern world, to meet with the problems which confront us, we must have a thick skin; but that does not negate the expectation, especially in dealing with our own country, that we will follow the course of truth rather than the course of falsehood in determining whether the Communists are the aggressors or whether the United States is the aggressor in that country.

Mr. McGEE. I thank the Senator.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Yesterday I attended a luncheon in the Capitol to listen to a writer from the French newspaper La Mond. He was presented to us as an expert. Senator FULBRIGHT made the presentation.

In the question period he was asked whether the result is likely at the election that the victorious group would ask our country to leave. His answer was that it makes no difference who wins, they will want us to stay to insure that there shall be stabilization of conditions in the country.

It seems to me that what the Senator from Wyoming has just said is confirmed by what was said by the French writer.

Mr. McGEE. I thank the Senator. I am happy to have that added here, because honestly it does confirm, if confirmation is what this requires. I am not sure that that is the right word. I am reflecting that among the many types of individuals I had a chance to confront, not one expressed the hope, "Americans go home."

As a matter of fact, most of them were very candid in saying, "We are finished if you do. We are finished if you do."

I think that we should keep our sense of balance about that as we try to go ahead in connection with the unpredictable days that lie ahead in August.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGEE. I am happy to yield to my colleague from Wyoming.

Mr. SIMPSON. My colleague, the senior Senator from Wyoming, has said things of great interest to the American people.

I would like to ask a question of my colleague from Wyoming.

What is the attitude of the people there with respect to the allied groups coming in, like New Zealand, Australia, and the Philippines? Are they welcome?

Mr. McGEE. They are in every case that I was able to observe. We met some troops from New Zealand, Australia, and Korean troops. All of the help they can get is welcome. I encountered no hostility.

Mr. SIMPSON. I am reminded by the majority leader that Korea is also a contributor of troops.

Mr. McGEE. They have made one of the heaviest contributions.

Mr. SIMPSON. I recently returned from a trip down under in connection with the Interparliamentary Union Conference at Canberra. We had six representatives from the Senate and six representatives from the House of Representatives. It was one of the hardest working groups that I ever saw. There were 49 nations in attendance.

The American delegation decided for once to be "hard nosed" with respect to the attitude of the Russians, who are always castigating us and heaping vituperation upon us. It is the "big lie" but they want it heard.

The first confrontation came before my committee, the Economic and Social Committee. The Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] put the matter in proper perspective concerning who was the aggressor in Vietnam; and by historical tracing—disclosed to the members of the committee that both Russia and China were vying with each other to see who could make the biggest contribution in Vietnam.

Did the Senator's contacts confirm this?

Mr. McGEE. In most instances where we had contact, and even outside of Vietnam, this was readily recognized.

I repeat one conversation with an official of another government than ours who said sincerely:

> Bless you; you serve us all.

He said:

> There are some things we find it very delicate to talk about in public in our part of the world that we can support privately more effectively.

He added the thought:

> You Americans sometimes give us the impression that what you really want is applause; that somebody ought to give you accolades rather than to get on with the job.

Mr. SIMPSON. I think the Senator knows we would like applause. That is my next observation. At the meeting in Canberra, the allies flocked around us. The Russians proposed a resolution condemning the United States for aggression, and said that we were murderers of women and children—they proceeded to go through the propaganda outline. The interesting thing was that when we met head on, the "paper-thin tiger" disappeared and the other countries supported us on the censorship resolution. A substitute resolution was presented. By a vote of 60 to 0 the substitute resolution was passed with 11 abstentions.

The Russians abstained from voting along with their Red satellite. They got the propaganda and we won the victory.

Mr. McGEE. I appreciate the injection of this footnote to history by my colleague from Wyoming.

The Senator reminds me of another incident that I think has some meaning; one that reflects itself in these demonstrations that we have been rightfully concerned about in Vietnam.

Sometimes the excitement of an incident runs away from the motivation or the hard facts behind it. We all experience that sort of thing.

I talked to two young Buddhists who were involved in a demonstration. They carried a banner and they passed it along to another team to carry for a while. One was able to speak good English, and the other was able to speak broken English.

I asked them the meaning of all of the banners. Did they want us to get out?

One of the Buddhists was a sophisticated fellow in his twenties. He said:

> Of course not. You people are politicians. You know that we are trying to change the Government, and we think the best way to do it is to pick on you, although we do not mean it.

That was his speech to me.

I do not know how one equates that in terms of hard intelligence, but he was talking in a forthright manner about it. That casts another kind of atmosphere over some of those who are making all of this noise.

I am hopeful that we do not exaggerate the implications of those demonstrations; that we do not overdraw and try to come as close to the central mark in time as we possibly can.

The elections are probably going to take place whether we like it or not, so it makes it quite an academic speculation.

But it seems to me that there is reflected in Vietnam a kind of moving along, even a growing up in the conviction that they can have some kind of more meaningful government, and that it it time to get working on it now.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGEE. I am happy to yield to the Senator.

Mr. SIMPSON. Will the Senator tell the Senate his attitude with respect to the morale of our troops in Vietnam? I am sure that I know what his answer is going to be but it should be heard.

Mr. McGEE. I visited an American installation of marines around Da Nang and in the eastern part of the country, and the newly arrived 25th Division west of Saigon. In the most critical areas around Chu Lai they have been carrying on the offensive in the Hobo Woods which is one of the ugliest areas to be camping in.

Everywhere that I went the story was the same with no exception. The spirit was high and the dedication to duty was strong. It is conspicuous in another way. There are few incidents among our personnel, such as became a worry in the Korean conflict. This does not exist. It is reflected by clear understanding, and what it means to be there, and by the fact that they are getting somewhere with it.

Mr. SIMPSON. I have received letters from relatives and friends of men in the service. I have a letter from a captain in the infantry who is from my State, and who said:

> We will either stop this thing here, in this part of the world, or we will fight it out in the mountains in Wyoming.

He wants to stay there and do it.

Mr. McGEE. I have had many letters, too.

As a matter of fact, I would like to inject a thought here, because the Senator has brought it up. I had begun to sense why everything was going so well on the military front. I saw 30 or 40 young men from Wyoming, and I thought that that accounted for it. As a matter of fact, there were many men there who were deeply convinced that they were on the right track; that the war is going well. And I add the other side of the situation: They were receiving a liberal education in their contacts with the Vietnamese. I do not mean the Vietnamese army. I am talking about the Vietnamese people in the villages, the hamlets, and the rice paddies. It was a two-way street. Not only were these fellows marvelous soldiers; they were also superb ambassadors, doctors, nurses, or whatever the specialty might be. They were marvelous in human relations. This is one of the real byproducts we should not lose sight of among our forces over there at present.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the Senator from Wyoming has made a very interesting and important report to the Senate. It certainly updates my own impressions which were gained in January. I am very pleased to say two things about it.

He and I may not necessarily agree on every phase of our policy in Vietnam, but we basically agree on purposes. It is unnecessary that we should concur on every phase of it. I have, for example, made some recommendations about opening negotiations with the National Liberation Front as well as to Communist China.

But there are two things he does show upon which I am delighted to say that we are together. One, he shows resolution.

Now, my colleague and friend from New York the other day made a speech here on the floor about the "no sanctuary" policy of the United States. Senator KENNEDY's objections to this policy can be debated at another time—but the problem, is, do his objections show resolution?

It seems to me that the least we can do in this situation, if we back the President's policy of limited means and limited purposes as—expressed by Johnson, Rusk, and everybody else that is concerned—is to show some resolution. You cannot tie your hands behind your back and give a feeling of resolution to the men who are dying there.

I am not for bombing Hanoi and I am not for bombing or mining Haiphong; and we are not doing any such thing. But we are bombing the supply lines, because it is indispensable to the security of our forces to bomb those supply lines. So let us not inhibit that effort by showing irresolution on that score.

The second thing that is so important is that we have to keep our eye on the ball. We are there because we are trying to help the South Vietnamese people to decide freely for themselves, and we are trying to help them realize the aspirations for which they ousted the French in 1954—a government of their own choosing. Let us all remember that is what we are there for.

I agree with the Senator about Chu Hoi and about the cadres which are training young South Vietnamese people. It is a very inspiring project. Let us have our boys share that inspiration.. We are not doing that yet. We are not adequately organized; we are not well consolidated; we are not well coordinated in terms of the realization of these social and economic goals.

Resolution is also needed in these socioeconomic areas.

Let me raise another subject. We are in Vietnam because the people of that country want us there, and because they are ready to carry the primary burden of the struggle. I think we have to make it clear, in connection these August elections, that if they do not want us there because their elected government says no, or they do not wish to carry the burden of the struggle because their elected government says no, that we must conform to those decisions. Doing so at their request will not be a disaster. It would be, in a sense, a form of success, because they will have, at least, decided what they want. It may not be what we think is good for them, but it is implicit in the fact that we are there because we want them to decide what they want, that even if they vote thus, we will have abided by it.

But again, I wish to tell the Senator that I support his resolution; however, we may disagree on a particular complexion or detail. He has shown a sense of resolution, and that, to me, stands above everything else, and I am delighted by it and compliment him upon it.

Mr. McGEE. May I say to my friend, the Senator from New York, I appreciate his comments. He has contributed a great deal to the dialog on this question constantly since we have been deeply concerned about the ramifications of our position in southeast Asia.

But may I say to him in all candor that I think there is very little prospect of any kind of a government coming in August that will say, "Get out." Among the Vietnamese of all segments we have found a unity of intentions on that question; and I think that sometimes we have been too hasty here to speculate over that possibility, even though I always will readily admit that is one of the position papers we ought to have ready, tucked in the files, so that we can move fast if we have to.

But sometimes I think we tend to exaggerate or to overstress the prospect; and again I would urge that we much better should deal with probabilities rather than some of the more remote possibilities, quite as continuously as we sometimes do.

I have been a little disappointed at the numbers of spokesmen in our own country who seem more or less to have thrown up their hands in despair, in the last couple of weeks, and I think this is part of the point the Senator from New York is getting at. A kind of despondency has come over them, largely because of the demonstrations and the protests, I assume, in Vietnam; when, as a matter of fact, that is merely a surface manifestation; for the most part, that is really not at the root of what is motivating them or what is motivating us. I would hope that people in public life in our own country would be very, very slow to rush into the conclusion, from an earlier position that they may have had, that the situation is about to go down the drain. As I was suggesting just before the Senator came in, as a matter of fact, things are beginning to look so good in some contexts, militarily notably, that that is reflected in some of the demonstrations going on over there. There is now something worth demonstrating about. There is now a political future that may be worth fighting for, and that is why they are all trying to get in line first, to get as big a piece of that as they possibly can.

So I would join the Senator in the hope that the resolution, in all of this, ought to continue to be very strong that we do have a reason, we do have a laudable motivation, and we do have to achive the minimums of those goals if we are going to win the chance to arrive at the maximum of the hopes that these people and all the rest of us really have.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I should like to hear what the position of the Senator from New York is with respect to the arguments made by some that we ought to pull out, and that if we do pull out, that will be the end of our troubles, and that we ought not to bomb the military equipment and personnel that is being brought in from Hanoi, and other such arguments which challenge the position we have taken.

Mr. JAVITS. I do not believe, Mr. President, that we ought to pull out. The point I expressed to Senator McGEE is that if we are asked to pull out by a duly constituted, freely elected government, then I think we will have to do it. I certainly do not think we should pull out otherwise. I think we ought to persist in our present course, and I think it is going to be successful. And, it can be successful, without bombing heavy population centers.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I thank the Senator for making that statement, because it is very important, having in mind the large State which he represents. I anticipated that that would be his answer. I concur with him that we cannot afford to pull out, in the maintenance of our honor and also in the preservation of our security.

Mr. JAVITS. The latter point, Mr. President, I am in agreement with. I think that if we follow the course of unilateral withdrawal, we will invite other so-called wars of national liberation which are really wars of aggression.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Yes; and I agree that if the elected government says, "We don't want you here," we should pull out.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank my colleague.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I do sometimes think that if we could possibly work it out to have some international agency like the United Nations or some other newly designated agency supervise the vote, it would be a helpful thing. But I do not care to get into that.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I wish to say I am glad that the Senator from New York and the Senator from Wyoming have discussed this matter this morning rationally and logically; and I have this thought which I would like to further develop briefly by asking the Senator a question.

A lady said to me the other day, "If they don't want us in Vietnam, why don't we get out?"

I said, "I am afraid that that is exactly what the Communist aggressor wants Americans to begin saying."

It is my impression—and I should like to know the Senator's reaction—that these various demonstrations within South Vietnam are nationalistic, in the sense that, as the Senator from Wyoming said, now that it seems safer to do so, each group is seeking a greater say in the future freely elected government of South Vietnam; that the Communists may, of course, take part in inspiring disorder and civil commotion, but that the Communists, in my judgment, are not succeeding in their efforts to weaken the resolution of the people of South Vietnam, but they may be having a certain success in leading some Americans of good will to conclude that all these demonstrations, on the contrary, are an indication that the people of South Vietnam wish us to pull out.

What is the Senator's reaction to that?

Mr. JAVITS. My feeling is that we cannot judge the quality of these demonstrations, and that if we try to, we would lose ourselves in a labyrinth.

I think we have to judge on the end point: Is there a government which is working with us? Is the position of our forces tenable?

Is South Vietnam carrying the primary burden of the struggle? These are the three questions to ask.

As long as answers to these are positive, then we should persevere with the limited means and the limited policies we are pursuing.

No American should be taken in by the fact that there is or is not a demonstration on a Wednesday, on a Friday, or a Saturday. This is a problem which is not peculiar to Vietnam. For instance, the students in Mexico just seized the university in Mexico City. Does that mean that the Mexican Government has been overthrown because it could not deal immediately with the situation? Of course not. In other words, it is a question of the overall effectiveness of a government. As long as the demonstrations do not stifle the general effectiveness of the government, we can carry on.

Mr. SCOTT. I have been talking to South Vietnamese who tell me that they have fought for 25 years for freedom, first from the French and now from the menace of the Chinese and the North Vietnamese Communists. Also, that the temper of the people is overwhelmingly to continue the struggle. From all that I have heard from those returning from Vietnam, that seems to be the overwhelming sentiment. I would, therefore, hope that those of us in positions of responsibility in Congress, for example, would not give an additional cause to the Communists for hope that they are infiltrating our people by continuing to say, "Well, if they do not like us, we should pull out."

I agree with the Senator from New York that it is the end result we are looking at. The Government of South Vietnam clearly wants us there. The Government agrees to free elections. It is my hope and judgment, therefore, assuming the elections will be held, whether they be Buddhist, Catholic, or whatever, that equally they would want to preserve the viability of their government and freedom from those who are bent on massacring large numbers of them.

Therefore, I see no merit in our impatiently jumping to conclusions for which I see no rational basis, that because of Vietnamese riots we should get out. It is like saying that if the students at the University of California in Berkeley are rioting, we should close the university. It is no more logical than that.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator for his observations. I believe that I have stated my views as to the proper test. I believe, generally speaking, that is pretty much the sentiments of the Senate.

Mr. SCOTT. I congratulate the Senator from New York and thank him for yielding to me.

THE DEATH OF LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, JR.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senate to an event which all of us consider to be very tragic; namely, the death of Leverett Saltonstall, Jr., the son of our beloved colleague from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL]. I know that the whole Senate feels great sympathy for the Senator from Massachusetts, but I know him well enough to realize that he would expect such a sentiment to be stated privately rather than publicly.

However, Mr. President, I rise to invite the attention of the Senate to the role of Leverett Saltonstall, Jr. in the life of his adopted hometown, Ithaca, N.Y. This young man had been a driving force in this lovely community since he first arrived to serve as an agronomist for the New York State Agricultural Extension Service at Cornell University.

He was a Republican councilman of the town of Dryden, outside of Ithaca for 7 years, and since 1962 was president of the Ithaca Board of Education.

My relationships with him, however, centered around his leadership of the Ithaca Festival Theater, which he served as chairman of the board of trustees. He was one of the early supporters of the idea to create a well-rounded, fully professional theater festival in the Finger Lakes region, and was often in contact with me during the years we fought for passage of the National Arts and Humanities Foundation bill.

It is indeed tragic that he died—at the age of 48—just as the plans and financing for his beloved theater—for which he had worked so hard for so long—were consolidating. The theater itself is scheduled to go into operation next year, and I would like to consider it a lasting memorial to a young man who gave his very best—and this represented a great deal of achievement and talent indeed—to his community.

I ask unanimous consent to have his obituary, published in the New York Times this morning, printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the obituary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 28, 1966]

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, JR., 48, DIES—SENATOR'S SON LED SEED CONCERN

ITHACA, N.Y., April 27.—Leverett Saltonstall, Jr., president of the Foundation Seed Corp., and son of LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Republican Senator from Massachusetts, died of cancer today in Tompkins County Hospital. He was 48 years old.

A HARVARD GRADUATE

Mr. Saltonstall was a 1939 graduate of Harvard University and studied agriculture at the University of Kentucky and at Cornell University, where he earned a Ph. D. degree. Early in his career he was employed as an agronomist with the State Extension Service at Cornell.

He went to Ithaca following 3 years of service in the Army Corps of Engineers and specialized in growing seeds on a farm of more than 500 acres at Lake Ridge, a suburb of Ithaca.

A Republican, he served as a councilman of the town of Dryden, near Ithaca, from 1958 to 1965. Since 1962 he had also been president of Ithaca's Board of Education, and last year he was appointed chairman of the Ithaca Festival Theater's board of trustees. The theater is scheduled for completion in 1967.

Besides his father, Mr. Saltonstall is survived by his widow, the former Nancy Smith; four children, Timothy, Constance, Peter, and Alice; his mother, the former Alice Wesselhoeft; a brother, William L., and two sisters, Mrs. Emily Saltonstall Byrd and Susan Saltonstall.

A memorial service will be held Friday in Ithaca.

IMPROVED COORDINATION BETWEEN COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS AND THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senate to an important recent development concerning the relationship of the executive branch and the Federal Reserve Board. It is my understanding that as a direct result of congressional concern that arose from the Federal Reserve Board's action to raise the rediscount rate last December 3, a new relationship has been established between the Federal Reserve Board and the Council of Economic Advisers involving regular biweekly luncheons between the Council of Economic Advisers and the seven members of the Federal Reserve Board.

Until these new arrangements were established, consultations involving the Fed were limited to lunches every Monday and Wednesday among Chairman Martin, the Vice Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board and Treasury officials and to irregular meetings between the President, Chairman Martin and the other three members of the President's top economic advisers, the so-called quadriad.

It will be recalled that as a result of the Fed's action last December, the question arose as to the appropriateness of the coordinating mechanism that existed between the various economic policymaking organisms of the executive branch.

Subsequent to evidence developed during hearings held by the Joint Economic Committee, of which I am the ranking Republican member, on this subject in December 1965, I introduced a resolution which would put Congress on record in support of better coordination between the Federal Reserve Board and the administration. The resolution outlined specific ways how this may be done.

I am pleased to say that to a large degree the objectives of that resolution are now being fulfilled. I commend Chairman Martin and the Council for improving the communication between each other, a communication link which is extremely vital to sound economic policymaking and I urge them to continue their effort to improve this vital mechanism.

I ask unanimous consent that a copy of my resolution, Senate Concurrent Resolution 73 and my statement accompanying its introduction as well as an article dealing with this subject which appeared in the April 24 Washington Post be included in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. CON. RES. 73

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress finds that determination of sound national economic policy requires a full and free interchange of views and information among the agencies of the Government exercising primary responsibilities in fiscal and monetary affairs, and that a failure to achieve such interchange can result in actions which are detrimental to the American economy. It is accordingly the sense of the Congress—

(1) that meetings of the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, should be held at regular intervals but not less often than six times a year;

(2) that the Secretary of the Treasury, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget should keep the Chairman and the Members of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System and other members of the Federal Open Market Committee fully apprised of any developments or information of which they are respectively aware and which should be brought to the attention of the Board for the effective discharge of its responsibilities;

(3) that the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System should keep the members of the Board apprised of any information which he has received from any officer or agency of the Government which has relevance to the effective and informed exercise by the Board of its responsibilities; and

(4) that the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System should notify the President whenever any request to raise discount rates is received by the Board from a Federal Reserve bank.

JAVITS MEASURE URGES IMPROVED FED-ADMINISTRATION COORDINATION

Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, ranking Republican on the Joint Economic Committee, today introduced a concurrent resolution expressing the "sense of the Congress" that the coordination between the administration and the Federal Reserve Board must be strengthened and improved. A companion measure was introduced in the House by Representative ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH, of Kansas, also a member of the Joint Economic Committee.

The resolution would put Congress on record as favoring:

1. Regular meetings—at least six times a year—of the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

2. Procedures which would require key administration economic advisers to keep the Federal Reserve Chairman "fully apprised of any development or information of which they are respectively aware and which should be brought to the attention of the Board for the effective discharge of its responsibilities."

3. Procedures requiring the Federal Reserve Chairman to keep all members of the Federal Reserve Board fully apprised of any information he receives from the executive branch "which has relevance to the effective and informed exercise by the Board of its responsibilities."

In remarks prepared for delivery in the Senate, Senator JAVITS said:

"During the Joint Economic Committee's hearings concerning the Federal Reserve Board's decision to raise the discount rate, the committee spent considerable time on the question of how well that decision was coordinated with the administration.

"The conclusion I have reached from these hearings is that, while there was a degree of coordination between the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board and the President and his key economic advisers last December, present arrangements are quite imperfect. Existing coordination between the Federal Reserve Board, the Council of Economic Advisers, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, remains largely informal, and to an important degree, dependent on the personal dispositions of the individuals involved. Chairman Martin indicated at the hearings that prior to Robert Anderson's tenure as Secretary of the Treasury, he had no way to talk to the President about matters of mutual concern. During the tenure of Secretary Humphrey, the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board again had no access to explain his point of view.

"I believe that the determination of sound economic policy, which requires close coordination of key economic policymakers, is far too important to be left to chance or informal arrangements.

"These hearings left me unsatisfied regarding the extent to which the administration itself fully coordinates its economic policymaking with that of the Federal Reserve Board. The burden of coordinating economic policy falls as much on the administration as on the Federal Reserve Board. If the administration's main complaint against the Fed's action was that its timing was wrong and that it acted without full knowledge of the fiscal 1967 budget—and I believe that was the administration's main complaint—then it is clear that the administration wasn't living up fully to its responsibility for coordinating economic policy.

"At the time of the hearings it was difficult for me to believe—and it is difficult for me to believe now—that with little more than 1 month to go before the fiscal 1967 budget was to be announced, the administration had not yet decided upon the main features of its budget, including the financial requirements of the war in Vietnam. Those decisions require long and careful planning, the broad details of which should have been made available to the Federal Reserve Board, which after all is charged by law—the Federal Reserve Act, as amended—to set interest rates and the availability of credit. If the administration replies that such information was available to the Fed, then its ringing accusations against the Federal Reserve Board sound hollow indeed. I could understand the President's dismay at the Fed's action if he was contemplating a drastic change from existing administration economic policy, but neither the state of the Union message nor the budget failed to disclose information to that effect.

"I draw two additional lessons from these hearings: (1) the flow of information between the administration and members of the Federal Reserve Board as well as the Chairman should be improved; (2) and the President should be given ample notice of any request received by the Federal Reserve Board from Federal Reserve banks for a change in the discount rate.

"The resolution I am introducing today makes an attempt to improve the coordinating mechanism between the administration and the Nation's money managers. The form of the measure I introduce is a concurrent resolution, a "sense of the Congress" resolution. I do this because evidence obtained at these hearings does not call for legislation amending the Federal Reserve Act and because I remain convinced of the desirability of the present independence of the Federal Reserve System. This independence, circumscribed by responsibility and the dictates of the Employment Act of 1946—which places a major responsibility in the sphere of economic policymaking in the hands of the President and the Federal Government—has served this Nation well under both Republican and Democratic administrations.

"The Joint Economic Committee will begin its hearings on the President's economic report and budget within the next few days. In view of the administration's unwillingness to appear before us on this issue in December, I plan to question the Secretary of the Treasury, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, with regard both to their position on the Federal Reserve Board's action of December 3 and on the subject of economic policy coordination in general at that time. I believe that the committee's Republican members—and I am sure many members of the committee's majority—will be equally interested in hearing what the administration witnesses have to say on these vital issues.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 24, 1966]

FED, ECONOMIC COUNCIL SET REGULAR MEETINGS

(By Hobart Rowen)

Once every other week, Presidential Economic Adviser Gardner Ackley and his two associates pile into a White House car and go to lunch at the Federal Reserve Board.

In a Nation's Capital full of war and other hot news, the above social note may seem inconsequential.

But it carries with it a major change in relationships between the Federal Reserve System and the rest of the Government. It may even turn out to be historic.

The importance of the luncheon meetings is not only in the establishment of a regular formal pattern of consultation. The more significant fact is that the Ackley threesome journey to the Fed not to break bread with FRB Chairman William McC. Martin alone, but with the entire seven members of the Board of Governors.

"I give Bill [Martin] every bit of credit," said one insider. "He's agreed that the Fed isn't going to be a one-man show any more."

There are scoffers, to be sure; many see just form, and little substance, to these meetings. Besides, it can be argued, as Gov. George Mitchell does, that enough channels of communication already exist.

Martin and Ackley set up the system of lunch discussions after critics last December said the FRB's discount-rate increase showed a lack of coordination between the Fed and the rest of the Government.

Gov. Sherman J. Maisel, for example, testified before the Joint Economic Committee that he was "shocked by the absence of formal contact between the individual Governors and the executive branch.

"I received the impression," Maisel said then, "that there was a distrust of systematic and routine coordination for fear that it would interfere with the Federal Reserve's independence."

Several Members of Congress expressed the view that the existing communications among officials and their staffs were too informal.

Some toyed with the notion of legislation that would force a more rigid pattern of meetings. But the plan evolved by Martin and Ackley is infinitely more satisfactory.

It made little sense for members of the Board and members of the CEA to see each other on the Washington dinner and cocktail circuits, but never on an official basis.

If it is true, as some alumni members of the CEA have observed, that no other Government agency has equal access to the statistics and other underlying reasons for Government fiscal policy, it is good that it can be shared with the FRB.

Until the new FRB–CEA arrangement went into effect, consultations involving the Fed were limited to lunches every Monday and Wednesday among Martin, the FRB Vice Chairman, and Treasury officials; and Martin's inclusion on the top-level "quadriad" which irregularly meets with the President. The latter group includes the Treasury Secretary, Budget Director, Chairman of the Economic Council, and Martin.

There has been no change in the quadriad setup, which means that Martin alone will continue to represent the Fed at meetings with the President. But Adviser Ackley, and through him Secretary Fowler, should certainly now get a more detailed view of the range of thinking on the Fed Board.

At the moment, although Martin was outvoted 6 to 1 April 13 in a California bank merger case, relationships are smooth on the Board, with an unusually wide area of agreement on policy matters.

As for the Fed's meetings with the CEA, which bring 10 men around the table, they are reported to be unpressured and without agenda. Discussions have been free-ranging and uninhibited.

"It improves communications," says one official. "It doesn't destroy anybody's independence, because we can think and act for ourselves. But there isn't anybody who knows all the answers."

Some who were sure the Fed's independence of action would not be prejudiced by bringing all seven Governors into closer touch with the administration nevertheless wondered if here and there, a Governor might temper a public statement or speech just because of greater awareness of Johnson's problems. There should soon be some examples that this prospect is also groundless.

In any event, Washington's version of the business lunch will go on at the Fed, which is happy to play host: It has the best available private dining facilities of any of the agencies involved.

REPORT OF REPUBLICAN TASK FORCE ON LATIN AMERICA

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I call to the attention of the Senate an excellent and comprehensive report on Latin America, prepared by the Task Force on the Conduct of Foreign Relations of the Republican Coordinating Committee, which was released a few days ago.

The report of the task force, prepared under the able leadership of its chairman, Robert C. Hill, former U.S. Ambassador to Mexico and its very able members, represents a real contribution to Latin American affairs and includes a series of recommendations, many, if not all, of which should receive the urgent consideration of the administration.

I wish to call particular attention to the following points made in the report:

It calls on the administration to continue to seek meaningful discussions, looking toward a limited, ad hoc system for establishing peacekeeping machinery under the OAS and to intensify efforts to encourage all independent countries in the Western Hemisphere to seek membership in the OAS. It is critical of the administration for failing to provide leadership in building the Organization of American States into a truly regional, collective security organization, thereby rendering the OAS ineffective in closing the "collective security gap" in the Western Hemisphere.

I am particularly pleased that the task force put such a great emphasis on the membership of all independent Western Hemisphere countries in the OAS, meaning Canada. I have long felt that, because of its important role as a nation with close trade and investment ties in Latin America, and to us, and with such important worldwide influence, Canada should become a member of this vital hemispheric organization.

It calls on the administration to strengthen the intention of military leaders holding interim power in certain Latin American nations to build an economic, political, and social climate conducive to self-government, and to move with all possible dispatch toward free elections and popular government at the local and national level.

The report concludes that economic progress in several Latin American countries, while significant over the past 20 years, is not advancing sufficiently to prevent economic stagnation, thus breeding political and social chaos. While the report puts the blame for this on this administration, principally on the ground that it has put the private sector into a subordinate position in the Alliance for Progress, and because the administration has remained aloof from the prospects of the United States participation in a common market for the Western Hemisphere, I feel there is a good deal to be added on this latter point.

I believe that the United States should, and can, evolve a relationship with Latin America which will one day lead toward a hemispheric free trade area. I believe, however, that realities dictate the establishment of a Latin American common market first. Our Latin American neighbors justly fear that their fledgling industrial complexes would be unable to stand up to competition from our larger, more efficient industries.

The report is critical of the administration for imposing voluntary restraints on the business community and curbing overseas investment, thereby undermining the critical need for progress in Latin America.

It recommends that U.S. policies should encourage and stimulate private U.S. investors to enter into joint enterprises with Latin American investors on the basis of partnership and share control.

It urges increased encouragement of West European private investment in Latin America and continued support for multilateral private corporations such as the ADELA Investment Co.—which I had the honor to initiate.

It calls on the President to appoint a special commission to review the chronic gap between commodities exported and goods imported by Latin America and to suggest alternative policies for the U.S. Government to pursue in its relations with Latin America.

It calls on the administration to establish a multilateral fund drawn from public and private European as well as Western Hemisphere sources to provide loans and other forms of assistance to help multinational, or potentially integrated industries, to meet their export potential.

I am pleased that this concept which is the underlying principle of the ADELA Investment Co. has received Republican Party endorsement and I believe that this recommendation could be best carried out by further building up this already thriving investment complex rather than by creating yet another agency for this purpose.

The report calls on the administration to place a higher priority on education development under the Alliance for Progress and substantially to raise the level of funds channeled for this purpose and to upgrade and expand the State Department's education programs in Latin America.

It supports the recommendation of the President's Committee on Private Enterprise in Foreign Aid:

> U.S. exporters of technical and professional assistance to institutions in the developing Latin American nations should be eligible for the same financing and guaranteeing facilities from AID and the Export-Import Bank that exporters of tangible goods now receive.

It calls attention to the importance of population factors in the attainment of economic, political and social justice in Latin America. While recognizing, as I have, that these are matters for each country to resolve for itself, it properly declares, however, that the Republican Party believes the United States should make available upon the request of individual Latin American governments, material and information which could contribute to the solution of this problem.

Mr. President, the task force report, on the whole, has been advertised as being critical of the administration. Although it does have some aspects of criticism, I hardly consider that its major thrust.

On the contrary, it fortifies very strongly some of the really outstanding requirements for making the Alliance for Progress successful. I brought back pretty much the same report when I reported to the Senate earlier this month upon a trip which I made to four of the principal countries of Latin America as a U.S. Senate adviser to the delegation to the Economic and Social Council of the Organization of American States.

The major things emphasized in the report, in my view are these:

First. Private enterprise has to be given a much bigger role in the Alliance for Progress than it has had, and our Government has to favor that.

Second. We should back the common market as exemplifying multilateralism in Latin America and the reason for multilateralism. On that point, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from today's New York Times entitled "The Alliance at Bay."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 28, 1966]

THE ALLIANCE AT BAY

The Alliance for Progress, which has been subject to criticism since its inception, is on the receiving end again. An eight-man economic advisory panel, responsible for reviewing national development plans for the Alliance, has resigned with the charge that there has been too much reliance on bilateral arrangements between the United States and individual countries in Latin America. In its view, Washington is the chief culprit in bilateralism over multilateralism.

Although these comments may be dismissed as merely the complaints of a group that was slated for reduction in size and in importance, the panel is right that some Latin American countries have fared better than others. The comprehensive annual report of the Inter-American Development Bank observes that while Latin America as a whole has reached the Alliance target of 2.5 percent per capita growth for the past 2 years, only a few countries "have sustained economic growth trends strong enough to assure the achievement of the goals of Punta del Este."

But this kind of irregular and uneven growth was to be expected, particularly in the early stages of the Alliance. The United States offered to assist all of its partners, but inevitably a major share of its help has gone to those who have demonstrated a capacity for making good use of it. The panel suggests that the United States is at fault, but the responsibility really lies with those countries in Latin America which have failed to make use of the opportunities for growth that have been offered to them.

The panel's criticism may spur greater efforts to establish a Latin American common market. Admittedly, the United States has been lukewarm about economic integration, but here again it is up to the Latin American countries to move ahead in coordinated fashion. If they resolve their differences, they can give the Alliance for Progress a more multilateral flavor—and increased momentum.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, third, and very importantly, we are now coming to the point where self-help and mutual cooperation among the Latin American countries themselves becomes a matter of top priority. This goes for the Latin American common market and also for the multinational projects in Latin America—including roads, communications, land reclamation, power, and the lofting abroad of a TV satellite to close the communications gap between the nations of the hemisphere which I recommended on my recent Latin American trip.

I believe the point we should all note—and what the New York Times editorial refers to—in connection with the resignation of the Committee of Nine, which was a panel which advised and screened applications for aid from Latin American countries, and the functions of which has now been succeeded by CIAP, is that bilateralism is gone, and that multilateralism is the order of the day.

I agree thoroughly with that, for the important thing to remember is that self-help is even more the order of the day, that I hope we keep what we have been doing, but that we will do it better.

The Latin American countries are now in the position where they can do the most to help themselves. I hope that the whole thrust of American diplomacy will be to give them every encouragement, such as favoring strongly the Latin American common market and will give them every encouragement to follow that line.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a list containing the membership of the Republican Committee's Task Force on the Conduct of Foreign Relations, a summary of this report, and Appendix A of the report containing a discussion of the problems of population control in Latin America be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE'S TASK FORCE ON THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

Robert C. Hill, chairman, U.S. Ambassador to Mexico, 1957–61.

David N. Rowe, vice chairman, professor of political science, Yale University.

GORDON ALLOTT, U.S. Senator from Colorado.

JOHN B. ANDERSON, Member of Congress from the 16th Congressional District of Illinois.

Tim M. Babcock, Governor of the State of Montana.

Nils A. Boe, Governor of the State of South Dakota.

FRANCES P. BOLTON, Member of Congress from the 22d Congressional District of Ohio.

Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of U.S. Naval Operations, 1955–61.

John H. Chafee, Governor of the State of Rhode Island.

Lucius D. Clay, general of the U.S. Army, retired.

Joseph S. Farland, U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Panama, 1960–63.

PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN,[1] Member of the U.S. Congress from New Jersey.

Ernest S. Griffith, dean, School of International Service, American University, 1958–65.

Mrs. Cecil M. Harden, Republican National Committeewoman from Indiana.

Walter A. Judd, member of the U.S. Congress, 1943–63.

John D. Lodge, U.S. Ambassador to Spain, 1955–60.

Gerhart Niemeyer, professor of political science, University of Notre Dame.

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[1] Joined the task force subsequent to the preparation and adoption of this report.

Nicholas Nyaradi, director of School of International Studies, Bradley University.

Richard B. Sellars, Republican National Committeeman from New Jersey.

Newton I. Steers, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Maryland.

Robert Strausz-Hupé [1], director, Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania.

Ronald L. Leymeister, secretary to the task force.

LATIN AMERICA-UNITED STATES: PROGRESS OR FAILURE?

I. THE POLITICAL CLIMATE OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

The facts:

In 1962, Vice President Johnson declared "our present policy is to get rid of the Castro regime and Soviet Communist influence in Cuba." But the Communist Afro-Asian-Latin American Conference of solidarity held during January, 1966, in Havana demonstrated once again that Cuba, maintained by the Communist Bloc, constitutes a continuing major beachhead for subversion and guerrilla warfare throughout Latin America.

The continuing political stalemate in the Dominican Republic threatens the peace and security of the Western Hemisphere.

The Organization of American States has as yet not provided prompt, adequate collective security measures to combat Communist intervention.

The failures:

The Democratic administration's vacillation has contributed to the deterioration of our relations with Latin America.

It has not been effective in eliminating Communist subversion emanating from Cuba or in curtailing trade between Castro and our allies.

It has continued to suppress vital information concerning the Dominican revolt in order to submerge factional disputes within the Democratic Party. The American people are entitled to know what foreign policy prevails in the Dominican Republic. Is it the policy of Senator FULBRIGHT, Senator KENNEDY, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Thomas Mann, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, or is it no policy?

It has failed to provide leadership in building the OAS into a truly regional, collective security organization thereby rendering the OAS ineffective in closing the collective security gap in the Western Hemisphere.

It has undermined the morale of U.S. diplomats by dispatching special Presidential emissaries to the scene of a crisis such as in the recent Dominican Revolution.

The recommendations:

The Republican Party recommends the following measures be adopted to meet the challenge of political freedom and political security in the Western Hemisphere.

1. The administration should continually improve the caliber of U.S. diplomatic personnel in Latin America and cease the practice of dispatching special presidential envoys, as in the Dominican crisis, for this breeds confusion, dissension, and a loss of confidence in American foreign policy.

2. The administration is urged to maintain, not relax, pressure through the OAS, NATO, and the free world community to restrict existing trade between Castro and our allies and to further isolate and weaken Communist Cuba, politically and diplomatically.

3. The United States must provide stronger leadership in the OAS if we are to achieve a truly regional and genuine collective security system for the Western Hemisphere. The administration should continue to seek meaningful discussions looking toward a limited, ad hoc system for establishing peacekeeping machinery under the OAS and should intensify efforts to encourage all independent countries in the Western Hemisphere to seek membership in the OAS.

4. The administration should act to strengthen the intention of military leaders holding interim power in certain Latin American nations to build an economic, social and political climate conducive to self-government, and to move toward free elections and popular government at the local and national level with all possible dispatch.

5. The USIA and other U.S. agencies must intensify information and motivation programs to convince the people of Latin America of the benefits of freedom and the menace of communism to their personal well-being.

II. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA

The facts: U.S. relations with Latin America have reached another critical stage. Economic progress in several Latin American countries, while significant over the past 20 years, is not advancing sufficiently to prevent economic stagnation, thus breeding political and social chaos.

Despite encouraging progress, under the Alliance for Progress only 7 of the 19 Latin Republics achieved their 1964 goal of increasing per capita income by 2.5 percent, only 9 passed tax reforms, only 12 adopted land reforms, and only 9 initiated savings and loan legislation.

Private investment, finally recognized as a vital ingredient under the Alliance for Progress, but discouraged in many Latin American countries by a hostile atmosphere, political instability, and unwise fiscal and monetary policies, is not entering fast enough to meet the goals of the Alliance for Progress. There appears to be a continuing and discouraging flight of private domestic capital from these countries.

The consistent weakness in Latin America's trade posture and the ineffectiveness of commodity stabilization agreements are seriously stifling economic progress.

Regional economic integration steps under LAFTA and CACM, while encouraging, are no panacea for immediate economic difficulties, and can be fully effective only with vigorous U.S. participation.

The Western Hemisphere is confronted with a population crisis that threatens to negate every dollar spent by our private and governmental assistance programs.

Unstable political and economic institutions remain a fundamental problem.

The Department of State's educational exchange programs within our hemisphere are substantially smaller than similar programs in other areas of the world with the exception of Africa and the Communist countries. The United States spends annually only $1.5 million on educational exchange programs under the Department of State.

In many instances capital is scarce, so are human resources. There is little attempt to transfer skills, attitudes, and technologies to the unskilled and semiskilled. This failure is particularly critical in the agrarian sector where farmers need to be trained so they can meet the food requirements of the nation.

The failures:

The Democratic administration has not provided adequate solutions to the economic problems. As a result our relations with Latin America have been impaired.

It has consigned private investment, the admittedly vital ingredient for economic progress in Latin America, to a subordinate role under the Alliance for Progress. Paradoxically, by imposing voluntary restraints upon the business community and curbing overseas investment, it has undermined the critical need for progress in Latin America.

It lacks a sense of urgency toward the continuing economic disparity between North and South America refusing to review our fundamental commercial trade and commodity stabilization agreements.

It has encouraged economic integration programs within Latin America but has remained aloof offering no prospect of U.S. participation in a common market for the Western Hemisphere.

It has failed to encourage or mobilize the vast resources of the private business community in the United States or the facilities of the Federal Government in combating Communist propaganda in Latin America.

In a continent with a high rate of illiteracy, where 40 percent or more of the people are 15 years old or less, the administration in 1964 earmarked only $40 million for education out of a $1.2 billion program for Latin America.

The recommendations:

The Republican Party recommends the following proposals be adopted to meet the economic crisis of Latin America.

1. The Alliance for Progress has been in existence since mid-1961 and has made commitments of almost $5 billion to 19 Latin American countries. We call upon this administration in the interest of efficient government to provide the American taxpayers with an audit on a country-by-country basis of the Alliance for Progress.

2. The climate and the inducement for more private investment in Latin America could be enhanced by the adoption of the following proposals:

(a) U.S. policies should encourage and stimulate private U.S. investors to enter into joint enterprises with Latin American investors on a basis of partnership and shared control.

(b) The USIA should follow the lead of business and labor in making a greater effort to counter Communist propaganda by explaining and selling the concept of equality of opportunity and individual betterment possible only in free competitive economies.

(c) The usefulness of the investment guarantee program would be advanced if the Congress adjusted insurance rates to relative risks, thereby encouraging private investment in responsible countries.

(d) The Congress is urged to give serious consideration to tax proposals that permit American-owned subsidiaries in developing countries to offset losses against profits earned elsewhere in Latin America.

(e) We urge the approval of tax conventions similar to the Honduras-United States Treaty as an example of the kind of legislation eliminating the inequities to double taxation and stimulating overseas investment.

(f) The administration should further encourage other governments to ratify the World Bank's International Treaty for Investment Disputes and to work for the acceptance of an international code for the fair treatment of private foreign investors.

(g) The Hickenlooper amendment should be utilized whenever necessary to protect U.S. investments which, in turn, create domestic jobs for many Latin Americans.

(h) We urge the proposal to allow the International Finance Corporation (IFC) wholly owned by the World Bank (IRBD) to borrow $400 million from IRBD for private investment in underdeveloped countries be accepted by the United States.

(i) The administration should not habitually provide foreign assistance funds for balance of payments and budgetary support, for such assistance not only prolongs unsound domestic policies but is often wasteful, inflationary and politically harmful. Rather, the administration should work to limit foreign assistance loans as needed to spur required reforms.

(j) We urge increased encouragement of West European private investment in Latin America and continued support for multilateral private capital corporations such as ADELA (Atlantic Development Groups for Latin America Investment Corp.)

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3. Given the price-cost gap between commodities exported and imported by Latin America, the Republican Party urges the President to appoint a special commission to review this chronic economic problem and suggest alternative policies for the U.S. Government to pursue in our relations with Latin America.

4. Pending the correction of our balance-of-payments deficit, the administration should take the initiative in establishing a multilateral fund, drawn from private and public European as well as Western Hemisphere sources, to provide loans and other forms of assistance to help multinational or potentially integrated industries meet their export potential. This would stimulate the productive capacity of the private sector and improve the balance-of-payments position of the Latin American countries.

5. The administration should place a high priority on educational development under the Alliance for Progress and substantially raise the level of funds channeled for these purposes. The ability of people to support themselves should be promoted by general education, the teaching of skills and the encouragement of local initiative in agriculture and industry. The State Department's educational exchange programs in Latin America should be upgraded and expanded in order to be representative of not only more countries in Latin America but also of more professional people, opinion-makers, faculty as well as students.

6. We support the recommendation of the President's Advisory Committee on Private Enterprise in Foreign Aid that, "U.S. exporters of technical and professional assistance to institutions in the developing Latin American nations should be eligible for the same financing and guaranteeing facilities from AID and the Export-Import Bank that exporters of tangible goods now receive."

7. Private business, labor, academic, and charitable foundations should be encouraged to expand or establish programs with their counterpart institutions in Latin America such as the people-to-people program sponsored by former President Eisenhower. State participation in the "partners of the alliance" program should be encouraged.

8. Pending further integration steps within Latin America, the administration should declare its intention to participate in discussions looking toward a common market for the Western Hemisphere.

9. Population factors influence the attainment of economic, political, and social justice in Latin America. These factors, however, are essentially issues for each country to resolve for themselves. The Republican Party endorses no specific recommendations, although we recognize that problems do in fact exist and offer in the appendix additional relevant information.[2]

APPENDIX A

POPULATION EXPLOSION

All aspirations for the development of free economic and political institutions in Latin America are being and will continue to be affected by population factors. Simply stated, the rate of growth of the Latin American population is rising faster than almost any other region of the world and threatens to wipe out whatever progress has been achieved. During the 1950's the average Latin American Republic was increasing by 2.7 percent. Seven of the Latin American countries have a growth rate in excess of 3 percent while four nations have rates less than 2 percent. At 2 percent a population is calculated to double in 35 years; at 3 percent it doubles in 23 years. Latin America grew by 100 million people in the first 50 years of the 20th century; it is expected to grow by 350 to 450 million over the next 50 years.

A look at the map of Latin America would lead to the conclusion that the region is not overpopulated. Based on a straight calculation of population density per square mile, the region is underpopulated, but land alone is a very deceptive criterion and does not get at the real issue. The effect of a high birth rate on the structure of the population is clear and like most of the emerging world, Latin America has a high proportion of young people. In fact more than 40 percent of the people with the exception of Argentina and Uruguay is under 15 years of age. It is estimated that for every two births there is one abortion in Venezuela. The necessity of supporting so many children puts an added disadvantage on the rest of the society in their efforts to save and invest for economic development. It also complicates the problem of providing children with an education essential for social and economic advancement in a modern industrial society.

The gradual urbanization of the Latin American countries constitutes a creeping menace to the economic, political, and social stability. The rapid growth is attributable to a combination of natural increase, and immigration. Today in 13 of the 20 countries at least 10 percent of the people live in the largest city. In six of these nations the largest city contains one-fifth or more of the national population: 33 percent in Uruguay, 29 percent in Argentina, 23 percent in Chile and Panama. If 20 percent of the citizens of this country resided in Washington, D.C., we would have a super megalopolis of 36 million people. With better than 30 percent of the city dwellers of Latin America living in slums, the ever increasing numbers of people, without work, existing—not living—generate dangerous unrest.

According to the demographic experts there is no reason to believe the birth rate will decline in the near future. In all probability the death rate will decline further and at a faster rate than fertility. The pressure is in the underdeveloped countries where population rates are highest and food production lowest. Food production is growing in these regions only about two-thirds as fast as the population. Some steps which could be taken to increase food supplies would include a reduction of waste, a better utilization of tillable land, and improvements in storage facilities and distribution methods.

Despite the dangers, responsible leaders in the Western Hemisphere have been reluctant to act. Latin American governments have occasionally registered concern over population problems but none has given the problem a priority status. In consideration of Latin America sensitivity, we in turn have been equally hesitant to offer suggestions.

Ironically, while the Alliance for Progress has been supported by the United States, contingent upon the implementation of basic tax, land, and other reforms without regard to powerful interest groups, population reform is ignored. But, truthfully, can one seriously talk about meaningful economic and spiritual development in today's world and ignore human development?

The Agency for International Development on March 4, 1965, laid down the following policy for all overseas missions:

1. It was prepared to entertain requests approved by foreign governments for technical assistance in family planning. Where appropriate, the requests will continue to be referred to private agencies.

2. Whatever family planning program is proposed should provide freedom of choice to the individual on what type of birth control, if any, is to be used.

3. The Agency was not prepared to entertain requests for contraceptive devices or the equipment to manufacture them.

4. The Agency was, however, prepared to provide other assistance, such as administrators, doctors, and nurses to help establish a program and commodity aid such as vehicles and education equipment, and training opportunities in this country. It was also prepared to make available local counterpart funds held by the United States to help finance family planning programs.

The present position of the administration appears to be centered more on research than on the distribution of materials and information. In fact, most material aid continues to come almost exclusively from private sources. A serious question arises whether these policies are adequate if, according to the experts, we are to reduce births and bring resources and people into reasonable balance.

We are dealing with a difficult, emotionally charged and morally sensitive issue. On June 22, 1965, former President Eisenhower set the matter in perspective in a letter to the Senate Government Operations Subcommittee on foreign aid expenditures conducting hearings on population problems. "Ten years ago although aware of some of these growing dangers abroad (the gradual disequilibrium between human requirements and resources), I did not then believe it to be the function of the Federal Government to interfere in the social structures of other nations by using, except through private institutions, American resources to assist them in a partial stabilization of their numbers. I expressed this view publicly but soon abandoned it. After watching and studying results of some of the aid programs of the early fifties, I became convinced that without parallel programs looking to population stabilization all that we could do, at the very least, would be to maintain rather than improve standards in those who need our help. I realize that in important segments of our people and of other nations this question is regarded as a moral one and therefore scarcely a fit subject for Federal legislation. With their feelings I can and do sympathize. But I cannot help believe that the prevention of human degradation and starvation is likewise a moral, as well as a material, obligation resting upon every enlightened government. I devoutly hope that necessary measures will be enacted into law to authorize the Federal Government, as well as appropriate private and semipublic organizations, so to cooperate among themselves, that the necessary human and material resources can be promptly mobilized and employed to cope effectively with the great need of slowing down and finally stabilizing the growth in the world's population."

The United States, of course, cannot establish a hemispheric policy on population problems because we believe this is a matter for each family and country to determine for itself. But the Republican Party believes the United States should make available upon the request of the Latin American governments material and information which can contribute to a solution of this problem.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, when the Senate completes its business this afternoon, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon Monday next.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE RIGHT OF AMERICAN CITIZENS TO TRAVEL ABROAD

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, a few weeks ago I addressed the Senate on the practice of surveillance of American tourists traveling abroad. Fortunately the State Department has clarified its policy on this matter and stated its intention to strictly limit the practice. This question, however, is but a part of the much broader issue of the right of American citizens to travel.

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[2] See app. A.

Next week hearings will begin in the Judiciary Committee on legislation which affects this right.

The right of Americans to travel is rooted in tradition. Indeed, the use of a passport to control citizens' travel is very recent. It is important to realize that the passport originated not as an exit control, but solely as a proof of citizenship and a request to foreign governments to tender protection to the bearer. Except for a few wartime instances, a passport was not required for foreign travel. Few countries required them of visitors, and it was not until after World War II that the United States required their possession by citizens who wished to depart.

From 1789 until 1952 in fact, no areas of the world were actually prohibited to American travelers, except for war zones during the two World Wars. And even in 1952, when the State Department imposed area restrictions to Iron Curtain countries and China, the Department announced that the restrictions "in no way forbid American travel to those areas."

The avowed purpose of the restrictions was only to "warn" American citizens of the risks of Iron Curtain travel, and presumably to make clear to the citizens that in those areas the individual would be traveling without U.S. Government protection at his own risk.

Since that time, there has been a subtle but profound change in Government policy regarding travel. Without direct authorization by Congress, the Department of State took unto itself the power to prevent travel by Americans holding particular beliefs, and to particular areas of the world.

The Supreme Court stepped into restrain this exercise of undelegated power and to preserve this right. In the historic case of Kent against Dulles, the Court held that a citizen's right to travel could not be restricted because of his political beliefs or associations.

It held that the right to travel, whether abroad or at home, is one of the fundamental liberties guaranteed to all Americans by the fifth amendment.

This right is also closely related to the social values underlying our first amendment. The freedom to travel permits the gathering of information, contributes to knowledge, increases human understanding, and makes more meaningful our precious freedoms of press, speech, and association. And the right of Americans to travel has grown in importance as the nations of the world have become more interdependent, and foreign policy decisions have come to influence more directly the individual citizen.

With respect to restrictions on travel in certain areas, however, the Court held recently in Zemel against Rusk that there are conceivable foreign policy considerations which make constitutional the imposition of restrictions on travel to certain areas.

But the fact that the Court, out of deference to powers vested in the Executive and Congress, has not made the right of travel absolute, does not imply any judgment on their part that such restrictions have merit. It is not only the courts who have the duty to protect individual freedoms in this country. Congress as well is responsible for securing and protecting those rights which are basic to our traditions, and which belong to all Americans.

And Congress has not spoken on this question.

The cloud which covers this area is demonstrated by recent and conflicting court decisions on the question of whether violations of area restrictions imposed by the State Department constituted crimes under existing law, a question which is presently before the Supreme Court for determination.

The distinguished chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee has introduced a bill, S. 3243, which makes the violation of such restrictions a crime, and which delegates to the Secretary of State complete discretionary authority to determine which areas are restricted and which may be entered only with written authorization of the Secretary.

This proposal has already received critical comment. The New York Times, of April 23, 1966, and the Washington Post, of April 26, 1966, two of our country's most distinguished newspapers, have run editorials on the question of travel restrictions. Because of their pertinence, I ask unanimous consent that these editorials be included in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 26, 1966]

EXIT PERMITS

Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, supported in the House by Representative MICHAEL FEIGHAN, has come up with a dandy little scheme for converting the land of the free into one vast continental concentration camp. Most of the Communist countries make it hard for their subjects to travel abroad. Why, then, should the United States be allowed to persist in its old-fashioned notions of freedom, allowing its citizens to roam about the world at will? Messrs. EASTLAND and FEIGHAN propose to change all that.

Their idea is to let Americans cross their own borders only if they can get an exit permit. And they would empower the Secretary of State to restrict exit permits in his own discretion, prohibiting some travel by all Americans and all travel by "certain classes" of Americans. There are powers that the Department of State has arrogated to itself in the past; but the courts have checked this arbitrariness on constitutional grounds. The Eastland-Feighan proposal is designed to get around the courts—and the Constitution.

Leaving aside the question whether Congress could constitutionally erect such a barbed wire fence around the American frontier, the primary question to be asked is whether it would enlarge or impair the welfare of Americans. It would spare this country, it is true, the minor misfortune of having a small number of citizens go abroad and express opinions distasteful to a majority at home. But the cost of this convenience would be a sacrifice of the freedom of movement long cherished by Americans as indispensable to free men. What folly it would be, out of a fear of communism, to embrace the very attributes that make communism most abhorrent.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 23, 1966]

FOG OVER TRAVEL FREEDOM

Some of the legal fog that still envelops freedom to travel should be cleared away by a review now undertaken by the Supreme Court. It has agreed to review a lower court decision that an American who goes to Cuba in defiance of State Department orders can be criminally prosecuted. Last year the Supreme Court upheld the authority of the Secretary of State to prohibit Americans from visiting Cuba—and, by implication, any other country he might deem undesirable. But the Court did not rule on whether criminal penalties could be assessed against citizens flouting the prohibition; lower court decisions on this issue seem to point in both directions.

In Brooklyn last week Federal Judge Joseph C. Zavatt threw out a criminal indictment of three young men who defied the State Department to organize a student trip to Cuba in 1963. He concluded that their acts were not crimes or criminal conspiracies under existing law, though he ridiculed the notion that they were simply "open-minded college youths," eager to make an objective study of Castroism.

But previously the U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco had upheld a decision fining a woman and giving her suspended prison sentences for making two trips to Cuba without permission. It is this California case that the Supreme Court will now review. A ludicrous situation would be created if the Court held that the Secretary of State could prohibit such travel but that no criminal penalties could be assessed for violation of his order. The sensible solution has long been clear:

The Secretary of State should have the right to warn citizens against travel in places where the United States cannot give them normal protection. That should be the limit of his authority. It should also be the limit of U.S. responsibility. A citizen bent on peaceful pursuits should be free to travel wherever he likes—at his own risk. The Congress should reaffirm this freedom to travel once and for all. Legislation on this point will be more clear cut than any court ruling.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I do not think American citizens should have to be cleared to travel abroad, any more than they should be followed when they are abroad. Nor do I believe that any nonelected official should have the power to declare certain countries off limits except in cases of the utmost gravity and under clear standards set by Congress.

At present, area restrictions are in effect for North Vietnam, Cuba, Albania, China, and North Korea. Albania, China, and North Korea, as I understand it, are restricted because they are not recognized by the U.S. Government. But that in itself is scant justification for restricting the freedom of American citizens to travel to these areas. It is argued that the area restrictions now in effect protect our citizens by restricting them to countries where we have consular representation. But the fact is that there are remote areas of some countries, in which we have embassies and in which travel is permitted, which are much more risky for an American traveler than

China or North Korea, where any American is closely watched and his movements carefully regulated.

There may be certain exceptional situations where foreign policy considerations are so important that an area restriction would be justified. Possible examples are war zones or areas where a travel ban on our part is necessary to the successful working of arrangements with other countries which are important to their security. For these reasons the justifications offered for restricting travel to North Vietnam and Cuba are more complex, and of greater weight. But whether they are of sufficient substance to overshadow the individual's right to travel is another complex question.

And it is precisely this question which Congress, not the State Department, must properly face. We now delegate a large and undefined lawmaking power in this area to the Secretary of State, and give to him and his subordinates almost unlimited discretion to decide where and when American citizens may travel. This is a troubling situation. I feel that Congress must consider the complex problems involved in restricting the right of U.S. citizens to travel, and must attempt to formulate specific policies which in each instance will reconcile the citizen's right to travel with the legitimate needs of our foreign policy.

I would like to pose some questions which I think we must consider in anticipation of congressional action on this matter:

First. Is there a need for any area restrictions at all on travel?

Second. If there is such a need, does it outweigh, with respect to any particular area restriction, the precious right to travel which we should try to preserve?

Third. If area restrictions are justified in some instances, cannot Congress draft language describing those instances, thereby limiting executive discretionary power to restrict travel, and provide for congressional reviews of the exercise of that discretion?

And finally,

Fourth. Assuming some area restrictions should be imposed, must they be enforced by criminal penalties? And if some sanction is necessary, would not a misdemeanor penalty of say a $1,000 fine be more appropriate than a felony penalty of $5,000 or 5 years in prison?

Let me point out that area restrictions under the present system have severely curtailed travel to those areas involved, but very few cases have been brought against the hundreds of travelers who over the years have violated the restrictions. This could imply that the mere withdrawal of protection and the statement of restrictions may be enough to deter a large majority of Americans from traveling to these areas.

Mr. President, the countries of Western Europe—our fellow democracies—do not impose area restrictions on their citizens' travel. It is rather the Communist countries who tell their citizens they cannot travel without a permit. It is the totalitarian states, and not countries like the United States, which say to their citizens "We cannot trust you to leave the country, we are afraid of how you might behave in certain areas, we are not confident enough of your loyalty to let you out without careful screening."

I realize that some of the support for legislation to be considered by the Judiciary Committee next week has arisen out of situations in which some Americans have gone to North Vietnam and Cuba to oppose American policies. This is indeed unfortunate, but I believe that this country is strong enough and our cause is just enough that we can easily survive the consequences of a few misguided people who go abroad to embarrass our Government. We base the appeal of our system on the fact that we are an open society which tolerates expressions of individual freedom. We will be much more true to what we stand for in the world if we tolerate these activities than if we restrict the travel of all of our people for fear of what a few may do.

For these reasons I intend to examine carefully the legislative proposals to be considered in the committee of which I am a member. I intend to question the State Department on its position and try to bring about a statutory clarification which maximizes the right to travel consistent with the legitimate needs of government.

AUTHORITY TO RECEIVE MESSAGES, FILE REPORTS, AND SIGN BILLS

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that during the adjournment of the Senate following today's session until noon on Monday next, the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to receive messages from the President of the United States and the House of Representatives; that the Vice President or President pro tempore be authorized to sign duly enrolled bills; and that committees be authorized to file reports.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is ordered.

DISCLOSURE AND SOURCES OF AMOUNTS OF INCOME

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, in today's edition of the Washington Post appears an article relating to the tax treatment of proceeds from the testimonial dinners of one of my colleagues. The article states that within the past week it has been disclosed that several Congressmen "have been the beneficiaries of political contributions not earmarked for campaign purposes" and that more disclosures of this nature are expected.

I believe this article requires that I make it clear to my colleagues and the people whom I represent that the junior Senator from Iowa has never used to his personal benefit any funds raised by his political supporters—whether through a testimonial dinner or campaign fund solicitation. Moreover, as a tax lawyer by profession, I believe I should state that it would be obvious to me that the tax law would require the taxation of any such moneys if they were used for one's personal use. I find it difficult to understand that there should be any question about such tax treatment.

Not long ago, there appeared in the newspapers a story of a dinner being held for the benefit of one of the Members of the House of Representatives, the proceeds of which were to be used to help pay off a legal liability this Member has incurred. It was made clear, from the press, that the proceeds had nothing to do with the Member's campaign expenditures, and I would assume that those who purchased tickets for the dinner intended that the proceeds be used to help pay off this legal liability. I recall at the time I read about this that it occurred to me that the Member concerned might well have to pay income tax on such money, because it was used to take care of a personal expense. This would be particularly true if those who purchased the tickets were motivated by the services rendered in their behalf by the Member of Congress. In any event, when such income is used for a personal purpose, it seems to me that the Internal Revenue Service would treat it as taxable and place the burden of proving to the contrary on the individual concerned—just as is done under the tax law in the case of all other taxpayers. There is nothing in the office of a Member of Congress which should grant him immunity from the treatment extended to all other taxpayers.

Finally, I was shocked to read in another article appearing in the Washington Post under date of April 20 that "associates" of my Senate colleague were were quoted as saying that "it is well known that a Senator's salary is inadequate and that for most men in Washington the 'break-even' point on expenses are about $50,000 a year." I want to make it clear that such knowledge is not "well known" as far as the junior Senator from Iowa is concerned. It is certainly true that the Washington cost of living is high, and, especially when one has a family with children to educate, the salary of a Member of Congress does not permit so-called high living—especially when one considers that the $30,000 salary is substantially reduced by Federal and State income taxes, contributions to the retirement fund, and the cost of health and accident insurance. I would guess that the great majority of those Members of Congress who are not independently wealthy manage to take care of their personal expenses without resorting to money raised by testimonial dinners, and that very few Members, except those who are independently wealthy, incur personal expenses of $50,000 a year.

I suppose that one of the byproducts of the current investigation will be renewed calls for all Members of Congress to publicly disclose the sources and amounts of their income. This may make good reading for the general public, but I believe the public should be warned not to fall for any halfway measures. The only way to satisfy the public's right to know would be to require a disclosure of not only the sources and amounts of income of the individual Member, but also, and equally important, the Member's wife, his parents, his children, and his brothers and sisters. Only by doing this can the entire picture be obtained, for it is well known that an individual can easily divert income to close relatives in an effort to cover up the sources and true amount of his actual income. I might point out that I gave my colleagues an opportunity to support just such a provision nearly 2 years ago, and I refer them to the Congressional Record, vol. 111, part 12, page 15821. I offered this proposal to the Senate at that time and the Senate voted it down. And so I say to my colleagues, do not support any halfway measures, because the public will not be and should not be satisfied by them.

POLICY OF NO SANCTUARY IN VIETNAM

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, in today's Washington Evening Star, on the front page, appears an article captioned "'No Sanctuary' Policy a Threat, Fulbright Says," with comments by some of my colleagues. I ask unanimous consent that an excerpt of this article, as designated be placed in the Record.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

"No Sanctuary" Policy a Threat, Fulbright Says but Dirksen Calls Pursuit of Red Planes a Doctrine of War, Sees No Danger

Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat, of Arkansas, hung a "very dangerous" label today on the administration's "no sanctuary" policy of hot pursuit of enemy fighters over Vietnam.

But Senate Republican Leader Everett M. Dirksen said in a separate interview this is a "recognized doctrine" of warfare which he does not believe invites the danger of Red China's intervention in the conflict.

Senator Henry M. Jackson, Democrat, of Washington, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said it is "sound policy to let the Chinese know in advance what is in store for them if they attack our planes over North Vietnam."

Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, noted that there has been no official pronouncement telling where the advanced Mig-21s, which have engaged U.S. planes in dogfights, came from.

"COULD ESCALATE WAR"

"But if they come from China and we follow them into China to attack their air fields, I think we are pursuing a very dangerous course," he said. "It could escalate the war."

The issue was brought to the forefront when Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat, of New York, told the Senate yesterday that the developments must be viewed with gravest concern.

"What will be the Chinese response if her territory is bombed or her airspace invaded?" he asked. "Will the Chinese seek to strike at our bases—in Vietnam or Thailand, or aboard our aircraft carriers?

HOW WILL WE RESPOND?

"And if they do, what then will our response be—further bombing? And if the scale of bombing increases, will China confine herself to air fighting—or will it send its troops to engage ours on the ground in South Vietnam?"

Dirksen noted in an Associated Press interview that hot pursuit of the enemy by U.S. planes had not been permitted in the Korean war, a decision he said may have lengthened that conflict.

Jackson said that while there might have been sufficient reason not to have such a pursuit in Korea, conditions have changed.

LACKS RUSSIA ALINEMENT

"Communist China no longer has the advantage it had then of alinement with Russia," he said. "Lack of this alinement makes China relatively weak military power when compared to the United States.

"We must avoid any action that might bring Russia and China together again. While hot pursuit involves a calculated risk, I do not believe it is such an action that would bring Peking and Moscow together."

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I wish to comment on the idea that the no-sanctuary policy is a threat. I am afraid there is a misuse of the term. Possibly, this policy is a risk, but it is not a threat. I suggest that while Senators are entitled to their own opinions and while those who think the no-sanctuary policy is a threat are certainly entitled to their opinions, their opinions are not shared by any responsible military leader presently on duty in the United States. I think that might put the matter in perspective.

There are many people who think that the sanctuary policy of this country during the Korean war was responsible for the sad results that occurred there—the loss of thousands of lives and the casualties. We now have many troops tied up in Korea, together with South Korean troops, and I hope we will not find ourselves in a similar situation with respect to what might occur in the case of the war in Vietnam.

When I read statements in which it is said that the no-sanctuary policy is a threat, I am mystified as to why there never is any suggestion by those making the statements as to what they would recommend in place of it. Do they recommend that we announce to Red China that there is to be a sanctuary and that if they send their Mig fighters out of their country into North Vietnam or into South Vietnam, we will let them operate at will? The people who say that the no-sanctuary policy is a threat do not answer that question. Before we pay much attention to their comments, they had better answer it, and then we shall see what they have to say.

I hope that until they get ready to answer this question, they will have nothing further to say on the subject, because I find it highly unresponsive to the situation. As I said before, their opinion is not shared by those who have the responsibility for helping in the defense of our country.

ROBERT LYNN DOWNEY AWARDED FOURTH PLACE IN 1966 NATIONAL "ABILITY COUNTS" CONTEST

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, an Iowan, Robert Lynn Downey, of Preston, today was honored by the President's Committee and cooperating State Governors' Committees on Employment of the Handicapped.

The honor came from his winning of fourth place in the 1966 national "ability counts" contest sponsored by the previously named committees.

In his winning entry, Robert vividly sets forth how handicapped people are contributing to the community of Preston.

I shall read his concluding paragraph, because I believe he has caught the essence—the purposes—of the programs for the handicapped:

> These people of my community—a nurse, a teacher, a carpenter, a farmer—are all strong links in the chain of our society. They have conquered their handicap to the extent that it is almost no longer a handicap. And, certainly, people in years to come will be handicapped—this we know. But if they are encouraged and given equal opportunities I feel sure that they, too, will be an asset to their community.

As young Mr. Downey realizes, individuals are capable of many things. Although we can categorize a man's disability, we certainly cannot and should not stereotype the man. Educating the community is part of the process of removing the barriers for the handicapped; and by focusing his essay on what is being done, Robert Downey is aiding in this process.

I ask unanimous consent that the essay entitled "What Handicapped Workers Are Contributing to My Community" be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

What Handicapped Workers Are Contributing to My Community

(By Robert Lynn Downey, Preston Community High School, Preston, Iowa)

"Handicap—Any disadvantage that makes progress or success more difficult." This is how Webster's Dictionary defines the word "handicap." To fully understand this statement would be a credit to any humanitarian. The people of my community who are handicapped no doubt understand its meaning more than I would ever hope to. They know that everything which they do that is connected with their handicap is "more difficult." They do not let this stand in their way because, if they did, the backbone of our community would be losing an important vertebra.

My community consists of a farming area around a town of under 1,000 population. I feel that in such a limited area, each individual in our society carries a fuller load. The handicapped members of our community capably carry this extra load even though the progress for them has been more difficult.

One individual, whom I have in mind, is a boy whom I have known for 6 years. He is about 20-years-old and is a high school graduate. Like thousands of other people, he has had epilepsy since birth. Due to the work of doctors and the concern of his parents he has been able to cut down on the number and intensity of the convulsions. He has participated in many 4-H activities during the 10 years that he has been a member of that organization. A few of the honors he has received are: Champion dairy showman, champion county dairy animal, local club president, vice president, and secretary, delegate to State 4-H convention, and Jackson-Jones Camp. In addition to his 4-H work, he bowls regularly, and has the credit of having participated in high school basketball all 4 years. At present, he is helping on his father's farm.

Also in our community is a young girl with a deformed arm. Although this arm is shorter than her other arm and has only two fingers, she has worked to become a registered nurse. Her willingness to work and her ingenuity have far surpassed her handicap. Through her profession, she had aided the ill and injured of her community; hence, she is contributing a great deal.

One of my high school teachers also has a deformed arm. The arm has been affected by polio. When this man was in college, he worked part time for a construction company as a steam-shovel operator. He did this only to prove that the job could be performed by a person with this man's handicap. In his present job of teaching, he is equal to any two-armed teacher I have ever known.

Accidents, as well as disease, can cause physical handicaps. Our paper is delivered every Sunday by a man with one arm. The other arm was lost during his time in the service. He holds a regular job in addition to delivering this rural paper route.

A number of farmers in my community have lost a hand or a foot in a farming accident. Most of them carry on their operations as they did before through the use of artificial limbs; thus, they enable themselves to do their work with seemingly remarkable ease; although, I imagine it is more difficult than it looks.

We once had a hired helper on our farm who got his foot caught in a grain grinder. The grinder chewed up his toes and the first three toes had to be removed from his foot. This, of course, has affected his balance. Nevertheless, he is still able to perform many of the same duties such as: feeding livestock, baling hay, and repairing machinery.

Another handicapped worker in my community is a carpenter who constructed half of the buildings on our farm without one of his thumbs. In his 35 years as a carpenter, he has helped farmers of the area erect many buildings, feed bunks, and cement yards.

These people of my community * * * a nurse, a teacher, a carpenter, a farmer * * * are all strong links in the chain of our society. They have conquered their handicap to the extent that it is almost no longer a handicap. And certainly, people in years to come will be handicapped—this we know. But if they are encouraged and given equal opportunities, I feel sure that they, too, will be an asset to their community.

TRIBUTE TO JOHN H. MITCHELL

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, one of Iowa's most prominent citizens is John H. Mitchell, attorney, of Fort Dodge.

His record as a public servant is long, he having served as the attorney general of Iowa and as speaker of the Iowa House of Representatives.

In addition, he has served his community not only as a civic leader but also as a member and president of the board of education.

It would seem that anyone who has contributed so much would now be content to sit back and rest on his laurels.

But John Mitchell is an unusual person. At the age of 66, he is now lending his talents and imagination to yet another endeavor, one which he is admirably suited to pursue.

He has been elected to a nine-member board charged with the establishment of an area college-vocational school for an eight-county Iowa area.

He took on this responsibility because he is convinced of the need to put into effect this new concept in higher education, with its tremendous potential.

It is because of men like John Mitchell that the towns and cities of this Nation are undergoing startling transformation in thinking and action.

I ask unanimous consent that the article from the Fort Dodge Messenger of March 19, entitled "New Challenges: Area College Board," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Fort Dodge (Iowa) Messenger, Mar. 19, 1966]

NEW CHALLENGE: AREA COLLEGE BOARD

A Fort Dodger who has been Iowa's attorney general, speaker of the Iowa House and head of a number of local civic organizations now offers his talents and considerable experience in a new field in which he is greatly interested.

John H. Mitchell, 66, is a candidate for the Area 5 Community College-Vocational School from one of the Webster County districts because of his intense conviction that this new concept in higher education has tremendous potential.

Rather than reminisce quietly over a remarkably successful and varied career as attorney, lawmaker, civic worker and school leader, Mitchell is running for a place on the nine-member board which will be charged with setting up the area college-vocational school for Calhoun, Greene, Hamilton, Humboldt, Pocahontas, Sac, Webster, and Wright Counties. The election is April 11.

School board service would be nothing new for Mitchell, of course. For 16 years (1945–61) he was a member of the Fort Dodge Community School District board, for 7½ of those years he was board president. His presidency (1954–61) extend over the biggest construction era in history, during a time when the $2 million senior high-college building and other schools were built. Declining to run in 1961, he moved almost immediately to the Webster County Board of Education, elected by write-in votes.

"During the time I spent on the Fort Dodge and the Webster County boards, I saw the need for an area institution of the type envisoned in this eight-county sector of Iowa," Mitchell says.

"County boards were assigned the responsibility of setting up the area schools under State legislation passed a year ago and carrying out this task has been one of the major functions of our county board. I was glad to help in the study, both as a county board member and later as one of the advisory committeemen which met frequently with the county superintendents who actually did the leg work."

Mitchell is sold on the area college-vocational school because he feels it will: (1) Help supply a need for skilled help for industry in the area and State; (2) make it possible for many to attend college more economically because they will remain at their homes; (3) relieve the strain on 4-year colleges, particularly the three major State institutions (University of Iowa, Iowa State and State College of Iowa); (4) spread the capital and operating costs for the 2-year colleges over an area large enough to support them.

"I see another added bonus, too," Mitchell says. "I think the area college will break down barriers between Fort Dodge and cities, towns and rural areas surrounding our city. I think we will all better realize the necessity and advantages of working together, not only in the field of education but in many other ways as well. I have already noticed that trend."

Mitchell foresees a time when the State institutions will become largely graduate-type schools, or at least where students will enroll at the junior level with all freshman and sophomore classes being taken at the 2-year area colleges.

Winner of the 1962 Lions Club Community Service Award, Mitchell was cited then for this list of achievement and honors:

President, chamber of commerce, 1945–46.

President, Rotary Club, 1944–45.

President, Webster County Bar Association, 1953–54.

Past grand knight and past district deputy, Knights of Columbus.

Past commander, Humboldt American Legion post, and past Eighth District commander of the Legion.

Past exalted ruler, Elks.

One of the organizers and directors of the Fort Dodge Betterment Foundation.

Member of the planning group and building committee for major improvements at Corpus Christi Parish.

Trustee, United Fund of Iowa, 1953.

A member of the Mitchell, Mitchell and Murray law firm, John Mitchell was Federal referee in bankruptcy from 1951 to 1965. He practiced law in Humboldt for 4 years after receiving his law degree from the University of Iowa in 1923. In 1927 he came to Fort Dodge to join his father, the late Michael J. Mitchell, in a law firm. (His interest in education may be hereditary because his father taught school several years before practicing law).

Mitchell was born in Fort Dodge, graduated from Fort Dodge High School in 1918, then enrolled at Loras College in Dubuque. His college education was interrupted by service in the Army from September 1918, to January 1919.

Running for State representative from Webster County on the Democratic ticket, Mitchell was elected in 1932 at the age of 33 and served two terms (1933–36). During his second term he was elected speaker of the house. Then, in 1936, he ran successfully for attorney general and served in 1937–38.

"I lost the race for reelection in 1938 and decided to get out of politics and devote myself to the practice of law," Mitchell says.

"I derived more satisfaction from the years on the Fort Dodge school board than in any other capacity," Mitchell says. "I was apopinted to the board to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of James I. Dolliver when he went to Washington as a Congressman in January 1945," Mitchell recalls, "I hadn't even thought about serving on the board before that. But I enjoyed it from the first and found much satisfaction in meetings, planning and all that goes with board service. And I also found association with many fine members through the years most rewarding."

Two rather unusual new business ventures have interested Mitchell during the past year and he's devoted considerable time and leadership to them. He is chairman of the board of Farm Investors, Inc., a Fort Dodge-headquartered group which is buying and providing management for farms. And he is president of Beaver Creek Distillery, Inc., which will build a distillery in or near Fort Dodge. The boards of both groups include a number of widely known Iowans.

Mitchell married Ruth Jaqua of Humboldt in February 1926. They have two daughters, Mrs. Walter Schluter (Martha) of Mound, Minn., and Mrs. James Kruse (Jeanne) of Colorado Springs, Colo., and five grandchildren.

ANSWER TO THE QUESTION, "IS GOD DEAD?"

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, more and more people are seeking the answer to a question which on the surface would appear to be absurd: "Is God dead?"

I feel that one need only look within himself to find the answer to that question. Yet it has fanned itself into discussions at practically every level of society. It is a question being discussed academically, theologically, and philosophically.

Perhaps, because of the sorry state of morality today, it does have a place in the conversations of society.

Recently, one of Iowa's most respected columnists, Jim Arpy, of the Davenport Times-Democrat, focused his attention on this subject.

His conclusion: "I think God is minding the store."

And in drawing on everyday life as his source to show that God is, indeed, very much alive, Mr. Arpy posed a question of which I believe the most learned should take note:

> We are an infinitesimal speck in a vast universe. Isn't it rather presumptuous of us then to question its operation, to speculate that the power that created it all is no more?

Mr. President, I quite agree.

I ask unanimous consent that the column from the Davenport Sunday Times-Democrat of April 17, 1966, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Is God dead?

Startling thought, isn't it? Yet this has been the subject of much discussion among Quad-City church groups lately, and throughout the world.

Noted theologians have argued pro and con, the "God is dead" group being vocal and containing many learned members, but definitely in the minority.

Many of the arguments, both for and against the theory, are so obscure and cloaked in ecclesiastical legalese that it is even difficult for members of the clergy, not to mention the layman, to grasp them.

Some feel that having made Heaven and Earth, God's work was completed and He went away and died. Others say modern man is so advanced that he no longer needs Him, and not being needed God no longer exists.

I know little of theology, not much of religious dogma, would be torn asunder debating the issue, but I do not believe God is dead, and I must determine this for myself through simple guidelines.

I believe God lives in the innocence of my little daughter when she puts her tiny hand in mine with complete trust.

I believe God lives in the delicate beauty of a flower.

I believe God lives in the love between a man and a woman.

I believe God lives in the basic good in most men.

I believe God lives in the glory of a spring day.

I believe God lives in music and in poetry.

Have you ever seen a factory that has been neglected for a long time? Gradually the machines break down, business dwindles and production stops. The world, for all its troubles, is still in business, still functioning with a mathematical keenness man can never achieve. Fantastically intricate life processes continue, unguided, and often hardly understood by man.

Who could sit on a river bank in the quiet of dawn and not be aware of a power greater than himself?

Who has not been desperate and had his prayers answered in a most unexpected way?

Who has not watched the skies at night and marveled at his own insignificance, and at the precision with which the universe operates?

Is it all some giant accident? Did all the miracles just happen? Is there no longer any power at the helm? Would all this, once put into motion, go on forever and ever untended?

Perhaps this is not what the "God is dead" advocates mean. Perhaps they mean that God does not exist for the man who does not believe in Him or need Him. Perhaps there are many such people today, but it does not seem so.

I have never seen a prison without a chapel. I have known men who broke all God's commandments, but admitted they prayed to Him in their time of need.

I think God is minding the store. I think his power moves among men, the good and the bad. The "God is dead" proponents ask why God would permit such bloodshed, such inhumanity, if He were still alive.

If you were ever in battle, you will know that you never were able to see the whole picture. What you were doing often seemed confused and useless, having no relationship to the grand strategy. You wondered why men died for objectives that seemed worthless.

Yet finally there emerged what military men call "the big picture" and you found that all along the men in command had a plan, knew what they were doing, and that your seemingly senseless role was vital after all.

We are an infinitesimal speck in a vast universe. Isn't it rather presumptuous of us then to question its operation, to speculate that the power that created it all is no more?

AROUSING NEGRO HOPES THAT CANNOT BE FULFILLED

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, recently the Washington bureau chief of the Des Moines Register and Tribune wrote a thoughtful column on what has become a most agonizing problem.

Because, in my opinion, it merits the attention of Senators, I ask unanimous consent that the column, entitled "Arousing Negro Hopes That Cannot Be Fulfilled," published in the Des Moines Register of April 18, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Des Moines Register, Apr. 18, 1966]

AROUSING NEGRO HOPES THAT CANNOT BE FULFILLED

(By Richard Wilson)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—We heard the voice of the mob in Washington last week. Poverty Director Sargent Shriver was howled down at a "poor people's convention." Senseless rioting at an amusement park marked the advent of spring. In both cases the disturbances were fundamentally and clearly racial expressions.

The spirit of riot has gotten itself fixed in the Negro consciousness. The national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, Floyd B. McKissick, says that at least 40 American cities are ready to erupt in racial violence this summer. Negro feeling, he said, has reached a "riot pitch" in New York, Los Angeles, Washington, Philadelphia, and Detroit.

DISTURBING ELEMENT

It is to be hoped that McKissick is wrong in this and is not suffering the kind of mass hysteria which actually did bring on the disturbances in Washington. But whether or not he is right or wrong, the most deeply disturbing element is that the end of the road has nearly been reached on what can be done by law to guarantee the constitutional and human rights of Negroes.

President Johnson has put off for a couple of weeks his planned intention of submitting to Congress what was thought of as the last round in civil rights legislation. It would have provided for, and still will, national standards in the selection of juries, and national standards prohibiting discrimination in the sale and rental of housing.

These are reforms which have existed in many areas of the North where rioting is now threatened. Fair housing standards and honest jury selection, added to guaranteed access to all public accommodations, bans against discrimination in employment, integrated education—all these things are not enough. They are not enough, but what more is there?

WHITE HOUSE CAMPERS

Expectations have been aroused which cannot be fulfilled. Shriver's experience with the emotional hecklers at the "poor people's convention" was of a piece with the houseless sharecroppers who camped in tents between the tulip beds in Lafayette Park opposite the White House.

The tented demonstrators from Mississippi, living in their four modern camper's tents, were asking for houses to live in. Washington, they thought, had promised them houses, and they came to claim them from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

But neither Washington nor Congress had really promised them houses. It only sounded that way in the large and fulsome prattlings of the politicians. The OEO can indeed supply a sharecropper up to $2,250 to start building a house. But where is the sharecropper to get the land to build on, the mortgage to build with, the income to meet the mortgage payments? He can do none of these things, and to him the Great Society is a fraud, as it was to the demonstrators who embarrassed and shocked Shriver by reminding him that their families eat beans while his eats steak.

HE INVITED THE RIOT

Shriver left the convention, saying that he would not participate in a riot. In fact he invited the riot himself. "The discontent of the poor is explosive," he declared with love in his heart, and then the shouting began.

This illustrated so aptly that what has been promised is not being delivered, and will not be delivered. Poor Negroes have won the same constitutional rights as the white poor, who far outnumbered them. They are as free as the white poor to buy houses they cannot pay for, as free as the white poor to want things they cannot get, as equal as the white poor before God, and now the law.

Perhaps the time has come, and belatedly, for more realism from those who have talked as if their championship of civil rights for Negroes would usher in the millennium. They have evoked in the minds of some of the untutored poor the visions of their moving spirituals, of God's green pastures with themselves as angels picnicking in bliss every day.

NO SUCH GUARANTEE

But the U.S. Constitution gave no such guarantee, it only guaranteed the right of all to find their own way in equality to the green pastures.

So we are beginning to reach down now far deeper than the Constitution, far deeper than ordinary emotions, into the causes of Negro unrest which cannot be corrected by law.

The road ahead is long and hard. The only answers lie in dogged determination to raise the educational level, the cultural level, the economic level of both Negroes and whites, and pray that in the meantime those who have aroused expectations which cannot be fulfilled by law will cease their riot-inducing tactics.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. Is a message from the President on civil rights on the desk as of today?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. RIBICOFF in the chair). No such message has been received.

Mr. JAVITS. Has an order been entered which would allow that message to be received, notwithstanding the adjournment of the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Such an order has been entered.

Mr. JAVITS. May this inquiring Senator know what else the order allows?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The order authorizes committees to file reports; the Secretary of the Senate to receive messages from the President and the House of Representatives; and the Vice President or President pro tempore to sign duly enrolled bills.

Mr. JAVITS. But no bills may be received until the next session of the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. No bills may be introduced until Monday at 12 o'clock noon, if the Senate should adjourn until that time pursuant to the order already entered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may submit as a part of my remarks a statement on the proposals of the President with respect to civil rights, so far as we know them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MCGOVERN in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS FOR THE HANDICAPPED

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, on October 20, 1965, the able Senator from Connecticut called for a thorough examination of the organization of the executive branch. In calling our attention to the "confused, diffuse, and disorganized" nature of our present Federal efforts to deal with many problems, he outlined seven steps toward structural improvement. These guidelines have been applied in many of our Government's attempts to improve American life.

One area which has not yet been examined, and one where the inquiry is long overdue is the role of the Federal Government in programs for the handicapped.

At the Federal level no less than 28 agencies, bureaus, divisions, and commissions are charged with responsibility for major programs for the disabled. Between these agencies, there is totally inadequate communication and coordination. For example: two men heading programs for juvenile delinquency in two separate departments of HEW were at their jobs for 2 years—and had never met, talked on the phone, or even corresponded.

At the State level, the problem is just as acute, and hampers efforts to maintain quality services for the people in need. Rules and regulations setting forth ways and means for State agencies to relate to one another grow out of interagency "cooperative agreements" drawn at the Federal level. These rules and roles are incorporated into the already bulging State manuals to add just another facet to the bureaucratic personality of the worker. While their professed purpose is to effect communication and cooperation, they often serve best as protectors against another agency's encroachment. The result is that the gulf is often widened.

Take, for example, the argument between a mental hospital rehabilitation unit and a rehabilitation unit in the school for the mentally retarded (each administered by a separate agency), over who had jurisdiction and responsibility for a 19-year-old, mentally retarded boy with serious emotional problems. The harangue raged for 3 months and then was resolved. The boy stole a car to go back to the mental hospital where he had been evaluated and where some hope for help was present and another agency—the county court—was therefore forced, by inaction of the other agencies, to assume jurisdiction. This is a sad commentary on the rigid administrative tangles present in our helping programs.

Now let us turn to the local, the community level:

I call the Senate's attention to the problems faced by a family in New York. I can assure you that this story, these difficulties, are present in every State and many communities. Thus, this problem is of vital concern to every Senator and the entire Nation. This story is repeated daily across our great land. The shameful details, the grotesque tragedy, must be ended.

This is a story of a family of nine. The head of the household, a man in his middle forties, is paraplegic following a recent auto accident, which interrupted his consistent work record. His wife, and the mother of his seven children, has no work history other than her full-time homemaking responsibilities. The children range in age from 17 to twins who are 5. A daughter 13 is congenitally blind, and the twins are mentally retarded. A 10-year-old son is emotionally disturbed. A 15-year-old son is on probation from juvenile court.

This is a family with many problems; but, as we know, there are agencies with services to meet the total need. Our social agencies emanating from Federal agencies are designed to provide the necessary services to restore, to rehabilitate this family to its former productive, contributing role.

But, let us examine the real problems this family faces—the ones with which they are not able to cope.

This family currently has relations with 10 social and health agencies. In the process of establishing relationships with these helping agencies, 10 separate social and medical histories were obtained. Ten separate application forms were completed, 10 separate delays were encountered while the information volunteered was verified and processed. Some of these delays stretched into months of waiting while the family was told that their application was under review.

The welfare department, employment service, vocational rehabilitation, public health, community mental health clinic, services for the blind, the school counselor, the probation officer, the day care center for the retarded, the social worker assigned to out-patient services at the local teaching hospital—all are known by the family.

But do these many agencies know the family and its complex of problems? At no time during the past 2 years (since the family became involved with the first of these helping agencies) has there been any attempt by the case workers, counselors, physicians, and nurses assigned to come together in a meeting to share information and insights. There has been no attempt to develop a total plan of services for this unfortunate family. More than half of the helping persons involved do not know each other, nor do they know even that the other agencies are serving the family. In total, five physicians, three counselors, six social workers, and 3 nurses have worked toward resolution of parts of this family's problem. These 17 people are not in contact other than through their professional organizations where talking about day-to-day specific cases is not favored.

This waste of duplication and fragmentation is the crux of the problem faced by this family. It is also central to the problem we face as Senators. For, I submit that this situation is but a microcosm of the existing confusion, diffusion, lack of communication and coordination which exists at every level of government and program—Federal, State, and local.

Congress has demonstrated an amazing sensitivity to the many very real and critical needs in the fields of health and rehabilitation services, but I say that confusion, duplication, fragmentation, and the absence of coordination in planning and administering these programs places the objectives of Congress, and the welfare of this Nation, in jeopardy.

We must now consolidate our gains—and end the losses of duplication and fragmentation.

I have therefore asked the Senator from Connecticut to institute an inquiry into the role of the Federal agencies which provide services to our handicapped citizens. He has, in turn, asked me to take the leadership in this effort. I welcome this opportunity to conduct full hearings into this critical situation through the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization.

At this time, I would like to set out some of the areas on which I expect the hearings will focus.

I. CHILD HEALTH AND HEALTH PERSONNEL

I have found federally sponsored child health programs under the aegis of 16 different Federal bureaus, divisions, agencies, institutions, commissions, administration departments, offices, or sections. The programs are "title" programs, and under each of these there may be many services and subprograms. Eleven of these programs represent various components of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, of which the Children's Bureau is only one.

Established agencies concerned with health services face serious difficulties in the competitive recruiting for professional personnel at all levels.

Federal regulations governing the major health programs administered through the Public Health Service, or the Children's Bureau in HEW, require that personnel be employed under approved merit system plans that define personnel policies, qualifications, and compensation for those employed. Higher salaries can and are being offered by agencies outside the Public Health Service, sometimes without due consideration of qualifications. Subprofessional personnel have been employed under professional titles. Food service workers in the Head Start program have been hired as "nutritionists." School districts can employ registered nurses without public health training or experience, or vocational nurses at higher salaries, shorter hours, and longer vacations than can be provided by local health departments.

Many school nurses work without either medical or nursing supervision. They almost never provide services on a family unit basis. They make relatively little use of the nursing skills in which they are trained and for which there is dire need in community hospitals and local health departments. I have long been an advocate of school health programs, but a drain of graduate nurses into a less responsible school position, where they do not utilize their professional training potentials, does not seem justified at this time.

OEO through the community action programs, can support neighborhood health centers for both preventive and treatment services, independently from local health departments. The Children's Bureau and Public Health Service have authority to provide grant-in-aid funds for similar purposes, and a recent memorandum indicates that there are Federal funds, for the same purposes, in the "neighborhood facilities" programs under section 703 of Housing and Urban Development.

These duplications are wasteful of money and manpower. Perhaps more serious, in the long run, is the lowering of standards. The "filling station" concept of child health services is in distinct contrast to Children's Bureau standards and philosophy of treating the child as a whole, with sensitivity to the child's family, social and interrelated needs, and adherence to accepted minimum standards under sound established administrative and professional direction.

This entire children's health question—including the better and wider use of the experience, standards of excellence, and organization of the Children's Bureau—will receive serious attention from the subcommittee.

PROGRAMS FOR MENTAL HEALTH AND MENTAL RETARDATION

I am able to identify 22 Federal programs for mental health and mental retardation. These are listed under the sponsorship of the National Institute for Mental Health, the Public Health Service, Bureau of State Services, Children's Bureau, Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, Community Action Program, Office of Manpower, Automation and Labor—Department of Labor, U.S. Employment Service—Department of Labor, Division of Elementary and Secondary Education—Office of Education, and Division of Community Health Services. Even without detailed knowledge of these programs, duplication and fragmentation is abundantly evident. In this field, a comprehensive study of programs and their relationships to each other, as well as to the national goals, is needed.

PROGRAM FOR THE AGED

I found it of interest, that of all "Programs for the Aged"—including medicare—I was able to identify only six major titled programs in only four Health, Education, and Welfare administrative agencies. The fact that these are probably the largest and at the same time the best planned and organized programs, suggests that a minimum of duplications and fragmentation might bear a significant correlation to a well planned program involving a minimum of agencies.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I yield.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I commend the Senator from New York for his interesting analysis of this program. I am very pleased to be chairman of the subcommittee and am pleased to assign this important role to the distinguished Senator. I believe that we do have a very serious problem in the field of the handicapped.

I know of no person in this country, let alone the Senate, better qualified to undertake this entire study, not only because of the Senator's ability and his understanding of the problem, but because of his deep compassion for all those in our society who, because of some misfortune or some problem beyond their control, need the help of a private or public agency.

I would anticipate, as a result of the efforts of the Senator from New York, that we will have greatly improved programs; but more important, much more effective help to the disabled people, both young and old, in the United States.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I thank the Senator from Connecticut for his statement, and also for his cooperation and help in this entire effort.

PROGRAMS FOR DISABLED AND REHABILITATION

Every person who is chronically ill or handicapped from any disorder is disabled; hence, all are candidates for some kind and degree of rehabilitation. It is not surprising that vocational rehabilitation programs cut a wide swath and touch on a majority, if not all, health programs. I have identified 18 Federal programs that could be classified as programs for disabled and rehabilitation administered by 9 separate agencies and divisions.

COMMUNITY HEALTH PROGRAMS

A large number and a wide variety of community health programs may be identified under the sponsorship of the Office of Education, Bureau of State Services, Children's Bureau, community action program, Division of Community Health Services, U.S. Public Health Service, National Institute of Mental Health, Division of Medical Facilities (Public Health Service), and Urban Renewal Administration. The overlap is obvious.

MISCELLANEOUS

In addition to the multiplicity of categorical and health agency programs, there are special "group" programs that include the Appalachia regional programs, Division of Indian Health, Cuban refugee staff, Migrant Agricultural Workers Health Section of the U.S. Public Health Service, the Veterans' Administration and each of the Armed Forces; a migrant branch is listed in the community action program. All of these offer very broad health programs to large groups selected from the general class of Americans with similar problems.

The community action program of OEO lists grants for health, family planning, vocational rehabilitation, welfare, multiservice neighborhood centers, as well as Project Headstart day care and its special health programs. The spectrum of these selective group programs duplicate major programs in various branches of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in almost all respects.

I can think of arguments for such a scatter and duplication. Certainly, with such multiplicity we cannot describe our health programs as "centralized." However, slogans such as "competition is healthy," "sixteen heads are better than one," etc., do not suffice for those who have devoted their lives in the pursuit and support of standards of excellence, administrative responsibility, and the rationale of feasibility or for the family I have just described. Perhaps we want or need all of those programs under all of these agencies. If we do, it should be planned with reasonably coordinated cooperation.

It is my hope that ways to achieve that cooperation and coordination will come out of the study which will now be conducted by the Subcommittee on Government Reorganization.

On April 25 the President submitted to the Congress Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1966 providing for reorganization of health functions of the Department of

Health, Education, and Welfare. As is normal the reorganization plan itself tells us very little—only that authority now vested in the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service will be transferred to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The details of the reorganization are not available but there are indications that the present National Institute of Mental Health will be separated out of NIH and established as a separate bureau within PHS. This upgrading of this function is welcome but we will want to look carefully at its total impact on programs affecting the physically and mentally handicapped.

I join with the President in the mandate he expressed in his message on domestic health and education on March 1, 1966, that:

> Our first concern must be the efficient and effective administration of the Federal programs.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I want to commend the junior Senator from New York for his interest and applaud his analysis of the status of Federal programs for our handicapped citizens. The rapid growth in the number of separate programs has created vast information gulfs between Federal agencies, their State counterparts, the people who will ultimately be the consumers of the services. But perhaps a more serious gulf is between the bureaus and divisions within Federal Departments.

I concur with your suggestion that we inquire into the role of the Federal agencies providing services for handicapped people. I have asked the junior Senator from New York to take the lead in conducting this review. A multitude of evidence confirms that such a study could prove tremendously useful to the Nation.

I should like to set forth what I regard as a few additional guidelines of the inquiry.

First. Its aim will be to get the significant facts and present them to the Senate and the Nation, together with our judgment and conclusions.

Second. Our traditional procedure on the subcommittee has been to learn and set forth which agency is doing what, why, how, where, at what cost, and with what relationship to what other agencies are doing.

Third. We will work very closely, I am sure with the able Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, John W. Gardner, who shares our interest for facilitating inter- and intra-agency cooperation.

Fourth. We will be interested in how well interagency mechanisms are actually working. It is clear that interagency coordination is the key to success if we are to avoid gaps, duplication, and fragmentation of services. You have already identified nearly 30 organizational entities with considerable responsibility for these services. Our past studies have repeatedly shown that, even with the best intentions, Federal agencies face serious difficulties in coordination and collaboration, because of often different orientations, approaches, and backgrounds.

Fifth. We will want to learn the areas of interagency agreement and of interagency disagreement, as well as comparable points of agreement and dispute in the vast private sector of our society.

Having outlined these areas, we will be in a position to find a sound, judicious road ahead.

A sense of overall perspective is essential. All this will take time and resources and it is to be thoroughly pursued. We will be evaluating our ongoing work to determine whether additional resources will be necessary to insure a complete airing is developed.

I know under Senator KENNEDY's leadership the programs designed to help the handicapped of the Nation will be improved and strengthened.

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

CIVIL RIGHTS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

To the Congress of the United States:

Last year, I came before the Congress in an hour of crisis to recommend new and powerful guarantees of the right to vote.

Americans faced again the ancient questions:

Who shall take part in the process of democracy?

Shall it be only those born with white skins?

If a man's color should not be the sole criterion for determining his right to vote, how shall we make sure that Negroes are not denied the ballot?

I asked the Congress, on that March night in 1965, to strike down all restrictions to voting in all elections—Federal, State, and local—which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote.

Less than 5 months after I spoke, the Congress perfected and passed our Voting Rights Act of 1965.

I said then that the challenge of voting discrimination had been nothing less than a test of our faith in democracy. Congress met that test. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 reaffirmed the equality of man and Government by all the people.

The fruits of the Voting Rights Act and of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are already impressively apparent.

Discrimination in places of public accommodation—perhaps the most unbearable insult to Negro citizens—has been made unlawful. The mandate of that law has spread faster and more effectively than its most optimistic supporters believed possible.

Discrimination in employment is now illegal. Opportunities closed to Negroes in the past have begun to open.

The discriminatory use of Federal funds has been prohibited. The effect of that prohibition—strengthened by new Federal procedures—is now being felt in schools, hospitals, welfare programs and in many other areas once blighted by racial bias.

The Community Relations Service has helped to bring new understanding to areas where community tensions have threatened to disrupt peaceful progress. Now that the Service has been integrated with other civil rights facilities in the Department of Justice and is being enlarged, we expect it to be even more effective.

In the 5 States where voter discrimination was once most severe, Negro registration has increased by 50 percent. Voter registration by local officials and Federal examiners appointed under the act has exceeded 330,000.

At the time of the 1964 national election, less than 25 percent of the Negro citizens of voting age in those 5 States were registered to vote. We expect that by the time of the next elections in these States the figure will reach 50 percent. It is already over 40 percent.

This achievement serves to renew our faith in the ultimate triumph of a government in which all freemen can participate. It strengthens our resolve to extend the franchise to all who are eligible.

For a democracy cannot be fully realized, when in these 5 States more than a million eligible Negroes remain unregistered. The challenge to them—and to those in government and private life who labor with them for their just share in the electoral process—is as critically important as the legislative need to enact today's civil rights laws. The statutes now on the books have given Negro Americans the key to freedom. Now it must be used.

I

Once more this year I am asking the Congress to join in an attack on the discrimination that still afflicts our land.

Four times in 9 years the representatives of the people have labored through days and nights—through weeks and months—toward the passage of civil rights legislation.

I was part of each of those efforts. I know the fatigue and the triumph that accompanied them. Thus I do not ask for new laws lightly.

Yet discriminatory racial practices still exist in many American communities. They deny the Negro his rights as a citizen. They must be ended.

I ask the Congress:

First, to reform our Federal criminal statutes to provide Negroes and all who labor or speak for racial justice the protection of stronger and more effective criminal laws against interference with the exercise of long established rights.

Second, to establish detailed procedures of jury selection in Federal courts so that discrimination may be banished—and to create forceful guarantees that State court juries also will be selected without discrimination of any kind.

Third, to broaden the Attorney General's authority to bring suit for the desegregation of schools and public facilities—enabling him to commit the Government's legal resources where they are most critically needed.

Fourth, to declare a national policy against racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing, and to create effective remedies against that discrimination in every part of America.

II

Perhaps the most evident threat to civil rights in 1966 is the danger that recently secured rights may be violently denied by a relatively few racial fanatics.

Citizens who honor the law and who tolerate orderly change—a majority in every part of the country—have been shocked by attacks on innocent men and women who sought no more than justice for all Americans.

The effect of that violence extends far beyond individual victims. Every assault or murder that goes unpunished reinforces the legacy of violence—the knowledge that it is dangerous for a Negro to assert his rights, or even for others to stand up for those rights.

Our federal system assumes that local law enforcement will extend protection to all. Yet the speed with which the fanatics strike has made the work of prevention extremely difficult—even for zealous local police authorities. In some areas, local authorities have been slow or even unwilling to act against the most brazen violence.

So it is that new measures are essential if rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution to every citizen are to be protected.

Laws enacted a century ago to contain racial terror and Klan violence are now clearly inadequate. One of the most important of these statutes requires proof not simply of an act violating a person's civil rights. It also requires the often-difficult showing of specific intent to do so and proof of a conspiracy.

Further, no matter how brutal the crime and no matter what the motive of the criminal, it is possible that the courts will conclude that some degree of involvement by local officials may well be required by these ancient statutes.

And, finally, though offenses may range from threats to murders only a single set of penalties is provided, and those may be inadequate to suit the gravity of the crime.

Law enforcement authority so restricted cannot be effective. And if that authority is lacking, so is justice. What gain is there for either conscience or country if we proudly affirm human rights and then permit those rights to be swept aside by lawless fanatics?

Accordingly, today I propose the enactment of legislation to make our authority against civil rights violence clear and sure. The legislation I offer is designed to prohibit any interference with the exercise of fundamental rights by threats or force, by any person—whether as an individual or in a group and whether privately or officially.

The measure enumerates these rights, including voting, education, housing, employment, jury service, and travel. And it provides for graduated penalties, permitting our courts to make appropriate responses to differing degrees of interference or intimidation.

Further, we shall ask for an expansion of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, specifically to permit it to increase its effective role in the enforcement of civil rights laws.

At times in the recent past, as many as one-third of the Bureau's agents have been assigned to the investigation of civil rights matters. The number of civil rights complaints the Bureau investigated in the last fiscal year was 143 percent more than the figure for 1961. These responsibilities place a heavy burden on the Bureau's field staff.

On the advice of Attorney General Katzenbach and FBI Director Hoover, I recommend that Congress authorize an appropriation providing for another 100 FBI agents and additional supporting personnel—to strengthen our capacity to deal with civil rights crimes.

In every city and town and rural community, law-abiding men and women and women must look for protection primarily to improved local law enforcement. But the Federal Government has its responsibilties to see that Federal rights are secured and their transgressors brought to justice.

We shall meet these responsibilities.

III

The fabric of law enforcement extends from the police patrol to trial and correction. Racial discrimination in any part of this fabric can spoil the rest.

It is necessary that we impove our investigative resources. It is necessary that we strengthen Federal authority against interference with basic rights and impose meaningful sanctions on those who violate them.

Yet if we go only this far—and permit racial discriminaton to corrupt the selection on juries—we shall leave at the center of our legal system a potential for injustice that mocks our hopes for a great and just society.

Trial by a freely selected jury of one's peers is not a new right. It has its roots in the Magna Carta. Blackstone described it as the "grand bulwark" of man's liberties.

Yet we have been reminded in recent months that in many areas the exclusion of minority groups from jury service remains systematic and complete.

Denying jury service to any group deprives it of one of the oldest and most precious privileges and duties of freemen. It is not only the excluded group which suffers. Courts are denied the justice that flows from impartial juries selected from a cross section of the community. The people's confidence in justice is eroded.

Jury discrimination takes many forms, open and subtle, intentional and inadvertent:

Many jury officials may compile their basic list of potential jurors from membership lists, clubs, and civic organizations that tend to exclude minority groups.

Some State laws require jury officials to make highly subjective judgments of a juror's "integrity, good character, and sound judgment."

Even when the list of qualified jurors has been fairly compiled, officials in many areas are still free to exclude a particular class of citizens arbitrarily when they make assignments to particular juries.

None of today's civil rights laws gives sufficient protection against these practices.

An 1875 statute makes it a Federal crime for officials in either Federal or State courts to exclude jurors because of their race But criminal sanctions operate only upon individuals—not upon an entire system.

What is required is not the punishment of individuals. It is the restoration of integrity in the system itself.

The time has come for new legislation redeeming the promise made to every American: a fair trial by a jury of his peers.

I recommend legislation stating explicitly for all our courts that the right to serve on grand or petit juries shall not be denied on the basis of race or color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status.

For Federal courts, the legislation will carefully prescribe each step of the jury selection process.

In State courts, the Attorney General and private citizens will be empowered to sue wherever discrimination in jury selection exists. Federal courts will have broad authority to grant relief.

IV

Ten years after the Supreme Court of the United States declared racial segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional, the Congress found it necessary to give new force to the Court's decision.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 provided that all programs receiving Federal financial assistance—including public education—must be administered on a nondiscriminatory basis. The act called for withdrawal of funds where discrimination remained. It also gave the Attorney General authority to file and intervene in suits to desegregate schools.

Enforcement of the 1964 act has brought more progress in real integration in 1 year than in all the preceding 9 years.

While there are still far too few Negro children in desegregated classrooms, the number has multiplied several times. It must and will grow substantially again in the fall.

In providing financial assistance, this administration has insisted on an end to discrimination. But whether or not our assistance is accepted, the requirements of the Constitution must still be met. Segregated schools are still illegal. The law of the land must be and will be upheld.

Thus the Department of Justice has insisted, in more than 40 school suits under the 1964 act, that whether or not school boards receive financial assistance, desegregation must proceed.

Despite marked gains of the last 2 years, the fact remains that today—12 years after the Supreme Court's decision on segregation in schools—only 1 in 13 Negro schoolchildren in the South attends classes with white children.

Two amendments to the 1964 act are needed to strengthen the campaign against racial discrimination in the schools.

One would enlarge the Attorney General's initiative under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

That act authorized the Attorney General to file suits to help communities where severe local pressure and the poverty of aggrieved citizens made private suits impossible. Yet this authorization was qualified by the requirement that the Attorney General first receive a complaint from a parent unable to sue on his own before the Government's legal resources could be brought to bear.

Although the Attorney General can move directly against discrimination in voting, in employment, or in public accommodations, with respect to school discrimination he must first receive a complaint before acting. In communities where the atmosphere of intimidation and ignorance of the law's protection is most severe, the filing of a complaint is most unlikely.

Thus where the need of the Attorney General's intervention is the greatest, his help is least likely to become available.

Accordingly, I propose that the act be amended to allow the Attorney General to file suit directly, without waiting for a complaint, against discrimination in public schools or public facilities.

The second amendment would give the Attorney General the tools to deal with interference against voluntary school desegregation—the same tools that he now has when school desegregation comes under a court order.

The Civil Rights Act of 1960 included provisions to protect court-ordered desegregation from interference These provisions were reasonably adequate when the desegregation of difficult areas was begun under court order.

But today, principally because of wide acceptance of the Office of Education's desegregation standards, many school districts are desegregating for the first time without the direct compulsion of court orders.

This is a hopeful sign—and one that imposes a new obligation on the Government. We must provide adequate assurances against interference to parents and children eager to desegregate schools, and to people siding with and encouraging them in the exercise of their rights.

The criminal legislation I have already described dealing with intimidation would apply to any violent obstruction of school desegregation. But I also recommend civil injunctive procedures against violence, threats of violence or any other interference with school desegregation.

V

The day has long since passed when problems of race in America could be identified with only one section of the country. The social and economic toll exacted by discrimination in employment for example, is felt in all sections.

The Federal Government has worked strenuously to bring leadership to a national effort against such discrimination through the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, plans for progress with industry, and establishment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Other specific legislative steps can now be taken to bolster this effort. The first year's experience of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission suggests that it should be endowed with enforcement power and that its coverage should be broadened.

Proposals focussing on these purposes are already before the Congress. I urge that these needs be given the fullest legislative consideration, and that the Senate complete action on the bill passed by the House of Representatives yesterday.

Freedom from discrimination is not enough. There must be freedom from the disadvantage that 200 years of discrimination helped create. There must be freedom of opportunity, freedom to work.

We look to those at the White House Civil Rights Conference this June and to private employers across America to help us find new ways to match the Nation's promise of civil rights by the fact of civil results—in full and equal employment opportunity.

VI

We undertake to expand and reform the civil rights laws this year with the clear understanding that legal reforms can be counted only a small part of a national program for the Negro American.

We know that the more important challenges of racial inequality today are emphatically national.

Negro ghettos indict our cities North and South, from coast to coast. Hope of cutting back the severe unemployment rate among Negroes is tied directly to the expansion of our national economy. And the ultimate need in human terms—of a more generous idea of brotherhood and a more responsible conception of equality—are part of the unfinished business in every State.

The time has passed when we could realistically deal effectively with racial problems by the passage of what could be strictly defined as civil rights laws.

In fact the most disturbing current measures of the impact of discrimination are economic facts that cover the entire Nation:

Nonwhite Americans constitute only 11 percent of the national labor force, but they make up 20 percent of the unemployed. They take home less than 7 percent of the total personal income of all Americans.

One-fifth of the entire population lives in poverty. One-half of nonwhite Americans live in poverty.

In junior high schools across the country, 12 percent of white children are in school grades below their age level—compared to 30 percent of Negro children.

Poor housing, unemployment and poverty, while they affect racial minorities particularly, will not be defeated by new civil rights laws. Thus, the programs that Congress has adopted go far beyond the vindication of civil rights.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 will enrich the quality of our public schools.

The Housing Act of 1965 will provide part of the decent low- and middle-income housing our cities desperately need. Beyond this, adoption of the Demonstration Cities Act this year will launch a major attack on the blight of urban ghettos.

Amendments to the Manpower Development and Training Act adopted in 1965 will help unskilled Negroes, as well as whites, prepare for a role in the economies of today and tomorrow.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1965—the Antipoverty Act—is reaching out with new hope for the disadvantaged—for those preschool children, teenagers, and older men and women who have never before had cause to hope.

We do not call any of these "civil rights programs." Nevertheless, they are crucial, and perhaps decisive elements in the Negro American's long struggle for a fair chance in life.

It is self-evident that the problems we are struggling with form a complicated chain of discrimination and lost opportunities. Employment is often dependent on education, education on neighborhood schools and housing, housing on income, and income on employment. We have learned by now the folly of looking for any single crucial link in the chain that binds the ghetto.

All the links—poverty, lack of education, underemployment and now discrimination in housing—must be attacked together. If we are to include the Negro in our society, we must do more than give him the education he needs to obtain a job and a fair chance for useful work.

We must give the Negro the right to live in freedom among his fellow Americans.

I ask the Congress to enact the first effective Federal law against discrimination in the sale and rental of housing.

The time has come for the Congress to declare resoundingly that discrimination in housing and all the evils it breeds are a denial of justice and a threat to the development of our growing urban areas.

The time has come to combat unreasoning restrictions on any family's freedom to live in the home and the neighborhood of its choice.

This year marks the hundredth anniversary of the first statute enacted by the Congress in an attempt to deal with discrimination in housing. It reads:

> All citizens of the United States shall have the same right, in every State and territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property.

For 100 years this law has reflected an ideal favoring quality of housing opportunity. Acting under this statute and the 14th amendment, the Supreme

Court has invalidated State and local laws prohibiting the sale of houses to Negroes. It has prohibited the enforcement of racially restrictive covenants. It has struck down State legislation imposing undue burdens upon minority groups with respect to real estate transactions.

There is nothing novel about the congressional concern with housing that I now ask you to expand. Programs enacted by Congress have, for more than three decades, stimulated the development of private housing, and directly financed hundreds of thousands of public housing units.

The historic Housing Act of 1949 proclaimed a national goal for the first time: "a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family."

The great boom in housing construction since the Second World War is, in large part, attributable to congressional action to carry out this objective.

Yet not enough has been done to guarantee that all Americans shall benefit from the expanding housing market Congress has made possible.

Executive Order No. 11063, signed by President Kennedy on November 20, 1962, prohibited housing discrimination where Federal Housing Administration and Veterans' Administration insurance programs are involved. That Executive order clearly expressed the commitment of the executive branch to the battle against housing discrimination.

But that order, and all the amendments that could validly be added to it, are inevitably restricted to those elements of the housing problem which are under direct Executive authority.

Our responsibility is to deal with discrimination directly at the point of sale or refusal, as well as indirectly through financing. Our need is to reach discrimination practiced by financial institutions operating outside the FHA and VA insurance programs, and not otherwise regulated by the Government.

Our task is to end discrimination in all housing, old and new—not simply in the new housing covered by the Executive order.

I propose legislation that is constitutional in design, comprehensive in scope, and firm in enforcement. It will cover the sale, rental, and financing of all dwelling units. It will prohibit discrimination, on either racial or religious grounds, by owners, brokers, and lending corporations in their housing commitments.

Under this legislation, private individuals could sue in either State or Federal courts to block discrimination.

The Attorney General would be empowered to sue directly for appropriate relief, wherever he has reasonable cause to believe that a pattern of discrimination exists.

The legislation would direct the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to make factual studies, and to give technical assistance to the Community Relations Service and all other public and private organizations working to eliminate discriminatory housing patterns.

The bill I am submitting to the Congress this year would leave in effect the many State laws that have preceded the Federal Government in the field of fair housing. We would hope to enact a law that will not only open the fight against discrimination where there are no State laws against it, but also strengthen the enforcement efforts of States which have fair housing programs now.

The ghettos of our major cities—north and south, from coast to coast—represent fully as severe a denial of freedom and the fruits of American citizenship as more obvious injustices. As long as the color of a man's skin determines his choice of housing, no investment in the physical rebuilding of our cities will free men and women living there.

The fair housing law I propose this year is an essential part of our attempt to rejuvenate and liberate America's growing urban areas—and more importantly, to expand the liberty of all the people living in them.

A nation that aspires to greatness cannot be a divided nation—with whites and Negroes entrenched behind barriers of mutual suspicion and fear.

It cannot tolerate overcrowded ghetto schools, producing new thousands of ill-trained citizens for whom the whole community must be responsible; rising health hazards and crime rates in the ghettos' ugly streets and homes, the failure of expensive social programs, such as urban renewal, where there is no way out and up for Negro residents.

The truly insufferable cost of imprisoning the Negro in the slums is borne by our national conscience.

When we restrict the Negroes' freedom, inescapably we restrict a part of our own.

Negro Americans comprise 22 percent of the enlisted men in our Army combat units in Vietnam—and 22 percent of those who have lost their lives in battle there. We fall victim to a profound hypocrisy when we say that they cannot buy or rent dwellings among citizens they fight to save.

VII

No civil rights act, however historic, will be final. We would look in vain for one definitive solution to an injustice as old as the Nation itself—an injustice that leaves no section of the country and no level of American life unstained. This administration has pledged that as long as racial discrimination denies opportunity and equal rights in America, we will honor our constitutional and moral responsibility to restore the balance of justice.

Yet no amount of legislation, no degree of commitment on the part of the National Government, can by itself bring equal opportunity and achievement to Negro Americans. It must be joined by a massive effort on the part of the States and local governments, of industry, and of all citizens, white and Negro.

Hundreds of thousands of Negro Americans in every part of the country are making that effort now. They know that the responsibilities of citizenship follow inevitably from the achievement of civil rights and economic opportunity.

They know that an obligation lies before them, to take full advantage of the improved education and training that is now becoming available to them—in the public schools, in vocational training, in the universities.

They know that it is their task to lead others in the quest for achievement and social justice—to inspire them with confidence, with perseverance, with the mutual forbearance on which our democracy depends.

VIII

We are engaged in a great adventure—as great as that of the last century, when our fathers marched to the western frontier. Our frontier today is of human beings, not of land.

If we are able to open that frontier, to free each child to become the best that is in him to become, our reward—both spiritual and material—will exceed any that we gained a century ago through territorial expansion.

Whether we shall succeed in an issue that rests in the heart of every American. It rests in the determination of Negro Americans to use the opportunities for orderly progress that are now becoming—at last—a reality in their lives. It rests in our common willingness to expand those opportunities in the years ahead.

That issue can and will be decided in only one way. For we have not come this far to fail within sight of our goal.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *April 28, 1966.*

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1966

Mr. HART. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and Senators Bayh, Burdick, Case, Clark, Dodd, Douglas, Fong, Hartke, Inouye, Javits, Kennedy of Massachusetts, Kennedy of New York, Long of Missouri, Mondale, Nelson, Proxmire, Scott, Tydings, and Williams of New Jersey, I send to the desk a bill to carry out the recommendations contained in the President's civil rights message.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. HART. I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, at the moment I reserve my right to object to the introduction of the bill out of order. Do I still have that right to object when the Senator has finished with his remarks?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will have that right until the bill has been introduced.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Chair.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the time remaining for Congress to complete action this session on the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966 is short. But I am confident that with expeditious scheduling of hearings by the Senate Judiciary Committee, together with similar action in the House, this bill can be ready for action in both Houses before Congress adjourns.

There are many who counsel that we should now have a pause in civil rights legislation. This is not, in my opinion, wise counsel. Delivering on the guarantee of equal opportunity for all citizens must not be an on again, off again effort. As long as human rights are denied or abridged anywhere in the Nation, our obligation remains clear.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill, and the explanation of the bill contained in the letter of the Attorney General to the Vice President be printed at this point in my remarks.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object to the introduction of the bill out of order, I ask unanimous consent that the second reading of the bill come up on Tuesday, when the Senate commences its session instead of on Monday, as would be the usual practice, and that the first reading be had now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, do I understand that the unanimous-consent request now fixes Tuesday as the day upon which the second reading will come up?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

The bill will be received; and, without objection, the bill and letter will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 3296) to assure nondiscrimination in Federal and State jury selection and service, to facilitate the desegregation of public education and other public facilities, to provide judicial relief against discriminatory housing practices, to prescribe penalties for certain acts of violence or intimidation, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. HART (for himself and other Senators), was received, read the first time by its title, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 3296

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Civil Rights Act of 1966".

TITLE I

SEC. 101. The analysis and sections 1861 and 1863 through 1869 of Chapter 121 of title 28, United States Code, are amended to read as follows:

"Chapter 121—Juries; trial by jury

"Sec.
"1861. Declaration of Policy.
1862. Discrimination Prohibited.
1863. Jury Commission.
1864. Master Jury Wheel.
1865. Drawing of Names from the Master Jury Wheel.
1866. Qualifications for Jury Service.
1867. Challenging Compliance with Selection Procedures.
1868. Maintenance and Inspection of Records.
1869. Exclusion from Jury Service.
1870. Definitions.
1871. Fees.
1872. Exemptions.
1873. Challenges.
1874. Issues of fact in Supreme Court.
1875. Admiralty and maritime cases.
1876. Actions on bonds and specialties.

"§ 1861. DECLARATION OF POLICY.

"It is the policy of the United States that all qualified persons shall have the opportunity to serve on grand and petit juries in the district courts of the United States and shall have an obligation to serve as jurors when summoned for that purpose.

"§ 1862. DISCRIMINATION PROHIBITED.

"No person or class of persons shall be denied the right to serve on grand and petit juries in the district courts of the United States on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status.

"§ 1863. JURY COMMISSION.

"(a) There shall be a jury commission for each district court of the United States composed of the clerk of the court and a citizen appointed by the court as a jury commissioner: *Provided*, that the court may establish a separate jury commission for one or more divisions of the judicial district by appointing an additional citizen as a jury commissioner to serve with the clerk for such division or divisions. The jury commissioner shall during his tenure in office reside in the judicial district or division for which appointed, shall not belong to the same political party as the clerk serving with him, and shall receive $16 per day for each day necessarily employed in the performance of his duties.

"(b) In the performance of its duties, the jury commission shall act under the direction and supervision of the Chief Judge of the district.

"§ 1864. MASTER JURY WHEEL.

"(a) Each jury commission shall maintain a master jury wheel and shall place in the master wheel names selected at random from the voter registration lists of persons residing in the judicial district or division it serves: *Provided,* That the judicial council of the circuit, with such advice as the Chief Judge of the district may offer, shall prescribe some other source or sources of names for the master wheel in addition to the voter registration lists where necessary, in the judgment of the council, to protect the rights secured by section 1862 of this title.

"(b) The jury commission shall place in the master wheel the names of at least one percent of the total number of persons listed on the voter registration lists for the district or division (or, if sources in addition to voter registration lists have been prescribed pursuant to subsection (a), at least one percent of the total number of persons of voting age residing in the district or division according to the most recent Decennial Census): *Provided,* That in no event shall the jury commisison place in the master wheel the names of fewer than 2,000 persons.

"(c) The Chief Judge of the district shall prescribe, by rule, definite and certain procedures to be followed by the jury commission in making the random selection of names required by subsections (a) and (b) of this section.

"(d) State, local, and Federal officials having custody, possession, or control of voter registration lists or other appropriate records shall make such lists and records available to the jury commission for inspection, reproduction, and coping at all reasonable times as the commission may deem necessary and proper for the performance of its duties under this title. The district courts shall have jurisdiction upon application by the Attorney General to compel compliance with this subsection by appropriate process.

"(e) The master jury wheel shall contain names of persons residing in all counties, parishes or similar political subdivisions within the judicial district or division.

"(f) The jury commission shall in accordance with this section (1) from time to time, as necessary, place additional names in the master wheel and (2) between November 15 and December 31 of each even-numbered year empty and refill the master wheel.

"§ 1865. DRAWING OF NAMES FROM THE MASTER JURY WHEEL.

"(a) From time to time as necessary the jury commission shall publicily draw from the master jury wheel the names of as many persons as may be required for jury service, prepare an alphabetical list of the names drawn, which list shall not be disclosed to any person except pursuant to sections 1867 and 1868 of this title and summon by certified mail the persons whose names are drawn. Each person whose name is drawn, unless he claims exemption from jury service pursuant to section 1872 of this title and subsection (b) of this section, shall appear before the clerk and fill out a juror qualification form to be prescribed by the Administrative Office of the United States Courts in consultation with the Attorney General. The form shall elicit his name, address, age, sex, education, race, religion, occupation, and citizenship and whether he has any physical or mental infirmity, is able to read, write, speak, and understand the English language, and has been convicted in any state or Federal court of record of a crime punishable by imprisonment for more than one year and has not had his civil rights restored by pardon or amnesty. The clerk shall examine the form to determine whether it is filled out completely and responsively and shall call any omissions or apparent errors to the attention of such person who shall make such corrections or additions as may be necessary. If any person summoned is unable to fill out the form, the clerk shall do it for him and indicate on the form the fact that he has done so and the reason. Except as provided in subsection (b) of this section, any person summoned who fails to appear as directed shall be ordered by the court forthwith to appear and show cause for his failure to comply with the summons. Any person who fails to appear pursuant to such order or who fails to show good cause for noncompliance with the summons may be fined not more than $100 or imprisoned not more than three days, or both.

"(b) Any person summoned who is exempt from jury service pursuant to section 1872 of this title may state the basis for his exemption in the space provided on the summons and return the summons duly signed to the clerk by mail. Any person who willfully mispresents his exemption from jury service on a summons may be fined not more than $100 or imprisoned not more than three days, or both.

"§ 1866. QUALIFICATIONS FOR JURY SERVICE.

"(a) The jury commission shall determine solely on the basis of information provided on the juror qualification form or the returned summons whether a person is qualified for or exempt from jury service: *Provided,* that such determination shall be made by the court if other objective evidence obtained by the jury commission indicates that a person is not qualified pursuant to subparagraphs (1), (3), or (4) of subsection (b) hereof. The jury commission shall enter such determination in the space provided on the juror qualification form and the alphabetical list of names drawn from the master jury wheel. If a person did not appear in response to a summons, such fact shall be noted on said list. Whenever a person is determined to be not qualified for jury service, the jury commission shall note on the space provided on the juror qualification form the specific ground of disqualification.

"(b) In making such determination the jury commission shall deem any person qualified to serve on grand and petit juries in the district court unless he—

"(1) is not a citizen of the United States 21 years old who has resided for a period of one year within the judicial district;

"(2) is unable to read, write, speak, and understand the English language;

"(3) is incapable, by reason of mental or physical infirmity, to render efficient jury service; or

"(4) has been convicted in a State or Federal court of record of a crime punishable by imprisonment for more than one year and his civil rights have not been restored by pardon or amnesty.

"(c) The jury commission shall maintain a qualified juror wheel and shall place in such wheel names of persons determined to be qualified as jurors. From time to time, the jury commission shall publicly draw from the qualified juror wheel such number of names of persons as may be required for assignment to grand and petit jury panels. The jury commission or the clerk shall prepare a separate list of names of persons assigned to each grand and petit jury panel.

"§ 1867. CHALLENGING COMPLIANCE WITH SELECTION PROCEDURES.

"(a) In criminal cases, prior to the introduction of evidence at trial, the defendant may move to dismiss the indictment or stay the proceedings against him on the grounds of failure to comply with sections 1864, 1865, or 1866 of this title. The defendant shall be entitled to present in support of such motion the testimony of the jury commission together with other evidence and, where there is some evidence that there has been a failure to comply with sections 1864, 1865, or 1866, any relevant records and papers used by the jury commission in the performance of its duties which are not public or otherwise available. If the court determines that there has been a failure to comply with sections 1864, 1865, or 1866, the court shall dismiss the indictment or stay the proceedings pending the selection of a petit jury in conformity with this title.

"(b) In civil cases, prior to the introduction of evidence at trial, any party may move to stay the proceedings on the ground of failure to comply with sections 1864, 1865, or 1866 of this title. The moving party shall be entitled to present in support of such motion the testimony of the jury commission together with other evidence and, where there is some evidence that there has been a failure to comply with sections 1864, 1865, or 1866, any relevant records and papers used by the jury commission in the performance of its duties which are not public or otherwise available. If the court determines that there has been a failure to comply with sections 1864, 1865, or 1866, the court shall stay the proceedings pending the selection of a jury in conformity with this title.

"(c) The procedures prescribed by this section shall be the exclusive means by which a person accused of a Federal crime or a party in a civil case may challenge any jury in his case on the ground that such jury was not selected in conformity with sections 1864, 1865, or 1866 of this title. Nothing in this section shall preclude any persons or the United States from pursuing any other remedy, civil or criminal, which may be available for the vindication or enforcement of any law prohibiting discrimination on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status in the selection of persons for service on grand or petit juries.

"(d) The contents of any records or papers produced pursuant to subsections (a) or (b) of this section shall not be disclosed, except as may be necessary in the preparation or presentation of the case, until after the master jury wheel has been emptied and refilled pursuant to section 1864(f) of this title and all persons selected to serve as jurors before the master wheel was emptied have completed such service: *Provided,* that the parties in a case shall be allowed to inspect, reproduce and copy such records or papers at all reasonable times during the pendency of the case. Any person who discloses the contents of any record or paper in violation of this subsection may be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

"§ 1868. MAINTENANCE AND INSPECTION OF RECORDS.

"After the master jury wheel is emptied and refilled pursuant to section 1864(f) of this title, and after all persons selected to serve as jurors before the master wheel was emptied have completed such service, all of the records and papers compiled and maintained by the jury commission before the master wheel was emptied shall be preserved by the commission in the custody of the clerk for four years or for such longer period as may be ordered by a court and shall be available for public inspection.

"§ 1869. EXCLUSION FROM JURY SERVICE.

"(a) Except as provided in section 1872 of this title, no person or class of persons shall be excluded, excused or exempt from service as jurors: *Provided,* that any person summoned for jury service may be (1) excused by the court for not more than six months at a time upon a showing of unusually severe hardship or (2) excluded by the court upon (i) peremptory challenge as provided by law or (ii) a finding that such person may be unable to render impartial jury service or that his service as a juror would disrupt the proceedings. Whenever a person is excused or excluded from jury service, the jury commission shall note in the space provided on his juror qualification form the specific ground of excuse or exclusion.

"(b) In any two-year period, no person shall be required to (1) serve as a petit juror for more than 30 calendar days, except when necessary to complete service in a particular case, or (2) serve on more than one grand jury, or (3) serve as both a grand and petit juror.

"§ 1870. DEFINITIONS.

"For purposes of this chapter—

"(a) 'clerk' and 'clerk of the court' shall mean the clerk of the United States district court or any deputy clerk.

"(b) 'voter registration lists' shall mean the official records maintained by State or local election officials of persons registered to vote in the most recent general election for candidates for federal office or, in the case of a State which does not require registration as a prerequisite to voting, such other official lists of persons qualified to vote in such election. The term shall also include the list of eligible voters maintained by any federal examiner pursuant to the Voting Rights Act of 1965 where the names on such list have not been included on the lists maintained by the appropriate State or local officials.

"(c) 'division' shall mean one or more divisions of a judicial district established by statute, and, in judicial districts where no divisions are established by statute, shall mean such counties, parishes, or similar political subdivisions surrounding the places where court is held as the chief judge of the district shall determine.

"(d) 'district court of the United States', 'district court', and 'court' shall mean courts constituted under Chapter 5 of Title 28, United States Code: *Provided,* That for purposes of sections 1861, 1862, 1867, and 1869 of this chapter, these terms shall include the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions and the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia."

Fees

SEC. 102. (a) Section 1871 of title 28, United States Code, is amended by substituting "$20" for "$10" and "$25" for "$14" in the second paragraph, "$16" for "$10" in the third paragraph and "$20" for "$10" in the fourth paragraph.

(b) Section 1821 of title 28, United States Code, is amended by substituting "$20" for "$4", "10 cents" for "8 cents" and "$16" for "$8".

Amendment and repeal

SEC. 103. (a) Sections 1862, 1870, 1872, 1873, and 1874 of title 28, United States Code, are renumbered as sections 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, and 1876, respectively, of that title.

(b) Sections 13–701, 11–2301 through 2305 (except the last paragraph of section 11–2302), 11–2307 through 2312 and 7–213a of the District of Columbia Code are repealed.

(c) Except for the last paragraph of subsection (a), section 11–2306 of the District of Columbia Code is repealed and a new subsection (b) is added to the section as follows: "(b) the jury commission for the District Court for the District of Columbia shall draw from the qualified jury wheel from time to time as may be required the names of persons to serve as jurors in the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions and the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia and such persons shall be assigned to jury panels in the General Sessions and Juvenile courts as those courts shall direct."

(d) Section 16–1312 of the District of Columbia Code is amended by substituting "section 1866 of title 28, United States Code" for "section 11–2301" in subsection (a)(1) and by substituting "chapter 121 of title 28, United States Code," for "chapter 23 of title 11" in subsection (c).

(e) Section 22–1414 of the District of Columbia Code is amended by inserting the words "or wheel" immediately following the word "box" each time it appears therein.

Effective date

SEC. 104. Sections 101 and 103 of this title shall become effective one hundred and twenty days after the date of enactment: *Provided,* that such sections shall not apply in any case in which an indictment has been returned or petit jury impanelled prior to such effective date.

TITLE II

Discrimination prohibited

SEC. 201. No person or class of persons shall be denied the right to serve on grand and petit juries in any State court on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status.

Suits by the Attorney General

SEC. 202. (a) Whenever there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person has engaged or is about to engage in any act or practice which would deny or abridge any right secured by section 201 of this title, the Attorney General may institute for the United States, or in the name of the United States, a civil action or other proper proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for an injunction, restraining order, or other order against a State, any political subdivision thereof, or any official of such State or political subdivision. In any proceeding hereunder, the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private person.

(b) The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this title and shall exercise the same without regard to whether any aggrieved pary shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law. Any action pursuant to this section shall be in every way expedited.

Appropriate relief

SEC. 203. If in any proceeding instituted pursuant to this title or any other law authorizing proceedings for injunctive relief, the district court finds that any right secured by section 201 has been denied or abridged, it may, in addition to any other relief, enter an order, effective for such period of time as may be appropriate—

(a) Prohibiting or suspending the use of any qualification for jury service or any basis for excuse, exemption, or exclusion from jury service which—

(1) violates or has been applied in violation of section 201 of this title, or

(2) is susceptible to being applied in violation of section 201 of this title because it vests in jury officials undue discretion to determine whether any person has satisfied such qualification or whether a basis exists for excusing, exempting, or excluding any person from jury service;

(b) Requiring the use of objective criteria to determine whether any person has satisfied any qualification for jury service or whether a basis exists for excusing, exempting, or excluding any person from jury service;

(c) Requiring maintenance of such records or additional records as may be necessary to permit a determination thereafter whether any right secured by section 201 has been denied or abridged; or

(d) Appointing a master to perform such duties of the jury officials as may be necessary to assure that the rights secured by section 201 of this title are not denied or abridged.

Discovery of evidence

Sec. 204. In any proceeding instituted pursuant to section 202 of this title or section 1983 of title 42 of the United States Code, or in any criminal proceeding in any State court prior to the introduction of any evidence at trial, or in any habeas corpus, coram nobis, or other collateral proceeding in any court with respect to a judgment of conviction entered after the effective date of this title, wherein it is asserted that any right secured by section 201 of this title has been denied or abridged—

(a) the appropriate State or local officials shall furnish a written statement of jury selection information subscribed to under oath which shall contain a detailed description of the following:

(1) The nature and location of the sources from which names were obtained for inclusion in the wheel, box, or similar device;

(2) The methods used and the procedures followed in selecting names from the sources referred to in subdivision (1) of this subsection for inclusion in the wheel, box, or similar device;

(3) The methods used for selecting names of prospective jurors from the wheel, box, or similar device for testing or otherwise demonstrating their qualifications for jury service;

(4) The qualifications, tests, standards, criteria, and procedures used in determining whether prospective jurors are qualified to serve as jurors; and

(5) The methods used for summoning or otherwise calling persons for jury service and assigning such persons to grand and petit jury panels.

(b) The statement of jury selection information shall be filed with the clerk of the court in which the proceeding is pending, and a copy thereof shall be served upon the attorney for the complaining party. The statement of jury selection information shall constitute evidence on the question whether any right secured by section 201 of this title has been denied or abridged: *Provided*, that the complaining party shall be entitled to cross-examine any person having knowledge of relevant facts concerning the information to be contained in such statement and to present in addition the testimony of the jury officials, together with any other evidence, and, where there is some evidence of a denial or abridgement of a right secured by section 201 of this title, any relevant records and papers used by jury officials in the performance of their duties which are not public or otherwise available.

(c) If the court determines (1) that there is probable cause to believe that any right secured by section 201 of this title has been denied or abridged and (2) that the records and papers maintained by the State are not sufficient to permit a determination whether such denial or abridgement has occurred, it shall be the responsibility of the appropriate State or local officials to produce additional evidence demonstrating that such denial or abridgement did not occur. When such evidence is not otherwise available, the State shall use such process of the court as may be necessary in order to produce the evidence, including the right to subpena witnesses.

(d) The court may direct that the contents of any records or papers produced pursuant to subsection (b) of this section shall not be disclosed (except as may be necessary in the preparation and presentation of the case) during such period of time as such records and papers are not available for public inspection under State law: *Provided*, That parties to the proceeding shall be allowed to inspect, reproduce, and copy such records and papers at all reasonable times during the pendency of the case, and that disclosure of the contents of such records and papers by the Attorney General and his representatives shall be governed by subsection (b) of section 205 of this title. Any person who discloses the contents of any records or papers in violation of this subsection may be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

Preservation and inspection of records

Sec. 205. (a) The jury officials in all State courts shall preserve the records and papers prepared or obtained in the performance of their duties for four years after the completion of service by all persons whose consideration for service as jurors was the subject of such records and papers. Any person, whether or not a jury official, who wilfully steals, destroys, conceals, mutilates, or alters any record or paper required by this subsection to be preserved shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

(b) Any record or paper required by subsection (a) of this section to be preserved shall, upon demand in writing by the Attorney General or his representative directed to the person having custody, possession, or control of such record or paper, be made available for inspection, reproduction, and copying by the Attorney General or his representative. During such period of time as such records and papers are not available for public inspection under State law, unless otherwise ordered by a court of the United States, neither the Attorney General nor any employee of the Department of Justice, nor any other representative of the Attorney General, shall disclose the contents of any record or paper produced pursuant to this title except to Congress and any committee thereof, governmental agencies, and in the preparation and presentation of any case or proceeding before any court or grand jury. The United States district court for the district in which a record or paper so demanded is located, shall have jurisdiction by appropriate process to compel the production of such record or paper.

Definitions

Sec. 206. For purposes of this title—

(a) "State court" shall mean any court of any State, county, parish, city, town, municipality or other political subdivision of any State;

(b) "Jury official" shall mean any person or group of persons, including judicial officers, who select, summon, or impanel persons to serve as grand or petit jurors in any State court;

(c) "wheel, box, or similar device" shall include a file, list, or other compilation of names of persons prepared by a jury official;

(d) "political subdivision" shall mean any county, parish, city, town, municipality, or other territorial subdivision of a State.

Effect on existing laws

Sec. 207. The remedies provided in this title shall not preclude any person, the United States, or any State or local agency from pursuing any other remedy, civil or criminal, which may be available for the vindication or enforcement of any law prohibiting discrimination on account of race. color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status in the selection of persons for service on grand or petit juries in any State court.

Effective date

Sec. 208. This title shall become effective one hundred and twenty days after the date of its enactment: *Provided*, that the provisions of this title shall not apply in any case in which an indictment has been returned or a petit jury impaneled prior to such effective date.

TITLE III

Sec. 301. Title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (78 Stat. 246; 42 U.S.C. 2000b–2000b–3), is amended to read as follows:

"TITLE III—NONDISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC EDUCATION AND OTHER PUBLIC FACILITIES

"Sec. 301. The Attorney General may institute, in the name of the United States, a civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order, whenever he has reasonable grounds to believe that:

"(a) Any person acting under color of law has denied, or attempted or threatened to deny, any other person, on account of his race or color, the equal protection of the laws with respect to any public school or public college, or any public facility which is owned, operated, or managed by or on behalf of any State or subdivision thereof, or

"(b) Any person, whether acting under color of law or otherwise, has intimidated, threatened, coerced or interfered with, or has attempted or threatens to intimidate, threaten, coerce, or interfere with any other person in the exercise or enjoyment of any right to, or on account of his having exercised or enjoyed any right to, or on account of his having aided or encouraged any other person in the exercise or enjoyment of any right to equal protection of the laws with respect to any public school or public college, or any public facility which is owned, operated, or managed by or on behalf of any State or subdivision thereof.

"Sec. 302. In any proceeding under Section 301 the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private citizen.

"Sec. 303. As used in this title, 'public school' and 'public college' shall have the same meanings as in section 401(c) of title IV of this Act.

"Sec. 304. The district courts of the United States shall have and shall exercise jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this title.

"Sec. 305. Nothing in this title shall affect adversely the right of any person to sue for or obtain relief in any court against discrimination in public education or any public facility."

Sec. 302. Sections 407 through 410 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (78 Stat. 248–249; 42 U.S.C. 2000c–6—2000c–9) are hereby repealed.

TITLE IV

Policy

Sec. 401. It is the policy of the United States to prevent, and the right of every person to be protected against, discrimination on account of race, color, religion, or national origin in the purchase, rental, lease, financing, use and occupancy of housing throughout the Nation.

Definitions

Sec. 402. For purposes of this title—

(a) "person" includes one or more individuals, corporations, partnerships, associtations, labor organizations, legal representatives, mutual companies, joint-stock companies, trusts, unincorporated organizations, trustees, trustees in bankruptcy, receivers, and fiduciaries.

(b) "dwelling" includes (1) any building or structure, or portion thereof, whether in existence or under construction, which is in, or is designed, intended, or arranged for, residential use by one or more individuals or families and (2) any vacant land that is offered for sale or lease for the construction or location of any such building, structure or portion thereof.

(c) "discriminatory housing practice" means an act that is unlawful under section 403 or 404.

Prevention of discrimination in the sale or rental of housing

Sec. 403. It shall be unlawful for the owner, lessee, sublessee, assignee, or manager of, or other person having the authority to sell, rent, lease, or manage, a dwelling, or for any person who is a real estate broker or salesman, or employee or agent of a real estate broker or salesman—

(a) To refuse to sell, rent, or lease, refuse to negotiate for the sale, rental, or lease of, or otherwise make unavailable or deny, a dwelling to any person because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

(b) To discriminate against any person in the terms, conditions, or privileges of sale, rental, or lease of a dwelling, or in the provision of services or facilities in connection therewith, because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

(c) To print or publish or cause to be printed or published any notice, statement, or advertisement, with respect to the sale, rental, or lease of a dwelling that indicates any preference, limitation, or discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin, or an intention to make any such preference, limitation, or discrimination.

(d) To represent to any person because of race, color, religion, or national origin that any dwelling is not available for inspection, sale, rental, or lease when such dwelling is in fact so available.

(e) To deny to any person because of race, color, religion, or national origin, or because of the race, color, religion, or national origin of the person he represents or may represent, access to or participation in any multiple-listing service or other service or facilities related to the business of selling or renting dwellings.

Prevention of discrimination in the financing of housing

Sec. 404. It shall be unlawful for any bank, savings and loan institution, credit union, insurance company, or other person that makes mortgage or other loans for the purchase, construction, improvement, or repair or maintenance of dwellings to deny such a loan to a person applying therefor, or discriminate against him in the fixing of the downpayment, interest rate, duration, or other terms or conditions of such a loan, because of the race, color, religion, or national origin of such person, or of any member, stockholder, director, officer, or employee of such person, or of the prospective occupants, lessees, or tenants of the dwelling or dwellings in relation to which the application for a loan is made.

Interference, coercion, or intimidation

Sec. 405. No person shall intimidate, threaten, coerce, or interfere with any person in the exercise or enjoyment of, or on account of his having exercised or enjoyed, or on account of his having aided or encouraged any other person in the exercise or enjoyment of any right granted by section 403 or 404.

Enforcement by private persons

Sec. 406. (a) The rights granted by sections 403, 404, and 405 may be enforced by civil actions in appropriate United States district courts without regard to the amount in controversy and in appropriate State or local courts of general jurisdiction. A civil action shall be commenced within six months after the alleged discriminatory housing practice or violation of section 405 occurred.

(b) Upon application by the plaintiff and in such circumstances as the court may deem just, a court of the United States in which a civil action under this section has been brought may appoint an attorney for the plaintiff and may authorize the commencement of a civil action without the payment of fees, costs, or security. A court of a State or subdivision thereof may do likewise to the extent not inconsistent with the law or procedures of the State or subdivision.

(c) The court may grant such relief as it deems appropriate, including a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order, and may award damages to the plaintiff, including damages for humiliation and mental pain and suffering, and up to $500 punitive damages.

(d) The court may allow a prevailing plaintiff a reasonable attorney's fee as part of the costs.

Enforcement by the Attorney General

Sec. 407. (a) Whenever the Attorney General has reasonable cause to believe that any person or group of persons is engaged in a pattern or practice of resistance to the full enjoyment of any of the rights granted by this title he may bring a civil action in any appropriate United States district court by filing with it a complaint setting forth the facts pertaining to such pattern or practice and requesting such preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order against the person or persons responsible for such pattern or practice, as he deems necessary to insure the full enjoyment of the rights granted by this title.

(b) Whenever an action under section 406 has been commenced in any court of the United States, the Attorney General may intervene for or in the name of the United States if he certifies that the action is of general public importance. In such action the United States shall be entitled to the same relief as if it had instituted the action.

Assistance by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

Sec. 408. The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall—

(a) make studies with respect to the nature and extent of discriminatory housing practices in representative communities, urban, suburban, and rural, throughout the United States;

(b) publish and disseminate reports, recommendations, and information derived from such studies;

(c) cooperate with and render technical assistance to Federal, State, local, and other public or private agencies, organizations, and institutions which are formulating or carrying on programs to prevent or eliminate discriminatory housing practices;

(d) cooperate with and render such technical and other assistance to the Community Relations Service as may be appropriate to further its activities in preventing or eliminating discriminatory housing practices; and

(e) administer the programs and activities relating to housing and urban development in a manner affirmatively to further the policies of this title.

Effect on State laws

Sec. 409. Nothing in this title shall be construed to invalidate or limit any law of a State or political subdivision of a State, or of any other jurisdiction in which this title shall be effective, that grants, guarantees, or protects the same rights as are granted by this title; but any law that purports to require or permit any action that would be a discriminatory housing practice under this title shall to that extent be invalid.

Contempt of court

Sec. 410. All cases of criminal contempt arising under the provisions of this title shall be governed by section 151 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1995).

Existing authority

Sec. 411. Nothing in this title shall be construed to deny, impair, or otherwise affect any right or authority of the United States or any agency or officer thereof under existing law to institute or intervene in any civil action or to bring any criminal prosecution.

TITLE V

Interference with rights

Sec. 501. Whoever, whether or not acting under color of law, by force or threat of force—

(a) injures, intimidates, or interferes with, or attempts to injure, intimidate, or interfere with any person because of his race, color, religion, or national origin while he is engaging or seeking to engage in

(1) voting or qualifying to vote in any primary, special or general election;

(2) enrolling in or attending any public school or public college;

(3) participating in or enjoying any benefit, service, privilege, program, facility, or activity provided or administered by the United States or by any State or subdivision thereof;

(4) applying for or enjoying employment, or any prerequisities thereof, by any private employer or agency of the United States or any State or subdivision thereof, or of joining or using the services or advantages of any labor organization or using the service of any employment agency;

(5) selling, purchasing, renting, leasing, occupying, or contracting or negotiating for the sale, rental, lease, or occupation of any dwelling;

(6) serving, or attending upon any court in connection with possible service, as a grand or petit juror in any court of the United States or of any State;

(7) using any vehicle, terminal, or facility of any common carrier by motor, rail, water, or air;

(8) participating in or enjoying the benefits of any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance; or

(9) enjoying the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, or accommodations of any inn, hotel, motel, or other establishment which provides lodging to transient guests, or of any restaurant, cafeteria, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other facility principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises, or of any gasoline station, or of any motion picture house, theater, concert hall, sports arena, stadium, or any other place of exhibition or entertainment, or of any other establishment which serves the public and which is located within the premises of any of the aforesaid establishments or within the premises of which is physically located any of the aforesaid establishments; or

(b) Injures, intimidates, or interferes with, or attempts to injure, intimidate, or interfere with any person (1) to discourage such person or any other person or any class of persons from participating or seeking to participate in any such benefits or activities without discrimination on account of race, color, religion, or national origin, or (2) because he has so participated or sought to so participate, or urged or aided others to so participate, or engaged in speech or peaceful assembly opposing any denial of the opportunity to so participate; or

(c) injures, intimidates, interferes with, or attempts to injure, intimidate, or interfere with any public official or other person to discourage him from affording another person or any class of persons equal treatment in participating or seeking to participate in any of such benefits or activities without discrimination on account of race, color, religion, or national origin, or because he has afforded another person or class of persons equal treatment in so participating or seeking to so participate—

Shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both; and if bodily injury results shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both; and if death results shall be subject to imprisonment for any term of years or for life.

Amendments

SEC. 502. (a) Section 241 of Title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking out the final paragraph thereof and substituting the following:

"They shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both; and if death results, they shall be subject to imprisonment for any term of years or for life."

(b) Section 242 of Title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and adding the following: "; and if death results shall be subject to imprisonment for any term of years or for life."

(c) Subsections (a) and (c) of section 12 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (79 Stat. 443, 444) are amended by striking out the words "or (b)" following the words "11(a)."

TITLE VI—MISCELLANEOUS

Authorization for appropriations

SEC. 601. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Separability

SEC. 602. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application of the provision to other persons not similarly situated or to other circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

The letter presented by Mr. HART is as follows:

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, D.C.

The VICE PRESIDENT,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: Enclosed for your consideration and appropriate reference is a proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966. This bill contains six titles which are designed to implement the major facets of the President's civil rights message—reform of the Federal jury system, elimination of discrimination in State juries, facilitation of desegregation of public schools and facilities, judicial relief from discrimination in housing, and provision for penalties for certain acts of violence or intimidation.

TITLE I—FEDERAL JURIES

The present statutes reflect the will of Congress that Federal juries be composed of a cross section of the community. But, these laws do not provide sufficient guidance to jury commissions across the Nation as to how they shall carry out this congressional purpose. The result has been the use of varying sources of names of prospective jurors, differing systems of selection and diverse tests of qualification. While this uncertain system appears not to have operated unconstitutionally, in some districts Negro representation on juries has been substantially less than the proportion of Negroes in the community, and other classes have sometimes been inadequately represented on juries. In any event, the system used in many districts is an imperfect means of insuring that the will of Congress is carried out, and carried out uniformly.

Title I of the Civil Rights Act of 1966 is drawn to eliminate uncertainty and make clear beyond dispute that each judicial district or division is fulfilling its constitutional and statutory obligations in selection and assignment of jurors. It sets forth the sources from which potential jurors are to be drawn and the procedures to be followed in selecting jurors and testing their qualifications.

Title I declares it to be the policy of the United States that all qualified persons shall have the opportunity to serve on grand and petit juries in Federal courts and shall have an obligation to serve when summoned. It prohibits discrimination in the selection of Federal jurors on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status.

The bill requires that the names of prospective jurors be taken at random from the voter registration rolls, which are defined to include lists of eligible voters prepared by Federal examiners under the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The voter rolls are considered to be the best universally available source of names substantially reflecting a full and fair cross section of the community. Where, however, the judicial council of the circuit determines that use of the voter rolls as the exclusive source of names would not be consistent with the prohibition of discriminatory selection, the council would be required to prescribe other sources of names in addition to the voter rolls. It is anticipated that it will be necessary to prescribe additional sources of names for use in some districts where Negroes are, at present, not fairly represented on the voting rolls.

The qualifications for jury service prescribed by existing law are retained, but it is provided that all persons found in accordance with objective criteria to possess such qualifications are to be deemed qualified as jurors. Under the present law, the statutory qualifications may have been regarded as establishing the minimum to be required, leaving the courts and jury commissions free to impose more stringent qualifications. The bill makes clear that the qualifications set a ceiling, that requirements beyond those listed may not be imposed.

Title I also provides a ready means for challenging jury selection in criminal and civil cases on grounds that the procedures established by the bill have not been followed. This challenge procedure is made available prospectively, and should be a major guarantee of the equal rights which are the objective of the legislation.

TITLE II—STATE JURIES

Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1966 is based on the power of Congress to enforce the 14th amendment by appropriate legislation and is designed to eliminate unconstitutional discrimination in the selection of grand and petit juries in State courts. This title provides that no persons shall be denied the right to serve on State juries on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status. In areas in which such discrimination is not practiced, existing jury selection procedures would not be upset. Where discrimination still exists, this title provides the means to eliminate it.

Title II has two principal features. First, it authorizes the Attorney General to bring civil actions in the Federal courts for injunctive relief against discriminatory practices in State court jury selection. Under existing law, the Attorney General has no authority to initiate jury discrimination suits but may only intervene (under title IX of the Civil Rights Act of 1964) in private suits. The authority vested in him by this title would be similar to the authority the Attorney General now has to seek injunctions against discrimination in voting, public accommodations and employment and, under title III of this bill, against discrimination in public schools and facilities.

Upon a finding of discrimination, the court is expressly authorized to grant specified kinds of effective relief, including a decree which would, (1) prohibit the use of any qualification or ground of exclusion, exemption, or excuse which has been administered in a discriminatory manner or which lends itself to such abuse; (2) require the use of objective criteria in determining qualifications, exclusions, exemptions, or excuses; (3) require maintenance of such records as may be necessary to show, in the future, whether discrimination is being practiced; and (4) appoint a master to perform the duties of the State jury officials. In addition, the court may grant other appropriate relief under general equitable principles.

The second principal feature of this title deals with the need for disclosure and development of information relevant to the question whether discrimination results from the system for selecting jurors. This objective is accomplished by a challenge procedure which may be used by the Attorney General in a suit under this title, private litigants residing in the area who seek to enforce the prohibition against discrimination by a civil action under title 42, United States Code, section 1983, or a defendant in a criminal case or convicted person attacking collaterally a criminal conviction.

Upon the filing of an allegation of discrimination, appropriate State officials are required to furnish a "written statement of jury selection information." This statement is to describe in detail the procedures followed by the State jury officials in selecting jurors—including the sources of names of prospective jurors, the criteria used in determining qualifications for jury service, and the methods used for summoning jurors and assigning them to jury panels. The complaining party may cross-examine jury officials and introduce any other relevant evidence that may be available in support of the challenge. If, at that point, there is some evidence of discrimination, the complaining party is given access to any other relevant records of jury selection which are not otherwise publicly available and these may be introduced in support of the challenge. If the court then determines that there is probable cause to believe that discrimination has occurred, it is the responsibility of the State to produce additional evidence demonstrating that the alleged discrimination did not occur.

This provision meets twin considerations. It affords interested parties and the court access to the relevant records of jury selection needed to permit a fair determination whether discrimination has occurred or may occur. In addition, it assures that records may be kept confidential except as necessary to the court proceeding. Use of this challenge procedure in collateral attacks upon criminal convictions is available only with respect to judgments of conviction entered after the effective date of the title.

TITLE III—PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND FACILITIES

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 authorizes the Attorney General to bring suits to desegregate a public facility (title III) or public educational institution (title IV) on written complaint of an aggrieved person. Further, before the Attorney General may sue, he must determine that the complainant is unable to institute and maintain a suit.

The requirement that there be a written complaint and that the complainant be unable to bring suit has proven to be an obstacle to the 1964 statutory objective of furthering "the orderly achievement of desegregation." The requirement is impractical, since deprived Negroes are often unfamiliar with the requirement that the complaint be in writing or that a complaint must be filed with the Attorney General at all. And in some places intimidation or fear of reprisals prevents persons seeking to exercise their rights from filing a complaint. Thus, it is often true that these restrictions prevent the Attorney General from acting in the very areas where there is the greatest need.

Title III would remedy this by authorizing the Attorney General, on his own initiative, to bring a civil action for injunctive relief whenever he has reasonable cause to believe that a person is being denied his right to the equal protection of the laws with respect to a public school or other public facility. It would also authorize him to seek injunctions against interference with such rights by public officials or private individuals. As noted above, similar discretionary authority is now possessed by the Attorney General with respect to the protection of voting, public accommodation, and employment rights.

TITLE IV—HOUSING

It is the purpose of title IV to eliminate discrimination in residential housing on account of race, color, religion, or national origin. To that end, it would prohibit discrimination by property owners, real estate brokers, and others engaged in the sale, rental or financing of housing. The bill would reach not only discriminatory practices in the sale, rental or financing of housing but also such acts as mobs blocking a minority-group family from moving into a neighborhood, or multiple-listing associations excluding, or refusing their services to, persons who sell or rent housing in a nondiscriminatory manner. The title would also prohibit coercion, intimidation or interference with the right of a person to obtain housing and its financing without discrimination or to aid others in exercising such rights.

A person alleging a violation could bring an action in a Federal district court or a State or local court for injunctive relief and for damages. In the court's discretion, he could also be awarded up to $500 punitive damages. The Attorney General would be empowered to initiate suits in Federal courts to eliminate a "pattern or practice" of discrimination, and to intervene in a private suit brought in a Federal court.

The legislation would also expressly authorize the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to make and publish studies of housing discrimination, formulate proposed codes or standards of conduct for fair housing, and cooperate with and render assistance to the Community Relations Service and other governmental and private agencies engaged in eliminating discrimination in housing.

This title specifically provides that nothing in it shall be construed to invalidate or limit any State or local laws which grant, guarantee, or protect the same rights as are granted by it. On the other hand, the title also provides that any law which purports to require or permit action which would be a discriminatory housing practice under this title shall to that extent be invalid.

TITLE V—INTERFERENCE WITH RIGHTS

Title V is a criminal statute designed to deter and punish interference by force or threat of force with activities protected by Federal law or the Constitution. This title would strengthen the Government's capability to meet the problem of civil rights violence. Each area of protected activity is specifically described. They are voting, public accommodations, public education, public services and facilities, employment, housing, jury service, use of common carriers, and participation in federally assisted programs.

The statute would protect Negroes and members of other minority groups from violence directed at them while they are engaging in, or because they have participated in, such activities, and from violence which is intended to discourage the victims from engaging in such activities. In this regard, the title would also punish violence directed against a person who has not been involved in civil rights activity but who is selected as a victim in order to intimidate others.

Title V would also protect civil rights workers and others who urge or aid participation in these activities, as well as those who engage in any form of speech or peaceful assembly opposing denial of the opportunity to participate in such activities. Persons who have duties to perform with respect to the protected activities—such as public school officials, restaurant owners, and employers—would also be protected.

The title would prohibit forcible interference with any of the specified activities by private individuals acting alone as well as by public officers or other persons acting under color of law.

Unlike title 18, United States Code, sections 241 and 242, which are general in their terms, title V is specific and would stand by itself, requiring no reference to the 14th amendment (or any other law) to determine what conduct is prohibited. Thus, in a prosecution brought under this statute the Government would not have to prove a "specific intent" on the part of the defendant, as is presently required by the courts in prosecutions under title 18, United States Code, sections 241 and 242.

The prescribed penalties are graduated in accordance with the seriousness of the results of violations, ranging from misdemeanor penalties to life imprisonment.

Title V also amends the penalty provisions of sections 241 and 242 of title 18, United States Code, to provide a similarly graduated penalty structure.

TITLE VI—MISCELLANEOUS

Title VI authorizes the necessary appropriations and contains the customary separability provision.

I urge the early and favorable consideration of this important legislation.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that enactment of this legislation would be in accord with the program of the President.

Sincerely,

——— ———.

Attorney General.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I wish to make a very brief observation with respect to the message of the President and with respect to the bill which has now been introduced by the Senator from Michigan.

The bill contains, as I understand it, provisions against discrimination in housing. I wish to note my deep feeling that this is a matter which should have been and could have been handled by Executive order. An extension of the existing Executive order could have covered practically all housing which is covered by the bill. The injection of this issue into the bill will, in my judgment, result in a tough struggle, as is always the case here on civil rights measures. This added controversy could have been avoided and much time could have been saved and infinitely faster relief granted in regard to housing discrimination by an Executive order to follow up and expand on the Executive order which was originally issued by President Kennedy. The earlier order covered FHA and VA insured housing, and covered only such housing insured after November 1963. Housing with FDIC or FSLIC insured bank mortgages was not covered. Covering the latter by a new Executive order would, in my judgment, avoid a new legislative battle. Moreover, the ultimate question, even once legislation is enacted is the will of the executive branch to take effective action—which has not been forthcoming under the existing order. I will have more to say on this subject at a later date.

Second, I point out that there are two excellent sections contained in this measure. One is a good section to protect civil rights workers and to provide appropriate penalties for the violation of their rights. I introduced a bill on this subject myself to deal with these cases.

My bill was prompted by the failure to indict or convict those who violated the rights of civil rights workers—specifically, cases like the Schwerner, Chaney, and Goodman murders.

I point out that there is an excellent section in the bill on jury selection in the Federal courts. However, it has one grave deficiency, we think, and that is that it does not give a prosecutor the right to challenge the selection of jurors where the statute is not followed. This bill gives the right of challenge only to the defendant. It is very important to give the prosecutor the right of challenge in such cases as I have described, since the unjustly convicted defendant can always challenge jury selection on appeal, but the people have no recourse when a guilty defendant is acquitted by a racially biased jury.

Mr. President, the administration's package is partly good and partly bad. I deprecate very much the fact that the President has thrown the housing discrimination question into the congressional fight instead of resolving it as President Kennedy did by Executive order.

But I hope very much that Congress, as long as this measure is committed to us, will give the measure the early and vigorous attention that it deserves.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I move, pursuant to the order previously entered, that the Senate adjourn until 12 o'clock noon Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 59 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned, until Monday, May 2, 1966, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 28, 1966:

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

John W. Tuthill, of Illinois, a Foreign Service officer of the class of career minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Brazil.

COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS

Robert Emmett Quinn, of Rhode Island, to be a judge of the Court of Military

Appeals for the term of 15 years expiring May 1, 1981. (Reappointment.)

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 28, 1966.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Miles W. Lord, of Minnesota, to be U.S. district judge for the district of Minnesota.

Robert E. Hauberg, of Mississippi, to be U.S. attorney for the southern district of Mississippi for the term of 4 years.

Eugene G. Cushing, of Washington, to be U.S. attorney for the western district of Washington for the term of 4 years.

Cornelius J. McQuade, of West Virginia, to be U.S. marshal for the southern district of West Virginia for the term of 4 years.

Alfred P. Henderson, of Arkansas, to be U.S. marshal for the eastern district of Arkansas for the term of 4 years.

Dan M. Douglas, of Arkansas, to be U.S. marshal for the western district of Arkansas for the term of 4 years.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA REDEVELOPMENT LAND AGENCY

Neville Miller for reappointment as indicated to be a member of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency for a term of 5 years, effective on and after March 4, 1966, pursuant to the provisions of section 4(a) of Public Law 592, 79th Cong., approved August 2, 1946, as amended.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Loyalty Day 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 1, we celebrate both Loyalty Day and Law Day. It is not without meaning that we celebrate loyalty and law at the same time, because law represents and safeguards the highest values to which our country is dedicated: the inherent rights of the individual. To express one's loyalty to the United States is to affirm one's fidelity to these values.

It is significant that Loyalty Day was first conceived by an outstanding organization—the Veterans of Foreign Wars. This organization proudly lists as its members men who had the courage, born of fidelity to country, to stake their lives in battle for the preservation of the rights and liberties of all Americans.

It was the Communists who first paraded through New York City on May Day to proclaim the advent of a Marxist-Leninist revolution in America. So repugnant to American ideals would such a revolution be, and so offensive to loyal Americans is the announcement of its alleged coming, that the Veterans of Foreign Wars called for a counterparade on May Day to demonstrate their enduring fidelity to our Constitution and to the rights and liberties which it protects.

The inalienable rights, for which the first patriots pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, would cease entirely to be recognized under the regime of communism.

A right defines what belong to a person. Our Constitution and laws secure to every person what truly belongs to him. Freedom of religion, the inviolable integrity of the family, freedom of thought and expression, private property, freedom of occupational choice and equality of opportunity—these are among the precious things which belong to all Americans because the principles on which this country was founded upheld the inherent dignity of man.

And because law is meant to define and to safeguard what belongs to people themselves, our Constitution establishes representative democracy as the form of government which befits the dignity of a free people. Our Constitution also provides that the people's own representatives make the laws which are meant to secure and safeguard their rights.

The Communists declare that according to their order of things all rights are attributed to what they call "the people." But they do not mean by "the people" a community of freemen related to each other by mutual rights and duties. By "the people" they mean, not people, but an abstract and collective entity which is represented by a dictatorial government. To this entity—and therefore to the state—everything belongs. To it, everything is owed. To it, all rights are alienated. Nothing remains to the individual person—he is subject entirely to total control by the state.

And so it is appropriate for us, Mr. Speaker, to celebrate Loyalty Day by reaffirming our adherence to the Constitution and laws of the United States. The Constitution and laws of our great Nation are of priceless worth for they have sustained and preserved our individual liberties over a span of almost two centuries. Only by adhering to the lofty principles of democracy on which America was founded can we insure for our descendants the same rights and privileges we now enjoy.

Transportation, Sale, and Handling of Dogs and Cats for Research Purposes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Chairman, because of a longstanding commitment to be in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, to attend a dinner at 6:30 that evening in honor of His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Beran, archbishop of Prague, it was impossible for me to remain on the floor of the House of Representatives late enough Thursday afternoon to vote on final passage of H.R. 13881, on the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs and cats for research purposes.

Had I been present, I would have voted "yea" on passage of this bill, since it represents a major first step toward eliminating unnecessary cruelty and abuse of these animals, without interfering with the legitimate demands and requirement of medical research.

I would hope that the passage of this measure by the House will not preclude further consideration by the Congress of additional action in this most important area.

Conservation Interest Grows in Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, the story of American agriculture is one of the most dramatic and exciting stories of our time—one of utmost importance to all of us.

Today one farmer produces as much as four farmers did 27 years ago. And the product of his labor is available to the American consumer at a lower percentage of his income than ever before.

Not long ago President Johnson praised the American farmers for advancing more in agricultural abundance and farm fertility in the past 30 years than all the farmers in all the history of recorded time.

Our agricultural might has created a better life for us at home. At the same time it offers us a significant tool in our quest for world peace.

Sharing our agriculture abundance with less fortunate nations will ease the threat of hunger and famine that hangs heavily over them.

But we must not forget that our success in meeting the food and fiber needs of this Nation and the opportunity it offers us to contribute to a lasting peace lies in our rich heritage of ample water and productive soil.

These are the resources that must be given more attention than ever before if we are to maintain world leadership in agriculture.

Fortunate for all of us, those at the grassroots—the farmers of this Nation—are concerned and are doing something about it. Every county in Iowa has an organized soil conservation district. More than 10.8 million acres of land are now covered by basic soil conservation plans. Twenty-nine percent of the needed soil and water conservation work on farms is completed, but much needs to be done and the pressure on land and water resources is greater than ever.

The fact that the farmers are deeply concerned was evident last month, March 19, when my colleague, BERT BANDSTRA, and I cosponsored a daylong series of meetings in our adjoining congressional districts on planning for flood prevention and conservation in the area.

Our discussion with 300 to 400 farmers that day on the resources conservation needs of the areas was both enlightening and encouraging. These men are ready and willing to move ahead in soil and water development, but they cannot do the job alone. They need and deserve our support.

I commend them for the accomplishments they have made through their soil and water conservation districts, and I pledge them my further support.

This is why I am particularly pleased that the House of Representatives rejected the ill-advised cutbacks in much needed conservation programs for rural America.

Outside Earnings Limitation for People on Social Security Should Be Increased to $2,400—Age Limitation Should Be Removed for Disabled Widows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced two bills today which will greatly assist social security recipients and disabled widows.

The first of my bills would permit social security recipients to earn up to $2,400 a year without losing any social security benefits. The present limitation on outside earnings is only $1,500 per year.

The bill also allows the recipient to earn an additional $1,200 a year at reduced benefits or a total of $3,600 a year before losing social security altogether. Presently, a person drawing social security loses his benefits completely if he earns over $2,700 a year.

The sharp rise in the cost of living has eroded away the entire 7-percent increase in social security benefits voted by Congress. The result is that the senior citizen living on a meager retirement income is unable to purchase the necessities of life and at the same time live in any degree of comfort.

An increase in the amount of allowable outside earnings is one way to enable the social security recipient to meet the increased cost of living.

In addition, this will assure every social security recipient the right to earn at least $3,000 a year, which is the administration's own poverty-level figure. Failure to act on my bill will be to condone poverty through direct Federal restrictions.

My other bill is also of major importance. It provides benefits to a widow who is disabled at the time of her husband's death without regard to the age of the widow. Presently, the disabled widow must wait until she has reached the age of 60 to be helped by social security unless she has minor children in her care. The present law, therefore, places the same requirements on a disabled widow as on widows who are able to work and provide for themselves. My bill cures this gross inequity.

Hopefully, the Congress will act on these important matters.

Shenandoah Valley Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, when we complete our business in the House this afternoon, it is my intention to leave Washington for Winchester, in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, to attend a portion of the 3-day program of one of the most colorful regional festivals of our Nation—Shenandoah Apple Blossom.

Tomorrow—Friday—I should like to hope that a number of other Members of the House—legislative business permitting—might be inclined to make the pleasant drive over fine highways to Winchester to see this spectacle of spring pageantry.

Many of our colleagues have been introduced to the Shenandoah Valley through their service in the Congress, and, while I certainly will not place them at a disadvantage in their home areas by quoting them by name, I have the definite impression that more than a few are considering this region of great natural and historic attractions and friendly people as their retirement home.

This week, Mr. Speaker, the festival known as Shenandoah Apple Blossom is a highlight of Shenandoah Valley Week, proclaimed by the Governor of Virginia, the Honorable Mills E. Godwin, Jr., in the following words:

> Virginia's matchless endowment of natural beauty, scenic wonders, and hospitable people is nowhere better illustrated than in the Shenandoah Valley.
>
> The people of this region, through Shenandoah Valley, Inc., have set aside the period April 24 through May 2 as Shenandoah Valley Week, a time of thanksgiving and sharing of these gifts.
>
> I am delighted to call this observance, culminating, as it does, in the Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival in Winchester, to the attention of our people everywhere.

Governor Godwin signed the proclamation after receiving a presentation of the program for the week from a committee including Fred W. Walker of Roanoke, president of Shenandoah Valley, Inc., which is the energetic tourism promotion organization of the valley; Alson H. Smith, of Winchester, president of Shenandoah Apple Blossom; Larry B. Murphy, of Harrisonburg, chairman of "Shenandoah Valley Week"; and Robert Sterrett, of Staunton, executive director of Shenandoah Valley, Inc.

I should like to point out, Mr. Speaker, that Shenandoah Valley Week coincides with Garden Week in Virginia, during which many historic and beautiful homes and gardens are open to the public, throughout the Commonwealth.

Additionally, I should emphasize that, it being my privilege to represent in the Congress not only the Shenandoah Valley but also adjacent areas of great scenic and historic interest, my office is at the service of other Members of this House, and their constituents, at all times, with respect to inquiries they might have as to transportation routes, lodging, restaurants, and tourist attractions, public and private.

Tucsonan Named National Teacher of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, perhaps the greatest freedom for which we strive in this country is the freedom for each individual to develop to maximum greatness. As a society we collectively strive for individuality, for the opportunity presented each man or woman to develop fully his or her physical and intellectual capacities.

I suppose most adults share a feeling that we will depart this world without having sampled all of its riches. Though grateful for what we have seen and touched we know there is much we have missed. And so we hope the children of today will get guided into paths of even richer experience. Our hopes necessarily rest largely on the teachers of our youngsters.

We in Arizona are proud that one of our fine teachers, Mrs. Mona Dayton, was chosen the 1966 National Teacher of the Year. This mother of four children was selected by Look magazine and the Council of Chief State School Officers for her ability to supply "crisp food for young, often-neglected imaginations" and to use "principles of brotherhood" in her teaching.

In her first-graders at Walter Douglas Elementary School in Tucson, Mrs. Dayton has inspired a thirst for learning and an appreciation of the world's wonders. She has helped them achieve self-confidence by guiding them to projects where they score successes.

Her tools are everything and anything—the outdoors of Arizona, a boa constrictor, an owl, a chandelier. Her first-graders build sundials outside and model volcanoes inside. They learn math by counting "pebble people" and conduct scientific experiments using prisms and other instruments. They learn about magnification and the eye by cutting out the hard lenses of cow's eyes obtained from a local slaughterhouse. The children observe, discuss and then record in pictures and writing. They even write poetry. One student wrote:

> Once there was a candle that everyone loved because it kept the day long. It blew out and then the people were scared cause they didn't like the dark. They like light.

Believing that children learn as they encounter cultures different from their own, Mrs. Dayton likes to combine in her classes children of Caucasian, Spanish-American, Negro, and Indian backgrounds.

When he presented Mrs. Dayton with the National Teacher of the Year Award early this month, President Johnson said:

> We have certainly never honored a more unusual teacher.

The President's remarks were most appropriate and I should like to call them to the attention of my colleagues.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT, AT PRESENTATION OF TEACHER OF THE YEAR AWARD, TO MRS. MONA M. DAYTON, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, APRIL 5, 1966

Mrs. Dayton, Secretary Gardner, Mr. Dubinsky, and my friends, I am delighted to be here with you this morning to pay this very just tribute to this very dedicated lady.

My thoughts, like those of many Americans these days, are very much on battles and soldiers and the bitterness of war. I am very delighted this morning to take a moment away from these concerns, although not completely away.

I thought this morning of something that Gen. Omar Bradley said many years ago. I was just reading his book the other day describing the landing on Normandy. General Bradley said, "The teacher is the real soldier of democracy. Others can defend it, but only he can make it work."

We are here today to honor a woman who makes democracy work. She is a soldier in the greatest and most glorious battle that man has ever fought—the battle for the truth and the understanding that alone has set man free, and it will, alone and ultimately, keep men free.

This is the third time that I have honored such a soldier as Teacher of the Year, but never, I think, have Look magazine and the Council of Chief State School Officers made a more deserving or a better choice. We have certainly never honored a more unusual teacher than the remarkable and renowned lady we have come here this morning to congratulate, Mrs. Mona Dayton of Tucson, Ariz.

She has done more than just teach her first graders how to read and write. She has taken the great outdoors of Tucson as her classroom, and the great desert as her desk. She has taken the animals as her teaching assistants, and she has taken nature and beauty by one hand, and boys and girls by the other, and she has made them dance together in a happy circle of understanding and respect.

In Mrs. Dayton's class, I am told that there are a number of 6-year-old scientists who know how to build a sundial and know how to construct a model volcano. That is very impressive. When I was 6 years old I knew little about model volcanoes, but I have learned a lot since then from sitting on top of the real thing.

Mrs. Dayton, your remarkable class also contains, I am informed, some naturalists. Their classmates, I heard, include an owl and a 6-foot boa constrictor. I had better not let Mrs. Johnson and Liz Carpenter hear about that or they will take another tour to Arizona from Big Bend. I am happy that that boa constrictor is not here with you today.

But Mrs. Dayton has opened the eyes and ears of her first graders so much that there are poets among them. A little girl named Karen described a night in the desert, and this is the way she described it: "Stardust on the cactus, owls in their nest, birds listening to your words in the wind."

This child and her teacher help explain why the Government has increased its commitment to education and to training, since I became President, from a little less than $5 billion to a little over $10 billion in less than 3 years.

Today Mrs. Dayton receives a pin and a plaque which symbolize her honor. I know that she shares my view that in this day and age we can get no more value from every dollar we spend than that which we spend on education and health.

I was looking at the figures of my Budget Director this morning. The last 3 years we have taken our health expenditures in the Nation from a little under $5 billion to a little over $10 billion, and it is paying such rich dividends in the solutions and the answers we are finding to disease.

So, Mrs. Dayton, you receive my congratulations. I also want to appoint you this morning to serve on the commission which will select next year's presidential scholars here at the White House. America's teachers are not only making democracy work, they are helping it to flourish and to triumph, and they deserve our gratitude, for as it has been said, "Through the teacher's hands pass all members of every profession."

I am so glad that you could be here with us, and you could be hearing some of these things that you deserve during your lifetime. I have with me this morning a teacher that I started out teaching with in the first school I taught in many years ago, Mrs. Opal Way Brooks.

Come over, Mrs. Brooks. I want you to meet Mrs. Dayton. She and I both taught in the same school a few years ago. Mrs. Brooks, I want you to know another teacher. He is a retired man. He is here with me this morning and I wanted him to come over and meet you—Mr. Dubinsky. He has been teaching me for about 30 years, too. Now he is going away. They said he retired while he could still read his obituaries. He is going to be away for about 7 weeks and then he is going to come back.

Polish Millennium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. OLIVA HUOT

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. HUOT. Mr. Speaker, on this coming May 3, religious ceremonies will be held throughout the world to honor the Polish millennium, as 1966 marks the 1,000th year of Christianity in Poland.

This year, under the leadership of Cardinal Wyszynski, the Polish people are rallying forth to celebrate religious observances and a national holiday in concordance with the date.

Not only the Poles but the entire free world should acknowledge the significance of this event. Western Europe has throughout these past 1,000 years been deeply indebted to Poland for its protection, its example of religious tolerance and freedom, and its contributions in the fields of government, education, science, and the arts.

Although every attempt has been made by the Communist government to thwart the festivities in Poland concerned with the millennium, the past history of this great nation testifies to the fact that a strong unyielding faith in the beliefs, standards, and actions which are represented by this 1,000 years is the only imperative factor needed to make the celebrations a success.

Poland, as a country, has faced numerous discouraging crises in the past in the attainment of her religious goals and surely the present dilemma will eventually be resolved in the favor of the Polish people.

Mr. Speaker, I join all the people of New Hampshire, the United States, and surely the free world in celebrating and honoring the Polish millennium.

Congressman Jim Corman's Sixth Annual Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year I sent out my sixth annual questionnaire. The purpose of the annual questionnaire is to better determine the views of my constituents on the important issues which face the Congress and the Nation.

I have received approximately 10,000 replies and the response demonstrates the great interest and concern of my constituents in the 22d District of California.

Several questions revealed important trends in public opinion. More than 75 percent of the respondents favored negotiations in Vietnam and over 65 percent support the representation of the Vietcong at the conference table.

Agriculture subsidies received the most mention as a Federal program deserving reductions in appropriations.

Almost two out of three favored Federal legislation to outlaw racial discrimination in jury selection.

Project Headstart and work-study grants received the highest degree of public acceptance as elements in the war on poverty.

Almost three out of four urged legislation to extend Federal safety standards to the manufacture of automobiles.

In the most decisive return on any question, my constituents urged changes in the foreign assistance program and specified more selectivity in aid recipients as the key reform.

The complete returns to my questionnaire follow:

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

Early in March, I mailed my 6th annual questionnaire to all residents of the 22d District. I was greatly pleased with the excellent response the questionnaire received, and I would like to report the results to you.

1. What do you think the United States should do in Vietnam?

	Percent
Expand the war by conventional means without using nuclear weapons	36.0
Continue current policy of military support	25.0
Expand the war, including the use of nuclear weapons	10.1
Withdraw our military troops immediately	7.9
Other	21.0

2. Do you favor negotiations for peace in Vietnam?

	Percent
Yes	78.4
No	20.0
No opinion	5.5

If yes, should the Vietcong be represented at the conference table?

	Percent
Yes	65.1
No	29.4
No opinion	5.5

3. If Congress determines that we must reduce spending, in what areas do you think cuts should be made (choices given equal weight in tallying)?

	Percent
Agriculture sudsidies	28.0
Public works programs	21.9
War on Poverty	21.3
The space program	13.0
Veterans' benefits	9.3
Defense spending	6.5

4. If Congress determines that additional funds are needed for fiscal 1967, how should they be raised (choices given equal weight in tallying)?

	Percent
Increase corporate income taxes	34.6
Increase excise taxes	33.0
Increase personal income taxes	20.6
Increase borrowing	11.8

5. Do you favor Federal legislation outlawing racial discrimination in jury selections?

	Percent
Yes	64.6
No	27.8
No opinion	7.6

6. Do you feel that Federal expenditures for space exploration should:

	Percent
Remain the same	54.7
Be reduced	26.4
Be increased	18.9

7. Please check the programs in the war on poverty you think should be continued in the future (choices given equal weight in tallying):

	Percent
Educational services for preschool children (Project Headstart)	19.7
Work-study grants for college students	17.3
Job Corps	16.3
Special small business loans	14.3
Neighborhood Youth Corps	14.0
Domestic Peace Corps	11.3
None	7.1

8. Do you support legislation to enable the Federal Government to deal effectively with strikes which threaten irreparable damage to the national interest?

	Percent
Yes	79.2
No	15.9
No Opinion	4.9

9. Legislation has been introduced providing for Federal contracts with education institutions and private industry to apply systems analysis and engineering to help solve problems in such fields as law enforcement, pollution and transportation. Do you favor this approach?

	Percent
Yes	70.8
No	21.6
No opinion	7.6

10. Do you favor 4-year terms for Members of the House of Representatives?

	Percent
Yes	60.4
No	34.2
No opinion	5.4

If yes, when should Members of the House be elected?

	Percent
Half when the President is elected and half in the middle of the Presidential term	47.7
In the middle of the President's term of office	27.0
When the President is elected	25.3

11. Do you favor legislation extending Federal safety standards to the manufacture of automobiles?

	Percent
Yes	73.0
No	22.0
No opinion	5.0

12. Do you believe changes are needed in our foreign assistance program?

	Percent
Yes	95.8
No	1.1
No opinion	3.1

If yes, please indicate what changes are needed:

	Percent
Be more selective in nations receiving aid	43.2
Decrease economic aid	17.9
Decrease military aid	17.1
Increase economic aid	6.9
Cut off all aid	4.2
Increase military aid	1.9
Other	8.8

H.R. 13717 Introduced To Establish a Permanent Special Milk Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to express my personal thanks to my honorable colleagues in the House of Representatives for their recent action to defeat the ill-advised cutback in funds for the special milk and hot lunch programs for our Nation's schoolchildren. I believe this program has contributed much to the well-rounded development of our youth by encouraging all children to drink milk. It is widely acknowledged that milk is one of the most important nutrients a child consumes and that it contributes much to the growth of a healthy child. This contribution to the strength of our Nation from a healthy citizenry makes the cost of the program not only small, but a solid investment in our future.

I further believe that steps must be taken to establish a permanent special milk program to insure the continued health of our youngsters. To accomplish this, I have introduced H.R. 13717, to establish a permanent special milk program. Your action in voting to defeat the proposed cutback in this program was essential for the healthy development of our children. I urge you, therefore, to support my recommendation to expand and make permanent this highly successful program.

Draft Reclassification Stifles Dissent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, on April 1, 1966, the distinguished junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART] eloquently addressed a student meeting at the University of Michigan. Senator HART directed his remarks to the sit-in at the Ann Arbor draft board last October and the subsequent reclassification of the protesters by the Selective Service System. The officials of the Selective Service System acted arbitrarily, said Senator HART, and "went far beyond what Congress contemplated when it wrote specific criminal penalties for violations of the act."

But the issue goes much deeper than the need to rectify the particular injustice suffered by the young men involved in this event. Senator HART exposes the real danger to freedom which is that students presently deferred may refrain from expressing their views because of fear of reclassification.

Freedom of speech may lead to "wild and woolly speeches and dangerous ideas, but suppression is fatal to a free society. Freedom itself is a dangerous way," declares Senator HART, "but it is our way of life."

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place Senator HART's address at this point in the RECORD.

REMARKS BY SENATOR PHILIP A. HART AT A STUDENT MEETING ON THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN CAMPUS, APRIL 1, 1966

This campus has been the scene recently of several notable pronouncements and events which have heralded new directions in Government policy.

Here from the steps of the Union President Kennedy made specific his commitment to the Peace Corps.

Here in the stadium President Johnson proclaimed the goals of his Great Society.

And here in Ann Arbor one afternoon last October a series of events triggered off what may result in one of the landmark cases in constitutional rights.

This afternoon I do not want to dwell long on the merits of the actions of those who sat down in the Ann Arbor draft board headquarters. Their cases—the issues involving their first amendment rights and their rights to a fair trial—are now being tested in the courts. You know where I stand on these questions. If we want to rivet public attention on a Government policy we believe wrong by action violative of law, we must accept the sanctions provided—but only after our day in court and only those sanctions specifically provided.

I believe that the officials of the Selective Service System, in encouraging the reclassification of the protesters, acted beyond the law—acted arbitrarily, and, as far as I have been able to ascertain from study of the congressional intent on this aspect of the Selective Service laws, went far beyond what Congress contemplated when it wrote specific criminal penalties for violations of the act.

Those who were reclassified are now taking their appeal to the courts and their rights will be protected. They are not the ones to whom the most serious damage may have been done.

Today, I voice concern that these actions by the Selective Service officials really involve, or have the effect of, an implied threat to others who might wish to protest a Government policy.

The silencing effect of the reclassification is the real threat to freedom. It is this we must protest. The pressure on other students who now have deferments to refrain from expressing their views because of fear of reclassification is where the real danger lies.

Whatever the ultimate legal decision may be on the rights or wrongs of the reclassification in the Ann Arbor sit-in cases—whatever the courts may say—the clearly implied intent, or at least the result, of the reclassifications was to say to students across the Nation, "Let this be a lesson to you."

In times of national stress when the draft requires men to do more than just take stateside training, it is imperative that every student, professor and university administrator be assured that the Selective Service System is administered in a fashion which carries no threats to freedom of expression.

Efforts to curtail this freedom are rarely dramatic and overt. It is the implied threat that can most seriously restrict free expression of views, and it is here that we must be most alert and ready to speak out.

No one questions that the right of dissent should be exercised with responsibility and respect for the individual as well as for the good of the community.

It is the guarantee of this right to dissent that has formed national policies through our history.

We don't protect freedom of speech out of sentimentality or to promote error. We do it to discover truth. It leads to wild and woolly speeches and dangerous ideas, but suppression is fatal to a free society. Freedom itself is a dangerous way, but it is our way of life.

Many of you would not agree with my views on the alternatives available to the Nation today in Vietnam. I remain convinced that the basic outlines of the policy to achieve military stability and economic and social reform being followed by the President is the soundest course of limited alternatives available to us.

That is my privilege, and to dissent, if you would, is yours.

I am troubled by many of the aspects of our present draft policy. This is, indeed, a most difficult and controversial area as we have seen in the past when Congress has attempted to reorganize the system.

I have serious questions about the fairness and equity in the present concept of deferment for those who can afford a college education as long as a college education is not economically within the reach of all who might be academically qualified.

I have serious questions about the inherent fairness of letting local boards initiate classification procedures when geography and local traditions mean far less in the Nation's total manpower picture that they did even two decades ago. With high mobility of population and national job recruiting by major industries, all of the modern techniques of employment and manpower expertise should be brought to bear on this selection process. Today, this screening by local boards, fair and conscientious as it may be, leaves policy questions that should be studied.

Finally—and I admit it is difficult to propose a calm review of the alternatives today—I believe we should seek a system of broad national service to supplement the service one could give his country through the Armed Forces. None disagree that a Peace Corps worker in a remote village is making a significant contribution to his country at some personal sacrifice. This can well be true in other areas of foreign and domestic service.

Hopefully, we can find the framework in which these alternatives to military service can be frankly discussed as possible national policy and support for such a policy developed among the public.

You were kind to invite me to your campus this afternoon. You are to be commended for seeking answers to these complex problems which go to the heart of our Nation's freedoms and security. If it were otherwise I would, indeed, be concerned, but I do not doubt the vigor and vitality of this student generation. Its contributions to human rights and its searching questioning of national policy are a contribution to our Nation for which we should all be thankful.

The World Situation and Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address which my distinguished colleague, Mr. COLLIER, delivered before the meeting of the American Society for Industrial Security in Chicago on April 12:

In this year of 1966, 48 years after the armistice which ended a war "to make the world safe for democracy" and two decades after the second great world conflict in this century, the old world is so distraught and so sick that any hope for stability and peace in this or the next generation becomes more and more remote. So entangled in the growing troubles of the world is the United States that even the chaotic condition in Vietnam, according to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, takes up less than one-sixth of the time of the State Department.

We have, since World War II, expended $825 billion on defense and on aid for countries across the face of the globe in an effort to establish some kind of stability. Yet, the situation in each of the continents is one which can be defined only as chaotic. From our own point of view, we are committed to the common defense of 42 nations in the world as a result of various regional treaties. Those with whom we are joined in these alliances have been the recipients of Uncle Sam's foreign aid generosity in the aggregate of billions of dollars, yet most of them have not only failed to support our position in southeast Asia, but have also, in fact, been bitterly critical of our efforts to stem the subversion and aggression of totalitarian communism.

Epitomizing this attitude is that of France's Charles de Gaulle who is attacking NATO and virtually telling us to get out. Ironic it is, too, because we have twice saved France from military annihilation in the two great wars since the turn of the century. The French are deeply indebted to the United States financially for loans and aid offered to rebuild them after we had saved their proverbial neck in World War I and World War II.

Typical, too, of the situation is the incident of Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi of India just a few days ago. After her recent visit to the White House, President Johnson pledged a new billion-dollar food program for India to avert famine in that country. We will ship 3.5 million tons of grain, mostly wheat, to assist India—this is in addition to $10 billion of various kinds of aid we have given since the end of British rule in 1947. Just a matter of days after she left the White House with this promise in her hand, she appeared on a television program in New York and proceeded to bitterly criticize U.S. policy in Vietnam, saying that we erred in not extending the truce in bombings of North Vietnam.

Aside from our own involvement, there is hardly a corner of the globe today at which one can look without seeing anything but seething unrest and trouble.

Pressures have been applied against the small nation of Rhodesia in a matter that is entirely internal and British officials are sitting like vultures waiting for Rhodesia to cave in from the economic pressures that have been invoked upon her. The British Labor press heaps criticism on the United States on the grounds that our activity there deals with an internal situation and frequently meetings and demonstrations against U.S. policy in Vietnam are encouraged by the party in power in Britain, with never a word about the pressures England is putting upon the present Rhodesian Government. Yet, the highly critical British, who we helped out of a financial dilemma just 2 years ago when the pound sterling virtually collapsed, will within a matter of months have to take time out from their criticism of U.S. policy to once again ask Uncle Sam to bail out their once great empire.

In Latin America today, U.S. policies are blamed for most of their troubles, as in the political situation that has brought military leaders to power. Billions in U.S. aid under the Alliance for Progress program certainly have not generated any expression of gratitude in the Western Hemisphere—and that may well be the understatement of the year.

It will be decades before any order comes out of chaos in the new nations of black Africa where, admittedly, the people were unprepared for immediate self-government in the great liberation movement of the past two decades. Let me make it eminently clear that I believe every nation must have the right of self-determination. The point I am making is that the African nations, long exploited and under the domination of Western European powers, suddenly threw off the shackles but were unprepared to sustain themselves politically and economically, pointing up again that we live in a generation when remedying the wrongs of the past is done so hastily that the cure becomes as serious as the disease itself.

There are, it is true, temporary truces in certain trouble spots of the world, but each may well be a keg of dynamite. There has been no real solution to the Greek-Turkish imbroglio on Cyprus—it could flare up at any time, as could the border struggles between the Arabs and Israel. And the tussle between India and Pakistan, both U.S. aid recipients, over Kashmir is not by any means settled though there is a temporary truce in that area. Not far from the U.S. mainland is the troubled Dominican Republic where conditions remain chaotic in the face of U.S. aid and troops, while certain of our compatriots in the Organization of American States look with a jaundiced eye at our actions in Santo Domingo.

On the brighter side, if one can take any solace from the problems of others, we find that the internal troubles of our Communist adversaries grow in a manner that tends to impede to some degree their ambition to either psychologically or militantly impose communism upon the rest of the world.

Fidel Castro has made a virtual mess of Cuba where discontent is growing. It may well be that when his military leaders feel the urge, they will depose him and take over control of the island. What may develop after that is, of course, problematical but it would seem that any change would be an improvement as far as the whole Western Hemisphere is concerned.

Peiping's leaders, while talking loudly and vociferously, have multiple internal problems—not the least of which is their inability to feed 750 million mouths at a time when they seek to extol the virtues of a new order.

Certainly communism has failed in less-militant Russia where Nikita Khrushchev is being blamed for the ills and failure of the system, just as he had blamed Joseph Stalin. Now the new leaders, Kosygin and Brezhnev, are laying all the ills at the doorstep of Nikita Khrushchev.

The sad fact of the matter is that the Communist system is devoid of any individual incentives, has failed miserably to fulfill its promises in almost every area of the national life of the people, the quality of its industrial production has slipped badly, and the state-controlled factories have failed to provide for even the minimal needs of their people. Food shortages have developed and the state of housing in Russia is causing discontent because the glowing promises of their leaders have virtually "gone down the drain." Today there is, for example, only one toilet and running water for each three family domiciles in Russia. In addition, the breach between the more militant brand of communism in China and the Russian variety continues to widen.

It is interesting that, in the one instance where we became incensed and curtailed aid to Indonesia because Sukarno was playing "footsie" with both Moscow and Peiping, there was a reversal of attitude. We now find Sukarno virtually a hostage of the new leadership which has openly attacked the Communist leaders within its own country.

Our foreign aid program, over which there has been increasing controversy since its inception, is in chaotic straits today as never before. World events and, particularly, the war in Vietnam, have contributed to the controversy over its administration and even the direction it should take.

At the end of the Marshall plan, which provided American aid to rebuild war-torn nations after the world conflict of the early 1940's, there remained a need for assisting many nations which were still emerging from the effects of the war. There were selfish reasons for the United States to provide assistance at a time when the entire faces of the several continents were changed either geographically or politically—and certainly economically. It is obvious that it was not so much the manner in which the program began that caused the trouble, but rather the failure of those administering it to reappraise and reevaluate its objectives in the light of the rapid changes which took place. Furthermore, the administration of the program became bogged down in the bureaucratic dictates of State Department officials who were indifferent to being realistic about the program and who seem to have lost sight of its original intent and purpose.

Before going any further in this discussion of our foreign aid posture, let us review the original purpose of the program which presumably justified the billions of American taxpayers' dollars we were to spend all over the world during the next two decades.

First, it was intended that our aid should help distressed nations so that they would see the advantages of a free society and the free enterprise system which is symbolic of individual freedom and the principles of freedom; second, it was intended that foreign aid would be temporary to the extent that it would help many of these nations to help themselves; and, third, that in the process of accomplishing the first and second objectives, it would improve the image and complement the stature of the United States as the bastion of freedom in a world torn between freedom and economic and political tyranny. Sadly, after 20 years of the foreign aid program, we have failed to a great extent to achieve these goals while placing upon the United States multiple pressures, not the least of which is a financial burden from which our Government has been unable to extricate itself.

The mounting criticism of foreign aid is entirely understandable because the program has been punctuated with confusion and frustration, and even a sense of fatigue. This has been caused in great part by waste due to ill-conceived projects, mistakes in planning, and bureaucratic illusions with regard to what this program can and cannot accomplish. Furthermore, it is virtually impossible to speak of the foreign aid program today without recognizing the inconsistencies which have characterized its operations. Specifically, the attacks are wholly justified in the fact that aid has not been administered on the selective basis necessary and has been rendered with little concern over its complying with certain basic principles which should underlie a sound American foreign policy.

As one critic aptly said, it has been used as a crutch rather than a foundation for self-help in the developing nations.

The fact of the matter is that all of the commissions and investigations presumably designed to appease the critics have borne no fruit. There are many dedicated people in the foreign aid program who have worked hard for its success, but this does not eliminate the sad fact that there are also many career people in the State Department participating in the program at decisionmaking levels who obviously have divorced their attitudes from the realistic goals of the United States of America.

In sum and substance, foreign aid has taken on the aspect of an outright charity project in many instances, rather than one which seeks to enhance individual freedom, the right of choice, and the preservation of the human dignity of man throughout the world.

Because it is easy to rationalize the failures of the program by merely stating that things would be worse if it were not for the program—something which really cannot be established—let us see how far it has gone in achieving its basic goals. We have poured more than $130 billion of aid into the economic stream of many nations throughout the world without having any evidence of a broad improvement in the economic self-reliance of nations, nor the masses of people who have been the recipients of this aid.

While American dollars and assistance may naturally have tended to stem the expansion of communism in the world, the sad fact is that communism has continued to thrive throughout the years of the aid to a point where today nearly two-thirds of the peoples of the world live under Communist rule. In fact, American dollars have been used to subsidize nations under Communist governments and have contributed to outright socialism as a way of life elsewhere.

There are those who call flatly for an end to the whole program because they are uncertain whether it contributes to America's vital interests. There are logical arguments that can be posed to substantiate, as well as refute, this position; but certainly no one can deny that the foreign aid program is indeed in need of an agonizing reappraisal. Such a reappraisal must start with a clearly defined statement of policy and purpose in the administration of foreign aid. The Congress, rather than the Executive, has a responsibility to establish a much closer control upon the use of aid funds.

To this end, it seems to me that enactment of laws which authorize and provide the funds for foreign aid cannot remain omnibus in nature. There should be at least three separate and distinct programs, both for authorization and appropriation bills: one dealing with technical assistance, another with economic assistance, and a third with military assistance. In fact, it would probably serve a good purpose to go even further until the whole mess could be straightened out by dealing with each category of aid according to geographical areas of the world. This would not only provide a much greater area of selectivity by Members of Congress, but would pinpoint the needs of certain nations on the basis of their eventual self-reliance and self-determination in economic as well as political needs.

Contrary to what many advocates of foreign aid belief, it is my contention that our aid must serve the fundamental ideals and principles of our own free system.

There are those who deny, for example, that foreign aid should be a tool of United States foreign policy. I could not disagree more with this position if we are to believe that our foreign policy is a proper and just one. However, the problem in this regard is that our foreign policy has vacillated in recent years to a point where it is difficult to determine our course and objectives and our determination to accomplish them. To suggest, as some are prone to do, that this attitude means using aid as a bribe or a bludgeon is to use a figure of speech rather than adopt a realistic approach to the fundamental principles of maintaining freedom, while opposing any type of system which imposes totalitarian rule upon men anywhere in the world.

The fact that the "ugly American" is apparently becoming "uglier" all the time is in itself evidence that either our foreign aid program or our foreign policy, or both, have failed. Unless we cease to be a party to promulgating a program which has been sadly inadequate in the face of its established goals and its needs in a world seething with unrest, we can hope for no better results in the future. To recognize these failures and move to reverse them is, it seems to me, one of the most demanding challenges this Nation faces today.

Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, April 1943

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL J. KREBS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, this is the 23d anniversary of a very tragic and also an unusually heroic event in the history of the Jews in Poland. In mid-April 1943, some 50,000 Jews in Warsaw resolved to defy their Nazi foes and began their fight for freedom. In that struggle these gallant souls, who had no chance for survival, fought their ruthless foes for 42 days, until finally nearly all of them made the supreme sacrifice for freedom. Only a handful of these fighters managed to escape death, and today they are rebuilding their reborn ancient homeland, the State of Israel. On the observance of this historic anniversary I join all lovers of freedom in paying my tribute to the memory of innocent and gallant victims of the Warsaw ghetto uprising.

Maryland ACLU Award to Congressman Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday night, April 27, the annual award of the Maryland branch of the American Civil Liberties Union was presented to our able colleague from Maryland [Mr. MATHIAS] in recognition of his courage and outstanding leadership in defending the cause of civil liberties.

In presenting this award, Mr. Jack L. Levin, former board chairman and current award chairman of the Maryland branch of the ACLU, paid tribute to Congressman MATHIAS' achievements in advancing the cause of civil rights and civil liberties. Because the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MATHIAS] was recovering from recent surgery and was unable to attend, the award was accepted on his behalf by his brother, Mr. Trail Mathias, and his acceptance statement was read by his administrative assistant, Mr. William Emerson.

I insert in the RECORD at this point the statements of Mr. Levin and Congressman MATHIAS:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

It is a singular honor for me to receive this award tonight, and I deeply regret that I cannot be with you to express my gratitude. For many years I have respected the work of the Maryland branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, and have admired your courage and tenacity. You have served the State and Nation well by recognizing and resisting threats to our vital freedoms, by extending the boundaries of tolerance, and by expanding the meaning of the phrase, "land of the free."

There is no more important task in this decade than the defense of liberty and diversity. Our country was settled by brave men and women who sought to assert their rights as citizens, and to live free from oppression. Our own Free State enjoys a proud heritage of religious liberty. This State and this Nation have been built in freedom—the freedom conferred by wide frontiers and diverse opportunities. Now, when our open space is shrinking, when our physical frontiers have been staked out, when opportunities may seem elusive—now, in a complex urban, industrial society, we face new and often subtle challenges to the ideals of liberty, justice and equality.

It is essential that we meet these challenges, if our Nation is to continue to fulfill its promise, if we are to maintain the creative diversity of faiths, imaginations, ways of life—and if we are to preserve the liberty of all men and women to practice their individual faiths, promote their own ideas, and pursue their goals.

The United States was founded on the conviction, revolutionary in 1776, that all men are equal before the law. We have made great and painful progress toward fulfilling the promise of the Founding Fathers. But the battle for equal rights has not been finally won. We must redouble our efforts to achieve equality before the law, so that in fact the only barriers to men's progress shall be their own individual limitations.

In pressing ahead, we must not confuse civil rights and civil liberties. We must remember that it is possible for all men to be equal when no man is free. While recognizing what public authority must do, to implement our constitutional guarantees, we must also recognize—as you have recognized so clearly—what public authorities must refrain from doing, and where the Constitution draws the line between public power and individual liberties.

You have battled for years to preserve individual freedoms against invasions by government. You have fought bravely to protect the vital privilege to dissent, to criticize, to question, to object. But you have also recognized that dissent must be responsible, and that it is the obligation of free men to use their freedom well. You have defended liberties for all, against both the indifferent many and the overzealous few. Yours is a difficult and essential task—and you have served it well.

I am proud to accept this honor as a token of your belief that I have in some small way helped to advance the ideals which you—and I—cherished so deeply.

REMARKS OF MR. JACK LEVIN

Greetings to you, captive audience. I thank you again for my annual opportunity of inflicting my views on you, in the disguise of an award presentation. The mere absence of the recipient does not deter me in the least. If the patient isn't here on time, as the psychiatrist said, I start without him—or when his brother arrives.

There are two sets of reasons why I am particularly happy to honor the 1966 recipient of our award. The first are my own personal ones; the second the official justification.

Personally, I derive great satisfaction from the political success of Congressman MATHIAS. It proves that, even in the Republican Party, extremism does not get results, and a decent respect for our constitutional liberties pays off handsomely. It also gives me a chance to express my doubts about the alleged takeover of the Republican Party by the radical right that challenges our basic freedoms and equates dissent with disloyalty.

I'm aware that the John Birch Society is now tracking down Communists, not only in Baltimore County, and Gettysburg, Pa. (where they must keep a tail on Comrade Eisenhower), but also in Washington, where they've opened an office to try to control the Republican Party. I've heard of their political power in Los Angeles, where 1,770 of them paid $100 a plate, and in New York, where over 1,000 paid $50 a plate to salute their fuehrer, Robert Welch. I know that more and less respectable hate-groups are constantly working to infiltrate the Republican Party, and could greatly endanger our freedom and security in a time of stress. But I think the present fruits of their labors should not be exaggerated in this time of milk and honey.

A recent Gallup survey showed that, in overwhelming majority, rank-and-file Republicans with opinions oppose the extremists and favor the moderates. For every Republican who loves the John Birch Society, about 14 hate it; for every 1 who feels kindly toward the Ku Klux Klan, 76 hold their noses; and—this I find hard to believe—for every Republican who opposes the ADA, 1½ regard it highly favorably. How about that, fellow-subversives? Before we celebrate, though, I should tell you that 52 percent of the Republicans professed to have no opinions on ADA.

The point is that moderate Republican candidates like Congressman MATHIAS are not necessarily the good guys who lose elections. They win—and win big—over the creatures that crawl out from under rocks, the Neanderthal men, and the gentlemen extremists who pant for power over the GOP. Mr. MATHIAS has national stature as a spokesman for moderates. He made no secret of his opposition to Goldwater and his handpicked Conservative Dean Burch as Republican chairman. Of course, many Republican stalwarts are now against Goldwater and Burch, because they committed the one unforgivable sin: they lost. But Mr. MATHIAS was against them when they looked like possible winners. Everyone knew where he stood when he ran for a third term last November as representative of the western Maryland Sixth District that included five counties. He ran squarely against extremism, against hard-core conservatism, against racism, and for programs to serve the needs and raise the hope of the American people, for the securing of our rights and liberties, and for an affirmative and responsible minority opposition—and he won.

The point is, also, that a Republican who is for decency is not therefore a "me-too" Democrat. He is not behind the Democrats to follow them, but to prod them in tender spots—as when he jabbed the administration for its delay in proposing an omnibus civil rights act in 1963, voting rights legislation last year, and, now, a civil rights law enforcement act. That will get action, if anything will. It delights many of us loyal Democrats that he calls for hearings to "provide valuable guidance" for the administration, and sponsors bills on jury discrimination to convert civil rights words into deeds.

The point is, finally, as far as I am concerned, that Congressman MATHIAS practices his moral preachments, and realizes that the American image in the eyes of the world depends on doing justly and loving mercy as someone explained to the police department last night. Perhaps that is why he was among the Congressmen who called on the President to halt immediately the use of nausea gas in Vietnam, as a cruel and inhumane weapon that would turn world public opinion against the United States.

So much for my personal reasons for honoring the Honorable Congressman MATHIAS. But since the award is from the ACLU, let me give you the official reasons:

His civil liberties record throughout his years in public life has rated excellent. He has shown awareness that the main business of the United States, and its principal distinction, is the defense of the rights and dignity of the individual citizen against the mass, and against the Government itself.

On the issue of capital punishment, he has supported us and spoken eloquently and courageously against this popular savagery.

I recall, 2 years ago, his fairness and courtesy as a member of the House committee, in hearing our unpopular testimony against the proposed constitutional amendment on public prayers. What was so special about that? Well, when opponents of official prayers were regarded as godless, when all across the land constituents were pressing Congressmen to introduce bills to fix the bill of rights to their liking, when the mail was pouring in and the telephones jangling, it was not easy to be courteous and fair to heretics like us, and to urge caution on crusaders and zealots.

But when Congressman MATHIAS earlier this year became the only man in Maryland's eight-member House delegation to vote against contempt citations of Klan leaders, he sealed his doom and cooked his goose. This award became inevitable.

He was not defending the Klan, of course, but objecting to the system by which the House Un-American Activities Committee acted as committing magistrates without studying the evidence. He ventured to say that an independent review should have been made by a group not belonging to HUAC, and that such a committee, with access to evidence and time to deliberate, would give each case independent and dispassionate study, and preclude hasty action and abuse of power. He warned that divulgence of organizational membership, in certain circumstances, might violate the first amendment guarantee of freedom of association, and he introduced a bill to reform procedures. Any foe of HUAC's royal prerogatives as judge and jury is a friend of ours.

On representative government, Mr. MATHIAS strongly supports home rule for the District of Columbia. He was a leader in the House fight for a reasonable home rule bill last year, and for legislation to provide a Delegate in the House from the District of Columbia, as a first step toward popularly elected voting representation in Congress.

On reapportionment, he opposed the bill to deny the Supreme Court or any Federal court of jurisdiction in apportionment cases. He has also repeatedly urged the Maryland General Assembly to provide constitutional congressional districts for the State, and deplored its failure to act.

On individual rights, he has fought against repressive crime legislation, which authorizes investigative arrests and endangers the rights of the accused and of all individuals.

On obscene mail, Mr. MATHIAS opposed the Cunningham bill authorizing anyone who received mail deemed offensive to request the post office to deliver no more mail from the same sender.

On industrial security, he voted against the proposed extensions of the Industrial Security Act.

On internal security, he was one of eight Republicans voting to kill a bill removing the geographic limitations on the Sedition Act of 1917.

Perhaps the bravest of all the feats of this daring young Republican is his recent bill to establish an American Revolution Bicentennial Commission to start orderly planning for celebrating the birth of our Nation. This proposal involves a 31-member Commission, including the President, Vice President, and a slew of bigwigs, who are to spend several years planning the international significance of the events that began in 1773.

Now I submit that anyone who dares to open these shrines where our liberties are idolized, to shake the dust of two centuries off our principles, and to let out the secret which most Americans hide so well—that we are, if you'll excuse the expression, "revolutionists"—anyone who dares that is a brave man indeed, who fully deserves this award: for courage and leadership in defending the cause of civil liberty.

Humane Treatment Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, when H.R. 13881, the bill to regulate the transportation, sale and handling of dogs and cats for research purposes, came to the House floor, I joined with the overwhelming majority of my colleagues on voting for the proposal.

However, I would like to take this opportunity to explain that two amendments which were offered on the floor to strengthen this bill received my support. Unfortunately, these two amendments, offered by Congresswoman BOLTON and Congressman HELSTOSKI, were defeated by voice vote.

Although I would have preferred to see a stronger bill passed I feel that Federal legislation is needed in this field to protect animals against unnecessary cruelty and inhumane treatment. Some shocking examples of man's inhumanity to animals have been documented recently and therefore I felt that the committee bill, weak though it was, was needed and was better than no bill at all. For these reasons, I supported the Bolton and Helstoski amendments and when they failed, I supported the bill on final passage.

A Congressman Looks at Copyright Law Revision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, our colleague the Honorable HERBERT TENZER, from the Fifth District of New York, recently appeared as a featured speaker in a symposium on the law of the artist held at Fordham University Law School in New York on April 26, 1966. His address, entitled "A Congressman Looks at Copyright Law Revision," is an able and comprehensive survey of the legislation which Subcommittee No. 3 of the House Committee on the Judiciary is presently considering.

As Mr. TENZER so appropriately points out, the revision bill, H.R. 4347, is not only urgently needed but is tremendously important to the American public. While the gentleman from New York [Mr. TENZER] also appropriately points out that he speaks for himself and not for the subcommittee nor for other members, nonetheless, he is uniquely qualified to comment on the subject matter by virtue of his dedicated attendance and participation in the hearings and in the reformulation of the bill itself. His speech, as appears hereunder, is also a unique and professional contribution which deserves widespread attention:

A CONGRESSMAN LOOKS AT COPYRIGHT LAW REVISION

It is a pleasure and privilege for me to be the opening speaker on today's panel of distinguished copyright experts, and to tell you something about the problems Congress is now confronting in its efforts to revise the copyright law. The House Judiciary Subcommittee, of which I am a member, has held extensive hearings on the copyright revision bill, H.R. 4347, and is now engaged in a detailed study of the measure in light of the issues that have developed. I do not pretend to be an expert on the intricacies of the present copyright statute, but after nearly a year of exhaustive consideration of the proposals to revise it, I do feel qualified to review some of the most pressing problems facing our subcommittee, and perhaps to suggest some of my own views on them. Of course, nothing in my remarks necessarily expresses the views of the subcommittee or any of my fellow members.

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

Before having to come to grips with it as a legislator, I had limited experience with the copyright law. I had never recognized copyright as the fundamental legal system which provides both the incentive and the reward for the creative efforts of authors. I had never realized that copyright is the basis for some of our greatest industries—publishing, recording, motion pictures, and broadcasting, among others. And, as our hearings have shown, the history of copyright legislation represents a continuing struggle on the part of copyright owners to protect their exclusive rights against the challenge of new technologies. The so-called explosions in information and communications has, in the second half of the 20th century, turned this challenge into an onslaught. The need for a new copyright law is crucial, but so are the problems that must be solved before we reach that goal.

The foundation stone of our copyright law is the Federal Constitution, which grants to Congress the power "to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries."

It is worth noting what James Madison had to say about it in "The Federalist":

"The copyright of authors has been solemnly adjudged, in Great Britain, to be a right of common law. The right to useful inventions seems with equal reason to belong to the inventors. The public good fully coincides in both cases with the claims of individuals. The States cannot separately make effectual provision for either of these cases, and most of them have anticipated the decision of this point, by laws passed at the insistence of Congress."

The Founding Fathers gave recognition to the desirability of copyright protection and the need for national uniformity granting it. This was echoed by the Supreme Court in a fairly recent decision, in which the majority observed:

"The economic philosophy behind the clause empowering Congress to grant patents and copyrights is the conviction that encouragement of individual effort by personal gain is the best way to advance public welfare through the talents of authors and inventors in science and useful arts. Sacrificial days devoted to such creative activities deserve rewards commensurate with the services rendered. (*Maser* v. *Stein*, 347 U.S. 201, 219 (1954).)

The first American copyright statute which was enacted by the First Congress in 1790 has undergone general revision only three times. The last of these revisions took place in 1909, more than 57 years ago. To say that the present law is obsolete is far too mild.

The situation may be likened to that which we would be facing if the automobile, introduced in 1908, was operating today under traffic laws written for dirt roads with horses and buggies. This gives you an idea of the present copyright statutes' hopeless inadequacy.

Recognizing the overwhelming need for a new law, Congress in 1955 appropriated funds for a copyright revision program and the present bill, which was drafted by the Copyright Office, was introduced by Chairman CELLER in 1965. Last year our subcommittee devoted 22 days to hearing a total of more than 150 witnesses on the bill. To date this year our subcommittee has had 19 executive sessions—preparing H.R. 4347 for submission to the full Judiciary Committee. The witnesses at the public hearings represented a broad range of the interests affected by the copyright law and the proposals for changing it and, despite the sharp differences of opinion on a number of controversial issues, I was impressed by the intelligence, constructiveness, and moderate tone of nearly all of the testimony we heard. The witnesses were virtually unanimous as to the need for copyright revision, but on several points there were substantial controversies as to how the law should be revised.

DURATION OF COPYRIGHT

Perhaps the most significant and far-reaching change proposed by the bill involves the duration of copyright. Under the present law, a copyright lasts for 28 years from first publication or registration, and may be renewed by the author or certain stated beneficiaries for a second 28-year period. The bill substitutes a term measured by the life of the author plus 50 years, and eliminates the renewal feature which has been burdensome and unfair in practice.

At the outset of the hearings, I was somewhat quizzical about the term proposed in the bill, partly because I was concerned about the difficulties of determining authors' death dates. As the hearings went on, however, I became convinced of the advantages of the life-plus-50 system.

With the increase in life expectancy, authors are more and more finding their early works falling into the public domain during their lives, at the very time when they need them most. I fully endorse the purpose of the change, which is to make it impossible for an author to outlive his copyrights and to assure that his family will receive income from his works for a reasonable period after his death. Having all of an author's works go into the public domain at once is an advantage to the public, and the ready availability of the dates of relatively obscure authors from a variety of reference sources was demonstrated to me personally in a most convincing way.

Under the bill statutory copyright would begin automatically upon the creation of the work, and the present perpetual common law copyright in unpublished works would be superseded by Federal copyright protection. This would accomplish the goal of national uniformity about which Madison wrote, and I am acutely aware that the single Federal system, coupled with the life-plus-50 term, would have other great advantages for the United States. Last fall, during a personal vacation in Europe—while all international travel was at my own expense, I accepted several assignments from the chairman of the Judiciary Committee—I spoke to the representatives of several foreign countries in the copyright field, and I was most impressed with the importance of copyright law revision to the future of the United States in the vital field of international copyright. The advantages of adopting a term uniform with practically all other nations hardly needs underlining.

Despite some scattered or secondary opposition, the bill's provisions on duration of copyright seem to have achieved general acceptance, in which I have come to share.

TERMINATION OF GRANTS, ETC.

Another potentially controversial provision that appears to have approached a successful compromise is what has come to be known as the "reversion" section. This provision, which is a substitute for the renewal device in the present law, would permit an author, or his widow and children, to terminate a grant of the author's rights after 35 years by serving notice on the grantee. The purpose here is to recognize the unequal bargaining position of authors and to relieve them, after a reasonable time, of the consequences of transfers that do not yield a reasonable share of the economic return from their works. This complex provision, although at one time an explosively controversial issue, was discussed very little at the hearings.

This strikes me as a good example of a case in which good will and patient discussion between sharply divided interests has produced a result that is not only mutually satisfactory but, more important, is in the public interest.

GOVERNMENT WORKS

An interesting and important public issue is presented by the provision of the bill barring copyright in "works of the U.S. Government," which are defined as works "prepared by an officer or employee of the U.S. Government within the scope of his official duties or employment." This provision has been attacked on opposite sides. On the one hand, book publishers and some Government agencies have urged that the prohibition should not be absolute, and that copyright should be permitted in exceptional cases where it would result in wide dissemination or less cost to the Government. On the other side, there have been some suggestions that the definition of Government works is too narrow, and that the prohibition should also cover works created under Government contracts and grants. Moreover, two bar associations have recommended that the Government be precluded from receiving and holding copyrights transferred to it by assignment or bequest.

Here, as elsewhere, the problem is where to draw the line so that the scope of copyright protection is neither unfairly broadened nor unfairly narrowed. This is not an easy matter, but on the question of Government works I am generally inclined to favor the middle-ground approach of the bill.

MANUFACTURING CLAUSE

In 1891, as a part of a compromise under which works by foreign authors were allowed copyright in the United States for the first time, a manufacturing clause was introduced into the statute where it has been a bone of contention ever since. Although the original requirements have been watered down considerably, the present law still requires that books and periodicals by American authors be manufactured in the United States to be fully protected here. The whole idea of a manufacturing requirement has been attacked by authors and publishers as a protectionist device that is better suited to tariff law than to a copyright statute, and that is no longer needed by the present strong and healthy American printing industry.

That industry, on the other hand, has vigorously defended the manufacturing clause as necessary to protect against foreign competition based on vastly lower wage rates, and to insulate the industry against the dangers of the new printing technology.

Here again the revision bill adopts a middle course, retaining a manufacturing requirement but narrowing its scope and blunting or removing its harsher effects. Efforts at further compromises between some of the interests, while not completely successful, have produced additional proposals for revisions in the requirements. Although I tend to share the frequently expressed view that the manufacturing clause is something that we should do away with, I recognize the arguments of the printing industry and unions, and I believe the solution that is finally achieved will be fair to the parties and to the public.

COMMUNITY ANTENNA TELEVISION SYSTEMS

One of the most difficult and complicated issues facing the subcommittee is whether the activities of commercial community antenna television systems, in picking up the signals of broadcasters and transmitting them over wires to subscribers who pay for the service, should be considered a copyright infringement under the new law. The problem is difficult enough in the abstract, but it is further complicated by the fact that the copyright liability of CATV systems under existing law has never been decided by the courts, and two cases involving the issue are presently being litigated. Moreover, the communications aspects of CATV operations are now being considered by other committees of the Congress.

Community antenna operations originated in areas such as mountainous regions where regular television reception was poor or nonexistent. In recent years, however, the industry has expanded tremendously, and at present is said to represent about 1,500 systems with a subscription income of something like $100 million per year. The view of copyright owners and broadcasters, which is also reflected in the revision bill, is that CATV operators are performing copyrighted works for profit and should be required to pay royalties rather than taking a free ride. They also point to the damaging loss of market exclusively in cases where CATV brings a program into an area also served by a local broadcaster who might otherwise have bought the program himself. On the other hand, CATV interests have contended strenuously that they are actually benefiting the copyright owner by expanding his market, that they are performing a public service, and that any requirement for obtaining advance clearances from copyright owners would put them out of business.

While my general view is against allowing free rides by commercial interests at the expense of copyright owners, I recognize that the CATV problem involves several different situations and that these may need to be dealt with separately. It will not be easy, but I believe a compromise on this issue can be found that will be fair to all concerned.

COMPULSORY LICENSE FOR PHONORECORDS

Under the present law, the owner of copyright in a musical composition has the exclusive right to make recordings of his work, but, once he has exercised this right, anyone else may record the same work without permission upon notifying the owner and paying a fixed fee of 2 cents for each record of the song manufactured.

The bill would preserve the essential features of this compulsory licensing system but would increase the statutory rate from 2 to 3 cents, and it was the amount of the rate that emerged as the real issue at the hearings. The subcommittee now has before it a great quantity of economic data and conflicting arguments which will have to be analyzed, but the issue to be decided appears to be basically one of dollars and cents.

JUKEBOX EXEMPTION

Since the war, and until last year when the legislative phase of the general revision program got underway, the copyright problem with which our subcommittee most often has had to wrestle is the so-called jukebox exemption. This provision, in the 1909 law completely exempts the public performance of music on coin-operated machines from copyright liability. Under the umbrella of this exemption the jukebox business has grown to be an industry with gross receipts in the neighborhood of $500 million per year.

No other commercial user of copyrighted music enjoys such an exemption, and the persistence with which songwriters and their performing rights societies have sought to amend the law on this point is certainly understandable. Their position has found widespread support. In the last (88th) Congress our subcommittee reported a bill (H.R.

7194) that would have repealed the exemption. The measure also passed the full Committee on the Judiciary, but failed to achieve a rule. The general revision bill introduced in this Congress adopts, as one of its sections, the repeal of the exemption as proposed in H.R. 7194.

Jukebox operators and manufacturers have vigorously opposed repeal of the exemption, arguing that they could not hope to bargain with the performing rights societies on anything like equal terms. They objected in particular to the open-end aspect of outright repeal, which would force operators to pay any amounts the copyright owners and their representatives choose to ask, on pain of either risking liability of $250 for each unlicensed performance or going out of business. As an alternative to outright repeal they proposed a compulsory licensing system based on the payment of a fixed royalty to copyright owners on ths basis, not of actual performances, but of the number of records purchased for use on jukeboxes. The thought behind this explicit proposal, which was suggested at the hearings and elaborated later, is that it would avoid the need for unequal bargaining and would protect against exorbitant charges. Although the proposal has obvious drawbacks from the copyright owners' point of view, I believe it represents a genuine step toward an ultimate solution of this difficult problem and that, if not in its details at least in its broad framework, it will receive consideration by the subcommittee.

EDUCATIONAL AND SCHOLARLY USES OF COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL

The last of the major issues that must be solved if general revision is to succeed involves the extent to which education and scholarship—including teachers, schools and their administrators, libraries and archives, and educational broadcasters—should be able to use copyrighted material without permission or payment. In my opinion the controversy over this question has been unnecessarily acrimonious, but it has also served a good purpose in opening public discussion on a vital public issue.

Under the present law, unauthorized copying of copyrighted works, whether for purposes of profit or not, is prohibited unless the copying is so trivial and harmless as to constitute what the courts call "fair use." At the same time, the unauthorized performance of music and nondramatic poetry and prose works is exempt if the performance is not "for profit," and most classroom and instructional television uses would fall into that category.

Although there has been some misunderstanding on the question, it seems clear that the revision bill would leave classroom teachers in almost exactly the same position as under existing law: they would still be able to copy copyrighted material within the bounds of "fair use" and they would be free to perform copyrighted works in classrooms in the course of face-to-face teaching activities. However, the educators argue that, in order for teachers to engage in creative instruction, employing the whole range of new mechanical, electronic, and audiovisual devices now available to them, they need greater and clearer freedom from copyright restrictions than either the bill or the present law allow. They admit that they are now probably exceeding the bounds of "fair use" in the copying they do, but they emphasize the impossibility of obtaining advance clearances, the lack of any workable clearinghouse or standard fee arrangements, and the dangers facing teachers under the provision for minimum statutory damages. Specifically, they seek an explicit right to copy within stated limits and a clear definition of the concept of "fair use."

On the other hand, authors, publishers, and other copyright owners urge that, with the proliferation of copying machines, computers, audiovisual devices, and inventions now undreamed of, the market for multiple copies on which they now depend may be seriously damaged or destroyed.

If the law is rewritten to permit a certain amount of limited copying and if, with the aid of the new technology, that limited copying is sufficient to fulfill all educational needs, the result—at least in their view—would be the virtual loss of the educational market. Copyright owners are thus understandably concerned about detailed exemptions that might in time turn into monsters like the jukebox exemption.

Here is yet another case where the two sides to the controversy are dependent on each other, where both perform a vital public service, and where both stand to gain from a well-considered revision of the copyright law. I am sad to say that, despite obvious sincerity and good will on both sides, there has so far been little progress toward a real compromise solution of the problem. This places quite a heavy burden on the subcommittee to work out independently the solutions that preferably should come from a meeting of the minds among people with mutual aims and mutual problems. But, lest anything I have said be taken as an expression of discouragement or frustration, let me emphasize that the subcommittee is quite prepared to bear that burden. It will, if necessary work out a fair solution to what I consider one of the major problems now facing the Congress.

In conclusion I should like to pay tribute to the fine work of my colleagues on the subcommittee, and particularly to the acting chairman, ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER, of Wisconsin, who has done and is doing an outstanding job. I also want to pay a special tribute to the Register of Copyrights, Mr. Abraham Kaminstein; Mr. George D. Cary, Deputy Register; Mr. Abe A. Goldman, General Counsel; and Miss Barbara Ringer, Assistant Register of Copyrights for Examining, for the splendid job they have done and are doing to help guide H.R. 4347 through the subcommittee.

Copyright law revision is an immensely complicated as well as an important subject, but the subcommittee in an atmosphere of completely objective bipartisan inquiry, has worked long and hard with the simple aim of reporting a good bill. I am convinced that this aim will be accomplished perhaps sooner than some cynics and pessimists may think, and that enactment of the bill by Congress will mark a notable and lasting legislative achievement.

Law Day, 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, May 1 is Law Day, an annual observance established by the Congress.

Law Day is celebrated on the same day used by Communists throughout the world to proclaim a commitment to their totalitarian system by the celebration of May Day.

This year's observance of Law Day takes on added meaning as the United States has entered a new phase of its determination to resist Communist aggression. It would be well to remember, however, that far more than the force of arms is needed to defend freedom. The foundation of our fundamental liberties is to be found in the Constitution. The last decade has witnessed a new era in the application of those guarantees of individual human dignity. Yet, there are those within our Nation who would erode those guarantees in a misguided search for security.

Therefore, Law Day must serve to remind the American people of the essential differences between a free society and a totalitarian society—and to deepen their understanding of the urgent need to maintain the United States as a standard of justice and equality to which mankind can aspire.

I wish to pay particular tribute to the Jaycees of the District of Columbia and to the Bar Association of Los Angeles County for their fine programs to bring Law Day to the attention of the public and to strengthen the role of law in our daily lives.

Clarification of Status of National Guard Civilian Technicians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, soon I intend to introduce a bill to clarify the status of National Guard civilian technicians by declaring that they are employees of the United States, and as such, are eligible for all the rights and benefits of employees of the United States.

My bill is identical to the draft version submitted by the Department of Defense and introduced by Congressman HÉBERT. I add my wholehearted support to this legislation because I am vividly aware of the grave problems which exist because these civilian technicians, in effect, have no identifiable, and, therefore, responsible employer.

There are some 38,000 technicians working for the Army and Air National Guard in the several States and Puerto Rico. Their job is to care for the material, equipment, and armament of the National Guard. A condition of their employment is that they must be members of the National Guard as well as its employees, and so loss of membership with the Guard results in loss of employment. The major purpose in making it clear that the technicians are Federal employees arises from the fact that at the present neither the Federal Government nor the States acknowledge them as employees.

The technicians are hired and fired by the State Adjutants General, but their numbers and compensation are fixed by Federal authorities, they care for Federal property, they are paid directly by Federal finance officers from Federal appropriated funds, and they are governed in the main by Federal regulations. However, the Comptroller General of the United States has consistently held that National Guard technicians are not Federal employees. Yet the Department of Labor considers them covered by the Federal Employees Compensation Act. The Supreme Court of the United States has held that the technicians are not Federal employees within the meaning of the Federal Tort Claims Act. In my own State of New York, the courts there have held that the technicians are not State employees for the purposes of the State's civil service laws. The point of my bill is to make it clear that the technicians are in law as well as fact Federal employees.

To my way of thinking, the failure in the past to clearly define the status of the civilian technicians makes its greatest impact on the normal fringe benefits that all of us have come to consider part and parcel of employment. It should be easy to see that no defined employer is going to cause trouble in this area.

New York's National Guard technicians are presently neither employees of the State nor employees of the Federal Government. Consequently they can look forward to neither Federal civil service retirement nor State retirement. Fortunately, the Federal Government does pick up the tab for the employer's share of the social security tax. So the technicians do have social security protection. In addition to this, they do accrue retirement credits as a result of their military service. For the technicians, these benefits are payable at age 60 on the basis of 20 or more years of military service. For example, a sergeant major, E-9 rating, will receive $1,600 per year with 2 years of active duty and 18 years of nonregular creditable service. An E-7 rating, the old master sergeant, with 2 years of active duty and 18 years National Guard duty, will get $60 per month. With 28 years of National Guard duty his retirement check would be $102 per month. This is all very good, but in a State like New York, where the technicians do not participate in the State retirement system, the technician at age 60 has only his military retirement to live on until he becomes eligible for his social security. To my way of thinking, this sort of treatment is intolerable and it should be corrected.

The Cabinet Committee on Federal Staff Retirement Systems, in its report to the President this year, made this recommendation:

> Since National Guard technicians perform essentially Federal functions, necessary procedural changes should be effected by statute to provide formally for their Federal appointment and supervision. Their resulting formal designation by statute as Federal employees would entitle them to Civil Service Retirement Act credit for all past National Guard technician service.

In discussing the recommendation, the Cabinet Committee pointed out that the technicians constitute the full-time nucleus of key personnel assigned to the Guard. The Committee pointed to the fact that the technicians perform essentially Federal functions, but they are denied the benefits of Federal employees and that in the majority of States they are also denied the benefits of State employees. Then the Cabinet Committee stated:

> National Guard technicians should not thus be left in a legal no-man's land bereft in many cases of retirement coverage. The basic national security mission they are employed to perform clearly warrants enactment of legislation formally designating them as Federal employees for all purposes.

Mr. Speaker, it is my fervent hope that the Armed Services Committee will find time in its very heavy schedule to give this legislation early consideration.

Traffic World Interviews Representative Joe Evins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year my very good friend and distinguished colleague, the very capable gentleman who represents the Fourth Congressional District of Tennessee, the Honorable JOE L. EVINS, was named chairman of the Subcommittee on Independent Offices Appropriations.

I am sure my colleagues in the House share my pleasure that JOE EVINS was selected to fill this vital post. Not only is he held in the highest esteem by all of us because of his keen legal mind and his ability as a legislator and statesman, but he also has the affection of all who have the privilege of knowing him.

The Subcommittee on Independent Offices Appropriations is unquestionably among the most important in the Congress because it handles requests for funds for 27 different agencies of our Government. Last year that subcommittee approved over $15 million in funds for these independent agencies, many of which have jurisdiction over transportation matters.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, which handles the authorizing legislation for many of these agencies dealing with transportation, I am always interested in the views of my colleagues on the Appropriations Committee and JOE EVINS is a particularly able spokesman.

The weekly news magazine of transportation management Traffic World recently interviewed our colleague to obtain his views on transportation matters and the April 2 issue contains a partial account of this interview. Because of the obvious importance of transportation to our Nation's economy, I think the Members of the House and the general public will be very much interested in his remarks and under unanimous consent I place the article at this point in the RECORD.

It is as follows:

REPRESENTATIVE EVINS CONTEMPLATES HIS NEW ROLE OF CONTROL OVER SPENDING ON TRANSPORT

(NOTE.—Tennessee Congressman, new head of Independent Offices Subcommittee on Appropriations, indicates he will do best to promote a sound transport system. Sees Department of Transportation as a good step.)

(By Stanley Hamilton)

Overlooked by many persons when they consider Federal checkreins on transportation is the House Appropriations Committee, which literally wields a life-or-death hold on the transportation regulators.

Bringing figures and statements of justification with them, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Federal Aviation Agency, and the others must go at least once a year for their money to the Appropriations Committee's Independent Offices Subcommittee, which for the first time in a number of years has a new chairman.

He is Representative JOE L. EVINS, Democrat, of Tennessee, who succeeded 10 weeks ago to this post—unquestionably one of the most powerful in the entire Congress—on the death of Representative Albert Thomas, Democrat, of Texas.

Representative EVINS, 55, personable and plain spoken and a lawyer by training, did not come to the Appropriations Committee by accident. Shortly after entering Congress in 1947, he seized a chance to get on the committee and also the select House Small Business Committee, of which, through the seniority system, he also has become chairman.

Now, as new chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee that handles the Budget Bureau's requests for money for 27 agencies that last year received appropriations exceeding $15 billion, what does Representative EVINS see as his role? What does he believe should be done in transportation? How does he view the proposals in the President's transportation message? To let Traffic World's readers know, Representative EVINS consented to a lengthy interview, highlights of which follow:

Question. Traffic World is particularly interested, of course, in your subcommittee's work with the transportation and transportation-related agencies. How many of these report to you?

Answer. Perhaps as many as a dozen of these agencies are concerned with transportation. The ICC, FAA, and CAB, of course, are the major ones and are involved in President Johnson's proposal to create a new Department of Transportation. Then there are other agencies that touch on transportation, including the Department of Housing and Urban Development, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Office of Emergency Planning, General Services Administration, Office of Science and Technology and Appalachian Regional Commission.

Question. Since you mentioned it, do you favor the changes in the regulatory agencies the President is proposing?

Answer. I believe a need exists for coordination and consolidation of functions of the various and diverse Federal agencies and offices in this field. The newly proposed Department of Transportation would be helpful and I support the President's plan.

Question. Have you any serious reservations with respect to this legislation?

Answer. Along with many other Members of Congress, I have questions concerning some features. These issues, of course, will come up for full discussion in the hearings and debates on the administration's proposals. Most of these questions will be resolved and I believe agreement will be reached during this session on a measure establishing a Transportation Department.

Question. As President Johnson said, there are some 35 Federal agencies concerned with transportation. Isn't there too much regulation? Wouldn't this new Department bring on more regulation of private industry?

Answer. Concerning the first part of your question, yes, I feel that perhaps there is too much regulation, some of it ill advised and cumbersome. As to the second part, no, there is not enough well-planned and effective regulation in the public interest. The increasing magnitude and complexity of our industrial system create new regulatory problems faster than we keep up with them. As our space age industrial society continues to grow and become more complex, some regulation is needed. But we need to strive for improvement with respect to the manner and character of this regulation.

Question. Isn't the developmental aspect of Federal agency operations becoming as large as the regulatory side?

Answer. There is a trend, certainly. For example, there's the new Appalachian Regional Development Commission, which has a budget in excess of $1 billion for new highway construction in the 11 Appalachian States. This includes the building of developmental corridors and interconnecting routes, with the purpose of opening up areas whose growth has been retarded by the absence of adequate transportation facilities. This attack on the isolation of many remote and underdeveloped areas is a long forward step toward realization of the goal of industrial decentralization and regional development.

Question. What do you consider the main feature of the administration's overall program?

Answer. There are a number of desirable objectives. Besides promoting economy and efficiency, a particular feature is the comprehensive dealing with the matter of safety. New techniques will be brought to bear to effect transportation safety. The Federal Government has a big responsibility as the partner with private enterprise in promoting safety in the public interest.

Question. Speaking of safety, the President proposes transferring the FAA to the new Department. Do you see any particular problem here?

Answer. FAA will be a key part of the new Department, concerned with safety and promotion of air transportation. The safety factor is one of the major considerations in support of a centralized Transportation Department. It's logical and desirable that FAA's functions and activities be a major part of the new Department.

Question. Another aviation agency that reports to your committee is the CAB, some functions of which would be moved into the new Department. What is the distinction in this instance?

Answer. CAB's regulatory function and the subsidy program wouldn't be transferred to the new Department. CAB's safety functions, however, like the activities in this field of other Federal agencies, would be. Under the CAB as now constituted, notable progress has been made in the promotion and development of all airline industries in the United States, both trunk and local service. These airlines have shown excellent growth.

Question. How about that airline subsidy picture?

Answer. Subsidy to air transportation has been authorized by Congress to promote and develop a system of efficient air transportation for the country—as we did for the railroads in the early history of our Nation's development. The CAB and FAA, through support of local airline service and municipal airports, are engaged in a historic pioneering development effort. I'm among those in Congress who are hopeful that the new Department will put more emphasis on promoting air transport for smalltown and rural America. Industrial decentralization and a broader base for growth and progress are one of the country's crying needs. A back-to-the-smalltown movement is a logical answer to the overcrowding and paralysis of our congested cities. While we must preserve, improve, and even rebuild in part our great cities, we should also give every possible encouragement to the economic growth and development of communities and regions outside the overgrown metropolitan centers. Better transportation can help bring this about.

Question. One particular question in connection with the new transportation program concerns the ICC. Under a reorganization plan to be proposed by the administration, the ICC will have a permanent chairman, selected by the President. Will Congress go along with this?

Answer. There are two sides to this. The current rotating chairmanship was designed to let each commissioner serve in turn as chairman. But under a rotation system, it's difficult to fix responsibility. A feature of the present setup is that the President's control over the Commission is limited to pretty much his statutory authority to appoint members originally to fill vacancies as they occur. Congress, in creating the ICC, sought to make it quasi-judicial, above partisan control, and thus truly independent. On the other hand, certain advantages of a permanent chairman under the reorganization plan are obvious. For one thing the line of command would be clearly defined and responsibility fixed. Many Members of Congress feel that there should be one man who is minding the store, one who has the authority and responsibility. This theory is in line with sound management and good business practice.

Question. What, in your opinion, is the new proposal going to do for the railroads in connection with regulation and the many problems they face?

Answer. The railroads are the backbone of our Nation's transportation and they will continue to hold that key role. They still lead in the volume of traffic moved and in total revenue. The railroads aren't in as bad shape as some of them would have us believe.

Question. Don't the railroads need and deserve some special consideration, like tax relief, perhaps?

Answer. The railroads have a long and impressive record of generous treatment at the hands of Congress and the Government—from land grants to tax reductions and liberal Government loans for lines in distress. I recall an incident, not too long ago, of large Government loans going to a bankrupt railroad. The railroads have been helped and are being helped.

Question. I gather you would be for more self-help?

Answer. I'm hopeful that the railroads will show more interest in research and more imagination and enterprise in improving equipment and services—more high-speed trains and better passenger service. I've long been a friend of the railroads and have urged them to provide better passenger service, but without much success. Most of them have neglected passenger traffic to concentrate on the more profitable freight business. There are a few excellent passenger trains. They demonstrate what enterprise will accomplish when there is a desire to go after the business. All the prizes for the railroads are not confined to long hauls and the heavy freight runs. Some railroad managements are recapturing the competitive spirit of the early-day railroad builders and are discovering that profits can still be made in passenger transportation.

Question. What about more freedom for railroads in mergers and competitive rate making?

Answer. The issue of railroad consolidation today naturally is different from what it was in the years when railroads were handling virtually all the traffic. Competing carriers have added new dimensions to the problem. What is needed is a study in depth, looking toward the maximum development and utilization of all kinds of transportation, not just mergers and monopoly. This could be greatly advanced under President Johnson's new program. And we may just make some suggestions along this line when we have the ICC before us.

Question. What else can and does a committee of Congress like Appropriations do with respect to conveying your ideas and suggestions to agency officials?

Answer. We can recommend. We can suggest. We confer and communicate with the heads of different agencies. They call us about their problems and we make recommendations. My Appropriations Subcommittee has a large responsibility in transportation. We look on the national aspect of the various issues that come up. We try to look at the big picture—the public interest. The Commissioners are the experts, of course, and we look to them for the decisions.

Question. Unlike the Senate, House Appropriations Committee hearings have for years been closed to the public and the press. Could transportation be helped in any way by perhaps opening up these "executive" sessions?

Answer. The basic reason for our procedure is to get the job done. As you know, all Federal spending measures must originate in the House. The proper screening of appropriations for our vast Federal establishment is always a painstaking and time-consuming operation. Actually, it couldn't be accomplished or at least the work wouldn't be completed as effectively and in reasonable time, without executive sessions. If we made a practice of holding open hearings, we'd be overrun. We couldn't accommodate the overflow of witnesses and observers. I'm reminded particularly of the situation in connection with appropriations for water projects and other public works—witnesses coming in with their Congressmen to testify in behalf of a project frequently overrun committee rooms, and standing room only is available. It's been found that these funding proposals can be heard better and more fully and in more orderly manner under the executive procedure. After that, open hearings are held in the Senate for the second view. All subjects are aired extensively and the public interest is protected and considered under the prevailing system.

Question. One final question, Mr. EVINS: Isn't Federal regulation, along with public services provided by the Government generally, costing too much?

Answer. Always too much in some ways, perhaps not enough in others. That is what we find year after year. The Appropriations Committee reduces or rejects many budget proposals. The over-all trend is certainly toward greater Federal appropriations, and this undoubtedly will continue as long as the country grows. But we endeavor to hold down unnecessary appropriations and limit increases without affecting vital services. The best answer I can give you on this point is to cite the remarks of the Honorable GEORGE H. MAHON, Democrat, of Texas, chairman of the full House Appropriations Committee, who on the 100th anniversary of the Committee discussed this trend in growth of Federal appropriations. Chairman MAHON pointed out that our committee has consistently given equal emphasis to the "two great musts" of its responsibility—one to provide sufficient funds for vital and needed services of the Government and, secondly, to practice economy and fiscal responsibility. There is no question but that this Nation, with its exploding population in people and vehicles, faces staggering and complex problems in the field of transportation. We'll certainly do what we can to help.

American Film Institute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, November 9, 1965, our colleague from New York, WILLIAM F. RYAN, addressed the annual membership meeting of the New York Branch of the Screen Actors Guild. At that time Congressman RYAN, who has been leading the fight for a film production center in New York City, also proposed the establishment of an American Film Institute in New York City.

Congressman RYAN pointed out:

> The anachronism of a city of unparalleled talent and creative environment and a massive, near total, exodus of television and motion picture production from it.

He asked:

> Why has New York—which can build a World's Fair, a modern produce center, an international trade center, and other large complex and modern facilities—failed to build a film production center?

Congressman RYAN also urged that the National Endowment for the Arts assist in establishing an American Film Institute in New York City to encourage understanding, study, and appreciation of the film art. He noted that when President Johnson signed the legislation for the National Foundation in the Arts and Humanities, the President committed his administration to the creation of an American Film Institute.

Congressman RYAN pointed out:

> The United States—the major producer of film—is the only major country in the world without a film institute.

His speech reminds us that New York City offers the artistic, intellectual, cosmopolitan atmosphere so vital for the fruition of artistic endeavors.

Mr. Speaker, at this time when we are so concerned about the crucial issues of our foreign policy, and vital domestic programs such as the war on poverty we must not forget or overlook the other needs of a civilized society. The quest for the growth of our cultural life in America must not be swept under the rug while we heed the call of other necessities. I commend this speech to the attention of my colleagues.

RYAN CALLS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AMERICAN FILM INSTITUTE IN NEW YORK; REPEATS CALL FOR FILM PRODUCTION CENTER HERE

(Text of remarks by Congressman WILLIAM F. RYAN, prepared for delivery at the annual membership meeting of the New York branch of the Screen Actors Guild, New York City, Nov. 9, 1965)

I am pleased and honored to be here this afternoon with the members of the New York branch of the Screen Actors Guild.

I am pleased especially because I think we share a common concern: the need to revitalize and encourage the arts in this country and in this city.

My interest has been a continuing one for many years: I have actively worked in Congress to see that the arts are given official recognition and encouragement. I introduced legislation to set up a National Council on the Arts and a National Arts Foundation (H.R. 11209, 1964) to provide much needed financial assistance for State, local, and nonprofit privately supported cultural activities. I also introduced legislation to establish a National Humanities Foundation to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities and the arts (H.R. 2651, H.R. 6200) as the National Science Foundation provides in other disciplines. I had likewise introduced legislation to eliminate the 10 percent Federal theater admission tax.

In addition, I feel a personal debt to members of the New York arts community, many of them members of your guild, who have in such large numbers and with such unstinting energy and dedication supported my candidacy over the years. I have been honored by that association and I have been enlightened enormously about the state of the arts as a result of it.

I have been especially concerned about the state of the arts in New York City. During the recent mayoral campaign I made several proposals for the revitalization of the performing arts in New York. I pointed to the anachronism of a city of unparalleled talent and creative environment and a massive, near total, exodus of television and motion picture production from it.

I urged, time and again, that there be built in New York City, a central, modern and complete film production center—a center which would contain the most advanced equipment, systems and facilities, and be leased to independent producers, directors and performers for all film users, whether television, feature motion picture, commercials, industrial or educational films and tapes.

I was glad to hear that 2 days before the election, Mayor-Elect John V. Lindsay also saw fit to advance such a film production center proposal.

I need hardly document the decline of film production in New York to this group—you have seen New York, once the film center of the world, reach the level where no more than two or three feature films are produced here each year; you have seen New York, the birthplace and once-thriving production center of television, become a veritable desert of television production: Only one major network series is being shot in New York right now. I daresay that if not for commercial television filming, you would be a most extinct breed of craftsmen.

Why is this?

In speaking with union officials, film producers, distributors, directors—one reason is constant and paramount: the facilities in New York are wholly inadequate. Stages for filming are so so few and so inadequate, that one leading director estimates it would be impossible to film more than three feature films in New York at one time—and that two simultaneous productions cause a great strain.

There are other causes, to be sure, but they are relatively minor and will automatically be improved if production can be increased and made more regular. It is encouraging to see the formation of COMPEC, the joint labor-management group which is working toward making filming in New York more easy and more profitable.

But one comes back to space and facilities. And if an adequate studio is the answer, why has New York—which can build a World's Fair, a modern produce center, an international trade center and other large, complex and modern facilities—failed to build a film production center? As in most cases, it has been a failure of leadership.

It has been a failure to see the film industry as an industry which can and does bring much needed employment and earnings to our citizens. As you know, a television production center was proposed in 1957; the current administration did not act. Yet, the economic advantages alone would be overriding.

Sidney Lumet, who has probably directed more feature films in New York than anyone else, estimates that for the just-completed shooting of "The Group" in New York City, about $3 million was spent directly on salaries and services; that over 250 people were directly employed—that's just one picture in just one 4-month period.

There is no reason why New York could not once again be a major, thriving film production center.

Weather is no longer a prime factor. In the early days of motion picture, natural light was very important, the stages frequently had glass tops. But this is not the case any longer. London weather is no better than New York's, yet in London about 14 to 20 feature films are produced simultaneously the year round. Much the same can be said for Paris and other cities with climates less favorable than ours.

Furthermore, you hear so frequently from actors, screenwriters, directors and producers that they would much rather film in New York—if they could.

A few days ago at the theater owners convention in Los Angeles, the cry was heard from the exhibitors: give us more film. Television stations likewise are in such dire need of films that studios on the west coast are increasingly producing feature films for television.

We therefore see the demand and the need for film production in New York City and we keep coming back to the one obvious solution: a film production center.

But I come here today not so much to speak of problems, but rather to remind you of a great new opportunity.

Over the years I have made speeches, given testimony and introduced legislation to provide greater Federal recognition of the arts and humanities and greater Federal encouragement in this area. On September 29 of this year, the President signed Public Law 89-209, an act to provide for the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities.

Let us look at this law and see how it effects the making of films.

There is established within the foundation, a National Endowment for the Arts. The endowment will carry out a program of grants-in-aid to nonprofit groups and individuals to support productions, projects and workshops in the arts. "Arts," in the law, is specifically defined to include "motion pictures, television, radio, tape and sound recording, execution and exhibition of such major art forms."

The appropriations are relatively small: A total of $10.7 million is appropriated for the entire program until expended. Seven hundred thousand dollars is available for administering the program. Five million dollars is appropriated for grants-in-aid on a matching basis, half to the endowment on the arts, half to the endowment on the humanities. In addition, the endowment on the arts receives $2 million to match gifts and donations, the endowment on the humanities $3 million for the same purpose.

The Federal program is only a beginning; but it gives an important recognition and a unique opportunity to us. Film is one of the newest and most exciting art forms in America today. Millions of Americans, especially young people, are excited, inspired, entertained, even passionate, about the film. But there is a gap—a very wide gap—between the practitioner, the artist, the filmmaker on the one side, and the exhibition of his work to the public on the other. For film, uniquely among arts, requires a great many personnel, a great deal of equipment, yes, a great deal of money, to turn the vision of the filmmaker into an artistic product to be enjoyed by many.

Much can be done in this direction once the production facilities are available; in the long run, even more can be done by using the new Federal program to establish a film institute.

I call for the establishment of an American Film Institute in New York City, with funds to be provided by the Federal Government, under the Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act, from State and city governments, and from private groups and individuals.

The United States—the major producer of film—is the only major country in the world without a film institute. Successful, fruitful film institutes have been operating for years in Russia, England, France, and dozens of other countries; even Norway just started one.

The American Film Institute would be a nonprofit, cultural, educational organization whose purpose would be the encouragement, understanding, study, and appreciation of the film art.

President Johnson, in signing this legislation, committed his administration to the creation of an American Film Institute, for the purpose of "bringing together leading artists of the film industry, outstanding educators, and young men and women who wish to pursue the 20th-century art form as their life's work."

What would such an institute undertake?

The activities of the film institute are many and they will evolve with further study and growth. But some of the valuable and much-needed functions it could perform include:

1. The institute would become the national archive of this country; the repository for all film. When Lincoln Center recently sought a print of an American film classic, Von Stroheim's "Wedding March," for showing at the New York Film Festival, they had to borrow it from the French Film Institute.

2. The institute would maintain a complete and current catalog and index to all films and film information sources. There is presently no single source of complete information on all films available to distributors, much less of all films produced. The institute would serve as a national film information center.

3. Education would be the prime function; the institute would hold classes, provide materials, lecturers, demonstrations.

4. There would be a regular noncommercial exhibition of archival material and of newer but otherwise unavailable films of great merit from all over the world. Not only are we deprived the opportunity of seeing many foreign films at present, but many independent American directors and producers must first showcase their productions at institutes or festivals abroad in order to be seen here.

5. The institute would circulate films of unusual merit to libraries, societies, universities, and other noncommercial users in all parts of the country where no trade distribution is possible. These could include experimental films which were never intended for public showing.

6. The institute would publish documents relating to the firm; and in this and other activities of a critical, scholarly and historical nature it could draw on additional funds from the Endowment on the Humanities.

7. Because—as we have seen—the film art uniquely demands tools, materials, equipment and personnel to fulfill the filmmaker's vision, production itself is necessary to the learning process, but its costs are too prohibitive for most filmmakers. The institute would have a fund to finance such filmmakers whose projects have merit but otherwise cannot be financed.

8. The institute would encourage experimentation not only in filming, but in the development of new techniques and equipment to facilitate and improve motion picture, television and other film production.

These are some of the proposed activities; but a few general comments about the institute's role should be stated here.

First. The institute will not in any way duplicate existing commercial activities in the trade and it should immediately withdraw from any activity which the trade is willing to undertake.

Second. The institute would make use of all existing facilities, including Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, which has held successful film festivals and is now committed to making film a vital and integral part of the center; the Museum of Modern Art, with its excellent film library; the film programs of New York University and Columbia University. It would work closely with these and other institutions, film societies, libraries, as well as unions and managements in the field.

Third. Our young people make up one of our best resources. The institute, in cooperation with the various unions and the school system, could introduce vocational courses in the many crafts that go into filmmaking.

Fourth. An important point to be made about such institute is that it makes a film production center even more vital, more meaningful. It will be of considerable help to the institute—if not an essential part of its program—to have ready access to the production, filmmaking facilities of such a center, and a part of such proposed production center must be set aside for the study, experimentation and other functions of the institute.

The fifth and final point to be made about the institute is also very important—both to us here today and I think to the future of the institute: it must be located in New York City. Not necessarily to the exclusion of a like institute in California—this country is big, rich and diverse enough to house two such facilities—but an institute, if not the institute, must be located in New York City.

Only New York City offers the artistic, intellectual, cosmopolitan atmosphere so vital for the fruition of artistic endeavors.

Only New York can offer the unparalleled resources of so many talented individuals and so many well-equipped institutions in the field of the arts—our universities, film societies, Lincoln Center, and the Museum of Modern Art.

Only New York, over the years, has shown the ability to produce young, independent and highly gifted filmmakers who have been at the forefront of our "new cinema."

Only New York offers the number of intense, intelligent, devoted filmgoers; the audience is here. New York has been the seat of a great revival of filmmaking interest in this country.

Only New York can offer the benefits of the cross-fertilization of ideas that comes from the housing of so many art forms—painting, theater, music, dance, film—under one roof.

I therefore call upon all interested individuals and groups of this city to put their best minds and their full resources to work toward the building of such a film institute in New York.

Only a concerted, well-planned effort wholeheartedly supported by individuals, institutions, unions, distributors, and studios, and all active in the filmmaking field—whether for motion pictures or television—will bring this much-needed film institute to reality—and to New York.

I especially urge the next New York City administration to take immediate steps to implement plans for a film production center as well as for an American Film Institute.

Ladies and gentlemen, now is the time to act.

The Year 1966 Marks the Polish Millennium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to speak today about a truly great people from a land across the seas. Though thousands of miles separate the United States from Poland, our thoughts and feeling for that country and its now unhappy people are the same as if they were our own. I say this because we know them intimately from those who emigrated to America and gave of their talents to join with our people in making the United States the great Nation it is. We are justly proud of all Poles who so quickly became citizens of the United States.

As early as our own Revolutionary War, immigrants from Poland distinguished themselves as industrious, idealistic, and courageous people. Today we find their descendants as leaders in every phase of American life.

The year 1966 marks the Polish millennium, and it is right and proper that we here in the Congress also take note of May 3—the Polish Constitution Day. A thousand years have passed into the annals of history—a thousand years of a fine and courageous people.

While Poland is enslaved by its Communist overlords behind the Iron Curtain, they at least have the benefit of the leadership of Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. The Polish people have always been deeply religious and suffered terribly from Communist hostility to religion.

The report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives of the Special Study Mission to Poland, issued during the 87th Congress, stated:

> The exercise of the religious convictions of the God-fearing good people of Poland is being made progressively more difficult. Religious education is being gradually eradicated. The church in Poland is not permitted to receive, for distribution in Poland, medical supplies and other medical equipment from the free world. Through confiscatory taxation, sequestration of church and religious orders' properties, refusal to issue church, school, and other building permits, interference with the internal affairs of church bodies, economic and political pressures, and other means, the

regime appears determined to achieve systematic repression of religion in Poland.

But let us examine the past and we can see that Poland pioneered liberalism in Europe.

It was on May 3 in 1791, barely 2 years after the adoption of its Constitution by the United States in 1789, that Poland without a bloody revolution or even without a disorder succeeded in reforming her public life and in eradicating her internal decline. But this great rebirth and assertion of democracy came to the Poles too late and did not forestall the third partition of Poland in 1795 by Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

The greatness of the May 3 Polish Constitution consisted in the fact that it eliminated with one stroke the most fundamental weaknesses of the Polish parliamentary and social system. The Poles raised this great moment in their history to the forefront of their tradition rather than any one of their anniversaries of glorious victories or heroic revolutions.

We Americans who have been reared in the principle given us as a birthright by the founders of our great Republic, the principle of the sovereignty of the people in the state, which is the primary postulate in the 1791 Polish Constitution, can see how this truism cut off the Poles and the Polish political tradition completely from both the Germans and the Russians, who have been reared in the principle of state and not national sovereignty.

The light of liberalism coming from Poland was then as it has been throughout the years that followed and even today a threat to tyranny and absolutism in Russia and Germany. In 1795, Russian and Prussian soldiers were sent to Poland to partition and rape her. In 1939, Russian and Prussian soldiers met again on Polish soil, as the absolute totalitarian systems of nazism and communism again felt the danger of true liberalism coming from Poland, just as in 1791.

The Polish Constitution of 1791 was, indeed, a historic and progressive document. It adopted the principle that all power in civil society is derived from the will of the people. From this we can gage our spiritual kinship with them.

Unfortunately, the people of Poland never had the chance to live under that Constitution. The spirit in which it was developed alarmed the Russian rulers, who saw on their frontier the shadow of democracy. Much has happened since May 3, 1791.

Today, a thousand years of the brave Polish people, and 175 years since the date of their Constitution, the spirit and will of all Poles, despite harsh restrictions and unrelenting persecution by the Reds, is not crushed. The spirit of 1791 survives today brighter than ever.

By our observance of this special day, we demonstrate to the entire world that we are mindful of the plight of millions and millions of enslaved peoples in communistic lands. They know by our action that they are not forgotten—that they should not give up hope for eventual freedom. In the immortal words of our late President Kennedy:

> This country must never recognize the situation behind the Iron Curtain as a permanent one, but must, by all peaceful means, keep alive the hopes of freedom for the peoples of the captive nations.

Twenty-three Wisconsin Cities Escape Traffic Deaths

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, we all know that our highway traffic toll is a cause for national shame. Far, far too many people are killed needlessly on our roads.

The usual question is, Well, why doesn't somebody do something about it?

Somebody is doing something about it in Wisconsin—in 23 Wisconsin cities to be specific.

The National Safety Council reported that not a single traffic death was recorded in any of those 23 cities in January and February of this year. They include our largest city, Milwaukee, as well as small and medium-size cities.

They were Appleton, Beaver Dam, Beloit, Eau Claire, Fond du Lac, Green Bay, La Crosse, Madison—our capital city—Manitowoc, Marinette, Marshfield, Milwaukee—as I say our largest, Neenah, Oshkosh, Racine, Shorewood, Stevens Point, Superior, Two Rivers, Waukesha, Wausau, Wauwatosa, and Wisconsin Rapids.

Mr. President, this is an achievement worth talking about. It also is an inspiration to those cities to continue their efforts to save lives and an example to our other cities and towns.

SENATE

MONDAY, MAY 2, 1966

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by Hon. HERMAN E. TALMADGE, a Senator from the State of Georgia.

Dr. Frank Blackwelder, rector, All Souls Episcopal Memorial Church, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

And Jesus answering said, "Were there not ten cleansed? but where are the nine? There are not found to give glory to God, save this stranger."

In Thy infinite wisdom, O God, Thou hast endowed mankind with the kindred capacities of thinking and thanking.

As the ingenuity of our minds expands the horizons, revealing the magnitude of Thy grandeur and glory in the universe, grant that our attitude of gratitude proportionately increases.

Prevent us from subduing our instinct of thanksgiving. As we concentrate upon the development of our mental faculties, may we simultaneously intensify our native tendency for expressing appreciation. Let us never forget that the proper response for all we are and all we have is a spirit of gratefulness.

Beginning and ending each day with thoughts of praise and thanksgiving, counting our blessings, remembering what others have done for us, may we become acceptable in Thy sight. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., May 2, 1966.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. HERMAN E. TALMADGE, a Senator from the State of Georgia, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

CARL HAYDEN,
President pro tempore.

Mr. TALMADGE thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

REPORTS ON ADMINISTRATION OF CHAPTER 73, "ANNUITIES BASED ON RETIRED OR RETAINER PAY," TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying reports, was referred to the Committee on Armed Services:

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the provisions of section 1444(b), title 10, United States Code, I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress reports on the administration of chapter 73, "Annuities Based on Retired or Retainer Pay," title 10, United States Code.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *May 2, 1966.*

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 13881) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs and cats intended to be used for purposes of research or experimentation, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H.R. 13881) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs and cats intended to be used for purposes of research or experimentation, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

THE JOURNAL

Upon request of Mr. Mansfield, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, April 28, 1966, was dispensed with.

PARTICIPATION SALES ACT OF 1966

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, there will be no business transacted in the Senate today, but at this time I ask unanimous consent that Calendar No. 1105, S. 3283, be made the pending business for consideration tomorrow.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The Legislative Clerk. A bill (S. 3283) to promote private financing of credit needs and to provide for an efficient and orderly method of liquidating financial assets held by Federal credit agencies, and for other purposes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, that will be the pending business when the Senate resumes tomorrow.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Proxmire in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DEATH OF SENATOR PAT McNAMARA, OF MICHIGAN

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I submit a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The resolution (S. Res. 253) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

> *Resolved,* That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Honorable Patrick V. McNamara, late a Senator from the State of Michigan.
>
> *Resolved,* That a committee of Senators be appointed by the President of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased.
>
> *Resolved,* That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, in the 8 years that I have served in the Senate, on occasion I have heard Senators rise to announce the death of a colleague. It is a task I had always hoped would never be mine, but now it becomes necessary.

As Senators already know, the senior Senator from Michigan, Pat McNamara, our colleague and our friend, died Saturday night at Bethesda Naval Hospital.

After that is said, one is struck immediately by the hopeless inadequacy of the English language—at least, my command of it—in expressing my reaction.

Words like "regret," "sadness," "shock" are so eroded with time and overuse that they no longer serve their purpose. It is Pat's misfortune, I feel, to have a junior colleague who cannot put the words in order so that they will produce a graceful recital, one which Pat truly deserves.

Pat made many contributions to the Senate, to Michigan, and to the Nation. I could stand here for 10 minutes reeling off the list of bills which he supported, sponsored, and saw enacted into law. He never made a list of the measures of which he was proudest—not to my knowledge, at least—because that might have carried a whiff of self-congratulation, and Pat was not tolerant of boasters.

If one watched him closely, if one observed the subjects that made him grin and the issues that made him intense, then one could sense his proudest accomplishments; namely, health care for the aged and Federal aid to education programs, which he pressed so assiduously.

Pat's formal education ended with the sixth grade and—under his crusty manner and tough Irish humor—he never forgot it.

He more than made up for his lack of formal education with talent, ability, and intelligence. He may never have believed that, but I believe that he always wistfully suspected—although, again, this is something he rarely mentioned—that a university training would somehow have made him a better Senator.

This feeling poured itself into his philosophy on education. Pat never cited himself as proof that education is less necessary than initiative.

His feelings, typically, were summed up in 10 words:

> Any kid that can get through college ought to go.

The Knight Newspapers' Ed Lahey summed up another characteristic far better than I could:

> It can be truthfully said—

Ed wrote—

> that Washington never got to Pat McNamara.

The story, written when Pat announced his retirement, went on to describe his refreshing directness, his lack of guile, and his indifference to the vanities of office.

For these reasons, we are going to miss more than just a strong effective force in this body. We will miss a colorful personality, a man who mixed crustiness and kindness, incisiveness, and humor, pragmatism, and idealism in an utterly charming fashion—although "charming" is not a word Pat would select or approve.

He was a man—as I well know—who would go to great lengths to do a good turn for a younger colleague and then gruffly wave off any attempt to express thanks.

If anyone wanted to make some admiring remarks about him on the floor, it was a mistake to notify him in advance. If he could not dissuade the speaker from making the speech, he would probably not show up to hear it.

In a profession that often regards personal publicity as a key to survival, Pat was no publicity seeker.

When one of his bills was enacted, his appearance at the Presidential signing at the White House was not automatic.

> All I care about is getting the thing signed into law—

He once said—

> and that will happen whether I'm there or not.

Thus, some other Member of Congress—with Pat's blessing—would have his picture taken receiving the first pen from the President.

Since Pat's retirement, one of the remarks heard most often in speeches and editorials about him has been this: "There is never any doubt about where he stands."

Pat had a great impatience with fuzziness. If he was ever tempted to fog an issue, there is no record that he ever succumbed to it.

In fact, one of his greatest contributions to this body was his puckish ability to keep men and ideas from becoming overinflated. Certainly, he kept his own ego on a strict diet.

In writing this eulogy, it occurred to me that millions of people will benefit from the programs he pushed without ever knowing who Pat McNamara was. But it is not a thought we need be saddened by, because that would suit Pat McNamara just fine.

Mary McNamara was at her husband's side when he died. She had remained with him night and day during his illness.

Also with him on Saturday were Robert Perrin, his administrative assistant until a few weeks ago, and now an Assistant Director of the Office of Economic

Opportunity, and Ed Winge, his present administrative assistant.

This morning I asked Ed if there was anything he thought I should include in this announcement. And his answer should have a place here.

> Just say—

Ed replied—

> that Pat was a tough Irishman who fought as long as he could.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HART. I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, Senator McNamara of Michigan was a man of immense heart and a profound integrity. His death deprives us of the association of a good man and a fine colleague. His loss is a loss of a piece of the conscience and the decency of the Senate.

Through the years of his public life, Senator McNamara upheld the people of Michigan and the United States, even as their unfailing support and affection sustained him in his labors. He never failed to stand for, by, and with the humblest of Americans. His legislative contributions are of special significance for them, and they are now blended inextricably into the laws of the land. He would have been the last to claim credit for it, but Senator McNamara was, in fact, heavily responsible for much of the social legislation of the last three Congresses. In truth, there is not a single piece of such legislation in these Congresses of great social legislation which does not carry the imprint of his support. And more often than not, these laws bear also the influence of his leadership.

We are diminished, Mr. President, by the passing of Pat McNamara, even as the Senate and the Nation are enhanced for his having lived. I grieve for the Nation and the Senate at his passing and, for myself, there is a sense of irreparable loss of a friend, a colleague, and a great American.

There was no better Senator.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HART. I yield to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, long ago John Donne wrote:

> Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind.

Probably in an even more intimate and personal sense, I could say Pat McNamara's death has diminished me because it was my pleasure to serve on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee for a time, and there I had an opportunity to appraise him, and, as the expression goes, to see what "makes him tick."

When our distinguished friend from Michigan said that Pat McNamara was without guile, he put his finger on the one word in the English language that probably best expressed Pat McNamara. There was no scintilla of guile in him. He was what he was. He was what he is. He went straight to the heart of the matter without guile, without any effort to find a detour, without any effort to divert. And just as he did it for himself, so he did it with respect to others. Whenever I offered an amendment to a bill in the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, he very promptly and very straight-facedly would say, "I move to table," and it did not bother him a bit.

That was the directness of the man. He had a singleness of purpose which was an admirable trait. I liked it. He knew where he was going, and he let no influence of any kind whatsoever dissuade him from moving to that purpose. While we would disagree, in fact sometimes violently, I had the greatest of respect for him and for the contributions he has made to his country.

As I think of his passing, I often run back over those who have served in this body, and I think of their names as the golden stars on the service flag of the U.S. Senate. They came. They served. They made their contribution. And then they marched off into infinity.

There was one other quality that ought to be recounted on this occasion. If I remember correctly, Pat McNamara was president of a pipefitters local in Detroit, and I am advised that for 20 years, as the president of that local, he did not receive 1 cent of remuneration. So he was a labor leader who really glorified labor. He was a labor leader of whom labor could justly boast as an unselfish person, who made a fixed contribution to the well-being of the worker, and in so doing received no remuneration for it in the two decades that he served as president of the labor union in Detroit. That, Mr. President, speaks volumes.

So we shall miss him. He was a man of unquestioned fidelity, impeccable honesty, and a genius for service.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HART. I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, Pat McNamara was a great Senator, and also a great American. He was a wise and able person, of the highest integrity, and a beloved friend. It is my hope to have an opportunity of paying additional tribute to him. I am very glad to have been privileged today to hear his colleague from Michigan, the distinguished majority leader, and the distinguished minority leader, who have spoken.

The Senate of the United States will sorely miss Pat McNamara.

My wife and I extend deep sympathy to his gracious wife, Mary.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HART. I yield to the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, those of us who had the opportunity of serving with the late Senator Pat McNamara will remember him for his wholesomeness, his friendliness, his unselfishness, and his sincerity. He always had a kind word and a friendly greeting wherever one met him.

I had the privilege on several occasions to discuss with him projects in the State of Kansas that came before the Senate Public Works Committee, of which he was chairman. He was always most cooperative.

The people of Kansas and I are indebted to him for the splendid support we received on projects that were of great benefit to our State.

Michigan has lost a great Senator and we have lost a great friend.

Mrs. Carlson and I extend our sincerest and deepest sympathy to Mrs. McNamara and the family.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, with the death of our beloved colleague, Senator Pat McNamara, the Senate has lost a valiant Member, and the Nation has lost a stanch supporter of progressive government.

It was my privilege to have served for more than 7 years with the late Senator from Michigan. On the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, as well as the Committee on Public Works, which he so ably led as chairman during the past 3 years. On both of these committees, as in all of his actions as a man and a Senator, Pat McNamara was a champion of not only liberal causes, but causes which were in the public interest.

No Member of this body responded more completely or consistently to the challenge to spread the fruits of our democratic system more widely throughout the country to what he referred to in my presence at one time as the disenfranchised.

The late Senator Pat McNamara was in the vanguard of those Senators, Members of Congress, and citizens generally who have sought to provide a better life for more Americans. We are thinking especially of his concern for our elderly citizens. He desired, through his leadership in the Senate, to bring to our needy senior citizens a life of dignity and security. He felt, as he one day told me that, we should bring them from their dimly lit back rooms into the fullness and the brightness of a more wholesome life.

In other fields as well—in aid to education, in labor legislation, and in economic development legislation—much of the real progress in recent years stemmed from the contributions of the late senior Senator from Michigan.

In all of these fields, as in all of his actions, Pat McNamara was a man of complete dedication of uncompromising integrity, and of absolute candor.

I grieve personally and officially the loss of the late and great Senator. He was my good friend and I cherish that friendship.

I join with my colleagues in these expressions this afternoon, as does Mrs. Randolph, who joins me in our sincere sympathy to Mrs. McNamara and to the members of the family.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HART. I yield.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, in the passing of Senator Pat McNamara the Nation has suffered a loss and we have lost a colleague whose sincerity and capacity for friendship made him stand out among his fellow Senators.

He fought hard for the things he believed in, but he always fought fairly. Senator McNamara was an authority on labor-management problems and on the needs of the aged. He took an active part in the drive for hospital insurance for the elderly under social security.

About 4 years ago he was elevated to the chairmanship of the Senate Public Works Committee, and also was the ranking Democrat on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee. In addition, he was the ranking Democrat and former chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Aging.

The keynote of this 12 years of service in the Senate was honesty and intellectual integrity.

Frequently, after we had differed over the merits of some measure we would sit together in the cloakroom and joke about our difference. He had a big heart but in it no place for rancor.

While I can claim as my friend every Member of the Senate, I have never had a chairman of any committee cooperate with me more willingly and gladly than did Senator McNAMARA when I would present to his committee some public works project affecting my home State of Virginia.

Every man who has served for any length of time in the Senate knows that you cannot always tread an easy path. But every Senator who has served with Senator McNAMARA knows that he symbolized one of the rewarding and redeeming features of congressional life—the friendship of an able man, whose memory you will always cherish.

My heartfelt sympathy goes out to Senator McNAMARA's family in their hour of bereavement.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, the late PAT McNAMARA was a big, broadgaged, hearty man, who will long be remembered by his colleagues for the labors which he performed in the Senate, and for the friendship which he extended unfailingly to all of us.

The late Senator was free from guile. He said what he thought and he meant the words which he uttered. From time to time in his capacity as chairman of the Committee on Public Works he had occasion to sit in judgment on legislation affecting my State and in which, therefore, I had an interest. On each of those occasions he devoted all necessary time to examine the problem, to be of honorable assistance.

The late Senator was devoted to his family, to his State, and to his country. He had passionate concern for his fellow Americans who work with their hands to earn their livelihood.

On occasion, the late Senator and I joined as cosponsors of legislation, some of which is still pending in the Senate, and still clothed with the public interest in which he believed, a belief which I shared then and share now.

I express to the widow and the family of Senator McNAMARA my unbound feelings of sadness. I express to his excellent staff my own feelings that, like each of them, I have lost a friend whom I respected. I extend sympathy to his colleague from Michigan [Mr. HART], with whom he worked so constantly and so well. I share the profound sense of bereavement of the people of his State and the people of the country on his untimely passing.

Mr. McCARTHY. Will the Senator from Michigan yield ?

Mr. HART. I yield.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I join with Senators today in paying tribute to the memory of Senator PAT McNAMARA of Michigan. There is no other Member of the Senate of whom I can speak with less reservation or with more openness and more certainty than I can speak of the character and the record of Senator McNAMARA.

I believe it is fair to say that among the Members of the Senate he was most evenhanded, most fair, and most impartial. When he spoke on political issues, he spoke from a deep confidence and belief in America, an America which he had helped to build. He spoke from a deep confidence in the ordinary people of this country, and with a deep and profound belief in democracy.

PAT McNAMARA was a man of great personal and political courage. He was a man without guile. He was possessed of great honesty and deep sympathy, sometimes masked by a directness of speech and a certain bluntness which was on occasion misread. But all this simply served to reflect the great openness of his character.

He was dedicated and public spirited. He was, above all, loyal to his principles and to his beliefs. He had a deep respect for the Senate and for his holding office in it. He was true to his party, and he was especially true to his friends.

I extend my sympathy to his wife, Mary, and to his family and his friends on the occasion of his death.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. RANDOLPH in the chair). Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. HART. I yield.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, Senator PAT McNAMARA was above all a warm, friendly, and very human person.

Of the many Senators I have known in the 9 years I have served in the Senate, I would consider PAT McNAMARA to be the most direct, straightforward, and rigorously honest.

No one could ever be in doubt about where PAT McNAMARA stood on any issue. He believed deeply. He spoke bluntly. He fought right down the line for his beliefs, without compromise. And yet, PAT was a gentleman in the truest sense of the word. Gentleness was a part of a forceful and occasionally gruff appearance. PAT was so simply sensitive that in all of his relationships—including some clashing—with other Senators, he never wounded or hurt anyone.

PAT was an unabashed, unreserved, and unqualified partisan Democrat. He gloried in this party of ours. PAT was proud, deeply proud, to be a Democrat.

He believed deeply in civil rights. He hated the injustice of those who would deny it. Yet, it tells much of PAT that he was not only respected, but also loved by those with whom he disagreed on this divisive issue.

PAT was a humorous, happy man who faithfully served his country, his State, and, as PAT liked to put it, "the people."

My wife, Ellen, joins in our heartfelt condolences to his devoted wife, Mary, in her hour of grief. Mary is a warm and wonderful woman, an unusual Senate wife, who worked side by side with her PAT. She has our love.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, along with my colleagues, I was deeply saddened when I heard of the death of Senator McNAMARA, whom we all knew as one of the most respected and highly regarded Members of this body.

When I was elected to the Senate, I had the good fortune of being named to two committees, the Public Works and the Labor and Public Welfare Committees, on which Senator McNAMARA occupied important positions. As chairman of the Public Works Committee and as second ranking majority member of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, and as chairman of the Subcommittee on Labor, Senator McNAMARA's voice was an important one. I always found him helpful and willing to take the time to discuss any matter with me, despite the tremendous demands on his time and talents.

Senator McNAMARA was a fair and honorable man who ably served and represented his constituents. He tirelessly and with the greatest dedication labored on their behalf.

Mr. President, the people of the Nation, and particularly the citizens of the great State of Michigan, will miss him. His absence will be felt by the Senate. I will personally miss PAT, and I would like to extend to his wife and family my sincere sympathy.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, it was a happy day for Michigan, for America, and for the U.S. Senate when Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Vincent McNamara, Sr., migrated to this country from Ireland shortly before the birth, in October 1894, of their son, PAT, JUNIOR, who was to carve such an important place for himself in this body.

We mourn his death today, for it is difficult to think of PAT McNAMARA in any way except as alive and driving for the things in which he believed.

He was one of the most direct men I have ever known. He was so honest and sometimes blunt that he shook us all at one time or another. His magic was such, however, that before resentment could set in, his warmth and kindness enveloped us and we moved ahead together in good will.

With people, he knew no high or low, no princes and no paupers. He was the same with all.

With issues, he was always readily identified as being for you or against you. He chose his positions and stood on them. We always knew where he stood and that he would stand firmly.

It was a good bet that if any measure held benefits for old people, for laboring people, or for schoolchildren, PAT McNAMARA would be for it. He understood the problems of working men and women from his own experience. He knew the needs of education, not only as a father but as a onetime city school board member. He saw the dilemma of our aging population with his heart as well as his knowledge.

Few men have accomplished as much in the U.S. Senate in such a short period as PAT MCNAMARA. His eight-line biography in the Congressional Directory gives little hint of it. Elected in 1956, he became in 1963 chairman of the Public Works Committee and ranking member of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee. Before his death, he was able to see enacted into legislation two of his major programs—medicare under social security and Federal aid to education. A strong supporter of conservation of and development of our natural resources, he has sponsored and managed laws to improve water navigation, to prevent floods, to encourage recreation, to abate pollution, and to encourage economic development of backward areas.

My sympathy today is with his wife, a working partner and charming woman, and his family. My sense of loss is not only personal, for the loss is very great for the Senate and for the country.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, it was with great sadness that we learned of the passing over the past weekend of the senior Senator from Michigan, PATRICK V. MCNAMARA.

I rise today to join my colleagues in the Senate in paying tribute to the late Senator from Michigan and in honoring his memory. PAT MCNAMARA served his State and Nation with great distinction for some 10 years and, always with a splendid spirit of cheerfulness and cooperation, proved himself ready and able to render outstanding service.

He was known and respected for his unwavering devotion to principle, and he distinguished himself as one whose position on any given issue was always plain, clearcut, and steadfast. Without reservation, PAT MCNAMARA never hesitated to stand up and espouse causes which he believed in and which he deemed to be in the best interests of the people of America and his native State of Michigan.

His passing is indeed a great loss to the Senate, the State of Michigan, and to the Nation, and I join his friends, loved ones, and colleagues in mourning his death.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, one of the things I remember most affectionately about PAT MCNAMARA is the sight of him sitting, impatiently, all alone at his place before the beginning of a Labor and Public Welfare Committee executive session, waiting for the others to arrive. PAT was on time, always one of the first there, always impatient to get on with business.

This was indicative of his character—tough, no nonsense, serious, dedicated, but with a wonderful Irish wit that always seemed to come through at the right time to lighten the moment. PAT MCNAMARA was my good friend, and I will miss him greatly.

I have served for 8 years on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee with PAT MCNAMARA. I knew him well. He was always for the people.

PAT MCNAMARA labored on behalf of many worthwhile causes during his 11 years in the Senate. And he accomplished much as a result of those labors. As chairman of the Special Committee on Aging he was instrumental in the passage of the Medicare Act and in the establishment of the Administration on Aging.

As chairman of the Senate Labor Subcommittee he toiled long and hard to advance the cause of fruitful labor-management relations.

And as chairman of the Public Works Committee he made a lasting imprint upon America's rivers and harbors.

He always supported and worked for the welfare of the veterans, and always supported the GI bills.

PAT MCNAMARA was a symbol of what America is all about. He rose from humble beginnings to the seat of power in his country's Government. And he served that country and that Government with all the loyalty and dedication of one who through personal struggle knows the promise of America and is willing to dedicate his life to its fulfillment for all Americans.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, the Nation has lost a valued voice, the people of America have lost a stanch advocate and the Senate has lost a trusted friend and colleague. Senate PAT MCNAMARA's career was filled with concern for the people of America. He once commented that "I am pro-people. I do not plead guilty to labels."

That comment sums up PAT MCNAMARA. We shall miss his counsel—his guidance—and his consistent support of the causes he believed in so strongly. I join my colleagues in paying tribute to Senator PAT MCNAMARA, and in extending my deepest sympathy to his family.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, it is with a feeling of great personal loss that I rise to add my respects to the memory of the late Senator PATRICK V. MCNAMARA of Michigan.

It was my privilege to serve on the Public Works Committee under Senator MCNAMARA's chairmanship. I found him to be always fair and understanding. He was sympathetic to the problems of others. He guided the committee with a responsible hand.

In all of his work Senator MCNAMARA was recognized as a person close to the people and anxious that the Government help the people in whatever way possible.

He had a background as a workingman and understood the workingman's problems.

Senator MCNAMARA will always be remembered for his outstanding contributions to his State and the Nation. His counsel will be sorely missed in this body and elsewhere.

Mrs. Boggs and I extend to his widow, children, and grandchildren our profound sympathy at their great loss.

PAT M'NAMARA, A MAN OF THE PEOPLE

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, as much as any man who has ever served in the Senate deserves that title, the colleague whom we mourn today can be called "a man of the people." PAT MCNAMARA came from, cared for, and served the people all his life.

He started out as a pipefitter and finished as a U.S. Senator. In between, he was exceeded by none in his efforts to make a better life for the people of this country. Most of the great social legislation of the last 11 years bears the McNamara stamp.

Mr. President, if we look at PAT MCNAMARA's legislative record, one fact stands out: he represented those without representation, he was a lobbyist for those who had no lobby, his rich gravel voice gave expression to the needs of the voiceless. I refer to his great efforts in behalf of hospital and health care for the aged; education for the young; jobs and decent wages for the poor; and civil rights for those heretofore deprived of those rights.

As a result of his fair and forthright chairmanship of the Public Works Committee, thousands of towns are being renewed and many rural areas around the country are being harnessed to new agricultural and industrial tasks. This has meant new jobs and improved health and welfare for millions of people.

It has been a privilege for those of us new to this body, and particularly for me as the junior member of his Committee on Public Works, to encounter in Senator MCNAMARA a man of highest integrity and industry. His public service was as straightforward as his character. He was always completely himself. One never had any doubt about where PAT MCNAMARA stood, and it was sure to be four square with the public interest.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the Senate will no longer seem the same with PAT MCNAMARA gone.

This tall, silver-haired, distinguished man worked quietly and efficiently for his State and his Nation. No man was more dedicated. No man was more kind and considerate of his colleagues.

It was my privilege not alone to serve in this body with Senator MCNAMARA. It was an honor and a joy to have had office space across the hall from him for 6 years. We were ensconced in a short section of the second floor of the Old Senate Office Building blocked by the archway to the courtyard so that we were the only Senators in the hall.

Thus, PAT MCNAMARA and I were thrown closely together.

During the last few months Senator MCNAMARA knew that he was slowing down with illness. For that reason he announced his retirement at the end of this session. That decision, punctuated by his passing over last weekend, shows that he had at heart great concern for attending properly to his duties as a Senator.

PAT MCNAMARA was a great friend and a great Senator, a man whose concern for his country and his fellowman stands high among the deeply devoted servants of this body and the whole United States of America. We shall all miss him.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, if there was one word above all others which characterized Senator PAT MCNAMARA, it was "straightforward."

He took a position, stated it in language no one could possibly misunderstand, and then defended it with strength and skill. There can be no more enduring epitaph.

Everyone knew that when Senator PAT MCNAMARA said he was for something he would not equivocate. His word was his bond. I cherished his friendship for 7 years on the Committee on Public Works—3 of those years when he was chairman—and on the Special Committee on Aging. I found him to be a man of great consideration and great heart.

Although his passing will be deeply felt in the Senate, it is the rank-and-file American who suffered the greatest loss in his death. He was devoted to the commonweal. No one was ever a more stanch defender of the rights of labor, of a place in the sun for the workingman and his family.

No one ever defended with more ardor the interests of the elderly, the minorities, the undereducated and the underprivileged. He not only stood for them, but fought for them—for minimum wage, for medicare, for Federal aid to education, for an end to income and housing and unemployment discrimination, for an end to frauds against the elderly. Each time we provided for the public welfare, there was a small monument to Pat McNamara in the achievement.

Perhaps one reason he understood the common people of America so well is that he was one of them. As the oldest of eight children of Irish immigrants, he was a self-made man in every sense of the term. He learned his trade as a pipefitter as a 9-cent-an-hour apprentice, and and worked his way up to become president—without salary—of the pipefitters local in Detroit. Later he served as the first president of the old Automobile Workers of America, the forerunner of the United Auto Workers. He knew, therefore, about the living and working conditions of the workingman and his family from the ground up.

We will miss Senator Pat McNamara in the Senate. We will miss his resonant voice, his deep-founded humanitarianism, his keen mind, and his generous heart. My sympathy goes to his family and to the people of Michigan in their great loss.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I was deeply saddened to learn of the death of our colleague, the Honorable Patrick V. McNamara. It had been my pleasure to serve in the U.S. Senate with Senator McNamara since he was first sworn into this body on January 3, 1955, with the exception of a 7-month period following my resignation from the Senate and prior to my reelection. Pat, as he was affectionately known, and I served together on both the Committee on Public Works and the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Although he and I often found ourselves in disagreement on issues which came before the committees on which we served and on issues pending before the Senate, we remained personal friends. Senator McNamara was a man who displayed unfailing courtesy and joviality, and his good sense of humor, for which he was noted, frequently relieved the tensions which build up both in committee sessions and on the Senate floor. Senator McNamara was always diligent in the performance of his duties and in serving his constituents in the State of Michigan. He was known to be a man of character and was highly respected by his colleagues.

His death is a loss to the Senate, and I hasten to extend my condolences to his wife and children.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, although I was not privileged to know Senator McNamara for very long, it was my good fortune to have served with him as a member of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and of the Subcommittee on Labor, which he served as chairman.

The Senator from Michigan was always most courteous and patient—a perfect example of a man who could disagree without being disagreeable. While we often found ourselves on opposing sides of an issue, Senator McNamara presided with fairness and integrity. He was true to his convictions.

I wish to express my deepest sympathy to his family and friends upon their loss.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, it is with heavy heart that I rise to bid farewell to our beloved colleague from Michigan. I had the greatest respect for him. Pat McNamara was a diligent legislator. Equally important, perhaps, he was a warm and compassionate human being. I feel sure that we in the Senate are not alone in saying that all who knew him will miss his engaging personality and keen wit. May he rest in peace.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President. We are sad today about the death of our colleague, Senator Pat McNamara. His qualities of openness, frankness, utter conviction about his beliefs and his votes, made him a respected and attractive figure in the Senate.

He had deep interest in the problems of those who had troubles—the poor, the sick, and the aged—and it will be recorded that the drive for a great deal of humane legislation which has been enacted in late years derived momentum and support from the early hearings he held on the problems of the aged and in other fields.

It was my privilege to serve with him on the Senate Committee on Public Works, he as chairman and I as ranking Republican member. I found him a very fair chairman, one who considered the views of minority members and indeed all members and who supported them when he was convinced that their views were sound. Much useful legislation comes from this committee—legislation which establishes and maintains the great Federal-State aid highway systems, the flood protection and transportation improvement of all our navigable streams, and the great and small harbors of our country, antipollution control, and the construction of public buildings. These programs continue year after year, and in cooperation with the States and with private enterprise they provide a strong helping structure for our economy.

Senator McNamara was a leader in this work and, while progressive, he always wanted to keep these programs within the capacity of our Nation to pay for them. His work in support of the Interstate Highway System, highway beautification, air and water pollution control, public works in depressed areas, will be remembered throughout the country. He had no sectional bias in these matters, and supported generously programs he felt helpful to every portion of our country.

He was modest. I recall when he made his decision to retire early this year, and when many rose to pay tribute to him, his response was appreciative yet characteristically simple and modest.

I shall remember Senator McNamara as a man of strength, conviction, and simplicity. I shall miss him as a colleague in the Senate and as a very good friend. I join with all colleagues in expressing my sympathy to his fine and loyal wife and to his family.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, over the weekend, the Senate suffered a great and untimely loss when Senator McNamara passed away.

In his two terms in the Senate, Senator McNamara contributed substantially to the enactment of a wide variety of legislation. His hearings and efforts on behalf of the elderly were one of the critical underpinnings of medicare, the Older Americans Act, and other legislative steps that we have taken for our senior citizens. He was one of the most constructive members of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, on which I was privileged to serve with him. Coming out of the labor movement, Senator McNamara had a unique feel for the needs of labor unions, and a great understanding of the fact that the labor movement's future depends not only on progressive legislation which benefits the working man, but on regulatory legislation to prevent internal corruption. His administration of the Public Works Committee, of which he was chairman, was always fair and responsible. He was a champion of civil rights and education and was a great friend to the District of Columbia.

Senator McNamara was forthright and fair. The positions he took were always clear and unmistakable. His colleagues always knew where he stood.

The Senate and the people of the United States have lost a great friend and a good man. Whoever replaces Senator McNamara will face a great challenge if he is to be as sensitive to the needs of the little man, of the average American, as Senator Pat McNamara was.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I rise to join my colleagues in paying well-deserved tribute to the memory of the late Senator from Michigan, Patrick V. McNamara.

No few words in praise of the life and deeds of Pat McNamara can sum up his contributions to his fellow Americans, but his great and noble record will long be remembered in the Senate of the United States.

It has been my privilege to regard the late Senator as a personal friend from the first day I came to the Senate in January 1959. My experience in the Senate has been enriched by the friendship and counsel which he gave so generously.

He was in the finest sense a fierce and valiant fighter for the great causes he represented and provided an effective voice for the people of Michigan.

Senator McNamara was a man who never hesitated to defend and represent his fellow Americans without regard to the popularity of the particular cause of the moment. He felt in kinship with the underprivileged, the unfortunate, and the dispossessed. He believed fully in the right of all Americans to an equal chance in life.

Our colleague never reckoned with the odds involved in the principle in which he believed and because of this devotion to what he believed to be right, Senator McNamara made it possible for many people to be heard in this great legislative body. He chose public service as a career when he could have been assured of great success in the field of business or labor. Such was his dedication to the public interest that he decided to serve both rather than the narrower endeavors of one.

He had a deep sense of humility and a capacity for friendship which is rare in the political world of Washington.

There was little doubt in my mind that Senator McNamara has left an indelible mark of courageous public service to inspire the citizens of the great State of Michigan and the Nation.

Mr. President, in his passing I have lost a tried and true friend, and to his family who stood by his side in good times and bad, I extend my deepest sympathy and profound respect for the meaning of his full and rich life.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, for the people of Michigan and Pat McNamara's family, I express appreciation for the generous and honest remarks that have been made. I express that thanks for myself, too.

I wish to say a word on a very personal note. I know that Senators would would like to know of it, and this is the only means I have of telling them. I spent Thursday evening with Pat and Mary McNamara. On that evening Pat was interested in our work and was aware fully of what was happening. He was hopeful that measures that he had cosponsored would be enacted.

Also, he was calmly aware of the uncertainty of life. If ever there was any doubt that the sometimes bluff Irishman possessed anything but a great heart and grateful appreciation to the people of Michigan for the honors given him, it would have been made clear Thursday night.

Again, I thank Senators for their comments today.

PAYMENT OF FUNERAL EXPENSES OF LATE SENATOR McNAMARA

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I send to the desk an additional resolution and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution (S. Res. 254) will be read.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Resolved That the Secretary of the Senate is hereby authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate the actual and necessary expenses incurred by the committee appointed to arrange for and attend the funeral of the Honorable Patrick V. McNamara, late a Senator from the State of Michigan, on vouchers to be approved by the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the resolution is considered and agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. HART. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of Senator McNamara, I move that the Senate adjourn until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 47 minutes p.m.), the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, May 3, 1966, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate May 2, 1966:

U.S. Marshal

Leo A. Mault, of New Jersey, to be U.S. marshal for the District of New Jersey for the term of 4 years. (Reappointment.)

U.S. Army

Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, U.S. Army, for reappointment as Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 142.

U.S. Coast Guard

The following-named officer of the U.S. Coast Guard Reserve for promotion to the grade of rear admiral:

Capt. Leon G. Telsey.

The following-named officer of the U.S. Coast Guard for promotion to the grade of rear admiral:

Capt. Chester I. Steele.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rabbi Israel Miller, Kingsbridge Heights Jewish Center, Bronx, N.Y., president, Rabbinical Council of America, offered the following prayer:

The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof; the world and they that dwell therein.—Psalm xxiv: 1.

As we lift our hearts in gratitude and thanksgiving for the opportunities given us by Almighty God to fashion man in His image and the world as His kingdom, we bow our heads in reverent prayer.

We pray for our blessed land and the ideals of liberty and democracy here enshrined.

We pray that the brightness of the freedoms we cherish will never be tarnished by evil and hatred.

We pray for the wisdom to know, the strength to act, and the courage to support and protect that which is right and proper in Thy eyes, O Lord, to the utmost capacity of our natural endowments and the best use of the opportunities granted us.

We pray that all nations and all peoples will recognize their obligations to themselves and to each other to uphold the dignity of the human personality and the rights of all to equality before the law, to opportunity, to religious fulfillment, to cultural freedom, to a worthwhile life.

We pray that man's inhumanity to man may forever end, and that "the earth shall be full of knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, April 28, 1966, was read and approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on April 25, 1966, the President approved and signed a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 1746. An act to define the term "child" for lump-sum payment purposes under the Civil Service Retirement Act.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to a bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 1924. An act to amend section 39b of the Bankruptcy Act so as to prohibit a part-time referee from acting as trustee or receiver in any proceeding under the Bankruptcy Act.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 2621. An act for the relief of Ioannis A. Vasilopoulos; and

S. 2950. An act to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, devolpment, test, and evaluation for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS OF THE U.S. DELEGATION OF THE CANADA-UNITED STATES INTERPARLIAMENTARY GROUP

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 1, Public Law 86–42, the Chair appoints as members of the U.S. delegation of the Canada-United States Interparliamentary group for the meeting to be held in Washington, D.C., beginning on May 18, 1966, the following Members on the part of the House:

Mr. Gallagher, of New Jersey, Chairman; Mrs. Kelly, of New York; Mr. Dulski, of New York; Mr. Murphy, of Illinois; Mr. Giaimo, of Connecticut; Mr. Johnson, of California; Mr. St Germain, of Rhode Island; Mr. Tupper, of Maine; Mr. Andrews, of North Dakota; Mr. Stafford, of Vermont; Mr. Thomson, of Wisconsin; and Mr. Fulton, of Pennsylvania.

THE LATE HON. JOSEPH E. TALBOT

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Monagan].

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks concerning the late Joseph E. Talbot.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened to read of the death on April 30 of my friend and predecessor as Representative in Congress from the Fifth District of Connecticut, the Honorable Joseph E. Talbot.

Mr. Talbot and I had several things in common. We were born and raised in the Naugatuck Valley of Connecticut. We both graduated from Dartmouth College. We both became members of the Connecticut bar and we both practiced law in the courts of the State of Connecticut.

In addition to these similarities, Joe Talbot and I had one other intimate experience together. He and I were opponents for the congressional seat in the Fifth District in a special election on January 20, 1942. Mr. Talbot was victorious and came to Congress for 2½ terms. I have never forgotten his conduct in that campaign, which was gentlemanly and in the highest tradition of political campaigning.

Joe Talbot's service may well be unique in the history of the State of Connecticut. Certainly it is impossible without research to remember anyone who has had such broad public service in our State as he. He served as prosecuting attorney and judge of the borough court of Naugatuck, as workmen's compensation commissioner, as State treasurer, and as Congressman. He also ran unsuccessfully for the office of U.S. Senator. And finally he served for two terms as a member of the U.S. Tariff Commission. He had been reappointed by President Johnson to this position and was a member of the Commission at his death.

Commissioner Talbot brought to his duties as a Tariff Commissioner the benefit of his excellent education—he was a graduate of the Yale Law School—and his broad experience in Connecticut, as well as his intimate knowledge of the problems of American industry, so much of which is located in the Fifth District.

One of the ironies in Joe Talbot's career was the fact that he refused the nomination for Lieutenant Governor of the State of Connecticut because he thought that the gubernatorial nomination should have been his. Within a brief space of time the elected Governor died and the Lieutenant Governor succeeded by operation of law.

In my judgment, however, Commissioner Talbot gave broader and more important service in the area to which he was later called and where he served until his untimely death. His deliberate and informed approach to tariff problems contributed in a major way to the work of the Tariff Commission during his tenure.

No mention of Joe Talbot would be complete without a reference to his fine family and to the happiness of his family life whose quality was to such a great degree molded by his wonderful wife, Grace.

I have lost a friend, the State of Connecticut has lost an outstanding son, and it is with deep sorrow and I express to Mrs. Talbot and the family the regret and sympathy which all of us feel on this sad occasion.

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the remarks of my colleague, the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. MONAGAN], in expressing my sorrow and that of Mrs. Daddario at the passing of former Congressman Joseph Talbot.

Mr. Talbot, in addition to his corporate law practice, had served actively in public life, as a local judge, and in a bid for higher office, before his appointment to the Tariff Commission in 1952. He had earned the respect of members of both parties, and firmly and loyally believed in the importance of public service.

Throughout his public life, he demonstrated his willingness to advance the public interest, and to state forcefully a point of view which he believed should be heard. In his service as a member of the Tariff Commission and as its Chairman, he proved that his work showed no parochialism. His record is of importance as it reflects the work of the Commission at a time when the critical value of the country in world trade was being advanced. He was a fine citizen.

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, I was grieved to learn this morning of the death of Joseph E. Talbot, a former Member of Congress from Connecticut and a member of the U.S. Tariff Commission for the past 13 years.

Joseph Talbot was 65 years of age. He was a native of Naugatuck, Conn., attended Dartmouth College and was graduated from Yale Law School in 1925. He served as prosecuting attorney and judge in his hometown during the years 1928 to 1937, and later was State treasurer for a period of 2 years. He was also workmen's compensation commissioner for Connecticut's Fifth District in the early 1940's.

Early in 1942 Talbot was elected as a Member of Congress on the Republican Party ticket in a special election. He served in the 77th, 78th, and 79th Congresses for a total of nearly 6 years. During his years of service in the House he was a member of the Judiciary Committee.

President Eisenhower appointed Joseph Talbot as a member of the U.S. Tariff Commission in 1953 for a 6-year term and reappointed him to another 6-year term in 1959. He served for a number of years as Vice Chairman and also Chairman of the Commission. In recent months he had been in ill health.

The death of Joseph Talbot is a distinct loss for Connecticut. Those of us who have had the privilege of knowing him personally have always admired him for his many fine traits, his personality, and his sincerity.

I wish to express my heartfelt sympathy to his bereaved family in this hour of their great sorrow. His many achievements and his good deeds will be remembered by all who knew him. May his memory be blessed.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE FINALLY GETS AROUND TO TELLING CONGRESS WHAT THE FED DID 16 MONTHS AGO

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the statutes require that the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System shall annually make a full reports of its operations to the Congress. This morning, the Fed has finally gotten around to making its report for the year 1965. We can now learn for the first time what the Fed did, and why it did it, in January 1965, 16 months ago.

Each year the Congress must legislate on the state of the economy. It can do so intelligently only if it has before it the economic record of the preceding year.

By law, the annual economic report of the President and of the Council of Economic Advisers, covering the whole range of economic activities except the monetary operations of the Federal Reserve System, is received by the Congress in January. Your Joint Economic Committee must, on the basis of this, make its report on the state of the economy by the end of February.

Congress and the Joint Economic Committee need the report of the Fed during the early months of the year in order to do their jobs. The jobs cannot adequately be done if we are left in the dark concerning monetary policy and the Fed.

Last January 24, I addressed the House on the subject of the Fed's 1965 activities, or at least what I could learn of those activities without its report. I asked that the report be promptly filed, so that we might have the facts before us. At my request, the staff of the Joint Economic Committee has been calling the Fed every few days since then, requesting that the report be filed with us. Today, 4 months after the end of 1965, we finally have the report.

There is no reason why the Fed cannot be as expeditious in informing the Congress of its activities as are the President and the Council of Economic Advisers. They have other things on their mind, too.

I want the Federal Reserve to be independent, but I also want it to be responsible. For this reason, I am today introducing H.R. 14776 a bill to amend section 10 of the Federal Reserve Act—12 U.S.C. 274—so as to require the Governors of the Federal Reserve System to submit no later than February 1 their report of operations for the preceding calendar year.

CORRECTING THE RECORD ON PENDING LAKE FEE BILLS

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the

House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, normally, the New York Times is distinguished for careful reporting, but their editorial of April 29 on the subject of lake fee legislation now pending before the House Committee on Public Works reveals almost a total lack of information regarding developments of last week before the committee.

In the first place the bill to which they refer is not one supported only by "several Oklahoma Congressmen." Some of the most distinguished Members of the House from other States have introduced identical measures and share fully the concern of the Oklahoma delegation on the question of entrance and admission fees at our lakes and reservoirs.

Careful reporting by the New York Times would have informed that great newspaper that some of the leading champions of the land and water conservation fund, in their testimony before the Committee on Public Works last week, fully supported the arguments for a change in Army Engineer policy on entrance and admission fees, as that policy has been announced by the corps.

I respectfully refer the New York Times and its readers to the testimony of Mr. C. R. Gutermuth, vice president of the Wildlife Management Institute, to the testimony of Mr. J. W. Penfold, of the Izaak Walton League of America, and to the testimony of Dr. Spencer Smith, of the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources. I refer to their testimony on questioning, rather than their prepared statements.

These eminent authorities and conservation champions appeared to the members of the committee to be in agreement that the Land and Water Conservation Act specifically prohibited interference with use of the waters of the lakes and reservoirs, and also appeared to support the view that announced Army Engineer policy would operate to violate that section of the law.

It is apparent that the majority of the members of the subcommittee considering the matter will favor a bill which guarantees to all citizens the use of the waters, without the payment of any entrance or admission fee, while permitting fees for the use of particular facilities on the land where, in the words of Dr. Smith, "the Federal Government has put in specific and specialized types of equipment."

Unless some legislation which restores this rule of reason to the fee system is passed, while preserving the true spirit of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, the people themselves are very likely to insist upon the total abolition of all fees for public lands as well as waters.

MONETARY AND FISCAL POLICY

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I was very interested in hearing the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. REUSS] point out the difficulty that he, and perhaps others, were experiencing in getting information from the Federal Reserve Board.

I well recall the hearings of the Joint Economic Committee held last fall, at which all of the members of the Federal Reserve Board testified before us. It was a very fine hearing. However, when the Republicans on the committee sought to have come before us the other three members of the so-called "quadriad" which deals with monetary and fiscal policy—namely, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers—the majority voted us down.

The Joint Economic Committee has still not gone into important policy questions we raised at the December hearings on the increase in the discount rate. I think that, although perhaps the gentleman may be in order in introducing a bill to get further information from the Federal Reserve Board, even more in order is to have this administration, which is under the same political party as the Congress, call in the other member of the "quadriad." We badly need to study current monetary and fiscal policies and their coordination.

Inflation is not just a Republican cliche. It is a pressing part of life for Americans who need prompt administration action through sound fiscal and monetary policies.

JAPAN'S ROLE

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Speaker, a most informative analysis of current trends in Japan appeared in the Sunday Star yesterday. I submit the article for inclusion in the RECORD.

If the affairs of Asia are to proceed along more favorable lines in the years ahead, as far as the United States is concerned, the attitudes of the Japanese people are likely to have much to do with it.

Japan's great productive capacities and her strategic position are of vital importance to us. I hope and trust the article reflects an accurate conception of the future role Japan will play in that region of the world:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, May 1, 1966]

JAPAN EMBARKS UPON NEW PHASE AS ASIAN POWER

(By Crosby S. Noyes)

TOKYO.—The Japanese for some time have been known as an impressionable people. The debate in Washington over Asian policy is having repercussions here which are certain to have a drastic effect on Japan's role in this part of the world.

The big difference is that debates over basic policy in Washington are old stuff while in Japan they mark a break with tradition that goes back a very long way. The result is that Japan today is emerging for the first time in 20 years as a major factor in the Asian equation. And this fact in itself of capital importance to all of the countries concerned.

An attitude of nonparticipation and a determined reticence on the questions of highest importance to the country and the world has been characteristic of Japanese foreign policy since the end of the war. A decade after the miracle of Japan's economic recovery, inhibitions on public discussion of such questions as national security, relations with China, and Japan's role in Asia have remained strong.

On all these questions, an opposition to Japan's successive moderate-conservative governments has existed, to be sure. But the brand of opposition offered by the Japanese socialists has been so extreme, so unrealistic and doctrinaire as to leave little room for rational debate.

Public opinion has seemed mostly a matter of occasionally violent reflex reactions to such issues as nuclear testing or the threat of war involving Japan. In the absence of any real pressures for a positive foreign policy the government, to many foreign observers, has generally seemed to have no policy at all.

THE TURNING POINT

The beginning of a turning point in this state of affairs was reached 2 years ago with the staging of the Olympic games in Tokyo. The glare of publicity turned out to the surprise of many Japanese as an agreeable experience. Another psychological boost was provided by the signing of a treaty last year reestablishing normal relations with Korea. But quite certainly the real point of departure for Japan's new career as an Asian power was the conference on economic development in southeast Asia in Tokyo earlier this month.

The conference, called entirely on Japan's initiative, brought together ministers from the Philippines, South Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Malaysia and Singapore. At the last minute, Indonesia and Cambodia decided to send observers. Burma alone, among the countries invited, declined the invitation.

Korea and Nationalist China were not invited. When pressed for a reason, the Japanese explained politely that Korea is not, strictly speaking, a southeast Asian country and anyway, Japan already has extensive bilateral economic agreements with both countries. The real reason, however, was to avoid giving the conference the appearance of an anti-Communist pow-wow, in keeping with the Japanese theory that economics and politics are two very different things.

Like most affairs of this kind, the 2-day meeting produced few concrete results beyond a decision to hold another conference on agricultural problems later in the year. It attracted little notice in the foreign press. The Communists—both Russian and Chinese—denounced it routinely as a tool of American imperialism. Washington maintained a discreet and benevolent silence.

Nevertheless, it is recognized today by virtually every observer in Japan as a very authentic milestone in Asia's postwar history. Not everyone would go so far as Laos' Prince Souvannah Phouma, who led his country's delegation to the meeting and has been going around ever since talking about an emerging "Asian federation" built on the lines of the European Common Market. Even the label of an "Asian Marshall plan," attached to the development proposals by the Japanese press seems, at this stage at least, somewhat grandiose.

JAPAN'S PROPOSAL

What Japan is proposing, in concrete terms, is to about double its present contribution in foreign aid over the next few years. The goal is 1 percent of the annual national income—or about $650 million—a large proportion of which would be earmarked for southeast Asia. The new aid would be mostly in the form of development projects and long-term credits, in addition to the grant aid already being paid to various southeast Asian countries in the form of war reparations.

In American terms this may sound modest enough. What is being emphasized here, however, is the psychological effect which the recent meeting has had on the Japanese public and the government. Suddenly, the enormous contribution that Japan can make in Asia has taken hold of people's imagination. The Japanese themselves have been surprised by the enthusiasm with which their first tentative suggestions have been received by countries which until very recently have regarded Japan with suspicion born of bitter memories.

INDUSTRIAL POSITION

There is a growing awareness, too, that Japan, once rid of its own inhibitions, is in a unique position to pick up the pieces in Asia. As the fourth largest industrial nation in the world, it can provide the central powerhouse for the other non-Communist Asian nations. And once the will to play this role becomes firmly established, the other aspects of Japanese foreign policy are likely to fall into place.

The United States, needless to say, is by no means dismayed by this turn of events. The revival of a constructive kind of Japanese nationalism and a more active participation in the development of Asia is regarded as highly desirable by all American officials here.

The deemphasis of ideological conflict and the effort to solidify relations with such neutralist countries as Indonesia, Cambodia, and Burma is looked on with considerable sympathy. Even the development of a sort of Japanese Gaullism, in the sense of a self-consciously independent role in world affairs, would not cause undue concern in a situation where Japanese and American interests in southeast Asia are, in the nature of things, essentially parallel.

American optimism over Japan's new role is affected, no doubt, by what appears to be an increasing realism in the country's general outlook. As they survey the practical opportunities for the development of a region dominated by the huge mass of Communist China, the Japanese have begun to reappraise the problems which have threatened to upset Japanese-American relations over a number of years. And as it moves toward a more assertive posture in foreign affairs, Japan is also moving toward a more responsible one.

SATO'S STABILITY

A number of factors seem to be involved in this trend. One is the relatively stable position of the regime led by Premier Eisaku Sato and the unusual absence of factional quarreling within the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. The temporary lack of serious rivals for Sato's job combined with the disorganization of the Socialist opposition, encourages a bolder Government line in many areas.

Another factor of major importance has been the extraordinary ineptness of Chinese foreign policy over the past year. In recent months, Peking's highly vocal hostility toward Japan has irritated even the most liberally disposed Japanese. China's nuclear tests have further tainted the atmosphere while Peking's catastrophic diplomatic defeats in Indonesia, Ghana, and elsewhere have made a strong impression in Tokyo.

At any rate, Japan's off-again-on-again flirtation with Peking is at a low ebb. Although the official policy of the Sato government is still wedded to the idea that commerce takes precedence over politics, the Japanese are discovering with some disappointment that Communist China is not exactly an ideal market for high-class consumer goods. And though strong cultural and historical ties between Japan and the mainland undoubtedly will exert an influence over the long run, the Chinese are doing very little to encourage the courtship.

ON RECOGNIZING CHINA

When it comes to the problem of recognizing China it is undoubtedly true that there is less pressure in Japan today than there was a year ago. On the matter of recognition, in fact, the Japanese are over very much the same barrel as the United States. Their relations with Taiwan are close and cordial, their trade with the Nationalist Chinese almost as great as with the mainland. Above all, perhaps, the Japanese are highly conscious of the fact that Taiwan lies across their vital lines of sea communication to southeast Asia and the Middle East and are determined that it shall remain in friendly hands.

The debate over China policy in Washington, therefore, has aroused mixed reactions here. The Japanese are relieved at assurances from Secretary Rusk that the United States does not expect to fight a war with China—an assurance which they would like to hear repeated as often and as loudly as possible. On the other hand, as pioneers in the business of trying to coax Peking out of its own isolation, they are somewhat baffled by glib assurances of American experts that this can be done without simultaneously scuttling the Nationalist regime on Taiwan.

On the question of Vietnam as well, the debate in Washington has brought about an encouraging turn of Japanese thinking. Though Japan's antiwar bias remains strong, there is less emotional opposition to the military intervention of the United States and far better understanding of the issues at stake than before. On the question of Vietnam, the Japanese would seem to stand somewhere in the vicinity, and somewhat on the right side of Senator FULBRIGHT.

MILITARY DECISIONS

The decision to bomb North Vietnam took them by surprise, they say, because they did not understand at the time the seriousness of the military situation in the country. The fear that the war would escalate into a general conflict with China—which remains the dominant Japanese obsession—now seems to have been somewhat allayed.

The shifting of public attitude is illustrated by the changing tune of the Japanese press.

Last year the two leading newspapers, Mainichi and Asahi both sent their foreign editors on a trip to Hanoi, the capital of Communist North Vietnam. The reports of Minoru Omori of Mainichi caused a sensation in Japan, describing in lurid detail the effects of the American bombing attacks, including one particularly heart-rending story of the destruction of a leprosarium near the capital.

Shoru Hata, of Asahi, whose reports were less colorful, was at some disadvantage until it was discovered that Omori's "eyewitness" reports had been culled largely from North Vietnamese propaganda films and Omori lost his job.

A growing understanding about Vietnam does not imply, of course, a complete identity of view between Tokyo and Washington when it comes to the larger problems of southeast Asia. The major difference, perhaps, is a refusal to believe that China at this point represents much of a military threat to the countries surrounding it. The belligerancy of the leadership in Peking is read here as a sign of weakness rather than strength. Of all the mixed emotions which the Japanese display toward China, fear is perhaps the least conspicuous.

TROOP POLICY

Their ambition to participate more actively in Asian affairs, furthermore, by no means implies a willingness to assume any part of the military burden in Vietnam or elsewhere. The Japanese are a bit exasperated by suggestions along this line, pointing out that among other things, that their American-dictated constitution specifically forbids the stationing of any Japanese troops on foreign territory.

No doubt, there are plenty of Americans today who would like to see this provision of the constitution amended. But ever since 1951, when Secretary of State Dulles urged the immediate rearming of Japan and was politely told to go jump into the Yellow Sea, the Japanese with the hearty approval of their neighbors have firmly insisted on a nonmilitary posture. Yet this, too, has recently become a matter of public discussion. The Sato government itself has taken the lead in opening a debate on basic security questions in the Diet with the avowed purpose of squelching unrealistic demands of the opposition for the scrapping of the United States-Japan Security Treaty.

The treaty, first signed in 1951 and revised in 1960, has been under violent attack from the opposition from the beginning. Japan's Socialists naturally criticise it as tying Japan too closely to American apron strings and have played on the theme that Japan might become involved in war as the result of the existence of American bases on Japanese soil.

Conservatives as well have criticized the treaty as limiting Japan's freedom of choice in foreign affairs. Until very recently most observers have felt that the Government faced rough sledding when the treaty comes up to review and possible renunciation in 1970.

VARIETIES OF NEUTRALITY

The Japanese Foreign Office, however, does not seem to share these fears. At least it has come out swinging on the issue in a "unified" view after lengthy consultations with all government leaders, the alternatives to the present treaty, according to this argument, would be either unarmed neutrality which would leave Japan "utterly defenseless" or a fully armed neutrality, including the production of nuclear weapons, entailing a 'tremendous financial burden' which would be almost impossible for Japan."

The report concludes:

"Judging from these facts, the maintenance of the current security treaty, as compared with nonmilitary neutralism or military neutralism, is the most realistic, reliable and the least dangerous means in the present world situation." The Socialists, no doubt will continue to denounce this line of reasoning. But since there is virtually no chance that the Socialists will come to power between now and 1970—or for a good many years thereafter—the outlook for the survival of the treaty would seem considerably improved.

Japan's new role in Asia, therefore, will be limited and conditioned by the realities of Japan's situation. Since national security and economic interests are dominant considerations, Japan must remain firmly tied to the Western World for the foreseeable future. Within this limitation, however, Japan can be expected to make the most of its advantage as an Asian nation with enormous economic potential.

The self-conscious effort to minimize political conflicts may make for certain difficulties with the new hawks among the Asian nations, notably Korea and Taiwan. But in the

> Japanese view at least, this is a risk worth taking if it results in the establishment of firm relations with countries of the neutralist camp. In Indonesia alone, the Japanese see a superb opportunity for the kind of neighborly assistance which they, almost alone, are capable of providing.
>
> In short, the Japanese today are proposing to begin to carry the ball in a good many places where it badly needs carrying and where the United States, with its essential military commitment in Vietnam, is virtually hamstrung. The reaction so far has been highly encouraging. Shorn of any military or political implications, the new version of Japan's ill-fated prewar coprosperity sphere has a bright future in which many of the free nations of Asia will be eager to share.

DESTRUCTION OF SUPPLIES IN VIETNAM

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, I was amazed to read the following report in Friday's Wall Street Journal which would, if true, indicate a gross inconsistency on the part of somebody in our conduct of certain phases of the mess in Vietnam:

> Large caches of Vietcong supplies were turned up by U.S. troops seeking jungle terminals of the Ho Chi Minh trail near the Cambodian border. The Americans began destroying the hundreds of tons of rice, salt, cooking oil, and sheet tin—one of the richest such lodes ever unearthed in Vietnam.

How in heaven's name can we justify destroying food on the one hand, continue to acknowledge a shortage of it on the other, and do all we can to get more out there?

THE LATE GUY A. TRAMMEL

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Guy A. Trammel, who died on my birthday last week, is being buried today. For years he was an employee of the Congressional Hotel newsstand and was well and affectionately known by many of my colleagues in the House who will be saddened by the tidings of his passing. He is survived by his son, Richard A. Trammel, to whom I convey expression of the sincere sympathy of this body.

Guy Trammel was a fine American who retained the spirit of youth well past his 80th birthday. He lived cheerfully and helpfully a long life on the simple rule of understanding of and service to his fellow man.

CONSENT CALENDAR

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). This is Consent Calendar day. The Clerk will call the first measure on the Consent Calendar.

NATIONAL FLAG WEEK

The Clerk called the House joint resolution (H.J. Res. 763) authorizing the President to proclaim the week in which June 14 occurs as National Flag Week.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H.J. RES. 763

> *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the President is authorized and requested to issue annually a proclamation designating the week in which June 14 occurs as National Flag Week, and calling upon all citizens to display the flag of the United States on those days.

The House joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I am gratified that the House has passed today my resolution to make a National Flag Week possible and I hope that the Senate and the President will act quickly so that we may have our first National Flag Week next month. My bill calls for National Flag Week to be the week in which June 14—National Flag Day—occurs. The historic importance of this date in American history is deserving of a longer period of celebration by the Government and the public. The passage of this bill at this time also amounts to a rousing vote of confidence for our U.S. forces in Vietnam. This will show our boys we are really behind them. I can think of no more fitting tribute to our fighting troops and to the many millions of other Americans who revere our flag and everything for which it stands, than enactment of this legislation into law.

STEELMARK MONTH

The Clerk called the House joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1001) to provide for the designation of the month of May in each year as "Steelmark Month."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the House joint resolution?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I trust that during the month that is to be designated as Steelmark Month consideration will be given to the increasing amounts of foreign steel that are being imported into this country to deprive American workers of jobs, and that during the designated month the House will at some time or other give consideration to doing something about the Trade Agreements Act when it next appears on the floor of the House with respect to providing at least some protection for the domestic steel industry.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I thank the gentleman. I am sure that full attention will be paid to this problem during the month in question. I believe there are some amendments at the desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the House joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the House joint resolution, as follows:

H.J. RES. 1001

> *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the month of May in each year is hereby designated as "Steel Mark Month" in recognition of the tremendous contribution made by the steel industry in the United States to the national security and defense of our country. The President is requested to issue a proclamation calling upon all people of the United States for the observance of such a week with appropriate proceedings and ceremonies.

With the following committee amendments:

> On page 1, line 3, delete "in each year" and insert in lieu thereof "1966".
>
> On page 1, line 4, delete "Steel Mark" and insert in lieu thereof "Steelmark".
>
> On page 1, line 8, delete "a week" and insert "month".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have authored this resolution which asks the President of the United States to designate the month of May 1966 as Steelmark Month in recognition of the tremendous contribution made by the steel industry to the national security and defense of our country.

In my congressional district alone, two major steel companies and related steel-using companies provide jobs for 30,000 people along both sides of the Ohio River. Nationally, the steel industry provides jobs for 450,000 people alone and, including steel-consuming industries, accounts for one-third of all manufacturing jobs in the Nation.

There are about 275 companies in the United States engaged in the manufacture and fabrication of steel, turning out 10,000 different products ranging from bobby pins to bridges and locomotives.

The Steelmark observance, launched nearly 5 years ago in my congressional district, has grown from a weeklong celebration in Weirton to a monthlong salute to steel involving Wheeling, Weirton, Follansbee, and Wellsburg on the West Virginia side of the Ohio River and Steubenville, Mingo Junction, and Toronto on the Ohio side.

The observance of Steelmark Month has grown into national proportions. Most areas of the country that are identified with making of steel now observe Steelmark Month. It is for this reason, I feel the time has come for the people of the United States to recognize the tremendous contributions made by the people of steel to our way of life, to our national defense and security, and to our Nation's welfare.

Steelmark is a symbol of high-quality, American-made steel and consists of three four-pointed stars in a circle. One star is colored yellow, one orange, and one blue. The yellow star signifies that steel lightens your work. The orange star signifies that steel brightens your leisure. The blue star signifies that steel widens your world.

I believe it is incumbent upon all of us in view of the growing influx of cheap, foreign-made steel, to recognize and honor through this resolution the men and women who make steel and who work in steel-using industries in America. I urge its adoption.

The House joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the month of May 1966 as 'Steelmark Month'."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DESTRUCTION OF UNFIT CURRENCY

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 5305) to authorize revised procedures for the destruction of unfit Federal Reserve notes, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, in connection with this bill I notice that the report makes the statement that the legislation as amended has been approved by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board. Speaking for the objectors, we would like to have the actual letters or reports printed right in the text of the report, and I would hope, since I plan to ask unanimous consent to have this legislation passed over, it having been scheduled to come up under suspension, that when it does, the legislative history will be strengthened during consideration under suspension, and that the actual letter of the Secretary of the Treasury and the communication from the Federal Reserve Board will be included in the RECORD.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, may I speak to the gentleman?

Mr. PELLY. I still have time under my reservation of objection. I will yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thought the gentleman had made a unanimous-consent request, and I was reserving the right to object.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I did not make that unanimous-consent request yet.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PELLY. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, may I invite the gentleman's attention to page 6 of the hearings. There is a letter from Mr. Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, in which he endorses this legislation. There is also a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury supporting this legislation.

I would like to put this in the RECORD at this point, along with the letter from Mr. Martin. I ask unanimous consent to do this.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

BOARD OF GOVERNORS,
OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM,
Washington, February 18, 1966.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your letter of February 15, 1966, in which you asked for a report on H.R. 5305, to authorize revised procedures for destruction of unfit Federal Reserve notes.

The Board urges prompt approval of the bill. It is needed not simply because it will save money but also because the day is fast approaching when the Federal Reserve banks will not have room in their vaults to store the ever-increasing number of unfit Federal Reserve notes on hand.

The Board concurs in the opinion expressed in the letter sent to your committee on January 21, 1966, by Mr. Carlock, Fiscal Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, that the General Accounting Office would be authorized to audit the cancellation and destruction of unfit Federal Reserve notes under the bill and the accounting therefor. GAO will be given access to records and procedures in the Reserve banks to the extent necessary to carry out these responsibilities.

Sincerely yours,
WM. MCC. MARTIN, Jr.,
Chairman.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,
Washington, February 15, 1965.

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Speaker of the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: There is transmitted herewith a proposed bill to authorize revised procedures for the destruction of unfit Federal Reserve notes, and for other purposes.

The proposed legislation is needed in order to conserve an annual savings of about $500,000 now being realized in the cost of destroying $1 bills that are unfit for further circulation, and to avoid incurring an expense of more than $300,000 annually in sorting $1 bills. These savings would otherwise be lost and the increased cost added now that, under the provisions of the act of June 4, 1963, Public Law 88-36 $1 silver certificates are being replaced by $1 Federal Reserve notes.

There are two reasons for this. Unfit Treasury currency (silver certificates and U.S. notes) is now verified and destroyed at the various Federal Reserve banks and branches. This saves about $500,000 annually in handling expenses, and in the cost of shipping currency to the Treasury in Washington for verification and destruction. Federal Reserve notes, however, are now required by law to be returned to the Comptroller of the Currency for cancellation and destruction. The proposed legislation would eliminate this requirement.

The other reason is that it has been considered necessary to sort unfit Federal Reserve notes by bank of issue before their destruction. This sorting of unfit $1 Federal Reserve notes would add more than $300,000 annually to the cost of retiring the notes. Since the issuance of Federal Reserve notes began, which was about 50 years ago, several billion have been issued and retired, and enough is now known about the relation of issues of each bank to retirements of each that it is no longer considered necessary to make a physical sort of unfit notes as they are retired. Collateral requirements and accountability for outstanding notes can be provided for on a formula basis fixed by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

The proposed legislation would provide that Federal Reserve notes unfit for circulation shall be canceled, destroyed, and accounted for under procedures prescribed and at locations designated by the Secretary of the Treasury, and credit for the notes so retired allocated among the Federal Reserve banks as prescribed by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

The destruction of unfit Treasury currency at the Federal Reserve banks and branches has been performed under regulations and procedures prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury and the destruction operations are inspected by his representatives. This procedure has been satisfactory in all respects. The proposed legislation contemplates that the same type of procedure and control would be provided for by the Treasury with respect to regional destruction of Federal Reserve notes.

It will be appreciated if you will lay the attached proposed bill before the House of Representatives. A similar communication has been transmitted to the President of the Senate.

The Department has been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection from the standpoint of the administration's program to the submission of this proposed legislation to the Congress.

Sincerely yours,
DOUGLAS DILLON.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I would just like the gentleman from Texas to know that the hearings were not available. I would be hopeful in the future, when the gentleman brings in legislation of this nature, that such information actually will be printed in the report that comes with the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection and ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This concludes the call of the Consent Calendar.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON MARITIME EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF THE COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Maritime Education and Training of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries may be permitted to sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

DEDUCTION FOR INCOME TAX PURPOSES OF CERTAIN CONTRIBUTIONS FOR JUDICIAL REFORM

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 8188) relating to the deduction for income tax purposes of contributions to certain organizations for judicial reform, which was unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 8188

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for purposes of section 170 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to deduction for charitable, and so forth, contributions and gifts), a contribution or gift made after December 31, 1964, with respect to an initiative, referendum, or election on a constitutional amendment occurring during the calendar year 1965 or 1966 to or for the use of any nonprofit organization created and operated exclusively—

(1) to consider proposals for the reorganization of the judicial branch of the government of any State of the United States or political subdivision of such State, and

(2) to provide information, make recommendations, and seek public support or opposition as to such proposals,

shall be treated as a charitable contribution if no part of the net earnings of such organization inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual. For purposes of section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, the making of a contribution or gift described in this Act shall not be treated as carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation. The provisions of this Act shall not apply with respect to any organization which participates in, or intervenes in, any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

"That for purposes of section 170 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to deduction for charitable, and so forth, contributions and gifts), a contribution or gift made after December 31, 1965, and before January 1, 1968, with respect to an initiative or referendum on a constitutional amendment occurring during the calendar year 1966 or 1967, to or for the use of any nonprofit organization created and operated exclusively—

"(1) to consider proposals for the reorganization of the judicial branch of the Government of any State of the United States or political subdivision of such State, and

"(2) to provide information, make recommendations, and seek public support or opposition as to such proposals,

shall be treated as a charitable contribution if no part of the net earnings of such organization inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual. For purposes of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, the making of a contribution or gift described in the preceeding sentence shall not be treated as carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation. The provisions of this Act shall not apply with respect to any organization which participates in, or intervenes in, any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office."

Mr. MILLS (during reading of the committee amendment). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the further reading of the committee amendment, and that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, in order to save time I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks at the point in the RECORD where each of these bills will occur, and that other Members desiring to do so have the same permission.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 8188, as unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, is to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to provide that contributions to certain organizations for the purpose of the reform of the judicial branch of a State or local government will qualify as charitable contributions, and will thus be deductible for income tax purposes.

Present law provides that a contribution to any organization may be deductible only if no substantial part of the activities of the organization is carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation, the deduction of contributions to nonprofit organizations which devote their efforts toward judicial reform thus being precluded.

Under the pending bill, which was introduced by our colleague on the Committee on Ways and Means, the gentleman from Ohio, the Honorable JACKSON E. BETTS, in order to be deductible the contributions must be made in the year 1966 or 1967 with respect to an initiative or referendum on a constitutional amendment occurring during those years, and must be made to or for the use of nonprofit organizations, no part of whose net earnings inures to the benefit of any private shareholder, which are created and operated exclusively for the purpose of considering proposals for the reorganization of the judicial branch of any State, or any political subdivision of any State, and providing information, making recommendations, and seeking support of opposition as to any such proposals. The bill specifically provides that it is not to apply with respect to any organization which participates or intervenes in any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.

The bill also provides that the making of a deductible contribution to such a judicial reform organization is not to be treated as carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation; thus, foundations or similar organizations would not jeopardize their tax-exempt status by making such contributions.

The Committee on Ways and Means was advised that initiatives and referendums on constitutional amendments for the reform of State and local judicial systems now are occurring and, convinced that the need for educating the public with respect to such amendments justifies a limited exception to the general rule of nondeductibility for contributions made to influence legislation, unanimously urges enactment of H.R. 8188.

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 8188, a bill to permit the deduction for income tax purposes of contributions to certain organizations for judicial reform.

The committee has been advised that during the years 1966 and 1967 several States will be conducting initiatives and referendums on constitutional amendments for the reform of State and local judicial systems. Although there is a general rule in the Internal Revenue Code preventing deductions for contributions used to influence legislation, the need for educating the public on important constitutional changes in the structure of their judicial systems warrants a temporary relaxation of the rule. The bill will permit deductions only if they are made during the year 1966 or 1967; are made with respect to an initiative or referendum on a constitutional amendment occurring during those years; and are made to or for the use of certain nonprofit organizations, no part of whose net earnings inures to the benefit of any private shareholder.

In view of the need for informed judgments about critical changes in the structure of State and local judicial systems, the temporary relaxation in the rules is justified under these particular circumstances. I therefore urge that the Congress enact this measure.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DUTY-FREE TREATMENT FOR CERTAIN CORKBOARD INSULATION

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 8376) to amend title I of the Tariff Act of 1930 to make permanent the existing duty-free treatment for certain corkboard insulation, which was unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 8376

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) item 220.30 of title I of the Tariff Act of 1930 (Tariff Schedules of the United States; 28 Fed.

Reg., part II, page 93, Aug. 17, 1963; 77A Stat. 93; 19 U.S.C., sec. 1202) is amended by striking out "2.5¢ per board ft." each place it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "Free".

(b) Item 904.40 (77A Stat. 432) of such title I is repealed.

SEC. 2. The amendements made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption after the date of the enactment of this Act.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 8376 is to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to make permanent the existing temporary duty-free treatment for certain corkboard insulation.

The duty on insulation, coated or not coated, of compressed cork in boards, blocks, or slabs, was suspended for a 3-year period by Public Law 88–32. In the absence of legislation, this suspension of duty would expire at the close of May 29, 1966.

Corkboard insulation is particularly suitable for low-temperature applications, such as cold storage rooms, refrigerator cars and trucks, et cetera, and is also used to insulate walls, ceilings, and cold-air ducts in air-conditioned buildings and as insulation in ship construction. Domestic production of corkboard insulation ceased in 1962, and the Committee on Ways and Means has been advised that the former domestic producers have become importers in order to supply and continue their businesses as applicators and suppliers of corkboard insulations. The committee is also advised that these producers support the pending bill, which was introduced by our colleague on the Committee on Ways and Means, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, the Honorable HERMAN SCHNEEBELI.

The committee believes that the benefits derived by domestic industry from the existing suspension of duty on corkboard insulation warrant its continuation on a permanent basis, as provided in H.R. 8376. Favorable departmental reports were received on the bill, and the committee is unanimous in recommending its enactment.

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 8376, a bill to amend title I of the Tariff Act of 1930 to make permanent the current duty-free status of certain corkboard insulation. I am glad to have sponsored this legislation.

The 2.5-cent-per-board-foot duty applicable to this corkboard insulation was suspended by Public Law 88–32 for a 3-year period running from May 30, 1963, to May 29, 1966. This product is used to insulate walls, ceilings, and cold-air ducts in air-conditioned buildings, and as insulation in ship construction.

There has not been any production of corkboard insulation in the United States since 1962. In view of the usefulness of this product and the lack of domestic production, I support this proposal to continue the suspension of duty on a permanent basis.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONTINUED SUSPENSION OF DUTY ON HEPTANOIC ACID

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 10998) to continue for a temporary period the existing suspension of duty on heptanoic acid, which was unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, can the gentleman tell me what this acid is used for?

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. MILLS. Heptanoic acid is used principally in the making of special lubricants and brake fluids for the military and aerospace industry.

Mr. GROSS. Where does this come from?

Mr. MILLS. It comes principally, according to information from the Tariff Commission, from West Germany.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 10998

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That item 907.30 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202, item 907.30) is amended by striking out "On or before 8/8/66" and inserting in lieu thereof "On or before 8/8/69".

Mr. MILLS. Mr Speaker, the purpose of the pending bill is to amend item 907.30 of the tariff schedules of the United States to continue the existing suspension of the import duty on heptanoic acid for an additional 3-year period, until the close of August 8, 1969.

The duty on heptanoic acid was temporarily suspended by Public Law 86–795, approved September 15, 1960, and the suspension was continued by Public Law 88–93, approved August 8, 1963. In the absence of legislation, the suspension would expire at the close of August 8, 1966.

Heptanoic acid is used principally in the making of special lubricants and brake fluids for the military and aerospace industry. The Committee on Ways and Means is advised that at the present time there is no production of this acid in the United States for commercial uses, and domestic consumption is entirely dependent on imports.

The committee received favorable reports on H.R. 10998, which was introduced by our colleague on the Committee on Ways and Means, the gentleman from Louisiana, the Honorable HALE BOGGS, from the Department of State, Treasury, Labor, and Commerce, as well as an informative report from the U.S. Tariff Commission, and it is unanimous in recommending enactment of the bill.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, this bill—H.R. 10998—provides for the continuance for a 3-year period of the existing suspension of duty on heptanoic acid. Legislation enacted by the 86th Congress—Public Law 86–795—suspended the duty on heptanoic acid for a 3-year period, and legislation enacted in the 88th Congress—Public Law 88–93—extended the suspension period through August 8, 1966.

The primary use of heptanoic acid is in the production of synthetic lubricants for the military and the aerospace industry and in the production of certain brake fluids. Since heptanoic acid is not domestically produced for commercial uses, consumption is dependent on imports. The benefits derived by the American people from suspension of this duty therefore warrants extension of the suspension for 3 more years.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DUTY-FREE TREATMENT OF CERTAIN NATURAL GRAPHITE

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 11653) to make permanent the existing suspension of duty on certain natural graphite, which bill was unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 11653

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) item 517.31 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202, item 517.31) is repealed and there is inserted in lieu thereof the following:

“

		Other:		
517.30		If valued $50 per ton or less	Free	10% ad val.
517.33		Other	0.5% ad val.	10% ad val.

”,

(b) Item 909.20 of such Schedules (19 U.S.C. 1202, item 909.20) is repealed.

(c) Subsections (a) and (b) shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption, after June 30, 1966.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 11653 is to make permanent the existing temporary suspension of duty on natural amorphous graphite, crude and refined, valued at $50 per ton or less.

Natural graphite—plumbago—is a soft, black mineral occurring in disseminated flakes or in scaly, granular, compact, or earthy masses. The type covered by this bill—amorphous graphite—is a very fine granular variety having a wide variety of industrial uses. For example, it is utilized for foundry facings and in the manufacture of carbon brushes, dry-cell batteries, pencils and paints, lubricants, and brush stock for electric motors.

Imports of natural amorphous graphite, crude or refined, valued at $50 per ton or less, are now temporarily free of duty, under both the most-favored-nation and the statutory rates, under item 909.20 of the tariff schedules of the United States. This temporary duty suspension, which has been in effect since 1960, will, under the provisions of Public Law 88–329, expire at the close of June 30, 1966, in the absence of further legislation. H.R. 11653, which was introduced by our colleague, the gentleman from Michigan, the Honorable JAMES HARVEY, would make permanent the existing temporary suspension of duty on such amorphous graphite and, under the bill, the statutory rate would be the original 10 percent ad valorem rate.

The United States has long been dependent on imports for nearly all of its requirements for natural amorphous graphite despite extensive exploration for suitable domestic deposits. In this regard, the Department of Commerce advised the Committee on Ways and Means that:

> According to available information there has been no commercial production of amorphous graphite in the United States since 1959. Amorphous graphite, regardless of value, is not believed to be generally competitive with either natural crystalline or artificial graphite produced in the United States. This Department has received no complaints from domestic industry regarding the present duty suspension on amorphous graphite valued at $50 per ton or less.

Favorable reports on this legislation were also received from the Departments of State, Treasury, Interior, and Labor, as well as an information report from the U.S. Tariff Commission.

In view of the above, and the experience gained under prior and present suspensions of duty on natural amorphous graphite of the type covered under the bill, the Committee on Ways and Means is of the opinion that provision for permanent suspension is warranted, and unanimously recommends the enactment of this legislation.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONTINUED SUSPENSION OF DUTY ON CERTAIN COPYING SHOE LATHES

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 12262) to continue until the close of June 30, 1969, the existing suspension of duty on certain copying shoe lathes, which bill was unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I ask: What is the purpose of this shoe lathe? Is it to be used in the manufacture of shoes in this country?

Mr. MILLS. If the gentleman will yield, the lathe we are talking about is the form used to turn out the last which is used in the production of shoes.

Mr. GROSS. Do we have to import these lathes?

Mr. MILLS. They are not produced in the United States strange as it may seem. We import them, and have been doing so for a number of years. Most of them come from Italy.

Mr. GROSS. We are now confronted with a situation, as a result of alleged moves to combat inflation, wherein the Johnson administration is cutting down on the sale of hides abroad, with a cut in income for farmers of this country, while we turn around and buy lathes from foreign countries in order to produce shoes.

Mr. MILLS. If the gentleman will yield further, I understand the dollar amount involved in the total price of the lathes brought in is very small.

The lathe is taken to make the last. As the gentleman knows, hundreds or even thousands of shoes can be made from one last, which is made from the one lathe.

I have received a letter, which is not in the committee report, which came to me from the Last Manufacturers Association in the United States, urging that we suspend the duty on these lathes for this additional period of time, as an incentive to them, presumably, and as an assistance to them. The lasts are made here, but the lathes are bought from overseas. It is necessary to have the lathes in order to make the lasts.

Mr. GROSS. I do not wish to pursue this much further, but we are getting hit in the neck from both directions. President Johnson's Department of Commerce has belted farmers with restrictions on the number of hides they can sell abroad. This is costing Iowa farmers alone some $12 million a year, and we do not like it.

Mr. MILLS. That is not involved here, I assure my friend from Iowa.

In response to the earlier inquiry, let me point out that the imports of these lathes in 1965 amounted to $55,000.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. We must start back, by recognizing that the American producer of shoes cannot produce shoes without lasts. In order to have lasts he must have a lathe to make them. The only place he can get the lathe is abroad. It is that simple.

Mr. GROSS. I will not pursue the point, but I do not like it when farm exports are cut for the benefit of the domestic users of leather and at the same time import shoe-producing equipment from foreign countries. I simply make the point that the Johnson administration has little regard for American farmers.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 12262

> *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That (a) item 911.70 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202, item 911.70) is amended by striking out "On or before 6/30/66" and inserting in lieu thereof "On or before 6/30/69".
>
> (b) the amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption, after June 30, 1966.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the pending bill, which I introduced and which has been unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, is to amend item 911.70 of the tariff schedules of the United States to continue for a 3-year period, until the close of June 30, 1969, the existing suspension of duty on copying lathes used for making rough or finished shoe lasts from models of shoe lasts and capable of producing more than one size shoe from a single size model of a shoe last.

Public Law 1012 of the 84th Congress, approved August 6, 1956, transferred these copying shoe lathes from the dutiable to the free list for a 2-year period. The suspension of duty has been in effect continuously since that time by virtue of extensions enacted at 2-year intervals, the most recent extension having been effected by Public Law 88–336, approved June 30, 1964, which is scheduled to expire at the close of June 30, 1966. H.R. 12262 would continue the suspension for another 3 years.

This suspension of duty was initially made and has been continued in order to make available to domestic shoe last manufacturers highly specialized and expensive copying lathes which, the Committee on Ways and Means is advised, can only be obtained from foreign sources. The committee was further advised, by the Department of Labor:

> We are informed that there is no domestic production of these lathes and only five have been imported in the 2 years 1964 and 1965. It appears that the sole effect of permitting restoration of the 10-percent duty on this article would be to increase costs to domestic shoe manufacturers.

Favorable comment was received on this legislation from the interested departments and agencies, and no opposition to its enactment has been made known to the Committee on Ways and Means. The committee is of the opinion that extension of the duty suspension will continue to benefit the shoe last manufacturing industry in the United States without detriment to any domestic interests, and as unanimous in recommending enactment of the legislation.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONTINUED SUSPENSION OF DUTY ON CERTAIN TANNING EXTRACTS

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 12328) to extend for 3 years the period during which certain tanning extracts, and extracts of hemlock or eucalyptus suitable for use for tanning, may be imported free of duty, which was unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

> *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That Public Law 86–427 (74 Stat. 54), approved April 22, 1960, is amended by striking out "September 30, 1966" and inserting in lieu thereof "September 30, 1969".

With the following committee amendment:

> Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following: "That item 907.80 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C., sec. 1202, item 907.80) is amended by striking out 'On or before 9/30/66' and inserting in lieu thereof 'On or before 9/30/69'."

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 12328, as reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, is to extend for 3 years, until the close of September 30, 1969, the period during which certain tanning extracts may be imported free of duty.

Among the considerations which led to the original suspension of duties on tanning extracts—Public Law 85–235—were the following: The domestic tanning extract industry had been dependent upon domestic chestnut wood and bark for the domestic production of chestnut tanning extract, the only vegetable tanning material which had been produced in the United States in significant quantity. Because of the blight which virtually wiped out the chestnut trees along the Appalachian Range, domestic firms producing tanning extracts have been unable to secure raw materials. The domestic availability of tanning extracts has steadily declined and the firms which had been engaged in extract production have largely gone into other fields of activity.

The committee has been advised by the U.S. Tariff Commission:

> The Commission has no information that would indicate that the considerations which led the Congress to suspend the duties on the tanning extracts are not also pertinent at present. The Commission is unaware of any complaints against the temporary duty-free treatment of these tanning extracts.

The committee also received favorable reports on the pending bill, which was introduced by our colleague on the Committee on Ways and Means, the Honorable EUGENE J. KEOGH, from the Departments of State, Treasury, Commerce, and Labor, and it is unanimous in recommending enactment of the legislation.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to extend for 3 years the period during which certain extracts suitable for tanning may be imported free of duty."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONTINUED SUSPENSION OF DUTY ON CERTAIN ISTLE

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 12461) to continue for a temporary period the existing suspension of duty on certain istle, which was unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

> *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That (a) item 903.90 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C., sec. 1202, item 903.90) is amended by striking out "9/5/66" and inserting in lieu thereof "9/5/69".
>
> (b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption, after September 5, 1966.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the pending bill is to amend item 903.90 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States to continue, until the close of September 5, 1969, the existing suspension of duty on processed istle fiber. This temporary suspension of duty has been in effect continuously since September 5, 1957, and in the absence of legislation would expire at the close of September 5, 1966.

Istle fiber is derived from several species of the agave plant which is indigenous to Mexico. It is one of the best known and most widely used of all vegetable brush fibers. Its principal use in the United States is in the manufacture of brushes.

The situation in 1957 at the time of enactment of Public Law 85–284, the legislation which initially provided the temporary suspension of duty on processed istle fiber, was that there was no domestic production of the raw fiber and an insignificant production of the processed fiber from imported raw fiber; that good grades of raw fiber were in short supply; and that the brush industry and importing interests indicated that the prices of processed fiber had risen, with resulting increases in the cost of production and in the prices of the finished product. The object of the suspension was to reduce the burden of higher prices on domestic users of the fibers and of the finished products. The Committee on Ways and Means is convinced that conditions continue to warrant the suspension of this duty.

Favorable reports with respect to H.R. 12461, which was introduced by our colleague on the Committee on Ways and Means, the Honorable JACKSON E. BETTS, were received from the Departments of State, Treasury, Commerce, and Labor, as well as an informative report from the U.S. Tariff Commission, and the committee is unanimous in recommending enactment of the bill.

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 12461, a bill to continue until September 5, 1969, the existing suspension of duty on certain istle.

Istle fiber is derived from certain plants indigenous to Mexico, and is a widely used vegetable fiber in the manufacture of brushes. The duty on processed fiber was suspended by the 85th Congress—Public Law 85–284—and has been periodically extended through the years. The reason for the suspension has been the lack of domestic production of this needed fiber. Since the domestic production is still insignificant, the Ways and Means Committee has unanimously recommended extending the suspension until September 5, 1969. I urge enactment of this bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONTINUED SUSPENSION OF DUTY ON CRUDE CHICORY

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 12463) to extend until June 30, 1969, the suspension of duty on crude chicory and the reduction in duty on ground chicory, which was reported unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, from what source do we get chicory?

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, chicory comes from Belgium, to my recollection. Chicory is not produced in the United States at all. It is used, as you know, in connection with the roasting and grinding and preparation of certain types of coffee.

Mr. GROSS. I just wondered if we were making another deal in this respect which was favorable to the international coffee growers and dealers.

Mr. MILLS. No. It is principally from France as well as Belgium. Belgium and France.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 12463

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the matter appearing in the effective period column for items 903.20 and 903.21 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C., sec. 1202, items 903.20 and 903.21) is amended by striking out "On or before 6/30/66" and inserting in lieu thereof "On or before 6/30/69".

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption, after June 30, 1966.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the pending bill is to amend items 903.20 and 903.21 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States to continue for a 3-year period, until the close of June 30, 1969, the existing suspension of duty on crude chicory roots and reduction in duty on chicory roots, ground or otherwise prepared, to 2 cents per pound.

This suspension of duty on crude chicory and reduction in duty on ground chicory has been in effect continuously since the enactment of Public Law 85-378, approved April 16, 1958, by virtue of successive continuations enacted periodically since that time. The Committee on Ways and Means has been advised that the conditions that prompted the original suspension and reduction of duty, and the extensions thereof, still prevail. On February 18, 1966, the U.S. Tariff Commission advised the committee:

> No chicory has been grown in the United States since 1954, and domestic processors of chicory depend upon imports of crude chicory. The purpose of Public Law 85-378 and the extensions thereof was to assist domestic producers of ground chicory in competing with imports of the prepared product. The considerations which led the Congress to enact Public Law 85-378 apply to the proposal to extend the provisions of that act for a further period.

The Departments of State, Treasury, Commerce, and Labor also submitted favorable reports on H.R. 12463, which was introduced by our colleague on the Committee on Ways and Means, the Honorable HALE BOGGS, and the Committee on Ways and Means is unanimous in urging its enactment.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONTINUED SUSPENSION OF DUTY ON ALUMINA AND BAUXITE

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 12657) to continue the suspension of duty on certain alumina and bauxite, which was reported unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 12657

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subpart B of part 1 of the appendix to title I of the Tariff Act of 1930 (Tariff Schedules of the United States; 28 F.R., part II, Aug. 17, 1963; 77 A Stat.; 19 U.S.C., sec. 1202) is amended as follows:

(a) Item 907.15 is amended to read as follows:

“907.15	Aluminum oxide (alumina) (provided for in item 417.12, part 2C, schedule 4) when imported for use in producing aluminum	Free	Free	On or before 7/15/68”

(b) Item 909.30 is amended to read as follows:

“909.30	Bauxite, calcined (provided for in item 521.17, part 1J, schedule 5)	Free	Free	On or before 7/15/68”

(c) Item 911.05 is amended to read as follows:

“911.05	Bauxite ore (provided for in item 601.06, part 1, schedule 6)	Free	Free	On or before 7/15/68”

SEC. 2. (a) The amendments made by the first section of this Act shall apply to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption after July 15, 1966.

(b) Duty-free treatment with respect to any article provided for in item 417.12, 521.17, or 601.06 of title I of the Tariff Act of 1930 shall not apply after July 15, 1968, except pursuant to a trade agreement which is entered into under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 before July 1, 1967. For purposes of section 201(a)(2) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C., sec. 1821(a)(2)), in the case of such a trade agreement the duty-free treatment provided for by items 907.15, 909.30, and 911.05 of title I of the Tariff Act of 1930 shall be considered as existing duty-free treatment.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

"That (a) items 907.15, 909.30, and 911.05 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C., 1202) are each amended by striking out 'On or before 7/15/66' and inserting in lieu thereof 'On or before 7/15/68'.

"(b) The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption, after July 15, 1966."

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, as reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of the pending bill is to continue for an additional 2 years, to the close of July 15, 1968, the existing suspension of duty applicable to alumina when imported for use in producing aluminum and on calcined bauxite and bauxite ore. In the absence of legislation, these suspensions, which have been in effect continuously for about 10 years by virtue of periodic extensions, will expire at the close of July 15, 1966.

Alumina is a product used for the production of aluminum, and the bulk of the alumina consumed in the United States is used for that purpose. Bauxite is a mineral used in the production of alumina, abrasives, chemicals, refractionary products, and miscellaneous products, and is vital to domestic industries such as the aluminum, steel, and chemical industries.

The production of aluminum involves two main operations: the production of alumina from the crude ore—almost entirely bauxite—and the production of aluminum metal from alumina. A large part of the domestic production of aluminum in recent years has been derived from imported aluminum bearing material. In its report on the pending bill, the Department of Labor advised the Committee on Ways and Means:

> U.S. production of bauxite accounts for only a small fraction of that needed for our expanding aluminum consumption. Free entry of alumina, processed from bauxite for subsequent use in aluminum, has the effect of increasing the domestic capacity to produce aluminum, and so far as we are aware poses no threat to domestic alumina producers or employment.

The U.S. Tariff Commission advised the committee it believes "that the considerations which led the Congress to suspend the duties on each article discussed herein still exist."

In view of the above, and the experience gained under prior and present suspension, the committee is convinced that a further 2-year suspension of duty on alumina, calcined bauxite, and bauxite ore, as provided by H.R. 12657, is warranted. Favorable reports on the bill, which was introduced by our colleague on the Committee on Ways and Means, the gentleman from Louisiana, the Honorable HALE BOGGS, were also received from the Departments of State, Treasury, and Commerce, and the committee is unanimous in recommending its enactment.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 12657, a bill to continue until July 15, 1968, the suspension of duty on certain alumina and bauxite. Duties on these products have been suspended now for over 10 years, and the results have been salutory.

Although bauxite has other uses, it is used in the production of alumina. Alumina may either be produced from bauxite or imported in the form of alumina. Alumina is used in the production of aluminum.

U.S. production of bauxite provides only a small portion of the needs of our expanding aluminum industry. In order to meet the needs of our domestic economy for aluminum, the committee unanimously recommended extension of the suspension of duty for 3 more years. I urge enactment of this measure.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FREE IMPORTATION OF PERSONAL AND HOUSEHOLD EFFECTS

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged for further consideration of the bill (H.R. 12864) to extend for a temporary period the existing provisions of law relating to the free importation of personal and household effects brought into the United States under Government orders, which was unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and ask for its immediate consideration.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 12864

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) item 915.20 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C., sec. 1202, item 915.20) is amended by striking out "On or before 6/30/66" and inserting in lieu thereof "on or before 6/30/68".

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to article entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption, after June 30, 1966.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

"That (a) subpart B of part 2 of schedule 8 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C., sec. 1202) is amended to read as follows:

"	SUBPART B.—UNITED STATES PERSONNEL AND EVACUEES		
817.00	The personal and household effects (with such limitation on the importation of alcoholic beverages and tobacco products as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe) of any person in the service of the United States who returns to the United States upon the termination of assignment to extended duty (as defined in regulations issued in connection with this provision) at a post or station outside the customs territory of the United States, or of returning members of his family who have resided with him at such post or station, or of any person evacuated to the United States under Government orders or instructions	Free	Free "

"(b) Subpart B of part 1 of the appendix to the Tariff Schedules of the United States is amended by striking out headnote 2 and item 915.20.

"(c) The amendments made by subsections (a) and (b) shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption, after June 30, 1966."

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, as reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, H.R. 12864 would amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to make permanent the existing temporary duty-free treatment of personal and household effects brought into the United States under U.S. Government orders.

The principal effect of this duty-free importation privilege has been to avoid the imposition of undue administrative burdens upon persons evacuated to the United States, thus constituting an important morale factor and inducement to overseas service. In view of the continued presence in many parts of the world of members of the Armed Forces of the United States and Government personnel and the favorable experience under the continuous temporary exemption of almost a quarter of a century's duration, the Committee on Ways and Means is of the opinion that the exemption from duty of personal and household effects brought into the United States under Government orders on a permanent basis is warranted.

Under the bill, the existing provisions of law safeguarding the duty-free entry privilege from abuse would be carried over without change to the new item that would be added to the tariff schedules by the bill.

The committee was advised by the Departments of Defense, State, and Commerce that the continuation of this exemption is important both in the encouragement of people to serve abroad and in contributing to the morale of U.S. personnel on duty outside the customs territory of the United States, and it is unanimous in recommending enactment of this legislation.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 12864, a bill to make permanent the existing temporary duty-free status of personal and household effects brought into the United States pursuant to Government orders.

In 1942, Congress enacted legislation—Public Law 633, 77th Congress—permitting the duty-free entry of personal and household effects of any person returning to the United States under Government orders. Although this duty-free status was to lapse the day following the proclamation of peace by the President, Congress has periodically renewed the duty-free treatment through the years, and the provisions have now been in effect for nearly a quarter of a century.

In view of the international commitments of the United States in all parts of the world, the reasons for permitting duty-free entry of personal and household effects of individuals returning to the United States pursuant to Government orders still prevail. Appropriate statutory restrictions of abuse of this duty-free privilege, are included in H.R. 12864, and it is expected that administrative surveillance will continue to be exercised to insure against abuses.

The Ways and Means Committee has unanimously recommended this legislation, and I urge the Congress to enact it.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to make permanent the existing duty-free treatment of personal and household effects brought into the United States under Government orders."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONTINUED SUSPENSION OF DUTY ON CERTAIN ELECTRODES

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 12997) to extend until July 15, 1968, the suspension of duty on electrodes imported for use in producing aluminum, which was unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS]?

The was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 12997

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the matter appearing in the effective period column for item 909.25 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C., sec. 1202, item 909.25) is amended by striking out "7/15/66" and inserting in lieu thereof "7/15/68".

SEC. 2. The amendment made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption, after July 15, 1966.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the pending bill is to amend item 909.25 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States to continue, until the close of July 15, 1968, the existing temporary suspension of duty on electrodes imported for use in producing aluminum.

Under the permanent provision of the tariff schedules, electrodes of the kind covered by the bill are dutiable at 12.5 percent ad valorem. However, under section 87 of the Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act of 1965—Public Law 89-241—this duty was suspended from October 7, 1965, through July 15, 1966. In commenting on its reason for proposing the inclusion of this provision in that legislation, the committee report of the other body stated—Senate Report No. 530, 89th Congress, page 23:

> Under the present tariff schedules electrodes used in the production of aluminum are dutiable at 12.5 percent. Typically they are not imported but are manufactured by the aluminum companies themselves at the site where they are to be used in the electrolysis of alumina into aluminum. These electrodes, generally of carbon or graphite, are consumed in great quantities in the electrolysis process.
>
> The committee's attention was called to the fact that some small new aluminum plants do not yet have sufficient volume of production to permit efficient production on the site of the electrodes they need. In order to provide a source for reasonably priced electrodes for these companies your committee has added a provision to the bill to permit electrodes to be imported duty free for use in the production of aluminum. Under the bill, free entry for these electrodes (and no other) will be available until July 15, 1966. This date coincides with the provision already in the law which permits temporary free entry for alumina used in the production of aluminum.

H.R. 12657, which has been favorably reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, would continue the present suspension of duty on the type of alumina referred to above for an additional 2-year period, to the close of July 15, 1968. In view of this, and the advice received by the committee from the U.S. Tariff Commission that "the consideration which led Congress to suspend the duty on these electrodes still exists," the committee is of the opinion that the 2-year extension provided in H.R. 12997, which was introduced by our colleague on the Committee on Ways and Means, the Honorable RICHARD FULTON, of Tennessee, is warranted, and unanimously recommends enactment of the bill.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 12997, a bill to extend until July 15, 1968, the suspension of duty on electrodes imported for use in the production of aluminum. The present suspension, which terminates on July 15, 1966, was enacted by the Congress last fall.

These electrodes are used in the electrolysis of alumina into aluminum. They are generally manufactured by aluminum companies at the site where the aluminum is produced. However, in order to insure a supply at reasonable prices to small aluminum plants that do not have a sufficient volume of production to permit on-site production of electrodes they need, the Congress suspended the duty. Since the reasons for suspending the duty still prevail, the Ways and Means Committee has unanimously recommended extension of the suspension of duty on the electrodes for a 2-year period. I recommend enactment of this legislation.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quroum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently, a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 77]

Adair
Adams
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, George W.
Andrews, Glenn
Ashley
Baring
Bates
Beckworth
Blatnik
Boggs
Bolling
Bolton
Brademas
Brock
Burleson
Burton, Calif.
Cabell
Callan
Carey
Carter
Casey
Cederberg
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Cleveland
Clevenger
Colmer
Conyers
Corbett
Craley
Curtin
Delaney
Dent
Denton
Derwinski
Dickinson
Diggs
Dorn
Dowdy
Duncan, Oreg.
Edwards, Ala.
Ellsworth
Fallon
Farbstein
Feighan
Fino
Fisher
Fogarty
Fuqua
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gilligan
Grabowski
Griffin
Gurney
Hagan, Ga.
Halleck
Hamilton
Hansen, Wash.
Harvey, Ind.
Hays
Henderson
Herlong
Howard
Jacobs
Jarman
Jennings
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Okla.
Kee
Kelly
Keogh
King, N.Y.
Kupferman
Lipscomb
Long, La.
Love
McDowell
McVicker
Macdonald
Madden
Mailliard
Mathias
Matsunaga
Matthews
Miller
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris
Morse
Morton
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
Murray
Nedzi
Nix
O'Brien
O'Neill, Mass.
Pepper
Pike
Powell
Purcell
Quillen
Resnick
Rivers, Alaska
Rivers, S.C.
Roberts
Rooney, N.Y.
Rostenkowski
Roudebush
Roush
Schneebeli
Selden
Sickles
Sikes
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Stalbaum
Stanton
Steed
Sweeney
Thomas
Thomson, Wis.
Todd
Toll
Tuck
Utt
Vanik
Vivian
Walker, Miss.
Walker, N. Mex.
Watkins
Whalley
Williams
Willis
Yates

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall, 293 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

ANNUITIES BASED ON RETIRED OR RETAINER PAY—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Armed Services:

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the provisions of section 1444(b), title 10, United States Code, I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress reports on the administration of chapter 73, "Annuities Based on Retired or Retainer Pay," title 10, United States Code.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *May 2, 1966.*

VOTING RIGHTS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 432)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

Last year I came before the Congress in an hour of crisis to recommend new and powerful guarantees of the right to vote.

Americans faced again the ancient questions.

Who shall take part in the process of democracy?

Shall it be only those born with white skins?

If a man's color should not be the sole criterion for determining his right to vote, how shall we make sure that Negroes are not denied the ballot?

I asked the Congress, on that March night in 1965, to strike down all restrictions to voting in all elections—Federal, State, and local—which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote.

Less than 5 months after I spoke, the Congress perfected and passed our Voting Rights Act of 1965.

I said then that the challenge of voting discrimination had been nothing less than a test of our faith in democracy. Congress met that test. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 reaffirmed the equality of man and government by all the people.

The fruits of the Voting Rights Act and of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are already impressively apparent.

Discrimination in places of public accommodation—perhaps the most unbearable insult to Negro citizens—has been made unlawful. The mandate of that law has spread faster and more effectively than its most optimistic supporters believed possible.

Discrimination in employment is now illegal. Opportunities closed to Negroes in the past have begun to open.

The discriminatory use of Federal funds has been prohibited. The effect of that prohibition—strengthened by new Federal procedures—is now being felt in schools, hospitals, welfare programs and in many other areas once blighted by racial bias.

The Community Relations Service has helped to bring new understanding to areas where community tensions have threatened to disrupt peaceful progress. Now that the Service has been integrated with other civil rights facilities in the Department of Justice and is being enlarged, we expect it to be even more effective.

In the five States where voter discrimination was once most severe, Negro registration has increased by 50 percent. Voter registration by local officials and Federal examiners appointed under the act has exceeded 330,000.

At the time of the 1964 national election, less than 25 percent of the Negro citizens of voting age in those five States were registered to vote. We expect that by the time of the next elections in these States the figure will reach 50 percent. It is already over 40 percent.

This achievement serves to renew our faith in the ultimate triumph of a government in which all freemen can participate. It strengthens our resolve to extend the franchise to all who are eligible.

For a democracy cannot be fully realized, when in these five States more than a million eligible Negroes remain unregistered. The challenge to them—and to those in government and private life who labor with them for their just share in the electoral process—is as critically important as the legislative need to enact today's civil rights laws. The statutes now on the books have given Negro Americans the key to freedom. Now it must be used.

I

Once more this year I am asking the Congress to join in an attack on the discrimination that still afflicts our land.

Four times in 9 years the representatives of the people have labored through days and nights—through weeks and months—toward the passage of civil rights legislation.

I was part of each of those efforts. I know the fatigue and the triumph that accompanied them. Thus I do not ask for new laws lightly.

Yet discriminatory racial practices still exist in many American communities. They deny the Negro his rights as a citizen. They must be ended.

I ask the Congress—

First. To reform our Federal criminal statutes to provide Negroes and all who labor or speak for racial justice the protection of stronger and more effective criminal laws against interference with the exercise of long established rights.

Second. To establish detailed procedures of jury selection in Federal courts so that discrimination may be banished—and to create forceful guarantees that State court juries also will be selected without discrimination of any kind.

Third. To broaden the Attorney General's authority to bring suit for the desegregation of schools and public facilities—enabling him to commit the Government's legal resources where they are most critically needed.

Fourth. To declare a national policy against racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing, and to create effective remedies against that discrimination in every part of America.

II

Perhaps the most evident threat to civil rights in 1966 is the danger that recently secured rights may be violently denied by a relatively few racial fanatics.

Citizens who honor the law and who tolerate orderly change—a majority in every part of the country—have been shocked by attacks on innocent men and women who sought no more than justice for all Americans.

The effect of that violence extends far beyond individual victims. Every assault or murder that goes unpunished reinforces the legacy of violence—the knowledge that it is dangerous for a Negro to assert his rights, or even for others to stand up for those rights.

Our federal system assumes that local law enforcement will extend protection to all. Yet the speed with which the fanatics strike has made the work of prevention extremely difficult—even for zealous local police authorities. In some areas, local authorities have been slow or even unwilling to act against the most brazen violence.

So it is that new measures are essential if rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution to every citizen are to be protected.

Laws enacted a century ago to contain racial terror and Klan violence are now clearly inadequate. One of the most important of these statutes requires proof not simply of an act violating a person's civil rights. It also requires the often-difficult showing of specific intent to do so and proof of a conspiracy.

Further, no matter how brutal the crime and no matter what the motive of the criminal, it is possible that the courts will conclude that some degree of involvement by local officials may well be required by these ancient statutes.

And, finally, though offenses may range from threats to murders, only a single set of penalties is provided, and those may be inadequate to suit the gravity of the crime.

Law enforcement authority so restricted cannot be effective. And if that authority is lacking, so is justice. What gain is there for either conscience or country if we proudly affirm human rights and then permit those rights to be swept aside by lawless fanatics?

Accordingly, today I propose the enactment of legislation to make our authority against civil rights violence clear and sure. The legislation I offer is designed to prohibit any interference with the exercise of fundamental rights by threats or force, by any person—whether as an individual or in a group and whether privately or officially.

The measure enumerates these rights, including voting, education, housing, employment, jury service, and travel. And it provides for graduated penalties, permitting our courts to make appropriate responses to differing degrees of interference or intimidation.

Further, we shall ask for an expansion of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, specifically to permit it to increase its effective role in the enforcement of civil rights laws.

At times in the recent past, as many as one-third of the Bureau's agents have been assigned to the investigation of civil rights matters. The number of civil rights complaints the Bureau investigated in the last fiscal year was 143 percent more than the figure for 1961. These responsibilities place a heavy burden on the Bureau's field staff.

On the advice of Attorney General Katzenbach and FBI Director Hoover, I recommend that Congress authorize an appropriation providing for another 100 FBI agents and additional supporting personnel—to strengthen our capacity to deal with civil rights crimes.

In every city and town and rural community, law-abiding men and women must look for protection primarily to improved local law enforcement. But the Federal Government has its responsibilities to see that Federal rights are secured and their transgressors brought to justice.

We shall meet these responsibilities.

III

The fabric of law enforcement extends from the police patrol to trial and correction. Racial discrimination in any part of this fabric can spoil the rest.

It is necessary that we improve our investigative resources. It is necessary that we strengthen Federal authority against interference with basic rights and impose meaningful sanctions on those who violate them.

Yet if we go only this far—and permit racial discrimination to corrupt the selection on juries—we shall leave at the center of our legal system a potential for injustice that mocks our hopes for a great and just society.

Trial by a freely selected jury of one's peers is not a new right. It has its roots in the Magna Carta. Blackstone described it as the "grand bulwark" of man's liberties.

Yet we have been reminded in recent months that in many areas the exclusion of minority groups from jury service remains systematic and complete.

Denying jury service to any group deprives it of one of the oldest and most precious privileges and duties of freemen. It is not only the excluded group which suffers. Courts are denied the justice that flows from impartial juries selected from a cross section of the community. The people's confidence in justice is eroded.

Jury discrimination takes many forms, open and subtle, intentional and inadvertent.

Many jury officials may compile their basic list of potential jurors from membership lists, clubs, and civic organizations that tend to exclude minority groups.

Some State laws require jury officials to make highly subjective judgments of a juror's "integrity, good character, and sound judgment."

Even when the list of qualified jurors has been fairly compiled, officials in many areas are still free to exclude a particular class of citizens arbitrarily when they make assignments to particular juries.

None of today's civil rights laws gives sufficient protection against these practices.

An 1875 statute makes it a Federal crime for officials in either Federal or State courts to exclude jurors because of their race. But criminal sanctions operate only upon individuals—not upon an entire system.

What is required is not the punishment of individuals. It is the restoration of integrity in the system itself.

The time has come for new legislation redeeming the promise made to every American: a fair trial by a jury of his peers.

I recommend legislation stating explicitly for all our courts that the right to serve on grand or petit juries shall not be denied on the basis of race or color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status.

For Federal courts, the legislation will carefully prescribe each step of the jury selection process.

In State courts, the Attorney General and private citizens will be empowered to sue wherever discrimination in jury selection exists. Federal courts will have broad authority to grant relief.

IV

Ten years after the Supreme Court of the United States declared racial segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional, the Congress found it necessary to give new force to the Court's decision.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 provided that all programs receiving Federal financial assistance—including public education—must be administered on a nondiscriminatory basis. The act called for withdrawal of funds where discrimination remained. It also gave the Attorney General authority to file and intervene in suits to desegregate schools.

Enforcement of the 1964 act has brought more progress in real integration in 1 year than in all the preceding 9 years.

While there are still far too few Negro children in desegregated classrooms, the number has multiplied several times. It must and will grow substantially again in the fall.

In providing financial assistance, this administration has insisted on an end to discrimination. But whether or not our assistance is accepted, the requirements of the Constitution must still be met. Segregated schools are still illegal. The law of the land must be and will be upheld.

Thus the Department of Justice has insisted, in more than 40 school suits under the 1964 act, that whether or not school boards receive financial assistance, desegregation must proceed.

Despite marked gains of the last 2 years, the fact remains that today—12 years after the Supreme Court's decision on segregation in schools—only 1 in 13 Negro schoolchildren in the South attends classes with white children.

Two amendments to the 1964 act are needed to strengthen the campaign against racial discrimination in the schools.

One would enlarge the Attorney General's initiative under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

That act authorized the Attorney General to file suits to help communities where severe local pressure and the poverty of aggrieved citizens made private suits impossible. Yet this authorization was qualified by the requirement that the Attorney General first receive a complaint from a parent unable to sue on his own before the Government's legal resources could be brought to bear.

Although the Attorney General can move directly against discrimination in voting, in employment, or in public accommodations, with respect to school discrimination he must first receive a complaint before acting. In communities where the atmosphere of intimidation and ignorance of the law's protection is most severe, the filing of a complaint is most unlikely.

Thus, where the need of the Attorney General's intervention is the greatest, his help is least likely to become available.

Accordingly, I propose that the act be amended to allow the Attorney General to file suit directly, without waiting for a complaint, against discrimination in public schools or public facilities.

The second amendment would give the Attorney General the tools to deal with interference against voluntary school desegregation—the same tools that he now has when school desegregation comes under a court order.

The Civil Rights Act of 1960 included provisions to protect court-ordered desegregation from interference. These provisions were reasonably adequate when the desegregation of difficult areas was begun under court order.

But today, principally because of wide acceptance of the Office of Education's desegregation standards, many school districts are desegregating for the first time without the direct compulsion of court orders.

This is a hopeful sign—and one that imposes a new obligation on the Government. We must provide adequate assurances against interference to parents and children eager to desegregate schools, and to people siding with and encouraging them in the exercise of their rights.

The criminal legislation I have already described dealing with intimidation would apply to any violent obstruction of school desegregation. But I also recommend civil injunctive procedures against violence, threats of violence, or any other interference with school desegregation.

V

The day has long since passed when problems of race in America could be identified with only one section of the country. The social and economic toll exacted by discrimination in employment, for example, is felt in all sections.

The Federal Government has worked strenuously to bring leadership to a national effort against such discrimination through the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, plans for progress with industry, and establishment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Other specific legislative steps can now be taken to bolster this effort. The first year's experience of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission suggests that it should be endowed with enforcement power and that its coverage should be broadened.

Proposals focusing on these purposes are already before the Congress. I urge that these needs be given the fullest legislative consideration, and that the Senate complete action on the bill passed by the House of Representatives yesterday.

Freedom from discrimination is not enough. There must be freedom from the disadvantage that 200 years of discrimination helped create. There must be freedom of opportunity, freedom to work.

We look to those at the White House Civil Rights Conference this June and to private employers across America to help us find new ways to match the Nation's promise of civil rights by the fact of civil results—in full and equal employment opportunity.

VI

We undertake to expand and reform the civil rights laws this year with the clear understanding that legal reforms can be counted only a small part of a national program for the Negro American.

We know that the more important challenges of racial inequality today are emphatically national.

Negro ghettos indict our cities North and South, from coast to coast. Hope of cutting back the severe unemployment rate among Negroes is tied directly to the expansion of our national economy. And the ultimate need in human terms—of a more generous idea of brotherhood and a more responsible conception of equality—are part of the unfinished business in every State.

The time has passed when we could realistically deal effectively with racial problems by the passage of what could be strictly defined as civil rights laws.

In fact the most disturbing current measures of the impact of discrimination are economic facts that cover the entire Nation:

Nonwhite Americans constitute only 11 percent of the national labor force, but they make up 20 percent of the unemployed. They take home less than 7 percent of the total personal income of all Americans.

One-fifth of the entire population lives in poverty. One-half of nonwhite Americans live in poverty.

In junior high schools across the country, 12 percent of white children are in school grades below their age level—compared to 30 percent of Negro children.

Poor housing, unemployment, and poverty, while they affect racial minorities particularly, will not be defeated by new civil rights laws. Thus, the programs that Congress has adopted go far beyond the vindication of civil rights.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 will enrich the quality of our public schools.

The Housing Act of 1965 will provide part of the decent low- and middle-income housing our cities desperately need. Beyond this, adoption of the Demonstration Cities Act this year will launch a major attack on the blight of urban ghettos.

Amendments to the Manpower Development and Training Act adopted in 1965 will help unskilled Negroes, as well as whites, prepare for a role in the economies of today and tomorrow.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1965—the Antipoverty Act—is reaching out with new hope for the disadvantaged—for those preschool children, teenagers, and older men and women who have never before had cause to hope.

We do not call any of these civil rights programs. Nevertheless, they are crucial, and perhaps decisive elements in the Negro American's long struggle for a fair chance in life.

It is self-evident that the problems we are struggling with form a complicated chain of discrimination and lost opportunities. Employment is often dependent on education, education on neighborhood schools and housing, housing on income, and income on employment. We have learned by now the folly of looking for any single crucial link in the chain that binds the ghetto.

All the links—poverty, lack of education, underemployment, and now discrimination in housing—must be attacked together. If we are to include the Negro in our society, we must do more than give him the education he needs to obtain a job and a fair chance for useful work.

We must give the Negro the right to live in freedom among his fellow Americans.

I ask the Congress to enact the first effective Federal law against discrimination in the sale and rental of housing.

The time has come for the Congress to declare resoundingly that discrimination in housing and all the evils it breeds are a denial of justice and a threat to the development of our growing urban areas.

The time has come to combat unreasoning restrictions on any family's freedom to live in the home and the neighborhood of its choice.

This year marks the hundredth anniversary of the first statute enacted by the Congress in an attempt to deal with discrimination in housing. It reads:

> All citizens of the United States shall have the same right, in every State and territory,

as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property.

For 100 years this law has reflected an ideal favoring equality of housing opportunity. Acting under this statute and the 14th amendment, the Supreme Court has invalidated State and local laws prohibiting the sale of houses to Negroes. It has prohibited the enforcement of racially restrictive covenants. It has struck down State legislation imposing undue burdens upon minority groups with respect to real estate transactions.

There is nothing novel about the congressional concern with housing that I now ask you to expand. Programs enacted by Congress have, for more than three decades, stimulated the development of private housing, and directly financed hundreds of thousands of public housing units.

The historic Housing Act of 1949 proclaimed a national goal for the first time: "A decent home and suitable living environment for every American family."

The great boom in housing construction since the Second World War is, in large part, attributable to congressional action to carry out this objective.

Yet not enough has been done to guarantee that all Americans shall benefit from the expanding housing market Congress has made possible.

Executive Order No. 11063, signed by President Kennedy on November 20, 1962, prohibited housing discrimination where Federal Housing Administration and Veterans' Administration insurance programs are involved. That Executive order clearly expressed the commitment of the executive branch to the battle against housing discrimination.

But that order, and all the amendments that could validly be added to it, are inevitably restricted to those elements of the housing problem which are under direct executive authority.

Our responsibility is to deal with discrimination directly at the point of sale or refusal, as well as indirectly through financing. Our need is to reach discrimination practiced by financial institutions operating outside the FHA and VA insurance programs, and not otherwise regulated by the Government.

Our task is to end discrimination in all housing, old and new—not simply in the new housing covered by the Executive order.

I propose legislation that is constitutional in design, comprehensive in scope and firm in enforcement. It will cover the sale, rental, and financing of all dwelling units. It will prohibit discrimination, on either racial or religious grounds, by owners, brokers, and lending corporations in their housing commitments.

Under this legislation, private individuals could sue in either State or Federal courts to block discrimination.

The Attorney General would be empowered to sue directly for appropriate relief, wherever he has reasonable cause to believe that a pattern of discrimination exists.

The legislation would direct the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to make factual studies, and to give technical assistance to the Community Relations Service and all other public and private organizations working to eliminate discriminatory housing patterns.

The bill I am submitting to the Congress this year would leave in effect the many State laws that have preceded the Federal Government in the field of fair housing. We would hope to enact a law that will not only open the fight against discrimination where there are no State laws against it, but also strengthen the enforcement efforts of States which have fair housing programs now .

The ghettos of our major cities—North and South, from coast to coast—represent fully as severe a denial of freedom and the fruits of American citizenship as more obvious injustices. As long as the color of a man's skin determines his choice of housing, no investment in the physical rebuilding of our cities will free the men and women living there.

The fair housing law I propose this year is an essential part of our attempt to rejuvenate and liberate America's growing urban areas—and more importantly, to expand the liberty of all the people living in them.

A nation that aspires to greatness cannot be a divided nation—with whites and Negroes entrenched behind barriers of mutual suspicion and fear.

It cannot tolerate—

Overcrowded ghetto schools, producing new thousands of ill-trained citizens for whom the whole community must be responsible.

Rising health hazards and crime rates in the ghettos' ugly streets and homes.

The failure of expensive social programs, such as urban renewal, where there is no way out and up for Negro residents.

The truly insufferable cost of imprisoning the Negro in the slums is borne by our national conscience.

When we restrict the Negro's freedom, inescapably we restrict a part of our own.

Negro Americans comprise 22 percent of the enlisted men in our Army combat units in Vietnam—and 22 percent of those who have lost their lives in battle there. We fall victim to a profound hypocrisy when we say that they cannot buy or rent dwellings among citizens they fight to save.

VII

No civil rights act, however historic, will be final. We would look in vain for one definitive solution to an injustice as old as the Nation itself—an injustice that leaves no section of the country and no level of American life unstained. This administration has pledged that as long as racial discrimination denies opportunity and equal rights in America, we will honor our constitutional and moral responsibility to restore the balance of justice.

Yet no amount of legislation, no degree of commitment on the part of the National Government, can by itself bring equal opportunity and achievement to Negro Americans. It must be joined by a massive effort on the part of the States and local governments, of industry, and of all citizens, white and Negro.

Hundreds of thousands of Negro Americans in every part of the country are making that effort now. They know that the responsibilities of citizenship follow inevitably from the achievement of civil rights and economic opportunity.

They know that an obligation lies before them, to take full advantage of the improved education and training that is now becoming available to them—in the public schools, in vocational training, in the universities.

They know that it is their task to lead others in the quest for achievement and social justice—to inspire them with confidence, with perseverance, with the mutual forbearance on which our democracy depends.

VIII

We are engaged in a great adventure—as great as that of the last century, when our fathers marched to the western frontier. Our frontier today is of human beings, not of land.

If we are able to open that frontier, to free each child to become the best that is in him to become, our reward—both spiritual and material—will exceed any that we gained a century ago through territorial expansion.

Whether we shall succeed is an issue that rests in the heart of every American. It rests in the determination of Negro Americans to use the opportunities for orderly progress that are now becoming—at last—a reality in their lives. It rests in our common willingness to expand those opportunities in the years ahead.

That issue can and will be decided in only one way. For we have not come this far to fail within sight of our goal.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *April 28, 1966*.

DISCRIMINATION IN RESIDENTIAL HOUSING

Mr. **ROGERS** of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

Mr. **ROGERS** of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I heartily endorse the legislation recommended by the President to eliminate discrimination in residential housing on account of race, color, religion, or national origin.

I believe that this kind of discrimination, no less than discrimination in education, in employment, or in public accommodations, is profoundly inconsistent with the American ideal of equal opportunity for all of our citizens. The time has come, I believe, to recognize that the right of a person to obtain housing without discrimination must prevail.

Experience has taught us that the deprivation of opportunity suffered by Negroes and by other groups in this country is not the result of any single discriminatory practice. Rather, it is the result of a number of discriminatory practices which reinforce each other and perpetuate the cycle of deprivation. In order to correct the situation, it is therefore necessary to move on a number of fronts simultaneously.

For instance, equal opportunity in employment cannot be fully realized if there is not also equal opportunity in education. As long as the ideal of the neighborhood school prevails equal opportunity in education is likely to depend on elimination of discriminatory practices in residential housing. The President's proposal for a Fair Housing Act thus is a valuable reinforcement of the purposes expressed in all legislation that strikes against discrimination on grounds of race, religion, or national origin.

This legislation would also have the advantage of stabilizing property values and of discouraging unscrupulous speculation in the real estate field. We are all familiar with so-called blockbusting tactics which are designed to convince white property owners that their neighborhoods will soon be filled with Negroes to frighten them into selling their homes at a loss and moving elsewhere while their houses are resold to Negroes at great profit. Fair housing legislation would discourage such tactics by making it clear to everyone that from a racial point of view, all neighborhoods are to stand on an equal footing.

It has often been said that racial and religious prejudices depend upon the absence of sufficient contact between different racial and religious groups. In their mutual isolation, such groups are likely to entertain false or distorted ideas about one another. By helping to break down the barriers of isolation that perpetuate this sort of ignorance, a Fair Housing Act such as the President has proposed would be a significant step toward improving the moral atmosphere of our society.

TITLE II, STATE JURIES—DISCLOSURE OF EVIDENCE

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I wholeheartedly support the Civil Rights Act of 1966 and urge its prompt enactment. I will address myself briefly today to a key provision of title II of the bill, which deals with the disclosure of evidence where it is alleged in a Federal or State court proceeding that State court jury officials are engaged in unconstitutional discrimination in selecting persons for jury service.

One of the most difficult problems confronting a litigant who seeks to prove unconstitutional discrimination in the selection of jurors in State courts is to bring before the court the relevant records and information which are necessary to a fair decision of the issue. This problem arises in both civil, criminal, and collateral proceedings. When the issue arises in a State court, there may be no legal mechanisms available to compel disclosure of the methods and procedures followed by the State jury officials in selecting jurors, determining qualifications, summoning jurors, and the like.

When the issue of State court jury discrimination arises in a Federal court proceeding, the problem may be less serious because of the broad and flexible discovery procedures available to litigants. But even when State jury selection is challenged in the Federal courts, the complex nature of the problem creates a need for a special discovery mechanism.

Under title II, upon the filing of an allegation of discrimination in the jury selection process, the State is required to produce a sworn written statement describing in detail the sources of names of potential jurors, the manner in which qualifications, exclusions, exemptions, and excuses are determined, and other specified jury selection procedures. This written statement constitutes evidence on the issue of discrimination. It would not impose an undue burden on State jury officials since often the same written statement could form the essential basis for the data to be submitted in different cases over a period of time.

After the statement is filed, the party alleging discrimination is allowed to cross-examine the jury officials and adduce any other available evidence in support of his challenge. If it then appears that there is some evidence of discrimination, the jury officials are required to disclose any additional relevant records and papers which would otherwise not be available for public inspection under State law. At that point, the court is to determine whether there is reasonable cause to believe that discrimination has occurred. If so, it becomes the responsibility of the appropriate State or local officials to produce additional evidence showing that unlawful discrimination did not occur.

Under this procedure there will be no undue obstacle to proof of discrimination, nor will the State be unduly burdened in disclosing information.

The disclosure provision I have described has been carefully drafted to deal with a pressing problem fairly and effectively. It meets and solves the most significant problem in judicial proceedings involving jury discrimination allegations—the lack of full and complete development of information available to the State jury officials upon which the courts may decide whether such discrimination has occurred.

DESTRUCTION OF UNFIT CURRENCY

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 5305) to authorize revised procedures for the destruction of unfit Federal Reserve notes, and for other purposes, with a committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 5305

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. The first sentence of section 324 of the Revised Statutes (12 U.S.C. 1) is amended by inserting "except for the cancellation and destruction, and accounting with respect to such cancellation and destruction, of Federal Reserve notes unfit for circulation," immediately after "of all Federal Reserve notes,".

SEC. 2. Paragraph (d) of section 11 of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 248(d)) is amended by inserting "except for the cancellation and destruction, and accounting with respect to such cancellation and destruction, of notes unfit for circulation," immediately after "To supervise and regulate through the Bureau under the charge of the Comptroller of the Currency the issue and retirement of Federal Reserve notes,".

SEC. 3. The third paragraph of section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 413) is amended by striking the last sentence and inserting: "Federal Reserve notes unfit for circulation shall be canceled, destroyed, and accounted for under procedures prescribed and at locations designated by the Secretary of the Treasury. Upon destruction of such notes, credit with respect thereto shall be apportioned among the twelve Federal Reserve banks as determined by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System."

SEC. 4. (a) The first section of the Act of June 13, 1933 (48 Stat. 127, 12 U.S.C. 121a), is amended by inserting ", other than Federal Reserve Notes," immediately before "so redeemed shall be forwarded to the Comptroller of the Currency for cancellation and destruction.".

(b) Section 2 of such Act (12 U.S.C. 122a) is amended by changing "in proportion to the amount of Federal Reserve notes of each Federal Reserve bank in circulation on the 31st day of December of the year preceding the date of redemption, and the amount so apportioned to each bank shall be charged by the Treasurer of the United States against deposit in the gold-redemption fund made by such bank or its Federal Reserve agent" to read "as determined by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System".

SEC. 5. The Comptroller General of the United States shall audit the cancellation and destruction, and the accounting with respect to such cancellation and destruction, of any currency of the United States unfit for circulation, regardless of who is responsible for, and regardless of who performs, such cancellation, destruction, or accounting. The Comptroller General shall have access to any books, documents, papers, and records which he deems necessary to facilitate an effective audit pursuant to this section.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, a second will be considered as ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, and to include the report of a special subcommittee to study and evaluate present procedures for currency destruction.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 5305 authorizes revised procedures for the destruction of unfit Federal Reserve notes. It was reported unanimously by the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 5305 will not only save the taxpayers money, it also provides for more effective congressional controls over procedures for verification, cancellation, and destruction of unfit currency.

We in Congress have a constitutional responsibility to assure the public that the Nation's monetary system is both sound and effective. This responsibility is among the Congress most important duties; it is a responsibility which cannot be delegated to others. Bearing in mind the vast importance of sound money to the economy, I appointed a special subcommittee consisting of two majority members and one minority member to study and evaluate present procedures for currency destruction. This special subcommittee did an excellent job and on February 21, 1966, submitted its unanimous report to our Subcommittee on Domestic Finance. This report is included in the printed hearing on the bill.

H.R. 5305 is strongly supported by the administration and has the approval of the Federal Reserve Board as well. A subcommittee hearing was held on February 24 at which the Fiscal Assistant Secretary of the Treasury testified. The bill was favorably recommended to the full committee by a unanimous vote. It was unanimously ordered reported by the full committee on April 21 and was reported to the House with an amendment on April 26.

The bill is an economy measure which would transfer to the Secretary of the Treasury the statutory authority and responsibilities of the Comptroller of the Currency with respect to the cancellation and destruction of unfit Federal Reserve notes. The expense of preparing and shipping the currency to Washington would be saved, as the Secretary would delegate the performance of his new functions to the regional Federal Reserve banks which receive the unfit notes directly from commercial banks. The Secretary would, of course, remain responsible and accountable. The bill would also permit changes in the method by which unfit Federal Reserve notes are sorted and then credited to the individual accounts of the 12 Federal Reserve banks which originally issued them.

H.R. 5305 also provides for annual audits by the General Accounting Office of the cancellation and destruction of all unfit currency of the United States and the accounting therefor.

In 1953, an arrangement was worked out for the verification and destruction of unfit silver certificates in the Federal Reserve banks under regulations and procedures prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury. This arrangement has saved annually about $500,000 which would have been the cost of preparing for shipment and shipping unfit silver certificates to Washington. Now that $1 silver certificates are being replaced with $1 Federal Reserve notes, those notes will soon make up the bulk of the unfit currency which must be destroyed. However, under existing law unfit Federal Reserve notes must be sent to Washington for cancellation and destruction by the Comptroller of the Currency. The first purpose of the proposed legislation, therefore, is to eliminate this requirement so that the savings realized through the destruction of unfit currency at the Federal Reserve banks may be continued, pursuant to the same procedures prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury with respect to Treasury currency.

An additional $300,000 would be saved annually by repealing the requirement that each such unfit Federal Reserve note be retired and credited to the account of the particular Federal Reserve bank that issued it. Such a 12-way sort is unnecessary and this saving can be realized by using a formula for apportionment of retirements.

To the extent that other denominations of Federal Reserve notes are also included in the bill, additional savings of as much as $400,000 can be realized annually.

The total savings will thus amount to well over $1 million per year.

This bill, Mr. Speaker, also provides for a regular General Accounting Office audit of the procedures for the verification, cancellation, and destruction of all currency of the United States. This includes Treasury currency as well as Federal Reserve notes, regardless of who performs the function, and the Comptroller General will have access to all information he deems necessary for an effective audit. This means that a representative of the Congress will for the first time in the more than 50-year history of the Federal Reserve System audit an activity of the Federal Reserve banks. I cannot overemphasize to my colleagues the importance of this provision in assuring the public we are doing a proper job looking after their currency.

I cannot conclude, Mr. Speaker, without again making mention of the excellent work done by the Special Subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee which studied this matter in detail. The chairman of this subcommittee was the Honorable JOSEPH G. MINISH, of New Jersey, and the other two members were Hon. CHARLES L. WELTNER, of Georgia, and Hon. DEL CLAWSON, of California. Your House Banking and Currency Committee, the Congress, and the American people owe a special debt of gratitude to these Members.

Of particular importance are disclosures by this special subcommittee's investigation of serious shortcomings and mishandling in the currency cancellation and destruction procedures of not only the Comptroller of the Currency but the Federal Reserve banks as well.

It is these serious deficiencies that prompted the special subcommittee to unanimously recommend General Accounting Office audits of our currency destruction. Our Subcommittee on Domestic Finance as well as the full committee backed them up 100 percent.

Following is a list of discrepancies in the handling of unfit Treasury currency by the Federal Reserve banks from 1952 through 1965. So I think that this audit provision is most vital:

Boston, 1952

"The examiners borrowed from the auditing department of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston 14 employees to assist in this examination."

Boston, 1955

"The examination of this bank was made with borrowed assistance from the auditing department of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, a total of 23 employees and a total of 97 man-days."

Cleveland, 1952

"The examiners borrowed from the audit department of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland 21 employees and from the auditing department of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York 18 employees to assist in this examination."

Cleveland, 1953

"The examiners borrowed from the Federal Reserve Bank of New York 20 employees and from the audit department of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland 13 employees to assist in this examination."

Cleveland, 1955

"The examiners borrowed assistance from the Federal Reserve Bank of New York's head office, 14 employees of which were used in the Cleveland head office, 6 employees in the Cincinnati branch, 8 employees in the Pittsburgh branch. In addition, the examiners borrowed from the audit department of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland 11 employees for the examination at the head office, 4 employees for the Cincinnati branch examination, and 2 employees for the examination of the Pittsburgh branch."

Cleveland, 1956

"The Board examiners borrowed 24 employees of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York for the examination of the Cleveland head office, the Cincinnati branch, and the Pittsburgh branch. In addition, the examiners borrowed from the audit department of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland 12 auditors to assist on the examination of the Cincinnati branch, and 3 auditors to assist on the examination of the Pittsburgh branch.

"The examiners stated that 'all Federal Reserve notes and other cash on hand were verified by us, our procedures including a detailed piece count of quantities were considered adequate for test purposes.'

"The examiners borrowed five employees of the audit department of the Cincinnati branch to assist in the examination of the Cincinnati branch.

"Three employees of the audit department of the Pittsburgh branch were used as assistants in the examination of the Pittsburgh branch."

New York, 1953

"The report indicates that the examiners borrowed from the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, 24 employees; Cleveland, 25 employees; Philadelphia, 15 employees; and Richmond, 25 employees. Additionally, personnel was borrowed from the auditing department of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. A total of 14 employees were borrowed from the New York bank."

New York, 1955

"In the examination of the Buffalo branch of the New York bank, two employees were borrowed from Cleveland and two employees from the auditing department of the Buffalo branch who were used to assist in the examination.

"The report indicates the following borrowed assistant in the conduct of the examination of this bank and its Buffalo branch: Borrowed from the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, 25 employees; Cleveland, 25 employees; Philadelphia, 50 employees; Richmond, 25 employees; also used were 27 employees from the auditing department of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York."

Philadelphia, 1953

"The examiners borrowed from the auditing department of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, 15 employees to assist in the examination."

Philadelphia, 1955

"The examiners borrowed from the audit division of the Federal Reserve Board of

Philadelphia 19 employees, for a total of 199 man-days to assist in the conduct of this examination."

Richmond, 1953

"The examiners borrowed 3 employees from the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and 14 employees from the auditing department of the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond to assist in this examination."

Richmond, 1955

"Fifteen employees of the auditing department of the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond were used to assist in the examination of this bank and its branches."

Richmond, 1956

"In addition to assistance borrowed from the Federal Reserve Bank of New York for this examination, the examiners used 15 employees of the auditing division of the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond for the examination of the head office."

These internal audits of the Federal Reserve banks have many limitations with respect to verification of currency, checks, gold, and securities. Frequently the banks' audits do not conform to the recommended procedures of the Conference of Auditors and the audit committees of the boards of directors of the banks themselves. The audit committees override the recommended procedures of the Conference of Auditors. Sometimes audit committees of the board of directors fail to meet even once a year. Examples:

Atlanta, 1955: Collateral and custodies

"The verification of collateral and custodies is subject to the following qualifications:

"(1) The general auditor's certification was accepted covering $15,510,000 in unfit silver certificates held under audit control;

"(2) Nonnegotiable notes held at the head office for the Commodity Credit Corporation and carried at their face value of $171,203,947.61 were not counted or confirmed;

"(3) U.S. savings bonds held for individuals (these bonds are nonnegotiable and nonmarketable obligations) were not counted or confirmed."

Chicago, 1952, auditing department

"By the authorization of the audit committee of the board of directors it continues to be the practice to make two rather than the recommended three audits of the check department at the head office."

Chicago, 1953, auditing department

"By the authorization of the audit committee of the board of directors, the practice of making two rather than the recommended three audits of the check department at the head office was continued in 1952."

Chicago, 1955, auditing department

"The examiners make the following statement:

" 'There is a regularly constituted audit review committee of the board of directors which in the past has met annually; however, a meeting of the committee has not been held since January 1954.' "

Cleveland, 1953

"In accordance with the practice authorized by the audit review committee of the board of directors, the audit department's analysis of reports of net deposits submitted by member banks in connection with reserve requirements, embraced only one reporting period for each member bank in 1952, instead of four as recommended by the Conference of Auditors. In the current year the number of these analyses had been increased to two, which will conform with the revised frequency established by the conference in 1953."

Cleveland, 1955

"The examiners make this statement:

" 'Effective January 1, 1955, the audit review committee of the board of directors authorized the general auditor to discontinue the direct verification of pledged securities with the pledgees, except securities being held subject to the order of Federal agencies.' "

Dallas, 1952, auditing department

"The completed 1951 audit program for the head office and branches substantially conformed to the minimum frequencies recommended by the Conference of Auditors. However, agents' cash at the branches continued to be audited only three times a year instead of the minimum of four audits annually. This variation arises from the fact that the branch auditors also act as the Federal Reserve agents' representatives which precludes their making a verification of such holdings as a branch audit function. Consideration is being given to designating employees other than the branch auditors to act as the Federal Reserve agents' representative at the respective branches. When the proposed change is accomplished, the branch auditors will be able to verify such holdings as part of their audit program and the present deviation will be corrected."

Minneapolis, 1952

"With the authorization of the audit committee of the board of directors, it continues to be the practice to reconcile reserve, clearing, and deferred credit accounts to member and nonmember clearing banks 3 times annually rather than 11 times as recommended by the Conference of Auditors."

Minneapolis, 1953

"In accordance with the practice adopted several years ago, reserve clearing and deferred credit accounts of member and nonmember clearing banks are reconciled 3 rather than 11 times annually as recommended by the Conference of Auditors. This variation from conference frequently has been authorized by the auditing committee of the directors."

Minneapolis, 1955

"In accordance with a practice followed for many years and with the sanction of the audit committee of the board of directors, reserve, clearing, and deferred credit accounts of member and nonmember clearing banks are reconciled 3 times per annum rather than 11 times annually as recommended by the Conference of Auditors."

Minneapolis, 1956

"The examiners make the following comment:

" 'With the approval of the audit committee of the board of directors, this department observes a minimum frequency of 3 reconcilements annually on reserve, clearing, and deferred credit accounts of member and nonmember clearing banks, instead of the minimum of 11 such verifications a year as recommended by the Conference of Auditors. During 1955, these accounts were reconciled four times at the head office and three times at the Helena branch.' "

New York, 1956

"Accounts of Member and Nonmember Banks and Others

"Checks and drafts held over in the check and Government check departments amounted to $52,284,299.96 and consisted of approximately 319,000 items; of these 7,184 items totaling $1,696,051.52 were verified by us. The examiners did not undertake a verification of the remainder because to have done so would have unduly disrupted the work of the check department and delayed the preparation of the items.

"Collateral and Custodies—Gold Bullion and Coin

"The examiners accepted from the general auditor, under whose direction an independent fiscal control is maintained, his certification covering the total holdings of gold bullion and coin. The total held $5,871,724,940.02 or 84.57 percent, was independently verified by the examiners either at prior examinations or during the current examination."

They have bank examiners located on field staffs who also serve as fiscal reserve agents and as alternate assistant Federal Reserve agents. This situation seems most inadvisable.

Minneapolis, 1956

"The examiners indicate that included in the field staff is a senior examiner, who is also assistant fiscal reserve agent, and six examiners, one of which is also an alternate assistant Federal Reserve agent."

VERIFICATION AND DESTRUCTION OF CURRENCY

Now, if there ever was a disgrace, it is Congress permitting people to have complete control of U.S. currency who do not consider themselves obligated to the Government, at least—not even a Government employee. Some of these employees of Federal Reserve banks are, but they are not willing to admit it, and they do not concede it. They claim they are not.

They have charge of destroying the worn and mutilated currency. And, of all the irregularities and seemingly dishonest dealings in connection with it, you will find plenty of eye openers in these reports that even their own auditors made about the irregularities in handling the tremendous amount of money that is destroyed every year, and the loose fashion in which it is handled.

Up at Pittsburgh, a cyclone or a heavy wind hit the city while currency was being destroyed in the municipal incinerator and scattered money all over Pittsburgh, Pa. The only reason we found out about it through the newspapers and they had to redeem a lot of that currency because it wasn't burned and under certain conditions it is redeemable.

There are other cases just as bad as that throughout the United States.

In July of 1953, the Federal Reserve banks took over the destruction of unfit U.S. currency which had previously been handled by the Treasury Department. The principal reason given for the changeover was to save the expense of transporting the currency back to Washington for destruction—the only possible savings since the Treasury reimburses the banks for the actual costs of destruction. However, one expense not considered was the costs to the Federal Reserve banks and branches for the installation of incinerators and other equipment for destruction. These costs the Federal Reserve banks have charged off to current expenses, thereby reducing their revenues and amount of money paid into the Treasury by the Federal Reserve. And the savings to the Government, if there have been any, have been at the sacrifice of less security over U.S. currency.

The banks have destroyed around $8 billion of currency since 1953—and this without Government audit.

The banks have employed inadequate controls over the destruction of U.S. currency. Although their own auditors recommended methods of improving procedures, the same weaknesses continued throughout the System year after year.

The following are examples of lack of security in the destruction of currency by the Federal Reserve banks.

Even when there are provisions made for dual control of currency, they do not maintain it continuously.

Currency verifiers do not execute a receipt to the destructors for canceled currency turned over to them.

Appropriate records of test errors inserted in currency were not maintained.

Incinerators were not cleaned before and after destruction of canceled currency.

Cleveland (Cincinnati branch), 1954

"It was observed that dual control of the canceled currency was not continuously maintained as prescribed by the rules of the Reserve banks. Specifically, one lot of canceled currency was delivered to the currency verification unit by one employee of the cash department instead of two, and only one representative of the currency verification unit inventoried and receipted for the lot of currency at the time of its acceptance from the cash department."

Cleveland (Cincinnati branch), 1955

"On the basis of the audit review of the operations, it was suggested that existing procedures be supplemented in the following respects: (1) That dual control be maintained over canceled currency from the time of cancellation to the time of delivery to the currency verification and destruction unit, (2) that the verifiers execute a receipt to the destructors for the canceled currency turned over to them for verification, (3) that the unit maintain an appropriate record of test errors inserted in currency to be verified, (4) that the incinerator be cleaned and inspected before and after the destruction of canceled currency so that the ashes from the currency will not be mingled with the residue from other matter burned in the incinerator."

Cleveland (Cincinnati branch), 1955

"The following weaknesses were present:

"(1) Because the currency verifiers have custody of all the canceled currency in the unit and make their own selection of $1 bills to be piece counted, the program of inserting test errors in selected bundles cannot be accomplished for notes of this denomination, and

"(2) The canceled currency is destroyed by the same employees who act as verifiers and this does not seem to conform to the intent of paragraph 10 of the Treasury Department regulation which provides that the lot shall be destroyed by two employees of the currency verification unit who shall be charged jointly with the responsibility of receiving the currency for destruction and destroying of it."

Banks hold unverified currency aggregating millions of dollars for several months.

They permit individuals to serve in dual capacity of verifiers and currency destruction clerks.

They maintain inadequate controls during and after incineration. Examination of the ashpits after all currency had been placed in an incinerator revealed that two packages of $100 bills each had fallen through the grate. Moreover, the doors to the ashpit could be pulled back far enough to remove ashes or any unburned currency without tampering with the lock.

Dallas, 1956

"At the time of the examination, unverified currency holdings in the head office aggregated over $9 million and represented an accumulation dating back to August 1956. This backlog had existed for several months. A more prompt verification was necessary in order to avoid undue delay in advising depositors of any differences found. The currency verification unit, at the time of examination, had on hand four lots of canceled currency totaling $474,000. The unit had partially verified one of these lots but had not commenced verification of the others. The following observations with particular reference to the security features of the procedures of the currency verification unit were made by the examiner:

"(1) The currency destruction clerk, who jointly with the teller supervised the incineration of the verified canceled currency, also works full time as a verifier. On occasions he serves as a relief for the teller and therefore has access to the records of test errors. We believe that the security of this operation is weakened by having one individual serving in the dual capacity of verifier and currency destruction clerk.

"(2) It was observed that there was some relaxation in the maintenance of dual control during the transfer of the verified canceled currency from the vault to the containers used in transferring it to the incinerator.

"(3) An examination of the ashpit after all currency had been placed in the incinerator revealed that two packages of $100 bills each had fallen through the grate. Moreover, it was noted that even though the doors to the ashpit were secured by chains with locks, the doors could be pulled back far enough to remove the ashes or any unburned currency without tampering with the locks."

Banks permit canceled currency to be destroyed by the same employees who act as verifiers, contrary to Treasury regulations.

They do not verify bundles not included in percentage counts nor do they make any determination that the standard of fitness of the currency conforms to Treasury regulations.

Cleveland (Pittsburgh branch), 1955

"The canceled currency is destroyed by the same employees who act as verifiers. This does not seem to conform to the intent of paragraph 10 of the Treasury Department regulation which provides that the lot shall be destroyed by two employees in the currency verification unit who shall be charged jointly with the responsibility of receiving the currency for destruction and destroying it."

Cleveland (Pittsburgh branch), 1956

"With particular reference to security features and it was noted that in the handling of $1 bills the unit does not employ the practice of 'fanning' the bundles of currency not included in the percentage count. Hence there is no verification of the contents of the bundles or determination that the standard of fitness of the currency conforms to that prescribed by the Treasury Department."

San Francisco, 1956

"With respect to certain procedures in the currency verification unit, the following comments were made by the examiner:

"'(1) It was noted that in the handling of $1 bills, the unit does not employ the practice of "fanning" the bundles of currency not included in the percentage count. Hence there is no verification of the contents of the bundles or determination that the standard of fitness of the currency conforms to that prescribed by the Treasury Department.

"'(2) The practice with regard to the insertions of test errors in straps of currency to be verified does not provide for maximum effectiveness in that test errors are directed only to the number of bills and do not include the mixing of denominations or issues.'"

Banks were not conforming to Treasury Department regulation requiring that errors be inserted in packages of unfit currency.

Minneapolis (Kansas City branch), 1954

"Although it was provided for in the procedures set up, in practice, the bank is not conforming to Treasury Department regulation requiring that each Federal Reserve bank, from time to time, arrange for test errors to be inserted in the packages of unfit currency to be verified by employees in the currency redemption unit, in order to maintain the integrity of the verification operations and to insure that employees are actually performing the work for which they are responsible."

Minneapolis, 1955

"In the currency redemption unit it was the practice for two particular vault custodians to act as the regular currency verifiers with others filling in only when the regular verifiers were absent on vacation or otherwise. The lack of planned rotation of the verifiers was called to the attention of the management. On the basis of review of the operation of the currency redemption unit the examiner suggested that existing procedures be supplemented in the following respects:

"1. That dual control of the currency be maintained during all phases of the verification process.

"2. That a sight examination by 'fanning' be made of the $1 silver certificates not verified by piece count."

For 2 successive years because a bank's records of cash holdings had not been posted for several months, sectional verification according to denomination or vault location could not be made by the examiners.

St. Louis, 1955

"Cash Holdings and Accounts

"The examination of coin holdings reveal that the subsidiary record controls pertaining to such holdings had not been posted since mid-1955 and therefore sectional verifications according to denominations or vault location could not be made. These records were also uncurrent at the time of the 1954 examination and this condition was brought to the attention of the Reserve bank at that time."

Minneapolis, 1954

"The following weaknesses were present in the operation of the currency verification unit:

"1. There is no custodial control of the currency independent of that maintained by the verifiers;

"2. There is no planned rotation of verifiers;

"3. Because of the circumstances mentioned in paragraphs (1) and (2), there are no adequate safeguards against the possibility of collusion between employees of the currency and coin department and employees of the currency verification unit;

"4. Because the currency verifiers have custody of all the canceled currency in the unit and make their own selection of $1 bills to be piece counted, the program of inserting test errors in selected bundles cannot be accomplished for notes of this denomination; and

"5. The practice of having test errors inserted in straps of denominations other than $1 by the currency and coin department seems inappropriate when it is considered that one of the principal functions of the currency verification unit is to verify the work of the former department."

The verification of unfit, canceled, currency was being performed in a utility cage in the cash department, contrary to Treasury Department regulations.

Banks failed to mix denominations or issues in test errors.

Banks have cash holdings on hand of many millions of dollars of unverified currency representing accumulations of unworked deposits dating back several weeks.

Because of inexperienced machine operators and vacations, work of transit department had not been current for 2 months. Because millions of dollars in checks and drafts held over, examiners could not make satisfactory examination.

San Francisco (Seattle branch), 1953

"(1) The verification of the unfit, canceled currency was being performed in a utility cage in the cash department whereas the Treasury Department regulations provide as follows:

" 'The verification and destruction of unfit U.S. paper currency at each Federal Reserve bank and branch shall be a fiscal agency operation and shall be performed in a currency verification unit which shall be separate and apart from each cash operation of such Federal Reserve banks and branches.'

"(2) The practice with regard to the insertion of test errors in straps of currency to be verified does not provide for maximum effectiveness in that such test errors are directed only to the number of bills and do not include the mixing of denominations or issues."

San Francisco (Los Angeles branch), 1955

"Cash Holdings

"Cash holdings included $11,700,000 in unverified $1 bills representing an accumulation of unworked deposits of currency of this denomination dating back 6 weeks."

San Francisco (Portland branch), 1955

"Because of an unusually high percentage of inexperienced machine operators on the staff, and vacation absences, the work of the transit department had not been maintained on a current basis for about 2 months. Checks and drafts held over at the time of examination amounted to over $12 million and consisted of 86,700 items. In view of this large number of items the examiner could not make a satisfactory verification."

The Boston bank maintained inadequate safeguards against the possibility of collusion between employees of currency verification division and currency and coin department and employees of currency verification division, and lacked dual control of currency.

Boston, 1955

"The examiners have the following comments with respect to the activities of this division:

" 'From our review of the operations, it appears to us that the following weaknesses were present: (1) Dual control is not being maintained from the time of cancellation to the time of delivery in the currency and coin department to the currency verification division. (2) The practice of having only one individual inventory the currency at the time of its acceptances by the division precludes the maintenance of dual control. (3) After completion of the verification process the currency comprising a particular lot is inventoried by two persons, one counts the currency by straps and bundles, and the other makes a bundle count only. Because of the limited count made by one of the parties to this final inventory before incineration, the effectiveness of the dual check is considerably reduced. (4) Because the supervisor and assistant supervisor of the verification division make the selection of the notes to be piece counted and also act as currency verifiers, the program of inserting test errors in straps of $1 notes to be verified cannot be accomplished. (5) There is no rotation of employees. (6) Because of the circumstances mentioned in paragraphs 4 and 5 there are no adequate safeguards against the possibility of collusion between employees of the currency and coin department and the employees of the currency verification division. (7) The practice of having test errors inserted in straps of denominations other than $1 by the currency and coin department seems inappropriate when it is considered that one of the principal functions of the verification division is to verify the work of the former department.' "

Backlogs of many millions of unassorted currency accumulate at banks.

They insert test errors in straps of currency within view of verifiers.

They do not examine ashes remaining from currency destruction in accordance with Treasury Department regulations.

Chicago, 1953

"A backlog of approximately 22,800,000 pieces of unassorted currency, of which 19,800,000 pieces were in denominations of $1 and $2, had accumulated since December 31, 1952, and were on hand at date of examination."

Chicago, 1955

"Although the procedures in effect appeared to be in conformity with Treasury Department regulations, under present practices test errors are inserted in straps of $1 certificates within view of the verifiers. It was recommended that provisions be made to prevent verifiers from having prior knowledge of the preparation of the test packages."

St. Louis, 1954

"The examiners indicated the following weaknesses in the operations of the currency verification section:

"(1) Dual control is not being maintained from the time of cancellation to the time of delivery by the money department to the verification section.

"(2) During the verification process there are times when only one individual is present in the verification section.

"(3) Because the supervisor and the currency verification clerk who made the selection of bills to be piece counted also act as currency verifiers, the program of inserting test errors in bundles to be verified cannot be accomplished insofar as these individuals are concerned.

"(4) There is no planned rotation of custodians or verifiers.

"(5) Because of the circumstances mentioned in paragraphs 3 and 4, there are no adequate safeguards against the possibility of collusion between employees of the money department and employees of the currency verification section.

"(6) Ashes are not being examined in accordance with the Treasury Department regulation."

Because of the physical layout of the incinerator room, they could not maintain absolute dual control during the destruction process of unfit currency.

They leave extraneous matter in firebox during the currency burning process.

They need to make more careful examinations of residual ashes for recognizable pieces of currency.

They assign cash department employees to currency verification units.

They have such loose protective arrangements that unauthorized personnel can gain access to contents of the incinerator during the burning process.

Dallas, 1955

"After review of the operations of the currency verification unit it was suggested that existing procedures be supplemented in the following respects:

"1. That dual control be maintained—

"(a) From the time of cancellation to the time of delivery by the cash department to the currency verification unit;

"(b) During all phases of the verification process;

"(c) During the destruction process. (The present absence of an absolute dual control at this stage is caused by the physical layout of the incinerator room and it is impracticable to correct it until other facilities are available.)

"2. That extraneous matter be kept out of the firebox during the currency burning process.

"3. That a more careful examination of the residual ashes be made to insure that no recognizable pieces of currency remain.

"4. That adequate records be maintained to show that 'the work of each employee engaged in sorting, counting, and strapping such currency in the cash division [is] subjected to verification regularly' (par. 6(a) of Treasury Department regulations).

"5. That the practice of occasionally assigning an employee of the cash department (currency sorter) to the currency verification unit as a verifier be discontinued.

"It was also observed that certain mechanical defects exist in the protective arrangement used to prevent unauthorized personnel from gaining access to the contents of the incinerator during the burning process."

They left open the grille door to main vault throughout the day, contrary to the bank's rule and in disregard of ordinary security precautions.

In the check collection department they keep no record control of checks requiring investigative action.

They permit verifiers to make their own selection of currency to be piece counted.

They have no planned rotation of verifiers.

Minneapolis (Helena branch), 1954

"Vault

"It was observed that the grille door to the main vault was left open throughout the day, contrary to the bank's rule and in disregard of ordinary security precautions.

"Payroll

"In the preparation of the payroll disbursements, the personnel clerk did not verify the funds received from the paying teller, nor did the paying teller verify the excess balance returned to him. In order that responsibility for any differences might be fixed, it was recommended that each party immediately make a verification of the moneys received in his custody."

Minneapolis (Kansas City branch), 1954

"The examiners noted the following weakness with respect to the operations of the currency redemption unit:

"(1) There is no custodial control of the currency independent of that being maintained by the verifiers.

"(2) Although the bank's procedures contemplate that the chief of the unit make an independent selection of the currency to be piece counted, in practice, the verifiers make their own selection.

"(3) There is no planned rotation of the verifiers."

Minneapolis, 1956

"Check Collection Department

"It was noted that the check collection department followed the practice of holding, without entry, certain checks, few in number and nominal in amount, which require investigative action in order to determine their proper disposition. It was recommended that a record control be established for these checks and greater effort be made to expedite these items."

A backlog of over 4 million pieces of unassorted currency was permitted to accumulate over a period of 3 months.

At banks it was the practice for only one person to inventory canceled currency as it was received into the division and one person made a count by strap and bundle, and another person, by bundle only.

Richmond, 1953

"At the Baltimore branch, approximately 4,120,000 pieces of unassorted currency in denominations of $1, $2, and $5, representing an accumulation dating from December 4, 1952, were on hand at the examination date. The management advised that appropriate measures would be taken to reduce this backlog and place the currency assorting operation on a current basis."

Richmond, 1955

"In the interest of greater protection: (1) That procedures be extended to insure the maintenance and effective dual control during the entire period that the canceled currency is in the custody of the division. It was the practice for only one person to inventory the canceled currency as it was received into the division, and that in making the final inventory for incineration, one of two persons made a count by strap and bundle and the other by bundle only. (2) That test errors be inserted at least monthly in packages of unfit currency to be verified by employees in the currency verification and destruction division."

They use an incinerator with mechanical imperfections. Whole notes were found after the burning process in the elevator, on the chain feed, and in the upper portion of the firebox. Any notes not thoroughly incinerated are disposed of by burning in a trash receptacle.

New York, 1956

"A new incinerator, specifically designed for burning currency, was placed in operation on August 19, 1954, but because of mechanical imperfections that developed it was not used on a full-time basis until February 1, 1956. It was observed during the course of our examination that the mechanical defects have not yet been entirely eliminated; whole notes were found after the burning process—in the elevator, on the chain feed, and in the upper portion of the firebox. Because of these defects, an inspection is made after each incineration and any notes not thoroughly incinerated are disposed of by burning in a trash receptacle provided for the purpose."

They left combination locks on a chest in the bank vault unturned.

They do not maintain dual control over canceled currency in the currency verification and destruction unit.

They do not inspect bundles and packages of currency to insure that all currency has been canceled.

In using municipal incinerators for the burning of unfit U.S. currency, the banks have allowed money to escape destruction and have had to redeem partially destroyed currency.

Banks hold such exceedingly large quantities of unfit paper currency on hand, that the auditors at times can make at best only percentage audits and in some cases no counts at all.

Their witnesses to the destruction of canceled currency do not maintain dual control while currency is being placed in incinerator.

Philadelphia, 1955

"During our review of the operations, it was observed that witnesses to the destruction of the canceled currency had not fully exercised their responsibility of maintaining dual control while the currency was being placed in the incinerator."

Atlanta, 1954

"Up to January 15, 1954, the canceled notes had been destroyed by incinerator at the city of Atlanta's incinerator after having been cut into upper and lower halves. Use of the municipal incinerator was discontinued on that date following the discovery that two half notes had passed through the incinerator without being destroyed.

"The following excerpt is quoted from General Auditor Adams' report to the audit committee of the board of directors:

" 'Unfit United States paper currency (new series) amounting to $16,246,000 was found to be in agreement with the memorandum control maintained in the accounting department. Due to the exceedingly large volume of currency on hand, a percentage count was made of $5 and $10 denominations (10 and 20 percent, respectively) and a close inspection was made of $1 and $2 denominations. In addition to the punched currency, the unit was holding 46 heavy corrugated boxes containing half notes (uppers), with a total dollar value of $3,079,000, the lowers having been destroyed by incineration, and 208 such boxes containing half notes (uppers and lowers), with a total dollar value of $6,456,000. This currency was not counted but each of the boxes was opened and inspected. At the conclusion of the audit this currency including the half notes in boxes was placed under seal of the auditing department and it will remain under audit control until released for destruction.' "

Atlanta (Jacksonville branch), 1954

"This unit received currency in canceled (by perforation) whole note form from the currency and coin department daily. Such currency was independently verified within the unit, cut into upper and lower halves and then destroyed by incineration at the South Jacksonville municipal incinerator. However, on November 27, 1953, the upper half of a $5 silver certificate canceled, but cnly partially burned, was presented at the branch for redemption. The following day an inspection by representatives of the branch was made of the premises surrounding the incinerator but no additional currency was found. To avoid a recurrence of this nature, the use of the municipal incinerator was discontinued and, effective December 8, 1953, the operations of this unit were terminated."

Atlanta, 1955

"Auditing Department

"On October 19, 1954, a special audit was made of all collateral and custodies held by the Nashville branch. The general auditor determined upon this audit when it was reported to him that the acting vault custodian at the branch discovered that the combination locks on a chest in the vault had been left unturned. No exceptions or irregularities were disclosed by the audit and it is presumed that the vault custodians had inadvertently failed to throw the combinations.

"Currency Verification and Destruction Unit of the Service Department

"On the basis of review of the operations, it was suggested that existing procedures be supplemented in the following respects:

"(1) That dual control be maintained over canceled currency from the time of cancellation until the delivery thereof by the currency and coin department to the currency verification and destruction unit.

"(2) That at the time of delivery of currency to the unit each bundle and package be inspected to insure that all currency has been canceled, such inspection to be performed by one employee of the cash division not charged with the cancellation function at the time of delivery to the currency verification unit and before that unit executes the receipt to the cash division.

"(3) That the unit maintain such records of the currency verified but it will show that 'the work of each employee engaged in sorting, counting, and stripping such currency in the cash division, is subjected to verification regularly.' "

Atlanta, 1956

"* * * of the operations disclosed that personnel replacements during the vacations of the regularly assigned currency verifiers are drawn from the staff of currency assorters of the currency and coin department. In our opinion, this practice is incompatible with Treasury Department regulations which provide that the verification and destruction of paper currency be performed in a unit 'which shall be separate and apart from other cash operations' of the Reserve bank."

Report of Treasury Department Inspections, Verification, and Destruction of U.S. Currency at Federal Reserve Banks, 1957–65

YEAR 1957

Atlanta

Thirteen out of seventeen tests detected—76 percent detection. One verifier, who missed two out of three test errors was replaced.

Boston

Suggested improvements:

1. Final currency verification unit package and strap count of verified work made by supervisor and verifier who did verification work. Suggested that final package and strap count be made by supervisor and clerk. Accepted.

2. That the currency verification unit accepted double-canceled money only when strap is initialed by responsible employee of money department. Accepted.

Dallas

1. Poor sort of $1 and $2 notes—too much unfit in fit.

2. Bank unable to determine how two canceled bills got into circulation. One possibility was that the bills got out when the bank was shredding currency.

Kansas City

1. Sort—some fit $2 in unfit money.

2. Ashes cleaned out only once a week. In order that the custodians can be positive that each lot is destroyed, suggested they rake down and sample ashes after each burning.

3. Screen separating flue from smokestack is on the roof. Recommended that the opening to screen be double locked under control of the auditor and a custodian.

Los Angeles

1. Custodians had free access to currency sorting room since they passed through this room to and from incinerator room. Bank will now allow them to go through this room only when accompanied by a guard.

2. Bank was not making package count prior to placing currency in incinerator. Corrected.

3. Federal Reserve examiners stated that verification should not be done in the cash department area. Bank selected new area for the verification operations.

Minneapolis

1. Custodians did not fully observe each other's actions when currency was selected for vertification. Corrected.

2. Four out of twenty-five test errors (16 percent) missed in previous 6 months. Two missed by girl no longer with bank.

New York

Double-punched notes not questioned in currency verification unit. Arranged to have responsible employee in cash department initial all double-punched packages. Currency verification unit will question all double punchings not approved.

Philadelphia

1. Loss of dual control when supervisor left the currency verification unit while the verifiers fan unverified $1's. Corrected.

2. Supervisor had been only bundle counting verified money when putting it into truck. Arranged to both bundle and package count in future.

3. Fanning money. Cash department requires fanning money before transfer to currency verification unit and Federal Reserve examiners require fanning in currency verification unit. Each fanned right edge. Arranged that thereafter the two units would fan opposite edges.

Richmond

1. Some $2, $5, and $10 fit notes found in unfit currency.

2. Opening at the base of stack in incinerator room not locked. Corrected.

St. Louis

1. Some fit $5 and $10 in unfit money.

2. In removing ashes from incinerator, ashes were left in various places hard to reach. Corrected.

San Antonio

Too few test errors. Only two test errors inserted during 6-month period. Corrected.

San Francisco

1. Some "unfit" packages of money received from Salt Lake City contained many "fit" bills. Also, some notes should have been classified as mutilated money. Corrected.

2. Custodians had ready access to cash department sorters. Corrected by having contact of custodians with cash department made through department head.

Seattle

1. Four test errors missed by one counter. Corrected.

2. Bank sorts $1's too close. Some bills classified as "fit" should have been classified as "unfit."

Atlanta, 1958

In 1958, the Atlanta district cut Treasury currency in half prior to verification and destruction. A lot received by Atlanta from New Orleans showed a $1 shortage in lower halves verified on April 21, 1958. No difference was found in the corresponding package of upper halves.

A guard, rather than the responsible currency verification unit personnel, observed the removal of the ashes of burned currency from the incinerator.

Boston

Inadvertently, seals of two custodians who had control were left off a truck containing canceled currency. Two locks were on the truck but these keyed alike and the seals were intended to provide individual controls.

The two custodians while handling canceled currency in the currency verification unit sometimes worked with their backs to each other or handled money alone or unobserved.

Chicago

The test errors inserted did not include missorts as to kinds of currency as required by Treasury regulations.

Cincinnati

The manner in which the two employees who canceled currency had to work was such that they could not adequately observe each other.

Detroit

When test errors were inserted the custodians did not verify that the insertion of the errors actually caused the package of notes to contain errors."

The screen at the top of the flue to prevent unburned currency fragments from escaping was not in place.

Joint control was weakened in that (1) the supervisor inserted $1 test errors alone, (2) an employee handled $1 notes while the other party to the joint control was otherwise occupied, and (3) the supervisor adjusted errors found in the verification process alone.

Kansas City

Observer in canceling operation canceled some currency when the canceler was away.

Pittsburgh

Only the supervisor counted packages in which test errors were inserted.

San Antonio

Test errors not inserted for missorts.

YEAR 1959

Birmingham

Inadequate observation conditions existed in the canceling room. The four or five employees present, while busy, could not properly observe each other.

A considerable number of fit notes had been sorted as unfit for circulation.

Chicago

The test errors inserted did not include missorts as to kinds of currency as required by Treasury regulations.

Conditions in the canceling room were such that there was inadequate observation among the employees who canceled and needled the currency.

Dallas

In March 1959 a shortage of $83 was found in the $1 bills sorted as unfit by 4 currency sorters involving as many as 25 or 30 notes from a single strap. One shortage was discovered after the currency was turned over to the currency verification unit; the others were discovered after cancellation but before the turnover because employees found thin packages. Nothing could be proved as to the time when the notes were extracted, but it is felt that it occurred at the time of cancellation. During this period the bank was cutting the notes in half, and as a corrective measure the bank instituted a Shadograph weighing of the 95 percent of the $1's which would be verified.

Detroit

Only one party to the joint control in the currency verification unit made the selection of 5 percent of the $1's to be verified.

El Paso

Observer also doing needling operation.

Minneapolis

Canceled currency held in vault not under joint seal.

Record not being kept of verifiers being tested.

Person doing needling also participated in the cancellation.

High rate of test errors missed.

Philadelphia

There was a possibility that the verifier who helps the supervisor prepare the test errors might tip off the other verifier that a test error was made.

Portland

In canceling operations canceler cannot observe the reassembling operations.

San Francisco

Large number of fit $2's classified as unfit.

YEAR 1960

Cincinnati

The manner in which the two employees who canceled currency had to work was such that they could not adequately observe each other.

Cleveland

Of 76 test errors inserted from August 1959 to February 1960, 10 were not discovered.

Except for a very small window the canceling room is completely enclosed so that no independent observation can be made.

Dallas

The bank was delivering canceled $10's in bundles containing less than 10 straps rather than the full 10 straps required by Treasury regulations.

El Paso

Dual control weakened by permitting money not in process of being verified to be accessible to one of the custodians and the verifier while the other custodian is absent.

Destruction certificate signed when incinerator was loaded. It should be signed after examination of ashes.

Kansas City

Destruction certificate signed when currency was placed in incinerator. It should be signed after incineration of ashes.

Philadelphia

Large percentage of $2 fit notes sorted as unfit.

Some fit $5 notes sorted as unfit.

Seattle

Several fit $5's found in the unfit currency.

St. Louis

Certificate of destruction signed after currency is thrown in incinerator. It should be executed after examination of ashes.

YEAR 1961

Atlanta

The certificate as to complete destruction of the currency was being executed on the day the currency was placed into the incinerator, rather than after the ashes and incinerator were examined.

The opportunity of employees to verify currency is not frequent enough to develop proficiency. The size of the pool from which the verifiers are selected should be reduced so that even with full rotation a girl will be called upon to verify about every third time.

Too many fit $2 bills being destroyed.

The destructor, who shares joint control of the currency while it is being burned, did not have his own locks on the incinerator.

The verifiers were not adequately instructed concerning standards of fitness, counterfeits, and altered currency.

Unburned bills found during the inspection of the incinerator were being held in the hands of one or two people while the ashes were being removed, instead of being held under the full control of all of the responsible employees.

Birmingham

A considerable number of fit notes had been sorted as unfit for circulation.

Chicago

According to the bank auditors' report dated February 21, 1961, the bundle count made by the currency verification unit when receiving currency from the cash department was made only by one man counting and calling out the results to another, instead of each making an independent count.

Detroit

The screen placed at the top of the flue to prevent unburned fragments of currency from escaping was found to have a large hole in it.

None of the three employees responsible for seeing that currency was completely incinerated examined the incinerator after the ashes were removed to see that no unburned fragments remained.

Los Angeles

Ten to fifteen percent unfit currency classified as fit.

Nashville

Verifiers were not examining currency for fitness or counterfeit.

Too many unfit $1's sorted as fit.

New York

Some verifiers did not make strap count before they gave receipts for currency.

Portland

Standard of fitness too low; small percentage of unfit classified as fit.

Richmond

Only one custodian makes close inspection of ashes and incinerator.

Verifiers have not been instructed how to detect counterfeits.

Salt Lake City

Standard of fitness somewhat low.

San Francisco

Verifiers had little training in detecting counterfeits.

YEAR 1962

Birmingham

During a 6-month period only 73 percent of the test errors were detected.

Boston

The destructor was not consistently package-counting bundles of currency before they were thrown in the incinerator.

Chicago

Contrary to bank instructions, the destructor was not observing the handling of bundles of currency by the custodians after the destructor had made his package and bundle count.

Dallas

A considerable quantity of unfit currency was being returned to circulation as fit currency.

It was suggested that the verifiers be given further instruction on counterfeit currency.

El Paso

Too much unfit currency sorted as fit.

One of two men having dual control over money also served as needler.

Jacksonville

Verifiers did not package-count currency they received for verification.

The destructor did not share control over incineration during the burning.

Kansas City

Canceled $2's received from Omaha branch had too many fit notes in it.

Los Angeles

Two currency verification unit employees did not observe destructor entire period he was making his package and bundle count.

Destructor did not observe two currency verification unit employees entire period they were loading incinerator.

Minneapolis

Custodians handling currency after destructor made package and bundle count without being observed by the destructor.

New York

One custodian had no lock or seal on incinerator.

Richmond

Destructor did not place lock on incinerator door after the second visit to incinerator to assure that currency was burning properly.

Currency verification unit representative and custodian lax in their examination of ashes removed from incinerator.

One part-time verifier did not strap count or bundle count currency given to her to verify.

Salt Lake City

Verifiers not examining standards of fitness being maintained by cash division.

The custodian did not observe destructor while he made package and bundle count.

San Francisco

Destructor and custodians all participating in loading incinerator; thus there were times when the person throwing currency into the incinerator was not being observed by either of the other two participants.

Destructor locked only two of the four openings to the incinerator. Four openings were locked by two custodians.

Seattle

Two currency verification unit custodians did not observe the destructor the entire period he was making package and bundle count.

St. Louis

In 1 year four test errors missed by one verifier. Corrective action: verifier transferred out of operation.

YEAR 1963

Atlanta

The verifiers were not package counting the currency assigned to them for verification by the custodians to be sure that each bundle contained 10 packages.

Boston

Entire straps of currency which should have been considered as unfit were handled and returned to circulation as fit currency.

Buffalo

A considerable quantity of fit $1's and $5's were sorted as unfit.

Dallas

The working facilities did not permit good dual control during the verification operation.

The two custodians and the destructor, under whose joint control the currency was destroyed, did not thoroughly examine the ashes for recognizable pieces of currency.

A clerk was working with canceled currency in a manner that obscured the view of others.

The manner in which the canceled currency was being needled was not effective in that the needler could not visually confirm that the needling device completely penetrated the bundles.

Minneapolis

Destructor did not examine ashes thoroughly after complete cleaning of incinerator.

New York

Too much unfit currency classified as fit.

Philadelphia

Verified currency returned to currency verification unit custodian inventoried by custodians but not in presence of verifiers who were still charged for currency.

Pittsburgh

Only destructor examined ashes; custodians did not.

Richmond

One alternate verifier did not strap count and package count money on receipt.

Transfer of money from currency verification unit custodians to verifiers recorded in pencil. Verifiers do not sign for money when they receive it.

San Antonio

Verifiers were not sure what a counterfeit bill looked like.

Custodians and destructor did not examine residue of ashes for recognizable pieces of currency.

Seattle

Custodians and destructor did not examine the small amount of ashes which fell into the bag on the side of the vacuum cleaner used to clean furnace.

YEAR 1964

Atlanta

The verifiers were not package counting the currency assigned to them for verification by the custodians to be sure that each bundle contained 10 packages.

A selection of $2's showed about 70 percent of the bills should have been accepted as fit for further circulation.

The opportunity of employees to verify currency is not frequent enough to develop proficiency. The size of the pool from which the verifiers are selected should be reduced so that even with full rotation a girl will be called upon to verify about every third time.

During a 12-month period only 76 percent of the test errors were detected.

When test errors were inserted, the custodians did not verify that the insertion of the errors actually caused the packages of notes to contain errors.

Boston

The test errors inserted did not include missorts as to kinds of currency as required by Treasury regulations.

Chicago

The two custodians and the destructor, under whose joint control the currency was destroyed, did not thoroughly examine the ashes for recognizable pieces of currency.

Detroit

The examination of the ashes of burned currency was not thorough enough to have detected recognizable pieces of currency.

Jacksonville

An appreciable number of unfit $1's were being returned to circulation.

Minneapolis

Ashes when removed from incinerator were not being examined thoroughly for recognizable pieces of currency.

Nashville

During an 8-month period only 78 percent of the test errors were detected.

Verifiers not strap-counting currency when received.

New York

Destructor's final package and bundle count not completely observed by custodians.

San Francisco

Examination of ashes very superficial.

YEAR 1965

Atlanta

From February 1964 to March 1965 only 80.8 percent of the test errors were detected.

Birmingham

Generally, the currency verification unit did not expand its 5-percent verification of $1's where a considerable number of errors was found in the work of currency sorters.

Verifiers selected from other than the fiscal agency department were not being tested. In addition, an assistant supervisor who also acted as a verifier was not being tested and she knew this.

Boston

The two custodians and the destructor, under whose joint control the currency was destroyed, did not thoroughly examine the ashes for recognizable pieces of currency.

Dallas

When test errors were inserted the custodians did not verify that the insertion of the errors actually caused the packages of notes to contain errors.

The upper part of the incinerator contained ashes after the incinerator had supposedly been completely cleaned.

Houston

Unburned punches not separated from ashes. To be reburned.

Jacksonville

During a 12-month period, 82.6 percent of test errors were detected.

Nashville

Verifiers not strap-counting currency when received.

Portland

Ashes examined by raking. Recommended they sift ashes.

Salt Lake City

Destructor did not examine ashes.

Ashes examined by raking. Recommended using sifter.

The report of the subcommittee is as follows:

[Subcommittee print]

VERIFICATION AND DESTRUCTION OF UNFIT CURRENCY

(Report of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on the Destruction of Unfit Currency of the Subcommittee on Domestic Finance of the Committee on Banking and Currency, House of Representatives, 89th Cong., 2d sess., Feb. 23, 1966, printed for the use of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on the Destruction of Unfit Currency, Subcommittee on Domestic Finance, Committee on Banking and Currency)

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Jersey; Charles L. Weltner, Georgia; Richard T. Hanna, California; Bernard F. Grabowski, Connecticut; Compton I. White, Jr., Idaho; Tom S. Gettys, South Carolina; Paul H. Todd, Jr., Michigan; Richard L. Ottinger, New York; Earle Cabell, Texas; Thomas C. McGrath, Jr., New Jersey; John R. Hansen, Iowa; Frank Annunzio, Illinois; William B. Widnall, New Jersey; Paul A. Fino, New York; Florence P. Dwyer, New Jersey; Seymour Halpern, New York; James Harvey, Michigan; W. E. (Bill) Brock, Tennessee; Burt L. Talcott, California; Del Clawson, California; Albert W. Johnson, Pennsylvania; J. William Stanton, Ohio; and Chester L. Mize, Kansas.

Paul Nelson, clerk and staff director; Alvin Lee Morse, counsel; Curtis A. Prins, chief investigator; Norman L. Holmes, counsel; Benet D. Gellman, investigative counsel; Orman S. Fink, minority staff member.

Subcommittee on Domestic Finance: Wright Patman, Texas, chairman; Joseph G. Minish, New Jersey; Charles L. Weltner, Georgia; Richard T. Hanna, California; Compton I. White, Jr., Idaho; Tom S. Gettys, South Carolina; Paul H. Todd, Jr., Michigan; Frank Annunzio, Illinois; William B. Widnall, New Jersey; W. E. (Bill) Brock, Tennessee; Del Clawson, California; and J. William Stanton, Ohio.

Ad Hoc Subcommittee on the Destruction of Unfit Currency: Joseph G. Minish, New Jersey, chairman; Charles L. Weltner, Georgia; Del Clawson, California; and Alvin Lee Morse, counsel.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

February 21, 1966.

To the Members of the Subcommittee on Domestic Finance:

Transmitted herewith is the report of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on the Destruction of Unfit Currency appointed by Chairman Patman on May 1, 1965. The assigned task of the subcommittee was the study and evaluation of procedures for currency destruction and the submission of a report to the Subcommittee on Domestic Finance. The study was conducted within the general framework of H.R. 5305, a bill introduced by Chairman Patman at the request of the Treasury Department.

Treasury and Federal Reserve officials were consulted in detail on the effectiveness of the methods employed in verifying and destroying unfit currency. Personal inspections were made of two of the sites. On May 12, the subcommittee visited the Treasury Department to inspect the operations involved in the verification and destruction of Federal Reserve notes and all kinds of currency received by the Treasury from banks in the Washington, D.C., area. On June 7, the subcommittee visited the Federal Reserve Bank of New York to inspect the operations performed there in verifying and destroying unfit Treasury currency. This bank was selected because it has the largest currency-handling operations of its kind, and it afforded the best opportunity to form a basis for a recommendation concerning the proposed legislation.

Respectfully submitted.

Joseph G. Minish,
Chairman, Ad Hoc Subcommittee on the Destruction of Unfit Currency.

INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUSIONS

At the present time, unfit Federal Reserve notes by law must be delivered to the Comptroller of the Currency for cancellation and destruction in Washington. Unfit Treasury currency (mainly silver certificates and U.S. notes) is subject to verification and destruction by the Treasury Department, also in Washington. However, as an economy measure, this latter function has been delegated administratively by the Secretary of the Treasury to the regional Federal Reserve banks which receive the unfit currency directly from commercial banks located within their respective Federal Reserve districts. The expense of preparing and shipping this currency to Washington is thus spared.

The purpose of H.R. 5305 is to realize similar savings with respect to the verification and destruction of unfit Federal Reserve notes as these notes are rapidly replacing Treasury currency both in number as well as face amount as our circulating currency. An amendment to the Federal Reserve Act is necessary to transfer to the Secretary of the Treasury the statutory auhority of the Comptroller of the Currency with respect to unfit Federal Reserve notes. The intention is for the Secretary to then exercise his new authority by regulating destruction in the Federal Reserve banks in the same manner in which he now regulates the destruction of unfit Treasury currency in the Federal Reserve banks.

H.R. 5305 would also permit changes in the method by which unfit Federal Reserve notes are sorted and then credited to the individual accounts of each of the 12 Federal Reserve banks which originally issued them. This particular proposal would also produce substantial economies in currency procedures.

The text of H.R. 5305 follows:

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the third paragraph of section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended (12 U.S.C. 413), is hereby further amended by revising the last sentence thereof to read as follows: 'Notwithstanding any other provision of law, Federal Reserve notes unfit for circulation shall be canceled, destroyed, and accounted for under procedures prescribed and at locations designated by the Secretary of the Treasury. Upon destruction of such notes, credit with respect thereto shall be apportioned among the twelve Federal Reserve banks as determined by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.' "

There is considerable logic supporting the proposal that the savings flowing from current procedures for destroying unfit Treasury currency should carry over to the destruction of unfit Federal Reserve notes. However, the subcommittee has concluded from its investigation and also as a matter of principle that the General Accounting Office, "watchdog" agency of the Congress, should perform a regular audit of all procedures in the handling of the Nation's unfit currency regardless of the specific economy objectives of H.R. 5305. Under present law, neither the Bureau of the Comptroller of the Currency nor the Federal Reserve banks are subject to audit by GAO.

In this connection, the subcommittee has been given to understand that the Treasury Department, the Federal Reserve System, and the General Accounting Office are in general agreement with respect to GAO audits of unfit currency procedures on the premises of the 12 Federal Reserve banks. Since these currency activities to be carried out at the banks are a function of the Secretary of the Treasury, legislation providing for such audits is unnecessary as the Treasury Department is, of course, already subject to the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 (42 Stat. 20).

In view of the fact that under the proposed legislation the Federal Reserve banks will be verifying, canceling, and destroying unfit Federal Reserve notes, as well as issuing them, the subcommittee is particularly concerned that the General Accounting Office be made especially aware of its important new responsibility in insuring the Congress that these activities are properly conducted, and that the committee report so indicate should the bill be favorably reported. The subcommittee makes the observation that neither the Bureau of the Comptroller of the Currency nor the Federal Reserve banks have consistently maintained satisfactory control and accounting standards with respect to their handling of unfit currency.

The subcommittee suggests, as a further economy measure, that the unnecessary practice of issuing Federal Reserve notes specifically identifying the issuing bank be discontinued.

Certain technical drafting changes in the text of the bill also appear desirable.

JUSTIFICATION FOR H.R. 5305

The subcommittee has been advised that the proposed legislation would avoid additional costs to the Government resulting from the replacement of $1 silver certificates by recently authorized $1 Federal Reserve notes. H.R. 5305 is designed to eliminate shipping and currency sorting costs arising from sending unfit Reserve notes from the Federal Reserve banks to Washington for verification and destruction.

In 1953, an arrangement was worked out for the verification and destruction of unfit silver certificates in the Federal Reserve banks under regulations and procedures prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury. This arrangement has saved annually about $500,000 which would have been the cost of preparing for shipment and shipping unfit silver certificates to Washington. Now that silver certificates are being replaced with Federal Reserve notes, those notes will soon make up the bulk of the unfit currency which must be destroyed. However, under existing law unfit Federal Reserve notes must be sent to Washington for cancellation and destruction by the Comptroller of the Currency. The first purpose of the proposed legislation, therefore, is to eliminate this requirement so that the savings realized through the destruction of unfit currency at the Federal Reserve banks may be continued, pursuant to the same procedures prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury with respect to Treasury currency.

The bill would make another change designed to prevent the shift in the $1 denomination from silver certificates to Federal Reserve notes from increasing the cost of destruction of unfit currency. Under existing law, when an unfit Federal Reserve note is retired, the Federal Reserve bank which issued that particular note must be credited with its retirement. Since there are 12 Federal Reserve banks, this means that there must be a 12-way sort of all unfit Federal Reserve notes.

The Treasury and the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System have indicated that it is unnecessary to match retirements by specific banks with issuances by specific banks on the basis of a piece sort. As long as retirements for the System as a whole are accounted for exactly, the apportionment of retirements among the banks may be satisfactorily made on a formula basis. The Federal Reserve Board has developed a formula which would apportion the notes among the banks quite accurately. The bill would permit the use of this arrangement for apportioning retired notes among the 12 banks. It would thus eliminate the need for the 12-way sort which would have to be performed under present law. It is estimated that the 12-way sort of notes of the $1 denomination—which will make up the bulk of the unfit Federal Reserve notes after all silver certificates have been completely replaced—would cost approximately $300,000 a year.

Enactment of the proposed legislation would thus obviate $800,000 in increased annual costs of destroying unfit $1 currency which would otherwise occur by reason of the shift from silver certificates to Federal Reserve notes. To the extent that other denominations of Federal Reserve notes—which have always been destroyed in Washington—are also included in the proposed legislation, additional savings of as much as $400,000 can be realized annually.

While the savings which the bill would permit would not accrue directly to the Treasury, the same ultimate effect would be achieved since the savings would be reflected in higher Federal Reserve payments to the Treasury, less any increase, of course, in the expenses of the Federal Reserve banks attributable to their expended role in currency destruction contemplated by the bill.

JOSEPH G. MINISH,
Chairman.
DEL CLAWSON.
CHARLES L. WELTNER.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL].

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire of the chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, Is my recollection correct that this was reported from our committee unanimously?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WIDNALL. I would like to ask several other questions, but I will preface my next question with a short statement.

H.R. 5305 is designed to eliminate shipping and currency sorting costs arising from sending unfit Reserve notes from the Federal Reserve banks to Washington for verification and destruction. In 1953, an arrangement was worked out for the verification and destruction of unfit silver certificates in the Federal Reserve banks under regulations and procedures prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury. This arrangement has saved $500,000 annually which otherwise would have had to be spent in preparing for shipment and shipping unfit silver certificates to Washington. Now that silver certificates are being replaced with Federal Reserve notes, those notes will soon make up the bulk of unfit currency which must from time to time be destroyed. However, under existing law unfit Federal Reserve notes must still be sent to Washington for cancellation and destruction by the Comptroller of the Currency. Will the gentleman from Texas agree the first purpose of the proposed legislation, therefore, is to eliminate this requirement so that savings may be realized in the same manner as we have been saving taxpayers' money on the destruction of silver certificates?

Mr. PATMAN. That is correct.

Mr. WIDNALL. Will the gentleman from Texas agree that our committee has been assured that every effort will be made to insure against any mishandling of unfit currency scheduled for destruction?

Mr. PATMAN. We have been so assured—yes, sir. I might add that provision in the bill for a General Accounting Office audit of cancellation of destruction of all U.S. currency is excellent insurance against the mishandling that the gentleman mentions.

Mr. WIDNALL. Will the distinguished chairman of our committee agree that the Federal Reserve Board has developed a formula which will avoid the necessity of crediting each of the 12 individual Federal Reserve banks with the destruction of those notes which a particular Federal Reserve bank had originally issued, and that such formula instead will accurately account for the currency destruction on a systemwide basis?

Mr. PATMAN. That is correct. We agreed and the committee approved the formula.

Mr. WIDNALL. Will the gentleman from Texas agree that this legislation will result in an estimated annual saving of more than a million dollars?

Mr. PATMAN. That is correct—over a million dollars.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of this bill and reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS].

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman from Texas since both the bill and the report indicate it is the purpose of the legislation to destroy unfit currency—what is meant by unfit currency?

Mr. PATMAN. That would be currency that you can no longer use in the trade or as pocket currency as you normally use currency in transactions. It might be currency that is soiled or torn and unfit in other different ways.

Mr. GROSS. Well that is the whole point—you say unfit in different ways.

Mr. PATMAN. It would be currency that is mutilated or unfit in other ways.

Mr. GROSS. But what about getting silver certificates out of circulation?

Mr. PATMAN. They are going out of circulation.

Mr. GROSS. Since we now have practically thrown overboard both gold and silver standards, would silver certificates be deemed unfit simply on the basis that the Johnson administration wants to get them out of circulation?

Mr. PATMAN. They are intercepted usually at the banks and turned in because the banks consider them no longer usable. It will apply to that the same as any other type of currency.

Mr. GROSS. In other words, that is going to be unfit currency; is that right?

Mr. PATMAN. That is right—yes, sir.

Mr. GROSS. So it goes beyond the currency being burned, mutilated, or worn out. This device can be used to remove from circulation those certificates that they do not want in circulation whether they are worn out or mutilated or not.

Mr. PATMAN. That is another law. The other law relates to Federal Reserve notes of $1 denomination. The Federal Reserve never had a denomination of less than $5 before the recent passage of that law, but now they can issue $1 notes for the purpose of taking the place of the $1 silver certificates. Therefore, the $1 silver certificates will be replaced as they come in.

Mr. GROSS. In other words, will this legislation force the turn-in of the old silver certificates?

Mr. PATMAN. It will not force them in, but as they come in they will be replaced.

Mr. GROSS. Will this aid in the process that we are considering——

Mr. PATMAN. It does not have anything to do with that process. I will state to the gentleman that it is a different situation entirely. The measure before the House relates only to currency that is no longer fit for use, whether it is by being soiled, torn, mutilated, or whatever the reason, it is considered no longer useful.

Mr. GROSS. Now there are reports that some of Lyndon Johnson's "funny money" is coming apart at the seams. I refer to those new sandwich coins. Would this bill provide that such coins be taken out of circulation as well?

Mr. PATMAN. I do not know where you get the phrase "funny money."

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman knows very well where I get the phrase "funny money."

Mr. PATMAN. It is the gentleman's privilege to use any phrase he desires, but it has no connection with the coins, I will state to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. This bill, then, has no connection with——

Mr. PATMAN. With the coins.

Mr. GROSS. With the "funny money."

Mr. PATMAN. Well, I did not say "funny money." I said, "with the coins." If there is any "funny money," I do not know where it is—$500 is worth $500; you cannot get it for $400. Anyone has got to accept it. It is acceptable for the payment of taxes.

Mr. GROSS. Do you mean the quarters that used to be worth 24 cents and are now worth intrinsically 3 cents, and dimes in the same proportion? I call that "funny money." The gentleman can call it anything he wishes to call it.

Mr. PATMAN. As long as everyone, including the Government of the United States and all the 3,000 governments in the United States are compelled to accept this money 100 cents on the dollar for debts and taxes, and everyone is responsible in the same way, it is not "funny money." It is good money. It is the very best.

Mr. GROSS. We could argue the rest of the afternoon on that subject.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a vote.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from New Jersey desire to use time?

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RUMSFELD].

ORIGIN OF THE PHRASE "THE GREAT SOCIETY"

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to speak out of order, and to revise and extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I believe I have discovered where the phrase "the Great Society" may have originated. We all know how the President and the administration talk about the "Great Society" and the so-called "creative federalism." In my opinion it is not really creative federalism. In fact, it is not creative or federalism. It is centralism.

The President's use of the phrase "the Great Society," might lead one to believe that it had been invented by this administration.

But I was reading through House Document No. 398, 69th Congress, 1st session, put out by the Government Printing Office, titled "Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States." On page 190 there is a report on the "Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787" as reported by James Madison, bearing on this subject.

On June 11, 1787, according to Madison, a Mr. George Read of Delaware wanted to abolish States and have one National Government only.

According to Madison, "Mr. Read disliked the idea of guaranteeing territory," meaning States. He said, according to Madison, that "guaranteeing territory abetted the idea of distinct States which would be a perpetual source of discord."

Mr. Read stated:

> There can be no cure for this evil but in doing away with States altogether and uniting them into—

Believe it or not—

one great society.

This quotation leads me to believe that the President not only did not discover the phrase "the Great Society," but that it was rejected overwhelmingly back in 1787, because the idea of doing away with States was thought to be unwise and unworkable.

We need the balance between the Federal Government, State governments, and local governments. We lose something when we give up the balance.

The phrase, "the Great Society," can be traced at least back to 1787. Certainly the President did not invent it. He merely resurrected something that was rejected many years ago, in 1787.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California [Mr. DEL CLAWSON].

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 5305, a bill to authorize revised procedures for the destruction of unfit Federal Reserve notes.

I want the House to be assured that the Committee on Banking and Currency, as well as a special subcommittee upon which I served, thoroughly studied this matter before reporting the bill.

The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. MINISH] and the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. WELTNER], and I, served on a special subcommittee organized to look into every aspect of the administration's request for this legislation. We traveled to the New York Federal Reserve Bank in February and observed the procedures used for the destruction of unfit currency under existing authority. We also made inquiries of the Comptroller of the Currency's Office here in Washington with particular regard to the urgency for passage of this bill. At the conclusion of our special subcommittee study, we reported back to the full committee at which time we explored in executive session certain aspects of counterfeiting operations that might be affected by this legislation.

Basically, the bill would transfer to the Secretary of the Treasury the statutory authority and the responsibility presently held by the Comptroller of the Currency with respect to the cancellation and destruction of unfit Federal Reserve notes. In 1953, an arrangement was worked out for the verification and destruction of unfit silver certificates in the Federal Reserve banks under regulations and procedures prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury. This arrangement has saved annually about $500,000 which would otherwise have been the cost of preparing for shipment and shipping unfit silver certificates to Washington. Now that silver certificates are being replaced with Federal Reserve notes, those notes will soon make up the bulk of the unfit currency which must be destroyed. However, under existing law, unfit Federal Reserve notes must first be sent to Washington for cancellation and destruction by the Comptroller. Consequently, the first purpose of H.R. 5305 would be to eliminate this requirement so that savings realized in the past for the destruction of silver certificates would be continued in a consistent pattern. It has been estimated, that with passage of this bill, total annual savings would be more than $1 million per year.

Further, the bill would eliminate the need whereby the Federal Reserve bank which issued a particular note scheduled for destruction must be credited with its retirement. Because there are 12 Federal Reserve banks, this would mean that there would have to be a 12-way sorting out of all unfit Federal Reserve notes. This would create a very cumbersome accounting process. Our special subcommittee and the full committee were assured by the Treasury and Federal Reserve officials that it would be unnecessary to match retirements of notes by specific banks with issuances on the basis of individual sorting out so long as retirements of the System as a whole are accounted for exactly. We were advised that the apportionment of retired notes can be made satisfactorily on a formula basis. Such an accurate formula has already been devised.

This bill was recommended by the Treasury Department and will provide immediate relief to the Comptroller's Office as well as realizing considerable annual savings to the taxpayers.

I urge its passage.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. MINISH].

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, I join with the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency that H.R. 5305 is an extremely important piece of legislation. While the savings to be realized by its enactment is a very important consideration, the importance of H.R. 5305 goes far beyond the question of economy.

It was my honor to head up a special subcommittee to study and evaluate currency distribution procedures. Our special subcommittee visited the Treasury Department here in Washington to inspect the operations involved in the verification and destruction of Federal Reserve notes and all kinds of currency received from banks in the Washington area. We also visited the Federal Reserve Bank of New York to inspect the operations performed there in verifying and destroying unfit Treasury currency. The present bill provides, of course, that the Federal Reserve banks be permitted to verify and destroy Federal Reserve notes as well upon delegation of this function from the Secretary of the Treasury.

As Chairman PATMAN has stated, the present law requires that unfit Federal Reserve notes be returned to Washington for verification and destruction by the Comptroller of the Currency. The savings to be realized by enactment of H.R. 5305 would arise from destroying this currency on a regional basis rather than having to ship it to Washington.

I will just take a few moments to highlight some very interesting facts concerning currency handling which the special subcommittee learned. Federal Reserve notes of $1 denominations authorized in 1963 by Public Law 88–36 are rapidly replacing silver certificates as the Nation's main circulating currency. 1.2 billion $1 Federal Reserve notes were delivered from the Bureau of Engraving and Printing to the Comptroller of the Currency in fiscal 1965. No silver certificates have been issued since September 1964. At the end of fiscal 1965, Federal Reserve notes in the face amount of $37.3 billion were outstanding, while Treasury currency in the form of silver certificates amounted to only $1.2 billion. The cumulative total of all Federal Reserve notes delivered to the Comptroller of the Currency since the establishment of the Federal Reserve System in 1913 through fiscal 1965 is over $214 billion, amounting to nearly 20 billion separate bills. Unfit Federal Reserve notes retired by the Comptroller of the Currency for the same period exceeded $156 billion.

While the law provides that the Federal Reserve Board supervise and regulate the Comptroller's activities in issuing and retiring Federal Reserve notes, in practice this has not been observed. With respect to the performance of the Federal Reserve banks in verifying and destroying Treasury currency since 1953, it is expected that the General Accounting Office audit as provided in this bill will improve matters. However, it should be pointed out that this bill does not provide for an audit of the issuance and delivery of the Federal Reserve notes by the Comptroller of the Currency.

While the savings which the bill would permit will not accrue directly to the Treasury, the same ultimate effect would be achieved since the savings would be reflected in higher System payments to the Treasury.

I feel this bill is a sound economy measure and would greatly improve accountability to Congress in the conduct of an important segment of the Nation's monetary management.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL].

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I have simply one question. I wonder if the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency of this House will assure the House that there is nothing in this legislation which will permit undue printing of Federal Reserve notes by the 12 different Federal Reserve banks, which will open up a Pandora's box of inflation and use of printing press money, after we have removed our silver bullion backing of the former certificates?

I understand the purpose of the legislation. It has been well explained here by the chairman, as far as the unfit money is concerned, and its destruction, and the elimination of shipping charges. The work of the subcommittee has been well explained.

There is still a vague question in my mind. If we do not allocate back from the Secretary of the Treasury—or Comptroller of the Currency—to the 12 Federal Reserve banks the amount that is being destroyed, will they have unlimited license to profit additional Federal Reserve notes, after we have, of course, removed the gold cover and the silver backing some time ago?

Mr. PATMAN. I do not believe the gentleman's fears are well founded. I am sure that would be impossible.

There is only one difference. Instead of actually counting every dollar bill, every $5 bill and every $10 bill, and then destroying them, they would do it through a formula. The end result would be the same for all 12 Reserve banks, in proportion to the number of bills and the dollar amounts each bank had outstanding.

I suggest to the gentleman that our law on that is very plain, concerning the Federal Reserve notes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman 2 additional minutes.

Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALL. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PATMAN. Under the present law, the 12 banks are still autonomous. Many people do not accept that as true, but it is. They are separate and distinct banks. The only central bank we have in this country is the Federal open market committee; that is, the Federal Reserve Board and five presidents of the 12 Federal Reserve banks, who act as the Federal open market committee. That part becomes a central bank, and that part only. The other 12 banks still function exactly as they did immediately after the act was passed in 1913; that is, if a bank desires Federal Reserve notes it applies to the Federal Reserve agent in the district in which the bank is located, and it must comply with certain rules about proper collateral, security, and things like that in order to get the Federal Reserve notes desired. Those prerequisites remain in the law, and there is absolutely no danger that this will give any Federal Reserve bank power to issue more Federal Reserve notes, or any other kind of liability which could be passed as a negotiable instrument, without using the exact procedure contained in the law.

Mr. HALL. The gentleman's words are reassuring. I am not at all certain that my fears are unfounded. I believe they are being reflected on the floor today in this dialog as the fears of the Nation, in view of what has happened to our currency in recent months and in recent years. For that reason I have raised the question for the purpose of making a legislative record.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time. I ask for a vote.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Texas that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill H.R. 5305, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the Senate bill (S. 1308) to authorize revised procedures for the destruction of unfit Federal Reserve notes, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

S. 1308

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the third paragraph of section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended (12 U.S.C. 413), is hereby further amended by revising the last sentence thereof to read as follows: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, Federal Reserve notes unfit for circulation shall be canceled, destroyed, and accounted for under procedures prescribed and at locations designated by the Secretary of the Treasury. Upon destruction of such notes, credit with respect thereto shall be apportioned among the twelve Federal Reserve banks as determined by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System."

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. PATMAN

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the provisions of H.R. 5305, just passed.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. PATMAN: Strike out all after the enacting clause of S. 1308 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SECTION 1. The first sentence of section 324 of the Revised Statutes (12 U.S.C. 1) is amended by inserting 'except for the cancellation and destruction, and accounting with respect to such cancellation and destruction, of Federal Reserve notes unfit for circulation,' immediately after 'of all Federal Reserve notes,'.

"SEC. 2. Paragraph (d) of section 11 of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 248(d)) is amended by inserting 'except for the cancellation and destruction, and accounting with respect to such cancellation and destruction of note unfit for circulation,' immediately after "To supervise and regulate through the Bureau under the charge of the Comptroller of the Currency the issue and retirement of Federal Reserve notes'.

"SEC. 3. The third paragraph of section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 413) is amended by striking the last sentence and inserting: 'Federal Reserve notes unfit for circulation shall be canceled, destroyed, and accounted for under procedures prescribed and at locations designated by the Secretary of the Treasury. Upon destruction of such notes, credit with respect thereto shall be apportioned among the twelve Federal Reserve banks as determined by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.'

"SEC. 4. (a) The first section of the Act of June 13, 1933 (48 Stat. 127, 12 U.S.C. 121a), is amended by inserting ', other than Federal Reserve notes,' immediately before 'so redeemed shall be forwarded to the Comptroller of the Currency for cancellation and destruction.'.

"(b) Section 2 of such Act (12 U.S.C. 122a) is amended by changing 'in proportion to the amount of Federal Reserve notes of each Federal Reserve bank in circulation on the 31st day of December of the year preceding the date of redemption, and the amount so apportioned to each bank shall be charged by the Treasurer of the United States against deposit in the gold-redemption fund made by such bank or its Federal Reserve agent' to read 'as determined by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System'.

"SEC. 5. The Comptroller General of the United States shall audit the cancellation and destruction, and the accounting with respect to such cancellation and destruction, of any currency of the United States unfit for circulation, regardless of who is responsible for, and regardless of who performs, such cancellation, destruction or accounting. The Comptroller General shall have access to any books, documents, papers, and records which he deems necessary to facilitate an effective audit pursuant to this section."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 5305) was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate, by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a resolution of the following title:

S. RES. 253

Resolved that the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. PATRICK V. MCNAMARA, late a Senator from the State of Michigan.

Resolved that a committee of Senators be appointed by the President of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased.

Resolved that the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved that, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

PRESERVATION AND PROTECTION OF LANDS IN MARYLAND

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 13417) to amend the act of October 4, 1961, to facilitate the efficient preservation and protection of certain lands in Prince Georges and Charles Counties, Md. and for other purposes, with a committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 13417

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) in order to achieve more efficiently the purposes of the Act of October 4, 1961 (75 Stat. 780), the first sentence of section 2(b) of said Act is amended to read as follows: "When the Secretary of the Interior receives a commitment, subject to such conditions as shall be agreeable to him and the potential donor or donors, in accordance with which commitment the property referred to in subsection (a) will be donated to the United States for purposes of this Act, he is authorized to acquire by such means as he finds are in the public interest other land and interests in land lying within the area identified as 'Fee Acquisition Area' on the drawing entitled 'Piscataway Park', numbered NCR 69.714–18, and dated January 25, 1966, which is on file and available for public inspection in the offices of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior."

(b) Section 2(b) of said Act is further amended by inserting at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"With respect to any property acquired within the 'Fee Acquisition Area' except property donated to the United States, the Secretary may convey a freehold or leasehold interest therein, subject to such terms and conditions as assure the Secretary control over the property and its use solely in accordance with the purposes of this Act. When the Secretary exercises his discretion to convey such interest, he shall do so to the highest bidder, in accordance with such regulations as he may prescribe, but such conveyance shall be at not less than the fair market value of the property, as determined by the Secretary. Within the 'Fee Acquisition Area', the Secretary may accept title to any non-Federal property or interest therein and in exchange therefor he may convey to the grantor of such property any federally owned property or interest therein within such area. The values of the properties so exchanged either shall be approximately equal, or if they are not approximately equal the values shall be equalized by the payment of cash to the grantor from moneys appropriated to carry out the provisions of this Act or to the Secretary as the circumstances require. The proceeds received from any conveyance under this subsection shall be credited to the Land and Water Conservation Fund in the Treasury of the United States."

(c) The first sentence of section 2(c) of said Act is amended to read as follows: "To further the preservation objective of this Act the Secretary may accept donations of scenic easements in the land within the described area now leased and operated by the Marshall Hall Park, Incorporated, as more specifically described in a deed, recorded in the land records of Charles County, Maryland, in folio 12, liber 131, and the area designated as 'Scenic Protection Area' on the drawing referred to in subsection (b) of this section."

SEC. 2. Section 4 of said Act is amended by striking "$937,600" and substituting "4,132,000".

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is a second demanded?

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, a second will be considered as ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I shall consume.

Mr. Speaker, those of you who were with us in the 87th Congress will probably recall the legislation, involving the lands in question today, which was enacted in 1961. The aim of the bill before us today—H.R. 13417—is not wholly different from that embodied in Public Law 87–362. Like that legislation, this bill seeks to maintain and preserve the historic vista and natural environs of Mount Vernon, the George Washington Memorial Parkway, and Fort Washington. In addition, it looks to the establishment of a small public park and the preservation of some areas of archeological significance.

Probably no one person has done more, as an individual, to promote the preservation of this scenic, natural area near the National Capital than our colleague, the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON]. Her efforts and encouragement have played a major part in making possible the acquisition of substantial amounts of land in the area for donation by private organizations to the U.S. Government for appropriate protection and development for the enjoyment of Americans now and in the future. In spite of the efforts of Mrs. BOLTON and public-spirited groups like the Accokeek Foundation, the Alice Ferguson Foundation, and the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, this hope has not yet been fully realized.

In 1961, your committee and this House recognized the fact that the bulging population in the Washington metropolitan area was rapidly enveloping the scenic natural sites which make this area beautiful. We recognized then, as I hope we will today, that a strong effort would be required to preserve some of the natural beauty spots of the area as places of relaxation and as places of outdoor recreation.

The joint resolution which we adopted in 1961 provided for the acquisition in fee of 1,186 acres of land. In accordance with our established practice, the committee included in its recommendation a maximum authorized appropriation of $938,000—the amount which reflected the estimates of the Department of the Interior based on land transactions which were then taking place.

Some progress has been made toward meeting the objectives of the 1961 legislation. Unfortunately, however, rapidly rising land costs have required a reevaluation of the project in light of the ceiling placed in the authorizing legislation. This situation stands as a classic example of the need for such limitations. With an open-ended authorization, the Park Service could have requested appropriations far in excess of those anticipated at the time the project was authorized. But with the limitation, the Park Service has had to reevaluate its estimates and, accordingly, seek new authority.

So far, $391,132 has been appropriated by Congress to initiate the necessary land acquisition program. This year, the Budget included another $544,500 for land acquisition under existing authority, but our Appropriations Committee recommended deletion of these funds, noting in its report—House Report 1405, 89th Congress, pages 11–12—that its action "does not necessarily indicate the committee's opposition to this proposal." The report further indicated that:

> The committee is of the opinion that in those instances where legislation is pending on certain land acquisition projects, the appropriation of funds should not precede the policy guidelines to be established by the authorizing committee.

In deferring action on the budget request, the Appropriations Committee had in mind the authorizing legislation which we have before us today which, if enacted, will increase the amount authorized to be appropriated from $938,000 to $4,132,000. No one can deny that this is a tremendous increase in cost, and I do not pretend to be undisturbed. The facts are that most of this increase can be attributed to skyrocketing land prices and, in part, to estimates which were not wholly realistic.

So far, under congressional authority and appropriations, 97 acres have been acquired by purchase. Thanks to the generosity of the Accokeek Foundation fee title to another 151 acres of land has been donated to the United States and another 345 acres have been offered for donation by the Accokeek and Alice Ferguson Foundations. To fulfill the present plans another 521 acres are to be acquired.

The plan which is envisaged in this legislation is a comparatively unique one—one which, if successful, could revolutionize our park acquisition program. As with other park areas, some of the land is to be acquired in fee for preservation or development for public use, but, in addition, the plan contemplates a private development zone in which this legislation authorizes less than fee acquisition where uses not inconsistent with park objectives could continue—these uses include orchards, grazing, woodlots, and other present agricultural activities. By the terms of this bill, acquisition of a less than fee interest is authorized if the owner is willing to sell such an interest at a reasonable price. On the other hand, if the landowner demands an unreasonably high price—a price approaching the value of the fee—then the bill permits the acquisition of the fee and authorizes the Department to sell back or lease back the land subject to such terms and conditions as are necessary to assure its use to be compatible with park objectives. Some of the costs incurred would, of course, be recouped under this phase of the proposal—perhaps, in the neighborhood of $300,000.

Most of the people presently owning property within the vicinity of the park seem to favor the plan. Scenic easements, covering nearly 1,000 acres of land in the "Scenic Protection Area" adjoining the park, have already been donated to the Government. It is hoped that many more public-spirited individuals will make similar contributions to this national effort.

What we will have under this bill, then, is a new concept: a concept involving, with one park area, a mixture of fee acquisition—where the public interest demands it—and of easements, where that is satisfactory to protect the present values of the area from deterioration.

Hopefully, by this legislation we not only fulfill the objectives of Public Law 87-362, but we will also provide a small public park in the Washington area and protect and preserve an area of significant archeological value. The foresight and interest of the distinguished ranking minority members of the committee enabled us to begin this effort and it is with this same interest and dedication that the gentleman from Pennsylvania has prompted this proposal today.

I recommend passage of the bill by the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL] has consumed 9 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR].

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may use.

Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I rise in support of H.R. 13417, a bill to amend the act of October 4, 1961, to facilitate the efficient preservation and protection of certain lands in Prince Georges and Charles Counties, Md., and for other purposes.

Simply stated, Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 13417 is to update the act of October 4, 1961, preserving the view from that historic and scenic spot known to all Americans and the world as the home of President George Washington—Mount Vernon. I have had considerable interest in attempting to preserve the view from Mount Vernon for years.

Approximately 10 years ago it came to the attention of some the Members of this body that the view from Mount Vernon was threatened. This view was threatened not by an ordinary invasion, but by the erection of a sewage disposal plant to be erected immediately opposite the site of Mount Vernon. At such time, efforts by the citizenry of both Virginia and Maryland, Members of Congress, the Ladies of Mount Vernon, and others were made to preserve the view and agreements were sought to assure that the view from Mount Vernon would not be impaired. Failing to obtain such assurances, I introduced in this body a bill to preserve the view from Mount Vernon.

The 87th Congress passed such legislation, thereby expressing its approval of the purpose and objectives set forth therein, and the President signed the bill into law.

The legislation so enacted provided for the acquisition in fee of about 1,186 acres of land in Maryland opposite Mount Vernon and the acquisition of scenic easements on another 1,410 acres in order to preserve, as nearly as possible, the view from George Washington's home in the condition it was during his lifetime and to prevent intrusion on the valuable archeological site at which the Susquehanna Indians had a large fort when Capt. John Smith observed the area in 1608.

The authorized appropriation of $937,600 in the 1961 act has not been sufficient to fulfill the land acquisition requirements as contemplated in passage of the 1961 act. The legislation before you today proposes to increase the amount of money necessary for the acquisition of these lands to the sum of $4,132,000.

Now, I am sure many will feel that this is a tremendous increase. It is, and I do not want to minimize it in any way. But, I must state to my colleagues that this tremendous increase is caused by the substantial escalation in land prices in this area since the hearings on the 1961 act. And, I should further point out that this is a shining example of what the chairman of the full committee [Mr. ASPINALL], and I pointed out when we appeared before the Appropriations Committee, when we stated that in order to implement the legislation passed requiring land acquisition for our national parks and recreation areas, it becomes imperative that we meet our responsibility and provide the funds immediately for such acquisitions. Unless this is done, the best estimates on costs of land acquisition put before Congress in considering passage of such legislation will rapidly become obsolete and place an additional burden upon our legislative process.

Mr. Speaker, the legislation before you is an example of the additional burden of which I speak. However, H.R. 13417 also embodies a new concept in land acquisition which I hope will be a step forward in solving the price escalation in areas to be acquired by our National Park Service. Enactment of this legislation will provide the opportunity to implement this new concept in land acquisition.

Mr. Speaker, before concluding, I should like to commend those who have so generously given their time and effort in this cause. In particular, I wish to commend my colleagues, the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON], and the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MACHEN]. Their efforts in this area have been a source of encouragement to many and provides the basis for a cooperative forum in which others can work to achieve the purpose and objectives set forth in the act of 1961.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support the passage of this bill in order that the objectives of the act of October 4, 1961, as passed by the 87th Congress may be carried out as intended by this body. Thank you.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I am happy to yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I merely want to compliment the gentleman who is in the well of the House for his leadership in this matter and to commend both him and the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs for this fresh evidence of continuing concern in the field of conservation and in the field of preservation of areas of great scenic beauty and historic importance to the country.

Mr. SAYLOR. I thank my colleague.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has consumed 4 minutes.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MACHEN].

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak on behalf of the legislation to save the view from Mount Vernon. In so doing, I would like to recall my remarks of March 9, 1966, when I introduced this measure. I stated then that:

> Time has been running out in our campaign to save the view from Mount Vernon.

I stated that:

> We can stop the clock by enacting this bipartisan measure in this session of the 89th Congress.

Mr. Speaker, today we will go a long way toward this goal by approving this measure. And I would like to add that much of our progress on this bill can and should be attributed to the leadership of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and in particular to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] who joined me in this bill to save the view from Mount Vernon. The reputation of this distinguished gentleman in behalf of conservation is well known to all of us and I am looking forward to working with him in more legislation of this type.

The bill we are considering today is the second I have introduced in the 89th Congress in my efforts to meet our obligation at Piscataway Park across the Potomac River from Mount Vernon. Realizing that the deadline for action was drawing near, I introduced my original bill last July 22. I am proud that an identical measure was introduced last January in the other body by the distinguished junior Senator from Maryland.

After I introduced my original bill, I thought we were on our way to preserving the view from Mount Vernon by increasing the authorization for land acquisition at Piscataway Park in order to meet rapidly increasing land prices in that part of Prince Georges County. But then the Interior Department issued its report on my original bill and the report's recommendation for deferral of action came as a rude shock to me.

In my own mind I could not justify or rationalize the Department's recommendation that action be deferred indefinitely. This was supposed to be the same Department that the President pledged to making the Potomac River a model for the Nation. How could we meet this mandate if the Interior Department were going to let this project slip through our fingers, possibly losing it to development forever? I continued to press for a favorable report for my bill, asking the Interior Department to reconsider its action. In several speeches and public statements I expressed my dismay for what appeared to be a hypocritical attitude by the administration. Finally, I was informed that a new bill was being drafted which would have the support of the administration. Thanks to the very kind cooperation of Mr. Aspinall I was honored to introduce this measure. I am very pleased with its provisions and I give it my wholehearted support, although I still have some qualms about the time that we lost while it was making its way through the long line of executive machinery. The same measure was introduced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Saylor] and by the distinguished senior Senator from Maryland.

This bill goes much further than the original bill I introduced last July. I believe it is an ambitious and farsighted bill which will give us the most appropriate tools to preserve the view from Mount Vernon at Piscataway Park. I believe that it is also a landmark in the history of securing open spaces and saving scenic values.

Besides increasing the monetary authorization from $937,600 to $4,132,000, this measure would establish three land-use zones at Piscataway Park, not including the large area authorized for donation of scenic easements. Briefly, these zones would have varied degrees of public access, accommodations and development compatible with the park setting. To my knowledge, this is the first time such a land-use program has been proposed by the administration in parkland legislation and I am very pleased that the Interior Department has selected Piscataway Park to launch it. I feel very confident about the success of this land-use program.

Planning and zoning for land use has been practiced by our local jurisdictions for a long time. While the Federal Government is exempt from zoning regulations, I think it is a very healthy situation when the Government takes the prerogative and says that it, too, believes in and practices planning and land management. It certainly is an intelligent approach to preservation and use of an area where there are several types of interests in parkland, both private, public and donated easements.

At this point I would like to state that we in Prince Georges County have not been remiss in preservation of natural beauty. Through the generosity of the State legislature, the county commissioners have passed an ordinance which allows a tax credit for those private landowners who donate scenic easements to the county, State or Federal Governments in areas designated by a State agency as open spaces. In this manner we have provided an incentive for active participation on a local level in the campaign for natural beauty. And it is my firm belief that the great future of preservation of scenic values lies in large measure with the cooperation and participation of the private landowner.

I think we all realize that it has got to be a two-way street. The success of this campaign rests not only with the Congress and the administration but also with the local landowner. Our governments at all levels must provide the tools, and some of the money, but the task is so fantastically great that it cannot be accomplished alone by heavy doses of Federal expenditures and condemnation. It must be a partnership of the landowner and his Government.

Mr. Speaker, this has been the case at Piscataway Park. The citizen landowners and the nonprofit foundations in that area have set an example for the Nation. They have been more than ready and willing to do everything in their power to see this project through to fruition. Their efforts have been admirable and I only wish that more landowners up and down the Potomac River, and elsewhere, were as responsive as those persons in the Piscataway Park area.

At this part we are fighting to keep the status quo, not to change it. We are fighting against change because change would destroy that which we are attempting to preserve.

But in keeping the status quo, we have a golden opportunity to give a road test—so to speak—to new methods of preserving natural beauty. In our quest for the least expensive but most effective preservation tools we should not let this opportunity pass to test what might prove to be a bold new program of land-use management in scenic areas. At a price tag of $4.1 million, I think it is a bargain. I am optimistic that we shall reap its rewards many times over. At the same time allow me to point out that this is a drop in the bucket compared with what the cost would have been without the support and cooperation of the local landowners. And, it is obvious to everyone that land prices have greatly escalated all along the river since 1961 when the original authorization was enacted.

There is one last point I would like to make: That is the time factor involved here. As I stated time is running out at Piscataway Park. We can stop the clock by expeditious action on this legislation.

Because of the reversionary clauses in the scenic easements and the lands that have been donated so far, we are rapidly approaching the 1967 deadline. This is probably our last chance to preserve the view from Mount Vernon. This is probably our last chance to prove here that we can preserve natural beauty without enormous Federal expenditures in areas characterized by a large group of individuals dedicated to maintaining scenic values. This may be our last chance to carry out a pilot project demonstrating that the Government and the citizen landowners can work hand-in-hand toward a goal of vital importance to the people of our country.

Mr. Speaker, it is even conceivable that this project at Piscataway Park could be the last stronghold against urban envelopment along the Maryland shores of the Potomac River in this metropolitan area. Land speculators and developers are knocking on the door to Maryland's Potomac shorelines and it is becoming more and more difficult to keep it locked.

I believe that we must make our stand and hold firm against this onslaught. So far, in other places above Piscataway Park along the river, we have slowly been losing ground, mainly because of petty politics, indifference, misrepresentation and provincial thinking. If we lose ground at Piscataway Park too, the result could be tragic. But it will not be because of the reasons I have cited for the ground we are losing above the park. There is virtually no opposition in the Piscataway Park area to fulfillment of our obligation to preserve the view from Mount Vernon on the Maryland shoreline.

In closing I wish to reiterate my heartfelt gratitude to the Interior Committee, to those in the other body who have strongly supported this legislation, and to the foundations and citizens of Prince Georges County all of whose efforts will make this measure a landmark in preservation of scenic values through the cooperative efforts of the private landowner and his government.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Aspinall], that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill H.R. 13417, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HIGHER EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1966

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 14644) to amend the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 to extend it for 3 years, and for other purposes; and to authorize assistance to developing institutions for an additional year.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 14644

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Higher Education Amendments of 1966".

EXTENSION OF GRANTS FOR CONSTRUCTION OF UNDERGRADUATE ACADEMIC FACILITIES

Sec. 2. (a) Section 101(a) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 is amended by striking out "four succeeding fiscal years" and inserting in lieu thereof "seven succeeding fiscal years".

(b) Section 101(b) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(b) For the purpose of making grants under this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $230,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, and for the succeeding fiscal year, $460,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, $453,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, $700,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and $900,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969; but the the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the succeeding fiscal year, only such sums may be appropriated as Congress may hereafter authorize by law. In addition to the sums authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year for which an appropriation is authorized by the preceding sentence, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for that fiscal year for making such grants the difference (if any) between any specific sums authorized to be appropriated under the preceding sentence for the preceding fiscal year and the sums which were appropriated for such preceding year under such sentence."

PAYMENTS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES AND FOR PLANNING

SEC. 3. Subsection (b) of section 105 of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 is amended to read as follows:

"(b) The Commissioner is authorized to expend not exceeding $3,000,000 during the fiscal years ending June 30, 1965, and June 30, 1966, and not exceeding $7,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and each of the two succeeding fiscal years, in such amounts as he may consider necessary (1) for the proper and efficient administration of the State plans approved under this title, including expenses which he determines were necessary for the preparation of such plans, and (2) for grants, upon such terms and conditions as the Commissioner determines will best further the purposes of this Act, to State commissions for conducting, either directly or through other appropriate agencies and institutions, comprehensive planning to determine the construction needs of institutions (and particularly combinations and regional groupings of institutions) of higher education. Not more than $3,000,000 may be expended in any fiscal year for the purposes set forth in clause (1). For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the succeeding fiscal year, the Commissioner may expend for purposes of this subsection only such sums as Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

EXTENSION OF GRANTS FOR CONSTRUCTION OF GRADUATE ACADEMIC FACILITIES; EXTENDING AVAILABILITY OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 4. Section 201 of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 201. In order to increase the supply of highly qualified personnel critically needed by the community, industry, government, research, and teaching, the Commissioner shall, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, and each of the seven succeeding fiscal years, make construction grants to assist institutions of higher education to improve existing graduate schools and cooperative graduate centers, and to assist in the establishment of graduate schools and cooperative graduate centers of excellence. For the purpose of making grants under this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $25,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, the sum of $60,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, the sum of $120,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, the sum of $60,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, the sum of $90,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and the sum of $120,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969; but for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the succeeding fiscal year, only such sums may be appropriated as Congress may hereafter authorize by law. In addition to the sums authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year for which an appropriation is authorized by the preceding sentence, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for that fiscal year for making such grants the difference (if any) between any specific sums authorized to be appropriated under the preceding sentence for the preceding fiscal year and the sums which were appropriated for such preceding year under such sentence. Sums appropriated pursuant to this title for any fiscal year shall remain available for grants under this title until expended."

EXTENSION OF LOANS FOR CONSTRUCTION OF ACADEMIC FACILITIES

SEC. 5. Section 303(c) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 is amended—

(1) by striking out "four" in the first sentence and inserting "seven";

(2) by striking out in the second sentence "; but for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967," and inserting in lieu thereof ", the sum of $200,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for each of the two succeeding fiscal years; but for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970,"; and

(3) by amending the third and fourth sentences to read as follows: "In addition to the sums authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year for which an appropriation is authorized by the preceding sentence, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for that fiscal year, for making such loans, the difference (if any) between any specific sums authorized to be appropriated under the preceding sentence for the preceding fiscal year and the sums which were appropriated for such preceding year under such sentence. Sums appropriated pursuant to this subsection for any fiscal year shall be available without fiscal-year limitation for loans under this title."

CLARIFYING AMENDMENT OF DEFINITION OF DEVELOPMENT COST

SEC. 6. Subsection (c) of section 401 of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 is amended (1) by inserting "(1)" immediately after "(c)", (2) by redesignating clauses (1) and (2) as clauses (A) and (B), respectively, (3) by redesignating subclauses (A) and (B) as subclauses (i) and (ii), and (4) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(2) In determining the development cost with respect to an academic facility, the Commissioner may include expenditures for works of art for the facility of not to exceed 1 per centum of the total cost (including such expenditures) to the applicant of construction of, and land acquisition and site improvements for, such facility."

REPEAL OF AUTHORITY TO PRESCRIBE A SCHEDULE OF FEES FOR CERTAIN INSPECTIONS AND RELATED ACTIVITIES

SEC. 7. The Higher Education Facilities Act 1963 is amended by striking out subsection (b) of section 304 and by redesignating subsection (c) and references thereto as subsection (b).

ONE-YEAR EXTENSION OF ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPING INSTITUTIONS

SEC. 8. Paragraph (1) of section 301(b) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended by inserting after "June 30, 1966," the following: "and the sum of $30,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967,".

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is a second demanded?

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, a second will be considered as ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL] will be recognized for 20 minutes and the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] will be recognized for 20 minutes. The Chair now recognizes the gentleman from New York.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, bricks and mortar do not an education make. But without them, none of the other imaginative programs in aid of higher education devised by the Committee on Education and Labor, and particularly the Special Subcommittee on Education, so ably chaired by Congresswoman EDITH GREEN, would be implementable.

Five years ago when I assumed the chairmanship of the Education and Labor Committee, there were no Federal grants for construction of facilities in colleges and universities. Since 1963, the Federal commitment for this noble purpose has been $4,355 million.

If there were not a program of Federal grants and loans to aid the construction of facilities for higher education, which I ask the House to extend and expand today by passing H.R. 14644, costs to both undergraduate and graduate students would soar into the stratosphere.

It is far more economic and efficient to help the colleges and universities keep their expenses down than to continue pumping more and more funds into the hands of students across the country in a frantic effort to boost their power to purchase that most vital of all luxury items—an education that suits their capabilities and interests.

In the best of all possible worlds, H.R. 14644 would be authorizing billions, not millions. As President Johnson himself said on April 22:

> Today the question is, "Are we doing enough?" * * * the answer—because we are Americans—must always be "No."

Compared to the burgeoning demand, what we are asking you to supply in this bill for fiscal years 1967, 1968, and 1969 is a drop in the bucket. Our budget not only can, but must afford it. One hundred chemistry students sharing a handful of bunsen burners in an overcrowded, prefabricated quonset hut is not education. It is an uncivilized, destructive waste of talent.

The $453 million we propose in seed money grants for undergraduate facilities for fiscal 1967, which will be available as before on a minimum matching basis of 60 percent for public community colleges, and 66⅔ percent for all other institutions, would make possible a harvest of $1.6 billion worth of buildings, if past yield remains constant.

Graduate facilities construction would be promoted this year with $60 million, a sum which is expected to be exceeded by $40 million in application demand before this June ends.

Loans at the new, more attractive 3-percent rate we wrote into the law last fall and up to a nationwide total of $200 million round out this sequence of construction assistance. Only the loan authorization for fiscal 1967 contrasts favorably with this year. The grant requests are merely for more of the same.

We do not intend to cram our students' minds, while ignoring their senses. We have allowed institutions to reserve up to 1 percent of their Federal aid to place works of art in the facilities. Culture will now be able to invade the classroom as it has the dormitory. Other amendments include provision of $7 million to cover the cost of State master planning efforts to utilize Federal funds more effectively, and the extension of the availability of graduate grants and all loans until expended, without regard to fiscal year.

The other major part of this package involves the extension of title III of the act of 1965 relating to developing institutions for another year at the original authorization level of $30 million.

It pains me to report that the Office of Education has been dragging its heels in implementing this title. All the advisory committees and guidelines in the world do not help starving, struggling colleges, such as the small and hopefully not for too long, all-Negro schools in the South. Eight months from enactment and appropriation to the first awarding of grants smacks of lethargy where urgency is most essential. When Harvard and MIT get Federal funds, they get them quickly and in superabundance. This is not true of small colleges in Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, and other Southern States. It is time now to move swiftly to succor the smallest and most isolated schools, so that their graduates do not emerge into this competitive world with both hands tied behind their backs.

One title the administration sent up is noticeably missing from the bill before you. Its absence is not to be regretted. I refer, of course, to the President's proposal to replace the National Defense Education Act student loan program by making students depend primarily upon bankers, not educators, for credit aid. While it is laudable to substitute private for public credit, budgetary magic is never to be valued higher than the right of our students to receive a college education. Five years ago, NDEA loans to students totaled $82½ million. Today, it has more than doubled to $180 million. This program has proved a workable and satisfactory arrangement and the American banking community is not enthusiastic about disturbing it.

The American Banking Association indicated to this committee that they did not want to assume this responsibility, nor could they guarantee that they could make loans to all deserving students, regardless of race or economic station in life. Many of the colleagues on my committee share my conviction that the narrow restrictions of private loans could in no way be an effective substitute for the generous, fair-mindedness of Federal loans.

I would like to yield such time as she may desire to the gentlewoman from Oregon [Mrs. GREEN], the author of the bill and the chairman of the subcommittee which worked so diligently on this measure.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. The Chair now recognizes the gentlewoman from Oregon [Mrs. GREEN].

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, first I want to thank the chairman of the committee for his kind words, and to express my appreciation for the speed with which he brought the Higher Education Amendments of 1966 to the full committee.

H.R. 14644 came out of the subcommittee and full committee without opposition. As the chairman has accurately pointed out, this is an extension of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, a 3-year extension. The second part of the bill is an extension of title III of the Higher Education Act of 1965, the program of assistance to strengthen developing institutions.

As the chairman has also said, the amount authorized for title I of the facilities for the year 1967 is exactly the amount that was recommended by the administration, $453 million, with an additional $7 million for administrative expenses and planning.

For fiscal year 1968, this is increased to $700 million, and for fiscal year 1969 to $900 million, and after that, the remaining 2 years, such sums as may be authorized.

In the title II, the program of grants for graduate facilities, the amount authorized for fiscal 1967 is less than that which has been authorized for this year. The amount has been cut from $120 to $60 million. In 1968, the bill proposes $90 million, and in 1969, $120 million.

The third part of the Higher Education Facilities Act is the provision for loans to colleges and universities. For the next 3 years, this will amount to $200 million for each of those 3 years.

In the extension of title III of the Higher Education Act of 1965, the amount has been cut from $55 to $30 million for the year 1967 for strengthening developing colleges. There is only a 1-year extension of this part of the legislation, because the committee is most anxious to take another look at it at the conclusion of this year and evaluate the program and see how well it has worked.

Mr. Speaker, the need for the extension of the Higher Education Facilities Act is very apparent. The Office of Education has estimated that $2 billion is needed annually for the next 2 years for new facilities for the rapidly increasing student enrollments. Student enrollments have doubled in the last decade. There are now nearly 6 million students in undergraduate and graduate schools. It is estimated that by 1975 there will be 8.6 million students. The freshman class enrollment this year is 18 percent above the previous year. There is every expectation that this spectacular growth of student enrollments will continue.

This does not take into consideration the impact that the GI bill may have upon all of the colleges and universities across the country.

It is also true in the graduate field that there is a much greater need really than the $60 million authorization would indicate. We would like to have seen that authorization at $100 million, but because of the budget problems this year the committee came out with a recommendation for only $60 million, which we think is a bare minimum.

Let me repeat, it was with great reluctance that we cut that figure to $60 million.

Ten years ago there were about 240,000 students in graduate education in the United States. Today there are nearly 600,000. By 1974 it is estimated that there will be over 1.1 million graduate students, in order to meet the Nation's manpower requirements.

Commissioner Howe, when he appeared before our committee in discussing the academic facilities said:

> Even with the expenditure of an estimated $1 billion in non-Federal construction of undergraduate facilities, plus $600 million in Federal grants and loans, the gap between need and resources is estimated to exceed $4 billion.

Secretary Gardner, in testimony, indicated the need as follows:

> In light of the reasonable assumptions on which the estimates are based, we believe that there may still be an unmet need of over $2 billion at the end of fiscal year 1971, even if Federal assistance should be available each year in the amounts we are proposing for fiscal year 1967.

Then, I quote Logan Wilson, president of the American Council on Education, in a letter which he sent to me just about a week ago.

He said:

> We would suggest that proper authorizations for the next 2 fiscal years might appropriately be as follows: For title I for 1968, $750 million and for 1969, $1 billion; and for title II, for graduate facilities, $90 million, and for fiscal year 1969, $120 million.

I would invite the attention of my colleagues to the fact that in the first two of these instances, we have authorized a smaller amount.

Logan Wilson went on to say that the Office of Education figures "show a need for well over $2 billion annually in new academic facilities during the coming 2 years. The figures are conservative for three reasons. First, they do not take account of the deficit already existing in needed facilities; second, the Office of Education has consistently underestimated the increasing percentage of high school graduates who go on to college; third, they do not take into account the stimulation which will be given to college enrollment by the new financial aid legislation and in particular the GI bill, which potentially can provide enormous and as yet unestimated enrollment increases."

Mr. Speaker, I hope the House will suspend the rules and pass this legislation.

I want to commend the members of my subcommittee and the members of the full committee. This bill does come to the House with bipartisan support. Through the years, it has received bipartisan support.

I particularly commend my very able colleagues on the Democratic side of the aisle—and the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE], the ranking Republican member of the subcommittee, and his colleagues—all of whom have done such magnificent work in getting the higher education legislation through the committee and to the floor of the House for its consideration.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. I am delighted to yield to my friend from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Do I correctly understand that this proposal calls for the expenditure, over a 3-year period, of approximately $2.5 billion?

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. That would be the authorization; yes.

Mr. GROSS. It is hard for me to understand how we can get a bill of that magnitude before the House under a suspension of the rules procedure.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. I say to the gentleman that there are two reasons.

One, this is a continuing authorization bill. The committee could have followed the procedure a couple of years ago of authorizing the funds for the full 5 years. We wanted to retain some control over the legislation, so that we would have an opportunity to evaluate the need. So it is not new legislation. It does come out with no opposition in either the subcommittee or the full committee.

The second reason, I will say to my friend from Iowa, is that one part of the bill, which was deleted, would have phased out the National Defense Education Act student loans and phased in a guaranteed student loan provision. Action by the House on this, the committee felt, was extremely important, in order to say to the colleges and universities across the country, "You can make your commitments to the students." These commitments are normally made in the spring of every year. A moral commitment has been made by the Congress to say to these students that the loan funds will be available. Title II, as I suggest, was deleted from the bill. The deletion of that part of the bill is extremely important to this particular piece of legislation, though it does not show in the bill before the House. We say in effect: the National Defense Education Act student loan provisions have worked well. We want them continued.

Mr. GROSS. But from the standpoint of legislative participation, our participation here today, the gentlewoman has stated that there is budget approval for the first year. There is no budget approval for fiscal years 1968 and 1969; is that not correct?

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. The Office of Education has indicated that the amounts we are authorizing for 1968 and 1969 are in their program plans. These figures come from the Office of Education.

I say to the gentleman from Iowa that in two or three places we have cut the funds more than the the committee itself would have liked.

Mr. GROSS. I understand, but we could be in serious trouble. The Bureau of the Budget might take a different viewpoint on this for fiscal year 1968 or fiscal year 1969.

I wonder the kind of ground on which we are projecting this authorization for 3 years.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. I say to my friend that the present authorization expires on June 30 of this year. If we extend it for only 1 year, then the colleges and universities will not be able to make their long-range plans. This is the reason for the 3-year authorization. Certainly if the Bureau of the Budget objects violently, I am sure the Appropriations Committee has the power and the opportunity to make any changes desired.

Mr. GROSS. One final question, if the gentlewoman will indulge me. In the report on page 15 I find this language:

> (2) In determining the development cost with respect to an academic facility, the Commissioner may include expenditures for works of art for the facility of not to exceed 1 per centum of the total cost (including such expenditures) to the applicant of construction of, and land acquisition and site improvements for, such facility.

How much money does this involve and what are "works of art"?

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. These are normally included in most of the buildings that appear on college campuses. May I say that we also have provision in the original bill that none of the money may be spent for gymnasiums or places where charges are made for sports. The committee decided that in the list of priorities, 1 percent of the funds should be made available for art.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, will my colleague yield?

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. I will be very glad to yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SCHEUER. Provisions of an allowance of 1 percent of total development cost for esthetics and works of art is the current practice in other departments of the Federal Government. The HHFA—now HUD—for many years has permitted 1 percent of development cost to be used for art work and other esthetic embellishments. This program has worked very successfully in actual practice. It has improved what the Federal housing insurance underwriters characterize as the economic feasibility of the housing insured under Federal programs. This is simply a complicated way of stating that people enjoy and place a real value on an attractive and esthetically satisfying environment and will gladly pay a few pennies a month extra to live in a community which is gay, bright and visually stimulating. The widespread use of good design, esthetic and artistic embellishments constitutes a major reason why southwest Washington has become an accepted and popular residential community.

It is also the policy of the General Services Administration to provide a comparable percentage for works of art. Thus, it is now the well established policy of the Government to apply this rather minuscule percentage of total development costs of a structure built with Government financing or assistance in order to make these buildings positive environmental elements in the communities in which they will be placed. Surely an attractive and stimulating environment is nowhere more appropriate than in a university campus whose purpose is to educate, cultivate, and liberate the intellects of future generations of Americans.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. I thank the gentleman from New York for his contribution.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield very briefly?

Mr. QUIE. I will yield briefly to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I would hope that the gentleman, before he leaves the well of the House, will more fully explain what the works of art are and how much money is going to be expended for works of art under the 1-percent provision. I am afraid I did not get a very good answer to either of those questions.

Mr. QUIE. I hope, I will say to the gentleman, that I can get to that. However, I first want to go to the statement that I was going to make as to the necessity of H.R. 14644. This is the increase in enrollment which is going to hit our institutions of higher learning. We know from projections made that by 1970 at least 7 million students will be enrolled in our colleges and universities. That is an increase of 1.5 million over current enrollments. This does not take into consideration the new GI bill of rights which was passed. We should also remember that projections made before have always been conservative or behind the actuality. Therefore, what is projected for the future will at least be that kind of enrollment or undoubtedly more than we are projecting. In the two decades between 1953 and 1973 the overall physical plant of our higher institutions will have to have been duplicated twice over to meet the huge increase in demand. We must prepare for this and have legislation in which the colleges and universities will be sure of availability of Federal funds. I believe if there were ever an area where the Federal Government ought to assist, it is in the area of academic facilities construction in our colleges and universities. In view of the needs, the contribution proposed in H.R. 14644 is a modest one, but it is absolutely necessary.

The growth in college enrollments in the decade of the 1960's is without precedent in the history of education, and it has required unprecedented efforts to provide the required facilities, staff, and faculty. Our commitment of resources had to match the commitment of our youth to educational achievement, because every vital national interest is involved. Continued economic growth, the advancement of science and agriculture, the realization of social goals, and carrying out America's role in world affairs all depend upon the manpower and ideas supplied by our institutions of higher learning. In this task the Federal Government has an inescapable obligation to assist.

Fortunately, the enrollment explosion of the 1960's was forecast during the preceding decade. In 1959, acting upon undisputed evidence, President Eisenhower proposed—in fact, strongly urged—Federal action to help higher institutions construct academic facilities. Unfortunately, the Congress delayed action on the proposal—renewed by President Kennedy in 1961—until 1963. Since then, the College Academic Facilities Act has made an indispensable contribution to meeting the need for facilities. Had it not been for this assistance, hundreds of thousands of qualified applicants would be denied admission to college in the years just ahead, and millions of others would endure crowded and inadequate classrooms.

During the 1950's, before Federal funds for academic facilities were available, our colleges and universities were making a heroic effort to expand. For example, in 1962–63 our land-grant institutions alone were spending $380 million for plant expansion, as compared to less than $100 million in 1952–53. Yet even this quadrupling of their own effort was insufficient to meet demands, and land-grant institutions enroll less than one-fifth of all college students. Federal aid today, and in the foreseeable future, represents only a fraction of total expenditures for facilities—but it is the fraction that spells the difference between adequacy and inadequacy in higher education.

Mr. Speaker, the measure before us, which was passed in 1963, had bipartisan support. A great deal of credit is due to the chairman of the subcommittee, Mrs. GREEN, for the cooperative work which she has done. Under her leadership both the majority and the minority worked together in developing legislation which has stood the test of time to the extent of being the least controversial measure and recognized in the area of the higher education community as one of utmost importance. Therefore, it is with great enthusiasm that we join in support of this legislation. I might point out, however, that we have acted wisely, I believe, in striking out what was title II of the bill, which was proposed to us by the administration. That would have changed and eventually dropped out the National Defense Education Act loan program which we have seen operate so well since 1959.

The program of direct loans for students, administered by the colleges, has been the greatest single source of help for needy students. Over 800,000 students have received needed financial aid since 1959 under the act initiated by President Eisenhower. It would be a tragic mistake—as testified to by representatives both of colleges and lending institutions—to make sudden and drastic changes in this program. Alternative approaches, such as federally insured bank loans which are now available for students who are not financially needy, should be attempted only after the most careful and thorough scrutiny as to their adequacy.

Mr. Speaker, I know that many of my colleagues last year who voted for the new guaranteed and subsidized loan program from private sources felt that they were making a move which would reduce this expenditure of student loans on the part of the Federal Government.

However, in the hearings this year the Office of Education presented some information to us to this effect: that in 8 years it is expected that $1 billion in loans will be made available to the young people in our colleges and universities.

Mr. Speaker, if we use the route of guaranteed and subsidized private loans instead of the National Defense Education Act loans, totaling $1 billion, it would cost the Government $65 million more to do it that way than to continue the National Defense Education Act loans as we have in the past.

Mr. Speaker, I bring that up to say that undoubtedly the administration will still push for an eventual change from the National Defense Education Act loans. I believe this would be unwise for other reasons than just the cost involved. I believe it would be unwise because now under the National Defense Education Act loan program the college or university administers the program. These people have experience not only in determining whether the student will be able to repay the loan but also whether this poor individual has the scholastic ability to successfully pursue a college career and know the situation far better than a private lender or bank knows it. Some young people go to college who would not otherwise go to college. I believe this is the situation that we have at the moment as between the student assistance program and the National Defense Education Act loan program.

Mr. Speaker, the second part of the National Defense Education Act loan program which I believe we ought to change some day is the forgiveness feature for the student who goes into teaching, which forgiveness feature could be up to 100 percent of the loan.

However, there is not only a forgiveness of the interest rate but the forgiveness of payment or the requirement of repayment of the loan.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this action on their part would have been unwise.

So, Mr. Speaker, I commend this bill to the Members of the House, not only for what is contained therein in the way of the National Defense Education Act loan programs but the legislation generally.

I take great satisfaction in the part played by my Republican colleagues in formulating and enacting this vital legislation. It demonstrates the possibilities for bipartisan action in the national interest when the need for action is demonstrated and the legislation is devised with prudence and care.

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I wanted to ask the gentleman from Minnesota a question concerning the National Defense Education Act loan program.

It is my understanding that under this legislation the National Defense Education Act program is not affected in any way. Is that correct?

Mr. QUIE. That is right. The National Defense Education Act student loan program will continue this next year exactly as it was authorized It does not expire for another year

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan. I might say that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN] was the architect of the National Defense Education Act student loan program as it was passed in 1958. That was my first year in Congress, and I remember the great work which the gentleman did at that time and I remember how I was able to learn from the gentleman.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I thank the gentleman from Minnesota and wish to commend the gentleman in the well.

As the ranking minority member of the subcommittee handling this legislation, I wish to commend him as well as the chairman of our subcommittee, the gentlewoman from Oregon [Mrs. GREEN] and other members of the subcommittee which refused to go along with the Johnson administration proposal which would have seriously undercut the national school loan program. These proposals were advanced not only to the members of our subcommittee but also to the administrators of the student aid program in the colleges and universities around the country.

If the administration proposal had been adopted, I believe we would have had chaos insofar as the student aid programs are concerned.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the committee was wise in striking out those proposals from the bill.

I believe that this legislation now ought to have the overwhelming support of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Minnesota for yielding.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. Speaker, I might say that I see the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL], wants me to yield to him, judging by his pace at which he is coming down the aisle.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GOODELL. I thank the gentleman from Minnesota for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it is unnecessary for those of us who have been working on the committee in the preparation of this legislation to take the time of the House to reiterate the various positions that have been advanced so well by the gentleman in the well and by the gentlemen on the other side of the aisle.

I would just like to recount to the gentleman what was happening in higher education 3 years ago or 4 years ago when we were going through the throes of a great controversy as to higher education legislation proposed by then President Kennedy.

The gentleman will recall then that we took that legislation and on a bipartisan basis drastically revised it and substituted a higher education bill which was written here in the Congress by the Republicans and Democrats on the committee and in the other body.

This legislation as a whole has been so successful, I think it is a tribute that we can bring legislation of this nature today to the floor of the House without any major controversy.

I think the gentleman now in the well, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE], deserves a great deal of credit for this from our side of the aisle, for the outstanding job that he has done in promoting the best interests of higher education without partisanship and without bitter controversy. I commend the gentleman and would say I think this is outstanding legislation that you are bringing here today.

Mr. QUIE. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from New York, a member of our committee.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend the gentleman now in the well, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] and the distinguished gentlewoman from Oregon [Mrs. GREEN] for their leadership on the majority and on the minority side of the committee. I would point out that the action of the subcommittee was unanimous with regard to the National Defense Education Act and that it was very clear from reports around the country that there was confusion and chaos in the colleges.

I think the action of the subcommittee has been beneficial. I believe the action taken here on the floor should underscore that point. I do believe and hope that the White House will take full note of this and continue full fundings of the program.

I might add, Mr. Speaker, that through June 30, 1965, a total of $609 million has been advanced for approximately 833,000 student borrowers under this program.

The Office of Education informs me that if the program is fully funded in the amount of $190 million this will provide loans in fiscal year 1967 for 460,449 students.

I think this is a vital appropriation. I think it is essential that we encourage opportunities in education—whatever may be happening in Vietnam.

It is expected that college enrollments will double by 1970 and triple by 1985. In light of these projections, the amounts authorized in H.R. 14644 represent a necessary Federal commitment. Authorizations of $453 million for fiscal year 1967, $700 million for fiscal year 1968, and $900 million for fiscal year 1969 are proposed for grants for the construction of undergraduate academic facilities Grants for construction of graduate academic facilities are authorized in the amount of $60 million for fiscal year 1967, $80 million for fiscal year 1968, and $120 million for fiscal year 1969. Loans for construction of academic facilities would be funded by an authorization of $200 million in each of the next 3 fiscal years.

I think the House can show its confidence in and support for education by insisting that the National Defense Education Act program be fully funded with $190 million and by supporting the authorizations for and extensions of the Higher Education Facilities Act.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the bill today and again I compliment the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] and the gentlewoman from Oregon [Mrs. GREEN] for their leadership.

Mr. QUIE. I thank the gentleman from New York.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS] asked me a question earlier and I want to answer that question at this point.

The provision of the bill which in the report appears on page 15 indicates the extent to which the expenditures for works of art could be made. What actually will be expended is hard to tell. This puts a maximum limitation on it. The reason why we placed this in it was the information we had on the amounts that were expended for works of art. Surely in an institution of higher learning where they teach music and all the arts, it would be unwise for them to build buildings which did not in some way take cognizance of the leadership that they provide in such institutions of higher learning. It seems to me if ever there were buildings where this ought to be permitted, as is permitted, I understand, in other federally assisted buildings, it surely is here in the colleges and universities.

Mr. Speaker, it is for this reason that the expenditure of money for works of art should be permitted.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. What does the figure 1 percent mean in terms of the total amount of money? Does the gentleman have any approximate idea? What does 1 percent mean—for works of art?

Mr. QUIE. I do not have the figure right here. I could do it with my mental arithmetic, but I will yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SCHEUER] to answer the gentleman's question.

Mr. SCHEUER. If total development cost for a particular project were $1 million, that would mean up to $10,000 could be spent on mosaic tile, stained glass murals, paintings, sculpture, and colored brick design in the building interior or as an element of the exterior facade.

Mr. QUIE. Of course, that is an example of one institution and the 1 percent applied to that institution. I do not know what the total extended would be, and I think that is what the gentleman from Iowa was after. Perhaps the gentlewoman from Oregon would like to make a comment on that subject.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentlewoman from Oregon.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. In terms of total authorization for the next year, assuming that undergraduate facilities totaling $460 million were built, the amount would be $4,600,000.

I hate to introduce a new note, but if the gentleman from Minnesota would yield further, I would suggest to the gentleman from Iowa that we surely would not deny to the colleges and the universities across the country what we allowed ourselves here at the Rayburn Building in Washington, D.C. We do limit the amount to 1 percent; so it is a very, very small amount.

As the gentleman from New York said, if a college or a university got a half million dollars, $5,000 of that half million dollars would be the maximum amount that would be permitted under the act.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I shall be happy to yield to the gentleman from Iowa after this comment: Knowing the frugality of colleges and universities in building their buildings, I know that 1 percent of the cost of their buildings will give them much less money to spend on art than 1 percent of the cost of the Rayburn Building.

I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I would like to say to my good friend, the gentlewoman from Oregon, that the alleged art to be found in the Rayburn Building and in the tunnels leading thereto, the fact that it is there does not make it any more palatable. I do not know whether a work of art is a swimming pool or what it is. I still do not exactly have it defined.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SCHEUER. The Department of Housing and Urban Development under the imaginative leadership of Secretary Robert C. Weaver and the GSA under the forthright aegis of Assistant Commissioner for Design, Karel H. Yasko, have both issued clear guidelines as to what comprises acceptable works of art or esthetics eligible for the 1-percent allowance. Normally such an allowance would include statuary, ceramic tile, and stained glass murals, and sculpture—what is characterized as street furniture—outdoor sculptural elements of all kinds. There is no reason under the sun, in my opinion, why institutions of higher learning cannot be places of visual delight. It is a truism that good design costs nothing more than pedestrian and mediocre design—except sweat and talent.

But I wish to make clear that these artistic and esthetic embellishments will not resemble, by design or even by coincidence, anything that might appear in the Rayburn Building.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield further to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. REID of New York. I am glad the gentleman made that clear. I assumed the gentlewoman from Oregon was talking about the amount of money to be spent on artistic features rather than the standard of quality which is in Washington, and which I believe is nothing to write home about. In fact, I think the architecture in Washington is the least fortunate example of architecture of any place in the Nation.

Mr. QUIE. I would say to the gentleman from New York that the good thing about this higher education money that will be made available is that the Government will not decide how it is to be expended. Those decisions will be made by the institutions themselves. Again you might say that all one has to do is visit one institution—the Rayburn Building—and he will see what wise judgment this is to leave the decision to the institutions of higher learning.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentlewoman from Oregon.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. It is quite obvious that colleges and universities can assist in making better judgments in this area.

Mr. REID of New York. In adding to what the gentlewoman from Oregon has said, I would hope that Congress can learn as well.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GOODELL. I wonder, with all these comments made about the Rayburn Building, when we can expect a general exodus from the Rayburn Building to begin?

Mr. REID of New York. Some of us are not in it.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to support this bill which pledges continued help for our colleges and universities in their efforts to provide adequate facilities for ever-increasing numbers of students. I want to particularly commend the chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Education, the gentlewoman from Oregon [Mrs. GREEN], and the ranking Republican, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE], for their untiring work on behalf of American higher education. This bill is bipartisan legislation, unanimously reported by the Committee on Education and Labor.

American colleges and universities face a continued surge of students, increasing in numbers year by year, that will not crest until late in the next decade. The enrollments this fall were 18 percent higher than those of the fall of 1965, and will have doubled in this decade. Without Federal assistance, higher education opportunities would be denied to millions of deserving students, or the quality of education would be curtailed sharply by crowded facilities, or perhaps both unhappy consequences would follow. We cannot afford to let these things occur; the good things of our way of life flow from an educated citizenry. But far more is involved, because in this dangerous century our basic national security rests upon the quality of higher education.

We can all be thankful that President Eisenhower had the foresight to propose this legislation in 1959—closely following the National Defense Education Act—thus laying the groundwork for its enactment in 1963.

The recent cold war GI bill undoubtedly will further swell the ranks of college students in the years ahead, and this is another reason why our commitment to higher education must remain constant. All this is in the interest of a strong, prosperous, and growing Nation in which every citizen has an opportunity to go as far as his mind and determination will carry him. Our approval of this bill reaffirms that objective.

Mr. Speaker, I urge approval of H.R. 14644.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may extend their remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I commend the Committee on Education and Labor for bringing H.R. 14644 to the floor, thereby recognizing our exploding needs in the field of higher education and moving constructively to meet those needs.

Once again this Congress acts responsibly to prepare for future generations, as we consider this legislation. The lag in facilities is great, and time is short, if the cold war GI bill's provisions are to be meaningful for the thousands of servicemen who will be seeking opportunities in higher education in the years immediately ahead of us.

I hope and trust H.R. 14644 will be passed overwhelmingly.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 14644, the Higher Education Amendments of 1966.

Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Education and Labor Committee I was very proud to have had the privilege of supporting the original Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 which was, in the words of President Johnson, "the most significant education bill passed by Congress in the history of the Republic."

I would like at this time to point out that under the provisions of this bill, New Jersey will receive $12,031,745 in fiscal year 1967 for the construction of undergraduate facilities; this figure will rise to $18,592,101 in fiscal 1968 and to $23,904,131 in fiscal 1969.

While this may seem like a great deal of money, all of us who are members of the Education and Labor Committee realize that we could not, because of budgetary limitations, do all that we might want to do in this area. Frankly, the administration request for $453 million for construction of undergraduate facilities is quite modest when you consider the fact that the U.S. Office of Education states that there is a need for more than $2 billion annually for the construction of new academic facilities.

One can only speculate what the result will be of the newly enacted GI bill which becomes effective June 1, 1966. I have always felt that when it comes to expending money on educational opportunity, America is investing in herself. Every dollar that has been spent on education has come back severalfold. Considering the great need for increased educational facilities, this is a very modest bill but it is one that is badly needed. I urge every Member of this House to invest in America's future by voting to provide increased opportunity for our greatest national asset—our young Americans.

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 14644, the Higher Education Amendments of 1966.

In 1963, Congress wisely passed the Higher Education Facilities Act. This measure authorized expenditure of Federal funds to help our colleges construct buildings and buy equipment so that they might meet the challenge of rapidly increasing enrollments. In the succeeding 3 years, facilities which today house and provide classrooms for thousands of students have been built in every State of the Union. The bill before us today will continue this worthwhile program.

But, Mr. Speaker, one of the most significant aspects of the bill before us, is that it does not contain a much disputed provision earlier asked by the administration but subsequently deleted by the committee. The deleted portion would have placed the National Defense Education Act loan fund on a privately financed basis, beginning during the next fiscal year. Because of the tight money market, and the short time before the beginning of the next school year, such a move would have crippled the National Defense Education Act program and denied loans to thousands of college students now dependent on the fund.

At some future time the National Defense Education Act loan fund might prudently be changed from direct Federal funds to privately financed, federally insured funds. But for now, the committee acted most wisely to continue the program, as presently constituted, for the coming school year. This action by the members of the Education and Labor Committee will enable the program to continue to operate in the coming school year, and prevent a very real hardship to students studying in hundreds of U.S. colleges and universities.

All of us are eager to economize, but I am sure none of the Members of this body wish to economize at the cost of forcing qualified college and university students to quit their studies because of a precipitous withdrawal of Federal loan funds.

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to voice my support for the Higher Education Amendments of 1966.

This bill will permit American colleges and universities to continue to expand and strengthen themselves in order to meet their commitment to the American public—a commitment to offer every qualified high school graduate an opportunity to get a higher education.

Since the end of World War II, we have seen higher education become a major factor contributing to the continued strength and vitality of American society. Before 1946, higher education was generally considered to be a luxury available to only a fortunate few.

At the end of the war, veterans were given an opportunity to go to college—a larger segment of the Nation's population than ever before was in school. Thousands took advantage of this opportunity. I am proud to say I was one of these.

The result of the increased number of college veterans has been that we now have a more highly trained work force, capable of supplying a high degree of technical skill and demanding quality from our mass production economy—with the result that we have developed a very complex society. A society which now offers full opportunity only to those who have been educated to the limit of their capacity to learn.

The increased complexity of postwar American life, a thirst for knowledge on the part of young people, and a growing demand for college graduates have had a profound effect upon the higher education system. There are now nearly 6 million students in American colleges. By 1975 it is expected that college enrollment will be 8.6 million.

Concurrent with the rapid expansion of the higher education system at the undergraduate level, there has been growth in demand for postgraduate education. Students with bachelor's degrees are seeking to go on to graduate school. Colleges, vocational and technical schools, business, and industry are requiring professional employees to have postgraduate education as a prerequisite for work in an increasing number of specialized fields.

Cost of living increases, better teachers' salaries, and the cost of improving the quality of education have resulted in a rapid increase in the cost of going to college. In public institutions, college costs in 1940 were approximately $850 a year. By 1965, that cost had almost doubled—$1,560. It is estimated that the average annual cost of attending a public institution will be $2,400 in 1980. In private institutions the costs have risen from $1,100 in 1940 to $2,370 in 1965—by 1980 it is estimated that the average annual cost will be $3,640.

Congress has recognized that the vital role of higher education in national affairs has created a need for a national effort to assist both institutions of higher education and students.

In 1958, the National Defense Education Act was enacted which established a broad range of educational programs to meet urgent national needs.

In 1963, I was privileged to have had a role in the enactment of the Higher Education Facilities Act which assisted colleges and universities in expanding to meet the rush of new students seeking a higher education.

Then, last year, the subcommittee, of which I am proud to be a member, molded a bill which will be long considered to be a landmark in education assistance programs—the Higher Education Act of 1965. With that law a massive college support program was established which will bolster institutions of higher education for many years in the future.

The bill before us now will extend and improve the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963. Testimony before the Special Subcommittee on Education has shown that, thus far, the program has lived up to our expectations.

In fiscal year 1965, under title I, $224 million provided support for 516 undergraduate facility projects. The total cost of these projects was $900 million. However, grant applications exceeded available funds by more than $245 million.

The bill before us will authorize $453 million for undergraduate facilities in fiscal year 1967 and a total of $1.6 billion for the next 2 years. With funding at the authorized level we can be assured that our colleges will be able to construct enough new facilities to meet most of the foreseeable demand.

It is for this reason that I urge you to support the extension of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963.

You can be assured that no other program coming before us this year will have such a record of success or promise for the future of American college students.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from New York that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill H.R. 14644.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid upon the table.

TWO ADDITIONAL JUDGES FOR THE U.S. COURT OF CLAIMS

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 831 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 831

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (S. 1804) to provide for the appointment of two additional judges for the United States Court of Claims, and for other purposes. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Latta], pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 831 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of S. 1804, a bill to provide for the appointment of two additional judges for the U.S. Court of Claims, and for other purposes.

This proposed legislation was approved by the Judicial Conference of the United States in March 1965.

The Court of Claims is a constitutional court and has nationwide jurisdiction. Its five judges sit in Washington, D.C., but there are 15 commissioners who serve as the trial judges of the court and sit at any section of the country most convenient to the litigants.

The Court of Claims is a busy court with a heavy docket, and a large volume of decisions is handed down annually. The court today has five judges including a chief judge, which is the same number it had when it was created some 100 years ago. However, over the years the court's jurisdiction has been expanded sharply, as has been the number, complexity, and importance of cases presented to it for decision.

The usual case is a technical one involving complicated issues and large amounts, for there is no monetary ceiling on the court's jurisdiction. Suits against the Government for money damages must be tried in the Court of Claims if the amount exceeds $10,000, except in tax refund claims where the district courts have exclusive jurisdiction. In addition, the court has jurisdiction in cases involving property takings by the Government, patent infringements, transportation charges to the Government by carriers, Indian tribal claims, and actions by civilian and military government personnel. The court has sole appellate jurisdiction in appeals from the Indian Claims Commission.

While the Court of Claims hears the largest claims in the world, it is also the court of first and last resort for the citizen who challenges the might of the State.

Just as the caseload has increased in other Federal courts, the caseload in this court has increased in the past 100 years. Certainly the judgeships should be increased accordingly.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 831 in order that S. 1804 may be considered.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNG. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. What is going to be the cost of this bill, both in terms of salaries and in terms of office space?

Mr. YOUNG. I advise the gentleman from Iowa that I am advised that the cost of this bill will be $60,000 a year. The judges will draw the same as a judge of the court of appeals of the United States. Under the provisions of this bill, the court will not sit en banc as it does now, but will be able to divide itself into two sections of three members each, two members constituting a quorum. This will make the effective service of the court double the service it has now.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Latta].

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I agree with the statements that have just been made by my colleague from Texas. I hope, however, that during the general debate on this bill several questions will be answered. One of them has just been raised by the gentleman from Iowa about the cost of this legislation.

Certainly, whenever we create new judgeships, there is more cost involved than the mere salary of the judges. It has been running about $70,000 to create one new judgeship in the past. In this case, certainly, it will be $70,000 per judgeship. Clerical and other expenses are involved as well as the salaries of the judges.

I hope this matter of cost will be gone into more completely during general debate.

When this matter was before the Rules Committee I propounded a question as to the reason for this legislation. I was advised that the commissioners had a terrific load, and that there was a backlog of work for the judges of considerable magnitude.

In reading the report, I find that the workload of the commissioners is stressed. Pages 1 and 2 of the report go into the workload of the commissioners.

We have 15 commissioners, who are apparently doing a tremendous amount of work, but we are not increasing the number of commissioners at all. We are increasing the number of judges from five to seven. When they sit en banc, it seems to me we are not helping the caseload at all. I hope that some light will be shed on this matter during general debate. Also, why some thought has not been given to increasing dollar justification in these cases. Ten thousand dollars seems quite low in these inflated times.

Finally, I believe we should consider here the advisability of adding some $140,000 to $150,000 a year to the budget. I find, from reading the report, that the Bureau of the Budget concurs, on page 6, with this report. Why and how does it do this when the Justice Department says in the same report that this matter can be deferred?

If we are going to try to save and to economize, this is an area where we could do just this by sending this matter back to the committee. If we really wanted to help expedite cases we could do it by increasing the number of commissioners, rather than the number of judges.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time. I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (S. 1804) to provide for the appointment of two additional judges for the U.S. Court of Claims, and for other purposes.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, S. 1804, with Mr. KREBS in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Under the rule, the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCCULLOCH] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER].

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, at the outset I wish to state I am informed that the cost of the bill, for the provision of two additional judges for the Court of Claims, would be about $63,000 for each judge, or $126,000 in total.

We must remember that there is now being built a new courthouse for the Court of Claims, so that there will be no additional costs so far as quarters are concerned. The services of the court itself will be doubled, because, with the judges being increased in number from five to seven, under this bill they will be permitted to sit in two divisions. Three judges will constitute a court.

Questions were asked about the amounts of money involved. I am informed by the Judicial Conference report—incidentally, the Judicial Conference approves this bill—that the amount sued for in the Court of Claims is a total of roughly $169 million. The United States recovered in cases by way of counterclaims almost $2.5 million. Its current budget is about $1,300,000.

The cases brought to the court have been vastly increased in number, and so has the complexity of the cases. I am informed by the administrator of the court, for example, that cases pending September 30, 1964, involved 6,516 plaintiffs, while cases pending a year later, September 30, 1965, involved 8,450 plaintiffs. Nearly 2,000 plaintiffs have been added to the calendar in 1 year. That is a stupendous amount of litigation. I believe it is proof positive of the need for additional judges.

Remember, as has been indicated by the gentleman from Texas and members of the Committee on Rules, there has been no increase in the number of judges in this court for 100 years. It is true that there are 15 commissioners who act as sort of trial judges. They roam all over the land hearing cases in various sections of the country. They file their reports, but those reports are not final. They are not like judges of the district court. Those findings of fact and law must be gone over very carefully and very fully evaluated by the Court of Claims before they become final. They involve all manner and kinds of cases.

Let me say here that the cases which the Court of Claims hears are very technical. The usual case is complicated with many issues and involves very large amounts of money. There is no monetary ceiling on the court's jurisdiction. All suits against the Government for money damages must be tried in the Court of Claims if the amount exceeds $10,000 except in tax refund claims where the district courts have concurrent jurisdiction and in tort claims where the district courts have exclusive jurisdiction. However, the Court of Claims has jurisdiction in cases involving property takings by the Government. Now, when you consider and cast your eye around the various cities and see the vast amounts of property that the Federal Government seizes and then imagine all of the questions arising from those seizures, you can see that there is bound to be a vast number of claims against the Government.

The Court of Claims also has jurisdiction over patent infringements. All claims against the Government for cause are brought in this court. All cases involving transportation charges against the Government by carriers or individuals are brought there. All Indian tribal claims are brought there. Also actions by civilian and military Government personnel are brought there. In addition, the court has sole appellate jurisdiction in appeals from the Indian Claims Commission.

Now, the court has always been styled as the conscience of the Nation. It is really the only tribunal where primarily the individual can get redress from the Government for any wrong. We must indeed surround that court with every possible protection in the interests of the individual and in the interests of the individual citizen who has a claim. We must see to it that the court is properly manned.

Mr. Chairman, there has been no minority report filed against this bill. As I indicated before, the Judicial Conference approved of it. We do indeed hope that this committee will approve it, because the number of cases and the complexity of cases and the importance of the cases has been greatly increased during the last few years, which makes necessary the two additional judges.

I was very much impressed by the plea made by a former Member of this House, the former chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, Marvin Jones, one of the most respected men who ever sat in this House. He was chief judge of the Court of Claims for a great many years. He appeared before me on numerous occasions and said that there was absolute necessity for two additional judges. I place great credence in his word because he is a man of the highest integrity. He is a gentleman who, whenever he went in the well of the House, was able to be of great persuasion to the membership here. He always knew exactly what he was talking about and never exaggerated. In addition to his plea, there is the plea of the chief judge who has likewise asked for two additional judges. He said they are absolutely imperative so that they can keep abreast of the ever-increasing work of that court.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Chairman, I wish to ask a question of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Chairman, I have generally supported this committee's requests for additional judgeships. However, I believe in view of the situation which exists in the country concerning the many open vacancies in both the district and circuit courts, it is appropriate to ask whether the gentleman from New York feels there might be any problems in filling these two judgeships which the gentleman has requested for this court?

Mr. CELLER. I do not anticipate any problem in filling the vacancies that this legislation would create, if enacted, insofar as the Court of Claims is concerned.

Of course, there is always that lag. This is not only a situation that has developed in this administration. In my long experience every President has always been rather slow in making these judicial appointments.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, I am not referring to the most recent Federal judgeship bill for which there have been no appointments made, as I understand it. However, very recently, Mr. Albert Jenner, a distinguished attorney in my State of Illinois, who is very active in the bar association in the State of Illinois, raised the question, I believe, on behalf of the bar association, that in Illinois up until last month we had four judgeship vacancies.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I believe we have 3 judgeship vacancies, and I believe there are as many as 15 district judgeship vacancies around the country, and some 7 circuit court judgeship vacancies, apart from the vacancies created by the new bill passed last month.

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me, with the pressure of the backlog, it is proper to express the hope that the President and the administration will see that these appointments are filled and that the backlog will be worked off, and that the people will have an opportunity to see their cases brought before the court in an expeditious fashion.

Mr. Chairman, I am beginning to be a little reluctant to approve additional judgeships when we see the tremendous number which seem to remain vacant, particularly, as I say, in the State of Illinois.

Mr. CELLER. I think the gentleman's point is well taken.

It seems idle and a bit unfair to the Nation for any unnecessary delay in this way. They should act more expeditiously, and if there are these vacancies for long periods of time I think there is dereliction.

I wish to join with the gentleman from Illinois, although I reluctantly do so, but I have to do so.

Mr. RUMSFELD. I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding and for his response.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. Yes.

Mr. GROSS. Lyndon Johnson ought to be able to find enough competent Republicans to fill the vacancies, if he cannot find Democrats.

I think this is an appalling situation.

The gentleman from New York has been to the House floor two or three times during the last 4 years or so, and has obtained—let us see—73 judges on 1 occasion, and another 40 judges a year ago, or was it this year?

It seems to me that there is some slippage somewhere that does not appear on the surface.

Mr. CELLER. I share the gentleman's view, that we should not make our courts topheavy as far as the political persuasion of the judges is concerned. But if the gentleman from Iowa will review the history of all our Presidents, they are all guilty in this sense, Republicans as well as Democrats, and that is most unfortunate.

I feel that just because a President happens to be a Democrat it does not follow that he should appoint only Democratic judges, and I feel the same way with reference to Republicans. Yet President Eisenhower was just as guilty as President Kennedy was, and President Kennedy was just as guilty as was Herbert Hoover. It is something that has developed. It is a pattern that has developed all through our country. I wish it could change. I do not think it is right. I do not think it is fair. I agree thoroughly with the gentleman.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I am happy to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. McCULLOCH. I am very pleased with the remarks that the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary has made. You know that great Philadelphia lawyer, Bernard Siegel, has been advocating that we forsake partisan political appointments to the Federal judiciary.

While conditions are just exactly as the chairman of the committee has stated them to be—that there has been an unjustified imbalance in the Federal judiciary down through the years, the condition will never be remedied unless we begin to remedy it now. I am sure that those of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, will recall that President Kennedy commenced correcting this imbalance that has so bothered the country. Had President Kennedy had the cooperation of certain people in the Congress—not of the House, of course—but elsewhere—I am convinced that a real beginning would have been made during President Kennedy's administration.

I have the temerity to suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the President of the United States who nominates prospective judges now follow the advice of Bernard Siegel and many of the able lawyers in this country, that we at long last try to create a Federal judiciary that will not be built upon partisan political considerations.

It was mentioned only a month or two ago that the judgeship which was filled by our distinguished colleague, Oren Harris, remained unfilled for at least 4 if not 5 years.

I repeat, I was very glad to hear the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary say what he said. The gentleman from New York has also been an advocate of this procedure for a long time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York (Mr. CELLER) has consumed 15 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McCULLOCH].

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Chairman, the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, as he always does, has made an accurate statement of what this bill proposes to do.

I do not rise with the vigor that I would ordinarily rise in support of creating new judgeships where they are so sorely needed and where there is such complete agreement that they are needed, because I must report to the committee that there is no such agreement concerning this proposal today.

Of course, the administrative office of the United States courts, as the chairman of the committee has said, recommends the creation of these two new judgeships. But I have not always agreed with their recommendations. Their recommendations have not always been found to be solidly based upon fact.

On the other hand, in the report which is a good report, the kind that this Committee on the Judiciary has always put before the House, you will find a communication on pages 4, 5, and 6 from the Department of Justice which is less—I repeat less than unequivocal in support of the legislation. There are things in the making that might be resolved within the next few weeks or the next few months and there might be some further time to study the results of legislation that is now in effect.

But the bill is here today, Mr. Chairman, and by reason of the fact that either some of these judges or some of the commissioners or both do have a very heavy load—heavier than a person should carry, I am going to vote for the legislation.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCULLOCH. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. LATTA. Actually you have referred to the Department of Justice opinion on this. As I read on page 5, it says:

> While the Department of Justice takes no position with respect to the ultimate need for additional judges in the Court of Claims, we would suggest that the decision on that question should be deferred for the present.

Would the gentleman like to comment on that?

Mr. McCULLOCH. Yes; that is what I was trying to say in an easy, friendly fashion when I said the Department of Justice was less than unequivocally in support of this legislation.

I might have said that the Justice Department indicates in its letter that it was of the opinion that the legislation could be delayed awhile.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. McCULLOCH. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. LATTA. I have not heard any discussion as to the need for additional commissioners versus the need for additional judges. Would the gentleman care to comment on that?

Mr. McCULLOCH. I regret to say to the members of this committee that I do not have the statistics that would justify an expression of opinion on this matter. It is my belief, on the other hand, that perhaps more able, dedicated commissioners—and that is not meant to mean at least some of those who are on duty are not able and dedicated to duty—might solve the problem.

Mr. LATTA. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no further requests for time, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

S. 1804

An act to provide for the appointment of two additional judges for the United States Court of Claims, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the President shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, two additional associate judges for the Court of Claims.

(b) In order to reflect the changes in the number of permanent associate judges of the Court of Claims caused by this section, section 171 of title 28 of the United States Code is amended by striking out the word "four" in the first sentence thereof and inserting in lieu thereof the word "six".

SEC. 2. Section 175 of title 28, United States Code, in its present form is stricken, and the following section is inserted as section 175 of title 28 of the United States Code:

"§ 175. Assignment of judges; divisions; hearings; quorum; decisions

"(a) Judges of the Court of Claims shall sit on the court and its divisions in such order and at such times as the court directs.

"(b) The Court of Claims may authorize the hearing and determination of cases and controversies by separate divisions, each consisting of three judges. Such divisions shall sit at the times and places and hear the cases and controversies assigned as the court directs.

"(c) Cases and controversies shall be heard and determined by a court or division of not more than three judges, unless a hearing en banc is ordered by the court or by the chief judge. The court en banc for an initial hearing shall consist of the judges of the Court of Claims in regular active service. In case of a vacancy in the court or of the inability of a judge thereof in regular active service to sit, a justice or judge assigned to the court pursuant to chapter 13 of this title shall be competent to sit in the court en banc when designated by the court to do so.

"(d) A rehearing en banc may be ordered by a majority of the judges of the Court of Claims in regular active service. The court en banc for a rehearing shall consist of the judges of the Court of Claims in regular active service. A judge of the Court of Claims who has retired from regular active service shall also be competent to sit as a judge of the court en banc in the rehearing of a case or controversy if he sat on the court or division at the original hearing thereof.

"(e) Two judges shall constitute a quorum of a division of the Court of Claims, four judges shall constitute a quorum of a court en banc.

"(f) A majority of the judges or justices who actually sit on the court or division or court en banc must concur in any decision."

Sec. 3. Item 175 in the analysis of chapter 7 of title 28 of the United States Code, immediately preceding section 171, is amended to read as follows: "175. Assignment of judges; divisions; hearings; quorum; decisions."

Mr. CELLER (interrupting the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the bill be dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I do not believe a substantial case has been made for this bill. I question, and seriously question in the light of the report itself that the addition of two permanent judges is required in order to get the job done in the Court of Claims. I just do not believe it. I would have to go along with the Justice Department and suggest, as they apparently do, that other judges be used on a temporary basis to discharge this caseload.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. As the gentleman well knows, the object of this legislation is as follows: We now have five judges on the Court of Claims. By adding two more, the court could sit in two divisions, thereby relieving the load of cases that the judges must decide. If a court can function in two divisions, as the bill would make possible, the gentleman recognizes that that action would make it possible for the court almost to double the number of cases it could handle. It would expedite the work to that extent.

Mr. GROSS. What is the length of vacations these judges take? Does the gentleman have any knowledge of the amount of time they spend on the job? There has been several criticisms of the courts in the District of Columbia recently with respect to nonworking judges.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Of course, what the gentleman is now talking about has no relation to the problem of whether or not we should have two divisions in the Court of Claims.

Mr. GROSS. It has every relation to the fact that you claim that there is a workload to be disposed of. That is what I am talking about.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. According to the information supplied by the Court of Claims, there was a total of 6,516 claims pending on September 30, 1964.

This shows an increase of approximately 2,000 cases within a period of 1 year. I am sure the gentleman will agree that if we can expedite these cases and have them finally disposed of, that will be a step in the administration of justice.

Mr. GROSS. What has been the increase in the number of commissioners?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. There has been no increase in the number of commissioners.

Mr. GROSS. There are 15 commissioners, as I understand it?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. That is right.

Mr. GROSS. And they discharge much of this workload, do they not?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Let us put it this way: They have a responsibility in sitting and determining and accepting evidence and trying to resolve the issues and reporting that to the judge, and the court itself, and the court itself makes the decisions.

Mr. GROSS. How does the gentleman answer the suggestion of the Department of Justice that judges be used, on a temporary basis, to help with this workload?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I might say this to the gentleman: "Where will we obtain judges on a temporary basis?"

There is an increase of just two here, and provision that they may sit in a division.

Mr. GROSS. Are there not available somewhere in the United States two judges who could be brought in to help clean up the caseload, without appointing two permanent judges at a cost of some $120,000 a year?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. No doubt there are, out of the probably 92 districts in the United States, which have their respective district judges.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, it is beyond belief that this situation cannot be resolved without recourse to the appointment of two more additional permanent judges at a heavy cost to the taxpayers. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Latta] has asked why additional commissioners cannot be used. I do not believe the answers, if they may be called that, are very satisfactory. In the absence of better justification for this bill I must oppose it and if there is to be no rollcall vote I want my opposition on the record.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker having assumed the chair, Mr. Krebs, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (S. 1804) to provide for the appointment of two additional judges for the U.S. Court of Claims, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 831, he reported the bill back to the House.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks in the Record on this bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENT OF SMALL RECLAMATION PROJECTS ACT OF 1956

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (S. 602) to amend the Small Reclamation Projects Act of 1956, with House amendment thereto, insist on the House amendment, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. Aspinall, Rogers of Texas, Johnson of California, Saylor, and Reinecke.

AN ANALYSIS OF TECHNOLOGY'S INFLUENCE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, as technology rapidly transforms the world, we must be prepared to alter our view of the world. In the spring issue of the Columbia University Journal of World Business, Prof. Emile Benoit indicates some of the new political and economic possibilities which a technologically developed world may be capable of achieving, if only our minds and institutions are open to them.

Professor Benoit's article, "Interdependence on a Small Planet," points out that twin revolutions—military and economic—are slowly erasing nation-state barriers. The military revolution, he says, is well known; the economic revolution is less so. It involves the competitive advantages that stimulate direct investment and spur the rise of giant, stateless, business organizations, which he considers "harbingers of an emerging international economic order."

Mr. Speaker, I think we all have something to learn from the intellectual analysis offered by Professor Benoit's article, which follows:

INTERDEPENDENCE ON A SMALL PLANET

(Combining imaginative insights with solid scholarship, Emile Benoit explores in these pages—his second contribution to the Journal—the prospects for universal well-being in an economically intertwined world. Professor Benoit, a specialist in international economics, is on the faculty of both Columbia's School of Business and its School of International Affairs.)

(By Emile Benoit)

We now live in a world in which all men are so close that only a few minutes' communicating, orbiting, or shooting time separates them—a world which is only a tiny footstool for the beginning of man's exploration of the universe. Yet we are still trying to make do with a system of international relations based on a much earlier order, one that could accommodate scores of independent self-centered nation-states, each claiming the absolute rights of a Machiavellian sovereign to do what its own interest appeared to dictate, to withdraw from (or ignore) prior agreements when inconvenient, and to be bound solely by its own judgment in international disputes—including disputes about the meaning of its promises and agreements.

The tension between these two worlds—the vast one of petty independent quarreling human groups, and the small one inextricably linked for good or for ill by modern technology—is the central drama of our era; it is unimaginable that these two concepts of the world can coexist for long. One or the other—or both—must go. It is the writer's belief that the universe of seemingly sovereign political entities will gradually disappear as mankind grows to understand the basic facts of its interdependence and learns to fashion political tools more consistent with them. This interdependence is both military and nonmilitary. The first variety has been accorded greater publicity, but even in this area the nature and strength of the ties that bind mankind are but imperfectly understood.

Few fully comprehend that we are now in the strange position of being militarily dependent upon our opponents. This paradoxical situation has arisen out of the contemporary revolution in military technologies. Contrary to Alfred Marshall's soothing adage, nature does make jumps; they are rare, but when they occur, a new system emerges and that new system is no longer understandable and predictable by the laws that governed the old one.

ANATOMY OF A QUANTUM JUMP

The main features of the current military revolution need no detailed exposition here. As every modern schoolboy now unfortunately knows, the Hiroshima bomb was thousands of times more powerful than earlier weapons, and the first hydrogen bomb a thousand times stronger than that. These nuclear explosives, of continuously improving efficiency, were then incorporated into missiles capable of delivering havoc at least 40 times more quickly than World War II planes. Their effectiveness was again raised by another large factor with the development of inertial guidance systems that can direct the missiles to their targets with fantastic precision. When the possibility of an active antimissile defense arose, decoys and jamming devices were quickly installed on the incoming missiles to make the chance of intercepting any significant percentage of them exceedingly remote. As a final step, missiles launches have been hardened, dispersed, concealed, or kept in motion beneath the oceans or in the air so that there is little hope of preventing any decisive proportion of them from functioning by means of a preclusive attack.

All this adds up to a true quantum jump of the order of hundreds, or thousands, of millions. Changes of that magnitude are comparatively rare in cosmic experience: they may be likened to the gathering of forces behind the explosion of stars, or the mutation which led to the emergence of the human brain in the evolutionary process. Certainly the magnitude of the present weapons revolution completely dwarfs that of the invention of gunpowder, cannons, and muskets which in its time destroyed the viability of feudalism. It is surprising that, in the light of these developments, so many people can expect a political system based on war as the means of settling major disputes to go on much as before.

In effect, what has occurred is a mass exchange of hostages, leaving the population of the world's major cities subject to sudden slaughter by hostile governments. This is interdependence on a new plane of intensity: to an unbelievable and gruesome degree we now depend on each other's leaders to be rational, to be predictable, to be sane. One has only to imagine for a moment what the situation would be like today if Hitler and the Nazi Party were in charge of a military force like that of the United States or the U.S.S.R. to appreciate how desperately we now depend on each other's leaders to be relatively free of paranoia, and endowed with humane qualities.

BREAKING THE LANGUAGE BARRIER

It would be a mistake, however, to overemphasize military interdependence to the exclusion of other types. Military interdependence is simply one facet of the technological revolution which, by overcoming the obstacles of distance and time, is in an operational sense shrinking our planet. Already the jet plane and modern electronics have greatly reduced the girth of our globe: electronic advances can transmit the essential raw material of human intercourse—exchanges of thought—as well as the impulses for aiming weapons. The presence of Telstar in the sky is a reassuring omen, preparing us for a day in the near future when international communication, and indeed when television and facsimile pictures—which are so much more readily comprehended across linguistic boundaries than are mere words—will flow easily over national boundaries, enlarging the community of experience out of which the community of feeling and of trust needed for political cooperation must grow. But this will require cooperation; hostile use of such facilities could quickly create chaos in the airwaves.

Geographic and physical aspects of human interdependence will increasingly obtrude on our attention and demand solutions. Recognition has gradually emerged that nuclear fission explosions in the air raise the radioactivity of the atmosphere and can spread malignancy and death far from where they initially were set off. We are now becoming more aware that the atmosphere is also subject to gradual deterioration from the effects of the wastes dumped into it by a rapidly growing industrial civilization. The world's rivers and seas may be similarly affected, especially if better technical solutions are not found for disposal of nuclear wastes before there is large-scale use of nuclear fission for electric power generation. Already the conservation of ocean food resources poses an acute problem for international cooperation.

DEALING WITH OVERPOPULATION

Another serious danger arises from the unchecked growth of population which not only imperils living standards in the overpopulated countries themselves but raises intractable long-term problems for their neighbors—which as a minimum will have to continue raising larger and larger food surpluses for relief programs, or accept the horror of large-scale famine in the world community. Further, all too soon in the time scale of human history, nations will probably be able to modify their own climate, and—intentionally or unintentionally—the climate of their neighbors. We have already seen how diversion of river water can threaten to become a casus belli. Imagine the implications of changing a neighbor's mean temperature by, say, 15° or 20°, or lowering the average rainfall by several inches. Finally the exploration of space is emotionally felt by most people as a generically human rather than as a merely national enterprise. Increasingly, it will provide a perspective against which national divisions will appear secondary and irrelevant to man's highest ambitions.

Nor are the triumphs of understanding and invention in the 20th century by any means confined to the realm of physical realities. Our knowledge of how to create and distribute goods and services has also taken giant steps forward. This includes not only the vast progress in applying physical technology to production, but also—and not less significant for man's welfare, I think—the tremendous progress in economic theory, policy and administration. It is only within my adult lifetime that national accounts and related statistical series have provided the market economies with a reasonably clear picture of what was going on, and that Keynesian insights and neo-Keynesian techniques have enabled us to avoid the depressions that made the laissez-faire economy violently and dangerously unstable, unbearably wasteful, and morally unsupportable.

The centrally planned economies also are improving their knowledge of aspects of economic reality and performance (such as standards of quality and the preferences of consumers) hitherto undeservedly ignored. They are reconstructing their planning methods to make better use of such information, and also to liberate the creative power of individual incentive and inventiveness—which can never be entirely preplanned, but which add so much to the quality of a society's output, if only the plans are flexible enough to accommodate them.

At the same time, great improvements in the techniques of managing the individual production unit have been developing both in the market and the centrally planned economies. Examples are the use of computers to solve technically difficult problems of inventory management as well as production layout and sequencing; the precise identification of the skill requirements of different categories of jobs; the effective matching of such requirements with employee capabilities; the use of programed learning and simulation techniques for industrial training and retraining; the precise measurement and accounting analysis of elements in the cost structure and their variation with scale of production; the influence of worker morale on production, and the factors affecting such morale, etc.

This vast progress in economic understanding and management has greatly enhanced the possibilities of cooperation. In the first place, it has so enormously increased the potential output of goods and services through the normal processes of economic activity that it makes any possible gains from the use of force seem trivial by comparison. Not only wars, but colonialism and other forms of exploitation through political power fade in attractiveness, even to the least humanitarian spirit, as the human contribution to production becomes less and less a matter of simple repetitive physical effort (which can easily be measured and coerced) and more and more a positive, creative expression of skill and imagination, within a complex and subtle team activity in which the individual's contribution is hard to isolate and measure, let alone impose by force.

Moreover, the outpouring of material benefits available in this way is so vast that the struggle over the division of these benefits should subside, with a concomitant softening of class hostility. Even if injustices in distribution are slower to be eliminated than our consciences desire, it is easier to bear them if there is enough so that even the poorest of the world receive what is essential for human dignity and development.

AN END TO POLARITY

Secondly, the improvements being made both in the market economies and in the centrally planned economies are gradually drawing the two systems together. In essence this depolarization may be characterized as a movement toward centralization in the West, and away from it in the East. [Editor's Note.—An analysis of these respective movements will be offered by Prof. Jan Tinbergen and his associates in a forthcoming issue of the Journal.] The convergence of the two systems may help to weaken the widespread ideological illusion of total opposition and conflict between the two types of economy, which is so dangerous a feature of contemporary life—distorting and exaggerating as it does the inevitable conflict of power politics between national states.

With convergence arises a greater possibility of fruitful economic cooperation. So long as the two economic types are viewed as deadly rivals locked in a blind struggle for survival, cooperation is difficult. Even mutually beneficial activities are suspect, since they will almost invariably be (or seem to be) more helpful to one side than to the other, and will therefore be opposed by the other side. Indeed, even a willingness of one side to accept a given agreement is likely to arouse the suspicions of the other that there must be some asymmetry in the benefits—even if it cannot be readily identified.

INVESTMENT DISPLACING TRADE

But the process of convergence will not merely enhance the possibility of routine economic cooperation; of perhaps even greater significance, it will open vast geographic areas to a relatively new type of business association—one that is proving increasingly valuable in the West. Hopes of improved economic cooperation among Western nations had hitherto centered mainly on the possibility of a balance expansion of commodity imports and exports. I would like to register my conviction, however, that trade in the conventional sense of a balanced two-way flow of goods is now being displaced in importance by a different, though little noticed, mode of economic cooperation.

Essentially, what seems to be happening is that conventional international trade, involving autonomous untied exchange of exports and imports, has been rapidly losing in importance to a type of international economic activity dependent on private or public investment or grants. Thus, of the $21.9 billion of U.S. nonmilitary exports in 1963, a third were either financed by Government loans or grants ($2.7 billion) or involved sales to U.S. foreign affiliates (estimated at $5 billion) and were thus to a degree dependent on earlier investment. Only $14.2 billion were balanced exports of the conventional autonomous sort, not the result of prior investment or aid-giving decisions.

Moreover, even the total export figure is completely dwarfed by production abroad by American-owned enterprises. U.S. owned foreign manufacturing enterprises alone showed sales of $31.3 billion for 1963. My own rough estimate (based on the ratio of foreign investment and earnings in manufacturing to total foreign investment and earnings) suggests that total 1963 sales of goods and services produced abroad by American-controlled companies were of the order of $60–$70 billion, which is about the size of the national income of France, the United Kingdom, or Germany. (Value added by these companies would, of course, be less than sales. On the other hand, a substantial additional amount of output was obtained as a result of technical and managerial assistance by U.S. companies under licensing and management contract agreements, and is not reflected in the above foreign investment and earnings estimates.) Incidentally, this foreign production of American-owned companies is not only much larger than U.S. exports, but seems to be growing twice as fast.

Why is this so? What has happened to give such growing emphasis to producing abroad in place of exporting? I suspect that this trend reflects a fundamental change now occurring in the determinants of comparative advantage and specialization. Conventional economic analysis lays great stress on differences in factor endowments as the source of international division of labor. Particularly emphasized were gross geographic differences of climate, soil, and mineral or other natural resources. The tropics would, in this view, export tropical fruits, coffee and tea, petroleum, rubber, silk, tin, et cetera, because their climate and raw material endowments gave them a unique ability to produce such items at low cost. Similarly, it was thought that the industrial countries had the capacity to produce and export steel because of the availability, in close proximity, of high quality deposits of coal and iron ore.

MANUFACTURES DOMINATING COMMERCE

While this concept may have been adequate to explain trade patterns in agriculture or basic metals, it never shed much light on the pattern of trade in manufactures. It could not, for example, explain why the three leading producers and exporters of machinery, the United States, United Kingdom, and Germany, also bought such a large quantity of machinery from each other. It is becoming even less useful as manufactures grow to constitute a far larger share of world trade. This process is the inevitable result of the displacement by synthetics of tree rubber, silk, wood, and other natural products, as well as continued technical improvements reducing the amount of raw materials per unit of output and permitting the use of lower grade material. The industrialized countries have also insisted on developing their own agriculture and reserves of oil, gas, and other natural resources, even when adequate imported supplies at low cost were available. Thus, the explanation of trade in terms of gross geographic advantage applies satisfactorily to an ever smaller part of the world's commerce.

TRIUMPH OF THE SUPERIOR FIRM

Competitive advantage in manufactures is only indirectly and partially dependent on possession of the required raw materials or other strictly geographic advantage. Rather it is now primarily an attribute of particular firms, or even particular product lines. It rests on the capability of a given company, establishment, or production unit to produce a superior bundle of goods and services—including such services as speedy delivery, favorable terms of payment, availability of spare parts, technical advice on using the product and technical servicing to keep it operating efficiently during its normal life period. Such advantage is the fruit of superior technical knowledge, new products, and better product specification resulting from past research and development activities, and from greater efficiency in meeting the varied needs of customers. Sometimes, this is accompanied by lower prices, but often it is not, since the buyer may be more concerned with the dependability of the product, or the quality of the services provided, than with marginal savings on the original price.

To provide such services reliably, a company must command resources that will enable it to extend meaningful service guarantees far into the future and a vast organization which can offer a variety of personnel opportunities for a lifetime career. Such enormous, virtually permanent, worldwide organizations as General Motors, Jersey Standard, Unilever, Philips' Gloeilampen, etc., with assets and life expectations paralleling those of nation-states, completely transcend the competitive-market assumptions of classical economics.

As the key competitive advantages become essentially matters of skill, knowledge, and organization rather than of climate or natural resource location, the economies of scale are altered. It becomes less advantageous to complete a production operation in one central place and ship bulky goods for long distances to where they will be used. Opportunities will increasingly be found to sell or rent the superior knowledge or skills and ideas that convey the crucial competitive advantages. Alternatively, efforts will be made to establish new production affiliates close to where the goods and services will eventually be utilized and where the particular needs and desires of the user can be given consideration, and the essential servicing provided in a reliable and economical manner. In effect what is now being demonstrated is that the long-run cost of transferring ideas, skills, and organizational patterns from one place to another is far lower than the cost of continuously transporting merchandise.

CASH IS SECONDARY

People not in international business rarely understand the extent to which international direct investment today involves such a transfer rather than the mere migration of surplus capital. Much of the capital from U.S. direct investment in recent years has come from local and other non-U.S. sources: local investors and suppliers, banks, governments, and international agencies. The American investor's most valuable contribution hasn't been cash but know-how and management skill. Moreover, as restrictions on capital exports diminish, European, Japanese, and other non-U.S. investors are beginning to emulate U.S. companies, with parallel benefits to the economies in which their investments are made. The United States has, of course, no monopoly on advanced technology and management, and will itself benefit from direct investments made by European and other foreign companies in this country. An interesting example of such reverse flow of technology and management is offered by the acquisition, reorganization, and modernization of the Underwood Typewriter Co. in the United States by the pioneering Italian firm of Olivetti.

ABSTRACT BUT COMPELLING

It is thus not amiss to argue that the increasingly abstract character of competitive advantage is the chief reason that international investment tends to displace exports in importance. While such investment also creates further opportunities for the export of components, raw materials, supplementary models, etc., the relative importance of overseas production steadily increases.

What benefits have foreign countries gotten out of the supplementation of management, skill, and technology represented by the over $40 billion (by 1963) of U.S. investment in foreign enterprises? First, an enormous increase in production—as indicated, perhaps $60–$70 billion per year, including wages and salaries paid almost entirely to workers and employees of the host countries. Secondly, substantial interest and profit payments to local lenders and equity investors participating in the projects. Third, $1.5 billion of reinvested U.S. profits in 1963, representing new savings and investment. Fourth, a large volume of profits taxes collected, which could easily have totaled around $1.5 billion, or even more, in that year. Fifth, and crucially important, an enormous contribution to foreign exchange earnings: these came to $4.7 billion from exports of manufactures alone generated by these investments. Adding the exports generated by mining and petroleum would easily double this figure. Furthermore, that part of overseas production which was not sent out of the country may be regarded as in some sense a substitute for imports that the host country would otherwise have had to purchase. The cost to the host country for all this was $4.5 billion of U.S. profits, of which, as we have noted, only $3 billion was withdrawn. Moreover, nearly $2 billion of this $3 billion was offset by new U.S. direct investment.

PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN PUBLIC ENTERPRISE

Demonstrably, international investment is a fruitful source of cooperation for economic progress among Western nations. But of what relevance is this to countries where the means of production are not privately owned? Certainly Communist society would appear to provide little place for foreign private investment. However, if we remember that the essential aspect of such investment may be viewed as a transfer of skills, ideas, and techniques—to be paid for with fees or royalties—rather than primarily as a migration of capital—to be remunerated by a dividend or an interest payment—it is possible to discern a basis for East-West collaboration. Such a basis already underlies many joint-venture situations. Here, the foreign investment process is looked upon as an export of equipment paid for in installments over an extended period, plus royalty payments for the licensing of new technology, know-how or trademarks, and management fees for the costs of advising and administering the new operation, transferring the new technology, etc. Comparable arrangements can also be made between East and West. Alternatively, one can avoid the need for an agreement in financial terms altogether by simply deciding to divide the physical output of the joint venture in agreed proportions, with the private-enterprise partner free to retain the foreign exchange proceeds from the foreign marketing of his share of the output. There are a number of other formulas that will serve equally well.

This mechanism has come to be called coproduction. Such an arrangement usually involves the use of advanced Western technology, equipment, and management by a productive enterprise in an East European country in a partnership arrangement with a capitalist production unit. The East European partner normally contributes the labor, the raw materials, and the plant—and often some of the components. The Western partner supplies advanced equipment and know-how, product design, often at least part of the management, and—what is extremely important—international marketing channels.

This concept is certainly rather a startling one. Not only is it hard to see how a Communist society could accept private foreign investment, it is equally difficult to understand how Western managers could participate in running a unit of a centrally planned economy which would presumably issue directives to the enterprise inconsistent with the profit-maximization objectives of Western entrepreneurs. Yet surprising or unbelievable as the idea of coproduction may seem, the fact is that such ventures actually exist, that they are increasing in number, and that many more are currently being explored as possibilities, or are in the stage of active negotiation. Let me mention a few examples.

CURIOUS COMBINATIONS

The West German firm of Rheinstahl has entered a joint venture with the Hungarian Ministry of Machine Building for the construction in Hungary of quarrying equipment, machine tools, and other steel products, utilizing Hungarian as well as German semifinished components. The Austrian firm of Simmering-Graz-Pauker has a joint venture with the Hungarian group called Komplex to build powerplants in India, financed through Hungarian-Indian bilateral clearing arrangements. IKEA, a Swedish furniture company, supplies machinery and designs for the semimanufacture of furniture in Poland under its own technical control. The semimanufactures are shipped to Sweden for finishing and marketing. The British firm of Walmsley (Bury) Group, Ltd., has agreed with Poland's Metalexport to supply papermaking machinery to Poland (and thereafter to sell it to other Soviet bloc countries) which will after a time contain components made in Poland with Walmsley technical assistance. The British firm of Callaghan & Son, Ltd., and the Czech firm of Kdynske Strojirny have an agreement to manufacture jointly a line of automatic textile machinery, and to market and service the machinery throughout the world on a prearranged basis. A great many other examples could be cited.

It is important to be clear about the economic bases of such ventures. What is in it for each side? For the East the answer is obvious. The Eastern partner is enabled to produce the sort of items for which there already exists a large demand in Western markets, to reach and maintain the necessary quality standards, and to make and service the goods as they must be manufactured and serviced to win and hold Western customers. But what offsetting special advantages can be offered by the Eastern countries to the Western partners? Why bother to produce in Eastern Europe items to be sold in the West?

Surprisingly, the most important advantage offered is the Eastern labor force. Overfull employment in Germany, Switzerland, and other countries of Western Europe has generated severe manpower shortages, relieved only by expensive importation and on-the-job training of foreign workers, with considerable social dislocation and expensive new requirements for housing, schools, etc. The Eastern European countries, on the other hand, still have considerable labor surpluses in agriculture, or even inefficiently employed in industry, owing to the requirement that enterprise directors find employment for a given work force whether they really need them or not. (Of late the growing freedom granted to managers to disregard such considerations has begun to create overt unemployment, especially in Poland.)

CHEAP, STABLE AND SKILLED

What is more, the East European labor force has some especially valuable properties from the point of view of Western management. First, it is relatively cheap. Living standards are still considerably lower in Eastern than in Western Europe, and workers in Communist countries are not free to have independent unions or strike. Thus the cost of labor is not only low, but is relatively stable over the production planning period. Finally, the East European work force contains a high ratio of relatively skilled people; it is particularly strong in middle-grade technicians, engineers, and scientists, who have been trained in large numbers as part of the Communist ideological commitment to education and science.

BOON TO TRADER

A second advantage that coproduction ventures can offer Western firms is markets. While the Eastern partner will ordinarily reserve for itself the marketing of the joint venture's finished products in the countries of Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Cooperation), the Western firms may gain important Eastern outlets for components and materials. Moreover, through its growing familiarity with trade and other officials of the Communist country, it may obtain orders (directly or as an intermediary) to supply other finished goods that the Communist country needs to import. In the case of the joint venture between Simmons Machine Tools in Albany, N.Y., and the Czech industrial complex, Skoda, Simmons found an advantageous and inexpensive source of supply in Skoda for certain machine tools which Skoda could deliver in 3 to 5 weeks (compared to over a year for comparable items from Western firms), while Skoda is to provide an East European market for some Simmons tools that are superior to Eastern models.

A third, and potentially quite important, benefit to the Western partner is specialized technology. In a growing number of cases, the Eastern partner has made certain technological improvements from which the Western partner could benefit, and this return flow of technology becomes a significant quid pro quo.

The partners in these coproduction arrangements can increase their returns in the same manner as returns are normally augmented (whether in international or domestic investment)—by raising productivity sufficiently to repay the costs of financing the productivity increase, including the costs of the machinery, inventions, stocks of goods, and other forms of capital invested. The role of profits—both as an indicator of and as a stimulus to success—is equally important whether the process is carried on by private or by public enterprises, or by a partnership arrangement using both types, as suggested above. Nor is there any reason to doubt that the full modernization of the Soviet bloc economies could be a highly profitable operation for all participants. In some respects the Soviet bloc is technologically and economically at about the stage of Western Europe of the early postwar period. Modernization is an enormous, but by no means impossible task, and assistance from the advanced private enterprise economies could greatly shorten the time and sacrifice required to achieve the goal. A very large amount of private business would be involved.

IDEOLOGY'S IRRELEVANT

The beauty of these coproduction arrangements from the point of view of one who welcomes more interdependence is that they require a great deal of communication and mutual understanding on matters which are taken seriously, because they are of obvious importance to both sides. In such ventures, practical results count, and ideological differences are pushed into the background. According to a former student of mine, who has planned and carried out a number of such operations in Yugoslavia, ideological differences have proved remarkably irrelevant and easy to ignore in this context. Thus, such ventures can do much to stimulate interdependence and cooperation.

If coproduction succeeds in reducing interbloc tensions and increasing the prosperity of the east, then both east and west can settle down to solving what is perhaps a more fundamental problem than their mutual hostility; closing the gap in living standards between north and south (the developed and the less developed). The poorer countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America have begun to view their historic poverty as by no means inevitable, but subject to improvement by their own efforts, and with the help of the developed countries. The resulting demand for development is a relatively new but already vastly powerful political force in the world, one that contributes enormously to the world's progress, but which may also lead to catastrophic conflict if not accommodated.

While the developed countries have inspired, through example and precept, the demand for development, they have unwittingly acted to frustrate that demand by exposing the less-developed countries most intensively to a single extremely potent sector of advanced technology, namely, public health measures to eliminate epidemics and reduce infant mortality. Such measures have been given priority for humanitarian reasons, and also because they are relatively inexpensive. It is these measures, however—and not any rise in the birth rate—that are responsible for the so-called population explosion, which, unless contained, threatens to swamp all constructive efforts to raise living standards and achieve rapid self-sustaining economic growth in the developing countries.

Fortunately, remedies are at hand or visible over the horizon. Essentially, they consist of a more balanced exposure of the less-developed countries to the whole range of medical capabilities of the developed countries in the public health field, including new inexpensive technologies for restraining birth—such as the intrauterine loop—along with new informational and public health clinics for diffusing the new knowledge of fertility control, and dispensing assistance in contexts which inspire confidence and engender willingness to change social attitudes and personal habits. It has been calculated that such aids to population stabilization are a great many time more effective in raising per capita incomes than an equal dollar volume of foreign aid of the conventional variety. Since it was the intervention of the developed countries—no matter how well motivated—that created the problem in the first place, there is clearly a moral obligation on the part of the developed countries to do what they can to right the balance.

As for the traditional economic aid programs, they have been basically undermined by having been so largely planned and administered in the spirit of the cold war. Most of the resources made available for foreign aid have been actually used to obtain or support foreign client states, ideological converts, military bases, U.N. votes, revolutionary or counterrevolutionary movements, etc. The resulting scandalous confusion of objectives has been extremely prejudicial to a serious attack on the problem of economic development, which is, in any case, a vastly more difficult enterprise than was thought until a few years ago.

The communists can make political gains, no doubt, by cultivating the harvest of hatred arising from past colonialism and neglect. But political gains of this sort are obtainable only at the risk of escalating minor conflicts into major military confrontations; and victories—even if attained—are likely to be evanescent and burdensome. When it comes right down to it, communism has no more of a solution to the demand for a simple and quick route to economic development than capitalism. (Indeed, as even Marx perceived, a rather high degree of economic development is probably a prerequisite for the effective running of a centrally planned economy.) A long-term and responsible view by the Soviet bloc leaders could, therefore, lead them to pass up such easy but illusory victories, and to turn, in partnership with the West, if indeed the latter is willing, to coping with the real and vast problems of world economic growth.

If this partnership were to be effected, the problems of world economic development would begin to look manageable. Even if disarmament remained elusive, one could count in such a case on tens of billions of dollars in savings from an arms freeze, and from the phasing out of obsolescent weapon systems. Moreover, much of the released resources in research and development, systems analysis, and large-scale program administration capability could usefully be diverted to the basic analytic, innovational, and creative programs required to achieve the needed breakthroughs in the field of economic development. Examples of such potential breakthroughs are the inexpensive desalination of water, the effective tapping of unconventional energy sources, sharply reduced building costs via prefabricated modules, the speedy achievement of universal literacy and advanced skills through the use of teaching machines and satellite-transmitted TV programs, etc. Dramatic progress will probably be required in a number of such fields to enable the tasks of development to be accomplished within a politically tolerable time span.

For many, therefore, everything depends in the end of the capability of both West and East to make the enormous intellectual adjustments to the technological imperatives of the new interdependent world in which we live. Such mental changes, it is clear, are made only with difficulty. The most menacing aspect of the problem is the fantastic speed with which our environment has been changing and the fact that if we fail to meet a single test we may not have a second chance. There is little room for learning by trial and error. Whether the human race possesses the flexibility to adapt to such a rapidly changing environment no one can foretell. Our job is to try.

(NOTE.—This article is a revised version of an original paper prepared within the Program of Research on the International Economics of Disarmament and Arms Control (RIEDAC) in the Columbia University Graduate School of Business. It was first presented as the introductory paper at the International Conference on the Economics of World Disarmament and Interdependence, held in Oslo, Aug. 29–Sept. 1, 1965, under the auspices of RIEDAC and the Peace Research Institute (Oslo). The article will shortly appear in the collected papers of the Oslo Conference and may not be otherwise reproduced except by special permission of the author.)

COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS ROBERT L. BENNETT

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, the Indian people of this Nation have greeted with real enthusiasm the appointment of Robert L. Bennett as the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

I had the privilege of working with Mr. Bennett when we were associated in the Aberdeen, S. Dak., area office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He is the first Commissioner of Indian ancestry since the 1870's. From this standpoint he has a special bond with those he has served so effectively during a career in the Indian Bureau spanning more than 30 years.

At his swearing-in ceremony at the White House this last week, I was struck once more by the fact that his appointment and administration will serve as a real inspiration to Indian Americans across this land.

Many of them, together with officials of numerous organizations among the tribes, in government and in private life have hailed his elevation to this post. His unanimous Senate confirmation and the wide variety of individuals who have commented favorably on his appointment indicate that he begins his administration with a high degree of public support. Among them are the following individuals and organizations who have expressed congratulations and support for the vital work he is now undertaking:

Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Vice President of the United States.

Hon. William A. Egan, Governor of Alaska.

Hon. E. Y. BERRY, Member of Congress.

Hon. RALPH J. RIVERS, Member of Congress.

Hon. E. S. JOHNNY WALKER, Member of Congress.

W. D. Shields, vice admiral, U.S. Coast Guard.

Rev. Dr. Clifford Samuelson, executive council, Episcopal Church.

Dean Elbert W. Harrington, University of South Dakota.

James McLean, Standing Rock Tribe, North Dakota.

W. Dan Heupel, vice president, First National Bank, Mobridge, S. Dak.

Avrum M. Gross, Juneau, Alaska.

Raymond C. Simpson, Band of Mission Indians.

Thradore R. Denny.

LaVern R. Dilweg, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission.

Quentin DeBoer, Alaska Department of Commerce.

Fort Belknap Community Council, Harlem, Mont.

Military Sea Transport Union.

Governors' Interstate Indian Council.

American Indian program of American Friends Service Committee.

Boy Scouts of America.

Montana Inter-Tribal Policy Board.

Oneida Indian Nation.

All Indian Council—Pueblo.

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation.

Assistant Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs in Canada Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida.

Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho.

Alaska Native Brotherhood.

Indian Council Fire.

Girl Scouts of America.

MR. HORTON PROPOSES U.S. COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO PREPARE FOR U.S. ROLE IN 1968 INTERNATIONAL YEAR FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. **HORTON**. Mr. Speaker, I take pleasure in announcing my introduction today of a bill to establish a U.S. Committee on Human Rights in order to prepare for American participation in the International Year for Human Rights in 1968.

As you know, the United Nations Economic and Social Council adopted a resolution on July 28, 1965, which sets forth a program for celebrating the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights. Having taken note of this action by the U.N., the Committee on Human Rights of the White House Conference on International Cooperation, which met at the end of November last year, recommended that a representative committee be established to plan a program of activity to be carried out at the National, State, and local levels. The White House Conference Committee also recommended that the United States serve as a host to one or more United Nations human rights seminars.

My bill is introduced in response to this recommendation from the White House Conference Committee on Human Rights. It would provide for a committee of 11 members, 4 from the legislative branch—2 from the House, and 2 from the Senate—and 7 private citizens appointed by the President. The members would represent a cross section of American life and some of them would be knowledgeable in international law.

The Committee would be directed to conduct studies and formulate plans for the effective and coordinated participation of the United States in the observance of the International Year for Human Rights. It would examine the role of the United States in the application of human rights principles domestically and internationally, review past and present policies with respect to human rights, and recommend practical steps for the effective participation of the United States in the International Year for Human Rights.

To accomplish these objectives the Committee would be authorized to conduct studies, seminars, and meetings with knowledgeable persons and to seek suggestions and information from the appropriate departments of the executive branch. The Committee would be required to submit a report of its activities along with its recommendations for American participation in the International Year for Human Rights to the President by July 1, 1967. After the submission of its report to the President, the Committee would continue in being to serve as a coordinating center for U.S. participation in Human Rights Year under the direction of the President.

International Human Rights Year is less than 2 years away, and it is important that we begin to plan our participation now if the United States is going to play a leading role in its commemoration. The United Nations has already begun arrangements for an International Conference on Human Rights in 1968 and the Human Rights Commission of the Economic and Social Council recently closed its 22d session after completing several tentative plans for the 1968 commemoration.

Such a committee is not without precedent in U.S. participation in the United Nations and its human rights activities in particular. In fact, a committee of private American leaders and educators in the human rights field played a crucial role in drafting the original human rights provisions of the U.N. Charter. After it was decided at Dumbarton Oaks that the new world organization should concern itself with the promotion of human rights, the State Department called on a select group of national leaders in the human rights field to act as consultants on human rights matters to the American delegation to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. These men played a key role in drafting the human rights provisions of the U.N. Charter and in establishing the United States as a leader in the promotion of international human rights.

It is important that the United States continue to be a leader in the field of human rights internationally as well as nationally. The Human Rights Commission would be an important step in continuing our leadership in the field of international human rights.

HORTON BILL TO ALLOW DUTY-FREE STATUS FOR USED PERSONAL EFFECTS OF CERTAIN RETURNING RESIDENTS

Mr. **HORTON**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. **HORTON**. Mr. Speaker, today we are considering a bill on the Consent Calendar which allows persons who have served abroad, and who are returning to the United States at the request or order of the Government, to bring in their personal and household effects on a duty-free basis. There can be no argument with the justice of this measure, for to assess duty on such items would be to tax necessities owned and used by returning residents.

While the House of Representatives has its attention focused on this issue, I would like to point out that there is another category of persons, besides those directly employed by or serving the Government, who should be entitled to the same duty-free status for used personal belongings acquired during residence abroad. This category is made up of Americans who for over 1 year's time have lived abroad as businessmen, missionaries, teachers, students, and so forth.

I have today introduced legislation to amend item 813.10 of subpart A, part 2 of paragraph 1202 of United States Code, title 19—Customs Duties, concerning personal exemptions for returning residents to read as follows:

"All personal and household effects taken abroad by him or for his account; and wearing apparel, articles of personal adornment, toilet articles and similar personal effects, bought, owned, and used abroad for over 1 year and not intended for sale or any commercial use in the United States"—free.

The purpose of this amendment is to reduce the unnecessary hardship on those returning American residents such as businessmen, teachers, and missionaries, who of necessity have had to purchase certain personal effects and articles for their own or their families' use abroad. Currently such effects are considered by the Customs Bureau as falling within the $100 personal exemption of duty-free articles allowed returning residents. In many instances this exemption is far too small to cover the used wardrobe or personal effects of a returning family.

As the customs provisions for returning residents, who have been abroad over 1 year, are currently interpreted and applied, books, furniture, and similar household effects which were actually bought and used abroad, could, after proper certification of such use, be brought back to the United States, free of duty. The Commissioner of Customs, however, has stated specifically that clothing and personal effects are not included in this exemption.

Many American citizens, who have been abroad for over 1 year, with no intention of settling permanently outside the United States, have had to buy clothing and personal articles overseas for their own use. Granted that a substantial allowance is made by customs in the value of such articles by reason of its use or wear abroad, it is evident that to pay duty on used clothing acquired abroad is merely an added expense to, say a returning missionary who might be coming home on furlough or for reassignment. The purpose of my bill is to eliminate this burden on returning American residents.

I believe that this amendment is urgently needed to clarify the personal exemption provisions of our customs duties, as well as to reduce the customs burden on bona fide American citizens returning from abroad.

POLISH MILLENNIUM OF CHRISTIANITY

Mr. **SKUBITZ**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DERWINSKI] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. **DERWINSKI**. Mr. Speaker, May 3 is the traditional independence day of Poland, specifically commemorating the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791. This year, the 175th observance of the adoption of the first democratic constitution in Europe, has special significance for the Polish people since they are also commemorating their millennium of Christianity.

Unfortunately, under the tyrannical domination of their Communist rulers, the brave people of Poland cannot speak out on this day as proudly and vigorously as they wish. The Gomulka dictatorship, which obviously is not representative of the freedom-loving Polish people, forbids proper observance of the religious and historical events of which the Polish people are so rightly proud. Moreover, Americans of Polish extraction and people of Polish origin scattered throughout the world, as well as other freedom-loving people, join in this commemoration of the historic Constitution Day of Poland.

We in the Congress must continue to show how strongly we support the desire of the Polish people for the restoration of freedom and a democratic government which truly represents them.

Typical of the editorial comment in the Polish-American press of the country is an editorial in the Polish American Journal of April 30 which I insert in the RECORD as part of my remarks:

[From the Polish American Journal, Apr. 30, 1966]

THIRD OF MAY CONSTITUTION

On May 3, people of Polish background throughout the world will celebrate the anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland. It will be a most memorable day to all, especially this year, when Poles celebrate the 1,000th anniversary of the country's conversion to Christianity.

We are sure that the people in Poland will secretly pay homage to the authors of that great Constitution adopted on May 3, 1791, reminding themselves that "Poland is not dead yet, while we are alive."

This year on May 3, the spirit of 95 percent of the Polish nation will be in Czestochowa, Poland, where the greatest religious ceremony in the history of the country will take place before the miraculous picture of the Black Madonna—to commemorate the millennium.

It was on May 3, 1791, that Poland guaranteed freedom to all her citizens by adopting a constitution, and became the first nation in Europe to have a written democratic document proclaiming the principle of human liberty.

On September 1, 1939, Poland was the first nation to take up arms to resist Nazi aggression—the first who had the courage to say, "No" to Hitler. Yes, Poland was first to fight, and for this honor paid dearly with the blood of her soldiers, not only in Poland during the September campaign but on all Allied fronts—in Norway, France, in the Battle of Britain, Africa, Italy, Belgium, Normandy, Holland, Germany—on the seas, and in the skies over Europe.

Poland was the first ally. While Poland was the "mother of the United Nations," she was excluded from the Conference of the United Nations, convened on April 25, 1945, at San Francisco. Yet the thought that was to guide the work of the San Francisco Conference was expressed by a Polish king in 1750—Stanislaw Leszczynski, one of the early protagonists of international cooperation, who wrote a memorandum on strengthening the general peace. The thought underlying his plan was that the community of nations should go to the assistance of any country attacked. Likewise, in 1833, Poland's greatest poet, Adam Mickiewicz, proclaimed in his works the ideal of the common brotherhood of man—a genuine international organization.

The Polish people have pioneered and cradled the cause of liberty and justice, not only for their country, but in many parts of Europe and the United States of America.

The Poles fought against a German invader trying to steal other peoples' lands as far back as the year 963. In 1241 they saved Europe from the invading Tartar hordes. In 1685 it was King Sobieski and the gallant Poles who protected and saved Christianity from the ravages of the Mohammedan sword and stopped the infidel hordes from overrunning Europe and destroying the Christian people. The liberty-loving Poles came to the aid of our American Colonies in the Revolutionary War.

The United States of America sometimes called the melting pot of the world, has been enriched with the contributions made by our immigrants that came from the cradle of European democracy. Whenever the Polish people have taken domicile in the United States, their citizenry has proved second to none. They have taken an active part in education, religion, law, civic, social, and governmental affairs. Their loyalty and patriotism have been unexcelled. They have carried Old Glory in both war and peace and they stand ever ready to protect our priceless heritage regardless of the sacrifice connected therewith.

In observing this anniversary of a great event in the history of Poland, let us recognize that the fate of this old, brave, great nation still disturbs the world and America. At Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam, we played a role not entirely compatible with our ideals. Let us all hope and pray that Poland, the first nation in Europe to adopt a democratic form of government, will be permitted to work out her own destiny under a government of her own, chosen by her own people in a free election.

Another excellent commentary which points out how the Gomulka dictatorship is thwarting Poland's observance of their millennium of Christianity appeared in the April 23 edition of the Polish American. I insert this column by Harry E. Dembkowski in the RECORD as a continuation of my remarks:

[From the Polish American, Apr. 23, 1966]

THE MILLENNIUM SPOILER

(By Harry E. Dembkowski)

Even to the most optimistic of optimists, the events as they slowly unfold seem to be saying with unmistaken clarity: The Year of the Polish Millennium is fast taking on the appearance of a fiasco. Poland—in the past, not uncommonly treated by the larger nations with a mixture of amusement and contempt—is in danger of becoming an international laughing stock as its most heralded celebration in decades, the millennium, turns into farce.

The latest in a chain of events that prompts this unpleasant but necessary observation was the recent refusal by the Gomulka regime to grant a tourist visa to Pope Paul VI. A host of other church dignitaries, including Chicago's Archbishop Cody, are likewise being prevented from visiting the country. As a result, the millennium celebrations will be deprived of much worldwide publicity it would otherwise have received; as a result, in other words, the millennium is being reduced from a first-class spectacle of international importance, into a second-rate event of little importance outside of Poland and Polonia.

The cause of this systematic downgrading is clear. The Gomulka regime, a Communist dictatorship which does not truly represent, nor has ever represented, the Polish Nation as its legitimate government, is envious of the church's prominent position in Poland today. It is particularly concerned about Cardinal Wyszynski's position as the nation's paramount moral and spiritual leader.

And so the regime is quite willing to play the role of spoiler. Knowing that communism cannot successfully compete with catholicism in winning the loyalty of the Polish people, and although careful to avoid any too obvious persecution of the church, the regime is doing all it can to nullify, as much as possible, the millennium of Polish Christianity.

Because of the undeniable damage that is being done to the nation's international prestige, this entire matter should prompt a total reassessment by America—and especially by Polonia—of its relationship to Poland's Communist government.

There are those who claim that the Gomulka regime must be treated cordially because it is Poland's sole government. This regime must be respected and even aided by the United States, it is argued, because then and only then will the Polish Communists "mellow" and "evolve" into a lighter, more pleasing shade of red.

But somehow this "liberal thesis" (so-called because it is principally expounded by the American political left) has not borne much fruit in recent years. Since the much-lauded "October thaw" of 1956, there has been a gradual re-freezing of the red ice pack. Not only has the "liberalization" trend been halted, it has reversed itself and is now proceeding in the opposite direction.

Why is this? Perhaps because the "liberal thesis" is in error. As the recent hints of Stalinist rehabilitation in Russia seem to indicate, a totalitarian dictatorship is too durable a system to simply wither away under its own weight. Many hopeful observers—including many Poles—misjudged Gomulka's intentions in 1956 and—with the obvious exception of the experience-wise Poles—many still persist in misjudging both him and his regime.

To realize what the "liberal thesis" has consistently overlooked, one should keep in mind a most perceptive observation made by Milovan Djilas in his famous critique of Communist society, "The New Class." He wrote:

"Ideas, philosophical principles, the nation and the people, their history, in part even ownership—all this can be changed and sacrificed. But not power. Because this would signify communism's renunciation of itself, of its own essence. Individuals can do this. But the class, the party, the oligarchy cannot. This is the purpose and the meaning of its existence."

Gomulka is a fanatical Communist by conviction and an authoritarian by nature. He was swept back into power on a wave of popular enthusiasm during the "October revolution," of which he was not the leader but basically a bystander. Far from being stimulated by the spontaneity of the acclaim he first received, he is profoundly distrustful of the people and, in the years since then, has steadfastly chipped away at the flattering monument—that unreal image—which the Polish people and, even more, the Western observers, had erected to him. The "retrogression from October" has mainly been of his doing—and not simply the result of Soviet pressure.

Gomulka and his system represent a terrible aberration of Poland's thousand-year-old cultural heritage. He cannot, therefore, be considered Poland's official, legal, spokesman. And his mischievous acts in attempting to scuttle the millennium merely compound the great chasm which separates him and his cohorts from the overwhelming majority of Poles both at home and abroad—who had hoped to see, in the millennium, a great event of historic dimensions.

UNITED NATIONS INSTEAD OF THE UNITED STATES MIGHT ASSIST SOUTH VIETNAM WORK OUT HER OWN DESTINY

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Washington [Mr. PELLY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, ordinarily with regard to foreign policy I go on the theory that "fools rush in where angels fear to tread." However, that does not mean lack of interest. Rather it is owing to the belief that the President has the widest and best sources of information and there seemed to be no reason why he has not deserved congressional support. At home I have publicly stated with regard to Vietnam that President Johnson had my support, and I said, too, that I was proud Republicans in Congress were not making a partisan issue out of our policy in Southeast Asia.

Today, Mr. Speaker, I am departing from normal silence and have written the President suggesting that the United States might urge on various contending political groups in South Vietnam that the United Nations supervise the upcoming elections. Thereafter, under my suggestion, if it was declared that these elections were free, then the United States would withdraw its troops if North Vietnam, on her part, agreed to discontinue her aggression. From then on it would be up to the United Nations to provide against civil disorder or to protect against extremist aggression. Any future military action would be under the United Nations of which, as with Korea, we would carry the heaviest load. But I would hope there would be no such action.

Herewith, Mr. Speaker, is the text of my letter to President Johnson which is dated May 2, 1966:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., May 2, 1966.

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: This letter has to do with Vietnam, but, unlike many letters which you receive from Members of Congress, it does not say in one breath that I support your policies and in the next proceed to show lack of confidence in your judgment by urging escalation or deescalation of the war. Without such qualifications, I have felt your policies merited the full support of Congress.

Knowing of your continuing desire to achieve peace, and with Ambassador Cabot Lodge returning for consultations, I am offering a suggestion which you might think worth discussing with him.

This suggestion is very simple: namely, that the United States use its influence with the present government and the various contending political groups in South Vietnam to try to obtain an agreement whereby the United Nations would supervise the upcoming elections. If the United Nations thereafter declares these elections were free and in accordance with democratic procedures, then the United States would withdraw its troops if North Vietnam agrees to cease her aggression. It would be up to the United Nations to supervise any truce or agreement and to assist in achieving stability. Through the United Nations we and other nations would provide economic aid to help South Vietnam work out her own destiny.

It hardly seems possible that the Buddhists, Catholics, and the other political groups in Vietnam would not accept such a plan. As to North Vietnam's willingness or good faith, there may be some question, but certainly another attempt to achieve peace would be worth a try.

Meanwhile, I continue to support your southeast Asian policy.

Respectfully,

THOMAS M. PELLY,
Member of Congress.

CIVIL RIGHTS PROCEDURE ACT

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. REID] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill entitled the "Civil Rights Procedure Act."

This act will modernize and strengthen the Federal law to make it more effective to prevent the infringement of federally granted substantive civil rights by unlawful State action in the form of criminal prosecutions.

More specifically, the act will liberalize the provisions of Federal law regarding removal of State prosecutions to Federal district courts in civil rights cases and extend the jurisdiction of Federal courts to enjoin unconstitutional State criminal proceedings.

The need for this legislation is clear. Americans seeking to avail themselves of their constitutionally protected rights have been subjected to criminal proceedings designed to drain them of their financial resources and destroy their spirits.

This act will extend protection to citizens in the exercise of the rights secured by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as well as in the exercise of the rights of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom peaceably to assemble and the guarantee of the equal protection of the laws secured by the Constitution.

The bill was drafted by the Special Committee on Civil Rights under law of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. Under the able leadership of its chairman, Hon. FRANCIS E. RIVERS, the committee has performed an outstanding public service in preparing this legislation after exhaustive study of the underlying problem.

We may hope that State courts will in time assume the full burden of protecting the civil rights of our citizens. The Federal Government must not be remiss, however, in assuring a full measure of protection for all Americans who seek to participate in our Government of laws.

EFFECT OF DUMPING CORN AND WHEAT ON THE MARKET

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday of last week I called to the attention of the House the "Effects of Dumping Corn and Wheat on the Market" are having on livestock prices.

On Friday, 40 Members of the House sent a telegram to the President pointing out how his actions and directives to various departments of Government were severely penalizing farmers and hurting their opportunities to obtain remunerative prices in the market.

Late Friday, the U.S. Department of Agriculture released its monthly report on "Agricultural Prices." This report verified all of my contentions in that wheat prices received by farmers as of April 15 averaged lower than either March or February. Corn prices were up seasonally from a month earlier but below a year earlier. Meat animal prices were down 4 percent from the March levels and 5 percent from February. All cattle were down 50 cents per 100 pounds from March, and steers and heifers were down 70 cents. Hogs were down $1.90 per 100 pounds from March prices, but $5.10 per 100 pounds from February.

Milk prices received by farmers were down from both the March and February levels but retail prices were up.

All farm prices declined 5 points during the month ended April 15, 1966, while farmers' costs increased 2 points to an all time record high. The cost-price squeeze is hurting farmers severely. The parity index dropped 2 points or from 82 in March to 80 in April.

Mr. Speaker, these are only some of the major changes and they indicate how our President and our Secretary against Agriculture are succeeding in pushing farmers to the bottom of the economic totem pole. It seems unfair to me that the executive arm of Government with all its power would discriminate against one segment of our economic society on the basis of sheer political expediency.

NOW IT CAN BE TOLD

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Senate aroused no small amount of curiosity and conjecture on April 11, 1963, when it cleared its galleries and closed its doors in a secret session, its first in 20 years, and deliberated for 5 hours on matters of apparent importance.

The following article by Willard Edwards of the Chicago Tribune which appeared in today's issue of the Tribune tells what went on behind those closed doors and just how urgent the issue really was.

I request that the item, "Reveals United States Warned on Missile Peril," be inserted in the Congressional Record at this point:

[From the Chicago Tribune, May 2, 1966]

Reveals United States Warned on Missile Peril—Secret Debate of 1963 Bared

(By Willard Edwards)

Washington, May 1.—Three years ago, on April 11, 1963, the Senate ordered its first secret session in 20 years to debate the need for emergency action to increase the defenses of the Nation against the danger of nuclear missile attack.

For more than 5 hours, behind closed doors and with the galleries and floor cleared of all except Members and two attendants cleared for access to top secret information, a minority waged a battle to step up missile defenses.

SAVINGS OF A YEAR

The fight was lost. Last Thursday, in a desperate effort to remedy the failure of 1963, the Senate voted an additional $167,900,000 to speed up production and deployment of an antiballistic missile defense system.

The extra cost, Chairman Richard B. Russell, Democrat, of Georgia, of the Senate Armed Services Committee said, would buy "a saving of about 1 year" in erecting a defense system which could save millions of American lives.

MUCH IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE

Senator Strom Thurmond, Republican, of South Carolina, leader of the 1963 battle, could have reminded Russell that the Senate could have bought a saving of 3 years if it had heeded his warnings at the secret session.

It is now permissible, with some censorship of technical details still "classified," to disclose the secret speech Thurmond gave the Senate in 1963. Is striking in its foresight and contains the ominous prophesy that inaction would make the period of 1967–70 one of great peril.

Much of the highly classified data discussed in the 1963 session, which forced the Chamber into closed session, is now common knowledge. It was not considered proper at that time that the American people should know that Russia had already deployed an antimissile complex at Leningrad, putting it well ahead of the United States. Now, the existence of such a system not only at Leningrad but at Moscow and elsewhere indicates that Russia has enjoyed a breakthrough and is deploying a greatly improved system.

Thurmond gave the Senate details about the Russian system which, as one Member remarked later, "opened our eyes." He hammered home the argument that the nation first achieving a workable missile defense system would become top dog in the brutal struggle for world power based on nuclear weapons.

He pleaded for an additional appropriation for $196 million to accomplish preproduction engineering on an antimissile system.

WARNED OF FUTURE PERIL

"It is not the danger which confronts us now," he told the Senate, "but the problem which will arise in the future and primarily in the time frame of 1967 through 1970, beginning 4 years from now.

"I have obtained detailed estimates on the Leningrad complex and it is important for the Senate to know them. The system deployed at Leningrad is designed for defense against medium and intermediate range ballistic missiles. We further estimate that, under certain favorable conditions, it could engage an intercontinental ballistic missile."

The system did not give Russia a defense against American ICBM's, Thurmond noted, and it was less than perfect defense against intermediate range missiles fired from Polaris submarines.

HAVE SYSTEM DEPLOYED

"They do, however, have a system deployed," he warned, "and our official estimate states that during 1963–64, the Soviets could begin deployment of a transportable system to their army fronts. By 1967, system deployment could be possible on an approximate basis of four per front.

"We know that this system can launch up to five missiles simultaneously against one to five targets. Its probable intercept altitude is between 50,000 and 100,000 feet. It utilizes a solid booster and carries a warhead of 100-kiloton yield. Obviously, they are well ahead of us.

ALARMING POSSIBILITY AHEAD

"For the years ahead, this leaves the possibility of an alarming situation. Consider the position in which we would find ourselves if the Soviets, in the late sixties, should come up with both high yield missiles capable of destroying some of our hardened sites and in addition an antimissile system capable of defending with reasonable success against IRBM's, including the Polaris, and some anti-ICBM capability. All of this is within the realm of possibility and I am inclined to believe it is entirely probable.

"Under present plans, we would have no antimissile system developed and we would be several years away from any possible deployment, even in 1968."

The "alarming situation" pictured by Thurmond 3 years ago had become real enough to the Senate last week to overrule Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara and added the $167 million to "buy a year of time." The Joint Chiefs of Staff, Russell reported, unanimously supported this action.

PRESTIGE HIGHER THEN

In 1963, McNamara's prestige was much higher in Congress and his strong opposition won Russell to his side. Even so, the Armed Services Committee voted 9 to 8 to report the Thurmond amendment. But, after the secret session, in a vote largely influenced by Russell's position, the Senate killed Thurmond's motion, 58 to 16.

A year ago, the Joint Chiefs of Staff also unanimously recommended to McNamara that funds be requested for preproduction engineering on the defense missile system known as Nike X. He rejected their recommendation.

In 1963, one of the arguments advanced against Thurmond's proposal was that McNamara wouldn't spend the money even if it was voted. The same possibility now exists.

ENORMOUS EXPENSE AHEAD

Eventually, everyone agrees, an antimissile system is going to be built and it is going to cost an enormous sum. Estimates range between $10 billion for a system which could protect against an attack from a weak nuclear power, such as Red China, to $20 and $30 billion for a system designed to save the United States from destruction by a Russian nuclear attack Four years will be required to permit deployment after the decision is made to go ahead at full speed.

The estimated total cost of $20 to $30 billion for a missile defense system which could save 60 million American lives is approximately the same as the cost of landing a man on the moon. McNamara, backed by President Johnson, has ordered full speed ahead on the moon project.

AGAINST NUCLEAR UMBRELLA

The Defense Secretary, however, has been adamant against a similar pace for erecting what he described as an "umbrella" against nuclear attack. His position in 1963 was that it would be wasteful to proceed with procurement until research and development had produced an adequate system. In that year, he had cut the defense budget from $67 to $52 billion. Now, faced by mounting costs of the Vietnam war, he is still contending that an antimissile defense is not feasible until research has developed it near to perfection. He is, as always, unperturbed by the weight of military opinion to the contrary.

Meanwhile, Russia has had 3 years to pursue its development of an antimissile defense system in the comforting assurance that the United States was falling behind in this field.

In his secret speech to the Senate in 1963, Thurmond cited the psychological advantages of deploying a missile defense system at the earliest possible date. The Russians would gain a big cold war victory by demonstrating that they had completely deployed a system while we had deployed none, he noted.

CALLED SITUATION CRITICAL

"Moreover," he emphasized, "it is quite obvious that unless and until we either deploy an antimissile system with little or great discrimination capability, the Soviets are unlikely to undertake the very strenuous requirement of equipping their offensive missiles with either penetration aids, decoys, or multiple warheads. For unless and until we do deploy such a system, they can successfully strike their targets in our country without utilizing such devices.

"In view of the strain which the development of such devices, and the refitting or replacement of their missiles, would place on the Soviets, earlier deployment would lessen materially the resources which they could devote to other weapons research, development, testing, or production.

"The situation is critical now but the most critical period will fall between 1967 and 1969. If we act now, and the Secretary of Defense gives weight to the congressional judgment, we can deploy in 1967 the best antimissile system which the state of the art will permit."

The majority of the Senate would not heed this plea. Now that it has acted, 3 years later, and assuming that McNamara uses the funds as directed, the earliest deployment date is 1971.

COMMUNIST PLANS FOR GUERRILLA WARFARE IN THE UNITED STATES

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashbrook] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the fine record of Negro American servicemen in Vietnam emphasizes a fact long known by governmental sources concerned with infiltration of minority groups for subversive purposes and expressed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1954 in its report, "The American Negro in the Communist Party":

The fact that the Communist conspiracy has experienced so little success in attracting the American Negro to its cause reflects favorably on the loyalty and integrity of the vast majority of the 15 million Negro citizens.

This finding has been confirmed more recently by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and reiterates his observation of January 1953, that "the American Negro is not hoodwinked by these false messiahs."

Despite discouraging results in the past, attempts are still being made to exploit the social and economic aspirations of the Negro people in the United States. Two such attempts are being carried forth by the Progressive Labor Movement—PLM—and the Revolutionary Action Movement—RAM. In his testimony before a House appropriations subcommittee in March 1965, Director Hoover described the Progressive Labor Movement as "another group seeking to exploit Negro unrest—a Marxist-Leninist group following the more violent Chinese Communist line."

The Revolutionary Action Movement was described by Mr. Hoover as "a highly militant, secretive organization following the Chinese-oriented Marxist-Leninist line and believes in replacing the capitalistic system with socialism."

Of RAM's future plans, Director Hoover stated:

> Although no timetable is known, RAM allegedly has its program organized into three stages, the first one being education and recruitment. The second stage is one of expropriation whereby efforts will be made to secure sufficient funds for the organization. This will include robbery and other means, legal or illegal. The third stage will be one of direct action whereby the present system of government will be replaced by RAM's Chinese-oriented society, to be accomplished by any means available.

The American Security Council in its Washington Report for April 11, 1966, elaborated still further on these two organizations. A highly respected national body, the American Security Council reports on national and international developments affecting the Nation's security for the information of the council's over 3,500 member companies and institutions. The author of the report of April 11 is Philip Abbott Luce, a one-time leader of the "New Left" who was associated with the Progressive Labor Movement from April 1963, until January 1965, while his wife was copy editor for the Progressive Labor Party—PLP—newspapers. They broke with the organization because of its terror tactics and advocacy of violence. He has since cooperated with Government agencies and has just completed a book for the David McKay Co. entitled "The New Left."

I request that the article, "Communist Plans for Guerrilla Warfare in the United States" be inserted in the Record at this point.

[From the Washington Report, Apr. 11, 1966]

COMMUNIST PLANS FOR GUERRILLA WARFARE IN THE UNITED STATES

(By Phillip Abbott Luce)

At this moment, while Communist forces throughout the world are engaged in attempts to overthrow a number of governments, here, in the United States, the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) are actively involved in the first-step operations of guerrilla warfare. Both of these groups are storing arms training people in sabotage and terrorism and actively preparing a group of people to institute armed insurrection.

Progressive Labor, acting in its capacity as the American arm of the Chinese Communist International, has prepared a number of its members for any eventuality. During the summer of 1964 the PLP initiated a plan dividing various "trusted" members into secret groups of four and then preparing them to go "underground" if a police crackdown became imminent. The PLP members were not simply to change their names and alter their physical appearance but also were to use the weapons provided to aid and promote a guerrilla operation in those cities where Progressive Labor had any strength, such as in New York and San Francisco.

THE PLP'S ROLE IN THE 1964 HARLEM RIOTS

When Harlem erupted that same summer the Progressive Labor leader there, Bill Epton, used his previous training to instigate further rioting. He actually trained people in the techniques of preparing and using Molotov cocktails. Epton is presently out on bond, pending the appeal of the 1-year prison sentence he received as a result of his role in the riots.

Once the Harlem riots reached their peak the Progressive Labor leadership considered spreading the chaos to other parts of the city. The editor of Challenge, the Progressive Labor weekly newspaper, signed an editorial published during the riots which stated: "The vision of half a million—or a million—angry black men and women, supported by allies in the Puerto Rican and other working-class communities, standing up to their oppressors, is haunting the ruling class. People have already begun to to speak of 'guerrilla warfare' and 'revolutionaries.' "

The only reason that Progressive Labor did not try to spread the riots to New York's lower East Side was later explained to us at a secret meeting of the Progressive Labor National Committee. Alice Jerome, the head of Progressive Labor's club on the lower East Side explained: "We felt that we could not carry an action through with any kind of success or value, other than a blood bath * * *. If the opportunity comes again—the big question is how to consolidate whatever gains are made."

GUERRILLA TRAINING "UNDERGROUND"

By December 1964, the Progressive Labor leadership had embarked on yet another "underground" program which was to include a trip abroad during which the members would receive further training in guerrilla techniques. Today this program is operative; a number of Progressive Labor people have already dropped from sight. Jake Rosen, a former member of the Communist Party, USA, a traveler to China (1958), and the man responsible for bringing a number of guns to New York from the South, is in charge of this "underground" project. (Rosen casually left a wife behind when he went into hiding nearly a year ago.)

Progressive Labor's latest contact with the world guerrilla movements came when it sent Rick Rhoades, in violation of passport regulations, to the tri-continental conference in Havana in January. Rhoades, who previously had been sent to City College in New York by Progressive Labor to head up the May Second Movement there, shared the spotlight with Robert Williams as the only "invited observers" from the United States. Upon his return to New York, Rhoades reported on his various meetings with guerrilla leaders at two closed meetings of Progressive Labor. Rhoades also admitted to having had conferences with the Vietcong about plans to try to increase agitation in this country against the war in Vietnam and also made contacts with the Chinese about the possibility of a trip to that country by a group of young Americans. Such a trip would violate current State Department travel regulations.

RAM

The other organization in the United States that is preparing to launch a guerrilla warfare operation is the Revolutionary Action Movement. Founded in Philadelphia in the winter of 1963, RAM is headed by Max Stanford and Robert Franklin Williams. RAM is active in the large city ghettos and has a hard-core membership of about 250 people. RAM closely follows Williams who is listed as its "Chairman-in-Exile" and as the "Premier of the African-American-Government-in-Exile." Williams acknowledged his role while speaking in Hanoi in November 1964: "As a representative of the Revolutionary Action Movement, I am here to give support to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression."

Nearly a year ago a group of RAM followers attempted to destroy a number of national shrines and had planned a bombing raid on the Nation's Capital before they were rounded up by the New York police. The three Americans involved in this bizarre plot were all members of the Black Liberation Front which was formed in Cuba during the summer of 1964. This Black Liberation Front was merely a front operation for RAM. Even the extreme leftwing has now admitted this fact. Robert Taber, one of the founders of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and still an apologist for Fidel Castro, documents this relationship in his book on guerrilla warfare, "The War of the Flea."

Max Stanford has made it perfectly clear that RAM favors any means to wrest control of the government from "white" people. Writing in the Detroit, Mich., monthly, Correspondence, he relates that RAM was formed by "Afro-Americans who favored Robert F. Williams and the concept of organized violence." He stated that the philosophy of RAM was "revolutionary nationalism and just plain blackism."

One Detroit group which amalgamated with RAM is Uhuru which means "freedom" in Swahili. The program of Uhuru was described by one of its leaders, who also traveled to Cuba in 1964, as "Mau Mau Maoist. We are strong supporters of the Chinese. If you're in doubt of any position we have, look it up in Peking Review."

RAM AND THE RED CHINESE

Although the RAM'ers advocate strong support for the Chinese revolutionary philosophy they cannot be considered a part of the official Chinese Communist International. While Progressive Labor has a number of direct contacts (including financial ones) with the Chinese Communist Government, the Revolutionary Action Movement is not considered by the Chinese as their American agent. RAM utilizes a philosophy that is a strange mixture of black nationalism, white hatred, misread marxism and kamikaze radicalism. They idolize the Chinese because of the rhetoric they use and because the Chinese are a part of the "colored" world.

TERROR IN THE CITIES

RAM has been explicit in its outline of how it will take power in this country. Advocating a guerrilla war different in nature from that described in the writings of Mao and the Chinese, RAM envisions using the urban areas as the base of operations. The revolutionaries in RAM believe that the black ghetto areas of our major cities hold the key to a successful guerrilla war. They specifically propose that black people be organized into small guerrilla units which will use the night to spread terror through a city. According to the plans of RAM, terror will be the major weapon—terror which will, in turn, lead to a demoralization of the will of the Government. Bombs will be placed in New York's Grand Central Station or other public places; key personalities will be assassinated; snipers will indiscriminately murder innocent citizens, theaters will be fired.

Max Stanford puts it this way in a recent issue of Black America, RAM's official publication: "When war breaks out in the country, if the action is directed toward taking over institutions of power and 'complete annihilation of the racist capitalist oligarchy' then the black revolution will be successful. * * * The revolution will 'strike by night and spare none.' Mass riots will occur in the day with the Afro-Americans blocking traffic, burning buildings, etc. Thousands of Afro-Americans will be in the street fighting: for they will know that this is it."

RAM'S GUERRILLA WAR: A RACIAL CIVIL WAR

This type of guerrilla warfare might be destructive in terms of men and money but it could not possibly succeed. One of the major ingredients of such guerrilla action is to confuse and isolate your opponent (in this case, the Government) by keeping it from "knowing" the enemy. RAM, however, is proposing a racial civil war that would be a battle of black versus white. Under these conditions they would hope that the "enemy" would be misidentified and that some whites would react violently against the innocent Negro majority, thereby intensifying the struggle. Immediate terror tactics might be effectively utilized by the black revolutionaries but in the long run they would be involved in a kamikaze action.

Fortunately, it should be stressed that RAM has not made any significant inroads into the Negro community but rather, has been disavowed by most Negro leaders.

While neither RAM nor the PLP is in any position to topple the American Government in the near future, the very fact that they are preparing for some type of insurrectional action places them well outside the pale of democratic politics. And while our security agencies can control both groups, it is important to note that the Communist plan of guerrilla wars includes the United States itself.

NO SUBSTITUTE FOR A CURB ON SPENDING

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I am placing in the RECORD a thoughtful article written by Henry Hazlitt appearing in the April 25, 1966, edition of Newsweek entitled "Why Inflation Grows."

I think Mr. Hazlitt might share the limited pleasure I have experienced in listening to the New Economists talk in terms of financing the Federal expenditures through increased taxes rather than through increased debt, because up until just recently they were asking what was wrong with the Federal debt. Well, even though they will not openly admit that they know what is wrong with the size of the Federal debt, they do so tacitly when they suggest that creating further economic damages through tax rate increases is preferable to creating an equivalent amount of new Federal debt.

After all, if we are simply seeking to cut back on aggregate demand, selling Government securities to the private sector will do that as effectively as extracting the money from the private sector through increased taxes. The trouble is, selling Government bonds to the private sector requires further increases in interest rates; certainly having the Federal Reserve System absorb the additional bonds at below the market interest rate will merely create more money and credit. The time when we could simply divert the inflationary forces we have been creating through our Federal deficits abroad is past. Already we are experiencing economic and political embarrassments as the result of the great economic strengths certain countries have acquired from building up their dollar holdings. We cannot follow this route so now these inflationary forces are staying at home and coming out in increased prices.

Truly, as Mr. Hazlitt concludes his observations, there is no substitute for a curb on spending.

The article follows:

WHY INFLATION GROWS

(By Henry Hazlitt)

While expressing constant concern about inflation, the Johnson administration is still inflating. It is scolding the symptoms while doing nothing to stop the causes.

The cause of inflation is the increase in the quantity of money and credit. The money supply (including time deposits) now stands at a new high record of $317 billion, 9 percent higher than a year ago, and 48 percent higher than at the end of 1960.

One main reason for the increase in the money supply is the action of the Federal Reserve System in buying and "monetizing" U.S. Government securities. It holds today $41.1 billion of them, which is $3.3 billion more than a year ago. Interest rates are still kept low enough to encourage continued expansion of bank credit.

The rapid increase in the money supply has been in turn brought about by the Federal deficits. We are heading into the 31st deficit in the last 37 years. The real cash deficit for 1967 is concealed by various bookkeeping gimmicks and an underestimate of probable expenditures. Objective analysts expect the real deficit to be $5 to $10 billion.

TAX CUT OR SPENDING?

The deficit can be reduced or wiped out either by reducing expenditures or by raising taxes. By all odds the sounder course is to start restraining nondefense expenditures, and certainly not to impose any further tax increase. Cutting planned expenditures by $5 or $10 billion might be awkward for vote-conscious politicians but could be done with economic advantage all around. Planned nondefense expenditures for 1967 are $12 billion more than in 1965, $23 billion more than in 1963, and $32 billion more than in 1961.

Those who argue that the only way to eliminate the deficit is to raise taxes are by implication making the preposterous claim that every dollar of the $63.6 billion of nondefense expenditures planned for the next fiscal year is essential and untouchable. Yet this nondefense total alone is $52 billion higher than 10 years ago.

The Republicans in Congress are on the right track in pushing for a cut in spending. Their voting record in this respect is far from perfect, but it is immensely better than that of the Democratic majority. In seeking to cut a uniform 5 percent out of each domestic appropriation bill the Republicans, it is true, are not adopting the most defensible course. A family forced to cut expenses would hardly think it sensible to cut both its food budget and its annual vacation in Europe by the same percentage.

The Republicans in Congress would be in a stronger position if they (and, we may hope, Democrats too) were to memorialize the President to submit an amended budget cutting at least $5 billion out of his present proposed total cash spending of $145 billion for 1967. This ought not to be too difficult. The nondefense part of this spending alone is $6 billion more than in the current fiscal year and $12 billion more than in 1965. If the President refused to make his own cuts, he would be in a poor position to criticize the cuts made by Congress.

There are decisive reasons why a further tax increase at this time would not be justified:

1. Such an increase is not necessary if present unparalleled nondefense spending is cut.

2. All tax increases retard and restrict economic growth.

3. They would not bring in revenues that would be proportionate to increased rates.

4. The tax reductions made in the last 2 years, in the face of existing deficits, were political. The Treasury's own estimates showed that 78 percent of the reduction in personal income taxes enacted in 1964 was made in the taxable income brackets of $4,000 and under. Congress would not dare to restore the 1963 rates for fear of being accused of throwing the burden on the low incomes. But the necessary revenue simply could not be raised by restoring the rates only in the brackets above $10,000.

5. Finally, an increase in taxes of $5 billion would be completely futile if the President and Congress continued to increase spending with the casualness and recklessness of the last few years. We would face the grim prospect of a thumping tax increase plus still more inflation.

There is no substitute for a curb on spending.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RUMSFELD] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, on the following rollcall votes that developed during the 1st session of the 89th Congress, I was listed as not voting. Had I been present, I would have voted as follows:

Rollcall No. 197, I would have voted "nay."

Rollcall No. 248, I would have voted "yea."

Rollcall No. 378, I would have voted "nay."

PROPOSED COMPREHENSIVE STUDY OF NOISE

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. KUPFERMAN] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, on April 21, 1966, I introduced a bill (H.R. 14602) to provide a comprehensive study of the complex noise situation in the United States with a view toward a better understanding of the detrimental effects of excessive noise and of finding ways and means of eliminating unnecessary noise.

In my statement, which appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 21, 1966, at pages 8745 through 8768, I refer briefly on page 8750 to New York State's Antinoise Act which was signed by Governor Rockefeller in July of 1965 and which relates primarily to vehicular noise abatement.

The New York State legislation was the product of the efforts and determination of many public-spirited citizens, including Christine—Mrs. Edward P.—Helwig, councilman of the town of Mamaroneck in Westchester, N.Y., and chairman of the Thruway Noise Abatement Committee.

I would like to include at this point in the RECORD some of the pertinent articles and studies which contributed to the successful beginning made by the New York State Legislature last year. The studies included herein are of particular value in understanding the effect of excessive noise caused by trucks and automobiles on our Nation's highways:

[From the Mamaroneck (N.Y.) Daily Times June 17, 1965]

MRS. HELWIG APPLAUDED—ALBANY PASSES ANTINOISE BILL

ALBANY.—The long fight of a group of Westchester residents to cut down the noise made by truck on the New England Thruway moved closer to victory yesterday when their bill won final passage in the assembly and was sent to Governor Rockefeller.

The passage of the bill, sponsored by Senator Max B. Berking, Democrat, of Rye, and Assemblyman Anthony B. Gioffre, Republican, of Port Chester, by a vote of 101 to 17 came after a long and noisy debate.

In previous years similar efforts to win approval were killed off by opposition from police and farm groups. Although the impetus for the bill came from Westchester, it would be effective statewide if signed into law.

Gioffre argued for passage of the bill. While he was defending it against attacks from New York members, Berking was lobbying for it among the Democratic members. His efforts in this respect were successful enough to persuade Assemblyman Bertram Podell, Democrat, of Brooklyn, one of the most ardent debaters against it, to vote for the bill.

Senator Berking stated:

"Passage of the noise abatement bill is a prime step in combating a growing irritant of modern life.

"We live in a region where noise has increased at the rate of one decibel a year for the past 30 years. Truck exhaust noise is the chief offender in New York City and along our super highways.

"Thanks to the efforts of the Thruway Noise Abatement Committee, it chairman, Mrs. Christine Helwig, and its roster of distinguished members from communities along the New England Thruway, we have, at last, a means of enforcing our antinoise laws against the small minority of offenders who have persistently ruined the sleep of hundreds of Westchester residents.

"I am sure the Noise Abatement Committee joins me in thanks to the New York State Police, the Empire State Truckers Association, and the many other groups that have made this legislation possible."

GIOFFRE ELATED

Gioffre said today that he is elated over the passage of the bill after 4 years of trying. He praised the work of Mamaroneck Town Councilman Helwig, chairman of TNAC, in appearing before the Motor Vehicle Committee of the assembly and assisting him in having the bill reported by this committee.

"When the bill first appeared on the assembly calendar," Gioffre said, "considerable opposition was voiced by the city of New York, and the Grange. This brought about opposition from city Democrats and Upstate Republicans.

UPSTATE APPEAL

"I devoted considerable effort in making a personal appeal to my Upstate Republican colleagues as well as to my colleagues on the other side of the aisle. Senator Berking also made an appeal to his friends on the Democratic side.

"As a result, the bill was passed yesterday. This legislation blazes a trail in the entire United States for noise relief."

MRS. HELWIG'S HAPPY

Elation also described Mrs. Helwig's feelings on learning the bill had passed the assembly.

"Though I was not present yesterday," she said today, "I understand Assemblyman Gioffre received a standing ovation in the assembly on the successful conclusion of his 4-year fight for this legislation.

"The vote was certainly a much-deserved personal triumph for Mr. Gioffre whose parliamentary skill and dedicated efforts turned what looked like sure defeat into an exciting and unexpected victory."

Continuing, she said, "We cannot praise highly enough the magnificent cooperation between Tony Gioffre and Max Berking in obtaining such decisive bipartisan support for this much needed and long sought legislation."

JOB AHEAD

However, she stressed, TNAC's fight does not end with the passage of the bill. "We must now urge that the bill be signed into law by the Governor. We must continue our efforts to insure effective enforcement where needed, and insure that the renewed interest in quieter trucks that has been generated within the industry will also continue to grow."

TNAC was organized in 1961 by Larchmont Village Trustee William G. Ball, Jr. Eight of nine municipalities along the New England section of the New York Thruway formed the group.

BACKED BY FUNDS

Since that time, each community has appropriated a total of $12,240 of public funds for the technical studies necessary to determine the levels of noise actually being experienced by residents who live along the route, and to formulate methods for measuring and limiting unnecessarily loud noise.

The efforts of TNAC have been toward reaching an agreement on a reasonable measurable noise limit which would have the support of the trucking industry.

ASSOCIATIONS

The Empire State Highway Transportation Association, the New York State Motor Trucks Associations, Inc., and the American Trucking Associations supported TNAC's efforts with money and material. An acceptable standard was found, leading to final passage yesterday in the assembly.

The communities that make up TNAC include the cities of Rye and New Rochelle, the towns of Harrison, Mamaroneck, and Pelham, and the villages of Larchmont, Mameroneck, and Pelham Manor.

Mr. Speaker, the following material was submitted to the New York Legislature by the sponsors and supporters of New York State's vehicular noise abatement bill in an effort to meet specific objections that had been raised by the legislation:

THRUWAY NOISE ABATEMENT COMMITTEE,
Mamaroneck, N.Y., May 21, 1965.

Re senate introduction 3475, print 5288 by Mr. Berking; assembling introduction 5309, print 6714 by Mr. Gioffre.

To the honorable members of the senate and the assembly:

The enclosed information sheets have been prepared by the technical consultant to the committee in answer to questions that have arisen regarding enforcement procedures and noise limits proposed by this bill.

The enclosed letter from counsel to the State police highlights the pressing need for a measurable limit which defines what constitutes "excessive or unusual" noise from motor vehicles. In the absence of an enforcible limit, most authorities have found it impossible to control unnecessary noise from motor vehicles; and in the absence of effective controls, the citizens of our State must endure ever-increasing and needless vehicular noise.

The great majority of responsible manufacturers and operators, large or small, recognize their obligation to the public and find it no hardship to produce and maintain vehicles and equipment that are far quieter than the limit of 90 dba contained in this bill. All residents of our State should be protected from the small minority of persistent violators who operate in defiance of the reasonable standards of their own industry and in open disregard of the public welfare.

We urge favorable action on this bill.

In behalf of the committee, most respectfully submitted.

CHRISTINE K. HELWIG,
Chairman.

THE MEANING OF THE PROPOSED NOISE LIMIT

Re assembly introduction 5309, print 5587, 6714 by Mr. Gioffre; senate introduction 3475, print 3746, 5288 by Mr. Berking.

This bill provides a measurable noise limit which can be enforced against motor vehicles creating "excessive or unusual noise" and hence in violation of section 375, subsection 31 of the vehicle and traffic law.

Even prior to 1956, when the truck manufacturers established the present industry-wide noise limit for highway vehicles, it is unlikely that any commercial vehicle left the factory with original equipment making as much noise as 90 dba. The industry standard for acceptable exhaust noise is far below 90 dba. For example, a typical new truck measures about 82 dba, while the average of all trucks on the road today is about 84 dba. Testing programs have demonstrated that the industry standard can be met "with reasonable exhaust systems" and that any truck producing 90 dba is unnecessarily noisy.

It is adequate maintenance of the exhaust system, not the age of the vehicle, which determines whether the vehicle causes excessive noise. Adequate replacement equipment, which quiets vehicular exhaust to acceptable levels, is available for virtually all truck engines.

Ninety decibels on the 'A' scale (90 dba)—the level at which a violation would be charged and an arrest made—is very loud. For comparative purposes, the following scale of acceptable levels of noise is of interest: 35 decibels is acceptable for a courtroom or schoolroom, 55 decibels is recommended for a restaurant, 60 decibels is an acceptable level for a sports coliseum, 60 decibels makes use of the telephone difficult, 80 decibels is considered intolerable noise for satisfactory use of the telephone, 90 decibels is tolerable only when of short duration, 100 decibels causes actual physical discomfort.

It is obvious that such noises as those caused by animals, by rattling loads or dragging chains, or by other equipment such as refrigerating units could create no noise levels in the category of 90 dba at 50 feet. Furthermore, the bill requires that the measurements be taken at speeds of less than 35 miles per hour precisely to eliminate all possibility of tire screech or other tire noise as a factor.

Respectfully submitted.

United Acoustics Consultants,
Stannard M. Potter,
President.

May 10, 1965.

Information on Enforcement Procedures

Re assembly introduction 5309, print 5587, 6714 by Mr. Gioffre; senate introduction 3475, print 3746, 5288 by Mr. Berking.

This bill refers to the Society of Automotive Engineers' standard for the measurement of truck and bus noise which specifies (a) the equipment to be used for making measurements, (b) the procedure to be followed, including the selection of a satisfactory environment, placing of instruments, proper practices for their use and sources of error to be avoided.

Locations that meet the requirements of the SAE procedure would be selected by enforcement officers. At a toll barrier on the throughway or at a stop light on any highway, measurements at speeds under 35 miles per hour can be made without any safety hazard. Since vehicles would start from a dead stop, there should be no problem in providing that the speed was under the specified limit. Only vehicles in a selected lane (i.e., 50 feet from instruments) could be measured, but vehicles coming from a toll barrier would automatically be in the proper lane. The enforcing officer would have to be selective in measuring one vehicle at times when the noise from other vehicles would not contribute significantly to the noise created by the vehicle being measured.

Based on actual field practice during tests run by the American Trucking Associations with the cooperation of the New York State Police, two men would be required for the enforcement procedure. One man would need training (approximately 1 week) in acoustic field test and analysis technique. The necessary instruments are not difficult to use and complete directions for use and proper care and handling are supplied by the manufacturers.

Police officers should have no problem in giving adequate testimony in court, once given the necessary training. The acceptability of decibel measurements for enforcement procedures is now recognized. The Toronto motor vehicle noise by law, which contains a decibel noise limit, was recently upheld in the appellate court in Canada even though this bylaw does not provide the safeguards for accuracy of measurement that are written into this bill. The decibel standard is a recognized standard of the American Standards Association.

The present New York State law (sec. 375, subsec. 31 of vehicle and traffic law) has been held unenforcible in court cases because it provides no adequate definition of what constitutes excessive or unusual noise. This bill provides such a definition and a proven method of enforcement.

Respectfully submitted.

United Acoustic Consultants,
Stannard M. Potter,
President.

May 10, 1965

Measurement of Truck and Bus Noise— SAE J672

(Report of Truck and Bus Technical Committee approved January 1957 and reaffirmed January 1962 (without change))

INTRODUCTION

This standard sets forth the equipment and procedure to be used in measuring the loudness of truck noise and loudness limits. This method consists of recording the noise on a high quality magnetic tape recorder as the truck passed by under load. The noise thus recorded is played back through a set of octave bandpass filters. The maximum playback sound level reading of each band is converted to sones by established relationships. The sones are then summed up for a single loudness reading for the truck.

EQUIPMENT

1. A magnetic tape recorder of broadcast transcription or instrument quality.

2. A high quality microphone, possessing ruggedness and stability. It is essential to use a microphone with a reasonably flat frequency response characteristic so that the combined response of the microphone and tape recorder falls within the limits of ±3 db from 40 to 10,000 cps. Narrow band variations in frequency response are not amenable to correction in octave band analysis of noise with a continuous spectrum.

3. A means for at least a single frequency overall acoustical calibration at the test site.

4. A set of actave bandpass filters meeting ASA requirements as set forth in bulletin Z24.10—1953.

5. A decibel indicating meter which meets the requirements for an ASA sound level meter (Z24.3—1944).

PROCEDURE

Environment: Ambient noise levels in each octave band (due to other sources) should be at least 10 db lower than the level of the test vehicle in the corresponding band. In lieu of a direct method for determining whether this condition is being met, it is best to operate at a place and time where other noises are obviously and definitely not adding significantly to the truck noise.

No large reflecting surfaces such as a sign board or hillside should be located within 100 feet of the microphone or within 100 feet of the truck during the interval when it is within 50 feet of passing the microphone.

Preliminary: Determine combinations of load and engine speed which produce maximum noise. An engine tachometer is an invaluable aid. The maximum noise may occur at full throttle near maximum engine speed, or at a lower speed especially if muffler or pipe resonances occur. Lower axle or transmission ratios can be used because road speed is considered to be of secondary importance. Avoid speeds where governor interference may reduce noise. Full load may be imposed by using a towing dynamometer or by operating on a grade.

Test procedure: Place microphone 5 feet above ground, 50 feet to the curb side from center of the lane in which the vehicle is traveling. If this distance cannot be obtained, then for working distances, X, between 30 and 80 feet correct the playback octave band levels in accordance with the relationship.

$$\text{(db) Correction} = 20 \log \left(\frac{X}{50}\right)$$

As the truck passes by under the maximum noise conditions previously determined, the noise is recorded on the tape recorder, embracing sufficient truck travel so that the maximum noise is recorded. This does not always occur when the truck is centered on the microphone. Record at least two such passes to assure a typical operation with maximum noise output.

Record a calibration tone of known acoustic level on the tape using the same microphone and the same recorder attenuator settings, immediately after (or before) the noise recordings or series of recordings.

Laboratory procedure: Connect the tape recorder to playback into an octave filter set which incorporates a suitable decibel meter (see item 5 under equipment) and calibrated attenuator. Of course, the usual filter and ASA sound level meter can also be used. Set noise meter or filter controls to "C" or flat weighting and to normal or fast meter response. The correct playback level is determined by the playback of the known calibration tone. The gain control on the playback amplifier is adjusted until the reading on the overall setting of the filter equals the known acoustic level of the calibration tone. After this adjustment is obtained, the truck noise recording is played back through each of the eight filter settings in turn and the maximum readings of the decibel meter written down. Sample truck data are tabulated in table 1 [not printed in Record].

The octave band levels read for each octave band are then converted to sones in accordance with table 2 [not printed in Record]. The eight individual values of sones are then added to give a single reading for total loudness of the truck in sones.

Calibration and instrument practice: The use of single "field" calibration tone at the time of the truck recording gives reasonable assurance of significant data provided the overall record-playback frequency response of the entire system is known, and corrections to a flat response are applied, where required, to the octave band data.

In general, good instrument practices are to be followed. For example, if a portable power supply is to be used at the test site to operate the tape recorder its frequency must be closely controlled to 60 cps. Normal shielding of microphone lines to reduce hum and random electrical disturbances shall be employed. The impedance of the microphone, or microphone system, should be suited to or matched to the recorder input impedance. The playback amplifier should be terminated in its correct impedance to prevent frequency distortion. An attenuating pad between the amplifier and the filter may have to be provided. These two functions can usually be incorporated in a single device such as a "T" pad.

Proper account must be taken of any differences in filter insertion losses between the "overall" setting (where the proper amplifier gain is established for playback) and the various bandpass settings. In some filters these two insertion losses are not equivalent.

Sources of error: Even assuming an idealized flat overall response and stability of all components of the record-playback system, there are factors external to the instrument system which cause variations in the loudness measured by any procedure, including the above procedure. These include:

1. Variations due to differences in operation (such as engine speed and load) in successive runs on the same truck, where variations in truck condition and atmospheric conditions are thus minimized.

2. Variations in sound output of the truck itself, from day to day.

3. Variations in the atmospheric "transmission system" between the truck and the microphone due to (a) temperature gradient, (b) wind velocity gradients.

4. Variations between supposedly identical trucks.

Very little can be done to reduce 2 and 4, although the existence of these variations must be recognized if the truck type is to consistently meet the specifications. Under 3, temperature gradients of abnormal sign or degree can usually be avoided by confining the testing to the usual daylight hours. Severe velocity gradients can be avoided by testing when wind velocities do not exceed perhaps 10 to 12 miles per hour.

Under 1, very little trouble will be experienced with repeat accurancy if care is taken on successive runs to duplicate engine speeds and loads.

Loudness limit: New highway vehicles shall not exceed a loudness of 125 sones measured at 50 feet.

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"Laboratory Evaluation of Field Measurements of the Loudness of Truck Exhaust Noise." D. B. Callaway and H. H. Hall. Journal of the Acoustical Society of America, vol. 26, 216–220 (March 1954).

"Beranek Armour-ATA Method for the Evaluation of Truck Exhaust Noise, 1954," brochure available from the Automobile Manufacturers Association, 320 New Center Building, Detroit, Mich.

Thruway Noise Abatement Committee,
Mamaroneck, N.Y.

Commercially Available Intruments Which Meet the American Standards Association Specifications

General Radio, West Concord, Mass.:

Sound level meter, 1565A	$240
Calibrator, 1562A	150
Graphic level recorder, 1521A	1,000

B. and K. Instruments, Inc., Cleveland, Ohio:

Sound level meter, type 2203	$690
Pistonphone calibrator, 4220	245
Graphic level recorder, 2305A	2,190

Easterline Angus, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Direct writing ink recorder, 424–A (special internal amplifier N.E.)	$600

From the above it can be readily seen that the necessary instruments for enforcement, i.e., a sound level meter, calibrator, and recorder, can be obtained commercially for as little as $990.

State of New York,
Executive Department,
New York State Police,
Albany, March 18, 1963.

Mrs. Christine K. Helwig,
Larchmont, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Helwig: Your letter of March 13 addressed to Captain Annett of troop T, has been referred to the writer for reply.

In reply to your questions I wish to state the following:

1. The present law does not, in my opinion, adequately define "excessive or unusual noise" and fails to provide a yardstick by which such determination could be definitely made. Excessive or unusual noise is a matter of personal opinion and would require the justice before whom the proceeding was brought to accept the opinion of the arresting officer, which opinion could be controverted thereby raising a question of fact to be determined by the judge.

2. I know of no statutory power which would permit State police officers to require a driver to dismantle a muffler upon suspicion that the same was not in good working order.

3. By reason of my answer to question No. 2 there would be no way of determining definitely that a violation existed.

4. A conviction could be obtained under the present section as to excessive or unusal noise if the magistrate believed the officer's opinion that the noise was excessive or unusual. However, under the present statute I greatly question whether such conviction would withstand an attack by appeal, by reason of the lack of a yardstick by which the same could be measured. As to prosecution for a modified exhaust system under the second sentence of subdivision 31 of section 375 of the vehicle and traffic law, it provides that "no person shall modify, etc." and in order to obtain a conviction under this sentence it would be necessary, if a modified exhaust system were discovered, that the police ascertain the name of the person or persons who made such modification and prosecuted such person or persons. In my opinion, the identity of the person or persons making the modification would be difficult to establish. I should point out that a cursory observation of a motor vehicle would disclose whether the same was equipped with a cut out, bypass, or similar device.

I trust that the foregoing information will answer your inquiry.

By direction of the superintendent.

Very truly yours,

Sidney B. Gordon.

(From the desk of Christine K. Helwig)

The series of tests outlined here were duly conducted by the Rubber Manufacturers Association.

No results have ever been published, apparently as a policy decision by the tire companies.

No solution to the truck noise problem will be satisfactory until truck tires are designed to be quiet as well as safe. These objectives are not mutually incompatible.

[From the Mamaroneck (N.Y.) Daily Times, Oct. 8, 1964]

TNAC Plans Tire Noise Tests Here

The Rubber Manufacturers Association is sponsoring a series of tests on the New England Thruway to determine the types of tires that produce relatively high noise, it was announced last night by Councilwoman Christine K. Helwig at the Mamaroneck Town Council meeting.

She said the tests will take place October 26 through 29, and representatives of the tire manufacturers will be on hand to identify tires producing higher levels of noise.

Tests will be on the eastbound lane and three stations will be set up: one in the town parking lot, another at the New Rochelle toll barrier, and the third on Country Club Lane in Pelham Manor.

LAY LISTENERS

Mrs. Helwig said that the RMA is furnishing funds for the project while the Thruway Noise Abatement Committee has been asked to furnish the jury of lay listeners.

"It is tremendously gratifying to TNAC," Mrs. Helwig, chairman of TNAC, said, "that the RMA is willing to undertake this study of our rather special problem.

"The past achievements of tire designers in quieting passenger car tires give us real hope that the know-how of the industry can be applied to the new problems that have resulted from high-speed arteries on which trucks travel at greater speeds than ever before."

PRAISES DENTON

She praised the efforts of William Denton, manager of field engineering for the B. F. Goodrich Tire Co. for suggesting the project.

She also lauded support given to the project by Joseph P. Kigin, legislative assistant of RMA, and his colleagues. "I feel sure the results of these tests will take us a giant step nearer to a workable solution for excessive truck noise," Mrs. Helwig said.

The TNAC chairman also disclosed that a report on the Saugerties tests, made during the last year, will be made public soon.

She said the results "confirm our contention that some trucks are far noisier than necessary."

October 6, 1964.

RMA Truck Tire Noise Survey

(D. H. Carson, J. E. Corey, L. Marick, R. E. Prausse, J. P. Kigin)

Messrs. R. R. Ormsby, J. P. Kigin, and William Denton met with Mr. S. M. Potter at the RMA office on October 2, 1964, at which time the contract was signed to proceed with the RMA truck tire noise survey during the week of October 26, 1964. A copy of this contract is attached for your record.

Following this approval, we proceeded to Mamaroneck where the following persons met to review the test procedure and to outline conditions necessary to implement this test.

PRESENT AT MAMARONECK ON OCTOBER 2, 1964

Mrs. Christine K. Helwig, chairman, Thruway Noise Abatement Committee.

Robert J. Davis, New York State Police.

Rudolph Hoagland, traffic supervisor, New York State Thruway Authority.

John T. McLaughlin, New York Telephone Co.

Stannard M. Potter, United Acoustics Consultants.

Thomas Newton, United Acoustics Consultants.

William Denton, B. F. Goodrich Tire Co.

J. P. Kigin, Rubber Manufacturer's Association.

The following courses of action were proposed for the test, subject to revision after further review with all present at the test site on October 26, 1964.

RMA TEST COMMITTEE

RMA personnel will be present to conduct the test from the following companies: Two, Firestone; two, General; two, Goodrich; two, Goodyear; two, U.S. Rubber Co.

Mr. Frank Welch, of Armstrong, has volunteered to have two men available for this test to assist. Also, Mr. Kigin is extending an invitation to all other companies to have observers present.

Note to test personnel

All persons assigned to this test by each company should arrange to meet at the tollgate adjacent to exit No. 9 on Route 95 at 10 a.m. on Monday morning, October 26, 1964. Mr. Kigin is supplying information on motels in the area.

Work assignments will be made at the test site on October 26 when all persons are present. Those persons who are coming to New York by plane or train, should advise either Mr. Kigin at RMA or Mr. Denton at B. F. Goodrich in Akron so that adequate transportation can be made available as required.

Mamaroneck committee

Mrs. Helwig will be on hand for the test work, and will arrange for two observers at station A as outlined hereafter. Mrs. Helwig will handle all local arrangements that may be required for the test.

Test course

The north- and south-bound routes of the New England Thruway Route 95 were reexamined and it was confirmed that the locations previously selected are the best sites available in the area for the tests that are to be conducted. These sites are located as follows:

Test sites

Stations	Location on Route 95	Southbound	
		Miles between stations	Total miles
A	City parking area north of railroad station.	0	0
B	Tollgate at Larchmont, New Rochelle city line, adjacent to exit No. 9.	1.0	1.0
C	Near Pelham County Club on county club line, south of exit No. 7.	2.9	3.9

Communications

Telephone communication between stations A, B, C was selected as being the only positive method available. Arrangements were made with the telephone company for this service which will cost about $50 to $60 to be paid by RMA.

POSSIBLE TEST PROCEDURE

Station A, city parking lot

1. Trucks passing in the curb lane will be recorded continuously for intervals of approximately 45 minutes which is the length of one tape roll.

2. This procedure will be repeated throughout the day. It is hoped to run two tapes in the morning and three tapes in the afternoon, or a maximum of five tapes each day.

3. A night test may be made only if this is considered desirable as the survey proceeds.

4. The passing trucks will be numbered sequentially from 1 to "X" on each 45 minute roll of tape.

5. Five observers will record their opinion of the tires on each recorded truck as satisfactory, borderline, or objectionable. (Note: Three observers will be RMA members and two observers will be appointed locally.)

6. The five observers at station A will select trucks to be stopped at station B. Each truck will be called by its sequence number on the continuous tape and suitable identification will be telephoned to stations B and C.

7. A "memory" recording will be made of representative trucks with satisfactory, borderline, or objectionable ratings for tire noise to be replayed at intervals.

Station B, tollgate

8. Trucks selected at station A will be asked to stop in the parking area past the tollgate to have the tires examined with the cooperation of the New York State Police.

9. Two teams of RMA members will examine the tires and record the data on a chart provided for this purpose.

10. Coffee will be furnished from a canteen to the truckdrivers while the purpose of the stop is explained. The following points are to be stressed with each driver:

(a) No record will be made of the truckowner or vehicle license number.

(b) Tires are being examined to determine which types of tread design make the most noise.

(c) The drivers will be asked to turn on his headlights and to flick the lights as he approaches the recording station.

(d) The drivers will be given brief instructions to take his foot off the accelerator as he passes the recording station.

11. The truck will be released at station B and station C will be notified by telephone to be ready to record the tire noise.

Station C, Country Club Lane

12. The tire noise will be recorded at station C for each truck selected by the observers at station A. Each truck recorded will be identified by its sequence number assigned on the continuous recording tape at station A.

Mr. Speaker, the New York State Thruway Noise Abatement Committee conducted jury tests in September of 1963 in order to determine the relative loudness of vehicles using the thruway. The following reports from the United Acoustic Consultants summarize the findings of the jury tests to determine a standard of tolerable truck noise:

[From the Mamaroneck (N.Y.) Daily Times, Sept. 16, 1963]

FIFTY JURORS PROBE NOISE ON THRUWAY

Approximately 50 persons served as jurors Saturday morning at the Weaver Street firehouse auditorium in an experiment on truck noise on the thruway. The test was conducted by the Thruway Noise Abatement Committee.

The jurors were asked to determine the relative loudness of vehicles rolling along or accelerating on the thruway. Tapes of trucks recorded last year, were replayed under actual conditions, that is, 50 feet from a truck traveling in the outside lane.

AVERAGE STUDIED

In the experiment, the particpants listened to an average truck and were asked to compare another vehicle to it. Their findings were marked on data sheets for analysis.

The purpose is to assist TNAC in finding a standard of tolerable truck noise. The committee, composed of representatives of several communities that lie along the New England section of the thruway, are seeking effective and enforceable legislation to curb excessive truck noises.

READING SET

Tomorrow night, a group of trucking officials will be on hand with TNAC officials to take sound readings of trucks passing on the thruway through the town of Mamaroneck at a point near Revere Road.

The experiment Saturday was conducted by Stannard M. Potter of United Acoustical Consultants, Darien, TNAC's sound expert, and Town Councilman Christine K. Helwig, chairman of TNAC.

PARTICIPANTS

Participating in the experiment were State Senator Hunter Meighan and Assemblyman Anthony B. Gioffre, both of whom have introduced legislation to control the noise. The bill introduced by Mr. Gioffre was killed in committee although it had passed the senate.

From the village of Mamaroneck were Mayor Everett Smith, Trustee Anthony Quadrine, and Acting Manager Armand Gianunzio, substituted for Village Manager B. J. Santoro who is a member of TNAC.

Trustee William G. Ball, Jr., also a member of the committee, represented Larchmont.

Councilman E. C. Grainger, Jr., Councilman William E. Snodgrass, and City Manager John A. Paulus, a member of the TNAC, represented the city of Rye.

Supervisor Gordon Miller, a committee member, and Councilmen Nicholas Martinenni and John F. Ryan were on hand from the town of Pelham.

Another TNAC member, Sgt. Robert J. Davis, represented the State police.

Guests who participated were Trustee John L. Messina of Port Chester, and Santi L. Carnevale, senior assistant corporation counsel for White Plains.

Rye Town Supervisor Anthony Posillipo was unable to attend.

UAC REPORT NO. R6322—SUBJECTIVE UNITS FOR THE MEASUREMENT OF TRUCK NOISE FOR THRUWAY NOISE ABATEMENT COMMITTEE, MAMARONECK, N.Y., DECEMBER 6, 1963

I. INTRODUCTION

In UAC report R638 a technical program supporting the 1963–64 legislative objective was outlined. This was presented to the Thruway Noise Abatement Committee at a meeting held in the Larchmont Village Hall on April 27, 1963.

The pertinent parts of that program subsequently authorized by TNAC are reprinted here for convenience.

"A. Subjective judgment tape: A new magnetic tape should be produced of representative noise from high-speed truck drive-bys and accelerations arranged for subjective judgments to be made by TNAC, the trucking associations, legislators and any other body interested in evaluating for themselves the relative loudness of typical trucks.

"B. Statistical presentation: In conjunction with the subjective judgment tape above, a complete analysis should be made of each truck to present the statistical breakdown of actual sound pressure levels and the corresponding subjective units which are in current use or presently proposed, such as Dba, SAE Sones, PNdb, Mark VI Sones, Phons and CHP-PNdb."

II. LABORATORY ANALYSIS

An extensive program was undertaken during this past summer to perform detailed frequency analysis of a substantial portion of truck noise recordings. These recordings, obtained during previous field tests on the New England section of the New York State Thruway, had been spot analyzed. During this summer's exercise each truck was subjected to a complete frequency analysis, including the various weighting networks (A, B, and C scales) currently available. In addition, all of these data were tabulated and calculations performed to provide evaluation by means of the principal subjective units currently in use in this country.

The first and most important to truckers, the SAE Sones, is the only existing standard for the measurement of truck noise. Secondly, the Mark VI Sone is a refined version of the earlier SAE Sone and possibly may be adopted by the Automobile Manufacturers' Association. Third, the Old PNdb is a method of calculating noisiness adopted by the Port of New York Authority in its antinoise rule to limit the airlines' jet aircraft noise (an important quasi-legal step). Fourth, the new PNdb is a weighting method replacing the old PNdb in scientific circles and adopted by the California Highway Patrol.

To enable TNAC to make quick judgments, required by the various proposals and counterproposals bound to arise in this year's legislative debate, we have made a complete statistical analysis of several hundred trucks to determine the percentage of trucks which would violate any given level for any subjective unit proposed by others. With these facts available, it is hoped that this year's legislative effort will be more effective. When an opponent confuses the issue with some "new and improved method of noise measurement" your representative will have the facts at hand to deal with the situation.

III. SUBJECTIVE JUDGMENT TESTS

New subjective judgment tapes of truck noise were composed to present a sequence of carefully selected truck noises. In the short period allotted to the task of judging these noises, it was necessary to plan the likely reaction carefully when lay subjects were to be used.

On September 14, 1963, through the effective efforts of the TNAC chairman and other members of the committee, a group of more than 40 conscientious listeners of widely different ages assembled in the Weaver Street Firehouse of the town of Mamaroneck. This jury judged, from the detailed instructions prepared by UAC, the relative noise of some 100 trucks played back over loud speakers at levels approximating a position of 50 feet from the thruway in accordance with legislation previously sponsored by TNAC.

The results of more than 4,000 individual judgments were collated for each truck. Although results are not yet complete, the judgment of the average listener was remarkably consistent.

For all the trucks correlation coefficients have been calculated for each of the subjective units. Although the data are still being reduced, it is safe to say that our case for Dba is still good.

IV. TRUCKING ASSOCIATIONS

On several occasions during the past year, meetings have been held with various members of the AMA, ATA, and local trucking associations. These exploratory efforts have proven quite effective and ultimately led to an inspection trip and equipment demonstration held in a Mamaroneck residential area near the thruway. The interested officials braved the rainy weather, together with the committee, to observe actual field conditions; and although the trucks were relatively quiet, the noise to which the area is exposed was clearly apparent. The experiment was effective, and it is sure to be a help in future discussions within the industry.

One demonstration of industry interest was the retention of your technical counsel by the American Trucking Association to conduct a truck-noise measurement program. With the cooperation of C. & E. Trucking Co., operated by Earl and Myron Stacks, a series of controlled tests were run this fall in Saugerties, N.Y., under the direction of Mr. Lewis Kibbee, ATA director of engineering. Noise recordings were made under typical field conditions. As soon as these recordings are analyzed and reported to ATA, some of the confusion between AMA and ATA, which has hindered legislation in the past, may be resolved.

Concurrent with our work, the AMA's Muffler Noise Committee has been conducting a reanalysis of their truck noise tapes, plus making new measurements on high-speed highways to put themselves in a position to understand the meaning of the various subjective units proposed. Their findings are expected to be completed in the near future and should provide a strong direction to the ultimate standards to be used.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The bulk of the work undertaken for TNAC in this year's program (pt. A and B of R638) has been finished, and the technical section of this report will soon be completed.

Generally, the attitude of industry has been much more constructive as a result of the long-term approach to the problem which TNAC has employed.

It is safe to say from our independent subjective judgment test data that there appears to be only small differences between the various subjective units. This gives more substance to our position that the unnecessary truck noise can certainly be measured. A reasonable amendment (with perhaps a slight increase in the limit) could be enforced with existing instrumentation without penalizing the responsible truckers with good equipment.

Respectfully submitted.

UNITED ACOUSTIC CONSULTANTS,
STANNARD M. POTTER,
President.

TECHNICAL SECTION UAC REPORT NO. R6322, SUBJECTIVE UNITS FOR THE MEASUREMENT OF TRUCK NOISE FOR THRUWAY NOISE ABATEMENT COMMITTEE, MAMARONECK, N.Y., DECEMBER 14, 1963

I. INTRODUCTION

In the first section of this report the tasks were outlined and the general conclusions stated for the 1963 TNAC technical program. This technical section of the report presents the numerical findings which have been reduced from a large body of frequency analysis and calculated data.

II. SUBJECTIVE JUDGMENT TESTS

From more than 4,000 judgments of truck noise, correlation coefficients for some 45 random aged subjects are given below in table I. The more nearly the coefficient approaches one, the more definable is the relation between the public reaction to the noise and the various noise measurement units under consideration. We have taken four of the most prominent of these units for comparison.

TABLE I.—*Correlation coefficients from subjective judgment tests*

Type of unit:	*Coefficient*
1. Sound pressure level—dbb	0.684
2. Sound pressure level—dba	.682
3. Loudness—SAE sones	.654
4. Noisiness—PNdb (new)	.615

Although the judgments agreed more closely with the sound pressure level as measured on the "A" and "B" weighting networks of the general purpose sound level meter, than with either SAE sones or PNdb, the difference is too small to be decisive. The average coefficient appears to be reasonable for a test of this type with untrained subjects. We believe that the narrow range of the data is significant for the application intended, and that one should not overlook similar findings by other investigators. The "A" scale is still a very practical unit, particularly since it is an American standard, and meters which measure it are both simple and available. That dba or dbb units are representative of human judgment of noise is given further credibility by TNAC's loudness judgment test for the particular types of transient noise which trucks produce.

III. STATISTICAL DATA

The frequency analysis and calculations of subjective units for the recorded noise from 338 trucks passing at a distance of 50 feet provided the basis of the data derived in table II below. The test locations and conditions were chosen in conformance with SAE standard J672. Test dates and locations were as follows:

West and Grove Streets, Harrison, N.Y.—November 1961, May 1962.

New Rochelle, toll barrier—May 1962.

Norton Avenue, Darien, Conn.—April 1963.

The locations were chosen at slight upgrades and downgrades for the 60-mile-per-hour drivebys, and at the toll barrier to obtain accelerations at low speed.

TABLE II.—*Truck percentages versus noise units*

Percent above—	Loudness		Weighted SPL			Noisiness PNdb (new)
	SAE	VI	A	B	C	
75	113	42	81	86	90	50
67	125	45	82	87	91	54
50	155	57	84	89	93	65
25	205	70	87	92	97	87
10	257	89	89	95	101	103

The percentage of trucks with peak noise levels at or above the amplitudes listed in table II are substantially higher than previously found with more limited sampling. With the larger number of trucks now analyzed (383 versus 87), it was found that at a given loudness in SAE sones, the equivalent sound pressure level on the "A" weighting network varied +5 dba, instead of the previous +2 dba. At the same time, there appears to be a shift to a slightly lower average relationship of dba to sones. The figures for the two surveys are as follows:

TABLE III.—*Dba equivalents to 125 Sones*

Date of analysis:	*1962*	*1963*
Number of trucks	87	338
Maximum dba	84.0	86.0
Minimum dba	79.5	76.3
Mean value	81.75	81.15
Deviation	+2.25	+4.85

Of course, the broader the spread of the data, the poorer is the sone discrimination for a given dba limit. Assuming the same policy for choosing a point of equivalency so that all trucks above the dba limit will also exceed the 125 sone limit, the range of sones increases from 166 at 84 dba to 278 at 86 dba. While increasing our limit to possibly accept a 278 sone truck would seem to defeat our purpose, we must remember that the percentages have also increased. Where previously we talked in terms of 10 percent in violation of the 84 dba level, the larger sample indicates about 50 percent violation at 84 dba. If we choose to keep the same 10 percent figure, the new data could indicate a limit of 89 dba. Since the field experience of the State police was unfavorable at this level, i.e., at certain periods when they observed trucks considered too noisy at less than 89 dba, it is recommended that some lower level between the 86 dba equivalency to 125 sones, and the 89 dba equivalent of 10 percent violations be chosen for legislation this year.

IV. INDUSTRY TESTS

Although the ATA data from this summer's Saugerties test is not available to determine how much high speed tire and trailer noise influences the 125 sone design goal for tractors, one might guess at 135 to 140 sones. If an overall sone limit were to be established at 140 sones the equivalent value would now be 87 dba.

Results of tests conducted by General Motors this summer, have just been completed and are in much closer agreement with our findings than our 1962 position when we were some 9 dba apart. Since our larger sample shows an increase of 2 dba to 86 dba, and their new information shows all GM trucks above 87 dba also exceed 125 sones, it seems as though we are now in close enough technical agreement so that a dba limit would have a much better chance.

V. CONCLUSION

The significant points of the work thus far undertaken to establish a simple measurable limit of reasonable nature are as follows:

1. TNAC's subjective judgment tests indicate no outstanding improvement in correlation between public judgment of truck noise and the more complex subjective units which have been proposed, can be expected over the "A" weighting network of the standard sound level meter.

2. Neither a loudness meter (sones) nor a noisiness meter (PNdb) have been developed, and it appears a distant prospect at this writing.

3. Because the new data prove a higher dba equivalency to 125 sones, and the percentage of trucks exceeding the new equivalency figure is higher, it would seem wise to increase the limit to 87 dba based on TNAC data.

4. Since General Motors has found that any truck at 87 dba also exceeds 125 sones, it might be expected that a limit of 87 dba would find greater acceptance by AMA.

5. If the Saugerties tests should not increase the 125 sone tractor noise by adding quiet tires and trailers at high speed above 140 sones, then a limit of 87 dba might gain approval by ATA based on their tests.

It is concluded that while new techniques and standards providing greater discrimination are desirable (efforts should continue along these lines), it is both reasonable and feasible to design legislation aimed at trucks which create noise levels at a 50-foot distance of 87 dba or more, as creating unnecessarily loud noise. With such legislation, many loud trucks will be permitted, but the worst offenders can be stopped.

Respectfully submitted.

UNITED ACOUSTIC CONSULTANTS,
STANNARD M. POTTER,
President.

(From the desk of Christine K. Helwig)

This chart was developed to show that the contention of the AMA that the decibel measurement method would penalize trucks that met the 125-sone standard of the industry was all wet.

Also attached is a point-by-point refutation of a memo submitted in 1963 by AMA, of which I do not now have a copy. You will doubtless hear all of the same arguments.

In 1963, our legislation proposed an 82 dba limit, which, with a necessary 2 dba margin for accuracy, would have meant a violation for noise in excess of 84 dba. As a result of the tests conducted by Mr. Kibbee for ATA, we were forced to agree that this was too low a level at this time.

Memorandum on Legislation To Establish Noise Limits for All Motor Vehicles—AI 1025

(Submitted by Thruway Noise Abatement Committee in answer to memo of Automobile Manufacturers Association dated March 12, 1963)

1. The bill does not require use of decibels only. If desired, enforcement officers could use commercially available equipment. Such equipment is more expensive and would require more training, but it is available.

2. Our data shows that some brand new trucks do not meet the 125-sone limit. Decibel measurements have only been rejected where proper enforcement procedures or legal defense has been lacking, or where unreasonably low limits have been imposed. In fact, in the past year, decibel measurements have been adopted into the law in Great Britain.

3. We agree that sones are a more refined measurement unit. However, our data shows that no truck over 84 dba is below 125 sones, and that some trucks at 84 dba are as high as 150 sones.

4. Our data shows that many pre-1956 trucks are under 125 sones and 84 dba if they have had proper maintenance. The proportion of excessively noisy trucks in our sample of 1,000 is distributed evenly between pre-1956 and post 1956 trucks.

5. The driver can tell when his truck is too noisy just as any owner of an automobile can tell when his muffler is out of order. (See attached testimony of State police.)

6. The SAE standard for truck and bus measurement referenced under (a) in the bill specifies how noise measurements should be taken for enforcement purposes. Similar standards for measurement of dba would be set. Such standards would preclude the objections raised about reflecting surfaces, etc., under 7.

7. It is true that noise levels will be higher under conditions such as hill-climbing, acceleration, but both the sone level and the decibel level will be higher. The standard of the industry specifies the 125-sone limit under maximum noise conditions. If it is true, as alleged, that all new trucks tested exceed 82 dba on hills, then it follows that none of the new trucks are meeting their industry standard, in spite of their statement to the contrary. The throttle setting has nothing to do with the relationship between dba and sones. The attached chart shows that all accelerating trucks as well as high-speed cruising trucks exceeding 84 dba also exceed 125 sones.

8. See 7.

9. California did not reject dba; the report shows that there is little to choose between dba, sones, and PNdb. Bolt, Beraneck, and Newman, Inc., who made the 1962 study for the California Legislature, naturally prefer PNdb, which is the method they have developed.

10. We do not wish to discriminate against trucks as a class of vehicle. We think this legislation should apply to all motor vehicles just as section 375 does at the present time.

11. Latest information (Mar. 20, 1963) we have indicates that the sone meter development is stalled awaiting possible acceptance of the PNdb standard by the industry. If there were any assurance that the direct reading sone meter were going to be available in the near future, we would certainly be glad to delay this legislation. Enforcement of the 125-sone limit would mean that 10 percent more vehicles would be in violation than would be apprehended under an 84 dbs equivalent limit.

(From the desk of Christine K. Helwig)

Two experts in the field agree that 87 dba is a reasonable limit.

Note that this is roughly equivalent to 150 sones—25 sones higher than the industry's engineering standard. This limit takes into account other components that produce noise, and we have no quarrel with using the higher limit for our purposes.

However, the 125 sone standard adopted by the industry in 1954 should continue to be the design criteria for mufflers. In fact, by now the industry should have been able to improve on this limit—the technology would permit a far lower standard if the manufacturers would cooperate.

Thruway Noise Abatement Committee,
Mamaroneck, N.Y.

(Note.—The memorandum below was sent to the cosponsors of the tests for truck noise, the Empire State Highway Transportation Association, Inc., and the New York State Motor Truck Associations, Inc., with the report "The Noise Trucks Make." Lewis C. Kibbee is the director of the engineering department of the American Trucking Associations, Inc., and was the engineer in charge of the testing program for ATA as well as the author of the report.)

MEMORANDUM

From: Lewis C. Kibbee.
Subject: Truck noise test report.

Attached is the report of the truck noise tests jointly conducted by your organizations and American Trucking Associations. The data should be self-explanatory, and I won't attempt here to repeat what is in the discussion section of the report. One area of discussion has been left out of the technical report as not proper in dealing with the purely technical side, and this is the legislative recommendations.

You will recall that attempts have been made in the past to support noise level standards for enforcement purposes for 125 sones and 82 dba. The present study indicates how unrealistic such a standard would be, as virtually all the vehicles tested exceeded the 82-dba level and a good many the 125-sone limit.

In my judgment a more reasonable level for enforcement would be 150 sones and 87 dba. This would allow the operation of most of the vehicles tested with the exception of (1) vehicles with inadequate or defective exhaust systems (2) vehicles with very noisy tires.

Vehicles with defective exhaust systems can be corrected by application of proper mufflers and maintenance.

Vehicles with noisy tires have a far more complex problem and one solution suggested by the data for tire noise is a reduction in speed.

I realize that this is a great oversimplification of a most involved problem, but I have felt that you want it in such terms.

If, for example, enforcement standards were set at these levels (150 sones or 87 dba then there should be some administrative tolerance before arrest, which might be up to the levels of 175 sones and 89 dba before the truck received a ticket. If the standards are set any higher than this, I feel that little public relations value will result, and the "public" is then apt to go out on its own to set its standards.

Adoption of these standards is by no means a "breeze" for carriers with noisy tires or exhaust systems, but I see no way to have any public relations good come of truck noise legislation without legislating against the worst offenders in the noise spectrum.

I will not presume to suggest to you the choice you may wish to make between legislation and no legislation, as this is strictly a State of New York matter entirely in your province. I would caution in the light of the data in the report, against accepting limits below 150 sones and 87 dba.

As the report itself is entirely a technical one with no legislative recommendations or commitments, we here plan to release it widely to any who have an interest, including the Thruway Noise Abatement Committee. Our feeling is that it clearly points out that the truck operator does not, with few exceptions, wilfully operate noisy trucks, but rather he does the very best he can with the equipment available to him. This may come as a new thought to the TNAC group, but certainly not to its chairman, Mrs. Helwig.

HIGHWAY VEHICULAR NOISE ABATEMENT—RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

(Note.—Paper presented to the Oregon Section, Society of Automotive Engineers by Dean G. Thomas, director of research of the Nelson Muffler Corp. at Portland Oreg., February 20, 1964. Quoted from pages 21 through 23.)

I could not close without summarizing what I feel to be most apropos of all this mass of facts and sometimes seemingly unrelated data with the hope that it will serve as the starting point for further effort toward continued improvement.

1. With our present knowledge there is sufficient technical skill on the part of the manufacturer to enable him to reduce the noise contribution of any of the components of his vehicle today.

2. Replacement equipment is available for the older units that do not have the latest in sound reducing devices so that these can be attached to any of our vehicles on the highway today.

3. It is the duty of the supplier of both the original equipment and the replacement equipment to encourage its use and make such devices available at as reasonable a price as possible. This may very well sometimes involve the use of higher quality and more rugged equipment which has a higher original cost but has sufficiently increased life that the cost per mile will be lower.

4. It is the duty of both maintenance crews and drivers to see that the vehicle is operated in a manner not to generate unnecessary noise.

5. The comfort and health of the general public is at stake and since there is a demand for uniform compliance with quality standards of noise control, regulation of noise generated by vehicles using our highways must be anticipated.

6. Until the development of new instruments, I recommend that when legislation is contemplated measurements be taken with a sound-level meter, ASA (American Standards Association) S 1.4, 1961, using the "A" scale. An examination of the curves shown on the graph will illustrate the degree of similarity between the A scale and the 40 phon equal-loudness curves representing the human ear response. It is better than dbB and dbC and is surprisingly parallel to the PNdb curve. The matter of numerical difference is not important for such application if we revise our limits accordingly.

7. Since Bolt, Beranek, and Newman have recommended a PNdb reading taken at 50 feet and this is compatible with the 50-foot standard of the SAE (Society of Automotive Engineers) sone system, I recommend that this 50-foot measurement distance be maintained. Measurements will also have to be taken in areas free from reflecting surfaces as defined by that specification.

8. The recommended 100 PNdb limit of B.B. & N. for heavy trucks can be approximated by adding 13 to the A scale reading. Therefore, it is recommended that somewhere in the neighborhood of 87 dbA; i.e., decibels on the A scale (100 minus 13) should be the logical point for heavy vehicle noise limitation.

The past decade has seen the improvement of heavyduty vehicles to the point where many of them fit Kibbee's description as "a truck quiet enough that the man on the street can ignore it." There also are those that remain entirely too noisy. Because of a cost penalty to provide quiet vehicles, we cannot expect the quiet ones to long remain that way if the noisy ones are tolerated.

(Mr. Thomas' paper refers in detail to the studies made by the acoustical consultants, Bolt, Beranek, and Newman, for the California State Police and to the work done by United Acoustic Consultants for the Thruway Noise Abatement Committee and American Trucking Associations.)

Thruway Noise Abatement Committee,
Mamaroneck, N.Y.

Noise Limit for Motor Vehicles

The principle that every motor vehicle operated on the public highways shall be adequately equipped to prevent "excessive or unusual" noise has been recognized for some time under article 9, section 375 (31) of the vehicle and traffic law of New York State. However, in the absence of a definition of what constitutes "excessive or unusual" noise, it has been virtually impossible to enforce the present law. This bill would set a reasonable and measureable standard which could be enforced equitably throughout the State.

The need for an enforceable noise limit is particularly acute in areas of the State where superhighways or improved State highways have brought ever increasing heavy truck traffic through residential areas. The heavy incidence of such essential truck traffic is at night and therefore any unnecessary or excessive noise constitutes a real menace to the public peace and welfare.

Since 1954 all manufacturers of motor vehicles have accepted in theory an industry-wide limit on exhaust noise. Tests and studies have shown that the great majority of truck manufacturers comply with the Automobile Manufacturers Association's self-imposed standard and do, in fact, manufacture many vehicles that are well below this loudness limit. It seems evident that all manufacturers can meet the industry standard with reasonable exhaust systems, and should be voluntarily moved to do so in the public interest.

Recent studies have shown conclusively that (a) exhaust noise is the dominant noise in a majority of trucks operating on the public highways, (b) the great majority of trucks, operated by responsible fleet owners, are properly maintained and do not exceed in operation the proposed limit, (c) a small percentage of trucks with improperly designed or poorly maintained exhaust systems produce approximately 90 percent of the noise that would be "excessive or unusual" under the proposed limit.

The proposed noise limit is not a stringent one and certainly would not penalize any properly engineered or maintained motor vehicle. But it would enable enforcement officers to control those vehicles being operated in flagrant and constant disregard of the public interest.

The bill as proposed provides that enforcement officers would use recognized measurement procedures in conformance with the accepted standard for measurement of truck and bus noise. It also provides that such measurements be made at speeds under 35 miles per hour thus assuring that exhaust noise will be the dominant noise produced by the vehicle under test. The bill also specifies the instrumentation that will be used for enforcement purposes and specifically describes the tolerance to be allowed before a violation is charged. We believe these safeguards will insure equitable but effective enforcement of the proposed noise limit.

This proposal for legislation is based on the results of tests sponsored and financed by the American Trucking Associations, Inc., and Empire State Highway Transportation Associations, Inc., the New York affiliate of ATA, as reported in September 1964 ("The Noise Trucks Make" by Lewis C. Kibbee, director, engineering department of ATA).

The bill has been developed in close collaboration with the Empire State Highway Transportation Association, Inc., and of the New York State Motor Truck Associations, Inc., and represents a measurable and reasonable noise limit which we believe will be supported in the public interest by all responsible elements of the trucking and automotive industry as well as by the general public.

Town of Mamaroneck,
Westchester County, N.Y., April 19, 1966.

Hon. Theodore R. Kupferman,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Kupferman: We were tremendously pleased to hear of your interest in introducing Federal legislation for noise abatement. Copies of various reports of our acoustic consultant and of the committee's presentations to the New York State Legislature are being mailed to you under separate cover.

There are several sources of the information you request on the effects of noise on people. I believe the most useful source is the Subcommittee on Noise, Committee on Conservation of Hearing, research center of the American Academy of Ophthalmology and Otolaryngology, 327 South Alvarado Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

Some valuable references on the noise problem are also contained in the National Academy of Sciences National Research Council publication No. 363, "Abatement of Highway Noise and Fumes," 1955, and in "The Handbook of Noise Measurement," obtainable from the General Radio Co., West Concord, Mass., 1963, at a cost of $1.

I also suggest that you ask Mr. Lewis C. Kibbee, director of the engineering department of American Trucking Associations, 1616 P St. NW., Washington, D.C., for a copy of his study "The Noise Trucks Make," a report on the truck noise tests conducted at Saugerties, N.Y., in 1964 and 1965. This report is the one on which the present noise law in New York State was based. Mr. Kibbee was tremendously helpful to our committee and I am sure you would find it valuable to have his cooperation and advice in your effort to obtain nationwide legislation.

I urge that any national legislation proposed incorporate an 87-dba limit, with 2-dba margin for accuracy, rather than the 88-dba limit which we accepted here. I would think that by now the 87-dba limit would be acceptable to the Automobile Manufacturers Association—as, in fact, it would have been to the American Trucking Associations in 1965.

Our committee has been pressing for adequate noise limits to be incorporated in any Federal legislation for air pollution devices—and also to be made part of any national standards written for tires. As you realize, the industry knows exactly how to reduce muffler noise and has only to be required to apply these techniques in the public interest. Tire noise, however, seems to be less controllable—though there have been some recent public releases from Goodyear about quieter tires for trucks. Our legislation sought to bypass the problem of tire noise by measuring under the 35 mile per hour limit since tire noise is not a significant factor at lower speeds.

Mr. Kibbee's tests indicated that speed is an important factor in the very objectionable tire noises which carry such great distances from high-speed highways.

If the technology of the industry offers no hope of controlling this source of noise, I believe that a limit on allowable truck speeds may be the answer particularly limits of 50 miles per hour or less at night, when tire noise is especially disturbing.

We look forward eagerly to hearing what you are proposing; we wish you the best of luck in your efforts which will benefit us all; and we stand ready to assist in any way we can.

Sincerely,

Christine K. Helwig,
Chairman, Thruway Noise Abatement Committee.

BRITISH BOYCOTT OF RHODESIA

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Gross], is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include pertinent material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in recent months a little clique, both in and out of Congress, has been trying to justify the action of President Johnson in arrogantly violating the Constitution of the United States by participating in the British boycott of Rhodesia.

The Constitution provides that Congress, not the President, shall have the power to regulate foreign commerce. As usual, Lyndon Johnson and his mouthpieces in the State Department have not sought congressional approval for this action.

Moreover, they have, with the same arrogance, violated the intent of Congress as set forth in the Export Control Act of 1949 which was amended only last summer to provide that American exporters should not join in a boycott initiated by a foreign government the object of which was a foreign country friendly to the United States.

Rhodesia is friendly to the United States. It is strongly anti-Communist.

Compare this with the treacherous record of Britain. Through the years and down to the present, the British carried on unlimited trade with Communist China, Communist North Vietnam, and Communist Cuba. Whenever it is possible to make a fast dollar there the unscrupulous British are to be found and it seems to make no difference whether the source of profit is friend or foe.

The little clique of pro-British, anti-Rhodesia propagandists display little or no concern for the double and triple standards of morality implicit in Lyndon Johnson's action and their endorsement of it.

The little clique dwells long and loudly on the pretense that the United States stands for self-determination. If that is true, what about the right of self-determination of the people of Cuba. The British, instead of helping break the back of Dictator Castro contribute through their trade to keeping him in power.

Hundreds of millions of persons throughout the so-called free world are living under military dictatorships—denied the right of self-determination—and yet they are not being boycotted by the United States nor is such action even suggested by the infamous United Nations. Where is the principle and morality the little clique so glibly talks about?

Interesting, too, is the fact that the little clique of anti-Rhodesians wants more drastic action taken by Britain and the United States to topple the present Rhodesian Government. The present attempt at economic strangulation is but one step short of armed conflict. It might well be more appropriate to describe this little clique of self-annointed reformers as warmongers rather than anti-Rhodesian propagandists.

Much has been said about the security measures taken by the Rhodesians for the protection of the Government. The measures taken are none of our business and they certainly do not constitute justification for the unconstitutional action of the U.S. Government in engaging in a hostile action against Rhodesia.

It is suggested that the racial peace of Rhodesia is the racial peace of Mississippi and South Africa; of silent coerced blacks and white supremacists. I am not sure what this phrase is meant to imply in regard to our own American situation but it would seem to offer justification for the application of international sanctions against the United States by countries which disapprove of some aspects of our own domestic situation. I suggest that this is another illustration of the double standards that our Government is applying in the Rhodesian situation.

Even if the criticisms of Rhodesia's handling of her domestic affairs were valid reasons for our interference—and I submit that they are not—Rhodesia's shortcomings are insignificant in comparison with the totalitarian methods practiced in countless countries across the world that are currently enjoying huge handouts from the U.S. Treasury. I note that a columnist writing in the London Daily Sketch asks people to reason why the Rhodesian population of 4 million blacks has increased to that figure from 300,000 75 years ago. People do not flock into a slave or police state.

Rhodesia's critics would do well to compare that country's record with the indiscriminate and barbarous liquidation of political rivals that has taken place in other countries on the continent of Africa in the past few months before setting themselves up in moral judgment and advocating that the United States back that moral judgment with punitive action. They would do better to examine some of the reasons why the Rhodesian Government has been forced to resort to some of the security measures that they complain about.

How many Members of the House are aware that the Government of Zambia, which is in receipt of substantial subsidies from this Government, is daily spewing from its radio transmitters the most revolting incitements to black Rhodesians to murder whites, pillage property, burn buildings, destroy crops and maim cattle? How many Members are aware that the Zambia Broadcasting Agency, responsible for inciting these atrocities, is in relationship with the British Broadcasting Corp., which is itself a creature of the British Government, whose policies we are endorsing and supporting?

Is this the kind of international morality that we are pledging ourselves to uphold? How soon are we going to come to our senses and recognize that we are serving nobody's interests but the Communists' in trying to destroy Rhodesia and the prosperity and stability that it represents in southern Africa?

Rhodesia is now in its fifth month of independence, during which time the British Government, with the backing of the U.S. Government, and the more or less willing assistance of other governments, has been endeavoring to bring the country to its knees. Alternatively, according to some accounts, it has been endeavoring to contrive a situation in which law and order breaks down to the extent that the British would have justification for putting troops into the country. These actions have been a conspicuous failure, a remarkable tribute to the determination, strength, and resilience both of the Rhodesian economy and the Rhodesian people.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD at this point an excellent editorial from the Chicago Tribune and a number of statements with respect to Rhodesia and its Government:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Mar. 14, 1966]

RHODESIA NOTES A FEW AMERICAN LUNACIES

Rhodesia, which proclaimed its independence of Britain, has been the subject of much censorious comment by American "liberals" and is the target of a boycott in which the Johnson administration has joined the socialist English Government. As National Review Bulletin puts it, our policy could be stated this way: The U.S. State Department will never rest so long as 1 square foot of African soil remains under orderly government.

While official American abuse might invite a sharp retort, Prime Minister Ian Smith has endeavored to speak to the United States in a voice of reason. A month ago a message was read for him before the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. Washington must have smarted at Mr. Smith's remarks, for its response was to put Rhodesia's information office in the capital out of business.

For the central question the Prime Minister posed was this: Who is the enemy? Is it Rhodesia, or is it communism? If it is communism, can the free world indulge in the luxury of fighting one of its constituent parts—namely, Rhodesia?

Mr. Smith said he found it difficult to understand why the forces opposed to communism are at variance on fundamental issues. "That the Red Chinese differ in their approach from the Russian Reds is academic to us of the West and perhaps of little consequence except in the final analysis, which is their utter destruction," he remarked. "But for us who cherish the same concepts of democracy it is to court disaster to tear the flesh from each other's bones over issues which are of a domestic nature and therefore matters of our own concern."

The Prime Minister said that although Rhodesia continues to enjoy calm and tranquility, she is treated as a pariah, an outcast among the very countries whose cause she espouses. She fought with Britain in two world wars. In the last war Rhodesians fought under American commanders. More recently Rhodesia stood with Britain when Indonesia threatened aggression against Malaysia, another member of the commonwealth, sending a contingent of troops to stand guard. Even now, Mr. Smith said, Rhodesia would be prepared to offer the United States tangible help in its struggle in Vietnam.

But cooperation is spurned, because, in Mr. Smith's analysis, the philosophy of the West holds: "If violence and mayhem are visited on black Africans by black Africans, that is as it should be. But if a white African presumes to protect his heritage against the black instruments of communism, then nothing suffices but his complete extinction."

Prime Minister Smith recounted the drift into military dictatorship of half a dozen new African countries. "The dictum, 'One man, one vote,' " he said, "is permitted once, and once only, before the new African countries are submerged and converted into despotic dictatorships." He stated that Communist rule was emerging in the guise of such dictatorships.

Nigeria, the showpiece of democracy in emergent Africa and the British socialists' pride and joy, succumbed only a week after its prime minister issued a call for a conference to "solve the Rhodesian problem." the Prime Minister was assassinated. What, asked Mr. Smith, would be world reaction if Rhodesia called a conference to solve the awful situation in Nigeria?

The follies and inconsistencies of American policy could not have been more clearly put. The enunciation of them will not make Mr. Smith any more popular in Washington, which holds him most wrong when he is most right.

EXTRACT FROM PRESS STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF RHODESIA IN LONDON ON OCTOBER 12, 1965

The five principles upon which the British Government would need to be satisfied before they would contemplate granting independence prior to majority rule were as follows—

1. The principle and intention of unimpeded progress to majority rule, already enshrined in the 1961 constitution, would have to be maintained and guaranteed.

2. There would also have to be guarantees against retrogressive amendment of the constitution.

3. There would have to be immediate improvement in the political status of the African population.

4. There would have to be progress toward ending racial discrimination.

5. The British Government would need to be satisfied that any basis proposed for independence was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

The first principle was acceptable to the Rhodesian Government who agreed to uphold the 1961 constitution, as they had always done.

The second principle was also acceptable to the Rhodesian Government. We had already offered to give a blocking quarter in our Parliament as presently composed, but the British Government insisted upon a blocking third, i.e., increasing the present number of B roll seats from 15 to 22. This artificial injection on a purely racial basis of more Africans into Parliament was not acceptable to us. We accordingly suggested that a blocking third should be created by having a Senate composed of six Africans, one Asian, one colored, and four representatives of commerce, industry, and the professions. These 12 Senators would vote with the lower Chamber on the third readings of all bills to amend the constitution. The six Africans would be Chiefs nominated by the Chiefs' council.

As our proposal was unacceptable to the British Government, we offered, as a further concession, a Senate composed entirely of Chiefs. This was still unacceptable to the British Government who insisted upon a Senate containing a majority of elected African members.

At this stage it became clear for the first time as far as the Rhodesian Government were concerned, that the British Government were insisting on an elected African senate in addition to an African blocking third in the Lower House. In effect, therefore, the Rhodesian Government were being asked to accept conditions far more stringent than those in the existing constitution.

We agreed to meet the third principle by granting virtually adult suffrage on the B roll. This, we suggested, taken in conjunction with an all African Senate should satisfy the requirement that there must be an immediate improvement in the political status of the African population. The British Government did not agree that this went far enough and continued to insist upon at least one third of the seats in the Lower House being guaranteed to Africans on a basis of race rather than qualification.

We agreed, in relating to the fourth principle, that progress would continue to be made toward ending racial discrimination. We pointed to the many modifications that have been made and are continuing to be made in the provisions of, for example, the Land Apportionment Act. We pointed to the fact that we were already considering setting aside nonracial areas for both business and residential purposes in town and country and that 5 million acres had already been thrown open to Africans outside the tribal trust land. But the British Government continued to press for something dramatic. Unfortunately, drama is not an ingredient conducive to the maintenance of good race relations or stable government.

The fifth principle is incompatible with the other four. If the two governments had found it possible to agree on the first four principles, there would have been little point in their seeking the views of people, the great majority of whom, would be quite unable to appreciate the issues at stake. In the Rhodesian Government's view this requirement is either meaningless or, if it is insisted upon, incapable of being met. The views of the majority of Africans who live a communal life in the rural areas have already been expressed in the usual fashion through their traditional leaders. The Rhodesian Government know of no other way of sounding tribal African opinion except through the Chiefs and Headmen. To insist upon a plebiscite or a referendum ignores the realities of the situation in Rhodesia.

EXTRACT FROM FACT PAPER NO. 11, ENTITLED "INDEPENDENCE: HISTORICAL AND LEGAL FACTORS," PUBLISHED BY THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, SALISBURY, RHODESIA

THE 1961 CONSTITUTION: BASIS FOR INDEPENDENCE

The constitution of 1961 was designed to eliminate the British Government's control over Rhodesian affairs except for certain matters relating to international financial commitments and treaty obligations. The white paper on the Southern Rhodesia Constitution, part I, issued by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, states explicitly on page 3 that the 1961 constitution "will eliminate all the reserved powers at present vested in the Government of the United Kingdom, save for certain matters set out in paragraph 50." This paragraph 50 in the white paper became section 32 of the Southern Rhodesia (Constitution) Order in Council, 1961, which covers only the following restrictive powers.

"(a) To alter to the injury of stockholders any of the undertakings given by the Government of Southern Rhodesia at the time of issue of any Southern Rhodesia Government stock registered under the Colonial Stock Act, 1877 or any act amending or replacing the same; or

"(b) To involve a departure from any obligation imposed on Her Majesty in relation to Southern Rhodesia by any treaty, convention, agreement or arrangement relating to any country or international or similar organization."

It is clear, therefore, that by virtue of the 1961 constitution, Rhodesia was independent, save only in regard to matters concerning the Colonial Stock Act and international treaty obligations.

Section 20—(2) conferred on the Rhodesian legislature power to make "laws having extraterritorial operation," within the framework of the federation. This surely foreshadowed Rhodesia's moral right to independence, and incidentally to appoint her own diplomatic representatives.

The legislature of Rhodesia, in terms of section 6, was to "consist of Her Majesty and a legislative assembly." The British Government ceased to figure in the 1961 constitution after the granting thereof.

VITAL CLAUSES

One further vital power was embodied in section 42, which gave Rhodesia complete executive powers over all her affairs except over matters dealt with in section 32 (above). Section 42 reads:

"The executive authority of Southern Rhodesia is vested in Her Majesty and may be exercised on Her Majesty's behalf by the Governor or such persons as may be authorized in that behalf by the Governor, or by any law of the legislature."

The last phrase is the key to Rhodesia's independence, which, under the 1961 constitution, was within the competence and powers of Her Majesty and without the British Government entering the picture.

It is clear, therefore, that the contention of illegality in regard to Rhodesia's action is technical rather than substantive. Rhodesia assumed her independence because this was her sovereign right, built upon her unexcelled record of self-government. Rhodesia is a mature country with a long history of freedom.

It is noteworthy that section 26(2) of the 1923 constitution of Rhodesia gave her the power to repeal certain Orders in Council of the British Government having effect over Rhodesia except for certain specified matters.

This section 26(2) reads as follows: "A law passed by the legislature may repeal or alter any of the provisions of these our letters patent, save those contained in this section, and those contained in section 28 (relating to the reservation of bills), sections 39–47 (relating to native administration), and section 55 (relating to the salary of the Governor), and may likewise repeal or alter any of the provisions of any order in Our Privy Council extending to Southern Rhodesia other than provisions affecting any matter mentioned in this subsection:

"*Provided, however,* That no proposed law for the constitution of a Legislative Council in pursuance of section 2 of these our letters patent shall repeal or alter any of the provisions relating to the Legislative Council contained in these our letters patent, and such provisions shall not be repealed or altered save by a law passed by both Houses of the Legislature, after the constitution of a Legislative Council as aforesaid;

"*Provided, further,* That no proposed law for the repeal or alteration of any such provisions of these our letters patent as may be repealed or altered by the Legislature as aforesaid shall be valid unless it shall be affirmed by not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of each House of the Legislature, or, pending the constitution of a Legislative Council, of the Legislative Assembly."

NO ALTERNATIVE LEFT

The assurances given at the time of the 1961 constitutional negotiations that Rhodesia would have her independence on the basis of this constitution are confirmed in the quotation from the white paper, given previously, to the effect that it was designed to eliminate all the reserved powers save only for those relating to the Colonial Stock Act. The British Government repudiated its promise and demanded concessions which would have the result of destroying Rhodesia as we know it. Rhodesia was, therefore, left with no option but to cut the tie unilaterally.

This event, on November 11, 1965, marked the turning point in the brush fires of unrestrained nationalism that is sweeping down Africa with its engulfing tragedy of Communist subversion. Rhodesia has turned the flames back—and incurred the wrath of the Afro-Asians and those who dance to their tune—but the world will some day realize that the lower does not govern the higher; incompetence should not subordinate competence; license ought not to supplant realistic freedom; poverty, and sloth should not dictate to capital and enterprise; nor ignorance to skill and experience.

There are few countries in Africa today that can claim to equal Rhodesia's record of democracy and racial harmony. There are even fewer who would attempt to substantiate a claim to match Rhodesia's history of tranquillity and steady economic progress since self-government was granted in 1923. In the space of only 42 years Rhodesia's economic progress, political advancement and judicial integrity can be measured by a yardstick which not only surpasses every country in Africa north of the Zambezi but that of many countries elsewhere in the world.

MYTH OF ILLEGALITY

The so-called illegality which other countries would hold against Rhodesia is shown to be a myth. The assumption of independence merely confirmed the factual position.

According to a South African Q.C., Mr. D. Molteno, "any constitution rested essentially on general acquiescence. A constitution was not law because somebody had made it, but because it had been accepted." There is no doubt whatever that the Rhodesian populace as a whole has accepted the 1965 constitution. Peace and good order have continued to reign throughout—an example unexcelled in Africa. Both international law and the United Nations Charter provide for the recognition of a de facto government once it has been accepted by the people. By virtue of the peace and calm that has prevailed in the country it is Rhodesia's demonstrated and undoubted right to be recognized forthwith.

The historian, Lord Acton, commenting on the American Declaration of Independence, wrote: "It was from America that the plain ideas that men ought to mind their own business, and that the nation is responsible to Heaven for the act of the state * * * burst forth like a conqueror upon the world they were destined to transform, under the title of the 'Rights of Man' * * * and the principle gained ground, that a nation can never abandon its fate to an authority it cannot control."

And it was Thomas Jefferson himself who said: "A strict observance of the written law is doubtless one of the high duties of a good citizen but not the highest. The laws of necessity, of self-preservation, of saving our country when in danger are of high obligation. To lose our country by a scrupulous adherence to written law, would be to lose law itself, with life, liberty, property, and all those who are enjoying them with us; thus absurdly sacrificing the end to the means."

Rhodesia has no intention of abandoning its fate, nor of sacrificing the end to the means; and, in time, the world will appreciate the principles for which she stands.

EXTRACT FROM INFORMATION PAPER NO. 1, ENTITLED "LAND APPORTIONMENT IN RHODESIA," PUBLISHED BY THE RHODESIAN INFORMATION SERVICE, SALISBURY, RHODESIA

AFRICAN POPULATION

In 1962 the African population had risen to 3,600,000 and was distributed as follows:

African rural areas	2,127,000
European areas (rural and urban)	1,490,000

(The latter is 41 percent of the African population.)

The tremendous increase in the African population could not have been foreseen during the early history of the land question. Today's figure is 3,970,000; and at the present rate it will double in 20 years. The idea that every African has an absolute right to free land is quite untenable.

There are nearly eight times as many Africans as they were at the turn of the century; and their cattle holdings have increased from a mere 55,000, to well over 2 million—a 36-fold increase.

The contention that every African is entitled to land and stock rights is manifestly indefensible. Even if every European were to leave the country, the 1,500,000 Africans living in the existing European areas would be no less constricted than the remainder are in the tribal trust lands at present.

In 20 years' time (assuming the present increases in population continued), the position would be completely chaotic, with millions of people on a desperately low subsistence level and the probability of anarchy due to collapse of the economy for which the Europeans are responsible. The pattern in parts of Africa today is clear enough.

COMPARATIVE QUALITY OF LAND

Many Africans continue to complain that their areas in Rhodesia comprise the poorest, most arid, remote and dissected or broken regions. It should, however, be understood that the apparent poverty and desolation of the tribal trust lands compared with the European areas, is due to the way the land has been used. It cannot be seriously contended that the boundary fences showing startling contrasts between waving savannah and stark desolation really mark different qualities of land.

One well-known illustration may be seen at Domboshawa School bounded on one side by Chinamora tribal trust land. The site was chosen for the school in a corner of Chinamora Reserve 40 years ago because it had been worked out and virtually abandoned by the inhabitants. Today the conditions on each side of the boundary fence (where there are no differences in the basic quality of land) show startling contrasts. In addition, yields of up to 36 bags of maize per acre have been consistently won from the supposedly worthless sandveld on the school, whilst adjoining areas present scenes of poverty and desolation.

There is no truth whatsoever in the allegation that Black areas comprise the worst soils. (Appearances are often deceptive when applied to specific cases.)

NO DIFFERENCE IN SOILS

According to figures supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture, soils in African areas are as good as those in European areas. For simplification, land categories are reduced to three, in the following table:

[In percent]

	Proportion in African areas	Proportion in European areas
(1) Medium to heavy textured soils of high inherent fertility	8.5	8.3
(2) Light to medium textured soils of moderate inherent fertility	10.4	5.8
(3) Mainly sandy soils of low inherent fertility	34.8	32.2
Total	53.7	46.3

These figures are based on the 1956 Land Apportionment Map. The so-called red (clay) soil areas of Rhodesia comprise only about 4 percent of the country's area. Sandy soils are easier to work, respond quicker to improved farming techniques, have better water-holding capacity, and comprise two-thirds of the country's entire area. Africans traditionally tended to avoid the heavier soils, because they were difficult to work.

As for the complaint that African areas comprise the drier regions, this is likewise false. Thirty-seven percent of Rhodesia has a rainfall above 28 inches, and half the African areas fall within this zone.

EXTRACT FROM FACT PAPER NO. 10, ENTITLED "RHODESIA: PROGRESS IN AFRICAN EDUCATION," PUBLISHED BY THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, SALISBURY, RHODESIA

Whilst authoritative figures are not always available from other countries, the following information provided by UNESCO is revealing. Nearly 45 percent of the world's population is completely illiterate. In 57 percent of the countries less than half the school-age population is in school. Literacy in North and Western Europe is the highest—over 98 percent. Africa and India have between 10 percent and 15 percent; in Rhodesia the literacy rate for Africans is approximately 30 percent.

In regard to the proportion of pupils in school, accurate figures are difficult to obtain for other countries in Africa, but indications are that Rhodesia has the highest proportion in school. Some of our severest critics amongst African countries have the lowest proportion. Rhodesia's achievements in African education have been virtually without assistance from external sources. Finance and staff are the two main barriers to more rapid educational expansion in Rhodesia.

Of the 4,080,000 Rhodesian Africans today, half are under the age of 17. This means that there is one adult per child—in England there are three, and they are more productive than the average worker here.

Critics sometimes point out that about 10 times as much is spent for each European child. There are adequate reasons for this. In the first place, of the 643,000 pupils in African schools, over 95 percent are in primary schools, which cost a fraction of secondary schools to build and run. In the second place, European pupils receive no better schooling than they would expect anywhere else, and their parents are the main taxpayers who also pay for the bulk of African education. In the third place, Africans have shown interest in education only during the past two or three decades, and in the light of this the expansion has been truly phenomenal. In the fourth place, in order to equalize African with European education, it would cost twice Rhodesia's entire budget. It should also be borne in mind that nine-tenths of Africans' schooling is in the rural areas, where they build their own schools with the assistance of the missions.

Lowering the standards (which they have taken generations to achieve) in order to spend more on African education would doubtless cause many Europeans to emigrate, with a resultant fall in revenue; and would also discourage expatriate teachers from coming to Rhodesia. Raising the standards of African education is the aim, and it calls for more expatriate staff—already extremely difficult to recruit. Of the 666 qualified secondary teachers in African education today, about 130 are Africans.

The main clamor today appears to be for secondary education. This is a good deal more expensive, and staff are at a premium; but the places available are roughly equal to the number of students qualifying to enter. Of the 27,513 pupils sitting for standard 6 in 1965, 7,009 obtained grades 1 and 2 passes, representing 25 percent. Of these latter, 6,059 went to secondary schools. In 1964, 768 went on to lower teacher training and industrial courses, and were drawn from grades 1, 2, and 3 passes. Of the remaining small number, about 10 percent, were girls who were not allowed by their parents to continue. In 1956 there were 1,758 secondary pupils in the schools. By 1965 the figure increased to 11,500 (plus a like number studying by correspondence). This surely demolishes the argument that secondary education is being held back.

It is not normal anywhere in the world for the whole school population to expect secondary education. Twenty-three million adults in the United States of America have less than 8 years of schooling—roughly the equivalent of standard 6. (In Britain only 34 percent, continue their schooling beyond the age of 15.) Those having grades lower than one and two in standard 6 must accommodate themselves to semiskilled work. Trade schools could play a more useful part. The demand by Africans for this type of training tended to be disappointingly low, but there is now evidence of renewed interest. Plans are in hand to provide more facilities for technical and vocational training.

This country long ago decided on a broad-based education, giving more opportunity for the bulk of the population to obtain primary education. Most other countries in Africa chose rather to educate a few, as highly as possible. For this reason, countries like Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania have a larger number of G.C.E. "A" level passes than Rhodesia, but Rhodesia has a far higher percentage in school, and thus will now rapidly overtake those countries in the secondary sphere.

Correspondence courses have been planned to step up still further the campaign for secondary education. Under this scheme 20 or more students may gather under a responsible organizer, with a reduction in the normal fees. There are, of course, night schools in various centers, and adult education is also being actively pressed. In 1965 there were approximatly 12,000 African students taking secondary courses with the correspondence colleges. This gives, with those in the schools, about 24,000 who are in the secondary sector.

All African students at our multiracial university are eligible for Government support. In addition, certain qualified African students are eligible for Government support in universities elsewhere. If these grants, loans, or bursaries were to be issued on a nonracial basis, purely on academic standards, none of these African students at the University would have qualified for them. (This position has recently changed, since one African student has qualified by his own merit.)

CONFUSION REIGNS SUPREME

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, the confusion over Vietnam should concern every American. "We think the Vietnamese are going through a trying period"—so spoke President Johnson on April 22, in response to a reporter's question asking his evaluation of the effect of the political turmoil in South Vietnam. This bland evasion, however, was an advance over the President's reply to a similar query at his March news conference when he said:

> There is not any information that I could give you that would add to what you have read in the papers.

It has become commonplace to say that the American people are confused about Vietnam. This is undoubtedly true, but what is the reason for this confusion? The fault lies in great part with an administration that fails to inform the people fully and frankly about its objectives and about the progress of the war.

Mr. Speaker, this point was recently made by the distinguished junior Senator from Connecticut in a speech at the University of Hartford on April 23, 1966. On that occasion Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, who cannot be accused of having a partisan ax to grind, made the following remarks:

> The confusion of official tongues over Vietnam is causing skepticism, doubt, and concern in the minds of the American people. As a matter of fact, there aren't enough fingers on both hands to count the number of ways our role in Vietnam has been explained and justified by Government officials.
>
> At first we were to advise the South Vietnamese Government. The explanation was that our role was purely advisory and the South Vietnamese would do the fighting because the South Vietnamese Government had the basic obligation to defend itself.
>
> But gradually the American role changed, and our troops took on an increasingly greater combat role. The explanation of our commitment also changed—and it was stated that the vital interests of the United States were involved in South Vietnam. The question began to be asked: If the U.S. interests in Vietnam are vital to our national security, would we continue to fight if the South Vietnamese decided to quit?
>
> The answer has never been clear. Rather, another theory was introduced—a theory that our presence in South Vietnam was justified—even required—by our membership in the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. President Eisenhower, who signed the treaty, did not interpret it as a commitment to send combat forces to Vietnam; President Kennedy assured the American people that combat forces would not be sent to Vietnam. It would almost appear that a new discovery was made a few months ago.
>
> The political turmoil of the past several weeks brought more and different explanations. At first, officials explained that the political unrest was not affecting the main course of the war—which was military. Then, after a few days of admitted concern, the unrest was termed a "healthy" development. Officials conceded that military operations were suffering, but said that everything would be all right, for the turmoil was a sign of new political awareness. Suddenly, in a 180-degree turn, the political arena had become more important than the military.
>
> And it is interesting to note that once again, government officials are saying that the war must be won or lost by the South Vietnamese themselves.

Is it any wonder that in a public opinion poll sponsored by NBC News, 59.6 percent answered "No" when asked, "Has the White House been giving us all the truth about Vietnam?"

The administration has consistently sought to conceal the hard and unpleasant facts of the conflict from the American public. This effort has gone into high gear in recent weeks as the disturbances in Danang, Hue, and Saigon threatened to topple the Ky government.

George Ball, Under Secretary of State, asserted on April 10, 1966, on the CBS program "Face the Nation" that "the political turbulence in South Vietnam" caused "no particular reduction in" the military operations.

How false this statement was is clear from the ominous statistics released 2 days later by the Defense Department that American troops sustained more than twice as many casualties during the preceding week as did the South Vietnamese.

One able journalist, Jack Foisie, of the Los Angeles Times, reported on April 14:

> I spent most of the political crisis in the northern Provinces, where much of the fighting occurred. A number of American Marine commanders complained that the Vietnamese units with which they sometimes joined in battle against the foe were no longer interested in leaving their garrisons until the political situation cleared.

Secretary McNamara on April 20, 1966, gave the Senate Foreign Relations Committee an appraisal of the military situation during the civil disturbances that flatly contradicted that of Mr. Ball. The Secretary of Defense testified:

> The military operations have been at a lower level because of the political disorders in the last approximately 2 weeks, and you can see that by the number of—the indices; the number of Vietcong killed is off 40 percent, the number of Vietcong killed per week last week was 600, it averaged a 1,005 for the first 3 months of the year.
>
> The number of weapons lost by Vietnamese forces, the number of weapons captured is also off by substantial amounts.
>
> This reduction in military activity is customary under conditions of political disorder. It has happened every other time we have had political disorders.

No wonder, then, that the American people are confused about Vietnam. When administration leaders give contradictory testimony, how can the public have a clear understanding of events in Vietnam?

Confusion increases when one attempts to analyze successive pronouncements of administration leaders about the objective of our Nation in Vietnam.

Once, according to Secretary Rusk, it was victory. Then in Baltimore at the Johns Hopkins University it was redefined by the President as unconditional negotiations with only the most ambiguous reference to the minimum terms which the United States would insist on in negotiations.

No one objects to negotiations. The war eventually will be ended by negotiations. But unconditional negotiations are not an adequate policy objective. They can be a means of attaining an objective, but nothing more. When the administration commits a quarter of a million troops to fight in South Vietnam, there must be some objective of such value to the Nation that it cannot be negotiated away. What that is has become fuzzier as the administration has sought to appease the hawks of its party in one breath and the doves in the next.

Mr. Speaker, would the administration settle for a coalition government in South Vietnam including Communist representation? The President's Press Secretary looked with favor upon such a proposal even as the Vice President denounced it as "putting the fox in the chicken coop."

Now new doubts about the policy objectives of the administration have arisen as a result of the scheduling of elections in South Vietnam for mid-August. There is speculation—in some quarters, even a prayerful hope—that the elections will lead to the establishment of a government that will surrender to the Vietcong and request the withdrawal of U.S. forces.

What the administration would do in these circumstances is not clear. But this is not the real question at the moment. The important problem now is to provide for a fair and free election in South Vietnam. The comments of Ambassador Lodge about the dangers of terrorism and violence in connection with the election are not reassuring.

What I should like to hear from the President now is whether a genuinely free election is possible in South Vietnam and what steps are being taken to provide the kind of election which could be regarded as an expression of the will of the people of South Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, no question is asked more often in public opinion polls than "Do you support the President's policy in Vietnam?" I think the question is unanswerable. No rational person can support a policy unless he knows what that policy is. The only answer is another question, "What is the President's policy?"

The confusion of the American people about Vietnam is caused by the confusion of the administration.

President Johnson must take the American people into his confidence and explain precisely why we are in Vietnam. He must explain what our national security interests are in Vietnam—both long range and short range. He must advise us of the risks involved in protecting this interest and he must spell out what the risks to our national security will be if we are not successful in Vietnam. He must explain why it is that so much sacrifice is asked of so few while the vast majority of our people are able to carry on "business as usual."

Mr. Speaker, the need for leveling with the people has long been apparent and it is the President's duty and responsibility to do so with candor and honesty. The American people must be treated as responsible adults who are capable of bearing their responsibilities. Grandiose schemes for transferring the Great Society to all of Asia are not straight answers to the questions on the public mind. The people want to know why we are there, how we intend to end the conflict with honor, and when we may expect the completion of the task. The answers are long overdue.

THE SPRINGFIELD ARMORY CLOSURE—"PROVE INACCURACIES OF OUR CASE"

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BOLAND] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, last week, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Cyrus Vance, wrote to Senator JOHN STENNIS, chairman of the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and to Members of the Massachusetts congressional delegation saying, in effect, that Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara is closing the door on the possibility of any further appeal to reverse the decision to close the Springfield Armory. I will enclose a copy of this letter, addressed to me, as a part of my statement. It is a strongly worded letter, carefully prepared from the vast resources of staff and data available to the Secretary. However, the letter still evades most of the crucial and key issues. It tries to invalidate all of the data and the effort expended by the Springfield Armory Technical Committee by saying:

> None of the cost charts displayed by the technical committee at the March 22 hearing were accurate.

The charge that none of the cost charts were accurate is, in my judgment, completely unfounded. The figures that were used by the Springfield Armory Technical Committee, in composing the charts, were obtained from Springfield Armory and Rock Island Arsenal sources. This information was taken from contracts, invitations for bid, and negotiations with respect to work to be done inhouse or by private industry. The blanket charge that the charts were inaccurate is an attack upon the credibility of all of us who have labored so long and so hard to reverse the decision to close the Springfield Armory.

I am particularly dismayed that, by inference, the integrity of Mr. Henry T. Downey, our consultant and adviser, has been questioned. Henry Downey is an accountant lawyer of some 18 years experience, a distinguished member of the Hampden County and Massachusetts Bar Associations, a certified public accountant. Mr. Downey heads the largest independent accounting firm in the Springfield community. He is held in the highest esteem and regard by people in the legal and accounting professions and by the citizens of the community. Henry Downey is a close personal friend of mine. I have known him for a number of years, and I respect and admire his ability and integrity. He would be the last to lend his support to inaccurate data.

Mr. Speaker, the Department of Defense has the responsibility of proving the sweeping indictment that all of the charts used at the hearing before the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee were inaccurate. I am requesting that it do so.

Let me briefly tick off some of the important facts and issues not mentioned or inadequately dealt with in the letter:

First. The original closure order was based on the proposition that closing the Springfield Armory and moving the remnants of the operations—research and development mainly—to Rock Island Arsenal would, after an initial expenditure of $8 million, save about $5.6 million each year. This claim for an annual cost reduction overlooked a number of cost factors which were subsequently pointed out by the Springfield Armory Technical Committee organized for the purpose of studying the various facets of the closure proposal. It was estimated by this group that costs and losses resulting from the closure would, rather than show a saving, actually show a net loss each year of over $1 million for 20 years. A subsequent study by the management consulting firm of Booz, Allen & Hamilton, under contract with the Department, also refuted the Army claims for cost reduction. This study had this to say on costs:

> We find that the proposed move (from the armory to Rock Island) of nonmanufacturing functions is distinctly marginal from a savings cost standpoint.

Between the Springfield Armory Technical Committee and the Booz, Allen & Hamilton study, Army claims for cost reduction were washed out—eliminated as an argument for closing the armory and moving nonmanufacturing functions to Rock Island Arsenal. The very same thing happened to the Army study claims regarding the cost of manufacturing at the armory. The armory had been branded as a high-cost facility in manufacturing some weapons and equipment. Perhaps in a few instances private industry was able to beat the armory on unit costs where the contractors had bought in on a contract with an unusually low bid on the initial order or had built the newest and most efficient of modern production facilities—with the taxpayers' money, I might add. These claims of high manufacturing cost for the armory were successfully refuted by the Armory Technical Committee and, on the issue of manufacturing costs, the Booz, Allen & Hamilton study had this to say:

> We find that actual costs of manufacturing for the armory and for industrial contractors which have produced small arms are about the same for all practical purposes. Wage rates are not significantly different nor are most other direct costs.

With claims for cost savings out and the cost of the Vietnam war increasing rapidly, with the administration and the Congress trying to hold down Government spending to ease inflationary pressures and avoid a tax increase, it is difficult to understand why the Secretary persists in going ahead with the expenditure of the additional funds which it will be necessary to spend to effect this closure and the transfer of functions as proposed. Under the circumstances, it would seem that the Sectary should be amendable to appeals for postponing the proposed closing at least, but he is not.

Second. The Deputy Secretary's letter says:

> There have been suggestions that the armory must be kept open for the support of our forces in southeast Asia. In this connection, I repeat the assurance given at the hearing that the closing will be phased in a manner that does not in any way jeopardize supplies required for the Vietnam effort.

This kind of assurance referred to in the above paragraph is a little hard to swallow. The Secretary knows that many of the people in manufacturing at the armory are working 60 hours a week to fill urgently needed orders in support of the Vietnam war. He also knows that industry has frequently shown no interest in some of these unusual odd lot orders because profits are limited, or else have failed miserably to come though on schedule. A recent check showed that there were about 250 battlefield priority orders being worked on at the armory. Most of these orders are for items needed in fairly limited quantities and in which industry has very little interest because the profits are limited. Some are for items which industry has failed to produce on schedule, and some are for weapon modifications to cope with the changing requirements for fighting jungle guerrilla warfare. All orders are for the types of things for which it is customary to turn to a "can do" organization to produce.

Reaction time on urgently needed items is much faster in the armory than it is in industry. For example, in providing stocks for the M-1 carbine rehabilitation and conversion program, the order was split between industry and the armory. To date, the armory has produced in excess of 50,000. Industry has yet to produce the first unit. Another example is the drum for an Air Force aircraft weapon—the M-39A2. This drum is the guts of the machinegun itself and is, I understand, a very difficult item to manufacture.

The Air Force attempted to procure it from industry without success so turned to the armory. This difficult and urgently needed piece of equipment is being delivered for use in Vietnam today. Many more examples can be provided, but perhaps the most significant work at the armory in support of our jungle warfare fighters has been and still is in the arming of helicopters. The armory has been a principal leader in the field of helicopter armaments and as such is still developing and providing much of the equipment going into this vital program.

Most of the work currently being performed at the armory in support of Vietnam is there because it is the only place it can be done within the time schedule, or else industry prices have been out of line. The current flow of orders and prospective orders in the pending budget would provide a 5-year work backlog for the present armory labor force and more work is developing every day. These orders will go through a make or buy screening and, under the circumstances of a freeze on the armory labor force, a lot of the work will go to industry regardless of price. However, you can be certain that the difficult and unique, and the small odd lot items will continue to wind up in the armory, from sheer convenience, if nothing else, as long as it is allowed to remain in operation.

In view of all that I have outlined, I again reiterate the Department of Defense and the Booz, Allen & Hamilton management consulting firm have an absolute obligation to prove the inaccuracy of our case.

As an example of the inaccuracy, Deputy Secretary Vance, in his letter to Senator STENNIS and the Massachusetts congressional delegation, cited that the armory had produced 3,643 M-79 barrels at a unit cost of $29.47, whereas industry's bid price for the same barrel was $47.95.

I include Secretary Vance's letter to me, citing this example and Accountant

Henry T. Downey's rebuttal to these charges of "inaccuracy" which appeared in the April 29 issue of Springfield, Mass., Daily News, at this point in the RECORD:

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D.C., April 25, 1966.
Hon. EDWARD P. BOLAND,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BOLAND: Secretary McNamara and I felt that we should communicate in writing the strong convictions which we expressed to you and other members of the Massachusetts congressional delegation at our meeting of April 21 concerning the Springfield Armory.

You are familiar, I know, with the series of studies which preceded the November 19, 1964 announcement that the armory would be closed and with the Booz, Allen & Hamilton Report which, in conjunction with our own reconsideration of the matter, led to the reaffirmation of the closure decision on November 16, 1965.

We have carefully studied all the testimony and written material presented at the March 22, 1966 hearing by the Springfield Armory Technical Committee witnesses. Our study has revealed no basis for changing the previous decision to close Springfield Armory and relocate residual functions at Rock Island Arsenal.

The cost data presented by the technical committee witnesses was analyzed by the Army, and the results of that analysis were forwarded to the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee on April 14, 1966. Although the data was offered in an attempt to prove the proposition that manufacturing operations at the armory are more economical than in private industry, the several charts and comparisons furnished by the technical committee did not in fact support that proposition.

For example, the technical committee used a chart which purported to show that the armory had produced 3,643 M–79 barrels at a unit cost of $29.47, whereas industry's bid price for the same barrel was $47.95, with a consequent "savings" to the Government of $67,323 through using the armory in this case. The witness who presented the chart said it portrayed transactions occurring after November 16, 1965. Actually, the barrel order was placed with the armory in May 1964 after a trivial bidding technicality disqualified a private contractor who had underbid the armory. The same contractor in October 1965 bid and won an order for 1,921 M–79 barrels at a unit price of $18.40, more than $11 under the armory price. There was no saving whatsoever as a result of placing the earlier order with the armory; rather, the opposite was the case.

None of the cost charts displayed by the technical committee at the March 22 hearing were accurate. If they had been accurately and objectively prepared, they would have shown what is in fact the case, that continued operation of the armory is neither economical nor efficient.

Our studies have repeatedly led to the conclusion that the armory's manufacturing capacity is excess to our needs, and that the relocation of the nonmanufacturing functions now at the armory will bring about significant savings.

The private small arms industry has proved its capacity, and its eagerness, to develop and manufacture small arms weapons and weapons systems for the Department of Defense—and to do so at less cost to the Government than if the work were performed at Springfield Armory. We are convinced that systems management advantages, as well as cost advantages, will accrue as a result of closing Springfield and relocating its residual functions.

There have been suggestions that the armory must be kept open for the support of our forces in southeast Asia. In this connection, I repeat the assurance given at the hearing that the closing will be phased in a manner that does not in any way jeopardize supplies required for the Vietnam effort.

I also repeat the assurance that every career employee at the armory is guaranteed at least one other suitable job offer. Furthermore, the community of Springfield itself—if it wishes—is guaranteed the services of the Defense Office of Economic Adjustment.

That office has a magnificent record in working, on request, with other communities, some of them hit far harder by base closures than Springfield, where only 1 percent of the local work force is employed at the armory.

For example, the closure of Schilling Air Force Base indicated a projected loss of over 25 percent of the income of Salina, Kans. This did not happen. Now, only 1 year later, through joint efforts with community leaders, an area vocational school, a technical institute, a vocational rehabilitation school, a modern municipal airport and a number of civilian employers (including two business aircraft manufacturers) are located on the base.

We should be pleased to work with the people of Springfield, just as we have with the people of Kansas and of 35 other States in dealing with base closure problems.

In conclusion, reiterating my testimony at the hearing, I would like to say that the decision to close the armory was not lightly taken. It was based on careful, informed judgments following exhaustive analysis of the facts. Those judgments have been validated and revalidated since the closure decision was first announced. There has been no disagreement among the scores of responsible officials in the Department of Defense, in uniform and out, who have studied the issues of Springfield Armory's retention. Every one has agreed that operation of the armory past its scheduled closure date is not needed for support of the Vietnam effort, and that the closure decision is correct, is in accord with sound and efficient management of the Defense establishment, and is consistent with and serves the public interest.

Sincerely,

CYRUS VANCE.

DOD SMOKESCREEN HIT BY DOWNEY

Accountant-lawyer, Henry T. Downey, consultant to the Springfield Army Technical Committee, today defended the committee's cost charts regarding armory contracts and charged Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance with laying down a "smokescreen."

Mr. Downey, in a prepared statement, rebutted charges made by Secretary Vance in a letter to Senator JOHN STENNIS, Democrat, of Mississippi, chairman of the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee, and to the Massachusetts congressional delegation concerning the armory closure order.

"The contractor prices presented by the Springfield Armory Technical Committee were obtained from the procurement requests issued by Headquarters U.S. Army Weapons Command at Rock Island, Ill., and represented the average of the most current procurement costs for each item," Mr. Downey said.

Secretary Vance, in the letter dated the 25th, used the M–79 (grenade launcher) barrel contract as an example of the technical committee's figures being inaccurate.

"On the M–79 grenade launcher," Mr. Downey said, "wherein we stated a $67,000 savings resulted from Springfield Armory doing the work, Mr. Vance stated that a lower price quoted by an industry was disqualified on a technicality. This is typical of the smokescreen technique with which we have been dealing in this case."

Mr. Downey continued: "The word 'technicality' was loosely used because the facts regarding the firm are that they were unable to deliver on their then current contract involving the same weapon. This is completely spelled out in documentation on file at Springfield Armory in which Colonel Durrenberger referred the matter to the director of supply and maintenance at Headquarters Army Weapons Command at Rock Island."

Mr. Downey said the hard cold facts of the matter were that the contractor was failing to deliver on the existing contract for the grenade launcher.

"Secretary Vance describes failure to deliver grenade launchers on time as a technicality. The commanding officer of Springfield Armory in a memo dated May 27, 1964, describing a telephone conversation with the director of material and supplies at Weapons Command discussed this dilemma facing the Springfield Armory on procurement of 3,647 barrels for grenade launchers.

"Of the three commercial bidders, one was disqualified for failure to deliver on time. Another bid $18 above Springfield Armory and the third bid $10 under the Springfield Armory. As the last bidder, this contractor was disqualified through an unfavorable report by the Contract Administration Agency in Philadelphia because of its then financial difficulties," he said.

Mr. Downey said that based on all these factors and on the information received from the Director of Supply and Maintenance, Colonel Durrenberger noted that he advised the Director of Supply and Maintenance that he would go ahead and place this contract with the Springfield Armory.

"As to the data assembled for Mr. McNamara and Mr. Vance, on which Mr. Vance now stands, it was put together by personnel from Army Weapons Command at Rock Island, the same organization that recommended the closure initially on the basis of economy, which, as I have said many times before, was refuted by Booz, Allen & Hamilton as well as the Springfield Armory Technical Committee," he said.

Mr. Downey noted that the team from Army Weapons Command spent 3½ days at the armory and that they were not people from an accounting organization.

"As to costs, Booz, Allen & Hamilton had this to say in their confidential report to the Secretary of Defense dated October 15, 1965, concerning Springfield Armory:

"'We find that actual costs of manufacture for the armory and for industrial contractors which have produced small arms are about the same for all practical purposes.

"'We find that the proposed move of nonmanufacturing functions is distinctly marginal from a savings-cost standpoint.'"

The accountant charged, "This flagrant distortion is another effort to dispel the fact that the economy matter had been disposed of by Booz, Allen & Hamilton who had assigned professional accounting personnel to make their study as well as the Springfield Armory Technical Committee."

VOTE EXPLANATION

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN], is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, last week I attended the Inter-American Development Bank Conference at Mexico City, and so was necessarily absent from the floor when a number of important bills were considered.

For the record, I wish to make clear my position on these important votes.

Had I been present on Tuesday, April 26, for roll No. 70, on the motion to recommit H.R. 14596, I would have voted "yea"; for roll No. 71, on passage of H.R. 14596, I would have voted "yea"; Wednesday, April 27, roll No. 74, on passage of H.R. 10065, my vote would have been "yea"; and on Thursday, April 28, roll No. 76, on passage of H.R. 13881, I would have voted "yea."

AMERICAN GOOD GOVERNMENT

The **SPEAKER.** Under the previous order of the House, the gentleman from Montana [Mr. BATTIN], is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. **BATTIN.** Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege of attending a dinner last night of the American Good Government Society which honored our colleagues, the Honorable GERALD R. FORD, of Michigan, and the Honorable SAM J. ERVIN, JR., of North Carolina, who were recipients of this year's Good Government Society Award. This was the 14th annual award to be given by the society.

The main address of the evening was given by Mr. Archie K. Davis, who is the president of the American Bankers Association, and I would like to share with my colleagues the major part of Mr. Davis' remarks:

AN ENDURING SOCIETY

(By Mr. Archie K. Davis)

In addressing this distinguished audience, I am not unmindful of the signal honor accorded me; for, in paying tribute to two such distinguished public servants, the Honorable SAM J. ERVIN, senior U.S. Senator from North Carolina, and the Honorable GERALD FORD, of Michigan, House minority leader, we are privileged to do so in the name of George Washington, the first and greatest of all Americans.

* * * * *

Mere reference to the name George Washington is suggestively connotative. He was so intimately associated, within the span of a lifetime, with exploration, revolution, war, the birth of a nation and constitutional government that one naturally, and almost instinctively, focuses upon his day and age in evaluating the evolutionary development of our federated system of government.

The problems that confronted the framers of the Constitution were seemingly insurmountable. In that day it was a question of replacing the weak, and wholly inadequate, Articles of Confederation with a strong central government. The great constitutional debates of 1788 provided mighty arguments for and against a governmental concept that was both national and federal. It was a question of providing for the general welfare of the people without destroying individual freedom. It was a question of delegating and reserving certain well-defined rights and duties between provincial and national authorities. It was a question of putting together an effective, closely knit federation of States in which dual authority was both inherent and necessary. Delicate indeed, to say the least, was this problem of balancing on the one hand, preserving on the other, providing national unity, protecting State rights and, above all else, providing for future change and modifications as the needs of the people might require.

Provincial power was strong in those days. In fact, the Revolutionary War was a provincial war. The act of uniting 13 Provinces under 1 Central Government, the assumption of all provincial debts by this delegated authority, and the imposition of Federal tax levies were the accomplishments of a people dedicated to self-government. Remarkably effective was the political leadership of that day, and present always was the inspiring, constructive influence of George Washington.

The leaders of those days were, I presume, either liberal or conservative depending upon one's point of view. Today, from our retrospective vantage point, we would find it difficult to agree upon the assignment of descriptive labels. Was Hamilton a liberal or a conservative, and just what do we mean by a Jeffersonian Democrat or a conservative Republican Party? Of this we may be certain: then, as now, the ideal of government was to balance the relationship between the governor and the governed. It was then and has always been tempered by pragmatic considerations. These considerations, of course, are shaped and molded by changing circumstances.

Presumably, the ideal of conservative government was achieved during the years of the Virginia dynasty of Presidents which, with the exception of 4 years under the Presidency of John Adams, lasted from 1789 to 1824. The Jacksonian era emerged in almost direct antithesis to its conservative forerunner. But it was representative of the times and reflected the growing influence of those who had settled west of the Alleghenies. The common man demanded recognition and representation.

The tragic era of the Civil War, and its equally tragic aftermath, was not unrelated to the Missouri Compromise of 1820. The ubiquitous parallel of 36° 30″—the southern boundary of Missouri—was used to divide the 11 slave-holding States of the South from the 11 free States of the North. It was assumed to be a compromise then in the name of pragmatism, but it might have been the first official act to set the stage for civil conflict. Actually, it was not a compromise in that it fixed an arbitrary and rigid line of division. This was a departure from the American system of government, for it denied the fluidity of change.

And who is there to say that the American Civil War was not inevitable and that only in the crucible of war could the elements of disunion have been eliminated and the tides of a stronger union forged? The points of division were many and lay deep in the sectional differences and traditions of the past. But they were overcome, in time, in spite of bitterness and injustices both real and fancied. Out of this stronger union evolved the concert of power that proved to be the margin of victory in the great world wars of this century. Today, America stands alone as the greatest power on earth. She stands as a monument to freedom and as a symbol of hope in a very uncertain world. But her constitutional form of government, conceived and born in travail, has never known a day when it was not on trial or under pressure of changing circumstances. And in her comparatively brief existence of 177 years at least every generation has had good reason to express grave concern for her future.

The very nature of man, with all his human frailties, preempts any possibility of rigid consistency in the government of men—certainly in a democratic society. Vicissitudes of change provide such constant and often conflicting pressures that they must be reflected in the attitudes of both government and the governed.

Only the philosophic detachment afforded by time permits us to refer casually to that period immediately following the Civil War when a mighty Congress was intent upon destroying the balance of power between the legislative and executive branches of Government. The impeachment proceedings against President Andrew Johnson were denied in the U.S. Senate by the fateful margin of only one vote in May 26, 1868. Anyone in that day might have been justified in saying that a government so infested with bigotry and hypocrisy could not possibly survive.

Or consider the rise of the populist movement in the latter part of the 19th century, and its influence upon the course of government down to the present day. The labor movement of this century, and the declining influence of the farmer, whose relative numerical position in our society has decreased from 35 to 8 percent in the past 50 years, are a part of the pattern. The great depression of the early 1930's provided a monumental and lasting impact upon our society. As profound as were the changes wrought in government and in the attitudes of the governed at that time, honesty requires us to recognize that what was revolutionary then is now accepted fact, and in large measure an appropriate reflection of the will of the people.

It is yet too early to assess the sociological, the philosophical, and the economic consequences of a nation at war for the past quarter of a century. Since 1941, the United States has been deeply involved in world affairs—an involvement prompted by humanitarian reasons as well as by the national interest. The burdens and pressures of this involvement, coupled with remarkably dramatic developments in the fields of atomic energy, space science and electronics, are awesome to contemplate.

And yet, our Federal Government has performed no less remarkably. With all the built-in inefficiencies of a democratic society, so necessary and so illogical, with all the partisan politics of a two-party system, so necessary and so natural, and with all the conflicting interests of a heterogeneous society, so necessary and so human, is it not with pardonable pride that we contemplate the dynamism, the resiliency and the effectiveness of our American system of government? In paying tribute to our honored guests this evening, we also pay tribute to their associates in government, to countless career officials and to the memory of our founding father, George Washington.

Certainly, no citizenry has had greater cause for justifiable gratitude and, consequently, greater reason for preserving and protecting what is a priceless heritage. It is not to detract from the sincerity of this observation when one suggests that the manner in which we have reacted to the phenomena of our times does raise serious questions as to present and future implications.

To any student of history it is clear that changing patterns in the relationship between government and the governed must be accepted as a normal circumstance—especially in a democratic society whose governmental mechanism is designed to provide for freedom of expression, action, and reaction and fluidity of response. Therefore, our concern for the future must not be prompted by the fact of change but rather by the implications of change. Nor must we be concerned so much by the magnitude and rapidity of recent trends and developments as by the attitude of the people and their representatives in government.

No one can seriously argue the necessary and constitutional role of our Federal Government in national defense and in broad areas of public welfare. This general responsibility has obviously involved penetration into many aspects of the civil, social, scientific, and economic life of our people. The question is: Does our Federal Government presume to exercise these broad responsibilities as a theoretical right or within the constitutional framework of a federated republic in which the lines of responsibility are supposed to be clearly delineated? I hasten to add, however, that these lines of delegated or retained responsibility may not have been drawn with precision. Amendments to the contrary notwithstanding, no one would presume to claim perfection for such a remarkable document either in the year of its ratification or now. But I profoundly believe that the intent of its framers is as valid and vital to individual freedom today as it was then.

Our Federal Government emerged as the unifying force between 13 separate and distinct governmental units. Today they number 50, and in the intervening 177 years every effort has been made to tear this Union asunder from nullification, to secession, to outright war. And always the question at issue has been the same in any given area of controversy: Does final authority rest at the State or Federal level?

It is at this point that we must admit to a belief that our form of government is completely illogical if the intent of its founders was to create an efficient system of government. Obviously, it was not, for every conceivable condition was written into the Constitution—not for the purpose of insuring efficiency or uniformity but solely for the purpose of guaranteeing individual freedom in a well-ordered society. How else can one interpret the duality of State and Federal jurisdictions, and the system of checks and balances existing among the executive, the legislative and the judicial branches of our Federal Government? The problem was to provide national unity and cohesion without destroying certain authorities and responsibilities of State government. The problem was also to provide a system of internal controls that would protect society against itself—against the extremes of either State despotism or of individual license. The net result was a classic in terms of cumbersome inefficiency but a monument to human understanding.

It is only within this context that we, the people, may now fairly assess our stewardship. Have we been successful in preserving this intended balance of power within government and between the States and the Federal Government? If not, has there been an overconcentration of power at the Federal level with a corresponding diminution of authority and responsibility at the State level? Has this imbalance been wrought by men of evil intent, has it been the work of some despotic or totalitarian hand or have positive forces at the Federal level simply gained ascendancy over negative forces existing at State levels of government? Finally, is this imbalance a permanent condition or might we reasonably anticipate a correction in keeping with cyclical movements in history?

These questions, in my judgment, provide the clues, and perhaps the answers, to the dilemma that confronts modern America. Unquestionably, there has been a substantial erosion of local autonomy. No facet of our lives has been left untouched. Whether civil, social or economic, the depth of Federal penetration is matched only by its breadth. While much can be attributed to justifiable circumstances involving national interest, honesty compels us to recognize that much can also be attributed to dereliction of responsibility at the local level. We the people, supposedly the champions of so-called States rights, have not been true and loyal defenders. In certain areas we have simply abdicated and yielded the ground by default. Loud in our criticism of the positive nature of Federal power, we have been singularly apathetic in our support of counterbalancing forces. We have overlooked the key to our constitutional heritage, namely, a government of balance that can only be preserved through the exercise of enlightened and responsible citizenship. The blame lies with us, not with our representatives in government because their actions are largely expressive of the will of the people or the lack of it.

So, when we deplore the growing manifestations of Federal intrusion into our lives and into those areas once considered the domain of individual responsibility and authority, as exercised at the provincial level, let us remember that we are not without fault. Somewhere along the line, we have not responded adequately to the pressures of changing circumstances. Somewhere along the line, we have either failed to grasp the significance of these changes or, perhaps more correctly, have failed to associate ourselves as responsible participants.

Therefore, we have increasingly relied upon the agency of the Federal Government, not that of the State or of the community, to provide for ourselves a wide range of social, economic, and civil needs seemingly not otherwise available; hence, the concentration of power at the Federal level. Congress can only legislate, not administer; hence, the concentration of power in the executive branch of the Government. The President must largely delegate the administrative functions of his office; hence, the powerful authority, and necessarily so, of a vast bureaucracy.

It is precisely in this situation that individual freedom occupies a rather precarious foothold; for the very complexities of Government will not tolerate clearly defined areas of authority. Government of laws becomes blended with government of men. Tolerances yield to intolerances. The governed complain of restrictions and abuses that bear the name of redtape. The administrators sense and expect little sympathetic understanding from those for whom they labor; so frustration becomes the lot of all men.

In this garden of confusion the seeds of synthesis are nurtured. As the ramifications of government spread, the illogical yields to the logical, and increasingly we hear pleas for consolidation in the name of efficiency and for uniformity in the name of simplicity. The tide swings in this direction because it is the logical way out of confusion and inefficiency. It should not come as a surprise to us, therefore, that Federal aid and regulation must necessarily bear the restrictions of custodial responsibility and, in large measure, reflect the will of the benefactor. It should not come as a surprise to us, therefore, that unified systems of specialized regulatory bodies are much more practical than those systems which would attempt to preserve the duality of Federal and State supervision. So expediency leads us steadily down the road we were warned not to travel. That was at a time when individual freedom was highly meaningful, for it had just been won.

In this sense, individual freedom is a relative matter. We of this generation cannot fully comprehend that which we have never lost; so our sense of obligation is not fortified by an abiding sense of appreciation. We tend to forget that local autonomy also means local responsibility and that "every right has its corresponding duty." We take for granted that which we should be zealously guarding. Our changing attitude is a reflection of our changing will which, regrettably, is no longer firmly anchored in the bedrock of belief that individual freedom and individual responsibility are inseparable. So, we of the conservative faith decry the harvests of others while failing to till the garden in our own backyard.

It seemed perfectly clear to James Madison, back in 1788, where the powers and responsibilities lay if the people were to preserve their provincial liberties and, therefore, their individual freedom. No misunderstanding can be read into his words when he said "the powers reserved to the several States will extend to all the objects, which, in the ordinary course of affairs, concern the lives, liberties, and properties of the people; and the internal order, improvement, and prosperity of the State." There can be no doubt that Madison believed fervently in provincial responsibility and, in reserving powers to the several States, felt that primary concern for the welfare of the people must come from the people themselves.

If this interpretation be correct, then the theory would be applicable to any form of democratic society whether national, a federated republic, state, or community. For a democratic society to work, and thus preserve individual freedom, the one common denominator, the sine qua non, must be a responsible, cooperative citizenry, nurtured in self-reliance and firmly believing in the power of individual initiative and creativity. There must be a fusion of individual and community values so that self-assertion is blended into cooperative enterprise among individuals.

The workability of such an ideal system depends not only upon enlightened leadership but upon a high degree of political vitality and intelligence among citizens. If the people become convinced that only an all-powerful Central Government can meet their needs, then the foresight of the Founding Fathers will have been in vain and their grand design for liberty will become no more than a study for future historians. If, on the other hand, the people become convinced that the power, and responsibility, to preserve self-government still rests with them, then the course of future action is clear.

Each individual must reaffirm his personal belief in his ability—as one person—to influence the course of history to some degree and in some manner. There are far too many people—some of them in positions of great influence—who seem to believe that the individual as a positive force is obsolete in our complex society.

If, as is clearly apparent, the centralization tendencies in American Government are highly pronounced, is not the importance of public opinion placed in bold relief as an effective limitation on governmental power? In such an environment, the larger question is whether the force of a democratic majority can be directed to an intelligent course of action. The question for each of us here is whether we are doing all we can, individually and in concert—to provide that kind of leadership essential to an intelligent course of action.

Those who believe in the separation of powers inherent in our Constitution can only preserve reasonable State autonomy by providing adequate State vitality. By State vitality I refer to the effective development of the human and natural resources of a State under the guidance of local initiative. State vitality can thrive only where the composite attitude of its citizens reflects a sense of pride, obligation, and determination—fired by imaginative resourcefulness. This concept of citizenship is demanding in terms of talent and energy; and heavy burdens are imposed on those who would aspire to leadership. But it is the only positive way left in which we might hopefully restore the balance between Federal and local autonomy. If this philosophy were broadly accepted throughout the many States, is it not likely that our representatives in government would both reflect and respect this attitude of citizenship responsibility?

Progress which requires the sacrifice of fundamental principles is progress at a price we cannot afford to pay. Only through continuing—and constructive—application of these fundamental principles in our society can we justify our heritage and assure its economic, political, social, and spiritual benefits to those who will follow us.

The distinguished statesmen being honored this evening have demonstrated a total commitment to these principles. By word and by deed, in the hard and often pitiless glare of the political arena, they have sought to reassert and sustain the ideals and institutions of government so nobly advanced under the leadership of the immortal Washington.

Their mission is no less our own. The reward for success will not only be progress. It will be an enduring society.

THE PRIVATE WEDDING OF POLITICS AND POVERTY

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, Chairman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL is perpetrating one of the sorriest exhibitions of political partisanship ever witnessed in Congress involving an important national program. His actions constitute an open admission that he and the majority of Democrats on his committee regard the poverty program as pure politics and the private preserve of Democratic political caucus.

Here is the almost incredible sequence of events:

First. Last fall, Chairman POWELL sought and obtained $200,000 for a thorough investigation of the poverty program that he conceded desperately needed it.

Second. Only the most superficial investigation was made and no report was issued.

Third. In December, the chairman appointed a three-man task force to "check" on his first investigation.

Fourth. Eight days of hearings were held as a platform for a succession of hurrahs for the poverty war to date. The hearings were so loaded that the only seriously critical witness was Poverty Director Shriver himself.

Fifth. The chairman refused to call any of the 67 witnesses suggested by the Republicans. His explanation for not calling any of the witnesses was characteristic: "Because I am the chairman."

Sixth. Thirty-seven days have been wasted since the hearings were arbitrarily closed, during which time many competent witnesses could have been heard to improve the program.

Seventh. Barring Republican members of the committee, Democrats have held five private, partisan caucuses to try to convert the faltering war on poverty into "a bill we can defend."

Eighth. When a responsible and essentially accurate newspaper story revealed to the world for the first time what the Democrats had been cooking up in caucus, the chairman called a hasty press conference to deliver a slashing attack on the reporter.

Ninth. He announced that the poverty subcommittee responsible for this important legislation will have exactly 30 minutes to pass on all amendments to the entire bill.

It is obvious that Chairman POWELL and the committee will not consider seriously any constructive proposals they do not author themselves. Mr. POWELL claimed credit for saving the community action program which he had cut to the bone marrow. The apparent restoration of $150 million still leaves the program below minimum requests. If Mr. POWELL's figures are accurate, the new facelifting of the war on poverty will cost $1.95 billion, $245 million above the President's budget.

The Quie-Goodell opportunity crusade would spend $400 million less Federal money. By enlisting private enterprise and the States as partners, it would pump a total of $2.4 billion into meaningful, coordinated programs. In contrast to the new Democratic concoction, the opportunity crusade would make all the money needed available for Headstart and would double present funds in community action, while legislating careful and proper safeguards against the kind of abuse that has been rampant in the war on poverty.

PISCATAWAY PARK BILL

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. SICKLES] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I wish to record my strong support for a bill before the House today: H.R. 13417.

This measure, popularly known as the Piscataway Park bill, is squarely within the President's objectives of conservation along the Potomac and of maintaining natural beauty.

It is vitally important to our national heritage, for by the enactment of this measure into law, the view across the river from Mount Vernon will be preserved substantially the same as it was in George Washington's day.

It is important to our growing needs for park and recreation areas in Metropolitan Washington. Camping sites and trails in a natural setting will be enjoyed by present and future generations.

It is important in that the arrangements under this bill are precedent making. Its provision for cooperation between all levels of government and private citizens, along with the local tax-incentive feature for scenic easements, sets into operation a new method by which parks and recreation areas may be established at minimum cost to the Federal Government. If this new model for conservation is successful, as I have every reason to believe that it will be, a new approach shall be in existence which can give great stimulus to conservation and the preservation of natural beauty across the Nation.

Finally, favorable action on this bill now is vitally important because the land donated by private foundations and individuals, and the scenic easements agreed to by many landowners, are all contingent on the Federal Government fulfilling its share of the total effort. Otherwise, the donations and easements will begin to revert in August 1967, and the park project will probably be lost forever. It is apparent, therefore, why a sense of urgency should be upon us today to adopt the Piscataway Park bill in order that large numbers of our citizens will find additional opportunities for peaceful interludes tomorrow.

EDUCATED MANPOWER

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROONEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, one of the major challenges facing our country in the years ahead is the need to provide the educated manpower that will be required to sustain economic growth and continuing prosperity. Of particular importance at the present time is the urgent need to close the gap between the numbers of scientists and engineers needed by industry, Government, and education and the number being graduated from our institutions of higher learning. This administration and this Congress have performed admirably in providing the kinds of basic support that are needed to undergird our country's educational system and to assist in filling this gap. But the major job to be done must be accomplished by our country's fine educational institutions, and their faculties, administration and loyal friends and alumni.

Mr. Speaker, it is helpful for us here in the Nation's Capital to pause occasionally and take a serious look at the type of work being done by private institutions, individuals, and communities in meeting the serious challenges facing our society. To illustrate the fine work being carried on throughout our educational system, I am happy to be able to point to a college in my own congressional district as an example of the initiative and vitality that has helped make our country the most productive and powerful in the world.

I am referring to Lafayette College, in Easton, Pa., in my district, which recently commemorated its 100th anniversary as a center of science and engineering education. For over a century, Lafayette College's graduates have made distinguished contributions to their communities and the Nation. Included in their number have been such prominent names as former U.S. Army Chief of Staff George H. Decker, the late Dr. Phillip S. Hench, a Nobel Prize winner long associated with the Mayo Clinic, a recent American Bar Association president, Sylvester C. Smith, Jr., and novelist, Stephen Crane.

At its 100th anniversary science and engineering convocation, Lafayette College honored 14 alumni, including University of Oregon neurosurgeon George M. Austin, Yale Professor Leon S. Stone, a nationally renowned authority on eye transplantation, and Robert E. McGarrah, vice president of the Logistics Management Institute. Honorary degrees were awarded to five internationally known representatives of science and engineering, including Astronaut

Walter M. Schirra and Atomic Energy Commission Chairman Glenn T. Seaborg. Lafayette President K. Roald Bergethon awarded Schirra the honorary degree of doctor of astronautical engineering, probably the first of its kind ever awarded by a U.S. institution of higher education.

One of the highlights of the dinner commemorating the 100th anniversary was an address by Ralph K. Gottshall, a distinguished Lafayette alumnus who is chairman of Atlas Chemical Industries, Wilmington, Del., and president of the board of trustees of Lafayette College.

Mr. Gottshall's address focuses on the challenge presented by the increasing need for trained scientific manpower. Because of its timeliness and its provocative statement of the problem, I take pride in bringing Mr. Gottshall's address to the attention of the House of Representatives:

INCREASING NEED FOR TRAINED SCIENTIFIC MANPOWER

(By Ralph K. Gottshall, chairman of the board, Atlas Chemical Industries, Inc., presented at the convocation dinner, Engineering-Science Centennial Convocation)

In commemorating the 100th anniversary of science and engineering at Lafayette, I speak this evening in threefold capacity: (1) as a former undergraduate majoring in chemistry; (2) as an officer of a chemical company depending heavily for its success on the engineer and scientist; (3) as president of the board of trustees charged to deal with the challenge Lafayette faces in the fields of science and engineering.

I am sure many of you have shared my experience in reminiscing about your years at Lafayette—then asking yourselves: What has been the most help in my business, family, and community life? We could list many things, but to me the most profound was the joy and privilege of having great teachers. Let me name a few:

Prof. Jimmy DeLong, my faculty adviser for 3 years. He could make a long, complicated organic reaction read like a mystery tale. On one occasion, he arranged for and accompanied me to see President McCracken in my application for a scholarship. Jimmy pleaded my cause, and was successful. Incidentally, it was the only time I had a conversation with the president of the college during my 4 years as an undergraduate. The DeLongs invited my mother and sister as guests in their home at the time of my graduation. They were gracious hosts and this was the beginning of a lifelong friendship. Those who knew him and learned from him will always remember Jimmy DeLong as an inspiring teacher and a great and good friend.

Then there was Danny Hatch. He could solve a complex calculus problem on the blackboard and at the end would inquire: "And what do we get?" He would then write the word "infinity" as the solution and enthusiastically throw the chalk out the window from the third floor of Pardee. Danny had a great love for Lafayette and was a real sports enthusiast. I can still see him standing on the platform at the Smoker before the Lafayette-Lehigh game in my freshman year. It would be foolhardy to try to describe his gestures and oratory; suffice it to say that I was so keyed up I didn't get a wink of sleep that night.

Let's now turn to Dr. Beverly Waugh Kunkel, who taught at Lafayette from 1915 to 1952 and is professor emeritus of biology. His lectures were noted for their preciseness and clarity. There is one particular incident that stands out in my association with Dr. Kunkel, and it was this: I took general biology in my sophomore year, and near the end of the academic year I burned my hand in the laboratory and had to take my final examinations orally. When I arrived in Jenks Hall, Professor Kunkel was in his office with his two campus-famous dachshunds. The examination consisted largely of paging through my laboratory notebook. Then, as we were walking across the campus, he told of going on a year's sabbatical and inquired as to whether I would be interested in doing student teaching. I told him I didn't think I was qualified. His reply—which I have used many times in my life—was: "I will be the judge of your qualifications; you tell me if you're interested." I was interested and served as student biology instructor for 2 years.

I could go on and talk about some of my other professors. Profs. William S. Hall, Hunt Wilson, Clarence Gordon, James Wadell Tupper, and many others. But, we must move on, remembering that all of this was 40 years ago.

Where do we stand today? The faculty at Lafayette continues in modern terms a Lafayette tradition of exceptional quality noted for strong teaching and strong scholarship. Speaking for the board of trustees, that tradition must be and will always be maintained.

So much for personal reminiscences. Now, let's take a look at what many of us, both in industry and in education, consider one of our most serious problems—how to meet this country's growing needs for trained scientific manpower.

I speak as a chemistry graduate, and, as you know, spiritually at least we chemists are descended from the medieval alchemists. Those gentlemen viewed their jobs as distilling essences, changing base metals into gold, and predicting the future. Of course, they never succeeded. Nor will I, since I can cover only with a broad brush this challenge facing Lafayette, and, for that matter, our entire educational system—a challenge which will affect the future course of our economy and our society.

The current scramble by industry and Government for engineers and other scientists is evidence of both the serious shortage of trained manpower and the increasingly important role of science in our daily lives.

This has not always been the case. In the early days of Lafayette College the question of whether scientists were necessary to the growth and progress of our economy was seriously debated in educational circles. In fact, recognition that our economic goals could be achieved only through the application of science was just dawning in 1865, when Ario Pardee donated funds to establish the Pardee scientific course. This course, and the tradition it authored, has formed the bedrock of Lafayette's contribution of talented scientists and engineers over the past 100 years.

Lafayette can take justifiable pride in the fact that it was the first college in the United States to combine arts and science courses on one campus and under one, united faculty—an innovation that has continued to be a distinctive hallmark of our college.

Of equal importance was the philosophy of the Pardee course, which offered a 3-year curriculum introducing students to the whole range of scientific knowledge and allowed specialization only in the senior year. This approach permitted students to acquire a flexible knowledge of engineering fundamentals, without overly narrow specialization in any particular field. The Pardee approach—now, more than ever—helps to produce, and I quote: "young men eager to develop the art of living rather than those who want merely to make a living."

Just as importantly, this broad knowledge of scientific fundamentals has permitted Lafayette alumni the widest possible option in pursuing their careers.

I think management can be defined in these words: "Management is a profession in which knowledge of the physical and social sciences gained by study, experience, and practice is applied with judgment to develop ways to economically utilize the materials and forces of nature for the progressive wellbeing of mankind."

Actually, this definition was originally proposed by the Engineers Council for Professional Development as a definition of engineering with the word "engineering," of course, substituted for the word "management." But as one who has spent his career in industry, I submit that it applies just as well to the art and science of management. Lafayette's science-engineering program, founded as it is on the Pardee philosophy, fosters the kind of innovative talent, based upon a broad educational background, that equips scientific graduates for important administrative roles in later life.

The role of scientist-engineers today is very broad: it demands more than knowledge of certain scientific disciplines—it demands an understanding of consumer needs and tastes; the ability to guide a new product from the initial flash of genius by a researcher through production, and ultimately to the marketplace; an understanding of human relations; a knowledge of the social sciences, and, increasingly, it demands an awareness of the political, social, and economic forces at work in other parts of the world. It is a role that demands unlimited knowledge, and offers unlimited opportunities.

Such opportunities clearly exist for engineers and other science graduates. Scientific American magazine recently sponsored a study which indicated that the proportion of executives in the 600 largest U.S. corporations who have an engineering-science education grew from only 7 percent in 1900 to 33 percent in 1965. This trend points not only to opportunities, but also to the need of our complex industrial society for scientist-engineers who have broad educational backgrounds and potentialities of leadership.

Recent studies by both governmental and nongovernmental agencies are unanimous in concluding that the available supply of engineers and other scientists over the next decade or more will nowhere match even the most conservative projections of the demand for scientific manpower.

Some of you may recall a cartoon in the New Yorker magazine showing two men in business suits walking off a college campus. Each was holding a long pole on which an engineer, still in cap and gown and clutching his sheepskin, is trussed up like a moose. Observes one bystander to another: "Du Pont's got theirs." (I wish he had said, "Atlas.")

Seriously, competition is stiff—and demand exceeds supply. Not long ago, a spokesman for the National Science Foundation told a congressional committee that if the United States wishes to maintain its position of world leadership it must find ways of meeting growing requirements for scientific manpower. He cited projections over this decade which show that we will fall short of our scientific manpower requirements by about 60,000 to 75,000 a year.

Even more alarming, this projection is based only on presently foreseeable needs. But new areas of opportunity for scientific manpower open up all the time—in industry research and development, in defense, space and oceanography; in environmental health and mass transportation, in the development of substitutes for natural resources that may become exhausted, and in helping to meet the economic needs of the underdeveloped countries. Some of these fields were regarded as science fiction when many of us graduated—today they are a vital part of our life.

The Federal Government has launched various aid-to-education programs, which will help in expanding the output of trained manpower. But we, in the colleges and universities, must carry the major load.

Lafayette is trying to meet this challenge. We have taken a number of steps to make certain that Lafayette's science and engineering graduates receive the best possible preparation for their careers, whether in industry, government, or teaching.

We cannot be complacent. Much needs to be done in the years ahead. But we can point to progress. We have:

1. Recognized the need for a well-qualified faculty by making Lafayette's salary scale competitive with those of other leading colleges and universities.

2. (a) Built the David Bishop Skillman Library. Trebled seating in the library and increased the budget by a factor of five to add books and professional staff.

(b) Reconstructed Pardee Hall as a center for liberal arts, humanities and social sciences, psychology, and mathematics.

(c) Renovated Van Wickle Hall to secure classrooms.

(d) Expanded our facilities for science and engineering including the new Charles A. Dana Hall of Engineering.

(e) Increased space for physics and chemistry in Olin Hall of Science.

(f) Completed and approved plans for a new biology building.

3. Continued to broaden and strengthen our engineering and science curriculums. The goal of these curriculums is to instruct students in basic concepts and principles and to provide graduates with the ability to assimilate new discoveries and apply them under new circumstances.

We have also increased the science requirement to 2 years of science (one with lab) as well as a year of math or logic (including symbolic).

These steps, taken with the aid of alumni and friends, not only have benefited Lafayette's science and engineering offerings but they have worked as well to strengthen our excellent liberal arts program.

This is as it should be. Just as scientist-engineers must be grounded in the humanities and social sciences, so must liberal arts graduates be familiar with our scientific and technical heritage. The day is long past when a man in any profession can work securely in a tight compartment, ignoring the impact on modern life of developments in other fields of knowledge. All the leaders of our society must have some insight into the broad direction and meaning of science and technology, as well as the social sciences and humanities.

Although leading educational figures are quite concerned about the steps that must be taken to increase the number of scientists available to the Nation in the years ahead, they are also discouraged about the job our schools and colleges are doing in acquainting liberal arts students with the role of science and technology. This concern has probably been expressed most eloquently by Lord Snow, the British author-scientist, who has warned that our educational system is producing two totally different kinds of culture—science and nonscience—with their representatives unable to communicate with each other.

Again, I think we can point with pride to Lafayette's pace-setting role in this area of education. In the 1964–65 school year, Lafayette's Department of Mechanics and Engineering Fundamentals introduced a new, and, as far as I have been able to determine, unique course specifically designed to introduce liberal arts students to the application of computer technology to the problems of information retrieval as well as to the technological, social, and economic significance of computers.

This course, as well as the effort being made to keep Lafayette's science-engineering program abreast of needs, is a testimonial to the vitality and initiative of the faculty and administration of our college. It is also a testimonial to the support received from forward-looking alumni and friends. If we are to meet the challenge to our future posed by science and technology, it is essential that educational institutions continue to develop new concepts of teaching. We at Lafayette College have been doing that for more than a century. And we shall continue to do so.

In conclusion I want to say on behalf of the board of trustees that we are firmly determined to have the best possible teaching and learning conditions at Lafayette. We believe much has been accomplished since the Second World War. We will do everything possible in coming years so that a Lafayette degree may stand in all fields for quality unexcelled. We want this for the young men of the campus. We want them to share with us the glow of appreciation over the years for the personal awakening and growth through studies on the hill. We want quality also for the community and for the country. They have fostered and nourished the college. They will need the very best the college can turn out to meet the problems of the future. We want the best, finally, because with Mr. Pardee we believe the world will be a better place if we can develop in the young men of Lafayette, to the highest possible degree, what he called the art of living.

UNITED NATIONS SUPERVISED ELECTIONS FOR VIETNAM

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. FULTON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, in the immediate weeks to come the world's closer attention will focus on the Republic of South Vietnam as that nation prepares for national elections.

These elections, which will establish a constituent assembly for the purpose of writing a constitution, offer a clear opportunity to the people of South Vietnam to join in concert in defining their internal national goals in the true spirit of self-determination. This unification is a must if the dissident and largely independent factions in that country today are ever to achieve government beyond military directorship and if they are to avert anarchy which will permit the Communists to gain control of the government, the countryside, and eventually the will of the people.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Central Government in Saigon has ruled out the possibility of Communist or neutralist candidates, they have given assurances that the elections will be representative and fair.

The integrity of these elections is of paramount importance, because on their integrity hangs the question of whether or not they are to be meaningful or simply another ingredient thrown into the bubbling pot of internal discord and strife.

Any serious disruption of the democratic process during this balloting will, in addition, tend to shatter the faith of the Vietnamese people in the sincerity of the Central Government and in the value of any form of democratic government, a form of government about which most have very little, if any knowledge at all.

It is obviously in the interest of the United States that these elections are carried out in as orderly a manner as possible.

Just how order is to be maintained remains to be seen. This will be one of the tasks of the electoral council which will establish the electoral law for the elections and the guidelines for balloting.

It would seem to me that the United States cannot afford to undertake the policing of these elections even should the electoral council recommend this policy and the Central Government request it.

If responsibility is ours the responsibility for any breakdown in the elective process would fall also to us. Indeed we might well be held to be a part of any organized effort to sabotage the elections should such action take place.

It is in the best interest of the United States that we stand apart, permitting the Vietnamese to vote beyond the shadow of American military might, even though that might was present to insure honest and peaceful balloting.

Who then should undertake this task, for obviously policing will be needed. Without it the Communists or any other group will have carte blanche to create havoc either through subterfuge or overt violence.

Should it be the forces of the Central Government?

It seems to me that the same circumstances which preclude this activity from being undertaken by the United States apply to the Army of the Republic of Vietnam. If they should fail to maintain order on election day they will be open to charges of complicity, incompetence, and impropriety. And certainly, these elections are going to be a test of faith for the Central Government and the forces of the ARVN.

Therefore, it seems to me that only an outside agency such as the United States is equipped to undertake this brief but necessary task.

Realizing that it is the Vietnamese themselves who must determine how the elections will be carried out I feel that it is nonetheless incumbent upon this Nation, in Vietnam not only as defenders but as advisers, to recommend as urgently as possible that the United Nations be called upon to undertake this task. In addition I believe that the United States, through Ambassador Goldberg, should call upon the United Nations to offer the Republic of Vietnam its services in this regard.

The fires of anarchy and internal governmental decay glow in Vietnam. But flickering among those fires today are the flames of hope that through the democratic process stability and internal order may be achieved and maintained.

Mr. Speaker, this election may well be the last hope for South Vietnam. But, even so, I feel it must be viewed as their great opportunity to take that first step toward true nationhood. They may not choose our form of government under the leadership of their choice.

United Nations supervision of the elections can assure this choice without intimidation.

NATIONAL CEMETERY IN GLOCESTER, R.I.

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. St Germain] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, each year we, who seek proper burial facilities for our honored veterans, hear the same statement voiced: that with the exception of Arlington National Cemetery, further expansion of the cemetery system is inadvisable. However, each year I also hear the vociferous plea from innumerable constituents and State veteran organizations for proper burial facilities in our home State of Rhode Island or in some neighboring area.

From the Civil War until 1899, 81 national cemeteries were established. Since 1900, 17 national cemeteries have been established. Yet we in New England, who gave birth to this great Nation, are deprived of national facilities for the burial of our honored veterans.

In the State of Rhode Island, which I am privileged to represent, we have available to us suitable land owned by the Federal Government that could be used for the purpose of providing proper burial facilities for our veterans. This land, presently known as George Washington Park in Glocester, R.I., could serve as a national cemetery for southern New England or, for that matter, all of New England.

In New England there are 1,412,000 veterans but there is not one national cemetery. Whereas in the South Atlantic region, which has 2,976,000 veterans there are 24 national cemeteries. In every region of the country there are at least four national cemeteries, but in New England there are no national cemeteries.

The distinguished national commander of the Disabled American Veterans, Mr. Claude Callegary, in an address before the Committee on Veteran Affairs on February 16, 1966, stated:

> [That] which deeply concerns the DAV [is] the growing lack of burial space in the existing national cemetery system.

In Rhode Island, and all of New England, our concern is not the growing lack of burial space but rather the complete absence of a national cemetery.

Mr. Speaker, I feel that it is both intolerable and disgraceful that such an historically rich area as New England and, in particular, the State of Rhode Island which has contributed so much to the greatness and security of this Nation should be denied a national cemetery.

Therefore, at this time I would like to introduce a bill directing the Secretary of the Army to establish a national cemetery in George Washington Park in the town of Glocester, R.I.

TRAFFIC SAFETY

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Farnsley] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. FARNSLEY. Mr. Speaker, in the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee hearings last week we made great progress for the cause of traffic safety. The Automobile Manufacturers Association came before us and stated their agreement with the proposition in my bill to establish a National Traffic Safety Agency that Federal safety performance standards for the manufacture of automobiles should be mandatorily set by the Secretary of Commerce.

But, Mr. Speaker, thus far we have not given attention to a major casual element of traffic accidents and the resulting deaths and injuries. I have been stressing and pressing for action by the Commerce Department, the automotive industry, and others, on the proper illumination of our highways and roads. But my inquiries have received complacent replies. I asked Secretary of Commerce Connor at our hearings in March about lighting up the highways and he replied:

> The whole Interstate Highway System, of course, is not lighted, by any means. But at places where experience indicates that lighting is needed, such as interchanges, these are well lighted.

Well, I do not know what experience he is talking about. The facts are that nighttime traffic is only one-third that of daytime hours, and yet the night death rate is 2½ times as great as the day rate—10 deaths per 100 million vehicle miles at night as compared with 4 deaths per 100 million vehicle miles during the day. In other words, although two-thirds of the traffic leaves the roads before dusk, well over half of all traffic accident deaths occur at night.

Translated into numbers, this means that over 25,000 people died on our roads and highways in the nighttime hours last year. The experts say that congestion is a contributing factor in accident causation, and accidents cause death. But the fact is, darkness, the lack of vision, also causes death. It has been conservatively estimated that about 10,000 of the nighttime deaths result directly from deficiency of lighting. In the evening drivers are inclined to be physically tired and mentally irritated. Who could deny that the driver needs every form of assistance possible under these conditions?

I shudder when I say that the more than 25,000 deaths that occur after dark are not so terrible as the injuries—those that leave the driver and his passengers disabled, hospitalized, incapacitated.

Studies have been made in several communities which prove that proper lighting—not the 1907 type we have here in Washington, but modern lighting that gives the road the appearance of being lit by sunlight without the glare—drastically reduces this terrible carnage. And lighting has another direct and immediately desirable benefit; it has been shown that crimes of violence, such as murder, rape, assault, and armed robbery, breed in dark places and do not exist where the darkness has been banished.

I do not profess that lighting is the only answer to our traffic death-and-injury toll, but I am forced into the position of a crusader because this aspect of the problem has been virtually ignored.

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the American people, I intend to introduce shortly an amendment to the Traffic Safety Act of 1966 which will provide that no Federal aid highway funds can be parceled out to the States unless their highway building programs include provision for proper lighting of the roads they build, and that within a specified reasonable period of time they illuminate all their roadways. This will be expensive, but it will amount to nothing in comparison to the enormous amounts we are losing every year from the deaths, injuries, and property damage of over 25,000 of our citizens—something exceeding $4 billion in economic terms and an incalculable loss of human life.

THE 1,000TH ANNIVERSARY OF POLAND'S CONVERSION TO CHRISTENDOM

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Fountain] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, as Poland and Polish people everywhere celebrate the 1,000th anniversary of their nation's conversion to Christendom, I join many of my colleagues in Congress in urging the adoption of the joint resolution introduced by the Honorable Clement J. Zablocki—House Joint Resolution 1058—and others. This resolution authorizes and requests the President to issue a proclamation commemorating the occasion of the millennium of the origin of Polish Christianity.

The history of Poland is the history of a Christian nation. Under the most difficult conditions, despite the yoke of atheistic communism, the Poles have always carried to the heights their faith and loyalty to Christ. Through the religious and civic observances of this anniversary Christians everywhere and Poles in particular will become more aware of the value of their Christian heritage. All the reported efforts of Poland's Communist regime to obstruct the observances and discredit the church serve only to strengthen Catholics of all ranks.

The Poles are much respected and admired by the world for their devotion and perseverance. The celebrating of Poland's millennium should help to produce a religious awakening everywhere. Not only the Poles living within the borders of Poland but all Poles and other believers in every part of the world will, I hope, join together in this manifestation of their Christian beliefs.

PUBLISHER SAMUEL I. NEWHOUSE CITED FOR $15 MILLION GIFT TO ESTABLISH COMMUNICATIONS CENTER

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BOLAND] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECROD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, Publisher and Mrs. Samuel I. Newhouse of New York City were honored recently by "Who's Who in America" for having made the "most outstanding" gift to an educational institution by giving $15 million to Syracuse University for the Newhouse Communications Center.

The citation for Mr. and Mrs. Newhouse, whose gift was made through the Newhouse Foundation, said in part:

> Mr. Newhouse * * * has sensed the need for a new generation of communication specialists which the new center can attract and train. Significant efforts to give professional identity to the study of all forms of public communications, and more importantly, to relate each media to each other, is his "grand design." Undoubtedly the years of personal struggle in each fledgling enterprise on the part of the donor gave him keen personal insight into the problems of searching for talent.

Mr. Speaker, Publisher Newhouse is to be commended for giving this generous financial donation to Syracuse University for the establishment of this very worthwhile communications center. I am sure that the scholars and news media personnel who labor there in research and study will make useful and meaningful contributions to the communications industry in the future. I ask that a newspaper story taken from the Springfield Sunday Republican of April 10 detailing the Newhouse gift be printed at this point with my remarks:

MR. AND MRS. S. I. NEWHOUSE CITED FOR EDUCATION AID—HONORED FOR MOST OUTSTANDING GIFT, $15 MILLION SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY COMMUNICATIONS CENTER

SYRACUSE, N.Y.—Mr. and Mrs. Samuel I. Newhouse, of New York, have been honored by Who's Who in America for having made the "most outstanding" gift to an educational institution when they gave $15 million to Syracuse University for the Newhouse Communications Center.

PURPOSE OF CITATIONS

Jackson Martindell, chairman of Marquis-Who's Who, Inc., said the purpose of the Who's Who citations is to encourage educational philanthropy in all its ramifications, as well as to honor the individual donors.

Mr. and Mrs. Newhouse were honored in recognition of their "substantial gifts to education in America, specifically to Syracuse University," Mr. Martindell said in a letter to Chancellor William P. Tolley.

A copy of the citation is printed in the citation section of the just-published 34th biennial edition of "Who's Who in America."

It is one of two such citations. The other went posthumously to Miss Ethelyn McKinney of Greenwich, Conn., who left the income from a $4 million charitable trust to help endow the Oakwood School, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

THE CITATION

The citation for Mr. and Mrs. Newhouse, whose gift was made through the Newhouse Foundation, said in part:

"Mr. Newhouse has sensed the need for a new generation of communication specialists which the new center can attract and train. Significant efforts to give professional identity to the study of all forms of public communications, and more importantly, to relate each media to each other is his 'grand design.' Undoubtedly the years of personal struggle in each fledgling enterprise on the part of the donor gave him keen personal insight into the problems of searching for talent."

HAS HONORARY DEGREE

The citation noted that Newhouse's two sons attended Syracuse University and that he is a member of its board of trustees. The university awarded him an honorary doctor of laws degree in 1955.

Mr. Newhouse is the head of a nationwide newspaper organization, which includes the Springfield newspapers.

RUMANIAN NATIONAL HOLIDAY

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, it is symbolic of the plight of the Rumanian people that for the past two decades their most important national holiday has been treated as a public secret. The Communist regime, imposed by the Soviet Union after World War II, has sought to erase from consciousness the May 10 commemoration of the original independence of the Rumanian nation. In its place, the Communist government has sought to impose observation of May 9 as the anniversary of the victory of Soviet over Nazi German forces.

Although May 10 cannot be celebrated on their streets, it is observed in the hearts of Rumanians. It commemorates three great events: In 1866, acquisition of the right of the people to elect as their sovereign a member of a Western royal family; in 1877, proclamation by Rumania of total independence from its former Turkish rulers; and in 1888, the crowning of Charles I as the first king of Rumania.

In the years between 1877 and the close of World War II, Rumania experienced its only period of true independence. Today, the 20 million citizens of this nation rich in economic and cultural resources are engaged again in a struggle to achieve a position from which they can go their own way in the world, free of the domination of a large and powerful neighbor. It is appropriate that we in the United States take note of the true meaning of the traditional May 10 Rumanian holiday and express hope that the undiminished striving of the people of Rumania for freedom and self-determination will reach fruition.

AWARD OF THE 1965 FREEDOMS FOUNDATION LEADERSHIP MEDAL TO DR. JAMES W. TURPIN, FOUNDER OF PROJECT CONCERN

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the words "courageous" and "compassionate" have rarely found a setting more appropriate than the inscription on the Freedom Leadership Medal awarded Dr. James W. Turpin this year by the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge.

Dr. James Turpin conceived and brought into reality Project Concern, a voluntary program through which citizens of Hong Kong and of South Vietnam are receiving direct medical treatment and services. It takes compassion to conceive that kind of program; it takes courage to make it work.

The distinguished national awards jury cited Dr. Turpin—

> For his courageous and compassionate answer to the challenges of the times through Project Concern, a voluntary medical mission to the peoples of Vietnam; for his indefatigable personal efforts in creating hospitals, clinics, and intensive self-help medical training programs in the jungles and villages; and his resourcefulness in the face of Communist aggression.

I am proud to serve, along with my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from California, the Honorable BOB WILSON, on the board of directors of Project Concern.

Dr. Turpin joined a distinguished company at the Freedoms Foundation award ceremony this year. The group honored included A. Brunton, Jr., chief executive of Boys Scouts of America; Capt. Roger Donlon, winner of the Congressional Medal of Honor in Vietnam; Matti Coney of my home State, who set up a citizens forum in Indianapolis; Marie Davis Hunt, who helped establish the Isaac Davis Trail as a national memorial; and Marine Maj. Gen. H. Nickerson, Jr., who initiated a citizenship program at Camp Lejeune.

The foundation gave its George Washington Award this year to the Department of Defense and our military services. It dedicated its Free Enterprise Exemplar Medal to the late Alfred Sloan, Jr., former chief executive of General Motors. And it honored Mail Call Vietnam and that project's initiators, Dr. and Mrs. Richard Ornsteen.

These are outstanding individuals and organizations. They deserve tribute from the Congress and the American people.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD the text of Dr. Turpin's acceptance speech delivered at the Freedom Awards presentation luncheon at Valley Forge, Pa., on February 22, 1966:

DR. TURPIN ACCEPTS FREEDOM LEADERSHIP MEDAL

I know some people who do not want to be free. They have been free in the past—free to be sick, hungry, and illiterate. Millions today see freedom as nothing more than this for themselves and their children. If our Western brand of exported freedom is empty bellied and worm infested, these same millions will turn to godless materialism's medicine and food—even if it takes away personal liberties and individual rights. Liberties and right? Explain the practical value of these to the free, starving, and tuberculosis-rotted Montagnard chief in Vietnam who last week asked me for medicine—to die.

And we need these people as much as they need us. Our country's eager initiative is being sapped by an insidious moral isolationism. This uninvolvement has ruined other great societies in the past who have accepted freedom from as the ultimate, and neglected the vigor, excitement, and national fulfillment of freedom to, freedom to be deeply and intimately involved in all mankind; freedom to move out into life as it really is; freedom to discover the wonder of love expressed in practical terms.

Project Concern is in Hong Kong and South Vietnam today with a dynamic and imaginative program because we insist on associating freedom with enough—enough medicine, food, schools—and, loving concern. And it is working.

We can win the war in Vietnam—and lose the people. A military victory is preparation only for the basic task of helping an industrious and valiant people build a properly free and democratic nation along lines of their own choosing. Free of any specific religious or political associations, and working independently of government financial subsidy, Project Concern is teaching rual Vietnamese and Montagnards that individual personality is invaluable, to cherish their personal identity, and to become proudly self-sufficient. The message is getting through. They are learning to care for their own.

I accept this award for the over one hundred doctors, nurses, technicians, and village medical officers who are involved, for my wife who showed me love and patiently waited until I began to understand, and for those who have accepted our concern, and who dragged us kicking and squealing into life as it is, into a realization that any man's death diminishes me for I am involved in mankind—all mankind.

ADDRESS BY MR. SHERWIN MARKHAM

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HANSEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to hear a speech delivered by Mr. Sherwin Markman, of the White House staff, to the annual Iowa Chamber of Commerce dinner on Sunday evening, May 1.

Mr. Markman, among other points, gave a clear-cut outline of the President's blueprint for economic progress. In doing so, he cited some hard statistical facts regarding the comparative price level situation during the period November 1956 to January 1961 as compared to January 1961 to April 1966.

In view of all the allegations regarding unbridled inflation and fiscal mismanagement with which the administration is being charged, I feel it would be helpful for my colleagues to carefully study the outline of facts which Mr. Markman has so ably supplied. I respectfully present the full text of Mr. Markman's remarks:

SPEECH BY SHERWIN J. MARKMAN, IOWA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DINNER, WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 1, 1966

It has been about a year since I received that call from the White House asking me to leave friends, home and law practice to sign up as a member of the Great Society. I was offered the opportunity to leave the city where Marilyn and I and our children were born and where I had happily practiced law for 13 years, to come to Washington, and all of this at a 50-percent cut in means. So with such incentives who could refuse?

None of this would have come about but for my involvement with the Greater Des Moines Chamber of Commerce.

There is a small memento in my office at the White House. It is a certificate of recognition signed by Jack Wesenberg. It was given to me following my service as civic affairs chairman of the chamber, and it vividly brings to mind the events of the summer of 1963. At that time I was wholly engrossed in my profession and I had not had anything to do with politics for almost 3 years. I was, so I thought, safely on the wagon, and the law was my only mistress.

Then one hot July evening as my family and I were making final plans to leave on vacation I received a call from Chuck Iles, who was then mayor of Des Moines. He told me of an upcoming political struggle over Des Moines' form of government and that the leadership of the city wanted me to head the campaign. Establishing a pattern which repeated itself in 1965, I capitulated, and, leaving family, vacation, and job in the lurch, I reentered the world of public affairs. It was a 6-week campaign, and my close work with Jack Wesenberg, Frank DePudyt, Cal Aurand, Ken McDonald, Ray Murphy, and all the other fine leaders of the Des Moines Chamber of Commerce, was an experience I shall forever treasure.

I returned to full-time law practice, but I was marked, and in short order Harold Hughes had me working for him in his 1964 campaign, and now I am here as a part of the personal staff of the President. All of this because I allowed myself to be persuaded by the likes of Jack Wesenberg.

The world of the White House is indeed unique. It is a hard-driving world full of night work and 6-day weeks. It is a world where anything can happen; any problem, any tragedy, any triumph; where you can see TV stars and Prime Ministers on any day; where the pressure is constant and intense; and where the possibilities of contribution and achievement are so real that even the most hardened are sustained and invigorated. In short, it is a world of which I am honored to be a part.

Allow me to say a word about the man for whom I work. You have heard much about his style, his energy, his desire for accomplishment. I would only add that the more you see of the President, and the closer to him and his work you get, the more you admire and appreciate the truly superb qualities he possesses.

Let me cite just one example. Several weeks ago the Vice President returned from a trip to Vietnam and the Far East. A congressional briefing was held in the historic East Room of the White House. Present at the briefing were Members of Congress—friend and foe alike—as much of the top structure of the administration: the President, the Vice President, Mr. Rusk, Mr. McNamara, Secretary Freeman, Secretary Gardner, Mr. Bundy, Mr. Ball, General Wheeler, Admiral Raborn, and many others. This truly was a gathering of auspicious and powerful men. The meeting was off the record and following the Vice President's presentation, there occurred a free-flowing question and answer period. It was at this point that the President took over. Speaking completely extemporaneously, and obviously talking from deep conviction and knowledge, the President literally held the group spellbound for almost 30 minutes. And when he finished they stood and cheered. It was the most moving and persuasive presentation of why we are in Vietnam that I have ever heard. If the hallmark of a great President is the ability to lead men, then this President has earned his spurs.

This gathering of Congressmen illustrates a guiding principle of government religiously practiced by President Johnson. It was the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg who first said: "If you want us in on the crash landings, we had better be in on the takeoffs." He was referring to the then prevalent practice of informing the Congress of policies after the deed was done and not consulting in advance of the initial decisions. Under a strict reading of the Constitution the executive branch of Government is wholly separate from the Congress, and should merely administer the laws Congress passes.

In foreign affairs the President has few constitutional duties to consult with the Congress, and then mostly with the Senate on such things as appointments and treaties. In former times this strict division was followed, and too often the results were tragic. Wilson's classic failure with the League of Nations is directly traceable to his unwillingness to fully consult with Congress before the event rather than after the decisions were made.

Today the rule is complete consultation in advance. The White House is in constant communication with the Congress on the full spectrum of issues. From Vietnam to traffic safety to civil rights to executive branch reorganizations there is a continuing dialog between the administration and the key personages on the Hill; and of both political parties. A great deal has been written concerning the success the President has had with the Congress. The secret of this success is really simple. It is a success based upon a true respect by the President for the legislative branch and its members. He knows them and has a finely honed appreciation of their ability to contribute to the affairs of the Nation. So he consults with them, and listens to them, and the result of such reasoning together is the consensus of national opinion from which meaningful action results. This is how it should be; our democracy works all the better because of it.

What are some of the issues which we are actively discussing with the Congress at this moment?

Of course, there is Vietnam, and of this I am sure you have heard a great deal. We fight there, as you know, because the ultimate security of the United States rests on the principle that no aggressor can be permitted to believe that he can work his will by force of arms. Those who would follow the militant Chinese doctrine must learn that they cannot subvert the free and independent world by so-called wars of national liberation. If there were to be a Far East Munich, then the danger of world war III would be markedly increased.

Thus we struggle to prevent aggression and to create a world where peace and survival are possible.

We also discuss the threat of inflation. As to this issue we try to communicate the hard facts. We are sensitive both to the danger of inflation and the danger that irresponsible talk—made only for the purpose of some short-term political advantage—might serve to create the very situation the speaker ostensibly abhors. So we cite hard facts. Thus, if the 62-month period since January 1961 is compared to the previous 62-month period, this is what we see:

In the present period the consumer price index rose 7.9 points; in the previous period it rose 10.8 points.

In the present period the wholesale price index rose 4.4 points; in the previous period it rose 7.9 points.

In the present period net income per farm rose 45.2 percent; in the previous period it rose only 35.4 percent.

In the present period corporate profits after taxes rose 88.1 percent; in the previous period it declined 10.3 percent.

The President's blueprint for economic progress is based upon close government—business cooperation, continued overall price stability, a resolute defense of the dollar abroad, and an attack on unemployment and poverty. He has created a climate conducive to prosperity by:

1. Enacting a tax system that does not overburden businessmen or consumers—and maintains the incentives for productive effort.

2. Developing expenditure programs that promote the best use of human and natural resources.

3. Keeping a clear field for private initiative in the wide range of activities where competitive enterprise is the most efficient way of getting things done.

4. Pursuing an overall budget policy that promotes balance between purchasing power and productive capacity.

5. Remaining alert and willing to act promptly and decisively when the Nation is threatened by either recession or inflation.

These are the facts and the policies which demonstrate what is obvious: that we are now in the 62d month of unparalleled prosperity. We have pursued an economic program which has gained millions of jobs, reduced unemployment, and has allowed us for the first time to wage a massive war on poverty.

This is another issue which we continually discuss with the Congress. The problem of poverty in the United States is, like foreign aid, a problem which involves our humanity as well as our enlightened self-interest. In world affairs it is our certain belief that great poverty in Asia, Africa, and Latin America can only lead to ferment, rebellion, war, and fertile soil for Communist expansion—all to the ultimate danger of the United States. In our own country this truth takes on a different form, but the essence remains: If great poverty, particularly when mixed with racial injustice, is permitted to continue by an uncaring majority then ferment and violence will be the result. So the war on poverty is waged by a people who care and who mean to create conditions of education, job opportunities, health, and living conditions, where it is possible for all Americans to fully share in American abundance. This is a crash program, for time is running out and it is far too long past due. Some say that we have made mistakes, that there have been missteps. But we cannot afford the luxury of slowgoing and extreme caution, and our long overdue failure to act has created the unavoidable necessities with which we are faced today. We have the finest administrator we could find and he has surrounded himself with men of great talent. In their tasks—which bespeak the conscience of us all—we can and will give them full support. We shall learn from our mistakes, and we shall relentlessly push forward in this great endeavor.

I have spoken of some of the issues with which we are in continuing consultation with the Congress. These are but a small part of the vast panorama of problems to be faced and decisions to be made. The moment never comes when things are neatly "squared away," all problems solved, and the world and the Nation in complete harmony. So, where I work the job is never done; there are always crises at hand and crises waiting to be born. In never-ending movement, they come to the President and, always and ultimately, the President must decide.

In our system, the President returns to the people every 4 years, and the people then tell him—and his party—what they think of the decisions he has made in the past 48 months. In the meantime, the incumbent in this greatest and most difficult decision-making job in history must fall back on the philosophy which was, perhaps, stated best by Abraham Lincoln:

"If I were to read, much less answer all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business. I do the very best I know how—the very best I can; and I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, 10 angels swearing I was right would make no difference."

Thank you very much.

HIGHER EDUCATION ACT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. FRASER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the growing number of Senators and Congressmen who are actively participating in the drive for legislation to bring public higher education to the District of Columbia.

This idea has received careful study. A subcommittee of the District of Columbia Committee in the other body concluded hearings last month on this much-needed legislation. The testimony was overwhelmingly in favor of both a community college and a 4-year college. The testimony came from diverse sources—from a representative of the administration and from District of Columbia schoolchildren who cannot afford to go to a private college. The testimony came from distinguished educators, business and political leaders, and concerned citizens, and covered the whole spectrum of reasons why the District needs public higher education.

The recent history of the effort to create public colleges in the District of Columbia started on September 23, 1963, when the late President John F. Kennedy appointed a committee of the Nation's most distinguished educators to look into the question, "Should the District of Columbia have publicly supported institutions of higher learning beyond the secondary school level, and if so, what type or types?"

The President's Committee brought in its report to President Johnson in June 1964. They found an urgent need for two new institutions to serve the 815,000 citizens residing in the District: First, a District of Columbia College of Liberal Arts and Sciences to absorb and extend the courses offered by the existing District of Columbia Teachers College; and, second, a new 2-year community or junior college which would offer a variety of courses of technical education or skilled training, as well as academic courses for those young people who would later transfer to a 4-year institution of higher learning.

Mr. Speaker, each Member of Congress can point in his own State to fine public institutions for post-high school training. Only the young people of the District of Columbia are deprived of this opportunity. This should be an embarrassment to the Members of Congress, for we are responsible for the government of the District of Columbia.

My State of Minnesota long ago took steps to provide publicly supported higher education for its citizens. The University of Minnesota was created in 1851 and now has four campuses. In addition, Minnesota has 5 State colleges, 14 junior colleges, and 19 vocational-technical schools offering post-high school education and training. With these institutions Minnesota, with a population of 3,400,000, provides publicly supported higher education for more than 60,000 Minnesota students.

There are 11 States which have a smaller population than the District of Columbia. Not one of these States fails to provide post-high school training for its citizens, and I am advised that almost all of our territories make similar provisions, including even the Virgin Islands and the island of Guam.

In other words, Mr. Speaker, the District of Columbia is the only sizable political entity under the American flag that does not offer general post-high school education in public institutions.

This means that the District of Columbia does not provide the education and training needed for the jobs which are available in the District. The District of Columbia has, except for Nevada, the highest income per capita in the entire country—U.S. Department of Commerce. It is recognized that there are important parts of the population who do not share in this high income level. One reason that the income level is high is that the District of Columbia offers employment mainly to trained specialists both in Government and in private industry. The District is not a good place for the unskilled and the untrained to find employment.

The District of Columbia imports its skilled labor from the other States. This has been found to be true on every level of training from the Ph. D. atomic scientist down to occupations such as dental hygienist and electronic technician.

Meanwhile, the persons who are living in the District of Columbia are denied the opportunities for instruction and training. The statistics—U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Governmental Finances in 1963–64"—show that the District of Columbia spends by far the lowest amount per capita in the country on higher education. The latest figure is $2.26 per capita, contrasted with $19.40 in Virginia, $21.23 in Maryland, and a national average of $28.87. It is the unfortunate fact that for those who cannot afford to go to one of the private institutions in the District after high school—or who do not qualify for their admission standards—there is no further training available at public expense except for the young people who want to become school teachers. The latter are trained in two dilapidated and partially condemned buildings set 1 mile apart from each other.

I draw attention to some other significant figures from the Bureau of the Census report, released June 10, 1965, "Governmental Finances in 1963–64." These figures further document the shortage of higher education in the District.

Table 19 of that report shows that in 1963–64, the District of Columbia spent nothing for capital outlay on institutions of higher education. Other States: Virginia, $20.1 million; Maryland, $16.5 million; seven States over $50 million; lowest expenditure next to the District of Columbia—Wyoming—$1.9 million. Every year we in the States improve our public colleges and universities. The District has nothing but an obsolete plant for District of Columbia Teachers College that is a candidate for slum clearance rather than capital improvement.

Under the legislation I propose, a wide choice of education and training for District of Columbia young people will be substituted for the existing desert of opportunity. The community college to be established under my bill will offer training for a variety of occupations—electronic technician, computer technician, dental and medical assistant, and the like. The community college will also furnish academic courses leading to transfer credits for those who, for one reason or another, are not ready for the high standard college of liberal arts and sciences. Excellent performance in the community college by "late bloomers" and others will lead many students into the full academic curriculum provided by the 4-year college.

The 4-year college will provide courses in the liberal arts and sciences. The President's Committee recommended that the college should concentrate its attention at the outset on offering a strong core of studies in the sciences, social studies, humanities, graphic and performing arts, and education. The college will be authorized to grant bachelor's and master's degrees.

Both the 4-year college and the community college will offer courses on an individual, noncredit basis for those desiring to further their education without seeking a degree.

Mr. Speaker, President Johnson has referred to this 89th Congress as the "education Congress." In general, this title is justified by significant legislation such as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Higher Education Act of 1965, the implementation of the war on poverty, and other legislation which strengthens nationwide opportunity. It would be very unfair of us to provide new educational opportunity to the students of our own States while continuing to deny District of Columbia citizens the right to have publicly supported higher education facilities.

The key to all District of Columbia improvement is improved educational opportunity. Today a high school education is not enough preparation for life or for jobs in many instances. District of Columbia students must have opportunity for training in skills at every level sufficient to meet the technical and cultural needs of the current age. A vital step in providing this opportunity is supplied by the bills for public higher education, including the bill I now introduce, H.R. 14769, the text of which I include at this point:

H.R. 14769

A bill to establish a Board of Higher Education to plan, establish, organize, and operate a public community college and a public college of arts and sciences in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "District of Columbia Public Higher Education Act of 1965".

SEC. 2. As used in this Act—

(a) The term "Commissioners" means the Commissioners of the District of Columbia sitting as a board or their authorized agents.

(b) The terms "Board of Higher Education" and "Board" means the Board of Higher Education established by section 3 of this Act.

(c) The term "Board of Education" means the Board of Education of the District of Columbia established by the Act approved June 20, 1906 (34 Stat. 316), as amended (D.C. Code, 1961 edition, sec. 31–101 et seq.).

SEC. 3. (a) There is hereby established as an agency of the District of Columbia, a Board of Higher Education, hereafter referred to as the Board.

(b) The Board shall consist of not less than nine nor more than fifteen members, as the Commissioners shall from time to time determine, who may be employees of the United States or the District of Columbia. The Board shall be appointed by the Commissioners after consideration of nominees submitted in accordance with subsection (e), and a majority of whom shall have been for three years immediately preceding their appointment or designation bona fide residents of the District of Columbia. The Commissioners shall designate one of the members as Chairman.

(c) The terms of the members of the Board shall be of such uniform length as the Commissioners may determine, except that the terms of the initial members may be varied to provide such pattern of staggered terms as the Commissioners may determine. Any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of that term.

(d) The Commissioners shall have the power to remove any member of the Board at any time for adequate cause, which relates to his character or to his efficiency as a member, after notice and opportunity for hearing.

(e) The Commissioners shall establish a nominating committee, consisting of such number of members serving for such terms as the Commissioners shall from time to time determine, which shall submit for the Commissioners' consideration in making appointments under subsection (b) at least three nominees for each vacancy which may exist on the Board. A majority of the members of such committee shall have been for three years immediately preceding their appointment bona fide residents of the District of Columbia.

(f) The members of the Board shall serve without compensation, but may be reimbursed for their travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 73b–2) for persons serving the Government without compensation.

(g) The members of the Board shall not be personally liable in damages for any official action of the Board in which such members participate, nor shall they be liable for any costs that may be taxed against them or the Board on account of any such official action by them as members of the Board, but such costs shall be charged to the District of Columbia and paid as other costs are paid in suits against the municipality; nor shall the Board or any of its members be required to give any bond or security for costs or damages on any appeal whatever.

SEC. 4. The Board is hereby vested with the following powers and duties:

(a) To develop detailed plans for and to establish, organize, and operate in the District of Columbia—

(1) a public college which will provide a program in the liberal arts and sciences, including, but not limited to courses in teacher education, leading to a bachelor's degree, and such additional program of study as may lead to a master's degree, and courses on an individual, noncredit basis for those desiring to further their education without seeking a degree.

(2) a public community college which will provide programs generally extending not more than two years beyond the high school level including, but not limited to (a) programs leading to a degree of associate in the arts or for full credit toward a bachelor's degree, (b) programs designed to prepare students to work as technicians and at a semiprofessional level in engineering, scientific, health related, and other technological fields, and (c) programs designed for individuals desiring to further their education without seeking a degree.

(b) To establish policies, standards, and requirements governing admission, programs, graduation (including the award of degrees), and general administration of the colleges.

(c) To employ and compensate without regard to the Civil Service Act or the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, a president and other officers for each of the colleges established pursuant to this Act and such educational employees for such colleges as the presidents thereof may recommend in writing: *Provided,* That subject to the approval of the Commissioners, the compensation schedules for these officers and employees shall be fixed and adjusted from time to time consistent with the public interest and in accordance with rates for comparable types of position in like institutions of higher education. The Board, upon the recommendation of the presidents of the colleges, shall establish, with the approval of the Commissioners and without regard to the provisions of any other law, retirement and leave systems for such employees which shall be comparable to such systems in like institutions of higher education.

(d) To employ and compensate in accordance with the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, noneducational employees of the Board and of the colleges established pursuant to this Act.

(e) To establish and determine, from time to time, with the approval of the Commissioners—

(1) fees to be paid by students (including charges for room and board), and receipts from such fees shall be deposited into a revolving fund in a private depository in the District, which fund shall be available without fiscal year limitation for such purposes as the Board of Higher Education of the District shall approve, and the Board of Higher Education is authorized, with the approval of the Commissioners, to make necessary rules respecting deposits into and withdrawals from such fund; and

(2) tuition rates (a) for residents and (b) for nonresidents, and receipts from tuition shall be deposited to the credit of the General Fund of the District of Columbia.

(f) To transmit annually to the Commissioners estimates of the appropriation required for the colleges established pursuant to this Act for the ensuing year.

(g) Subject to the approval of the Commissioners, to accept services and moneys, including gifts or endowments, from any source whatsoever, for use in carrying out the purposes of the Act. Such moneys shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of a trust fund account which is hereby authorized and may be invested and reinvested as trust funds of the District of Columbia. The disbursement of the moneys from such trust funds shall be in such amounts, to such extent, and in such manner as the Board of Higher Education in its judgment, may determine necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(h) To submit to the Commissioners recommendations relating to legislation affecting the administration and programs of such colleges.

(i) To make such rules and regulations as may be necessary and to carry out such other activities as may be required to achieve the purposes of this Act.

(j) To assume control of the District of Columbia Teachers College established pursuant to the Act approved February 25, 1929 (45 Stat. 1276, D.C. Code, par. 31-118), from the Board of Education as such time as may be mutually agreed upon by such Boards and approved by the Commissioners. At such time personnel, property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds available or to be made available for such Teachers College are authorized to be transferred and be under the control of such Board of Higher Education: *Provided*, That the Laboratory Schools shall remain under the control and management, and the employees assigned to such schools shall remain subject to the supervision of, the Board of Education.

SEC. 5. The Commissioners and the Board of Education shall furnish to the Board, upon request of such Board, such space and facilities in private buildings or in public buildings of the government of the District of Columbia, records, information, services, personnel, offices, and equipment as may be available and which are necessary to enable the Board properly to perform its functions under this Act.

SEC. 6. All obligations and disbursements for the purpose of the Act shall be incurred, made, and accounted for in the same manner as other obligations and disbursements for the District of Columbia and, except as provided in section 4(g) of this Act, under the direction and control of the Commissioners.

SEC. 7. (a) Subchapter 1 of chapter 18 of the Act of March 3, 1901 (31 Stat. 1280), as amended (D.C. Code, secs. 29-401—29-419), relating to establishment of institutions of learning in the District of Columbia, is amended by striking out "Board of Education" wherever it appears in such subchapter and by inserting in lieu thereof "Board of Higher Education".

(b) Nothing contained in the amendment made by this section shall be construed as affecting the validity of any license issued by the Board of Education prior to the date of the enactment of this Act.

(c) The Act of July 2, 1940 (54 Stat. 729), relating to accreditation of junior colleges in the District of Columbia, is amended by striking out "Board of Education" wherever it appears in such Act and inserting in lieu thereof "Board of Higher Education."

SEC. 8. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated from the revenues of the District of Columbia such sums as are necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

THE DETERIORATION OF CASTRO

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, it is becoming increasingly apparent, as time passes, that the end of Castro's Cuba is in sight—perhaps not tomorrow, maybe not next year, but surely. Erosion is taking place both in the political and economic fields. U.S. policy of firmness, without impulsiveness, is paying off. The record will show that in the early days of the Castro regime, when many people were speaking of this new savior as a true nationalist whose only dream was to drive out the corrupt reactionaries who were preying on the people, I warned that international Communists were in full control in Cuba—that island located only 90 miles from our coast. In hearings in June 1960 before the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, Committee on Foreign Affairs, on the Communist threat in Latin America, I stressed "the necessity for the President, or the Congress, if that is possible, to mobilize the American people to face our difficulties realistically and to embark upon an affirmative course of action."

Since that time I have not deviated from the administration's policy, designed from the start to free the Cuban people from this Communist ogre. I think, I can say modestly, but proudly, that I even pounded a few nails in the coffin. In August 1961, I introduced an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, passed without objection on the floor of the House of Representatives, which authorized the President of the United States to establish and maintain a total embargo on all trade between the United States and Cuba. In August 1963 I introduced an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act which proscribed assistance to any country, ships of whose registry carry either Battle Act commodities or items of economic assistance to Cuba. This amendment has proved effective and the economic noose has been tightened. A subcommittee report, "Communism in Latin America," dated April 14, 1965, shows that whereas nearly 400 free world flag vessels visited Cuba in 1963 and 1964, during the first quarter of 1965 only 39 ships entered Cuban ports.

Mr. Speaker, we must continue our pressure, we must maintain vigilance—we are not yet out of the woods. But we are getting there.

STATE DEPARTMENT ENCOURAGES SABOTAGE

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to object to the proposed international air agreement which in my opinion, if agreed to, would encourage sabotage.

I wrote the Under Secretary of State, Thomas Mann, and urged him to reject an offer of international airlines to agree to an automatic liability of $75,000 for each person killed in an airplane crash.

Mr. Speaker, it is plain that such a liability would encourage possible sabotage. When our airlines are bombed, the person or persons who have planned and carried out the ghastly deed of bombing airlines are usually detected by the large amounts of air insurance they buy before a flight. The automatic liability provision would enable a bomber to assure his family of $75,000 without taking out additional insurance, and virtually making it impossible to determine who placed the bomb aboard the airplane.

My colleague, the gentleman from New York, Mr. LESTER WOLFF, has introduced a resolution—House Resolution 518—in connection with this agreement which he also opposes.

Mr. Speaker, I offer my letter for my colleagues' consideration:

MAY 2, 1966.

Hon. THOMAS C. MANN,
Under Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: You will please permit me to convey to you two observations relative to the matter of the liability of international air carriers to those injured or killed while passengers of such carriers. I think the action of the State Department in encouraging the denouncing of the Warsaw Convention and the action of the Senate in so doing are to be commended, for the maximum of $8,300 liability is totally unrealistic.

My first observation would be that there should be no legal limit upon the amount of liability of an international carrier in case it is negligent in the performance of its duties to the injury or death of a passenger.

And my second observation would be that there should not be absolute liability on the part of the carrier for injury or death to the passenger—this for the obvious reason that such liability would encourage the possibility of sabotage and for the reason that ordinarily carriers are not subject to absolute liability for the injury or death of their passengers. So far as I am aware that principle is generally reserved for workmen's compensation cases where risk of injury is a part of the cost of doing business and the business and the public should bear the burden of it.

However, if the nature of international travel is such that the difficulty of sustaining an action makes it necessary as a practical matter to correct a burden cast upon the person injured or his representative, then there might be accepted the principle of absolute liability for $75,000 or $100,000 on the part of the carrier. But there should be an expressed and well publicized exception that would prevent a saboteur from recovering for injuries he might sustain if he survived the sabotage he planned in international travel and would deny his representatives or beneficiaries any right of recovery in case of the death of the saboteur.

In general, I would prefer to see our Government take the position that there should be no limit other than the provable damages to the passenger of an international carrier and there should be no absolute liability on the carrier's part.

Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

CLAUDE PEPPER,

Member of Congress.

PENSION FOR THE WOMEN IN THE WOMEN'S AUXILIARY ARMY CORPS

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, it has always been a source of pride to me that I serve in this Congress among men who repeatedly demonstrate their dedication to the principles of fairness and equal opportunity. For us, however, this dedication is not an incidental virtue. It is a solemn responsibility—and a demanding one. It is not enough for us to be generally aware of the needs for the welfare of public. Like accountants we must itemize the assets and liabilities of our laws. We must know their effect on every segment of our population, whether that segment is large and wields a big stick, or small and politically unorganized. If we have made an error in our legislative assessments, we must not hesitate to correct it. We cannot afford, either by oversight or through neglect, to create an imbalance in the books of the general welfare which are in our charge.

The bill which I am introducing today is intended to correct just an imbalance which has been permitted to exist for some time. We have been, on the whole, extremely perceptive in our understanding of the problems of veterans in our society, and legislation for this group covers a wide range of benefits. And yet we have allowed certain provisions to stay on the books which, in effect, cause discrimination in the application of these benefits.

Many of you will recall that in 1942 Congress created the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, an organization of dedicated women who amply demonstrated their worth to this country. In September 1943 the Auxiliary Corps was in fact promoted to complete military status as a new organization, the Women's Army Corps. Former members of the latter corps are, of course, covered by our veterans laws. This is not true of the former members of the Auxiliary Corps, however. Under section 106(a) of title 38, United States Code, women who serve in the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps during its 17-month existence in 1942 and 1943 are eligible for benefits only if they served a minimum of 90 days and were discharged for a service-connected disability.

When this measure was approved in 1954 the idea was to provide benefits for those women who, because of a service-incurred disability, did not have the opportunity to serve in the Women's Army Corps. In practice, however, this law has discriminated against those women who served in the Auxiliary Corps without suffering any disability. Moreover, the provision excludes cases where someone might have suffered disability and been discharged before the base 90-day period was over.

Congress has, in fact, through other enactments, already recognized service in the Women's Auxiliary Corps as a basis for granting medical, hospital, and burial benefits. Former members of this Corps can also obtain other benefits if they meet special requirements. The significant effect of section 106(a) is therefore to withhold pensions from veterans of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps by means of an eligibility restriction wholly inconsistent with the pattern established through other veterans legislation. By introducing legislation to amend section 106(a) I hope to correct this situation. To extend eligibility without the illogical restriction requiring service-connected disability is the only equitable course of action.

I am a stanch supporter of women's rights, and of veterans' rights as well. I am not alone in this, I know. My colleagues in this House are strong supporters of GI rights, and the best evidence of this is the recent Veterans' Readjustment Benefits Act. No other group elicits such unrestrained praise from the Members of Congress as the veterans, and rightly so. I certainly wish to be included with my colleagues as a champion of fair treatment for these men and women who have done so much for this country at so great a cost to themselves. I, too, worked to obtain benefits for cold war veterans both here and, when I was a Senator, in the other House. I am no less pleased than the rest of my colleagues that in this matter we have finally triumphed.

At the same time, we must not lull ourselves into the belief that this act, monumental though it is, is any sort of panacea in the matters of veterans' affairs. Indeed, its enactment more clearly frees our minds for the less extensive but also important legislative projects such as the one I am proposing in my bill. Just as we have lauded the devotion and the willingness of our ex-servicemen to make sacrifices, it is now high time that we consider the women who were no less enthusiastic in their response to the urgent wartime needs of this Nation. These carefully selected and trained young women who, uninfluenced by any draft law, joined the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, entered a world in which they were faced with hardships of war not traditionally encountered by women. They served overseas in various capacities—as clerks, librarians, linguists, operators, and even truckdrivers. Although their numbers were comparatively small, held within the 150,000 maximum, the contribution of these women of the Auxiliary Corps was nonetheless very substantial. The value of trained and enthusiastic women to the U.S. Army, which they first demonstrated, was recognized by the creation of the regular WAC in 1943 and its establishment as a permanent organization in 1948.

Today we ought not to hesitate to grant the former members of the WAAC the full recognition that they merit, by regarding their service as a proper basis for eligibility for all laws administered by the Veterans' Administration. This extension of a policy already begun in piecemeal fashion was in fact proposed during the 86th Congress in the previous Republican administration. Action was urged then by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, who pointed out that neither the overall effect nor the overall cost of this measure would be extensive. No followup on the bill was taken, however, and the inequity of section 106 was allowed to continue. We must not neglect our responsibility again in this matter. There can be, in my opinion, no rational defense of the present restriction nor any cogent argument against amending section 106(a). I therefore urge my colleagues to see this measure, H.R. 14774, through to its enactment.

THE POLISH MILLENNIUM

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Delaware [Mr. McDOWELL], is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, the year 966 is the most significant date in the history of Poland; for it was in 966 that the Polish monarch Mieszko I adopted Christianity for himself and for his kingdom.

The conversion of Mieszko I to Christianity was a political and religious act that fundamentally influenced the future course of Poland's historical development. In reality what it did was to aline Poland with Western Christendom, aline her politically, spiritually, and culturally with the West. And the story of Polish history in the subsequent centuries has been one of reaffirmation of that act of union a thousand years ago.

Since the end of World War II, we have all witnessed the severance of that unity with the West. This did not come about as a matter of choice for the people of Poland; it was a determined policy of their Communist conquerors. They sought to isolate Poland and her East European neighbors from the West, fearful that the contagion of freedom might infect the oppressive atmosphere of the newly established so-called People's Democracies.

But the Poles did not acquiesce docilely in this forced isolation from their natural unity with the West, and one of the great Polish leaders who has sought to frustrate this Communist purpose has been Cardinal Wyszynski. It was to be expected, therefore, that the commemoration of the Polish millennium would be an occasion for another confrontation of the forces of freedom and tyranny in Poland. From the beginning of preparations for the celebration the Gomulka regime employed every conceivable device to harass and embarrass the cardinal and the Polish Roman Catholic Church, and in every way to discredit the religion of Poland's overwhelming Catholic population. In what the press termed a "stinging" attack on the Cardinal to an enormous crowd in and around Poznan's central square, Gomulka said only a few days ago: "This archshepherd of shepherds who fights against People's Poland dares to say that he would not bow to the vital interests of the state. A part of the hierarchy seeks to oppose the church to the state," he said, his voice bitter and hard. "It intends to play a political role." Gomulka castigated the Polish bishops for having invited the German bishops to the climax of religious celebrations in Czestochowa marking 1,000 years of Polish Christianity on May 3. They were the "same persons," Gomulka said, "who in 1939 sounded the victory bells over Poland."

But Cardinal Wyszynski in a sermon at the cathedral in Poznan responded directly to bitter attacks on him by the Communist press. He rejected the Communist accusation that he had not recognized the separation of church and state. "The church has a legitimate concern with the economic, social, and political life of the nation," the cardinal declared. "The church has a mandate to talk about those problems," he continued. "It got that mandate from the Ecumenical Council." At the close of this very moving sermon defending Polish freedom the cardinal was applauded enthusiastically, and the cathedral bells tolled in joyous celebration. On another occasion only a few days before the Poznan celebration the cardinal reaffirmed his position in these words:

> The church has never mobilized anyone against the state and against those who govern it. Therefore, they need not be afraid of the church. We Catholics hold out our hands and say to you: Peace in national life.

The burdens imposed by communism upon Poland's Catholic people have been enormous. But the celebrations of the millennium have demonstrated once again the determination of these heroic and genuinely courageous people to reassert their priceless Christian heritage. Nearly two decades of Communist tyranny have failed to destroy Poland's religious commitment to God. And while the Iron Curtain may create a political fissure between the East and West, severing Poland from her natural Western attachment, it cannot destroy the spiritual connection that was forged a thousand years ago. On this occasion we can all associate ourselves with the counsel of Cardinal Wyszynski who said a few weeks ago when told of the newly imposed restrictions on foreign visitors to Poland for the celebration:

> We know that wherever Polish hearts beat, the millennium is celebrated.

I include, as part of my remarks, a letter from the Honorable John E. Babiarz, honorary chairman of the Delaware Millennium Committee, and mayor of Wilmington, Del., together with an excerpt from the publication, Poland's Millennium—1,000 Years of Christianity, which has been supplied to all Delaware clergymen by the Delaware Millennium Committee.

DELAWARE MILLENNIUM COMMITTEE,
Wilmington, Del., April 1, 1966.

Hon. HARRIS B. MCDOWELL,
U.S. Congress,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MCDOWELL: We have been fortunate in obtaining copies of Poland's Millennium/1,000 Years of Christianity, published by the Orchard Lake schools—SS. Cyril and Methodius Seminary, St. Mary's College, and St. Mary's Preparatory of Orchard Lake, Mich. This publication presents briefly the meaning of Christianity to Poland and to the Pole himself.

Our local commemoration will begin on Sunday, May 1, 1966, with a religious observance in all of our churches. Copies of this booklet are being supplied to all of the members of the clergy to help them in their preparations.

The Wilmington Institute Free Library will feature an exhibition on the Polish millennium from May 2 to May 14 in the lecture hall.

Sincerely,

JOHN E. BABIARZ,
Honorary Chairman.

(Excerpts from "Polland's Millennium/1,000 Years of Christianity," published by the Orchard Lake Schools—SS. Cyril and Methodius Seminary, St. Mary's College, and St. Mary's Preparatory—of Orchard Lake, Mich.)

In 1797, within 2 years after Poland had ceased to exist as an individual power among the European nations, the Polish national anthem was written. Its exaltation does not lie in florid words nor is it marred by cries of despair or empty threats, but its worth is rather in its sincere patriotic dignity and simple spiritual conviction: "As long as there remains a single Pole alive to sustain its meaning in his heart, Poland cannot die."

"POLAND IS NOT YET LOST

"While we live she is existing,
Poland is not fallen;
We will win with swords resisting,
What the foe has stolen.

"We'll cross where Warta's surging
Gloomily its waters,
With each blade from sheath emerging
Poland's foes to slaughter.

"Hence unto the field of glory,
Where the life blood's streaming;
Where with talons red and gory,
Poland's eagle's screaming.

"Poland; shall the foe enslave thee
Sadly and forever;
And we hesitate to save thee?
Never, Poland, never.

(Chorus)

"March, march, Dabrowski,
From Italy's plain;
Our brethren shall meet us
In Poland again."

In these words of the Polish national anthem are found a true expression of past feelings and a true source of future feelings, which feelings have fostered a growth from generation to generation to the extent that the anthem has become a "categorically imperative article of national faith"—that secret spirit of vitality of Poland's national life. Around the core of intense patriotism are grouped other characteristics of the Pole's national ideal: his individualism and idealism, his chivalry and romantic temperament, his fondness for the out-of-doors, and rural life, his hospitality, his tolerance toward his neighbors, and his unfailing belief in the democratic government.

Notably linked to his patriotic spirit and very worthy of special mention is the Pole's pride in his ancient cultural heritage which, while sharing much with the general tradition of the West, is strongly imbued with national feeling and possesses a marked religious character.

Historically it was the landed gentry who undertook formal artistic and intellectual activity, while the peasants preserved their sense of "Polishness" by clinging to their native tongue, their Catholic faith, and traditional folkways. However, by the turn of the 19th century, the spirit and message of the upperclass began to find its way into the heart of the rising middle class and had reached into all groups of the population.

The foundations of cultural life were laid by Kazimierz Wielki, who truly found Poland in wood and left it walled. In 1364 the University of Krakow was founded and by the end of the 15th century it was held in high repute as a school of both astronomical and humanistic achievement. The Polish astronomer, Kopernik, entered the university in 1491. Two other outstanding figures of that century were Jan Dlugosz (1415–80), Poland's first real historian, and Wit Stwosz, whose wood carvings, chiefly the altar piece in St. Mary's Church, Krakow, are some of the most notable in Europe.

Tidal waves of discovery, invention, and interest in learning brought new levels of civilization to the Western world during the late 15th century. They reached inland and brought about the golden age of Poland's cultural life, affecting architecture, art, literature, education, manners, and every phase of life. The age established for all time the type and tradition of intellectual life in Poland. The two currents of humanism, the Italian Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation, were the agencies which produced the golden age and were the establishing point of influence for all future cultural development.

In 1580 King Stefan Batory founded the University of Wilno and in 1594 Jan Zamoyski established his famous academy at Zamosc. The flow of students abroad was increasing to a point of about 150 a year and these especially went to Padua and Bologna. The first Polish printing press was set up in Krakow in 1474 and this naturally spread wings into the field of new learning.

Libraries and public museums began to grow, laying the foundations for great Polish libraries of later days—the Krakow University library, the Zaluski, the Zamoyski, and others. Such a change of life naturally brought on new problems—religious, political, literary, artistic, and social. These in return stimulated responses from such men as Zamoyski, a scholar, soldier, statesman, true Christian, and one of the foremost men of this epoch, and Piotr Skarga, a great priest, reformer, and court preacher. Poland, though five centuries old, was like a youth arrived at manhood.

International acquaintances grew and attitudes were formed. While French and Italian influences were ascending in Poland, the Hapsburg regime was disliked because of its love of money, absolutism, and intolerance; the Germans because of their coarseness; and the Muscovites for their crude moral character. Indeed Poland can therefore be judged by those nations with which she had primary associations.

In the first half of the 16th century, Latin was the medium of writing and conversation—this to the extent that it was said that there were more Latinists in Poland than in Italy.

Standard literary Polish had its beginnings in the speech of the Polish upper classes in the middle and latter decades of the 16th century. It was during the Reformation period that both Protestants and Catholics sought to reach the people by producing religious works in the native tongue. Simultaneously, there was also a flowering of secular literature in Polish. Mikolaj Rej is credited as being the Father of the Polish language and Jan Kochanowski is known as the Father of Polish literature.

Thus was the 16th century the century of centuries, the period which established the nature, direction, and the intensity of Polish culture. It was not until 1764 that anything notable was added to this side of Polish life. In that year Stanislaw August Poniatowski ascended the throne and started his 31 years of reign. Indeed, this period was dark on the political side, but considering the cultural aspect, it was one of great advancement. Most notable elements were: the achievements of the Educational Commission appointed in 1773 as the First Ministry of Education in Europe: the educational and other reforms of Stanislaw Konarski, one of which was the development of the "Collegium Nobilium": the Constitution of May 3, 1791. At this time also the first Polish national theater came into existence, 1765: historical writing and poetry experienced a new life and literary periodicals were also founded. Such areas as philosophy, economics, political sciences, and pedagogy were also opened to intellectual effort and advances were made.

Scarcely had these accomplishments left the stage when a group appeared and made the 19th century a mere carryover of the last part of the 18th. They were men playing great roles in the formation of the growing national spirit—Mickiewicz, Slowacki, and Krasinski in poetry and drama, whose works each in a particular way sustained the Poles during the darkest years of despair; Fredro, a writer of the classic comedy; the historian Lelewel; renowned painters such as Matejko, Brandt, Wyspianski, and the Gierymskis; and reaching our present day such writers of great power as Sienkiewicz, Reymont, Zeromski, Kraszewski, and Prus. Under the pen name of Joseph Conrad, Jozef Konrad Korzeniowski became a great English novelist. The work of Poland's first great woman poet, Maria Konopnicka, expresses a sympathy for the poor and oppressed. The poems of Poland's most outstanding philosophical lyrist, Jan Kasprowicz, possess strength and have as their main theme the struggle of a heroic human spirit against an apparently permanent power of evil.

Since World War I and World War II, the literary and artistic achievements are less known and valued by the mass population due to the preoccupation of both the artist and his audience with political and social problems. Still, that literary heritage of the 19th century is remembered and loved as one of Poland's greatest cultural achievements. It has become the common property to the entire Nation and has assumed the dignity and glory of a great national institution to this day. Great are the accomplishments in the other arts—in that of music with Frederic Chopin, Poland's greatest musician and the musical embodiment of the Nation's spirit; the pianists Jozef Hofmann, Ignacy Paderewski, Artur Rubinstein; Wanda Landowska, the violinist Bronislaw Hubermann, and orchestra conductor Artur Rodzinski; in the fields of painting, ballet, and the folk arts; in that of scholarship and science with the scientists Wroblewski and Olszewski who succeeded in liquefying air in the 1880's, Natanson, a famed mathematical physicist, Raciborski who contributed to botanical research, Prof. L. Petrazycki and his original work on the evolution of law, Malinowski, renowned in the field of anthropology, and Maria Sklodowska-Curie, who with her French husband did the research that led to the discovery of radium. The international recognition given to these outstanding Polish scholars and scientists is a source of major pride to Poland today.

It is such a cultural heritage that partakes of that same honor, the honor of being an intricate part of what makes a Pole what he is.

To be sure, however, not at all times nor in all Poles have the qualities which have been discussed always been found. Still it must be maintained that they constitute his makeup, his "Polishness," yes, beginning with his stubborn individualism to his religious patriotism.

Adam Mickiewicz, Poland's greatest poet, cries out in one of his lyrics what the aspirations of a true Pole are, and what the aspirations of any Christian should be:

"I shall beat one wing against the past,
The other against the future,
And steering by the dictates of the heart,
Strive toward the feet of God."

America has been known to the Poles since its very discovery and most often it has been thought of as a land of bliss to which many Poles longed to go and, indeed, to which many did go. In the 16th century the Polish poet, Sebastian Klonowicz, alluded to America as follows: "Happy Isles—heroic land of bliss known to country long ere this."

In brief historical retrospect, four factors seem to be outstanding as representative of the cornerstones of spiritual and cultural relationships between Poland and America: the Polish Americans, the exchange of heroes between Poland and America, President Wilson's "Thirteenth Point," and American relief in Poland after the First World War.

In the course of the last three centuries for various spiritual, political, and economic reasons, (18th century for economic reasons, 19th for religious reasons, and 20th for war and political reasons) a considerable number of Poles came to the United States. Presently their ethnic group is constituted of over 10 million people, that is, Americans of Polish blood, with Polish temperament, sympathies, and by no means devoid of the Polish cultural and spiritual traditions.

In their journey to the new world, for the most part, they brought only those basic necessities as they knew them, namely, the plow, the bell, and the cross—symbols of the Pole's hard life, his call to life, and his God the Creator of life. With these tools the Polish immigrant was able to forge a new life in his newly adopted land.

American Poles, as the cobuilders and cobenefactors of American civilization, have also helped to build America into what it is today. On the free soil of America, they send their sons to Congress and to State legislatures; they are owners of farms and industry. They have fraternal benefit organizations and publish newspapers in the language of their forefathers. And because of their large number, Poland is a little better known and perhaps a little better understood. They have erected about 900 churches (approximately 90 percent Roman Catholic), seminaries for the training of clergy, and some 400 schools where their children are educated.

The second cornerstone upon which this relationship rests is the fact that in the critical struggles for the freedom of both countries, Poland and America exchanged heroes. Such notable men as Kosciuszko and Pulaski and many others served under George Washington in the Revolutionary War, as they have in every war in which America has since then been engaged.

It was during the First World War that there came a clear voice from the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, demanding a free and independent Poland in his "Thirteenth Point," which is to the Poles as the Gettysburg Address is to Americans: "An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant."

After the war, it was the American Relief Administration that helped the sick and fed the hungry. The low point of the American-Polish tradition seems to have come about after World War II at Yalta where neither President Roosevelt deathly ill and badly advised, nor even Winston Churchill challenged Stalin but rather confirmed him in the possession of eastern Poland. They also accepted the Soviet formula regarding the Government of Poland which, as a matter of fact, was just another surrender to the Russian claims. For instead of creating an entirely new government, according to the original intentions of the Western negotiators, it was decided "to reorganize on a broader democratic basis the provisional government which is now functioning in Poland," namely, the group of Communist agents which Russia had put in power. Due to the readiness of this compromise and at the expense of Poland, a gateway was open for Communist expansion toward the West. Life in Poland is presently under the sphere of the Soviets, which position makes the relationship between Poland and the United States somewhat complicated and by no means traditional.

Poland's present situation, although somewhat better than that of the other captive nations in east-central Europe, remains in sharp contrast with the national tradition of freedom and independence. Very demonstrative of the profound difference between the official and the popular attitude is the very millennium of Poland. Because of public opinion and national prestige, the Communist authorities had consented to the celebration of the millennium. However, in order to direct the attention from the great event of 966, which date commemorates the Christianization of Poland, they decreed that the celebration should begin in 1960 and not in 1966. Such a chronological detraction may seem rather insignificant, but a closer consideration will reveal a conflict in approach and interpretation.

Communist government officials would like to celebrate the millennium of the "Polish state" which is claimed to have begun in 960. On the other hand, however, the date 966, when Poland accepted the Roman Catholic faith through Mieszko and entered the Community of Western Christendom, marks the real start of Polish history which through the next 10 centuries remained inspired by the same Christian ideals. Indeed, such a lengthy tradition cannot be changed and reversed in a short though disastrous period of 10 or even 15 years, for it is a tradition 1,000 years old.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. STALBAUM, for May 2, on account of official business in his district.

Mr. Utt, through May 20.

Mr. Roberts (at the request of Mr. Mills), for the remainder of the week, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. Laird for 20 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Boland, for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Halpern (at the request of Mr. Skubitz), for 10 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.

Mr. Gubser (at the request of Mr. Skubitz), for 30 minutes, on May 3; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.

Mr. Hosmer (at the request of Mr. Skubitz), for 30 minutes, on May 4; and to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous material.

Mr. Battin (at the request of Mr. Skubitz), for 15 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.

Mr. Chamberlain (at the request of Mr. Skubitz), for 30 minutes, on May 4; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.

Mr. Goodell (at the request of Mr. Skubitz), for 10 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.

Mr. McDowell (at the request of Mr. Farnum), for 20 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Congressional Record, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. Barrett and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. McVicker.

Mr. Philbin and to include a speech.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Skubitz) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Rumsfeld.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Farnum) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Karth.

Mr. Boland.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 2621. An act for the relief of Ioannis A. Vasilopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 2950. An act to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, and evaluation for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 518. An act for the relief of Joanna K. Georgoulia; and

S. 1924. An act to amend section 39b of the Bankruptcy Act so as to prohibit referees from acting as trustees or receivers in any proceeding under the Bankruptcy Act.

THE LATE SENATOR PATRICK V. McNAMARA: CHAMPION OF PEOPLE

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to inform the House of the death on Saturday evening of Michigan's senior Senator, Pat McNamara.

Mr. Speaker, there are times when words simply fall short of expressing one's feelings adequately. For me, this is such a time.

Senator Patrick V. McNamara is dead. And in his passing, the people of Michigan, who twice elected this warm-hearted, generous man to the U.S. Senate, have suffered a grievous loss. In a larger and very real sense, it is the American people who are the losers.

For if ever a Senator earned the title of "People's Senator," it was Pat McNamara. The interests of the people—the public at large—always motivated Senator McNamara, and when the roll was called, you always found him on the side of the public interest.

One of Pat McNamara's colleagues, the distinguished senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. Douglas], accurately assessed the outstanding characteristics of Senator McNamara's public service in these words:

> I believe it can be said of the Senator from Michigan, "Behold a Senator in whom there is no guile." Everyone always knows where he stands. He does not make any ambiguous statements. He does not cast any ambiguous votes.

Whether we agreed with Pat McNamara or not—and it just so happens that I almost always did—we all knew where he stood. His candor was refreshing and a mark of the man.

Mr. Speaker, Pat McNamara was not particularly noted as a public speaker. Oratory was not his forte.

But he was a legislator and in the business of legislating, his record was outstanding. Senator McNamara has left a legacy of effectiveness and achievement; his substantial contributions as a legislator for more than 11 years have made and will continue to make our Nation a better place in which to live. His part in enacting the legislative program of the New Frontier and the Great Society has been very great.

The Washington Post of Sunday, May 1, carried an article devoted to Senator McNamara under a headline describing him as a "Champion of Labor." Indeed he was. And he was a champion of children, senior citizens, the poor—all those in need of help. In short, he was truly a champion of people.

He was a partisan in the very finest sense—the type of political leader our two-party system needs if it is to remain a vital force in our society. He was a Democrat with a capital D, and he was proud of it.

But if Senator McNamara was a Democrat with a capital D, he was even more a democrat with a small d. He believed in democracy as a way of life, and he practiced what he preached.

Mr. Speaker, the State of Michigan and the Nation have suffered a great loss in the passing of Pat McNamara. I have lost a loyal and generous friend. But all of us are better off today because he served in the U.S. Senate.

On behalf of the people of Michigan's 12th Congressional District, I want to take this opportunity to express our sadness and sense of loss over the passing of Senator McNamara. We shall miss him very much.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan, the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'Hara] has given a beautiful testimonial to our late friend, Senator Pat McNamara. He has expressed fittingly the feelings of so many of us.

Mr. Speaker, I knew Pat McNamara for the nearly two terms during which he served in the Senate of the United States. Even though we differed substantially on many pieces of legislation, Pat McNamara was my friend. He was straightforward and honest in expressing his views. He was always ready to accept the consequence for any vote or statement that he made and in a manner which demonstrated his fearless nature.

Mr. Speaker, the State of Michigan knew where Pat McNamara stood during his entire term of office in the Senate of the United States. His votes were different from mine on many occasions, but he certainly reflected in the Senate the views of the people who supported him. He was unashamed to take the floor of the Senate, or any other forum, to set forth his views.

Mr. Speaker, personally, I have lost a friend, as you have lost a friend, and we extend to the Senator's family and to all of his associates our deepest condolences and sympathy.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. I thank the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, I feel a deep loss today along with my colleague from the 12th District of Michigan.

Mr. Speaker, it was my good fortune back in 1954 to have served on the campaign committee that worked with all the people of our State to bring Patrick McNamara to the Senate of the United States. Our late beloved Senator was a man that when given this opportunity to serve his State and Nation became known, as my colleague from Michigan [Mr. O'Hara] has so eloquently stated, "the people's Senator." In his quiet and effective way, he was instrumental in enacting into law progressive legislation that benefited all Americans, be it education, school lunches for our young people, or helping to solve the problems of our senior citizens. Truly he was a man of the people. Michigan and America has indeed suffered a great loss.

To his wife, Mary, and his loved ones, Mrs. Farnum and I, together with all of the people of the 19th Congressional District, extend our deepest sympathy in their hour of bereavement.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. I yield to the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I join with my friend, the gentleman from Michigan, and the Michigan delegation, in their keen sorrow on the passing of a great American and an outstanding legislator, who was also a dear and valued friend of mine, the late U.S. Senator Pat McNamara.

Senator McNamara served the people of his State not only with outstanding ability but with extraordinary courage. He was elected as a progressive and he served the people of his State and the people of our country as a progressive, always acting on the legislative level in accordance with the character of his campaign and his outlook and his philosophy of public service and in accordance with his concept of the function of government in practical operation.

The American people are indeed indebted to our late beloved friend for the many contributions he made in the other body in the passage of progressive legislation that will inure to the benefit of the people of America for countless decades to come. He was also a strong supporter of a powerful national defense which is so essential in the world of today and a strong supporter of a firm foreign policy.

Pat McNamara has left his most favorable imprint on the pages of the legislative history of our country, and his service in the Senate of the United States will long be remembered not only by the people of the State of Michigan but by all the people of our country.

Like the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'Hara], who has announced to the House the passing of our late beloved friend, I, too, have lost a dear, close, and valued friend. I shall miss Pat McNamara very much. I visited him in the hospital some 3 weeks ago. On that occasion I met Mrs. McNamara, a very sweet lady, who during the entire period of illness showed her love and her devotion by being always at the side of her husband and her sweetheart. I extend to Mrs. McNamara and her loved ones my profound sympathy in their great loss and sorrow.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Albert] and the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Boggs], may extend their remarks at this point.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Flynt). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I join my distinguished colleagues in mourning the death of Senator Pat McNamara. His many friends in this House are saddened at his passing.

Pat McNamara was a true servant of the people. In his service as chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee and as the senior Democratic member of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, he was personally responsible for much of the progressive legislation enacted by the Congress in the last dozen years. He was a friend of organized labor from his days as an apprentice pipefitter until the day of his death, but he was not blind to the problems of labor and battled courageously to prevent corruption within the labor movement. Yet his was a true labor of love for the working people. He served 20 years as head of the Detroit Pipefitters and one of his proudest claims was that he had received no compensation for his service to organized labor.

We are grateful for his service in the Senate and for his service to our country. Mrs. Albert and I extend our deepest sympathy to his family in their bereavement.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of the State of Michigan and of all our Nation have lost a champion for their advancement in the passing of Senator Pat McNamara. He was a fine leader in the Senate, and he dedicated his public service to helping the less-privileged people of our country. He was concerned for their welfare, and he worked tirelessly to enact constructive legislation which would benefit them.

A splendid example of Senator McNamara's humanitarian instincts and his good works was his cooperation with Senator Russell Long, of Louisiana, in the Senate to assure speedy passage last year of the special bill to aid victims of Hurricane Betsy. The people of Louisiana owe Senator McNamara a great debt of gratitude for his efforts to help speed the passage of this important bill which has provided to the people of my State millions of dollars of direct financial assistance to restore their homes, businesses, and farms. Senator McNamara worked closely with Senator Long to enact this bill in the Senate, and I know I speak for the people of Louisiana when I salute him and thank him for his kindness to us.

Mrs. Boggs joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to his family on their loss and the loss to our Nation.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, Michigan and the Nation have lost a friend with the death of Senator Pat McNamara.

During his more than 11 years in the Senate, his major concern has been to help the elderly, to shelter the homeless, to feed those without adequate food.

He never forgot the "forgotten man" who too often suffered want in the midst of national prosperity.

We mourn with his family this loss of a friend who never lacked the courage of his convictions nor in understanding of his fellow man.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the late Senator Patrick V. McNamara, of Michigan, whose passing is mourned by all of us here in this Chamber, and by all who knew him during his long and unselfish career of public service. The loss of this diligent champion of the workingman marks an era in the maturity of labor-management relations, a cause for which he fought throughout his life. He was a builder, and, in the best tradition of leadership, one who rose from the ranks, and never lost sight of those whom he served.

Senator McNamara was born in North Weymouth, Mass., educated in the Weymouth public schools, and spent his early years at his family's home on Parnell Street. Young Pat served his apprenticeship at the Fore River Shipyard, now operated by General Dynamics, in Quincy, and was for years a member of local 238 in Quincy of the Plumbers and Pipefitters Union. In 1917 he became a journeyman pipefitter, and shortly thereafter moved to Detroit.

Throughout his career, many of us in Massachusetts have watched with a sort of local pride as this warm and human individual rose from our midst to the well-deserved success he achieved. Of his seven brothers and sisters, four still reside in the area: Mrs. Carl Totske, of Roslindale; Mrs. Theresa Atkins, of Natick; Mrs. Eileen Thompson, of Braintree; and Mrs. Joseph Cribben, of Winchester.

Senator McNamara always retained an affection for his home State of Massachusetts, and it was reciprocated in full measure by his many friends there. I remember clearly a date in 1955, shortly after his election to the U.S. Senate, Pat McNamara, the son of Irish immigrants, was invited to officiate as grand marshal of the annual St. Patrick's Day parade in Boston. He was beaming that day as he accepted the honor conferred upon him, one which no Irishman could refuse.

During his years in the Senate, he has been recognized as a legislative authority on Federal highway programs, education, labor-management relations, problems of the elderly, and civil rights. His voice will be sorely missed, but his achievements will live into the future.

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, I will always cherish the memory of Patrick V. McNamara and the privilege I had of serving with him as a member of the Michigan delegation.

Senator Pat and his charming wife Mary made a terrific team in the service of the people of Michigan. My sympathy goes out to Mrs. McNamara in her hours of sorrow.

As the Detroit Free Press has said of him:

> A raspy-voiced man with cutting candor and a low regard for oratory, Mr. McNamara kept his years of union and public service by winning a Senate seat against fantastic odds.

Pat McNamara set lofty legislative goals for himself and accomplished them without pretense and with very little fanfare. I speak of his remarkable contributions to two of the landmark bills enacted by the Congress in the 20th century: medical care for the aged under social security and Federal aid to education. My own experience with Senator McNamara was always cordial and pleasant. As a veteran of countless political meetings, I particularly appreciated the fact that when Pat chaired a meeting you could be sure that we would get to the heart of the matter very quickly and candidly. Pettifogging was foreign to his nature—you always knew were Pat stood.

Senator McNamara's primary concerns during his nearly 12 years in the Senate were for the very young and for the very old. He lived to see his most ambitious legislative goals realized. The people of Michigan and of the entire Nation will be extremely grateful for his contributions toward a better America. This fact comforts us and assuages our grief. We shall miss Pat McNamara's advice and his flare for decisive action.

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, Senator Pat McNamara was a great and good man in the ultimate meaning of those words and in the ultimate of American idealism. He was a man of integrity—complete, undivided—a man of courage who found his purpose and sufficient reward in improving the lot of his fellow man in whatever circumstances they might be disadvantaged. He put no stock in adulation from high councils nor in the charming blarney of Irish tongue. His objective was clear—to provide remedies and answers to human need and problems. His approach was direct. He was unsparing of himself in work. He fought fearlessly and the record establishes he magnificently accomplished the manifold tasks he set for himself. He served the people so exceedingly well, he was titled "The People's Champion," "The People's Senator."

What was the essence of Senator Pat McNamara is perhaps best captured in a description by the eminent clergyman, Dr. Howard Thurman, of a man who has found the meaning of personal freedom:

> One, at center, disciplined in mind and emotions. The mind centered upon a goal, a purpose, a plan. Of all possible goals, purposes, plans, a single one lifted above the others and held as one's chosen direction. A principle of orderedness guides behavior and action. Energy is not dissipated but is used to supply dynamics for the pursuit of the goal. One does not have to depend upon the favorable circumstance, the fortuitous "break," the applause, approval, and felicitation of friends, important as these are. The secret is the quiet inner purpose and the release of vitality with which it inspires the act. Achieving the goal is not measured by some external standard, but in terms of loyalty to the purpose and the freedom which it inspires.

Mr. Speaker, Senator Pat McNamara was loyal to his purpose. His death is mourned by all who were privileged to know him personally and by the millions of Americans whose lives he made better by his devotion and work. On behalf of the people of the 13th Congressional District of Michigan, I express our profound gratitude for the life and service of Senator Pat McNamara and our deepest sympathy to his family in this bereavement.

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, the passing of the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan, Pat McNamara, leaves us with sorrow and regret. We in the House knew him both in his public role as a Senator, and in his private role as a man. To a degree unusual for people whose careers lie in public service, these two roles were joined.

Independent. Frank. Compassionate. Forward looking. These are the things that come to mind when we think of Pat McNamara, the Senator and the man.

There is no need to recite his immense legislative achievements, which range all the way from the medicare bill to the passage of the Older Americans' Act. As chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee, he worked in a way both effective and untampered by considerations not germane to the wise and proper expenditure of money.

In his case the man was the Senator, committed to the highest goals, free of sham, and vigorous in action. His passing makes us in this Congress and his State of Michigan the poorer.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I observe the decease of my beloved friend and colleague, the former senior Senator of the State of Michigan, the Honorable Patrick McNamara.

He was indeed an outstanding Senator.

He was known for his courage, his forthrightness, his steadfastness of purpose, his dedication to the public interest, and most of all, for his concern for the unfortunate, hungry, downtrodden, and the aged.

His lasting monument is the great legislation he helped engineer through the Congress.

He will long be remembered for his work on behalf of medicare and for the interest he took in legislation which helped the aged meet their vast problems.

He was a great champion of clean waters and legislation to abate the pollution of this most treasured resource.

His efforts on two important committees of the Senate, including the one which he chaired so ably, the Committee on Public Works, left no doubt in the minds of any as to either his expertise or his dedication to the best interests of this Nation and our people.

I am deeply saddened at his death and express to his family and to his wonderful wife, Mary, the condolences of Mrs. Dingell, myself, and the tremendous number of friends that this great American had among the people of the district I have the honor to represent.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the death of the Honorable Patrick V. McNamara, senior Senator from the State of Michigan, is deeply regretted among his colleagues in the Congress, among his host of warm friends, and among the millions of American citizens who, never knowing him, were yet aware of his constant and vigorous championship of their rights.

Senator McNamara was a fighting liberal, not of a sentimental and theoretical kind, but of down-to-earth practicality, and of legislative proficiency. He was forthright and consistent. He championed labor against repression by management, and rank and file against betrayal or coercion by union organization; he fought for the poor, the young, the aged; he worked effectively for the development of the national road system, for flood control, and for the development of rivers and harbors.

As chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee as well as of its Flood Control—Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee, and as ranking majority member of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, Senator McNamara was in a position to contribute tremendously to the building of an America of fair and equal treatment for all, of generous help to those who need it most, and of bold and generous programs for future development.

Among recent legislative accomplishments which owe much to his powerful support are the Civil Rights and Voting Acts, hospital insurance for the elderly through social security, increases in minimum wages, and Federal aid to education.

In honoring the memory of this brave and devoted man, I offer also my deepest sympathy to his wife, Mary Mattee McNamara, to their 2 children, Mary Jane Ballard and Patrick V. McNamara III, and the 12 grandchildren to whom he has left the heritage of a noble memory.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND REMARKS

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members of the House may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. Res. 836

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable Patrick V. McNamara, a Senator of the United States from the State of Michigan.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That a committee of two Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The resolutions were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the funeral committee Mr. DIGGS and Mr. CEDERBERG.

The Clerk will report the remaining resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the House do now adjourn.

The resolution was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT

Accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 15 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Tuesday, May 3, 1966, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2352. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting amendments to the request for appropriations transmitted in the budget for the judiciary, for the fiscal year 1967 (H. Doc. No. 430); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2353. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting an amendment to the request for appropriations for the legislative branch, for the fiscal year 1967 (H. Doc. No. 431); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2354. A letter from the Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, transmitting the 52d Annual Report of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, for the year 1965, pursuant to the provisions of section 10 of the Federal Reserve Act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

2355. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of limited success in obtaining contributions for the binational educational exchange program, Department of State; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2356. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of reduction in dollar outflow possible through more extensive use of American-made building materials in embassy and related construction projects, Department of State; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2357. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of potential savings through improved management of ammunition, Department of Defense; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2358. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of review of the activities of the Office of the Government Comptroller of the Virgin Islands, fiscal years 1963, 1964, and 1965, Department of the Interior; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2359. A letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Department of Commerce to make special studies, to provide services, and to engage in joint projects, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

2360. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to assure nondiscrimination in Federal and State jury selection and service, to facilitate the desegregation of public education and other public facilities, to provide judicial relief against discriminatory housing practices, to prescribe penalties for certain acts of violence or intimidation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2361. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting the report of the activities of the Department of Justice for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1965, pursuant to law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2362. A letter from the Chairman, Federal Maritime Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Shipping Act, 1916, as amended, to authorize exemption from the provisions of the act; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, pursuant to the order of the House of April 28, 1966, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, on April 29, 1966:

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 13417. A bill to amend the act of October 4, 1961, to facilitate the efficient preservation and protection of certain lands in Prince Georges and Charles Counties, Md., and for other purposes; with an amendment (Rept. No. 1465). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. DAWSON: Committee on Government Operations. Report on the use of excess property by the U.S. foreign aid program in Latin America; without amendment (Rept. No. 1466). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. POWELL: Committee on Education and Labor. H.R. 14644. A bill to amend the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 to extend it for 3 years, and for other purposes, and to authorize assistance to developing institutions for an additional year; without amendment (Rept. No. 1467). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

[*Submitted May 2, 1966*]

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. DAWSON: Committee on Government Operations. A report entitled "The Coin Situation," in 29th report; without amendment (Rept. No. 1468). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CELLER:

H.R. 14765. A bill to assure nondiscrimination in Federal and State jury selection and service, to facilitate the desegregation of public education and other public facilities, to provide judicial relief against discriminatory housing practices, to prescribe penalties for certain acts of violence or intimidation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CONABLE:

H.R. 14766. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, so as to permit the waiver of certain retirement or annuity payments under programs administered by the Federal Government; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. DYAL:

H.R. 14767. A bill to establish a Federal Commission on Alcoholism, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 14768. A bill to provide a comprehensive program to combat alcoholism; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FRASER:

H.R. 14769. A bill to establish a Board of Higher Education to plan, establish, organize, and operate a public community college and a public college of arts and sciences in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. GILBERT:

H.R. 14770. A bill providing for jury selection in Federal and State courts, prosecution and removal to Federal courts, civil preventive relief, civil indemnification, civil rights procedures, amendment of the school desegregation laws, and prohibition of racial discrimination in housing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KING of California:

H.R. 14771. A bill to amend title V of the Social Security Act to provide a grant-in-aid program to assist the States in furnishing aid and services with respect to children under foster care; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MIZE:

H.R. 14772. A bill to amend the Employment Act of 1946 to provide for a Minority Economic Council; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 14773. A bill to provide for national cemeteries in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 14774. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide that all service in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps shall be creditable toward benefits administered by the Veterans' Administration; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. REID of New York:

H.R. 14775. A bill to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States over certain classes of removed cases and to provide injunctive relief in certain cases, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REUSS:

H.R. 14776. A bill to amend section 10 of the Federal Reserve Act to require that the annual report of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System shall be submitted no later than February 1; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H.R. 14777. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURTON of California:

H.R. 14778. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAMERON:

H.R. 14779. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COHELAN:

H.R. 14780. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CORMAN:

H.R. 14781. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EDWARDS of California:

H.R. 14782. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAGEN of California:

H.R. 14783. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HANNA:

H.R. 14784. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAWKINS:

H.R. 14785. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOLIFIELD:

H.R. 14786. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON of California:

H.R. 14787. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KING of California:

H.R. 14788. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H.R. 14789. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MILLER:

H.R. 14790. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MOSS:

H.R. 14791. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REES:

H.R. 14792. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 14793. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SISK:

H.R. 14794. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VAN DEERLIN:

H.R. 14795. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON:

H.R. 14796. A bill to consent to the interstate compact defining the boundary between the States of Arizona and California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ADAMS:

H.R. 14797. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Defense to lend certain Army, Navy, and Air Force equipment and to provide transportation and other services to the Boy Scouts of America in connection with the 12th world jamboree and conference of Boy Scouts to be held in the United States of America in 1967, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 14798. A bill to amend the act of October 10, 1949, entitled "An act to assist States in collecting sales and use taxes on cigarettes," so as to control all types of illegal transportation of cigarettes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GONZALEZ:

H.R. 14799. A bill to amend Public Law 815, 81st Congress, to provide temporary assistance where public school buildings are destroyed by natural causes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HORTON:

H.R. 14800. A bill to establish a U.S. Committee on Human Rights to prepare for participation by the United States in the observance of the year 1968 as International Human Rights Year, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H.R. 14801. A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to provide that a returning resident who has been abroad for more than 1 year may import free of duty wearing apparel, articles of personal adornment, and similar effects acquired abroad; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LONG of Maryland:

H.R. 14802. A bill to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, to provide for special programs for older workers; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. MORRISON:

H.R. 14803. A bill to amend the National Defense Education Act of 1958 to permit Federal grants for equipment for the teaching of, and for institutes for teachers of, music and art; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. OLSEN of Montana:

H.R. 14804. A bill to extend and amend the Library Services and Construction Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.R. 14805: A bill to provide for the establishment of a national cemetery in the town of Glocester, R.I.; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER:

H.R. 14806. A bill to provide for a coordinated national safety program and establishment of safety standards for motor vehicles in interstate commerce to reduce motor vehicle accidents and the deaths, injuries, and property damage which occur in such accidents; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 14807. A bill to amend section 4 of the Clayton Act (15 U.S.C. 15), and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. UTT:

H.R. 14808. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to curb the leasing by local governmental units of certain industrial and commercial facilities for private profitmaking purposes at rentals below their fair rental value; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WYATT:

H.R. 14809. A bill to amend title 23 of the United States Code to provide for increased payments to States who agree to undertake certain scenic development and road beautification of highways on the Federal-aid systems; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H.R. 14810. A bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to authorize additional amounts for assistance thereunder, to authorize grants for certain technical studies, and to provide for an expedited program of research, development, and demonstration of new urban transportation systems; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BARRETT:

H.R. 14811. A bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to authorize additional amounts for assistance thereunder, to authorize grants for certain technical studies, and to provide for an expedited program of research, development, and demonstration of new urban transportation systems; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mrs. DWYER:

H.R. 14812. A bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to authorize additional amounts for assistance thereunder, to authorize grants for certain technical studies, and to provide for an expedited program of research, development, and demonstration of new urban transportation systems; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. WIDNALL:

H.R. 14813. A bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to authorize additional amounts for assistance thereunder, to authorize grants for certain technical studies, and to provide for an expedited program of research, development, and demonstration of new urban transportation systems; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. GARMATZ:

H. Res. 837. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to support for the Kaiulani project to preserve the last surviving American-built, square-rigged merchant ship as a museum of our maritime heritage; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. MULTER:

H. Res. 838. Resolution providing for the printing of certain proceedings in the House Committee on Banking and Currency; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. WIDNALL:

H. Res. 839. Resolution providing for the printing of certain proceedings in the House Committee on Banking and Currency; to the Committee on House Administration.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

467. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Senate of the State of California, relative to the Marysville Dam and Reservoir project, which was referred to the Committee on Public Works.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BURKE:

H.R. 14814. A bill for the relief of Dong Ping Chin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DADDARIO:

H.R. 14815. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Antonino Fazzino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee:

H.R. 14816. A bill for the relief of Dr. Vali Khairollahi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14817. A bill for the relief of Katherine Odiana Cuellar; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. IRWIN:

H.R. 14818. A bill for the relief of Maria Antonia Alvaro Tarzia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REID of New York:

H.R. 14819. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. William Nussbaum; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REUSS.

H.R. 14820. A bill to provide for the relief of the trustee of the bondholders of the Bankers Joint Stock Land Bank of Milwaukee, Wis.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. UTT:

H.R. 14821. A bill for the relief of Edward H. Shin (also known as Joong Hyon Shin); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WIDNALL:

H.R. 14822. A bill for the relief of Sorin Papovichi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BOB WILSON:

H.R. 14823. A bill for the relief of Mohammed Ali Abdul Abayachi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14824. A bill for the relief of Harry F. Armstrong; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

383. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Ralph Boryszewski, Rochester, N.Y., relative to the impeachment of Hon. Stephen S. Chandler, U.S. district judge for the western district of Oklahoma; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

384. Also, petition of A. R. Shoemaker, Sr., Cartersville, Ga., relative to a pension for veterans of World War I; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

H-Bomb Recovery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, it is a unique privilege to be able to recognize within our lifetime, the vision of a group of men who participated in the opening of the earth's last frontier. In early April a hydrogen bomb, lost for almost 3 months, was recovered from the floor of the ocean. What is important here is that a two-man submarine—named *Alvin*—designed and built by American industry in the State of Minnesota, dramatically demonstrated that man now can go down to the bottom of the ocean and perform useful work. The search and recovery was a prophetic fulfillment of the remarks of James H. Wakelin, former Assistant Secretary of the Navy during dedication ceremonies at Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution on June 5, 1964. He said *Alvin* would be responsive to the interests of the Nation and its people. He went on to say:

> This first deep-diving submarine to go into operation anywhere will go places and do things that will undoubtedly make news for many years to come.

Athelstan Spilhaus, dean of the University of Minnesota's Institute of Technology was on a National Academy of Sciences Committee that in 1959 urged a broad new attack on the oceans including development of a deep-diving craft. On the same committee was Allyn Vine, for whom *Alvin* was named. Vine led the early definition of requirements for vehicles to perform oceanographic research at great depths and was a key figure in gaining Office of Naval Research support.

In the hands of its capable crew, *Alvin* has made over 150 dives. It has within its potential range an area of the ocean floor greater than the area of the surface of the moon. Chief Pilot William O. Rainnie, Naval Academy graduate and his alternate copilots, Marvin J. McCamis and Valentine Wilson, by finding and initially securing a tether to the bomb, performed a feat requiring great technical competence and operational skill as well as personal dedication and courage. This outstanding achievement may provide us with the needed force to accelerate the Nation's program to develop the potential wealth of the sea for all mankind.

The remarkable submarine *Alvin*, developed and built by Litton Industries in Minnesota, is officially classified as a deep submergence vehicle. It is a triumph of technical know-how and advanced industrial skills. *Alvin* has successfully performed research and study tests at depths below 6,000 feet. High intensity floodlights, a mechanical arm, and complete maneuverability enable this two-man vehicle to accomplish a variety of underocean assignments more than a mile below the surface. The hydrogen bomb rescue effort was a very sensitive and demanding job requiring outstanding skill and precision. Minnesota is proud of its industrial contribution to technology, personified in this case by Litton Industries and *Alvin*.

Now that the urgency of the search is over and the mission accomplished, *Alvin* is being returned to Woods Hole aboard the ship that served as her mother ship in Spain. There she will be refitted and will return to the realm of scientific research. But I hope all of us will remember that while the world followed the retrieval of a bomb, we here should not lose sight of the true mission of undersea exploration.

The Chatfield Dam Could Have Prevented a Disaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to apprise my colleagues in the Congress of a project that is of paramount importance to people of my district. Pursuant to that end, I should like to insert in the Record my testimony before House and Senate Committees on Appropriations on April 26, 1966.

Before entering the body of my comments, I would like to gratefully acknowledge and thank my distinguished colleagues from Colorado, the Honorable Wayne Aspinall, the Honorable Byron Rogers and the Honorable Frank Evans for their testimony. Let me also pay tribute to invaluable information contained in the testimony of Mayor Tom Currigan of Denver; Mr. Tom Heaton, chairman of the Denver Urban Mayors Association; and Mr. Jack Shapiro, president of the organization Action Now—Dam the Platte.

A vote of thanks is due Mr. H. R. Berglund, president of the Denver Wood Products Co. and Mr. William Chappell of the Canteen Co. of Colorado for going to the trouble and expense of coming to Washington, submitting further evidence substantiating and reenforcing conclusions emerging from this disaster.

Finally, but most importantly I wish to acknowledge the many vitally interested constitutents who, despite suffering severe damage to their property, took the time to write coherent, consistent and factual accounts that aided us in reaching the conclusions we present to you today.

The testimony of Mr. McVicker follows:

Testimony of Roy H. McVicker, Member of Congress From the Second District of Colorado, Before the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations, April 26, 1966

The South Platte River overflowed and rampaged through a large portion of Colorado last June 16. The citizens suffered tragic losses of life, and damages were conservatively estimated to be in the neighborhood of $500 million.

The Chatfield Dam, a long-overdue flood control project, would have prevented this destruction and appalling waste of both lives and property had it been in existence at that time.

The Chatfield Dam, operating in conjunction with existing and authorized projects would provide a high degree of flood protection for Denver, Littleton, Englewood, and other communities and for the agricultural areas along the South Platte River below the dam site.

The half-billion-dollar flood devastation of June 16, 1965, the record flood of modern times, included damage to 2,033 homes, 6 apartment buildings, 612 business establishments and 167 house trailers.

Although 13 lives were lost in the South Platte Basin, the remarkable fact that no lives were lost in the Denver metropolitan area can only be accredited to alert local governmental agencies which compelled prior evacuation from flood hazard areas.

Without the controlling effects provided by the existing Federal reservoirs and floodwater structures in the basin, additional flood damage of nearly $130 million would have been inflicted on the Denver metropolitan area.

Had the Chatfield Dam been in operation at the time of the flood, practically all of the damages in the Denver metropolitan area would have been prevented and substantial damage reduction achieved. The benefit-to-cost ratio for the Chatfield Dam is 3.8 to 1.

The night of the June 16 flood I flew back to Denver and spent the following 10 days touring the area and talking to the people affected.

I initiated the setting up of a special flood disaster office in the affected area. Its purpose was to inform and assist flood victims who might be eligible for low-cost rentals, SBA loans, and other forms of aid. Needless to say, the Federal and local agencies cooperated in a most heartening way.

In July the House Committee on Public Works sent a special subcommittee, chaired by the Honorable ED EDMONDSON of Oklahoma, which I accompanied, to inspect the flooded areas in Colorado and Kansas. Shortly thereafter the Colorado House Members introduced disaster relief legislation and in October we testified before that subcommittee for its early passage.

The Denver metropolitan area's widespread public interest in this dam will certainly be damaged if a delay is allowed to occur but, more important, unless the appropriation we request is put in this year's budget for fiscal year 1967, the final construction of the Chatfield Dam will be delayed a year with the attendant risk of another flood.

The tremendous cooperation by the various Federal agencies who immediately stepped into the ruin left by the flood has done far more to dramatize the importance and effectiveness of Government projects than any other action of which I am aware.

Perhaps the real importance of our appearance here today is to let the people of Colorado know that the Congress continues to be responsive to their obvious human and economic needs.

We know how critical is the decision of this committee to the success of the Chatfield project. We also greatly appreciate the time and effort this committee has spent on behalf of the people of the Denver metropolitan area.

Loyalty Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech which I recently delivered in Gardner, Mass., in my district, on the occasion of the very impressive Loyalty Day program conducted there under the auspices of the Ovila Case Post, Veterans of Foreign Wars:

REMARKS IN PART OF CONGRESSMAN PHILIP J. PHILBIN, LOYALTY DAY PROGRAM, GARDNER, MASS., MAY 1, 1966

When I received the kind invitation from my esteemed friend, junior vice commander Mimi Canu, of the famous Ovila Case Post, VFW, to attend your Loyalty Day exercises, it came to me virtually as a command, and I am very happy, highly privileged, and proud to be with you.

Your great post is one of the outstanding veterans' organizations in the country, and it is not at all surprising to me that your esteemed leadership should institute and arrange these fine exercises here today.

For what is more appropriate, especially in these days of crisis, strife, and conflict in the world than a Loyalty Day celebration to bring our people together in a concourse and outpouring of love, devotion, and fidelity for our great country and the liberties which it guarantees to every American, and to every person that dwells within its borders.

Loyalty, like courage, is one of the great qualities of the human heart, and a person or nation lacking in complete loyalty is poor indeed. As Americans, we can be thankful to the good Lord, to the Founding Fathers, to countless generations of Americans, to our parents and our teachers, that the spirit of loyalty has been engendered to such a remarkable degree in our country, and that it has been demonstrated time and time again in the daily affairs of our people, and especially in times of crisis and danger when we have rallied together to defend our heritage and protect our freedoms.

It is very appropriate, my friends, that we should gather here to reaffirm our allegiance to the ideals and principles of the country and demonstrate our loyalty and unity of purpose in protecting our free institutions.

We are living in a period of upset, contradiction, doubt, and fear. On the one hand, we observe the unprecedented growth and development of our national economy, which has reached a high all-time peak of prosperity, with most of our fellow citizens employed and business conditions better than they have ever been.

On the other hand, we are engaged in a bitter and bloody conflict far away from the shores of the United States testing our strength of purpose to establish peace and freedom against determined enemies seeking to spread tyranny in the world, and extend the boundaries of world communism.

Certainly, no one can doubt the powerful commitments of this Nation to the cause of just, enduring, international peace. Peace with freedom is indeed the great issue of our time. It is ardently desired, not only by the American people, but by all peoples of the world, except the tyrants who are intent upon imposing the iron shackles of communism upon other nations.

Lord knows, we have been and are striving for peace with every ounce of our being. Time and time again we have pleaded for peace, unilaterally, and in concert with other nations.

Our President, who is in charge of foreign policy, has most energetically sought peace, and is urgently seeking it at this very hour, and the same is true of the Congress, the representatives of the people, and practically everyone else in the country.

Notwithstanding these sincere, long-continued efforts for peace, our pleas, our appeals, our united efforts have met with stony silence from Hanoi, Red China, and most other parts of the Communist world.

Religious leaders, many nations, groups and organizations, including great religious personages and the United Nations itself, which was established to promote peace, have joined in the appeals for peace but, unfortunately, to no avail. There is no response from the Communists of the area involved who even now, as we talk, are intent upon and engaged in trying to impose their tyranny upon helpless peoples.

Time and time again, our Nation has offered to engage in unconditional negotiations for peace, but the answer has been the same—no response—no willingness to confer—no expressed desire for peace—nothing but the continuance of unabated aggression against the weak and the helpless.

The fires of discontent and rebellion, violence, strife, and warfare against existing institutions are raging in many parts of the world, and the Communist perpetrators are moving with vigor, strength, and every resource across a very broad front, embracing both the Eastern and the Western Hemispheres to overthrow freedom and substitute the trappings of the tyrannical police state of communism.

Only the great strength and power of this country, standing almost alone these days, is stopping this evil, aggressive movement from sweeping toward further world conquest.

That is the issue in Latin America, in Africa, in East Berlin, and that is the issue in Vietnam, where gallant American boys are fighting, yes, and dying, to hold back the hordes moving by infiltration and force to trample over small, helpless people seeking to be free, and pressing their conquest, not only to all of Asia, but ultimately to the rest of the world, as they are committed to do. To remain unmoved by these events, would be for this Nation to invite disaster.

Americans deplore and regret the necessity for our current involvement in this bloody conflict but most Americans know what the issues are—they know that freedom, liberty, security, safety, and survival are at stake.

They know that, if hard-core Communists once learn, as a result of our appeasement and lack of purpose and weakness, that they could successfully conduct aggressions against the weak and the helpless without opposition, they will run madly through much of the world, just as other despots and tyrants have done in the past, bringing destruction, desolation, conquest, and slavery everywhere, until they have achieved their aim of dominating all freedom-loving nations.

If there is a peaceful answer to this present conflict this Government has tried hard enough to find it. Our leaders have worked day and night to secure the peace, yet these feverish appeals have gone unheeded and unanswered.

None of us have any way of knowing what the future will bring, but we pray that it will be peace and understanding at an early date, even as we contemplate the apparatus of organized world Communists, as they join hands to test out the strength of our purpose to stand against their aggression, their designs, their moves toward our defeat and the conquest of the world.

For they know, as I think most Americans well know, that if we do not stand up firmly, and if we appease and retreat and give way to ruthless violence and oppression of the weak and the lowly, we may well face the greatest dangers of all and be confronted with escalated war, not only in Asia, but in other parts of the world that would threaten and endanger our security and very existence as a free nation.

Under the circumstances now confronting us, and until such time as the current situation changes, we are compelled to choose the way this Nation has always chosen in the past, the way that will best protect our liberties, insure our freedom, guard our security and defend our blessed land, the way of peace through strength and liberty, through our resolute will to protect the spiritual values of this unmatched democratic system and our way of life.

Let us make it clear that this Nation is firm in its determination to protect our heritage in every way that this may be required, with all our strength and power in behalf of the freedoms we love, and the just peace we seek, which we trust and pray is close at hand.

Let me congratulate you upon this great occasion, which reaffirms our loyalty to our country, and all it stands for, arouses us to the dangers that confront us, so that we may be all the more determined to face up to these crucial problems with courage, devotion, and unflinching resolution as Americans have always done.

I commend and thank Ovila Case Post and the city of Gardner upon this thrilling and moving inspiration of Loyalty Day. Let us stand united for freedom, peace, and justice in the Nation and the world. And may the light of peace soon dawn upon us.

Thank you very much.

Ellsworth Calls for New Look at Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting a statement by my able colleague, the Honorable ROBERT ELLSWORTH, of the State of Kansas, on the subject of U.S. policy in South Vietnam. Representative ELLSWORTH's statement follows:

ELLSWORTH CALLS FOR NEW LOOK AT VIETNAM POLICY

It is now time for the Johnson Administration to shape up in South Vietnam or get out.

As a Member of Congress I have repeatedly voted for measures to support our Armed Forces in Vietnam and to give the President all the authority he has asked for.

But I am rapidly losing confidence in this Administration's ability to see to it that our military operations are effectively backed up by the necessary political stability in Saigon. This, in turn, has undercut our efforts to move the Vietnam conflict from the battlefield to the negotiating table.

Over 400,000 people have already been killed in this war—yellow, white, and black.

More than 3,000 Americans have been killed.

We now have 300,000 Americans on the scene in Vietnam, and by the end of the year we will probably have 500,000.

Helicopters, air support, and modern firearms give our troops in Vietnam four to five times the striking power our soldiers had in World War II.

We have already dropped the equivalent of a ton of bombs for every Viet Cong soldier.

Since 1954, we have given over three billion dollars in aid to South Vietnam.

In March, 1963, General Harkins, then our Commanding General in South Vietnam, stated that the South Vietnamese Armed Forces had "all that is required for victory."

In May of 1963 the Pentagon told us: "The corner definitely has been turned."

In October, 1963, Secretary of Defense McNamara said: "The major part of the military task can be completed by the end of 1965."

Early in 1964 Secretary McNamara told Congress that neither more combat troops nor more money would be needed in South Vietnam.

Late in 1964, Secretary McNamara, returning from a personal inspection of Vietnam, said: "We have stopped losing the war."

A credibility gap exists between what the administration tells us and what actually happens.

After all these years, all these efforts, and all these sacrifices, there is no evidence that the American presence has brought political maturity or political stability to the people or the government of South Vietnam. Just the opposite is the case: anti-government riots have shown an alarming influence in the very cities we and the South Vietnamese regimes have claimed to control. The spring of this year has seen chaos, turmoil, and rioting in the streets of South Vietnam, and curtailment of our military operations because of it.

Soldiers and officers of the South Vietnamese Army have removed their uniforms and put on civilian clothes in order to participate in anti-American riots.

At the height of the riots, we began for the first time to experience a higher death rate among our own American troops than the South Vietnamese forces were sustaining themselves. The anti-Communist South Vietnamese were so busy wrangling among themselves that they didn't have time to fight the Communists.

The Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese are close to winning the conflict in Vietnam on the political front.

Here at home, our Vietnam expenditures are largely responsible for the inflation that wracks our own country, for material shortages, and for government interference in wage and price decisions. The Vietnam War is a profound threat to our whole economy. When Chairman Gardner Ackley of the President's Council of Economic Advisors was before the Joint Senate-House Economic Committee on February 1 this year, discussing the President's Economic Report, he admitted in response to a question from me that he was "either ill-informed or a poor guesser about the trend of Vietnam expenditures."

Our dollar outflow to Vietnam accounts for more than half of our present annual balance of payments deficit.

No matter how much military power we focus in South Vietnam, no matter how magnificent the morale of our fighting men is, no matter how much effort and sacrifice they pour into the Vietnam conflict, and no matter how much strain it put on our own society here at home, it will all be wasted unless the South Vietnamese can be effectively organized on a political basis. This the Johnson administration has failed to do.

The political initiative in South Vietnam, in the sixth year of our American presence there, now rests with the anti-Americans.

If there is a single vital lesson to be drawn from our experience in Vietnam, it is that foreign aid for economic development plus foreign aid for military development are practically useless without a strong program of political development among the people we are trying to help. Unless the people of a country can learn to participate in politics—to band together for community projects—to build the forms of citizen action, which we in this country take for granted and which have been the source of our progress—unless the people of a country can do these things, then all the money in the world for economic development, and all the bombing and killing of which we are so clearly capable, cannot bring much progress or much stability. This lesson of Vietnam the Johnson Administration still has to learn.

Lack of political cohesion among the anti-Communist forces in South Vietnam is and has been for a long time our most immediate and pressing problem. The Johnson Administration has failed effectively to do very much about it.

This Administration must now make it perfectly clear to all political leaders in South Vietnam—religious and military alike—that we do not intend to fight on in Vietnam unless they can get their own house in order, stop fighting each other, and start fighting the Communists.

Neither the American people nor the Congress will support the war in Vietnam much longer, unless the South Vietnamese are required to and do make an effective effort to establish political stability.

The sacrifice of our men's lives can have meaning only if our purpose is clear and our efforts are not wasted.

I, therefore, propose:

1. The Johnson Administration must immediately ask and get reasonable political stability in South Vietnam; otherwise, we must prepare to withdraw and quit wasting the efforts and sacrifices of our troops and our people.

(a) The original agreement to hold elections in August for a Constituent Assembly to draft a national Constitution should not be delayed to September or October or some later date, despite "trial balloons" along that line recently floated from the Ky regime in South Vietnam.

(b) It must be made clear that we expect the Constituent Assembly to complete its task in a specified and reasonable length of time so that a representative government can be established.

(c) We must insist that the leaders of all major anti-Communist religious sects subordinate their differences to the immediate task of fighting the Communist threat to their freedom, if they expect us to help them.

(d) A firm pledge of loyalty to the government must be exacted from each military officer in the Vietnamese Armed Forces, with compelling sanctions against violation of such pledges.

(e) We should also require, from all the main factions, pledges of full cooperation in broad and intensive programs for educating the urban and rural people of South Vietnam so that a foundation is laid for them to be able to control their own destiny.

If the government and people in South Vietnam are unwilling to make and keep these pledges, the United States should withdraw its forces. We are not there to impose our will on the people of Vietnam. If the government and people of Vietnam are not willing to take the minimum steps necessary to achieve enough political stability so that they can fight effectively, then the sacrifice of American lives will serve no purpose.

2. At the same time the Johnson Administration must renew and redouble its efforts to move the Vietnamese conflict from the battlefield to the negotiating table. This, however, it must do against a background of reasonable political stability in South Vietnam and by the use of real and meaningful diplomacy

Real and meaningful diplomacy is not the use of grandiose public relations efforts. A truce in Korea was made possible not by the dispatch of big-name Presidential envoys to hold press conferences in far-flung capitals of the world, but by a President who convinced the Communists that he sincerely desired to bring an end to the conflict.

The Suez Crisis was resolved, not by a flamboyant appeal for a U.N. debate which was never followed up by a real debate, but through a sincere effort to seek U.N. help to avoid a world crisis.

Successful negotiations for a test ban treaty did not come through spectacular Presidential journeys to Honolulu or other exotic spots, but through quiet, tough, patient diplomacy.

The twin pillars of peace in Vietnam are stability in Saigon and diplomacy in Washington. Peace cannot be secured without both.

It is now time for the Johnson Administration to require reasonable political stability in South Vietnam and to move the Vietnamese War from the battlefield to the negotiating table, or to get out of Vietnam.

Congressman Annunzio Champions Serviceman's Cause

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANNUNZIO] is only a freshman in the House of Representatives, but in the short time he has been a Member of this body, he has established himself as a leader in the fight to protect our servicemen from loan sharks and sharp-practice credit extenders. He has visited military installations throughout the world, discussing this problem with servicemen of all ranks, and contributed immensely to the success of the recent investigation of the Domestic Finance Subcommittee into finance company operations.

On April 23, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANNUNZIO] visited Philadelphia to address the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Credit Union League. He discussed the problems faced by the military man in the area of credit and the attitude of the Department of Defense toward the problems faced by the serviceman. It is, indeed, an honor for me to place in the RECORD a copy of Congressman ANNUNZIO's remarks before the credit union group.

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE FRANK ANNUNZIO, BEFORE THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA CREDIT UNION LEAGUE, APRIL 23, 1966

It is always an honor and a pleasure for me to meet with credit union groups and I am particularly honored to have been asked to address the Pennsylvania Credit Union League. As a member of the House of Representatives Banking and Currency Committee, I sit with a number of Pennsylvanians, headed by the Hon. WILLIAM BARRETT, who has represented the city of Philadelphia in Congress since 1944. The western portion of your State is equally well represented on the Banking and Currency Committee by the Honorable WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD, of Pittsburgh, and the Honorable ALBERT W. JOHNSON, of Smithport. In addition, the Honorable THOMAS C. MCGRATH, JR., of nearby Atlantic City, is a native of Philadelphia, and the Honorable JOSEPH G. MINISH, who represents Newark, N.J., was born and raised in Throop, Pa. Because of the Pennsylvania exposure on our committee, I feel at home when I visit your fine State.

LEADER IN CONSUMER PROTECTION

In addition to being a truly beautiful State, Pennsylvania is a leader among the States that have adopted consumer protection laws. Pennsylvania was the first State to adopt the Uniform Commercial Code and has been a forerunner in chattel mortgage registration laws, particularly with regard to automobiles. I also note that your legislature is presently considering a truth-in-lending measure which would govern all retail installment credit contracts. In support of the three-quarters of a million members of your league, I am certain, will go a long way toward securing passage of the measure. It is my belief that the strong consumer protection laws of this State and the pending truth-in-lending bill owe much of their success to the Pennsylvania Credit Union League. Pennsylvania is a great credit union State, with 1 out of every 14 men, women, and children in the State belonging to a credit union.

While I am a freshman Member of the House of Representatives, I am not a newcomer to the credit union movement. As director of labor for the State of Illinois in the cabinet of Gov. Adlai Stevenson, I marveled at the wonderful work that credit unions performed. I cannot count the number of times I learned of situations in which credit unions saved jobs and kept families together because they offered a helping hand to individuals in financial trouble. Since my election to Congress, I have become even more keenly aware of the outstanding work performed by credit unions, particularly with regard to members of our Armed Forces.

ADMIRABLE LOSS RECORD

I recall meeting several months ago with a high-ranking member of the Department of the Air Force who felt that credit unions were not as safe as other financial institutions because of the lack of share insurance. I pointed out to this individual that at the present time there are more credit unions in this country—some 22,000—than the combined total of commercial banks and savings and loan associations, and that credit unions have assets of more than $10 billion. Since the passage of the Federal Credit Union Act of 1934, I explained to the credit union skeptic, less than $1.5 million has been lost as a result of Federal credit union operations.

This is a truly enviable record when it is considered that the failure of a bank will result in insurance payments to certain depositors by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, but there is no insurance for stockholders of these financial institutions. When the amount of loss to stockholders in commercial banking institutions is included in the loss to depositors, it can readily be seen that credit unions have done a magnificent job in protecting the shares of their members. I feel that my Air Force friend is now convinced that credit unions do provide adequate safeguard for shareholders.

This morning, I would like to discuss two subjects of importance to the credit union movement. The first area deals with the attitude of the Department of Defense toward sharp-practice finance companies and other questionable credit extenders. I would also like to spend a few minutes discussing the role that credit unions must play in maintaining their position in the financial community.

CRITICIZED DOD ATTITUDE

On September 23, 1965, I delivered a speech on the Floor of the House of Representatives entitled, "Does the Department of Defense Really Care?" The main thrust of this speech was that sharp-practice finance companies, loan sharks, and other high-rate credit extending companies were taking our servicemen for a ride, and the Department of Defense was looking the other way.

In that speech I made the statement that the "lack of action by the Department of Defense, unfortunately, adds to my feeling that the Department is, perhaps, more worried about pressure and lobbying tactics of the finance industry than the welfare of the serviceman."

Let me recap my reasons for that statement. For a number of months the House Domestic Finance Subcommittee, of which I am a member, conducted an investigation of Federal Services Finance Corporation, a worldwide lending institution that specialized in automobile and personal loans to members of the Armed Forces. Of the 12-member board of directors of Federal Services, 8 were retired admirals and generals, many of whom held high military posts. Most of the company's top operating personnel were also former military officers. It would appear that such a company, with its predominately military orientation, would go out of its way to protect the interests of servicemen. However, the subcommittee was shocked to learn the number of ways that Federal Services had abused the serviceman's trust and confidence. I would like to briefly list some of the practices that Federal Services has used in dealing with servicemen. The company has:

Charged interest rates that amounted to 100 percent of a 2-year loan.

Charged military customers for automobile insurance and did not notify the servicemen that the insurance had been purchased.

In some cases the serviceman was charged for insurance but no insurance was placed on his automobile. In other cases the serviceman had already purchased insurance on his automobile and was thus forced to not only pay for his own policy, but for a policy supposedly purchased by Federal Services. In other cases Federal Services would not supply the serviceman with copies of the policy that they purchased on his automobile.

A $30 charge was levied against cars purchased overseas for what the company termed marine insurance. This is insurance which covers a vehicle being shipped back to the United States. A number of witnesses told the subcommittee that Federal Services did not notify the serviceman that he was being charged with this marine insurance. It is interesting to note that automobiles shipped at Government expense are fully insured by the Government, thus negating the need for additional marine insurance.

Servicemen attempting to obtain the payoff prices on their automobiles were quoted one price by Federal Services and when they made payment in that amount were later informed that the serviceman still owed additional funds in many cases amounting to several hundred dollars. These extra charges were never fully explained nor documented to the serviceman.

REPOSSESSIONS MOST SHOCKING

But, perhaps, the most shocking abuse was in the area of repossessions. In order to increase its profit, Federal Services several years ago established its own used car lot in Fort Walton Beach, Fla., and since then, had added other outlets in Alabama. Many of the top-grade used cars that Federal

Services repossessed were shipped to these wholly owned outlets for resale. In order to insure that Federal Services' used car lots were able to purchase the automobile, Federal Services used phony repossession bids so that it would appear to the serviceman that the company had obtained three bids on his automobile and that the Federal Services outlet was the high bidder.

A former Federal Services employee testified before our subcommittee that the Columbus, Ga., Federal Services office wrote "dummy bids" on repossessed cars, that is, bids that were concocted by the office personnel. A Columbus automobile dealer added in testimony that he gave Federal Services signed blank bids on numerous occasions so that the company could fill in its own amount and place this in the serviceman's file.

Prior to submitting these signed blank bids, the dealer told the subcommittee he had bid on a number of repossessed cars held by Federal Services but was unable to purchase any of them, even though on occasion he bid well above the market price of the automobile. When he questioned company officials as to the reason why he had not submitted the winning bid, he was told that no matter what bid he submitted, he could not buy the car since it was already ticketed for Federal Services' own used car lot.

Another former Federal Services employee told a subcommittee investigator that when he first went to work for the company, he was given a large folder and instructed to make "dummy bids" on each repossessed car contract in the folder. When he left for lunch, he asked his secretary to continue the task of writing in phony bids. The secretary asked what names she should place in the folder as submitting bids. "Use any out-of-town motor company you can think of," her boss replied. When he returned from lunch, he found that the secretary had listed as the bidding company, "Out-of-Town Motors, Inc."

NO ACTION ON OFF-LIMITS REQUEST

On numerous occasions throughout the past year I have asked the Department of Defense to declare Federal Services off limits. I was not alone in my feeling that this company should not be allowed to continue to gouge servicemen. Three Army legal assistance officers who testified before the subcommittee stated that they felt the company should be placed off limits. As early as 1956, the antics of Federal Services were brought to the attention of the military by legal assistance officers, but no action was taken by the military.

Not only has the Department of Defense not taken any action to place Federal Services off limits, but has done just the reverse. Federal Services met with Department of Defense officials and stated that if the Department would provide their organization with a seal of approval, the company would clean up its operations. I was horrified by the action on the part of the Department of Defense and, while the pat on the head given to Federal Services by the Department of Defense may have fooled some people, it did not fool the serviceman. Even with the Department of Defense endorsement, servicemen would not deal with Federal Services. They felt—as I do—that the abuses uncovered by our investigation could not be corrected merely by a pat on the back, a smile, and a handshake.

PERFORMANCE NOT PROMISES

Federal Services will not be in existence after the end of this month. The company is being merged with another finance company that has promised to remove the military officers from the board of directors and to make certain that the rights of the serviceman are fully protected. I sincerely hope that the new company lives up to its promises, but more corrective action will be needed than a mere superficial housecleaning. As I stated when I first heard of the merger, "You cannot remove the smell from a garbage dump by calling it a rose garden."

It is interesting to note that the demise of Federal Services was not brought about by action of the Department of Defense, but was as a direct result of the serviceman's reluctance to do business with the company.

Federal Services was not the only loan and finance company to take advantage of the serviceman. The Judge Advocate General of a large military post near the Nation's Capital, in testifying before our committee, was questioned as to whether the practices of Federal Services, particularly with regard to repossession of automobiles, were standard practice throughout the industry. The officer replied, "Yes, it is a very vicious circle and it hurts the serviceman badly, and it is certainly something which should be controlled, but I regret to say it is rather a general practice among finance companies, particularly that finance automobiles."

Records submitted to the Domestic Finance Subcommittee by the various military services indicated a number of other finance companies that were causing problems among our servicemen. In addition to Federal Services, the military listed 17 companies as prime offenders. I wonder if the Department of Defense is aware that four of the prime offenders have been indicted in Massachusetts on alleged bribery and conspiracy charges to influence public officials in setting small loan rates and issuing licenses to small loan companies.

OVERSEAS PROBLEM CRITICAL

The sharp practices uncovered by the Domestic Finance Subcommittee are not limited to the United States. Last winter several members of the subcommittee and myself toured military installations throughout Europe to see firsthand the problems that the military men face when they try to obtain credit. The credit problems facing our Armed Forces stationed overseas are vastly different from the problems encountered in the United States. Many borrowing channels which are available to the serviceman in the United States are severely limited or closed to overseas military personnel. For the most part, there are no credit union facilities available in Europe although several credit unions in the United States do handle overseas loan transactions through the mail.

Most of the larger military installations in Europe have commercial American banking facilities, however, these facilities are set up primarily as limited service banks, designed to exchange currency, cash checks, sell savings bonds, and conduct other related banking activities. These banks do engage in a limited amount of short-term lending. Many officers and top-grade enlisted men stationed overseas still maintain banking ties with home-town financial institutions and are thus able to obtain loans through the mail. However, the lower grade enlisted men generally are without any low cost, completely reliable source of credit and must turn to the only available widespread source—finance companies.

EASY CREDIT, QUICK COMPLAINTS

These overseas finance companies are, for the most part, unregulated and the amount of interest that they may charge is virtually unlimited. They extend so-called "easy credit" to the military and are quick to notify a serviceman's commanding officer if the serviceman falls the least bit behind in his payments.

At one installation we visited, a first sergeant informed us that his organization spends 300 man-hours a month handling debt complaint letters, with the majority of the letters coming from finance companies. He added that upon investigation, 98 percent of these complaining letters did not represent valid claims. He pointed out that in almost every case when the finance company complained that the serviceman had not made his monthly payment, the serviceman was able to produce check stubs, money order stubs, or similar proof that the payment had been made. "I'm spending most of my time doing the work of the finance company," the first sergeant complained to our investigating group.

Without exception, every military installation that we visited in Europe felt that the establishment of overseas credit unions would go a long way toward solving the serviceman's credit plight. The request for credit unions came from servicemen of all ranks—from generals and privates, admirals and seamen. The general of one Air Force installation was so interested in establishing a credit union that he sent his aide to meet us at the airport to make certain that we would visit the general and discuss the possibility of establishing a credit union at his installation.

SUGGESTS PATMAN HONOR

As you well know, the Department of Defense has acted in two major areas to provide the serviceman with credit union help. The Department of Defense Directive 1000.9 issued in August, for the first time provides Department of Defense endorsement for credit unions on military installations in the United States, and this past month the Department authorized the establishment of overseas military credit unions. The overseas directive is an end result of a plan submitted to the Department by the chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas.

It is my firm belief that WRIGHT PATMAN has done more to further the cause of credit unions than any other legislator in the history of the movement. Because of his interest in credit unions and his authorship of the guidelines for establishing overseas credit unions, I have asked Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara to officially designate the overseas credit unions as "Patman plan credit unions." I feel that in some small way this will be a fitting tribute to a great American.

I applaud the Department of Defense for its actions in writing the credit union directives, but at the same time, I do not feel that the Department has gone far enough to protect the serviceman-consumer.

Following my September speech to the House of Representatives regarding the Department of Defense's attitude toward Federal Services the Department published a directive entitled "Personal Commercial Affairs," which, for the first time, set up guidelines for companies doing business with servicemen.

I recall vividly a ceremony held in Chairman PATMAN's office in which the first copy of this directive was delivered to the chairman. The date of that presentation was September 29, 1965. Nearly 7 months have transpired since the presentation ceremony. Yet, the directive has not gone fully into effect.

PLANNING NEW DIRECTIVES

Less than a month ago I was informed that the Department of Defense was canceling the directive and, in its place, substituting a new directive. It was my hope that the Department felt that the old directive was not tough enough and was planning to add some beefed-up provisions, such as a disclosure requirement of a simply annual interest rate. I soon learned that my statement of 7 months earlier that the "Department of Defense is, perhaps, more worried about pressure and lobbying tactics of the finance industry than the welfare of the serviceman," was being brought into sharp focus once again.

The redraft pulled the teeth out of the old directive and puts the sharp operators right back on top.

Gone were the provisions to insure that the serviceman would have his rights protected. Gone were the provisions that would have prevented finance companies from grabbing a serviceman's car the moment he fell behind in his payments and selling it to a subsidiary used car lot. Gone were the provisions which would have forbidden sharp-practice operators and their trade associations from gaining admittance to military installations under the guise of conducting credit information programs. And, gone were most of the other provisions which would have protected our men in uniform.

DIRECTIVE CRITICISM NOT VALID

When the chairman of our committee asked the Department why it was rewriting the directive, it was explained that the Department's lawyers felt that the directive was "so vague and ambiguous as to require either substantial modifications or supplementary instructions." If these lawyers think that the directive was vague and ambiguous, I suggest that they read some of the contracts that finance companies require servicemen to sign when they borrow money or purchase an automobile.

Perhaps these lawyers would not be so critical of the directive if they were not viewing it from their snug offices in the Pentagon. Send these lawyers overseas for 2 weeks to talk to the men who have been bilked by unscrupulous operators. Let them visit the wives of servicemen who are fighting in Vietnam. Since these soldiers are busy defending our Nation, they do not have much time to answer loan company letters.

However, too many credit companies are hounding the serviceman's wife the moment that a debt falls past due. And let them talk to commanding officers who are unable to spend time on military duties because they are forced to answer hundreds of phony debt collection letters a month. Let these lawyers do this, and then ask them if they feel the directive is vague and ambiguous.

If the directive was not as perfect as the Department of Defense officials would have liked, it would seem logical that to correct the alleged mistakes, they would have consulted the persons with expertise in this area, such as Mrs. Esther Peterson, the Presidential Adviser on Consumer Affairs, or Chairman PATMAN. But instead, the Department called in to help rewrite the directive Mr. Marx Leva, general counsel of the American Industrial Bankers Association, a trade group of loan and finance companies. Mr. Leva, it must be recalled, is a former general counsel of the Department of Defense, and I would imagine he still has quite a bit of influence in the Pentagon.

Now that the facts are known, I ask the Department of Defense why the new version of the document deletes those portions which were objectionable to the finance companies but would have protected the serviceman from abuses.

The new directive, for instance, would allow finance company trade associations to conduct credit lectures on military installations. If the very companies whose dues support these trade associations are responsible for fleecing the servicemen, why, then, do we allow their associations to provide credit lectures at military posts? If this happens, we are faced with the situation of a group that preaches sound use of credit to the serviceman one day, and the next day tries to grab as much of his paycheck as possible.

The new directive has not reached its final form. I sincerely hope that before it does, the Department of Defense will carefully review its position in this important matter.

Recently, an investigator from our committee visited a large military installation in the South to look into the operations of a used car lot that was operating less than 100 yards from the front gate of the military installation and was saddling servicemen with tremendous burdens of debt in the form of car payments. In order to entice the purchase of these high-priced automobiles, the car lot offered to allow the serviceman to pay only $50 per month for the first 4 months. After the 4-month period, the monthly payments skyrocketed.

A HELPING HAND?

This "balloon note" procedure was adopted because the servicemen were going through a training course which would ultimately make them officers. Thus the $50 payments were designed to carry the serviceman through the school and the figure would then be raised when the serviceman was drawing a higher salary. Of course, if the serviceman does not complete the school, he would not be entitled to the higher income, but would still have to meet the huge monthly obligations.

In one case, a 23-year-old serviceman will have to pay nearly $210 a month for 32 months following his short period of $50 a month payments.

The other cases uncovered by the investigator were equally shocking. Many of these servicemen were under 21 years of age. They were not required to make a downpayment nor was their credit checked. In many of the cases the naive servicemen signed blank contracts.

When the servicemen were asked why they thought they were able to buy $3,000 and $4,000 automobiles without a downpayment and without a credit check, they said that because they were officer candidates, they would be required to pay their debts or possibly ruin their military careers. In short, the serviceman was not only signing his name to the contract, but was throwing in his career as collateral. The used car dealer was not selling cars to servicemen, but was selling cars to their uniform.

Our investigator talked at length with military officials at this post and he was assured that none of the servicemen had complained about the deal they had made at the car lot. Now, I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, would you complain if you were able to buy a $4,000 automobile for no money down, without a credit check, and drive off with the automobile with little fuss or redtape? And, would you complain during the first 4 months of your contract if your payments were only $50?

I think the complaints would be very few. But, when your payments—after the 4-month period—were raised to $200, then, oh yes, then, that is when the complaints would start to roll in. As a footnote, our investigator also learned from an officer at this post, that despite the increased salary of these young soldiers after they graduated from the school, he did not see how they would be able to meet the monthly payments.

Instead of taking action to prevent the used car lot from getting the servicemen in over their heads, the military officials at the post are virtually endorsing the operations of the car lot and have stated that the low payments for the first 4 months greatly aids the serviceman in purchasing the automobile. Perhaps these officials are not aware that at some military installations the use of such techniques as balloon payments or sliding-scale notes are considered a cause for placing a company off limits.

I can only say to the authorities at this military installation and to the Department of Defense that if they do not act to protect servicemen from getting in over their heads and being exposed to sharp-practice operators, then I will request a complete investigation of the Department of Defense to see why it will not take action in this highly important field. Perhaps we will find some more retired admirals and generals lurking in the background. Perhaps we will find a former general counsel or two behind the scenes. But whatever we find, I can assure you that this problem will be solved.

CLOSE CREDIT UNION GROUP

Before closing, I would briefly like to discuss with you another area of grave concern to me. An organization is currently in operation in our Nation's capital called the "Bankers Committee to Eliminate Favoritism to Credit Unions." One of the goals of this organization is to have industry and businesses across this country close their credit unions. Much of the literature put out by this organization is completely untrue but, unfortunately, there are those who may read this literature and not question its accuracy. To provide financing for this group, solicitors have been employed who telephone banks and businesses throughout the country seeking donations for the fight against credit unions. These telephone solicitors, I am told, are paid a percentage of the money they collect.

Typical of the propaganda being published by this group is a speech made by R. Earl O'Keefe, chairman of the board of Southwestern Investment Co., which—as you might guess—is a loan and finance company. Mr. O'Keefe is proud of the fact that his organization had a credit union but that it was liquidated because "We suddenly came to the realization that this arrangement was against many of the principles for which we stand." If credit unions are against the principles for which Mr. O'Keefe stands, I cannot help but wonder what principles he does believe in. Does he believe that borrowers should be charged an interest rate of "whatever the traffic will bear?" And, does he believe that the borrower is at the mercy of the loan company? It is strange to me, indeed, how anyone could be against the principles of a credit union.

WHAT IS ALIEN ABOUT SELF-HELP

Mr. O'Keefe has stated that credit unions are born of an alien philosophy. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is it an alien philosophy to make loans for provident and productive reasons at low cost? Is it an alien philosophy to encourage habits of thrift? Is it an alien philosophy to provide educational services in the area of consumer spending? And, is it an alien philosophy for a group of Americans to band together on a volunteer basis to help each other?

I can assure you that Government officials such as Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, do not feel that credit unions are born of an alien philosophy. Last fall Mr. Shriver, in a letter to Chairman PATMAN, praised credit unions for their work on the "war on poverty," and pointed out that a credit union was in the process of being established in the riot-torn Watts area to knock out the loan sharking which was a primary cause of the riots. In his letter, Mr. Shriver stated, "You can be sure that in the future, as now, any community action program interested in organizing a credit union as part of its program will receive our wholehearted backing in getting started. We hope for greatly increased activities in this field in the next 6 months."

I think that we would all agree that credit unions are not born of alien philosophies, but are born in the best interests and traditions of the American people that have helped this country grow to its position of greatness.

On the other hand, I do feel that it is an alien philosophy for organizations such as the Bankers Committee to Eliminate Favoritism to Credit Unions to operate under a cloak of secrecy. I note that none of that committee's publications which I have read, list any of the officers or members of the group. Let these gentlemen come forward and make themselves known. If they have nothing to hide, there can be no reason for the bankers committee not making public a list of its membership. Credit unions have nothing to hide. Why, then, should groups which oppose credit unions barricade themselves behind the printed word.

CREDIT UNION NEED EXISTS

Mr. O'Keefe denies that a need for credit unions exists. He also objects to what he terms subsidies provided credit unions. I ask Mr. O'Keefe if a need for credit unions does not exist, why is it that nearly 20 million Americans are members of credit unions? And, if a need for credit unions does not exist, why is it that servicemen throughout the world have written the Banking and Currency Committee asking about the prospects of establishing a credit union at their installation. And, if Mr. O'Keefe is unhappy with subsidies granted to financial institutions, let him look no further than commercial banking, which is the most subsidized industry in the United States.

What other industry receives millions of dollars in free Government funds for investment in the form of tax and loan accounts? What other industry has the exclusive right to create money? And, what other industry is provided hundreds of millions of dollars worth of free governmental services each year?

Mr. O'Keefe carefully avoids mentioning that the credit union movement is operated almost exclusively on a voluntary basis. He fails to mention that at many military installations credit unions' volunteer officers use their lunch hours and their vacations to perform credit union work. And if Mr. O'Keefe is worried that credit unions may be cutting into the profits of his company, then I suggest that perhaps his company should consider reducing Mr. O'Keefe's annual remuneration which, in 1965, amounted to $48,150. Incidentally, that is $3,510 more than the salary of the Vice President of the United States.

There can be no question as to the wonderful service that credit unions have performed for the American people. But when organizations, such as Mr. O'Keefe's, launch a smear campaign, credit unions can no longer rest on their "white hat" reputation. To counter these attacks, make certain that the people in your community and in the business and factories that you serve, know of the work you are doing. Fight Mr. O'Keefe and his group with facts and fight him hard. Keep your Congressman up to date on the work of your credit union. Let him know your legislative positions on key bills. Do not be afraid to tell your success stories to the public. If you do this, I cannot promise that it will prevent the formation of groups seeking to undermine the work of credit unions, but I will promise that these groups will gain little public sympathy and will have to operate in a completely secret manner.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you so much for your kind attention this morning.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, Offers Draft Plan He Considers More Equitable, Efficient, and Less Confusing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished junior Senator from Massachusetts, the Honorable EDWARD M. KENNEDY, has written a most interesting and courageous article on the present draft law, pointing up its inequities and offering a plan that he considers more equitable and efficient, and less confusing. The article appeared in This Week, a Sunday supplement magazine printed for the Washington Sunday Star of yesterday, May 1, and with permission I insert Senator KENNEDY's views in the RECORD.

OUR DRAFT LAW IS UNFAIR—THE SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS OFFERS A PLAN HE CONSIDERS MORE EQUITABLE AND EFFICIENT—AND LESS CONFUSING

(By Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY)

The war in Vietnam has doubled draft calls. Two years in the service has suddenly become a very real prospect to college students, to married men and to others who have previously been untouched. Throughout our country, young men and their families look anxiously to their local draft boards for some indication of whether they will be called and when. The local boards look to General Hershey's Selective Service System for clarification of policies. Selective Service looks to the Pentagon for clear estimates of future requirements for manpower. The complicated way in which the draft works has given rise once again to the same kinds of fears and doubts, rumors, uncertainties and conflicts that plagued the country during World War II and Korea. For example:

Selective Service rules that single men in class 1–A are to be called up before married men. Yet local boards in some States began calling married men last December when over 100,000 single 1–A's around the country had not yet been inducted.

In January, General Hershey said that draft calls to meet the needs in Vietnam might rise as high as 80,000 men a month. This prospect of quadrupling calls stimulated enlistments and raised the prospect of early calls of all 1–A's. Yet informed sources in the Defense Department, where the decisions on how many men we need are made, say these predictions are highly exaggerated.

The need for more draftees has spawned arguments over which deferments should be curtailed. College presidents has objected to changing the present deferred status of students. The National Farmers Union says that as long as students are deferred, so should be farm boys. Other spokesmen can be expected to make their case for their groups.

I have talked about the draft to a great many young men in my home State of Massachusetts. Almost without exception they consider military service sometime in their lives as a responsibility which they are willing to shoulder when required to do so. But they snowed considerable discontent at the way the present draft system works.

Parents of boys who do not go to college consider it unfair that their sons are drafted while college students are deferred. Their feeling—which statistics bear out—is that because of this the draft bears down most heavily on those in lower income brackets. Many college students feel strongly about being drafted after college and given assignments which take no advantage of the skills they have learned at school. They also feel that the new plan, to end deferments for some students in the bottom segment of their class, by subjecting them to a special test, penalizes those enrolled at the better colleges where competition is tough.

Married men are bitter about being called while single men in other localities have not yet had to report. And I heard many complaints about the policy that allows a man to escape effectively military service by getting married and having a child or by staying in college past the age of 26.

All these criticisms are valid, in my judgment. They spring from the way the draft law has grown up. In the Civil War and the first stages of World Wars I and II, men were drafted by lottery. When the present Selective Service Act was passed, we substituted for this simple method a complex series of judgments resulting in various types of deferments and a long list of critical skills and essential activities which allow men to escape service.

But the present draft law expires next year and Congress will be asked to extend it. It should also reform it. We need a system that is flexible enough to meet the heightened military demands of a period like the present, yet still work when demands fall to pre-Vietnam levels; that chooses who is to go in as fair and uniform a way as possible; and which lets a young man know, at any given time, how he stands with respect to his service obligation, so he can plan his life accordingly.

I propose replacing the present system of deferments and exemptions with a national lottery, conducted among men of the same age. This is how it could work: All men reaching age 18 would be examined by Selective Service, the same as they are now. Those who pass the physical and mental test would be assigned a number by the local draft board. Once each year Selective Service in Washington would pick numbers by lottery. The men whose numbers were picked first would be called first, and so on down the line. Thus everyone—rich and poor, college and noncollege, married and single—would take his chances on an even footing.

This system is roughly similar to that used in countries like Australia and West Germany today. It has the great advantage of letting young men know, at age 18½ or 19, whether they are going to be drafted. For if a man's number is not selected in the drawing of the year in which he is examined, his vulnerability to the draft ends. He could not later be drafted unless world conditions worsened to such an extent that our military requirements could not be met from just the pool of 18- or 19-year-old men. Our current military needs, higher than usual because of the fighting in Vietnam, are estimated at a maximum of 650,000 a year. And when you consider that only 150,000 of these must be draftees (the rest come from voluntary enlistments) and that the number of boys turning 19 this year is almost 2 million, it can be seen that those not picked in the lottery would have little chance of being called later.

A student could postpone his vulnerability until his college years were over, then take his chances with that year's 19-year-old group. He would not be allowed to escape the lottery by prolonging his education past the age of 26. A few hardship exemptions, such as those for sole surviving son in a family, would be retained.

One of the greatest benefits of this kind of lottery would come from ending the present practice of calling up oldest men first. Until the current crisis in Vietnam, the average age of induction had risen until it almost reached 24 years. We are told that the oldest are drafted first to make sure everyone who is fit for service actually serves. But hundreds of thousands of physically and mentally eligible men manage, through one deferment or another, to reach the age of 26 and thus effectively escape the draft.

The policy of "oldest first" forces our young men to plan their lives and families in an atmosphere of uncertainty. Surveys have shown that 25 percent of the young men in 1-A have actually been turned down on jobs because of their draft status. Business firms are understandably reluctant to hire a man who may be called tomorrow. And this is one of the reasons why unemployment among men of draft age is higher than the national average.

Drafting men from the 18½ and 19-year-old group by lottery would end these hardships. Younger men are less likely to have started building families or to have to give up well-paying jobs. Moreover, military men feel younger draftees make better soldiers because they are at their physical peak, easier to train and discipline.

Barring a major war, far beyond the dimensions of Vietnam, our manpower needs are not going to increase as fast as our population. Whereas today, over half of our young men 26 years old and over have seen service, in the 1970's, when many of today's young children will be of draft age, fewer than one in three will be needed. There is no fair method of choosing so relatively few from among so many except by lot.

Admittedly a lottery involves an element of chance. But it is hardly less chancey than the present system, in which so few men know what their ultimate prospect of being called will be.

There is no perfect system of conscription. War makes for agonizing choices. But that only makes it even more important for us to recognize the present defects and try out new ideas, in order that what President Kennedy called "the burden * * * of freedom" be carried in the fairest way.